

## CHAPTER 7

### CASE STUDIES

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*HERBERT*

*ML AND KRAKOW*

*BOARD AND HIRSCH*

*MYNSHALL AND SWARLAND*

RICHARD ALLISON

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DAVID LUMSDEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE lute sources in the 1950s provided prospective lute scholars not only with the first list of lute music concordances, but also dates and an approximate chronology for all the sources available at that time. With the progress that has relatively recently been made in paleographical technique coupled with more recent studies of specific manuscripts, it is evident that a large number of sources were wrongly dated, though not often by many years. However, as is discussed in Chapter 2, since the development and maturity of this repertory is compressed into such a relatively short time-span, a mis-dating of 15 years can be quite significant, particularly if the source is thereby inconsistent with its peers. In most cases, re-dating the sources with the new information to hand has not had unexpected repercussions, nor has the new evidence substantially contradicted existing research. On the other hand, some sources have raised issues, though not necessarily those of dating, that require detailed examination, particularly where established research appears to have explored all the necessary avenues of investigation fully. Manuscripts which have merited closer examination are discussed below.<sup>1</sup> Some of the scribal concordances are particularly controversial as they call into question many of the premises on which previous research has been based. It should be emphasized that the handwriting of the scribes is never the only evidence considered in any case.

It is frequently unnecessary to describe a hand in detail when a tabulation of its features is sufficient. In the case studies below, much descriptive detail has been omitted in favour of graphic demonstration, and only the points that are particularly salient are discussed, together with the resulting implications for those manuscripts.

There are numerous other examples of scribal concordances in currently unrelated sources that are not discussed here. The concordances do not, however, alter information about the sources themselves to any significant degree. These concordances are noted in table 19, p.ØØ. Samples of the work of each scribe are given in Appendix 1, where they may be compared.

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<sup>1</sup> I am particularly grateful to Dr Malcolm Parkes, Keble College, Oxford, who has given freely of his time to engage in detailed examination of these sources, and also to Detective Constables Hampshire and Short in the Oxford Constabulary Cheque Fraud Office for discussing modern techniques of examining hands to detect forgery.

**§HERBERT**

LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY'S LUTE BOOK: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms.Mus.689. Book written by two scribes with similar hands, and one further scribe. Currently dated 1624-40 as a result of some dated pieces of music composed by Herbert. Signed by Herbert on the front endpaper.

Three writers have examined this manuscript in some detail since Lumsden's brief and incomplete examination of the book in Sotheby's salerooms. As their work has been so central to the subsequent understanding (or misunderstanding) of its contents, these studies were reviewed in Craig 1991 when the manuscript was re-examined.<sup>2</sup> Thurston Dart<sup>3</sup> provided a comprehensive biography of the owner, and Curtis Price<sup>4</sup> made a study of the contents and discovered certain organizational features that accounted for some of the anomalies for which Dart was unable to find a satisfactory explanation. Both provided an index of the complete contents of the book<sup>5</sup> listing the original ascriptions, but neither attempted to list concordances either for those pieces Lumsden had examined, or for those that he omitted. Lumsden thought (falsely, as it later turned out) that the English music in the book was written in *vieil ton* but all the French music made use of transitional tunings, so he ignored a large portion of its contents as he believed they did not fit his *vieil ton* or date criteria. A further brief examination of the book was undertaken by Matthew Spring<sup>6</sup> attempting to fill in the gaps left by Lumsden, but in fact not doing so, as he also limited himself strictly to the music that fitted the scope of his thesis. He aimed to provide a study of the later English repertory that the book contained (i.e. that dating from after 1630), and the result was that he only examined the work of Edward Herbert himself and the otherwise unknown Cuthbert Hely. Price built on Dart's work, and Spring in his turn built on Dart, Price and Lumsden, so that together all four studies should constitute almost everything that can be ascertained about the compilation of the manuscript and its owner. Looking closely, though, it appears that all four writers overlooked or did not re-examine important elements in examining the manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

Before the study published in Craig 1991, the compilation of Edward Herbert's manuscript was generally accepted to span the years 1624 to 1640, and it was believed to have been written in three hands: Scribe A, Scribe B (the autograph hand of Herbert of Cherbury, 1583-1648) and Scribe C (responsible only for the music of Cuthbert Hely, and probably his hand). 1624 was the year in which Herbert was exiled to Castle Island in Ireland—a location frequently cited by Scribe B, and possibly also referred to in the quotation on f.1r, from the second of Ovid's elegies, written from his exile near

<sup>2</sup> The following discussion is a summary of the findings discussed in the article: as only the conclusions are reproduced here, readers are referred to the original for detailed discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Dart 1957.

<sup>4</sup> Price 1969.

<sup>5</sup> Dart only in the reprint of his article, and with many inaccuracies in readings. Both Dart 1957 and Price 1969 modernized or standardized the use of the letters 'u' and 'v', and also 'i' and 'j' which were interchangeable in the seventeenth century. Thus original readings of e.g. *pauan* became *pavan*. Scribal preference for either letter can, however, be significant, so original spellings are retained exactly in all transcriptions of primary source material.

<sup>6</sup> Spring 1987A.

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to Dr Victor Coelho of the University of Calgary for his comments on the scribes in the book, which led me to re-examine their work in greater detail.

the Black Sea. This evidence, together with the probable time-filling purpose of the book, seemed good enough to Dart for the date of inception, but it seems unlikely that Herbert began the book before he made the inscription on the second flyleaf, naming himself as "Lord Herbert, of Cherbury and Castle Island". Until 1629, he could only claim the title of Herbert of Castle Island.

The terminal date relies on three factors. The date of Herbert's death, the dates provided in Herbert's autograph hand: 16[19],<sup>8</sup> 1626, 1627, 1628, 1639 and 1640;<sup>9</sup> and the assumption first made by Dart and maintained by Price that the two principal Scribes, A and B, were both Herbert of Cherbury, at different times in his life. There is no doubt that in several cases Herbert, whose autograph is only in the hand of Scribe B, added pieces to the collection after Scribe A had finished. The dates indicate the date of composition of their respective pieces, but do not necessarily also indicate the date on which they were copied. Indeed, the completed if inaccurate state of these copies, lacking any sign of ongoing compositional process, suggests that they were probably composed some time before they were added to the book. Further, the inscription on f.82r: 'Pavan of the Composition of mee Edward Lord Herbert 1627 ...' must have been written in after 1629, the date of his elevation to the English peerage.

It is also tempting to cast doubt on Dart's '1619' reading for one of Herbert's compositions, accepted but not verified by both Price and Spring. It has not been possible to clarify this, partly through a lack of ultraviolet equipment in the Fitzwilliam Museum, but mainly because the edge of the page is now missing. The doubt is crystallized when we note that the piece is essentially the same as that on f.82r (dated 1627), described by Dart as 'another birthday piece'. It is more likely that the damage to f.79r had obscured the date to too great an extent for Dart to make an accurate reading, even under ultraviolet light, and that in fact this piece is also dated 1627, leaving Herbert's earliest piece to date only from 1626.

Dart does not discuss the hands, simply assuming they both belonged to Herbert, despite the fact that the inscription on the front flyleaf and all Herbert's pieces were undoubtedly written by Scribe B, as is the first piece in the book. It was rare with any scribe from this period to leave his first leaf unused, since paper was by no means a cheap commodity, and when a scribe had a collection that was clearly going to require all the space in his book, he would not have left any leaf unused without very good reason.<sup>10</sup> Price's arguments for Scribe B having worked after Scribe A had finished are relatively unassailable, but still do not adequately explain how the first piece in the book came to be written by Scribe B. Perhaps Scribe B worked in the book both before and after Scribe A. On looking closely at both hands, several questions arose that seemed to call into question the rather seminal assumption that the whole book, with the exception of the music by Cuthbert Hely, was written by Edward Herbert.

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<sup>8</sup> Folio 79r. This is unreadable in the manuscript, but Dart in Dart 1957 read the number '19' under ultraviolet light.

<sup>9</sup> On folios 13v, 82r, 78r, 90v and 90r respectively.

<sup>10</sup> The exception here is *Sampson*, in which the original scribe left not only the first two leaves unused, but also left unused pages later in the book. As the collection is comparatively short, it is not possible to tell whether these omissions relate to a copying order, or were more random in nature. This is particularly unusual for a pedagogical book and all other indications suggest this was its original purpose.



The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top left, there is a circled section with the handwritten text "Corrente" and "Santitas" written below it. The music is written on multiple staves, with various notes, rests, and bar lines. The notation is dense and appears to be a sketch or a working draft. There are several systems of staves, with some systems containing multiple staves. The handwriting is clear but shows signs of being a working manuscript. At the bottom of the page, there are several empty staves.

ex. 47 Herbert f.46v, reduced to 82%

Price describes the quite considerable variants between Scribes A and B and reasons that the differences were attributable to 'an unconscious change of writing style over the years', a reason that hardly seems sufficient for the quite radical habitual differences he describes. The one feature which was least likely to be an unconscious change, that is the alteration of the terminal word from *fine* (Scribe A) to *finis* (Scribe B), Price suggests may be deliberate, but does not offer a convincing reason for it. He discusses f.46v of the manuscript, shown here in example 47, with both the scribes at work on one page.

This also illustrates well the variation in slant between the two hands, as well as a number of other noteworthy elements not otherwise described by Price. Scribe A writes his letter 'b' with a single circular motion (much as a modern writer would shape the number 6), while Scribe B uses the down-up-down motion of a modern 'b'. Scribe A always writes to the end of the line, but never goes outside the ruled block, and thus does not always complete the line with a full bar. Scribe B always ends the line with a full bar, even when this means leaving a small space unused, or having to extend the pre-ruled lines. One final note on this page; although the two pieces were clearly copied by different hands, the titles were just as clearly written by the same hand. It could be argued that Scribe A was leaving a note for himself that this was the piece that he wanted copied next, but it may be taxing credibility to suggest that he did not fill in the piece for some 15 years. If the similarity of the hand in the titles is taken as an argument for the two scribes being the same, this does not explain why the tablature hand has changed so radically, but the title hand has not.

Not obvious from this page is the apparent inexperience of the copying of Scribe B (Herbert) when compared to that of Scribe A. Like most experienced copyists, Scribe A tailors his pieces to fit exactly the space for which they were intended, but Scribe B seems to lack this ability to judge, and ends up having to extend lines, add new staves, and sometimes meander onto unrelated folios to complete a piece. In many cases, this could be explained as the scribe 'squeezing' extra pieces into the book, but in as many cases that explanation is not sufficient. The lack of accuracy in Herbert's copying of his own pieces—all only in hand B—also confirms the probability that Herbert was not as good a copyist as the owner of hand A. If the hands both belonged to the same scribe, it is unlikely that his copying skills would have deteriorated over the years, rather the reverse. As a composer, Herbert was hardly to be considered competent.

By all accounts,<sup>11</sup> Herbert was somewhat arrogant and his pride in his own music was apparent, all signed in generous detail—but only by Scribe B. If Scribe A is Herbert copying 1624-8, why did he not include the Castle Island and earlier pieces at that time, and why did he not inscribe the flyleaf at that time? Perhaps he did. Dart was convinced that the two hands belonged to Herbert. Price introduced an element of doubt, but still concluded that the hands both belonged to him, and were entered into the book a number of years apart. In fact, this may only be the partial truth. It seems unlikely that the scribe who initiated the copying should begin anywhere but on the first folio of the

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<sup>11</sup> Mostly written by Herbert himself, and reviewed in Dart 1957.

book, and equally unlikely that Herbert should inscribe the flyleaf and put in the first piece in the manuscript some 20 years after the work had been started. What seems a more likely explanation, is that Herbert employed a copyist for much of the work, possibly an Italian as this is the only known source—English or Italian—that refers to a 'Sr Danielli Inglesi'.<sup>12</sup> He copied the first piece in the book, and then left the Scribe A to do the main work. When his copyist had finished, or during his work, Herbert then added pieces himself, most notably those of his own making. Herbert is known to have employed a secretary who would have used a counterfeit version of Herbert's hand as part of his job.<sup>13</sup> The most likely probability is that Scribe A was Herbert's secretary.

One further possibility exists: if it is accepted that Scribe A is not Herbert, then it is possible that Herbert could have obtained the partially complete book from a third party, and added his own pieces in accordance with the previous owner's key divisions. However, this still does not explain Herbert's activity on the first folio.

### Conclusion

Dart, Price and Spring concur in the belief that the last 15 pieces in the book were copied later than the main part of it. Here, Herbert's autograph hand has clearly deteriorated from its earlier appearances, though its principal characteristics—the shape of the letters, the slant and the manner in which he covers the page—remain unchanged.

If Herbert inscribed the flyleaf when he started to compile the book, then the book cannot have been started before 1629, when he became Lord Herbert of Cherbury. On the other hand, we have no very good reasons for supposing that the book could not have been started until the first page was written. The only facts we can offer with certainty are that Scribe B, Herbert of Cherbury, used the book after Scribe A had finished working. We cannot tell how long a gap there was between the activity of the two scribes, if there was in fact a gap, and we have no good reasons for supposing that Scribe A was Herbert; quite the reverse in fact. It is almost certainly true that the last few pieces in the book are later than the main body, but again without knowing how late, or early, the main body is, we cannot say how much later—5 days or 15 years? If we follow Dart's reasoning regarding the Latin tags, then the book was probably started in 1624, but much of the work done by Scribe B must have been started after 1629. On the other hand, the Latin tags are written by Scribe B, which implies either that they date from after 1629, or that Herbert's hand did not change appreciably from 1624 to 1630. Perhaps the whole book dates from c1630, with the exception of the last 15 pieces, that date from 1640.

Dart gives very plausible reasons for the book having been started in 1624, but his similarly plausible account of its composition has been convincingly dismissed by Price, so his date of inception may not be as unassailable as it first appears. His main argument for the 1624-8 period revolves around the two Latin tags inscribed in the text, though Dart himself gives evidence that Herbert still

<sup>12</sup> Folio 3v. Other titles early in the book refer to English and foreign authors as 'Sr' rather than 'Mr', the form in which they appear later in the book in both hands A and B.

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 4.

felt the disgrace of his exile long after it was over, and thus it is possible that he may have written the tags later, particularly as the literary evidence points conclusively to Herbert's (i.e. Scribe B's) activity dating from after 1630. Assuming the tags are in Herbert's hand, which is likely, and we know that they date from the 1630s, then we now have no reason at all for assuming the book was copied before that date, as Scribe A gives no dateable elements. It seems highly unlikely that Scribe A is Herbert, as the scribe clearly has quite a different level of skill from Herbert and this copying lacks the evidence of his personality so abundant in the appearances of Scribe B. In this case we are not faced with the problem that concerned Price, that two hands belonging to the same scribe could be so different. The only question then, is to decide when Scribe A was writing. Like many manuscripts that are approximately dateable, this manuscript contains a mixture of retrospective and modern music in an old style of tuning, but one that had not entirely gone out of use. Dart may have been correct in suggesting that it was a copy of a loose-leaf collection, gathered over some years prior to copying.

It is rarely possible to reach a satisfactory conclusion in cases such as these. When faced with the evidence above, the obvious course is to conclude that Scribe A was probably copying just before Herbert started work, and the likelihood is strong that the gap between their respective periods of activity was quite small. Thus the major part of the manuscript probably dates from the early or mid 1630s, with the exception of the last 15 pieces, that date from 1640.



## §*ML* AND *KRAKOW*

THE *ML* LUTE BOOK: London, British Library Add.Ms.38539. Currently dated *c*1610 and one piece 1630-40. In the hand of Margaret L. (initials on the cover), identified by jottings on the flyleaf as Margaret. Whether Margaret L. was the principal copyist is a moot point. Copying of the main scribes may be in two layers.

THE *KRAKOW* LUTE BOOK: Poland, Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Berlin.Mus.Ms.40641. Probably dating *c*1615-20. Small collection written by one principal scribe and two, possibly three, minor scribes. Studied only in facsimile due to difficulties in gaining access to the original source.

The original owner of *ML* (also known in the past as the Matthew Locke book and the Sturt lute book) purchased a blank ruled book with a binding dating from some time between *c*1606 and 1627, and had their initials, M.L., stamped on the front cover.<sup>14</sup> This may have been Margaret L..., whose name appears in a doggerel verse inside the manuscript. Apart from this, there is no information about the original owner of the manuscript. John Sturt was lutenist to Prince Henry in 1612, played in Chapman's Middle Temple Maske (15th February, 1613), and was a London Wait from 1613 until his death shortly before 15th April, 1625. Apart from the six pieces in this manuscript, his lute compositions survive in *Board*, *Dd.4.22*, *Nn.6.36*, *Swarland* and *Krakow*. Altogether this provides us with only seven extant solos, and the presence of six of them in *ML* seems to have been one of the reasons for its having originally acquired the association with the composer. Apart from this, there is no evidence to suggest why Sturt's name had been postulated at any time as an owner or scribe of the book. The name of Matthew Locke was suggested by the British Library because of the initials on the cover, but since he was born some time after the book was bound and sold, that association was discarded fairly quickly.

The Latin verse on the name Margaret (f.56r) refers to her accomplishments, among which we may assume was a mastery of the lute. Italic hand, used in a bastard form for the tablature in *ML*, was apparently the hand preferred by ladies since it required less application to learn than the secretary hand.<sup>15</sup> If this is the case, it increases the likelihood of a feminine hand, though most lute hands by the early seventeenth century were italic. More significant is the number of other manuscripts of lute music from this period known to have been compiled by young ladies, and showing very similar contents and copying practices to this one—particularly *Board* and *Pickeringe*. The first layer of scribal activity in the manuscript is dated 1615, with music copied into the gaps left by the first scribe in a slightly different, and possibly later hand, and one or two pieces added at the end of the book. The latest copying seems to date from *c*1630-40,<sup>16</sup> and is probably not related to the principal copyist's work.

Spencer identifies some fifteen scribes at work in the book,<sup>17</sup> most of them contributing only fragmentary lines of text or musical tables. Two wrote mensural music, and their activity does not seem to be related to that of the writers of the lute tablature. Only five of the scribes are responsible

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<sup>14</sup> Facsimile with introductory study: Spencer 1985B.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>16</sup> Spencer 1985B, xx.

<sup>17</sup> Spencer 1985B, ix-xx.

for lute music. Some of the others may be the same scribes as are found in the lute music, but it is not possible to say whether this is the case or not.

The principal lute scribe begins to write on f.2, and continues to do so apparently without interruption until f.27. The hand is extremely regular and carefully organized in layout: where there is not enough room to write a complete piece on one opening, a new opening is started. To this compilation, a second hand has added music from f. 27 to f.32, and also filled in some of the larger gaps in the original compilation with small pieces from two to seven lines in length. Three further lute hands contribute one piece of music each on ff.32, 32v and 33v.

The scribes of particular interest are the first two, whose hands are extremely similar in many respects, although one appears to be less fluid than the other, and may have been written by an older scribe; possibly the same scribe writing some years apart. The two scribes use separate distinctive terminal double bars, and this was one of the main points made by Spencer in identifying two different hands rather than two forms of one hand.

A third hand was discussed by Spencer in connection with this source; the principal hand in *Krakow*, which was rediscovered in 1982 after having been lost since 1945. This lute book has only been available to the present writer in the form of photographs and microfilm, which has hampered the examination of the hands. However, reproductions are more than adequate to show shape and angulation—all that is lost is an appreciation of ink colour and any effect the quality of the paper may have had on the script. Boetticher<sup>18</sup> dated the manuscript c1700, but it seems far more likely that it dates from a period c1615, since the repertory has so much in common with other English manuscripts of this date. That it originated in England is also highly likely, since the repertory seems to originate from the English court and is particularly concerned with maske music. Of the 30 folios in the manuscript, only thirteen were used, and all of these were written on by this scribe. Seven bars of an incomplete piece were written in by a second scribe on f.3, and a fragment of three bars by a third scribe on f.10, followed by a number of letters written in what may be a fourth hand. There is not enough of this hand to tell, though it would be tempting to link it with one of the minor contributors to *ML*. There are many concordances with *Board*, *ML* and also with *Nn.6.36*. *Board* and *ML* are known to date from the second decade of the seventeenth century, or possibly even later, and the majority of the music is in the French dance forms that became popular in England from c1615 onwards, the ballet and courant. There are also many concordances with Vallet 1615.

The manuscript is much smaller in both size and format than *ML*, but it seems probable that the main scribe in this book may also be identified as one of the lute scribes of *ML*. Spencer<sup>19</sup> suggests that the scribe of *Krakow* and the principal hand of *ML* are the same person. At present nothing is known of the provenance of *Krakow*, apart from the fact that it was originally housed in the Preussischer Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung, Berlin.

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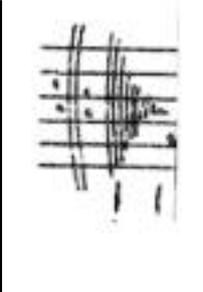
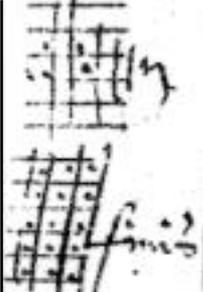
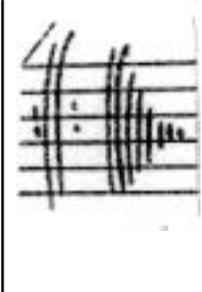
<sup>18</sup> Boetticher 1978, 39.

<sup>19</sup> Spencer 1985B, xiv.

**TABLE 27**  
CONTENTS OF *KRAKOW*  
Concordances with *ML* are listed.

Folio	Original ascription	Title	Composer
	<deleted matter>		
i.....		[c1936 paper?]	
ii.....		[blank]	
iiiv.....		[watercolour picture]	
1/1.....	<i>Ball</i> [et].....	Ballet (2 strains).....	
1/2.....		The Prince's Maske/The lady Eliza's maske.....	
1v/1.....	<i>3 Ballet</i> .....	Mrs Mary Hoffman's Almain.....	John Sturt
	<i>ML 2v/1</i>		
1v/2-2/1.....	<i>4 Ballet</i> .....	Second of the Prince's Maske.....	Robert Johnson
2/2.....	<5> <i>Ballet</i> .....	Ballet.....	?Robert Johnson
2v.....	<i>5 Ballet</i> .....	Lady Banning's Almain/Ballet.....	John Sturt
3/1.....	<6> <i>Ballet</i> .....	The Prince's Almain.....	Robert Johnson
	<i>ML 17/2</i>		
3/2.....		Fragment.....	
3v-4.....	<i>Passamez</i> [e].....	Passamezzo.....	
4v-5.....	<i>fantazia</i> .....	Fantasia.....	
5v/1.....	<i>Courante</i> .....	Courant La Rosignoll.....	
6.....	<i>Volte John Sturte</i> .....	Volt.....	John Sturt
	<i>ML 21v/1</i>		
6v-7/1.....	<i>Ballet</i> .....	Ballet.....	
7/2.....	<i>Courant</i> .....	Courant.....	
7v-8.....	<i>Galliard</i> .....	Galliard.....	Charles Bocquet/M Webster
	<i>ML 21</i>		
8v-9/1.....	<i>Courant</i> .....	Courant.....	
	<i>ML 26v/1</i>		
9/2.....	<i>Ballet</i> .....	Ballet.....	
9v/1.....	<i>6 Ballet</i> .....	Almain.....	Robert Johnson
	<i>ML 16/2</i>		
9v/2-10/1.....	<i>7 Ballet</i> .....	Almain Hit it and Take it/Ballet.....	Robert Johnson
	<i>ML 20v/1</i>		
10/2.....	<i>Courant</i> .....	Courant.....	
10v/1.....	<i>Courant</i> .....	Courant.....	
10v/2-11.....	<i>Courant</i> .....	Courant.....	
	<i>ML 18v</i>		
11v-12.....	<i>Courant Jo: Sturt</i> .....	Courant.....	John Sturt
	<i>ML 21v/2-22/1</i>		
12v/1.....	<i>la Duchesse</i> .....	La Duchesse.....	
12v/2-13/1.....	<i>la Dauphine</i> .....	La Dauphine.....	
13/2.....	<i>la Princesse</i> .....	La Princesse.....	
13v/1.....	<i>Ballet des Jardiniers</i> .....	Ballet des Jardiniers.....	
13v/2.....		[blank ruled]	
30v.....		[blank ruled, with a sepia drawing of a head]	

**TABLE 28**  
TERMINAL BAR-LINES IN *ML* AND *KRAKOW*

<i>ML</i> : Margaret	<i>ML</i> : Scribe B	<i>Krakow</i> : Scribe C
		

For ease of reference, the principal scribe of *ML* will be referred to as 'Margaret' as it is reasonable to assume that this scribe was Margaret L., the secondary scribe as 'Scribe B', and the principal scribe of *Krakow* as 'Scribe C'.

One of the notable characteristics of Margaret's copying is the habitual terminal double-bar she employs at the end of every piece in her hand. An

almost identical termination appears in *Krakow*. Although these are the only two scribes who use this type of double bar, it is not sufficiently idiosyncratic to rule out the possibility of another scribe

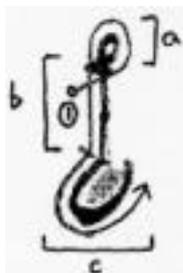
developing a similar figure, or copying the form from a teacher or acquaintance. In fact Scribe B does attempt to copy the same termination on f.26. Whether this is the case or whether the scribe of *Krakow* is indeed one of the *ML* scribes must be ascertained by examining the other features in the hand. All three terminations are shown in table 28.

Scribe C writes a pure secretary hand, using the old form of the letter 'e' which is unusual in a scribe writing c1615. Margaret employs the more usual italic 'e', although the secretary form makes appearances on ff.2v (line 1), 3r (lines 8 and 9), 5v (line 1) in company with italic 'e's. It is unlikely that these can be explained away as temporary aberrations made as the result of Margaret using *Krakow* as an exemplar and copying the script in that manuscript, as the secretary forms do not occur in pieces which are concordances. Scribe C spaces the letters regularly and fairly wide apart and, although the same appears to be true for Margaret, the overall appearance of her hand is considerably more compact than that of Scribe C.

Margaret wrote for a 10-course lute in *vieil ton*, and Scribe C for a lute with nine courses, though it may possibly have had a tenth course that was not required in the pieces notated in *Krakow*, though that is rather unlikely. Clearly, one of the other scribes in *ML* used a 12-course lute, and played the music written by Margaret, as attested by the additions to her copying on f.4v, but the same cannot be said of the two (or three) minor contributors to *Krakow*.

While Margaret uses three graces fairly uniformly throughout her copying, there is only one appearance of + (f.1v line 6) and the # has been added fairly liberally only to the single piece on ff.11v-12, which may suggest that it was added by a different scribe. The one + sign in *Krakow* is very similar (as far as it is possible to tell) to the same usage in *ML*, but the # is clearly different. It does not appear likely, from what can be seen of the secondary scribes in *Krakow*, that any of the secondary scribes in the two manuscripts can be paired.

ex. 48: letter 'h',  
Margaret, enlarged.



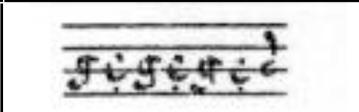
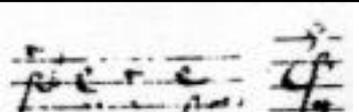
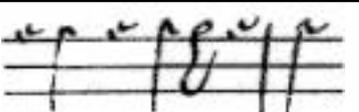
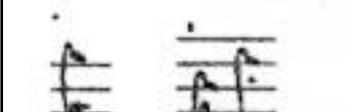
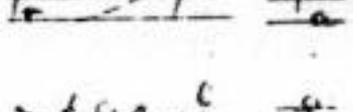
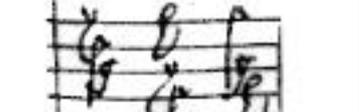
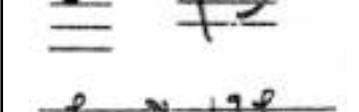
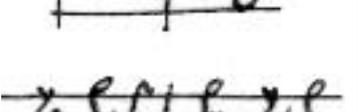
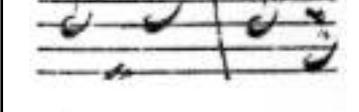
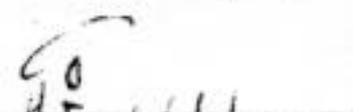
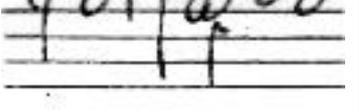
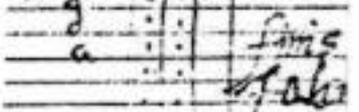
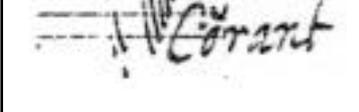
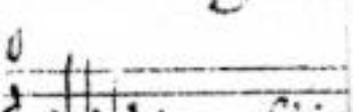
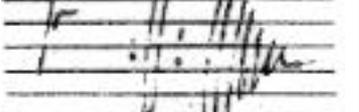
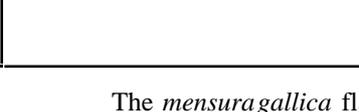
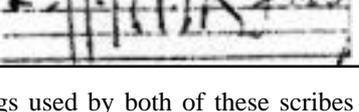
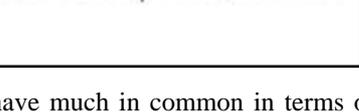
A feature of Margaret's hand is the letter h (enlarged in example 48), formed with a single looped stroke with a pronounced limb and hook. The letter could be described simply as a straight descender with a loop at the top and a hook at the bottom, since most of the defining curves of the letter have disappeared. The ascender is shortened to the height of a minim, and the limb descends sharply through several course-lines before the 'hook' is made. This formation is echoed in the descender of the letter 'y', and the descender of the 'f', formed with one broken stroke, still straight, which descends through most of the stave. The 'g' is more conventionally formed, without an excessively large descender, though the concluding stroke is curved down and back on itself to make a small decorative loop at the end. These features are sufficiently

consistent and habitual that they could be expected to appear in other sources of this hand. Scribe C does use pronounced descenders for the letters 'f', 'h', and 'y'. However, there are noticeable differences in duct that are more striking than the similarities.<sup>20</sup> Specifically, none of the downward strokes

<sup>20</sup> A similar form of the letter 'h' can be seen in the hand of the *Folger/Wickhambrook* scribe.

shows Margaret's hook, the downstroke of the 'f' in Scribe C is bowed, but straight when written by Margaret and the headstroke is also formed in a different manner: Table 29 illustrates these letters, and other symbols common to both hands.

The secretary 'e' which Margaret uses is also not sufficiently similar to link these two hands. This letter betrays the differing grips of the two scribes, to be seen in the lower curve of the two. The stroke of Scribe C is widest at the top part, the more vertical part of the curve. The stroke of Margaret is widest on the base of the curve, where it is nearly horizontal.

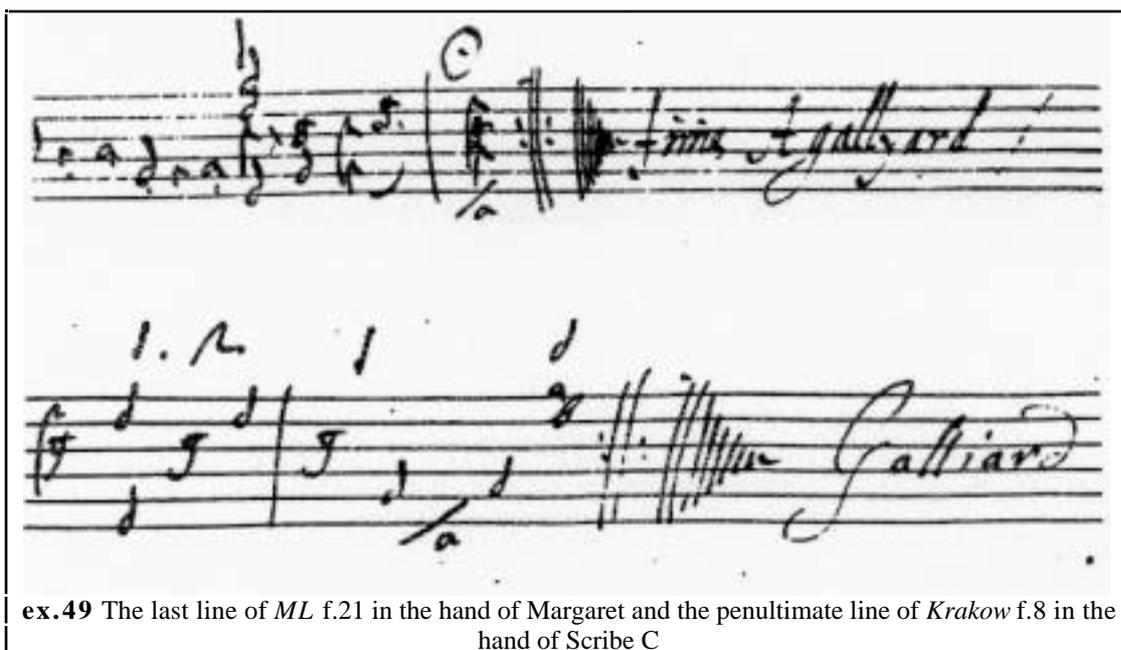
<b>TABLE 29</b> COMPARISON OF FIGURES FROM <i>ML</i> AND <i>KRAKOW</i> Letters 'e', 'f', 'h', 'y', and 'g' and other symbols common to each hand.		
<i>ML</i> : Margaret	<i>ML</i> : Scribe B	<i>Krakow</i> : Scribe C
		
		
		
		
		
		
		

The *mensuralgallica* flags used by both of these scribes have much in common in terms of shape, but the angulation is, in places, dramatically different, Margaret's upright or slanting to the left, and those of Scribe C to the right. In this case, the flags are of little use in distinguishing or linking the hands, since very similar flags appear in *Och532* (Scribe A), *Nn.6.36* (C) and *Dd.9.33* (E), *Herbert* (A), *Board* (C), and *Pickeringe* (D), although the accompanying tablature hands are extremely dissimilar. Margaret frequently uses a fermata, but there are only two in the hand of Scribe C (ff.4 and 8), without the regular shape displayed by Margaret. Hold signs are used by Scribe C only on ff.11r to 12, and three times on f.1, while Margaret not only employs the usual bass hold sign throughout the

manuscript, but also makes use of an unusual treble hold sign in several places. One other scribe known to have used the relatively rare treble hold sign during this period was John Dowland.<sup>21</sup>

Only the titles and the current hand used to write them remain to be compared. Example 49 highlights most of the inconsistencies between the two hands, as well as some similarities.

Spencer has suggested<sup>22</sup> that the signature in Scribe C has the appearance of a holograph, comparing it to the signatures of John Dowland and John Johnson, both found in *Folger* (c1595), while appearances of the name in *ML* do not have the same panache. This observation seems to be accurate, although Spencer notes that the piece on f.1v of *Krakow* which is attributed to Sturt in *ML* would surely also bear his signature if Sturt were the scribe of *Krakow*. On the other hand, the attribution in *ML* may be incorrect, since it is not repeated in *Nn.6.36*, which is the only other known source of the piece. If the version in *Krakow* is not simply an earlier version, then one possibility may be that John Sturt was the scribe of *Krakow*, and that he may have been the teacher of Margaret, who copied his distinctive double bar, and some of the characteristics of his copying style, along with some of the music from his manuscript.



**ex.49** The last line of *ML* f.21 in the hand of Margaret and the penultimate line of *Krakow* f.8 in the hand of Scribe C

The two principal scribes in *ML*, Margaret and Scribe B, may be the same scribe writing at two different periods of his or her life. Example 50 shows the hands of both scribes on the same folio, where they are easily compared. Margaret's hand has a number of very dominant characteristics—many described above—which tend to overwhelm the eye.

<sup>21</sup> To be seen in both *Board* and *Folger*.

<sup>22</sup> Spencer 1985B, xiv.



Table 30 lists the contents of *ML*; the scribes are indicated in the second column, Margaret represented by the letter A, Scribe B by the letter B and other lute scribes by letters C to E.

TABLE 30 CONTENTS OF <i>ML</i>			
Folio	Scribe	Title	Composer
2/1	A	Mrs White's Choice/Thing	John Dowland
2/2		Prelude	
2v/1		Mrs Mary Hoffman's Almain	John Sturt
2v/2-3/1		Lord Hay's Courant	
3/2		Volt/Courant	
3/3		Almain	
3v/1		Brett's Courant	
3v/2		Maske	
4/1		Almain	Robert Kindersley
4/2		The Witches Dance from the Maske of Queens	
4v-5/1		The Queen's Dump, duet treble	John Johnson
5/2		Duet Treble	
5v-6/1		Sharp Pavan, duet treble	Richard Alison
6/2	B	Courant	
6v	A	Duet treble	
7		Lavecchia Pavan	
7v/1		The Cobbler	
7v/2-8/1		Lord Zouche's Maske	
8/2	B	Courant	
8v/1	A	Sir John Smith's Almain	John Dowland
8v/2-9		More Palatino/En Me Revenant	Daniel Bachelier
9v/1		Pavan	Robert Johnson
9v/2-10/1		Mall Sims	Johan Leo Hassler
10/2		The Fairy's Dance	
10v-11/1		Passamezzo Pavan/Weston's Pavan	
11/2	B	Courant	
11v-12	A	John Come Kiss Me Now	
12v-13/1		Battle Galliard/King of Denmark's Galliard/Mr Mildmay's Galliard	John Dowland
13/2		Galliard	Robert Kindersley
13v-14/1		Last Will and Testament Pavan	Anthony Holborne
14/2		Poor Tom of Bedlam	
14v-15		Fantasia	John Dowland

15v/1	To Plead My Faith Galliard	Daniel Bacheler
15v/2-16/1	Galliard on a Galliard of Daniel Bachleler	John Dowland
16/2	Almain	Robert Johnson
16/3	Sellenger's Round/Est-ce Mars/The French Tune	
16v/1	Galliard, My Lady Mildmay's Delight	Robert Johnson
16v/2-17/1	The Flying Horse	
17/2	The Prince's Almain	Robert Johnson
17v/1	Courant	
17v/2	Courant	Mercure d'Orléans
18/1	Volt	John Sturt
18/2	Courant	
18v/1	Courant	
18v/2-19/1	Courant de la Durette	Robert Ballard
19/2	The Noble Men's Maske	
19/3	Volt	
19v/1	Almain	John Sturt
19v/2	Almain	
19v/3	Courant	
19v/4-20/1	Volt	
20/2	Ballet des Folles	
20/3	Volt	Mercure d'Orléans
20v/1	Hit it and Take it Almain	Robert Johnson
20v/2-21/1	Galliard	Robert Johnson
21/2	Galliard	Charles Bocquet
21v/1	Volt	John Sturt
21v/2-22/1	Courant	John Sturt
22/2	Courant	Jacques Gauthier [prob]
22/3	B Prelude	John Sturt
22v/1	A Pavan	Robert Johnson
22v/2-23	Lachrimae Pavan	John Dowland
23v-25/1	Battle Pavan	
25/2	Courant	Mercure d'Orléans/René Saman
25v/1	Courant La Bontade	Robert Ballard
25v/2-26/1	A-B Galliard	
26/2	B Courant de la Reine	Robert Ballard
26/3	Canaries	
26v/1	A Courant	
26v/2-27/1	Courant Le Testament	Julien Perrichon
27/2	B Courant	
27/3	Almain	
27v/1	Galliard	
27v/2-28/1	Courant	
28/2	Almain	
28/3	Almain	
28v-29/1	Mrs Anne Markham's Pavan	Francis Cutting
29/2	Gray's Inn Maske/Mad Tom of Bedlam	
29v/1	La Courant Sarabande	?Robert Ballard
29v/2-30/1	Pavan	Lodovico Bassano
30/2	Gray's Inn Maske	
30v/1	The Devil's Dance	
30v/2	First Tune of the Lord's Maske	
30v/3	Second Tune of the Lord's Maske	
31	Courant	
31v-32/1	Pavan	Robert Johnson
32/2	C Gray's Inn Maske	
32v	D Maske tune/Almain	
33v/1	E Almain, first part of duet	
33v/2	Almain, second part of duet	

There are two probabilities that should be considered before advancing further. The most obvious reason for the clear point of take-over between Margaret and Scribe B would be that the two scribes were using the book at the same time, and the second scribe completed work started by the first scribe, and then copied in two more pieces. Folio 26v shows the hand of Margaret at work again. Disregarding this take-over in copying between the two scribes, and treating it as if it is simply the completion of a piece previously left incomplete, then it would appear that there are two principal

layers of copying in this first part of the book. The first scribe, Margaret, copied in a large repertory of music up to folio 27r and then stopped working for one reason or another. At this point—or possibly after a hiatus of some years—Scribe B came to the book and completed Margaret's unfinished Galliard on 26v, even to the point of attempting to imitate Margaret's stylish final double bar. Scribe B copied two courants into the remaining blank staves, still trying to imitate Margaret's double bar. The imitation proved a failure, and so Scribe B resorted to a simpler form of ending, which he used to add two more courants into the empty staves on f.27r, continuing to copy without interruption until 32r. At some point, during or after this period of activity, this second scribe went back through the book and filled in some of Margaret's blank staves with short dances, usually courants.<sup>23</sup> That these 'fill-ins' were added after his activity on f.26r seems very likely, as Scribe B's experimentation with Margaret's double-bar occurs here only, and this sort of attention to detail is likely to be associated with a scribe's first entries into a book, particularly if he or she were attempting to blend the new additions in with the old. Considering the large number of pages left unused in this manuscript, it is slightly surprising that Scribe B should have gone to the trouble of filling in these small gaps, though the presence of spaces large enough to accommodate a short piece may have been difficult to ignore if this was the only book that the scribe owned, or if he or she had a particularly parsimonious attitude to paper. A similar situation is apparent in *Herbert*,<sup>24</sup> where a second scribe has added to the principal scribe's compilation, though in this case the extra space is used because there was no space elsewhere. This is seen more dramatically in *St. Petersburg*, a manuscript of French origin, written in *vieil ton*, but with gaps filled by a second hand in transitional tunings, the repertory indicating probably as much as 20 years after the original compilation.

How reasonable would it be to suggest that the first scribe, Margaret, left the piece of music on f.26 incomplete in her original compilation, and continued on the next clean folio after leaving a space for the completion? If the second scribe is in fact Margaret writing later in life and after the onset of (perhaps) arthritis which causes difficulties in forming letters cleanly, then this could have been the case. However, it is equally possible that this is the activity of two scribes using the book at the same time.

The same treble hold signs are employed by Scribe B as by Margaret, and the writing of the name John Sturt on f.22 bears many similarities in duct to that shown in example 50. Many spellings of the titles are also the same, but all of these supposed similarities could be simply attributed to the two scribes working in the same book and influencing each other's work. As has been seen before, when comparing Margaret with Scribe C, the very precise and idiosyncratic shape of the limb of the letter 'h' is probably important. One would expect the hooked shape to become more angular with age, particularly when the scribe's hand has aged as appears to be the case with Scribe B. Most of the letters have acquired a more square body, but the limb of the 'h' is still surprisingly curved and flowing. In fact it resembles far more the shape of the letter 'h' in Scribe C than in Margaret. The # signs also

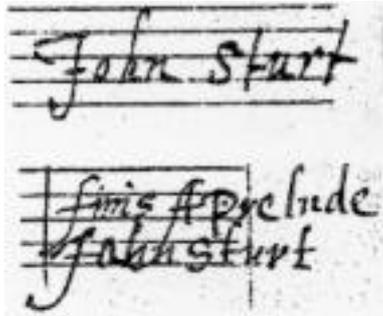
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<sup>23</sup> 6r — 6 lines, 8r — 2 lines, 11r — 3 lines, 22r — 4 lines.

<sup>24</sup> See the discussion above.

have more in common with Scribe C than with Margaret. The sloped duct and spacing of Scribe C are not exactly echoed in the hand of Scribe B, but f.27 shows strong similarities seen in examples 52a-b.

**ex. 51** *ML* f.22, ends of lines 1 (Margaret) and 12 (Scribe B)



Any condition causing stiffening of the joints would account for much in the alteration of a hand, and decreasing fluency may cause the hand to take a more upright angulation. The increase in the number of grace and hold signs would be expected with the passage of time and changing fashions. Both scribes use a ten-course lute, something that could change with the passage of time if the player was interested and could afford to buy a new instrument and extend their technique to accommodate the additional courses dictated by changing fashions in music. This practice seems to

be most common, though, only among those whose livelihood depended on the currency of their technique and music, and is rarely seen among the amateur population.



One of the most seductive arguments for these two hands belonging to the same person is to be seen on f.26 of this manuscript (given as example 50 (*ML*, f.26): written by Margaret (lines 1-3) and Scribe B (lines 3-12)—only the point of changeover is shown). On this folio the scribe attempts to imitate or repeat the full close demonstrated by the first scribe, but has difficulty—for whatever reason—in completing the figure with the final flourish. In the end, he discards the original figure for a full close requiring less digital flexibility. Many of the differences to be seen between these two hands could be attributed to the onset of old age or arthritis. The letters become more brittle in formation, the double-bars seen on this folio also indicate difficulty in figurations which require flexibility in the hand and particularly the fingers, and fine control of the writing edge. A lessening of dexterity which would be commensurate with the difficulties encountered by an elderly scribe would have the effects seen in the hand of this scribe.

### **Conclusion**

It is difficult, to attempt to make judgements about the scribes in two manuscripts when one of those sources is only available for study as a microfilm or photocopy. Spencer is also understandably cautious about the wisdom of comparing *ML* with *Krakow* in his introduction to the facsimile of *ML*. For this reason the evaluation of the *Krakow* scribe must only be given the weight of conjecture here, though the reproductions leave no doubt about such essentials as layout, spacing, duct and the shape or slant of letters and flags.

The examination above suggests that there are two rather than three scribes at work in these two manuscripts, but not the pair which had previously been suggested. If the two scribes in *ML* were a single scribe this requires the possibility that Margaret left the galliard on ff.25v-26 unfinished. To judge by the accuracy and completeness of her copying this seems unlikely, and the altered angulation between the two scribes to be seen on f. 27 suggests that they are not the same person. However, the alteration in style between Margaret and Scribe B would be commensurate with difficulties brought on by disease affecting motor control or manual dexterity, and could account for most of the variations in the scripts, although the angulation of the hand makes the link with Scribe C in *Krakow* more likely.

There are, hypothetically, two possible cases. First that all three hands in the two sources were written by the same person, Margaret, who began copying as a student in *ML* c1610, and began work in a new book c1615 (*Krakow*). Later still (c1620) she returned to the original book and filled in some of the gaps left incomplete before. However, Margaret is quite relaxed about leaving blank spaces in *ML* but the same is not true of Scribe B. A more likely picture is that *Krakow* was written c1615 by a scribe who could be John Sturt. This scribe then came in contact with the principal scribe of *ML*, Margaret L, who may have copied some music from *Krakow*, imitating the terminal bar flourish of Scribe C. The scribe of *Krakow* also wrote in *ML*, though by this time his dexterity had begun to deteriorate: he attempted his original terminal-bar flourish, but had to compromise with a simpler form. If this is the case, then the date of c1610 proposed by Spencer for *ML* is probably slightly too early. It could have been bound as late as 1627, and there is nothing in the music or the

ascriptions which would suggest positively that the music was written in before *c1620*, particularly if Margaret and Scribe B were working together. *ML* is clearly a pedagogical book, and therefore the repertory in Margaret's hand is likely to be from an earlier period than the copying date. A date later than 1610 would also be supported by the use of *mensura gallica* by all the scribes, a style of flagging that was rare in English manuscripts before *c1620*. Sturt's professional life seems to date from 1612, and though his music may have been in circulation earlier than that, this would seem a safe date to establish for his working life. He died in 1625, so if he had any links with these two manuscripts, they must have been copied between *c1612* and 1625, which seems to tie in with the other evidence surrounding them.

It seems possible that the scribe of *Krakow* (possibly John Sturt) may have been the teacher of Margaret or simply an acquaintance. The relationship may never become wholly certain, but the links between the two manuscripts may ultimately shed some light on their provenance. Spencer suggests a period of ten years for the compilation of *ML*, though Margaret's hand shows no evidence that she may have been copying for a long period. His examination of the scribes led him to decide that they had been using the book at the same time, and the repertory suggests 1613 as the earliest date for the start of copying. The date of *Krakow*, *c1615*, is probably accurate, but in view of the probable link between the two sources, *c1620* would be a more likely copying date for the *vieil ton* music in *ML*.

#### **§BOARD AND HIRSCH**

THE MARGARET BOARD LUTE BOOK: Private library of Robert Spencer, Woodford Green, Essex. Probably dating from 1620-35. Book written mainly in the hand of Margaret Board [Boord] (see end-papers, initials on cover) baptized Lindfield, Sussex, 19 Nov 1600, *m* Henry Borne between 1623 and 1631 (see f.32v),<sup>25</sup> with a section of later additions *c1630-35* towards the end of the book, possibly in a French hand.

THE HIRSCH LUTE BOOK: London, British Library Ms Hirsch.M.1353. Undated, but currently believed to originate *c1595*. Named after Paul Hirsch, twentieth-century owner of book. Written by at least five anonymous scribes. Initials on cover *HO*. No other information about original owner.

*Board* and *Hirsch* are two sources of mainstream English repertory, dated 1620-30 and *c1595* respectively, since the publication of facsimiles of each manuscript.<sup>26</sup> According to the research published in the facsimile introductions, the manuscripts appear to have been written about 30 years apart. However, closer examination of the details given in this research reveals a number of anomalies that bring the dating of *Hirsch* into question. The situation is further complicated by the apparent presence of a scribal concordance between the manuscripts. This is neither unusual or problematic, particularly as the identity of scribes is often not known. However, in this case the scribe in question is Margaret Board, born in 1600, and therefore unlikely to have been one of the scribes in *Hirsch*, if it does indeed date from *c1595*.

Margaret Board began copying her lute book around 1620. Her initials are stamped on the cover, and her name appears frequently on the end papers of the book together with names of family

<sup>25</sup> Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Par. 416/1/1/1 (Lindfield parish register), f.8v.

<sup>26</sup> *Board*: Spencer 1976C; *Hirsch*: Spencer 1982.

servants, and her married name: Margaret Borne. Margaret married some time between 1623 and 1631,<sup>27</sup> so the book was clearly begun before 1623, but the repertory indicates that it cannot have been much earlier. The dating is well-justified in Spencer 1976, where he also traces the year of Margaret's birth: 1600.

Dowland himself copied two pieces among those of Margaret, and added hold signs to some of her work, indicating that he was probably teaching her at some point in the book's history, though his activity in the body of the book is only evident between folios 10v, where she adds his 'Lachrimae' to her collection, and 16v, where Dowland adds hold signs to her copying. This part of the book at least must pre-date his death in 1626. From the consistency of Margaret's hand, it seems that her copying occupied a fairly short period of time, and it is likely that the fascicle in her hand dates from about 1620-25.

*Board* was almost certainly originally sold as a bound and ruled lute book. Margaret copied from the first folios of the book up to 30v, and from here to 45v at least three further scribes are at work. There appears to be no link between Margaret's work and these later copyists, who probably date from after 1630.

*Hirsch* seems to date from the last decade of the sixteenth century. The initials stamped on the cover are H. O., but there is no internal evidence of its original ownership and even the music is for the most part untitled and unascrived. This manuscript was originally dated 1597 by David Lumsden among others, though evidence for such a specific date is lacking. Spencer suggests that it may relate to song versions of two pieces, first published in 1597,<sup>28</sup> but widens his field of evidence in reaching his own conclusions about dating:

All English manuscripts before about 1590-95 are quarto in form, but *Hirsch* is folio. The style of binding is very similar to that of the *Welde* lute book, which has been dated c1600. The paper could have been made between about 1577 and 1596.

The majority of the known composers represented date from the 16th century ... and only Dowland and Byrd were still alive in 1613. If the MS had been written out after 1611 (see piece 44) [apparently a copy of a 1611 version of a Byrd fantasia] one would expect to find more French music and pieces by Robert Johnson, Sturt and Rosseter. Pieces 19 and 20 were not copied from Barley 1596.

I suggest the MS was begun c1595.<sup>29</sup>

Since the Byrd fantasia (No.44) raises serious questions about the early dating of the manuscript, Spencer takes care to justify his excluding its publication date from his evidence, continuing:

In *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (Faber, 1978) Oliver Neighbour writes about this Fantasia: "Though published in 1611, Fantasia 4/g can be dated with some certainty about 1590 or a little earlier" (p.92). Having seen a transcription of the *Hirsch* version (made by Peter Trent, who first identified this text), Mr Neighbour informs me that it is the 1611 text with some errors. This suggests but does not prove, that it was written in the *Hirsch* manuscript after 1611. Byrd could have made the revision some years before the 1611 publication; likewise

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<sup>27</sup> See Spencer 1976C.

<sup>28</sup> 'Captain Digorie Piper's Galliard', and 'Can She Excuse' (ff.11-11v).

<sup>29</sup> Spencer 1982, xiii.

the copyist could have added this piece some years after beginning his manuscript collection.

This discussion is plausible, though it seems that the argument may have been tailored to fit a preconceived notion of the date of the book. The exclusion of French music could be attributed to a conservative or specifically English taste, but the real influx of French music in these sources did not begin until well after the publication of Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute Lessons* in 1610, and was only usual from 1620 with scribes who had some personal connection with the continent, such as Edward Herbert. The French additions to *Board* and *Pickeringe* date from as late as 1630 and 40 and, in the case of *Pickeringe*, up to 1650. In fact, there are three token 'French Corantos' on f.10v of *Hirsch* that are found in other English sources, particularly for keyboard. The first was based on the pavan *Belle qui tiens ma vie*, that was included in Arbeau 1588, and is concordant with f.4 of *Montbuysson* (1611).

Spencer lists John Sturt among the composers one might expect to find in a manuscript of later date. This is dubious, as Sturt's music only survives in a very small proportion of the manuscripts contemporary with him, and it appears that the circulation of his work was rather limited. The Holmes books, compiled by a professional singer and probably also city Wait in Oxford and London, which otherwise contain virtually the gamut of contemporary lute music, only contain three isolated pieces by Sturt, in *Nn.6.36* (c1610-15). Spencer also mentions Robert Johnson and Philip Rosseter, who were more popular than Sturt, although Rosseter's surviving repertory is substantially smaller than Sturt's, and is found in only a few of the many sources dating from the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup> Rosseter only has two pieces in only one of the Holmes books, and he is not found in *Marsh*, *Folger*, *Wickhambrook*, *Trumbull*, *31392*, *Mynshall*, *Brogynntyn*, *Welde*, *Euing*, *Sampson*, *Cosens* or *ML*, the other major sources from this period. Robert Johnson is also poorly represented in the Holmes books.<sup>31</sup> Comparison of the contents of *Hirsch* with *Pickeringe*, dated 1616, shows a similar range of concordant sources. *Pickeringe*, though it dates from the second decade of the seventeenth century, contains 11 pieces by John Johnson (*d* 1594), but only one piece by Robert Johnson, so it is clearly not usual to find music by Robert Johnson in sources from the 1620s. The exclusion of Sturt, Robert Johnson and Rosseter from *Hirsch* therefore has considerably less significance than Spencer's comments would suggest. Their absence from the manuscript certainly does not prove that *Hirsch* pre-dates their working lives.

All these factors could argue against an earlier provenance for the book, but Spencer's dating is not unreasonable. The repertory as a whole certainly seems to date from the late sixteenth century, as the number of concordances with *Dd.2.11* (shown in table 31) demonstrates. However, it is not the date of the repertory that is in question but its date of copying, since the probable purpose of the book makes an anachronistic repertory virtually certain. Spencer points out that the format makes an even

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<sup>30</sup> Sources of music by Philip Rosseter: *Barley* 1596 (Orph.) 55-56, 57-58, 59; *Board* 23/1, 28v/1; *Herbert* 10/2, 21-21v/1; *Dd.3.18* 41/2; *Dd.9.33* 46/2-46v, 47v-48; *Montbuysson* 99/2; *Pickering* 25v-26/2; *Vilnius* 8/2.

<sup>31</sup> See table 21.

earlier provenance unlikely, though even for an upright folio format book this one is very large, and closer in size to those dating from the 1620s such as *ML* rather than earlier sources like the Holmes books. Spencer also advances the theory that the book may have had pieces added to it for many years after its inception. However, the arrangement of the scribes suggests that they were copying concurrently, and the later inclusion of the Byrd fantasia as he proposes would have involved the scribe leaving the book and returning to it at least 15 years later without any alteration in copying style, and without noticeable intervening interference or addition from any of the other scribes involved in the compilation. The currency and obvious interrelationship of this group of scribes indicates conclusively that in fact the book was compiled over a relatively short time-span, and not the 15 to 20 years which Spencer concedes must be possible in order to fit the Byrd anomaly into his overall scheme.

The Byrd fantasia is not the only piece to appear in printed sources, and other concordances might also shed further light on the average date range of sources containing this repertory.

Table 31 lists the other lute sources with which *Hirsch* has concordances (in date order as far as this is possible), and the quantity of those concordances. Cognates with consort, keyboard or versions for other instruments are not shown.

**TABLE 31**  
LUTE SOURCES CONCORDANT WITH *HIRSCH*

Source	date	No. of cons.	Folio numbers in order of concordances in <i>Hirsch</i>
<i>2764(2)</i>	c1585-90	1	[5]v-[6]
<i>Dallis</i>	c1583-5	1	93-94
Adriansen 1584	1584	1	5
<i>Dd.2.11</i>	c1585-95	21	101v, 48, 71, 41, 44, 60v, 72v, 57v-58, 32, 21v, 57-56v, 75v-77, 37v, 40, 50v-51, 22, 65, 54v, 28, 18, 16
<i>Trumbull</i>	c1595	4	16v-17, 6, 4, 1
<i>Marsh</i>	c1595	1	247-6
<i>Wickhambrook</i>	c1595	1	11
<i>Dd.5.78.3</i>	1595-1600	7	33, 29v-30, 15v, 10v, 20, 14v-15, 69
Barley 1596	1596	2	3-4v, 1v-3
<i>Welde</i>	c1600	1	8
<i>Dd.9.33</i>	c1600-1605	5	59v-60, 60v, 17, 86v-87, 84v-85
<i>Herhold</i>	1602	1	13v-14
Besard 1603	1603	1	32
<i>31392</i>	c1605	3	30v-31, 32v-33, 29v-30
<i>Euing</i>	c1610	2	39, 32
Dowland 1610B	1610	1	1-1v, Sig.G
<i>Nn.6.36</i>	c1610-15	1	14v
<i>Montbuysson</i>	1611	1	4
<i>Schele</i>	1613-19	1	p.52-5
Mertel 1615	1615	4(5)	p.146-7, 223-4, 191, 222-3, (cf: 148-9)
Fuhrmann 1615	1615	1	p.59
<i>Pickeringe</i>	1616	1	17
<i>ML</i>	c1620	1	13v-14
<i>Herbert</i>	c1630	1	44v

The largest single group of these concordances is with *Dd.2.11* which dates from the period around 1595. The other concordances are spread fairly evenly over sources dating from the period 1570-1630, with the exception of the other Holmes books, *Dd.5.78.3* and *Dd.9.33*, and the music found in

Mertel 1615. The Holmes collection is undoubtedly the most comprehensive from this period, and so a large number of concordances is to be expected. Mertel's fantasias Nos.17, 56, 79 and 80 are concordant with *Hirsch* folios 13r (Scribe A), 65r (Scribe B), 65v (Scribe B) and 64r (Scribe A) respectively. The fantasia on 65r is a tone lower than Mertel's version, but otherwise is precisely concordant. The two fantasias copied by Scribe B are almost exactly concordant with those in Mertel 1615, while the one on f.13r shows quite substantial re-writing of the harmony. The last piece noted is concordant with one of the *Hirsch* fantasias, and may not therefore be related.

Mertel 1615 probably had a fairly limited circulation as very few copies survive when compared with other publications. We cannot say for certain that it did not reach this country in some form, particularly as its contents indicate that the compiler was familiar with English music, though his sources are not evident. It is far more likely that music in a manuscript source should have been copied from a printed source, than that the printed source was copied from a manuscript as diverse as this one. These four pieces were not copied in by the same scribe, and the third also has concordances with *Dd.2.11* and *Herhold* and is parodied in one of the fantasias in Hove 1601.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to demonstrate conclusively that the *Hirsch* versions of the fantasias were copied from Mertel 1615. All that this demonstrates is that these fantasias were clearly still in circulation and popular enough in 1615 for Mertel to be familiar with them, and to print them in his *Magnum Opus*.

The paper of *Hirsch*, though not precisely identifiable, may date from the period 1590 to 1610. Restoration work carried out by the British Museum conservation department between 1958 and 1960 included re-stitching and re-backing, when the positions of the end-paper stubs was altered, and water stains were removed from a number of leaves. Since then there has been quite substantial offsetting of the ink onto facing pages of the treated folios<sup>33</sup> affecting legibility quite badly. A microfilm made before the conservation work was done has survived, and it is from this that facsimiles of the damaged folios have been made.

It is difficult to tell now whether *Hirsch* was bound before writing, but there is no loss of material in the gutters or from cropping, even where the writing extends right out to the edges of the paper. The likelihood is that, like *Board*, it was sold ruled and bound. In 1947, before its acquisition by the British Museum, Daphne Bird, in a note now bound as folio ii, dated the manuscript 1597, and this is the date that David Lumsden repeated, neither presenting supporting evidence. It is possible that during the restoration work the evidence for this date was also removed or trimmed away, but it is more likely to relate to the song versions of two pieces.

Table 32 is an inventory of the contents of the *Hirsch* manuscript. In the second column, the letters A to E indicate the work of its five scribes. A large gap of 42 ruled but otherwise unused folios between 21v and 63v is indicated with a double horizontal line. The single horizontal line indicates the point where dance music gives way to fantasias.

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<sup>32</sup> Hove 1601 sig.A f.3v.

<sup>33</sup> ff.2v-5 and 65 almost illegible, others affected: ff.5v-6, 12, 19-19v and 68v.

**TABLE 32**  
CONTENTS OF *HIRSCH*

Folio	Scribe	Title	Composer
[1v-]2/1.....	A .....	Pavan [last five bars only].....	John? Johnson
2/2.....		Galliard .....	William Byrd arr.
2v.....	<b>B</b> .....	In Nomine Pavan, duet part .....	Nicholas Strogers
3/1.....		In Nomine Galliard, duet part.....	Nicholas Strogers
3/2.....	A .....	Lady Laiton's Pavan/Dream.....	?John Dowland
3v-4/1.....	<b>B</b> .....	Pavan.....	Richard Allison
4/2.....	<b>C</b> .....	Galliard .....	
4v-5/1.....		Sharp Pavan.....	Richard Allison
5/2.....	A .....	Hasselwood's Galliard.....	Anthony Holborne
5v-6/1.....		Pavan.....	Ambrose [?Lupo]
6/2.....		Galliard .....	
6v/1.....		Fantasia, duet part .....	Marchant
6v/2-7/1.....		Galliard .....	Francis Cutting
7/2.....		Galliard .....	John Dowland
7v/1.....		Clark's Galliard/Quadran Galliard/Jest.....	Anthony Holborne
7v/2-8.....		Last Will and Testament Pavan.....	Anthony Holborne
8v-9/1.....		Fantasia .....	Alfonso Ferrabosco
9/2.....	<b>D</b> .....	Galliard .....	Richard Allison
9v.....	(A) <b>B</b> .....	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
10.....	(A) <b>B</b> .....	Pavan .....	Francis Cutting
10v/1.....	<b>E</b> .....	Ground .....	
10v/2.....		Three French Courants.....	
11/1.....		Galliard .....	Edward Pierce
11/2.....		Galliard .....	
11/3.....		Captain Digorie Piper's Galliard.....	John Dowland
11v/1.....		Earl of Essex's Galliard/Can She Excuse.....	John Dowland
11v/2.....		Captain Candish's Galliard.....	John Dowland
11v/3.....		Lachrimae Pavan.....	John Dowland
12.....		Groninge's Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
12v-13/1.....	<b>B</b> .....	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
13/2.....	<b>A</b> .....	Fantasia.....	
13v-14/1.....		Fantasia.....	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
14/2.....		Fantasia.....	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
14v-15/1.....		Fantasia.....	
15/2.....		Prelude .....	
15v.....		Fantasia.....	
16.....		Fantasia.....	
16v-17.....		Fantasia.....	
17v.....		Fantasia.....	Renaldo Paradiso
18.....		Fantasia.....	
18v-19.....		Intabulation of Verdelot's Ultimi Miei Sospiri .....	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
19v-20/1.....		Fantasia.....	
20/2.....		Fantasia 5 .....	Emmanuel Adrianssen
20v-21.....			
21v.....		Fantasia.....	William Byrd arr. ?
63v.....	<b>C</b> .....	Sharp Pavan.....	Richard Allison
64.....		Fantasia.....	Anthony Holborne
64v/1.....		Fantasia Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La .....	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
64v/2.....		Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
65.....	<b>B</b> .....	Fantasia.....	Anthony Holborne
65v/1.....		Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
65v/2-66.....		Fantasia.....	
66v-67.....		Fantasia.....	
67v/1.....		Fantasia.....	
67v/2-68.....		Fantasia.....	
68v/1.....	<b>A</b> .....	Fantasia.....	
68v/2-69.....		Fantasia.....	

Scribes D and E are comparatively anomalous: D copies only one piece in what appears to be a blank space left at the end of music copied by Scribe A, while E occupies two full openings, and inserts a series of very short pieces without divisions, apparently unrelated in style to the music or

copying of any of the other scribes. It appears very much that D and E could have been scribes who used gaps that had been left in the compilation organised by the first three scribes. Scribe B is the putative *Board* scribe, and it is clear from this table that B and A had some connection, confirmed by their joint activity on folios 9v and 10. The activity of Scribe C is more difficult to pin down, but becomes clearer if we examine the compilation of the book.

The copying began on at least one lost folio, indicated by the presence of the last few bars of a pavan on the folio now marked as folio 2. Since this pavan, in the form that it takes elsewhere, would not have occupied a full page itself,<sup>34</sup> there must have been further missing pieces, and the collation of the book, in 11 regular gatherings of eight folios, suggests that there was probably at one time a further gathering at the front of the book which is now missing, thus making the complete number of gatherings 12 rather than 11. Since the manuscript binding has been altered, it is not known whether there was originally any looseness at the front, or a series of stubs that might have indicated the removal of some sheets. The foliation in the upper right hand corner of the recto side of each folio was added in pencil by Daphne Bird, and begins with the number two, presumably because she could see that there was a page missing.

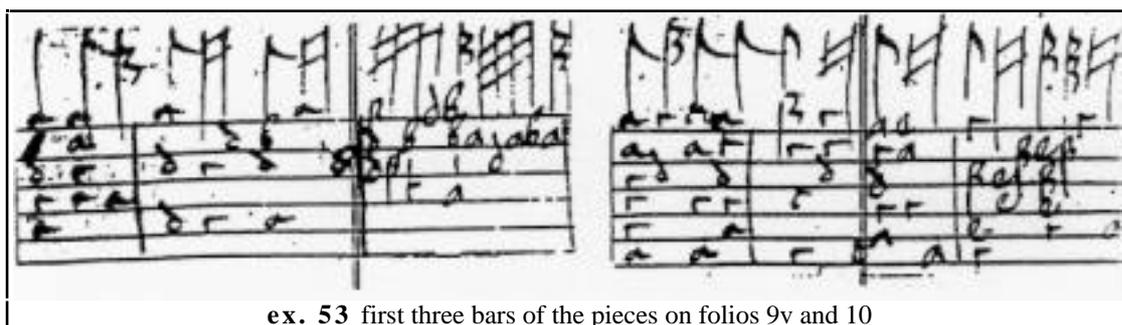
Examination of the layout reveals that the book appears to have been used at both ends at once. Scribe A copied two dances at the front of the book, and two Fantasias onto the final opening. He then handed over to Scribe B, who copied two pieces at the front of the book, counted back four folios from the end and then filled in a group of six fantasias copying towards the back. Scribe B even appears to have been using the same pen as Scribe A. After two more entries by A and B at the front, Scribe C added two dances and a pavan, and three fantasias at the back, before A once again interrupted with two large groups of pieces. At this point, his largest group of fantasias was added, but this group does not appear to fit into the 'front and then back' sequence, as they were copied into the front section of the book.

There are several possible reasons for this interruption to the scheme previously followed by all the scribes. It could simply be a mistake, or Scribe A may have decided that he did not intend to add any more dances, and the remaining music was to be only fantasias. This last proposition seems the most plausible, since on folio 8v, Scribe A had already changed to fantasias, only to be interrupted by B and E.

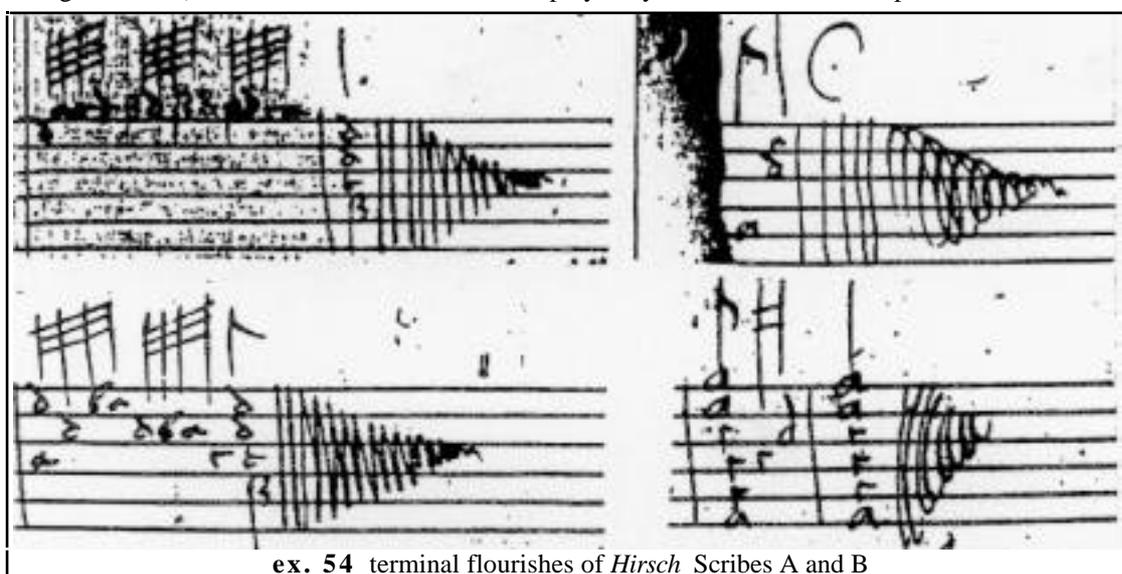
Scribes A, B and C seem to have copied continuously from each other. The probability that at least A and B were working together is confirmed by the first lines of the pieces on folios 9v and 10, shown in example 53. Here, Scribe A has written the first few notes of two pavans at the top of each page, and Scribe B has filled in the remainder, suggesting that although there were many copyists, there was one principal scribe overseeing the contents of the book, and its compilation was far from random. The point where the scribes change is indicated with a double vertical line.

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<sup>34</sup> I am grateful to Dr Richard Rastall for bringing this to my attention.



It appears that Scribe A was the principal scribe in this collection, responsible for the choice of its contents, and their layout. Scribe B seems to have been influenced by him, as he (or she if it is Margaret Board) imitates the terminal flourish employed by A, illustrated in example 54.



Scribes D and E do not fit so neatly into this organization. Scribe D, particularly, seems to have been filling in a gap left at the end of a piece copied by A and, unlike A, B and E, he appends both title and composer to the music. The work of E occupies two complete openings with short versions of dances. Unlike the other dances in the book, these lack divisions.

From the title index in table 32 it looks as if by the end of his first significant group of copying from folios 5 to 9, Scribe A had decided to conclude the group of dances, and continue with fantasias. Scribes B and E nevertheless added some further dance music, before A finally took over and added his largest group of fantasias. The blank opening between ff.20r and 21v may have been a device to indicate that one or two other pieces in the sequence were intended to be filled-in later. There seems to be no obvious reason for it though, and the handwriting of Scribe A is unchanged.

The most significant organizational feature of this manuscript is not, however, the activity of the scribes. The presence of a number of copyists is fairly commonplace in manuscripts of this period though rarely with such clear links as in this case. What is surprising is the organization of the genres into two definite sections. The order envisaged and fairly consistently maintained by Scribe A was known and followed by Scribes B and C, and possibly also D and E. This type of preconceived layout is very unusual in English lute sources .

The contents of the book and the arrangement of the scribes working in it indicate that it was almost certainly copied in a fairly short space of time, though Scribes D and possibly also E may have been working later. Though some organization is present in varying degrees in late sources such as *Herbert*, it is unknown in English manuscript sources before 1620 or printed English sources before 1610, in spite of foreign precedents. Robert Dowland adopted the layout common on the continent for the *Varietie of Lute Lessons*, where organization by genre in printed collections had been established for some 50 years by 1600. The *Varietie of Lute Lessons* is fairly conservative in content though, despite the inclusion of a section of French dances, and it is likely that if the foreign sources influenced its organization, then they also influenced its repertory. In addition, foreign collections always place fantasias at the head of any collection, not at the end as in *Hirsch*.

The arrangement of *Hirsch* indicates particularly that it was almost certainly not a pupil's book copied for the purposes of learning the lute. In a teaching book, we might expect to find some duet music, and a more balanced mix of genres of approximately graded difficulty with considerably fewer fantasias, if any.

The immediate conclusion that arises from the activities of Scribes A and B in *Hirsch*, is that A may have been the teacher of B. In *Hirsch*, one scribe (A) is clearly influencing the order of the compilation. Despite his uniform and compact copying style, he still ends up having to attach an extra piece of paper to f.19r in order to accommodate the length of the intabulation of Verdelot's *Ultimi Miei Sospiri*. This is also evidence that he intended to play the music, since if he had not intended to play from the copy, Scribe A would not have been concerned about avoiding a page-turn in this rather clumsy manner. In addition, the edges of the pages containing music are noticeably grubbier than those that remained blank. Scribe A wrote for a six-course lute, and used x and # graces, but no fingering; Scribe B also wrote for six-course lute, used + and • graces, and • and •• for fingering; Scribe C wrote for six and seven-course lute, and gave titles in an apparently Italian style in the fantasia section. He used +, # and • graces and • and •• fingering; Scribe D also wrote for six-course lute, and used • and •• for fingering; Scribe E, again writing for six-course lute, used no fingering or grace signs.

In the section of fantasias at the end of the book, three of the pieces copied by Scribe A have time signatures: two of c-slash, and one of 3.<sup>35</sup> Time signatures are not found in English lute music before 1620 unless it was copied (or published) by John Dowland, and are usually associated with the later French repertory in which they were employed as a matter of course. The English scribes up to the mid-1620s, and sometimes later, relied on the placing of the bar-lines and the grouping of the flags to convey the metre of a piece.

There are clearly some aspects of the compilation of the *Hirsch* manuscript that make its present dating suspicious: the organization by genre, the presence of one piece apparently copied from a 1611 print, the use of time signatures and the extremely up-to-date repertory (if it was copied in 1595)

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<sup>35</sup> ff.68v-69r.

since every source, no matter what its purpose, has a significant proportion of earlier music. However, the dating of the greater part of this repertory to c1595 is not unreasonable.

Table 33 is an inventory of Margaret Board's copying in *Board*, laid out in the same way as that for the *Hirsch* lute book. The section added by later scribes and some blank folios are omitted here and the omission is indicated with a double line near the bottom of the second page of the table. In this manuscript, Scribe A has been identified by Spencer as Margaret Board, and Scribe B as John Dowland. There is no overlap between the *Hirsch* and *Board* repertories.

<b>TABLE 33</b>			
CONTENTS OF <i>BOARD</i>			
Folio	Scribe	Title	Composer
1/1	A	Duet treble	
1/2		Duet ground	
1/3		Orlando Sleepeth/Orlando Furioso	John Dowland
1v/1		Delacourt Pavan	
1v/2		Galliard	Marc Antoine
2/1		Ruggiero	
2/2		Pavan	
2v/1		Flat Pavan	John Johnson
2v/2-3/1		The New Hunt's Up, duet treble	John Johnson
3/2		The Hunt's Up, duet ground	John Johnson
3v/1		Pavan	Ambrose
3v/2		Study	
4/1		Galliard	Ambrose
4/2		Maske	
4v-5/1		Spanish Measure, duet treble	Richard Allison
5/2		Spanish Measure, duet ground	Richard Allison
5/3		Light of Love/The Countess of Ormond's Galliard	
5/4		The Scolding Woman	
5/5		Prelude	
5v-6/1		Pavan	Peter Phillips
6/2		La Rossignol Almain, first part of duet	
6/3		Toy/Ballad Tune	
6v-7/1		Delight Pavan	John Johnson
7/2		Courant	
7v/1		Delight Galliard	John Johnson
7v/2		Loth To Depart Galliard	John Dowland
8/1		Lord Hay's Courant	
8/2		Earl of Derby's Courant/French King's Maske	
8v-9/1		Passamezzo Pavan	Richard Allison
9/2		Singer's Jig	Jo Singer
9v-10/1		Passamezzo Galliard	Richard Allison
10/2		Lady Banning's Almain	John Sturt
10/3		Go From My Window	Richard Allison
10v-11/1		Solus cum Sola	John Dowland
11/2		Home Again, Market is Done, Ballad tune	
11/3		I Cannot Keep My Wife at Home	
11v-12/1		Lachrimae Pavan	John Dowland
12/2		Sellenger's Round/Est-ce Mars/The French Tune	
12v/1	B	Almain	Robert Dowland
12v/2	A	Robin is to the Greenwood Gone/ Bonny Sweet Robin/Robin Hood	John Dowland
13/1		Almain	John Dowland
13/2		La Volta Courant	William Byrd arr.
13v-14/1		Primero	Richard Allison
14/2		Flow Forth Abundant Tears	
14v-15		Delight Pavan, duet treble	John Johnson
15v/1		Study	
15v/2		Courant	
16/1		To Plead My Faith Galliard	Daniel Bachelier

16/2	The Prince's Almain	Robert Johnson
16v-17/1	Galliard on a Galliard of Daniel Bachleler	John Dowland
17/2	My Mistress Farewell	
17/3	The Lady Phyllis's Maske	
17v-18	Battle Galliard/King of Denmark's Galliard/ Mr Mildmay's Galliard	John Dowland
18v/1	Almain	?Anthony Holborne
18v/2	Mrs Lettice Rich's Courant	Julien Perrichon
18v/3	Mrs Lettice Rich's Lavolta	?Julien Perrichon
18v/4	Courant	
19/1	Galliard	Robert Johnson
19/2	Courant	
19v-20	Quadran Pavan	Richard Allison
20v/1	Galliard Heigh Ho Holiday	Anthony Holborne
20v/2-21/1	Dream	
21/2	Lord Burgh's Galliard/Johnson's Jewel Galliard	Johnson
21/3	Almain	Lusher
21v/1	Captain Digorie Piper's Galliard	John Dowland
21v/2-22	The Gordian Knot	Anthony Holborne
22v/1	Dowland's First Galliard	John Dowland
22v/2	Courant	
22v/3	Courant/Branle	
23/1	The Prince of Portugal's Galliard/ La Bergera Galliard	Philip Rosseter
23/2	Poor Tom of Bedlam	
23/3	Branle de la Torche	
23v/1	Sir Walter Raleigh's Galliard	Francis Cutting/William Bradbury/Richard Allison
23v/2	Fair Ministers Disdain Me Not	
24/1	Courant	
24/2	Queen's Galliard	John Dowland
24v	Maske Tune?	
25/1	Sellenger's Round/Est-ce Mars/The French Tune	Pierre Guedron
25/2	Courant	
25/3	The Eglantine Branch	
25v/1	The Wood Bind	
25v/2	The Gillyflower	
25v/3	More Palatino/En Me Revenant	Daniel Bacheler
26/1	The Witches Dance from the Maske of Queens	
26/2	Gathering Peascods	John Johnson
26/3	Almain?	
26/4	Ballad tune/Toy	
26v/1	Marigold Galliard	
26v/2	Midnight	John Dowland
27/1	The Prince's Courant	Robert Johnson
27/2	The May Pole/The King's Morisck	
27v/1	Hunter's Carrier	
27v/2	Ballad Tune	
27v/3	First Tune of the Lord's Maske	Robert Taylor
28/1	The Prince's Maske	?Robert Johnson
28/2	Almain	Robert Johnson
28v/1	Almain	Philip Rosseter
28v/2	Almain	
29/1	Volt/Courant	Julien Perrichon (/Mathias Mason)
29/2	Prelude	John Dowland
29v	Fantasia	Alfonso Ferrabosco/ Richard Allison
30/1	Courant	John Dowland
30/2	Almain	Johnson
30/3	Ballet/Almain	Robert Johnson
30v/1	Almain	Jenning
30v/2	The Prince's Maske/Lady Elizabeth's Maske	?Robert Johnson
30v/3	Mall Peatly	
83v/1	B Prelude	
83v/2	A Dulciana/Dance	

Not apparent from the two tables is how little information is given by the *Hirsch* scribes in comparison with *Board*. Only three of a possible 56 titles and ascriptions in the *Hirsch* index were provided by the scribes, whereas most of the information in the *Board* list was supplied by Margaret—genres and composers.

A cursory glance through the titles of the *Board* inventory reveals a large number of popular songs and ballad tunes, and French genres that only became popular in England in the early 1620s. On the other hand, the *Hirsch* book consists almost exclusively of pavans, galliards and fantasias; all relatively complex compositions demanding quite a high level of technical skill from the player.

The dimensions of the two books are shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34 DIMENSIONS OF <i>BOARD</i> AND <i>HIRSCH</i>		
	<i>Board</i>	<i>Hirsch</i>
Binding	353 x 217 mm	343 x 218 mm
Page	339 x 205 mm	332 x 204 mm
Width of stave	12.3 mm	17 mm
Distance between staves	13 mm	15 mm

All surviving English lute books from before about 1590 are quarto in format, but *Hirsch* is folio, and very close in size to *Board*. The *Board* book is ruled with 12 six-line staves to a page, but *Hirsch* was ruled with a wider rastrum, allowing only 10 six-line staves. The rastra used for ruling the *Board* and *Hirsch* papers are quite different in size, and the spacing between them also differs. Clearly a different instrument was used to rule the two papers, and the possibility of a single stationer being responsible for the two books is cast into doubt by this disparity. Unfortunately, we do not know enough about ruling practices to say whether one stationer always used one rastrum. The quality of metals and the nature of manufacture of precision instruments at that time would suggest that a stationer would have kept a number of rastra in use at one time, and the possibility of their having the same dimensions would be extremely small.

The *Hirsch* music was intended for six- and seven-course lutes, and Margaret Board's repertory suggests its later provenance by being written for a lute with nine courses. *Hirsch* appears to have been copied quite fast, and apparently not subsequently corrected by players, who may have admitted the errors rather than clutter the text with messy corrections. The written pages of the manuscript are significantly grubbier than the unused folios, indicating that there was a fair amount of handling, so the music was not simply deposited here, but played from, probably quite extensively. There is no sign of the idiosyncrasy in playing style that can be seen in *Board*. In *Board*, Margaret's copious relishes reflect not only her florid musical taste, but also demonstrate a considerable dexterity, while Dowland's irritably repeated hold signs suggest a lack of understanding of the importance of holding down some notes. Stretches caused by holding down bass notes were unlikely to have been a problem, as some of the chord shapes and cadential configurations imply a reasonable hand span—or at the very least, a small lute. Margaret's book shows every evidence of slow and careful copying, with decorative final bar-lines and carefully placed graces. Together with the progressive difficulty of the music, this indicates that *Board* was a collection compiled at the instigation of a teacher, reflecting the influence of the teacher as well as the tastes of the scribe, and quite extensively used to play from.

There is no evidence of this sort of use in *Hirsch*, copied fast and with a scheme in mind that would have been entirely inappropriate for a teaching collection. What we are able to surmise from household accounts, letters and diaries about the manner of teaching the lute<sup>36</sup> suggests that a lute teacher visited his pupil every day, and probably supplied him with one piece at a time on a loose leaf, to be copied and learned before the teacher's next visit, when it would be exchanged for the next in the progression. This practice may lead to an explanation for the compilation of the *Hirsch* lute book.

It is possible that *Hirsch* was compiled under the direction of a teacher, in order to preserve his collection of loose-leaf music that was beginning to suffer from its itinerant lifestyle. The different scribes may have been pupils whom he considered could copy accurately and neatly enough to perform a copying task that he would have found tedious and needlessly time-consuming. This explanation would account for the inclusion of the Byrd fantasia in an otherwise early repertory. That fantasia may have been a later addition to the master's teaching repertory that had probably remained largely unchanged for many years.

The same explanation would also account for the organisation of the layout which one would not expect to find in a late sixteenth-century source, nor for that matter in any source compiled as a personal or teaching collection. Most collections appear to have grown more or less spontaneously through a copying period. The sort of organization one might expect to find in a printed source, where the contents are determined before the book is produced, is not generally applicable to the more personal collections that these manuscripts represent. It could perhaps be that *Hirsch* was intended to end up as a printed lute book, but there are a number of factors that make this unlikely. Firstly, printer's fair copies were usually, for practical reasons, written out by one scribe, most often the compiler. Secondly, the only commercially produced book of solo lute music to be published in this country before 1650<sup>37</sup> was Dowland 1610B which suggests that the market was very poor for this sort of publication, as opposed to the immensely popular lute song.

Also accountable is the influence exerted by A over B and the speed of copying. The earlier type of six- or seven-course lute intended for *Hirsch* may be explained as the lute for which the exemplar was prepared, and from which the music was copied. This may also be the case with the limited use of fingerings and graces, but can also be explained if the book was an 'archive' rather than a performing or teaching collection, and thus never accrued those signs that would have been particular to the owner's or scribe's style of playing.

So far, there is nothing in either the putative dating or their respective compilations to link the *Hirsch* and *Board* manuscripts except, possibly, Margaret Board herself.

The Board lute book is one of a relatively small number of manuscripts for which we are able to put a name to the principal scribe. We have reasonable grounds to suppose that Margaret Board was born in 1600, and began copying her lute book in her early 20s. For at least a short period she was

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<sup>36</sup> Many dating from later in the seventeenth century, and these including the letters and accounts of Lord Danby and his guardian during their stay in Utrecht, 1706-10. See Tim Crawford: 'Lord Danby, Lutenist of "Quality"', *LSJ* xxv/2 (1985), 53-68. See also Chapter 3.

<sup>37</sup> Maynard 1611 was privately published by the author.

taught by John Dowland, probably at her family's London residence, as Dowland was living in Fetter Lane at the time. Her hand is extremely distinctive among those in the lute repertory for its size, weight, regularity and legibility, and this is apparent in example 55, which illustrates as much of a page of her copying as will fit onto an A4 page at actual size.

In titles, Margaret Board uses an italic script, commonly used by women in the early seventeenth century. Professional handwriting analysts emphasise the importance of habit over all variations in detail when examining any sample of handwriting. Margaret Board's tablature hand is flamboyant and fairly heavy, and some letters betray secretary rather than italic forbears. The sharp differentiation in shading suggests a wide and very soft quill. The size of the letters does not seem to take the width of the ruled lines into account, and in many ways they look too large for the stave, as the minim stroke entirely fills the space between the lines.

The letters are generally written vertically upright, above the lines of the system rather than on top of them, and the script covers the page very heavily both vertically and horizontally. When dotting flags, Margaret tucks the dot under the lowest curve of the flag. Noticeable is the recurved shape of the top of single flags as opposed to the 'grid' pattern of flag groups of the same value. The manner in which the flags fill the space between the systems entirely, frequently overlapping the stave above, is particularly noteworthy, since it is particularly distinctive. This overlapping is unknown in the copying of other lute scribes—not only those active in England. Margaret uses a very large vocabulary of grace signs, many also used, and possibly added, by her teacher, John Dowland.

Two more detailed characteristics may be noted at this point: the vertical angle of the short stroke of the 'e', probably a hangover from a pure secretary form, and the manner of writing the letter 'a', with the straight back of the letter higher than the rounded lobe.

One highly individual peculiarity of Margaret Board's hand is the manner in which she appears to roll the pen slightly when writing, so that the wide part of the stroke is not consistently at one angle. This is particularly noticeable in the letter 'a' where the angle of the wide stroke of the nib used for the lobe of the letter is different from the angle for the backstroke.

Altogether, it is a distinctively modern and extrovert hand for its time, and one of the largest of any lute scribe surviving from this period. There are several other scribes active in this lute book, all added at a later date with the exception of John Dowland, who copied during Margaret's active period and corrected her work by adding hold signs and some graces (Margaret herself uses no hold signs at all). There seems no reason to question the resulting supposition that Dowland taught Margaret Board at some time during her learning period.

Example 56 shows part of a page of the *Hirsch* lute book at actual size, copied by Scribe B. Although the pages are similar in dimension, the staves are ruled further apart and the rastrum has wider-spaced tines than in *Board*.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for Margaret Board, consisting of 12 staves. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a single system, with each staff containing a line of music. The notation includes many slurs, ties, and dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte). The handwriting is somewhat cramped, and the ink is dark. The overall appearance is that of a working draft or a personal manuscript.

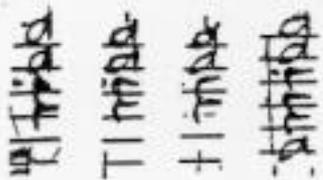
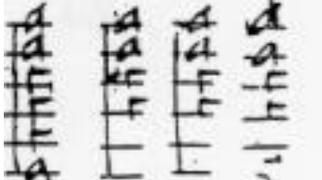
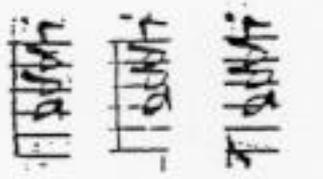
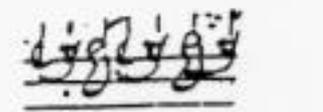
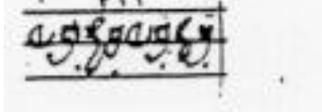
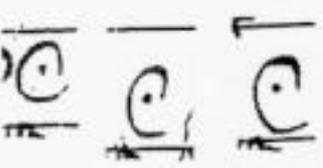
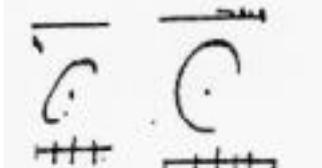
ex. 55 Hand of Margaret Board



The hand is again large and the covering of the page is very heavy. The flags again intrude on the stave above, though the slightly wider space between these staves is more accommodating to the size of the script. All the English lute scribes are extremely careful to ensure that their flags do not intrude on the tablature line above the one to which they apply, with the notable exception of these two hands. Here, as in *Board*, the flags are very large and overlap the stave above, but the letters, although still very large, are more suited to the spacing of the individual lines.

Most of the characteristics of Margaret Board's hand are evident here: the habit of size and layout, the similar type of quill, the angle of multiple beams, the shape of the tops of flags and positioning of dots, and the more specific details in the letters a and e.

Most lute scribes attempt to end each line with a full bar, but neither of the scribes here makes this effort. It is simple to isolate various letters which are very similar, or identical, in these hands. In table 35 though, whole chords that appear in both sources have been reproduced, as each scribe will deal with the problems of letter combinations in a different and idiosyncratic way.

<b>TABLE 35</b> COMPARISON OF FIGURES FROM <i>BOARD</i> AND <i>HIRSCH</i> There are strings of higher letters (those above e) in a set of divisions together with both forms of letter 'd' and fermatas.	
Margaret Board	<i>Hirsch</i> B
	
	
	
	

The roll of the pen is evident, and the angle of the ascender of the 'd' in the second chord (line two) shows a similar stroke, though the wider spacing of the *Hirsch* lines has meant that the stroke has not become flattened to quite the same extent. Both the flat and upright forms of the letter 'd' appear in each manuscript, and the heavy and slightly bowed shape of the added backstroke is repeated in each

instance. In examining any renaissance hand, the higher letters above f tend to be more idiosyncratic than the lower letters, since these letters have descenders and ascenders which allow a certain amount of flourish that is not possible in letters like a, c and e. The angle of the curve of the descender, and the amount the tail returns to the starting point varies widely among scribes, and is often the surest way of identifying a hand. The ascenders and descenders offer more scope for originality and embellishment, particularly in the secretary forms that can be seen in the progression of letters 'e-g-h'.

Finally in this table there are fermatas employed by both scribes. This circular shape is again unusual, and the central placing of the dot is again limited to the use of the two scribes in *Hirsch* and *Board*.

The flags are as individual as the letters, and the recurved shape of the top as well as the return at the bottom of the beam towards the stem, with any dot tucked under the final tail, is noticeable in both hands; features unusual enough in lute usage to be noteworthy here. The angles of the multiple beams in the two samples are the same, and closer examination shows that this is partly due to the scribe aiming for the top of the last downstroke with the first beam of each group, but not drawing the two without a pen-lift, as some scribes do. The first beam and the last stem are not in these cases drawn in the same motion. Placing single elements such as the dots under a magnifying glass—literally this time—shows the pen with the same touch and angle to the paper.

One of the features often viewed as a 'signature' when comparing hands is a scribe's use of the final bar and also the fermata or final note and flag. Some scribes always use the same terminal bars, some use the same termination for one period of their copying, and then change to another, while others are inconsistent. The terminal bars in these two sources do not match: that of Margaret Board is more meticulously executed, with decorative features, whereas that of the *Hirsch* scribe is faster and more spontaneous, and appears to have been influenced by the usage of the principal scribe in that book. It is not unusual for a scribe to use several forms of terminal barline, although most do practise just one form. Changes usually occur when a scribe is copying at different periods,<sup>38</sup> or from different exemplars.

More significant in this case is the use of a fermata on the last note, which is an integral part of the duct of the hand, and offers more scope for idiosyncrasy than letters or flags. Margaret Board uses a fermata at the end of virtually every piece, but the *Hirsch* scribe uses one only twice: these are isolated at the end of table 35. Among the other scribes in this repertory, several<sup>39</sup> draw fermatas in this manner. Several omit a dot altogether, but those who use one place it less uniformly centrally, and none of them makes the outer bracket almost completely circular. Although the shapes are not uniform, they have similarities, and the pattern of shading is unique.

The hand of each scribe develops quite noticeably through each manuscript, although the change in handwriting is more evident in the *Hirsch* book, where it becomes larger and inclines slightly to the right towards the end of the book so that the scribe appears to be writing faster.

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<sup>38</sup> e.g. the Holmes books (*Dd.2.11*, *Dd.3.18*, *Dd.4.23*, *Dd.5.20*, *Dd.5.21*, *Dd.5.78.3*, *Dd.9.33*, *Dd.14.24*, *Nn.6.36*), *Sampson* Scribe B.

<sup>39</sup> Principal scribe of *ML*, Scribe C in *Dd.9.33*, Scribe D in *Folger*.

Returning to examples 55 and 56, the samples of the hands of Margaret Board and *Hirsch B*: assuming they were written by the same scribe, they appear to have come from two different periods of copying. However, there are essential differences in the speed of writing and the intended purpose of the two sources which may explain the differences in fluency. In *Board*, the copying is clearly intended for the use of the scribe; she has added graces and other signs which give a personal flavour to the collection, and John Dowland has obviously taught from the book, copying one of his son's pieces in himself, and adding hold signs to Board's work. In *Hirsch* the copying appears to be much faster, probably simply reproducing the exemplar without spending time learning or practising each piece.

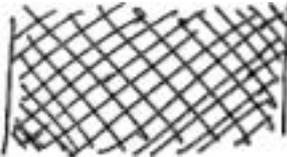
The letters are written closer to each other in *Hirsch*, but the wider spacing of the ruling means that the hand is better accommodated. All these samples exhibit strong similarities in habit, and many of the minor alterations seem to be due to the difference in the spacing of the tablature lines, and the different speed at which the two samples were written. The shapes of the letters and their distinctive shading remain unaltered, as does the very particular placing of the 'e' on the line: just scooping through it. The scribe also uses connecting dashes in both samples, though many other scribes also do so.

The string of higher letters—e, g and h—is so similar that they might have come from the same page, and are the most eloquent indication that these two hands were written by the same scribe. The *Board* lute book is a slowly and carefully written collection that clearly shows the personality of the owner. In *Hirsch*, the scribe was working in somebody else's book, and this seemed to influence her copying style. The book as a whole lacks the personality evident in many books of this period, and was probably never played by Margaret or Scribe A. Since Dowland only seems to have influenced her for a short time during the compilation of the *Board* book, it is possible that *Hirsch* Scribe A could also have been one of Margaret's teachers, and was using her as one of his trusted copyists. In a repertory that boasts some 200 scribes, none shows the heavy flamboyance of these two scripts, and none is even remotely similar in any respect.

Table 36 shows the types of corrections made to their copying used in the two books by the scribes in question. Again, this is revealing, as habit plays an indispensable role in emendation. A scribe rarely thinks very hard about the manner in which he emends, so that the way he does it becomes habitual. A quick glance down the table shows three types in common, the most significant being that on folio 1 of *Board*: other scribes in this situation, where too many beams have been drawn, scribble out the bottom one, as in the example at the end of the *Hirsch* corrections, rather than inking in the gap between the bottom two beams. In short, all the paleographical evidence is in favour of the conclusion that the hand of Margaret Board does appear in the *Hirsch* lute book.

One further possibility could be explored. Was it possible for two scribes to develop these same characteristics of duct independently, or could *Hirsch B* have been an older relation of Margaret? The conclusion that has to be reached is that this was not a viable possibility, since the handwriting tutors seem to be unequivocal about the indispensability of originality in the development of a good hand. Since the hand should be a reflection of the writer's personality, imitation of another's hand

would not have been complimentary to the writer of the model, and would also reflect badly on the copier.

<b>TABLE 36</b> EMENDATIONS MADE TO COPYING IN <i>BOARD</i> AND <i>HIRSCH</i>	
<i>Board</i>	<i>Hirsch</i>
4v, 10v, 11, 13v 	2v, 66v 
1, 2v, 7, 11v, 13v, 15, 16v, 20v 	10, 12v 
83v 	65v, 67v, 68 
1, 1v, 3, 5v, 7, 14v 	9v 
1v 	9v, 10 
2v, 3v 	65v, 67v, 68 
3v, 5v, 6 	66v 
25, 26v 	2v 

Robert Thompson<sup>40</sup> asserts convincingly that papers with precisely the same mark were manufactured in only small quantities, since the amount of paper that could be made from a single mould was extremely limited. The *Hirsch* book contains only three watermarks, all from the mill of Nicolas Lebé of Troyes (1550-1605). The *Board* lute book contains four papers, one which may be Burgundian or English, and three further, all from Troyes, made by Edmond Denise, Jean Nivelles and Nicolas Lebé. The Lebé mark is the same type, and very similar to that in the *Hirsch* book, but is clearly not from the same mould. Their arrangement suggests that both books were bought bound.

Practices surrounding the sale of music paper in the early seventeenth century suggest that the paper of the *Board* and *Hirsch* lute books probably came from the same supplier, imported from France or the Low Countries. What is interesting is that virtually all the imported papers in *Board* show marks that are either similar or identical to marks dating from the 1580-1605 period, not the second decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>41</sup> Clearly an old batch of paper was used for *Board*, and a similar watermark turns up in *Hirsch*, for which the date of writing is in question. It is reasonable to assume that the paper was bought from the same seller, though not necessarily at the same time. From the ruling and watermark evidence, we can say with some certainty that they did not come from the same batch. This does not rule out the possibility that they were bought at the same time, but it makes it considerably more unlikely. The ruling also places these books in different batches as does the tooling on both covers, which also makes their origins with the same binder unlikely. This is not surprising, since the books were clearly not bought or owned by the same person.

So far, the purpose and date of the *Hirsch* lute book have not been considered other than superficially. None of the scribes apart from John Dowland have been traced in different manuscripts up to this time. There were a number of anomalies which did not seem to require immediate answers: the very large upright format, the organization of the genres which one would not expect to find until after 1620, the presence of an 'overseer', the use of time signatures, the modern appearance of the hands of the scribes—most notably Scribe B—and the anomalous Byrd piece. The sum of these points is sufficient to raise serious questions about the current dating of *Hirsch*. We know that it is highly unlikely, if not impossible, for two independent hands with the same unusual and distinctive nuances to have developed at any time, and particularly not 30 years apart, so if we add the probability that one of the scribes cannot have been copying earlier than about 1620, then not only is its earlier date incompatible, but there is new evidence to suggest a 'correct' date.

It is possible that the two books were copied during the same period, especially if *Hirsch A* were Margaret's original teacher, but the appropriateness of the *Hirsch* version of her hand to the size of the ruling, suggests that her tablature hand may have evolved in this book first.

There is no reason to suppose that the majority of the music in the *Hirsch* book was originally compiled later than 1595. On the other hand, the evidence points towards the fact that at least one of the scribes is from a later period than that suggested by the book's contents, so there must

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<sup>40</sup> Thompson 1988A, and Thompson 1988B. See Chapter 5.

<sup>41</sup> See Spencer 1976C, Introduction: The Watermarks.

be another explanation. The most plausible explanation, and one which is supported to a great extent by the internal evidence, is that the book may have been a copy, or partial copy, made in the early seventeenth century of an exemplar dating from 1595, with some later pieces included.

One of the pieces of evidence to support this hypothesis is the apparent presence of the *Board* scribe. The possibility that the *Board* scribe may have added those pieces at a later date than the rest of the book is unlikely, since some of the pieces copied by the *Board* scribe were clearly started by *Hirsch* Scribe A, and apparently using the same pen.

It is fairly likely that Margaret Board was born in the year she was baptized (1600), and the *Hirsch* book is unlikely to pre-date the inception of the *Board* book by many years without suggesting an unusual degree of precocity. As the *Hirsch* hand is more fluent, fast and consistent than Board, it is reasonable to suppose that it is more mature, and therefore dates from the same period or a later one than the copying of *Board*. The fact that the *Board* book is more carefully prepared and has a more personal connotation for the scribe than the work in *Hirsch*, may make the likelihood of their being contemporary greater, particularly if *Hirsch* Scribe A was Margaret's first teacher, and guided the first lessons that Margaret copied into *Board*. The absence of titles and graces from *Hirsch*, which proliferate in *Board*, is probably due to their absence from the exemplar, rather than being a personal preference on the part of the scribe. The *Board* book was her own, but clearly Margaret Board was copying for someone else in *Hirsch*: specifically, Scribe A (anonymous) who wrote a more conservative secretary hand.

### **Conclusion**

It is unlikely that the copyist of *Board* was not Margaret Board, born at Lindfield in Sussex in 1600. The date of *Board* was written on the verso of the first flyleaf, but it has been scratched out, and is now unreadable. She may have begun to copy as early as 1615, but in the absence of firm evidence, a fairly accurate approximation would be c1620. It is difficult to doubt that the hand of Margaret Board appears in the *Hirsch* lute book, currently dated c1595, particularly in view of the uniqueness of her hand when compared with all other surviving tablature hands, which makes the present dating unlikely. The argument concerning the dating of *Hirsch* does hinge to a great extent on this probability though, and such a controversial element qualifies any judgement, no matter how seductive the arguments, since it is impossible to prove. Taking into account all the internal 'literary' and paleographical evidence, it would seem likely that *Hirsch* was copied in the early seventeenth century, possibly as a way of preserving a master's exemplar, or simply as an organised copy of parts of one or more earlier sources, thus accounting for the early nature of the repertory it contains. Thus, the conclusion is that the *Hirsch* lute book is a copy of an exemplar or exemplars dating from the late sixteenth century, and its date of copying is more likely to be c1620 than c1595.