LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY'S LUTE-BOOK

By Thurston Dart

During the last twenty-five years a number of fine musical manuscripts have been added to the justly famed collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, but I doubt if any of them is more important than the one most recently acquired—Lord Herbert of Cherbury's lute-book. Like many other valuable music books, it was once in the collection of Edward Jones, harper to King George IV and a notable antiquary. It was sold by auction at Sotheby's rooms on 17 January 1956; the resources of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam, trebled by the great generosity of one anonymous benefactor, enabled the Museum to become its new owner. Such a volume has surely found the most appropriate of resting-places in a collection that already includes a magnificently bound book from the library of Dr. John Bull, as well as the most famous of all seventeenth-century manuscripts of English music—Francis Tregian's unsurpassed collection of virginal pieces, usually known as 'The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book'. The closing bid of £1,500 for Lord Herbert's lute-book may serve, indeed, as a reminder of an age when the treasures of English music were not considered particularly valuable. The 'Fitzwilliam Virginal Book' was presented to the founder of the Museum by Robert Bremner. Bremner had bought it in 1763, at the sale by auction of Dr. Pepusch's library, and the price he gave was—ten guineas.

To lovers of English literature and students of English history, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island, will need little introduction. To musicians his name may be less familiar. In his autobiography, first published in 1764 by Horace Walpole, he refers to "playing on the Lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters" during his visit to Paris in 1608-9. The contents of the present book show that his love for the instrument and its music lasted until the closing years of his life. An excellent account of him appears in the 'Dictionary of National Biography', upon which the following outline has been based.

Born on 3 March 1582/3, Edward Herbert became a gentleman-commoner of University College, Oxford, in 1596. A year or two

afterwards he married Mary, daughter of Sir William Herbert, and he made his first appearance at court in 1600. Upon the accession of King James I he was made a Knight of the Bath—an early and undoubted indication of James's esteem for his young, charming, soldierly courtier—and he then spent some time at his castle in Montgomery.

> During this time of living in the University and at home [he later wrote in his autobiography] I attained also to sing my part at first sight in Musick, and to play on the Lute with very little or almost no teaching . . . my learning of Musick was for this end that I might entertain myself at home, and altogether refresh my mind after my studies to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

He visited France for the first time in 1608, travelling with Aurelian Townsend, who was later to become the most honey-tongued of all Cavalier poets. The two young travellers returned in February 1609, understandably full of the high society in which they had moved during their stay. As Edward Herbert was later to write, with a self-esteem that begins to grate after one has read the first few pages of his 'Life':

> Sometimes also I went to the Court of the French King, Henry the fourth . . . [and] sometimes also to the Court of Queen Margaret . . . and here I saw many Balls or Masks, in all which it pleased that Queen publickly to place me next to her Chair.

We may suppose that another pleasure-loving and frivolous queen, King James's Anne of Denmark, may have become fired with a new enthusiasm for these costly devices when she was told of them at first hand by this young and personable courtier.

Edward Herbert was soon (1610) on his travels again, this time as an officer in the army with Lord Chandos. In 1614 he joined the army of the Prince of Orange as a volunteer, later visiting the Rhine and the principal cities of Italy. In Rome he stayed in the English College, at Turin with the Duke of Savoy. Unlike some of his compatriots, however, he does not seem to have been drawn towards the skirts of the Roman church, for he is next encountered at the head of an army of four thousand Protestants marching from Languedoc to Piedmont to fight with the Savoyards against the Spaniards. After being nobly entertained in the Netherlands by the Prince of Orange on his way back to England, he returned to London early in 1617 and frequented a literary circle that included Ben Jonson, Carew and John Donne. In 1619 the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham offered him the post of ambassador to the French

court, and he left for Paris on 13 May of that year. In Paris he led an extravagant and romantic life; but after five years of its heady atmosphere he was ill-advised enough to oppose some of the clauses attached to the forthcoming marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria. King James was furious. He recalled Herbert to London at short notice, dismissing him from his embassy, and appears to have banished him to the wilds of Ireland. The Irish peerage of Castle Island conferred on Herbert at this time served only to inflame the sting of disgrace and to underline the shame of banishment. For four years he was out of royal favour. In 1628, however, he was permitted to return to Montgomery Castle, and a year later his pride must have been a little soothed by his elevation to an English peerage as Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In 1632 he asked for and was granted apartments at Richmond in order to begin his work on the life and times of King Henry VIII. In 1648 he died.

This sketch will have shown something of his unique position in the political and social scene of his time. The personal anthology of lute-music made by such a man could hardly fail to be of interest for its associations alone. An examination of the two hundred and forty-two pieces contained in his lute-book shows that in fact it ranks among the most important documents of its kind still in existence. No assessment of such a collection would have been possible without the help of David Lumsden's recent and comprehensive survey of the sources of English lute-music, and I am grateful to him for allowing me to refer freely to his work. His thematic catalogue shows that Lord Herbert's lute-book is the unique source for fourteen pieces by the English lutenists John Dowland, Robert Johnson, Philip Rosseter and Daniel Bachelor; it contains good texts of another eighteen pieces by English composers already known from other books; it includes unique copies of ten pieces composed by Lord Herbert himself; and it is the only English lute-book in existence enabling one to trace the decisive change of taste from the golden style of English lute music during the earlier part of King James's reign to the artificial French style and new tunings that were to triumph during the reign of his son. The book deserves to be published in its entirety—as a unique document of musical taste, as a relic of a great man of his time and as a collection of excellent music especially chosen by an enthusiastic amateur for his own pleasure. May one hope that the Cambridge University Press might be bold enough to undertake this? The Press has done great things for most present-day subjects of University study, but almost nothing for music.

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A complete inventory and thematic catalogue was made for me by Paul Johnson soon after the manuscript arrived at the Museum, and a few dozen transcriptions amply confirm one's good impression of the quality of the music. Since such an inventory properly belongs to an edition of the manuscript as a whole, it would be out of place to print it here; but a few notes on the manuscript, on some aspects of its contents, on the composers represented in it and its probable date would seem essential to this essay, which is the first notice of the manuscript to appear in print.

The volume still retains its contemporary binding of olive morocco leather, gilt, with panelled sides enclosing a wreath similar to that used on other books from Lord Herbert's library. The reverse of the second flyleaf is inscribed in the hand he used in about 1640:

> The Lutebooke of Edward Lord Herbert, of Cherbury and Castle Island, containing diverse selected Lessons of excellent Authors in severall Cuntreys. Wherin also are some few of my owne Composition.
> E. Herbert

At the head of f.1 is a quotation from the second of Ovid's elegies written from his exile near the Black Sea:

> Diligitur nemo nisi cui fortuna secunda est.

On the reverse of the final flyleaf appear two more Latin tags, this time lacking any indication of their origins:

> Virtus laudatur et alget.
> Fortuna^{m} reverenter habe quicunq^{ue} repente
> Dives ab exili progrediere loco.[1]

Ff. 1-51, 52-82′ and 83′-90′ contain music, ff. 51′, 83 and 91-94 being blank. The music is written in French tablature for a six-course lute with diapasons, the diapasons being noted below the six-line stave. Rhythm-signs are in their usual position above the stave; but—somewhat less usually—mensural notes are used throughout, instead of the special symbols characteristic of most early lute music. In other sources this habit seems to denote a later date than their contents might at first lead one to expect. At the beginning of the book the classic tuning of the lute is used, but as the book progresses one or two less customary tunings are introduced. Several of the pieces appear to have been corrected or revised by Lord Herbert some years after they were first copied into the manuscript; these

[1] Mr. L. P. Wilkinson of King's College has helped me by identifying the first of these as a reminiscence of Juvenal, I, 74 ("Probitas laudatur et alget") and the second as from Ausonius (XIX., 2, 7-8). I am much indebted to him for his kindness. I should also like to thank Mr. Allen Percival for his help with the transcriptions.

corrections are in the blacker ink associated with the very last pieces in the book. Thirty-seven of the pieces are anonymous. Every piece save one appears to be for solo lute, and the volume contains no songs; one might have expected some from a man fortunate enough to count Jonson and Donne among his friends. Piece No. 125 is the first to make use of a marginal symbol () the meaning of which is not yet apparent. It recurs from time to time during the remainder of the book.

Miss Phyllis M. Giles, Librarian of the Fitzwilliam Museum, has been good enough to give me her expert opinion on the binding of the manuscript, its make-up and the watermarks of its paper. I should like to record my gratitude to her for her prompt and courteous help on this occasion, as on many others, and for permission to quote from her letters to me:

> The lute-book is a folio volume made up of sixteen quires of paper printed with ten six-line staves to the page. All the quires are of six leaves except quires 5 and 11, which are composed of five leaves only. Nothing seems to be missing from the text at these two points, and in quire 11 two sections of the music are written across the whole page opening where the gap would be expected to occur. (It is true that these two passages are in a different coloured ink). It therefore appears that the book was made up and bound before it was written in.
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> The paper used in these sixteen quires consists of forty-six sheets and two half-sheets of paper with the signed watermark of Jaques Lebé, a papermaker of Troyes, who died in 1616. Paper with his mark is found in use in France in the Midi as late as 1626, according to Briquet, and possibly later. There are two variants with his mark in the paper used in this book; both have a large letter B with his name on a scroll in one half of the sheet (*cf.* Briquet 8083) and the mark of a ship on the other half of the sheet. On some sheets the ship has two masts, on others three. These two variants frequently appear together in the same quire throughout the book.
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> The thinner paper used for pastedowns and flyleaves of the book has a different watermark, that of Edmon Denise, another papermaker of Troyes. A similar mark with his name (Briquet 5097) was in use from 1591. In 1600 he is mentioned in a legal document as associated in business with Jaques Lebé.
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> It appears likely that the whole book was put together and bound at the same time, and in France. The binding appears to me French in character and design. It is unlike the English bindings which were executed for Lord Herbert, and it resembles other French bindings in olive morocco with crossed palm branches, dated early in the seventeenth century. I have an illustration . . . of a similar design said to have been used by Georges Drobet on a book bound for Marie de Medicis, probably about 1611 or a little later.

Books of the kind described by Miss Giles were on sale at the

principal booksellers of almost any large city; the most probable shop for Herbert to have visited would have been the one owned by the Ballards, hereditary printers of music and music paper to the kings of France. Such volumes could be bound in accordance with the customer's wishes, or they could be bought ready bound in plain vellum or calf.

The pieces copied into the book fall into three well-defined groups, by far the greatest number of them being in Lord Herbert's own hand, using the same brownish ink. The first fifty pieces consist of preludes, fantasies, pavans, galliards and courantes by various composers whose music was at the height of its popularity during the first ten or fifteen years of the seventeenth century: Diomedes, Perrichon, Jacob, "S[r] Danielli Inglesi", Antony Holborne, John Dowland, Bataille and others. This section ends with the longest piece in the book, a setting of 'La jeune fillette' by "Mr Daniel"; the group continues with another eighty-three pieces (Nos. 51-133) in a rather different taste: courantes, preludes and fantasies are the dominant forms, and most of the composers are from the continent. A blank page separates these pieces from those comprising group two: this group begins with a handful of pavans, galliards and other forms (Nos. 134-153), English composers being well represented. From No. 154 onwards the pattern changes once again: most of the pieces are courantes, preludes or voltes, and most of the composers are continental. At No. 223 a new name appears (Hely), and a new hand. A blank page marks the beginning of the last group of pieces. First a few by Jacob and Gaultier (Nos. 227-235), then five more by Hely (Nos. 236-40) and lastly two pavans (Nos. 241 and 242) composed by Lord Herbert himself.

The first piece in the book ('Prelude des Preludes par S[r] Diomedes') is to be found in Bésard's huge and popular anthology, 'Thesaurus Harmonicus' (Cologne, 1603), at f. 4′. No. 30 ('Fantasia Lorenzino') occurs at f. 27′ of the 'Thesaurus', and Nos. 48 ('Gagliarda') and 114 ('Fantasia Alphonso Ferrabosco') are simplified versions of pieces occurring on ff. 115 and 32 of the same collection. I have not yet been able to discover any further concordances either with the 'Thesaurus' or with such other widely circulating collections as those by Nicholas Vallet (Amsterdam, 1618-19), Fuhrmann and van den Hove; but the task of finding these concordances is very laborious and I have so far been able to make only a preliminary survey of the main printed sources.

A few words about the composers whose music is represented in the manuscript may help to set it in better perspective and to form some estimate of the date of its compilation. The composers are

listed in the order of their first occurrence in the manuscript, the number of the first piece by them being given in brackets after their names. For information about Belleville and Desponde I am indebted to my friends Mme. Nanie Bridgman and M. François Lesure; most of the information about the others has been derived from Lionel de La Laurencie's 'Les luthistes français', Michel Brenet's 'Notes sur l'histoire du luth en France' ('Rivista Musicale Italiana', 1898-99), François Lesure's 'La Facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle' ('Galpin Society Journal', VII) and the preface to the French Musicological Society's edition of 'La Rhétorique des Dieux'.

SECTION 1, PART I: Nos. 1-63

"Diomedes" (No. 1): born at Venice in about 1570, he spent most of his life in the service of the kings of Poland and died some time after 1615. In Bésard's opinion he was one of the three Apollos of the lute, the others being Lorenzini of Rome and Charles Bocquet of Paris. Music by men such as these was eagerly sought after throughout Europe, but its life was not long.

"Perrichon" (No. 2) was dead by 1600; compare the 'Gaillard faicte sur un volte du feu [Jean] Perrichon' which was printed as No. 15 of Francisque's 'Trésor d'Orphée', published in Paris in 1600. Perrichon appears to have worked in Paris throughout his life.

"Jacob" (No. 3) must surely be Jacob Reys of Poland (1545-1605). Contemporary documents tell how he "drew the soul from the lute" and "never played so well as when he was drunk". He lived and worked mostly in France, and some of his music may be found in the printed collections of Bésard, Fuhrmann and van den Hove.

"S[r] Danielli Inglesi" (No. 6) is either John Danyel (*c.* 1565-*c.* 1630) or Daniel Bachelor, about whose life almost nothing is known. John Danyel is the more probable, since music by Bachelor appears later in the manuscript, ascribed to "D.B." or "Dan. Bach."

Holborne (No. 9), Dowland (No. 13) and Rosseter (No. 16) need no introduction. After 1620 or so their music fell from favour with increasing speed.

"Mr. Jeames" (No. 14: 'Gagliarda') seems to have written only one piece of music, for this galliard occurs in many different versions. Some sources ascribe it to "Mr. Dr. James of Christ Church", but there seems little doubt that it was in fact composed by James Harding, a member of the King's Musick from 1603 to 1625.

"Poulonois" (No. 17) would seem to stand for Jacob Reys of Poland; see "Jacob", above.

"Belleville" (No. 18) must be the Sieur de Belleville who died about 1647. He became famous as a choreographer and player of the mandora at the French court towards 1620.

"Desponde" or "Despont" (No. 22): one of a Parisian family of musicians. Robert, the eldest we can be concerned with here, was an instrument maker who flourished between 1573 and 1612. His son, Luc, was a lutenist in Paris between 1619 and 1634, became musician in ordinary to the French queen mother in about 1630, and died in 1636. Luc's brother, Pierre, was a lutenist in Paris between 1619 and 1634, became one of the king's musicians in 1621, and was subsequently Master of the Music to Queen Marguerite. The "Desponde" of Lord Herbert's lute-book is likely to have been Luc or perhaps Pierre.

"Battaille" (No. 24). This is the lutenist Gabriel Bataille (*c.* 1575-1630), Master of the Music to the French queen from 1617 onwards.

"Ballarde" (No. 25). This is presumably Robert Ballard, lutenist to Queen Marie de Medicis and teacher of the lute to the future Louis XIII.

"Lorenzino" (No. 30) and "Bocquet" (No. 31). Lorenzini was Bésard's teacher; he flourished between 1570 and 1600. "Bocquet" may denote Charles Bocquet or, more probably, his son Robert (*fl.* 1598-1626). The elder Bocquet and Lorenzini were the remaining two of Bésard's three Apollos.

"EHi" (No. 33: 'Courante'). This must surely be an abbreviation for E[dward] H[erbert]i. His other pieces are Nos. 132 and 133 (two virtually identical preludes), 183 ('Prelude H:'), 214 ("Courante of my owne composition at Montgomery Castle, Aug. 10, 1628"), 216 ("Pavan of my owne composition 3 Martij 16xx"—a birthday piece. The last two numerals have been erased, but ultraviolet light reveals remains of "19"), 225 ("Pavan of the composition of mee Edward Lord Herbert 1627 3to Martij; die scilicet natalitio"—another birthday piece), 241 ("Pavan of the Composition of mee Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island 1640"), 242 ("A Pavan composed by mee Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island; 1639") and 28 ("Pavan of my own composition 3 martij 1626 Herbert"). The last of these is yet another birthday piece, a later addition to the manuscript copied out of sequence at a place where there happened to be room for it.

"R. Jhonson" (No. 35) and "Daniel Bacheler" (No. 42). Two more English musicians who flourished during the earlier years of the seventeenth-century. Johnson (*c.* 1583-1633) wrote much masque music, including some of the earliest settings of lyrics by Shakespeare.

Bachelor was Groom of the Privy Chamber to Queen Anne, consort of James I, and seems to have flourished between 1600 and 1616.

SECTION 1, PART II: Nos. 64-133

"Saman" (No. 76). More usually spelt as Samain; he was a musician to Louis XIII.

"du Gast gentilome Provençal" (No. 78). He is so far unidentified, but is likely to have been a gentleman amateur at the Parisian court. His 'Fantasie' (No. 85) is the only piece in the whole manuscript to have an accompanying part in staff notation (tenor clef, no words).

"Gauthier" (No. 87). This is presumably Jacques Gaultier d'Angleterre, who left France in about 1617 after killing his opponent in a duel, came to England and was made much of by the Duke of Buckingham. A member of the King's Musick from 1619 to 1648, he was heard by Huygens upon his London visit in 1622; he became the most famous and influential lutenist of his time in all England. The possibility cannot be excluded that the pieces ascribed to "Gauthier" in the manuscript are by one or other of the Gaultiers who worked in France, Denis or Ennemond, for instance. But in view of the history of the manuscript, Jacques is more likely to have been their composer.

"Pietreson" (No. 88). This must be Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), the most eminent Dutch composer of his time. None of his lute music has been known hitherto. The next piece in the book is also by him; so are Nos. 179 and 186.

"Heart" (No. 104). This is probably Marin Heart (*fl.* 1598-1611), member of an important Parisian family of instrument makers and players.

"Angelica de Ballardi" (No. 110). Is this piece perhaps related to the 'Favorites d'Angélique' in Robert Ballard's exceedingly rare printed tablature of 1611? No copy of the book exists in England. Angélique [Paulet] was a Parisian lutenist, and the putative inventor of a simplified lute called the Angélique (see 'Galpin Society Journal', VII, p. 111).

"[Eustache] du Cauroy" (No. 111). Canon of the Sainte Chapelle and "Surintendant de la Musique du Roy" from 1599 onwards, Eustache du Caurroy was born in 1549 and died in 1609. He was an excellent composer of vocal and instrumental music.

"Alphonso Ferabosco" (No. 114). This is almost certainly the younger Alfonso, who died in 1628.

"Courante l'espine" (No. 131). Compare the 'Fantasye de

Maistre l'espine' in Vallet's 'Secret des Muses', book 2 (1619), p. 19. This reference shows that "l'espine" must be the name of a composer and not, as one might at first suppose, the title of a piece. No biographical details are available.

SECTION 2, PART I: Nos. 134-153

No new names occur, but the pieces are for the most part by English composers.

SECTION 2, PART II: Nos. 154-222

"Lanclos" (No. 170). This is the lutenist, father of the famous Ninon de l'Enclos. He fled from France in 1632 after killing the Baron de Chabans in a duel and died in 1649.

"Coperario" (No. 172). A unique example of lute music by Giovanni Coperario (John Cooper), the most italianate English composer of his time. He died in 1626.

"Cauallier du Luth" (No. 208). This is presumably Lorenzini, who had been honoured with the papal order of the Golden Spur.

SECTION 3, PART I: Nos. 223-226

[Cuthbert] Hely (No. 223). His unusual Christian name suggests that he may have come from near Durham. He perhaps belonged to the same family as Benjamin Hely, a late seventeenth-century violist, and Henry He(a)le, member of the King's Musick from 1682 until at least 1700, but I have been unable to discover anything about his life or work. A distinctive hand is used for his pieces, and the forms of the signatures suggest that the music was copied by the composer himself.

SECTION 3, PART II: Nos. 227-242

This begins with music by Jacob and Gaultier. Then come five more pieces by Hely, including one of the only two examples in the book of the newest fashionable dance, the "Sarebrand". The other example is also in this section. The section ends with two pavans by Lord Herbert, dated 1640 and 1639.

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So much for the composers represented in the manuscript. Their names can be a valuable guide towards answering questions about how and when the manuscript was compiled. The French paper and binding of the book would seem to associate its purchase with

one or other of Edward Herbert's visits to Paris (1608-9 and 1619-24). The motto from Ovid at the head of f. 1 is in the same hand and ink as the great majority of the pieces in the book. Its position of honour at the very beginning of the book suggests that it reflects the mood of the writer at the time when he began to copy out his repertory of lute music. Similar mottoes exist in other lute-books of the time. There is only one period of Lord Herbert's life to which Ovid's words readily apply, bearing in mind the source from which they are taken, and that is the period of his banishment in Ireland (1624-28). The quotation from Ausonius on the last flyleaf is in the same hand and similar ink; it would be especially appropriate to the end of this period of Lord Herbert's life, when he was recalled from living in one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the British Isles. That he felt his disgrace keenly is evident from a letter he wrote in 1634-5, referring to More and Bacon as "great personages" who pursued historical studies "in the time of their disgrace, when otherwise they were disabled to appear". It would seem sensible therefore to assume that he brought the blank book back with him from Paris, that he began to copy music into it in 1624 and that he had finished compiling the greater part of it by 1628. By August of that year he was back at Montgomery Castle (see No. 214: 'Pavan'. . . . "at Montgomery Castle Aug. 10 1628"). We need not look far for an analogous instance of a music-book's compilation as a sensitive man's solace in a time of adversity: Francis Tregian compiled the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book during his imprisonment in the Fleet between 1609 and 1619. Lord Herbert's own dated pieces have been copied into the manuscript in a rather haphazard order that does not correspond with the order in which they were composed:

No. 216	3 March 1619/20(?)
No. 28	3 March 1626/7
No. 225	3 March 1627/8
No. 214	10 August 1628
No. 242	1639
No. 241	1640

This unexpected circumstance suggests in its turn that the manuscript was intended as a fair copy of the repertory he particularly enjoyed playing, and that it may have been compiled from a collection of loose papers dating back to his first attempts at lute playing during the earliest years of the century. Once again there would seem to be a close analogy in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, which was almost undoubtedly put together in the same way from

loose papers belonging to Francis Tregian or brought to him by his friends. If this theory is correct, it would account for the strange variations in taste appearing between successive sections of the manuscript, despite the unity of handwriting and ink evident in the greater part of the book. In manuscripts of music blank pages are never without significance; from at least as early as the fifteenth century they were deliberately used to divide one section of music from another, and I am convinced that they are so used in Lord Herbert's book. In general it is true to say that the groups of pieces correspond closely with the various periods of his life, and I cannot believe that this is a mere coincidence. Thus Nos. 1-16 are typical of the English taste in lute music during the earliest years of the seventeenth century; Nos. 17-41 suggest Paris in 1608; Nos. 42-63—all save one of the named composers are English—suggest his return to England in 1609; Nos. 64-133, his years of wandering on the continent from 1610 to 1617; Nos. 134-153 (once again English composers are well represented) could suitably be associated with his stay in England between 1617 and 1619; Nos. 154-222 suggest Paris once again (1619-24). Hely's pieces begin at No. 223; after a blank page comes a small group by Jacob Reys—was Lord Herbert going through his early papers once again, after having copied out his first selection from them?—and 'Les Larmes de Gautier'—the only emotional title in the whole book; surely Lord Herbert was still feeling his disgrace at the time this was copied. The book ends with five more pieces by Hely and two by its compiler, dated 1639 and 1640; four blank pages suggest that after 1640 an ageing and disappointed man had little energy left for composing, in a world disintegrating into civil war.

These suggestions can be no more than hypothetical, but they would seem to account for most of the special features of the book. In summary, I would propose that Edward Herbert began to collect lute music from about 1600 until 1624, in loose sheets and working copies. His exile to Ireland gave him the leisure and incentive to make a fair copy of the best pieces from this collection, arranged more or less in the order in which he had learned them, and most of his manuscript lute-book was compiled between 1624 and 1628, as a cure for melancholy (compare Thomas Myriell's manuscript collection of vocal music, with its engraved title-page for each volume bearing the words 'Tristitiae Remedium' and the date 1616). With his old passion for the lute rekindled in this way, he began to try his hand at composing once again; his first attempt (No. 33) was perhaps made during his stay in Paris in 1608-9—note the unusually laconic signature, consisting only of initials—but three of his other

pieces are dated in the later 1620s. His first meeting with Hely perhaps took place in 1628, the year in which he was permitted to return from Ireland; Nos. 223 and 224 are by Hely, No. 225 is Lord Herbert's birthday piece for 1628 (dated 3 March 1627, Old Style). Hely was probably a professional lutenist, and his comments on Lord Herbert's self-taught technique may have prompted the alterations to some of the earliest pieces in the book; these alterations are in the blacker ink used for the pieces dated from 1628 onwards. Another visit by Hely must surely have been the occasion for his copying some of his newest pieces (Nos. 236-240) into Lord Herbert's book, perhaps after Lord Herbert had moved into apartments at Richmond in 1632. The repertory was now complete; the darkening political scene of the closing years of the 1630s may well have been responsible for Lord Herbert's choice of form for his last compositions, the passionate pavans of 1639 and 1640. During the greater part of the seventeenth century the pavan was considered the most solemn and eloquent of all musical forms, and named pavans (for instance, 'The Earl of Salisbury's Pavans' by William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons) seem to have commemorated the death of the personage whose name they bore. By 1640 Lord Herbert can hardly have helped feeling that the final curtain was closing on the scenes in which his life had been spent. It was time to lay aside his lute: "arbitre de l'amour, de la paix, de la guerre", as Abraham Bosse was to describe it on the frontispiece to 'La Rhétorique des Dieux', compiled in 1652—four years after the death of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island.