

Merriment and Melancholy:
Thomas Campion, John Dowland, and the Humours in the English Ayre

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Abstract

Melancholy in the music and poetry of Elizabethan England has been a focus of much twentieth and twenty-first century study. Many of the best-known lute songs, or ayres, composed at the turn of the seventeenth century demonstrate this fascination with melancholy, both in lyrical content and in musical ethos. Elizabethan music theorists and philosophers wrote at length about the importance of a balance of the four bodily humours (sanguine, choleric, melancholy and phlegmatic), and the importance of music in creating and maintaining that balance.

What role did music in general, and the ayre in particular, play in Elizabethan culture, and what was the historical and philosophical basis for that role? How did Elizabethan composers and theorists view the connection between music and healing, and what role did the four humours play in the ayres and their poetic texts? What are the ways in which modern perceptions of the ayre are colored by cultural suppositions? In addition to examining the lute songs themselves, I will rely on contemporary musical treatises and other evidentiary materials.

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Introduction

In this study, I will delve into the rhetorical and musical language of the ayre composers, analyzing three specific ayres that demonstrate in context the musical concepts of the humours written about by music theorists. I will examine the educational and philosophical foundations of musicians and music theorists contemporary with the music itself, along with the connections those Elizabethan writers made between music and medicine, particularly with regard to the role of melancholy in their understanding of health. I will also look at how the values and understandings of the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries have shaped the study and performance of the ayre.

Throughout history, music has been believed to affect mood, physical health, intellectual ability, character, and morality in varying degrees. From the Greek idea of *ethos* and the myth of Orpheus, to the Mozart Effect and twentieth-century lawsuits claiming rock songs led to suicide, music has been credited with influencing human bodies and minds. Early modern concepts about the transformative abilities of music and its ability to affect melancholy in particular shaped musical and textual choices of composers of the ayre. For the twenty-five years during which it flourished (1597 - 1622), consumers of the ayre saw in this song form an intimate connection with healing, ascribing to it, among other purposes, a specific role in keeping melancholy at bay. In this capacity, the ayre was most often performed in private settings, and, when performed for entertainment, it was in small, intimate rooms in which the lute could be heard. As music's medicinal role was diminished, and music performances were expected to be

audible to growing audiences, the lute became less common as a lone accompanying instrument. By the end of the seventeenth century, the lute was eclipsed by the harpsichord and other more audible keyboard instruments as the central instrument for accompaniment, and the song form and the ayre repertoire were mostly lost to obscurity.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as a cultural wave of nationalism stirred many people to examine the roots of their particular heritage, the texts, and then the music, of the ayre were explored. The choices of which pieces were transposed from lute tablature to modern notation were often guided by the texts, and those choices were often made, in the era of Bowdlerized Shakespeare, by the cultural suitability of texts. This meant that the more bawdy and cheerful texts and the music written for them were neglected to some degree. Romantic notions of the inseparability of genius and melancholy, coupled with conservative moral standards guided which pieces were considered for transposition and analysis. Completely neglected, until fairly recent scholarship, was the integral role played by these pieces in healing. Elizabethan composers, performers, and listeners understood the ayre as a balm for physical and emotional pain.

The unseen but physical of nature of music and its effects on the human body and psyche are of relevant today, both as a topic of interest to the modern medical community, and as a theme in culture and literature. The ability of music to affect the body and mind has been part of both mythology and medicine at least since the writings of Aristotle discussed music, and while the cultural acceptance of music's power has expanded and contracted with changing scholarship, it remains with us today. In addition to music's

direct use in psychological treatment, studies over the past few decades have brought back the ideas of music's effects on human beings.

In 2013, researchers of the Sahlgrenska Academy at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden discovered that choral singers not only experienced a calming effect while singing choral music, but that the actual heartbeats of the choir's members began to beat in sync within a few measures of singing together.¹ A New York Times article from 1981 cited evidence from a Metropolitan Life Statistical Bulletin that conductors, as a tend to live much longer lives.² Many articles and books attribute the findings by Metlife on conductors' longevity to the education required to do the job, the aerobic activity in which conductors engage for long hours daily, or to the commitment and passion of the people with whom conductors work.^{3 4} However, other researchers view the apparently beneficial effects of conducting as the result of the vibrations of the music that move through the air from the musicians to the conductor.⁵

Another well-known set of studies about the effects of sound, and of different kinds of music on plant growth and health have been used to verify not only the questionable morals of rock music, but also its supposed deleterious physical influence on listeners. One of these studies in particular showed that plants in front of a speaker playing AC/DC grew away from the speaker, while those in front of a speaker playing Mozart grew toward the speaker, and were larger and healthier. Critical examination of this study showed, however, that all of the factors involved were not necessarily

¹ Anna Haensch, "When Choirs Sing, Many Hearts Beat as One," *NPR*. July 10, 2013.

² Tara Parker-Pope, "Under the Influence of...Music?" *New York Times*. February 5, 2008.

³ V.N.' Anisimov & Zharinov, G.M., *Advanced Gerontology* (2014) 4: 83.

⁴ Robert N. Butler, *The Longevity Revolution: The Benefits and Challenges of Living a Long Life*, New York: Perseus Books, 2010.

⁵ Tania Gabrielle French, "Why do Music Conductors Live So Long?" *Rethinking Cancer*. Accessed March 20, 2017.

controlled effectively. Subsequent studies demonstrated that the differences in plant growth and health found in the first experiments could be eliminated by making the measured level of both speakers within a closer decibel level, and by playing music of a comparable pitch range. It was also observed that plants in front of speakers playing many different kinds of music grew at a faster rate than the plants in the control group exposed to no music.⁶ The original studies, however, were cited by many who were gratified to find scientific data that could be extrapolated to form a basis on which to confirm their moral objections to rock and roll.

In their book about the history of objections to rock and roll, Martin and Segrave quote authorities who declared the invading music to be a social danger:

Rock and roll soon came to be linked with just about every form of delinquent behavior exhibited by the young and just as quickly the music was labeled the cause of such behavior. Statements abounded that rock and roll 'stimulated...copbaiting and outbursts of vandalism and mayhem,'...A psychiatrist by the name of Dr. Francis J. Braceland, chief of the Institute of Living, regarded the music form as 'cannibalistic and tribalistic.' To him, rock and roll was a 'communicable disease,' ...Dr. Howard Hanson had been the director of the Eastman School of Music at the University of Rochester for close to forty years when he tuned in on 'cultured Boston' from his summer home near Maine and came face to face 'with the most violent and vicious rock and roll.'...It took on ever greater significance as he compared it with a civilization gone away, a civilization that has 'lost the way...lost its sense of values.'⁷

In 1985, the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) spearheaded by Tipper Gore, testified at senatorial hearings that much pop music was morally unsuitable for children, and indirectly convinced the Recording Industry Association of America

⁶ Peregrine Horden, "Musical Solutions: Past and Present in Music Therapy," In *Music as Medicine*, ed. Peregrine Horden, 147-153, Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing, 2000: 7.

⁷ Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock 'n' Roll*, Hamden, Connecticut, 1993: p. 50-51.

(RIAA) to place labels on music recordings considered to have visual or textual explicit content.

During the highly publicized hearings, Senator Ernest Hollings, Democrat from South Carolina, said that ‘the music in question does not have any redeeming social value. It’s outrageous filth, and we’ve got to do something about it.’ ...PMRC co-founder Susan Baker...testified that ‘teen-age pregnancy and teenage suicide rates are at epidemic proportions...and rape is up,’ suggesting that music was at least in part to blame for these problems.⁸

In 1986 singer Ozzy Osbourne was sued by parents of a fan who committed suicide, claiming that his music led the teen to kill himself, and in 1990, members of the rock band Judas Priest faced a similar lawsuit. Although both cases were eventually dismissed by the courts, the idea that music, and particularly music wedded to lyrics, has power over the human psyche, is a recurrent one.

The view of music as a source of social ills did not, of course, begin or end in the twentieth century. The characterization of the genre of rock and roll - and before it, jazz - as a sign of the decline of civilization has been a long-standing complaint from one generation about the next generation’s preferred music - or, in some cases, of music itself. In 1583, writing about his Puritan religious beliefs against all music, Phillip Stubbes asserted that “good wittes by hearyng of soft Musicke, are rather dulled than sharpened, and made apt to all wantonnesse and sinne,” and Roger Ascham, who was a scholar and a tutor to Princess Elizabeth, claimed that instrumental music had the potential to “make a mannes wit so softe and smoothe so tender and quaisie, that they be lesse able to brooke strong and toughe studie.”⁹ Fifty years after Stubbes’ condemnation of music, William Prynne in his pamphlet *Histrion-Matrix* claimed that “amorous,

⁸ Karen Sternheimer, *Pop Culture Panics: How Moral Crusaders Construct Meanings of Deviance and Delinquency*, New York: Routledge, 2015: 126.

⁹ Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, 2nd ed, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982, 203-204.

obscene, lascivious lust-provoking Songs and Poems” were “filthy and unchristian defilements, which contaminate the soules...enticing them to lust; to whoredome, adultery, prophanes wantonnesse, scurrility, drunkennesse, excesse...”¹⁰

While many of these moral criticisms focus on music with lyrics, the objections they raise are not limited to the words alone, but often refer to the music itself as the source of moral degradation. Similarly, the twentieth-century articles extolling the benefits of music to both performers and listeners do not mention, for example, the texts of the choral pieces during which heartbeats synchronize, nor do they discuss particular compositions that benefit conductors.

These claims raise many more specific questions: what, for example, do those who suggest either benefit or degradation from the creation of or listening to music propose as the acting agents? Is it, as Prynne and Stubbes seem to suggest, the very physical presence of music itself that affects the hearer, or, as the plant growth studies imply, the particular elements that make up a genre, which have either positive or negative effects? Furthermore, how do lyrics factor into the moral tone of the music? Do they set the entire tone, do they augment an inherent musical message, or are they irrelevant altogether to the effect of the music? Is the effect of music on the listener simply an emotional one, and, if so, how is this measured or codified?

In his article “Expressiveness as a Property of the Music Itself,” Saam Trivedi asks:

But music itself is inanimate and does not possess emotions. So, then, what does it *mean* to say that music is sad or joyous when it does not have any emotions?... If we mean this nonfiguratively, then *whose* emotions, whose

¹⁰ Susan Rachel Agrawal, “Tune Thy Temper to these Sounds,” PhD dissertation, Northwestern, 2005: 540-541.

sadness, is sad music expressive of? Is it the sadness of the composer; or that of the performer; or that of the listener; or somehow that of the music itself?¹¹

Is there something inherent in the actual physical vibrations of music that has a sub- or semi-conscious effect on our emotional state? Do factors such as mode, instrumentation, rhythmic or melodic patterns, or harmony create a physical response, which alters or affects the human psyche?

Elizabethan philosophers, music theorists, moralists, and composers addressed these questions, and answered them, as do people of any time and place, with the weight of their cultural framework, and the educational beliefs and understandings of their day. At the outset of my research, I noticed that a large body of modern scholarship on the ayre focused on the melancholy aspect of the genre. I began to examine the ayres of two of the most prolific ayre composers closely: John Dowland, and Thomas Campion. I noticed that a large number of the pieces by Campion were not, actually, melancholy, though the vast majority of ayres I had come across as a performer could be classified as such. I found myself wondering whether there were perhaps subtle moods in the ayres that modern ears were not attuned to recognize, and I also wondered if, within the ayre repertoire, a Romantic-era influenced bias toward the melancholy shaped the choice of ayres that have been transcribed into modern notation. While a thorough examination of the currently extant ayre repertoire showed that the majority of them are, indeed, melancholy, I still wanted to explore questions of mood and possible bias in favor of the melancholy. Were the Elizabethans truly as depressed as the music would seem to

¹¹ Saam Trivedi, "Expressiveness as a Property of the Music Itself," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59, No. 4 (Fall 2001): 411.

indicate, or was there more to the melancholy humour than I, with my modern understandings, could discern? In order to examine this question, I needed to look at some of the specific elements involved: the purposes of music in early modern England, and the understanding of the time of the humours, and melancholy in particular.

The Role of Music in Elizabethan Culture

Music was accepted as an integral and vital part of the daily life of Elizabethan England. Ratcliffe claims that “[e]veryone knows that the Elizabethan Age was also an age of song.¹² As wary as I am of anything that “everyone knows,” music does seem to have flourished under Elizabeth. Thomas Morley tells the story of *Philomates* in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction of Practicall Musicke*, who was embarrassed after a dinner by being unable to sight read music as all the other dinner guests were apparently able to do. Ratcliffe seems willing to accept that description at its face value, and, while I share Ryding’s skepticism of the literalness of the tale, the abundance and quality of both published and unpublished music does indicate the value placed on music literacy among educated Elizabethans.¹³

As countries on the continent were exploring the push of humanism and the arts that would later be called the Renaissance, England was having, first, wars about succession, and then religious reformation, partly as an attempt of Henry VIII to secure his dynasty. Under the unlikely rule of Henry Tudor’s daughter Elizabeth, England experienced peace and relative religious tolerance, which aided in creating a culture of

¹² Stephen Ratcliffe, *Campion: On Song*, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, 12.

¹³ Ryding, 59.

citizens ready to take its own part in the exploration of humanism flourishing on the other side of the channel. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 crystalized a growing sense of national pride, and England joined the Renaissance somewhat later than Italy and France, and with its own flavor. Music was, of course, part of this exploration of humanism, and the philosophical changes that were at the heart of humanism flavored music in all of its early modern uses.

Queen Elizabeth's re-establishment of the Church of England as the official state religion changed, among other things, the role as well as the compositional style of music used during worship. The Protestant Reformation took aim at, among other things, the extreme pageantry that was part of Catholic services, and, in terms of the music, at the complexity and incomprehensibility of much Catholic church music. The change from Latin to the native languages of local congregations necessitated that the music, too, would be more accessible to worshipers. The polyphonic *cantus firmus* motets, which obscured the Latin text and made the music inaccessible were replaced by simpler, homophonic English anthems. Gregorian chant gave way in the Anglican church to psalm-tones, simple settings of English translations of the Psalms, and printed in books available to any who could purchase them.

During the reign of Edward VI, William Seres obtained a six-year grant to print a common prayer book, which became (and remains) the standard text for Anglican services. This grant, however, was revoked by Edward's sister and Catholic successor Mary. In fact, Seres was imprisoned for the Calvinistic nature of his books, as was his partner who became his competitor, John Day. Both were reinstated under Elizabeth's rule, and In 1559, when the Queen issued her injunctions permitting a 'modest and

distinct song' as part of the service, books of common prayer and books of psalms with music became part of daily worship for Elizabethan Anglicans. (See Figure 1) The success of these books is evident: "Between 1560 and 1584 an average of just under three editions each year came from [John Day's] presses. Twice he issued Dutch versions, and twice he brought our four-voice settings. He also introduced into England the popular Calvinist pedagogic device of adding solfège letters next to the notes of the music."¹⁴ The presence of educational tools such as this indicates that the passive, awe-filled, listening role of Catholic worshipers of the time changed, in the Anglican church, to an expectation of participation in all parts of the service by congregants, including music.

¹⁴ D.W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553 - 1700*, London: The Bibliographical Society, 1975: 14, 21.



Figure 1: Example of a page from Day's Psalter¹⁵

The simplified Anglican church service eliminated many elements of worship that were part of the Catholic service, including musical expressions of grief. In her article exploring death and grief in Elizabethan England, Katherine Butler asserts that

Protestant views of the afterlife envisaged the soul going straight to either heaven or hell. With the denial of purgatory, the destiny of the soul lay with God and there was nothing more that the living could do. The result was that bell-ringing, intercessory prayers and Masses for the souls of the dead (said or sung) were regarded as futile.¹⁶

When these musical outlets for grief, which had been part of the rhythm of English culture for centuries, were removed from the church, “[o]ther practices developed to take

¹⁵ The British Museum Library, *The Musical Times*, 1904 - 1995, 49(779): 11-18, 17.

¹⁶ Katherine Butler, “Death Songs and Elegies: Singing About Death in Elizabethan England,” *Early Music* 43, no. 2 (March 2015): 269-280, 269.

the place of intercessory rites, including funeral sermons, and the increasing use of memorial poetry and song outside the church.”¹⁷

Public expression of grief was often in the form of “sung elegies for the dead (to be distinguished from love elegies or more generalized grief) that developed from the 1580s onwards. Initially, these too were consort songs employing many of the same rhetorical devices. Later they spread into the madrigal collections and lute-songs of the 1590s.”¹⁸ Secular music, then, took on some of the roles previously reserved for music within the context of church, and the expression of grief was particularly suited to the ayre.

In addition to grieving as part of worship, music was also regarded as a part of daily private worship, prayer, meditation, and healing. Paintings from sixteenth-century Italy of the Annunciation and of the birth of Jesus show angels around Mary, and often, one is playing lute. The lute as a soft and somewhat introspective instrument made it a natural and dignified instrument for private worship, and its prevalence in early modern households meant that lute music composed for worship had a consumer base. Anglican culture, which, along with eliminating visual pageantry, sought to reach congregants through the ear rather than the eye, and the combination of music and text was a potent one for Elizabethans. McDermott offers:

Ever since Augustine invited God to ‘whisper’ through his ear into his listening ‘heart’ the ear has been lauded as a pathway to grace, but it was in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries that hearing became prized as the most important sense for salvation and, strikingly, that the rhetorical style of preaching about acoustic openness shifted following Bartolomeo Eustachio’s

¹⁷ Butler, 270.

¹⁸ Butler, 272.

discovery of the aural tube in 1564.¹⁹

The ear was believed to be more difficult to deceive than the eye, and more likely to provide a direct pathway from reality to the brain. Agrawal explains theorist John Case's view on the superiority of hearing:

The mind is therefore more vehemently affected by the influence of sounds and musical instruments than by the objects which present themselves to the other senses. The reason is true, since the other senses, affected only by the fleeting forms of things, present to reason and intelligence some uncertain appearances and deceitful images of things, not the things themselves.²⁰

Scientific discoveries about how the ear functions added weight to the perceptions of the power of the word, and of sound.

The change of focus in worship from a Catholic visual and musical feast to one that placed highest priority on words made it natural that two of English literature's most revered and writers, William Shakespeare and John Donne, were "apostate sons of Catholic parentage." Donne was known for his performances "as a preacher of sermons in St. Paul's and other London venues," and, of course, Shakespeare is inseparable from Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre.²¹ Visitors of all walks of life attended performances at *The Globe*, and were familiar with the plays of Christopher Marlowe, and the poetry of John Donne and Edmund Spenser, and the reverence for and delight in language created an atmosphere that produced arguably some of the best writing in the English language.

Poetry and theater in England was not only affected by Anglican ideas, but also reflected the growing humanistic tendencies that English gentlemen encountered as they

¹⁹ Jennifer Rae McDermott, "'The Melodie of Heaven': Sermonizing the Open Ear in Early Modern England," In *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Weitse de Boer and Christine Göttler. Brill, 2013: 180.

²⁰ Agrawal, 365.

²¹ Judith H. Anderson and Jennifer C. Vaught, ed. *Shakespeare and Donne: Generic Hybrids and the Cultural Imaginary*, New York: Fordham University, 2013: 2.

traveled abroad, especially in Italy and France. The interest in and reverence for Classical culture was the focus of nobility and scholars, encompassing writing, including science, literature, and art. There was a desire to recreate, or at least revisit, the perceived dignity, beauty, and order of Greek and Roman culture, architectural and artistic creations of the time were strongly flavored with Classical lines and elements. Poems of Ovid, Homer, and Virgil were translated, circulated, and studied, and the subject matter as well as the form were deeply imbedded in the poetry of Italy, France, Spain, and England, though the natural rhythms of the English language proved a bit uncooperative. Greenberg writes about the metrical experiments of the Cambridge school, to which Campion belonged.

Their attempt, out of a Renaissance idolization of the Ancients, to write in the meters of Greek and Latin poetry, whether quantitatively in exact imitation or in some accentual substitute, was defeated by the nature of the English language....But English poetry owes much to their forlorn attempt.²²

Campion wrote in 1602, in his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* about the “vulgar and vnarteficiall custome of riming,” but, while he did often write in free verse, and with the simplicity and directness he admired in the Classical poets, he often ignored some of his own advice.²³ Even before his first book of ayres was published in 1601, his poems were often used by other ayre composers, and as part of masques and other courtly entertainments.

The declamation of poetry as a court pastime was often within the context of courtly masques, which included musical settings of some of the poetic texts, and textless dance music added between recitations. For both the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, the

²² Noah Greenberg, *An Anthology of Elizabethan Lute Songs, Madrigals, and Rounds*. New York. W.W. Norton & Company. 1955, xv.

²³ Gregory G. Smith, ed., *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 1904, *Bartleby.com*, accessed April 11, 2017.

courtly masques were elaborate and involved entertainments, and served as much political purpose as entertainment. Courtiers composed and read poetry with texts designed to show loyalty to Elizabeth, and, later, to James and Anne. These pieces often contained subtle and unsubtle clues about loyalties to court factions.

Ruff and Wilson make a strong argument that English madrigals and lute ayres were directly related court politics, and that the span of their prominence and popularity meaningfully coincides with the rise and fall of the Earl of Essex. It is more likely that the timing of the rise of those two uniquely English song forms at the court of Elizabeth had to do with the cultural and educational background required to produce a strong cadre of composers within a nation, for which Henry helped sow the seeds during his reign. It also seems likely that with the death of Elizabeth, musical forms that were strongly associated with her court would naturally fall from favor in a new reign.

Elizabeth's relationship with music, as well as her relationship with almost everything and everyone, was strongly tied up in her political role. As a daughter of Henry, she was expected to be musical, and dutifully learned to play and compose on the virginals - and as the daughter of Henry, her role of monarch took precedence over every other role, including that of woman. Even as a child, she could never be unaware of both the exaltedness of her position as princess, and the precariousness of her position as Anne Boleyn's child. Regardless of her shifting status of legitimacy, she was recognized as an heir to the English throne, and Henry took care that she was educated accordingly. Butler says of her sister Mary that "[h]er music-loving father had never let her lack for instrumental training or for entertainment appropriate to a young woman who might some day represent his country on the international marriage market," and as princess with the

same political possibilities, would have received equally thorough education.²⁴

Erickson claims that Elizabeth had “little affinity for music...and probably lacked the finely tuned ear that often makes a gifted musician a graceful writer and clever linguist as well.”²⁵ I suspect that young Elizabeth’s apparent lack of musical ability stemmed more from her desire to prove herself as a separate entity from her mother than from a lack of natural talent. Anne Boleyn was reputed to have been a skilled musician:

In its original cultural context, what has been universally accepted as praise emerges as more hyperbolic or downright chilling than approbatory: “Besides singing like a siren, accompanying herself on lute, she harped better than King David. . . . “The sixteenth-century siren or mermaid was a soulless creature, hell-bent on her own pleasure and the destruction of men and was certainly used in England as a term for a courtesan or common prostitute.”²⁶

Given that both her mother and father exhibited both skill and talent for music, it is unlikely that Elizabeth would not have inherited a certain predisposition for music. However, Elizabeth’s position at first Henry’s, then Edward’s, and especially Mary’s court was precarious from the moment she was disappointingly born female, and then made more so by the reputation of her executed mother. Any resemblance between herself and Anne Boleyn was considered a detriment, and Elizabeth spent most of her childhood and young adulthood aware that she must prove herself her father’s, and not her mother’s daughter, and this became especially true in the first years after she took the throne as a young and beautiful woman.

²⁴ Linda Phyllis Austern, “Women’s Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England,” *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2008): 127-152, 137.

²⁵ Carolly Erickson, *The First Elizabeth*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983, 77.

²⁶ Austern, 137; quote about Anne Boleyn attributed to Viscount Chateaubriand from his memoirs.

The social and political importance of music, however, was not ignored, and, as she did with many areas, she skillfully utilized music to aid her in asserting her royal authority:

...in the 1580s and 1590s Elizabeth's poets and courtiers drew on musical images of political harmony to associate her musicality with power and authority, asserting her suitability to rule....Significantly, music was capable of evoking both feminine and masculine qualities. On the one hand, music was considered sensual, feminine, and frivolous. Music and feminine beauty alike were jointly regarded as able either to incite amorous passions or to inspire contemplation of heaven, while music was also accused of emasculating young men. Conversely, music could evoke masculine attributes of rationality and order through its traditional basis as a mathematical art and through the belief that musical harmony governed the heavens, the political world, and the human soul.²⁷

Her unwillingness to appear overly feminine, and, by extension, weak, also made her relationship with music a complex one: she must be, as a female, desirable and beautiful, which, according to court standards, included making music; but, as a monarch, she could not be seen to be too much a woman, or too much her mother's daughter, and so could not give the appearance of being in any way overly sensual. In a miniature painted by Nicholas Hilliard, Elizabeth is shown with her left hand playing what could be an A, her right hand in proper position to pluck the chord. She is painted on a throne or similarly ornamental and royal chair, and looks out from the painting with evident confidence in her skill. She seems to be presenting her accomplishments on the lute as a facet of her royal duties, rather than as an activity in which she takes personal enjoyment. (See Figure 2)

²⁷ Katherine Butler, "By Instruments her Powers Appear": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012): 353-84, 354.



Figure 2: Elizabeth I Playing Lute, *Nicholas Hilliard (c. 1580)*²⁸

Music was considered among educated Elizabethans to be a scientific field of study, and essential to any advanced education. Elizabeth was not only provided an excellent and thorough education, but thrived on it. While she did not achieve the ability with writing that Mary did, she was fluent in “six languages better than her own²⁹”, and, according to her Cambridge-educated tutor Roger Ascham, exhibited no signs of “female weakness,” and, instead, impressed him with her “masculine power of application.”³⁰ When she ascended the throne, she had to at once prove both masculine enough to maintain England’s fragile but growing power, and exhibit the femininity and beauty

²⁸ Nicholas Hilliard, *Elizabeth I Playing Lute*, c. 1580, Vellum on Card, 48mm X 39mm. Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, UK.

²⁹ Erickson, 153.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

expected of a queen. Butler asserts that "...a musical reputation might reinforce stereotypes of weak, foolish womankind and prevent Elizabeth from establishing an image as a wise and capable monarch. In addition, then, to continuing in her father's style to accord music its important place at her court, "Elizabeth and her court poets carefully constructed her royal image to ensure that her music-making remained associated with eloquence, prosperity, and chaste, youthful beauty."³¹

Elizabeth herself was not known to make music publicly, but she did greatly enjoy dancing - and endured some criticisms, early in her reign, for doing so.

In 1563, Francis Challoner criticized the court's inactivity (writing this critical comment in Latin in a letter otherwise in English): "The Queen is entirely given over to love, hunting, hawking, and dancing; consuming day and night with trifles; nothing is treated earnestly; and though all things go wrong they jest, and he who invents most ways of wasting time is regarded as one worthy of honour."³²

In 1564, James Melville visited the English court as an ambassador of Queen Mary of Scotland, who was also a renowned beauty, and an object of both political and personal rivalry with Elizabeth. Elizabeth arranged for Melville to "overhear" her playing at the virginals, and, when she saw him, asked if she or Mary played better - to which he had to admit that she, not Mary, was the better player, and thus satisfied her famous vanity.³³

By the time of the crisis of the Armada, England was loyal to Elizabeth, and the fact that English Catholics chose to identify their first loyalty as England, rather than the Catholic Church, put England squarely in the category of countries in which humanism had taken root. The validity and wisdom of Elizabeth's reign were no longer in question - however the aging queen's beauty was fading, if her vanity was not.

³¹ Butler, "By Her Powers," 361.

³² Butler, "By Her Powers," 361.

³³ Erickson, 219.

The musicians and poets at court were expected to produce works that reflected the glory of Elizabeth's court, England, and, of course, Elizabeth herself. In 1590, a compilation of *The first sett Of Italian Madrigalls Englished*, by a "Thomas Watson Gentleman" was published. Thomas Watson, a poet who was friends with such literary luminaries as Sir Phillip Sydney and Christopher Marlowe, was seminal in the development of the English sonnet. When his *Italian Madrigals* volume was published, he was already known for his poems written in both English and Latin, and his collection *Hekatompathia* of 1582 contained many texts set by later ayre composers. The book of madrigals contained two by William Byrd, one of which contained this section of a sonnet, presumably penned by Watson:

This sweet and merry month of May,
While Nature wantons in her prime,
And birds doe sing and beasts do play,
For pleasure of the joyfull time:
I choose the first for holy day,
And greet Eliza with a rime.
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Take wel in worth a simple toy.

The implication here is that England, under the rule of "Eliza," who was as beautiful as Paris' Helen, is perpetually in a state of mildness and growth equivalent to the favored month of May. This fact is recognized by birds, animals, Nature herself, and, of course, her grateful subjects, who offer her the "simple toy" of poetry and music.

This collection followed the popular *Musica Transalpina* of 1588, which contained fifty-seven Italian madrigals in Italian and English, "fourteen by Ferrabosco the elder who spent long periods in England Queen's service; and two by William Byrd."³⁴ The

³⁴ Lillian M. Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics," *Past & Present* 44 (Aug., 1969): 3-51, 11.

madrigals in Watson's collection used the music of Italian madrigals, setting English texts to them that may or may not be related to the original Italian ones. The *Transalpina* and *Italian Madrigals* books inspired English composers to create their own madrigal-styled pieces, using the ballett, madrigal, and even frottola forms and "Englishing" them.

The bookend to Watson's collection was Thomas Morley's 1601 *Triumphs of Oriana*, in which the final two lines of all twenty-five pieces in the collection are:

*Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana,
Long live fair Oriana*

The names Oriana, Cynthia, Diana, Gloriana, and other comparisons of Elizabeth to goddesses abound in Elizabethan texts, though, "Jeremy Smith has recently interpreted Thomas Morley's *Triumphs of Oriana* (1601) as initially intended to praise, not Elizabeth (as had been previously assumed), but Anne (1574–1619), wife of James VI of Scotland, in support of his claim as heir to the English throne.³⁵" Regardless of Morley's true intent with this collection, there was a given understanding that all songs and poems written at her court referring to an unattainable Beauty were, in fact, about the Virgin Queen. Given the fate of her mother, subsequent wives of Henry, and the expected subservient role of a wife - even as a queen - it is not surprising that the highly intelligent and spirited Elizabeth never married, but she did relish having a cadre of admiring, attractive young men surround her at all times.

One of these, Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex, was a great favorite of hers, and he was both the author and the subject of much courtly poetry and music, as well as, eventually, much division and contention. He was the dedicatee of *Musica Transalpina*, and the probable author of the text of one of John Dowland's lute songs in his *First*

³⁵ Butler, 378.

Booke of Ayres, “Can shee excuse my wrongs with vertues cloake,” which appeared later as an instrumental, “The Earl of Essex, his galliard” in his *Lachrimae* (1604). As Essex was, at the time of the publication of Dowland’s first *Booke*, decidedly out of favor with Elizabeth, his anonymous use of the text was likely a combination of defiance of and pleading for an end to the Earl’s banishment from the court. Although he was eventually admitted back into Elizabeth’s somewhat distant favor, it did not last, and he was executed for treason four years later.

Neither his death, nor, two years later, her death, ended the political division between those who supported Essex and those who backed Robert Cecil, the Queen’s most influential advisor. The faction that had been in favor of the Earl found itself very comfortable in James and Anne’s court, and the connection of this popular tune to Essex, which doubtless could have been dangerous while Essex was in disfavor, could be made plain after her death in 1603.

In addition to the praises of the Queen’s beauty, texts praising the beauty of women were typical subject matter for Elizabethan music. Vocal rather than instrumental music was the predominant form of the sixteenth century, and texts that treat the subject of love were abundant. Men and women alike used music to further their amorous or matrimonial ambitions: “Music was a tool of courtship with which a young woman might make herself desirable to a young gentleman because “to heare a faire young gentlewoman to play vpon the Virginalls, Lute, Viall, and sing to it, must needs be a great entisement.”³⁶ And Austern tells us that:

The ideal courtier... should be able to read musical notation and play several instruments well, especially lute and viol to accompany his own singing. Such skills are especially to be exercised in the presence of women, says Signor

³⁶ Butler, 365.

Federico Fregoso, because the sight and sound of the comely male performer “sweeten[s] the mindes of the hearers, & make[s] them more apte to be perced with the pleasantnesse of musike, & also they quicken the spirites of the verye doers.” In other words, accompanied song was thought to arouse both the female auditor and the male performer, making it particularly suitable for courtship or seduction.³⁷

Music was not, of course, limited to the functions of courtship, nor was it the purview of only those at court; it was a subject of scholarly study at England’s universities.

Music as a degree was established at Oxford around 1456, and at Cambridge around 1479, but even those who did not study music in particular studied the texts of such writers as Boethius, Aristotle, Pythagoras and Plato, all of whom wrote extensively about music.³⁸ It was explained by Boethius in his *De Musica* that the movements of planets and other heavenly objects created music (*musica mundana*), and that this was intimately connected to the “harmony of the human soul, and between the soul and the body” (*musica humana*), and that music produced by instruments and human voices (*musica instrumentalis*) was also a part of this universal musical harmony^{39 40}. As these three types of music were interconnected, audible music was not viewed by academics as mere entertainment, but as a conduit to the higher music and harmonies of the universe.

Agrawal explains:

The world of England in 1600 was one in which the pre-scientific conception of the universe as a unified macrocosmic whole continued to persist, despite the stirrings of the scientific revolution materializing on the continent. The apparatus of the heavenly sphere formed a macrocosm which was believed to be imitated on numerous and diverse microcosmic levels, including the microcosms of the healthy body and of actual sounding music. An Englishman who attended either

³⁷ Austern, 130.

³⁸ Agrawal, 134.

³⁹ Butler, 362.

⁴⁰ Agrawal claims that Aristotle did not believe in Pythagoras’ harmony of the spheres, as he could not, himself, hear any such music.

Oxford or Cambridge universities would have learned about these similitudes - especially regarding music - from Boethius' *De Musica*, the standard musical text for all university students.⁴¹

The *quadrivium*, was only offered to advanced scholars, who had shown mastery of the *trivium*; grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The upper level course of knowledge consisted of Mathematics, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy: numbers, numbers through space, numbers through time, and numbers through time and space. The place of numbers in a hierarchy of learning has persisted in modern scholarship, even while music's academic status has fallen even lower than the *trivium*, but music's importance was a firm fact in early modern education. "Elizabethan beliefs in musical harmony were inherited from classical authors such as Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, and particularly from Boethius's transmission of classical ideas in his *De Institutione Musica*."⁴²

Music was not merely entertainment, or even limited to the mathematical manifestation of numbers through time, but a direct connection to both the larger universe and to the spiritual and mental aspects of ourselves. In his article about Marsilio Ficino's views on music and melancholy, Ammann paraphrases Ficino's understanding of the power of music this way: "...music expresses the 'real' nature of things, because it expresses the emotions, affects and feelings which are linked to, or projected on them."⁴³

Thomas Morley, an Oxford alumnus who was a publisher and composer of music, also wrote a treatise on music theory, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*. This title was to distinguish it as a book relating only to the third type of music, *musica instrumentalis*, and he explains the difference between the first two and the third

⁴¹ Agrawal, 102.

⁴² Butler, "By Her Instruments", 362.

⁴³ Peter Ammann, "Music and Melancholy: Marsilio Ficino's Archetypal Music Therapy," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 43 (1998): 571-588, 579.

in the “Annotations”:

... Musicke is either speculative or practicall. Speculative is that kinde of musicke which by Mathematical helps, seeketh out the causes, properties, and natures of sounds by themselves, & compared with others; proceeding no further, but content with the onlie contemplation of the Art. Practicall is that which teacheth al that may be knowne in Tones either for the understanding of other mens, or making of ones owne, and is of three kindes: Diatonicum, chromaticum, and Enharmonicum.⁴⁴

Speculative music, as Morley explains here, is philosophical, and explores the *musica mundana* and *musica humana*, which is distinguished from the “practicall” study of *musica instrumentalis*. John Case states it in this way in his book, written to address both:

Music is divided into the theoretic, which pertains to the mind and to contemplation, and the practical, which pertains to voice, hand and action. Again, it is divided into the divine which instructs intelligences and spheres, the human, which instructs sounds and voices, the organic, which instructs viols, instruments and keyboards, and the mixed which instructs the powers and concords of voices and instruments.⁴⁵

Books like Morley’s, Campion’s, and Dowland’s translation of Ornithoparcus’ musical treatise were focused primarily on practical music, and concerned more with compositional conventions than with the “mind and contemplation.” Morley, especially, as a man who held patents for printing music, likely wrote about the quantifiable characteristics of music with the objective of selling books to a rising middle class eager to emulate the nobility.

Modern musicians are likely to divide music into either theory or performance, but in Elizabethan thought, both of those would fall under the practical category: we have no real equivalent to speculative music, the closest being, perhaps, a combination of

⁴⁴ Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, London: Humfrey Lownes, 1608, “Annotations.”

⁴⁵ Dana F. Sutton, “John Case, *Apologia Musices tam Vocalis Quam Instrumentalis et Mixtae* (1588), A Hypertext Critical Edition.” *The Philological Museum*, Chapter II, last modified October 29, 2003, Accessed March 21, 2017.

physics and philosophy. Ruff and Wilson explain a difference between modern thinking and Elizabethan thinking in this way: “Three centuries of cultivating an analytical and specialist habit of mind have tended towards a segregation of art and literature, science and politics; whereas in the Elizabethan era different spheres of thought and action were in no way incompatible.”⁴⁶ Educated Elizabethans recognized the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, but not did not necessarily recognize divisions outside of them. Not only, then, was music an integral part of science, it was, actually, a part of medicinal practice.

Music as Medicine

In Elizabethan thought, as discussed above, the ear offered a more direct pathway to the brain than the eye and the connection between music and moral, mental, and physical health was correspondingly more direct. There was more than one understanding of what this meant, but Agrawal claims that “...it is a connection so deeply ingrained into the culture of early modern England that every man or woman simply *knew* with all of his or her being that music and medicine were two parts of the same whole.⁴⁷” She calls it a “musical-medical *habitus* fully ingrained in the thoughts and beliefs of early modern individuals.”⁴⁸ According to Penelope Gouk, “[e]arly modern medical practitioners and the educated lay public very clear ideas about how music could cure sickness, what diseases it was associated with, and why it could heal or harm people.⁴⁹”

In the anonymous treatise *In Praise of Musicke*, (1596) the author asserts the

⁴⁶ Ruff and Wilson, 3.

⁴⁷ Agrawal, 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁹ Penelope Gouk, “Music, Melancholy, and Medical Spirits in Early Modern Thought,” In *Music as Medicine*, ed. Peregrine Horden, 147-153, Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing, 2000, 173.

power of music:

...Musicke...hath a certaine divine influence into the soules of men, whereby our cogitations and thoughts...are brought into a celestial acknowledging of their natures. For as the Platonicks and the Pythagorians think al soules of men, are at the recordation of that celestial musicke, whereof they were partakers in heaven, before they entred into their bodies so wonderfully delighted, that no man can be found so harde harted which is not exceedingly alured with the sweetnes thereof. And therefore some antient Philosophers attribute this to an hidden divine vertue, which they suppose to be naturally ingenerated in our minds, & for this cause some other of them...though that the soule was nothing else, but a Musical motion, caused of the nature & figure of the whole body, gathering thereof this necessary conclusion, that wheras things that are of like natures, have mutual & easy action and passion betweene themselves, it must needs be, that Musical Concent being like that Harmonical motion which he calleth the soule, doth most wonderfully allure & as it were ravish our senses & cogitation.^{50 51}

In addition to his suggestions here that humans respond to music because we heard it in heaven before we were born, and that our souls are actually music, and thus respond to its earthly form, he introduces the work with “a mammoth *laus musicae* catalogue, in which the author dredges up nearly every instance of music’s beneficial effect on humankind from antediluvian times onward...”⁵² Composers and music theorists in England at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would certainly have been aware of this work, and probably either read it or the writings of Giosefo Zarlino on which it is roughly based.

Elizabethan speculative and practical theorist John Case asserts the power of music:

This is the great and wondrous power of music, which none of the other arts possesses, to which none attains. Here I shall not adduce poets’ fables concerning Amphion, Orpheus, Arion and six hundred others, who by music’s power are claimed to have moved wild beasts, tamed infernal Furies, drawn after themselves

⁵⁰ ...there is academic disagreement about whether the author is not John Case, but a fair amount of agreement that it is a rough translation of Zarlino’s *Le institutioni harmoniche*.

⁵¹ Anonymous, *Praise of Musicke*, Oxenford: Joseph Barnes (1596)

⁵² Erik S. Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism, Thomas Campion, and the Two Danyels*; In *Volume XXI, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, Charles G. Nauert, Jr., ed. Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1993, 72.

rocks and forests, in this context (which is that of those who philosophize) I seek only the truth. But these things are true: that music, having taken its origin from God, residing in the movements of the celestial bodies, infused in individual things and the effects of Nature in accordance with divine providence, made vocal and (as they say) instrumental by a kind of human imitation, honorably taken up by our ancestors, polished by art, usage and experience, by its impulse sways and transforms listeners' affections, intentions, gesture, movements, actions and manners not otherwise than does the influence of heavenly music, and swiftly bends them to, as it were, its own powers and properties...⁵³

Case, here and in other places in his *Apologia*, makes a scientific case for the powers of music to persuade and alter the listener. He recognizes that myths such as that of Orpheus have no claim for reason, but appeals to the reason of the accepted connection of music of Heaven to earthly music as a logical basis for the powers of music to sway the listener's mind and spirit.

Dowland, whose "heavenly touch upon the lute doth ravish human sense," translated the music theory book of Andreas Ornithoparcus as saying this about music:⁵⁴

Among those things wherwith the mind of man is wont to be delighted, I can finde nothing that is more great, more healthful, more honest, than musicke: The power whereof is so great, that is refuseth neither any sexe, nor any age, and...there is no breast so savage and cruell, which is not moved with the touch of this delight. For it doth drive away cares, perwade mend to gentlelness, represseth and stirreth anger, nourisheth arts, increaseth concord, inflameth heroicall minds to all gallant attempts, curbeth vice, breedeth vertues, and nurseth them when they are borne, composeth men to good fashion.⁵⁵

Not just theorists and composers but most educated Elizabethans would have been familiar with the stories of Orpheus, and also known or possibly have seen Shakespeare's telling of *Pericles*, each of which have as a central theme the transformative power of music.

⁵³ Sutton, Chapter I.

⁵⁴ Richard Barnfield, "To His Friend, Master R.L., In Praise of Music and Poetry," *Poems in Divers Humors*, 1598, line 6, Bartleby.com. This poem was long misattributed to Shakespeare, as it appeared in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, a pirated publication that credited (wrongly) its entire contents to Shakespeare.

⁵⁵ Andreas Ornithoparcus, *His Micrologus or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing*, Translated by John Dowland, London: Thomas Adams, 1609.

Educated early modern gentlemen would likely also have read Thomas Watson’s *Hekatompathia*, in which he writes a poem that tells of an unsuspecting poet who listens to a lady sing, and fall prey to “Love, espying a time of advantage,” on the air of her song “transforms itself into air, and thus enters the poet’s mind...”⁵⁶ The significance of love turning into air has much to do with the Elizabethan understanding of the humors - sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, and melancholy, and I will return to this more specific discussion of love and air after a “briefe” explanation of the humours, and, in particular, of that Elizabethan obsession, melancholy.

<i>Humour</i>	Sanguine	Choleric	Phlegmatic	Melancholy
<i>Element</i>	air	fire	water	earth
<i>Season</i>	spring	summer	autumn	winter
<i>Planet</i>	Jupiter	Mars, Sun	Moon	Saturn
<i>Bodily Fluid</i>	blood	yellow bile	phlegm	black bile
<i>Quality</i>	warm- moist	warm-dry	cold-moist	cold-dry

Figure 3: A chart of the humours

The four humours were presented in the writings of Hippocrates (c. 460 - c. 370 B.C.E), and Marcus Aurelius’ court physician Galen of Pergamon (129 C.E. - c. 216 C.E.) clarified the ideas so convincingly that “the Hippocratic ordering of the humours, formerly a widely accepted opinion, became, after Galen, unimpeachable fact until the

⁵⁶ Ryding, 74.

beginning of the modern era.”⁵⁷ Galen equated each of the humours to one of the elements: sanguine to air, choleric to fire, phlegmatic to water, and melancholy to earth. (See Figure 3) All four of the humours are present in the body, in the form of fluids, but an imbalance of any one of them was considered unhealthy, and disease was an indication of that imbalance, and was treated accordingly. He was an advocate of bloodletting as a way to restore humoral balance, and created charts such as the one below to explain the system of medicinal blood removal. (See Figure 4)

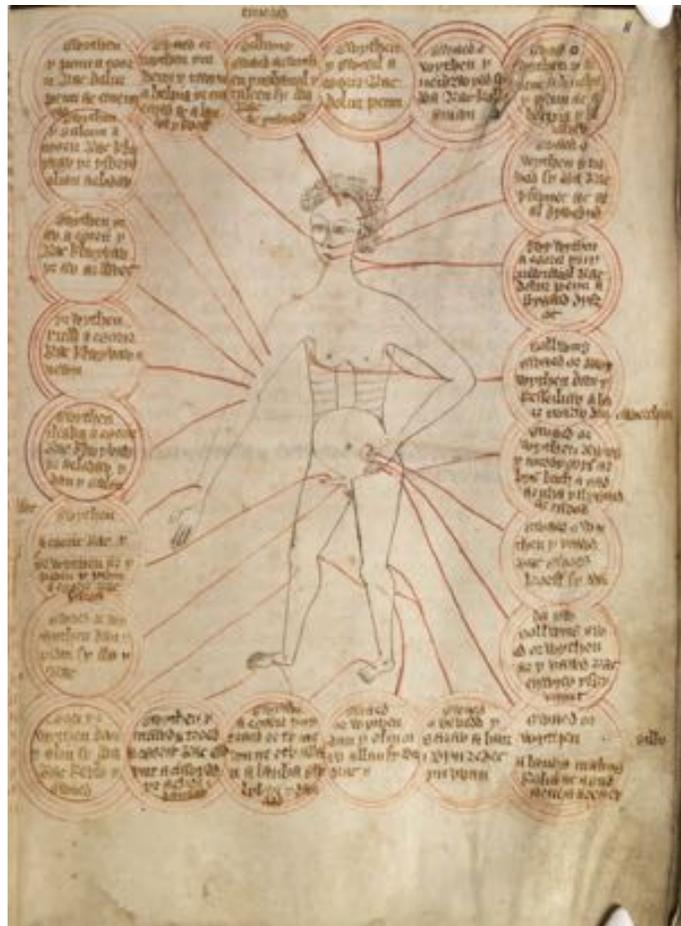


Figure 4: Diagram of bloodletting, Gutun Owain, c. 1488-1498⁵⁸

⁵⁷ John Edwards, “Poets, Musicians and the Etiology of English Melancholy, 1586 - 1651,” Master’s thesis, York University, 2009, 11.

⁵⁸ Owain Gutun, NLW MS 3026C, 11, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymro - The National Library of Wales. Accessed March 20, 2017.

Marsilio Ficino, writing at the end of the fifteenth century, explored the imbalance of the humors as a fundamental source of disease, and the role of music in correcting, in particular, an overabundance of melancholy. Ficino, who lived from 1433 - 1499, was a translator of Plato into Latin, and a founder of the Florentine Academy. His writings show an integration of Greek ideas of astrology and medicine with Christian thought, and were an essential thread of humanist thought in Italy and throughout Europe, but it is his ideas about the healing effects of music, and, in particular, its ability to ameliorate the effects of melancholy, which are most pertinent to this paper.

Ficino was a firm believer in the power of music over the body and the soul.

Ammann quotes him as saying:

‘Remember that song is a most powerful imitator of all things. It imitates the intentions and passions of the soul as well as words; it represents also people’s physical gestures, motions, and actions as well as their characters and imitates all these and acts them out so forcibly that it immediately provokes both the singer and the audience to imitate and act out these things.’ (Ficino 1989, p. 359)⁵⁹

And Agrawal gives an example of how much weight Ficino places on the healing powers of music: “‘Now the very matter of song, indeed, is altogether purer and more similar to the heavens than is the matter of medicine.’”⁶⁰

Although his writings were not extremely well known in England until late in the sixteenth century, Ficino’s *De vita* was printed in English at least twice in the 1560s⁶¹.

Ficino was regarded primarily as a physician, and, as the founder of the Florentine Academy, was influential among those studying humanism. His writings were likely to have been known among those who attended Cambridge and Oxford, which include ayre

⁵⁹ Ammann, 579.

⁶⁰ Agrawal, 375.

⁶¹ Ryding, 72.

composers John Dowland, Thomas Morley, and, most significantly, as he was a physician himself, Thomas Campion.

Campion, in addition to his four books of ayres, wrote both the poems for which his was well-regarded, and a book about the use of Greek and Latin meter in English poetry. He also wrote a book on practical music that proved so popular that its inclusion in John Playford's music theory book went through four reprints. In this book, *A New Way of Composing in Fowre Parts* (1601), Campion presents the idea of the four voices as equivalent to the four humours:

These four Parts by the Learned are said to referable the four Elements the Bass expresseth the true nature of the Earth, who being the graved and lowest of all the Elements, is as a foundation to the rest ; the Tenor is likened to the Water, the Mean to the Air, and the Treble to the Fire : Moreover, by how much the Water is more light than the Earth, by so much the Air is lighter than the Water, and Fire than Air.⁶²

He goes on to explain that in ancient times, the Tenor was seen as the foundation, but that this was done “out of necessity than any respect to the true nature of Musick.”⁶³

“The Learned” to which Campion refers in this passage seem to include Ficino. If he had not directly read Ficino's writings, he clearly had knowledge of the Italian physician's ideas about connection between pitches and elements. In his *In Timaeus*, Ficino explains not only how the voices correspond to the elements, but that combinations of voices have power:

...the most highly skilled musicians take the deepest notes [bass], as if they were cold substances [earth], the very high notes [soprano], as if they were hot [fire], together with the moderately deep [tenor] as if they were moderately moist [water], and the high notes [alto], as being dry [air], mix them in such proportion

⁶² Thomas Campion, *A New Way of Composing in Fowre Parts*, in *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, John Playford, London: W. Godbid, 1671, 2.

⁶³ Campion, 3. (It seems that the desire to simultaneously borrow respectability from and patronizingly discredit as old-fashioned ideas from prior generations is not unique to modern times.)

that from the many a single form arises which results not only in vocal power but also in heavenly power.⁶⁴

John Case was also clearly influenced by Ficino in chapter 4 of his *Apologia*:

“Nay, it is wonderful but true, that the song which has entered so [through the air to the ear] beats upon the heart itself, and so steals into the innermost parts of the mind and its hidden recesses, that it sometimes forms and creates new humours of the body, new passions of the mind, new morals, and gradually a whole new man.”⁶⁵ The purpose of bloodletting was to create new humors, but music was seen as able to touch the mind and spirit as well as the body, and thus more thoroughly work on disease. This echoes Ficino’s ideas as explained by Boccadoro: “...the powers of the four elements contained in sound subvert the thermal equilibrium of the spirit determining the affections and mental states.”⁶⁶

Renaissance physicians attributed diseases of the mind and of the body to an imbalance of the humours, and so music, which had access and powers to alter thoughts and emotions, was the ideal curative. Francis Bacon mentions the connection in his *Two Bookes of the Advancement of Learning*: “...the Poets did well to conjoyne MUSIC and MEDICINE in *Apollo*, because the Office of Medicine, is but to tune this curious Harpe of mans bodie and to reduce it to Harmonie.”⁶⁷ This “tuning” was not simply a metaphor: just as there was understood to be literal music in the movements of the planets and

⁶⁴ Arthur Farndell, *All Things Natural: Ficino on Plato's Timeas*, London: Shephard-Walwyn, 2010, 58-59.

⁶⁵ Agrawal, 364.

⁶⁶ Brenno Boccadoro, “Marsilio Ficino: The Soul and the Body of Counterpoint,” In *Number to Sound: The Musical Way to the Scientific Revolution*, ed. Paolo Gozza, 99 -134, Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic, 2000, 120.

⁶⁷ Agrawal, 417

seasons,⁶⁸ the human body was, as a microcosm of the universe, an instrument. Spring presents a quotation from the Burwell Lute Tutor book that claims that not only is the human body an instrument, but that the lute is the foremost among musical instruments. “As the Lute is the King of Instrumentes soo hath it few thinges that are common with other Instrumentes. its musicke and its manner of composing is spetiall to itself and as the human body is like a little microcosmos that gathereth and comprehends in it selfe all that is and all that is fyne and rare in Musicke.”⁶⁹ The concept of the lute as uniquely important is not limited to the Burwell Tutor, and, as I will explore more later, is a vital factor in the medicinal qualities attributed to the ayre.

Ficino expressed very clear, if inexact, ideas about how to use music to affect healing in listeners, which was to be determined by careful observation of each patient, and, after determining which planet was adversely affecting the afflicted person, creating or performing music suited to his or her planetary of humoral imbalance:

Ficino then tells us what sort of music is suitable for each planet; stressing that all music comes from Apollo or the sun, and that Jupiter is only musical when it is in harmony with him. Venus and Mercury also carry music when they are close to the sun. We learn that Saturn, Mars and the Moon have voices, or sounds [*voces*] but no song [*cantus*] - Saturn’s sounds are slow, deep, harsh, and plaintive; Mars’ sounds are quick, sharp, fierce and menacing; the sounds of the moon are ‘in between.’ As for the music of the other planets, Jupiter has harmonies which are deep and intense, ‘sweet and joyful in their constancy, ‘Venus’ songs are ‘voluptuous with wantonness and softness.’ Apollo’s music is characterized by grace, reverence and simplicity, and Mercury’s by vigour and gaiety. By choosing to invoke a particular god ‘at the right astrological hour,’ Ficino says, you will naturally attract their gifts, for the appropriate planetary music spirit will vibrate in sympathy. Ficino says that if we practice this frequently, our spirit will become more naturally Jovial, Mercurial, or Venusian at the same time as strengthening its solar properties, and it will carry those benefits to the soul and body.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Agrawal claims on p. 110 of her dissertation that Aristotle, however, did not believe in Pythagoras’ harmony of the spheres, because he could not hear it.

⁶⁹ Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, 172.

⁷⁰ Voss, 166.

Musical intervals had additional astrological meaning for Ficino, such that he associates intervals with planetary aspects, rather than each individual planet. For example, when two planets are observed in the sky to appear exactly forty-five degrees apart from each other, with the earth as the central point, that is referred to in astrology as being “square,” and is an indication of tension between the realms of influence of those two planets. Ficino equated the “square” planetary relationship to the interval of a fourth. The tension created by the square aspect and the interval of a fourth was not in itself an unfavorable thing, but the presence in a chart of too many square aspects, or, in music, the presence of too many fourths, was an indication of tension that could indicate, or, in the case of music, create or augment difficulties.

In this same way, Ficino equates each of the aspects of planets to a mathematically equivalent melodic interval. The ideal chart contained primarily “harmonious” aspects such as trine (120 degrees) or sextile (sixty degrees), and only a few “conflicting” aspects such as square (90 degrees) or opposition (180 degrees). Similarly, ideal music would contain primarily unisons, thirds and fifths, and only a small number of fourths and seconds.⁷¹ It is, of course, impossible to change one’s birth chart, but Ficino believed that the imbalances in a birth chart could be redirected with music that had the correct balance, in the way of a medical prescription. Ficino and others considered music as essentially related to the body and the soul, to be a superior and more direct method of healing than other medicinal substances.

Ficino was a speculative music theorist, but many who composed and performed music also found his philosophies and ideas to have uses in the more mundane and

⁷¹ Voss, 168.

practical areas of music. There was a large interest among composers and performers in attempting to

arouse particular emotional responses in their audiences, often with a view to recreating or at least imitating the miraculous effects described in ancient Greek mythology. In fact it was chiefly through the medium of courtly entertainments (especially masques, ballets, and eventually opera) that Ficino's neo-Platonic and magical doctrine became so fashionable in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The dominant theme of these elaborately choreographed entertainments was harmony and the taming of the beasts of passions, expressed chiefly through the medium of musical sound.⁷²

The medicinal and magical qualities of music that were widely accepted during the Renaissance were somewhat discredited in the Age of Reason, but the ability of music to affect emotions remained a topic of study and detailed writing among Baroque composers and philosophers.

Ayre composers, however, believed that music reached the body and spirit as well as emotions. Ben Johnson, in a poem composed for Alfonso Ferrabosco (the Younger), and used in the preface for Ferrabosco's *Ayres* (1609), speaks of the power of music, and of Ferrabosco's music especially, to move and heal:

To vrge, my lou'd *Alfonso*, the bold fame
Of building Townes, and making wilde Beasts tame,
Which *Musique* had; or speake her knowne effects,
The she remoueth cares, sadnesse effects,
Declineth anger, perswades clemency,
Doth sweeten mirth, and heighten pietie,
And is to'a body, often ill inclinde
No lesse a souuerveraigne cure, than to the minde;
To'alledge, that greatest men were not asham'd
Of old, euen by her practice, to be fam'd;
To say, indeed, she were the *Soule of Heaven*,
That the eight *Sphear*, no lesse than *Planets* seauen
Mou'd, by her order; And the ninth, more high
Including all, were thense called *Harmony*:
I, yet, had vtter'd nothing, on thy part,
When these were but the praises of the *Art*.

⁷² Gouk, 179.

But when I haue saide, The proofes of all these be
Shed in thy *Songs*; Tis true: but short of thee.⁷³

Even given the flowery and somewhat hyperbolic nature of early modern poetry, it is clear in the lines “And is to’ a body, often ill inclinde No lesse a souueraigne cure, than to the minde” that the power of music in healing is truly a part of accepted thought.

It is significant that the (somewhat shorter) second poem in this preface is written by physician Thomas Campion, and compares Dowland to Orpheus. As a doctor who elected to write music, and specifically ayres, Thomas Campion figures prominently in this paper. Because he was both physician and musician, Agrawal says that “...he revealed something about the genre of the ayre that his fellow composers, poets, and healers all knew: music and medicine are uniquely intertwined and dual arts understood as parts of a universal whole. For Campion and the consumers of the ayre, music is something inseparable from the body and the soul, wholly linked to concepts of medicine, healing, health and disease.”⁷⁴ And the lute-accompanied ayre, in particular, had an advantage in its ability to affect, and heal, its performers and listeners. What, exactly, then are the elements that make the ayre a unique musical and regional form?

The English Ayre

John Dowland’s *First Booke of Ayres* began a serious trend of English song books, both in England and on the Continent. Whatever Dowland’s complaints about being unable to secure a place as a lutenist in Elizabeth’s court, he achieved fame and

⁷³ Alfonso Ferrabosco, *Ayres* London: John Browne, 1609, preface.

⁷⁴ Agrawal, 1.

respect at home and abroad. Richard Barnfield, among others, wrote a poem about Dowland and Spenser as equals in their different areas of art:⁷⁵

If music and sweet poetry agree,
As they must needs, the sister and the brother,
Then must the love be great 'twixt thee and me,
Because thou lov'st the one and I the other.
Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
Upon the lute doth ravish human sense;
Spenser to me, whose deep conceit is such,
As passing all conceit, needs no defence.
Thou lov'st to hear the sweet melodious sound
That Phœbus' lute, the queen of music, makes;
And I in deep delight am chiefly drowned
Whenas himself to singing he betakes:
One god is god of both, as poets feign,
One knight loves both, and both in thee remain.⁷⁶

The contemporary respect and admiration that Dowland commanded was unusual for a composer who never composed a mass or other large sacred work, and whose body of known work consisted of music only for lute and voice, or, secondarily, solo lute.

Gustave Reese claims that “the English ayre appears to have emerged full-grown, in the first works of Dowland and to have departed, unaged and unaltered, after twenty-five years.”⁷⁷ While there are clearly song forms that influenced the ayre, it did, indeed, enjoy a very short heyday, during which it remained essentially the same as a form, from the publication of John Dowland's *First Booke of Ayres or Songes* in 1597 to John Attey's *First Booke of Ayres* in 1622.

To make clear what I mean when discussing the ayre, I will begin with Noah

⁷⁵ Dowland complained often, and to many people, about the fact that he could not secure a royal court appointment from Elizabeth: See Poulton, pp. 30, 37, 40-45, 61, 65-66, 71 and 78.

⁷⁶Barnfield.

⁷⁷ Muriel T. Eldridge, *Thomas Campion: His Poetry and Music (1567-1620)*, New York: Vantage Press, 1971, 72.

Greenberg's description: "The English Ayre...is most often a strophic song for solo voice and accompanying chordal instrument, or, less often, a song composed in free form with the entire text set. Often it includes parts for other voices or instruments, but the melody is always in the highest part....The Ayre was usually performed by a solo voice with lute."⁷⁸

The ayre was initially and primarily defined by John Dowland's *First Booke of Ayres* in 1597. Outside of its musical contributions, its publication form became the standard for English lute-song books, and was, along with the incredible quality of the songs contained, probably a factor in its incredible success throughout not only England, but all of Europe. Each ayre was printed with the *cantus*, or melody, written in score above the lute accompaniment tablature. Another page contained the alto, tenor, and bass parts, all facing different directions, so that a group of singers and/or instrumentalists could stand or sit around a table, and each see their part in the correct direction. While this was not the first publication to employ this approach, it was the most successful, and inspired almost all successive English books of ayres to be printed in the same manner.

⁷⁸ Noah Greenberg, *An Anthology of Elizabethan Lute Songs, Madrigals, and Rounds*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1955, xxvi.

The image displays a page from a musical manuscript for the piece "Unquiet Thoughts" by John Dowland. The score is arranged in two columns. The left column contains the vocal part for the Cantus (Soprano), and the right column contains parts for Bass and Tenor. Each part begins with a large, ornate initial letter: 'V' for the Cantus, 'B' for the Bass, and 'T' for the Tenor. The lyrics are written below the staves. At the bottom of the page, there is a block of text in two columns, which appears to be a preface or a dedication, written in a smaller, historical script.

Figure 5: "Unquiet Thoughts", the first piece in Dowland's *First Booke of Songes of Ayres* (1597)⁷⁹

The title of Dowland's book indicates its versatility: *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of fowre parts with Tableture for the lute.* (See Figure 5) The music is composed in such a way that the ayres could be performed as harmonically complete with one or more voices and lute, or with four voices with or without lute, and, of course, any of the accompanying voice parts could be played by another instrument such as viol. His second book's full title delineates the versatility further: *The Second Booke of Songes or Ayres of 2.4. and 5. parts: With Tableture for the Lute or Orpherian, with the Violl de Gamba.* The orpharion and the bandora were similar instruments to the lute, and tablature was written in a similar way. William Barley's *A Nevv Booke of Tabliture* was published in

⁷⁹ John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of fowre parts with Tableture for the lute*, London: Peter Short 1597, preface: To the Gentle Reader.

1596, and included three versions of instruction and music; one was for lute, one was for orpharion, and one was for Bandora. Barley included seven lute solos written by Dowland, which incited indignation on Dowland's part - and rightly so: not only did Barley not give Dowland credit, but the transcription was a poor one, and had many errors. He says in the preface that "[t]here haue bin diuers Lute lessons of mine lately printed without my knowledge, falce and vnperfect..."⁸⁰

⁸⁰ John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of fowre parts with Tableture for the lute*, London: Peter Short 1597, *preface: To the Gentle Reader*.



Figure 5: The cover to John Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597) showing the quadrivium below and scholars above⁸¹

The year of Barley's publication coincides with the expiration of William Byrd's music printing patent, and haste to be the first to take advantage of the new freedom to

⁸¹ Dowland, *First Booke*, cover.

print music may account for some of the poor quality of the books.⁸² Peter Short and his successors appears to have taken greater care with Dowland's books, though subsequent reprints did have corrections.

Most composers of ayres wrote flexible accompaniments and arrangements for the ayre, but the understanding was that the primary form and best performances were with the "King of Instrumentes." Before I delve into the importance of the lute as an instrument, I would like to present a bit more information on publishing, and on the song-forms that helped shape the ayre.

Much of our scholarly understanding of music comes from published materials of the time. Krummel warns of the dangers of assigning too much significance to published materials:

Let us assume that the history of music is one matter, while the history of musical documents may be a slightly different matter. In the latter study, we have manuscripts and printed texts. What is the special significance of the existence of a printed copy? We at once assume that the musical edition was more significant than the manuscript in the dissemination of musical tastes. Such faith in the power of the press may be unwarranted, however, since we have so little evidence, only the assumption, the musical editions were ever widely used by performers in their own day.⁸³

Bearing Krummel's advice in mind, it seems safe to say that publishers would not go to all of the expense of printing without some idea that their investment would pay off in the form of sales. While we can't assume that all published music was formative, we can operate on an understanding that music that received publication was indicative of major

⁸² Krummel says that "If Barley was any musician at all, as has sometimes been suggested, he cannot possibly have seen what was being printed for him. In the preface to the bandora section of the tablature book we learn how to perform on a six-course instrument, and the music which follows is for a seven-course instrument. The voice part of one song does not match the accompaniment given for it." Barley also published a music theory book called *A Pathway to Musicke*, which was criticized by Morley as "too silly" to even be discussed. 21.

⁸³ Krummel, 112.

musical trends and understandings among the audience to whom it was directed.

As stated earlier, vocal music was the music to which serious composers of music directed their attention and talents. Instrumental music was seen primarily as music for dance, or as accompaniment to singers. The Catholic Church was the primary educator and employer of musicians throughout the Middle Ages, and even into the Renaissance, remained the center of the literate musical world. The growing literacy during the Renaissance of the general population (almost exclusively nobility, of course, but growing outside of the Church, nonetheless) created a market for books. Musical literacy was almost as important to the educated nobleman as language literacy, and the refinement of a court and its courtiers was judged at least partially by the quality of the employed musicians, as well as the musical abilities of courtiers. Composers of church music were commissioned by dukes and kings to write and perform sacred and secular music as well, and many of these composers became internationally famous, such as Josquin des Prez and Johannes Ockeghem. Church music retained its dominance, however, and the seriousness of a composer was in his masses, and, to a lesser extent, his motets. Early secular choral music was similar to church forms, and often even retained some church texts.

A fascination for Greek and Roman culture led fourteenth-century scholar and poet Francesco Petrarca, called by later Europeans Petrarch, to study and translate the letters of Cicero. The publication in 1501 of Pietro Bembo's editions of Petrarch's poetry, as well as his ideas about the use of Petrarch's verse for musical settings, created a revival of the late thirteenth-century madrigal. In its newly contrapuntal form, the madrigal became the perfect medium for the text painting for which madrigals are

famous.

At the time of Bembo's publication of Petrarch, however, the dominant secular music in Italy was the *frottola*.⁸⁴ This strophic song form was primarily homophonic, and written to be sung by three, four, or five voices. Ottaviano Petrucci was granted the privilege of music publication in Venice in 1498, and began with a collection of chansons and other secular songs called the *Odhecaton* in 1501. (See figure 6) He followed that success with books of masses and motets by the great composers of the time, primarily of the Franco-Flemish school, and then two more books similar to the *Odhecaton*, *Canti B and Canti C*. In 1504, however, he began to publish the simpler and more accessible frottola. Like the later ayre publications, the vocal parts are written as individual lines rather than in score form, but unlike those later books, in the example below, all of the parts are facing the same way.

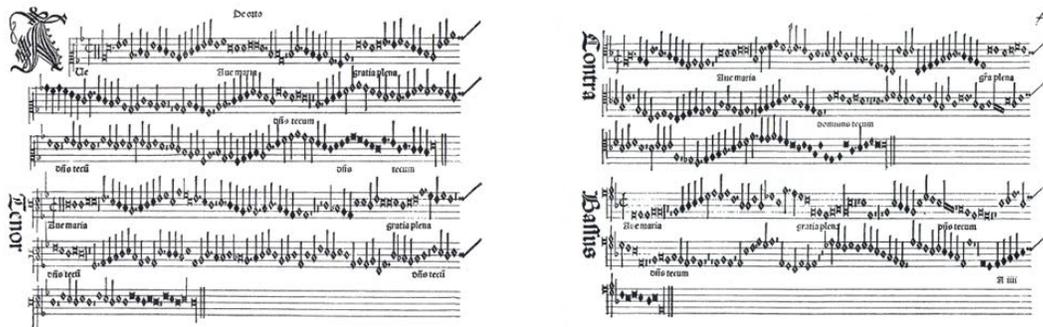


Figure 6: Pages from Petrucci's *Odhecaton* (1501)

There were also some part books available, in which each voice part would be contained in a single volume, with corresponding volumes of two, three or four other parts, so that each person could read from his or her own book. Despite the fact that lute tablature accompaniments were not published with the frottole, in practice, the lute and

⁸⁴ plural, *frottole*

other instruments frequently accompanied those and other song forms. In 1507, Petrucci printed the first published lute tablature, which consisted of many intabulations of frottole and other songs. The availability of published materials, the fluidity of voicing, as well as the homophonic and strophic nature of the frottole make it a likely antecedent of the ayre.

Toward the end of Petrucci's life, the polyphonic musical settings of Petrarch's poetry (and other poetry in a similar style) that developed into the madrigal began to overtake the simple frottola's popularity. The madrigal celebrated the newly solidifying Italian language, and the humanism that idolized Classical culture. Madrigals, unlike frottola, were designed to be complex, and to require knowledge of both music and court culture in order to be understood and appreciated. Like frottole, however, they were often accompanied by lute - though the independent and polyphonic nature of the parts necessitated that lute accompaniments generally only incorporated one or two of the vocal lines. Also like frottole, and unlike the ayre, the melody was not always found in the highest voice, and frequently either switched between parts, or sometimes was lost altogether in the harmonic structure.

Other song forms from Italy that helped shape the musical culture of England and the creation of the ayre were the villanella, a favorite form of Orlando di Lasso, and the canzonet. Both secular song forms were light and sometimes witty, and sometimes bawdy.

The air de cour of France was a probable influence on the ayre, as the name itself actually suggests. Adrian Le Roy's *Livre d'airs de cours* of 1571 contains lute-accompanied pieces that are simpler than the intabulations of chanson composers such as Arcadelt and Certon. In the preface to his *First Booke*, Dowland claims to have "trauelled

the chiefest parts of France, a nation furnisht with a great variety of Musicke.” As he recalls this as having been “sixteen yeeres past,” this would have put him in France in 1581, at about eighteen years old.⁸⁵ Spring says that the “earliest surviving printed work for the lute in England is Adrian le Roy’s tutor, *A Briefe and easye instru[c]tion to learne the tablature to conducte and dispose thy hand unto the Lute* (1568),” and a subsequent publication, *A Briefe and Plaine Instruction to Set all Musicke of Eight Diuers Tunes in Tableture for the Lute*, was available in English print as early as 1574.⁸⁶ As an Oxford-educated musician and lutenist, Dowland would have been familiar with these publications, as well as Le Roy’s complicated and ornate settings of chansons, and visiting France would have enabled him to hear the emerging air de cour. This form shares with the ayre an emphasis on the upper melodic voice, though the air de cour differs from the ayre in that the lute accompaniment generally doubles the melody line, whereas the ayre’s melody line is found only in the upper voice, and not in the lute tablature. This highlights the important and independent nature of the melody in the ayre.

The courtly strophic voix-de-ville, and the folk-song influenced chanson was also an undoubted influence on the ayre. The pastoral native French texts of the chanson were often used to create four-part pieces, and used lute or guitar accompaniment, which condensed the lower voices. Musique mesurée, with its emphasis on the understandability of text (as opposed to the floridity of ornament written in and expected of madrigals) and, especially, the setting of music to reflect word accent rather than text painting, has clear influence on the handling of text by ayre composers.

⁸⁵ Dowland, *First Booke*, preface.

⁸⁶ Spring, 73.

In England the consort song was clearly present in the ayre, with its strophic form, emphasis on words, and primarily non-melismatic setting. The most common consort instrument was the viol family, and their popularity as accompaniment made including them in the title of books of ayres a wise marketing decision.

The ayre, then, resembled several national and international song forms in its primarily strophic and homophonic form, its emphasis on text and melody, and its intended accompaniment of lute. It is unique among other song forms, however, in the independence of the melody line, and in the fact of its having been composed, for the most part (certainly in the case of Dowland) on and for the lute. Unlike lute intabulations of part songs, the lute accompaniments were not simply renderings of the lower voices; rather, they were a separate and preferred accompaniment to the melody.

There is some dispute about whether or not Dowland was a singer or not, but there is no doubt that, in addition to being an extremely respected composer, he was much admired and sought after throughout Europe as a lutenist.⁸⁷ His lute accompaniments are not as polyphonic as, for example, intabulated madrigals might be, but they are not simply homophonic chords strummed to support the melody. Nor were his melodies simple renderings of folk-like tunes, or merely notes added to words: Dowland's melodies were carefully crafted to enhance the text, and engage and move the listener. Whatever his role or abilities as a singer, his ayres were the indisputable standard against which all ayre composers, performers, and listeners held all other ayres while the genre flourished.

⁸⁷ Poulton presents a very reasonable argument that, while it is unlikely that Dowland was not a singer at all, the much larger part of his success as a performer rested on his abilities as a lutenist, with his singing abilities far trailing, and, perhaps, fading toward the end of his life. 80.

The Lute

Just as it would be difficult to imagine a middle class home in America at the turn of the twentieth-century without a piano, the lute was a ubiquitous part of every educated English household at the turn of the seventeenth century. One of the proofs of Kate's temper in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* was her treatment of Hortensio, the lute instructor. When asked how her lesson went, he explains to her father Baptista (with her potential suitor Petruchio looking on) that she has broken her lute over his head:

...for she hath broke the lute to me.
I did but tell her she mistook her frets,
And bow'd her hand to teach her fingering;
When, with a most impatient devilish spirit,
'Frets, call you these?' quoth she; 'I'll fume
with them.'
And, with that word, she struck me on the head,
And through the instrument my pate made way;
And there I stood amazed for a while,
As on a pillory, looking through the lute;
While she did call me rascal fiddler
And twangling Jack; with twenty such vile terms,
As had she studied to misuse me so.⁸⁸

Her father directs Hortensio to give his younger (and more pliant) daughter Bianca her presumably more peaceful lute lesson. It is clear from this scene of a young woman

⁸⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, Act II, scene 1.

receiving a lute lesson (if not the of the manner in which she responded to it) that a woman learning to play the lute was an expected and normal part of early modern life. Manuscript lute books abound, which contain tablature of popular lute songs, ballads, dances, and religious pieces, written out primarily by the owners of the books, presumably for playing or instruction. The large numbers of these books indicate both the importance and the prevalence of the lute among educated Elizabethans.

Lute tablature is a pictorial method of notating finger positions in lute music. Unlike mensural notation, which represents pitches, lute tablature is usable only by the lute and other stringed instruments that are played with the same tuning, such as vihuela or orpharion. There are three common types of tablature used during the Renaissance; Italian, German, and French, the last of which is used in all English lute literature. In this method, each fret is represented by a letter, and each course by a line, directly above which is written the letter indicating the fret to be played. Rhythms are indicated by a system of stems above the “staff” that designate the rhythmic beginning of the notes below. (See Figures 8, 9 and 10.) William Barley’s *Nevv Booke of Tabliture*, published in 1596, as discussed above, contained instructions for playing lute, orpharion and bandoleon, and pieces of music written in tablature, rather like the Mel Bay books of the twentieth century.

Prior to the appearance of tablature, it is likely that lutenists played with other instruments, either taking whatever line of music fit, or improvising or playing by ear.



Figure 7: A page from Barley's *Booke of Tabliture*, showing the courses numbered, and the letters that signify each fret

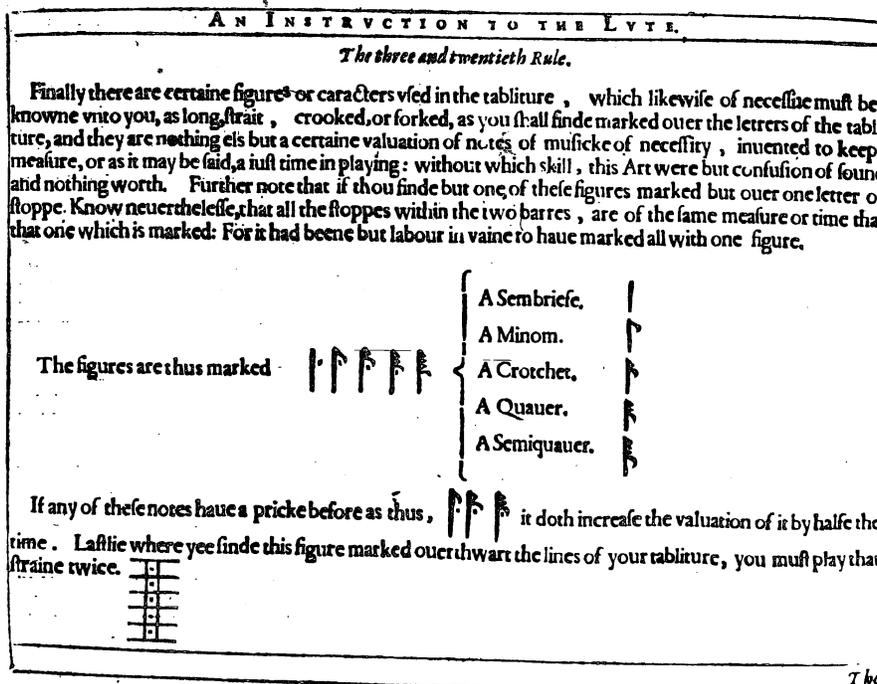


Figure 8: Explanation of rhythmic notation of lute literature; notice that rhythms are half that of standard Elizabethan notation, but twice that of modern notation.



Figure 9: An example of a piece from Barley's *Tabliture* book; a Pavan, which is the English name for a dance form that French call the Pavane, and the Italians, a Paduana.⁸⁹

Printed lute tablature was relatively rare; most lutenists, amateur and professional, wrote out lute pieces in lute books that they kept specifically for their tablature. These lute books are far more numerous than printed tablature, and are the source of the majority of extant Renaissance lute repertoire. (See Figure 11)

⁸⁹ William Barley, ed, *A New Booke of Tabliture*, London: William Barley, 1596.



Figure 10: A page from the third lute book of Matthew Holmes, c. 1600-1605
A Galliard to Plead my Faith, by Daniel Bacheler⁹⁰

The earliest mention of a lute in England, according to Matthew Spring, was a lute player among the minstrels of King Edward I. Janin Le Lutour was listed “in royal accounts” in 1285, and “thereafter remained in royal services until Edward I’s death in 1307.” He goes on to say that “[w]ith the exception of the reigns of Richard II, Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III, there was, among the royal minstrels, at least one member specified as a lute player at some point in every reign during the period 1295-1509.”⁹¹

The name lute as an instrument and as a name appears to have its origins in the ūd, a

⁹⁰ Cambridge University Digital Library, MS Dd.9.33, accessed April 12, 2017

⁹¹ Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, 11.

ninth-century Arab instrument, whose name ‘al ūd’ means wood.⁹² The ūd is a fretless stringed instrument, played with a plectrum, and its descendant, the oud, is still played in traditional music in Eastern European Western Asian countries.⁹³ While it is unclear when frets were added to the lute in England, or if they were there from the introduction of the instrument, Arabic and Continental sources show frets from the Middle Ages, and by the end of the fourteenth century, English images of the lute included frets, as well as five courses.

Until the end of the fifteenth century, the lute continued to be played primarily with a plectrum. While music has not been found that was written exclusively for lute prior to the fifteenth century, tablature that shows polyphonic lute music begins to appear at the turn of the sixteenth century, coinciding with the general disappearance of the plectrum in iconographic images of lutes. (See Figures 12, 13, 14 and 15)

⁹² Ibid., 1.

⁹³ A plectrum is also known as a pick; generally a quill. Spring, 29.



*Figure 11: Painting from 1420;
right hand with plectrum, four-course lute⁹⁴*

⁹⁴ Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano, *Madonna and Child With Angels*, 1420, Tempera on wood, gold ground, Metropolitan Museum.



*Figure 12: Painting from 1485; right hand with plectrum,
five-course lute⁹⁵*

⁹⁵ Gerard David, *Virgin and Child with Four Angels*, c.1485, Oil on wood, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 13: Painting from 1503; plectrum is in the hand of the lute player on the right, but hand and arm position indicate that either the plectrum is not used, or that the models may not have been lute players⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Alvise Vivarini *Altarpiece of St. Ambrose, Oil on Panel, 1503, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.*



Figure 14: Painting from 1530; right hand in standard Renaissance position⁹⁷

Right-hand technique is essential to the shift from single-line lute playing to polyphonic technique: with a quill in hand, it is most natural to play a single line, with, perhaps, occasional forays into chords, but with the use of the thumb and three fingers (the pinky acting as an anchor on the soundboard), complex rhythms can be played on the single instrument. Playing music that is more complicated makes improvisation and playing by ear less possible, and also necessitates, eventually, a way to write down the intricate music now possible. The ability of the lute to play polyphonic accompaniment was one of the reasons for its prominence in the sixteenth century, but it was not the only reason.

The *ūd* was originally designed with four strings, and Spring tells us that

According to ninth-century theorists, the *ūd* had four strings corresponding to the four humours of the body. From top to bottom the strings were coloured:

⁹⁷ Master of the Female Half-Lengths, *Girl Playing Lute*, oil on panel, 1530, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

yellow for bile; red for blood; white for phlegm; black for melancholy. Ziriyāb's contribution was to add a fifth string, also red, symbolizing the soul, which he introduced between the second and third.⁹⁸

The top or yellow string, as the highest string, corresponds to the soprano voice; the red or second string to alto, and air; the white or third, to tenor and water; and the fourth or black to bass and melancholy. The order of the strings, and their connection to Ficino's and Campions assignment of voices is not a coincidence, nor is Ziriyāb's placement or choice of red to symbolize the soul: sanguine, as the ideal temperament, was the balance for which a healthy person aimed, and the location of the "soul" string, balanced between the four strings, was a representation of that ideal placement. When the newly discovered late fifteenth-century technique allowed many strings to be played at once, the lute had the ability to then create a mixture of humours as discussed by Ficino.

Ficino played the lyre to help his humoural imbalance, though it is not clear exactly what is meant by "lyre." In 1517, Duke Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara sent to Henry VIII an instrument that he described in the accompanying letter as a "lyre of that type in Italy which we call a lute."⁹⁹ It is possible that the instrument that Ficino had been famous for playing until his death only eighteen years before this letter was, actually, a lute. Whether this is literally true or not, Gouk says that

...the invisible power of music to affect the passions and the soul can be explained in terms of universal sympathy. The metaphor most commonly invoked to explain such action at a distance was the sympathetic resonance between two stringed instruments. While the ancients employed the lyre for this analogy, early modern authors tended to use the lute because it was one of the most popular amateur instruments of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, 3. This correspondence and exchange of culture between Italy and England was the foundation of the later fascination with Italian song forms.

⁹⁹ Ivy L. Mumford, "The Identity of Zuan Piero," *Renaissance News*, 11, no. 3 (Autumn 1958): 179-183, 181.

¹⁰⁰ Gouk, 175.

The lute was not only used for the analogy of sympathetic resonance, but the lute itself was seen as an instrument uniquely resembling the human body, and therefore “perfect for the ayre, a genre designed to reflect the ancient fervor of for *musica humana*.”¹⁰¹ The lute’s resemblance to the human body made it a medium for medicinal purposes: if two strings vibrated in sympathy, the human body was also thought to vibrate in sympathy with the strings, and therefore was affected by the music being played on a lute.¹⁰² “The actual strains of music are thought to possess this incredible ability to interact effortlessly with the body and soul, potentially representing and transforming the listener or performer.”¹⁰³

In Shakespeare’s *Henry VIII*, Queen Katherine tells her attendants that her “soul grows sad with troubles,” and asks a servant to stop working, pick up a lute and “disperse ‘em” (the troubles) with song. She (or perhaps the servant) sings of the power that Orpheus has, which, as a woman who knows herself to be losing the favor of her husband, she undoubtedly wishes she had herself. Knowing that she is unlikely to attain the powers to move nature, she does, at least, express hope in the accepted powers of music to alter mood and banish melancholy:

Orpheus with his lute made trees,
And the mountain tops that freeze,
Bow themselves when he did sing:
To his music plants and flowers
Ever sprung; as sun and showers
There had made a lasting spring.

Every thing that heard him play,
Even the billows of the sea,
Hung their heads, and then lay by.
In sweet music is such art,

¹⁰¹ Agrawal, 443.

¹⁰² It has a head, a neck, and a body.

¹⁰³ Agrawal, 1.

Killing care and grief of heart
Fall asleep, or hearing, die.¹⁰⁴

Queen Katherine instructs her servant to sing to the lute, rather than to virginals, or the viol, or cittern, or guitar, or other royal accompanying instrument. It is possible that Shakespeare used the lute as the instrument of accompaniment due to its prevalence and portability, but it is also likely that Shakespeare was tapping in to the strongly held Elizabethan belief of the time that music heals, and that lute music heals most directly.

A longing to heal sadness or melancholy was not unique to the character of Queen Katherine. Melancholy was recognized as an issue of mental and physical health among Elizabethans, and methods from bloodletting to prayer to music were recommended as cures in books and treatises written at the time. The disease of melancholy was, as its musical cures were, the provenance of the wealthy: it is likely that some of the many symptoms of melancholy were also felt by the poor, few could afford either to seek a doctor for a malady that was not physically debilitating or, if they could, necessarily pay for a curative. It is also possible that, as one of the remedies for melancholy was exercise, the lifestyle of hard work prevented the “sloth” that Campion blames for making problems for people of every natural character:

Lighten, heavy heart, thy sprite,
The joys recall that thence are fled ;
Yield thy breast some living light ;
The man that nothing doth is dead.
Tune thy temper to these sounds,
And quicken so thy joyless mind ;
Sloth the worst and best confounds :
It is the ruin of mankind.¹⁰⁵

Even in this admonition to action, Campion uses a musical metaphor for the treatment

¹⁰⁴ William Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, Act III, scene 1.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Campion, *Two Ayres*, XIX.

of a “heavy heart.” The music to which he sets these words is also designed deliberately to address melancholy, which seems to be a deeply imbedded part of Elizabethan life and culture.

Elizabethan Melancholy

The very earliest writers of the humors warned of the dangers of melancholy, including depression and possible suicide, and could even manifest as sarcastic, bitter and mad laughter. “[Humanist] medical authors view melancholia as an abhorrent affliction that clogs the heart, corrupts the mind, and destroys physical and emotional health.¹⁰⁶” A balance of the four humours included melancholy, but sanguine was considered the most desirable element to be dominant. According to Agrawal, medical writer Levinus Lemnius “recommends “a fluid mixture for all healthy individuals of two parts blood, and a half a part of both melancholy and choler, clearly indicating the value of blood.”¹⁰⁷ Sanguine, although manifest in blood, was also associated with the element of air, and air was, of course, the method by which music entered the ear, and thus had direct access to the mind. All music had in itself a quality according to the mix of the humors, but even melancholy music was transformed into a level of the healing sanguinity by the very nature of the music.

Melancholy was seen as dangerous and “womanish,” though benefits of creativity and genius were also associated with it, and Edwards points to Aristotle as the possible source for the fascination with the connection between melancholy and genius:

In the *Problems XXX*, attributed to Aristotle but possibly by one of his followers, the author discusses why it is that those men who ‘have become outstanding in

¹⁰⁶ Agrawal, 603.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 329.

philosophy, statesmanship, poetry or the arts are melancholic, and some infected by the diseases arising from black bile.’ The link between melancholy and creativity and scholarship - the melancholy artist is still an archetype today - appears to have its first iteration in the *Problems XXX*.¹⁰⁸

Marsilio Ficino was afflicted with melancholy, and played his lyre to lessen the effects of Saturn, to whose influence he ascribed melancholy. He said, in a letter to his friend Giovanni Cavalcanti, that he “accuse[d] a certain melancholy disposition, a thing which seems to be very bitter unless, having been softened, it may in a measure be made sweet for us by frequent use of the lyre.”¹⁰⁹ Lorenzo de’ Medici, on hearing him play, was inspired to write poetry comparing him to Orpheus, and Lorenzo’s father Cosimo, who commissioned Ficino’s translations of the entire works of Plato, said of him that he was “sent down from heaven to heal souls.”¹¹⁰

Ficino’s aim was not to eradicate melancholy altogether, despite the sadness and even dangers associated with it. His aim was, instead, to temper its influence, while taking advantage of its benefits. Saturn, which embodied melancholy, “cannot easily signify the common quality and lot of the human race, but he signifies an individual set apart from the others, divine or brutish, blessed or bowed down with the extreme of misery.” If Aristotle gave an indication that melancholy was present in many outstanding individuals,

It was Ficino who really gave shape to the idea of melancholy genius. Saturn became the lodestar of the melancholic who, according to Ficino’s formula, characterized a man who breaks away from the collective and consciously wants or has to go the extraordinary, individual way. Thus the glorification of Saturn and melancholy in the Florentine circle of Ficino ultimately aimed at the *principium individuationis*, the principal of individuation.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Edwards, 11.

¹⁰⁹ Angela Voss, “Marsilio Ficino, the Second Orpheus,” In *Music as Medicine*, ed. Peregrine Horden, 147-153, Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing, 2000, 162.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹¹¹ Ammann, 573.

He did, however, recognize that too much melancholy was unhealthy, whatever its indications of genius. His ideas about melancholy were widespread throughout Italy, and as wealthy Englishmen came to Italy to broaden their education and experience, they brought home with them the humanist explorations that included Ficino's ideas of melancholy.

English musicians, and ayre composers in particular seem to have embraced melancholy. This may have been the result of humanist writings, or a desire to imitate the highly successful ayre composer Dowland, whose melancholy music and personality are well documented. Agrawal says of Elizabethan music "it is difficult to know whether a composer wrote melancholy music in order to create a potentially cathartic or rapturous effect on the body (as stated in Aristotle's philosophy and speculative music theory), or simply to buy into the use of melancholy as a sure-selling fashion."¹¹²

In English medicine, melancholy was a subject of deep interest. The full title of physician and clergyman Timothy Bright's 1586 book gives an idea of the role melancholy was believed to have: *A treatise of melancholie. Containing the causes thereof, & reasons of the strange effects it worketh in our minds and bodies: with the phisicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as haue thereto adioyned an afflicted conscience.*¹¹³ He and other writers of the time about melancholy - which was to him and other practitioners of medicine not just sadness, but an actual disease - explained the problems associated with melancholy as a problem of spirit. Music is suggested as both a

¹¹² Agrawal, 31.

¹¹³ Timothy Bright, *A Treatise on Melancholy*. London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1586, Hathi Trust Digital Library, accessed April 8, 2017.

cure and an exacerbation of melancholy: he recommends that a person afflicted with melancholy listen to or perform

not onely cheerefull musicke in a generalitie, but such of that kinde as most rejoyceth is to be sounded in the melancholicke eare: of which kinde for the most part is such as carieth an odd measure, and easie to be discerned, except the melancholicke haue skill in musicke, and require a deeper harmonie.¹¹⁴

That codicil (except the melancholicke haue skill in musicke) recognizes that Elizabethan musicians were somewhat known for melancholy, he gives a warning about music that is too slow, sad, or irregular, and states that “...these styles actually could inflict rage or madness. He concurs with Italian magic writer della Porta, whose work was available to English readers in translation, and who denounces furious or “harsh Musick” that “will vex and harden a mans minde.”¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Bright, 249.

¹¹⁵ Agrawal, 722.

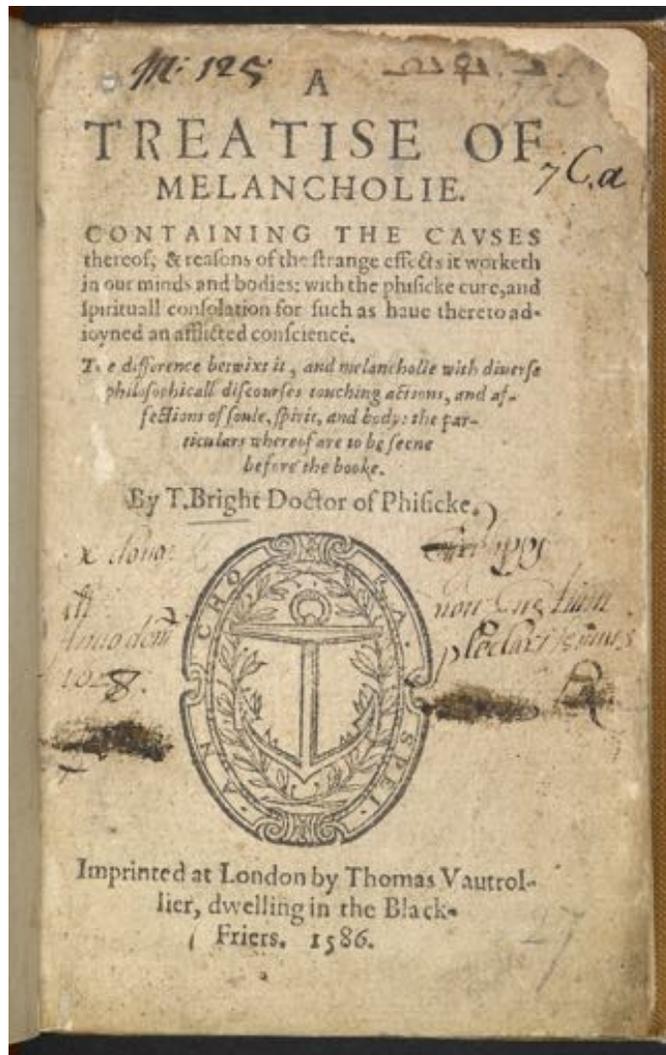


Figure 15: Title Page from Bright's *Treatise on Melancholy*¹¹⁶

His fellow physician and Cambridge alumnus Thomas Campion demonstrates in his writings his humanist education that would have made him interested in the concept of music's power by use of mode, rhythm, pitch, and range. He wrote of himself in an epigram: "Ancient writers say that Apollo practised three arts; all of them I practice too and will always practise, now that all recognise Campion the musician, the poet and the

¹¹⁶ Bright, title page.

doctor.”¹¹⁷ After studying many subjects, he seems to have settled on music and medicine at about the same time, earning his medical degree at around the same time as his first book of ayres was published. He seems to have determined that his role as physician and musician were related, and chose the ayre as “the most powerful kind of music and the most equivalent to that of the ancients.”¹¹⁸ His choice to pursue a public life that encompassed both medicine and music was not simply a matter, as is often viewed today, a career of medicine and a hobby of music: they were two aspects of the same calling, that of a healer.

Setting the Texts of the Ayres

Early modern thought accepted that music had the ability to affect the listener and performer emotionally and physically, and the lute was, as a sister to the lyre, especially sympathetic to the human body. Words, as well, were afforded power among humanists - and the combination of words and music was particularly potent. It is no wonder, then, that the ayre was, with its combination of lute, words, and voice, viewed as the embodiment of music’s power to change the listener.

Campion wrote of this power in his ayre “When to her lute Corinna Sings”:

When to her lute Corinna sings
Her voice revives the leaden strings
And doth on highest note appeare
As any challeng’d echo cleare
But when she doth of mourning speake
Ev’n with her sighs the strings do breake

¹¹⁷ Agrawal, 424

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 441.

And as her lute doth live or die
Led by her passion so must I
For when of pleasure she doth sing
My thoughts enjoy a sudden spring
But if she doth of sorrow speake
Ev'n from my hart the strings do breake¹¹⁹

The connection between the singer, the lute, and the listener, is physical, and potent. Aside from the romantic image of a listener in thrall to a lovely woman, the fact that she sings “to her lute” is important: it is not merely her voice, but her voice *with the lute* that has the power over the listener’s “hart” strings.

While sixteenth-century composers do not appear to have a unified or codified set of rhetorical-musical figures, as can be found in later Baroque music, there were definite ideas about how music should be written, and particularly how text was to be set effectively.

On pages 177 through 180 of his 1597 theory book *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Music*¹²⁰, Thomas Morley gives detailed advice on the correct way to set text. While he does not always delineate the actual musical figures that would express his ideas, he is very definite about what works and what doesn’t.

To begin with, he is a strong advocate of making the music suit the mood of the words. He does not seem to answer, or even consider, Trivedi’s question about the *how* emotions are contained in music, but seems to accept that music does have inherent qualities. Page 177 is primarily concerned with the more “serious” emotions:

It followeth to shew you how to dispose your musicke according to the nature of the words which you are therein to expresse, as whatsoever matter it be which you haue in hand, such a kind of musicke must you frame to it. You must therefore if you haue a graue matter, applie a graue kinde of musicke to it if a merrie subiect

¹¹⁹ Thomas Campion and Philip Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres*, London, 1601, VI.

¹²⁰ Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, London: Humfrey Lownes, 1608.

you must make your musicke also merrie. For it will be a great absurditie to vse a sad harmonie to a merrie matter, or a merrie harmonie to a sad lamentable or tragicall dittie.

He becomes more specific in the next passage, warning that even when expressing unpleasant emotions, the music must stay within the bounds of aesthetics:

You must then when you would expresse any word signifyng hardnesse, crueltie, bitternesse, and other such like, make the harmonie like vnto it, that is, somewhat harsh and hard but yet so y^t it offend not.

He then differentiates between the musical illustration of sadness and the musical expression of hardness:

Likewise, when any of your words shal expresse complaint, dolor, repentance, sighs, teares, and such like, let your harmonie be sad and doleful, so that if you would haue your musicke signifie hardnes, cruelty or other such affects, you must cause the partes proceede in their motions without the halfe note, that is, you must cause them proceed by whole notes, sharpe thirdes, sharpe sixes and such like...

Hardness and cruelty is to be melodically expressed with intervals of whole steps, major thirds and major sixths, and half-steps are to be avoided. Doleful or sad emotions are expressed best using half-steps, which he calls half notes:

but when you woulde expresse a lamentable passion, then must you vse motions proceeding by halfe notes.

He then explains that using the pitches that naturally occur in a scale creates the “masculine” effects of cruelty, tyranny, and bitterness, while the accidentals imply “effeminate” emotions of “languishing” and sadness.

Flat thirdes and flat sixes, which of their nature are sweet, speciallie being taken in the true tune and naturall aire with discretion and iudgement. but those cordes so taken as I haue saide before are not the sole and onely cause of expressing those passions, but also the motions which the parts make in singinng do greatly helpe, which motions are either naturall or accidental. The naturall motions are those which are naturallie made betwixt the keyes without the mixture of any accidentall signe or corde, be it either flat or sharpe, and these motions be more

masculine causing in the song more virilitie then those accidentall cordes which are marked with these signes. ♯. ♭. which be in deede accidentall, and make the song as it were more effeminate & languishing then the other motions which make the song rude and sounding: so that those naturall motions may serue to expresse those effectes of crueltie, tyrannie, bitternesse and such others, and those accidentall motions may fitlie expresse the passions of grieffe, weeping, sighes, sorrowes, sobbes, and such like.

Next, he addresses the issue of the rhythmic structure of expression:

Also, if the subiect be light, you must cause your musicke go in motions, which carrie with them a celeritie or quicknesse of time, as minimes, crotchets and quauers: if it be lamentable, the note must goe in slow and heauie motions, as semibreues, breues and such like, and of all this you shall finde examples euerie where in the workes of the good musicians.

His ideas about text painting are very clearly influenced by the writers of madrigals, and he presents literal text painting as a matter of common sense:

Moreouer, you must haue a care that when your matter signifieth ascending, high heauen, and such like, you make your musicke ascend: and by the contrarie where your dittie speaketh of descending lowenes, depth, hell, and others such, you must make your musicke descend, for as it will be thought a great absurditie to talke of heauen and point downward to the earth: so will it be counted great incongruitie if a musician vpon the wordes hee ascended into heauen shoulde cause his musicke descend, or by the contrarie vpon the descension should cause his musicke to ascend.

He the discusses syllabification, and is very clear that the music should follow the natural stresses of the language, and has some pretty harsh words about John Dunstable:

We must also haue a care so to applie the notes to the wordes, as in singing there be no barbarisme committed: that is, that we cause no sillable which is by nature short be expressed by manie notes or one long note, nor no long sillable bee expressed with a shorte note, but in this fault do the practitioners erre more grosselie, then in any other, for you shall find few songes wherein the penult sillables of these wordes, *Dominus, Angelus, filius, miraculum, gloria*, and such like are not expressed with a long note, yea many times with a whole dossen of notes, and though one should speak of fortie he should not say much amisse, which is a grosse barbarisme, & yet might be easelie amended. We must also take heed of seperating any part of a word from another by a rest, as som dunces haue not slackt to do, yea one whose name is *Iohannes Dunstaple* (an ancient English author) hath not onlie deuided the sentence, but in the verie middle of a word hath

made two long rests ... in a song of foure parts vpon these words, *Nesciens virgo mater virum*.

He proceeds to instruct the use of rests regarding phrasing, and says that long rests must only occur at the end of a phrase:

...to shewe you in a worde the vse of the rests in the dittie, you may set a crotchet or minime rest aboue a coma or colon, but a longer rest then that of a minime you may not make till the sentence bee perfect, and then at a full point you may set what number of rests you will.

The use of rests in creating sighs is particularly pertinent to the melancholy ayres, and he cautions not to write a rest long enough that it seems like a breath rather than a sigh. This is an interesting insight into performance practice of the time: it seems rests that were a minim or shorter were not intended to be used to take a breath, but only to pause. This is the equivalent of, in modern common time, reading all rests that are quarter notes or smaller as pauses and not breaths.

Also when you would expresse sighes, you may vse the crotchet or minime rest at the most, but a longer then a minime rest you may not vse, because it will rather seeme a breth taking then a sigh,

He ends his text-setting advice, appropriately, with advice about cadences, or “closes,” which he admonishes not to add until an entire thought has been finished, so that it is clear to the listener that all of the musical choices are made with full understanding of music:

Lastlie, you must not make a close (especiallie a full close) till the full sence of the words be perfect: so that keeping these rules you shall haue a perfect agreement, and as it were a harmonicall concent betwixt the matter and the musicke, and likewise you shall bee perfectly vnderstoode of the auditor what you sing, which is one of the highest degrees of praise which a musician in dittyng can attaine vnto or wish for.

He proceeds, on the next few pages, to discuss the importance of the Motet, and, in particular, the importance of making sure that the words are understandable. He

obviously feels quite passionate one the subject, and stays just shy of accusing Catholic musicians (as the primary creators of the *cantus firmus* form that he is criticizing here) of arousing emotions for no purpose of the than because they have the power to do so.

This kind of al others which are made on a ditty, requireth most art, and moueth and causeth most strange effects in the hearer, being aptlie framed for the dittie and well expressed by the singer, for it will draw the auditor (and speciallie the skilfull auditor) into a deuout and reuerent kind of consideration of him for whose praise it was made. But I see not what passions or motions it can stirre vp, being sung as most men doe commonlie sing it: that is, leauing out the dittie and singing onely the bare note, as it were a musicke made onelie for instruments, which will in deed shew the nature of the musicke, but neuer carrie the spirit and (as it were) that liuelie soule which the dittie giueth, but of this enough.

He leaves complaining about the uselessness of vocal music in which the words cannot be understood to - complain about the uselessness of vocal music performed in such a way that the words cannot be understood. He cautions about music being performed only for the sake of beauty, and echoes many indignant objections, past and future, about the choice of texts that some musicians use:

This kind of musicke weare not so much disallowable if the Poets who compose the ditties would abstaine from some obscenities.

Morley did not mention by name the poets he was censuring, but Thomas Campion was likely one of them. Before Morley's *Plaine and Easie*'s first publication in 1597, Campion had a poem published in Sir Phillip Sydney's *Astrophel and Stella*, and in 1595, his *Poemata* was published, though his first booke of ayres with Phillip Rosseter was not published until 1601. While the raciest of his texts would not even raise a flag by the 1950s FCC standards of unallowable words for radio or television, they were suggestive enough to have apparently roused some criticism. The subject of one of his ayres, for example, is about the place on the body that is the center of passion:

Beauty, since you so much desire
To know the place of Cupids fire,
About you somewhere doth it rest,
Yet neuer harbour'd in your brest,
Nor gout-like in your heele or toe ;
What foole would seeke Loues flame so low?
But a little higher, but a little higher,
There, there, o there lyes Cupids fire.¹²¹

Campion, as we can read in the preface to the book that contained this “dittie,” his *Fourth Booke of Ayres*, was unapologetic about the sensual nature of some of his work: “But if any squeamish stomachs shall checke at two or three vaine ditties at the end of this Booke, let him powre of the clearest, and leave those as dregs to the bottome. However, if they be but conferred with the *Canterbury Tales* of that venerable poet *Chaucer*, they will then appear toothsome enough.”¹²² While this could not have been a direct *riposte* to Morley’s censure, as Morley died in 1602, it was clearly a nose-thumbing at any critics of his more earthy poems.

Campion not only had his own ideas about the appropriateness of text, but also the setting of it. Many of his poems, as he also addresses in the same preface, had been “clothed in Musicke” by others before he published his own, and, while he never mentions any specific composer publicly, he undoubtedly felt that the settings sometimes fell short of fulfilling his intentions. In the preface to his first *Booke of Ayres*, he tells the reader that

...there are some, who to appeare the more deepe and singular in their judgement, will admit no Musicke but that which is long, intricate, bated with fuge, chained with sincopation, and where the nature of everie word is precisely exprest in the Note, like the old exploded action in the Comedies, when if they did pronounce *Mimeni*, they would point to the hinder part of their heads, if *Video*, put their finger in their eye. But such childish observing of words is altogether ridiculous,

¹²¹ Thomas Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, London: Thomas Snodham, 1617.

¹²² *Ibid.*, *To The Reader*.

and we ought to maintaine as well in Notes, as in action, a manly carriage, gracing no word, but that which is eminent, and emphaticall.¹²³

His view, then, of Morley's advice to create ascending lines if the text is about heaven, and the extrapolations one can make from there, may have been one of skepticism. There is no telling, of course, other than by his music, to what extent Morley believed text painting should be taken, but Campion clearly believed in simple musical settings that did not obscure text in any way. As the only ayre composer who wrote all of his own texts, and who provided texts for so many other composers - ayre and otherwise - of his time, he clearly felt very passionate about text setting.

Dowland was renowned for his text settings, though music appears to be his primary focus. In his ayre "Can shee excuse my wronges," for example, the words seem to be a bit retro-fitted, though that could be argued as an overall musical expression of the anxiety of the poet. He did not, as far as there is record, write his own texts, but they are somewhat in contrasts with Campion's, as Davis explains:

Dowland shows himself to be somewhat old-fashioned in his choice of texts, for he gravitates toward the style of 'copie' and repetitive structure of the 1580s, of which the best example is 'Tichborne's Elegy' (1586), the most popular single text with the madrigalists (it is significant that the signed poems in Dowland's songbooks are those of the elder Elizabethan court-poets like Dyer, peele, and Essex). Campion, on the other hand, fits into the newer esthetic of brevity, of *multum in parva*, evinces near the turn of the century in the short poems of Ben Jonson, the curt Senecan style in prose, and aphoristic forms like the epigram, the "Character," and the Baconian essay¹²⁴

Unlike Campion and Morley (and ayre composers Ravenscroft and Coprario), Dowland did not write specifically about setting text to music, but we can gather from his

¹²³ It is difficult for me not to see these critical passages (Morley on Dunstable, calling other style absurd and ridiculous) as a kind of early modern rap battle or Twitter war...

¹²⁴ Walter R. Davis, "Melodic and Poetic Structure: The Examples of Campion and Dowland," *Critic: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1962): 89 - 107, 99.

music that he was of the same school of thought as both Morley and Campion, and made sure that text was never overwhelmed or obscured by flowery or awkward passages. It is clear that for both of them, the text of their ayres was the guiding and central force in compositional choices.

The Humours in the Ayres: Campion and Dowland

While Elizabethan-era texts and treatises give suggestions about the proper parameters for music composition, and preferred methods of joining music and words, the creative process was, of course, ultimately up to each composer. I do not find any convincing evidence that there was any sort of unified method designed to invoke particular humours in the listener, though it is clear that the humours are intrinsic to musical theoretical thought, as Agrawal asserts here:

The English composer Thomas Ravenscroft states that ‘Ayre is environed with, Fire and Water, well compos’d and Brew’d together.’ Recall also that Campion applie this connection to music attributing air to the the mean or second voice, lighter than the water of the tenor part or the earth of the bass part, while being heavier than the fire of the treble. But what is most important is the harmony created by the amalgam of these parts, especially the upper three on the foundation of the earthy bass, what Campion calls the “Aire” or essence of the key, metaphorically translating this ides into the musical sphere.¹²⁵

A piece of music is not a mere presentation of a single humour: it is, as Ficino suggested, a mixture of the elements, and its healing power is a result of the particular combinations. She quotes a passage from theorist Charles Butler that is rather similar to Morley’s about text painting and gleans from this that “Butler yields three moods: sadness, associated with a slow tempo, chromatic tones, slow notes, syncopation (bindings), and discordant

¹²⁵ Agrawal, 332.

cadences; mirth, aligned with a fast tempo or triple time: and anger, portrayed by a hard and quick tempo, fast syncopations, a diatonic vocabulary, and concordant cadences.¹²⁶

In addition to these general musical qualities, the author of *In Praise of Musicke* presents the modes as further corresponding to the humours:

For *Modus Dorius*, beeing a grave and staid part of musicke, aunswereth to that which I called chast and temperament [phlegmatic]. *Modus Lydius* used in comedies, in former times, being more lighter and wanton than *Dorius*, answereth to that which I termed amarous and delightsome [sanguine]. *Modus Phrygius* distracting the mind variably, also called *Bacchius* for his great force & violence aunswereth to that which I call warlik [choleric], and Mixolydius most used in tragedies expressing in melodie those lamentable affections which are in tragedies represented, aunswereth to that which before I named Melancholike and dolefull.¹²⁷

Writings about music and humours do not generally mention phlegmatic, and Agrawal maintains that “the phlegmatic character was occasional represented as a humorous character in theatrical music.¹²⁸ The virtual absence of the phlegmatic humour from music, and the lessening in importance of the choleric and even the sanguine reflect what was happening culturally with medicine and science: using the methods and ideals of the Greeks and Romans, early modern scholars were discovering new ways to look at the natural world around them.

I have chosen three ayres, each of which primarily represents either choleric, sanguine or melancholy, based on the characterizations above. Campion provides choleric and sanguine, Dowland gives the example of melancholy. None of these is entirely representative of only one humour - the idea of a single affect within a single

¹²⁶ Agrawal, 532.

¹²⁷ *In Praise of Musicke*, 55.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 544.

piece of music had not yet become customary - but the musical qualities written about by Elizabethan theorists are the dominant presence.

The ayre that I have chosen for its choleric qualities is Ayre XXVIII from Campion's *Third Booke*, "So quicke, so hot, so mad." As the text of the first line suggests, the rhythm moves quickly, with both the accompaniment and the melody beginning at the same time. The words are a satisfying break-up text, with the basic message that the singer does not want to hear or see the former lover until they are both dead. It is in 3, with the crotchet receiving the beat, indicating, in case we did not understand from the text, that the intended performance tempo is a fast one. It is in what we would consider the key of G, though, as is common, both F and F# are used, the tonal quality set by the qualities of the third and sixth. There is a high G in this piece, which strongly indicates the excited state of the singer; this is particularly true if the singer is female, as the soprano is equated with fire.

Figure 16: Thomas Campion, "So Quicke, So Hot, So Mad." The melody and lute tablature are at the top of the page, and the bass line is written below; additional vocal parts are no longer provided

This song, as is common in later compositions in the span of the ayre, is notated with melody, lute tablature, and bass line, as was increasingly the case after Giulio Caccini's *Nuove Musiche* was published in 1602 in bass-tune form. (See Figures 16 and 17)

And yeeld some little grace to quiet thee.
An houre with thee I care not to converse:
For I would not be counted too perverse.

But roofes too hot would prove for men all fire,
And hills too high for my unused pace;
The grove is charg'd with thornes and the bold bryer;
Gray Snakes the meadowes shrowde in every place:
A yellow Frog, alas wil fright me so
As I should start and tremble as I goe.

Since then I can on earth no fit roome finde,
In heav'n I am resolv'd with you to meete;
Till then for Hopes sweet sake rest your tir'd mind,
And not so much as see mee in the streete:
A heavenly meeting one day wee shall have,
But never as you dreame, in bed, or grave.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Campion, Thomas, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, London: Thomas Snodham, 1617, XVIII.



Figure 17: “Amarilli, mia Bella” from Caccini’s *Nuove Musiche*, showing the bass and tune style of printing¹³⁰

“Jack and Jone,” the twentieth ayre from Campion’s *First Booke of Ayres* is as sanguine as a piece of music can possibly be. Strophic, as most of Campion’s pieces are, and in the key of G, there are absolutely no rests written in, and so the breath (air) continues uninterrupted. The melody is almost completely stepwise, and the rhythm is written to emphasize the minims, creating a “walking” feel. Written as a pastoral poem to

¹³⁰ Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock. A - R Editions, Madison, 1970, 26.

contrast the healthy life of peasants to the artificial one of court, the text employs alliteration and inner rhyme to match the balanced and even phrasing of the melody. The tablature is for a seven-course lute, but can also be played on a six-course. If sung by a woman, the range falls squarely in the alto range, which is the voice representative of air, and therefore sanguine, according to Ficino, Morley, and others. It is printed with additional voice parts, as was still common in 1601. (See Figure 18)

Iacke and Ione they thinke no ill,
But louing liue, and merry still ;
Doe their weeke dayes worke, and pray
Deuotely on the holy day :
Skip and trip it on the greene,
And help to chuse the Summer Queene :
Lash out, at a Country Feast,
Their siluer penny with the best.

...

Now, you Courtly Dames and Knights,
That study onely strange delights ;
Though you scorne the home-spun gray,
And reuell in your rich array :
Though your tongues dissemble deepe,
And can your heads from danger keepe ;
Yet, for all your pompe and traine,
Securer liues the silly Swaine.

third, and has some “half-notes” in the melody, and ends with a long, irregularly paced descending line. It is not entirely melancholy, however, as the sixth is not flatted, and most of the notes are diatonic. The text offers consolation, if not comfort.

XV. CANTUS

Weepe you no more sad fountaines, what need you
 doe to fall, looke how the fountaines, beate their water doo gently soft, but why
 fountaines beate their eyes, viewe out your weeping, Thus come
 hee sleeping, softly, now softly hee sleeping.

Sleep is a sweet thing,
 A still that peace begets;
 Doth not the fountaine trouble,
 When there is no more
 Fall, and there still fall eyes,
 Melancholy weeping,
 While the fountaine sleeping,
 Softly, now softly hee sleeping.

SATV

BASSES

TENOR

Weepe you no more sad fountaines, what need you
 doe to fall, looke how the fountaines, beate their water doo gently soft, but why
 fountaines beate their eyes, viewe out your weeping, Thus come
 hee sleeping, softly, now softly hee sleeping.

Figure 19: John Dowland, “Weepe you no more sad fountaines”¹³²

These three pieces, while hardly a survey of the large repertoire of ayres, exemplify pieces that a person might choose when feeling out of sorts in some way, just as the music we play on our phones is often determined by our mood; sometimes we match and enhance it; and sometimes we want to shake ourselves from it.

¹³² Dowland, John. *The Third and Last Booke of Songes or Ayres*. London: P.S. for Thomas Adams, 1603, XV.

Conclusion

The ayre was a product of the sixteenth century, and the culture that created it viewed the universe as a harmonious whole. Elizabethan thought gave weight to the humours as a system of defining mental and physical states, with an underlying belief in the connectedness of all areas of knowledge, of the mental, physical and spiritual realms, and of humans with the workings of the universe. Music was not seen as a separate entity from science, or even from humans, but as actual connective tissue between all things.

This was the world in which John Dowland's ayres were created, and the world in which they flourished. This was also the world in which Timothie Bright wrote his *Treatise on Melancholy*, which was published eleven years before Dowland's *First Booke*. Bright's book presents melancholy as having primarily physiological causes, and his "indictment of diet as the primary cause of the disorder leads him to an Aristotelian categorisation of foods and consideration of their appropriateness for the melancholic."¹³³ The physical disease of melancholy, as explained by Bright, was most obviously treated with the physical treatment of food, but music, as a bridge between the physical and spiritual, also had its role to play.¹³⁴

This is in contrast to Robert Burton's 1621 book, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, published under the pseudonym Democritus Junior.¹³⁵ Even a comparison of the titles demonstrate the changing thoughts: Bright's *Treatise* implies expertise, while Burton's *Anatomy* suggests observation and study. Edwards explains:

¹³³ Edwards, 31.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 31-45.

¹³⁵ It is possible that he published this anonymously to somehow protect his position within the Church, or simply used the name Democritus Junior to acknowledge the influence of Greek philosophers.

Meandering through nearly half a million words, Burton says the disorder can be due to loss of a loved one through death, frustration in love or career, and even fingers Philip Larkin's culprits, your mom and dad. Andrew Brink and Bergen Evans point out that Burton is the first English writer to assert that loss or trauma are the main causes of the melancholy disease.¹³⁶

Melancholy has not, in the thirty-five years between the two publications, lost its place as a source of both fear and fascination, but Burton's presentation of melancholy as a psychological rather than physical disorder mirrors the changing view of music from having a physical effect on the body to having an emotional effect on the hearer. Another change from Bright to Burton is the virtual disappearance of the other three humours, and even the use of humours to discuss medical issues.

The word *humour* itself appears to have taken on the meaning of something with a comic quality around this time when, according to Jean Sanville, "humor came to denote an unbalanced mental condition, even a fixed folly or device, hence a fit subject for comedy."¹³⁷ She continues, suggesting that Ben Johnson's comic plays *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) and *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599) may have planted the seeds for the word's transition from medicine to comedy.

Similarly, the ayre began in a culture in which music was equal to and equated with science and medicine, and ended in one in which music was primarily entertainment. The powers assigned to music changed from being an integral part of mental and physical healing to one of attempting to deliberately manipulate the emotions of the listener; music became more complex even as it was perceived as less powerful. The four humours became a growing number of passions or affects, and the expression of

¹³⁶ Ibid., 75.

¹³⁷ Jean B. Sanville, "Humor and Play," In *Humor and Psyche, Psychoanalytic Perspectives*, New Jersey: Analytic Press, 1999, 32.

these became codified into rhetoric. Melancholy alone stayed as a part of general vocabulary, and Ficino's concept of melancholy as a sign of genius remained in Western thought. The idea of melancholy as an indication of both madness and genius remains an intrinsic part of our culture's understanding of artists, and, in fact, remains deeply rooted in how we view the worth of artists of all media. The Romantic ideal of the tortured artist who creates works of genius despite, or even because of, deep melancholy is iconic, from Byron to Beethoven to Van Gogh to Jimi Hendrix.¹³⁸

The connection between melancholy and genius in modern thought also shapes how many people view historical figures, and especially artists and musicians. Those of us who study history make a point of attempting objectivity, and of understanding the subjects of our research within their culture, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve this. Anthony Rooley, writing about John Dowland, understands lute music to be primarily melancholy, as, indeed, it is, and knows of Dowland's famous Latin self-description, "Semper Dolens, Semper Dowland."¹³⁹ In his article studying the musical emblems associated with John Dowland, he discusses the use of emblems for the humours used by Henry Peacham in his *Minerva Britannia*: "It is interesting to find that the image of the lute is used for Sanguine, and not for Melancholy." He goes on to speculate that this could be due to Thomas Fuller's description of Dowland as a "cheerful man" who lived "his life in lawful merriment."¹⁴⁰ However, this is not a convincing

¹³⁸ Brilliant creators of comedy film and standup will rarely be described as a genius without the modifier "comic" preceding it, and suicide, that companion to melancholy, is often seen in popular culture as confirmation of genius in any well-known artist.

¹³⁹ *Lachrimae*; John Dowland, *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares Figured in Seaven Passionate Pavans*, London: John Windet, 1604; The Latin translates to Always doleful, always Dowland, and is the eighth title from this collection.

¹⁴⁰ Anthony Rooley, "1612 - John Dowland and the Emblem Tradition," *Early Music* 41, No. 2 (2013): 273-280, 275.

argument: very few sources aside from Fuller, including Dowland himself, describe his temperament as anything other than melancholy. Poulton mentions that he was noted by some at the court of the Landgrave of Hesse as being pleasant, but not taking part in some of the excesses of that court, and she describes him as “[evidently] emotional and volatile.”¹⁴¹ For Rooley, it appears that the connection between Dowland and melancholy confounds the connection between the lute and the sanguine humour. This makes sense if one is very familiar with lute repertoire, which is largely in minor mode. Even those pieces that would be considered major by modern definition usually contain a major chord built on a lowered seventh scale tone, a sound strongly associated by modern ears with wistful Celtic music. However, Peacham is not choosing the lute to embody Dowland, or even lute repertoire, but the element that music itself embodies: the humour of sanguine.

Music, as Ficino, Bright, and many others have asserted, was carried on air, the element of sanguine humor. The sanguine nature of air was augmented by music composed with sanguine intent, but even music composed in a way regarded as expressing melancholy was contained in transmission by air. This was the actual healing power of music: not only its ability to transmit the humoral intent of the composer or performer, but its ability to embody the desirable humour of sanguine with its very essence.¹⁴² The lute, as the heir to Orpheus’ lyre, had the power to transmit the sanguine humor most purely.

Earlier in *Minerva Britannia*, Peacham dedicated an emblem and poem to Dowland, the two of whom Rooley describes as “mutually admiring friends of long

¹⁴¹ Poulton, 32, 19.

¹⁴² Agrawal, 727-729.

standing.”¹⁴³ The nightingale, symbolizing both Dowland and sweet songs shadowed by death, sits on a thorny bush, near a building in disrepair, a rainstorm apparently about to overtake him, mourning the loss of his former fame and esteem, apparently aware that the song form that he embodied was losing its status in England. (See Figure 19) Although he and his music received occasional mention after his death, it was not until the twentieth century that more than a handful of people knew of him and his music.

¹⁴³ Rooley, 273.

John Dowland's lute music is arguably unparalleled among English lutenists, and the beauty and relevance of his compositions stand with the best of any time, not just the Renaissance. Rooley describes his music as having "universal appeal," and Paul O'Dette and Poulton describe him as a genius, and he is often regarded as the progenitor of the art song. but he is not widely regarded as among the great composers of the Western world. Dowland did not write large-scale instrumental pieces, nor did he compose the music that was considered to be the proving-ground for great composers of his day: though he wrote some hymns, he never composed a mass. While I am not sure that it is important that Dowland take his place alongside Bach and Brahms in the Registry of Great Composers, I do think it is a shame that his works get little recognition outside of Early Music specialists. This is even more true of the lighter ayres of Thomas Campion, whose songs both Philip Heseltine and Ian Spink refer to as "disappointing."¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ There is no specific musical reason for the opinions of these two, who dismiss his abilities as a melody writer, and label his music trivial. While there may be some merit to their claims, neither presents any particular criteria as the basis for their judgement. It is significant that neither one makes mention at all of his more bawdy songs, and makes me wonder if the racy content of those pieces colored their views of the musical merit of all of his music, and prevented them from examining any of his music with a serious eye.

This highlights a dilemma that all musicologists and historians face: how do we get a clear picture of a culture other than our own? How much is it possible to step back from our own lenses, and discern the motivations and intentions of the cultural group or

¹⁴⁵ Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock), *The English Ayre*, Westwood, CT: Greenwood Press, 1926, 105.

¹⁴⁶ Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974, 25.

item that we are studying? In the case of my study of the ayres, that dilemma presented itself as I was doing research.

My first thought about Elizabethan culture was that everyone was depressed, and the repertoire of ayres that I had hitherto studied seemed to confirm that, as I was primarily familiar with the works of John Dowland. As a young adult, I was a fan of The Smiths and other bands whose members wore black leather and sang about wanting to die, as well as an avid reader of Alison Weir's *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, and *The Life of Elizabeth I*, and broody songs and singers seemed to me a very reasonable product of Elizabethan England.¹⁴⁷ However, as I became familiar with more ayres, and especially those by Campion, a new picture emerged, and the thought occurred to me that perhaps it was only Dowland who was depressed. I determined to research all of the extant ayres, and analyze the overall humours, and, as I had done quite a bit of reading about the humours, balance, medicine, and music, I expected to find an overall balance of the humours depicted in the ayres.

I utilized Michael Pilkington's comprehensive book that provides the keys and subject matter for each of the ayres, and added that information for the ayres to which I had access that he did not at the time of publication. I downloaded every facsimile I could find for the books listed in Rachel Agrawal's exhaustive dissertation on the medicinal use of the ayres, and began to sort through the data.¹⁴⁸ I spent approximately forty hours on research with the goal of showing how the ayres represented the balance of the humours,

¹⁴⁷ Black was an expensive dye in Elizabethan times, and extremely caustic. To wear black was to proclaim wealth and status, as most Elizabethans spent more on clothing than they did on housing, and black clothes would literally fall apart at the seams because of the acidity of the dye. Black was, then, the fashionable color, and leather was also popular for making doublets and slops in an era with colder winters than ours and no central heating. Because of this, I always picture lutenists, and Hamlet, in black leather.

¹⁴⁸ Thanks to the magic of the internet, I was able to obtain almost all of the ayre books electronically, and ordered the few that I could not locate through EEBO.

only to discover that, interestingly, but unfortunately for me, the vast majority of ayres are, actually, melancholic.

While I was frustrated about the time spent on what turned out to be information of limited use for this paper, it did make me consider Campion and Dowland as a contrasting pair, and to examine more deeply the role of the humours in medicinal music. I had imagined that I would find evidence that an Elizabethan noble would find him or herself in a sad mood, and, like a pill, “take” an ayre that would be expected to restore balance; or perhaps an Elizabethan equivalent to D’Urfey’s 1698 collection, *Wit and Mirth, or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*. Instead, I found evidence that ayres played a role for Elizabethans similar to the role that music played for me in my troubled teenage years, and still does. When I found life too cruel, I retreated to my bedroom and played songs that were about other people finding life too cruel, and when I was having a good day, I wanted to listen to music that had a dance-able tempo, and maybe share a laugh with a few friends over suggestive lyrics. It seems that this was also true for Elizabethans: music is a way for us to know that our sorrows and joys are shared.

Early modern ideas attributed the healing power of music to the air on which the music was carried, and the humoral intentions of the composers and performers, and used the science that they understood in order to explain why music affected them. Music therapists of today have different scientific approaches to the effectiveness of their treatments, and perhaps four hundred years from now people will smile at their naïve attempts to rationalize music’s therapeutic qualities.

While we can never actually change our mindset completely from the culture in which we are raised and live, the importance of empathy and imagination in research, and

in all areas of life, cannot, in my mind, be overstated.¹⁴⁹ I am a huge fan of a well-maintained spreadsheet, and get very excited when data is organized into neat figures, but, ultimately, evaluating other cultures with only my own yardstick can only limit what I am able to learn from studying them. I will probably continue to seek a doctor's care for my physical ills, but I do have a new appreciation for the curative powers of my default piece of music for my own melancholy mood, the second movement of Schubert's *Trio No. 2 in Eb Major*. I first heard this as a teenager, and there is something about it that has never failed to lessen the weight of my mood. Ficino and Elizabethans might say that it is the sanguine air entering my mind and soul through my ear that restores my soul; proponents of the Mozart Effect might say that it is because my brain's alpha waves respond to the music by becoming more orderly. Whatever the scientific or non-scientific reason, I am interested to see what future research on the subject brings.

¹⁴⁹ In his (in)famous article, "The Spin Doctors of Early Music," Richard Taruskin makes an argument that removing ourselves from our culture is not necessarily even desirable. The article was reprinted: Richard Taruskin, "The Modern Sound of Early Music," In *Text and Act: Essays on Music Performance*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, 164-195.

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