

**Stephen Bing's Part Books Y M.1.S:**  
**The Personal Collection of a 17th-Century Cathedral Musician**

Complete in Two Volumes

Volume One

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## **Abstract**

### **Stephen Bing's Part Books Y M.1.S:**

#### **The Personal Collection of a 17th-Century Cathedral Musician**

Stephen Bing (1610-1681) has been established as one of the most prolific music copyists of the seventeenth century. His career as a cathedral musician stretched from his training as a chorister in Canterbury Cathedral to his death while working as a lay vicar at Westminster Abbey, a span of sixty-three years encompassing the Laudian Revival, the Interregnum, and the Restoration. He worked with many of the important musicians in English cathedral music during this time, including George Jeffreys, John Barnard, William Turner, William Tucker, John Blow, and Henry Purcell. During the last thirteen years of his life, Bing was engaged in a unique copying project, now known as the 'Bing-Gostling Part books', housed at York Minster Library under the collective shelf-mark M.1.S. This complete set of eight books represents a personal collection of the music Bing had access to as a copyist during those years.

Researchers have previously used the Bing-Gostling Part books as a source of specific and isolated anthems and as a way to date Purcell's early works, or mentioned them in a few paragraphs as part of the story of Bing's life. This study investigates the set of part books as an entity in their own right. It contextualises the part books in light of contemporary surviving sources, and in relation to Bing's life as a working cathedral musician. Bing's detailed marginalia are explored as the basis for a study of the transmission of cathedral repertoire during the Restoration.

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## List of Library Sigla and Abbreviations

For libraries located in Great Britain, the prefix 'GB-' has been omitted.

Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Cpc	Cambridge, Pembroke College Library
Cp	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library
Drc	Durham Cathedral Library
EL	Ely Cathedral Library
GL	Gloucester Cathedral Library
LI	Lincoln Cathedral Library
Lbl	London, British Library
Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
Lghl	London, Guildhall Library
Lsp	London, St Paul's Cathedral Library
Lwa	London, Westminster Abbey Library
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Och	Oxford, Christ Church Library
Y	York Minster Library
US-NYp	New York Public Library for the Performing Arts

### General abbreviations:

p.	page
f.	folio
v.	verso
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MC(D)	Medius Cantoris (Decani)
CC(D)	Contratenor Cantoris (Decani)
TC(D)	Tenor Cantoris (Decani)
BC(D)	Bassus Cantoris (Decani)
O	Organ

### Service movements:

V	Venite
Te	Te Deum
J	Jubilate
K	Kyrie
C	Creed
B	Benedictus
M	Magnificat
N	Nunc dimittis

Y M.1.S	York Minster, eight part books filed together under shelfmark M.1.S
<i>First Book</i>	John Barnard, <i>First Book of Selected Church Musick</i> (London 1641)
other MSS	see the Bibliography for manuscript abbreviations

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## Accompanying Material

### Supplementary Edition

Thomas Tomkins – My beloved spake

a full score collating all six sources of the anthem requiring A3 paper

enclosed as a PDF on compact disc

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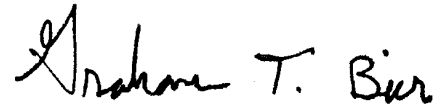
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This thesis exists thanks to those listed above and others unnamed; however, the errors therein are solely mine.

**Author's Declaration**

The material presented in this thesis has not appeared in any publication, nor has it been submitted for any other qualification. I confirm that the work is my own, and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Graham T. Bier". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'G'.

Graham T. Bier

## Chapter One – Stephen Bing and York Minster M.1.S

The part books housed at York Minster Archive under the shelf-mark M.1.S (hereafter Y M.1.S) are an unusual window into the history of sacred music in Restoration England. All eight vocal part books survive in good condition. They contain, in the hand of copyist Stephen Bing (1610-1681), 276 pieces predominantly from the Anglican Cathedral repertory of services and anthems spanning over a century, from *contrafacta* of Latin works by Thomas Tallis to the latest compositions by the young Henry Purcell. They also represent the personal collection of a prolific scribe and church musician and contain marginal annotations that provide alternative texts for the music and link them to the sources of several institutions.

As a personal collection of cathedral service repertoire, Y M.1.S stands out among the surviving music manuscripts from the seventeenth century. It offers insight into the nature of scribal activity and the flexibility of musical text at that time. Coming from the pen of a man who was active as a cathedral musician on both sides of the Interregnum, the contents shed light on the Restoration efforts to rebuild the institutions and repertoire of sacred music in England. As the only major interruption to the musical continuity of the Anglican Church, the Interregnum acted as a bottleneck for religious tradition, and Y M.1.S is a vital part of understanding how sacred musical works moved and evolved at the Restoration.

More is known about Stephen Bing than any other seventeenth-century copyist. As a violist and copyist of viol music, he was featured in a 1989 article by Pamela Willetts.<sup>1</sup> He played an important role in Jonathan Wainwright's doctoral thesis and related book on the musical patronage of the Hatton family.<sup>2</sup> Wainwright and Sarah Boyer gave a thorough

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1 Pamela Willetts, 'Stephen Bing: a Forgotten Violist', *Chelys* 18 (1989), 3-17.

2 Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton 1605-1670* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 52-114.



account of his life as a contribution to the Henry Purcell tri-centenary in 1995,<sup>3</sup> and Christopher Field contributed to the already lengthy list of manuscripts in Bing's hand with an article about a set of fantasia-suites by John Coprario.<sup>4</sup> Boyer's 1999 thesis on the Restoration musicians at St Paul's Cathedral includes a section featuring Bing,<sup>5</sup> as does Daniel Bamford's 2009 thesis on John Barnard's 1641 *First Book of Selected Church Musick*.<sup>6</sup>

Any investigation into Y M.I.S must necessarily commence within a context of their progenitor's actions and experiences. The following biographical survey is intended to place this unique set of manuscripts in the context of Bing's life and experiences starting with his formative early career during the Laudian Revival, through the Civil War and Interregnum, and as an experienced church musician during the Restoration when he created Y M.I.S. The biographical sketch will be followed by an overview of the contents and import of Y M.I.S.

### **Stephen Bing and the Laudian Revival**

The story of music in the Anglican church during the first century of its existence is one that can be characterized in its extreme as a struggle between inherited Catholic aesthetics and revolutionary Protestant sensibilities. During the middle of the sixteenth century, composers struggled to develop new styles to fit the requirement for syllabic setting of English texts in place of the florid Latin-texted works that had represented sacred music prior to the Reformation. Simplification of a service that had become increasingly complex was the order of the day.<sup>7</sup> Archbishop Robert Holgate's injunctions for York

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3 Sarah Boyer and Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell: the Copying Activities of Stephen Bing', *Early Music* 23/4 (1995), 620-648.

4 Christopher D. S. Field, 'Stephen Bing's Copies of Coprario Fantasia-Suites', *Early Music* 27/2 (1999), 311-317.

5 Sarah Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: a study of the music and musicians of St Paul's Cathedral, 1660-1697 (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1999), 64-93, 267-275.

6 Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 2, 29, 88, 333-337.

7 For an overview of the musical reformations, see Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), 1-30.

Minster 'will and command that there be none other note sung or used... saving square note plain, so that every syllable may be plainly and distinctly pronounced, and without any reports or repeating which may induce any obscureness to the hearers'.<sup>8</sup> Among numerous examples of the new musical approach are the various collections of psalms, such as Archbishop Matthew Parker's 1567 psalter, where the music provided by Thomas Tallis stands in stark contrast to earlier works such as the complex eighteen-minute votive antiphon 'Salve intemerata'. Another illustrative example is the concise simplicity of the short service, with contributions by Tallis, William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Tomkins, William Child, and almost every other significant English composer.

However, the situation was not entirely one of austerity. In seventeenth-century England, Latin settings were not always taboo in services, and tolerance for complexity of composition varied between institutions. At Oxford and Cambridge, where the students were fluent in Latin, some music in Latin was still considered in keeping with the ideal of the vernacular presentation of the service.<sup>9</sup> For example, Y M.I.S includes Robert Ramsey's commencement motet 'Inclina Domine' in eight parts, composed for his degree at Cambridge in 1616 where he subsequently enjoyed a career as master of the choristers and organist of Trinity College. Ramsey's other output includes a Latin Te Deum, Jubilate and Litany, found in the Caroline Part books at Peterhouse College. The Chapel Royal maintained a highly skilled ensemble, which encouraged composers to write challenging works for more vigorous forces. Queen Elizabeth herself came under scrutiny for what appeared to be a 'Catholic' liturgy in her Chapel Royal.<sup>10</sup>

Toward the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, English cathedral organs and choirs had fallen into poor shape, but early in the reign of King James I, efforts were made to restore the quality of music in the cathedrals. The first Archbishop of Canterbury under the new

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8 Walter H. Frere and William P.M. Kennedy, eds, 'Visitation Articles and Injunctions', *Alcuin Club Collection XIV-XVI* (London: n.p., 1910), 318.

9 Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 167.

10 Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 33-34.

Stuart dynasty was Richard Bancroft (Archbishop from 1604-1610), whose work to raise standards included visits to evaluate the states of various institutions. It is in this context that Stephen Bing was born.

Bing was baptised at St George's Church in Canterbury on 20 September 1610 as 'Stephan, son of Stephan Binge', the second of five children and the only son.<sup>11</sup> He seems to have become a chorister at Canterbury Cathedral at age seven, as he is first listed in the accounts for 1617-1618. Music at Canterbury Cathedral at this time was experiencing a reinvigoration under the efforts of Charles Fotherby (Dean 1615-1619) and the long directorship of George Marson (Organist and Master of the Choristers 1597-1632). Several absent positions in the choir were filled with resident singers, bringing the size of the choir to six priests, eighteen lay clerks (only one held in plurality), and ten choristers, making it one of the largest in the country.<sup>12</sup> In 1597, and again in 1615, there had been a surge in copying activity at the cathedral and although the anthems and services are not named, the quantity of paper and copying paid for amounts to a comprehensive repertoire for the choir. During Bing's time as a chorister, the copying of music by Canterbury scribes occurred each year except one. This included, in 1620-1621, the addition of twenty-seven substantial anthems to the repertory along with records for repairs to five sets of part books.<sup>13</sup> Copying activity is not unusual in itself; however, such regular activity blatantly contrasts the last years of the sixteenth century when the quality of music at Canterbury had fallen to a pitiful state.<sup>14</sup> Bing and the other choristers had access to full consorts of recorders, lutes and viols, and in 1620, a lay clerk named John Barnard was paid twenty shillings, along with smaller amounts to two other cathedral musicians, as

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11 Joseph Meadows Cowper, ed, *The Register Booke of the Parish of St George the Martyr within the Citie of Canterburie of Christenings, Mariages, and Burials 1583-1800* (Canterbury: Cross & Jackman, 1891), 22-27.

12 Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 14.

13 Roger Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c. 1070-1642', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, edited by Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 440-442.

14 *Ibid.*, 436-438.

remuneration for teaching viol to the choristers.<sup>15</sup> This is significant both because Bing was a respected viol teacher later in life, and because his teacher was the same John Barnard that Bing worked alongside in St Paul's Cathedral before the Civil War. In 1624, Bing's voice presumably broke as his name is struck through in the accounts, and there is no further record of him in connection with Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>16</sup>

The next mention of Bing in institutional records does not occur until 1641 at St Paul's Cathedral in London, but his activities as a scribe began in the 1630s and several pieces of evidence suggest that he spent at least some of the intervening years in Cambridge. In a letter written in 1666, Michael Honywood claims to have known Bing thirty or forty years earlier.<sup>17</sup> This time frame matches Honywood's time as a Fellow at Christ Church, Cambridge, and thus suggests a possible location for their acquaintance. Notably, the letter also refers to Bing as a countertenor, and it may be assumed that this was the part he sang in services following the changing of his voice.<sup>18</sup> Cambridge would also have been a likely place for Bing to have met Sir Christopher Hatton III and the musicians connected with him, such as George Jeffreys and John Lilly. Hatton was a patron of various arts and is best known for his impressive collection of music now housed at Christ Church, Oxford. During the 1620s and 1630s Hatton was often in Cambridge, and Bing's later association with his household probably began there. Further evidence of a connection to Hatton at this time survives in a manuscript dated 1634 that contains both Bing's and Jeffreys's hands.<sup>19</sup> Bing is known to have worked as part of a circle of copyists supervised by Jeffreys later in life, and he included a significant number of pieces by Jeffreys in Y M.1.S.

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15 This was not unusual as a part of chorister education at cathedrals, but does not imply that the instruments were used in services at this time. For further discussion, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 128-129; and Ian Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at Some English Cathedral Churches, c.1594-c.1645: Archival Evidence', *Chelys* 19 (1990), 3-15.

16 Watkins Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster: A Catalogue with Introduction* (London: Royal School of Church Music, 1986), 5.

17 Ob Tanner MS 130, f17.

18 Ob Tanner MS 45, f. 19r.

19 Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 60.

In the early seventeenth century, a consolidated high church movement had arisen. Archbishop Bancroft's efforts to raise artistic standards were a part of the initial wave, but it is referred to today as the 'Laudian Revival' after the man who was at the centre of its greatest flowering in the 1630s, Archbishop William Laud. Laud was the Dean of the Chapel Royal from 1626–1633, where he was able to influence the music of the church by setting a leading example with the support of royal patronage.<sup>20</sup> This was not an explicit return to Catholicism, but an honest belief that the austerity of the Puritan movement was not necessary for true Anglican worship. Laud and his colleagues were 'sincere Protestant[s] whose theological and liturgical concept of worship... acknowledged the possibility of an evocative and emotive response to human artistic creations in the context of the Divine Office'.<sup>21</sup>

Institutions such as Durham Cathedral and Peterhouse Chapel in Cambridge strove to match the quality of services at the Chapel Royal, and the music which formed an integral part of these services was no exception in these efforts. At Durham, one senior prebend named Peter Smart preached a critique of the high church trend there, speaking against what he understood to be musical transgressions against the Puritan ideal: 'you have so changed the whole liturgy, that though it be not in Latin, yet by reason of the confusedness of voices of so many singers, with a multitude of melodious instruments,<sup>22</sup> the greatest part of the services is no better understood than if it were in Hebrew or Irish'.<sup>23</sup>

Jonathan Wainwright recently identified Bing's music hand in the Caroline part books at Peterhouse.<sup>24</sup> This collection of music was copied during John Cosin's first tenure as Master of Peterhouse (1635-1643) and represents the gathering of an ambitious

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20 Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 71-72.

21 Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford', in *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), 124.

22 This refers to 'organs, cornetts, and other instruments of music' as mentioned in Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 128.

23 G. Ormsby, ed, 'The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D. Lord Bishop of Durham: together with other papers illustrative of his life and times. Vol I', *Surtees Society* 52 (1869), 143.

24 Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Widening the Cambridge Circle: Further High Church Musical Connections', in *Music and Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks in Context*, ed. Scott Mandelbrote (Woodbridge & Rochester NY: Boydell and Brewer, (forthcoming).

repertoire. At both Durham Cathedral (where he had been prebendary) and Peterhouse, Cosin championed the high-church ritual that characterised the Laudian Revival, an approach for which Peterhouse was primed due to the high church leanings of the previous Master Matthew Wren (1626-1634). Wren had overseen the building of the chapel and it was left to Cosin to forge the musical establishment, a task that he undertook with the weight of his Laudian convictions. Besides the procurement of organ and organist, the choir was expanded to at least a dozen adult singers in the following years, and may have made use of the young private pupils of college fellows to furnish the meane or treble lines.<sup>25</sup>

The 'Former Set' of Peterhouse part books (Cp MSS 33-34, 38-39 and 47-49) contain Bing's hand in three anthems and a service, all described by Wainwright.<sup>26</sup> Bing's hand appears only with regard to the music notation; the text and even some parts, or parts of pieces in the same book, are by a different scribe. Most of the pages involving Bing also have annotations strikingly similar to the hand of George Jeffreys. Jeffreys worked for the Hatton family for most of his life, and also contributed some music to a Cambridge play in 1632, although he is not known to have studied at Cambridge.<sup>27</sup> This fragmentary involvement in the copying suggests that Bing was working as part of a circle of copyists, a situation in which he found himself several times during his career.

Some of the folios in the Peterhouse books represent the work of Durham Cathedral scribes, and were probably copied at Durham through Cosin's connections there from his time as prebendary.<sup>28</sup> Other leaves may have come from Ely Cathedral, and one piece by Taverner was copied in the previous century. Despite a diverse genesis, copying activity also occurred at Peterhouse itself and the copying by Jeffreys and Bing can be seen as part

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<sup>25</sup> Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge College and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (New York: Garland, 1993), 98.

<sup>26</sup> Wainwright, 'Widening the Cambridge Circle'.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>28</sup> Brian Crosby, 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral c. 1350 – c. 1650' (PhD diss., Durham University, 1992), 293-332.

of a local effort to contribute to the imported repertoire of the young Peterhouse Chapel.

Whether at Cambridge or elsewhere, Bing's involvement with the Hatton Family circle of musicians is known to have started in the 1630s as evidenced by eight other manuscripts containing his hand, some in collaboration with Jeffreys or John Lilly, and all connected to Sir Christopher Hatton III.<sup>29</sup> Among these manuscripts is the 'Great Set' of consort music (Och Mus. 2, 397-408 and 436), a collection of the music for viol consort played at the English court that serves as one of our main sources for that repertoire today. The part books were copied by John Lilly, while Bing was responsible for the organ book and score book<sup>30</sup> Through his early training as a chorister at Canterbury Cathedral, and the later company he kept in the musical circles in Cambridge which were connected to the creation of the high church tradition at Peterhouse Chapel, Stephen Bing can be considered a high churchman and a product of the Laudian revival.

### **Stephen Bing and the Civil War**

Judging from the birth of a grandchild in 1658, Bing was probably married around 1640 to a woman named Katherine with whom he had three daughters. Nothing is yet known of their marriage, but one of his daughters, Elizabeth Brooksbank (wife of Joseph Brooksbank), gave birth in 1658 and 1660 as recorded by the parish registers of St Bride's, Fleet Street in London. Stephen Bing's first transaction with St Paul's Cathedral is recorded at some point in 1640-1641, and he first signed for his dividend in the account book at midsummer 1642.<sup>31</sup> At this time, the cathedral had recently experienced something of a revival of fortunes. The court architect Inigo Jones was in the middle of extensive remodelling work on the nave and transepts as well as a new portico on the west front. In the previous decade, William Laud and King Charles I had taken a serious interest in the

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29 Boyer and Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell', 622-624. Also see Field, 'Stephen Bing's Copies of Coprario Fantasia-Suites', 311-316.

30 Ibid., 623.

31 Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster*, 5.

appearance and use of the building, making visitations and posting requirements for improved behaviour.<sup>32</sup>

Bing became one of twelve petticanons at St Paul's Cathedral, colleague to musicians including the composer William Cranford, the court violinist John Woodington, the composer and master of the choristers Martin Peerson, the composer and organist Albertus Bryne, and John Barnard whom he had known when he was a chorister at Canterbury. Recently deceased were Adrian Batten and John Tomkins, both respected organists and composers whose influence would still have been felt in the musical establishment at St Paul's in the years following their death. Although Bing seems not to have become a minor canon any earlier than 1640, there is evidence in his copying activities that he was already involved with a St Paul's circle of copyists in the 1630s.<sup>33</sup> At the time of Bing's arrival, Barnard was overseeing the printing of a unique publication titled *The First Book of Selected Church Musick*, published in 1641. The first of its kind, its cover page asserted that,

Whereby such Bookes as were heretofore with much difficulty and Charges, transcribed for the use of the Quire, are now to the saving of much Labour and expence, publisht for the generall good of all such as shall desire them either for publick or private exercise.<sup>34</sup>

This publication would exert a significant influence over Bing's creation of his own part books three decades later, and indeed served an important role in the reconstruction of cathedral repertoires at the Restoration. As the title indicates, Barnard intended to publish at least one further collection, but his first publication as well as musical life at St Paul's Cathedral were cut short by political events.

Although the high church movement was never widely popular, it was highly

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<sup>32</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 43-44.

<sup>33</sup> Boyer and Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell', 621. Referring to Bing's hand in Oxford Christ Church Mus. 732-735, a set of part books with connections to John Barnard's circle of copyists.

<sup>34</sup> John Barnard, *The First Book of Selected Church Musick*, (London: Edward Griffin, 1641). Facsimile, with an introduction by John Morehen. Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1972, title page.



visible. Charles I's 'divine right' to rule, and the issue of his Catholic queen Henrietta Maria both played a role in the mounting tensions leading to the English Civil War. The eventual backlash against the Laudian Revival was significant: Archbishop Laud was imprisoned in 1641 and, after a series of trials, lost his head in 1645. In January 1642 London granted refuge to the members of Parliament King Charles I had attempted to arrest, and in August when the King, having fled the city for concern of his safety, raised his banner at Nottingham, London was unsurprisingly on the side of the Parliamentarians. The properties and revenues of the St Paul's Cathedral were seized in March of 1643, and on 19 August of the same year a warrant was issued for the seizure of goods from Bing's house.<sup>35</sup> Although he signed the accounts at St Paul's at midsummer, it seems likely that Bing fled the city in August along with a large number of Royalists, and his signature does not reappear in cathedral records until his apparent return by 1647.

The court had moved to Oxford in October 1643, where King Charles I stayed in Christ Church College and his wife Henrietta Maria in Merton College. Christopher Hatton III was at Oxford as Comptroller of the King's Household, and he summoned George Jeffreys to join him there, where the latter worked as a household servant while active as an organist at Christ Church Cathedral.<sup>36</sup> Many of the manuscripts containing Bing's hand can be traced to Hatton's collection at this time and show Jeffreys's and Bing's hand in the same copying projects once again. Based on manuscript and anecdotal evidence, it is undeniable that musical activity, secular and sacred, took place at the Oxford Court. Several Latin motets were even adapted to be less blatantly Marian, presumably to allow them to be sung in Anglican devotions.<sup>37</sup> Also among the music at Christ Church is a set of Richard Dering's 1618 publication *Cantica Sacra* with the missing basso continuo

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35 Charles H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London: n.p., 1911), 106-117.

36 Peter Aston, 'Jeffreys, George', Grove Music Online, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 2 March 2014. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14227>.

37 Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys's Copies of Italian Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23 (1990), 111.

part supplied by a manuscript copy in Bing's hand, again presumably to allow for performance.<sup>38</sup>

Although no direct evidence survives of Bing's presence at the Oxford Court during the Civil War, his absence from London and the presence of his hand in manuscripts connected to Jeffreys and the Hatton collection from that period suggest that he was there. This is further supported by the reappearance of his signature in the account books at St Paul's in London the year following the surrender of Oxford to Parliamentary troops in June 1646. Charles I was beheaded in January 1649, and three months later an act of Parliament abolished positions within the church and confiscated the remaining ecclesiastical property, finishing off whatever was left of Bing's employment as a minor canon at St Paul's and depriving him of his home.<sup>39</sup> Cathedral services were discontinued, and many churches had been ransacked during the war, their organs and music books destroyed as part of the general devastation to the gaudiness and 'Popery' on display.<sup>40</sup> The loss of musical manuscripts during this period is one of the great challenges facing the musicological study of sacred music, a reason that Stephen Bing's pre-war pedigree as a musician makes Y M.I.S all the more valuable.

During the Interregnum, sacred music as a form of high art was limited to private devotional services, often at some risk to the attendees. The diarist John Evelyn recorded just such an event at Exeter House in London in 1657: 'The chapell was surrounded with souldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surpiz'd and kept prisoners by them.'<sup>41</sup> The Chapel Royal ceased to exist, and court patronage for music was effectively exiled to Paris in the service of the heir apparent Charles and many of his supporters, including Hatton. Career church musicians were left unemployed and Bing was no exception.

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38 Boyer and Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell', 627.

39 Charles H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London: n. p., 1910), 85-104.

40 Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 54.

41 John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq. F. R. S. From 1641 to 1705-6*, ed. William Bray (London: W. W. Gibbings, 1890), 254.

Stephen Bing's activities during the Commonwealth are difficult to trace, but it appears that he remained in London, struggling to support himself and his family as a music teacher. John Playford's 1651 publication *A Musicall Banquet* is a musical instruction book, and helpfully lists 'many excellent and able Masters in this Arts and Science', including nine names for keyboard instruction and eighteen names 'for the Voyce or Viole'. The composers Christopher Gibbons, Albertus Bryne, Richard Portman and Benjamin Rogers are listed among the former, and Henry Lawes and Captain Henry Cooke are listed alongside Stephen Bing in the latter category.<sup>42</sup> Bing is known to have been the teacher of the viol prodigy Susanna Perwich from 1654 until her death in 1661. In an elegy written upon the death of Perwich, her 'neer relation' John Batchiler refers to Bing several times as her master at viol lessons. Batchiler also lists Bing as one of the teachers at the ladies boarding school in Hackney that was run by the Perwich family and where Susanna studied. The reference in the epistle of the book lists Bing along with Rogers, Coleman, Brian and Hazard, 'and the rest of the Masters of the School'.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that aside from private pupils, Bing had regular employment at one or more of these schools where music was amongst the skills students were expected to learn.

Bing's teaching, it seems, was not enough to support his family. Several of the former employees of St Paul's received hardship money, and in 1655, the Committee for the Maintenance of Ministers paid him four pounds as well as a further forty shillings in 1657.<sup>44</sup> Bing's hand appears in several music manuscripts that may be dated to this period, although their provenance is unknown.<sup>45</sup> Several examples of his secretarial work also survive in the Hatton correspondence, though they are undated and Bing does not appear to

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42 John Playford, *A Musicall banquet set forth in three choice varieties of musick* (London: Thomas Harper, 1651), f. 5. Facsimile accessed at Early English Books Online, 17 November 2010, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

43 John Batchiler, *The virgins pattern, in the exemplary life and lamented death of Mrs. Susanna Perwich* (London: Simon Dover, 1661), ff. 3v-4. Facsimile accessed at Early English Books Online, 17 November 2010, <http://http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

44 A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 11.

45 Boyer and Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell', 641-642.

have worked regularly as a secretary for the family.<sup>46</sup>

### **Stephen Bing and the Restoration**

On 8 May, 1660, the Convention Parliament proclaimed that King Charles II had been the legal ruler of the country since his father's execution. The Church of England was restored, and the process began of attempting to repair the damage and rebuild the choirs, organs and repertoire collections. The Corporation Act of 1661 required officials to take Anglican Communion, and the Act of Uniformity in 1662 strengthened and clarified church tradition, requiring once again that ministers be ordained. Some church musicians who had survived the intervening years and were still in their relative prime took up their previous posts or quickly rose up through the thinned ranks to become leaders in re-establishing the traditions. Henry Cooke was responsible for the re-building of the Chapel Royal choir. His accomplishments included the recruitment and training of promising boys from around the country, and his protégés, including John Blow, Pelham Humphrey, William Turner, and Henry Purcell, would grow up to form the next bright generation of English composers. Stephen Bing returned to work at St Paul's Cathedral, this time as a Senior Cardinal and Warden of the College of Minor Canons.<sup>47</sup> His pre-war colleagues Randall Jewitt and Henry Smith were also immediately reappointed to the choir, and Albertus Bryne and Roger Nightingale shortly followed in returning to St Paul's. Bing and Smith were responsible for at least some of the auditions for the remaining vacancies, as seen in a record kept by James Clifford.<sup>48</sup> With the choir quickly rebuilt, the cathedral was able to resume choral services in May of 1661.<sup>49</sup>

Not everything went smoothly in the re-establishment of the music programme at St Paul's. On 13 October 1662, the Dean and Chapter received a list of complaints against

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 628.

<sup>47</sup> Willetts, 'Stephen Bing', 14.

<sup>48</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 436-437. Transcription of John Pridden's copy (London, St Paul's Cathedral, Case C, Shelf 2 SE) of James Clifford's journal.

<sup>49</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 65.

some senior officials. Bing and Smith were accused of being installed without the necessary prerequisites, the result of their probationary period never being properly closed by the Chapter in the years of the Civil War. More seriously, they were charged with nine counts of leasing out college property, two against Smith and seven against Bing.<sup>50</sup> Subletting college properties, for which the rent was frozen, had been a popular way to supplement income before the Civil War as well. Many minor canons, including John Barnard, continued to re-let their cheap housing at market rates despite an injunction from Archbishop Laud against doing so in 1636. Often a new petticanon would find that his predecessor had let his rooms on a contract that had yet to expire and was forced to honour the agreement and find other accommodation.<sup>51</sup> Several incoming minor canons appear to have been uninformed about the properties or rents that were due them, with Bing and Smith potentially among the new canons who found themselves deprived.<sup>52</sup> At the Restoration, the new cardinals Bing and Smith made use of the College seal to let the nine properties mentioned in the complaint. They both confessed when they were confronted with the charges, and although the record shows that the legal proceedings were long and drawn out, both remained in their positions.<sup>53</sup>

The next disaster to fall upon Bing at St Paul's was the Great Plague of 1665, although it is through his attempts to keep the cathedral running when others had fled or died that we learn more about him. The Dean, William Sandcroft, left London on the excuse that he had already planned to make a visit to the waters at Tunbridge Wells before the plague came through. However, he stayed there for almost seven months (contactable through the Rose and Crown) and even made several trips to Oxford and Suffolk without calling at London.<sup>54</sup> He was not alone in avoiding the plague-stricken city, and many of Bing's co-workers were also absent during the worst of the outbreak. Stephen Bing, to his

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 68-73.

<sup>51</sup> Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 10-12.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>53</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 72-73.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 81.

credit, remained at his post and wrote to letters keeping Sancroft informed of his activities, five of which survive.

Bing's letters to Sancroft paint a picture of a deteriorating situation in and around the cathedral. On 24 July, Bing wrote that Randall Jewett, Richard Price, Lawrence Fisher, Peter Warner, John Cockrey, Nathaniel Simpson, and William Morris had abandoned the choir and Thomas Quartermaine and Charles Webb were speaking of departure. He reported that prayers and services continue in a timely fashion, and he appears to have been left in charge of distributing the Dean's charity as well.<sup>55</sup> On 3 August, Bing wrote that only three petticanons remained along with two vicars choral. Additionally, 'Mr Portington lies at the point of death whose turne being to officiat this week I supply for none els would doe it except they were payd for it'. Bing also related that the Bishop of London had written to the clergy who had 'quitted their flocks by reason of these times' to return quickly on pain of being replaced.<sup>56</sup> By the time of his letter four days later, William Portington was dead and the plague was heavy in the streets around his house and the cathedral, though Bing reported that prayers and services continued to happen three times a day.<sup>57</sup> Matters continued to worsen, rising to a high mark of seven thousand deaths each week in September. The vicars choral Nathaniel Simpson and William Morris died in October and November respectively and there is no record of whether Bing and the few remaining were able to continue services regularly through the autumn and winter.<sup>58</sup>

Bing had waited through the interregnum, navigated the charges against him as he helped rebuild the choir of St Paul's and survived the plague, only to see his house and place of employment go up in flames. The 'Great Fire of London' began in the early hours of 2 September 1666 and spread rapidly through the old city. In the following days as fire fighting efforts proved inconsequential, people turned their concerns to protecting their

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55 Ibid., 436-437. Transcription of Lbl Harley MS 3785 f. 19r.

56 Ibid., 439-440. Transcription of Lbl Harley MS 3785 f. 24r.

57 Ibid., 440-441. Transcription of Lbl Harley MS 3785 f. 27r.

58 Ibid., 81.

property, transporting it from house to house ahead of the conflagration, or fleeing the city by cart or boat. Many thought that the vaults under St Paul's Cathedral would be safe and stored books and other belongings there. However, around 8pm on the evening of 4 September, the fire 'was now taking hold of St Paule's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly'.<sup>59</sup> The scaffolding in question was on the building as the result of repair work overseen by Christopher Wren, and may have been the cathedral's downfall. After the fire, St Paul's was reduced to fire-split stones cemented together by melted lead from the roof. Needless to say, the contents of the building were lost, including the large booksellers stock that had been rushed into the vaults. Fortunately, the clergy had not put as much trust in the building's impregnability, and had removed the records and silver to a safe location in advance of the flames. The minor canon Thomas Quartermaine made three trips to save the choir books and so it seems that not all (if any) of the music belonging to the choir was lost in the fire.<sup>60</sup> None of this music survives today; perhaps it was dispersed when it became clear that choral services could not continue in the shell of the building. Plans were made to build a new cathedral, designed by the same Christopher Wren who had been responsible for the repairs to the cathedral since the Restoration. The new St Paul's did not open for regular services until the end of 1697, well after Bing had died.

The Dean and Chapter passed an Act permitting each minor canon to take other employment, 'until it shall please God to make St Pauls Cathedrall in a condicion for him to discharge his duety there'.<sup>61</sup> Dean Sancroft was directly involved in arrangements for some of the singers to transfer to Lincoln Cathedral, and the replies he received from Lincoln's dean Michael Honeywood have already been mentioned above, both as a suggestion of Bing's having spent time in Cambridge and as a reference to his being a countertenor. The proposed moves of two other minor canons to Lincoln fell through as Joseph Masters went to Wells and Randall Jewett transferred to Winchester. Honeywood

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<sup>59</sup> Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 318.

<sup>60</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 87, 420.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

sweetened the deal, however, offering Bing additional employment as the curate of a nearby church. Despite mentioning (unspecific) concerns of his wife, Bing was appointed as Senior Vicar Choral at Lincoln on 21 March 1667, and also given responsibility for St Nicholas church in the suburb of Newport just outside the city walls.<sup>62</sup>

The size of Lincoln's musical establishment can be deduced from Honeywood's letter. In it, he informs Sancroft that there should be eight boys in the choir, and complains of 'not having above 2 or 3 worth keeping'. As for the choir men, 'we have but 8 and should have 12'.<sup>63</sup> Bing's arrival would have brought the number of men to nine, and presumably Honeywood continued his search for singers. Indeed, the chairmen amounted to at least ten by 28 November in the year of Bing's arrival as they were joined by the young William Turner to serve as Master of the Choristers at Lincoln.<sup>64</sup> Turner was a gifted composer, having famously collaborated with Pelham Humphrey and John Blow to write the 'Club Anthem' when all three were choristers at the Chapel Royal several years earlier. Some of his early anthems date from his time at Lincoln, and Turner's music is well represented in the Bing-Gostling part books. Other notable colleagues of Bing's at Lincoln included the cathedral organist Andreas Hecht, appointed in 1663, and the junior vicars John Cutts and Thomas Heardson.<sup>65</sup> All three are also represented as composers of anthems copied early in Bing's collection.

It is during these years at Lincoln that Stephen Bing began to copy music into Y M.1.S.<sup>66</sup> Alongside the new compositions by Hecht, Cutts, Turner and Heardson, Lincoln Cathedral appears to have been in possession of a set of John Barnard's *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London, 1641). Although no books survive, nor any record of their purchase, Daniel Bamford shows them to have been present by

62 Ibid., 445-446. Transcription of Ob Tanner MS 130, f. 19.

63 Ibid., 444-445. Transcription of Ob Tanner MS 130, f. 17.

64 Don Franklin, 'Turner, William (ii)', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 18 August 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28624>.

65 Nicholas Thistlethwaite, 'Music and Worship 1660-1980' in *A History of Lincoln Minster*, ed. Dorothy M. Owen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 79-85.

66 Annotation 'A collection of such Anthems for verses as have bin made at Lincoln' found in Y M.1/5.S, f. 83.



demonstrating the strong relationship between the contents and order of Bing's early copying work at Lincoln in the Bing-Gostling part books and Barnard's publication.<sup>67</sup>

Bing returned to London by 1 April 1672, when he signed the Precentor's book at Westminster Abbey as a lay vicar.<sup>68</sup> Later that year he signed for his dividend again at St Paul's, and he held both positions from then until his death. Bing's duties at St Paul's appear to have been primarily non-musical. Despite the lack of the central cathedral structure, many other church properties relating to income had been unaffected by the fire, and salaried positions continued to receive pay. Ceremonies and chapter meetings continued, and Henry Compton was installed as Bishop in 1675.<sup>69</sup> The exact nature and number of Bing's duties for St Paul's are unknown, though evidence survives of some music copying duties, as will be discussed below.

Construction on the new cathedral began in 1675, and there is no record of regular choral services between the fire and the opening of the new building well after Bing's death. Nonetheless, the Cathedral seems not to have been completely silent. The main copyist from before the fire, Thomas Quartermaine, was given money for paper on several occasions.<sup>70</sup> Special events such as the installation of Edward Stillingfleet as dean in 1678 would have probably included music.<sup>71</sup> In 1677, Bing was paid by St Paul's for copying, probably a set of service books.<sup>72</sup> Whether this means that the cathedral was looking forward to a time when regular services would resume, or whether it suggests that they were singing regularly enough throughout the construction period to warrant the creation of new resources is unclear. There is a curious reference by Robert Hooke to the ordering of a 'tabernacle' for the Cathedral in 1674 that might have allowed for more elaborate services.<sup>73</sup> However, the surviving set of services dated to this time is for a standard choir

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67 Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 335-337.

68 Boyer and Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell', 632.

69 Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 111-113.

70 *Ibid.*, 646 (endnote 67).

71 *Ibid.*, 646 (endnote 66).

72 *Ibid.*, 635.

73 Robert Hooke, *The Diary of Robert Hooke, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., 1672-1680: transcribed from the original in the possession of the Corporation of the City of London*, ed. Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams (London: Taylor

of boys and men, and opens up the possibility of regular choral activity on a scale that seems unlikely based on other evidence or a lack thereof.<sup>74</sup> Did Bing continue to sing at St Paul's on occasion, or even regularly? The latter is unlikely, as his other position at Westminster would have conflicted too directly with the services at St Paul's. It is true that holding positions at multiple institutions was not uncommon among the more talented and experienced musicians, but this depended on the generous holiday time granted by the Chapel Royal in conjunction with the difficulty that provincial cathedrals had in retaining talented employees. Neither factor was involved in Bing's case in the 1670s, and since his signatures continue in the account books of both institutions, it appears that his duties on the behalf of each did not conflict to any great extent. Additionally, many stalls at St Paul's remained empty,<sup>75</sup> despite the Chapter's release of their musicians (mentioned above) including a clause requiring their return once regular service was resumed.<sup>76</sup> The overlap in musical staff between Westminster, St Paul's and the Chapel Royal, which would become so common later in the century, also required large musical establishments that could absorb a number of absences without a serious detriment to their ability to perform the music. Judging by the records, Bing represented a quarter of the Minor Canons at St Paul's in the late 1670s and his absence at a service would have had a serious impact on the music that could have been performed.

Westminster Abbey, by contrast, was very active musically. The choral foundation included eighteen men and ten boys, as well as a master of the choristers and an organist. The organist when Bing arrived in 1672 was John Blow, who stepped aside for the prodigious Henry Purcell in 1679. Additionally, one of Bing's colleagues was William Tucker, the composer and copyist who was also a member of the Chapel Royal. Also present was Albertus Bryne, with whom Bing worked at St Paul's before the fire. The

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& Francis: 1935), 109.

74 Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 276-278.

75 Ibid., 386-389.

76 Ibid., 95.

composer Christopher Gibbons gave up his post at Westminster in 1666, but he remained alive for another decade and may have remained in communication with the musical establishment at the Abbey. The account books at Westminster Abbey record payments to Bing on three occasions, presumably for copying as his hand survives in several part books.<sup>77</sup>

On 26 November 1681 at the age of seventy-one years, Stephen Bing passed away and was buried on 1 December at St George the Martyr's Church, Canterbury next to his parents.<sup>78</sup> He was survived by his wife and two of his daughters, and was able to provide well for them through his will. With a career that spans both sides of the Commonwealth, and a significant number of music manuscripts containing his hand, Bing's life and work provides an enlightening perspective on a significant period of upheaval in the Anglican Church and the nature of the efforts to reconstruct choral services during the Restoration.

### **York Minster M.1.S: an Introductory Description of Contents and Import**

The 'Bing-Gostling' part books are far from overlooked. They have been studied in their context as one of the most important sources of early compositions by Henry Purcell.<sup>79</sup> They have been used to create editions of works such as Orlando Gibbons's eight-voice anthem 'O clap your hands together', for which they are the only surviving source with the exception of a lone contratenor part book in the British Library.<sup>80</sup> They were catalogued by David Griffiths as part of a complete listing of music manuscripts in the York Minster Library.<sup>81</sup> They were investigated and re-catalogued in 1986 by the prolific musicologist Watkins Shaw,<sup>82</sup> and Daniel Bamford examined them in relation to his 2009 thesis on John

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77 Boyer and Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell', 633. Transcription of Lwa Muniments 33,706 (1673), 33,710 (1676), and 33,714 (1679).

78 Cowper, *Register Booke of the Parish of St George the Martyr*, 196.

79 Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: the Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 201-206.

80 Lbl Add. MS 29289, ff.195v-196.

81 David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York: York Minster, 1981), 1-20.

82 Watkins Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster: A Catalogue with Introduction* (London: Royal School of Church Music, 1986).

Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London 1641). However, this unique resource of Restoration repertoire has yet to be explored in its own right, as a collection of cathedral music made by a musician who practised at the top of his field on both sides of the Interregnum. Stephen Bing's perspective and approach serve as the inspiration and point of departure for this thesis.

It should be noted that Y M.1.S contains 301 pieces in total, but not all of them are in Bing's hand. After his death, the part books came into the possession of the Purcellian bass John Gostling and contain his hand as well, hence the appellation 'Bing-Gostling'. Gostling did not begin adding to the books until a decade after Bing's death, at which point he began filling the few empty spaces remaining in the set.<sup>83</sup> To the 276 pieces already present, Gostling added 23 anthems and two services. This music increased the number of works by five of the composers already represented in Bing's collection (Henry Purcell, John Blow, Benjamin Rogers, Henry Aldrich and William Turner) as well as expanding the number of composers by one with the addition of an anthem by Gostling's colleague John Sargenson. Gostling also filled in missing parts for four anthems that Bing had left incomplete. For the purpose of this study, Y M.1.S is being considered as an artefact copied by Stephen Bing alone, as it would have been until his death in 1681. Below, the set will be referred to as 'Bing's part books' and by the shelf mark Y M.1.S. A detailed catalogue of the manuscripts is provided in Appendix 1.1.

Y M.1.S represents an unusual personal project for the 1670s considering both the type of music collected (services and anthems) and the partbook (rather than score) format. Collections similar to Y M.1.S in these regards, for the most part, belonged to institutions rather than to individuals. There are many surviving examples of collected music in part book format clearly intended for personal use, whether instrumental or containing a mixture of sacred and secular compositions. There were collections made by composers of their own works, such as the autograph manuscripts of Henry Purcell, John Blow, William

<sup>83</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 206.

Child and George Jeffreys. Some of these took the form of score books and some show evidence of use as tools for revision of their output.<sup>84</sup> As a non-composer, Bing's personal collection of a wide range of services and anthems in the 'performance' layout of part books is unique. A notable exception is John Barnard's manuscript copies where he collected music for his ambitious publishing project in 1641.<sup>85</sup>

Y M.1.S belonged to Stephen Bing himself, travelled from Lincoln to London with him, and passed into the hands of his St Paul's colleague John Gostling at some point after the end of his life. In reality, they are poorly suited for performance: the hand is cramped to save space, and many of the pieces are copied in only half of the books as opposed to the usual practise of copying pieces twice, once each for the Cantoris and Decani sides of the choir. It is generally accepted that they were created to serve as a reference collection – a traveling file of music ('file copy') for an active copyist who would then no longer be at the mercy of local resources or passing musicians for source material.<sup>86</sup> In light of his tortured career at St Paul's, interrupted first by the Civil War and later by plague and fire, and the importance of Barnard's 1641 publication in reconstructing the cathedral repertoire at the Restoration, Bing may also have had preservation in mind.

While Y M.1.S is unusual in its use of a part book format for the purpose of collecting repertoire for a reason other than performance, it is not alone. While several composers kept collections of their own works in score format, George Jeffreys, also copied his compositions into part books.<sup>87</sup> John Barnard appears to have had a set of manuscript part books used to collect music in preparation for his 1641 publication.<sup>88</sup> John Gostling, perhaps inspired by Bing's collection, added to Y M.1.S. Gostling also collected music in score, as did many musicians in the late seventeenth century as the format became increasingly popular. William Isaack compiled a significant file score

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84 Peter Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' (PhD diss., University of York, 1970), 83, 129.

85 Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 35-74.

86 Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster*, 11-12.

87 Lcm 920a.

88 Lcm 1045-1051.

while he was at St George's Chapel, Windsor between about 1677 and 1684.<sup>89</sup> In 1715, Thomas Tudway was commissioned by Edward, Lord Harley, to compile as comprehensive a collection of sacred music as possible, stretching to six volumes of score books and ushering in the new era of music collection from an antiquarian perspective.<sup>90</sup>

Y M.1.S may have been inspired by John Barnard's publication, as implied by his use of *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London, 1641) as a source for the material entered at the beginning of each section of Y M.1.S, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Barnard's *First Book* was limited to composers who were deceased at the time of the 1641 printing, and this is the source for the earliest compositions in Y M.1.S, including those by Thomas Tallis, Christopher Tye, Robert Parsons, Robert White, Richard Farrant and Nicholas Stogers. Bing also copied a great number of pieces contemporary to those found in the Barnard books, but that do not appear therein, including music by Thomas Morley and Richard Portman. Other pre-war composers present in Y M.1.S that are not in the *First Book* are William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Tomkins and Adrian Batten, with a number of services and anthems each, as well as representative anthems by John Bull, Richard Dering and Henry and William Lawes, among others. Bing also included the work of pre-war composers who survived to continue writing music at the Restoration. These composers include Benjamin Rogers, William Child, Christopher Gibbons and Edward Lowe.

Bing appears to have begun Y M.1.S shortly after his 1667 appointment at Lincoln Cathedral. This accounts for the strong presence of Lincoln-based composers in the Bing part books. John Cutts, Andreas Hecht, and Thomas Heardson are well-represented, with some of their music surviving to the present only in Y M.1.S. In this section are also several anthems by William Turner, a young man who arrived at Lincoln near the time of Bing's appointment, having just left the tutelage of Henry Cooke at Chapel Royal when his

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<sup>89</sup> Cfm MS 117.

<sup>90</sup> Lbl MSS Harley 7337-7342.

voice broke. The significance of this repertoire will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Subsequent entries in the part books indicate that Bing continued to copy when he returned to London: many of his young London contemporaries are represented, including works by Pelham Humphrey, John Blow, William Tucker, Michael Wise, and Thomas Tudway,, as well as some of Henry Purcell's earliest compositions. In this regard, the books are important for dating some of the early works of the London composers, as nothing in Bing's hand could have been put down following his death in 1681. The relationship of Y M.1.S to the musical establishments at St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey where Bing worked will be investigated in Chapter Five and Chapter Six respectively.

Several unusual pieces present in Y M.1.S suggest ties with composers who featured in Bing's life. As discussed above, George Jeffreys and Bing are known to have worked together as copyists and employees of Christopher Hatton III before the Commonwealth. Jeffreys was also a composer, but his sacred music was never in wide use. Despite this lack of circulation, Bing's collection includes five anthems, and more unusually, a Latin motet by Jeffreys. This motet would have had no place in the work of an Anglican cathedral copyist; along with another Latin motet by Robert Ramsey, it seems out of place in a collection of music otherwise representative of cathedral repertoire, and provides an interesting insight into Bing's high church sympathies. Bing's connection to George Jeffreys is the subject of Chapter Eight. George Loosemore is another unusual presence, as he spent his career as a musician at Cambridge. He was organist of Jesus College in the 1630s and it is possible that Bing became familiar with him or his music when in Cambridge at that time. Another oddity is an incomplete anthem by the provincial composer Edward Smith of Durham. Familiarity with Smith's work may also date to Bing's time in Cambridge, as several of Smith's anthems are present in the collection of Peterhouse Chapel Caroline part books Cp MSS 33-49. Some of the music in Y M.1.S

bears no obvious connection to Bing's life, such as the service by Restoration composer Daniel Henstridge, who worked at Gloucester and Rochester. However, Henstridge had many London acquaintances and Bing may have had access to his work through them.

Another unusual feature of Y M.1.S is the number of marginal annotations recording variants between the version of a given piece that Bing copied and versions of the same piece in other sets of part books. In places, Bing identifies the conflicting source, and even goes so far as to provide an alternative reading. Copyists were of necessity editors of a sort, but today we do not think of them as such, falling all too easily into the assumption that they have more in common with photocopiers than musicologists. Bing's more visible editorial activities in Y M.1.S are enlightening in that regard, and are discussed in relation to specific musical institutions such as Westminster Abbey (Chapter Six), and a particularly interesting reference to *Musica Deo sacra*, the 1668 publication of Thomas Tomkins's music, is considered in Chapter Seven. Bing's marginal annotations were not unique among contemporary sources. The Le Strange manuscripts (Lbl Add. MSS 39550-39554) are a seventeenth-century collection of instrumental fantasias which contain annotations throughout that collate their texts with those of numerous contemporary sources as listed by the name of their owner.<sup>91</sup> However, Y M.1.S contains the most extensive example of this sort of labelled cross referencing in surviving sacred repertoire from the period.

In summary, the Bing part books, discounting later additions by John Gostling, include 238 anthems, 38 services and 8 chants for a grand total of 276 pieces of music. 61 composers are represented, dating from pieces composed in the 1570s by Tallis and Tye to the latest compositions by Henry Purcell composed only shortly before Bing's death in 1681. Composers represented by ten or more works apiece are Orlando Gibbons, Adrian Batten, Christopher Gibbons, William Child, Pelham Humphrey, Henry Purcell, John Blow, William Tucker, William Turner and Michael Wise. Oddities include two Latin

<sup>91</sup> Pamela Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas Le Strange and John Jenkins', *Music & Letters* 42/1 (Jan. 1961), 30.



motets, pieces by provincial composers from Durham, Lincoln and Cambridge, and a number of works by Bing's sometime colleague George Jeffreys.

As a document, Y M.1.S is not a contemporary source for pre-Restoration music. Without an organ book it is ill-suited for use in reconstructing verse anthems. Bing's work as a copyist was not always critical, as evidenced by some of the obvious errors among the services and anthems he copied. However, his career spanned the Interregnum and with the exception of the Chapel Royal, he worked in the foremost sacred musical institutions in England during his lifetime. The amount of information we have about Bing's life and activities provides a number of interesting clues that allow for an in-depth study centred on and reaching out from Y M.1.S, and ultimately, a case study in the transmission of seventeenth-century Anglican cathedral repertoire.

## Chapter Two – Y M.1.S: a Bibliographical Study

### Watermarks and Rastra

There are at least eight watermarks present across the eight part books of Y M.1.S. Each book contains approximately 100 folios, totalling 815 folios not counting flyleaves. Each individual part book breaks up the overall shelfmark into fractions; Y M.1/1.S represents the Medius Cantoris, and Y M.1/5.S the Medius Decani. A full listing of watermarks by folio can be found in Appendix 1.2. While it is not unusual to have multiple sources of paper in a book made up of loose sheets collected over time and bound together, most single-project books with a primary copyist would be expected to contain only one or two watermarks. The wide range of both watermarks and rastra rulings in Y M.1.S supports the idea that this collection was Bing's personal file-copy project, rather than a more formally-organized undertaking such as a set of books for use at an institution.

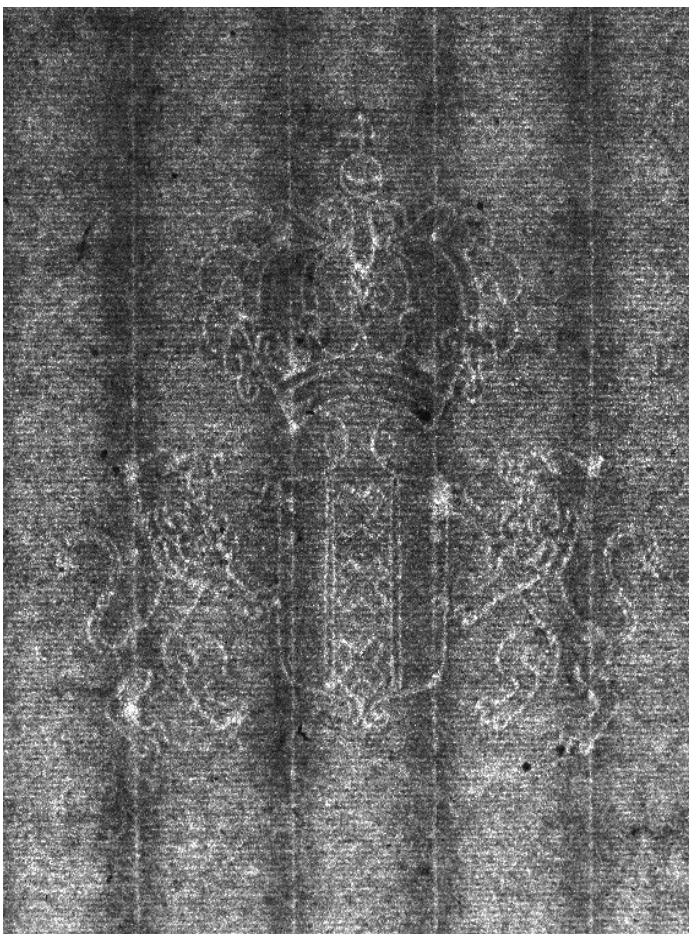
The most straightforward watermark, shown in Figure 1, is that found on the paper that makes up the flyleaves of seven of the books (Tenor Decani Y M.1/7.S is the exception discussed below). The flyleaves are in gatherings of six folios (three pieces of paper) located at the front and back of each book. The watermark is the arms of Amsterdam, also known as the 'Dutch Lion', with a counter-mark 'AI' as seen in Figure 2, suggesting the initials of the well-known paper maker Abraham Janssen. Although an exact match with the correct counter-mark has not yet been identified in another manuscript, the presence of the Dutch Lion watermark in the flyleaves of Y M.1.S is nearly identical to two records in the Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive, both used in the same manuscript dated to 1673 and one connected to the counter-mark 'DC'.<sup>1</sup> The measurements of the Y M.1.S version are sketched in Figure 3. Both marks have measurements different enough not to be attributable to stretching during mould use.

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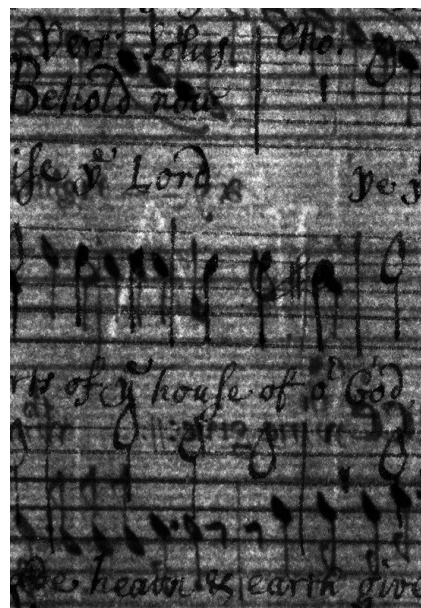
<sup>1</sup> Daniel Mosser et al., *The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive*, accessed 23 January 2012, [www.gravell.org](http://www.gravell.org), ARMS.093.1 and ARMS.188.1.

While close, neither set of measurements match the Janssen watermark in Y M.1.S.

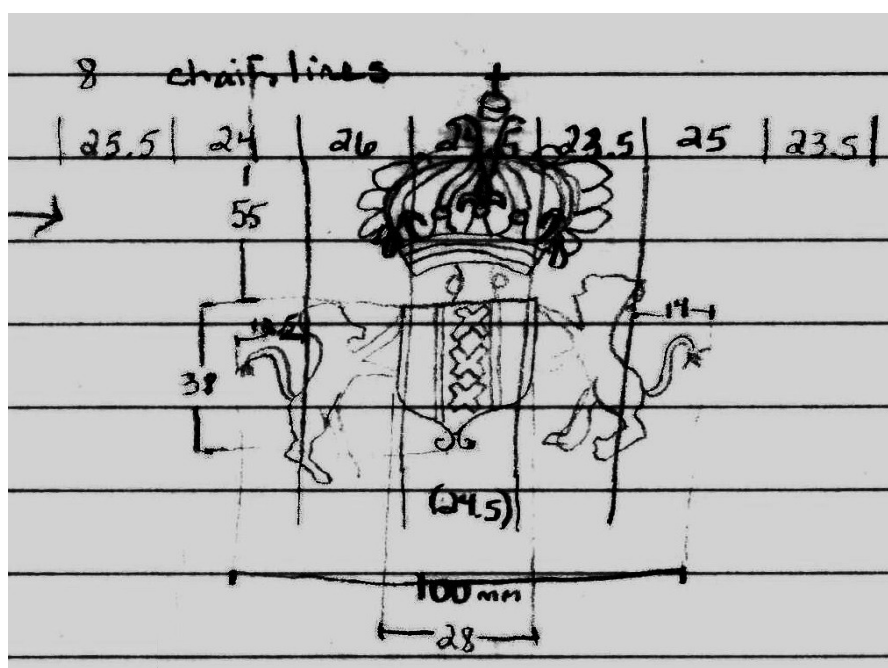
**Figure 1:** arms of Amsterdam watermark



**Figure 2:** A I countermark



**Figure 3:** sketch and measurements of the arms of Amsterdam watermark



There are also two watermarks 'based on the arms of the city of Amsterdam' in the Manchester altus part book MS 340 Cr 71.<sup>2</sup> Both of these are associated with the counter-mark 'AI'. Neither is exactly identical to the flyleaves of Y M.1.S, but the similarities are great and the presence of Janssen's initials implies a similar provenance for the paper. The set, of which the Altus part book is the sole survivor, was intended for St Paul's Cathedral,<sup>3</sup> and has been dated to a narrow span of the five months just preceding the Great Fire.<sup>4</sup> Although this doesn't rule out the chance that Bing obtained the flyleaves for Y M.1.S elsewhere or at a later date, it does provide an intriguing possibility and suggests one location – St Paul's – where he would have had access to paper supplied by Janssen dating to the 1660s.

Robert Thompson describes a shift in the English paper market in 1678 following the six-year Franco-Dutch war. It is at this point that Abraham Janssen seems to have begun using the patriotic 'Dutch Lion', and from this year his paper quickly became common in English sources and dominated the English market in quality paper for the next decade.<sup>5</sup> This broad historical pattern for the English availability of Abraham Janssen's 'Arms of Amsterdam' paper is at odds with the dates proposed for the copying of Manchester MS 340 Cr 71, but it does link up with a dated page in Y M.1.S. On the inside cover of the front of the Bassus Decani book (Y M.1/8.S) is the witness statement, 'Munday being 28 Ap: 79 about 1 of the clock in the daytime was Mr Airdens will was open'd in the presence of the Principle of Cliffords Inn & me, Steph. Bing'. Written on the paste-down, in Bing's hand and signed, it is proof that the books were bound in their present state prior to the end of April 1679. The sudden dominance of Janssen's paper in the English market following the Treaty of Nijmegen in August 1678 would suggest that

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2 Sarah Boyer, 'The Manchester Altus Partbook MS 340 Cr 71', *Music & Letters* 72/2 (May 1991), 197-213. 197 and 207. Sketches can be found in Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 221.

3 Sarah Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: a study of the music and musicians of St Paul's Cathedral, 1660-1697 (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1999), 231.

4 *Ibid.*, 233.

5 Robert Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688' (PhD diss., University of London, King's College, 1988), 49.

Bing's witness statement was freshly made in the newly-bound books. In fact, Abraham Janssen's initials as a counter-mark are thought not to have been used prior to 1679,<sup>6</sup> narrowing the parameters for the date of binding even further toward April 1679.

This date of binding is significantly later than the dates of copying of most of the contents, and as usual the flyleaves were acquired from another source. Bing's dated inscription on the inside cover, combined with indexes in his hand found on the front flyleaves of each book, shows that they were bound within his lifetime. Indeed, he was still adding to the collection after they were bound as evidenced by the inclusion of music in his hand on the flyleaves at the back of most of the books. The number of staves on the flyleaves differ, but are placed high on the page on average, suggesting that Bing saw the additional pages as an opportunity to squeeze more music into limited space. The number of staves on the back flyleaves runs as low as 13 and as high as 17, with 15-16 being the most common. They vary widely; for instance, one page has 14 staves on the recto side, and 17 on the verso.<sup>7</sup> Rather than arriving at an inconsistent number of staves by adding them above or below the original ruling as he did elsewhere in the books, the flyleaves appear to have been carefully ruled with a single-stave rastrum.

The Tenor Decani book (YM1/7S) is the exception to the above. There are no Amsterdam watermarks in the book, but it contains two watermarks found nowhere else in the set (sketches and measurements shown in Figure 6). Both are a fleur-de-lis in a crowned shield, but they differ markedly. The first, shown in Figure 4, is found on the flyleaves and paste-downs at each end of the book in gatherings of six folios. It closely matches (perhaps exactly) a record in the Gravell database dated to 1681.<sup>8</sup> While the front flyleaves in the other seven books are used for Bing's index, the flyleaves at the front and back of the Tenor Decani book are blank, with the exception of the eight psalm chants

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6 Ibid., 283.

7 Y M.1/2.S, f. 107 (pagination 203-204).

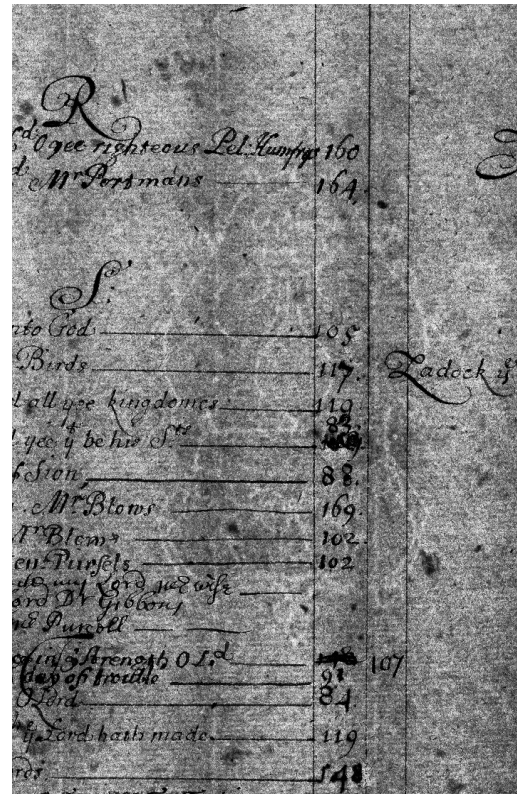
8 Mosser et al., *The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive*. SLD.047.1, from family and estate papers of the Rich family.

found on the back paste-down of this and the other three Decani books.

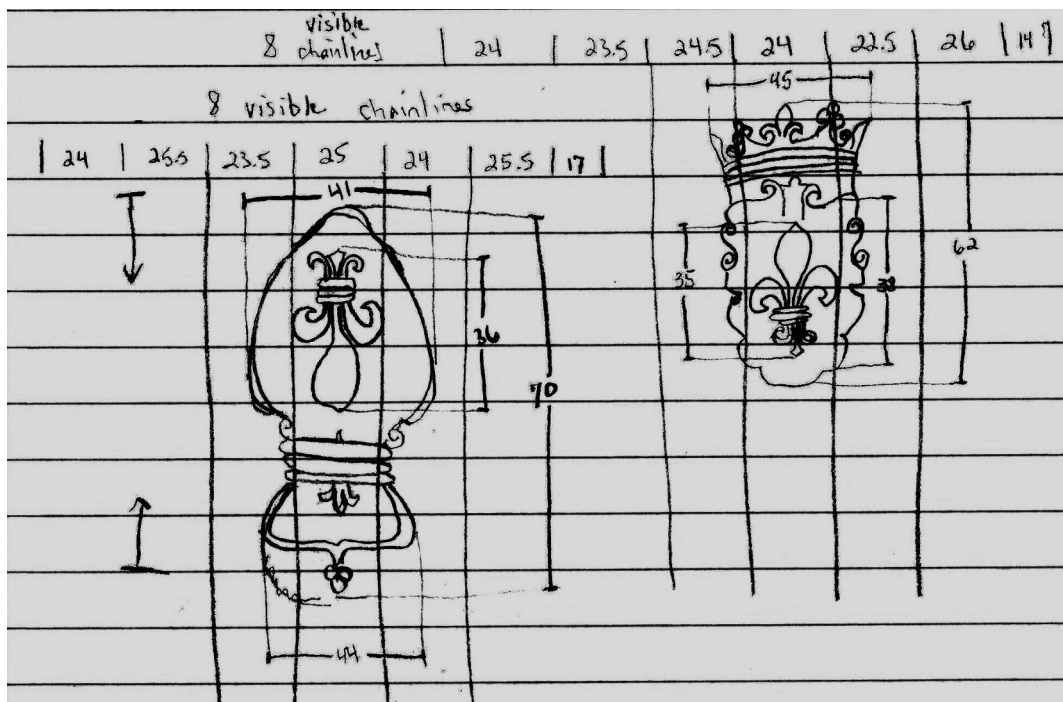
**Figure 4:** fleur-de-lis watermark, Y M.1/7.S



**Figure 5** differing fleur-de-lis, Y M.1/7 S



**Figure 6:** sketch and measurements of the Y M.1/7.S fleur-de-lis watermarks



The differing watermark and lack of an index by Bing brings the copyship of these psalm chants into question. Both Watkins Shaw and David Griffiths identify Bing as the copyist of these items (or, more accurately, fail to attribute them to Gostling). However, the chants are written sloppily as a result of being added after the paste-downs had been affixed to the covers. This masks the copyist's hand, and further scrutiny is required before they can be confirmed as Bing's additions, given the presence of one of the four on flyleaves with a different watermark. It should be considered that the watermark of each paste-down is assumed based on the gatherings of six folios. The discovery of five pages with a new watermark prior to the paste-down is used to infer the watermark on the paste-down.

The other watermark unique to the Tenor Decani book, shown above in Figure 5, is also an unusual mark. It is a fleur-de-lis in an oblong vial-like shield topped with a simple crown (if it is a crown) that looks more like a 'hoop crown' than the multi-pronged crown found on most watermarks. There is no evidence of anything like it recorded among the various collections and databases of watermarks available for this period. This watermark is found on both of the first two folios (5 and 6) after the front flyleaves, but there are no blank pages that could be associated with these watermarks in a gathering. Instead, they are pinned between the flyleaves and the beginning of the copied music, which is written on paper with a different set of watermarks. They appear to have been cut and inserted, as opposed to having originally represented any sort of gathering.

These inserted pages contain an index that differs markedly from Bing's indexes in the other books. This index is almost certainly not in Stephen Bing's hand, and represents a later addition to the Tenor Decani book. There are at least three different forms of the letter 'M' written in the index, but mixed evenly throughout, rather than simply added by John Gostling at the bottom of each alphabetical section as can be seen in the other books. The letter 'A' in Bing's script leads off with a slightly curved embellishment on the bottom

left, whereas this letter throughout the Tenor Decani index begins with a longer and far more tightly curled line. The letter 'D' provides the greatest contrast, with Bing's version sporting serifs at the top of the vertical line as in the letter 'I' and curving up around from the bottom so that it does not touch at the top but overshoots and curls around. The 'D' in the Tenor Decani index starts in the same place, sans serifs but often with a slight bend to the right at the top. It then descends, but curves the wrong way around to go up over the top before creating the definitive left-hand curve that makes the letter. The scribe of this index is clearly not Stephen Bing, but neither does it match the writing of John Gostling. Together with the different watermark, the absence of Bing's hand in the Tenor Decani index raises the possibility, alluded to above in relation to the psalm chant copying, of a separate and later reworking of the flyleaves in this book.

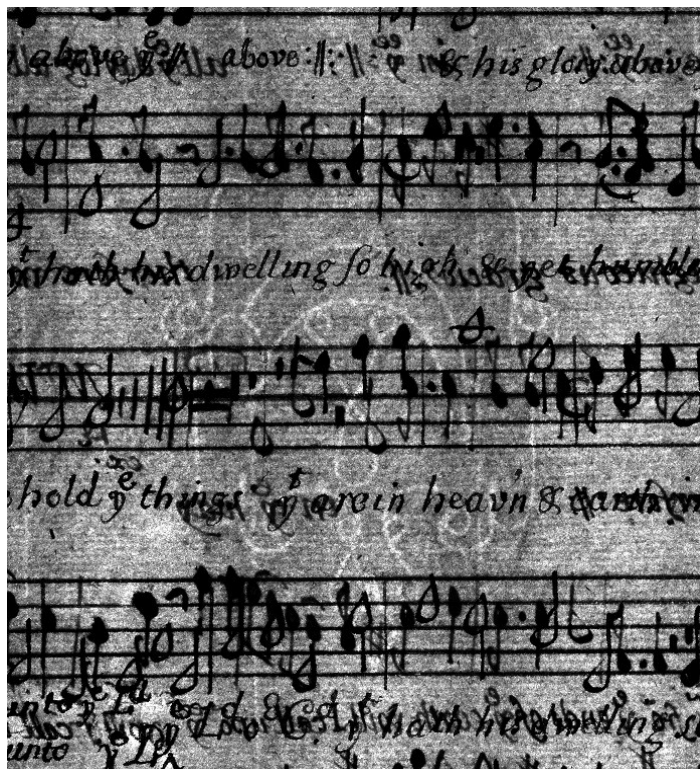
The fact that one of the paste-downs contains a dated witness statement signed by Bing and that the leather binding on all eight books is identical strongly suggests that all were bound at some point prior to Bing's death and retain that same binding today. But the unique flyleaf paper in the Tenor Decani book, with none of those indexes in Bing's hand, provides contradictory evidence, suggesting that some adjustments to the fabric of that part book were made after Bing no longer possessed it. These unique flyleaves may represent a repair or set of repairs to this single part book at some point after Bing's death, but those adjustments do not appear to have extended to the leather-bound cover which still matches that of the other books and that of the part book with the paste-down containing Bing's dated signature. The Tenor Decani part book has other unique features with relation to the distribution of its other watermarks mentioned below.

The flyleaves aside, there remain at least five watermarks, and thus five distinct mill sources of paper, making up the body of the Y M.1.S books. The most common of these is the post-horn mark, shown in Figure 7 and sketched in Figure 8. This is a common mark, with little to distinguish the variations, so while the Y M.1.S post-horn has not been

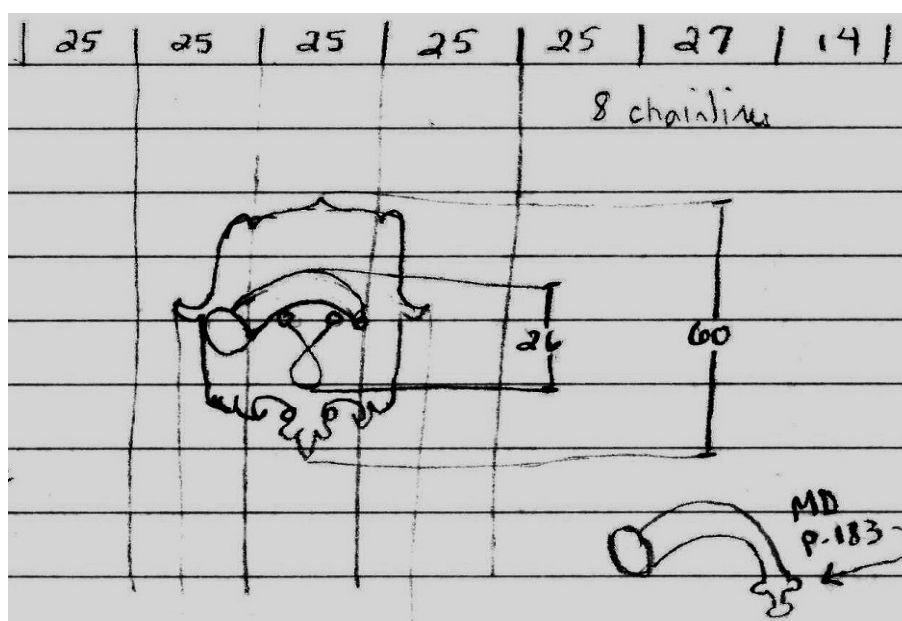


positively identified, it is similar to a number of records in the Gravell database as well as Edward Heawood's collection of sketches.<sup>9</sup>

**Figure 7:** post-horn watermark



**Figure 8:** sketch and measurements of the post-horn watermark



<sup>9</sup> Mosser et al., *The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive*, SLD.058.1, SLD.074.1, SLD.094.1, SLD.133.1. Also Edward Heawood, *Watermarks: Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 1. (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1970. Facsimile reprint, Culver City, CA: Krown and Spellman, 2003), 2667, 2670, 2684-2702, 2779-2782.

The difficulty in distinguishing between separate versions of this common watermark make it possible that Y M.1.S actually contains several different, but very similar post-horns, though no more detailed study has been done. The post-horn watermark appears almost everywhere in sets or patterns of three consistent with a six-folio gathering.<sup>10</sup> The Tenor Decani book is almost entirely post-horn paper, whereas the other Decani books have a more even, yet representative mix. The post-horn is in a minority in the Cantoris set, and does not appear in the Bassus Cantoris book at all.

There seem to be two pre-ruled types of post-horn paper. One is a set of 12 staves, usually associated with the earlier parts of each respective book. The other, a 13-stave variation made up of four sets of three-stave rulings with a lone stave added in the middle, is found in the latter half of each book where the post-horn is present. Even if further study of the watermarks turns up a single maker for all of the post-horn paper, the different rulings may represent separate purchases from the distributor, or from multiple distributors. Bing, or someone connected to him personally, seems to have been capable of ruling paper based on the partly-ruled partly-unruled Amsterdam flyleaves. However, the vast majority of music-quality paper sold was pre-ruled by the merchants prior to sale, usually in the city of distribution.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the period when Y M.1.S might have been created, John Playford of London was advertising 'All sorts of Rul'd Paper for Musick ready Rules, also Books of several Sizes ready bound up of very good Ruled Paper'.<sup>12</sup> Retailers such as Playford purchased their stock from merchants who would import a great variety of paper. A list from 1674 describes measurements and watermarks for 66 varieties

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10 The binding of Y M.1/1-8. S is too tight to allow a detailed inspection of the folio gatherings themselves. The variety of watermarks and their mixed patterns of orientation allows for gatherings to be estimated by extrapolation of this data. All discussion of gatherings in this thesis are based on such extrapolations.

11 Robert Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *Early Music* 23/4 (1995), 606-608.

12 John Wilson, *Select ayres and dialogues for one, two, and three voyces, to the theorbo-lute or basse-viol* (William Godbid for John Playford: 1659), facsimile accessed at Early English Books Online, 6 February 2014, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Also see similar advertisements in many of Playford's wares, such as John Playford, *Musicks recreation on the viol, lyra-way* (London: William Godbid for John Playford: 1661), facsimile accessed at Early English Books Online, 6 February 2014. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, and John Playford, *A brief introduction to the skill of musick* (London: William Godbid for John Playford: 1667), 152, facsimile accessed at Early English Books Online, 6 February 2014. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

of paper available from one particular set of London merchants, 10 varieties of which have been identified by Robert Thompson as corresponding with common music manuscript material.<sup>13</sup> This list represents a later stock than would have been available for the making of Y M.I.S, but can be used to illustrate how products of many different paper mills could have been available from a single source to a copyist in London such as Stephen Bing.

The 'pillars' or 'columns' watermark, shown in Figure 9 and sketched in Figure 10 is found only in the four Decani books, and makes up a contiguous set of the initial pages of music in each book, although in differing amounts. The gatherings are, as usual, of six folios. The Medius Decani begins with two gatherings of pillars, the Contratenor and Tenor Decani with three, and the Bassus Decani with five gatherings. The Medius also has another gathering of Pillars from folios 27 to 32. The number of staves on pillars paper range from 14 to 16, but appear to have been pre-ruled as 14 staves. The several instances of 15- or 16-stave pages are clearly the result of adding a single stave above and/or below the existing ruling.

The Y M.I.S pillars watermark is the one most confidently matched to a record in a database. Although a common watermark type, the variant found in Bing's books has two unusual features. One is the presence of three small fleur-de-lis, one on each pillar and one on top of the grapes. The other identifying feature is the maker's initials ARO, possibly referring to someone from the French family Rouse.<sup>14</sup> These unique items, along with a matching of height, width and chain-line measurements, suggest that it is the same watermark as is identified in the Gravell database as belonging to a set of bills and receipts in the papers of the Clayton family Marden and Bletchingly in Surrey, used in 1668.<sup>15</sup> The only apparent difference between the two is found in the spirals at the bottom of the mark, which are bent and asymmetrical in the Clayton receipt.

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<sup>13</sup> Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 608-609.

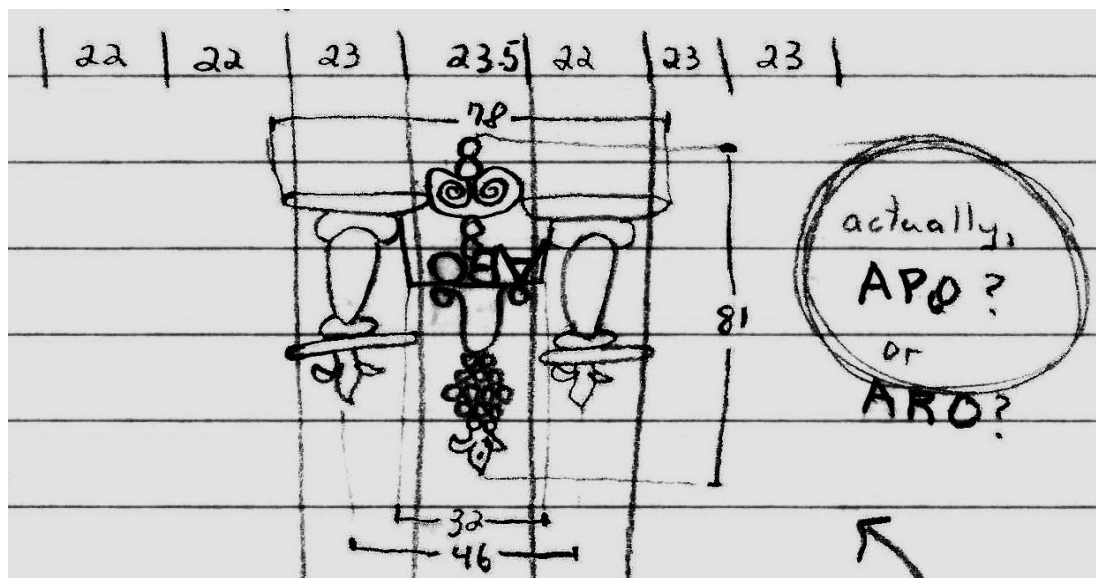
<sup>14</sup> Edward Heawood, *Papers used in England after 1600* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1930-31), 287.

<sup>15</sup> Mosser et al., *The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive*, COL.027.1

**Figure 9:** Pillars 'ARO' watermark



**Figure 10:** sketch and measurements of the pillars 'ARO' watermark



This is consistent with the wear and tear the making of paper exerts on the wires used to imprint the watermark, and further implies not only the same fabricator and time period, but that they were part of a shared set from the same mould.<sup>16</sup> If, as it seems, both samples came from the same mould, then those found in Y M.1.S were probably made earlier in the

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade', 22.

mould's life, a life of only several months that makes the identification of identical watermarks from two different sources such as this extremely rare.<sup>17</sup> The dating of this paper to a decade earlier than the paper with the arms of Amsterdam watermark counter-marked 'AI' supports the existence of a gap between Bing's earliest copying activity in these books and their later binding or re-binding with newer paper in the flyleaves.

There are three additional watermarks that consist of a shield containing fleur-de-lis and surmounted by a crown (sketched with measurements in Figure 14). First in the books, and the unusual among watermark databases for this period, is one with a consistent off-centre relationship between the shield and the chain-lines, a sign of wear on the mould implying that the folios found in Y M.1.S come from the end of its life. This is shown in Figure 11. The petals of the lily are bound by a single band, and the crown has five points: the central is a poorly-executed fleur-de-lis, flanked by clovers, with a curling point on the far right and left. The unique feature is the location of the crown, not directly on top of the shield as is common in these marks, but on a sort of hemisphere, or bowl, itself perched on the shield. At the top lip of the bowl, supporting the crown, is a band. The shield itself is bent, paralleling a chain-line on one side, but bowing significantly away from it on the other. Heawood provides a temptingly similar sketch from the Butler MS Add. 32625 in the British Library, which he dated *c.* 1670 in England.<sup>18</sup> Even if not an exact match, the similarities are striking and the date is consistent with the other evidence.

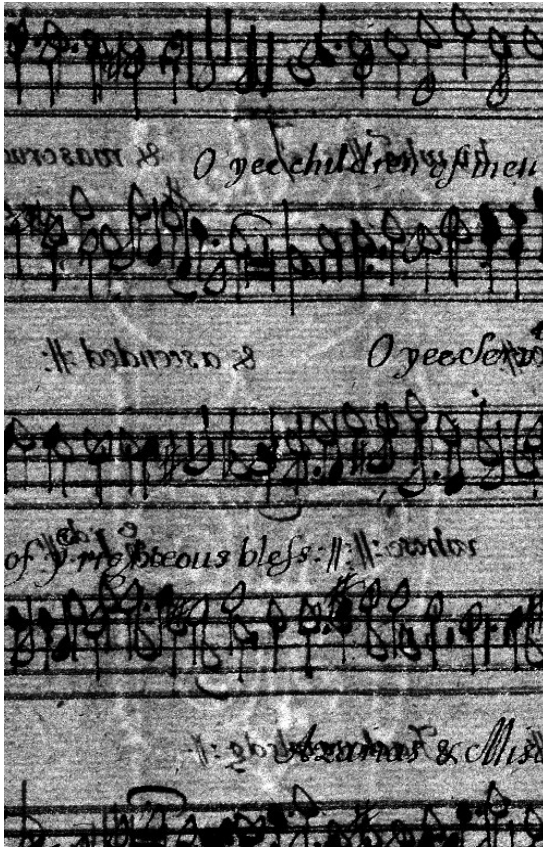
The paper marked with this 'bowl' fleur-de-lis watermark serves the Cantoris set of books in the same capacity as the pillars paper serves the Decani, making up the bulk of the earlier part of each book. The Medius Cantoris begins with four six-folio gatherings, the Contratenor with seven or eight, the Tenor with five and the Bassus with six. The 'bowl' fleur-de-lis is also present in the Medius Decani book, with one four-folio gathering at the end of the pillars section, and a single-sheet insert that was once pasted on to f. 38.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>18</sup> Heawood, *Watermarks: Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, 1717.

**Figure 11:** 'bowl' fleur-de-lis watermark



The 'bowl' fleur-de-lis paper is consistently ruled with 12 staves that appear to be in three groups of four. Only rarely is a thirteenth staff added above or below.

The remaining two fleur-de-lis watermarks can be differentiated as 'small' (Figure 12), and 'large' (Figure 13). Both are based on a 12-stave ruling of four sets of three, with extra staves added above and below as needed. The 'small' species has a simple crown of three points alternating with two clovers rising out of a single band, with a single band around the lily. The shield is rectangular in shape, though bent on one side such that one side of the shield parallels the adjacent chain-line while the other converges with it at the bottom. This 'small' fleur-de-lis is common in both Bassus books and also represents three small gatherings in the Medius Decani. The Medius Cantoris and Tenor Decani have only one example of the small variant each; in the case of the latter it is clearly an inserted page, and this watermark does not appear in the remaining books.

The 'large' version of the fleur-de-lis is the most evenly executed of the five core watermarks in Y M.I.S. Characterized by straight or smoothly-curved lines, the flower on

the shield is held by three bands. There is a horizontal line at the top of the shield, above which is a rainbow of three bands with the central band slightly wider than the outer two. The crown is itself made up of five fleur-de-lis, the central three complete and the two outer occurrences cut in half on a vertical axis where each reaches the edge of the crown. A single band is visible at the bottom of each flower and above the rainbow, but the bottom portion of the flowers is hidden below and behind. This 'large' fleur-de-lis is found in the Medius and Contratenor on the Decani side, and the Medius, Contratenor and Tenor on the Cantoris side with some regularity. The Bassus Cantoris has two gatherings as well. Several examples with similarities to each of the 'small' and 'large' fleur-de-lis marks can be found in the Gravell Database and among Heawood's sketches, but neither has been matched exactly in terms of measurement and all features.

**Figure 12:** 'small' fleur-de-lis watermark

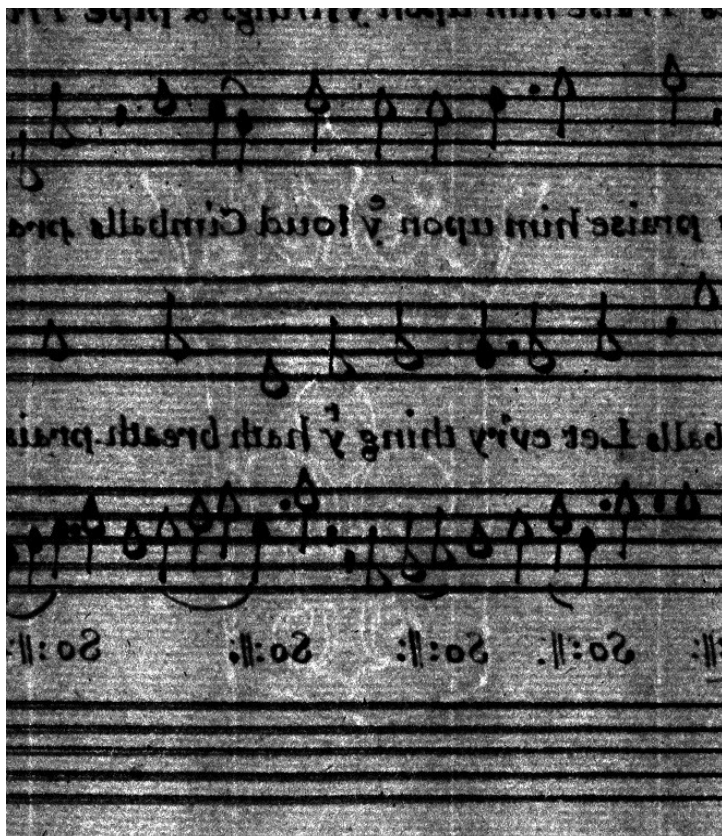
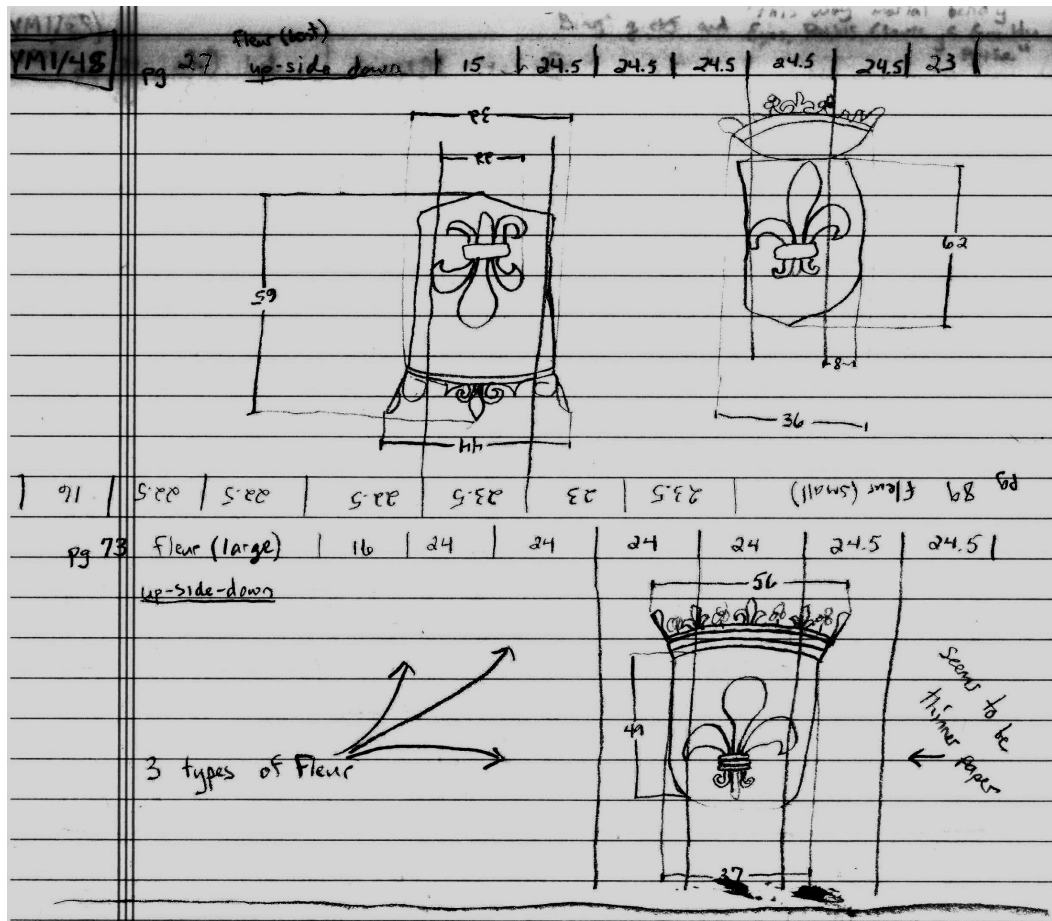


Figure 13: 'large' fleur-de-lis watermark



Figure 14: sketch and measurements of the three fleur-de-lis watermarks





The watermarks of the majority of the paper making up the central part of the books can be contrasted, as mentioned above, with the watermarks of the flyleaves and some of the inserted pages. The use of initials as a counter-mark was a feature of the Angoumois mills, whereas the lack of counter-mark and the incorporation of initials into the main watermark itself were both features of the Norman paper makers.<sup>19</sup> Paper made in Normandy dominates that used for English musical sources from 1648-1660.<sup>20</sup> However, the shift to using paper from Angoumois mills *c.* 1660 'seems to have been both sudden and comprehensive'.<sup>21</sup> Angoumois paper had been gradually overtaking Norman paper in quality, and it appears that in and around 1660, English paper merchants made an abrupt shift in what they were importing and how they were marketing it.<sup>22</sup> Could this shift have been connected to the English Restoration? Perhaps the return of court patronage for music as well as the reopening of the cathedrals with their need to rebuild their musical libraries was the tipping point that spurred the shift in paper sources.

### **Provenance of Paper and Implications for Y M.1.S**

The watermarks found in Y M.1.S, excluding flyleaves and inserts, would appear to be mostly, if not entirely, from Normandy.<sup>23</sup> The obvious conclusion is that Stephen Bing began the Y M.1.S file copies far earlier than was previously thought. If the paper found in Y M.1.S represents what was most readily available at the time the books were begun, this may be evidence that Bing began his personal collection during or just at the end of the Interregnum. Paper very rarely sat unused other than in importers' warehouses, as it was too expensive for the average consumer to buy in quantity. Evidence, such as the change of watermarks in projects undertaken in close succession, points to the specific purchase of

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19 Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade', 23.

20 *Ibid.*, 36.

21 Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 606.

22 *Ibid.*, 606.

23 The 'large' fleur-de-lis stands out as being larger and more symmetrically precise and mechanically executed than the other four watermarks that evince the more 'free-hand' style of the Norman makers. It does not, however, have a countermark.

the amount needed for each particular project.<sup>24</sup> Records of purchase also show detailed amounts rather than bulk purchases, each at a time roughly matching the beginning of that project and matching also the scale of the project.

On the other hand, the personal collection of a copyist and minor canon is unlikely to adhere to the norms of manuscript production at the time. The abrupt drop in value of the Norman paper must have left some merchants facing a loss on recent imports purchased from the mills at the old rates but not yet sold at the time of the shift. Bing himself was never wealthy; his finances suffered greatly both during the Civil War when many of his belongings were seized, and during the Interregnum when his customary employment had ceased. In fact, he is known to have received financial aid on at least two occasions during the Commonwealth.<sup>25</sup> It seems unlikely that Bing would have been in a position to purchase manuscript paper or books prior to 1660, especially paper that, at the time, was considered to be of the highest quality for music copying. It also seems possible that paper merchants might have retained some stocks of Norman paper, shelved in the flurry of switching sources to the Angoumois mills.

The 1674 list of 66 types of paper mentioned above also details their respective costs. It shows that Norman papers had fallen in price and were far more affordable than the now-dominant Angoumois types, a state of affairs that is confirmed by references from 1667.<sup>26</sup> Since Y M.1.S appears to have been intended for Bing's personal use, he may not have felt the need to purchase the best paper available any more than he made efforts to avoid a cramped copying style. The fall in value of Norman paper stocks would have left distributors anxious to sell for whatever price they could get. If some of those stocks had been presumptively ruled for music before the shift in fortunes, their use for lower-quality projects would have been limited or even ruled out.

As seen by the number and mixture of the five main watermarks listed above,

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24 Jan La Rue, 'Watermarks and Musicology', *The Journal of Musicology* 18/2 (2001), 320-321

25 Pamela Willetts, 'Stephen Bing: a Forgotten Violist', *Chelys* 18 (1989), 14.

26 Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade', 63-64.

Y M.1.S was not a tidy artefact even at its genesis as a blank gathering of folios. It is not difficult to imagine Bing collecting the dregs of the out-dated Norman music-paper trade for an affordable price. While positing motives for his creation of a file copy set, it must even be considered that such an availability of resources may have been partly responsible for inspiring the project.

A post-fire date for obtaining the paper would be consistent with the presumed beginning of copying. The only other date in the manuscript, aside from the 1679 on the paste-down, is at the top of a section of the *Medius Decani* book, with the heading, 'a Collection of such Anthems for verses as have bin made at Lincoln in the years 68, 69 & 70'.<sup>27</sup> It has been assumed by other scholars that this is a retroactive heading and that the copying in that section dates as far back as 1668.<sup>28</sup> This is the same year that the identical watermark on the receipt of the Surrey Claytons is dated. A start date from around this time is also consistent with other evidence. Early on, Bing ascribes the 'Short Sharp Service' to 'Mr Rogers' across the part books. Not much further into the books, the Service in Gamut is as labelled as 'Dr Rogers'. Benjamin Rogers received his doctorate from Oxford in July 1669,<sup>29</sup> and the consistent shift in title across Y M.1.S suggests copying dates on either side of that year. Bing's reference to Thomas Tudway as the 'Organist of Kings Colledg Camb:' cannot have been made before Michaelmas 1670 when Tudway took that post, but this ascription is late in the books,<sup>30</sup> and simply confirms that Bing was not finished copying by then.

The variety and mixing of watermarks and rulings creates a very confusing profile that seems to suggest the sort of sub-professional project that a working musician's personal file-copy set might represent. The copying and creation of the Y M.1.S books

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<sup>27</sup> Y M.1/5.S, p.153.

<sup>28</sup> Watkins Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster: A Catalogue with Introduction* (London: Royal School of Church Music, 1986), 10-11.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Holman, 'Rogers, Benjamin', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 14 March 2013. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23673>.

<sup>30</sup> Y M.1/1.S 'Medius Decani', p.205; and Y M.1/2.2 'Contratenor Decani', p.185; and Y M.1/4. S 'Bassus Decani', p.182, in relation to Thomas Tudway's anthem 'My God, my God'. This note is not attached to Tudway's other anthem 'Behold, God is my salvation'.

was clearly not a single-scope professional project, but neither was it completely random. The presence of one type of paper (bent fleur-de-lis) in the early parts of the Cantoris set and another type (pillars) in the Decani shows some sort of antiphonal distinction between the creation of the books at least in the early stages containing service music. The entirely post-horn make-up of the remainder of the Tenor Decani book is unique and seemed strangely inexplicable when combined with the different flyleaves and index. The copying in the book is consistent with its creation alongside the other seven, so it cannot be that the entire book is a replacement for a lost or damaged part. Further research will be necessary to find out whether the lack of conformity in the watermarks of this individual book is significant.

From the evidence above, I propose the following genesis for Y M.1.S. The paper for the bulk of the books was obtained by Bing *c.* 1668. The books are carefully divided into predictive sections based on service music, anthems of four parts, five parts, verse anthems, and anthems of six, seven and eight parts. Music was copied into these sections in order until it overflowed and some pieces were copied in available space at the end of incorrect sections. The music was copied in the order it appears within each section, although the sections appear to have all been started at roughly the same time. The books were bound in their present covers in *c.* April 1679, and the odd flyleaves present in the Tenor Decani book probably were introduced during its repair at some later date. Bing continued to copy into the books after their binding, and possibly until the end of his life in November 1681.

Shortly thereafter they passed into the hands of his St Paul's colleague John Gostling. Gostling added to the contents sporadically, and was still using them as late as 6 September 1697, the date of composition for John Blow's 'My God, my God'. Bing did not leave him much space, and no repertoire from the early eighteenth century is present, implying that Gostling stopped adding to the books sometime shortly after including the

Blow.<sup>31</sup> At John Gostling's death, they passed into the hands of his son William, whose signature and bookplate are on display pasted to the inside front cover of all eight books. Upon the younger Gostling's death in 1777, they were sold as part of his collection, at which point they disappear from record.<sup>32</sup> They re-appear in the 1850 York Minster Catalogue,<sup>33</sup> and are now housed in the York Minster archive.

### **Sections and Layers of Copying**

Early in their creation, Stephen Bing decided on the organization and layout of Y M.I.S. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, this may have been inspired by John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*. The first section in each book is dedicated to services. There is no clear distinction between short, full, and verse services, although a number of short services fall consecutively at the beginning of the books. This is generally followed by distinct sections for full anthems of four voices, full anthems of five voices, anthems of six, seven or eight voices, and a section for verse anthems. There is also a section for verse anthems collected at Lincoln labelled only in one of the books, and discussed further in Chapter Four. See Table 1 below for a complete listing of section headings.

Bing added to his manuscripts over the course of a decade, filling many of the sections to the point of needing to look elsewhere for available space. His system was also problematic when dealing with anthems requiring differing numbers of books. For instance, in the Contratenor Cantoris, he created a section for the fifth voice of five-voice verse anthems that otherwise belonged to a distinct section of the Decani books. In other places, Bing simply inserted the extra voices where he was able to find space.

This offers some insights into the order of copying, since the location of a piece early in one of his original sections represents the earliest copying in the book. A piece

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31 Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books of York Minster*, 11.

32 *Ibid.*, 3-4.

33 David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York: York Minster, 1981), 1.

toward the end of a consecutively treated section was copied later in the process. If the location of a piece does not relate to the section with regard to genre or number of voices, this is an indication that it was copied only after space in the correct section was no longer available.

In summary, it appears as if Bing's original plans for Y M.1.S were for a neatly-copied set of part books based on carefully laid out sections. However, due to the substantial amount of repertoire he collected over the final stages of his life, this earliest organizational layer can be difficult to see. At first glance, the manuscripts appear to be only loosely organized, with the haphazard insertion of repertoire wherever it could be accommodated, and this is the case for those pieces copied once it began to fill up. In this respect, Bing's section headings provide a glimpse of the original plan and implications for the order of copying within each manuscript.

**Table 1:** Stephen Bing's section headings in Y M.1.S

<b><u>Book</u></b>	<b><u>Section Title</u></b>	<b><u>Pg</u></b>
<b>Medius Cantoris</b> <b>Y M.1/1.S</b>	[Services]	1
	[Anthems]	89
	Anthems of 5 & 6 Parts & which are for 2 Means	97
	Verse Anthems	113
	Anthems of 4 Parts	139
<b>Contratenor Cantoris</b> <b>Y M.1/2.S</b>	[Services]	1
	Anthems of 4 Voyces	107
	Full Anthems of 5 Parts	127
	Full Anthems of 5 or more parts	130
	Anthems of 6, 7, & 8 parts	142
	Anthems of 6 or more parts	144
	The Second Contratenor of ye vers Anthems	151
	Vers Anthems	168
<b>Tenor Cantoris</b> <b>Y M.1/3.S</b>	[Services]	1
	Of 8 voc	100
	Anthems of 4 Voyces	103
	Full Anthems of 5 Parts & allso of 6 parts	105
	Vers Anthems	113
<b>Bassus Cantoris</b> <b>Y M.1/4.S</b>	[Anthems]	1
	Anthems of 5 Voyces	89
	Anthems of 4 Parts & 5	95
	Anthems of 7 voices	127
	Vers Anthems	136
<b>Medius Decani</b> <b>Y M.1/5.S</b>	[Services]	1
	Full Anthems	67
	Anthems for 4 voyces	80
	Anthems of 4 Parts	115
	Full Anthems of 5 Parts	121
	Anthems for 6 & for more parts	140
	Anthems for verses... Lincoln	157
Anthems for verses	169	
<b>Contratenor Decani</b> <b>Y M.1/6.S</b>	[Services]	1
	Full Anthems of 4 Parts	93
	Full Anthems of 5 Parts	123
	Anthems of 6 or more parts	140
	Anthems for verses	147
<b>Tenor Decani</b> <b>Y M.1/7.S</b>	[Services]	1
	Full Anthems of 4 Parts	81
	Full Anthems of 5 Parts	93
	Anthems of 6 & 7 Parts	105
	[Verse anthems]	128
<b>Bassus Decani</b> <b>Y M.1/8.S</b>	[Services]	1
	Full Anthems of 4 Parts	93
	Full Anthems of 5 Parts	121
	Full Anthems of 6 Parts	145
	Vers Anthems	161

## Chapter Three – John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*

### The Relationship between Bing's Part books and Barnard's Publication

It has already been shown how the lives of Stephen Bing and John Barnard overlapped, first at Canterbury Cathedral when Bing was a chorister and later at St Paul's Cathedral in the years leading up to the Commonwealth. In 1641, around the time of Bing's appointment at the great London cathedral, Barnard was seeing *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* through the end of the printing process. Due to the political climate and eventual cessation of choral services in the cathedrals, the project was a failure and Barnard (or the printer Edward Griffin) was left with a stockpile of unsold copies. At the Restoration, the poor fortunes of the publication were reversed, and it was in demand as a quick way to restore choral activity in the reopened cathedrals. Although Barnard, his widow, and Griffin were all dead by this time, John Playford seems to have come by some if not all of the stock: he is recorded as having sold sets to Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey at very least.<sup>1</sup> Gloucester, Hereford, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Worcester cathedrals are also known to have owned sets during the Restoration, and there is a case for Durham, Lincoln, Oxford (either St Johns or New College), Ripon, Windsor, and York to also have obtained copies.

In his 2009 thesis *John Barnard's First Book of Selected Church Musick: Genesis, Production and Influence*, Daniel Bamford discusses the relationship between Barnard's 1641 publication and the early layers in Bing's part books, partly as a way to strengthen the case for a set of *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* at Lincoln Cathedral.<sup>2</sup> As shown in Chapter Two, Stephen Bing began copying the folios that make up the Bing part books in around 1668, at which point he was a Senior Vicar Choral at Lincoln. The music

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 281.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 335-337.



copied at the beginning of each section of the part books shows a strong Lincoln bias but also demonstrates conclusively that Bing had access to a set of Barnard's publication and was copying from it.

### The Services

The short services copied at the beginning of Y M.1.S can all be found in the *First Book*, and both the manuscripts and the printed books share a similar order as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2:** Services at the beginning of the *First Book* and Y M.1.S

<b>Barnard <i>The First Book</i> (1641)</b>	<b>Bing's Part books (YM M 1/1-8 S)</b>
Thomas Tallis	Thomas Tallis
Nicholas Strogers	Nicholas Strogers
Elway Bevin	William Byrd
William Byrd	Thomas Tomkins
Orlando Gibbons	Elway Bevin
William Mundy	Orlando Gibbons
[continues with unrelated services]	[continues with 8 services and an anthem]
	William Mundy

The reversal of Bevin and Byrd, along with the inclusion of Tomkins (not represented as a composer in Barnard's publication), are the only oddities in an otherwise direct transmission of repertoire, but the order and resonance are far from the only clues linking these sections.

Copyists sometimes imitated a symbol or style, a practice that has caused confusion when attempting to identify a copyist's hand through consistent features. For example, Bing is known to have used a simple version of the G clef early in his copying career and the 'fragmented type' later (including in the Bing Part books) which may be an imitation of the G clef used sometimes by John Playford in the 1660s (see Figures 15 and 16).<sup>3</sup> The G clef used by Morley in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) is

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton 1605-1670* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 53-54.

identical to that found in Bing's hand in Och 432 and 436 (see Figures 17 and 18). The pre-Commonwealth accounts of St Paul's Cathedral contain a note, 'Lent Mr Binge ye 23 of July 1647 Morlyes Introduction',<sup>4</sup> proving that he was aware of this publication, and Pamela Willetts was the first to suggest that this is a direct correlation.<sup>5</sup>

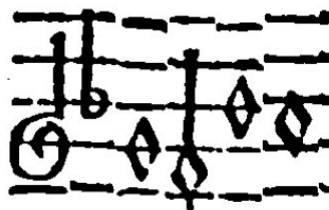
**Figure 15:** Playford's G clef



**Figure 16:** Y M.1.S G clef



**Figure 17:** Morley's G clef



**Figure 18:** Och 432 G clef



Y M.1.S provides another example of his imitation of a printed clef. At first, the F clef used in the Bassus Cantoris book is identical to the bass clef in the printed books, as shown in Figures 19 and 20. This style of clef is not uncommon in other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts,<sup>6</sup> but does not appear in Bing's hand outside YM 1/1-8 S. In the Bassus Cantoris book, Bing transcribed the entirety of the Tallis Short Service using this clef, but partway through the second entry (Strogers) he reverted to the simple F4 he

<sup>4</sup> Lghl St P 25746, f. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Pamela Willetts, 'Stephen Bing: a Forgotten Violist', *Chelys* 18 (1989), 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see Cp MS 32; MS 37, f. a3; Drc E11.

used in most of his work. The change is abrupt, with page seven containing the imitated clef and page eight the more common version, despite the last two lines of Strogers's Creed on the top of page eight, and the evening service yet to come. It appears that despite his curiosity, Bing either tired of or forgot to continue copying Barnard's printed clef on the top of page eight and never took the trouble to resume the more time- and ink-consuming version.

**Figure 19:** F clef from the *First Book*



**Figure 20:** F clef variants from Y 1.M.S



The imitated clef is not present in the services section of the Bassus Decani book, suggesting that Bing copied at least the Tallis and Strogers short services on the Cantoris side before moving to double them in the Decani books. However, it is present in one other place, the beginning of the section entitled 'Full Anthems of 4 Parts' in the Bassus Decani.<sup>7</sup> Here, the printed clef is copied for the first line of each of the three anthems on that page, and then Bing reverts to his usual bass clef on the subsequent lines of each anthem, as shown in Figure 20. This is the only page where this happens; the following page is entirely Bing's standard bass clef. He may have been putting in the initial clef when he wrote the text and prior to copying the notes onto the staves. Elsewhere in the set where he abandons a piece before copying the notes, the clef is present alongside the text.<sup>8</sup> This page with the alternating clefs suggests that he copied out the text for all of the anthems on the page before going back to transcribe the notes. Although the first anthem on this page is by Thomas Heardson, the other two anthems, and the bulk of the beginning of this section, match the repertoire for Barnard's *First Book*, which was clearly open at the time and able to serve as inspiration. The use of the Barnard clef in the Heardson anthem further strengthens the link between Bing's copying of the *First Book* and his time at Lincoln Cathedral.

Both instances of the copied F clef are connected to repertoire from the 1641 publication and being at the beginnings of their respective sections, both represent the first music copied into each book, a further argument for the layout of the First Book as a potential inspiration and model for Y M.1.S. Unlike the link between Och 432 and Morley's *A Plaine and Easy Introduction*, this time there is a match of repertoire as well. This reinforces the link between the early parts of the service section of Y M.1.S as well as the Decani four-voice section with Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*.

Any remaining doubt that Barnard served as a source for at least some of the

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<sup>7</sup> YM.1/8.S, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> YM.1/2 .S, p. 136. Each line's clefs and other markings like barlines, time signatures, 'verse' and 'cho:' are all put in for Gostling's aborted copy of Purcell's 'Thy word is a lantern', YM.1/6.S, p. 118.

material in the Bing Part books can be alleviated by an investigation of the notes Bing included in the margins of Y M.1.S. Throughout his collection Bing provided footnotes referring to other sources, and one of these footnotes falls among the section of services common to both Barnard's publication and Bing's copying. The Creed of Byrd's Short Service in the Bassus Cantoris book shows three notes written a third higher than is correct (a simple and common copying error, mistaking line for line and space for space). The offending note-heads are struck through and the correct pitches written underneath. As shown in Figure 21, at the beginning of the line in question, Bing's note reads, 'those notes raced out are so in y<sup>e</sup> printed books'.<sup>9</sup> As the only printed source of Byrd's Short Service at the time was Barnard's 1641 collection, this must be taken as a conclusive reference to Bing's access to *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* and also demonstrates that Bing took the trouble to proofread his own work.

**Figure 21:** Y M.1/8.S p. 11 reference to 'printed books'



It is also worth noting that Bing copied the Venite sections of each service. His inclusion of the Venite is unique among the manuscripts copied during the Restoration.<sup>10</sup> The 1662 Book of Common Prayer offered chants for the Venite, and these quickly became preferred to the polyphonic settings that had been common before the Interregnum.<sup>11</sup> Many post-Restoration sources omit it, even from older services that

<sup>9</sup> Y M.1/4.S, p.11.

<sup>10</sup> Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 335.

<sup>11</sup> Ruth Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America 1660-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 29-30.

originally had one. This fact considered in isolation shows only that Bing was using a pre-Restoration source, but it also conveys the impression of an older copyist (in his late fifties by this time) collecting music which had been valuable in his lifetime, rather than of a man engaged in the creation of a set of working books to be used by a choir.

### **The Four-Voice Anthems**

Stephen Bing's organisation in his personal part books included separate sections for services and verse anthems, as well as separate sections for full anthems of four parts, five parts, and six or more parts. Later, as he crammed music into the available remaining space, the distinction between these sections became blurred and movements from services or parts for verse anthems can be found in and around the sections of full anthems. The Decani books are more consistent with their sections than the Cantoris books, and it is possible that the former were filled first while the latter served as a receptacle for music that contained five or more parts. However, at the beginning of the copying process Bing kept these items separate according to type, and he conscientiously left space between each section to fill later as he added to his collection. At the beginning of the sections of full anthems of four parts and full anthems of five parts, the contents and the order in which items appear again demonstrate a relationship with Barnard's printed books.

The section in each Decani book titled 'Full Anthems of 4 Parts' begins with an anthem by Thomas Heardson 'Almighty God we beseech thee'. Thomas Heardson, mentioned above, was a lay clerk at Lincoln during Bing's time there and is one of the composers, along with Andreas Hecht and John Cutts, who link the Bing part books to Lincoln. The anthems immediately following, like the services at the beginning of the books, show a strong connection to Barnard's publication as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3:** Four-voice anthems in the *First Book* and Y M.1.S

<b>Barnard <i>The First Book</i> (1641)</b>	<b>Bing's Decani Part books (YM M 1/5-8 S)</b>
'Here followeth Full Anthems of 4 parts'	'Full Anthems of 4 Parts'
Thomas Tallis 'O Lord, give thy holy spirit'	<i>Thomas Heardson 'Almighty God'</i>
Edmund Hooper 'Teach me thy way'	Thomas Tallis 'O Lord, give thy holy spirit'
Richard Farrant 'Hide not thou thy face'	Nicholas Strogers 'O God, be merciful'
Richard Farrant 'Call to remembrance'	Richard Farrant 'Call to remembrance'
<i>John Shepherd 'Haste thee O God'</i>	<i>Thomas Heardson 'Keep, we beseech thee'</i>
William Mundy 'O Lord the maker'	Richard Farrant 'Hide not thou thy face'
William Mundy 'O Lord the world's saviour'	Christopher Tye 'I will exalt thee O God'
Orlando Gibbons 'Deliver us O Lord'	William Mundy 'O Lord the maker'
Orlando Gibbons 'Almighty and everlasting'	William Mundy 'O Lord the world's saviour'
Adrian Batten 'O praise the Lord'	Edmund Hooper 'Teach me thy way'
Adrian Batten 'Hide not thou thy face'	Orlando Gibbons 'Almighty and everlasting'
Adrian Batten 'Lord we beseech thee'	Adrian Batten 'O praise the Lord'
Adrian Batten 'Haste thee O God'	Orlando Gibbons 'Deliver us O Lord'
Adrian Batten 'When the Lord turned'	Adrian Batten 'Hide not thou thy face'
Christopher Tye 'I will exalt thee O God'	Adrian Batten 'Lord we beseech thee'
<i>Christopher Tye 'O God be merciful'</i>	Adrian Batten 'Haste thee O God'
[end of section]	Adrian Batten 'When the Lord turned'
	[continues with unrelated anthems]

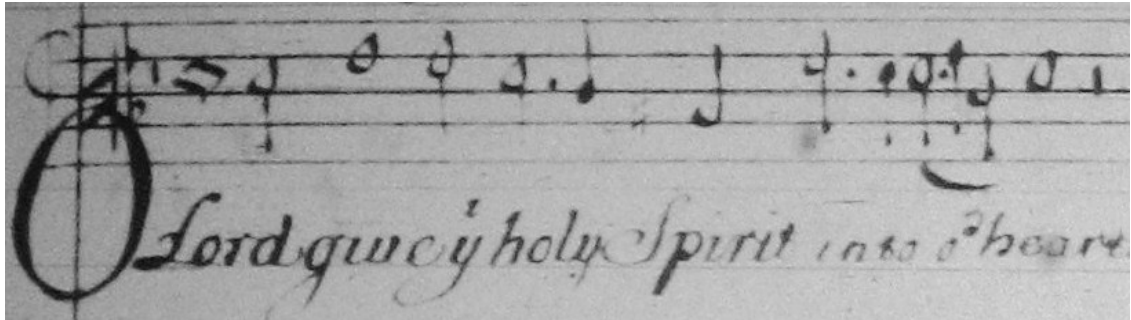
Italics denote repertoire not shared between the sources.

Bing slightly adjusted the order in some places, but by and large the order is similar and the material is nearly identical. The only omissions are the anthem by Shepherd, and Tye's 'O God be merciful', and Bing also interrupted the sequence with a second anthem by Heardson. The piece by Nicholas Strogers is common to both sources; Barnard included it in the section of services, just after the Strogers Short Service.

It was mentioned above that the Bassus Decani four-voice anthems section begins with a copied *First Book* printed clef on the title lines of the initial three anthems. There is another example of imitation present, this time in shape of note-heads. The first Contratenor Decani anthem copied from Barnard's publication has a single diamond semibreve, the first note in Tallis's 'O Lord, give thy holy Spirit' as shown in Figure 22. It is clearly in imitation of a different script and it matches the printed note-head style in

Figure 19. However, it is a lone example, and Bing immediately gave up on the exercise, switching to rounded note-heads with the minim following. Taken alone it doesn't suggest much, but along with the copied F clefs in the bassus books, further supports the link to Barnard's *First Book*.

**Figure 22:** Y M.1/6.S p. 93, diamond note head



A quick comparison of this anthem shows many similarities, with the lower three voices identical across both sources. However, there are a surprising number of differences in the Medius part, none of them crucial but each showing either poor transmission, or adjustment of the material. The top part is missing many accidentals, leaving a lot of thirds minor instead of major. It also transcribes a flat a note late. Where the printed book was using it as a cautionary C-natural, Bing instead writes it before the following note which does nothing more than reinforce the B-flat in the key signature. A dotted semibreve in the printed books was copied as a minim by Bing and immediately tied to a semibreve to make up the difference. And a minim-semibreve rhythm at the end of a phrase is reversed in Bing's copy. A comparison of a few other anthems show almost no variants, confirming a stemmatic link, and leading to an interesting conclusion. Medius parts books typically suffered more damage than the other parts through heavy and indiscriminate use by choristers. Is it possible that Bing was working from a less legible source where wear or tear made the reading of the Medius part to the first Tallis anthem difficult? Or does it simply represent carelessness on the copyist's part?



### The Five-Voice Anthems

The following section in both Y M.1.S and the *First Book* is designated for five-voice anthems and continues to demonstrate the relationship between the two sources as shown in Table 4. Since the anthems call for a second contratenor, the Contratenor Cantoris book serves as Bing's additional part book and contains an identical layer to that in the Decani quartet.

**Table 4:** Five-voice anthems in the *First Book* and Y 1.M.S

<b>Barnard <i>The First Book</i> (1641)</b>	<b>Bing (YM M 1/2 and 1/5-8 S)</b>
'Here followeth Full Anthems of 5, parts'	'Full Anthems of 5 Parts'
Thomas Tallis 'With all our hearts'	Thomas Tallis 'With all our hearts'
Thomas Tallis 'Blessed be thy name'	Thomas Tallis 'Blessed be thy name'
Edmund Hooper 'O thou God almighty'	Edmund Hooper 'O thou God almighty'
Thomas Tallis 'I call and cry'	William Mundy 'O Lord I bow the knees'
William Mundy 'O Lord I bow the knees'	Thomas Tallis 'I call and cry'
William Byrd 'Prevent us O Lord'	William Byrd 'Prevent us O Lord'
Edmund Hooper 'Behold it is Christ'	Edmund Hooper 'Behold it is Christ'
Robert White 'The Lord bless us'	William Byrd 'O Lord make thy servant'
<i>Thomas Tallis 'Wipe away my sins'</i>	Christopher Tye 'I lift my heart to thee'
<i>William Byrd 'O God whom our offences'</i>	William Byrd 'O Lord turn thy wrath'
William Byrd 'O Lord make thy servant'	Nathaniel Giles 'O give thanks'
Christopher Tye 'I lift my heart to thee'	[4 unrelated pieces]
William Byrd 'O Lord turn thy wrath'	William Byrd 'Save me O God'
Nathaniel Giles 'O give thanks'	[4 unrelated pieces]
[end of section]	William White 'The Lord bless us'

Italics denote repertoire not shared between the sources.

The connection between the two sources of the five-voice anthems (shown in Table 4) is even more striking than in the previous section, with Barnard's order preserved in Bing excepting two omissions, the reversal of the fourth and fifth items, and the delay of the anthem by White until much later in Bing's collection. Byrd's 'Save me O God', like the Strogers 'O God be merciful' in the four-voice section, is included elsewhere in Barnard's publication, this time as one of the psalms. Barnard takes the trouble to note in the index to his books that these two psalms, along with the Jubilates from the services by Gibbons

and Giles and another Byrd psalm 'are many times, Sung instead of Anthems'.<sup>12</sup>

**Table 5:** Six-voice anthems in the *First Book* and Y M.1.S

<b>Barnard <i>The First Book</i> (1641)</b>	<b>Bing's Bassus Decani (YM M 1/8 S)</b>
'Anthems of 6 and 7 Parts'	'Full Anthems of 6 Parts'
William Byrd 'Sing joyfully'	William Byrd 'Sing joyfully'
Robert Parsons 'Deliver me from mine enemies'	Robert Parsons 'Deliver me from mine enemies'
Orlando Gibbons 'Hosanna to the Son of David'	Orlando Gibbons 'Hosanna to the Son of David'
Orlando Gibbons 'Lift up your heads'	Orlando Gibbons 'Lift up your heads'
Thomas Weelkes 'O Lord grant the King'	Thomas Weelkes 'O Lord grant the King'

The final five full anthems in Barnard are transmitted consecutively by Bing as well (Table 5). The order of these pieces in the Bassus Decani is shared by the two contratenor books, but the other books that transmit these pieces (both Medius books and Tenor Decani) scramble the order and insert other repertoire. Additionally, the Weelkes is incomplete in Bing's collection, having been copied only in the Bassus Decani book. But despite being incomplete, its presence and location provide one more piece of evidence supporting the undeniable conclusion that Bing was copying directly from Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*.

The verse anthems, surprisingly, show little evidence of the relationship between the books. Of the eleven verse anthems published by Barnard, only five are found in Bing's books. They do not occur at the beginnings of the sections titled 'Verse Anthems', and the only book to contain any number of them consecutively is the Bassus Decani, where three occur on the same page. It would appear that Bing ran out of time (perhaps he was borrowing the set) or interest in using the *First Book* as a source by the time he reached these final items.

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<sup>12</sup> John Barnard, *The First Book of Selected Church Musick*, (London: Edward Griffin, 1641). Facsimile, with an introduction by John Morehen. Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1972, f. 5.

### William Byrd's 'O Lord, make thy Servant'

Judging by the sources, William Byrd's anthem 'O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth' was popular throughout England for more than a century. In fact, very few sources survive that transmit the original text, adopting various solutions to replace the six-syllable phrase 'Elizabeth our queen' with monarchs whose names are more syllabically succinct. Solutions include 'James our king, our \_ king',<sup>13</sup> 'our Sovereign lord King Charles',<sup>14</sup> 'King William and Queen Mary',<sup>15</sup> and even 'thy servant George our king'.<sup>16</sup> Thomas Tudway in his anthem collection (1715-1720) for Edward Harley went with the neutral, 'our sov'raign Lord y<sup>e</sup> King'.<sup>17</sup> Whether these latter versions were in the repertoire is a matter for debate, although it is amusing to imagine choirs attempting to fit 'King William and Queen Mary' into six syllables. Cathedral choirs today can and do perform Byrd's original text, and as the practice of adaptation so acceptable in the seventeenth century has been replaced by a desire to adhere to the original text, one is forced to wonder if the anthem's popularity will fall off at the crowning of the next monarch.

Barnard's underlay for Charles I was suitable for Bing to transmit for Charles II and reads, 'thy servant Charles our King'.<sup>18</sup> In contemporary or earlier sources, this underlay is found in the Caroline Part books at Peterhouse, Cambridge,<sup>19</sup> making them a potential source for Barnard. The binding of the Peterhouse books was haphazard, with much repertoire incompletely included across the part books, including this anthem. Despite the connections shown between copying activities in Durham Cathedral and Peterhouse, Durham's use of the underlay 'our Sovereign lord King Charles' allows for another

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13 Ob Tenbury MS 1382, p.50.

14 DRc MS C15, p.7. Also other sources connected to or residing at Durham; Cpc MSS 6.1-6.6; and EL MS 28.

15 Och MS Mus. 37, p.94. This in score format by Henry Aldrich, who retitled the anthem 'O Lord make thy servants' and did not attempt to match the seven or eight syllables to an underlay.

16 Lbl Add. MS 17820, p.166.

17 Lbl MS Harley 7337, p.116.

18 Lcm MSS1045-1049 pp.16, 15, 7, 2, 5; Barnard, *The First Book*, Medius 115v, Contratenor Primus 116, Contratenor Secundus 111, Tenor 109, Bassus 110v; Y M.1/2.S p.129 and Y M.1/5-8.S pp.123, 125, 95, 123.

19 Cp MSS 34, 36, 38, 39, 44, 47 ff. 106, G6, 112, 115, H2, 108.

possibility - that Barnard and Peterhouse share a common source for their version of this piece.

It is curious to find William Byrd's six-voice 'O Lord make thy servant' listed in both Bing and Barnard as an 'anthem of 5 parts'. In both sources the first tenor is absent, leading to the conclusion that Barnard's erroneous omission was transmitted by Bing without the latter copyist noticing the mistake. This is an oversimplification of the situation. A brief survey of the surviving sources of Byrd's anthem shows an odd pattern in the history of its transmission where it appears to have more frequently been copied with a voice missing than with all six parts present. To clarify, there is simply a voice missing, and no efforts are apparent in the surviving sources to re-work the piece in any other way. Whether this is successful will be discussed below.

There are fourteen sources of Byrd's 'O Lord make thy servant' from the first two centuries of its existence that survive with enough information to tell how many parts make up the anthem. Of these, only three preserve it as a six-voice anthem.<sup>20</sup> All three of these are among the later sources, scores dating from the Restoration or early 18th century. One copied during the reign of William and Mary has the first tenor part written below the other five voices on the first page before it shifts to the expected position on the second page.<sup>21</sup> Barnard's publication, or a source derived from it, may have been connected to the apparent initial omission of the first tenor part in the score from William and Mary's reign.

There is one fragmentary pre-Commonwealth source that may have had six voices when it was complete, although it too started out as a five-voice source. The lone 'Southwell Tenor Book' is clearly dated '1617' in a preface that also includes the name of the copyist, Jarvas Jones of Oxford, and declares that the set was offered as a gift to the Collegiate Church of Southwell. It is a consistently organized book that seems to have been copied as part of a single project,<sup>22</sup> and contains anthems neatly organized in groups

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20 Cfm MS 117. Och MS Mus, 37. Lbl MS Add. 17820.

21 Och MS Mus. 37, pp.94-96.

22 John Morehen, 'The Southwell Minster Tenor Part-Book in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury

according to the number of voices required. 'O Lord make thy servant' is clearly situated in the middle of the large five-voice section, and at the top is marked as '5 voc: 6' followed by the ascription '2 Tenors' in a later hand.<sup>23</sup> The tenor part transmitted in the Southwell book is the first, suggesting that the second tenor was originally left out of the set of books. The additional note about two tenors may have been added to aid in the location of the extra part, supposing it to have been added in the available space at the end of one of the books or even in a separate part book from the original set. The book shows evidence of awareness that the anthem was written in six parts, but also serves as evidence that the copyist originally believed it to be a five-voice anthem. The ascription '2 Tenors' has not been dated, and may have been added much later.

In addition to the Southwell Tenor Book, the remaining ten sources with enough surviving information to tell how many parts the anthem contained transmit it as a five-voice composition.<sup>24</sup> The earliest surviving source, and sole representative of the Elizabethan text, is in fact a five-voice version in a secular collection of vocal and viol consort music belonging to Robert Dow.<sup>25</sup> However, the five-voice version so popular throughout the following century is not simply a case of a one-time omission perpetuated. There were at least three five-voice versions in circulation variously omitting either tenor part or the second contratenor. Dow's collection omits the second tenor. The Southwell set originally omitted the second tenor as well and therefore may be related to the Dow books. With a different part missing, these sources cannot represent a path of transmission leading to Barnard and Bing. The next source chronologically is from the 1620s, a set of six part books that is part of the Drexel collection in New York.<sup>26</sup> Despite surviving as a complete set and comprising enough books to transmit all six voices, the second

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(MS. 1382)', *Music and Letters* L/3 (1969), 355.

23 Ob Tenbury MS 1382, p.50.

24 Och MSS Mus. 984-988, Och MSS Mus. 984-988; US-NYp MSS Drexel 4180-4184; Lcm MSS 1045-1051, Barnard's books; Barnard, *The First Book*; EL MS 4; Y M.1/2.S and Y M.1/5-8.S; Ob MS Mus 525; Cfm MS 88; Lbl MS Harley 7337, one of the 'Tudway Scores'; Ob MS Don. c. 20.

25 David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 948-8: An Index and Commentary', *Royal Music Association Research Chronicle* 20 (1986-7), 1-18.

26 US-NYp MSS Drexel 4180-4184.

contratenor is omitted in this version. Barnard's own manuscript collection is the earliest surviving source that is identifiable as a version omitting the first tenor.

Clearly a five-voice version of Byrd's six-voice anthem was not unsatisfactory in performance, given the wide dissemination of omitted parts discussed above. There are musical reasons to support this acceptance of what might seem to us today to be an inferior version. Through almost half of its length, two tenor parts are identical, only breaking into independence at the opening of the more contrapuntal sections of writing. Therefore, even the full six-voice anthem is effectively a five-voice piece for long stretches. In a century when the new Anglican style of sacred music had reached its maturity, the thick textures of Renaissance counterpoint were a thing of the past, reduced to the occasional performance of a Latin *contrafactum* such as Byrd's 'O Lord turn thy wrath' or Tallis's 'I call and cry' (both in Bing's and Barnard's books). In a sound-world defined by the struggle between musical expression and textual clarity, a missing voice in the anachronistic contrapuntal sections of a piece such as 'O Lord make thy servant' may have gone unnoticed when performed in a cathedral setting. The source that omits the second contratenor benefits from no such doubling,<sup>27</sup> reducing the sections where the tenors are identical to only four independent parts. As the only example of a five-voice source missing a non-tenor part, this suggests that the Drexel version is the most likely of the three five-voice variants to represent a mistake, rather than an accepted performance practice of the piece.

Therefore, the presence of a five-voice 'O Lord make thy servant' in Bing's collection does not serve as a satisfactory stemmatic link to Barnard, despite Barnard's sources being the earliest known examples of that particular five-voice version. Indeed, a closer comparison of the two reveals some differences. Barnard's publication was designed as a working set and thus has the generous spacing common to performance part books. The printed version uses between eight and twelve lines for Byrd's anthem in the different books, whereas Bing fits the notes into four or five lines. Since Bing's objective

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

was simply to record repertoire, it is no surprise that he cramps the same music into far less space. Other differences are more unusual. A significant number of rests were attached by Bing to a different line in the staff than where they are shown in Barnard's print. At face-value, this is a non-significant variant, but could be an interesting reflection of the mechanical action of the copyist reproducing what he sees. Bing also used slurs to indicate melismas, something that was not attempted by Barnard's printer and was generally difficult for printers using moveable type, but consequently represents something more than simple copying. The underlay is quite sparse in both sets, but Bing in places provided additional words or phrases that are not found in Barnard.

The most striking differences are in the textual and musical conflicts between the sources. On eight occasions the underlay conflicts, with Bing having notated a different solution or the repetition of a word in the middle of a melisma clearly marked by Barnard. Also, in three places in the second contratenor, Bing added an accidental that was not printed. The first two follow the rules of sharpening the leading tone and appear to be an erroneous omission on Barnard's part corrected by Bing. The third is a flat that is incorrect and represents an error made by Bing.<sup>28</sup> It is as likely as not that the accidentals were in the Barnard source to which Bing had access, as a singer or copyist may have added them between publication and Bing's arrival in Lincoln. It is unlikely that differences in textual underlay represent scribal adjustments to the printed source, but this cannot be ruled out.

Nevertheless, there are several stemmatic links between the printed version and the copy in Y M.1.S. Bing's groupings of rests, while not always on the same line as mentioned above, do consistently show the same format, including the transmission of consecutive minim rests instead of a single semibreve rest across the tactus. In the tenor book, the rests are notated on exactly the same line in both sources. Most significantly, Barnard's version contains a rhythmic error, adding a dot to a breve in the second

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<sup>28</sup> Found in bar 29, and listed in the Table 6 below.

contratenor that should not be there. Bing transmitted this error and failed to correct it.<sup>29</sup> This mistake entered the publication by way of Barnard's preparation manuscripts, as it can also be found there, although whether it can be traced back further is unknown as there is no record of the sources used by Barnard's.<sup>30</sup>

A full list of variants between the Barnard publication and the Bing Part books has been included below for ease of reference as Table 6. The format used is bar/item, followed by a description, and in each case assumes the Barnard version as the baseline and the Bing version as the variant. Because modern editorial procedures are more concerned with differences in underlay and pitch than they are with graphic representation (rest grouping types and location on the staff), this list has been given without the customary abbreviation used in critical commentaries. An edition can be found in Appendix 3 that demonstrates visually the differences between the two versions. To collate the variants, the list below uses the bar numbers in this edition, which are those that naturally occur in any transcription that imposes 4/2 time on Byrd's anthem.

Although the evidence is not as clear as might be expected, it must be concluded that Bing copied Byrd's anthem 'O Lord make thy servant' from from Barnard's printed edition. The identical tenor part, the transmitted error in the second contratenor, and the similarities in repertoire and order between the two sources all show that to be the case. Some of the variants may reproduce scribal adjustments made to the source between the time of printing and Bing's use of it. Other variants represent an approach to copying that was more than simple transmission, showing that, as common among seventeenth-century scribes, Bing was comfortable making adjustments to the text as he copied.

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<sup>29</sup> Found in bar 43, and listed in Table 6 below.

<sup>30</sup> Lcm MS 1046, p.15.



**Table 6:** Variations between Y M.1.S and the *First Book***Medius**

<b>8/2:</b>	rest is a line higher.
<b>12-13:</b>	underlay conflicts.
<b>37/1, 38/1-2:</b>	rests are a line lower.
<b>44:</b>	no bar-line before 'Amen'.
<b>44-48:</b>	two longs instead of four semibreves.

**Contratenor 1**

<b>7-8:</b>	underlay conflicts.
<b>11/1:</b>	rest is a line higher.
<b>30/6:</b>	no clef change, Bing opts for a ledger line.
<b>36/3:</b>	rest is a line higher.
<b>40-41</b>	underlay conflicts.
<b>42-43:</b>	underlay conflicts.
<b>44:</b>	no bar-line before 'Amen'.
<b>44-48:</b>	underlay conflicts.

**Contratenor 2**

<b>2/1:</b>	rest is a line lower.
<b>11/2:</b>	B - natural.
<b>12/2:</b>	rest is a line lower.
<b>14/3:</b>	rest is a line higher.
<b>17/2:</b>	B - natural.
<b>19/1:</b>	rest is two lines higher.
<b>29/1:</b>	B - flat.
<b>31-33:</b>	underlay conflicts.
<b>43/1:</b>	error: both sources show a dotted breve.
<b>44/1:</b>	fermata.

**Tenor**

<b>9/1:</b>	originally a minim, but with the stem struck out.
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**Bassus**

<b>6-7:</b>	underlay conflicts.
<b>9/1, 10/1:</b>	rests a line higher.
<b>42:</b>	underlay conflicts.
<b>44/1:</b>	fermata.

**'So in the Printed Books'**

Evidence of scribal intervention is stronger in relation to another William Byrd composition, the Short Service. Toward the end of the Creed in the Bassus Cantoris book, there are three notes struck out and entered again a third lower. To be out by a third is a classic copyist error, swapping a line for a line or a space for a space. These three crossed-out notes are instances where the bass crosses over the tenor, and the lower notes replacing

them would undo this crossing. Bing's original copying reflects the reading in the *First Book*, with the higher notes, but clearly in checking his parts he came across another source showing those notes a third lower. Unlike many of his other annotations, which offer an alternate reading in the margin effectively preserving two versions, Bing seems to have felt that this was a mistake on the part of the printer. In the margin, he scribbled, 'those notes raced out are so in the printed books' as shown in Figure 21 above.<sup>31</sup> The hand is Bing's, though the handwriting is less careful and probably from a later return to check the part. It seems as though Bing thought the published version to be incorrect and is simply trying to place the blame for his need to correct where it belongs. This provides further evidence that he originally copied sections of Y M.1.S out of the *First Book*.

Stephen Bing clearly took John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* as the source for the beginning of his own collection. It appears that he also took it as a model, preparing Y M.1.S ahead of copying to have not only a section for Services followed by a section for Anthems, but divisions within the Anthems collection into four-voice, five-voice, six-to-eight-voice, and verse anthems the same way that the printed collection is laid out. Acting as a time capsule preserving church music across the Interregnum, the *First Book* would have been fitting inspiration for the the value of collecting and protecting the repertoire. As a copyist dependent on access to other sources for his work, Bing must have found the destruction of repertoire in the Civil War and the shortage of sources at the Restoration to be frustrating, not to mention the music that might have been lost in the Great Fire of London. In that dearth of source material, the *First Book* was in much demand, and Bing's creation of Y M.1.S would have been an empowering activity, increasing his independence when it came to finding source material for copying projects. Additionally, the scarcity of music manuscripts in Lincoln relative to London may have served as additional motivation to duplicate repertoire.

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<sup>31</sup> YM.1/4.S, p. 11.

## Chapter Four – Lincoln Cathedral

### Lincoln Cathedral's Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts

There are four surviving manuscripts at Lincoln Cathedral that were copied in the decades following Stephen Bing's lifetime, although none has copying dated quite as early as his time there. Considering his prolific lifelong activities as a music scribe, it would be unusual if Bing had not been involved in any copying for the cathedral during the years 1667 - 1672 when he was working there. There is a heading in YM1/5S that specifically mentions the collection of verse anthems at Lincoln during his years there, showing that he was active as a copyist during that time, at least on a personal level.<sup>1</sup> However, the few surviving seventeenth-century books at Lincoln do present some intriguing similarities to Bing's collection Y M.1.S.

There are four extant part books from Lincoln that contain dates as early as 1685 and 1686, in the form of 'examination' records. Lincoln MS 1 is a bassus part book and is the only surviving member of its set, composed primarily of anthems copied on 10-stave pages, with a pair of services located at the beginning. MSS 2, 3 and 4 seem to comprise a set, a tenor book and two bassus books respectively, with largely the same repertoire in the same order on 12-stave pages, also consisting primarily of anthems with a few services. All four part books contain a proliferation of dated examinations that tell an unusual story. Although it is not uncommon to find the available space in a set of books filled in by later copying activity; most sets of part books came into existence as a single copying project that might take at most a few years to complete. As shown in Table 7, the Lincoln books show not only a wide span of copying activity, but also a gradual one. MSS 2-4 span almost seven decades, and although the bulk of the copying happened within the first decade, the dates demonstrate a regular and conscientious addition of repertoire.

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<sup>1</sup> Y M.1/5.S, p.153.

**Table 7:** examination dates found in LI MSS 1-4

<b>MS 1 Bassus</b>		<b>MS 2 Tenor Dec</b>		<b>MS 3 Bassus Can</b>		<b>MS 4 Bassus Dec</b>	
25+	1685, Apr. 14	12	1685, Oct. 5	21	1686, Aug. 10	14	1685, Oct. 5
4+	no year, May 11	7	1686, Aug. 10	26	1691, Dec. 22	7	1686, Aug. 10
2	1693, Dec. 7	4	1687, Mar. 15	19	1693, Dec. 7	3	1687, Mar. 15
1	1693, April 24	4	1689, Apr. 25	5	1694, Oct. 10	11	1690, Jul. 29
3	1699, Jun. 30	13+	1691, Dec. 22	5	1697, Mar. 2	11	1691, Dec. 22
1	no year, Apr. 25	5	n.y., May 11	5	1698, Oct. 19	17	1693, Dec. 7
5	1700, Oct. 26	12	1693, Dec. 7	9	1699, Jun. 30	5	1694, Oct. 10
3	1708, Feb. 18	6	1694, Oct. 10	1	1699, Oct. 24	5	1696, Mar. 2
4	1710, Mar. 6	10	1698, Oct. 19	2	1700, Oct. 26	5	1696, Oct. 19
18	1711, Feb. 1	9	1699, Jul. 30	1	1701, Jun. 16	9	1699, Jun. 30
1	1711, Dec. 22	2	1699, n.m., 24	17	1703, Apr. 8	1	1699, Oct. 24
4+	no year, Jun. 18	3	1700, Jun. 16	8	1709, Feb. 18	3	1701, Jun. 16
11	1714, Aug. 18	16	1703, April 8	3+	1713, April 21	15	1703, Apr. 8
3	1716, Sep. 15	6	1708, Jun. 28	4	1716, Sep. 15	9+	1708, Jun. 28
2	1719, Sep. 14	3	1709, Feb. 18	1	1719, Sep. 14	4	1709, Feb. 18
1	1721, Sep. 16	2	1711, Feb. 1	5	1722, Sep. 15	2	1711, Feb. 11
1	1722, Sep. 15	2	1711, Dec. 21	3	1726, Sep. 17	2	1711, Dec. 21
1	1723, Sep. 12	1	1713, Apr. 21	3	1728, Sep. 30	2	1713, Apr. 21
		4	1716, Sep. 15	1	1729, Sep. 10	4	1716, Sep. 15
		1	1719, Sep. 14	6	1731, Sep. 14	1	1719, Sep. 14
		2	1720, Sep. 20	1	1740, Sep. 9	2	1720, Sep. 26
		3	1722, Sep. 15	1	1743, Sep. 13	3	1722, Sep. 15
		3	1726, Sep. 17	2	no date		
		2	1728, Sep. 18	1	no date		
		6	1731, Sep. 14	1	1758, Sep. 9		
		2	1733, Sep. 10	5	1761, Sep. 4		
		1	1740, Sep. 9	5	1762, Sep. 13		
		2	1743, Sep. 13	1	1764, Sep. 10		
		2	no date				
		1	1755, Aug. 15				
		3	1761, Sep. 4				
		4	1762, Sep. 13				

A plus sign represents missing pages. Several pieces with dates are written in the reverse of each book with examination dates ranging from 1713 to 1726. Years have been modernized to N.S.

One copyist or copying supervisor, Thomas Conington, signed dated examinations of the books regularly between the years 1714 and 1733, solely in the month of September or late in August. This pattern suggests a habitual duty that shows a long-term plan for the upkeep of the repertoire.

The Lincoln part books do not appear to have been cobbled together from the remains of other books. The examination marks appear in chronological order, and the watermarks and rulings are consistent within each book. Whether they came pre-bound and were simply larger than suited their original purpose, or were intended as a gradual long-term repository for repertoire is unclear. They may represent projects that were originally intended to replace worn part books, but due to some change of plan, were set aside early in the process and then used continually for their extra space.

This infrequent but regular copying activity implies constant access to musical sources. However, there seems to be little regularity within each copying layer that would imply one particular source. Works as early as those by Farrant, Byrd, William Mundy, Tallis and Tye are still found among the pieces copied around the first decade of the eighteenth century, but they are mixed with anthems by pre-Commonwealth composers such as Orlando Gibbons and Batten, Restoration composers including Purcell and Humphrey, and Lincoln-based composers. The earlier repertoire can all be found in Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*, and since it is this publication that was responsible for the nature of the reconstructed Restoration cathedral repertoire,<sup>2</sup> it is probable that these versions can trace their provenance through that ubiquitous source. Byrd's anthem 'O Lord, make thy servant' comes in a long section copied c. 1710 and examined by A. Reid, a date that is consistent with the underlay, 'thy servant Ann our Queen'.<sup>3</sup>

Daniel Bamford provides evidence from two sources that Lincoln Cathedral

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2 Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 332-333.

3 LI MS 1, p.86.

probably possessed a set of Barnard's 1641 printed part books. One source is the list of repertoire copied into the end-paper of the Bassus Cantoris copy of the *First Book* which is currently held by the Manchester Public Library, though its previous history is unknown. The list includes no composers, but the high correlation of titles with the Lincoln books is suggestive. There is also an unusual anthem title in the Manchester list, a translation of Psalm 76 'In Jewry is God known', of which the only known setting from the period was by William Norris.<sup>4</sup> Norris's anthem only survives in the two bassus books at Lincoln, confirming the correlation with this copy.<sup>5</sup>

The other source of evidence used by Bamford is Y M.1.S itself. As detailed in Chapter Three, Stephen Bing had access to a set of Barnard's *First Book* at the beginning of his work creating Y M.1.S. Combined with Bing's note in Y M.1.S stating that he copied a selection of verse anthems in Lincoln between 1668 and 1670, this implies that Lincoln possessed the set that Bing was using as his source.<sup>6</sup> This case is strengthened by the mix of pieces by provincial Lincoln composers among selections from the 1641 publication. This is particularly striking at the beginning of the four-part anthem section in the Decani books, where works by the provincial Restoration Lincoln composer Thomas Heardson are interspersed among anthems by sixteenth-century composers (Table 8).

**Table 8:** Y M.1.S Decani four-voice anthems, the first six items

Page	Composer	Anthem
93	Heardson, Thomas	Almighty God, we beseech thee
93	Tallis, Thomas	O Lord, give thy holy spirit
93	Strogers, Nicholas	O God be merciful
94	Farrant, Richard	Call to remembrance, O Lord
94	Heardson, Thomas	Keep, we beseech thee
94	Farrant, Richard	Hide not thou thy face

4 Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 330-333.

5 LI MS 3, p.44 and LI MS 4, p.43 at the end of the section examined on Dec. 22, 1691.

6 Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 335.

The presence of the *First Book* at Lincoln would explain how such pre-Restoration music entered the repertoire there.

Until 1667, Stephen Bing had enjoyed life at the centre of active musical circles with the Hatton musicians at Cambridge and Oxford, as well as proximity to the repertoire of the major choral establishments in the capitol during his years at St Paul's Cathedral. This easy access to musical sources for copying changed drastically when he moved to Lincoln Cathedral, which had a relatively isolated choir and lacked the funds and resources of institutions like Durham. This presumable awakening to the difficulty of accessing copy sources may itself have served as inspiration for Bing to begin creating Y M.1.S as a solution to future lack of copying source material.

It is clearly established in Chapter Three that Bing had direct access to the 1641 publication when he began Y M.1.S, and that he began Y M.1.S while at Lincoln. There is another possible explanation for their presence at Lincoln aside from the cathedral purchasing a set, however, which would explain Bing's reproduction of repertoire from the printed collection in Y M.1.S. John Playford is known not only to have sold copies of Barnard's ten part books, but also to have rented them out.<sup>7</sup> Having only temporary access to the *First Book* would have meant a flurry of copying activity at Lincoln, and this may well have been the case; again, with no music surviving before 1685, several sets of books prior to that date may be assumed but cannot be consulted. Bing, realizing he no longer had easy access to the libraries of Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, and the Chapel Royal, may have been caught up in this activity and inspired to make his own collection of music from the printed books.

This idea of a loan is contradicted by the possibility that the Manchester *First Book* hails originally from Lincoln. If that is the case, then it must have been a part of the music library there long enough to have incorporated the anthems from the eighteenth century that themselves suggest a Lincoln provenance. Bamford himself refers to this as a

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 281-282.

'somewhat flimsy case',<sup>8</sup> but the unusually high correlation of anthem titles in the index, including the otherwise unique Norris anthem, does imply a Lincoln connection at some point in the printed book's history. Whether this is from the same set thought to be at Lincoln since Bing's time, or a second copy obtained closer to Norris's time is unclear.

If Lincoln scribes (perhaps including Stephen Bing) copied from the *First Book*, the books that contained those copies have been lost. Perhaps as the books were retired due to wear and tear, this music was then re-copied into MSS 1-4. Y M.1.S and the Lincoln MSS both demonstrate an odd mixture of repertoire that suggests this. As shown above in Table 8, Bing interspersed local Lincoln compositions with pieces clearly copied from the 1641 publication. Lincoln MS 1 has a similar mix (Table 9), though not limited to four-voice pieces, and stretching across several years of examination dates.

**Table 9:** LI MS 1 several items copied *c.* 1700 in the order found in the book.

Page	Composer	Anthem
62	Tallis, Thomas	I call and cry
63	Heardson, Thomas	Almighty God, we beseech thee
64	Tye, Christopher	I will exalt Thee (2 parts)
68	Heardson, Thomas	Keep, we beseech thee
69	Byrd, William	O Lord, turn thy wrath

It is interesting to see here also the same pattern as in Y M.1.S, shown in Table 9, with Thomas Heardson's works mixed among works from the sixteenth century. In Bing's books, the sections are defined by number of voices as in the *First Book*, whereas in the Lincoln manuscript, the same two four-voice Heardson anthems are instead situated among five-voice anthems from Barnard. A full catalogue for LI MS 1 is provided in Appendix 2.1.

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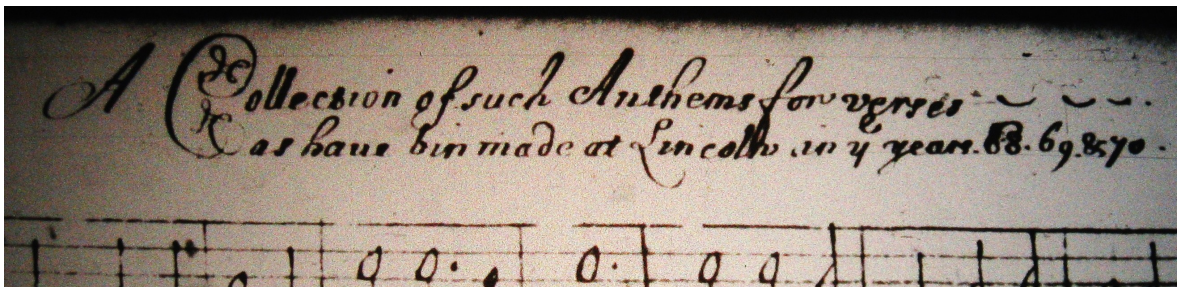
<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 333.



### The Relationship between Y M.1.S and LM MS 1

The Medius Decani book Y M.1/5 S contains a section with the heading 'A Collection of such Anthems for verses as have bin made at Lincoln in the years 68, 69 & 70' (Figure 23). It is on paper watermarked by the post-horn, which can be found elsewhere in Y M.1.S, including the beginning of the four-part anthems section. As an integral part of the books, the paper with this watermark does not represent an inserted section.

**Figure 23:** Y M.1/5.S p. 157 heading



The first 20 consecutive anthems following this heading are by composers known to have been employed at Lincoln during the years Stephen Bing worked there with the exception of one piece early in the list: 'Comfort ye my people' by William Tucker. Tucker was highly active at Westminster Abbey starting from the Restoration, and is known to have provided several provincial cathedrals with repertoire, securing a wide dissemination for his own work.<sup>9</sup> Thus it is entirely possible that the 'Comfort ye my people' was indeed an anthem that could have been collected in Lincoln 1668-1670 as Bing claims. Two of Tucker's other anthems are found early on in Lincoln MS 1. Even so, he stands out as the only non-Lincoln composer in this long stretch of verse anthems in which Andreas Hecht and John Cutts are both well represented, and exactly half of the pieces are by William Turner.

Andreas Hecht, the first of the Restoration Lincoln composers with surviving works,<sup>10</sup> was himself a Honeywood import probably discovered when the Dean was abroad

<sup>9</sup> Watkins Shaw and Bruce Wood, 'Tucker, William', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 15 June 2012. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28549>.

<sup>10</sup> His date of birth in the Netherlands is unknown; however, Hecht is the first Restoration composer with surviving works to be listed as an employee in the records of Lincoln Cathedral.

in Utrecht during the Interregnum.<sup>11</sup> His appointment at Lincoln to replace the troublesome drunkard Thomas Mudd as organist came in the summer of 1663 and Hecht spent the rest of his life serving at that post until he died in March 1693.<sup>12</sup> Hecht was active as a composer, with seven anthems preserved in Y M.1.S and two additional anthems found in Lincoln MSS 2-4. His anthem 'Haste Thee, O God' was also copied into the spare pages of the Lichfield set of Barnard's *First Book*.<sup>13</sup> From that surviving evidence, it seems that his music did not enjoy wide dispersal, and Bing's time at Lincoln can be the only explanation for Hecht's presence in Y M.1.S.

John Cutts was a junior vicar and poor clerk appointed at Lincoln at the end of May in 1665. He was made Master of the Choristers in January 1684, but he was found to be wanting in the post.<sup>14</sup> On 31 October 1689, he was involved in an altercation with the vestry clerk John Jameson, regarding Cutts's sitting in the quire with his dog. Jameson claimed that Cutts had threatened to strike him, and the offender was briefly suspended from his posts at the cathedral.<sup>15</sup> His entire career was spent at Lincoln, and he had a reputation as an unreliable man, often getting into trouble through negligence, but never quite losing his job. Cutts died in the autumn of 1692. He is known to have composed a number of instrumental works, including solos for the bass viol and a set of lost lute consorts.<sup>16</sup> Y M.1.S contains nine of his anthems, though three are incomplete (two of them are missing the bass voice, and a third is copied only in the Tenor Decani book). The Lincoln manuscripts include another four anthems by Cutts. Only two can be found outside the Lincoln books and Y M.1.S. 'O praise the Lord' and 'My days are gone' were copied by John White into Lbl Add. 30478 and 30479, a pair of books in use at Durham

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11 Edmund Venables, 'Honywood, Michael', in *Dictionary of National Biography* 27 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1891), 250-251.

12 Nicholas Thistlethwaite, 'Music and Worship 1660-1980' in *A History of Lincoln Minster*, ed. Dorothy M. Owen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 84-85.

13 Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 320.

14 Andrew Ashbee, 'Cutts, John'. *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 15 June 2012. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06989>.

15 Thistlethwaite, 'Music and Worship 1660-1980', 80-81.

16 Ashbee, 'Cutts, John'.

Cathedral at the time, the latter also copied by George Loosemore into his organ book Lbl Add. 34203.

William Turner was the greatest musical talent employed by Lincoln Cathedral since William Byrd. He first served as a chorister under Edward Lowe at Christ Church, Oxford, but was soon acquired by Henry Cooke for the Chapel Royal. He began composing while still a chorister there, rubbing shoulders with his talented colleagues in the joint composition of the 'Club Anthem' ('I will always give thanks') with Pelham Humphrey and John Blow in 1664, which can be found in Y M.1.S among other contemporary sources. He was appointed Master of the Choristers at Lincoln in 1667 at the young age of sixteen. Like Byrd, he worked there only toward the beginning of his career and did not stay for long, returning to sing as an alto with the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal on 11 October 1669.<sup>17</sup> As they had done with Byrd, Lincoln requested that Turner continue to write music for them, as evidenced by his being paid £1 by Lincoln in 1670/71 for a 'new Anthem'.<sup>18</sup> His performance activities in London included work for the King's Private Musick, Westminster Abbey, and St Paul's Cathedral, and work in the theatre, everywhere valued as an alto soloist. He composed over 40 anthems, three services, and other miscellaneous sacred works and a few stage works.<sup>19</sup>

Y M.1.S preserves 13 anthems by Turner in Bing's hand, as well as two copied by John Gostling, and a pair of chants among those on the paste-downs. Of these, 10 are listed among the anthems by Hecht and Cutts that comprise the consecutive Lincoln-composer section following Bing's heading.<sup>20</sup> In this regard, Y M.1.S is invaluable for dating Turner's output up until the year Stephen Bing left Lincoln. 'O praise the Lord' is copied twice in this section in the *Medius Decani*, but the incomplete 'O sing unto the Lord' is only included in the *Tenor Cantoris* book, in the middle of a stretch of 13 anthems by

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17 Don Franklin, 'Turner, William (ii)', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 18 August 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28624>.

18 Thistlethwaite, 'Music and Worship 1660-1980', 83.

19 Franklin, 'Turner, William (ii)'.

20 One of these, 'Sing, O daughter of Zion' is in the wrong section as it is a full anthem.

Lincoln composers at the beginning of the verse anthems section. One of the remaining pieces, 'Lord, what is man' is found later in the books and may have been acquired by Bing elsewhere, though Don Franklin dates it *c.*1668. The other two, 'O Lord, God of hosts', and 'Lord, thou hast been our refuge' are distributed throughout Y M.1.S in the empty spaces available, probably copied later in Bing's life when his organized sections were running out of space.

The Lincoln books are not as important for dating Turner's anthems, since the Lincoln copyists could have obtained his later repertoire at the point of copying from 1685 onward. MS 1 contains two anthems by Turner, both early in the book, and both in Y M.1.S. MSS 2-4 offer up five Turner compositions, three of which are concordant with Y M.1.S. The concordance between these sources is shown in Table 10.

**Table 10:** concordance of William Turner between Y M.1.S and LI MSS 1-4

<b>Anthem Title</b>	Y M.1.S 'made in Lincoln'*	Y M.1.S elsewhere	Lincoln MS 1	Lincoln MSS 2-4
O praise the Lord	X			
Sing unto the Lord	X			X
The earth is the Lord's	X			
This is the day	X			X
O sing unto the Lord	X			
O be joyful in God	X			
Behold, how good and joyful	X		X	
Sing, O daughter of Zion	X		X	
Behold, God is my salvation	X			
By the waters of Babylon	X			
O Lord, God of hosts		X		
Lord, what is man		X		
Lord, thou has been our refuge		X		X
Behold, now praise the Lord				X
O Lord, the very heavens				X

\*The order of anthems is that found in the Medius Decani book, with the exception of 'O sing unto the Lord' which is only in the Tenor Cantoris.

In contrast to William Turner, the least-known of the Lincoln composers represented in Y M.1.S is Thomas Heardson, a junior vicar at Lincoln after the Restoration who died in 1685. There was also a minor composer at Lincoln named John Heardson, who served as the master of the choristers before the Civil War. This Heardson was still in Lincoln, available to be reappointed upon the Restoration, but he died only a year later in August 1661.<sup>21</sup> Based on location, surname, and type of employment, it seems likely that Thomas was related to John in some way, possibly even his son. This younger Heardson composed only four pieces that have survived to the present day. Aside from the two found in Y M.1.S, there is one only surviving in Lincoln MSS 2-4, and perhaps a three-voice 'Gloria Patri' found only in York MS 5, a set copied by the compiler J. W. c. 1688.<sup>22</sup>

Bing's part books contain two of Heardson's anthems: 'Almighty God, we beseech thee' and 'Keep, we beseech thee'. These are full anthems for four voices, and so are not included under the Y M.1.S verse anthems heading that explicitly attributes much of the other three composers' work to Lincoln. As discussed above, the two Heardson pieces are mixed among the Barnard 1641 repertoire in both Y M.1.S and Lincoln MS 1. 'Keep, we beseech thee' can also be found in a great number of the books connected with Durham Cathedral and appears to have been popular in the repertoire there. Like Cutts's most popular anthem 'My days are gone', this little Heardson anthem is in Lbl. Add. MSS 30478 and 30479. However, it is additionally found in Durham MSS A3, C11, C12, C17 and C19.

Out of the over 150 pieces found in MSS 2-4, there are 29 concordances with Y M.1.S. Nine of the shared pieces had been copied before the dated examination on 10 August 1686 and make up half of the pieces in the earliest section of the Lincoln books, a greater proportion than may be found in the later layers. There is no relationship between

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<sup>21</sup> Thistlethwaite, 'Music and Worship 1660-1980', 73-78.

<sup>22</sup> David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York: York Minster, 1981), 42. There were several minor church musicians by the name of Thomas Heardson in the seventeenth century.

the order or proximity of these pieces in the Lincoln books and the order or proximity of the same in Bing's collection, and it is difficult to draw any strong conclusions beyond the shared repertoire of Barnard 1641 that is common to so many sources from the Restoration.

MS 1 contains the more intriguing connections to Y M.1.S. Of the 89 pieces contained in the Lincoln manuscript, 57 are also found in Bing's collection. The bulk of the items that are not shared with Y M.1.S are found in the final and most recent section of the Lincoln manuscript, associated with dates later than 1715. Many of these are by composers who were active decades after Bing had died, such as John Weldon, John Goldwin and William Croft, and removing them from consideration further distils the concordance. With the exception of the two Heardson anthems copied in 1700, the remainder of the music by the Lincoln generation that is common with Y M.1.S was copied in the first layer of Lincoln MS 1 dated 1685. Considering the links made between Lincoln and Barnard's *First Book*, it is notable that only one anthem can be found common between the two that is not also in Y M.1.S, specifically, Byrd's 'O God whom our offences'.

The hands of the copyists of Lincoln MS 1 display some curious features. While clearly not in Bing's hand, the minims of the first copyist sometimes approach the teardrop shape that is a hallmark of Bing's work – a feature which is not found in the second copyist's work as he made use of diamond-shaped note-heads. More striking is the set of lines drawn at the end of each piece – a series of lines shrinking in height. While not exclusive to Bing's copying, this particular flourish at the end of a piece is a common element of Bing's identified work. It seems more than coincidental that the first six copyists of Lincoln MS 1 all use this signature ending. Is this a sign that Bing served as their copying tutor, or that they were copying from a manuscript that had been copied by Bing during his years at Lincoln? It certainly seems to suggest that Bing's hand would be

found in the part books that pre-dated the four surviving books. If the scribal similarities are evidence of a conscious imitation of the source, then it also suggests that at least the first layers of the Lincoln books were intended to replace worn part books rather than to add to the repertoire.

As noted in Chapter Two, Benjamin Rogers received his doctorate in July 1669. Hand A in Lincoln MS 1 has occasion to attribute music to Rogers on six consecutive occasions, and each time he clearly writes 'Mr Rogers' or 'Mr Ben Rogers'. If the examination date of '1685' which occurs 26 pages further on applies, even loosely, to the copying done by Hand A, then the attribution to Rogers is out of date. The copyist was almost certainly working from another source that represented him as 'Mr Rogers' and was either unaware of the degree, or mindlessly copying. While this evidence is slim, it increases the chance that Copyist A was working from a source predating July 1669. The first item copied by Hand B is attributed to 'Dr Rogers', suggesting that at least some members of the Lincoln musical establishment were aware of the Oxford diploma at this time.

## Chapter Five – St Paul's Cathedral

### St Paul's Cathedral Manuscripts with Bing's Hand

Unfortunately for so prolific a copyist, Stephen Bing's time as an employee of the Cathedral of St Paul was plagued by adversity. As detailed above, he first held a post there as the threat of civil war hung over England, and when he was reinstated at the Restoration, any serious work in developing the musical resources of that institution was hampered by the plague and then destroyed by the fire. There are no records of Bing's copying activities for St Paul's from before the fire; instead, the payments show that minor canon Thomas Quartermaine was the primary copyist for the cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

There is a record of payment to Stephen Bing in 1677 'for a sett of service books'.<sup>2</sup> Only two service books survive from around this time in St Paul's Cathedral: a Contratenor (MS 259) and Tenor (MS 260) book from the Decani side.<sup>3</sup> These books are both on paper which displays an Angoumois fleur-de-lis watermark (Figure 24) with a shield and crown and the initials 'WR' underneath. This is similar to several marks copied by Edward Heawood consistent with the proposed dating of mid 1670s for the manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> The 'WR' may be an indication of the successors of the Strasbourg maker Wendelin Riehel.<sup>5</sup> The countermark is an 'IHS' underneath a simple cross with the maker's initials 'PB' or 'IG' below. Both manuscripts clearly belong to the same set, although whether they are surviving members of the set Bing was paid to copy in 1677 is open to debate.

There are many questions about the purpose of the service books. In the 1670s, it would seem most likely that choral services were not being held at St Paul's. Members of the choir at the time of the fire had sought employment elsewhere.

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1 Sarah Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: a study of the music and musicians of St Paul's Cathedral, 1660-1697 (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1999), 78.

2 Lghl MS 25707, p.9.

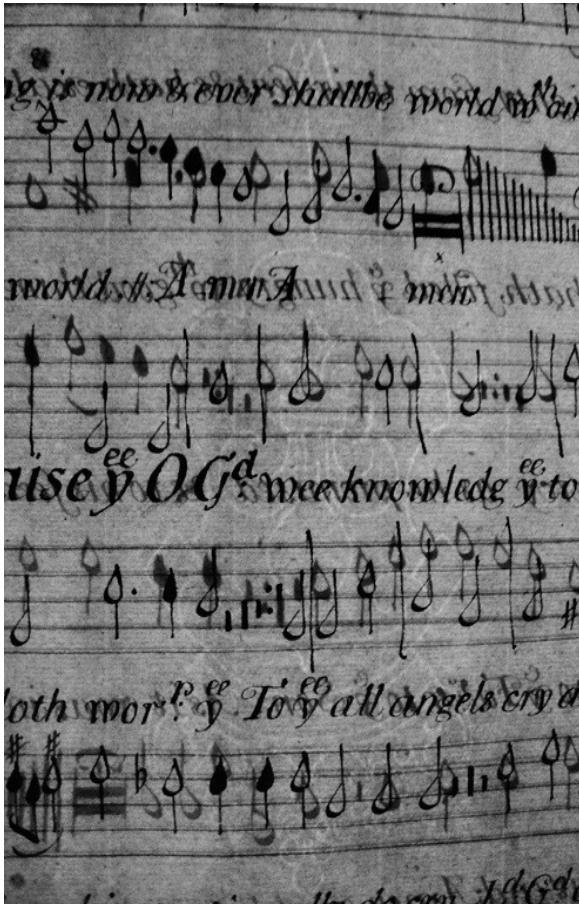
3 There is some variety as to their shelfmarks, also having been referred to as Set A Vol:2 and Vol:1. For details, see Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 245-247.

4 Watermark #35 in Edward Heawood, *Papers used in England after 1600* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1930-31), 296.

5 *Ibid.*, 276.



**Figure 24:** fleur-de-lis watermark in Lsp 259-260



There is some evidence that services were held under a wooden shelter in the east end of the burned-out ruin, which may have allowed for the involvement of music. As a surveyor and architect involved in rebuilding London after the fire, Robert Hooke's diary entries for that period make frequent mention of the restoration work. On 22 June, 1674, Hooke visited St Paul's Cathedral, and the following day's entry concludes 'Paules tabernacle ordered'.<sup>6</sup> Special services may have been offered where an ad hoc choir was formed, but if the repertoire in the St Paul's service books was collected for that purpose, the amount of music is more than would have been necessary and some of it, such as the short services, is not the customary festival fare. With the laying of the first stone for the new building in 1675, another possibility is that the creation of these books was in anticipation of the eventual re-opening of St Paul's Cathedral, or of the re-building of the choir. Boyer does

<sup>6</sup> Robert Hooke, *The Diary of Robert Hooke, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., 1672-1680: transcribed from the original in the possession of the Corporation of the City of London*, edited by Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams (London: Taylor & Francis: 1935), 109.

not believe that they were intended to serve as file copies.<sup>7</sup> Comparing them to other file copies such as Y M.I.S, they share none of the characteristics of repertoire preserved, with generous size and spacing for legibility and neat copying: the St Paul's manuscripts were clearly intended for use in performance.

Lewis and Fortune were the first to suggest an identity for the copyist, stating in 1960 that the surviving service books were 'largely in the hand of Stephen Bing'.<sup>8</sup> However, Robert Ford disagreed in his 1984 thesis, stating that 'there are no Bing copies at St Paul's dating from the 1670s'.<sup>9</sup> In 1986, Watkins Shaw, in his study of Y M.I.S, wrote that it appeared that Bing had copied up to the two services by Aldrich, at which point he had 'come to the end of his time'.<sup>10</sup> The Aldrich services conclude on page 201 of the manuscript, most of the way through. In 1995, Ian Spink referred to the payment to Bing, arguing that it represented the first stage of his hand in the two surviving service books, the second stage concluding with the partial completion of Aldrich's Service in E la mi. He argued that the mention of John Blow's doctorate is consistent with a second stage of copying by Bing sometime after December 1677 for which no record of the payment has survived.<sup>11</sup>

Also in 1995, Jonathan Wainwright and Sarah Boyer both attributed the hand in these two service books to Stephen Bing.<sup>12</sup> However, in her 1999 thesis on the musical establishment at St Paul's, Boyer argues that the copying in the books does not represent Bing's hand.<sup>13</sup> In support of her theory, she points out that Spink failed to account for the payment being 'in full' or for the signs that copying was done fairly quickly and with no

7 Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 276.

8 Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune, *Henry Purcell: Sacred Music: Part V, Anthems*, vol. 29: *The Works of Henry Purcell* (London: Novello, 1960), xvii.

9 Robert Francis Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: the Gostlings and their Colleagues' (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1984), 277.

10 Watkins Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster: A Catalogue with Introduction* (London: Royal School of Church Music, 1986), 112.

11 Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 298.

12 Sarah Boyer and Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell: the Copying Activities of Stephen Bing', *Early Music* 23/4 (1995), 635.

13 Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 267. Boyer does note that this hand is identical to that attributed to Bing in the Westminster Abbey part books, but judges both to be a different copyist. See p. 272.

obvious break. Furthermore, she argues that Spink did not differentiate between what Boyer identified as hands B, B1 and C.

Boyer draws upon the expertise of forensic handwriting expert David Ellen to compare and contrast the hand in a source known to be by Stephen Bing and what she refers to as St Paul's 'Hand B'. She discusses the differences between Hand B in the St Paul's and Westminster Abbey part books with a letter in Bing's hand from 1665. Although she admits that it was common for one person to cultivate both a court and a secretary hand at the same time, Boyer argues that the letter and the part books have 'too many consistent inconsistencies for one person to have written them'.<sup>14</sup> She is aware of Y M.1.S, using it in her thesis to compare readings with the St Paul's sources. She does not dispute that Y M.1.S is in Bing's (and Gostling's) hand and even uses this as a point of evidence to add weight to her arguments, 'for the St Paul's copyist is Hand C; that in the Bing-Gostling books is Bing'.<sup>15</sup> It is unfortunate that Boyer failed to take advantage of the opportunity to compare Bing's hand in a set of part books such as Y M.1.S to the hands in question in the St Paul's part books. Her assertion of the differences between the 1665 letter by Bing and the St Paul's hands is convincing, but as she herself points out, it can be at least partly explained by the common practice of cultivating different scripts. In an investigation into whether Bing may be identified as Hand B, a more direct comparison between the St Paul's books and Y M.1.S would remove the variable of script styles.

While the expertise of David Ellen is not to be dismissed out of hand, the involvement of forensic handwriting expertise in the field of palaeography is neither a simple transference of skill, nor an area that has been developed very far. In a 2007 article, Tom Davis lists some of the incompatibilities between forensic handwriting analysis as it has been developed in the legal disciplines, and the needs of the palaeographer, including issues of differing contexts and materials, and the reliance of forensic handwriting analysis

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 272.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 317.

on the substantial first-hand experience of the practitioner.<sup>16</sup> Davis then details the discipline of forensic handwriting analysis as he sees its potential to support palaeography, and concludes with a call for the development of this combined discipline, particularly with the use of the internet to collect large amounts of data and multiple perspectives.<sup>17</sup> It is beyond the scope of this thesis to develop palaeographic techniques with relation to seventeenth-century music scribes, but progress in this field will do much to further studies such as this one.

The most recent source to weigh in on the identity of the copyist of Lsp 259 and 260 is *Purcell Manuscripts*, written by Robert Shay and Robert Thompson and published in 2000. Shay and Thompson consult the Westminster Abbey part books directly and attribute Boyer's Hand B to Stephen Bing,<sup>18</sup> while also not questioning the attribution of the same hand in the St Paul's manuscripts to Bing.<sup>19</sup>

The Tenor Decani parts to 'O be joyfull' from William Tucker's Benedicite Service provide a case study in musical hands. At first glance, the most obvious differentiating characteristic is the amount of paper used. In the St Paul's manuscript, the movement takes up a little more than six staves with the text fully written out, as shown in Figure 25 below. In Y M.1.S (Figure 26), Bing has managed to squeeze the same music into just under three staves, and in doing so leaves more than half of the text assumed with only the occasional word or string of words to serve as a place-marker. In fact, the sloppiness of Bing's work in Y M.1.S is apparent from the beginning of this movement, where a cut-time signature is incorrectly provided, only to be covered by a triple time signature. This is a clear example of the different uses for which each book was intended: the former is easy to read in the context of rehearsal and performance, while the latter is serving as a kind of seventeenth-century 'zip file' and efficient 'storage dump' for the notation.

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16 Tom Davis, 'The Practice of Handwriting Identification', *The Library* 8/3 (2007), 251-253.

17 Ibid., 276.

18 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 194-195.

19 Ibid., 207.

Figure 25: Lsp 260 Tucker Benedicite

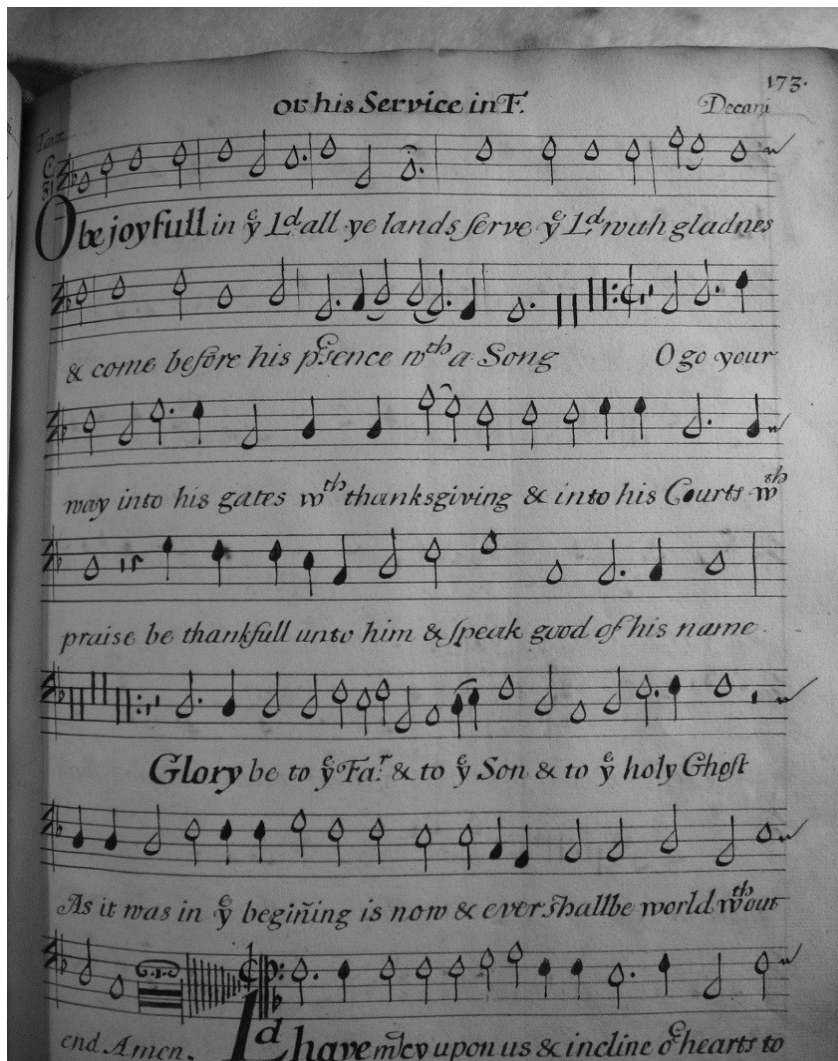


Figure 26: Y M.1/7.S, Tucker Benedicite



Despite the suitability of comparing the same music or text to analyse the handwriting, any such comparison must take into account the differing purposes and circumstances under which these books were created. An item written for the writer's private use is naturally not as tidy as something written for the use of others, and Y M.1.S shows many scribal characteristics that mark it as a personal rather than performance or presentation copy.

A comparison of the notes turns up no differences between the two sources in pitch and rhythm. Y M.1.S misses out one melismatic slur, and places another slur one note later than in the St Paul's book. Due to the lack of any words underlaid anywhere near that point in the music, and the awkward underlay that the slur implies, this seems to be an error rather than a difference in judgement. The notes themselves show a strong similarity in how they are constructed out of pen strokes. Bing's classic teardrop note-head is in evidence in both copies, though it is more distinct in the careful handwriting of the performance copy and sometimes even disappears in Y M.1.S. The latter does contain some quintessential teardrop examples (see the sixth note of the movement, or the seventh of the doxology), but the majority of the note-heads show the sort of blunted roundness on top that you might expect from a scribe working at some speed and without much care for appearance. The mix of classic teardrops and more rounded note-heads in Y M.1.S makes a strong argument for the range of handwriting that might be found in a single piece of music written by a single copyist without pause, lending credence to the idea that a copyist's style and handwriting can shift depending on the circumstances.

### **Variation within Copyist Handwriting**

How much handwriting 'drift' might be expected across a long career of copying music? This is particularly a factor amongst non-composer copyists who, rather than using the written language to express themselves, solely to reproduce what they see in front of them. It has already been shown in Chapter Three that Stephen Bing was in the habit of

consciously imitating different clefs in his copying work. Handwriting development or drift on a subconscious level could be partially driven by the source material, mirroring certain aspects of the handwriting that the copyist was studying. David J. Smith provides a detailed study of the handwriting in the Tregian Manuscripts, showing that they contain elements of similarity with other sources known to be by Tregian where the variations could be explained as a variation of script styles by a single writer.<sup>20</sup> Smith writes about the 'high degree of variation within scripts produced by the same person in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', emphasising the importance of distinguishing between two different copyists, and 'the evolution of a script over time, variations within a script caused by differences in ink and pen, and the deliberate adoption of different scripts by the same scribe'.<sup>21</sup> While he argues that the evidence is inconclusive as far as Tregian, Smith concludes that we ought to widen our acceptance of what constitutes expected variance of script within the copying of an individual.<sup>22</sup> This suggestion can be applied to any active copyist in the era, especially one as prolific over such a long period as Stephen Bing.

The final note of 'O be joyfull' provides the most variation in musical hand: Y M.1.S shows a long with wavy horizontal bars and a quick and rounded fermata, while the St Paul's manuscript has a very straight long with a short vertical stem and a fancy fermata with ingrown twirls, a rectangular central dot and two additional dots. However, examples of this final note form are easily found elsewhere in Y M.1.S. They are particularly visible in several pieces in the early layers of the books where Bing was taking more time to write neatly. In places he switched between the fermata found in the Benedicite of Y M.1.S, and a final note and fermata more similar to what is seen in the St Paul's books as shown in Figure 27.

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20 David Smith, 'A Legend?: Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist', *The Musical Times* 143/1879 (2002), 7-16.

21 *Ibid.*, 7.

22 *Ibid.*, 11.

**Figure 27:** example of more formal fermatas in Y M.1.S



Even the neatest version of Bing's hand in Y M.1.S is less careful and formal than that found throughout the St Paul's books. This is apparent in a direct comparison of doxology texts. Figure 28 juxtaposes some of the neatest examples of the doxology underlay from the early layers Y M.1.S with two examples of the same text from the Contratenor Decani book service book from St Paul's. The greatest similarity can be found in letters such as 'e', 'd', and 's' as well as the ampersand. The phrase 'shall be' displays a strong similarity of construction across all four examples. Meanwhile, there is a marked difference between the two sources for the first letter of 'world', whereas the same letter in 'now' appears to be very similar. The same is true for the letter 'r': in the 'Glory' from the St Paul's source it takes a different and more formal form, but later in words such as 'Father' and 'ever' it takes on a form that bears more resemblance to the instances in Y M.1.S. This demonstrates the different forms that can sometimes be found even between two instances of the same letter within the same sentence in a single source.<sup>23</sup>

Such variations can also manifest themselves gradually across the execution of a large copying project. A strong example of variation within the St Paul's books is the letter 'G'. In the earlier pages, as on page 39, 'G' has a tail but no horizontal stroke, whereas later on page 123 the same letter has a horizontal stroke but no tail.

<sup>23</sup> Forensic handwriting specialist David Ellen explains that it is not uncommon for certain letters to have multiple forms used by the same person in a single handwriting sample. David Ellen, *The Scientific Examination of Documents: Methods and Techniques* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1997), 10-11 and 20.



**Figure 28:** comparison of Doxology text hands in Lsp 259 and Y M.1.S

While the examples on page 123 taken in isolation show a contrast with Y M.1.S, this observation is undercut when the more similar form found on page 39 is taken into account. A similar variation can be found in the 'l' of 'Glory' and the 'S' of 'Son'. The letter 'y' shows the tail in Y M.1.S dropping abruptly and straight down with only a slight release to the left, whereas the St Paul's version shows a more rounded downstroke. The 'A' also is different between sources, with detailed slant and flourishes in St Paul's and a rushed and simple form in Y M.1.S. Without leaping to too many conclusions, it is still plausible to hypothesize that this sort of difference in form could result from the difference in speed of writing between a professional copying job intended for performance and a personal copy intended for storage of repertoire. The writing in the St Paul's manuscript does appear overall to have been more painstakingly crafted, while the writing in Y M.1.S shows evidence of speed and efficiency.

Boyer herself admits that much of the evidence points to Bing being the copyist, including the payment for music copying, but still dismisses him as the creator of 'Hand B' primarily on the grounds of handwriting analysis between the St Paul's text intended for sung performance and a secretarial letter written more than a decade earlier. I believe that the doxology juxtaposition is a more direct comparison and re-opens the argument as to whether or not Stephen Bing is responsible for Boyer's 'Hand B' in the St Paul's and Westminster Abbey books. 'Consistent inconsistencies' can even be found between the earlier and later layers of the St Paul's books; how much more so between a performance part book and a storage manuscript, or especially, a letter of correspondence?

To further such an argument, it is useful at this point to examine the variation evident between the early and late layers of Y M.1.S alone. Two copyists have been identified in Y M.1.S: Stephen Bing as the primary scribe, and John Gostling as the inheritor of the books who continued to add music into the available space. Although Gostling does imitate Bing's in a few places, their natural hands are very distinct from one another, and the imitation is easy to identify. A comparison of Bing's writing in the early layers with that in the later layers reveals a shift in presentation. Consider as a case study the beginning and end of the service section of the Bassus Cantoris book of Y M.1.S.

The Nunc Dimittis of Stroger's Short Service on page 9 (Figure 29) is more cramped than any contemporary examples of performance manuscripts, but still offers a legible script that provides all of the underlay and takes up three and a half staves. Despite containing more notes, the Nunc Dimittis of Blow's Short Service on page 64 (Figure 30) fits on three staves alone. Bing provides very little of the underlay here, replacing half of the text with a mark usually reserved to indicate the immediate repetition of text that had been written out in the preceding phrase. Several letters demonstrate a change in form across the intervening pages, including 'f' and 'y', which has in the latter example taken on a form identifiable with Bing's copying in the St Paul's manuscripts.

Figure 29: Y M.1/4.S, a Nunc dimittis on p. 9

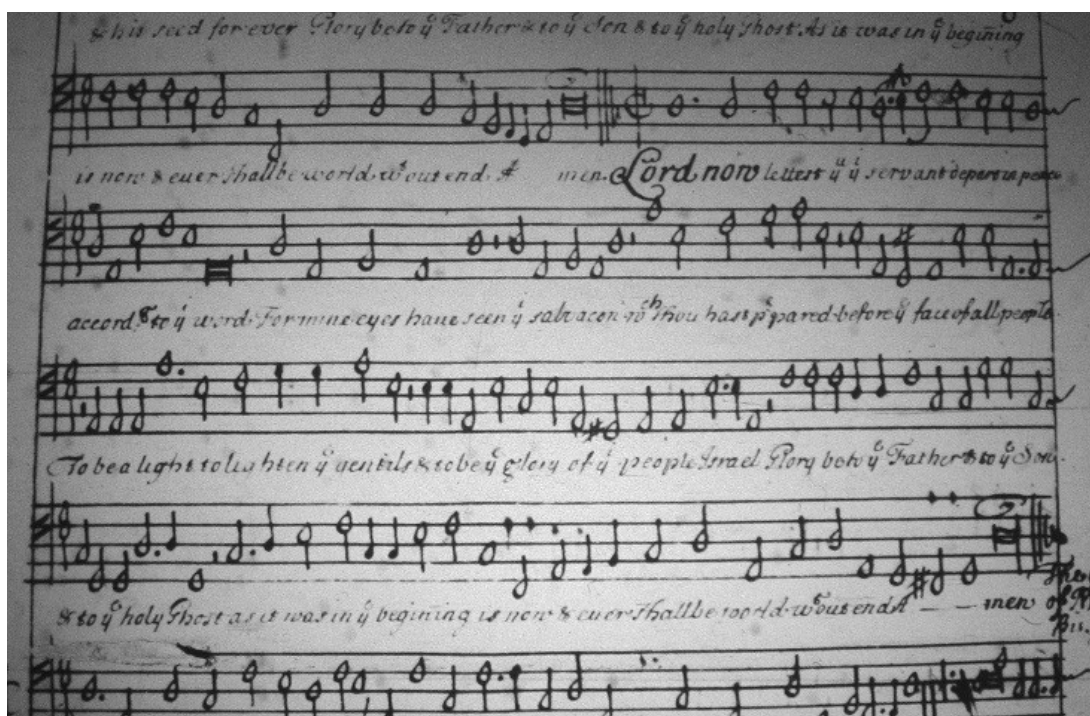


Figure 30: Y M.1/4.S, a Nunc dimittis on p. 64

There are other qualities of writing in the St Paul's books that, while not necessarily unique to Bing, are consistent with his copying in Y M.1.S. As mentioned above in the comparison of the Tucker Benedicite across both sources (Figures 25 and 26), the shrinking set of lines that is used to embellish the final bar of a piece in all of Bing's manuscripts is present in St Paul's. There are also other, more irregular markings in the St

Paul's Service Books that are suspiciously similar or even identical to those used by Bing in Y M.1.S. One of these is the use of “exte” at the end of a piece which has been examined for errors or checked against another source (TD 75, 203. CD 23, 39). Another is the abbreviations for “verse” and “chorus”, which are used interchangeably with “tacet” and “sing” as in Y M.1.S. Finally, while also not unique to Bing, the presence of marginal annotations such as “For this Creed, let this part be on Cantoris side” (TD 141) is consistent with Bing's heavy use of similar asides in Y M.1.S. More convincing is the manner of footnoting a correction to a mistake by use of a vertical line with a cross at the top and bottom (TD 81, 84, 117, 131, 146, 168. CD 80, 100). Since this is a symbol which occurs at the discovery of a new copying mistake, it is not likely to be directly copied from a given source.

While the identification of the handwriting of seventeenth-century music copyists remains an imprecise art, I am convinced that the hand in dispute in the St Paul's part books does represent the work of Stephen Bing. It is an oddity that St Paul's Cathedral paid Stephen Bing to copy a set of services during a time when the choir is not known to have been singing regularly. If these two service books do not represent the work for which Bing was paid in 1677, then they are instead relics of a second copying project undertaken at the same time.

### **The Service Books**

The 1677 payment to Bing is recorded as £7-19-7. If this payment is at a standard rate-per-page of St Paul's at the time,<sup>24</sup> it suggests that just under 160 sheets were copied as part of the project; in a set of eight books this would represent 20 sheets per book, which would account for the first 4-6 services in the St Paul's books. Another consideration is the attribution of two services in the books to 'Dr Blow'. Blow received his doctorate from

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<sup>24</sup> Lghl MS 25643/1 contains an undated payment to Thomas Quartermaine for copying choir books at '1s per sheet'.

Lambeth in December of 1677, almost a year after the payment to Bing for copying at St Paul's. Together with the limited number of pages covered by the payment, this suggests that the majority of Bing's copying in these books is covered by subsequent unrecorded payments.

When looking at books that exclusively contain services, one cannot draw conclusions based on concordance in the same way that is possible with anthems. There was a smaller number of services than anthems in circulation, and they were in far more regular use than their seasonal anthem counterparts. Nonetheless, it would be remiss not to make a comparison between the services contained in Y M.1.S and the repertoire of the St Paul's service books. All 23 of the services copied by Stephen Bing in the St Paul's service books are also found in his hand in Y M.1.S. This level of concordance is beyond the amount expected for any two contemporary collections of popular services. It suggests a strong link between the two sources, though the nature of that link is unclear. It is possible that Bing copied MSS 259-260 by using Y M.1.S as a source. As discussed above in Chapters Three and Four, the bulk of the early services in Y M.1.S were probably copied *c.* 1670, making it the earlier of the two sources for at least some of this repertoire. Catalogues for Lsp MSS 259 and 260 are provided in Appendix 2.2.

Not all of the services Bing copied into both sets of books are well-represented in surviving manuscripts. Thomas Tomkins's Second Service in D sol re exists today only in four sources from the seventeenth century. The earliest source is a single fragmentary Bass Decani book, Music MS 181, located in St John's College Library, Oxford, and probably copied around 1630. The service is also represented in the posthumous Tomkins publication, *Musica Deo Sacra*, printed in 1668. The remaining two sources are the manuscripts in Bing's hand. Tomkins's First Service is found in a good number of sources, but some of his other services survive in only a few, implying that they were not in common use at the Restoration. Whether Bing is unusual in having access to a now-lost

source, or unusual in that he chose to reproduce a service available in a printed source but not in common use, it strengthens the ties between Y M.1.S and the St Paul's service books.

Albertus Bryne's Short Service is the other less-common piece, although his status as a member of the St Paul's musical establishment while Bing worked there may account for his presence in both sources. Despite its relative rarity compared to the other sources, its contemporary presence in the repertory at Durham and Lichfield, as well as several eighteenth-century sources indicates a wider use than suggested by the number of surviving sources. However, there is evidence that Bing checked his copying against the composer's original version. In the Creed of the Medius Cantoris book YM 1/1 S, Bing made one of his marginal annotations providing a different reading. The alternative footnoted at the bottom of the page fits with the other parts of Bing's version, differing primarily through rhythm and underlay, but not in pitch or length. His note alongside the crosses reads, 'or els as below as its in the Originall'.<sup>25</sup> The 'original' plainly refers to something different from Bing's copy source, and could easily refer to Bryne's autograph.

Both Bryne and Bing were employees of both St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. Their employment at the latter did not overlap, Bryne working there after the fire just as Bing went to Lincoln, with the composer dying before Bing returned to London. Yet, the overlap between the two men and the two institutions creates an interesting triple concordance for Bryne's Short Service. Both of the sole surviving books containing this service at the two institutions are Tenor Decani, allowing for an editorial comparison of both of them with the Tenor Decani from Y M.1.S. The Westminster Abbey Lwa Music MS Tc 5 is discussed in detail in the following chapter as a manuscript, but that will be pre-empted by this comparison of the evening portion of Bryne's Short Service. The three sources show a remarkable amount of similarity, which supports the fact that all three were copied by Stephen Bing, who was close to the composer and to the autograph source.

<sup>25</sup> YM.1/1.S, p. 27.

There are several very minor variants in the Magnificat. Y M.1.S is missing accidentals in one place, and Lwa Tc 5 in another. A minim on the word 'spirit' in Lsp 260 and Y M.1.S is transmitted as a two syllable word with a pair of crotchets in Lwa TC 5. The Nunc Dimittis has one variant, and that is a mistake in Lsp 260 where two minims are conflated as a semibreve. The layout of the text is such that two syllables are required on this note, so it can only represent an error. There is disagreement between the sources on textual underlay, with the slurring in Y M.1.S as a minor but frequent difference from the St Paul's manuscripts. The most notable differences are at the end of the Magnificat where although the pitches match, the rhythms and underlay are different in each source. Lsp 260 provides only one 'Amen', but the two 'Amen's found in each of the other sources have slightly different rhythms.

Considering the single copyist responsible for all three sources, and the likelihood that they were copied at roughly the same time in the mid-1670s, the variations provide a unique glimpse into the variants within Bing's copying. For any given variant aside from the Magnificat 'Amen', there are two sources in agreement, but there is no pattern of the same two sources being more often in agreement with the third as an outlier except in the case of textual underlay. It is probable that Bing was inspired to add the Bryne service to Y M.1.S during one or the other of these copying projects. If during the earlier instance, then Y M.1.S may have served as the source for the latter. Lwa Tc 5, as discussed in the following chapter, was probably copied in 1675; Lsp 260 possibly two years later in 1677 as discussed above. Sometime after adding it to Y M.1.S, Bing had access to a second source that he referred to as 'the original', but due to the missing Medius books in the two performing institutions, this lead cannot be followed. After the fire, any autograph scores probably travelled from St Paul's to Westminster in the possession of Albertus Bryne, so the chances are that they remained there after his death and that is where Bing came across them to make the annotation in his file copy.

The two surviving St Paul's service books are in poor condition, particularly with regard to their early layers. In 1766, a copyist at St Paul's, thought to be the minor canon John Gibbons,<sup>26</sup> worked to repair and re-organize what was left of the books, perhaps also re-binding them in the process. Of the two, the Tenor Decani (Lsp 260) is in better shape, beginning with a mixture of pages containing the High Service by Richard Farrant and the Short Service by John Farrant. The earliest surviving page is numbered in the original scribe's hand as 13, but aside from some disorder resulting from the scrambling of the two composers sharing a surname, it continues with unbroken original pagination beyond the end of the music copying activities of Bing on page 201 with Henry Aldrich's Service in G and the Te Deum to Blow's service in Elami which had been omitted earlier. Gostling's distinctive hand takes over after this point, as well as other copyists later in the century.

The Contratenor Decani (Lsp 259) is in far worse shape. The copyist responsible for the eighteenth-century restoration of the books inserted pages in an attempt to replace the original pages, which had presumably either been torn out or damaged beyond use. He inserts the first 3 pages, on eighteenth-century paper, on which are parts of William Child's Service in A re. This service survives in the other book in Bing's hand, but later in the collection. Bing's work in the Contratenor book begins on page 5, part-way through the beginning of William Byrd's Short Service (the first part which is provided by the 1766 copyist presumably because the original pages were damaged or lost) and continuing to Elway Bevin's Short Service. The latter is not represented in the other surviving book, and the Byrd in that book is located later, between the confusion of Farrant and the Tomkins. According to the original pagination, updated to a nearly-consistent new set of numbers by the restorer, 31 sheets (62 pages) by Bing were missing at the time of binding. Some of these are replaced as mentioned above, but the restoration work is inconsistent and others among the pieces are left incomplete where Bing's pages are missing. With the exception of the first few pieces, the Tenor Decani book can be taken to represent the continuity that

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<sup>26</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 290.



is lacking in the Contratenor book, showing that the 1766 restorer's addition of Child in A is to replace missing leaves in Bing's work rather than to add to the collection. Likewise, the early surviving pages in the Contratenor book show that Bevin's Short Service almost certainly accounted for some of the first 12 missing pages in the Tenor book.

A study of the services common to both Y M.1.S and Lsp 259 and 260 turns up few variants. Long portions of Rogers in E la mi show no variants at all. It is clear that these manuscripts are related in more than just their common copyist, though the surviving evidence does not shed light on whether one set was copied from the other and in which order. More likely, the two sets share a common source from which they were both directly copied. Stephen Bing's lengthy habit of collecting repertoire for his file copies must have taken advantage of access to sources gained through his work as a copyist in performing institutions. In the case of the St Paul's Cathedral manuscripts, the tempting scenario is one of Bing copying simultaneously into Y M.1.S and the St Paul's set from a source now lost.

## Chapter Six – Westminster Abbey

### Westminster Abbey Manuscripts containing Bing's Hand

The final decade of Stephen Bing's career took place at Westminster Abbey, where he was a lay vicar from April 1672 until his death in November 1681. During this time, he worked with Henry Purcell, John Blow and William Tucker, and his time at Westminster was concurrent with his resumption of minor duties at St Paul's Cathedral. While it has been established that Y M.1.S was being copied during Bing's time at Lincoln, he was certainly adding to it throughout his time at Westminster. This can be seen through the similarity in repertoire with the surviving books from the same time period at the Abbey.

The records of payment at Westminster Abbey include three references to Bing. In 1673 he was paid iil 'for ruled papyr for a set of Quirebooks'.<sup>1</sup> In 1676 he was paid xxxiil 1s and vid for 'Books for the Church for the last year 1675 then omitted'.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in 1679, xxxviiiis were paid 'to Mr Bing for writeing 29 Sheets and 23 Staves'.<sup>3</sup> As with most sets of records, what is written down does not describe the limit of services rendered, both through loss of records and through incomplete record-keeping. It is unlikely that paper would be purchased and ruled without being used immediately afterwards, yet to judge by the surviving records, the paper for which Bing was reimbursed in 1673 was not used until the payment to William Tucker for copying music four years later. Stephen Crespion was also reimbursed in 1673 for paper for both choir and organ books, and for the binding of a set of service books, but no records of payment for copying survive that can have relation to this binding project. If the books that William Tucker copied up until the 1677 payment were bound prior to copying, those were probably covered by the 1675 payment to Thomas Kequick.<sup>4</sup> From the surviving evidence, it is clear that not all payments for music copying

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1 Lwa, Muniments 33706, f.6.

2 Lwa, Muniments 33710, f. 5v.

3 Lwa, Muniments 33714, f. 6.

4 Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: the Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 197 (table).

projects in the 1670s are covered by the treasurer's books.

Stephen Bing's copying work for Westminster Abbey survives in two sets. There are two extant books (the Alto Cantoris and Tenor Cantoris) from Lwa Triforium Set 1, which represent a large copying project of 12 services and 59 anthems primarily in the hand of William Tucker. This is almost certainly the project for which Tucker was paid £30 in 1677.<sup>5</sup> Tucker's copying is consecutive, though he left a significant amount of space at the end of the books which was filled by other copyists both shortly after his death and into the following century. Stephen Bing was one of these copyists, having squeezed in 'Dr Blow's Te Deum to his Benedicite Service' at the beginning of the books before Tucker's copying began, and inserted the Kyrie and Creed to the same service immediately after the final item Tucker copied in each. Tucker styles Blow as 'Mr' throughout, which is consistent with his payment for the project in the year that Blow received his doctorate; Bing's reference to 'Dr Blow' shows that the addition of the movements from the Benedicite Service were made after December 1677. They are likely to be represented in the treasurer's books by the 1679 payment for '29 sheets and 23 staves' which, by extrapolation, is approximately the correct amount for the insertion of a service. This comes in the year when Tucker died, and represents the first copying added to the set that had been, up to that point, primarily in Tucker's hand.

### **The Relationship between Y M.1.S and Triforium Set 1**

Robert Thompson notes that there is a stretch of similar material in Lwa Triforium Set 1 and Y M.1.S.<sup>6</sup> It consists of nine anthems found consecutively in both Bing's copy and that by Tucker as shown in Table 11. In Bing's file copy, these nine items are surrounded by copying in John Gostling's hand, six pieces before and six pieces after. In the context of Y M.1.S as it was before Gostling added to it, this stretch of nine anthems is situated on

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<sup>5</sup> Lwa Muniments 33712, f. 5v.

<sup>6</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 204.

what was empty space left for the copying of more pieces in the section 'Anthems for 6 & for more Parts',<sup>7</sup> and the section of anthems collected at Lincoln.

**Table 11:** consecutive anthems in Y M.1.S and Lwa Triforium Set 1

Y M.1.S	Lwa Triforium Set 1
Purcell - Blessed be the Lord	Purcell - Blessed be the Lord
Humphrey - Hear, O heavens	Humphrey - Hear, O heavens
Blow - O how amiable are thy dwellings	Blow - O how amiable are thy dwellings
Turner - Lord, thou hast been our refuge	Turner - Lord, thou hast been our refuge
	Tucker - Unto thee O Lord
Tudway - Behold, God is my salvation	Tudway - Behold, God is my salvation
Humphrey - Lord, teach us to number	Humphrey - Lord, teach us to number
	Blow - O Lord, thou hast searched me out
Humphrey - O give thanks	Blow - O Lord, how are they increased
Humphrey - Like as the hart	Humphrey - Like as the hart
Blow - O Lord, thou has searched me out	Humphrey - O give thanks

Gaps are inserted to show pieces present only in the other source and to not represent blank pages.

The sequence begins with six pieces in identical order across the sources, with the exception of Tucker's own 'Unto thee O Lord'. The sequence of the remaining three pieces in the section is somewhat scrambled compared to Tucker's order in the Westminster books, and is missing another piece, 'O Lord, thou hast searched me out' by John Blow. The missing Blow and Tucker are both copied later in Y M.1.S. It is possible, in fact, that they were copied earlier in time, as they are embedded in the section reserved for verse anthems, whereas the sequence under discussion seems to have been copied in an available length of empty pages.

If they had already been copied elsewhere in the manuscript, this would explain the omission of the two pieces here. It does seem that this was the case, due to annotations in the Tenor and Medius Decani books of Y M.1.S. After Tucker's anthem in the Medius book is copied an additional passage of music with the note, 'the difference from the 2

<sup>7</sup> YM.1/1.S, p.140.

crosses',<sup>8</sup> referring to a set of crosses showing where the alternate version may be inserted. In the Tenor book, which had more room available at the bottom of the page, an entire chorus is written out with the note, 'The 2nd Chorus of Unto thee as its in West Books'.<sup>9</sup> It seems clear that Bing already had a copy of this anthem by the time he was copying the nine anthems discussed above, and instead of adding it again, he simply annotated his copy to record some of the differences. Another reference to the Westminster Books comes in the form of a note in which Bing indicates that he reversed the sides of Pelham Humphrey's 'O give thanks unto the Lord' in copying: 'This in W: books is on Cant. side & ye verses are on this side'.<sup>10</sup>

There is another connection between Lwa Triforium Set 1 and Y M.1.S, in the form of one of Bing's marginal annotations. Matthew Locke's eight-voice verse anthem 'Not unto us, O Lord' is copied out twice across the part books of Y M.1.S. Each of the indexes labels one of the instances of the piece 'as its in Mr Tuckers books' or 'as in West books'. Both versions of the verse anthem are found somewhat inconsistently across the books, but the 'Tucker' version appears to be the second to have been copied judging by its somewhat more scattered locations. There are significant differences between the two versions: the main defining factor of the 'Tucker' version is the inclusion of ritornellos, and whole sections are present in one version while absent in the other. Perhaps Tucker's ritornello version represents an anthem that Locke wrote for the Chapel Royal with instruments that was later adapted, either by Locke or by the copyists and performers who wanted to perform it, better to suit the needs of an establishment without access to the instrumental forces of the Chapel Royal. Peter Dennison refers to the anthem as unusual among the five Locke wrote for organ accompaniment only, calling it 'a curiously hybrid, and ill-accomplished work',<sup>11</sup> and perhaps the re-working to remove instruments and ritornellos is

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8 YM.1/5.S, p. 180.

9 YM.1/7.S, p. 118.

10 YM.1/6.S, p. 201.

11 Peter Dennison, 'The Sacred Music of Matthew Locke', *Music & Letters* 60/1 (1979), 69.

partly responsible for this. Regardless of the order composed, Bing copied these two contrasting versions into Y M.1.S, and identified the Westminster Abbey books as the source for the ritornello version.

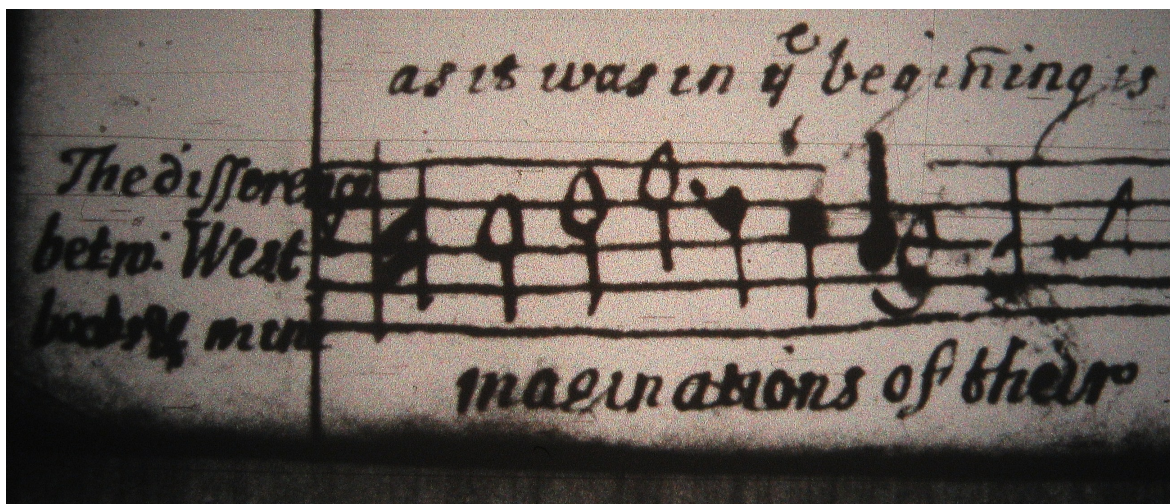
It seems likely that this copying from Lwa Triforium Set 1 took place late in Bing's life. Due to the presence of his hand in that set shortly after Tucker's death, it would appear that Bing's additions of that repertoire and his many annotations referring to the 'West Books' came at this time, dating this layer of Y M.1.S to sometime between 28 February, 1679 and Bing's own death two and a half years later. This is also around the time the books were probably bound, as shown in Chapter Two, which is consistent with another annotation. John Bull's anthem 'Almighty God, which by the leading of a star' is found in the Tenor Decani book on the back of the final page of paper before the flyleaves, a page Bing did not even take the trouble to number. A note in the margin reads, 'The Epiphany in the as its in West books', again implying a late access to this source. The script in this annotation matches closely that of the piece itself, suggesting that both were written near the same time.

Bing's access to the performing materials of Westminster Abbey was not a difficult matter, since he himself was part of the musical establishment there. There are two further Y M.1.S marginal references to Westminster Abbey manuscripts that indicate he must have had access to another set of books. The first is in the magnificat of the Short Service by Thomas Tomkins, where in the bottom margin Bing provides an alternative that shows 'the difference betw: West books & mine',<sup>12</sup> shown in Figure 31. The other is an alternative given at the end of Christopher Gibbons's anthem 'How long wilt thou forget me', which Bing has labelled 'thus in West: Books'.<sup>12</sup> Both of these annotations show differences in ink and script from the pieces they refer to and were added at a later point in time when Bing had access to check his work against the Westminster books. Neither of these pieces is found in the surviving seventeenth-century manuscripts at Westminster Abbey.

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<sup>12</sup> YM.1/1.S, p. 120.

**Figure 31:** Y M.1/2.S p. 18 footnote to Tomkins's Short Service



Bing's marginal annotations provide proof of another one or two sets of books containing the Tomkins service and the anthem by Dr Gibbons. This comes as no great surprise since Tomkins's Short Service was disseminated widely in Barnard's *First Book*, and Christopher Gibbons was an organist at Westminster Abbey from the Restoration. Both variants dramatically differ from the version Bing originally copied elsewhere, suggesting that they were adapted and recomposed along the way. The Tomkins is an interesting case since it must indicate that Westminster Abbey still had access to a pre-Commonwealth non-printed source of the service which differed from that used by Barnard to prepare his books. Westminster Abbey purchased a set of Barnard's *First Book* soon after the Restoration, so the copy of this service in their existing collection may have become redundant. Or, more tantalizingly, the variation Bing found in the now-lost Westminster books may have been a new recomposition by that institution and could be a glimpse of a variant coming into being. Without a sense of fixed musical artwork, fluidity of text cannot be ruled out.

### **The Relationship between Y M.1.S and Triforium Set 2**

The other set of Westminster Abbey manuscripts containing Bing's hand offers a much wider selection of his work. Only the Tenor Decani book Lwa Music MS Tc 5 (henceforth

'Lwa Tc 5') survives, but its oldest layer is copied entirely in Bing's hand. Due to rebinding and conservation work over the centuries, this earliest layer is broken into segments that are mapped out by the incomplete survival of Bing's pagination. The surviving numbers begin at page 41, implying that the first 20 sheets of Bing's work have been lost, though as scribes occasionally missed or repeated page numbers, one cannot be certain about the number that have been lost. Bing's final page number is 162 and ends mid-anthem, so his contribution to the copying project clearly continued, though how much further is impossible to tell. Between these outer limits, there are probably 22 missing sheets in five groups. New paper, with copying in new hands, has been inserted in each of these gaps, as well as before and after the surviving original sheets. An anonymous late eighteenth-century restorer provided a new consecutive pagination that supersedes Bing's pagination.<sup>13</sup> For instance, 32 new sheets were inserted in place of the first 20 of Bing's that were lost; therefore by the time we reach Bing's first surviving page, numbered 40, it has been re-numbered 65 by the restorer. The part book includes instances of a third type of paper containing another hand signed as J. Turle and dated to 1832 and 1833. James Turle was organist and master of the choristers at Westminster Abbey from 1831-1882, and these apparently late additions to Lwa Tc 5 suggest that the main restoration work on the part book had already occurred or was being finished in a second stage in the early 1830s.

Some of the missing segments are small. Bing's pagination only shows one sheet missing between the incomplete service by Patrick and the incomplete Service in A re by Blow, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century restorers have provided the missing music on the inserted paper to finish the former and begin the latter. Therefore the replacement sheet can be understood as an imitation of the missing sheet. The presence of pieces at the beginning and end of the part book that were composed after Bing's death by men such as

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<sup>13</sup> A librarian's note included with the manuscript states that, 'in the late eighteenth century, the first 42 pp. of the book were discarded and replaced by 64 new ones'.



Jeremiah Clarke, William Croft, John Stafford Smith, Charles James Dare and James Nares, however, show that this cannot exclusively be the case. If these composers can be considered as current to the insertion of the new paper in Lwa Tc 5, they support a late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century time span for the restoration work. However, in the four sections inserted betwixt the five groups of pages by Bing, the replacement repertoire can mostly be dated to Bing's lifetime and could conceivably have been originally copied by Bing. Therefore it is possible to hypothesize about the repertoire that some of the missing pages would have contained based on the later insertions.

Both Triforium Sets 1 and 2 are primarily composed of paper which displays an Angoumois fleur-de-lis watermark with a shield and crown and the initials 'WR' underneath. This is the same watermark found in the St Paul's Cathedral MSS 259 and 260 also copied by Bing and discussed above. The 'IHS' counter-mark is paired with the maker's initials 'IP' in Triforium Set 1, and in Triforium Set 2 the initials are 'PB', an exact match with several clear examples seen in Lsp 260. Bing's last copying in Lwa Tc 5, in the five-voice anthems section, is on paper with a fleur-de-lis alone, with no shield. The counter-mark 'AI' indicates a maker that was part of Abraham Janssen's mills. This is the same manufacturer that produced the paper used in the flyleaves of Y M.1.S when it was bound, though with a different watermark consistent with an earlier year. As discussed above in Chapter Two, Janssen started using the 'Arms of Amsterdam' watermark with his initials only after the 1678 Treaty of Nijmegen when the Dutch were no longer at war with France, where his paper mills were located. While the use of the fleur-de-lis does not guarantee an earlier manufacture, the absence of the 'Dutch Lion' does.

The paper inserted to replace the missing pages in Triforium Set 2 varies. The earlier restoration work is on similar paper, with a similar Angoumois fleur-de-lis but with initials below of 'IVG'. The counter-mark is the single letter 'A' underneath simple crossed branches. The later restoration work, as well as the most modern paper in the book, is

folded and cut in the oblong quarto fashion. This means that the chain-lines are horizontal, and the watermarks are sometimes cut through, and otherwise can be found on the part of the paper right against the binding, half of them obscured by it. This paper sports two watermarks: a fleur-de-lis with no shield, and a decorative design that appears to include the initials 'MO'. At the end of the book (well past where Bing's copying ends), the date 1833 is associated with the paper, and movements from Georg Frideric Handel's *Messiah* are copied onto it.

The common presence of the Angoumois 'WR' fleur-de-lis along with the counter-mark initials 'PB' indicates the possibility of an interesting relationship between Lwa Tc 5 and Lsp MSS 259 - 260. Both sets were copied by Stephen Bing in the mid 1670s when he was employed by both institutions. While it is possible that each institution obtained the same paper separately from a supplier, this coincidence could just as easily be explained by some yet unknown connection between the two projects. Perhaps that connection would offer a more satisfactory explanation of the oddity of copying for St Paul's during a period when little if any choral activity was taking place.

### **Reconstructing Lwa Tc 5 (Triforium Set 2)**

A minimum of 43 sheets are missing from the original manuscript in several groupings. A sense of what those missing pages contained can be constructed using the concordances of the surviving original pages with Y M.1.S, and evidence based on some of the work the manuscript's late eighteenth-century restorers copied into the replacement pages. Table 13 shows a proposed list of repertoire for the original manuscript as copied by Bing, as discussed in the following paragraphs. A catalogue of Lwa Tc 5 is included in Appendix 2.3.

The first 20 sheets of Bing's original book are missing. The restorers replaced these missing 20 with 32 sheets, but there was no attempt to complete the first surviving item by

Bing, Thomas Tomkins's Second Service, which cuts out in mid-Magnificat. In fact, the bulk of the new copying is of works by composers working after Bing's death and they are a mix of anthems and services that is uncharacteristic of Bing's organization. Y M.1.S starts with services and moves on to anthems grouped by number of voices, which is standard practice for a set of books that contains both types of repertoire. Using Y M.1.S as a model of the way Bing organised his copying, his missing 20 sheets would have exclusively contained services.

The surviving services copied in Bing's hand take up 3-5 sheets each, and the St Paul's service book in Bing's hand also provides similar numbers, ranging from 3-5 sheets depending on the size of the service, but with the average service occupying just under 4 sheets. The Tomkins Second Service is mostly missing, but takes up 4 sheets in Bing's hand in the St Paul's service book, so probably accounts for 3 missing sheets in Y M.1.S in addition to the surviving sheet. At the estimated rate of paper-per-service, the remaining 17 missing sheets probably represent 4-5 services.

The original Bing pages in the surviving Tenor Decani book would have been little use to the musicians of Westminster Abbey and hardly worth restoring and completing unless roughly equivalent material from the other parts had survived. Unlike the mix of anthems and anachronistic composers, the first three items in Lwa Tc 5 are all services that Bing is known to have copied in other books, including Y M.1.S, and may be genuine replacements. As the other books from the Westminster set do not survive, it is impossible to know the state of the surviving Bing layers in each of those books when the restorers worked on them. If the Byrd Short Service, Blow Service in Elami and Rogers Service in A re represent some of what went missing from Bing's original book, their survival in some of the other books in the set would have been the restorer's motive.

There are three sheets missing from the otherwise consecutive first group of original copying (Bing's pagination leaps from 55 to 61), but the piece following the gap is

the final fragment of Rogers's Service in D sharp and the missing sheets are only enough to account for the missing amount of the Rogers Service. The final three services before the next break are all by William Child. As one of the few composers to operate on both sides of the Interregnum, Child was a prolific and popular Restoration composer, with 16 services to his name and a healthy representation in most contemporary manuscripts. Y M.I.S preserves six of his services, and those same six are found in the St Paul's service books. At St Paul's, Bing copied them not only consecutively, but in alphabetical order according to key. This means that the restorer's inclusion of two more services by Child may again be an attempt to replace Bing's original pages in this book. However, with only four of Bing's sheets missing, it is unlikely that both services would have fit here in the original book.

The gap of 9 sheets is the largest hole, barring the missing beginning of the original book or the unknown length of the original book after the last surviving page by Bing. Bing's pagination ends on page 112 with Orlando Gibbons's Short Service, and begins again on page 131, partway through Christopher Tye's 'I will exalt thee'. The pages from this point are labelled 'Anthems for 4 voyces', as is the equivalent section in Y M.I.S and, indeed, in Barnard's *First Book*. Somewhere in the missing 9 pages the shift occurred from the section of services to the section of four-voice anthems, and the drastically-varying length of the two forms makes any estimation of how many items were on those pages very general indeed. If entirely services, it could be as few as 2-3; if entirely anthems, then at 2-3 per page, it could be around 20. There are two ways to hypothesize about the missing material. The first is to investigate the restoration work. Of the 15 pieces on new paper, there is only one service not found in Bing's hand in Y M.I.S, but of the remaining 14 anthems, only three are not found in Bing's hand in Y M.I.S; therefore, the remainder are known to be in his copying repertory. However, most of these are not four-voice anthems. Some of the verse anthems and those for more than four voices may be replacements for

missing sheets elsewhere in the book, but assuming a professional copying job with the pieces in order according to section, it could be that only the three four-voice anthems represent what was lost from this section of Bing's copying.

The layers of copying support this. There are two different types of paper filling the gap, with two different scribes working, each on his own paper. First there are eight sheets of paper type 1, followed by two sheets of paper type 2. The former contains the service alongside several six-voice anthems and verse anthems. The latter, aside from 'Dr Cooke's Celebrated Amen', is entirely concordant with the four-voice anthem sections of both Barnard's *First Book* and Y M.1.S.

This leads to the second way to hypothesize about the missing material, which is to examine the following section of the Westminster part book where Bing's copying does survive. Watkins Shaw has already observed that the first six items in this section are in the same order as they are copied in Y M.1.S.<sup>14</sup> It seems likely that the missing pages of Bing's Westminster work leading up to this section would have also come from Y M.1.S. Extrapolating backwards to the beginning of the four-voice section of Y M.1.S, there are only six anthems. Two of those are by the provincial Lincoln composer Thomas Heardson and it would be very surprising to find them being used in Westminster Abbey. The others are all popular pieces found also in (and probably copied from) Barnard's *First Book*. Three of these four are the anthems inserted by one of the restorers immediately before the surviving section of Bing's copying. If Y M.1.S served as the primary source for Bing's copying in the Westminster set, then only a single sheet is likely to have been lost of the four-voice anthems section. Thus, the remainder of the missing material can be narrowed down to between one and three services, depending on their length and on the number of blank pages left between the sections. Bing never copied Henry Purcell's Service in B-flat in Y M.1.S, and he may not have had the opportunity to do so, since it was probably

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<sup>14</sup> Watkins Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster: A Catalogue with Introduction* (London: Royal School of Church Music, 1986), 110.

composed around the time of his death. It was also common practice to leave space at the end of a section for future additions to the repertoire, so it is possible that no services are missing.

The similarities between this four-voice section of *Lwa Tc 5* and *Y M.1.S* can be taken a step further. All 17 of the anthems here can also be found in the four-voice anthems section of *Y M.1.S*, and while the first six share the exact sequence across both books, the remainder are also loosely found in the order copied in *Y M.1.S*. If Bing was copying from *Y M.1.S*, then it is difficult to guess why he omitted an anthem by Orlando Gibbons and two by Adrian Batten, but the sequence is retained with the next two Batten anthems.

*Y M.1.S* next intersperses anthems popular at the time with those by the provincial Lincoln composers Andreas Hecht and John Cutts. As mentioned previously in Chapter Four, some of William Turner's earlier works, probably those found here, can also be included in a category of works with a provincial Lincoln Cathedral provenance. The remaining eight four-voice anthems in Bing's hand in *Lwa Tc 5* are not in the same order found in the Tenor Decani book of *Y M.1.S* (Table 12). However, Bing's order of pieces across *Y M.1.S* is not very consistent, whereas he would have made more of an effort to copy anthems across a working performance set in a similar if not identical order. Depending on which part he first copied, this may have defined the order of anthems. Indeed, the *Y M.1.S* Contratenor Decani book is probably the part Bing copied first. Not only are all eight anthems consecutive, but they are found in the same order in the Westminster book with the exception of the reversal of two Child items and the delay of one by Batten, and this amount of variance is common even amongst part books belonging to the same set.

**Table 12:** order of four-voice anthems in Lwa Music MS Tc 5 and Y M.1.S

<b>Lwa Tc 5</b>	<b>Y M 1/6 S</b>
Tye - I will exalt thee [2 parts]	Tye - I will exalt thee [2 parts]
Mundy - O Lord the maker	Mundy - O Lord the maker
Mundy - O Lord, the world's saviour	Mundy - O Lord, the world's saviour
Hooper - Teach me thy way	Hooper - Teach me thy way
Gibbons - Almighty and everlasting God	Gibbons - Almighty and everlasting God
Batten - O praise the Lord	Batten - O praise the Lord
	Gibbons - Deliver us, O Lord [2 parts]
	Batten - Hide not thou thy face [2 parts]
	Batten - Lord, we beseech thee
Batten - Haste thee O God [2 parts]	Batten - Haste thee O God [2 parts]
Batten - When the Lord turned	Batten - When the Lord turned
	Hecht - O God, whose never failing
	Pearson - Blow out the trumpet
	Lawes - Zadok the priest
	Turner - Sing, O daughter of Zion
	Cutts - I give you a new commandment
	Turner - Behold, how good and joyful
Batten - Deliver us O Lord	Batten - Deliver us O Lord
Batten - My soul truly	Batten - My soul truly waiteth
Child - Praise the Lord, O my soul	Child - Praise the Lord, O my soul
Child - O Lord, grant the King	Batten - O sing joyfully
Child - O clap your hands	Child - O clap your hands
Child - If the Lord himself	Child - O Lord, grant the King
Batten - O sing joyfully	Child - If the Lord himself
Child - O pray for the peace	Child - O pray for the peace
Rogers - Teach me, O Lord	Rogers - Teach me, O Lord

Gaps are inserted to line up similar sections of repertoire and avoid the unique 'Lincoln' repertoire of Y M.1.S while maintaining the accurate order of anthems in each source.

The final layer of Bing's copying in Lwa Tc 5 shows an additional link to Y M.1.S, although one that also could link directly to the 1641 printed source if not for other evidence pointing to Y M.1.S above. The pages are titled 'Full anthems for 5 voyces' and the seven surviving anthems are, in order, the first seven items found not only in this

section of Y M.1.S, but in the equivalent section of Barnard's *First Book* from which they were copied. Taking the four-voice section into account, which clearly relates to Y M.1.S in order and repertoire, a three-stage stemma seems obvious: Barnard's publication was first copied into Y M.1.S, which in turn served as the source for the Westminster copying project.

Pages 147-156 (five sheets) are missing from Bing's copying between the four- and five-voice sections of Lwa Tc 5. If Y M.1.S was the primary copying source, as seems probable, then page 157 of the Westminster book marks the beginning of the five-voice anthems section, and the missing sheets would have contained additional four-voice anthems. The rate of copying for the surviving sections is approximately an anthem on each page, or two anthems per sheet. This suggests that the missing sheets would have contained 10 or 11 anthems, depending on the length, and whether or not any blank space was left between the sections. The later copying work offers only eight anthems. Of those, five are found in Bing's hand in Y M.1.S. The three not concordant with Y M.1.S are Purcell anthems, not surprising in the manuscript of an institution where Purcell worked, and could be representative of Bing's lost copying if he finished the four-voice section by turning to other sources. This is impossible, however, as two of the Purcell anthems are dated to the same year Bing died and may well have been composed after his death. Batten's 'Let my complaint' is among the few anthems remaining in the five-voice section of Y M.1.S that follow on from those listed above, and if Bing did fill those five missing sheets, he must have included some four-voice anthems from elsewhere in Y M.1.S, or sought out other sources from which to copy out of necessity. The simplest hypothesis is that a blank sheet was left between the sections as customary and that those anthems copied by the restorer represent the entirety of Bing's lost copying.

One can only guess at the missing contents that once followed the last section of Bing's original copying in the Westminster book (Table 13). There are an unknown



number of lost sheets, though if the pattern of sections continues, Bing presumably continued with more five-voice anthems, and then included a small number for six or more voices, as well as a section for verse anthems. These would probably have been copied extensively, though not exclusively, from Y M.I.S. The restorers offer no clues, moving immediately to two services which would be out of place in Bing's copying scheme, one by Rogers, and the other by Croft (who was approaching three years of age at the time of Bing's death). In keeping with the Croft, the remaining items are almost entirely composed after Bing's death.

**Table 13:** a hypothetical reconstruction of Lwa Tc 5

<b>Pages</b>	<b>Repertoire in Stephen Bing's Hand</b>
<i>Services</i>	
	<i>Byrd, William - Short Service</i>
	<i>Blow, John - Service in A re</i>
	<i>Rogers, Benjamin - Service in A re</i>
	<i>Unknown - one or two services<sup>15</sup></i>
35-42	Tomkins, Thomas - Service in D sol re
42-47	Portman, Richard - Short Service
48-55	Bryne, Albertus - Short Service
61	Rogers, Benjamin - Service in D sharp
62-69	Child, William - Service in D sol re
69-75	Child, William - Service in F fa ut
76-84	Child, William - Benedicite Service
	<i>Child, William - additional service<sup>16</sup></i>
93-98	Patrick, Nathaniel - Service
101-110	Blow, John - Service in A re
110-112	Gibbons, Orlando - Second Service (evening)
	<i>Unknown - one to three services<sup>17</sup></i>

15 No specific hypothesis as to which service(s), but with Y M.I.S as a primary source, they are more likely to have been concordant with that source than not.

16 Possibly the Service in A re if copied alphabetically, or the Service in E la mi as both are found on the replacement sheets in the restorers hand.

17 No direct evidence offers grounds for a hypothesis as to the number of blank sheets between the sections; therefore, the number or nature of the final items in the section of services.

<i>Anthems for 4 Voices</i>	
	<i>Farrant, Richard - Call to remembrance</i>
	<i>Farrant, Richard - Hide not thou</i>
	<i>Tallis, Thomas - O Lord, give thy Holy Spirit</i>
	<i>Strogers, Nicholas - O God, be merciful</i> <sup>18</sup>
131-132	Tye, Christopher - I will exalt thee (2 parts)
133	Mundy, William - O Lord the maker
134	Mundy, William - O Lord the world's saviour
135	Hooper, Edmund - Teach me thy way
135-136	Gibbons, Orlando - Almighty and everlasting
136	Batten, Adrian - O praise the Lord
137	Batten, Adrian - Haste thee O God (2 part)
138	Batten, Adrian - When the Lord turned
139	Batten, Adrian - Deliver us, O Lord
139-140	Batten, Adrian - My soul truly
140-141	Child, William - Praise the Lord, O my soul
141	Child, William - O Lord, grant the King
142	Child, William - O clap your hands
142-143	Child, William - If the Lord himself
144	Batten, Adrian - O sing joyfully
145	Child, William - O pray for the peace
146	Rogers, Benjamin - Teach me O Lord
	<i>Purcell, Henry - O God, thou art my God</i> <sup>19</sup>
	<i>Purcell, Henry - O God, thou hast</i> <sup>11</sup>
	<i>Lock, Matthew - Lord, let me know mine end</i>
	<i>Turner, William - Lord, what is man</i>
	<i>Purcell, Henry - Be merciful</i> <sup>11</sup>
	<i>Wise, Michael - Awake, put on thy strength</i>
	<i>Aldrich, Henry - Give the King</i>
	<i>Batten, Adrian - Let my complaint</i>

18 The anthem by Strogers is the only non-Lincoln-specific item missing from the beginning of the four-voice anthem section of Y M. I. S that was not copied by the restorers on the replacement sheets, perhaps as it was falling out of use.

19 These three Purcell anthems are not in Y M. I. S. They are included here due to their presence on the restorer's sheet, but can be considered as unlikely for Bing to have originally included. The first two have been dated as *c.* 1681-82 and *c.* 1679-81 respectively, with the third undated. This puts them at the end of Bing's life, and the possibility must be considered that they were not composed until after he was dead.

<i>Anthems for 5 Voices</i>	
157	Tallis, Thomas - With all our hearts
157-158	Tallis, Thomas - Blessed be thy name
158	Hooper, Edmund - O thou God Almighty
158-160	Mundy, William - Lord, I bow
160-161	Tallis, Thomas - I call and cry
161-162	Byrd, William - Prevent us, O Lord
162	Hooper, Edmund - Behold, it is Christ
	<i>Unknown number of anthems</i> <sup>20</sup>

Page numbers are Bing's. Italics denote my proposed contents for the missing sheets.

Westminster Abbey purchased a set of Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* from John Playford at the Restoration.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps the books were wearing out after only a decade and a half of use, or perhaps the set containing Lwa Tc 5 was intended as a complete resource that not only expanded the repertoire but replaced those pieces still in use in other books. Otherwise, Bing's copying of 22 anthems common to Barnard's publication would be redundant. Daniel Bamford reads this concordance as evidence that the *First Book* served as a copy source for Lwa Tc 5. However, the evening canticles for Orlando Gibbons's Second Service are the only repertoire found in the *First Book* exclusively. Given the greater survival across the sources of the Second Service evening canticles alone, it is likely that Bing copied them from another source entirely rather than resorting to Barnard. That Barnard's *First Book* is both unnecessary for the initial copying in Lwa Tc 5, and made redundant by it, raises an interesting question: was the *First Book* still present in the working library of Westminster Abbey in 1676?

A comparison of YM 1/7 S with Lwa Tc 5 involving pieces also found in the *First Book* demonstrates only that all three sources are related. By comparing anthems that are rare outside these the two manuscript sources, one arrives at a clearer picture of the

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<sup>20</sup> It can be assumed that the five-voice anthems section was longer, and by the evidence above, a plausible reconstruction would bear similarity to the continuation of that section in Y M.1.S. Presumably, a section for larger anthems and for verse anthems was also to be found in the original manuscript.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 279-281.

relationship between them. A comparison of Benjamin Rogers's 'Teach me O Lord' shows that they are identical, at least in the tenor part. Adrian Batten's 'O sing joyfully' is unique to these two sources, suggesting that it was one of the composer's least-distributed works, and increasing the chance that the two sources for that anthem are related. The two tenor parts examined side-by-side appear to be identical. YM 1/7 S follows the pattern of file copy while the Westminster version is more spacious and neatly written, but despite these differences, the music and text hands are similar. It is unusual for text repeat marks to match across sources, but in this case they are identical until offset by the more frequent system breaks in the performance copy later in the piece. The strong case for Lwa Tc 5 being copied from Y M.1.S made above is further reinforced by the small number of variants between these readings of the Batten anthem in every respect. This makes the variants that do exist all the more interesting.

The only difference in the music is that a semibreve in the York copy is transformed into a dotted minim and crotchet in the Westminster version, both at the same pitch. The York text, 'Take the song, bring hither the tabret' adds a syllable to become 'take the song *and* bring hither the tabret' in Westminster. The other difference is one of underlay toward the end of the anthem. The second repetition of the text 'and a law of the God of Jacob' includes an extra 'of Jacob' into the Westminster part. These two small changes are insufficient to mount a counterargument to the suggestion that Bing copied Lwa Tc 5 by making use of his own file copy books as a source. Instead, this might be held up as an example of scribal adjustments. It would seem that Bing, copying from a source that he himself created, added the dotted rhythm and syllable, and later in the piece, reduced the length of a melisma by repeating three syllables. This sort of revision work can be seen in the surviving autographs of composers like George Jeffreys, as discussed below in Chapter Eight, but in this instance, Bing is not the composer. This is another instance of activity that extends beyond the common definition of the term 'copyist'.

Stephen Bing used Y M.1.S as his primary source when creating the Lwa Tc 5. Of the 10 services and 24 anthems that survive today, only the Second Service by Orlando Gibbons cannot be found in Y M.1.S, and the order in which the anthems were copied shows strong links between the two sets. This supports the most likely hypothesis for the purpose of Y M.1.S: that Bing created it in order to serve as a collection of repertoire useful as a source in his work as a professional cathedral copyist. It also shows that while Y M.1.S does contain some unusual and provincial works, Bing omitted them when copying music into working books in another establishment.

## Chapter Seven – Thomas Tomkins's 'My beloved spake'

### Sources of Thomas Tomkins's verse anthem 'My beloved spake'

The verse anthem 'My beloved spake' by Thomas Tomkins survives in Y M.1.S and five other sources. The limited number of surviving sources, along with the great variance between them and some marginal annotations in Bing's copy, makes for an enlightening case study. Only half of this limited number of sources date from Tomkins's lifetime before the Restoration, suggesting that although 'My beloved spake' is a popular selection today among Anglican cathedral choirs, it was not widely distributed in its own time.

One of these contemporary sources is a lone bass part book, GL MS 101, which also happens to be the only surviving music manuscript at Gloucester Cathedral from the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> It was probably copied around 1640 by organist John Okeover.<sup>2</sup> Alongside the standard repertoire generated by the Chapel Royal, GL MS 101 offers a broad survey of repertoire from institutions in geographical proximity to Gloucester, as well as a few pieces that make sense in the context of Okeover's previous post at Wells Cathedral. The local flavour is significant when considering music by Tomkins.

Thomas Tomkins was appointed organist of Worcester Cathedral in 1596, and although he later went on to serve at the Chapel Royal as a singer and organist, he continued to contribute to the musical establishment at Worcester. In the 1630s his presence in London diminished and he became increasingly involved at Worcester again over the following two decades. In 1612, Tomkins had overseen the construction of a new organ in Worcester Cathedral by Thomas Dallam, an instrument he lived to see damaged by Parliamentary forces in 1642 and dismantled for storage in 1646 at the surrender of

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<sup>1</sup> GL MS 101, f. 66v.

<sup>2</sup> John Morehen, 'The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Part-Book MS 93', *Music & Letters* 62/2 (1981), 191-193. Morehen has transmitted a cataloguing mistake, and what he refers to as MS 93 is currently catalogued as MS 101.

the Cathedral. Tomkins did not survive to see the Restoration, dying in the summer of 1656, survived by his only son Nathaniel.<sup>3</sup>

The proximity of Worcester to Gloucester makes it easy to imagine a connection between the two institutions, and this is borne out by the evidence. Records show that Thomas Tomkins's experience with the 1612 Dallam organ led to his being consulted during the installation of an instrument by the same builder in Gloucester around 1640. Along with surviving records of payment for several messengers back and forth, there is evidence of Tomkins visiting Gloucester Cathedral in 1640-41. This is around the time when Okeover was completing his set of part books, and John Morehen suggests the likelihood that Tomkins would have brought music with him on his visits to Gloucester for Okeover to copy.<sup>4</sup>

MS 101 contains nine anthems by Tomkins as well as his Fourth Service. Of the anthems, two are among the 15 surviving works by Tomkins not published by his son in the posthumous collection *Musica Deo sacra* (1668). Morehen suggests that the presence of these two, along with their proximity to the end of the book contemporary with Tomkins's visit to Gloucester, solidifies their importance as being only one generation distant from the composer's pen.<sup>5</sup> Although 'My beloved spake' was published in *Musica Deo sacra*, it is the last entry of that final group of Tomkins's anthems in the Gloucester source and thus can lay equal claim to any connection with the visit of the composer.

The other two contemporary sources for 'My beloved spake' trace their connection to Tomkins through his involvement in London. Early in the seventeenth century he was made a Gentleman Extraordinary of the Chapel Royal and was well-known enough to be included in Thomas Morley's 1601 collection *The Triumphes of Oriana*. By 1620 he had been upgraded to a Gentleman Ordinary in the Chapel Royal and the following year he was

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3 John Irving and Peter Le Huray, 'Tomkins', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 2 January 2014. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28090>.

4 Morehen, 'The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Part-Book MS 93', 195.

5 Ibid.

made an organist in that establishment. It is assumed that upon Orlando Gibbons's death in 1625, Tomkins succeeded him as Senior Organist. 'My beloved spake' is among the music recorded in the Tenbury MS 791 organ book associated with Adrian Batten. Batten was a London singing man at Westminster Abbey and later at St Paul's Cathedral, and the numerous connections between the Chapel Royal and those institutions provide possibilities as to how Batten may have had access to Tomkins's anthem.

The nearly-complete 'Latter Set' of Caroline part books at Peterhouse, Cambridge,<sup>6</sup> is the most significant pre-Restoration source for 'My beloved spake'. The set's repertoire may be connected to London in several ways. There was a constant flow of clergy and trained musicians from an educational institution like Cambridge to what was at the time the second-largest city in Europe. Any of these men could have served as musical distributors, both from Cambridge to London, but also back to their connections in Cambridge. One such connection was between Thomas Tomkins and his half-brothers John and Giles, both of whom served as organist at King's College Chapel in Cambridge, as well as working in London for the Chapel Royal and the Queen's private music respectively. Lastly, the quality and ambition of the newly-established chapel at Peterhouse must be considered. Their Master John Cosin was a protégée and friend of Archbishop William Laud, and as the Chapel Royal benefited from the Laudian Revival, the young institution at Peterhouse became its leading light. Peterhouse would have looked to the Chapel Royal as a model as much as any choir in the land, and more than any of the others could claim to hold a similar musical standard. Although no direct links between the two repertoires have been discovered, the men at Peterhouse would have leapt at any opportunity to obtain repertoire that was in favour at the Chapel Royal.

There is no doubt that 'My beloved spake' was in the repertoire of the Chapel Royal. Although the part books from that time have been destroyed, there are two surviving collections of anthem texts heard at the Chapel Royal and 'My beloved spake' is

<sup>6</sup> Cp 35-37 and 42-45, referred to as the 'Peterhouse part books' for simplicity.



present in both.<sup>7</sup> Tomkins is as likely to have written the verse anthem specifically for the Chapel Royal as he is to have brought it with him. With a genesis at the Chapel Royal, it would appear that the anthem reached Gloucester via the composer's visit, and came to Peterhouse via his brother in King's College or a member of the choir asking a London contact for repertoire.

The 'Latter Set' of Caroline part books at Peterhouse is nearly complete. The only missing book is the Contratenor Cantoris, a regrettable loss since this was the book containing the contratenor verse sections of 'My beloved spake'. Because of this, an edition of the piece solely using sources dating to the composer's lifetime requires reconstruction of the alto part in the verse sections. This cannot be done from the Peterhouse organ part because the organ book loosely connected with the Caroline set of part books does not contain 'My beloved spake'. For other reasons, addressed below, the organ part surviving in Tenbury MS 791 is unsuitable to use in reconstructing the Peterhouse alto verses, as well as poorly suited to serve as their organ part in a contemporary-sources edition.

This leads to the other three surviving sources of music, all separated from Tomkins's lifetime by the Restoration. The foremost of these sources is the 1668 publication *Musica Deo sacra*, a single self-contained source with complete voice parts and organ book. Although published more than a decade after the composer's death, *Musica Deo sacra* was compiled and edited by his son Nathaniel Tomkins, and thus enjoys a reasonable claim to authenticity.<sup>8</sup>

The modern edition of 'My beloved spake' that has led to its popularity as an anthem today is by Bernard Rose (Schott: 1958) and relies primarily on the 1668 publication. Rose acknowledges that in places the text underlay is 'notoriously bad',<sup>9</sup> but

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7 Ob MS. Rawl. Poet 23, f. 79v, and Lbl, Harley MS 6346, p.219.

8 Anthony Boden, ed., *Thomas Tomkins: The Last Elizabethan* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 112.

9 Bernard Rose, 'Thomas Tomkins 1575?-1656' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 82<sup>nd</sup> Sess. (1955-1956), 97.

this shortcoming aside, the completeness of the source and the involvement of the composer's son has given the 1668 publication an advantage over other sources in modern editions of the piece, despite the existence of earlier sources for some of the repertoire. In his editorial commentary, Rose lists the Peterhouse books and the Tenbury 791 Organ book, but rarely references the former, and uses the latter primarily to lift sections of the organ part that he prefers to the version in *Musica Deo sacra* when not creating his own editorial organ part. The commentary does not provide an academic comparison of the sources listed, nor was it intended to, instead serving admirably as a performing edition based on the most complete source. Rose erroneously lists Y M.29.S as a source consulted; 'My beloved spake' is not present in that manuscript.

'My beloved spake' is also present in a lone alto cantoris part book.<sup>10</sup> Evidence suggests that the set to which it belonged was possibly copied between 1666 and 1668 under the supervision of Albertus Bryne, and intended for use at either St Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey.<sup>11</sup> The manuscript contains some interesting concordances with Y M.1.S, which may be the result of the proximity of the scribes to one another.

Another complete vocal source, without organ, is found in Y M.1.S, where Stephen Bing copied the anthem across five part books. Inexplicably, he copied the bass verses in the Tenor Decani book, switching clefs between the choruses and verses and leaving only rests in the Bass Decani part book during the verses. Bing demonstrates clearly that he had access to *Musica Deo sacra* by including footnotes in the Medius Cantoris, Medius Decani and Contratenor Decani parts. These footnotes are labelled 'thus in the printed books', and provide an accurate rendition of how the parts in Y M.1.S differ from *Musica Deo sacra* in these spots. 'My beloved spake' is located late in Bing's part books, and judging from the copying date can be assumed to have been put on paper well after *Musica Deo sacra* was available. Bing clearly used a different source as his main copying text, however, only

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10 Mp MS 340 Cr 71, f. 60v.

11 Sarah Boyer, 'The Manchester Altus Partbook MS 340 Cr 71', *Music & Letters* 72/2 (May 1991), 205-207.

later adding the footnotes referring to *Musica Deo sacra* when he had an opportunity to check his copying work against the publication. Bing's main copying source has not survived beyond its preservation in his books.

The annotations here, as elsewhere, appear to be in Bing's hand, but date from a later time than the original copying on the page. The handwriting is less formal than the notation used in the first version of the anthem and more consistent with his less formal insertions later in Y M.I.S. The ink of the annotations is lighter in colour but in thicker lines. While it is possible that Bing was working with multiple sources simultaneously at hand, the change in ink, quill, and writing style all support the more probable examination of his work at a later date when the printed source became available.

### **Variants among the sources of 'My beloved spake'**

These six surviving sources for the Tomkins 'My beloved spake' tell an incredibly varied story. It is common for underlay to vary wildly between any sampling of sources of a given piece; many editors of early music have remarked on such discrepancies, and they are nicely illustrated in a stemmatic comparison by Sarah Boyer of sources for the six-part anthem 'Lift up your heads' by Orlando Gibbons. Boyer's analysis compares a few phrases across all of the sources, including the St Paul's part books mentioned above and Y M.I.S.<sup>12</sup> The variety displayed in this comparison is staggering, with almost as many variants as sources.<sup>13</sup>

This raises again the question of how these variants came into being. Scribal error is an obvious culprit, where the copyist unintentionally fails to transfer material accurately from his source. When this results in a mistake in pitch or rhythmic alignment between parts, such a mistake would be audible through the 'proofreading' of performance and stands a good chance of being corrected, either to the original pitch and rhythm or to a new

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12 Sarah Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: a study of the music and musicians of St Paul's Cathedral, 1660-1697 (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1999), 310-315.

13 Ibid., 313.

reading that fits with the rest of the parts. Scribal error in terms of underlay, on the other hand, might go unnoticed entirely, and was not considered as strictly as pitch and rhythm. To look at surviving sources, performance corrections were either infrequently noted in the manuscripts, or the manuscripts in which they were noted were those that saw heavy use which contributed to their failing to survive to the present day.

The quality of the copyist's source itself must also be called into question. As any early music editor can attest, many manuscripts contain sloppy and ambiguous notation. With modern academic standards, it is expected that an editor will compare the available sources, searching for a reading that is both practical, and arguably authentic to his understanding of the composer's style. It is anachronistic to expect a seventeenth-century copyist to have taken the same care to discover the original notation, as well as impractical due to a less-comprehensive access to the range of sources. Scribes took advantage of the chance to copy from a source when it was available, and this practice of copies from copies is the study material of stemmatics. The various mutations that would arise from an unclear copy source could generate their own strands of variation. For instance, some sources such as Y M.I.S use slurs to indicate melismas and thereby clarify underlay, but this is not universal. When Stephen Bing was copying from a source with ambiguous underlay, his reading would often have added in slurs to clarify the underlay but the original source remains unclear and open to different readings by other scribes down the line. While errors certainly abounded, it seems harsh to refer to *all* of these inconsistencies and variations as a 'mistake' by the scribe. It is also worth noting that the composer himself was not always consistent and error-free when putting pen to paper.

The other possibility is intentional change. Most scribes responsible for cathedral music manuscripts were also professional performers. Almost all could draw on daily practical experience with the style and repertoire dating back to their days as choristers. Their personal familiarity with the strengths and weaknesses of the ensemble for whose

benefit they were copying might also have played a role in deciding to make an adjustment. Boyer cites an example where an alto part at a low extreme is raised an octave, an adjustment that appears to be an attempt to make the line more singable.<sup>14</sup> The prevalence of five-voice versions of Byrd's 'O Lord, make thy servant' discussed in Chapter Three could conceivably have come from a similar practical consideration. Regular exposure to a piece through performance can also potentially provide insights beyond the original compositional process. This could lend itself to experimentation and adjustment, which might make its way into the written repertoire from the memory of the scribe. The scribe might himself be a practising composer, confident in his ability to make artistic adjustments to the piece at hand. Additionally, the composer, present for rehearsal and performance, may create additional versions over time in reaction to insights gained from performance.

With the exception of the missing contratenor verses, it ought to be possible to create a version of 'My beloved spake' exclusively from pre-Commonwealth sources. However, the two major sources each provide only one component of this verse anthem: Tenbury MS 791 contains the organ part, and the Caroline part books from Peterhouse contain the vocal parts. The process of editing and matching up these two sources begins well enough, with the first verse consistent between both choir and organ, and all of the choruses compatible as well.

With the second verse, things begin to go awry. The harmonic progressions are identical until just before the end, where the Peterhouse part books end the verse on the tonic with a perfect cadence, whereas Tenbury 791 diverges in the final bar and executes an imperfect cadence to land on the dominant.<sup>15</sup> While this is an interesting variant given the strength of the imperfect cadence leading into the chorus, it does not conform with the

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<sup>14</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 315-316.

<sup>15</sup> To clarify, the English terms are being used here, which mean something different in the United States: for 'perfect cadence' read 'authentic cadence' and for 'imperfect cadence' read 'half cadence'. Most of these cadences are in fact *not* 'perfect' in the American sense of the term.

norm in verse anthems composed at this time. With the exception of the single Tenbury anomaly, every verse and chorus in 'My beloved spake' ends on a perfect cadence, which is typical of the verse anthem, and although there are examples of verses and choruses in the repertoire that cadence in the overall dominant key, they do so by modulation with a perfect cadence. The presence of an imperfect cadence at the end of a verse marks out the organ source as the anomalous variant and the source of the vocal parts as a better representation of the original composition at this point. Appendix 3 contains editions showing these contrasting readings.

Far from representing the creation or transmission of an error, the imperfect cadence in Tenbury 791 is functional and too complex to have successfully resulted from copying error. Instead, it would appear to be an artistic choice on the part of the scribe or another version by the composer. There are no surviving vocal parts that would fail to clash horribly with Tenbury 791 at this point. Since the Tenbury manuscript is thought to have been a file copy rather than a performing organ book, this would not have come up as an issue through practical use. This analysis would relegate the Tenbury 791 cadential variant to the modern musicologist's pile of impractical musical curiosities and 'corrupt' readings, rather than considering it as a legitimate reworking of the piece.

The understanding of Tenbury 791 is as an organ book not connected to any one set of vocal part books, but instead as a collection of music by Adrian Batten presumably for his own use. Batten may have copied it as a project in a relatively isolated environment, free from the practical considerations of matching it with a singing ensemble that couldn't be solved by his own efforts while playing the organ – an example of shorthand for personal use. There are two possibilities that would redeem it for consideration in the history of performance practice, neither of which can be ruled out entirely. The first is that there may have been a set of related vocal parts, since lost, which matched the harmonic movement of the organ part, and that Batten was transmitting an existing working version.

The second is that Batten was making his own adaptations or working from memory or an incomplete source, and may have even expected vocal parts to later be generated based on and adjusted to match his version of the organ part. As unlikely as this may seem, there is further evidence considered below that will force us to revisit these possibilities.

Bringing all of the sources to the table, one of the most striking things about Tenbury 791 is the numerous occasions where it differs in verse length from the surviving vocal sources. While the choruses and the first two verses match in length, this lone pre-interregnum organ source differs from all other surviving sources in the final two verses.

**Table 14:** length of verses by source of 'My beloved spake' listed in number of minims

	MDS	Peterhouse	Y M.1.S	Gloucester	Tenbury 791
Verse 1	36	36	36	36	36
Verse 2	44	44	44	44	44
Verse 3	83	83	83	83	81
Verse 4	94	94	90 or 94	90	72

The choruses (one following each verse) are identical in length.

This disparity alone would cause most editors to discard Tenbury 791 as corrupt. In the third verse, Tenbury 791 falls short in two places for a total deficit of four minims, but makes up two of those minims in another part of the piece. These differences are shown in Table 14.

The first two verses of 'My beloved spake' are short, containing only one line of text each, and each is punctuated by a chorus. The first chorus is a repetition of the line of text used in the first verse 'my beloved spake...', whereas the second chorus adds the new text, 'for lo, the winter is past...'. The brevity of these verses may contribute to the similarity in length between the sources. Not so for the third verse, which is much longer and made up of three lines of text. Batten's pair of shortfalls come in the middle of the second and third lines respectively. The first appears to be a mistaken omission. Batten's

bass-line does suggest a bass vocal part and underlay that wouldn't leave any awkwardly aborted lines of text (as would be necessary to fit the surviving vocal parts to this organ version), but the harmonic shift is unpleasant and Batten's organ part significantly thins at this point.

Batten's second shortfall makes more sense. The only exposed organ sections throughout the anthem are the introduction at the beginning and the chord preceding the second line of text. Otherwise, the organ is accompanied by one or more voices until the final third of the third verse: at this point, the bass soloist holds a semibreve, which is followed by a minim rest across all of the vocal parts before the second soprano delivers the line again. The introduction excepted, this is a unique moment in the anthem where, for the space of a dotted semibreve, the organ part outlines two 'voices' that are not sung. This anomaly does not come at a transitional point, where it might, by a stretch of the imagination, be explained as an extension in order to include a purely instrumental chord and thus as a device to delineate sections. Instead, the gap in singing intervenes between repetitions of the same line of text. The version in Tenbury 791 does not have this gap. To match the vocal parts with the Batten organ part would require the removal of a semibreve's worth of rest from the vocal parts so that the second soprano part comes in only a minim after the bass has reached the final note of the preceding statement. There are no surviving vocal part books that show this adjustment. Despite Tenbury 791 seeming unreliable in other places and standing alone on this particular point, it is tempting to suggest that it is an improvement.

A few bars earlier, the version in Tenbury 791 makes up for lost ground by including a semibreve's worth of material not present in the other sources. This additional material is located at the seam between the second and third lines of text found in the third verse section. While not necessary for the integrity of the piece, it can be seen as serving a transitional purpose and therefore a variation that enhances the structure of the piece.

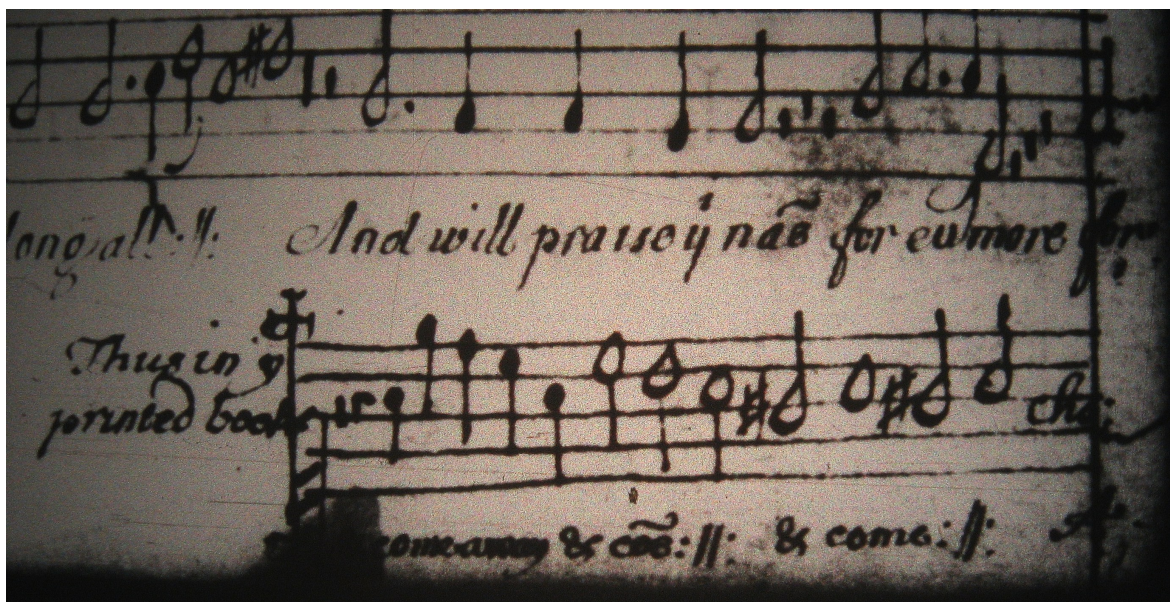


The fourth verse section contains the most interesting variations in length between the surviving sources. This section also delivers three lines of text, the last of which is extended and repeated by the full chorus. The first variant is a major omission by Tenbury 791. At the intersection between the second and final lines of text, 18 minims' worth of material occur in the other sources that are not present in the Batten organ part. The harmonies in this truncated version line up surprisingly well, cutting out the final repetition of the previous text and reappearing at the third statement of the new text where the chord is the same. Thus this variant is musically viable, but the difference from all other surviving sources is of a much greater magnitude than the other discrepancies in length. It would be tempting to hypothesize that the scribe accidentally skipped a system in his copy source, but this appears to be unlikely thanks to the smoothness of the harmonic splice. Nevertheless, as serendipitous as it would seem, if the chord at the end of one system matched the chord at the beginning two systems later, that would increase the copyist's risk of making a slip of the eye as he glanced between the copy and the source in search of the next system while retaining his memory of what he had just copied. The evidence, however, leans toward an intentional adaptation, whether by Batten or by an earlier scribe.

The final difference in length is the most intriguing of the lot, and falls at the transition between the final verse and the concluding chorus. Stephen Bing wrote in the margins of the Contratenor and both Medius part books, 'thus in the printed books', accompanied by a fragment of scribbled music, as shown in Figure 32. These 'printed books' can only be *Musica Deo sacra*, and the musical marginalia matches that source perfectly. This means that Bing was either making adaptations to his copied version while working from the printed books, by memory or by consulting another source, or was copying from another source altogether and consulted the published version out of interest or as a way to proofread his parts. The version in Y M.1.S contains too many variations

from any other surviving source to have been copied from them, including *Musica Deo sacra*, so Bing must have had access to a set of part books that no longer survives.

**Figure 32:** Y M.1/5.S p. 175 reference to *Musica Deo sacra*



A closer comparison shows that the difference between the version Bing copied as his primary reading, and the version in the margins and the printed books, is not solely of pitch and rhythm, but also of length. Y M.1.S contains a musically-viable version that is a breve shorter than *Musica Deo sacra* at the transition from verse to final chorus mentioned above. Although the proliferation of other variants shows that Bing must have been working from a source since destroyed or otherwise lost, his is not the only source that contains this version. The Peterhouse vocal parts are the same length as the printed books, though with significant melodic and rhythmic differences at this point. The organ part in Tenbury 791 matches Y M.1.S, however, as does the lone Gloucester Cathedral bass part. Two of the three pre-Restoration sources contradict the post-Restoration printed version on this count, and the Gloucester source is important for its probable connection to a visit by the composer himself to Gloucester Cathedral at the time of copying. Although scribal intervention is possible at any stage, including in Y M.1.S, the relationship between Bing's manuscript and the Gloucester Cathedral book open the possibility of stemmatic

relationship. Similarly, the relationship between Tenbury 791 and these two sources is evidence of at least one instance where the difference between the organ manuscript version and the printed version was not simply due to the interference of Batten as a scribe.

Another argument against an exclusive use of *Musica Deo sacra* as the source for 'My beloved spake' comes through an inspection of the choruses. The anthem calls for verses with solo bass, contratenor and two medius parts. Looking only at the 1668 publication, the choruses have the same number of voices, replacing one medius part with the tenor. This is true in the other sources as far as the first and third choruses are concerned. However, occasional *divisi* occur in the second and fourth choruses that maintains the close harmony double-medius sound from the verses. The majority of the choruses retain a four-part vocal texture, but the middle third of the second chorus and the closing moments of the final chorus both expand into brief five-voice opulence found nowhere else in the anthem. There are three sources with complete surviving vocal material in the choruses (the Peterhouse books are missing only the contratenor of the versus): the Peterhouse books, Y M.1.S and the 1668 publication. On this issue of *divisi*, *Musica Deo Sacra* stands alone in not having any, while the moments of *divisi* in Y M.1.S and the Peterhouse books are identical.

The question remains whether the *divisi* was the composer's first version, or whether it represents a later 'improvement', either by the Tomkins or another musician. There is a precedent for limited *divisi* in the anthem already. All three 'complete' vocal sources provide two bass parts for the final stretch of the anthem, maintaining the melodic freedom in one part and creating a pedal point in the other. Y M.1.S and *Musica Deo sacra* both provide the extra bass part as a footnote to the full bass part rather than adding or using a separate book. The Peterhouse books are performance copies, with parts copied out twice across the antiphonal layout of the Anglican cathedral choir. The melodically-free bass part is placed in the Decani book, where the verse is notated, and the pedal point

bass part, footnoted in the other sources, is placed on the Cantoris side. This Cantoris part also enters a semibreve earlier and with a different rhythm from that found in the other two sources. This creates a minim dissonance with the other bass part as it rises up the scale, a moment which is avoided in the post-Restoration versions. However, from the standpoint of harmonic analysis, the final chord begins there and it makes sense to initiate the pedal at that point. From this perspective, the pre-Restoration version appears to be the more natural solution, and the slightly delayed divisi of the post-Restoration sources may represent an adjustment by a well-intentioned scribe in an effort to 'fix' the dissonance. What may be expressive in one period could seem like a mistake in another. Either way, the bass divisi serves as precedent for the points of medius divisi in the choruses.

The other consideration is the antiphonal nature of the medius part in the final section. Over the pedal point, the medius thrice repeats a downward four-note scale underlaid by the text 'and come away'. In the two hand-written sources, this material is divided between the two books, with the outer two statements in the first voice and the middle one in the second. They also overlap each other, the final note of each as a minim with the next voice echoing half-way through, creating an attractive and natural cascading effect that seems integral to the part. The published version is much less intuitive, condensing these two parts into one by ending each descending sequence with a crotchet and immediately jumping up to start the next sequence. This suggests that the original intention was to divide these statements between parts across the aisle as in Y M.1.S and the Peterhouse version. This leads to the question of whether the antiphony was removed in order to create the printed version, or if the printed version was made from a source where the two parts had already been combined. Even the loss or accidental ignorance of a book would could result in the re-combined parts seen at the end. While the loss of the earlier chorus divisi might go unnoticed, the three repetitions of the four-note sequence at the end would have sounded empty with one or two missing, and any scribe who had heard

and sung it before should have been capable of adding in the missing repetition or repetitions. On the other hand, this sort of condensed revision might be sensibly made in order to eliminate a small exception to the need for only four books, but this is belied by the fact that thanks to the verses, two medius parts must be printed, and the printed version writes out the identical combined parts in both Medius Primus and Medius Secundus. A revision might also be made to take into account the strengths and weaknesses of a particular institution; however, *Musica Deo sacra* was not intended for a specific institution, but rather as an effort to preserve and disseminate Thomas Tomkins's music. The evidence suggests that the removal of the divisi did not occur at the stage of printing, but instead, at some point earlier in the stemma, providing the printer with a source that contained that version already.

The large number and variety of differences between the surviving sources of 'My beloved spake' are unusual in scale, but are by no means an isolated occurrence. Most intriguing is the relative merit of each variant. The differences in harmonic progression, melodic line, rhythm, and especially length of verse almost all result in musically-viable versions of the piece. It is impossible to be certain which version of each variant is the closest to the original, but *Musica Deo sacra* clearly does not have a monopoly on authenticity. From the standpoint of the editorial quest for the composer's intention, the variants in the other sources must be considered. From a consideration of performance practice, each of the viable variants represents a version of the anthem that could have been performed at a particular institution and could have been copied and used by other institutions. Even if a particular variant was not one that arose from Tomkins himself, it carries the tacit approval of the musicians who performed it and, like the 5-voice version of Byrd's 'O Lord, make thy servant', may have been the version by which most local listeners knew the anthem.

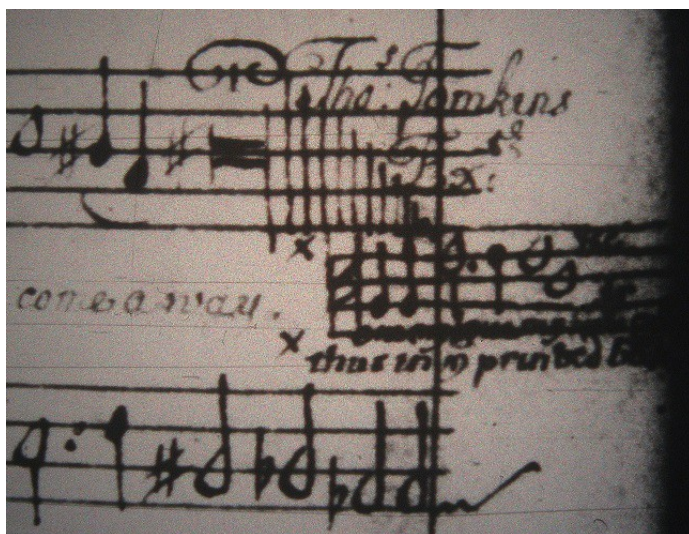
There are four additional oddities in Bing's copying of 'My beloved spake' that

merit mention. The first is that the bass verses are copied in the tenor book, changing from an F4 to a C4 clef for the choruses and leaving bass book of Y M.1.S with only the choruses notated. This is an odd quirk that is difficult to imagine existing in a set of performing books, especially since the range of the bass verses differs so drastically from the tessitura of the tenor choruses. Although no evidence survives to suggest why Bing would do this, it does serve as a reminder that Y M.1.S was intended as a copy file and not for practical performance.

The second oddity is another reminder of the inconsistencies in Bing's sometimes imprecise copying efforts. Despite the moments of *divisi* discussed at length above, the vast majority of the chorus material is in only four parts, with the *medius* parts identical in both books. This is true in the Peterhouse books and *Musica Deo sacra*, but not in Y M.1.S. Although the pitches are identical, the rhythms and underlay are wildly different. The differences are so numerous that they cannot be simply attributed to a rushed and error-strewn copying job. It appears almost as though Bing were attempting to preserve two different stemma, or to create more variety within a single part. Or, this disparity may be evidence that Bing was copying from two different sources; perhaps his main source was missing a page or an entire book. If so, Bing may have found another source to provide the missing *medius* verse, and simply copied the entirety of each part from its respective source without any attempt to collate the unison chorus sections.

The third oddity is an additional footnote 'thus in the printed books' (Figure 33) aside from the two in the *Medius* books already discussed. This occurs in the *Contratenor*, in the final chorus rather than synchronous with the other two footnotes, and does not appear to serve any necessary function since Bing's original version fits with the other parts in the printed books. In other places where his version differs from the printed books, he does not provide footnotes. Where the *medius* footnotes provide a drastically different version, the *contratenor* footnote appears to be nothing more than a slight variation.

**Figure 33:** Y M.1/6.S p. 157 alternative version from *Musica Deo sacra*



The fourth and final oddity is easier to explain. At the final verse-to-chorus transition where Bing's version matches Tenbury 791 and the Gloucester book but falls short of all of the other sources by a breve, the bass part does not match. Only the two medius verses are footnoted with the alternative 'printed' version available. To match the printed version, the contratenor verse as originally copied by Bing would need an additional breve rest in order to delay the final phrase to the correct location. This should be true in the bass part as well, but the source is confused at this point. It appears that the original bass part, like the contratenor, was indeed copied to conform with the shorter verse, and would require the added breve in order to delay the bass part to the correct point as given in the printed source. In fact, the original notation has been adjusted in a more complex fashion, either by Bing or by a subsequent proofreader: a minim rest has been crammed in where space was not originally allotted for it, and the stem for the dotted minim rubbed out to change it to a dotted semibreve. The stem to the crotchet following has been struck through, a common editing mark used to correct a crotchet to a minim. Thus, the corrected bass part matches the version 'in the printed books' in length, but it does not match the rhythm in the 1668 publication. Instead, it matches the rhythm in the bass part of the Peterhouse part book. This shows that, if Bing made the edit to the bass part during proofreading, he did not do it at the same time and from the same source as

when he added the 'thus in the printed books' footnotes. Instead, he or the later editor had access to a source belonging to the same branch of the stemma that contains the Peterhouse books. This also shows that Y M.1.S, in this short transitional section of 'My beloved spake', contains material representing a cross-section of three copy sources.

### **Organ books in relation to Vocal parts**

Organ parts were rarely copied or created as part of the same copying process as the production of vocal part books. *Musica Deo sacra* (1668) included an organ book, but the major cathedral repertoire book, John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641), did not. Both sets contain verse anthems that are incomplete without the organ, so it would seem a major shortcoming for the earlier publication to omit this necessary piece. Six services and eleven anthems contained in the *First Book* require an independent organ part and are not viable to perform solely through the purchase of the 1641 publication. In fact, it has been suggested that Tenbury 791 was intended to serve as the source material for a companion to the *First Book*,<sup>16</sup> but Daniel Bamford shows that this is almost certainly not the case.<sup>17</sup> Bamford goes on to argue that, 'Barnard had no intention of issuing an organ book'.<sup>18</sup>

Y M.1.S has no organ book despite the large number of verse anthems and services, and many other sets of vocal parts appear to be the same. There are organ books associated with large-scale copying projects like those at Peterhouse, Cambridge and at Durham in the 1630s, but despite the similar provenance, the organ books do not contain a complete collection of the pieces found in the vocal parts. Often those pieces that are represented in both organ and vocal books in these collections contain different versions that would create dissonances if used at the same time in performance, and only rarely do

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16 J. Bunker Clark, 'Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators', *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968), 216-218.

17 Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 266-276.

18 *Ibid.*, 276.



the pieces appear in the same order. A fine example of this is the omission of 'My beloved spake' in the organ book in the Peterhouse set.

We are left with the impression that organists were left to look after themselves, and copied their own books in their own time independent of any projects 'pricking' the choral parts. Evidence suggests a stemmatically independent tradition. Unlike vocal parts, organ parts were not necessarily intended for the use of anyone but the scribe himself. Perhaps organists even brought their own organ books with them when they took up a new institutional position, though payment records for copying organ repertoire would suggest that the institutions had at least some claim of ownership. There is a wide variety of versions of each piece to be found among the books copied by various organists. Bamford cites examples including the discrepancies among surviving organ parts to Byrd's anthems, and an attempted reconstruction by a contemporary Durham organist of an organ part for an anthem by Richard Portman.<sup>19</sup> This points to a tradition where organists may have needed to create their own parts from the vocal books or from memory, without recourse to a copying source. It is also worth observing that the task of creating a free-voiced texture from the vocal parts is an inherently creative process, far more than the basic expectations of a copyist transmitting material. Could this have created a culture in which the two activities were on an ideological continuum with composition rather than differing as widely in approach as they are today?

This flexibility of organ copying may have directly affected the vocal parts in return. Nothing is currently known about any seventeenth-century attempts to resolve discrepancies between the choral and organ parts, perhaps because as an individual, the organist was responsible for this and happy to make the necessary adjustments as he listened. However, if the scribes copying vocal parts did compare with versions in organ books on occasion, they may have resolved discrepancies such as the variety of verse lengths in 'My beloved spake' by adjusting the choral parts, adding a layer of cross-

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 277.

pollination to the stemma. Editors today frequently resort to the organ parts to aid in the reconstruction of any lost vocal parts, and whether or not this was necessary in the seventeenth century, it would have been equally possible.

Another example of Batten's work in Tenbury 791 is the verse anthem 'Unto Thee, O Lord' by Richard Dering, also found in Y M.1.S among other sources. The organ part copied by Henry Palmer in the 1630s Durham manuscript DRc A6 differs from Batten's Tenbury 791 to such a great degree that Jonathan Wainwright has included both in his forthcoming edition of the piece. The rhythms and pitches are different throughout, although in some sections of the verses, the harmonic progression differs slightly. Nevertheless, these are both viable organ parts to support the singers, with any discrepancies between the two occurring in places where they do not clash with the vocal lines. Both are the same length as in 'My beloved spake'.<sup>20</sup>

That Batten was an idiosyncratic copyist cannot be denied, but this seems not to have been all that uncommon a quality among organists. The match between his variant of the final 'My beloved spake' verse-to-chorus transition in Y M.1.S and the Gloucester bass part book illustrates that not all of the differences can be brushed aside as the isolated work of a particularly creative copyist. These are viable alternatives which can stand alone and can in no way be attributed to copyist error alone, and they provide evidence of a fascinating and vibrantly creative performance practice among organists, many of whom were composers in their own right in both a written and improvised tradition. Although the choir is a collaborative ensemble and by necessity requires a more rigorous consistency, this tradition of improvising and adjusting the music in the realm of the organ loft will have arisen from the wider approach to music and influenced it in turn.

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<sup>20</sup> Jonathan P. Wainwright, ed., *Richard Dering: Motets and Anthems*, vol. 98: *Musica Britannica* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2015).

### **The Flexible Textuality of Verse Anthems**

Those inclined to find counterexamples demonstrating remarkable consistency between sources of a given piece, or pieces where the list of variants is dominated by errors rather than intentional and viable adjustments, need not look far. Stephen Bing's copy file Y M.1.S is all the more remarkable for its charting of multiple readings because of the situation of the time in which it was created. The losses of the 1640s combined with the changing culture of notation (increasing use of score) and preservation (collections such as those by Barnard and later Tudway) defined a set of limitations unique to the second half of the seventeenth century.

The closing of the cathedrals and destruction of religious art during the Civil War is blamed for the loss of a large percentage of the early seventeenth-century cathedral repertoire. The loss also carried implications for the music that survived, wiping out an untold diversity of stemma. This thinning of the available sources narrowed the options for copyists trying to reconstruct a repertoire during the Restoration. The Peterhouse books are one example of a source that left circulation, having been hidden behind the panelling of the Perne Library presumably to escape destruction during the Civil War. Some of these books were not found again until the 1920s, and thus cannot have served as copy sources in the intervening centuries.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, the quick dissemination of copies of John Barnard's *First Book* had remaining from before the War had an enormous influence on the repertoire, as has been comprehensively discussed in Daniel Bamford's 2009 doctoral thesis.<sup>22</sup> Not only did the prevalence of the *First Book* in a relative musical desert define a large amount of the repertoire that survived from before the Commonwealth, but it also provided a single source for a post-Commonwealth branch of stemma for its contents. The earliest work by Bing in Y M.1.S illustrates this point nicely, being little more than a copy of it.

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21 Dom Anselm Hughes, *A Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse Cambridge*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), xiii.

22 Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', 279-337.

Y M.I.S is one of the earliest file copy books known, and as such did not itself represent a generative point for further textual changes because it was not tied to an institution with practical limitations to consider. Bing himself brought his knowledge as a performer to his project, but the books cannot be seen in the same light as a set of books copied for use in a chapel or cathedral. In the following century, other collection projects like those of Thomas Tudway and William Boyce served to consolidate the repertoire. The increasing use of 'score' layout around this time also provided the ability for a source to be self-contained, relying only on a single book that, while not yet used in performance, could provide an easy source for copying. The increasing use of print, although only represented in the cathedral repertoire by the *First Book* (1641) and *Musica Deo Sacra* (1668) during the seventeenth century, were highly influential in their ability to saturate the market with multiple copies of a roughly identical nature.<sup>23</sup> Bing's departure from the published version of 'My beloved spake' and the evidence it offers of another source surviving through to the Restoration is particularly valuable in light of this.

'My beloved spake' is a dramatic example that illustrates the number and range of variants among a limited number of sources. Although most of the repertoire has a less dramatic variation between versions, variants between sources are not uncommon in the repertoire of the seventeenth century. Whether arising out of necessity, ambiguity or a culture of artistic license, and whether executed by composer, copyist or performer, there is no question that sacred music was being adjusted and adapted.

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<sup>23</sup> Bamford demonstrates that print sources are far more complex than they would seem, with the option for adjustments mid-run. However, compared to the diversity of stemma in manuscripts, this is negligible and the point about increased consistency stands.

## Chapter Eight – George Jeffreys

### Jeffreys and Bing, Colleagues

The copyist and composer George Jeffreys is thought to have been born in or around 1610, the same year as Stephen Bing was born. Very little is known about his early life aside from a statement by the seventeenth-century historian Anthony Wood in his manuscript about the lives of English musicians. Wood claims that Jeffreys was the son of Matthew Jeffreys, a vicar choral at Wells Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> Due to a lack of records, this has not been confirmed by another source. Although Wood's efforts at preserving history have come under modern criticism, his youth in Oxford overlapped with the presence of George Jeffreys, and his pursuits as an amateur musician may have meant that they crossed paths. The antiquarian would have had the opportunity for first-hand observation, lending more weight to his recollection of Jeffreys as 'the King's Organist at Oxford'.<sup>2</sup>

When Bing and Jeffreys were in their early twenties, they both came into the employment of the household of Sir Christopher Hatton III. Bing, as shown above in Chapter One, was in Cambridge in the 1630s, just as the new Peterhouse Chapel was coming into its own as a musical establishment. Hatton was also frequently in Cambridge, having studied there and still possessing many connections to current students. There is evidence that George Jeffreys was no stranger to the University. Despite a lack of any records stating that Jeffreys studied at Cambridge, he composed music for plays by Christopher's cousin Sir Richard Hatton and Peter Hausted, written and performed while they were at Cambridge.<sup>3</sup> Hausted was part of a circle of friends including Sir Richard, and was also patronized by the Hattons.<sup>4</sup>

Jeffreys may also have been involved in the copying project that resulted in the

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1 Peter Aston, 'Jeffreys, George', Grove Music Online, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 2 March 2014. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14227>.

2 Peter Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', PhD diss. (University of York, 1970), 52.

3 Ibid., 51.

4 Ibid., 56.

Caroline Part books of Peterhouse. Jonathan Wainwright, having identified Bing's musical hand on several folios of that set, also suspects that Jeffreys may be responsible for the titles of several pieces in the same collection.<sup>5</sup> No sign of his musical hand has yet been found, but he evidently had sight of the manuscripts when he added titles and the names of composers. This represents one of the earliest collaborations involving both Bing and Jeffreys.

Other scholars have remarked that it seems likely that Bing and Jeffreys entered the employ of Sir Christopher Hatton III at this time.<sup>6</sup> The earliest piece of firm evidence of their copying work together is Bodleian Music School Ms. C 204. An inscription dates the acquisition of the copying source as 11 November 1634, with the music in Bing's hand and the annotations in Jeffreys's script.<sup>7</sup> Jeffreys and Bing also worked together on the manuscript now housed in the Sibley Music Library at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, ML96 L814f, fascicle 3, which contains music by the Italophile violinist and composer John Coperario. Together with John Lilly, Jeffreys and Bing form a trio of identified copyists all working together in the employ of the Hattons. Lilly was probably in the employ of the Hattons during the Cambridge period as well, since some of his copying work for Hatton dates to the 1630s.<sup>8</sup> Lilly and Bing worked together on the Great Set of consort music now housed in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, with the part books (Mus. 397-408) copied by the former and the score book (Mus. 2) and organ book (Mus. 436) in the latter's hand. These books were part of a project collecting much of the English consort music written before the late 1630s. The paper used was royal, of the type common in court presentation books, and the repertoire also suggests a court

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5 Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Widening the Cambridge Circle: Further High Church Musical Connections', in *Music and Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks in Context*, ed. Scott Mandelbrote (Woodbridge & Rochester NY: Boydell and Brewer, (forthcoming), 5.

6 Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23 (1990), 109.

7 Sarah Boyer and Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell: the Copying Activities of Stephen Bing', *Early Music* 23/4 (1995), 622.

8 Andrew Ashbee, 'Lilly, John', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 13 March 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16657>.

connection.<sup>9</sup> Before Pamela Willetts identified Bing as the copyist responsible for these manuscripts, he was known as 'the Lilly Associate', or, more amusingly, as 'Hand K' due to his work being sandwiched between that of Jeffreys and Lilly.<sup>10</sup>

When Bing was appointed as a minor canon at St Paul's Cathedral in 1640/1641, his association with the Hatton household and its musicians diminished greatly or ceased altogether. There is some evidence that Jeffreys became, or was already, a member of the Chapel Royal around this time. This information is tenuous at best, with no evidence apparent to historians today and the sole reference written almost a century after Jeffreys's death in a history published in 1776.<sup>11</sup> Although the Chapel Royal books are incomplete and eighteenth-century historians may have had access to documents no longer available to us, this publication also makes reference to John Wilson, who did eventually become a member of the Chapel Royal at the Restoration. Chapel records do not mention him as a returning member, making the Jeffreys reference even more unlikely.<sup>12</sup> Regardless of Jeffreys's activities in 1640, he was not involved at St Paul's. Following their joint involvement in the Hatton copying projects of the 1630s, Jeffreys and Bing parted company.

Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham on 22 August, and after the first pitched battle at Edgehill in October, he fortified Oxford and established it as the seat of his court for the remainder of the Civil War. George Jeffreys was appointed as organist to the King at Oxford, a post that may have been secured for him by Hatton, who was indispensable to the court at this time.<sup>13</sup> As shown above in Chapter One, Stephen Bing appears to have departed London in the company of a number of Royalists who joined the court at Oxford

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9 Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts', in *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 189-242.

10 Wainwright, 'Images of Virtue and War', 121-142.

11 John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2 of 3 (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1853), 582.

12 Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', 53.

13 Peter Aston, 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 99 (1972-1973), 105.

in August 1643. At this point, Bing renewed his association with Hatton and with Jeffreys.

Several copying projects from the Hatton collection dating to this time show that Bing and Jeffreys worked in tandem.<sup>14</sup> Christ Church Mus. 1023 provides basso continuo parts to Richard Dering's *Cantica Sacra* of 1618, with music by Bing and text headings by Jeffreys. Christ Church Mus. 878-880 contains Dering motets, with the underlay by Jeffreys, and music copied by several scribes of which Bing was one. The collection at Christ Church also includes a number of printed sets containing cover annotations by both men.<sup>15</sup>

In most of their joint projects, Bing provided the music notation while Jeffreys added underlay and titles. Despite the term 'underlay' suggesting that the words were placed under existing music, evidence from the period suggests otherwise. Abandoned anthems in Y M.1.S and other manuscripts by a wide range of copyists show text carefully written out below empty staves. If this was standard practice, then in projects involving multiple copyists like the Caroline Part books of Peterhouse and much of the copying for the Hatton collection, the text would have been written out first, after which the pages would have been handed over to another scribe who would add the music notation above as a sort of 'overlay'.

Some of the more explicitly Marian texts provided by Jeffreys were adjusted by Bing to attract less criticism of Papistry.<sup>16</sup> These are clever and grammatically correct *contrafacta* that fit almost as naturally as the original text, and in fact fail to obscure it.<sup>17</sup> This attention to correcting overtly Catholic texts in music intended for devotional use reflects the circumstances of the court at Oxford, concerned with accusations of Papistry. It must be remembered that members of the Laudian Revival did not consider themselves to be Catholic, and objected to accusations of such by their Puritan assailants. It was, after

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14 David Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23 (1990), 81.

15 Boyer and Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell', 640.

16 Och Mus. 878-880 contains anthems with Marian texts that have been re-texted in Bing's hand to replace the problematic words and phrases.

17 Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', 82.



all, in 1641 that Archbishop William Laud was arrested and sent to the Tower, and he was executed in 1645. However, it is curious that Jeffreys copied text that would require later adjustment for such reasons.

This curiosity is remarked on by Jonathan Wainwright in his chapter for the collection of William Lawes essays.<sup>18</sup> Stephen Bing's connection to the Laudian Revival can be seen through his association with high churchmen. This started at the beginning of his career, when he was a chorister in the recently revived Canterbury Cathedral under George Marson, and continued through to his association with the musicians of Peterhouse, Cambridge. The following circumstances create the potential for another high church connection, and further explain the presence of Latin music in Y M.I.S. Queen Henrietta Maria, a devout Catholic, had provision and permission for a Catholic Chapel with her own musicians as part of her marriage treaty. There was some musical activity in her chapel, and Richard Dering served as her organist for several years, having returned after time spent abroad due to his own Catholic faith. The Queen had been in Holland for the previous year for reasons of safety, but returned to Oxford in July 1643 and took up residence at Merton College. She stayed for eight months, during which time she almost certainly used the Merton College Chapel for Catholic worship.<sup>19</sup>

By the time the Queen was at Merton College, the upheaval of war had dispersed her personal musicians. However, despite a lack of archival evidence for much of what went on in Royalist Oxford, the organist of Magdalen College left with the Queen to become her organist when she fled abroad again.<sup>20</sup> A number of the pieces in the manuscripts ascribed to the Court at Oxford contain Marian music, including several settings each of the 'Salve Regina' and 'Ave Regina' as well as some Marian settings of the Songs of Songs.<sup>21</sup> Wainwright proposes that the pieces with adapted texts may have been

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18 Wainwright, 'Images of Virtue and War', 121-143.

19 Ibid., 122.

20 John Caldwell and Alan Brown, 'Phillips, Arthur', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 23 March 2014. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21574>.

21 Lbl Add. MS 31497 copied by George Jeffreys, and Och Mus. 880 copied by Stephen Bing contain many

intended for additional performance at the King's devotions in Christ Church.<sup>22</sup> This would explain Jeffreys's copying of such inflammatory texts as well as Bing's adjustment of them.

The Great Set of viol consort music and any sacred repertoire aside, much of the music that occupied the Hatton copyists was Italian in origin. Sir Christopher Hatton III's interest in Italian music has been well documented by Jonathan Wainwright in his 1997 book *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*.<sup>23</sup> Peter Aston's 1970 thesis for the University of York 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' explores in detail the influence of Italian music on Jeffreys's compositional style,<sup>24</sup> and Wainwright focuses on Jeffreys's copies of Italian music in his 1990 article 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music'.<sup>25</sup> During the 1630s, Hatton assembled a large collection of the latest printed music published in Italy through purchases from the London bookseller Robert Martin, and many of these served as source material for Jeffreys's copying both then and at the Oxford court.<sup>26</sup> Bing's inclusion in some of these projects through his involvement in Hatton's circle of musicians is no surprise, and indeed, copies of Italian music by both copyists appear to date to both periods of their association, in Cambridge during the 1630s and in Oxford during the Civil War.

The surrender of Oxford on 24 June 1646 again separated Stephen Bing and George Jeffreys. Bing returned to London and survived the interregnum through employment as a teacher. The Restoration represented another turning point, when he was able to resume a cathedral musician's career that led him from St Paul's Cathedral to Lincoln Cathedral to Westminster Abbey as detailed in Chapter One. For Jeffreys, 1646 was also a turning point, but unlike Bing, it marked the end of his career as a professional musician. Hatton immediately appointed Jeffreys as steward for the estate at Kirby in Northamptonshire, a

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of these settings.

22 Wainwright, 'Images of Virtue and War', 129.

23 Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton 1605-1670* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997).

24 Peter Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', PhD diss. (University of York, 1970).

25 Jonathan Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys's Copies of Italian Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23 (1990), 109-124.

26 Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music', 109.

position which Jeffreys would hold until the end of his life.<sup>27</sup> In 1648, Hatton joined the court in exile in Paris, where he stayed for eight years, resulting in a great deal of correspondence between the estate owner and his steward.<sup>28</sup> During his life as a professional musician, Jeffreys produced few sacred works, whereas once he was forced to compose as an amateur, working around his duties as a steward, he created primarily sacred compositions. Aston attributes this shift to a 'dramatic religious experience', comparing him to the poet Henry Vaughan who underwent a similar transition at the same time.<sup>29</sup> There are a few liturgical works that show haste and little inventiveness, but the bulk of Jeffreys's sacred compositions are devotional songs in either Latin or English.

The performance context that inspired Jeffreys to write his devotional songs has not yet been identified. If they were composed without the restrictions of an institution or a patron, then Jeffreys was freer than he would have otherwise been to experiment with the new styles he had learned from Italian music, as well as unconventional ideas of his own.<sup>30</sup> He often chose wildly expressive texts, and wrote music that strove to equal them in expressiveness.<sup>31</sup> Through a combination of their lack of specific use in the liturgy, their unorthodox music, and the fact that Jeffreys was no longer walking in musical circles, his devotional songs did not gain a wide dissemination. It is altogether remarkable that he continued to compose at all alongside his duties as a steward of the Kirby estate. His letters to the absent Hatton show his diligence in overseeing matters at home.<sup>32</sup> In light of this, Jeffreys' sacred music can partly be seen as a product of artistic drive, motivated to at least some degree by a desire for immortality through his output. On that count few men are blameless, and Jeffreys' collection, partly retrospective, of most of his own output in the score book held by the British Library as Add. MS. 10338 suggests that he was no

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27 Aston, 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', 105.

28 Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', 64.

29 Aston, 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', 106.

30 Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', 56-57.

31 Aston, 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', 111-114.

32 Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', 76.

exception. This was not uncommon for composers at the Restoration; others who collected their own works in score include John Blow and Henry Purcell.

There is the possibility that some of these pieces could have been intended for devotions in Hatton's households. Among Jeffreys's compositions is a complete Morning and Evening Service, dated in one of the sources to 1649. Compared to some of his other work, including the anthems, the services lack 'melodic inventiveness and imaginative harmony' and are 'thoroughly workmanlike' according to Aston.<sup>33</sup> Wainwright lists several other potential performance locations for Jeffreys's sacred music during the Interregnum, including his father-in-law's church in Weldon, Northamptonshire, and at Kirby Hall which, although lacking a chapel, did have an organ. Peter Gunning, another Hatton connection dating back to Cambridge, is known to have held high church services in the chapel of Exeter House in London that were attended by Lady Hatton among others.<sup>34</sup> This potential connection is supported by a reference Jeffreys made to Gunning in the score book in relation to a 1652 composition.<sup>35</sup> Any of these private devotional contexts could provide a more direct motivation for Jeffreys's output following his career change to steward.

The only piece by Jeffreys to be published was the two part 'Erit gloria Domini' included in John Playford's 1674 collection *Cantica Sacra II*. His music is otherwise found in 25 manuscripts or sets. Six of those are in his own hand, and many of the others only contain one or two pieces. Out of the 140 compositions that Peter Aston confidently attributes to George Jeffreys, a staggering 120, or 85%, survive only in the composer's own hand. If Jeffreys's autograph manuscripts had failed to survive, we would have a mere 20 compositions through which to know him as a composer. In particular, his English anthems of four and five parts, which constitute some of his most compelling work, would be entirely lost, with one exception.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>34</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 149-150.

<sup>35</sup> Lbl Add. MS 10338, f. 106.

### **Jeffreys in Y M.1.S**

George Jeffreys's one-time colleague, Stephen Bing, copied five of the four-part anthems and one four-part Latin piece into his collection Y M.1.S. The six pieces are copied in the Decani books toward the end, suggesting that Bing obtained them or turned to them later in the lengthy process of creating his collection. They are copied consecutively, meaning that there came a point when Bing decided to include Jeffreys. As a collection, Y M.1.S differs from most performing manuscripts in that it was copied in several stages over a long period of time. The section of six pieces by Jeffreys can be seen as an 'event', a concerted copying project within the larger project of Bing's file copies, which was almost certainly inspired by a window of opportunity to access source material.

Because of the limited number of sources for Jeffreys's output, and the predominance of autograph sources within those, Y M.1.S is an important concordance with respect to the transmission of Jeffreys' music. The history of interactions between the two men as copyists working together for Sir Christopher Hatton III makes Bing's inclusion of music composed by Jeffreys interesting. Just as the presence in Y M.1.S of music by John Cutts and Andreas Hecht serves as a record of Bing's time at Lincoln, the inclusion of pieces by Jeffreys which are otherwise unknown provides evidence of Bing's history of interactions with that composer.

Bing and Jeffreys are known to have worked together at two points, in the 1630s in Cambridge, and again in the 1640s in Oxford. After that, Jeffreys' ties to the Kirby estate and Bing's activities re-establishing his career as a cathedral singer following the Restoration leave little likelihood that the two men would have interacted again. The Hatton copying projects were no longer happening, Jeffreys was no longer employed as a musician, and the distances between their respective places of employment were such that chance interaction was unlikely.

Some of Jeffreys's compositions included in Y M.1.S are dated. 'Turn Thee again'

was composed in 1648, and 'Turn Thou us, O good Lord' in 1655, both dates after Jeffreys had 'retired' from his music career to manage the estate in Northamptonshire and Bing had returned to London. The other dated anthems in Jeffreys's output are consistent with these post-war dates: 1652, 1657, and even the post-Restoration dates of 1669<sup>36</sup> and 1675. As far as is known from surviving evidence, all of Jeffreys's sacred compositions come from this period,<sup>37</sup> meaning that Stephen Bing could not have obtained copies of the pieces during their known collaborations on the Hatton copying projects. The presence of these otherwise unknown pieces in Y M.1.S is evidence that points to some sort of communication between Bing and Jeffreys after the later date of 1655.

The nature of that communication is not clear. A trip by Jeffreys to Lincoln seems unlikely, but he may have taken the chance to travel to London at least once before his death, bringing music with him and allowing his old colleague to copy it. Between 1655 and the Restoration, Bing may have travelled to visit Jeffreys at Kirby Hall. Bing was primarily employed as a private teacher during that time so could have arranged for such a trip, though a trip away from the capital seems far less likely than a trip by Jeffreys to London. The dates of copying for Y M.1.S, particularly this later addition, would require Bing to have held on to any source material gathered during the Interregnum. A third option possibility for renewed interaction between Bing and Jeffreys is through correspondence. Bing may have solicited music from Jeffreys, or the composer may have sent music to Bing in hopes of having his work included in the repertoire at St Paul's or Westminster Abbey. Even if the music was sent to Bing, his desire to include it as a part of his file copy set would have provided excuse enough to recopy into Y M.1.S.

Although Bing's primary access to sources through copying projects would have been through visiting their institutions or borrowing them (or the travels of the Chapel

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36 Robert Thompson disputes this date, suggesting that it should read 1662. See Robert Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338', *Music & Letters* 70/3 (1989), 318.

37 Aston, 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', 106.

Royal), sending individual items in the post was a common way for music to spread. There have been glimpses into the mechanics this, such as Edward Jackson's 1673 letter to Daniel Henstridge. Henstridge had recently moved from Gloucester Cathedral to Rochester Cathedral, and had asked for two anthems by William King to include in the repertoire there. Jackson prepared a modified score and sent them through the mail, accompanied by a letter explaining intriguing details of the transmission and requesting Henstridge to send back any repertoire from Rochester that he knew not to be in the books at Gloucester.<sup>38</sup> Thomas Tudway's early eighteenth-century collection of music for Edward Harley and John Covell shows a similar method of transmission via post. Tudway is known to have corresponded with musicians at institutions as far removed as the Chapel Royal, Ely, Wells, York, Exeter, Eton, Windsor, Westminster, and Durham, although the latter never arrived having been lost en route.<sup>39</sup> Regardless of how it came about, the contact with Bing is one exception to Jeffreys's relative obscurity following his 1646 retirement from professional music.

A comparison of Y M.1.S with the Jeffreys autographs (Table 15) brings to light interesting discrepancies. The two dated anthems 'Turn Thee again' (1648) and 'Turn Thou us, O good Lord' (1655), together with the two-part Latin motet 'O Domine Deus / O Deus meus' are found in three Jeffreys autograph sources, as well in as Y M.1.S. The first of these is the heavily-corrected score book Lbl Add. MS 10338, which appears to represent a concerted effort by Jeffreys to create a comprehensive collection of his own music. The score book is organized in three sections. The first section is the only surviving source of Jeffreys's theatre music, all from the earlier part of his life, and it also contains his instrumental music and secular songs. The second and third sections of Lbl Add. MS 10338 preserve his Latin and English devotional music, respectively.

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38 This exchange is further detailed in Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. Rebecca Herissone (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 42-44.

39 Edward Turnbull, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8/3 (1955), 203-207.

Add. MS 10338 does not contain some of the later anthems, implying that Jeffreys continue to compose after he finished work on the collection. The second source for these two anthems is an incomplete set of part books, Lbl Add. MS 17816, and Lbl Add. MSS 30829 and 30830. These appear to contain more errors than the other sources, as well as more variants. Lastly, and the most carefully copied of the autograph sources, is a complete set of part books, including a basso continuo part, housed in the London College of Music as MS 920a. Peter Aston suggests a date of after 1675 due to the presence of several pieces not found in the earlier score book, including an anthem dated 1675 that only survives in this source.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 15:** concordances of Jeffreys music found in Y M.1.S with autograph sources

Y M.1.S	Add. MS 10338	Add. MSS 17816, 30829, 30830	Lcm 920a
Awake, my soul		X	X
Great and marvellous			X
How wretched is the state		X	X
O Domine Deus	X	X	X
Turn Thee again	X	X	X
Turn Thou us, O good Lord	X	X	X

The other half of the Jeffreys anthems concordant with Y M.1.S are not found in the score book Lbl Add. MS 10338. 'Awake, my soul' and 'How wretched is the state' are both found in Lcm 920a and Lbl Add. MSS 17186, 30829 and 30830. 'Great and marvellous' is solely found in Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a. This latter anthem is thought to be part of a group of four anthems that were written later in the composer's life. It shares stylistic similarities with 'Awake, my soul', 'How wretched is the state', and also 'He beheld the city', which is dated 1675 in Jeffreys's hand. Peter Aston proposes that these four

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<sup>40</sup> Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', 209-210.



anthems were composed around the same time, and so the single date among them can be considered to loosely apply to all four.<sup>41</sup> This is borne out by their omission from the otherwise comprehensive score book Lbl Add. 10338. 'He beheld the city' survives only in Lcm 920a, but the other three anthems represent half of the music by Jeffreys that is copied in Y M.1.S.

A date of composition in the mid-1970s for some of the pieces in Y M.1.S narrows the time when this third interaction between Bing and Jeffreys might have occurred. This is strengthened by their having been copied later in Y M.1.S, and after some of the early music by Henry Purcell. This was a period late in the lives of both men, when Bing was settled in London between his career at Westminster Abbey and some remaining duties for St Paul's Cathedral. Clearly these two old colleagues renewed their acquaintance to the point that Jeffreys provided Bing with the music to copy, and they may have both entertained the notion that Jeffreys's music could be found a place in the new St Paul's repertoire once the new building was opened and regular choral services resumed. As shown in Table 15, Lcm 920a is alone among other sources of Jeffreys's output to contain all of the pieces copied by Stephen Bing in Y M.1.S.

'Great and marvellous' is a full anthem in four parts, and it is not included among the pieces edited and analysed by Peter Aston in his thesis. Although a harmonically conservative piece compared to some of Jeffreys's earlier anthems, its structure is active and engaging. The initial duple metre section expands into a stretch of slower rhythmic movement at the words 'Holy, holy, holy'. The active rhythms resume, punctuated by triple sections, at the text 'to receive glory, honour and power' and later at the longer continuation, 'to receive power and riches...'. The words 'blessing and glory and wisdom' remain in duple but hearken back to the longer rhythmic values of the Sanctus text earlier in the anthem. A final section of active rhythms is capped off by a final section of triple metre comprising nine alleluias, followed by two duple amens. These nine alleluias are

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 162.

not, as a Trinitarian might expect, grouped as three sets of three. Instead, the harmonic language, supported by cadential hemiolas, organizes them into groupings of three, four and two.

'Great and marvellous' offers the chance for a simple comparison between the version in that manuscript and its only other source in the autograph version in Lcm 920a. Because Jeffreys's music suffered from such a lack of dispersal, one might assume that Lcm 920a, containing all six of the pieces copied by Bing, was the copy source. This is not the case, however, as can be shown by a comparison of the sources here. An edition comparing the sources is included in Appendix 3.

The versions in Lcm 920a and Y M.1.S offer similar, but not identical, readings for most of the anthem. The very first bar shows a lone rhythmic difference in the tenor, which Jeffreys's version presents straight while Bing emphasises the textual inflection with a dotted rhythm. This alone could be the error or quirk of a copyist, but it is joined by several other minor differences: three more small rhythmic discrepancies, three written out ornaments found in only one source, three single-pitch differences that appear to be passing tones rather than mistakes, and two octave displacements in the bass. There is also a longer stretch of rhythmic, pitch, and underlay disagreement between the two tenor sources equivalent to a breve, but the majority of the differences are minor. Between the two sources, Y M.1.S usually offers the more complex reading, featuring ornaments and dotted rhythms. If Lcm 920a were Bing's copy source, then all but the longer tenor discrepancy may be attributable to an artistically active copyist. However, at the end of the anthem just preceding the final triple section of alleluias, a major difference in length occurs between the two sources. The harmonic movement into the cadence is the same in both versions, but the rhythms, ornaments, and melodic directions of the parts differ at many points, with the result that the version in Y M.1.S reaches the final tonic chord a semibreve earlier than the autograph version.

This is far too significant and involved an adjustment to be attributed to adventurous tinkering by Bing, and proves that Lcm 920a was not the copy source for Y M.1.S. Since no other source survives for 'Great and marvellous', this analysis provides convincing evidence for a missing Jeffreys manuscript. Might it have been a set of loose leaves copied by Jeffreys with the sole purpose of sending or handing them to his ex-colleague Bing? If so, Jeffreys was editing and adjusting his music even at that point. More likely is another collection made by the composer. Peter Aston refers to the potential for a missing autograph score book referenced by Jeffreys himself.<sup>42</sup> At the beginning of the anthem 'What praise can reach thy clemency' in the surviving score book Add 10338, Jeffreys wrote, 'this song being blotted and Altered, I have transposed into my other Score Booke'. This second, and perhaps more presentation-minded score book (Add 10338 is extremely untidy), would have provided another version of Jeffreys's works, presumably with more variation.

'Awake, my soul' and 'How wretched is the state' do not show any significant discrepancies across the sources. Like 'Great and marvellous', they both contain straight rhythms which are dotted in another source, with Lcm 920a often providing the straight option against the dotting of the incomplete set of part books and Y M.1.S, though the latter two sources do not entirely agree on where the dotting occurs<sup>43</sup>. The greatest difference is found in 'How wretched is the state' in bars 60-61 where Y M.1.S differs from the other sources in three of the four voice parts, with the bass changing the speed of the harmonic movement.<sup>44</sup> These continued minor differences not shown in parallel across any two sources support the idea that none is a direct derivative of another, but unlike the disruptive variants in 'Great and marvellous', there are no points where the multiple readings are incompatible.

This is not true for the anthem 'Turn Thee again'. Among the minor variants that

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>43</sup> As a minor difference, dotted rhythms versus straight rhythms appears to be interchangeable.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 506.

differentiate the sources are two places where the piece is presented in shorter and longer versions. The first shortening is a dotted rhythm on the word 'prayest'. This is a primarily homo-rhythmic section, and in the longer version the four voices have a dotted minim followed by a crotchet, whereas the shorter version is a dotted crotchet followed by a quaver. The latter version does not include additional rests, and an overlay of the two versions would have them incompatible by a minim from that point onward. Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a both contain the longer version, while the shorter version is a shared feature of the score book Add. 10338 and the incomplete set Add. MSS 30829-30 and 17816. The latter manuscript stands alone on the other discrepancy in length, which occurs in the second verse at the text 'and when it had taken root'. In Add. MSS 30829-30 and 17816 this text is set to different melodic lines and rhythms among the books that match with each other but fall short of the other three sources by a semibreve.

'Turn Thee again' has a recurring chorus surrounding two verses. Instead of writing out this chorus the second time it occurs, all of the sources simply refer back to the start of the piece by way of a few pitches, a few custodes, and the annotation 'as at the beginning'. However, the third and final time the chorus occurs, Jeffreys writes it out completely in all three autograph sources. This should not be necessary as it is no different from before; there is, however, a breve-length coda tacked onto the end of the anthem. Bing, conserving paper and ink at this point in Y M.1.S, did not follow suit, instead providing a second set of custos and instructions to turn back once again to the beginning. As a result, he appears to have not noticed Jeffreys's coda, and Y M.1.S therefore concludes the anthem a breve short. This cannot be considered an intentional 'version' when there is such a straightforward explanation as to why Bing could have omitted the coda by accident.

What makes the variation in length so remarkable is that it has a structural effect on the music, whereas other differences are less disruptive, such as the addition of passing tones or ornaments, the change of 'straight' rhythms into dotted ones or vice versa, or the

changing of a part up or down an octave. When both shorter and longer versions match across their respective part books, as they do in the two examples in 'Turn thee again' and in that of the penultimate section of 'Great and Marvellous' discussed above, they clearly cannot be explained as errata on the part of the copyist. They must be considered in a completely different light from issues like Bing's missing coda, or a missing rest or clashing note that obviously represents a mistake. These three examples are not alone among the Jeffreys anthems in Y M.1.S.

The adventurously chromatic 'Turn Thou us' contains a few larger differences among the sources that are not disruptive. As shown above, the pitches and rhythms change, but the overarching harmonic progressions remain consistent and the two versions represent only differences in the way the voices move within that context. There is also one difference in structure, a shortening only found in the incomplete set (Lbl Add. MSS 17816, 30829 and 30830) that follows a cadence, reducing the length by a semibreve.

Of the six Jeffreys compositions in Y M.1.S, the lone Latin motet 'O Domine Deus' and its second part 'O Deus meus' is the least unified across the sources, containing more melodic and ornamental variation than the other anthems in both quantity and significance. Unlike the previous anthems, where Y M.1.S shares dotted rhythms with the other sources against the straight rhythms of Lcm 920a, here Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a share a noteworthy number of readings in contrast to the other sources. For example, bars 61-62 at the end of the first part show an extended variant in the tenor part where Lcm 920a and Y M.1.S match exactly and Add. 30338 is the exception with a significantly different reading.<sup>45</sup> The tenor part in bar 54 was mistakenly omitted in both Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a, and Bing and Jeffreys were both obliged to add it at the bottom of the page in their respective manuscripts.<sup>46</sup> It is hard to imagine Jeffreys copying from Y M.1.S, which leaves either

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 381.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 388.

both manuscripts copied from a common source where this mistake was made, or Bing copying from Lcm 920a. Despite the notable similarities, the latter doesn't seem likely due to a plethora of other small differences between the two sources.<sup>47</sup>

If Lcm 920a and Y M.1.S shared a common source, this creates an interesting relationship between the two. If Bing is viewed as a copyist attempting to reproduce and preserve repertoire, would be unlikely to make a great number of changes from what the source provided. Jeffreys, on the other hand, as the composer himself, would have been far more likely to tinker with his own work, and Lcm 920a may represent his own improvements. Therefore, Y M.1.S can be treated as the 'earlier' source, transmitting an earlier version, and Lcm 920a could be taken to represent a later compositional revision. If so, a very basic summary of the defining feature of that compositional revision would be that later in life, Jeffreys was actively simplifying and straightening out previously dotted rhythms. There are several possibilities as to why he would do this, discussed below.

Although Aston lists the incomplete set Add. MSS 30829-30 and 17816 as the fourth source of 'O Domine Deus', he does not include any readings from those books. It is not difficult to see why. Besides standing out from the other three complete sources through the missing top voice, this source also transmits textual variants irreconcilable with the version submitted by the others: those involving length. There are seven separate locations in the incomplete version where the length of a phrase is different from that found in the other surviving sources. All seven are shorter than the version contained in the other sources, and all seven of them are consistent across the three surviving part books, indicating a viable reading rather than copying error.

Five of the shortenings are minor contractions of rhythm, in which most often a dotted minim followed by a crotchet is replaced by a dotted crotchet followed by a quaver. The pitches remain almost identical, adjusted only through shortening the note values.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 374-390. Aston identifies 26 differences between Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a across the motet, and closer inspection of the sources shows almost twice that number.

This means that in each case, the version of the other three sources is longer by a minimum than the version of the incomplete books. In relation to Aston's score, these five shortenings all occur in the first part of the piece, falling in bars 13-14, 15-16, 54 and 58-59, as well as somewhere in bars 49-52 in a brief solo section for the missing top voice as confirmed by the length of rests in the other three books.

The other two variants both occur in the second part 'O Deus meus' and are more significant, resulting in a reduction by a semibreve. The bass part in bars 10-13 has a dramatically different pitch and rhythm and represents a significant, albeit brief, re-composition. The higher tenor part also offers a different rhythm, whereas in the other versions the two tenor parts are in unison at this point. The final difference in length is found in bars 40-44, and is another significant re-composition. In most of the sources, this section is characterized by a tenor duet on the text 'eia Domine', but Add. 17816, rather than providing rests for the bass, adds in a third voice. This trio is shorter than the duet version by a semibreve, but rather than merely representing a rhythmic shrinkage of the harmonic movement, as Jeffreys does elsewhere when he collapses cadential sections, the trio offers a unique harmonic progression and melodic movement in the tenor which differs from the other sources as well. Both options are provided in Add. 10338, as will be discussed below.

### **The Composer as Revisionist**

Jeffreys is known to have been a composer who revised his own works throughout his life. Peter Aston discusses this tendency in the preface to his edition of the few-voice Latin motets: 'No piece is precisely the same in any two autograph sources'.<sup>48</sup> To this observation, we can add the non-autograph Y M.1.S with its own unique variants. The most common adjustment in the few-voice motets is 'the contraction of cadences, usually

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48 Peter Aston, ed., *George Jeffreys: 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices* (York: York Early Music Press, 2010), vi.

achieved by halving note-values'.<sup>49</sup> The prevalence of this variant is readily observable in the Textual Commentary of Aston's edition. There are 27 cases across the 16 motets where the sources disagree on the length of a phrase.<sup>50</sup> This mirrors the frequency of those discussed above for the English Anthems. As in the Anthems, the majority of the differences only result in a discrepancy of a minim or semibreve. However, there are also more significant changes, such as bars 15-17 of the tenor duet 'Timor et tremor' where 'all note-values are doubled, expanding three bars to six',<sup>51</sup> or 'Audivi vocem de caelo' in bars 42-45 'expanding four bars to eight'.<sup>52</sup> From this it is easy to see that such variation is not a quirk confined to the repertoire copied in Y M.1.S, but rather reflects a consistent approach by the composer to his own music.

Aston states that 'when making subsequent copies of his music... Jeffreys habitually revised the material'.<sup>53</sup> This raises the question in each case of which version represents the composer's first effort, and which version shows the result of his revisions. Aston's choice of the word 'contraction' over 'expansion' as quoted above would imply that Jeffreys started with the longer variants and generally revised them through a shortening of note values. This does not appear to be the case for the four-voice anthems, but discussion of the patterns of revision first requires an investigation into the dates of the autograph manuscripts and an understanding of stemmatic relationships.

Of the six Y M.1.S anthems by Jeffreys, 'Awake' and 'How Wretched' are the only two that are matched in length across all of the surviving the sources. Shorter and longer versions occur in a total of eleven places spread across the other four pieces. The incomplete set of Add MSS 10829-30 and 17816 provides the shorter reading in every instance, joined only on one occasion by the score book Add. 10338 and standing alone on the other ten. This sets the incomplete source apart from the others, suggesting that it

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49 Ibid., vi.

50 Ibid., 66-72.

51 Ibid., 66.

52 Ibid., 66.

53 Ibid., vi.



represents one end or the other of the compositional process. Was Jeffreys stretching or compressing his material as he revised?

The most recent research into the dates of the autograph sources is Robert Thompson's meticulous investigation of the bibliographical details of the score book Add. 10338. The variety of rulings and watermarks, nine among the sacred music sections of the score alone, convincingly shows that Add. 10338 cannot have started out as a bound manuscript. It appears to have been bound by 1655 at the latest, likely *c.* 1650, and contains not only a retrospective collection of Jeffreys's earlier works, but pieces copied after the date of binding.<sup>54</sup> The confusion of pre- and post-binding copying activity in the score book affects the four-voice pieces found in Y M.1.S, as well as their relationship to the incomplete set of part books. 'Turn Thee again' is the first piece found in the score book's section labelled 'Songs of Four Parts for the Church', but it is preceded by some four-voice pieces that encroach backwards into the three-voice section of the score. Among these is the other anthem common between Y M.1.S and the score, as well as 'O Domine Deus'.

The score book contains numerous revisions where the original version and the adjusted version are both present. In these cases, identification of which version is original is a simple matter of whether it is a contiguous part of the score, or a marginal annotation. It would seem that the version found in Add. 10338 is earlier, as crosses marked at two of the discrepancies in the first part of 'O Domine Deus' indicate an intention to correct the score to represent the latest versions. Both instances show an original shorter version in the score book consistent with that in the incomplete part books. 'Turn Thee again' also contains a section of re-texted material where the original version in the score book reads, 'thou givest them plenteousness of teares to drinke, thou...!', which is sung twice consecutively. This is struck through the first time and replaced with 'thou feeds't them

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<sup>54</sup> Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo"', 320-321, 324.

with the bread of teares, of teares, and...!', replacing the first instance of the repeated text.<sup>55</sup> The repetition of the words 'of teares' at the end of the new text is awkward, although necessary, in order to fit the syllables to the music. It appears as though this is not a copying error involving underlay as much as a reworking based on earlier miscopied words. The score book is the only version that contains the older repeated text, although there are signs in the incomplete set of part books that the older words may have been carefully rubbed out. The new version is consistently notated in darker ink than the surrounding text. This is true across the three part books, with lighter ink between where the words of the two versions briefly match.

The most telling adjustment in the score book is found at the end of the second part 'O Deus meus', which provides evidence that can be used to date the versions. The 'eia Domine' tenor duet found in Aston's edition at bar 40 represents the version found in Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a. As discussed above, the incomplete set of part books has a trio with differences in harmony and length. Both versions are provided in Add. 10338, which shows that the missing part book of the incomplete set also contained music, making the surviving trio into a quartet. The quartet version is footnoted by the instruction 'turn to the beginning of this song for an alteration in this place'.<sup>56</sup> This shows that the slightly longer tenor duet of Lcm 920a and Y M.1.S is the later version. Further, in the score book a semibreve-length bar of material is crossed out just prior to this. This cross-hatching removes a bar from the structure of the piece. The incomplete part books contain a version without this bar, implying that they were copied after that change had been made. Thus, for the motet 'O Domine Deus', the sources can be dated in this order: the score book Add. 10338, followed by the incomplete set Add. MSS 30829, 30830 and 17816, and a later version in both Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a which Jeffreys either went back or had already gone back to acknowledge in Add. 10338. This shows that Jeffreys was expanding rather

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55 Lbl Add. MS 10338, p.386.

56 Lbl Add. MS 10338, p.367.

than contracting his music as a general rule, perhaps to communicate a sense of *ritardando* at cadences.

As Thompson shows, the eclectic creation of Add. 10338 means that a simple stemmatic order for the earlier two sources is not consistent across the repertoire. 'Turn Thee again' is followed immediately by seven four-voice Latin motets (not contained in Y M.1.S). Unlike the other four-voice repertoire in the score book, these motets appear to have been copied *from* the incomplete set of part books.<sup>57</sup> However, all three pieces in common between the score book and Y M.1.S are from the group copied in the score book first, and are unaffected by this confusion.

The earlier date for the score book and the incomplete set has other implications for the patterns in Jeffreys's revision, beyond showing that he expanded the length of his cadences. Both earlier autographs feature numerous dotted rhythms that are not present in Lcm 920a. The most common variant between the early sources and the later set is for Lcm 920a to replace a dotted crotchet and a quaver with two crotchets. As a simplification, this seems an odd trajectory, but the evidence is clear that Jeffreys was straightening dotted rhythms in later revisions. This may not be a trend toward smoother rhythms as much as evidence of an increasing continental influence on English musicians. Having copied more than 190 of the latest pieces of Italian music at the beginning of his career, George Jeffreys was no stranger to foreign innovation and influence, and its features pervade his own compositions.<sup>58</sup> Bing, in fact, takes the trouble in 'Turn Thee again' to translate the Italian 'pian' marking extant in all autograph sources into 'slow'.

At the Restoration, the return of Charles II from the French Court had an undeniable influence on English music. The King created an ensemble of 24 violins in imitation of the French Court, and the French influence on Pelham Humphrey and Henry Purcell has been discussed at great length elsewhere. The most common French rhythmic

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<sup>57</sup> Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo"', 326-327.

<sup>58</sup> Aston, *George Jeffreys: 16 Motets*, ii-iii.

modification during Jeffreys's time is the long-short pairing known as *notes inégales*. In France, this performance practice was often left un-notated, partly to save ink and time, partly because a strict three-quarters to one-quarter dotting was not quite what was intended, and partly because its predominance ensured that performers would know when it was desired. Abroad, imitations of the *notes inégales* were more often notated due to a lack of that third factor, the expectation of consistently educated performers.<sup>59</sup>

Stephen Rose devotes a section to the discussion of French rhythmic alteration in the recent Ashgate *Companion to Henry Purcell*.<sup>60</sup> Rose lists several differences between Purcell sources that are similar to those found in Jeffreys. The third bar of the famous *King Arthur* aria 'Fairest Isle' shows the notated dots in the source *Apollo's Banquet* (1691) but only straight quavers in the same bar of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698).<sup>61</sup> Another example is the autograph score of Purcell's 'My heart is inditing' where scotch snaps are notated for the solo vocalist, but the doubling first violin part contains only straight rhythms that would presumably have been matched to the singer in performance.<sup>62</sup>

As the appearance of his music in Y M.1.S and a few other non-autograph manuscripts attests, Jeffreys was not entirely isolated from the musical community after 1646. With his removal of dots in the later autograph source, he may have been attempting to stay on the cutting edge of compositional style that he had previously maintained through his knowledge of Italian music a decade earlier. On the fringes of musical society at this time, it is not difficult to imagine him echoing the national lack of consistency of how to deal with and notate imported rhythms.

Having identified Add. 10338 and Add. MSS 30829, 30830 and 17816 as the earlier sources and placed them in a loose hierarchy of score-first, at least in the case of the

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59 David Fuller, 'Notes inégales', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at Oxford Music Online, 13 March 2014. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20126>.

60 Stephen Rose, 'Performance Practices' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. Rebecca Herissone (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 150-155.

61 Rose, 'Performance Practices', 152.

62 *Ibid.*, 153.

music copied in Y M.1.S, it is time to turn to a more detailed analysis of the evidence discussed above comparing Bing's copies to Jeffrey's later autograph source. The greatest number of shared variants among the sources of 'O Domine Deus' occurs between Y M.1.S and Lcm 920a, including some of these straightened rhythms as well as an identical omitted and subsequently footnoted tenor phrase (as discussed above). While the number of shared variants implies a common source, it does not indicate that either served as source for the other. The English anthems tell a different story. In 'Awake, my soul', a significant number of variants show Y M.1.S alone with Lcm 920a and the incomplete set sharing an identical alternative. Most striking is the anthem for which these two later sets of part books are the only source. In light of the type of revisions Jeffreys was making, these sources can be placed in chronological order. Bing's 'Great and Marvellous' is shorter than the autograph version, and more often provides the dotted variant. Therefore, it is sensible to propose that Y M.1.S came first, perhaps not in copying date, but at least represents an earlier version on the stemmatic tree. When he copied Lcm 920a, Jeffreys had either already made the revisions, or perhaps was even copying from the same source provided to Bing and making the revisions as he went.

Why was Jeffreys making such revisions? No longer a professional musician and no longer beholden to the practical requirements of a performing institution or the need to keep a patron happy, he was free to explore and revise to a greater extent. Furthermore, his place at the cutting edge of seventeenth-century Italian innovation in England moulded him as a composer inclined to experimentation, as can be seen in some of the other unorthodox elements of his later music. Perhaps his unique aspect is not that he revised, but that he revised so much and within the sacred choral genre. As is shown in other chapters, different viable versions of music are to be found among the music contained in Y M.1.S. Jeffreys may simply have been indulging in a compositional practice of the time, the extent of which was heightened by his long musical seclusion with his own works.

## Chapter Nine – Textual Criticism in Y M.1.S

### Variation between Related Sources

In his 1985 book *Editing Early Music*, John Caldwell suggests that, 'it should always be possible to explain how a corruption has arisen'.<sup>1</sup> However, the field of early music editing lags behind its literary siblings such as Classical and Shakespeare studies in the area of textual criticism. There have been excellent efforts to understand the context within which musicians operated. This includes some excellent seventeenth-century musical studies aiming to contextualize certain institutions,<sup>2</sup> manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> or copyists.<sup>4</sup> However, an editorial practice has yet to arrive that takes this new research into account. How do Caldwell's 'corruptions' arise?

Sarah Boyer discusses causes of variation in the context of seventeenth-century church music as part of her 1999 thesis on the music of St Paul's Cathedral. She replaces Caldwell's term 'corruption' with the less pejorative 'mutation' and lists four categories: scribal error; composer revision; scribal adaptation; and the incorporation of variants encountered in performance.<sup>5</sup> Boyer's objective is to show relationships or the lack thereof between sets of manuscripts connected to St Paul's Cathedral by various means, and she primarily interprets the evidence of variation as a sign that the manuscripts in her investigation are not closely stemmatically related.<sup>6</sup>

Barry Cooper provides a more detailed discussion in his 1994 article 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music'.<sup>7</sup> He lists nine main causes of variants in musical copying during the seventeenth century: corruption; degeneration; distortion;

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1 John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 5.

2 Sarah Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: a study of the music and musicians of St Paul's Cathedral, 1660-1697' (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1999).

3 Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009).

4 Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton 1605-1670* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997).

5 Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 316.

6 *Ibid.*, 310-319.

7 Barry Cooper, 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music', *Music & Letters* 75/4 (1994), 528-544.

correction; revision; amplification; variation; mis-memorization; and re-notation.<sup>8</sup> Many of his points are related to Margaret Bent's similar attempt to organize stemmatic relationships among sources of medieval music in her chapter for the 1981 collection *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*.<sup>9</sup> Cooper's objective is to create an approach for reconstructing a lost autograph original when all of the surviving sources are thought to be several times removed along the stemmatic tree. This assumes a single original source defined anachronistically as a static work of art, when composers are known to have produced variable versions of the same piece across their careers (e.g. George Jeffreys).

Within all of the approaches listed above, a shared variant can be used to show that two sources are related stemmatically. But can unshared variants rule out a direct relationship? Two thirds of the causes for mutation listed by Cooper result from intentional adjustment by the copyists. Considering the likelihood that copyists were responsible not just for unintentional errors, but also for active and intentional alterations to the text, one could easily come to the false conclusion that the new version and its source were not related when in fact they are. This complicates our ability to rule out stemmatic relationships due to variation.

Although not a composer himself, as a life-long performer of the repertoire he copied, Stephen Bing may have taken liberties with minor elements such as dotted rhythms, ornaments, octave displacement and passing tones. This would be consistent with the habits of performers today who, as they become more and more familiar with a style or specific repertoire, are often moved to experiment with minor details, at least until censured by a conductor. If Bing was adjusting the musical texts when he performed, then he may have made similar editorial adjustments as he copied. This practice, magnified

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8 Ibid., 528.

9 Margaret Bent, 'Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony' in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Ian Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 295-318.

across the community of copyists and performers, would go a long way towards explaining the wide variety of non-erroneous differences in rhythm, underlay and even melody found between almost any two sources of a piece.

Taking this into consideration, stemmatics must look for shared variants and errors to establish a relationship between sources, but without the presence of variation between two sources to ruling out any relationship. If a scribe was making changes while he copied, then we must accept that his version will contain features not present in his source. In the case of composers such as Jeffreys, this applies even to the major changes to harmony, length of verse, and number of voices. As shown in Chapter Eight, the composer made changes to his own works even while notating them himself amongst his own manuscripts. Based on the number of variants alone, the Jeffreys autograph sources would be proven to be less closely related to each other than a given pair of cathedral part books separated by far more time and distance. We know that they should not be classified as distant from one another on the stemmatic tree.

This practice of extensive revision was not unique to Jeffreys. For example, John Blow heavily reworked a number of his verse anthems during his career.<sup>10</sup> Matthew Locke and William Turner are also among the composers that left evidence of revision,<sup>11</sup> and there must have been many more for which evidence does not survive. Numerous Latin motets were adapted for use in Anglican worship or other contexts through re-texting, most famously Thomas Tallis's 'Spem in alium' which primarily survives in a later *contrafactum* with the text 'Sing and glorify'.<sup>12</sup> From the publication of Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigals, Englished* in 1590 to the incorporation of direct musical quotes from Italian sources in the mid seventeenth-century, composers and editors were adapting Italian compositions in England. Most dramatically, the Oxford theologian Henry Aldrich,

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10 See John Blow's autograph scorebook, Och, MS Mus. 14.

11 Rebecca Herrissone, 'The Revision Process in William Turner's Anthem "O Praise the Lord"', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 123/1 (1998), 1-38.

12 Other examples of Tallis *contrafacta* are present in Y.M.I.S, for instance, 'Blessed be thy name' is a re-texting of 'Mihi autem nimis'.



represented as a composer in several works copied by Bing in Y M.1.S, freely adapted other compositions for use by his choir. He rearranged and re-texted numerous Italian works by composers such as Palestrina and Carissimi, and also recomposed the music of 'Hear ye, O Israel', originally by his English contemporary Michael Wise. One of Aldrich's autograph manuscripts contains over 30 pieces that he recomposed, alongside additional *contrafacta*, unaltered copies, and original compositions.<sup>13</sup>

Musicians in the seventeenth century existed in a culture with a sense of artistic commons, in contrast with the solitary artistic ideal of more recent centuries. Musical works were not owned by the composers, who often did not even know to what use the piece was being put. Music was designed to serve a purpose, defined by its context and performing institutions, rather than existing as an abstract art, and thus was understood as adaptable according to the needs of that context.<sup>14</sup> Alteration and borrowing was also common accepted practice,<sup>15</sup> and this practice was not limited to music: the text of plays were also considered to be 'unfixed; always open to revision'.<sup>16</sup>

If copyists as well as composers were revising services and anthems as they transmitted them, we must reconsider what constitutes a confirmation of differing stemma, and apply this analysis more broadly than to autograph manuscripts alone. The number of unannotated variants between Y M.1.S and its confirmed sources demonstrates that Bing was a revisionist, and the wide divergence among sources across the repertoire suggests that this was the case with most copyists.<sup>17</sup>

This broader approach must consider that there is greater reliability in identifying positive links than in interpreting variants as evidence of a lack of direct relationship. The

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13 Och MS Mus. 16. See also Robert Shay, 'Naturalizing Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions', *Music & Letters* 77/3 (1996), 384-400.

14 Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 181-182.

15 Stephen Orgel, 'Acting Scripts, Performing Texts', in *Crisis in Editing: Texts of the English Renaissance: Paper given at the twenty-fourth annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto 4-5 November 1988*, ed. Randall McLeod (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1994).

16 *Ibid.*, 267.

17 For a comparison of a single phrase across many sources, see Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown', 310-319.

truth of this becomes clear when we consider the category of unintentional errors. The transmission of an error from one manuscript to the next cannot be considered to be a conscious decision, and demonstrates a stemmatic relationship between two manuscripts, where one manuscript served as the copyist's source in the creation of the other. This is known as 'common error method' in stemmatics.<sup>18</sup> However, the lack of an error in the younger manuscript does not prove that it was not copied from the source with the error, since the copyist may have recognised it as an error. If the same approach is taken with regard to intentional variation, it would go a long way toward explaining the surprising number of variants among the surviving sources of seventeenth-century cathedral music.

### **Textual Criticism and the Influence on Music Editing**

In 1983, the publication of Jerome McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* revolutionized the field of study within literature.<sup>19</sup> The most famous example of McGann's influence is the understanding of Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Two early editions of the play survive, neither of them with particularly more authority in terms of originality. Editors had previously conflated the two to create an 'eclectic' text that was as close to the lost Shakespeare original as possible based on their critical understanding of the Bard's style. However, the two variant versions have since been considered as two intentionally divergent versions, both with equal authority in terms of Shakespeare's involvement. McGann argues that neither holds particular authority over the other, but that both hold a significant amount of authority over any of the early-to-mid 20th-century eclectic confluations.<sup>20</sup> His statement, 'the state of the Shakespearean texts seemed so evil and corrupt that rational means had to be found which could deal with the problems',<sup>21</sup> seems to

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18 James Grier, 'Musical Sources and Stemmatic Filiation: A Tool for Editing Music', *The Journal of Musicology* 13/1 (1995), 74-80.

19 Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 4.

20 *Ibid.*, 4.

21 *Ibid.*, 3.

echo the reactions of editors to a similar state among seventeenth-century sources of English sacred music, such as the situation with Thomas Tomkins's 'My beloved spake' discussed in Chapter Seven. It is the field of plays, rather than printed literature, that shares the most with music editing, as in both cases the manuscript and printed sources represent the notation of a performance rather than the performance itself.

Since 1983, there have been many changes in the field of critical editing. One of the outcomes was the 1997 edition of *King Lear* by Stephen Greenblatt, which offers three versions in a single volume.<sup>22</sup> The 1608 source is presented on the left-hand page, while the 1623 source is printed on the right, enabling the reader to choose either version, or to compare them to each other. The third version, separate d from the others, is an eclectic version of the first two combined. Although potentially a cumbersome edition, this effort seeks to avoid devaluing one or both of the surviving sources in search of original intent.

The latest innovations are tied to the advances of the information age. There are now 'hypertext' editions, which simultaneously circumvent the twin millstones of bulk and complexity that weigh down printed pan-source editions like the Greenblatt *King Lear*. Through hypertext editions, the reader can more effectively be brought into the editorial process. As stated by many at the forefront of the study of textual criticism, 'the possibilities that such media open up are amazing'.<sup>23</sup> Hypertext is able to offer an interactive editorial look at the manuscript itself. This is particularly valuable when there are multiple layers present, as is often the case in older manuscripts with glosses and corrections on top of the original text.<sup>24</sup>

The landscape of early music editing continues to change from one dominated by the divide between 'scholarly' and 'performance' editions to an environment where a

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22 Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition*, (New York: W. W. Northon & Company, 1997).

23 Michael Hunter, *Editing Early Modern Texts: An Introduction to Principles and Practice* (New York: Macmillan, 2007), 11.

24 Graham D. Caie, 'Hypertext and Multiplicity: the Medieval Example' in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, ed. Andrew Murphy (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 30-31.

combination of the two is becoming the accepted norm. As new approaches in textual criticism in the fields of literature gradually infiltrate the realm of music editing, greater concern is being taken over the way editorial changes such as quartering note values or imposing bar-lines and time signatures can influence performance. To see this shift in approach, one need only compare some of the earliest publications by the series *Early English Church Music* with their more recent endeavours. The bar-lines, transpositions and mixed metre present in the first volumes provide a dramatic contrast with the latest volumes, where none of those notational translations are in evidence and editorial suggestions are more often shown on the page than hidden in an appendix.<sup>25</sup> In his forthcoming edition of Richard Dering's music for *Musica Britannica*, Jonathan Wainwright even goes so far as to provide two alternative readings of the organ part for one of the motets in the full score.<sup>26</sup> Bruce Wood's 2008 edition of John Blow's *Venus and Adonis* is another example that goes even further, offering parallel texts on facing pages much like Greenblatt's edition of *King Lear* mentioned above.<sup>27</sup>

This shift has partly been fuelled by the expansion of the early music movement from a fringe interest to a mainstream discipline. The translation of early music into modern notation for ease of performance was a necessary factor in making it accessible to modern performance ensembles who were not versed in the issues facing editors or the historical formats of the sources. Now, familiarity with the styles and requirements of early music is standard among musicians who perform that repertoire. Students studying performance degrees at institutions such as the University of York can enrol in performance practice courses that include the study and comparison of performance editions of baroque repertoire, and can also enrol in practical courses in music editing

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25 for example, see Bernard Rose, ed, *Thomas Tomkins: Musica Deo Sacra I*, vol. 5: *Early English Church Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1965). Compare with Peter Wright, ed., *15th-Century Liturgical Music VIII: Settings of the Gloria & Credo*, vol. 55: *Early English Church Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2013).

26 Jonathan P. Wainwright, ed, *Richard Dering: Motets and Anthems*, vol. 98: *Musica Britannica* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2015).

27 Bruce Wood, ed., *John Blow: Venus and Adonis*, Purcell Society Edition Companion Series II (London: Stainer & Bell, 2008).

itself.<sup>28</sup> Popular ensembles at the forefront of early music performance and interpretation such as Stile Antico are composed of members capable of engaging directly with the source facsimiles. The ensemble I Fagiolini creates its own editions which take full advantage of the performers' ability to negotiate original note values and a lack of full barlines.<sup>29</sup> With the increase of stylistic and notational fluency among the performers, aspects of editorial decision making that were once the responsibility of the editor can now be left to the performers.

Despite this broad shift, the widely adopted approach to editing early music has yet to catch up with its literary cousins. John Caldwell's 1985 *Editing Early Music* is still popular as a handbook. He encourages a shift toward preserving more of the original notation than was popular in previous decades, as well as the notation of some of the editorial decisions in the score itself.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, he still urges the creation of a stemmatic hierarchy with the purpose of identifying or reconstructing the original source, which then would 'supplant those of its derivatives'.<sup>31</sup> Caldwell advocates an editorial approach based on the assumed desire to remain as true as possible to the composer's original intention. At the time of publishing, McGann's 1983 critique had not been in circulation long enough to influence the field of music editing, and so Caldwell's handbook can be understood as out of date rather than unaware.

The major textbook on the subject is James Grier's *The Critical Editing of Music*, published in 1996. Grier takes into account some of challenges thrown up by the revolution in textual criticism that had recently swept through Shakespearean studies, but remains on the fringes of the modern textual criticism movement. He writes of the dichotomy between the 'authority of the composer and the authority of the editor'.<sup>32</sup> Grier

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28 See the teaching lists for Prof. Peter Seymour and Prof. Jonathan Wainwright, University of York Music Department Website, accessed 14 March 2014. <http://www.york.ac.uk/music/staff/academic/>.

29 See I Fagiolini Editions, I Fagiolini website, accessed 14 March 2014. <http://www.ifagiolini.com/editions>.

30 Caldwell, *Editing Early Music*, 10, 12.

31 *Ibid.*, 4.

32 James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2.

likens the editor to the performer and the edition to a performance – a product of the editor's biases and interests. This self-awareness among editors is a part of the textual criticism revolution that personifies the editor rather than idealizing him as a pure scholar who transmits the composer's intentions. Grier also subscribes to McGann's argument of the importance of the social construct of the original work of art.<sup>33</sup>

Grier discusses the usefulness of understanding a wide range of stemma to illuminate 'not only the processes of transmission... But also the musical practices that generated these distinctive variants'.<sup>34</sup> Music's place as a performing art means that most of the sources are practical in nature, engendering alterations such as simplification, elaboration, transposition, replacement of unavailable forces with those available, and what Grier calls 'conjectural emanation'.<sup>35</sup> He discusses the use of 'common error method', which will be elaborated below, as a way of creating stemma. However, he warns that,

Stemma do not constitute a mechanical procedure that results in the automated production of the final edited text. the stemma is, rather, a tool that can illustrate relationships between witnesses, illuminate the processes of transmission by which those witnesses were created, and provide guidance in sorting through the competing readings that make up *the work's tradition*.<sup>36</sup>

This idea of the 'work's tradition' is one that was too often discarded in pursuit of the author's intention in the recent past, and represents a turning point in editorial method with regard to early music.

In conclusion, Grier states that, 'the task of the editor is to establish and present a text that most fully represents the editor's conception of the work, as determined by a critical examination of the work, its sources, historical context and style'.<sup>37</sup> This

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>34</sup> Grier, 'Musical Sources and Stemmatic Filiation', 79.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 81-82.

<sup>36</sup> Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 95, italics my emphasis.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 37.

acknowledgement of the inevitability of editorial prejudice provides us with a filter through which to view editions created at any point in history, from the work of copyists in the seventeenth century to the editions created today. It implies that there is something new to be gained by re-editing a piece within each era of editorial method and understanding. The same anthem could be edited in context as part of the complete works of a composer, or as a version contained in a single source. *The Critical Editing of Music* has been available since 1996, has been accepted by the discipline, and has exerted a significant influence on the creation of new editions. Despite this, the ideas discussed in Grier's book and in the field of textual criticism have yet to be involved in the overarching outlook on the relationship between editors and the seventeenth-century repertoire. As discussed below, many important and popular pieces, although studied in the modern era, now merit fresh editions.

The hypertextual format is now just beginning to be explored in the field of music editing. The Computerized Mensural Music Editing (CMME) Project has been exploring the possibilities of 'dynamic editions' since 2006. Based at Utrecht and directed by Theodor Dumitrescu with an international advisory board including Margaret Bent, the research team aims to, 'produce and maintain an online corpus of electronic editions, in addition to software tools making them accessible to students, scholars, performers, and interested amateurs'.<sup>38</sup> Aside from the financial advantages and ease of distribution, the very nature of hypermedia is ideal for early music editions with the wide range of consumers to whom they wish to cater. In an electronic edition, the scholar or performer can transpose at will, turn bar-lines on and off, and control various editorial layers with the click of a button. As the CMME website states, 'the early music editor's task returns to the truly critical aspects of interpreting the text, rather than the ultimately unsatisfactory process of making presentation decisions which must limit the usability of the edition'.<sup>39</sup>

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38 'The C.M.M.E. Project' (computerized mensural music editing) website, accessed 25 March, 2014.  
<http://www.cmme.org>.

39 Ibid.

This is a cutting-edge project that remains at the fringes of early music editing, and it is regrettable that more energy and resources are not being channelled into this kind of effort.

This fresh approach has had an interesting effect on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music editing. In the search for new editing projects and new music to bring to light, editors are going ever further afield to unearth new compositions and composers worthy of study and performance today. This has resulted in music that would be considered to be at the fringe of the repertoire benefiting from the latest advances in critical editing theory and technology. Meanwhile the 'big name' composers such as Byrd, Tallis, Tomkins and Gibbons are left behind in editions that are products of the editorial approach of the 1960s. Within the field of literature, at every advance in textual criticism the mainstream works by giants such as Shakespeare and Dryden are revisited and re-edited within the new model. Not so for their musical contemporaries. Ironically, the current state of affairs in available music editions is such that the mainstream composers from this era are accorded the treatment of having their authorial intention held as the ideal, while minor composers and less-common works uncovered more recently are considered through the wider understanding of the performance and social context of the sources that preserve them, and in a culture that allows for and even celebrates multiple readings.

The only edition of William Byrd's complete Short Service was made by Craig Monson in 1980 for the complete Byrd Edition published by Stainer and Bell. The Short Service is preserved in numerous seventeenth-century sources, including John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Music*.<sup>40</sup> Most sources offer a five-voice version of the Kyrie and Creed, but the sources at Peterhouse, Cambridge and Durham Cathedral show both that version, and elsewhere a simpler version for four voices only. Monson's edition preserves this variance only in the relatively inaccessible editorial commentary at the back

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40 Ralph T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music 1549-1660*, Early English Church Music Supplement I, 2 volumes (London: Stainer & Bell, 1972), 89.



of the book, and instead provides a single reading that 'offers a conflation of the sources'.<sup>41</sup> For a composer of the stature of Byrd, it seems strange that in the climate of today's textual criticism, we have only Monson's honest but dated attempt to reconstruct a single lost original from what he viewed as secondary sources.

The case is similar with Thomas Tomkins's verse anthem 'My beloved spake', popular today with cathedral choirs. The only mainstream modern edition available on the market is one by Bernard Rose published in 1973 and edited according to the conventions of his time.<sup>42</sup> Rose deserves due credit for making it possible for this anthem to achieve its popularity today. However, the edition uses *Musica Deo sacra* 1668 as its primary source, ignoring some of the variants in the earlier sources to the point of not mentioning several of them in the critical commentary. Neither Y M.1.S nor the two lone manuscript part books are consulted. Despite this, the edition is not a pure reading of the version in the 1668 publication either. It provides a conflation by selectively including readings from Tenbury MS 791 where they are preferred to the *Musica Deo sacra* version.

These editions and many others are products of their time, and should be fairly considered in the context of the editing practices that were in place when they were created. However, by modern standards these eclectic editions are no longer sufficient for performers or scholars who want to consider the variants among seventeenth-century sources as versions in their own right. When Shakespeare and Milton scholars take advantage of the latest innovations, why does the core seventeenth-century musical repertoire remain limited to the editions of a different editorial culture? In his review of the 2008 parallel text version of Blow's *Venus and Adonis*, Alan Howard states that, 'it is now widely acknowledged that Restoration musical works existed in considerably more fluid textual states than we commonly observe in most later repertoires'.<sup>43</sup> This assertion is

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41 Craig Monson, ed., *William Byrd: The English Services*. Vol 10a of *The Byrd Edition*, ed. Philip Brett (London: Stainer & Bell, 1980), 174.

42 Bernard Rose, ed., *Thomas Tomkins: Musica Deo Sacra III*, vol. 14: *Early English Church Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1973), 28-44.

43 Alan Howard, 'John Blow in Parallel Texts', music review of *John Blow, Venus and Adonis*, ed. Bruce Wood,

true as far as our understanding of history, but the edition he reviews is unusual as far as presenting this aspect of the repertoire, and the irony of the treatment of John Blow with cutting edge editorial presentation is ironic given that it is published as a supplement by the Purcell Society. Purcell's semi-operas are more often studied and performed, and have yet to benefit from an edition that can support the latest research.<sup>44</sup>

We have left behind, at least for the time being, the mythological search for authorial intention.<sup>45</sup> Yet sources like Y M.1.S remain largely ignored where they are seen as secondary to other surviving sources with regard to proximity to the composer. The shift to a less author-centric approach has meant that, 'a later, derived text, if it can be shown to have social and historical presence and influence, is also a primary text in the charting of that history of reception'.<sup>46</sup> The wealth of information copied by Bing into Y M.1.S, as well as the context that the above study of the nature of the manuscripts themselves can provide, makes it an invaluable resource in the charting just such a history.

### **Stephen Bing as Scribe**

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Y M.1.S is Stephen Bing's use of marginal annotations referring to variants in other sources he consulted. As shown by the mark 'Ex:te' at the end of most pieces in Y M.1.S to denote that he had examined it for errors, Bing took the opportunity whenever he could to check his copying, sometimes against a new source. During this process, he found and corrected some mistakes, but when he came across something that instead represented a valid but different variation, he faced a choice between two equally viable alternatives; an opportunity for editorial agency where his decision to provide multiple readings sets Y M.1.S apart from its contemporary service

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Purcell Society Companion Series vol. 2 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2008), *Early Music* 37/2 (2009), 316.

44 Rebecca Herissone, 'Performance History and Reception', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. Rebecca Herissone (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 303-351.

45 Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, and Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

46 D. C. Greetham, foreword to *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, by Jerome McGann (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), xviii.

music collections.

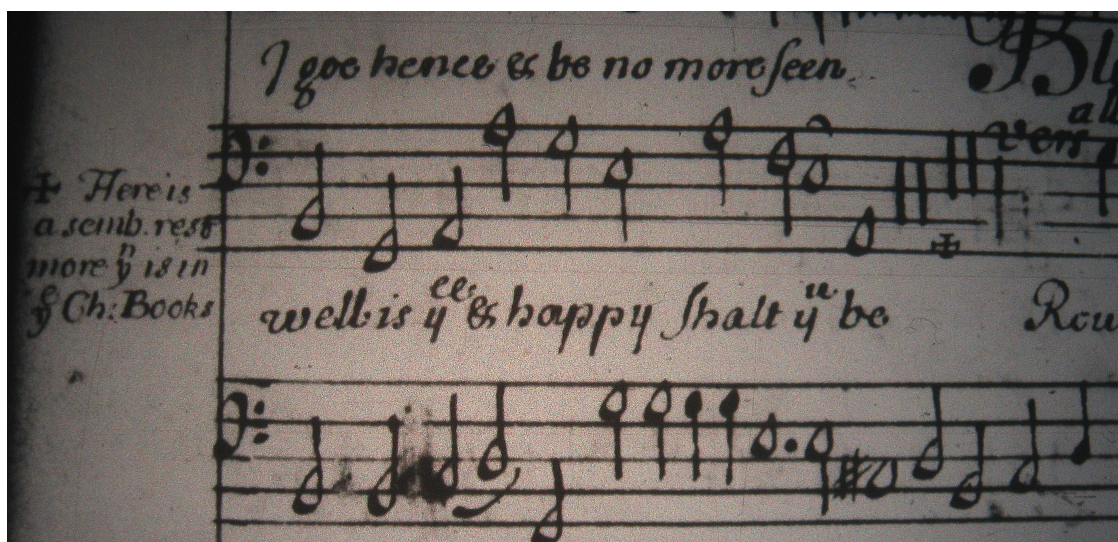
Bing was certainly aware of multiple readings and willing to give them credence. Judging by the disagreement between multiple surviving sources of any seventeenth-century sacred piece, to sing the same composition from part books at two different institutions would be to sing two slightly different versions, at least in terms of minor rhythm and underlay if not of a more dramatic change such as those discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight. By the time he started Y M.1.S in the late 1660s, Stephen Bing had already sung as a member of the choirs at Canterbury Cathedral, St Paul's Cathedral, and Lincoln Cathedral. Additionally, the musical establishments at Cambridge might have taken advantage of his presence there in the 1630s to bolster their forces for important services, and he was likely to have been involved in singing at Christ Church Oxford during the King's devotions there during the Civil War. While still adding to Y M.1.S, he also sang as a member of the choir at Westminster Abbey. It seems safe to assume that he would have sung some of the same music at each of these institutions, but from different manuscripts, and that each of these manuscripts would have contained a fair representation of the number of variants found between any two surviving sources today. Bing's memory of a piece would have made him aware of when the page in front of him contained a variant, particularly in a piece of popular repertoire he had sung many times before. He also might have made scribal interventions based on his memory of another version as he copied a piece from one source into another.

As a veteran of at least four and probably of the six choirs mentioned above, Bing would certainly have been conscious of the degree of variation between sources. His awareness of multiple readings is demonstrated in Y M.1.S by the unusual number of marginal annotations that, rather than correcting or selecting a particular version, provide an alternate version in the margin that can be inserted in place of the version first copied.

Marginalia that include phrases such as, 'or else as below',<sup>47</sup> 'or the below',<sup>48</sup> 'or thus',<sup>49</sup> and 'see below for another chorus',<sup>50</sup> among many others, show that Bing identified these variants as alternate versions rather than errors. Rather than ignoring or replacing them, he chose to provide both texts, often also making note of the source of the variant, for example, 'the difference between the West: books and mine'.<sup>51</sup> Just as the Le Strange manuscripts (Lbl Add. MSS 39550-39554) offer a seventeenth-century critical edition of instrumental fantasias,<sup>52</sup> Bing's work in Y M.1.S elevates the set above the role of simply transmitting or creating a version, to the status of a critical edition for the sacred repertoire it contains.

Along with the six choral institutions listed above, there is evidence that Bing may have had sight of manuscripts belonging to the Chapel Royal. The seventeenth-century folios of those performing parts have been cannibalized such that they no longer constitute a repertoire that can be studied in the direct sense of comparing readings.<sup>53</sup>

**Figure 34:** Y M.1/8.S p. 162 correction referencing the Ch: Books



47 YM.1/1.S, p. 27.

48 YM.1/5.S, p. 29.

49 YM.1/5.S, p. 94.

50 YM.1/7.S, p. 118.

51 YM.1/2.S, p. 18.

52 Pamela Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas Le Strange and John Jenkins', *Music & Letters* 42/1 (Jan. 1961), 30.

53 For a detailed study of the remaining seventeenth-century copying, see James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2013).

With no manuscripts to compare, an attempt to add the Chapel Royal books to the stemma falls short of the other investigations in this study. There are two references to the 'Ch: books' in Y 1.M.S, in connection with William Child's Service in E, and 'Behold, thou hast made my days' by Orlando Gibbons (Figure 34). This could refer to any number of places, including Chichester, Chester, and Christ Church, but it seems more likely that it is short for 'Chapel' as in Chapel Royal. There are also two references to music being examined against the 'Ks books', each in a different part books relating to Child's Service in F. Likewise, this is ambiguous and may refer to King's College Chapel in Cambridge, though as the gold standard of church music, and the source of much of the repertoire via composers on staff, any copyist would be delighted to have sight of the Chapel Royal's manuscripts. The William Tucker connection has been explored above in Chapter Six, and as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and frequently a copyist for it, Tucker may have served as a connection through whom Bing was able to see the books. One question is whether Bing took advantage of more than just the chance to check Y M.1.S against them, but to add to his collection as well. As it stands, the only evidence points to his use of them in an editorial 'proofreading' capacity.

The romantic, anachronistic view of a copyist is as a predecessor to the modern photocopier. It is easy to fall into the trap of believing that most copyists possessed a twentieth-century respect for the composer and the 'work', and desired only to reproduce as faithfully as possible the 'correct' version of the piece. If so, they were hardly different from the early music editors of the mid-twentieth century. However, there is an additional aspect to our editorial approach that we ought to ascribe to them: the desire to correct mistakes and to make the music accessible to the performing forces available. Seventeenth-century copyists surely shared these goals as well, and as such the term 'copyist' itself is perhaps misleading.

It would provide more agency to Stephen Bing if he was referred to as an 'editor' in

relation to the creation of Y M.1.S. The variation even between Y M.1.S, Lwa Tc 5 and Lsp 259-260, three sets in his hand copied around the same time and with overlapping repertoire, suggests that he was making editorial decisions as he copied. He consulted multiple sources, and his marginal annotations, which show variants and often also list their sources, function as an early example of the editorial commentary found at the back of twentieth-century editions. There is an interesting parallel between this aspect of Y M.1.S, and the marginal critical commentary of Peter Aston's 1969 performing editions of much of George Jeffreys's sacred output.<sup>54</sup> Aston makes editorial choices as to what to include in the main score, resulting in a conflation of the sources, and he admits to have been 'hunting for the neatest solution'.<sup>55</sup> Like Bing's editions in Y M.1.S, the score itself contains little footnote numbers leading the reader to the margins where the variants not included in the score are not only listed by source, but notated in a cramped hand reminiscent of Bing's marginal annotations. The similarity between the two approaches, despite being separated by three centuries, is uncanny.<sup>56</sup> It further illustrates the personality and involvement that Bing brought to his copying work in Y M.1.S.

Rather than copyist or editor, David Smith proposes the term 'scribe' to acknowledge the agency of figures like Stephen Bing. A major motivation of the modern editor has been to seek to remove 'errors' and to discover the original artwork. Without a sense of a fixed artwork, this motivation is anachronistic for musicians working in the seventeenth century. Scribes, as discussed by Smith, had a range of motivations depending on the project, including professional presentation copies, working parts for an institution, and personal study and collection or regular practical use by the scribe.<sup>57</sup> Y M.1.S falls under the last of these categories. Editors today are also struggling to present a scholarly

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54 Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', 277-656.

55 Ibid., 386.

56 Other editors have taken a similar approach. For example, see the extended variants provided in John Caldwell, *Tudor Keyboard Music, c. 1520-1580*, Musica Britannica vol. 66. London: Stainer and Bell, 1995.

57 David Smith, 'Editing Early Keyboard Music: The Role of the Scribe in the Transmission of Music by Peter Philips (1560/61-1628)', in *Early Music Editing: Principles, Historiography, Future Directions* ed. Theodor Dumitrescu, Karl Kügler, and Marnix van Berchum (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 152-153.

edition that is little influenced by their own modern artistic taste while also desiring it to be functional and attractive to modern scholars and musicians. It is important to remember that a seventeenth century scribe, by contrast, would have seen it as part of his function to adjust earlier music to suit the current taste. The title 'editor' carries as much modern agency as copyist conveys lack of agency, and as such it would be beneficial to refer to Bing as a scribe.

Just as we have a range of editorial motives today, some scribes, especially early in their careers, probably did see their role as limited to transcription. However, even these cases existed within an environment containing a more flexible textuality. Stephen Bing was far from the only scribe to take liberties with the text, although Y M.1.S displays the intentionality of those liberties more blatantly than most contemporary sources. The fact that Y M.1.S stayed in Bing's possession for more than a decade and during his time working in several institutions provided him with the opportunity to incorporate into it a broad range of sources. This level of individual artistic control over a manuscript was enjoyed by composers with their autograph sources such as Jeffreys<sup>58</sup> or Blow,<sup>59</sup> and by collectors working toward a publication like John Barnard.<sup>60</sup> Compared with copying projects that went straight into performance circulation, Bing's single-scribe collection of service and anthem repertoire by a wide range of composers is unique. It predates by several decades projects such as Thomas Tudway's antiquarian score collection,<sup>61</sup> and as a scribe's general file copy set with no apparent single outcome in mind, appears to serve a purpose unlike any other extant manuscript.

More than anything else, Y M.1.S taken as a whole provides one of the most detailed pictures of early Restoration sacred music transmission available to study today. With so few sources surviving, a study of transmission is an aspect of textual criticism that

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58 Lbl Add. MS 10338.

59 Och MS Mus. 14.

60 Lcm MSS 1045-1051.

61 Lbl MSS Harley 7337-7342.

has been difficult to apply to the seventeenth century. Several possibilities for the practical mechanics of transmission are discussed above, including the evidence for correspondence between scribes who sent one another manuscripts, alongside more traditional access to manuscripts either through the copyist's travels, or the travels of the institution that owned the manuscripts such as the Chapel Royal. Robert Thompson recently wrote that, 'transmission is an area much in need of further investigation'.<sup>62</sup> It is hoped that this study of Y M.1.S has been a step in that direction.

The scribe as curator of repertoire rather than agency-free transmitter is still a concept we are coming to grips with today. Detailed studies based not on composers but on institutions or musical collections (Boyer's thesis on St Paul's Cathedral and Bamford's thesis on Barnard's *First Book* are cited frequently above) are broadening our understanding of the context in which this music was created and used. Efforts such as McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* and Richard Taruskin's campaign against our ability to seek 'authenticity' have awakened historians and editors alike to the reality that we can never fully account for the influence of our own context on the way we see and interact with the past. Even the electronic CMME editions have shortfalls such as an inability to reproduce paper, and excesses such as the over-abundance of information that would not have been available to the original performers. All an edition can hope to do is to 'capture a particular version of a work at a particular moment',<sup>63</sup> and Y M.1.S does this as a what might be termed a seventeenth-century critical edition, foreshadowing our twenty-first-century understanding of musical works as items in flux. In that regard, Stephen Bing was well ahead of his time.

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62 Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. Rebecca Herissone (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 44.

63 Mark Clague, 'Portraits in Beams and Barlines: Critical Music Editing and the Art of Notation', *American Music* 23/1 (2005), 60.