

**John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church  
Musick: Genesis, Production and Influence***

**Complete in Three Volumes**

**Volume One**

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## Abstract

### **John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production and Influence**

John Barnard is an important figure in the historiography of English Cathedral Music. The publication in 1641 of his *First Book of Selected Church Musick*, an anthology of the 'Choycest Master-peeces' of the Elizabethan and Jacobean repertoire, marked the culmination of the largest-scale music printing project England had ever seen. Lavishly produced in ten separate partbooks, Barnard's print was, however, a financial failure, with the ensuing Civil War and suspension of cathedral service scuppering what slim chance there might have been of its success. Instead, it was only after Barnard's death, with the Restoration of the monarchy and the hierarchy of the Anglican Church, that copies of the *First Book* found a place in the libraries of cathedrals across the country.

The present study puts Barnard the man in a context of pre-Civil War St. Paul's cathedral, where he was a minor canon, and examines his music copying, collecting and editing activities, primarily by reference to *Lcm* MSS 1045-51, known as the 'Barnard' manuscripts. It also concentrates on the bibliographical aspects of the *First Book*, and the light its production methods shed on mid-seventeenth century music printing. The extensive shortcomings of Barnard's print are examined, and both his lack of judgment in selecting a printer who had never worked with music before, and his own inadequate control over what was probably an over-ambitious project is revealed. The relationship between Barnard's manuscripts and his printed books is discussed, as is the influence the *First Book* had on the shaping of the English cathedral repertoire at the Restoration, and continues to exert today.

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## List of Abbreviations and Library Sigla

Throughout this thesis various abbreviations are used; these are as follows:

Frequently cited journals / publications:

- BDECM:** Ashbee & Lasocki, eds. (1998): *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*. 2 volumes. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- First Book:** John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London: Edward Griffin II: 1641)
- JRMA:** Journal of the Royal Musical Association
- ML:** Music and Letters
- MT:** Musical Times
- NG2:** New Grove Dictionary of Music, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition
- PRMA:** Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
- RECM:** Ashbee, ed (1986-91): *Records of English Court Music*, 9 volumes. Snodland.
- Sources:** Morehen, John (1969): 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music, c.1617-c.1644'. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Cambridge.

### General Abbreviations:

<i>q</i>	quaver
<i>c</i>	crotchet
<i>m</i>	minim
<i>sb</i>	semibreve
<i>b</i>	breve
<i>l</i>	longa
f., ff.	folio, folios
v	verso
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
M	Medius
Ct	Contratenor
T	Tenor
B	Bassus
D	Decani
C	Cantoris
V	Venite
Te	Te Deum
J	Jubilate
K	Kyries
C	Creed
B	Benedictus

M	Magnificat
N	Nunc Dimittis
Ca	Cantate Domino
De	Deus Misereatur

Note names are described using the Helmholtz system, with middle c as c' (and octaves above as c'', c'''; octaves below as c, C etc).

Library sigla:

Where the library concerned is located in Great Britain, the prefix 'GB-' has been omitted.

<i>CA</i>	Canterbury Cathedral, Chapter Library
<i>Drc</i>	Durham Cathedral Library
<i>Gl</i>	Gloucester Cathedral Library
<i>Lbl</i>	London, British Library
<i>LF</i>	Lichfield Cathedral Library
<i>Lcm</i>	London, Royal College of Music
<i>Lgc</i>	London, Guildhall Library
<i>Lpro</i>	London, Public Record Office
<i>Lwa</i>	London, Westminster Abbey
<i>Mp</i>	Manchester Public Library (Henry Watson Music & Arts Library)
<i>Ob</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>Och</i>	Oxford, Christ Church Library
<i>Ojc</i>	Oxford, St. John's College Library
<i>WO</i>	Worcester Cathedral Library
<i>Y</i>	York Minster Library
<i>US-CAh</i>	Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library

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### **Author's Declaration**

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own  
and that appropriate credit has been given  
where reference has been made  
to the work of others.

## Chapter One – John Barnard and pre-Civil War St. Paul's

### The Life of John Barnard

Little has hitherto been known of John Barnard, compiler of the *First Book of Selected Church Musick*, other than some scant biographical information. As a minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, he was positioned at the centre of a musical and ecclesiastical hub at a time of great flux – he would witness both the redoubled efforts to repair and rebuild the mother church of London and its subsequent abandonment; the meteoric rise and fall of William Laud and his associated Arminian theology; and see the role of music in the church follow a path mirroring that of the ill-fated Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, Barnard's career, as both a musician, collector of music and member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy would of necessity follow this same path. His concentrated efforts to bring together a collection of the greatest music written for the Anglican liturgy reached its culmination with the publication in 1641 of his *First Book*, only for events to overtake him, resulting in financial, and, we must also assume, emotional hardship.

While the date and place of his birth remain unknown,<sup>1</sup> John Barnard's musical career seems to have begun as a lay clerk at Canterbury Cathedral. His name first appears in the Treasurer's Accounts for 1618, having received a

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<sup>1</sup> The name 'John Barnard' was a common one across the country, and none of the many Barnards appearing in registers across the country can be conclusively shown to be the man in question. Ian Payne has suggested Norwich origins ('In Bethlehem town', *Musical Times*, 143 (2002), pp. 42-55) but, again, the number of Barnards across England makes this improbable, especially given the comparative lack of East Anglian composers represented in his manuscripts collection (see below, Chapter Two). These manuscripts have a strong Canterbury and London bias, reflecting his career, and had he been a Norfolk man, surely we should expect some local 'flavour' in this regard also.

salary of £10 for the year.<sup>2</sup> He was a replacement for Robert Willis, who had served only one year in the post. 1618 was, incidentally, the year Stephen Bing became a chorister at Canterbury, and the similarities between the two are intriguing, not least in their music collecting activities, and particularly in the way Bing's set of reference partbooks (the 'Bing-Gostling' partbooks, *GB-Y Ms Mus 1/1-8 (S)*) reflect the methods used by Barnard in his comparable set (*GB-Lcm Mss 1045-51*), to be examined in detail in this study.<sup>3</sup> Two years later, in 1620, Barnard was paid 20 shillings for teaching the viol to the choristers,<sup>4</sup> but he was not alone in doing this. In subsequent years only one man was employed to carry out this pedagogical duty, but in 1620, Barnard was joined by George Marson and William Williams, who both received 7/6<sup>d</sup> for the same thing,<sup>5</sup> obviously performing a more minor role. Marson was *Magister Choristarum* at the time, while Williams was a fellow lay clerk.

One of the latest mentions of his name at Canterbury occurs in the Chapter Acts in an entry of 17<sup>th</sup> January 1621/2, where '[It is agreed] that Barnard shall have yearly out of the Almes yearly [sic] xl<sup>s</sup>'.<sup>6</sup> These alms were paid to all lay clerks annually until November 1622, when they began to be paid quarterly;<sup>7</sup> they do not appear to indicate anything in particular concerning Barnard – that is to say they do not generally coincide with a lay clerk's leaving the choir. Barnard is also named in the Treasurer's Accounts

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<sup>2</sup> *CA – DCc/TA 26*

<sup>3</sup> On Bing see Willetts: 'Stephen Bing: A forgotten violist', *Chelys* 18 (1989), 3-17; Boyer/Wainwright: 'From Barnard to Purcell: The copying activities of Stephen Bing', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 620-650; Field: 'Stephen Bing's copies of Coprario fantasia-suites', *Early Music* 27 (1999), 311-8.

<sup>4</sup> *CA – DCc/TA 28*.

<sup>5</sup> *CA – DCc/TA 28*

<sup>6</sup> *CA – DCc/CA 14, f.257*

<sup>7</sup> *CA – DCc/CA 14, f.264v*

for the year 1622 as a lay clerk, but by 1623 his name has been replaced by that of William Tunstall.

John Barnard was officially admitted as a minor canon of St. Paul's on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1623,<sup>8</sup> but it would appear that he had arrived there as early as 24<sup>th</sup> March of the same year. An indenture in Barnard's name, dated 24<sup>th</sup> March 1623, is referred to in the Parliamentary Survey of 1649, *Lgc MS 25631*, which valued all the lands belonging to St. Paul's. This indenture concerns the lease of three tenements in the Parish of St. Faith's on the North side of Paternoster Row, which were let for forty years at £6 per annum, payable in four instalments at the 'Foure usual Feasts'<sup>9</sup> to Thomas Iles of Fulham. However, this lease has not been entered into the register of leases of minor canons estates (MS 19839/1) – indeed this source does not mention Barnard by name at all, and is compiled somewhat haphazardly, remaining incomplete in any case. The renewal of another lease on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1632, to John Smith, citizen and stationer, is recorded in the register of Dean Wynnyff.<sup>10</sup> This lease was again renewed on 11<sup>th</sup> June 1641 for a further twenty-one years at £4 per annum, again to John Smith, who claimed interest in 'the Shopp, the Cellar & Seaven upper roomes'.<sup>11</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that John Barnard took up his position as minor canon several months before his official admission. This may have been simply for administrative reasons, but may also be because he was not yet ordained on his arrival. It was stipulated in their statutes that all minor canons

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<sup>8</sup> *Lpro E331/London D and C6*

<sup>9</sup> *Lgc Ms 25632*, p. 271

<sup>10</sup> *Lgc Ms 25630/8*, f.326v

<sup>11</sup> *Lgc Ms 25632*, r.h marginal note, p. 224

should be in holy orders, and it is possible that Barnard's admission was postponed until his ordination was completed. Unfortunately, there is no record of his ordination extant. The registers of the Bishops of London are incomplete for this period, and are missing from 24<sup>th</sup> March 1620/1 until 1626. We can safely presume Barnard was ordained between late 1622, when he is still named as a lay clerk at Canterbury, and 5<sup>th</sup> July 1623. It should be noted here that an 'Exposition by the Dean & Chapter of that part of the statute where it is appointed that every suitor to the Quire to be a Petticanon shall be a Priest' exists among the transcripts made by Pridden in the late eighteenth century of various records of the minor canons, many of which have since been lost. This is unfortunately without a date, although Boyer suggests it is most likely to date from the early Restoration period.<sup>12</sup> However, it is equally likely to apply to Barnard and his contemporaries, and reads thus:

Whereas now it is very hard to get an Ecclesiasticall Minister that can sing well we think that a Lay-man commencing in Musique of a good voice & of honest behaviour may be admitted into our Quire for the year of probation upon condition that before he be admitted thoroughly after the year of probation, that he take upon him the Ecclesiasticall Ministrie or else to lose his place; for to compell him to enter into the Ministrie in the year of probation & then if he prove unworthy to be thorowly admitted he shall hardly get elsewher any place of Service in the church fit for an Ecclesiastical Minister.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: a study of the music and musicians of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1660-1697', Ph.D thesis, Univ. Manchester, pp. 455-7

<sup>13</sup> Pridden, Transcripts, vol. iii



This would fit well with the dates above, and it may be that Barnard took up his probationary period in July 1622, was granted the rental income from the three tenements leased to Thomas Iles on his ordination in March 1623, and was officially admitted on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1623, after his probationary period had run its course without incident.

Barnard married Marie Martin at Canterbury Cathedral on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1619,<sup>14</sup> when he was aged 'about twenty-eight', and their son, also John, was baptised there on 18<sup>th</sup> September 1622.<sup>15</sup> However, Barnard's widow, named as sitting tenant of his official house at the Parliamentary Survey of 1649, was Katharine, indicating that he had married again. Pamela Willetts has found evidence to support the theory that this was indeed the case, and it seems that Barnard lost both his first wife and son in the plague epidemic of 1625/6, both of them being buried at St. James, Clerkenwell.<sup>16</sup> I must agree with Willetts that it is unusual for these burials to have been recorded at St. James, Clerkenwell rather than the parish church of St. Gregory by Paul, which was appropriated to the minor canons. Indeed, the burial of 'a still-borne childe of Mr. Bernard' is recorded there on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1629/30,<sup>17</sup> but this does not necessarily relate to the John Barnard under consideration here. Willetts suggests that Barnard was living, at the time of his wife's and son's deaths, in the parish of St. James, and raises the possibility, if this is the case, that he moved back to his official house at the time of or during his marriage to Katharine Hill, widow, which took place at St. Martin Ludgate on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1628. At the time of the Parliamentary Survey, Katharine was in occupation of

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<sup>14</sup> Registers of Canterbury Cathedral, *Harleian Society*, ii, (1878) p.55

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 4

<sup>16</sup> Willetts, P: 'John Barnard's Collections of Viol and Vocal Music', *Chelys*, 20 (1991), p. 37

<sup>17</sup> *Lgc Ms 10232*

'The 3 Litle Roomes in the first story & the 2 Roome[s] in the 2<sup>nd</sup> story [of Barnard's official residence]'.<sup>18</sup> If he did move back into his official house, it was not until at least after 1636, as the answers to Laud's visitation of that year state that none of the minor canons lived in their official residences.<sup>19</sup>

Barnard had died by 1649, as Katherine is described as a widow in the Survey. No record of his death is recorded in the parish registers of St. Gregory, but burials of several other minor canons are, such as Zacharias Griffin on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1636 and Nathaniel Pownall on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1653. Barnard was still alive in November 1645, when he was granted a payment of five pounds from Cornelius Burgess 'for his p<sup>r</sup>esent necessity'.<sup>20</sup> The receipt is signed by Barnard, but the manner of his 'necessity', whether it were financial or regarding his health, is not elucidated. For further evidence regarding the date of his death we must examine the account book compiled by the various wardens of the college of minor canons. This book, purchased at a cost of 6/6<sup>d</sup> in 1631/2, contains the annual accounts appertaining to the transactions and receipts of the minor canons. All are signed by the warden and several of the minor canons, but on no occasion, excepting the final account in the book before the re-establishment of the college at the Restoration, have all the extant members of the college appended their names. It is necessary, therefore, to exercise some degree of caution when equating the absence of a signature with death or retirement. Barnard himself has only signed the accounts for 1631/2, 1634/5, 1638/9, 1640/1, 1641/2, 1642/3 and 1643/4. It appears that Barnard had died before John the Baptist's day (24<sup>th</sup> June) 1646, as an entry in

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<sup>18</sup> Lgc Ms 25632, l.h marginal annotations, p.224

<sup>19</sup> HMC, 4<sup>th</sup> Report, appendix, p.155

<sup>20</sup> CSP Domestic Vol. DXXXIX, no. 318

the 1645/6 accounts shows five shillings received 'for Mr. Barnards silver-spoone'. The giving of a silver spoon to the value of five shillings is a requirement of the statutes of the minor canons, and was to be done 'in his lyfe tyme by hym selfe, when it shall please hym, or els after his death by his executors ... for to increase the treasure & publick utilitie of the said colledge for ev<sup>er</sup>'.<sup>21</sup> In Barnard's time the latter option appears to have been followed. In the accounts for 1636/7, a payment of five shillings was received 'of Mrs. Griffin for a spoone'. This presumably refers to the widow of Zacharias Griffin, who was buried at St. Gregory by Paul on December 27<sup>th</sup> 1636. However, we cannot necessarily assume this, as the burial of Gyles Barrowes, 'one of the Petty Cannons of St. Paules church' is likewise recorded on December 1<sup>st</sup> 1635, and while this corresponds with the final instance of his signature in the account book, to the 1634/5 accounts, there is no record of any payment for his silver spoon. Nevertheless, it is most probable that Barnard died between November 1645 and June 1646, while he was probably in his mid-fifties.<sup>22</sup>

### **The College of Minor Canons**

As a minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, John Barnard occupied a position of some authority. The college of minor canons had been granted a royal charter

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<sup>21</sup> *Lgc Ms 29419*, f. 4 (Statutes)

<sup>22</sup> Beer and Crawshaw state that 'it is thought that Barnard fled the country in 1642 at the outbreak of Civil War', (*Music at Ripon Minster 657-2008* (2008), p. 178). This is clearly untrue and without foundation, and no reference for this assertion is given. Perhaps the writers have included Barnard among the large number of clergy who did leave for Europe, although without evidence.

by Richard II in 1394,<sup>23</sup> and their earliest extant statutes date from the 18th of March, 1396. These set out, in great and verbose detail, the various duties, rights and responsibilities of the collegiate body. The original Latin statutes were translated into English in the later part of the sixteenth century, and the translated copy was added to, with corrections, clarifications and details of new leases, until the outbreak of the Civil War. As such, this copy would most likely have been that consulted by Barnard, and it provides, alongside other records of the college, a glimpse of the workings of the minor canons of Barnard's time.<sup>24</sup>

There were twelve minor canons, amongst whom one was elected warden by the main body,<sup>25</sup> one sub-dean was appointed by the Dean, and the two cardinals, one senior and one junior, were appointed by the Dean and Chapter. It appears that Barnard himself remained simply a minor canon and did not hold any particular position of importance within the hierarchy of the college throughout his tenure. According to practice, the sub-dean wore an almuce of grey fur, was awarded more bread and beer, and was censed triply during divine service,<sup>26</sup> while the duties of the two cardinals included ministering to the sick<sup>27</sup> and observing 'all faults and errors in the choir'.<sup>28</sup>

According to Sparrow-Simpson:

The minor canons ... were a peaceful body of men, loving order, hating discord, desirous above all things to serve God faithfully, and to

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<sup>23</sup> The charter of incorporation survives as *Lgc Ms 29410*

<sup>24</sup> This translation, *Lgc Ms 29419*, is transcribed in full as Appendix A.

<sup>25</sup> Statute 22 – The three methods of election described are those outlined in the 24<sup>th</sup> Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council.

<sup>26</sup> Sparrow-Simpson: *Gleanings from Old St. Paul's* (1889), p.9

<sup>27</sup> Statute 35.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* This included catechising the choristers.

be at peace with one another. Amongst such men, as the statutes show, respect for constitutional authority was so strong that their warden ... could preserve order and unity by very light punishment; punishments, be it observed, levied by their own free will.<sup>29</sup>

Sparrow-Simpson's rose-tinted spectacles aside, the punishments meted out for various offences varied widely in severity. For example, the fine levied for not closing the gate to the hall securely, 'especially in the wintertyme at supper', was a penny, but the heaviest punishment was reserved for drawing a weapon on any of the canons, regardless of whether injury resulted. This 'wicked enterprise' carried a fine of 20 shillings and expulsion from 'the haule & the entrance therinto for ever'. However, it appears that these fines did not take inflation into account, and are the same in the original Latin version. In the Warden's Account book, receipts of these fines are non-existent – this may indicate that all the minor canons abided by the statutes, that there was some off-balance sheet activity, or that not all infractions were enforced. However, it is worth noting that from 1598-1600, the minor canons were in something approaching disarray, and the list of presentments in *Lgc MS 25175* tells a scandalous story of accusation, drunkenness, lewd behaviour, murder and brawling among William Maycock, Ambrose Golding, and a Mr. Andrews and their wives. Although nothing of this magnitude is known from Barnard's time, it is only because of the survival of one document that we know of the above incidents – evidently they were not, in this case at least, 'a peaceful body of men'.

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<sup>29</sup> *Gleanings*, p.26

The minor canons were in possession of numerous estates, and it is the rent from these, and that from their individual dwellings, that provided the bulk of their revenue. From the Parliamentary Surveys, it is possible to deduce that the market value in 1649 of the property endowments appropriated to the minor canons totalled £1,486, or 6% of the total receipts from property at St. Paul's.<sup>30</sup> However, rather like the fines described in the canons' statutes, the rents from these properties had become frozen, in some cases remaining unchanged since at least 1536, from when the earliest extant register of leases dates, and were therefore far below market rates by Barnard's time. For instance, the house in which Barnard's widow was living at the time of the Parliamentary Survey was estimated to merit a rental income of eighteen pounds per annum, with Katherine Barnard paying eight pounds and John Smith, who claimed interest in 'the Shopp, the Cellar & Seaven upper roomes', ten pounds.<sup>31</sup> The lease drawn up between the Dean and Chapter, Barnard and Smith, and still in force at the time of the survey, shows he was paying only £4 per annum. Furthermore, the fact that he signed all his holding in the property over to Katherine Barnard by an indenture dated August 20<sup>th</sup> 1649<sup>32</sup> clearly implies that he had been taking advantage of these low rents and profiteering from what was a widespread and lucrative business of sub-letting Dean and Chapter properties. The tenements leased by Barnard to Thomas Iles in 1623 were receiving an income of six pounds per annum, but were estimated to be worth fifty-three pounds per annum by 1649.<sup>33</sup> It is of interest to note that all of the minor canons' official houses were leased out,

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<sup>30</sup> See Keene, D: 'From Conquest to Capital' in Keene et al, eds. *St. Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (2004), p.24

<sup>31</sup> *Lgc* MS 25632, pp.224-5

<sup>32</sup> *Lgc* MS 25632, r.h marginal annotation, p. 224

<sup>33</sup> *Lgc* MS 25632, p. 271

often for long periods of time, and by the 1630s, this had begun to cause problems for them. Laud's visitation records of 1636 show the extent of this, and it was a situation with which the Archbishop was not impressed. The senior cardinal, John Thurgood, had found upon his entrance to the college that his official house had been let on a forty-year lease to a William Dormer, with only three small rooms 'not fitting for habitacion ... reserved for the incumbent, and those clog'd with inconveniences and incumbrances'.<sup>34</sup> The lease is described in the Parliamentary Survey as bearing the date of 21<sup>st</sup> March 1610/11, and Thurgood was receiving only fourteen pounds per annum for a property valued in 1649 as having a rental value of fifty-four pounds.<sup>35</sup> He was therefore constrained to rent part of a house belonging to another minor canon and, at the time of the visitation, had lived there for 26 years. The junior cardinal, Thomas Maycock, was in a similar position, his house also having been let out by a previous incumbent, and he was forced to lease other rooms from the warden and college of minor canons, the rents for which are preserved in the warden's account book. Some part of all the minor canons' official houses were likewise let out to laymen, and on discovering this, Laud noted 'that noe lease be lett hereafter; nor noe confirmation bye D. & Chap. ... with a shame to the deane & chapter that then wear'. The minor canons were angered, it seems, by this, and asked Laud for the situation to be '[re]viewed'. Yet this apparent protestation is at variance with the preserved records of leases, which show continued signing of leases throughout the 1630s and until the college of minor canons was abolished. This is especially true in Barnard's case, in which the records show him letting out most of his official house in

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<sup>34</sup> HMC, 4<sup>th</sup> Report, Appendix, p.156

<sup>35</sup> *Lgc Ms 25632*, p.266

1632 and again in 1641, as described previously. It may be that Barnard was forced by circumstance to continue leasing his property in order to help meet the production costs of his *First Book*.<sup>36</sup>

The income of the minor canons was therefore considerable, enlarged as a result of the rife leasing of all the official property by previous incumbents, and as well as receiving the rental income from the properties appropriated to each of them, they would be given an annual stipend from the Dean and Chapter, which varied depending on which position they held in the organisation. In addition to this, the total profits from the lease of collectively owned property, receipts of fines in respect of tenants' late payments, and other income were divided among the twelve minor canons, and the value of these are shown in the annual accounts. The amount varied from year to year, and from the earliest surviving account until the dissolution of the college was as follows:

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<sup>36</sup> This publication is discussed in detail in Chapter Three, below.



**Table I/1: Additional Income of the Minor Canons**

Year	Total Profits (£/s/d)	Number of minor canons
1631/2	15 / 08 / 06	12
1632/3	38 / 01 / 10 <sup>37</sup>	12
1633/4	13 / 02 / 01	12
1634/5	16 / 17 / 03	12
1635/6	39 / 07 / 09	12
1636/7	22 / 15 / 10	12
1637/8	18 / 12 / 03	12
1638/9	22 / 04 / 08	12
1639/40	27 / 10 / 09	12
1640/1	26 / 00 / 00	12
1641/2	23 / 17 / 01	12
1642/3	23 / 00 / 06	12
1643/4	12 / 10 / 03 <sup>38</sup>	12
1644/5	10 / 19 / 15	11
1645/6	09 / 09 / 10	11
1646/7	26 / 01 / 11	9
1647/8	21 / 00 / 07 & 06 / 04 / 04 <sup>39</sup>	9
1648/9	16 / 00 / 00	8

As Table 1 shows, the amount could vary widely, and these profits constituted a valuable extra income for the minor canons. The part played by the minor canons in the musical establishment of St. Paul's is discussed below, pp. 27-34.

### **Arminian theology and its influence at Barnard's St. Paul's**

Arminianism itself was taken up with more vigour in England than anywhere else in Europe, largely because of political circumstances, and the relative

<sup>37</sup> The receipts for this year included the £40 for the sale of the St. Gregory's Parsonage House materials after its demolition

<sup>38</sup> An additional £8 was paid for a petition to Parliament, concerning the 'root and branch' abolition

<sup>39</sup> The £6/4/4<sup>d</sup> was divided quarterly between nine canons, the £21/0/7 was divided between eight

youth of the English church which, since the break with Rome, had been attempting to find a solid theological standpoint for itself. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the pre-eminent doctrine in England, as it was across post-Reformation Europe, was that of Calvinism, which expounded predestination and divine determinism. This led to a view among many in the church establishment that rites and ceremonies were, if not unnecessary, then relatively unimportant. This was exacerbated by the suspicion in which such 'popish rites' were held by many in the reformed church, and anything deviating from the teachings of Calvin was liable to be labelled as popish and therefore subject to suppression. England had been solidly Calvinist since the accession of Elizabeth I, as had its episcopacy, with the notable exception of Archbishop Bancroft, who held the See of Canterbury from 1604 until 1610. He was replaced, however, by George Abbott, whose intolerance of anything approaching non-conformity, let alone Catholicism, was infamous. While Bancroft's appointment may have been 'a Jacobean anomaly',<sup>40</sup> the tide did begin to change somewhat during the later Jacobean period, and in 1618 there was even talk of tolerating Catholicism,<sup>41</sup> as a condition of Prince Charles' (later Charles I) proposed marriage to the Spanish Infanta, Maria Anna, a match which did not come to fruition. The elasticity of the theological position is further highlighted by the Synod of Dort, held in late 1618, where James I's delegation reiterated predestinarian Calvinism,<sup>42</sup> yet at the same time, Bishop Neile at Durham and William Laud, as Dean of Gloucester, had turned the communion tables into high altars, foreshadowing the altar controversies

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<sup>40</sup> Tyacke: *Aspects of English Protestantism*, (2001) p.138

<sup>41</sup> Tyacke: *op. cit.*, p.139

<sup>42</sup> Tyacke: *op.cit.*, p.140

which characterised the implementation of Arminian policy over the next twenty-five years.

When Barnard arrived at St. Paul's in 1622, James I was approaching the end of his life, and, it seems, had begun to take out something of a theological insurance policy to guard against the possibility that he might not be elected to heaven by Calvinist divine grace. Lancelot Andrewes had been appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1618, and this could be seen as an indication that James 'was moving towards a more formal and sacramental view of religion in the latter part of his reign'.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, it was the sacramental bias of Arminianism, English Arminianism in particular, that was its defining feature. At the Synod of Dort, Arminianism had been condemned for its views on predestination, redemption, free will, grace and perseverance, and although Arminius's systematic critique of doctrinal Calvinism refuted divine grace, it did not outline the importance of attaining grace through the sacraments, which was peculiar to English Arminianism and anathema to English Calvinists. Tyacke points out that this was in part due to the survival of the Prayer Book in England, a relic of a Catholic tradition.<sup>44</sup> The pre-eminence of this theology began to assert itself most strongly during the personal rule of Charles I and would have therefore characterised Barnard's time at St. Paul's. The most concrete manifestation of this was the repair and beautification of the crumbling cathedral, both inside and out.

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<sup>43</sup> Parry: *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (2006), p.159

<sup>44</sup> *op.cit*, p.141

## The repair of St. Paul's

On arrival at St. Paul's, Barnard would have found a cathedral in dire need of repair. The spire had collapsed after being struck by lightning and consumed by the subsequent fire within four hours on the afternoon of 4<sup>th</sup> June 1561. Despite initial money-raising efforts, the estimate of £17,738 to rebuild the spire and replace the roofs was never reached, and consequently the cathedral remained without steeple and in an overall poor state of repair. By 1608, James I had attempted to spur both the Mayor and Bishop of London into action by highlighting to them the embarrassment that the neglect of St. Paul's was bringing 'our city of London especially, but in a manner upon the whole realm'.<sup>45</sup> However, James I's finances soon became overstretched, and with the Lord Treasurer's death in 1612, his main patron could contribute no more. No repair work had actually been carried out, and the state of the cathedral remained something of a scandal. This was highlighted in the tract *The Complaint of Paules to all Christian Soules* of 1616 by Henry Farley, which included such guilt-inducing lines as: 'I am *Gods house*, consider then I pray, / What cause there is that I should thus decay: / Is it not pittie I should ragged be, / While on proud flesh such golden gawdes I see?'<sup>46</sup> Farley was not, however, simply a concerned citizen – as a stone importer he had a vested interest. Naturally, he does not mention this in his tract, and Dugdale simply describes him as 'a private man ... so extremely zealous to promote the work that he ceased not by sundry petitions to importune that King therein',<sup>47</sup> seemingly unaware of his ulterior motives. Farley's numerous petitions seem

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<sup>45</sup> PRO, SP14/35, no. 28, quoted in Higgott: 'The Fabric to 1670' in Keene et al, eds. *St. Paul's* (2004), p.173.

<sup>46</sup> Farley, Henry: *The Complaint of Paules to all Christian Soules* (1616), p.21 (D<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>47</sup> Dugdale: *History of St Pauls Cathedral in London* (1658).

to have met with some success, as Bishop Montaigne bought 'a large quantity [of] Portland stone'<sup>48</sup> in 1621. But yet again the fundraising efforts, including £2000 promised by the King and £500 by Prince Charles, were in vain, and no work was carried out. Some of the Portland stone was appropriated by the Duke of Buckingham in 1625 for his watergate at York House,<sup>49</sup> in an action similar to that of Lord Somerset in 1549, who demolished the Becket chapel, cloisters and monuments, using the stone to build his town house.<sup>50</sup> Incidentally, the bare ground remaining after this earlier event was converted into a garden for the minor canons.

Not only was the fabric of the cathedral in dire need of repair, the building was abused inside and out. Many houses and shops had been erected abutting the walls of the cathedral, particularly to the south side, and these served to undermine St. Paul's, both figuratively, as a centre of worship, and literally, as they caused damage to the building itself. In addition, the interior was used as an exchange 'where daily gathered a concourse of merchants, money-changers, newsmongers ..., conversationalists, idle loiterers, worse still pickpockets and whores who hung around its doors and meandered through the church itself'.<sup>51</sup> Even the quire of the cathedral was not respected, with choristers frequently leaving their stalls to extract 'spur money' from members of the congregation.<sup>52</sup> That this disrupted divine service is obvious, and when added to the numerous other infractions and abuses, it is little wonder that St. Paul's was something of an embarrassment to the City and the

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<sup>48</sup> Higgott, 'Fabric', p.174

<sup>49</sup> Dugdale, *History*.

<sup>50</sup> Higgott, 'Fabric', p.171

<sup>51</sup> Sharpe: *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992), p. 322

<sup>52</sup> Spink: 'Music 1540-1640' in Keene et al, *St. Paul's*, p. 315

Crown. In the early seventeenth century, the minor canons petitioned the Dean and Chapter, complaining about a practice that had grown up amongst the vergers and bell-ringers of taking payment from members of the congregation during divine service to be taken up to the tower. Once there, they would throw stones onto the roof of the quire, in what seems an unbelievable act of disruption and senselessness.<sup>53</sup>

It was not until the personal rule of Charles I that serious efforts were made to restore the crumbling cathedral, and it is during this period, from 1631 until 1642, that the fabric was effectively under the direct control of the crown rather than the Dean and Chapter. William Laud, appointed Bishop of London in 1628, was also a driving force behind restoration efforts, not simply in improving the fabric, but reforming the Church of England in general. Heavily influenced by Arminianism, Laud set about implementing a plan of reform that aimed to revitalise worship by introducing uniformity, order, and above all, the 'beauty of holiness', allied to a respect for the mystery of the sacraments. The most obvious manifestation of this policy at St. Paul's was the restoration effort, both inside and out, and the attempts to make the cathedral once again a building of which London could be proud, both in terms of architectural beauty and ecclesiastical propriety. To aid this, Laud established a commission for 'supervising of the administration of gifts for pious uses' on 5<sup>th</sup> January 1631, followed by the royal commission for the repair of the cathedral on 10<sup>th</sup> April. Once this mechanism was in place, it gave Laud the power to issue letters patent for the receipt of contributions, and to set up a subscriptions register.

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<sup>53</sup> *Lgc Ms 25175, c.1600*

The fund established brought in a vast amount in donations, and with Laud's translation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633, he was able to put pressure on his bishops to raise funds, and so diverted funds paid to the Court of High Commission to the building work.<sup>54</sup> It is significant that the volume of contributions to the fund increased at this time, as a direct result of Laud's increased authority. The money raised by the commission is shown in Table I/2.<sup>55</sup> Although work on repairing the cathedral proper did not begin until 1633, work had been undertaken to remove the houses, shops and cellars abutting the building, the choir screen had been repaired and the choir refurnished. This latter was the gift of Sir Paul Pindar, who was later to contribute over £2,000 for the rebuilding of the south transept (see Figure I/1). The screen was adorned on the outside with 'many faire polished pillars of black Marble, and with curious carved Statues of Kings and Bishops', and the inside 'with divers Angels and other ornaments'. This was augmented with the addition of a 'faire rayle of Wainscot, and a great number of Cherubims' within the choir, all of which was 'sumptously gilded and painted with rich colour in Oyle'.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Parry: *Glory, Laud and Honour*, p. 47

<sup>55</sup> Figures from Dugdale: *History*.

<sup>56</sup> Higgott: 'Fabric', p.175





**Table I/2: Money raised by the commission for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1631-43**

Year	Amount Raised (£/s/d)	Year	Amount Raised (£/s/d)
1631	670 / 0 / 0	1638	15931 / 11 / 10
1632	6754 / 19 / 05	1639	6778 / 14 / 01
1633	10678 / 12 / 05	1640	10473 / 05 / 0
1634	12683 / 06 / 05	1641	1569 / 18 / 06
1635	15927 / 11 / 09	1642	2000 / 0 / 0
1636	9392 / 05 / 03	1643	15 / 0 / 0
1637	10444 / 19 / 10	<b>Total:</b>	£101,300 / 04 / 08

Restoration and repair work was also instigated at St. Gregory's, the parish church appropriated to the minor canons, which was 'repaired within and without, and, in every part richly and very worthily beautified, at the proper Cost and Charges of the Parishioners, in the Year of our Lord God 1631 and 1632. This sumptuous repair cost £2,000 and upwards'.<sup>57</sup> In addition to this beautification, the parsonage house was demolished, and sold on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1633 to Solomon Page, carpenter, for £40,<sup>58</sup> and this sum was divided up among the minor canons, considerably increasing their personal income that year.<sup>59</sup> This refurbishment included the controversial act of relocating the altar from the centre of the church to the east end, in line with Arminian practice. This resulted in Rowland Jennings, curate of St. Gregory's and eminent minor canon, being taken to the Court of the Arches on October 18<sup>th</sup> 1633 by various disgruntled parishioners. The King, unsurprisingly, supported the Dean and Chapter.<sup>60</sup> This act of repositioning the altar is likely to have been carried out with the approval of the college of minor canons, as indicated in the twenty-

<sup>57</sup> Stow/Strype: *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720) iii, p. 227

<sup>58</sup> *Lgc MS 25746*, p. 5

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, p.9

<sup>60</sup> *CSP Domestic*, Vol. CCXLVII, 18.

sixth statute,<sup>61</sup> but no record exists to elucidate Barnard's, or indeed any other member of the college's, personal position in the matter. The minor canons also improved their own communal buildings at this time, erecting a new 'house of office' in their garden<sup>62</sup> and reglazing all the windows of their hall.<sup>63</sup>

The most noticeable aspect of the rebuilding of St. Paul's was, without a doubt, Inigo Jones's striking design for the west front and its Corinthian portico, paid for entirely by Charles I himself, responding to criticism that he had been slow to contribute to the restoration fund. Jones had been appointed chief architect by royal commission on 4th February 1633, and Higgott suggests that it was on the basis of his design for the west front that the King pledged his support.<sup>64</sup>

It should be noted that although the repairs were wholeheartedly supported by the King, Laud and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, the college of minor canons, including Barnard, had several grievances over the implementation of the building work. These were relayed to Laud himself in the answers given by the minor canons to his visitation of 1636. Because of their collegiate and quasi-autonomous nature, they were questioned independently of the Dean and Chapter, and it is only in the matter of the carrying out of repairs that the two bodies are at variance in their responses. The main objection of Barnard and his colleagues was to the demolition of property in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral, which had been, or was scheduled to be, pulled down as part of the beautification of the cathedral.

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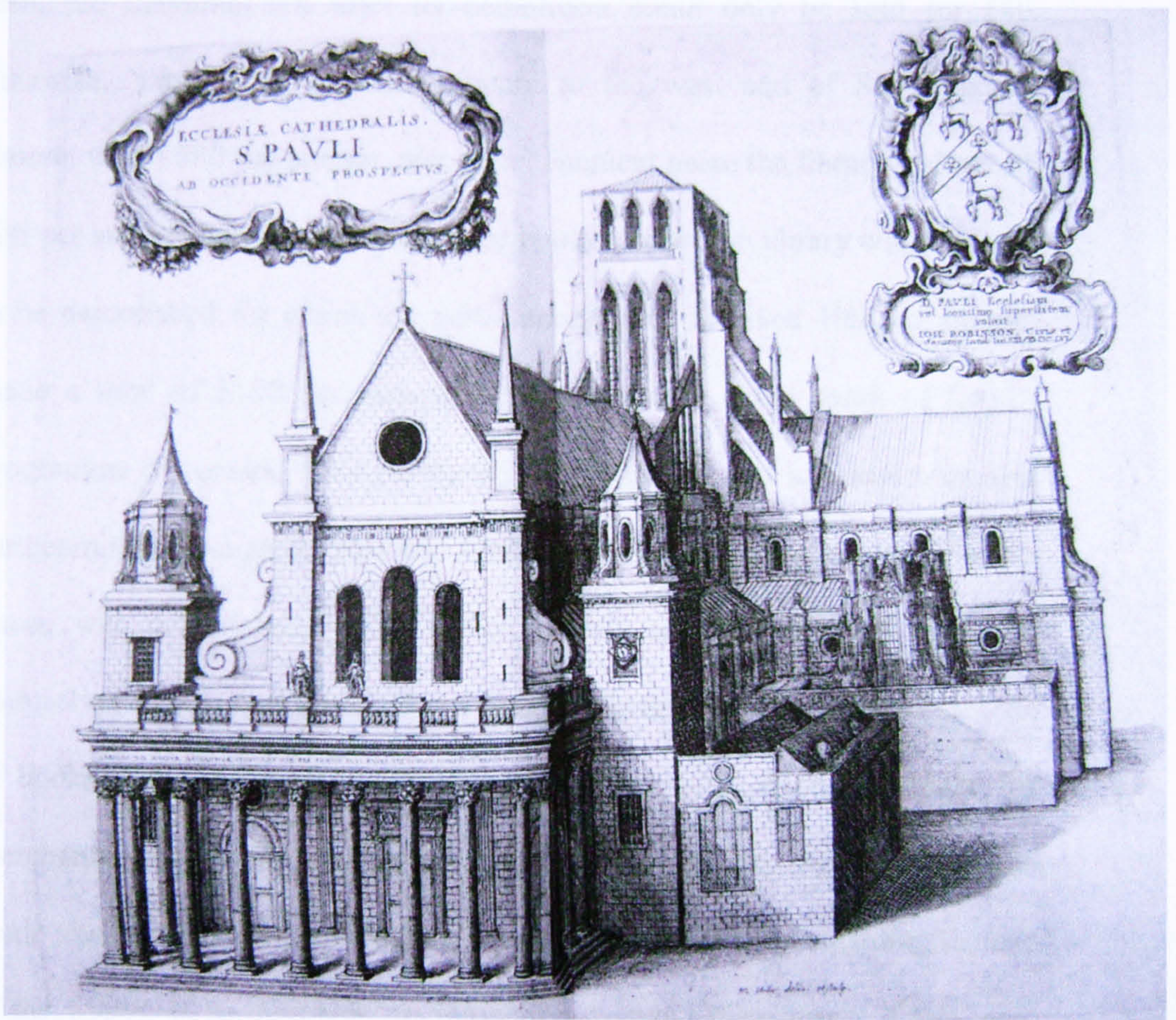
<sup>61</sup> This statute concerns the 'calling together of the peticanons', but there is no particular statute regarding the method of voting on matters raised at such meetings.

<sup>62</sup> *Lgc MS 25746 p.7*

<sup>63</sup> *Lgc MS 25746 p.8*

<sup>64</sup> Higgott: 'Fabric', p.178

**Figure I/2: Inigo Jones' design for the West front (engraved by Hollar, in Dugdale, *History*, p. 164)**



Much of this property had belonged to the minor canons, in particular the parsonage house of St. Gregory's. In their answers to Laud's visitation,<sup>65</sup> the minor canons say that this had a rental income of £80 per year, but as we have seen, the materials left after its demolition could only be sold for £40. Likewise, 'three other tenements neare to the west end of St. Gregories church, worth 50li per annum, one other tenement neere the library wall worth 10li per annum, and one warehouse for bookes under the library which now is to be demolished for which the petti canons have received 10li per annum' made a total of £150 per annum lost income as a direct result of Laud's programme of repairs. They petitioned for reparation, but it seems none was forthcoming, although the almoner, Martin Peerson, was compensated after his house was demolished.<sup>66</sup> The minor canons had probably not endeared themselves to Laud by leasing the warehouse under the library for the storage of books. Laud's disgust at church property being let as storage space for merchants, booksellers, and other laymen is indicated in his marginal note made against the Dean and Chapter's answer to his question regarding the use of the vaults, as he demands 'an injunction to avoid these leases if they can, and lett no more'.<sup>67</sup>

As indicated, above, this extensive programme of spending on repairs and beautification was in line with Archbishop Laud's particular brand of Arminian theology, which has become known as Laudianism, and most particularly its concern with the beauty of holiness. The 1630s in general, throughout the country, saw a spread of these ideas as Laud and the King used

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<sup>65</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourth Report, Appendix (1874), p.156

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

their absolute power to appoint sympathetic prelates, such as in John Cosin's move to Peterhouse College, Cambridge, where he set about instigating an extensive programme of Laudian theological implementation.<sup>68</sup> We have seen the increased spending on the fabric of the cathedrals, St. Paul's in particular, but the 'beauty of holiness' ideal required high aesthetic standards in all aspects of cathedral life, including music, and it is the expansion in this area that is of most relevance to John Barnard.

Laudianism had a strong ceremonial bias, and the reverence of the sacraments was the most obvious aspect of this. The use of music also served to exemplify the 'beauty of holiness', and the 1630s saw increased activity in this area, nationwide. The most obvious example of this is the collecting and copying activity associated with Peterhouse College, Cambridge, under John Cosin. Here, manuscripts were created by a bringing together of numerous disparate sources, including leaves from Durham still bearing their original page numbers.<sup>69</sup>

Laudianism required a reduction in congregational participation, and to this end, musical aspects of divine service were expanded, and the type of polyphony used became more elaborate. This can be illustrated by the inclusion of Byrd's 'Great Service' in manuscripts at Durham, and the increasing popularity of larger scale services. *Lbl* Add. 29289, a countertenor partbook of St. Paul's provenance, which transmits the repertoire of the pre-Civil War cathedral, contains a great deal of complex music including services

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<sup>68</sup> See Hoffman, J.G: 'The Puritan Revolution and the 'beauty of holiness' at Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 72 (1983), pp. 94-105.

<sup>69</sup> For a detailed discussion of the Peterhouse partbooks, see Hughes: *Musical Mss. At Peterhouse* (1953) and Morehen: 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music c.1617-c.1644'; unpublished Ph.D diss., University of Cambridge (1969), pp. 118-200.

by Parsons and Mundy and Orlando Gibbons's 'O clap your hands'. There are also several anthems for men's voices and a setting of the Preces and Litany by Adrian Batten. Settings of the Sanctus and Gloria became more common; previously the Communion service had been comparatively neglected, and settings of the Sanctus had been effectively banned by the Second Book of Common Prayer of 1552.<sup>70</sup> Polyphony at the preparation and administration of communion was a central tenet of the 'beauty of holiness', and a common theme running through the complaints of Peter Smart in his denunciations of Cosin's practices at Durham. The growth in the number of verse anthems, while not directly attributable to Laudian ideals, continued throughout the 1630s, in part as a result of the increased spending on organs at this time. As well as repairs, new organs were built at Durham in 1627, Bristol in 1630 and York Minster in 1634, all by Robert Dallam. The St. Paul's organ was said to be thirty feet high, with nine stops on the great and six on the chair in 1609, and was therefore the largest in the country at that time, possibly having been rebuilt in 1631-2.<sup>71</sup> Hollar's depiction of the organ in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, engraved ten years after it had been destroyed, is probably subject to artistic licence. The verse anthem in itself was another cause of conflict, as the solo lines were reminiscent of the declamatory secular settings of Lanier, Jefferies and others, which received widespread distribution either side of the Civil War. Although Laudianism did not produce a specific style of music, it was the provision and scale of music that increased, and this is evident from the surviving manuscripts from the 1630s across England, including those

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<sup>70</sup> The Second Prayer Book removed all rubrics concerned with singing, and appoints the Sanctus to be said by the Priest.

<sup>71</sup> Spink: 'Music 1540-1640' in Keene et al, *St. Paul's*, p. 316

belonging to John Barnard. Barnard's *First Book* was an important part of this tradition.

### **The musical establishment at Barnard's St. Paul's**

According to statute, the personnel involved in music-making at St. Paul's Cathedral consisted of 'twelve petticanons, wherof two are cardinals, six vicars choral, an epistoler and aunciently a gospeller, an almoner who is the mr of the ten choristers'.<sup>72</sup> The position of gospeller, however, had been 'time out of mind supplied by the peticanons, who receive the stipend [of 40 shillings per annum]'.<sup>73</sup> This duty was divided between two of the canons, each of whom received half the stipend.

The actual duties of the minor canons with regard to their part in divine service are summarised in Pridden's transcript of the *Statuta Minora*, which outlines the most important aspects of their duties and expected deportment:

Minor Canons when they administer the sacrament to do it reverently, in performing their Duties they shall assist each other so that the duty is not neglected.

Dean & Subdean when they administer the Eucharist the Minor Canons are to be present.

The Minor Canons, Presbyters and Vicars [Choral] are to meet to perform divine Service at the appointed time day & night.

to read and chant in time & uniformly

to come decently habited

to keep orderly in the choir

to keep from public Shews & suspected places

to go two and twos in Processions

In chanting the Psalms to observe a distinct time to pause a little in the middle of the Verse & not to drawl or curtail the Words

to keep the voice up

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<sup>72</sup> HMC, 4<sup>th</sup> Report, Appendix, p.154

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*

to be punished for Negligence.<sup>74</sup>

At the time of Laud's visitation in 1636, one minor canon's place was vacant, but this was soon filled, and the warden's accounts for both 1636 and 1637 took account of twelve places in dividing up the years' income. Establishing the identity of the various minor canons at any particular time is difficult, not least because not all appear to have signed the warden's account book, and the only other records which seem to name them are leases, many of which are incomplete or vague, giving only a *terminus post quem*. However, Archbishop Laud's records contain a list of the minor canons as they were on June 15<sup>th</sup> 1638.<sup>75</sup> They are as follows, in what appears to be order of seniority:

Rowland Jennings, warden and sub-dean; John Thurgood, senior cardinal; Thomas Maycock, junior cardinal; Roger Nightingale; John Bernard [*sic.*]; John Farnaby; Ralph Mansbridge; Nathaniel Pownall; John Foxe; William Hopwood; John Mudde; John Holmes.

At this time, Holmes was in his probationary year, and Mudd was on the cusp of being collated. This list also gives the prebend to which each minor canon was collated, and which stall he occupied, telling us that John Barnard, on his admission, was collated to the fourth prebend and occupied the seventh stall, although he appears to have had no void portion – the *Vaga Portio* belonging to the fourth prebend was assigned to John Mudd, the reason for which is not given. This information is somewhat at variance with the leases signed by Barnard, however. The three tenements leased to Thomas Iles by indenture dated 24<sup>th</sup> March 1623 were part of the void portion appointed to the twelfth

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<sup>74</sup> Pridden: *Statuta Minora*, p.82

<sup>75</sup> HMC, 4<sup>th</sup> Report, Appendix, pp.156-7



prebend, according to Pridden's transcripts.<sup>76</sup> This illustrates well the muddle that the college of canons had got itself into over the various leases issued, which had, as we have seen, forced many of them out of their official homes. For example, from John the Baptist's Day 1566, a Henry Elsing, citizen and baker, had signed a lease on the house belonging to Thomas Harrold, minor canon, for a 99-year term at twenty shillings per annum. This rent was by the time of the parliamentary survey demanded by John Fox, the inheritor of Harrold's place, but he was only receiving one fourteenth of the market value. It is also probable that it was unclear to the minor canons what rental income they were entitled to, and what was historically attributable to their assigned prebend. It is notable that several of the minor canons seemed uninformed about this, for example, John Farnaby noted that 'he hath no Vaga Portio for ought he knoweth'.<sup>77</sup> At the Restoration, the situation regarding leases, expected income, void portions and the like was in such confusion that the three surviving minor canons from before the Civil War, Stephen Bing, Roger Nightingale and Henry Smyth were complained against for their depriving of the new canons by having sold leases to their property. It also came out in the ensuing fracas that Roger Nightingale seldom appeared at church and had only ever been ordained deacon, which contravened the statutes of the college of minor canons.<sup>78</sup> After the Great Fire, however, Dean Sancroft simplified the payments due to the minor canons to quarterly payments, so each knew exactly to what he was entitled.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Pridden, vol. iii

<sup>77</sup> HMC 4<sup>th</sup> Report, Appendix, p.157

<sup>78</sup> Ashbee & Lasocki, eds: *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians* (1998) pp.830-1.

<sup>79</sup> This scheme is preserved, in Sancroft's own hand, in *Lgc* MS 25643/2

The six vicars choral at Barnard's St. Paul's were all laymen, and again, can generally only be identified by reference to leases in their name. They were each assigned an official dwelling in part of the vicars choral's Mansion House, which was situated in St. Gregory's parish near the west end of the cathedral,<sup>80</sup> but, like the minor canons, these were all demised and sub-let, with the vicars living elsewhere in the city. Henry King, residentiary of St. Paul's, had lived in part of the vicars' house since 25<sup>th</sup> March 1624 at a rate of six pounds per annum. This tenement was later valued by the parliamentary surveyors to be worth twenty-four pounds.<sup>81</sup> Among the leases of the vicars' house was one made in 1556, including the Customs House, which was part of the office of the pittansary, a position held by one of the vicars choral. The terms of this 99-year lease demanded the payment of a red rose annually. This must have angered the successors to Sebastian Westcott, Philip Apprise, Robert Say, Thomas Martyr, Robert Bale and John More, the vicars of that time. The records of leases from Barnard's time at St. Paul's appertaining to the vicars choral all concern rooms in their allotted house, and are as follows:

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<sup>80</sup> *Lgc Ms 25632, f.246*

<sup>81</sup> *Lgc Ms 25632, f.258*

Table I/3: Records of vicars choral's leases

Date	Annual Income	Term	Names of Vicars	Reference <sup>82</sup>
13 <sup>th</sup> April 1624			Peter Hopkins, William Willis, William Cranford, John Tomkins, Edward Colbrand, John Woodington	<i>Lgc Ms</i> 25630/7, f.39v
16 <sup>th</sup> June 1624	£6	40 years	Peter Hopkins, William Willis, William Cranford, John Tomkins, Edward Colbrand, John Woodington	f.258
19 <sup>th</sup> December 1626	£6/13s/4d	31 years	William Cranford, John Tomkins, John Woodington	ff.250-1
7 <sup>th</sup> December 1632	£6	31 years	William Cranford, John Tomkins, John Woodington, Adrian Batten, Richard Sandie, William Morgan	f.256
27 <sup>th</sup> April 1633	£10	31 years	William Cranford, John Tomkins, John Woodington, Adrian Batten, Richard Sandie, William Morgan	f.252
9 <sup>th</sup> May 1634	£6	31 years	William Cranford, John Tomkins, John Woodington, Adrian Batten, Richard Sandie, William Morgan	f.246
13 <sup>th</sup> May 1637	£6/13s/4d	31 years	William Cranford, John Tomkins, John Woodington, Adrian Batten, Richard Sandie, William Morgan	f.249
13 <sup>th</sup> May 1637	£10	31 years	William Cranford, John Tomkins, John Woodington, Richard Sandie, William Morgan	f.245

<sup>82</sup> In *Lgc Ms* 25632 unless otherwise indicated

Date	Annual Income	Term	Names of Vicars	Reference <sup>83</sup>
13 <sup>th</sup> May 1638	£6	31 years	William Morgan <sup>84</sup> 'and others'	f.256v
27 <sup>th</sup> July 1639	£6	31 years	William Cranford, John Woodington, Richard Sandie, William Morgan, William Wenslay	f.248
27 <sup>th</sup> July 1639	£6	31 years	William Cranford, John Woodington, Richard Sandie, William Morgan, William Wenslay	f.258a <sup>85</sup>

The Dean and Chapter, although generally happy with attendance and performance at divine service, felt the need to raise with Archbishop Laud the matter of absenteeism among certain of the vicars choral. The complaint was made that the vicars choral 'serve the church in their persons and diligently for the most part, excepting some who under pretence of their attendance at the King's Chappell do too often absent themselves from the church'.<sup>86</sup> Laud, who may have felt his loyalties to both the King and the church being stretched, came to the diplomatic solution that 'a way would be thought on to find wher they are absent from both, and then to punish'.<sup>87</sup> This of course reiterated, at least in Laud's eyes, the pre-eminence of the Chapel Royal over any other place of worship, and would have been cold comfort to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. It was not only the vicars choral who would absent themselves in this manner, however, and it seems probable that those members of the college of minor canons who held positions at the Chapel Royal were also culpable.

<sup>83</sup> In *Lgc Ms 25632* unless otherwise indicated

<sup>84</sup> Morgan is described here as pittanceary

<sup>85</sup> This unnumbered folio is inserted between ff. 258-9

<sup>86</sup> HMC 4<sup>th</sup> Report, p.154

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

Indeed, the split loyalties are shown in an entry in the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal from 29<sup>th</sup> March 1630, when ‘Mr Richard Sandie and Mr. Nathaniell Pownall had an admonicon given to them to be more industrious and studious, for the better increase of knowledge and performance of their duty in their facultie for the Kinges service in the Chappell’.<sup>88</sup> Of those vicars choral named above, Peter Hopkins, William Willis (possibly), John Tomkins, John Woodington and Richard Sandie were all in the pay of the King as gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, with the exception of Woodington, who was a violinist in ‘Coperario’s Musique’. Also, Thomas Lowe, ‘a Base of St Paules church london’ was sworn in during February 1641/2,<sup>89</sup> although no leases in his name exist to confirm this identification. Tomkins was the official organist at St. Paul’s, and had been since 1619, but his continued absence at the Chapel meant that another had to be drawn from the vicars choral. This is thought to have been Adrian Batten, but the only documented evidence for this assertion is in Boyce’s *Cathedral Music*.<sup>90</sup> Martin Peerson, the almoner and master of the choristers from the death of John Gibbs in December 1624, is described in the burial register of St. Faith’s, as ‘sometime Organist’, but of where it is not clear.<sup>91</sup> According to Audrey Jones, ‘there is evidence to suggest that he was ... made a petty canon’.<sup>92</sup> He is not, however, named among any lists of the canons, and the office of almoner continued to remain separate. On balance it is safe to say that Peerson was never admitted to the college of minor canons.

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<sup>88</sup> Ashbee & Harley, eds: *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal* (2000), p. 912

<sup>89</sup> Ashbee, ed: *Records of English Court Music* (1986-96), viii, p.327

<sup>90</sup> Vol II, viii

<sup>91</sup> *Lgc Ms 8882*. His burial took place on 15 Jan 1650/1

<sup>92</sup> *Grove Music Online*: Peerson, Martin.

Of Barnard's fellow minor canons, the following were employed alongside the several vicars choral at the Chapel Royal: Luke Jones,<sup>93</sup> Nathaniel Pownall, John Fox and Roger Nightingale, and it is interesting to note that Pownall, Hopkins, Sandie and Adrian Batten had all been lay vicars at Westminster Abbey before moving to St. Paul's. That Barnard would have had access to manuscripts from across the country through the Chapel Royal is therefore undeniable, and it is these connections that were surely instrumental in aiding the compilation of his own manuscripts,<sup>94</sup> and subsequently his *First Book of Selected Church Musick*.

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<sup>93</sup> Jones had been warden of the college of minor canons, and his will, witnessed by Rowland Jennings, expresses his wish to be buried in the cloister of the minor canons' garden (*Lgc Ms 25626/4*). His burial is recorded in the registers of St. Gregory's Church on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1627 (*Lgc Ms 10232*).

<sup>94</sup> Discussed below, Chapter Two

## Chapter Two – John Barnard's Manuscripts

It is an indisputable fact that John Barnard was a collector of music, both sacred and secular. The present Chapter aims to illustrate this, primarily by reference to the extant sources with which he can be associated. The most important of these is the incomplete set of manuscripts *GB-Lcm* MSS 1045-51, universally known as the 'Barnard' manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> Originally a set of ten partbooks, comprising *Medius*, *Primus* and *Secundus Contratenor*, *Tenor* and *Bassus* books for both sides of the choir,<sup>2</sup> the *Bassus Decani* and both *Secundus Contratenor* books have since been lost. Now housed at the Royal College of Music, these books were previously part of the library of the Sacred Harmonic Society, and were purchased with the rest of their collection in 1883. Prior to this, they were the property of the Rev. William Gostling, whose bookplate is still visible in all volumes.

These manuscripts contain exclusively sacred music, as can be seen from the Table of Contents given as Appendix B; all volumes are of uniform size, measuring 295 x 185mm, and are possessed of their original boards. The books have been rebound at some point, most probably during the mid-twentieth century, and the spines appear to date from this period.<sup>3</sup> All show signs of various folios having been trimmed during rebinding. The Royal College of Music library has kept no record of the repair or rebinding of these manuscripts, however. There

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Morehen: 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music c.1617-c.1644', pp. 244-282; J. Bunker Clark: 'Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators', *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968), pp. 207-230, and Willetts: 'John Barnard's Collections of Viol and Vocal Music'.

<sup>2</sup> Although, as we will see, these books would not have been used liturgically.

<sup>3</sup> These manuscripts are scheduled for conservation work in early 2010.

can be no doubt that they belonged to John Barnard, as several pieces contained within them were used as printer's copy in the preparation of his *First Book*, and the Indexes to MSS 1045, 1048, 1050 and 1051 are inscribed 'Those th[a]<sup>t</sup> have a prick before them are fitted for the press and printed'.<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, there are numerous annotations, corrections and instructions throughout the books that confirm their use as printer's copy. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. The covers of all seven surviving books are blind stamped with the name of their voice part and 'AVGVST. XXII. / M. DC. XXV. / I. B.', that is to say August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1625, J[ohn] B[arnard], but this date does not appear to represent either the commencement or the completion of the copying activity contained within, for reasons which will be discussed below.<sup>5</sup>

#### ***Lcm* MSS 1045-51: A copying timeline**

The books all contain Indexes, preserved in varying degrees of completeness,<sup>6</sup> with lists of the service music laid out first, ordered by the liturgical day, beginning with columns for Responses, concluding with those for Nunc Dimittis and Deus Misereatur. Full Anthems follow, listed alphabetically, and at the end of the books is an Index for Verse Anthems, again listed from A to Z. These Indexes

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<sup>4</sup> The use of these manuscripts as printer's copy is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

<sup>5</sup> A full Table of Contents for these manuscripts is given as Appendix B, and the reference numbers therein are used throughout this Chapter.

<sup>6</sup> Due to the various missing folios in some volumes.



are key in attempting to establish the copying procedure employed, and they indicate several 'layers' of copying common to all the partbooks.

John Morehen, in the only detailed study of these manuscripts made so far, suggests that they were copied in the following way:

'procedure in the early stages of compilation was to copy a piece (or, more generally, a group of pieces), then to leave a number of blank leaves, then to copy more music, then to leave more blank leaves, and so on.'<sup>7</sup>

He established this by noting that several pieces appear on the same folios across the whole set of partbooks, concluding that these were the first items to be copied, and therefore that the items more scattered across the books were entered later, on the available blank pages. He listed the groups of pieces that occurred thus over the first one hundred folios only; an inventory for the whole set of partbooks is therefore given below:

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<sup>7</sup> 'Sources', p. 277

**Table II/1: Groups of pieces occurring at same foliation in all manuscripts**

Reference	First Folio	Composer	Title
1	1	Oker	Grant we beseech thee
2	1v	Cranford	O Lord make thy servant
20a-23b	7	Marson	Second Service <i>until</i> Preces and Psalms
48a-b	25	Heath	Evening Verse Service
51	27	Heath	When Israel came out of Egypt
60-62	31	West	Save me O God <i>until</i> Have mercy Lord
81-87	51	Gibbons	Blessed are they <i>until</i> O Lord in thy wrath
92	67 <sup>8</sup>	Woodson	Arise O Lord
94-99	73 <sup>9</sup>	Giles	Except the Lord <i>until</i> Lord in thy wrath
105-107	115 <sup>10</sup>	Hooper	O Lord turn not away <i>until</i> O God of Gods
112-121	145 <sup>11</sup>	Weelkes	If King Manasses <i>until</i> Plead thou my cause
124a-i	169 <sup>12</sup>	Batten	Short Service
125a-f	175v <sup>13</sup>	Batten	Short Service for men
126a, d-e	180 <sup>14</sup>	Batten	Full Service
145-147	217 <sup>15</sup>	Batten	O how happy <i>until</i> Turn thou us

The supposition that copying took place in this way assumes that the books were purchased ready bound and ruled, and presumably that the front boards were lettered at the same time, giving a solid date for the commencement of copying as 1625. While this would appear to be supported by the fact that the numerous pages throughout the books onto which music has not been entered are ruled nonetheless, other evidence suggests a less clear-cut picture. For example, in MS 1046, folios 97, 97v and 98 containing Tallis's Te Deum for means were

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<sup>8</sup> Folio 63 of the Tenor books (MSS 1047 & 1050). It is from this point on that the two Tenor parts begin to deviate from the pattern of foliation found in the other parts.

<sup>9</sup> This grouping is absent from MS 1047, and commences on folio 69 of MS 1050.

<sup>10</sup> Folio 105 in the two Tenor parts

<sup>11</sup> Folio 130 in MS 1047; folio 129 in MS 1050

<sup>12</sup> Folio 145 in MS 1047; folio 147 in MS 1050

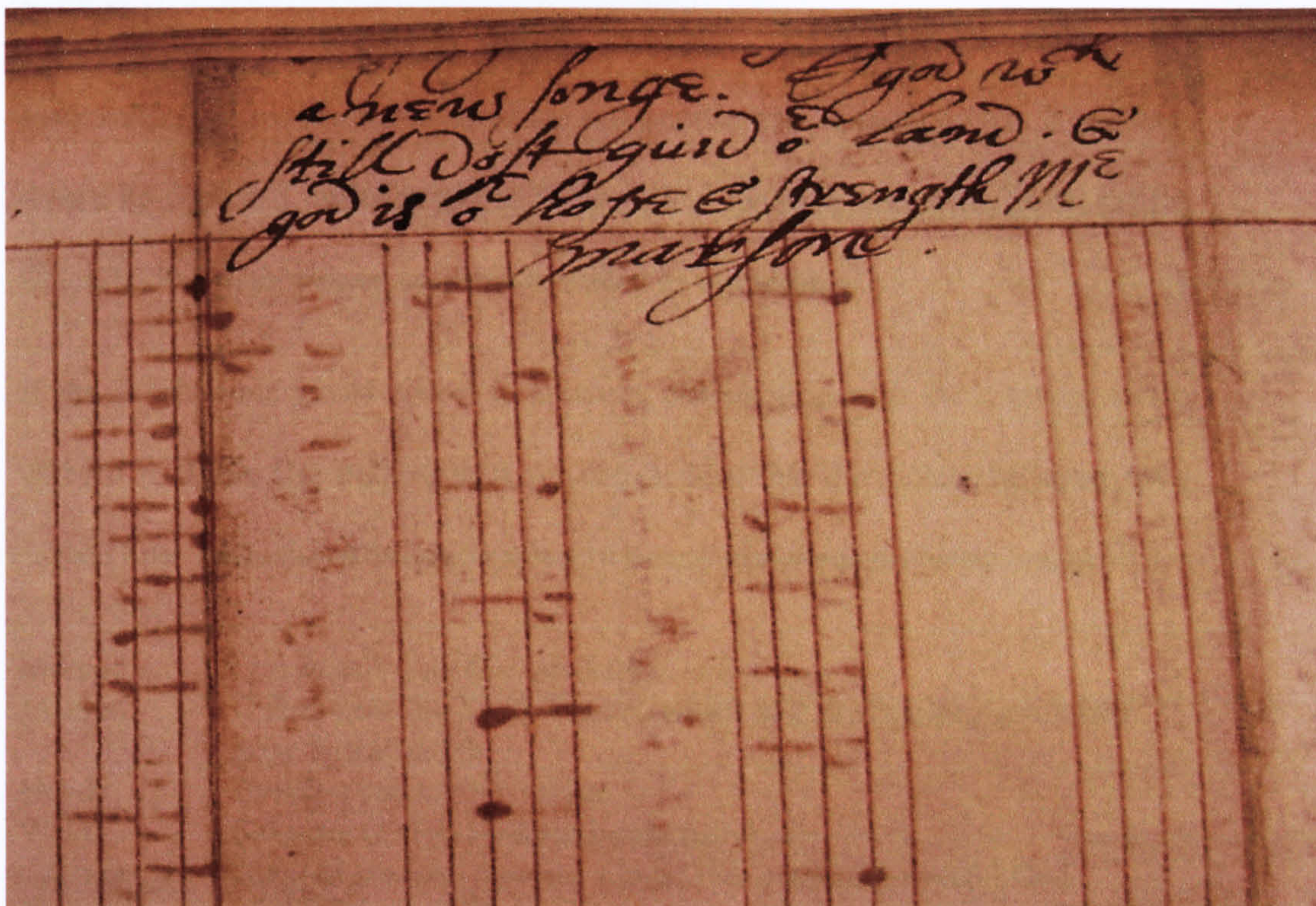
<sup>13</sup> Folio 151v in MS 1047; folio 153v in MS 1050

<sup>14</sup> Folio 156 in MS 1047; folio 158 in MS 1050

<sup>15</sup> Folio 193 in MS 1047; folio 195 in MS 1050

originally paginated 1-3, perhaps indicating that the copyist was working onto unbound sheets. The refoliation is also in the original hand, however, so this instance may simply indicate an oversight on the copyist's part. Likewise, Gibbons' 'Blessed are all they that fear the Lord', which occurs as the first of a grouping of full anthems by the same composer, is prefaced in each volume by the voice name rather than the title of the anthem. The addition of the voice name would surely be unnecessary if the books were already bound up. A similar instance concerns the verse anthems by George Marson, found on folios 21 and 22 of MSS 1045-7, ff. 14-15 of 1048 and ff. 15-16 of 1049-50. Unlike the group of Gibbons' anthems described above, these appear to have been added at a slightly later stage of compilation, as they do not occupy the same folios in each volume and are among the few pieces missing entirely from MS 1051. Nevertheless, the opening page of each group gives the voice part, and, more interestingly, the verso of folio 16 in MS 1050 has a note by the original scribe giving the titles of these three anthems. The position of this annotation on what would be the outer cover of a quiring of four, along with the discolouration of this particular page, indicates that this gathering was kept separately and inserted into the books at a later stage, as illustrated in figure II/1. That these anthems are present in all but one of the extant partbooks also supports this assertion – it is probable that the relevant pages were never included in MS 1051, and if a copyist were entering music into already bound books, it is highly unlikely that he would have omitted a necessary part.

Figure II/1: MS 1050, f. 16v: 'cover' annotation:



The following table shows the pieces in the manuscripts which are prefaced by the voice name, indicating an existence at some time on unbound sheets – the reference numbers refer to the Table of Contents at Appendix B:

Table II/2: Items with indication of voice part

MS 1045	MS 1046	MS 1047	MS 1048	MS 1049	MS 1050	MS 1051
21	21	21	-	-	-	-
45	45	45	-	45 <sup>16</sup>	45	-
48a	48a	48a	48a	48a	48a	48a
60	60	60	-	-	-	-
81	81	81	81	81	81	81
92	92	92	92	92	92	92
94	94	-	94	94	94	94
-	100 <sup>17</sup>	100	-	100	100	100

<sup>16</sup> The top part of this folio has been lost through trimming, but the lower part of a capital 'C' is visible; this is probably the remnants of a 'Contratenor Cantoris' designation.

There are other instances of voice parts being given at various points in the manuscripts, but as these occur where the distribution of parts differs from what would be expected, for example in Batten's Service for men (which is scored for Ct1, Ct2, T, B), they have not been included in the table.

If the information given above is taken in conjunction with the copying hands (shown in Table II/3 below) then we can deduce that the following items were copied onto loose folios and subsequently bound into the appropriate books:<sup>18</sup>

Marson:	O gracious God (Decani books only)
Marson:	O sing unto the Lord, O Lord which still dost guide, God is our hope and strength
Heath:	Evening service for verses
West:	Save me O God (Decani books only)
Gibbons:	Blessed are they that fear God, Glorious and powerful God
Woodson:	Arise O Lord God
Giles:	Except the Lord, What Child was he, Out of the deep, O Lord my God in all distress, O Lord turn not away, Lord in thy wrath
Tallis:	Te Deum for means

This corresponds to some degree with Table II/1, but in reality serves only to complicate the picture. For example, Marson's O gracious God shows the signs of being an added folio, as its voice parts are designated *and* it appears in the same place in all the books. However, it could only be such an added folio in the Decani books, as it appears on a verso in the partbooks for the Cantoris side, coming directly after Marson's Second Service. It seems that, in this case, the Second Service, commencing on folio 7 of all the books, was copied first, but initially the anthem following it, O gracious God, was only copied into the Cantoris books. At a later stage, copies were made on separate sheets for the

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<sup>17</sup> This voice designation is given in pencil in all partbooks – in what appears to be a later hand.

<sup>18</sup> A detailed discussion of the copying hands in these manuscripts is given below, pp. 74-127.

Decani side – simply for the sake of completeness, as both sides have the same music – necessitating a voice-heading so they found their way into the correct books. Once these were bound in, the copying project continued with Marson's Creed for Dr. Hunt.

This is supported by the layout of the Indexes to the partbooks, which give another angle to the questions surrounding the compilation of Barnard's manuscripts. When considering Indexes, it is most often the case that these would be completed in one of two ways. Firstly, that they would be gradually added to as the books filled with an ongoing scheme of copying, or secondly, that they were put together after copying was finished. However, in the case of *Lcm* MSS 1045-51, each book's index appears to have been compiled in a slightly different manner. What is immediately apparent is that the Indexes for each partbook were written at significantly different stages of the books' compilation, and some provide insight into what the final outcome of this particular copying project might have been. Taking first the Medius Decani book, MS 1045, we can see distinct copying stages taking place. For example, the list of settings of the Nunc Dimittis, shown below in figure II/2, indicates that the first stage of copying included the following services:

Marson: Second service; Heath: Evening service; West: Sharp service; Batten: Short service, Service for men, Full service, First and Second Verse services.

At any rate, the index was begun after the copying of Batten's second verse service, but before Gibbons's Short service, which begins the second layer. It is

significant here that all the settings from the first layer were copied by Hand 1, and those of the second were copied by Hands 2 and 3. A third layer of copying seems to have been intended to include Mundy's First and Second services, but the evening canticles from these did not find their way into the *Medius Decani* book.

**Figure II/2: Index page (folio iii), *Lcm* MS 1045**

<i>Nunc Dimittis</i>	Fol.	<i>Nunc Dimittis</i>	Fol.
<i>Martha's second. 4. p. 15</i>	12.		
<i>Hearthis very</i>	26.		
<i>Martyrs short. 4. p. 15</i>	33.		
<i>Battens short. 4. p. 15</i>	173.		
<i>Battens by men. 4. p. 15</i>	179.		
<i>Battens full</i>	184.		
<i>Battens first very</i>	189.		
<i>Battens second very</i>	197.		
<i>Gibbons short</i>	58.		
<i>Tallis short</i>	108.		
<i>Martyrs very</i>	239.		
<i>Battens short</i>	242.		
<i>Birds short</i>	245.		
<i>Shepherds first. T</i>	255.		
<i>Mundy's first</i>			
<i>Mundy's second</i>			

It is clear from figure II/2 that the 'third' stage is actually part of the planned second stage, having been entered into the index at the same time. On the basis of the Indexes in MS 1045, therefore, we can say that after the first stage of copying,

Barnard planned the repertoire to be entered into the manuscript in advance, and once this was established, copyists wrote out the music into what were by now bound volumes, following Barnard's scheme. It is certain that copyist 2, the identity of whom is to be discussed presently, was using bound books in the copying of Bevin's Short service in MS 1050, as its Creed has been copied around Woodson's 'Arise O Lord'. We have seen this to be one of the earlier items, most likely copied onto a disbound folio and subsequently bound up. The empty pages copyist 2 allotted to the Byrd and Bevin Short services did not, in this case, prove sufficient, and may be the reason that, in the Decani books, these two services have been entered towards the end of the manuscripts, where more blank pages were available. It is also notable that the two Batten verse services (reference 127-8), which appear, according to the Index of MS 1045, to have been part of the first 'layer', are included only in the Decani books, and their copying ends abruptly on folio 162 of MS 1047, in the middle of the Te Deum. Why this should have remained unfinished is not immediately apparent, but it is obviously an abandoned project rather than a case of items being removed, as folio 162v in MS 1047 is blank. Possibly this section of the manuscripts, along with the rest of this first 'layer', was copied onto loose, pre-ruled leaves and subsequently bound up with blank pages between, at which time the books were stamped on the covers, and a second stage of copying begun, comprising those items making up the second layer in the Indexes. This possibility will be explored further shortly.

What is most noticeable from the Tables of Indexes is that the Bassus Cantoris part, MS 1051, contains considerably more music than any of the other



partbooks, and also seems to have been intended to hold rather more. If the Nunc Dimittis Index from MS 1051 (shown as figure II/3) is compared with that from MS 1045, it can be seen that the first sixteen services in the Indexes are common to both – in fact these sixteen (as in figure II/2) are the first in all Indexes, albeit it ordered slightly differently – but these are followed in MS 1051 by sixteen more, perhaps representing a plan for a final stage of copying. Of these, only Richard Browne's has actually been copied into the books. The others, tantalisingly, have various symbols against them, but it is unclear what these signify. It is plausible that they may form part of either a second set of partbooks, since lost. The two sets of books *US-Wc* MS M990.C66F4, Volumes 1 and 2, which Gordon Dodd suspected may have belonged to Barnard,<sup>19</sup> and which are discussed below, are similar to these in that Volume 1 contains an Index which includes several items found in Volume 2, so such a system of indexing would not be without precedent. Again, as in MS 1045, the services can be divided into 'layers', with the first comprising the services by Marson, Heath and West, along with Batten's Short Service, his Service for Men, and the 'Full' Service, exactly as in the *Medius Decani* book. However, in this case, the two Batten verse services from part of the second layer, which was evidently not completed in the case of the Cantoris books.

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<sup>19</sup> Dodd, G: 'The Coperario-Lupo Five-part Books at Washington', *Chelys*, I (1969), 36-40. Although it is highly likely these books were connected with Barnard, they may represent later copies of Barnard's own manuscripts rather than those owned by him, as described below.

Figure II/3: MS 1051, Nunc Dimittis Index.

Nunc Dimittis.	Fol.	Nunc Dimittis.
Marys second. 4 p <sup>th</sup>	12	
Hather verses	25	
Wests sharp. 4 p <sup>th</sup>	33	
Battens short. Means. 4 p <sup>th</sup>	175	
Battens for min. 4 p <sup>th</sup>	179	
Battens full	183	
Battens first vers.		
Battens second vers.		
Mordys vers.	233	
Mundyys first	240	
Mundyys second		
Shepherds first. T	248	
Gibbons short	50	
Tallis short	106	
Bruins short	65	
Birds short	61	
Kich. Bruins first vers.	37	
Bruins		
Batten		
Batten		
Birds vers.		
walkers vers.		
Gilke vers.		
Gibbons vers.		
Hiltens vers.		
Farrants vers.		
wards first vers.		
wards second vers.		
Giles first vers.		
Giles second vers.		
ho. Tom Kings first vers.		
ho. Tom Kings second vers.		
ho. Tom Kings third vers.		

The 'layering' of these Indexes is not common to all volumes, however, and by way of a *caveat* it is important to note that in MS 1047, the Tenor Decani book, the ordering is slightly different. Concentrating still on the Nunc Dimittis column, we can see that the same sixteen services are entered, but it seems in this case that

the Index was compiled after copying had reached a more advanced stage. The second 'layer' here consists only of those services yet to be copied, that is to say Mundy's First and Second Services, and Batten's two verse services. This again serves to demonstrate that whatever copying scheme was devised for these manuscripts, it was not followed entirely to the letter.

To apply the above techniques in order to create some chronology for the copying of *anthems* is rather more complicated, not least because the indexes are compiled alphabetically. However, the index to MS 1050 (Tenor Cantoris) sheds some light on the matter. In this particular index, a distinct change of handwriting occurs in some lists of anthems, and this, I believe, differentiates between a first and second layer. The hand is that of the same man, but is slightly altered, as tends to be the case with changing handwriting over time. This is most noticeable in the 'O' section (Figure II/4), a group of five followed by a group of four:

**Figure II/4: Full Anthems Index, 'O', MS 1050.**

Anthem	Composer	Page
O gracious god.	Marston. 5. 2 <sup>15</sup>	12
O Lord in thy wrath.	Gibbons. 6. 2 <sup>15</sup>	14
O prayse of lord.	Batten. 4. 2 <sup>15</sup>	177
O prayse of lord.	Batten. 4. 2 <sup>15</sup>	177
O Clap yo hands.	Batten. 8. 2 <sup>15</sup>	190
O Lord arise.	Woolles. 7. 2 <sup>15</sup>	130
O Lord grant of king a long life.	Woolles	131
O morial man.	Woolles	132
O give thanks unto of lord.	Mundy.	203

From this, it is apparent that the first five anthems form the first layer, and the subsequent four, the second. This is supported by both the changing hand and the two distinct groups of folio numbers. If this is expanded to cover all full anthems in the book, the following can be seen to comprise the first batch of copying:

Gibbons – Deliver us O Lord, O Lord in thy wrath;  
 Oker – Grant we beseech thee;  
 Tallis – I call and cry;  
 Marson – O gracious God;  
 White – Zache stood forth, Praise the Lord O my soul;  
 Bevin – Praise the Lord;  
 West – Save me O God;  
 Batten – Christ our Paschal Lamb, Godliness is great riches, Haste thee O God, Hear the prayers O our God, Hear my prayer, Have mercy upon me, Lord we beseech thee, Lord I am not high minded, Lord who shall dwell, O praise the Lord (two versions), O clap your hands, Praise the Lord O my soul, Sing we merrily, When the Lord turned again, We beseech thee.

The second group is made up of:

Mundy – Bow down thine eye, O give thanks;  
 Jefferies – My song shall be always;  
 Juxon – Christ rising;  
 Tucker – Christ rising;  
 Anon – Come Holy Ghost;  
 Jones – I will give thanks;  
 Weelkes – Deliver us O God, O Lord to thee I make my moan, O Lord arise, O Lord grant the King, O mortal man.

While it is possible from this evidence to postulate a copying timeline, and perhaps a planned final repertoire, there are more aspects to be considered before any solid conclusion can be reached, perhaps most usefully a study of the paper itself.

### ***Lcm* MSS 1045-51: Paper Types**

The manuscripts *Lcm* MSS 1045-1051 contain twelve different watermarks, all but three of which appear in more than one partbook. Ten of these marks are pots, as would be expected on high quality music paper of the period; there is also a single 'pillars' mark, and a 'bend with crown', the latter unique to the Indexes of the Bassus Cantoris book.

The majority of these watermarks occur in an almost random distribution across the set of partbooks, and a single gathering often contains more than one type of paper. We have established that it is unlikely the books were supplied bound, or at least that they were disbound and subsequently rebound at some later time. However, what does seem probable is that Barnard used a single source of supply for his paper, as the pages themselves are uniformly ruled throughout the books. It also appears that Barnard used the same supplier for the blank paper that makes up the Index pages at either end of the books, as, with the exception of the Bassus Cantoris volume, the paper type is consistent, and, moreover, is to be found throughout all the individual partbooks.

The twelve watermarks are illustrated and described below, with the measurements and descriptions following those used in the *Viola da Gamba Society Index*. Where such a style of mark is not included in the *Index*, a description of the measurements is given.

**Figure II/W/1: 'Bend with crown' watermark, initials 'IC': MS 1051, f. i**



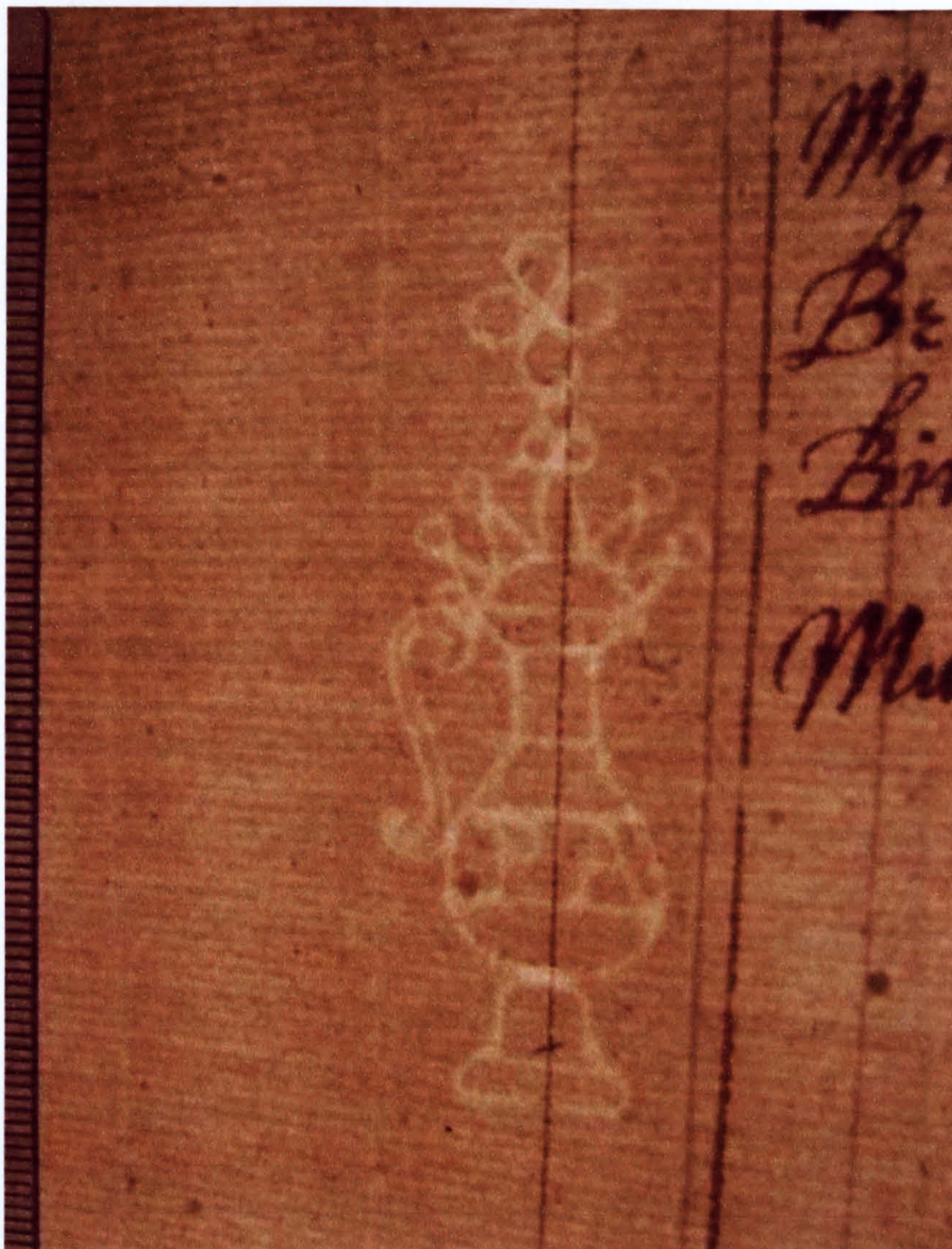
This watermark occurs only on the Index pages at both ends of the Bassus Cantoris volume. The paper is thicker and more brittle than the other types, and as none of it is ruled, was perhaps procured from a source other than that used by Barnard for the majority of his paper supply.

Measurements (in mm):

A (height of shield): 52	B (width of shield at widest point): 38.5
C (height of crown): 30	D (width of crown): 48
E (corner to corner of lowest curve): 14.5	F (width of lower shield): 32
G (height along l.h chainline): 45	H (height along r.h chainline): 43

Distance between chainlines above mark: 22, 19, 20

Figure II/W/2: 'Pot' watermark, initials 'PA': MS 1050, f. v



This mark makes up the paper of all remaining Indexes, and is likewise found throughout the books. It is common to all volumes.

Measurements:

A: 55.5	B: 10	C: 10.5	D: 5	E: 6.5	F: 14
G: +5	H: +2.5	J: 8.5			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 20, 21.5, 22

**Figure II/W/3: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'MC': MS 1050, f. 18:**



This mark is present in all volumes, and is present in the gathering beginning on folio 51 in each of the partbooks.

Measurements:

A: 67	B: 10	C: 6.5	D: 5	E: 6.5	F: 16.5
G: +3	H: +2	J: 10			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 20.5, 21.5, 20



**Figure II/W/3a: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'MC': MS 1045, f. 209**



This watermark is the twin of mark 3, and likewise occurs throughout all volumes.

Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 67	B: 9.5	C: 6	D: 5	E: 6	F: 16.5
G: +4.5	H: +1	J: 8			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 21.5, 22, 20.5

**Figure II/W/4: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'P[?]O/R': MS 1050, f. 68**



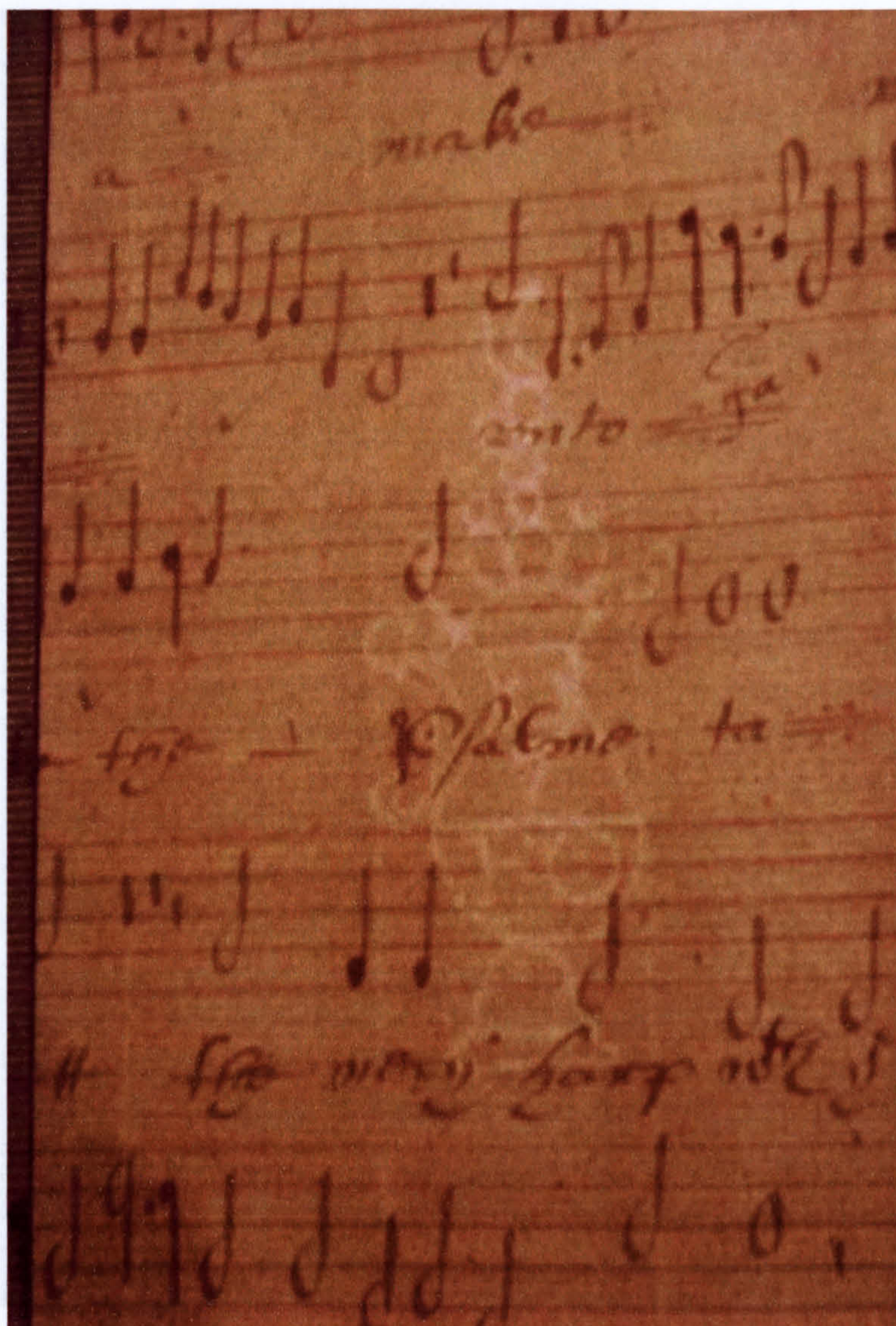
This watermark, in various stages of disintegration, is found in all volumes. It comprises the paper used for Leonard Woodson's 'Arise O Lord' across the set.

Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 61	B: 11	C: 5	D: 7	E: 4	F: 17
G: +3	H: +1	J: 9			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 20.5, 21, 22

**Figure II/W/5: 'Pot' watermark with initials '?/RO': MS 1050, f. 191**



This mark is found in all volumes, and is used as the paper for Tallis' Te Deum for means in each book, with the exception of MS 1045 where these pages are missing.

Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 65	B: 9	C: 4.5	D: 9.5	E: 2	F: 17
G: +5	H: 0	J: 9.5			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 21.5, 22, 21.5

**Figure II/W/5a: 'Pot' watermark with initials '?/RO': MS 1045, f. 222**



This is the twin of mark 5, present in all volumes.

Measurements (as mark 3):

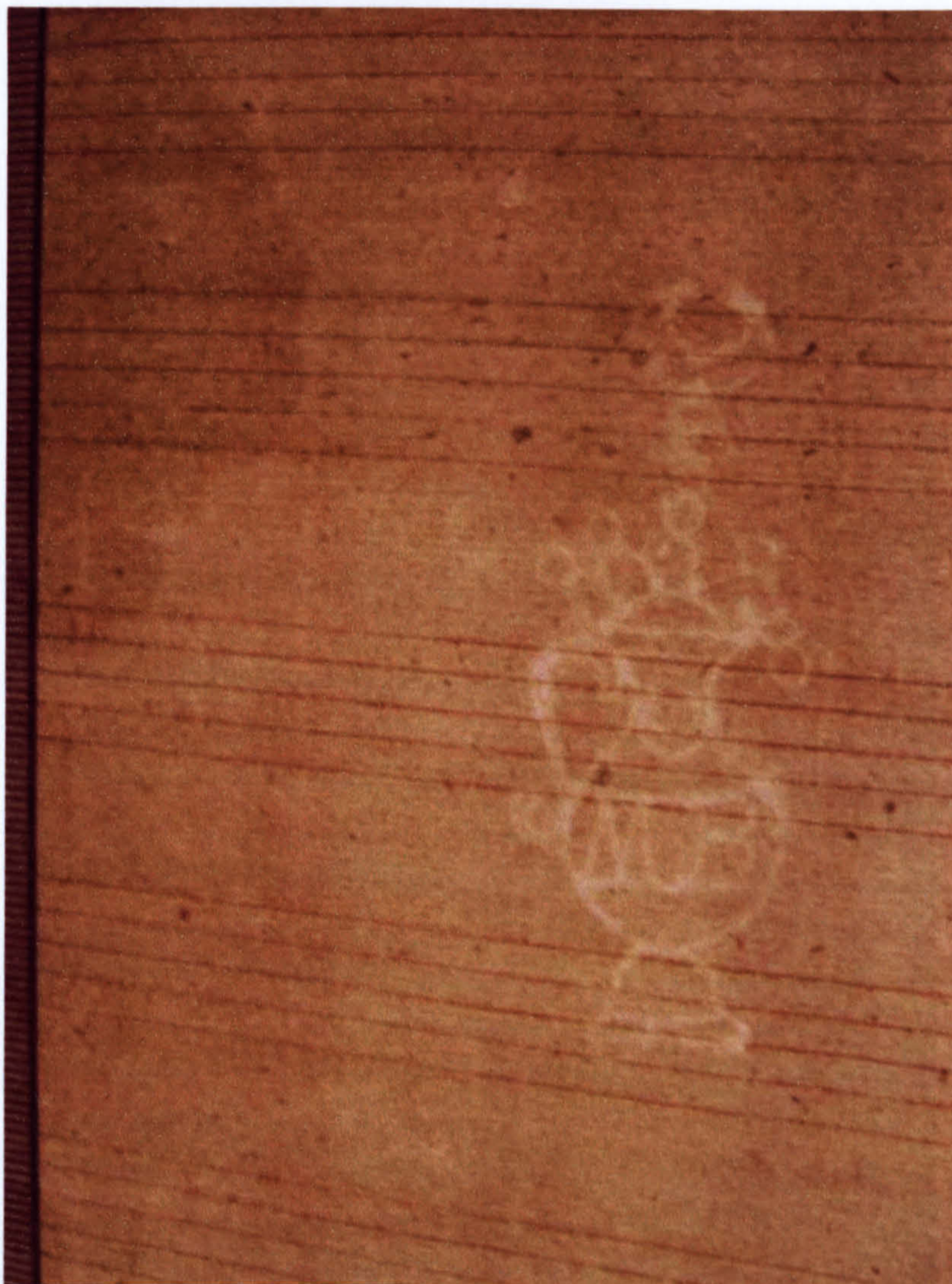
A: 65.5	B: 10	C: 7	D: 5.5	E: 4	F: 16.5
G: +3	H: 0	J: 8.5			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 22.5, 19.5, 22

A: 63.5	B: 11	C: 6	D: 5	E: 6.5	F: 18
G: +2	H: +2	J: 8.5			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 21, 22, 21

**Figure II/W/6: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'MB': MS 1045, f. 30**



This paper is used for the section of Hooper anthems commencing on folio 115 in all books, with the exception of the Tenor parts, where the same grouping begins on folio 105. It also occurs at various points throughout the books.

Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 63.5	B: 11	C: 6	D: 5	E: 6.5	F: 18
G: +2	H: +2	J: 8.5			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 21, 22, 21

**Figure II/W/7: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'ED/H': MS 1045, f. 215**



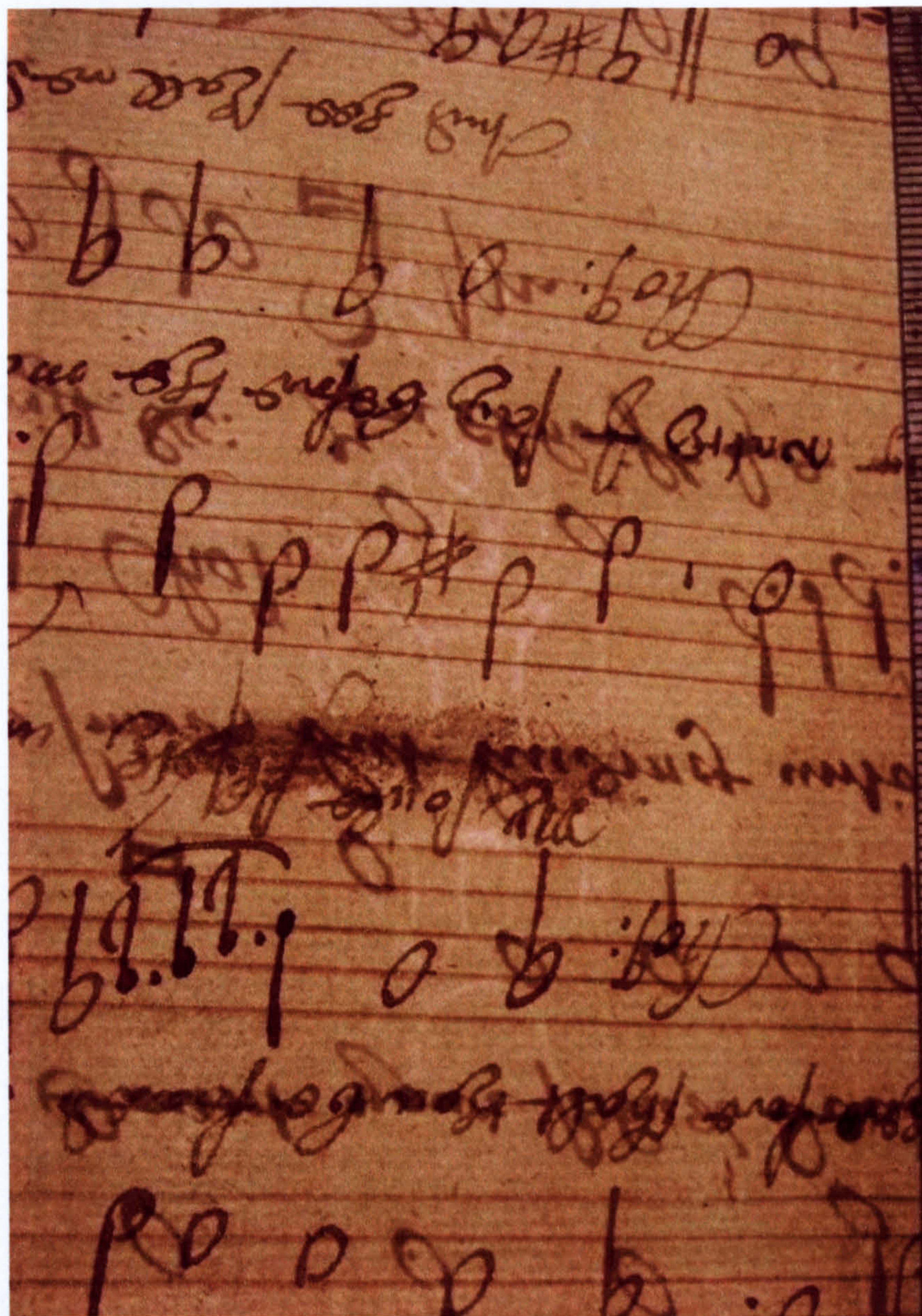
This watermark always occurs in close proximity to marks 5 and 5a, often in the same gathering. This paper seems more prone to show-through than other types utilised in the manuscripts.

Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 72	B: 9	C: 4.5	D: 8	E: 4	F: 18
G: +3	H: 0	J: 8			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 22, 21, 21

Figure II/W/8: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'HI': MS 1051, f. 3



The above image is the only exemplar of this watermark in any of the manuscripts.

Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 69	B: 10	C: 5.5	D: 3	E: 7	F: 17
G: +3	H: +1	J: 10			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 21, 21, 21

**Figure II/W/9: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'P/GD': MS 1046, f. 202**



This mark occurs only in the Medius Decani, Tenor Cantoris and both Contratenor books, in the section devoted to Batten's anthems.

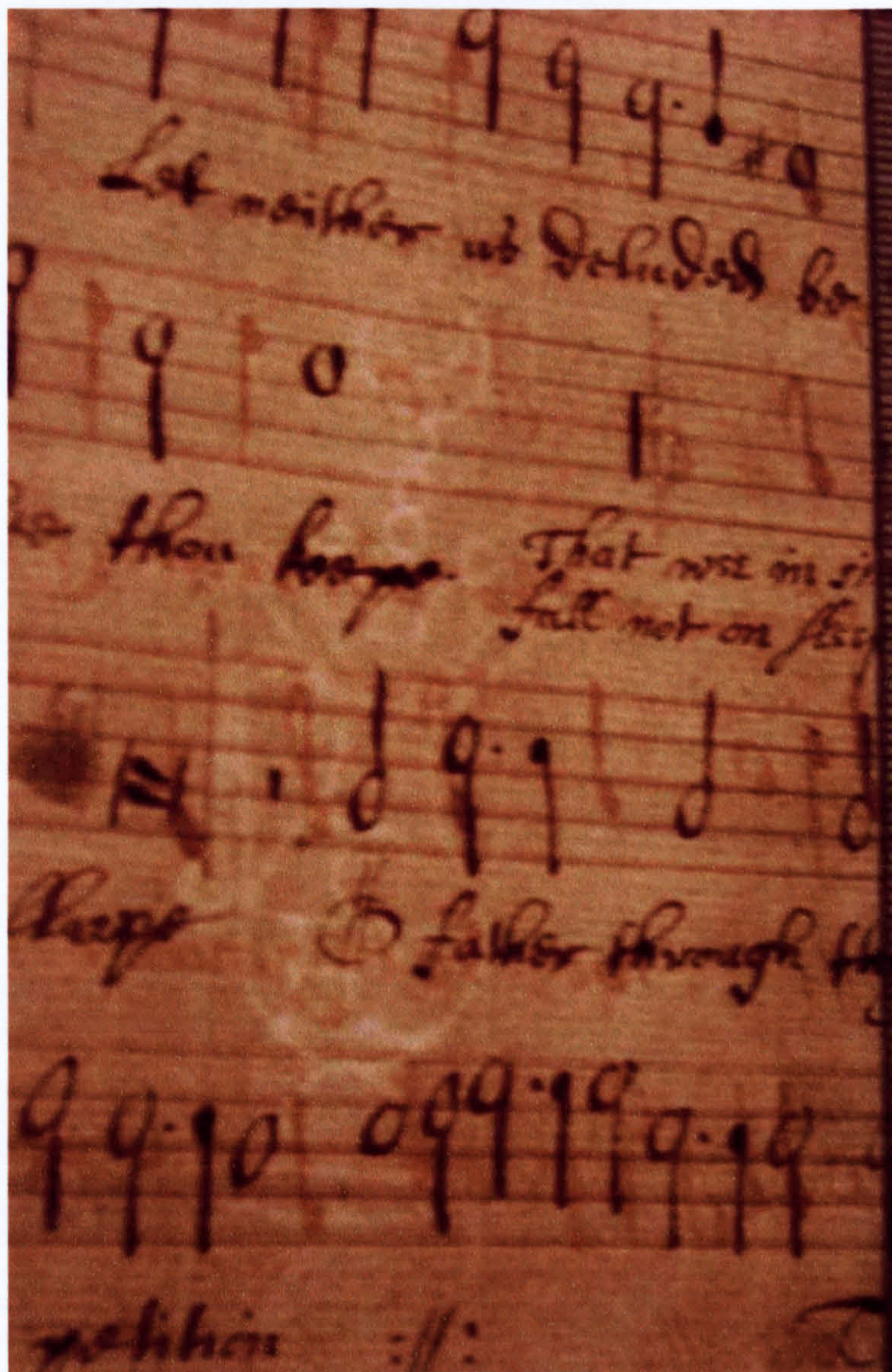
Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 67	B: 11	C: 6	D: 4	E: 3.5	F: 16
G: 0	H: +2	J: 9.5			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 19, 20, 19



Figure II/W/10: 'Pot' watermark with initials 'C/HL': MS 1046, f. 3



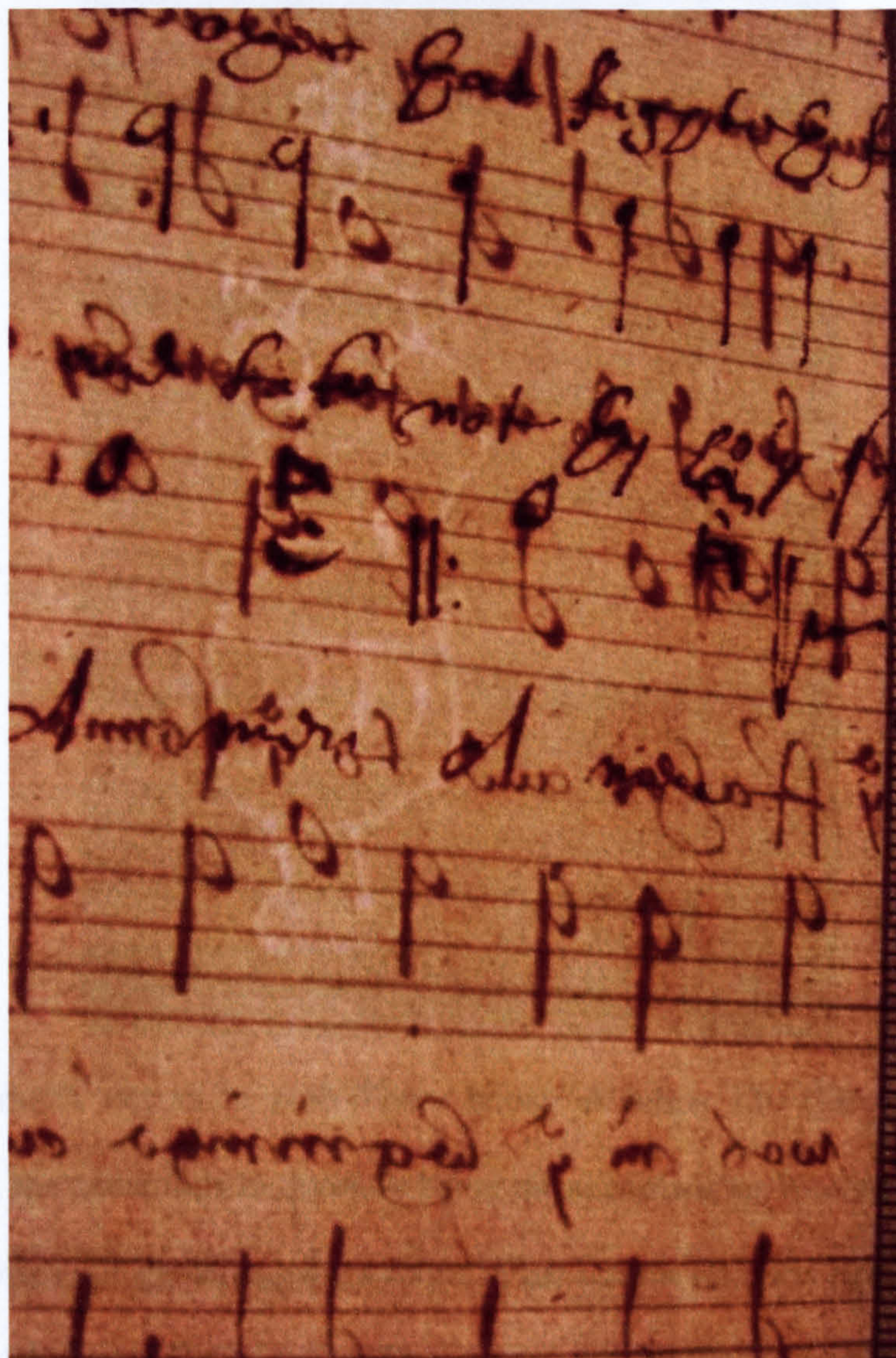
This mark is found only on leaves towards the front of the Medius Cantoris and Contratenor Decani books.

Measurements (as mark 3):

A: 67	B: 9	C: 5	D: 8.5	E: 3.5	F: 17
G: +2	H: 0	J: 11			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 21, 20, 21

**Figure II/W/11: 'Two-handed pot' watermark with initials 'PD': MS 1045, f. 257**



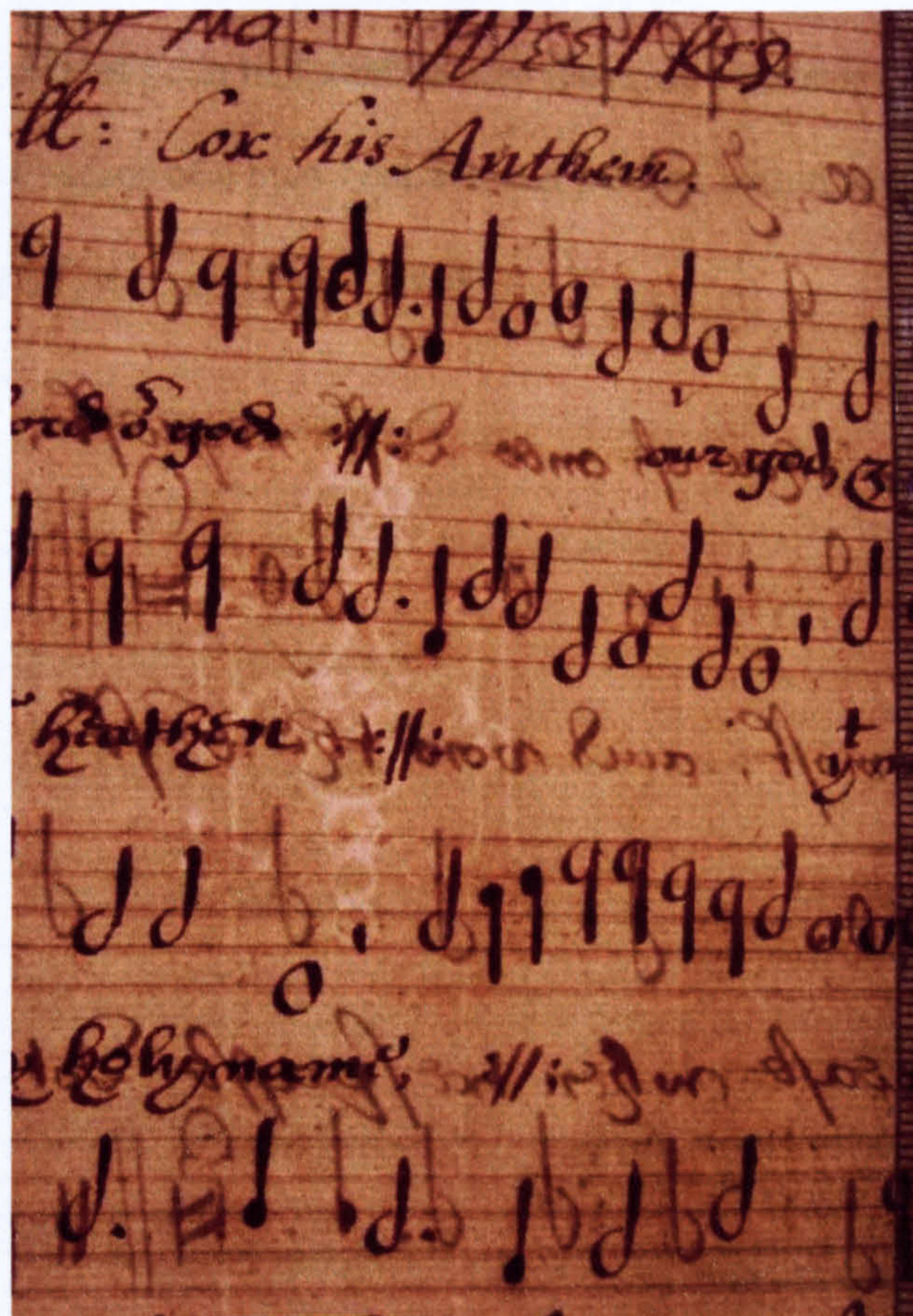
The Medius Decani book is the only one to carry paper with this watermark. It occurs on the last twenty folios (ff. 237-257) only.

Measurements (as mark 2):

A: 64.5	B: 7	C: 7	D: 4.5	E: 6.5	F: 18
G: +1.5	H: -1	J: 8			

Distance between chainlines below mark: 19, 18, 18.5

Figure II/W/12: 'Pillars' watermark: MS 1050, f. 129



This watermark occurs in both Tenor books at folios 130 (Decani) and 129 (Cantoris), the gatherings in question being those containing Weelkes anthems. It also comprises one gathering of six folios in the Bassus Cantoris part, forming the first part of Parsons' First service. This service has not been inserted into any of the other partbooks.

Measurements (Pillars II in VdGS Index):

A: 5	B: 4	C: 8.5	D: 12	E: 27	F: 27
G: 4	H: 4				

Distance between chainlines below mark: 18, 19, 20

The accompanying watermark distribution table (Table II/3) shows the folios on which the watermarks can be found. Where these are consistent across the set, this is indicated by means of a bold typeface and placing within square brackets, with the piece(s) in question given as a footnote.

Table II/3: Distribution of watermarks in *Lcm* MSS 1045-51

	Mark 1 (Bend)	Mark 2 (PA)	Mark 3/3a (MC)	Mark 4 (FO/R)	Mark 5/5a (?/RO)	Mark 6 (MB)	Mark 7 (ED/H)	Mark 8 (HI)	Mark 9 (P/GD)	Mark 10 (C/HL)	Mark 11 (PD)	Mark 12 (Pillars)
Medius Decani (MS 1045)		3, 5, 14, 15, 33, [56, 58, 60] <sup>20</sup> , 106, 107, 108, 151, Indexes	6, 13, 23, 24, 36, [51] <sup>21</sup> , 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 203	53, 54, [67, 74, 75] <sup>22</sup>	22, 147, 149, 150, [172, 173, 175, 176] <sup>23</sup> , 205, 213	9, 10, 12, 26, 27, 30, [117, 119, 120] <sup>24</sup> , 178, 199	[184, 185] <sup>25</sup> , 207, 211, 215, 218, 220, 223		[201] <sup>26</sup>	[32] <sup>27</sup>	237, 241, 242, 243, 247, 250, 251, 255, 257	
Contratenor Decani (MS 1046)		[55, 58] <sup>20</sup> , 100, 105, 108, 229- 257 Indexes	18, 31, [52] <sup>21</sup> , 189, 191, 192, 196, 197, 200	53, 54, [67, 74, 75] <sup>22</sup> , 368, 370	7, 8, 9, 22, 25, 26, 28, 97, 98, [171, 174] <sup>23</sup> , 205, 214, 217	[115, 116, 118] <sup>24</sup> , 146, 148, 150, 204	[181, 184, 185] <sup>25</sup> , 208, 215, 216, 218, 226, 227, 228		[202] <sup>26</sup>	3, 15, 17, [34, 35] <sup>27</sup> ,		176
Tenor Decani (MS 1047)		3, 5, 14, 15, [55, 56, 60] <sup>20</sup> , 91, 94, 95, 97, 140, 141, 216-230 Indexes	18, 20, 31, [51] <sup>21</sup> , 179, 182, 191	53, [63] <sup>22</sup> , 135, 139,	9, 11, 12, 22, 24, 28, 29, 30, 88, 89, [147- 156] <sup>23</sup> , 186, 189, 193	[106, 108, 110] <sup>24</sup> , 180	[157, 160, 161] <sup>25</sup> , 192, 194		[177] <sup>26</sup>	[34, 35] <sup>27</sup>		130

	Mark 1 (Bend)	Mark 2 (PA)	Mark 3/3a (MC)	Mark 4 (FO/R)	Mark 5/5a (?/RO)	Mark 6 (MB)	Mark 7 (ED/H)	Mark 8 (HI)	Mark 9 (P/GD)	Mark 10 (C/HL)	Mark 11 (PD)	Mark 12 (Pillars)
Medius Cantoris (MS 1048)		1, 5, 17, 104, 106, 108, 168, 233-4, 237, 239- 41, 244-5, 247-8, 250, 253- 5 Indexes	15, 19, 20, [51] <sup>21</sup> , 56, 58, 60, 62, 63, 66, 206, 208, 211, 218, 220	[67, 73, 76, 77] <sup>22</sup> , 224, 226, 228	146, 150, [170, 172, 174-6] <sup>23</sup> , 205, 222	10, 11, 12, 26, [116, 117, 120] <sup>24</sup> , 147, 178	[181-3] <sup>25</sup>		[200] <sup>26</sup>	4, [31] <sup>27</sup>		
Contratenor Cantoris (MS 1049)		4, 5, 32, 33, [55, 57, 59] <sup>20</sup> , 63, 65, 66, 106, 107, 108, 109, 230- 255, [1-10 reversed] Indexes	13, 17, [52] <sup>21</sup> , 156, 208, 209, 211, 218, 220	6, 19, 49, [67, 76, 77, 78] <sup>22</sup>	10, 11, 12, 30, 98, 146, [170, 171, 174, 175, 176, 177] <sup>23</sup> , 210, 222	[116, 117, 120] <sup>24</sup> , 147, 150	[182, 183, 186] <sup>25</sup> , 224, 225, 227, 228		[202] <sup>26</sup>			
Tenor Cantoris (MS 1050)		2, 3, 31, 34, 35, 36, [55, 56, 59, 60] <sup>20</sup> , 89, 94, 95, 98, 107, 211-222 Indexes	14, 18, [51] <sup>21</sup>	6, [64, 66, 68, 69, 71] <sup>22</sup>	16, 88, [147, 149, 151, 154, 156, 158, 159] <sup>23</sup> , 183, 191, 200	7, 10, 11, [105] <sup>24</sup>	[160, 162] <sup>25</sup> , 202, 203		184, 186, 190			129, 132, 133

	Mark 1 (Bend)	Mark 2 (PA)	Mark 3/3a (MC)	Mark 4 (FO/R)	Mark 5/5a (?/RO)	Mark 6 (MB)	Mark 7 (ED/H)	Mark 8 (HI)	Mark 9 (P/GD)	Mark 10 (C/HL)	Mark 11 (PD)	Mark 12 (Pillars)
Bassus Cantoris (MS 1051)	Indexes		15, 17, 18, [51] <sup>21</sup> , 211, 212, 218, 220, 223, 225, 227	6, 21, 23, 24, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, [67] <sup>22</sup>	97, 99, 101, 145, 146, [171, 173, 174, 176] <sup>23</sup> , 180, 205, 222, 230-251, 336-345	9, 11, 12, 25, 26, 27, [118, 119, 120] <sup>24</sup> , 148, 177, 199	73, 74, 75, [184] <sup>25</sup>	3				329, 330, 331

<sup>20</sup> Gibbons: Short Service

<sup>21</sup> Gibbons: Blessed are they that fear God

<sup>22</sup> Woodson: Arise O Lord; Giles: Anthems, except MS 1051

<sup>23</sup> Batten: Short Service; Short Service for men

<sup>24</sup> Hooper: Anthems

<sup>25</sup> Batten: Full Service

<sup>26</sup> Batten: Haste thee O God; O praise the Lord 'the second'; blank folios

<sup>27</sup> West: Sharp Service. Also uses Paper Type 2.

The fact that individual partbooks make use of the same paper for copying the same pieces shows that it is most probable the relevant leaves were copied at the same time and then inserted into the books, in support of the hypothesis outlined above. For example, the group of Gibbons' anthems, commencing on folio 51 in each book, makes use of the same two paper types, 3 and 4, in all volumes. This indicates that they were copied before being bound into the rest of the books, a conclusion consistent with the evidence already presented, not least the fact that voice names are given at the beginning of this grouping of pieces. Likewise, the group of Marson's verse anthems (ref: 45-7), which have been shown to occupy an added gathering,<sup>28</sup> were all copied onto paper type 5. The group of anthems by Nathaniel Giles (ref: 94-9) are on paper type 5 in all the books except MS 1051, where paper type 7 has been used, and Woodson's 'Arise O Lord' (ref: 92) occupies paper type 4 in every book. These are also preceded by voice names, indicating copying onto loose sheets. If we examine the paper types found in this part of the manuscripts, it is possible to bolster the argument that the manuscripts were compiled as follows: some copying was done onto loose folios, the books were then bound with blank pages between the already copied groups of pieces and the blank pages subsequently and gradually filled. It is evident that the Short Services by Gibbons, Byrd and Bevin, all copied by Hand 2,<sup>29</sup> were entered into already bound books, as previously described. The paper onto which they were copied is, with the exception of MSS 1048 and 1051, type 2, the type most commonly found throughout the manuscripts. This is also true of the Tallis Short

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<sup>28</sup> See above, pp. 39-40.

<sup>29</sup> The copying hands in these manuscripts are discussed below.



Service, and the Services by Morley, Mundy and Sheppard (ref: 104, 168-172), the copying of which was done by Hands 2 and, to a much lesser extent, 3. It would seem, therefore, that paper type 2 was used to provide the blank pages once the books were bound; indeed it is found earlier on in the books, on leaves which were among the last to be filled in the final stage of copying before work commenced on Barnard's *First Book*. It is also significant that this paper type makes up the Indexes to all volumes but MS 1051, further strengthening this argument. Again, there are complications, for example, with Marson's Second Service, which begins in each book on folio 7, and can therefore be assumed to be one of the first group of items copied. It has been copied onto two different kinds of paper, types 5 and 6, a fact which might be construed as showing not all the parts were copied simultaneously. It is significant, however, that no two voice parts contain both paper types here – that is to say, each part was copied onto only one kind of paper, type 5 in MSS 1046, 1047 and 1049, and type 6 in MSS 1045, 1048, 1050 and 1051. On top of this evidence, it is most unlikely that a stationer would have sold books bound up with ruled paper of so many different types. The rustration itself appears to have been professionally done and is uniform throughout, in an ink which does not match the colour of any that were used for the actual copying.

The Bassus Cantoris book, as mentioned previously, is something of an anomaly in the amount of music it contains. The idiosyncratic nature of this particular partbook is further borne out by its paper types. It is the only book in the set to be bereft of paper type 2, and provides the only exemplars of papers 1

and 8. Its unique repertoire consists largely of verse anthems, and this suggests that these pieces may have held a particular significance for Barnard. Perhaps he had a Bass voice, although there is no firm evidence for this assertion.

The conclusion to be drawn on the basis of the above watermark evidence, therefore, is that the first stage of copying, comprising those items described above, was done onto loose folios, and that the Indexes were compiled, with these items the first to be entered, when the books were bound. The second stage of copying was then begun, including all that was copied by Hand 2, and then the last stage filled in several of the blank leaves, beginning at the front of the books. This latest stage contains the items, exclusively anthems, that have been entered where possible on blank leaves towards the front of the books. These are generally those anthems included by Barnard in his *First Book*, and as such are discussed further in Chapter Four.

#### **Further evidence for a chronology**

Various dates appear throughout the manuscripts, usually at the end of items, and these give further evidence for a chronology of copying. Most notably, it is many of Adrian Batten's anthems that are so dated. This strongly implies that the copyist was working from Batten's own autograph copies to which Batten had appended the date of composition. The dates inscribed across the various manuscripts are as follows:

Anon:	O hearken thou	'Feb. 11. 1637' [Ms 1051, f. 42]
Portman:	Lord, who shall dwell	'1633' [Ms 1051, f. 42v]
Weelkes:	Deliver us	'9. March 1617' [Ms 1045, f. 146; Ms 1047, f. 130v; Ms 1048, f. 146; Ms 1050, f. 130; Ms 1051, f. 146]
Batten:	Sing we merrily	'1623' [Ms 1045, f. 213; Ms 1046, f. 213, Ms 1047, f.189; Ms 1049, f. 213] 'November. 4. 162[3]' [Ms 1050, f. 191; Ms 1051, f. 213]
Batten:	O God, the king	'Aprill. 29. 1631' [Ms 1051, f. 220]
Batten:	Psalm 150	'1634' [Ms 1051, f. 220v]
Batten:	I will always	'24 <sup>th</sup> of September 1612' [Ms 1051, f. 221v]
Batten:	Short Service (men)	'July. 15 <sup>o</sup> . 1623' [Ms 1045, f. 179v; Ms 1046, f. 179v; Ms 1047, f. 155v; Ms 1048, f. 179v; Ms 1049, f. 179v; Ms 1050, f. 179v]
Batten:	Full Service	'1622' [Ms 1046, f. 185]
Tallis:	Short Service	'1635' [Ms 1045, f. 108]

The Weelkes anthem 'Deliver us' has been erroneously dated in Mss 1047 and 1051 – the copyist originally wrote 1627 for 1617, later correcting it. This indicates that this particular section of the manuscripts was likely copied in 1627, again probably from an autograph copy. In each partbook, this anthem is entitled 'Mr Will: Cox his anthem', and ends with a large attribution to Weelkes alongside the date, with the implication being the original manuscript was signed and dated by Weelkes himself. The copyist in question is known to have 'copied' signatures

in other manuscripts in this way,<sup>30</sup> so this is not an entirely fanciful suggestion. Furthermore, according to the books' indexes, the Weelkes anthem grouping forms part of the second layer of copying, effected once the books were bound. If the date of 1625 stamped on the covers of the volumes represents the date this occurred, then it is entirely possible that these anthems were entered in 1627 into already bound books. The other dates also fit with this theory, with all those items copied prior to the binding of the books bearing dates earlier than 1625.

There are other complications regarding this chronology of copying, however, not least with regard to the distribution of copying hands. The copyists of these manuscripts are discussed in detail below, but it is the changing style of Hand 1 that raises the most questions in respect of a copying 'timeline'. If it is assumed that the items occurring on the same folios across the set were the first items to be entered, it would be reasonable to expect that the copying hand would be the same throughout, at the very least not varying within the same piece. However, this is not always so, and Cranford's 'O Lord grant the king a long life' (Ref: 2) is a case in point. In each partbook, this piece begins on the verso of folio 1, but the general appearance of the copying hand is inconsistent. MSS 1045 and 1047-1050 share the same hand, which is consistent with the preceding anthem (Oker's 'Grant we beseech thee'), but in MSS 1046 and 1051, the hand is in a different style; again this is most noticeable when viewed in the light of its proximity to Oker's anthem.

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<sup>30</sup> See below, pp. 103-5.



What is obvious is that the composition by Cranford was not entered into all the books simultaneously – if it had been, surely all voice parts would be in the same style of hand. There is a plausible explanation for this, however, in that the anthem could have been entered into all the manuscripts with the exception of MSS 1046 and 1051 while they were still unbound, and the remaining two parts, doubling those already copied,<sup>31</sup> were entered for completeness after the books were bound. This illustrates the complexity of these manuscripts; a complexity which becomes increasingly multifaceted as we examine their copyists in more detail.

#### **The Copyists of the ‘Barnard’ manuscripts, and other associated sources**

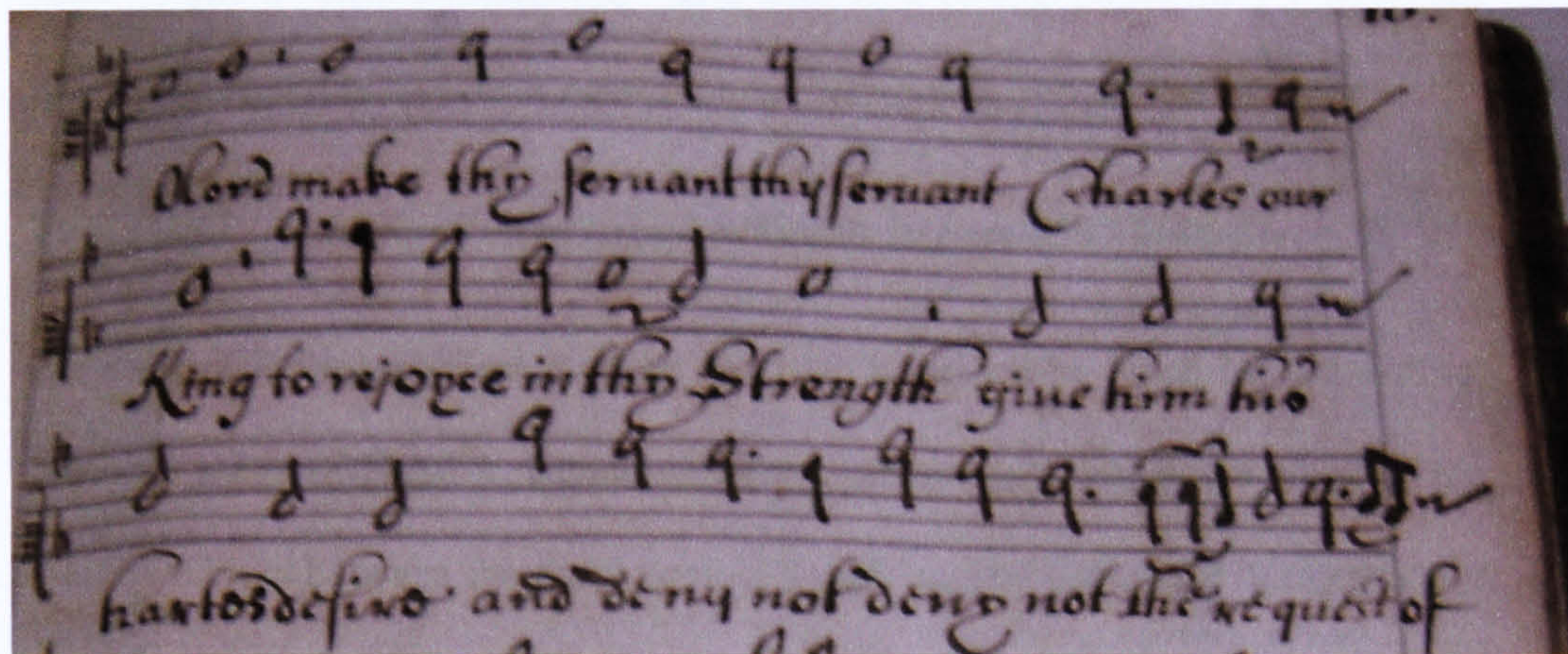
The compilation of *Lcm* MSS 1045-51 was the work of four separate copyists, two of whom are known to have contributed to other collections. The three main copyists can be shown to have been working extremely closely together, while the fourth may well be that of a subsequent owner of the books. The accompanying table (Table II/4) shows the distribution of hands between the seven surviving partbooks, and it will be seen that Hand 4 copied only one item in a single volume – William Byrd’s ‘O Lord make thy servant’ on folio 16 of the *Medius Decani* book. The same hand also supplied the corresponding entry in the indexes to this

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<sup>31</sup> Although the *Bassus Decani* book has not survived, an Index to some of its contents has been preserved as part of *Ob Tenbury* MS 791, and this is discussed below. It is also included as part of the Table of Contents, given as Appendix B.

volume *and* in the Medius Cantoris partbook, although the music itself in MS 1048 is in Hand 1.

**Figure II/6: Exemplar of Hand 4 – MS 1045, folio 16**



The significance of copyist 4 is minimal for a number of reasons, however. Primarily, he only copied one voice part of a single piece. While in certain circumstances this might indicate that he was working together with copyist 1, who entered the other voice parts, in this case it is not so. By the time Byrd's 'O Lord' was copied, compilation of the books had reached an advanced stage, and pieces were entered simply where there was room, as can be seen from the contents table. This particular anthem is variously found on folios 15, 6v, 5v and 2 of the partbooks,<sup>32</sup> and, most importantly, no voice part is duplicated, with the exception of the Medius part in question. A comparison of readings also shows that the Medius Decani part in Hand 4 is an exact duplication of that in the Medius Cantoris book in Hand 1, suggesting that Hand 4 copied into the Decani part from the Cantoris book, adding an unnecessary extra copy of the same part. It

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<sup>32</sup> In MSS 1046, 1047, 1049 and 1048 respectively

is apparent, therefore, that Hand 4 had no part in the initial compilation of the volumes, but had access to them at a later stage. John Morehen suggested this hand might be post-Restoration,<sup>33</sup> and this is a strong possibility. I have not located this hand in any other music source, either pre- or post-Restoration.

**Table II/4: Distribution of Copying Hands in *Lcm* MSS 1045-51**

An asterisk indicates where an item has been amended by Hand 1a, the distinct 'second' stage of Hand 1, examined below, while 1(a) indicates a stage of the Hand which is between the more distinct 1 and 1a. The Reference numbers refer to the Table of Contents, given as Appendix B.

Reference Number	MD [1045]	CtD [1046]	TD [1047]	MC [1048]	CtC [1049]	TC [1050]	BC [1051]
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1(a)	1	1	1(a)	1(a)	1a
3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	1a*	1a*	-	-	-	-
5	1a*	1a*	1a	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	1a*	-	1a	-	-
7	1a	1a*	1a	-	1a	-	-
8	1a	-	1a	-	1a	-	-
9	1a	-	1a	-	1a	-	-
10	1a*	1a*	1a*	-	1a*	-	-
11	1a	1a	1a	-	1a	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
13	1a	1a	1a*	-	-	-	1a
14	1a	1a*	1a	1a	-	-	1a
15a	-	-	-	1a	1a	1a	1a
15b	-	-	-	1a	1a	1a	1a
16	-	-	-	1a	1a <sup>34</sup>	1a	1a
17	-	-	-	1a	1a	1a	1a
18	-	-	-	1a	1a	1a	1a
19	-	-	-	-	1a	1a	1a
20a	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20b	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

<sup>33</sup> 'Sources', p. 273

<sup>34</sup> This is a Medius part, notated in the C1 clef



Reference Number	MD [1045]	CtD [1046]	TD [1047]	MC [1048]	CtC [1049]	TC [1050]	BC [1051]
20c	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20d	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20e	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20f	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20g	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)
22	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a
23a	1a	-	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a
23b	1a	-	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a
24	-	-	1a	-	-	-	-
25	4	1a	1a	1a	1a	-	-
26	-	1a	-	1a	-	1a	-
27	1a*	1a*	-	-	1a*	1a	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	1a	-
29	1a*	1a*	-	-	1a*	1a*	-
30	-	1a	-	1a*	-	-	-
31	-	1a	-	1a*	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
33	-	-	-	1a	-	-	1a
34	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
35	-	-	-	1a	-	-	1a
36	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
37	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
38	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
38a	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
39	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
40	-	-	-	1a	-	-	1a
41	-	-	-	1a	-	-	1a
42	1a	-	-	-	-	-	1a
43	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
44	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
45	1	1	1	-	1a	1	-
46	1	1	1	1a	1a	1	-
47	1	1	1	1a	1a	1	-
48a	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48b	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	-	-	-	1a	1a	1a	1a
50	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
51	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
52	-	1	-	-	-	-	1a
53	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
54	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
55	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
56	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
57	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
58	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
59	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a

Reference Number	MD [1045]	CtD [1046]	TD [1047]	MC [1048]	CtC [1049]	TC [1050]	BC [1051]
60	1	1	1	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
61a	1	1	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
61b	1	1	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
61c	1	1	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
61d	1	1	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
61e	1	1	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
62	1	1	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
63	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
64	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
66	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
67a	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
67b	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
68	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
69	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
70	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
71	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
72	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
73	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
74	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
75	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
76	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
77	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
78	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
79	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
80	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
81	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
82	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
83	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
84	1*	1	1	1	1*	1	1
85	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
86	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
87	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
88a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
88b	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
88c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
88d	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
88e	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
88f	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
88g	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
89	1a	1a	1a	-	-	-	-
90a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
90b	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
90c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
90d	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
90e	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
90f	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Reference Number	MD [1045]	CtD [1046]	TD [1047]	MC [1048]	CtC [1049]	TC [1050]	BC [1051]
90g	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
91a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
91b	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
91c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
91d	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
91e	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
91f	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
91g	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
92	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
93	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
94	1	1	-	1	1	1	1
95	1	1	-	1	1	1	1
96	1	1	-	1	1	1	1
97	1a	1a	-	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
98	1a	1a	-	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
99	1a	1a	-	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
100	-	1	1	-	1	1	1
101a	-	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
101b	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
101c	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
102	-	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1
103	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
104a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
104b	2	2	2	2	2*	2	2
104c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
104d	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
104e	2	2*	2	2	2	2	2
104f	2	2	2	2 <sup>35</sup>	2	2	2
104g	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
104h	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
104i	2	2*	2	2	2	2	2
105	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
106	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
107	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
108	-	-	-	1a	-	-	1a
110a	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
110b	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
110c	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
111	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
112	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
113	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
114	1a	1a	3/1a	1a	1a	1a	3
115	1a	1a	3/1a	1a	1a	3/1a	3
116	1a	1a	3	1a	3/1a	3/1a	3

Reference Number	MD [1045]	CtD [1046]	TD [1047]	MC [1048]	CtC [1049]	TC [1050]	BC [1051]
117	1a*	1a	3	1a	3	3/1a	3
118	1a	1a	3	1a	3	3	3
119	1a	1a	3	1a	3	3	3
120	1a	1a	3	1a	3	3	3
121	1a	1a	3	1a	3	3	3
122	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
123	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
126b	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
126c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
124a	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
124b	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
124c	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
124d	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
124e	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
124f/g	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
124h		1	1	1	1	1	1
124i	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
125a	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
125b	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
125c	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
125d	1	1	1	1	1	1/2 <sup>36</sup>	1
125e	1	1	1	1/2 <sup>37</sup>	1	1	-
125f	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
126a	1/2 <sup>38</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1/2
126d	1/2	1	1	1/2 <sup>39</sup>	1	1	1
126e	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
127a	1a	1a	1a	-	-	-	-
127b	1a	1a	1a	-	-	-	-
127c	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
127d	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
127e	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
127f	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
127g	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128a	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128b	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128c	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128d	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128e	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>36</sup> The Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis have had Hand 2's skeleton text filled out by an unknown hand. It is possible this was done in the printing shop to aid a compositor who was unfamiliar with the text, perhaps an apprentice.

<sup>37</sup> The underlay and some note lengths have been amended by Hand 2

<sup>38</sup> The underlay of this movement has been amended by Hand 2

<sup>39</sup> The Te Deum, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis of this service have been subsequently annotated and corrected by Hand 2

Reference Number	MD [1045]	CtD [1046]	TD [1047]	MC [1048]	CtC [1049]	TC [1050]	BC [1051]
128f	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128g	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128h	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128i	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
128j	1a	1a	-	-	-	-	-
129	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
130	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)
131	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
132	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
133	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
134	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
135	1	1	1	1	1	1(a)	1(a)
136	1	1	1	1	1	1(a)	1(a)
137	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
138	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
139	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
140	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
141	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
142	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
143	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
144	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)
145	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)	1(a)
146	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
147	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
148	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
149	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
150	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
151	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
152	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
153	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
154	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
155	-	-	-	-	-	-	1a
156	1a	-	-	1a	1a	1a	1a
157	1a	-	-	1a	1a	1a	1a
158	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
159	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
160	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
161	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
162	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
163	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
164	1a*	1a	1a	1a	1a*	1a	1(a)
165	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
166	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
167	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1(a)
168a	3*	3*	3*	3*	3*	2*	3*
168b	3*	3*	3*	3*	3*	2*	3*
168c	3*	3*	3*	3*	3*	2*	3*

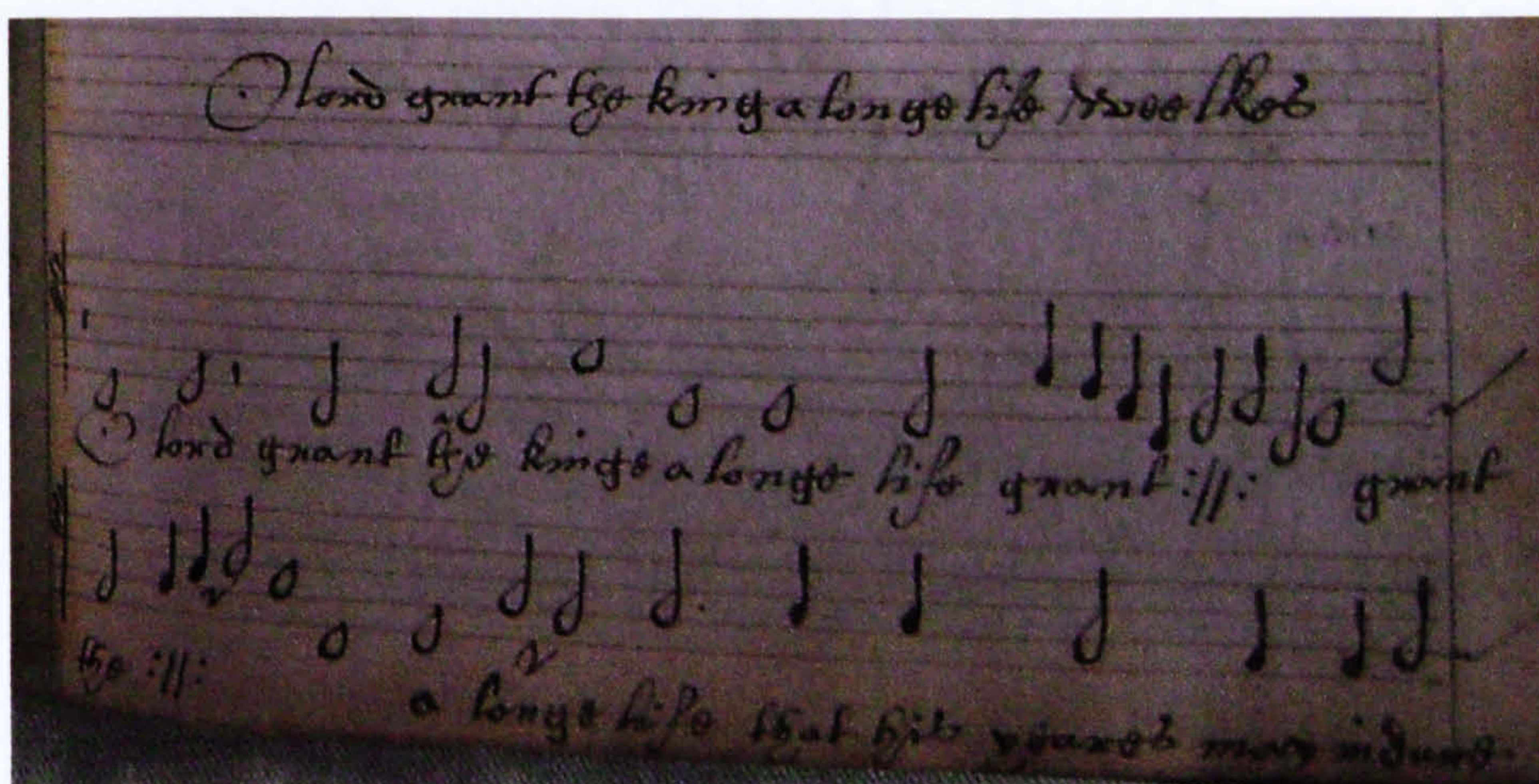
Reference Number	MD [1045]	CtD [1046]	TD [1047]	MC [1048]	CtC [1049]	TC [1050]	BC [1051]
168d	3*	3*	3*	3*	3	2	3/2*
168e	3*	3*	3*	3*	3	2*	3/2*
168f	3*	3*	3*	3*	3*	2*	3/2*
168g	3*	3*	3*	3*	3*	2*	3/2*
169a	2*	2*	2*	2*	2*	2*	2*
169b	-	-	-	2	2*	2*	2
169c	-	-	-	2*	2	2*	2
169d	-	-	-	2	2	2	2
169e	-	-	-	2*	2	2	2
169f	-	-	-	2	2*	2	2
169g	-	-	-	2*	2*	2	2
170a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
170b	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
170c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
171a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
171b	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
171c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
171d	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
171e	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
172a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
172b	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
172c	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
172d	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
173a	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
173b	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
173c	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
173d	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
173e	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
174a	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
174b	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
174c	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
175a	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
175b	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
175c	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
175d	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
175e	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
208a	-	-	-	-	1a	-	-
208b	-	-	-	-	1a	-	-

Discounting Hand 4, the three remaining hands are the most important to the present discussion, and were clearly working very closely together in the preparation of these manuscripts. Hand 1 copied the lion's share, while Hands 2

and 3 copied distinct sections common to all partbooks. There are, throughout, signs of close interaction between all three copyists in various ways, which underline the project as truly collaborative.

Hand 3, similarly to Hand 4, is not to be found in any liturgical manuscripts of the period, and neither is it present in any of the other music manuscripts contributed to by Hands 1 and 2, to be described below. It is distinctive mainly because of its less than fluid copying style – the textual hand makes use of a shakily uncertain secretary script, and the musical hand, shown in Figure II/7, likewise has a lack of confidence about it.

**Figure II/7: Exemplar of Hand 3 – MS 1047: folio 134**



Noteheads are rather angular and stems often appear heavy-handed, as if either the stem has been drawn over twice, or significantly increased pressure has been applied to the quill at this point. It may be that Hand 3 is that of an older man, especially given the anachronistic appearance of the text; in any case, it seems this copyist lacked experience. This is borne out by the fact that the amount of

interaction between copyist 3 and the others is greater than in other cases, occurring in almost every item he has entered. Some of this concerns correction, as in the Morley First Service, where almost every part has been altered in some way by Hand 1. The majority of these corrections are where groups of rests have been slightly amended, often by a single minim or semibreve.<sup>40</sup> Also, verse and chorus indications have been entered by Hand 1, as have various fermatas and accidentals. This might be construed as indicating a certain carelessness on the part of copyist 3, and this suggestion is strengthened by the number of similar amendments throughout. As is shown in Table II/4 above, copyist 3 worked together with copyist 1 on the group of Weelkes anthems (ref. 114-121). Copyist 1 in each case began the grouping, but in the Tenor Decani, Contratenor, Tenor and Bassus Cantoris books, the copying was completed by copyist 3. It was noted by Morehen that the hands changed within a single piece from recto to verso of the same folio,<sup>41</sup> but the connection is deeper, as in numerous cases (Ms 1047, nos. 114-5, Ms 1049, no. 116, Ms 1050, nos. 115-7), Hand 1 has provided the text and Hand 3 has filled in the music, as shown in Figure II/8.

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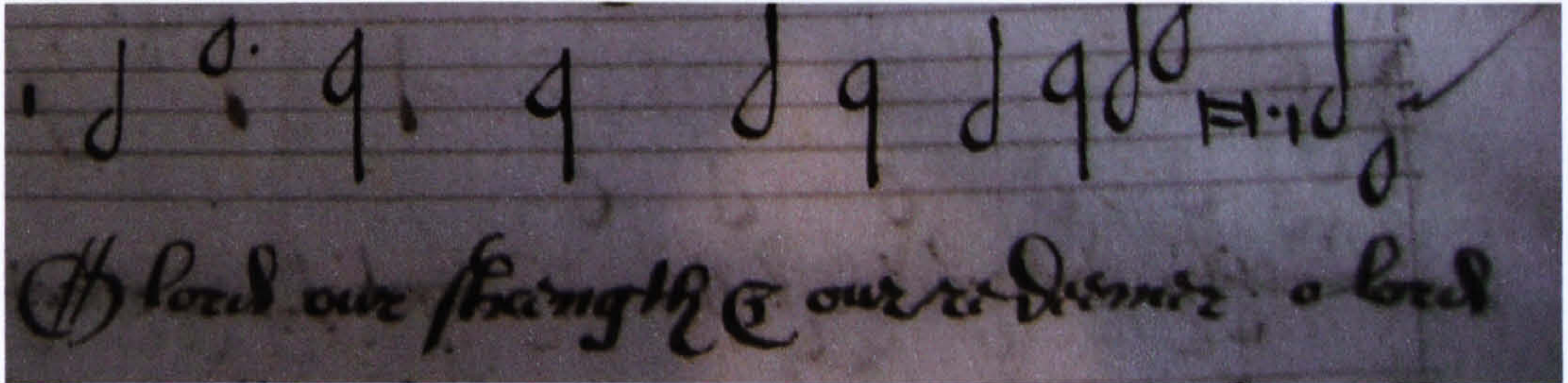
<sup>40</sup> These primarily seem to concern corrections made in preparing these manuscripts for the press, such as in the Medius Decani part, f.55v system 1 of the *First Book*. An extra semibreve rest has been added.

<sup>41</sup> 'Sources', p. 274



**Figure II/8: Collaboration between Hands 3 (music) and 1 (text).**

a) MS 1050, f.131



This also underlines that it was common practice, at least in this set of manuscripts, to fill in the text first and the music second.<sup>42</sup> For example, in the Tenor Cantoris book, hand 3 takes over the entry of the music from folio 130v, but not only has Hand 1 already entered the text, the copyist has provided titles (What joy so true, Give the king thy judgements, and O Lord grant the King a long life), clefs, time signatures and, in the case of the two verse anthems, all the rests for the verse sections (see Figure II/8b). The text has subsequently been revised by Hand 3, who has replaced an instance of ‘statly’ with ‘topp’ (the text is ‘faire Sion’s statly topp’) in ‘what joy so true’ on folio 130v (Figure II/8c).

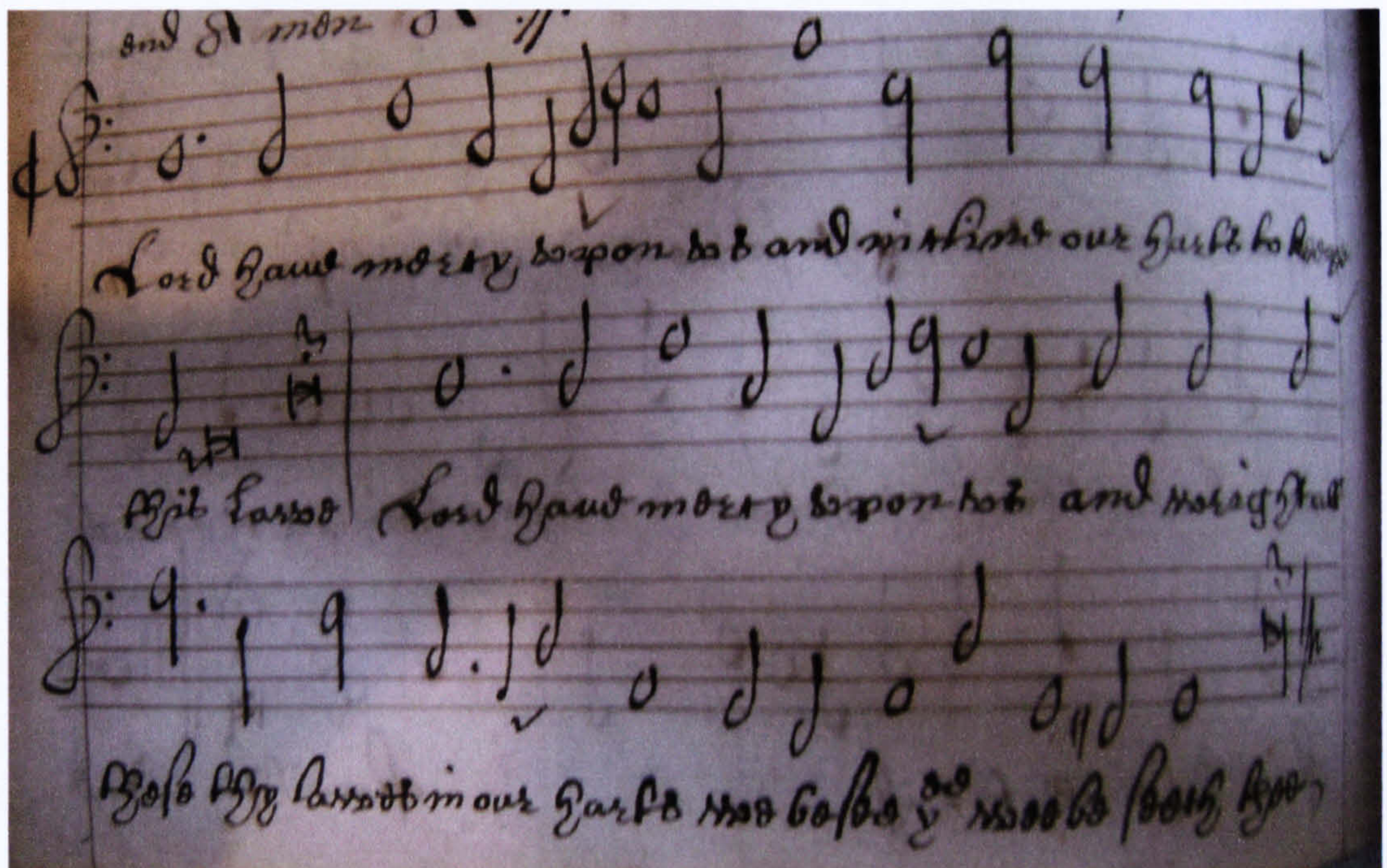
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<sup>42</sup> Examples of pages where text has been entered but which lack music may be found in the Peterhouse manuscripts, for example..., and in the manuscript additions made to copies of Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Musick* of Gloucester provenance (see below pp.)



A similar instance occurs in Ms 1051 concerning Morley's First Service. In this case, the Venite, Te Deum and Benedictus are all in Hand 3, as is the text for the remainder of the service, up to but not including the final 'Amen' of the Nunc Dimittis. This is provided by Hand 2, which has also entered the musical text after the first nine notes of the Kyries. This changeover does not even occur on a page turn, rather in the middle of a piece (Figure II/9).

**Figure II/9: Copying by Hand 3 completed by Hand 2 – MS 1051: f. 231v**



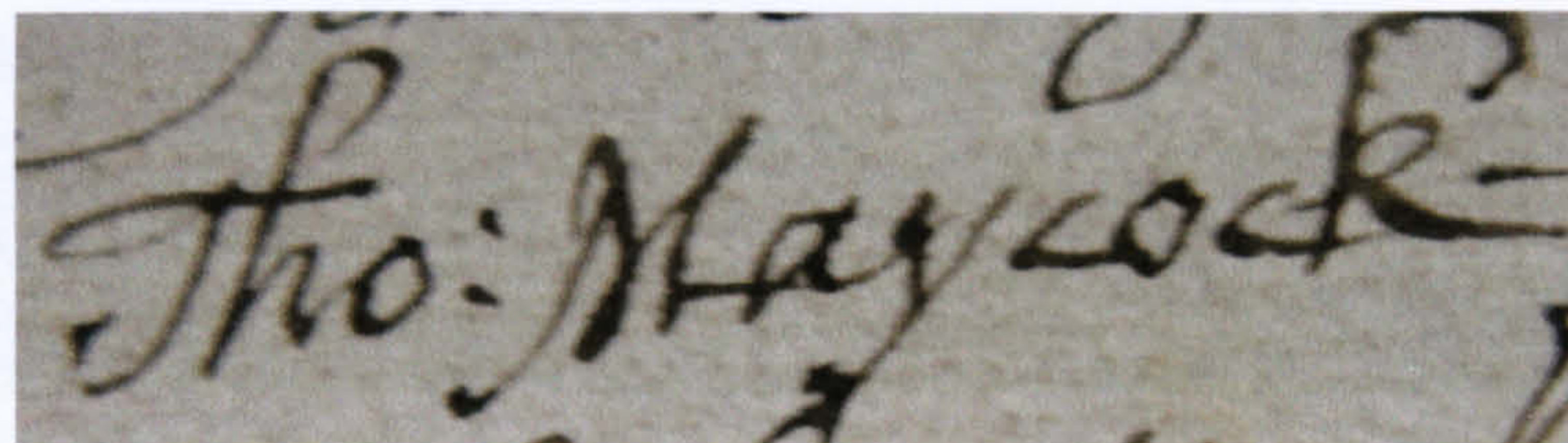
The reason for this cannot be ascertained, but it highlights the fact the three main copyists of the manuscripts were collaborating very closely indeed. It may be that copyist 3 died before he was able to complete the project.

As for attempting identification of Hand 3, it would seem reasonable to look within the musical establishment at St. Paul's. Unfortunately, the archives

from the relevant period are very much incomplete; what does survive is now to be found in the library of the Guildhall. Most important for the present task is the Warden's Account Book *Lgc Ms 25746*, which contains the annual accounts kept by the warden of the college of minor canons, signed off by several of the canons themselves. The minor canons whose signatures are extant from this time are Thomas Maycock, John Thurgood, John Wiborow, John Farnaby, Ralph Mansbridge, Zacharias Griffin, Giles Barrowes, Philip Tinker, John Fox, Rowland Jennings, William Hopwood, Nathaniel Pownall, Stephen Bing, Henry Smith, John Townsend, John Mudd, Roger Nightingale and John Barnard.<sup>43</sup> Their signatures are shown as Figures II/10/a-q below. Examples of the signatures of the vicars choral are more difficult to locate, but those available are given as Figure II/11/a-b.

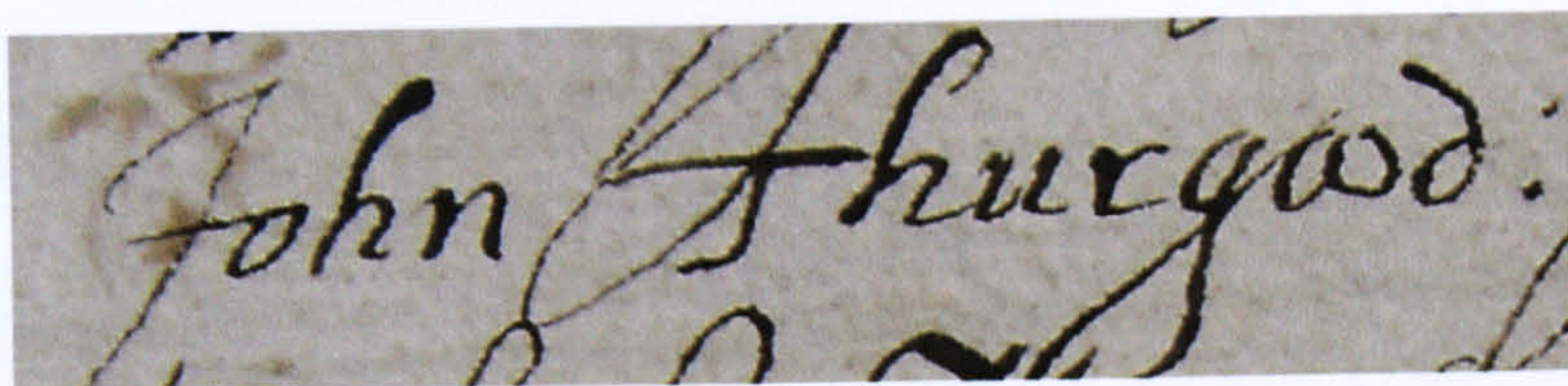
**Figure II/10: Signatures of minor canons of St. Paul's Cathedral**

**a) Thomas Maycock (*Lgc MS 25746*)**

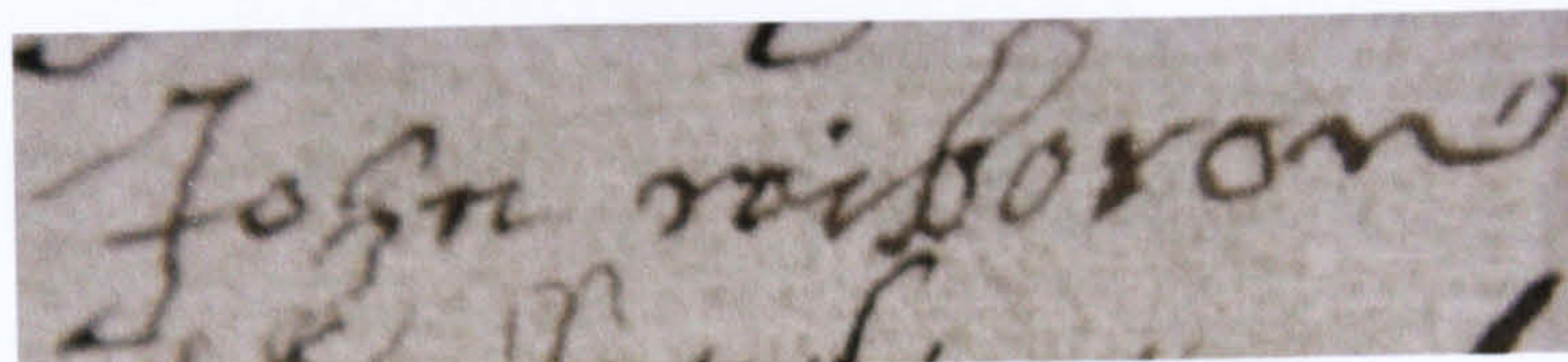

 A photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Tho: Maycock". The ink is dark and the paper is aged and slightly yellowed. The signature is written in a fluid, connected style typical of the 17th or 18th century.

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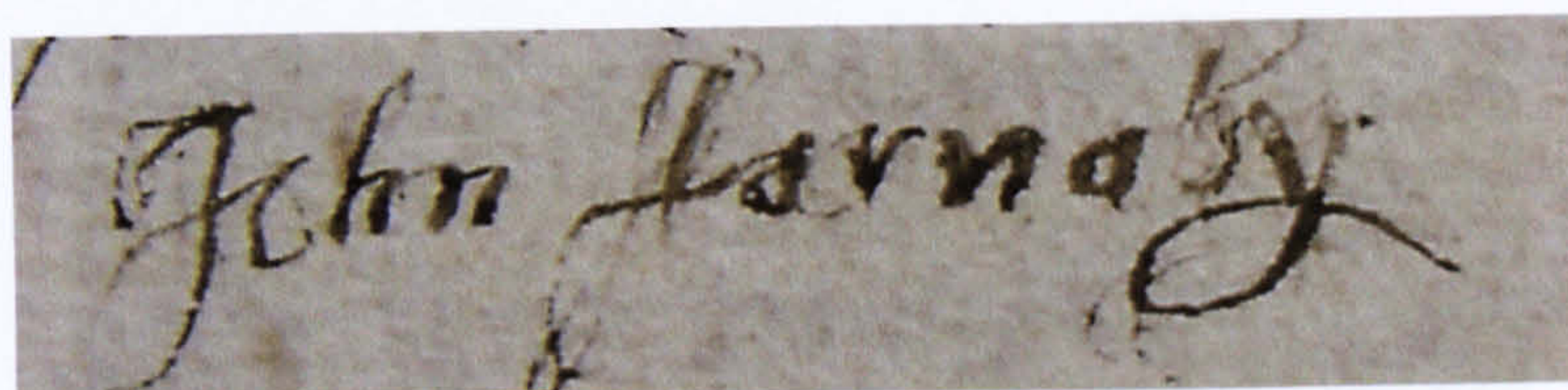
<sup>43</sup> See discussion of the minor canons and the rest of the musical establishment at Barnard's St. Paul's in Chapter One. Barnard's own signature is examined in detail below.

**b) John Thurgood**

John Thurgood:

**c) John Wiborow**

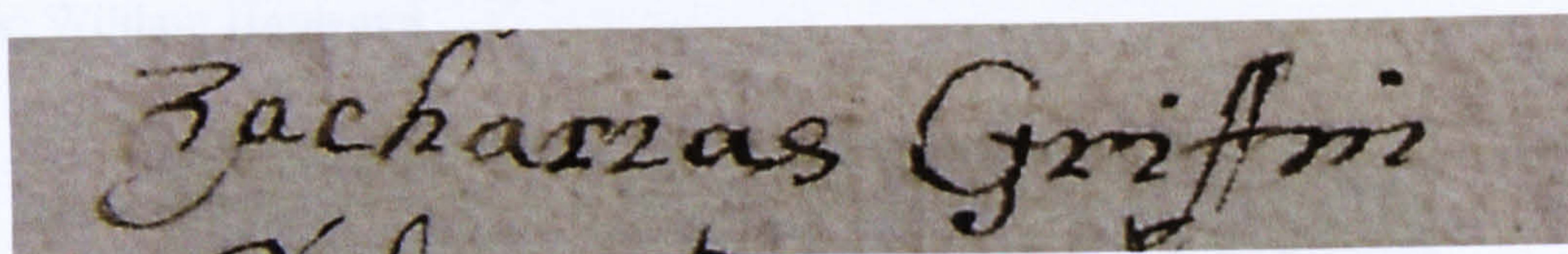
John Wiborow

**d) John Farnaby**

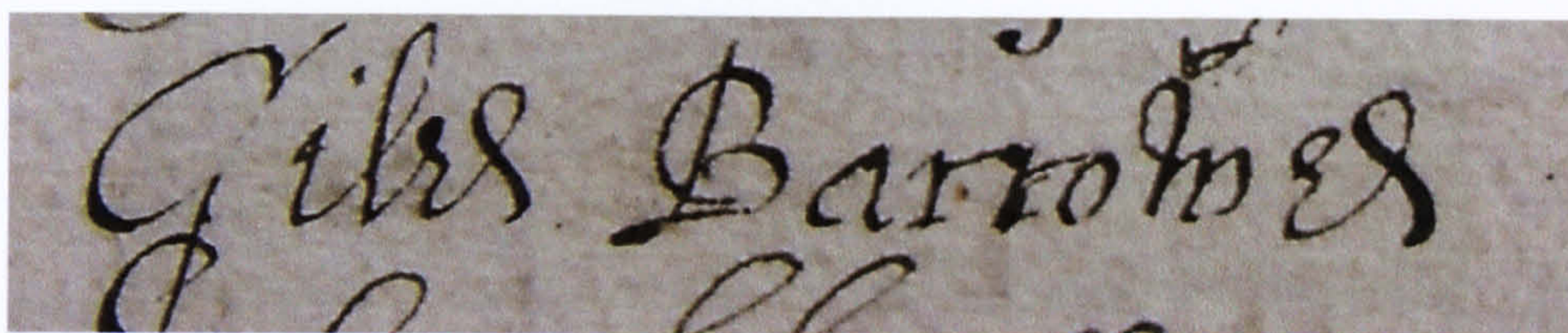
John Farnaby

**e) Ralph Mansbridge**

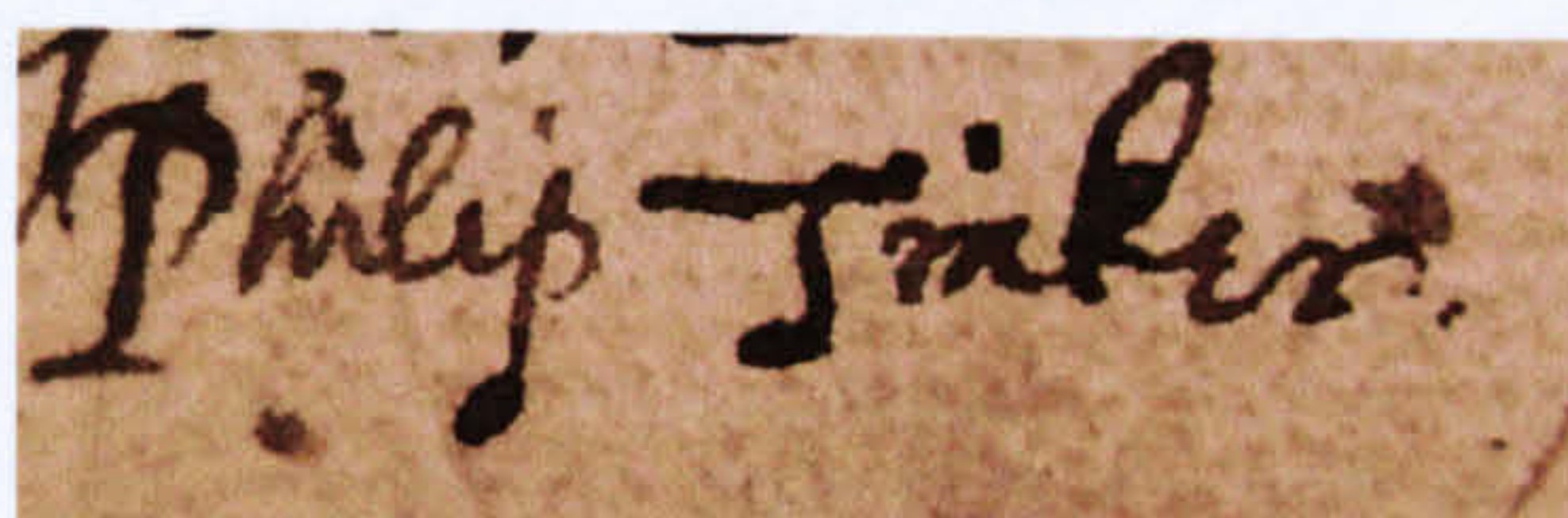
Ralph Mansbridge

**f) Zacharias Griffin**

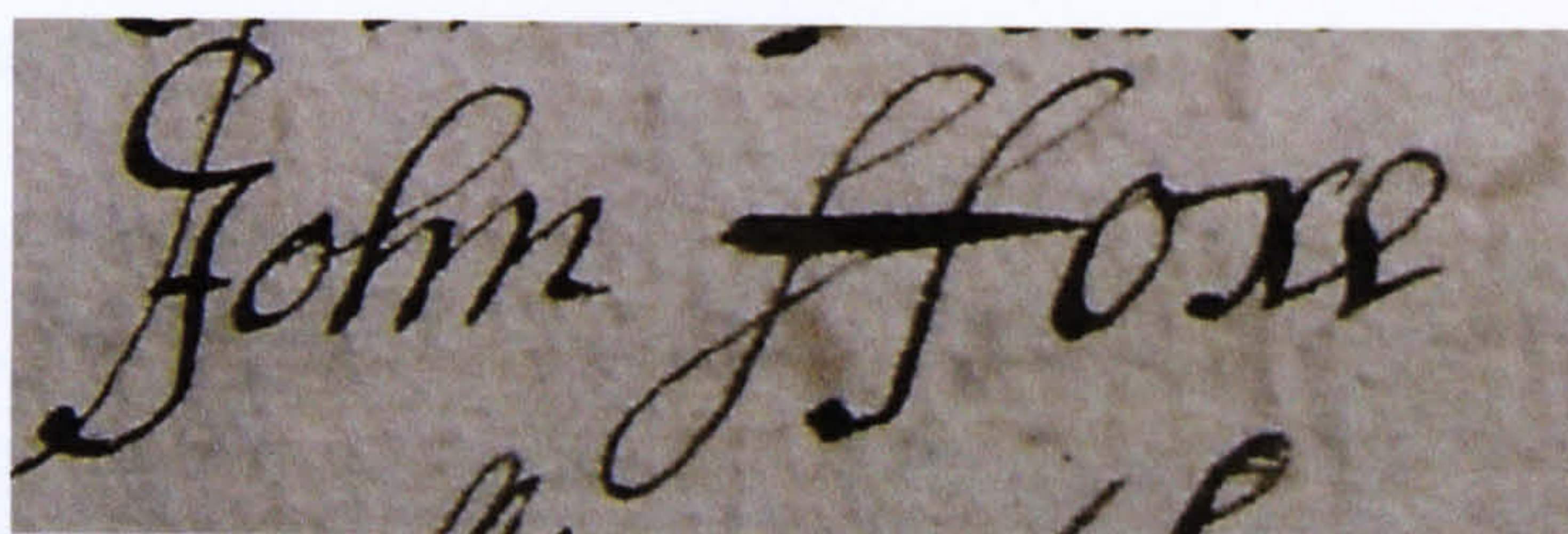
Zacharias Griffin

**g) Giles Barrowes**

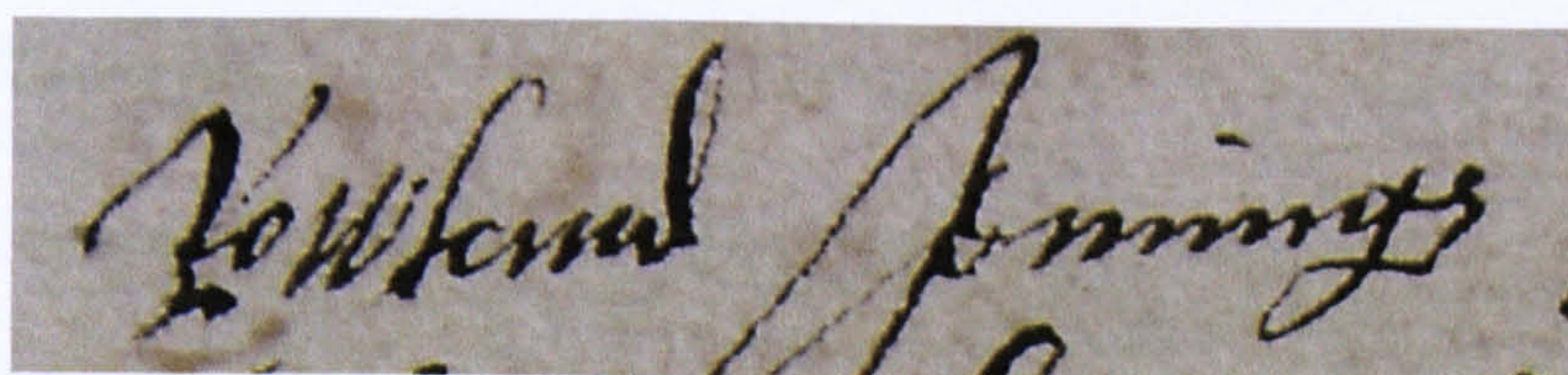
Giles Barrowes

**h) Philip Tinker**

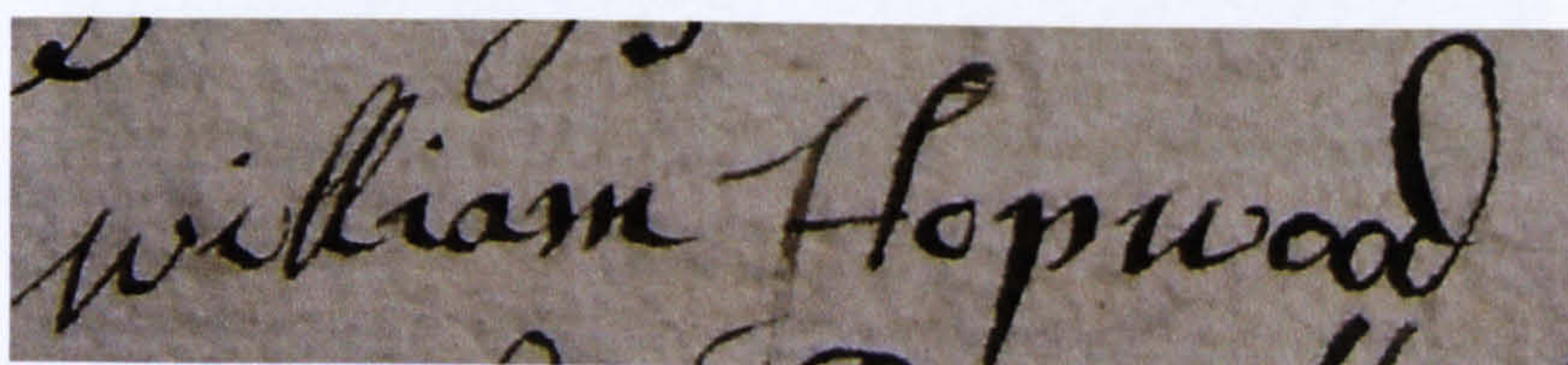
Philip Tinker.

**i) John Fox**

John Foxe

**j) Rowland Jennings**

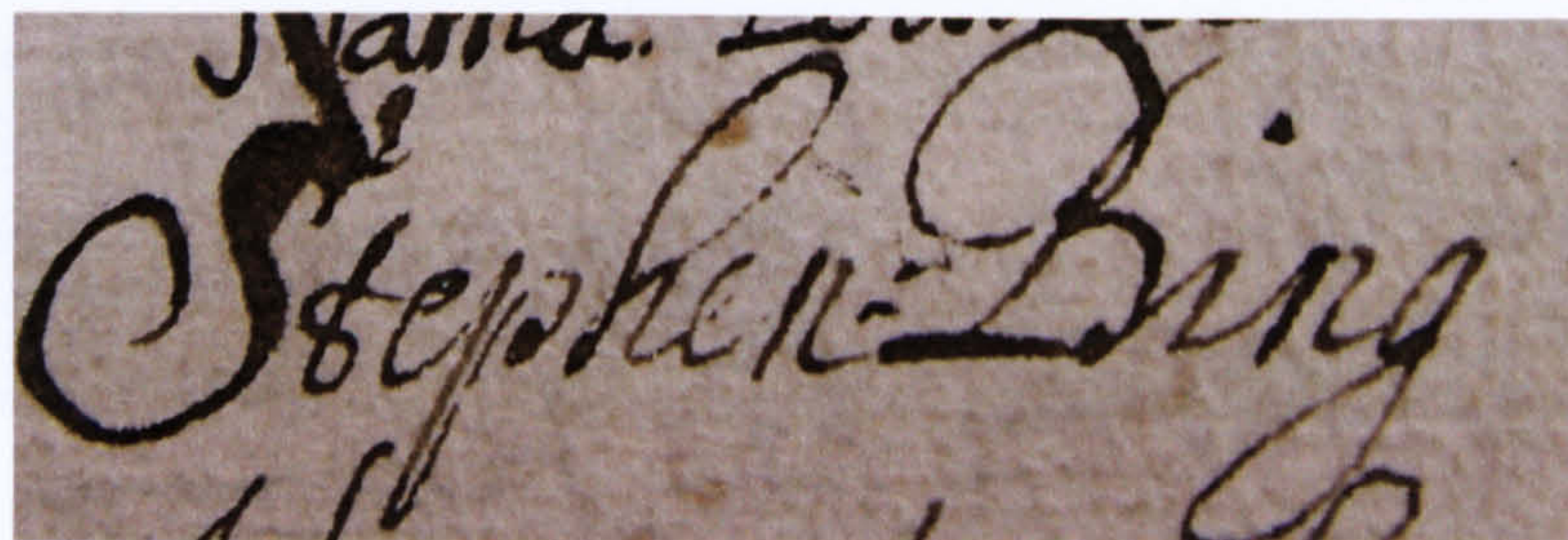
Rowland Jennings

**k) William Hopwood**

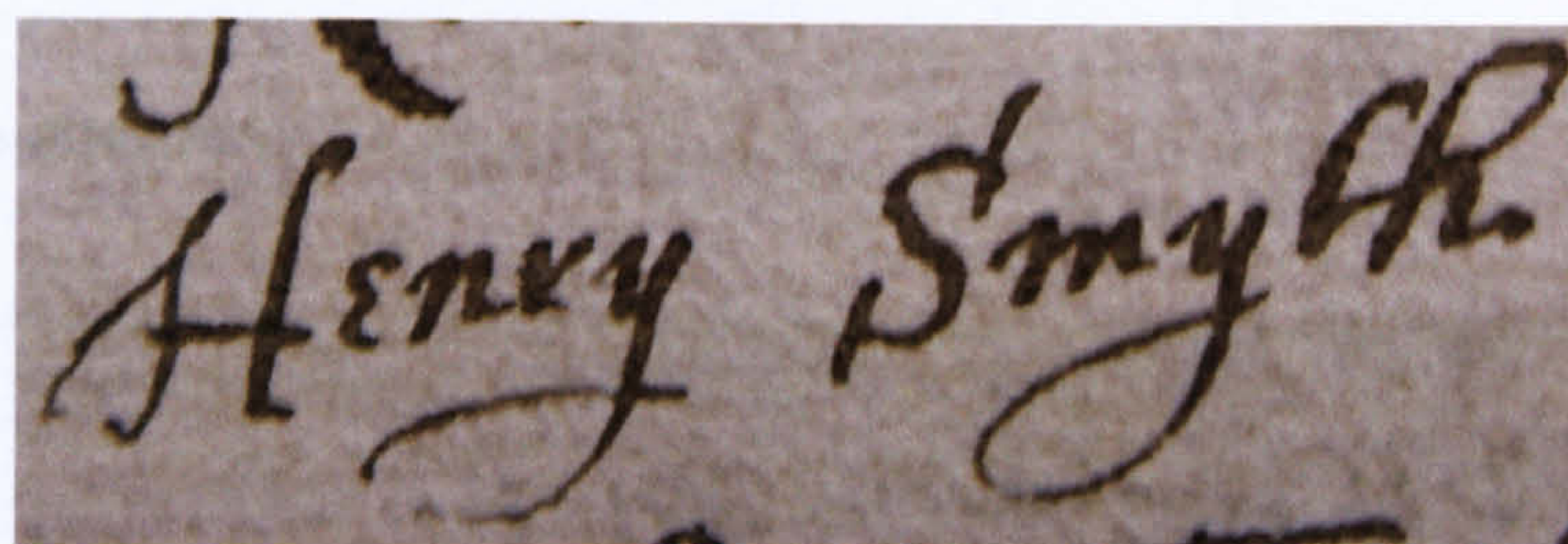
William Hopwood

**l) Nathaniel Pownall**

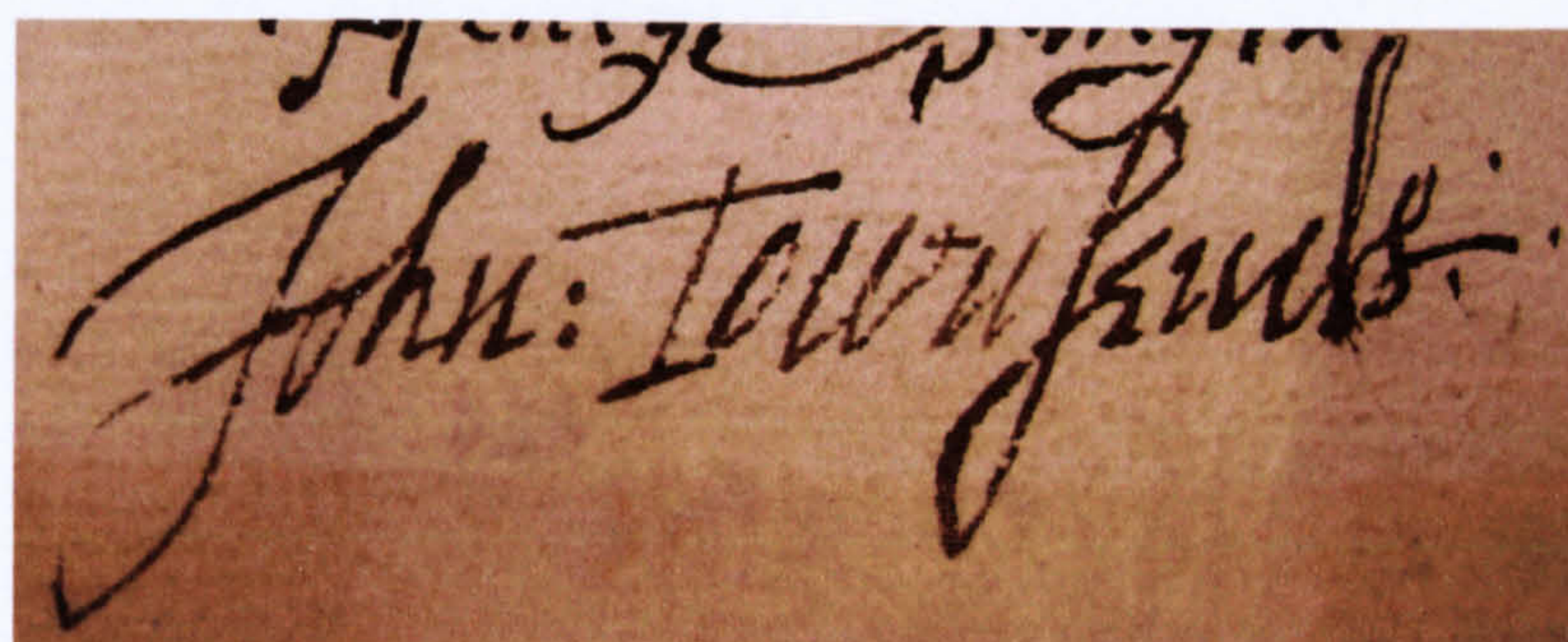
Nath: Pownall

**m) Stephen Bing**

Stephen Bing

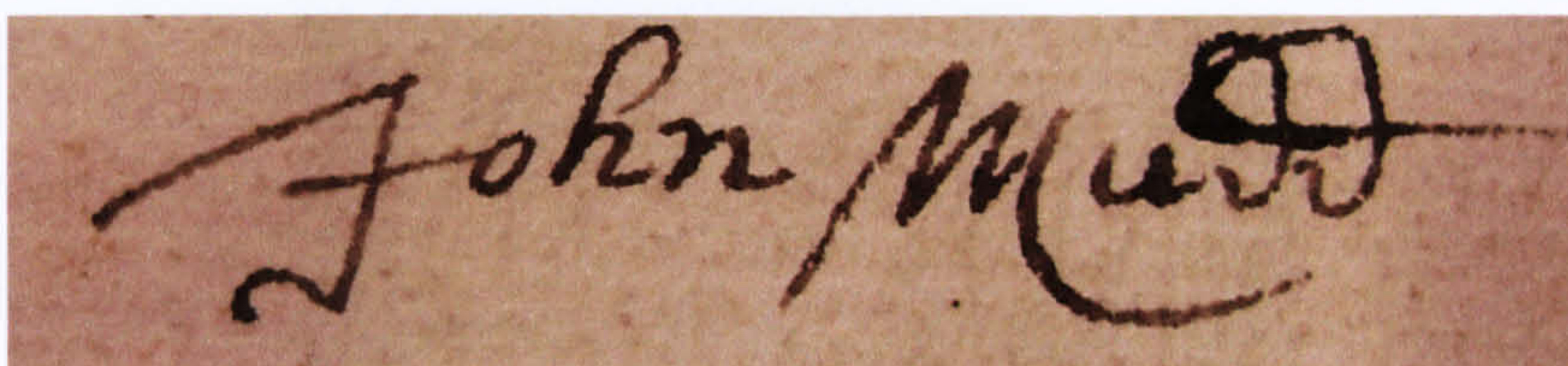
**n) Henry Smyth**

Henry Smyth

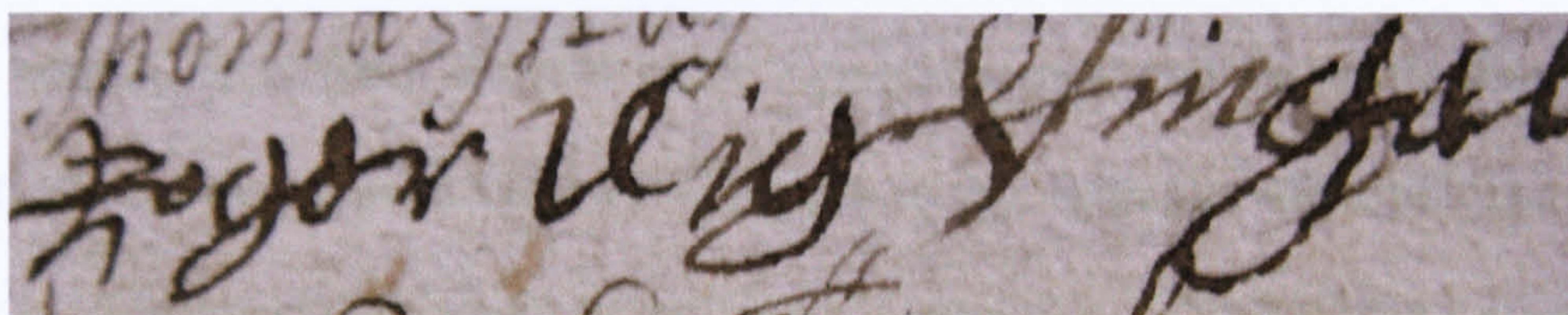
**o) John Townsend**

John Townsend

**p) John Mudd**



**q) Roger Nightingale**



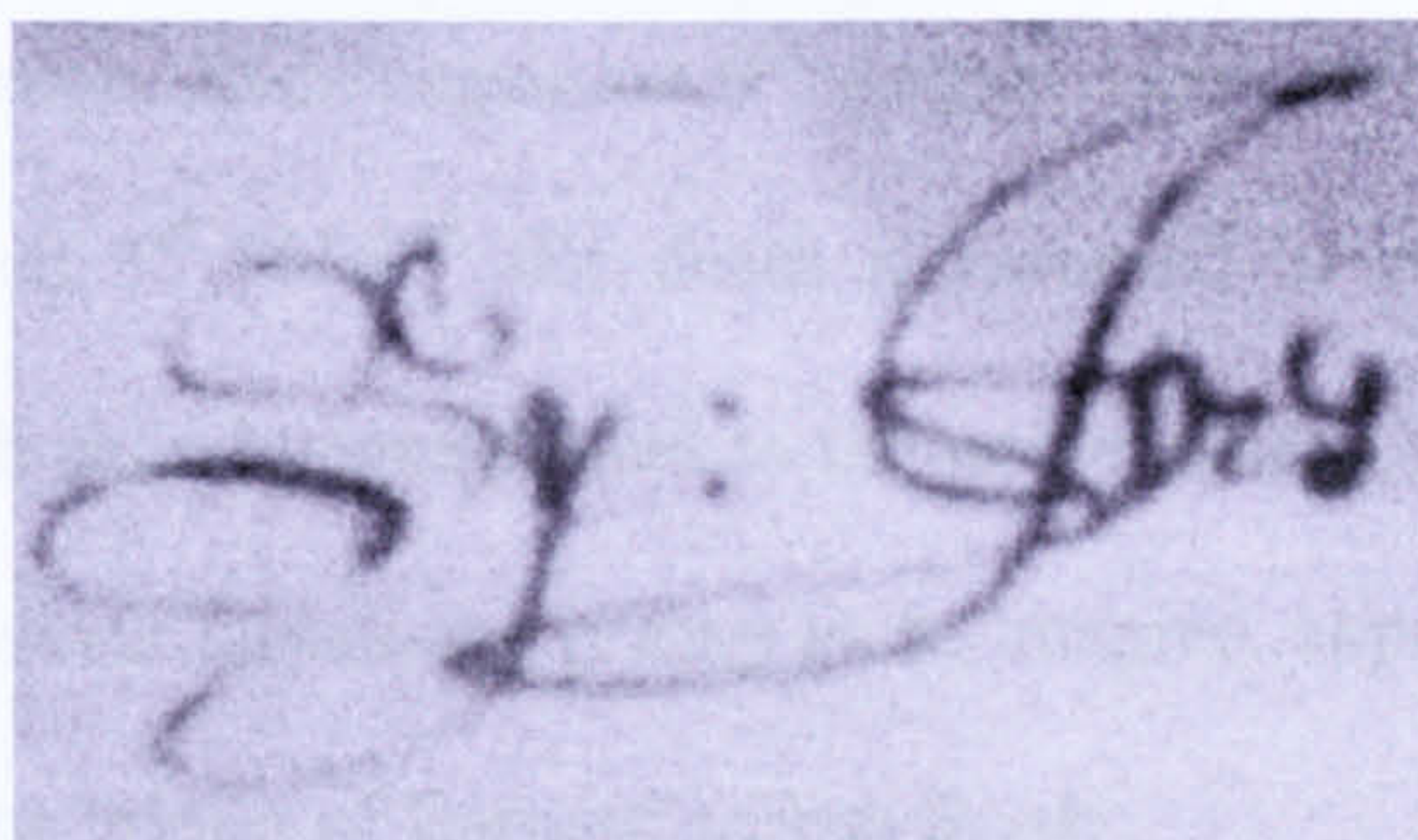
**Figure II/11: Signatures of vicars choral**

**a) John Woodington**





**b) Simon Ives<sup>44</sup>**



Of course, identifying a hand from signatures only can be misleading and difficult, but the accounts themselves furnish further examples of the text hands of Thomas Maycock, Rowland Jennings and John Fox, all of whom served as warden of the college of minor canons during the 1630s. None of these three hands matches that of Hand 3, but the signature of Zacharias Griffin appended to the 1631/2 accounts seems a close match to the handwriting found in the ‘Barnard’ manuscripts. Griffin’s signature appears for the last time in 1634/5, and his ‘silver spoon’ was paid for by his widow in the accounts for 1635/6. This is admittedly a long shot, but it may be that Griffin was the third copyist in Barnard’s manuscripts, and the unfinished parts of Morley’s First Service, completed by Hand 2, were left incomplete due to his death. The dates certainly tally, but the evidence is purely circumstantial. There are no records of payments for music copying in the accounts, but because this particular collection was not a set of performing partbooks, neither did it belong to any institution, no such payment would have been entered into official records. Barnard is most likely to have paid his copyists directly, if he paid them at all. A Zachary Griffen was

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<sup>44</sup> Described by Anthony Wood as a singing-man of St. Paul’s

christened at St Botolph, Bishopsgate on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1590, and married Margery Cope there on March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1616.<sup>45</sup> His death is recorded in the registers of St. Gregory's, the parish church appropriated to the minor canons, on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1636.<sup>46</sup> He was, however tantalising it may be to imagine, apparently not related to Edward Griffin, the printer of Barnard's *First Book*.

Although this hand is not found in any other manuscripts of sacred music, it is possible that Hand 3 may have contributed to a manuscript of lyra viol tablature, *Ha Dolmetsch II.B.3*, which contains music by William Lawes, Simon Ives and John Jenkins. The shape of the noteheads agrees well, as does the 'scribble' at the end of each entry. This requires further investigation, but if this copyist, who is the primary copyist of this manuscript, is Hand 3, the connections with William Lawes and Simon Ives (see below) is further strengthened, especially as the Lawes pieces contain various revisions.<sup>47</sup> It also adds another lyra violist to the 'Barnard' circle (see the discussion on *Och Mus. Mss 725-7* below).

Hand 2 belongs to a copyist who is rather better known. Most importantly, he copied *Ob Tenbury MS 791*, otherwise known as the 'Batten' Organ book, but also contributed to the 'Caroline' partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and *Ob Ten Ms 302*, along with Hand 1. Part of *Lbl Add. MS 29289* may be in his hand

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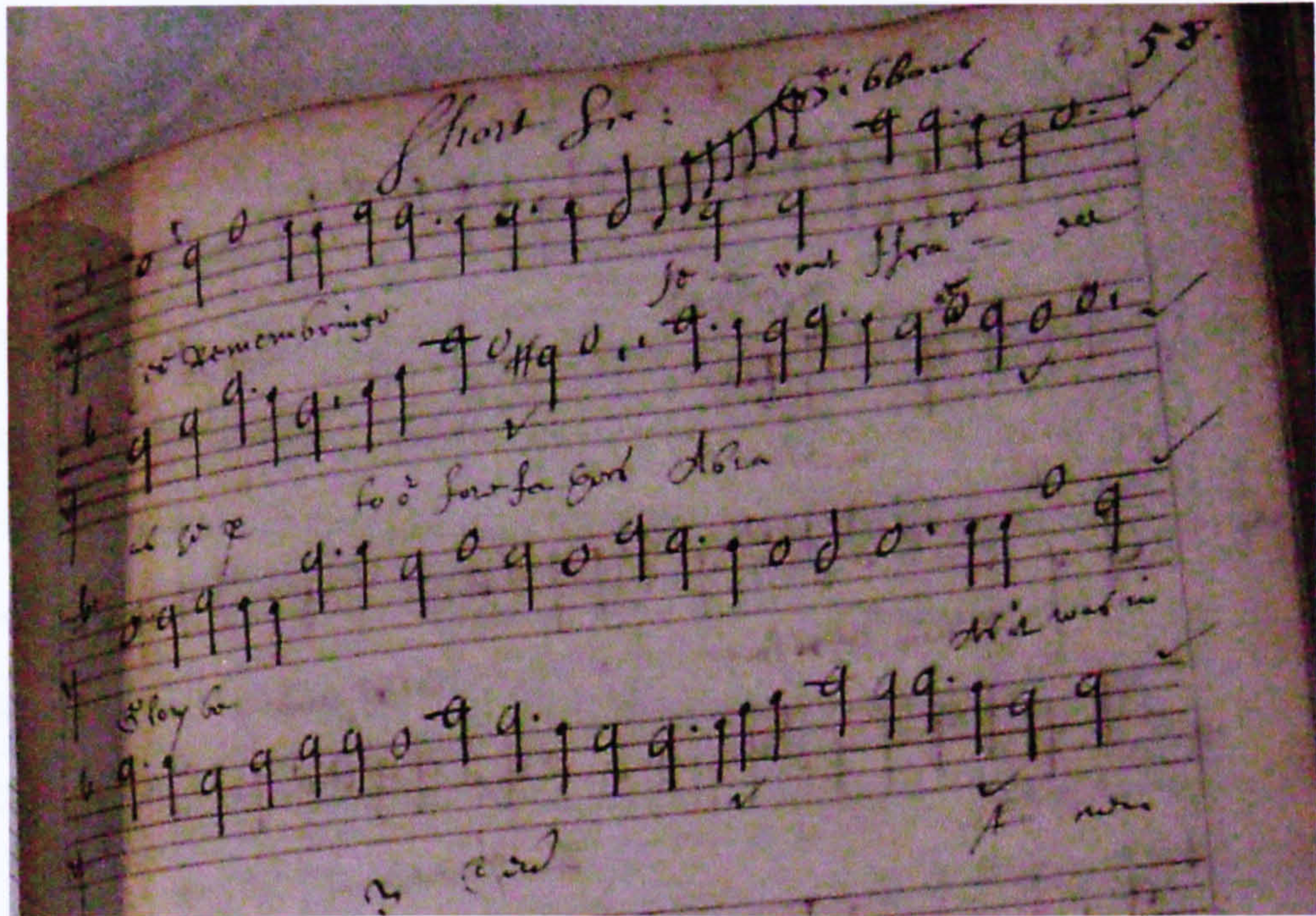
<sup>45</sup> *Lgc MS 4515/1*

<sup>46</sup> *Lgc MS 4515/1*

<sup>47</sup> Cunningham, J.P: 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes', unpublished Ph.D diss. University of Leeds (2007) p. 168

as well, but certainly not the whole manuscript, as thought by Bunker Clark.<sup>48</sup> The organ book and its relationship to both these manuscripts and Barnard's *First Book* will be discussed below in Chapter Four, but we will now concentrate on its copyist.<sup>49</sup>

**Figure II/12: Hand 2 – MS 1045: folio 58**



The entries in this hand in the ‘Barnard’ manuscripts are, without exception, service settings, in most cases providing only a skeleton text. This reinforces the fact that these manuscripts were a reference collection rather than partbooks meant for performance. The copyist’s handwriting, not only in this source but also

<sup>48</sup> ‘Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators’, *MD* 22 (1968)

<sup>49</sup> Le Huray suggested Giles Tomkins as a possible copyist of *Ob Ten* MS 791 (‘Towards a definitive study of pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music’ *MD* 14 (1960)), but this was persuasively disproved by Morehen, who also suggested John Tomkins as a possibility (Sources, pp. 215-43)

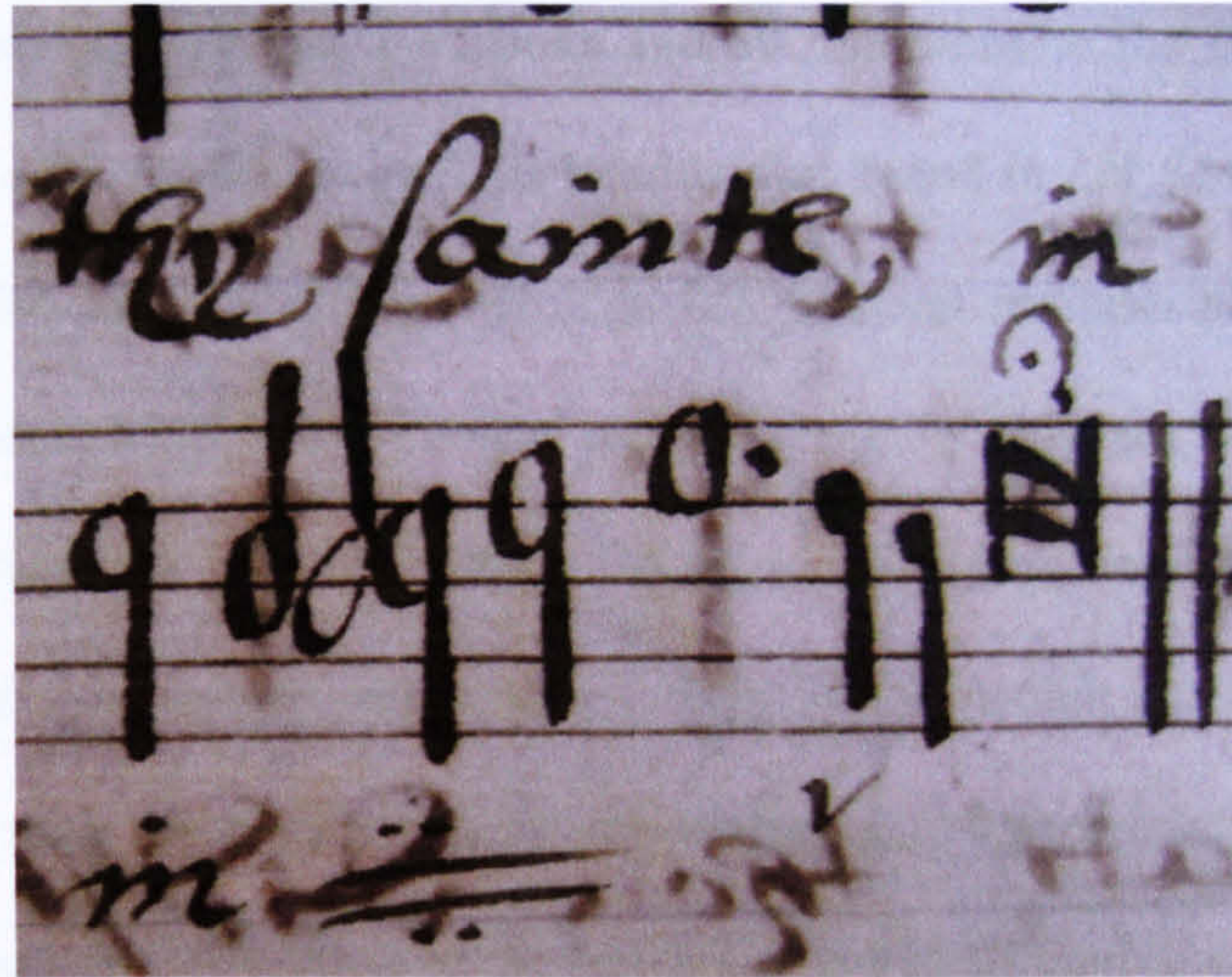
in the 'Batten' organ book, bears hallmarks of having been copied hastily, not necessarily in terms of accuracy, but certainly with regard to legibility. This is also true of the entries in this hand in *Ob Ten Ms. 302*. The collaboration between this hand and Hand 3 has been discussed above, but there is also a close working relationship between Hands 1 and 2, which has not previously come to the attention of scholars. This relationship also sheds more light on the identity of the copyist, and adds more weight to the argument that it *is* in fact Adrian Batten. Not only did this hand add the Kyries and Creed to Batten's 'Full Service', omitted by Hand 1 in the initial copying, but the rest of the service has been subsequently annotated by Hand 2. These are not preparations for the press, as so many of the Hand 1 annotations throughout the books are; rather they are slight alterations and corrections. These include slight amendments to the underlay, for example, on folio 179 of Ms 1048, the final 'shall be world without end' of the Magnificat's Doxology has been altered to 'Amen, Amen' (Figure II/13).

**Figure II/13: Amendment of Hand 1 underlay by Hand 2 – MS 1048, f. 179**



Similarly, 'Ver:' and 'Cho:' indications have been added to several parts by Hand 2, as well as Decani and Cantoris instructions. There is one instance of a correction having been made to the musical text – in Ms 1045 (Medius Decani), a minim g' has been inserted seven notes before the double bar on the fifth system of folio 181v (Figure II/14). The fact that such amendments in Hand 2 occur to only this particular service, whereas all other corrections and clarifications throughout the entire set of partbooks are in Hand 1, would appear to imply a special affinity between copyist 2 and the music of Adrian Batten.

**Figure II/14: Addition of extra note by Hand 2 – MS 1045, f. 181v**



What is also notable is that the Kyries and Creed to this service, copied by Hand 2 at a later stage onto leaves preceding Batten's Short service, copied by Hand 1, are not corrected in any way. It is therefore sensible to conclude that the copyist in question was Batten himself. The arguments for Batten as this copyist have been made convincingly by Morehen,<sup>50</sup> and less so by Bunker Clark,<sup>51</sup> but primarily with reference to *Ob Ten Ms 791*. I believe this new information about the extent of Hand 2's involvement in the correcting and revising of Batten's music rather than any other may finally lay the argument to rest.

Finally, there remains to discuss the primary copyist and also, seemingly, editor, reviser and perhaps owner of this set of partbooks. Hand 1 belongs to a copyist of considerable prolificness, yet positive identification has proved elusive.

As well as copying much of the music in *Lcm MSS 1045-51*, he also entered the

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<sup>50</sup> *Sources*, pp. 237-41

<sup>51</sup> 'Colleagues and Collaborators'

indexes in all seven surviving partbooks and all directions to the compositor in preparing the books for the press. This hand is also found in *Lbl* RM 24.k.3, *Och* Mus. MSS 725-7 and 732-5, and *Ob* Ten MS 302, all manuscripts of consort music.<sup>52</sup> *Och* Mus. MSS 725-7 contain lra viol trios by William Lawes, Robert Taylor and Simon Ives written in tablature. There is a strong court connection to several of these manuscripts, most notably RM 24.k.3, which is a large oblong folio stamped with the royal arms on the covers. All are certainly of London provenance, and have close links to St. Paul's Cathedral, through both the identity of Hand 1 and, in some cases, the repertoire they transmit.

Concentrating for the moment on the 'Barnard' manuscripts, Hand 1 can be seen to have at least two distinct styles, but if clef formation is taken as a basis for such an identification of styles, there are possibly three different types. The bass clefs found in MS 1051 certainly go through three different styles, while C-clefs tend to be less changeable. This would seem to indicate two or three stages of compilation, as far as Hand 1 is concerned, supporting the evidence for a chronology given above. The textual hand does not go through such an evident change, but the copyist often employs both quasi-secretary and italic hands to differentiate sections within pieces; for example, many instances of the 'Amen' in both anthems and services are in an italic hand while the main body of the text is closer to secretary script. Likewise, titles and attributions tend to be in a more italic style.

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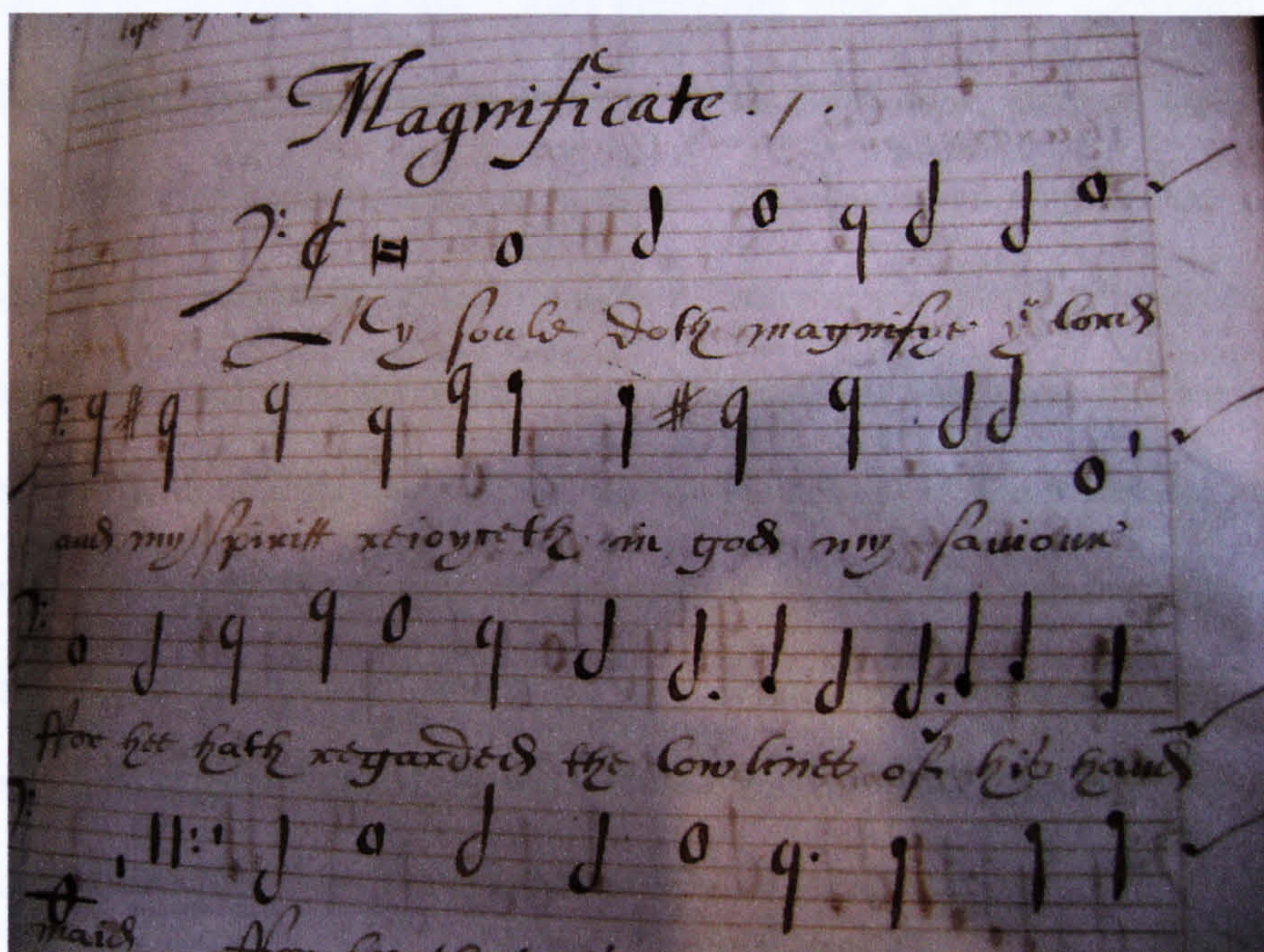
<sup>52</sup> Tables of contents are given below in the sections devoted to the relevant manuscripts.

The earliest incarnation of this copyist's hand, at least in these manuscripts, can be found in a number of groups of pieces throughout the books, again showing that the books themselves were definitely not copied through from beginning to end. This style of hand is generally well spaced and easily legible, as befits a copyist working onto loose leaves, unconstrained by bound copies. Titles and attributions are generally in a large italic script, and although it is clear, the cursiveness gives a feeling of speed, indicating an experienced copyist. The second stage sees a change in clef formation, and is on the whole smaller and tidier, especially in the Bassus Cantoris book. Where this stage of the hand has expressly prepared printer's copy, however, it assumes a more urgent feel, and consistency and neatness decrease. Indeed, common features include a lack of consistency in note shape, especially with the placing of stems. In both stages of this hand, the downward stem varies its position from the edge of the notehead to the middle, this latter becoming more prevalent in the later stages of copying.



Figure II/15: Two stages of Hand 1 in the 'Barnard manuscripts'

a) 'First stage': MS 1051, f. 11



b) 'Second stage': MS 1051, f. 20

Handwritten musical score for 'Sing unto God' from MS 1051, f. 20. The score is written on five-line staves with a treble clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are written in a Gothic script below the notes. The text reads: 'Sing unto God all yet King domes of the earth. Sing praises unto the lord o sing :: Sing praises unto the lord unto the lord, o sing sing :: We sitteth in the heavens.' The music consists of a single melodic line with various note values and rests.

Because of the association of the manuscripts with John Barnard, it had long been assumed that the hand was his.<sup>53</sup> This prevailing view was first questioned by Morehen, who noted that, in the Preface to his *First Book*, Barnard made no mention of having copied music out himself.<sup>54</sup> He suggested it might be the hand of John Ward,<sup>55</sup> especially given the strong Canterbury connections in terms of the repertoire, but this has since been disproved by Payne on the basis of comparison with Ward's musical and non-musical hands.<sup>56</sup> There are also other reasons it cannot be Ward, not least because of the links between the 'Barnard' manuscripts and the printed *First Book*. John Ward died in the summer of 1638, his will having been proved on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August of that year. He therefore qualified for inclusion in Barnard's *First Book*, and the evening canticles of his First Service along with two verse anthems were printed in this collection. If the assumption is made that Barnard decided to include only dead composers in advance of publication, Ward must have died before the *First Book* went to press. While this may not preclude him *per se* of having copied into the manuscripts, he can certainly not have been involved in preparing them for printing. Of the numerous instructions to the compositor found throughout the manuscripts, all are in Hand 1, as is the score of Ward's evening canticles in the *Medius Cantoris* book, which is peppered with printer's guides. On folio 229 of *Lcm* MS 1045, the *Medius Decani* book, Ward's anthem 'I will praise the Lord' has had its title added subsequently, as well as the instruction 'look in the other side for the

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<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Fellowes, rev. Westrup: *English Cathedral Music* (1969), p.113.

<sup>54</sup> 'Sources', p. 274.

<sup>55</sup> 'Sources', p. 275. The Canterbury connection also applies to Barnard.

<sup>56</sup> 'The Handwriting of John Ward' *Music and Letters*, 65, p. 188

brevier'. This refers to the verso of f. 229, where the text of the verses, sung by a bass, is given, and this is printed in brevier type in the *First Book*. Ward cannot have been involved in preparing his own music for a print that included only music by dead composers, unless this decision was an afterthought on Barnard's part. This situation is extremely unlikely, however, especially given the fact that Ward's verse anthems appear towards the end of the *First Book*, on the final 'layer', which shares the same paper as the prefatory material, not printed until 1641.<sup>57</sup>

Another possible identity of Copyist 1 that has been suggested is William Lawes, due to the hand's appearance in various manuscripts of consort music. This theory was first advanced by David Pinto, who believed RM 24.k.3 to be 'entirely in the youthful hand of Lawes, and from the mid-1620s'.<sup>58</sup> Lawes is known to have been a prolific copyist, and there are eight surviving autograph manuscripts,<sup>59</sup> but the appearance of Hand 1 in the 'Barnard' manuscripts does not tally with his other copying activity. There is no evidence to suggest Lawes had any connection with St. Paul's Cathedral, and it is extremely unlikely that he would have been involved in preparing Barnard's *First Book* for the press. That Hand 1 has been thought to be that of Lawes is not entirely surprising, however, given its appearance in *Ob Ten MS 302* and *Och Mus. MSS 725-7*. These contain music by Lawes, and it is more often than not apparently 'signed' (see, for example, *Ob Ten MS 302 f.12* and *Och Music MS 725, f.4*). However, these

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<sup>57</sup> See Chapter Three below.

<sup>58</sup> Pinto: 'William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites', *Musica Britannica LX* (1991).

<sup>59</sup> See Cunningham, J.P: 'Music for the Privy Chamber', pp. 31-118, for an exhaustive survey of the autograph sources and William Lawes' hand

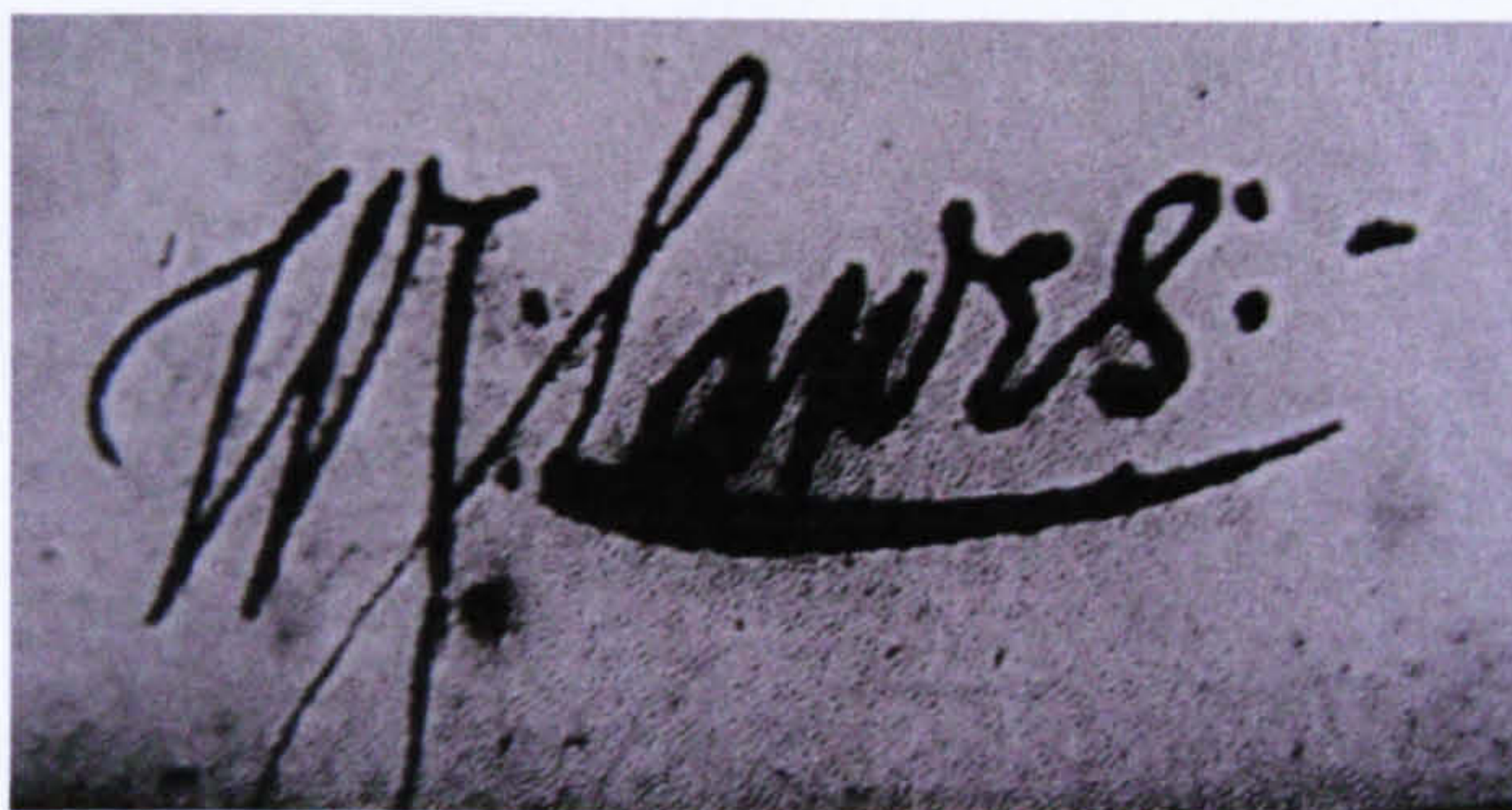
‘signatures’ can be shown not to be genuine. When compared with every instance of a holograph signature, that in *Ob* Tenbury MS 302 has important differences. Firstly, the initial stroke of the capital ‘W’ begins from below and loops across the top of the letter in MS 302 – it does not in any other case. This style of capital can also be found in the indexes to the ‘Barnard’ manuscripts. Also, when Lawes signed his own name, he seems to have used a double ‘l’, signing ‘WJllawes’, whereas Hand 1’s version uses a single capital ‘L’, separated from the ‘J’ by a colon (Figure II/16).

**Figure II/16: Comparison of William Lawes autograph signature and ‘signature’ in Hand 1**

a) autograph in *US-CAh* MS Mus. 70, f. 17



b) ‘signature’ in Hand 1: *Ob* Tenbury MS 302, f. 21



While this shows the hand is not Lawes's, it seems apparent that Hand 1 was copying from autograph manuscripts in the compilation of both *Ob* Ten MS 302 and *Och* Mus. MSS 725-7. This would imply a close court connection, and the repertoire reflects this.

In order to better explain the influence and activity of this enigmatic copyist, it is worth examining each of the manuscripts he contributed to. Taken as a group, certain institutional and repertorial links become apparent, and these may serve to help with his identification.

#### **'Hand 1' in other manuscripts**

##### **A) *Lbl* RM 24.k.3**

*Lbl* RM.24.k.3 is an organ book of Coperario's fantasia-suites, the copying of which remained unfinished. Elaborately bound, it is oblong folio in size, and has, most importantly, the royal arms stamped on the front and back covers. It is clear, therefore, that the copyist had access to the royal binder, or that the manuscript was a royal commission. The paper is of extremely high quality throughout, underlining this. The manuscript's contents are as follows:

Table II/5: *Lbl* RM 24.k.3 Contents

Folios	Title	Composer	Notes
[3 unnumbered]	-	-	[blank leaves]
1	-	-	[ruled and barred; no music entered]
1v-2	Fantazia. first.	Gio: Cooperario	
2v	Almaine. first.	Gio: Cooperario	
3	Galliard. first.	Gio: Cooperario	
3v-4	Fantazia. 2.	Gio: Coperario	
4v	Almaine. 2.	Gio: Coperario	
5	Galliard. 2.	Gio: Coperario	
5v-6	Fantazia. 3.	Gio: Coperario	
6v	Almaine. 3.	Gio: Coperario	
7	Galliard. 3.	Gio: Coperario	
7v-8	Fantazia. 4.	Gio: Coperario	
8v	Almaine. 4.	Gio: Coperario	
9	Galliard. 4.	Gio: Coperario	
9v-10	Fantazia. 5.	Gio: Coperario	
10v	Almaine. 5.	Gio: Coperario	
11	Galliard. 5.	Gio: Coperario	
11v-12	Fantazia. 6.	Gio: Coperario	
12v	Almaine. 6.	Gio: Coperario	
13	Galliard. 6.	Gio: Coperario	
13v-14	Fantazia. 7.	Gio: Coperario	
14v	Almaine. 7.	Gio: Coperario	
15	Galliard. 7.	Gio: Coperario	
15v-16	Fantazia. 8.	Gio: Coperario	
16v	Almaine. 8.	Gio: Coperario	
17	Galliard. 8.	Gio: Coperario	
17v-18	Fantazia. 9.	Gio: Coperario	
18v	Almaine. 9.	Gio: Coperario	
19	Galliard. 9.	Gio: Coperario	
19v-20	Fantazia. 10.	Gio: Coperario	
20v	Almaine. 10.	Gio: Coperario	
21	Galliard. 10.	Gio: Coperario	
21v-22	Fantazia. 11.	Gio: Coperario	
22v	Almaine. 11.	Gio: Coperario	
23	Galliard. 11.	Gio: Coperario	
23v-24	Fantazia. 12.	Gio: Coperario	
24v	Almaine. 12.	Gio: Coperario	
25	Galliard. 12.	Gio: Coperario	
25v-26	Fantazia. 13.	Gio: Coperario	
26v	Almaine. 13.	Gio: Coperario	

Folios	Title	Composer	Notes
27	Galliard. 13.	Gio: Coperario	
27v-28	Fantazia. 14.	Gio: Coperario	
28v	Almaine. 14.	Gio: Coperario	
29	Galliard. 14.	Gio: Coperario	
29v-30	Fantazia. 15.	Gio: Coperario	
30v	Almaine. 15.	Gio: Coperario	
31	Galliard. 15.	Gio: Coperario	
31v-32	Fantazia. 16.	Gio: Coperario	f. 31v is titled 'Heare begingth for 2 treble viollins y <sup>e</sup> basse violl & y <sup>e</sup> Organ'
32v	Almaine. 16.	Gio: Coperario	
33	Galliard. 16.	Gio: Coperario	
33v-34	Fantazia. 17.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
34v	Almaine. 17.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
35	Galliard. 17.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
35v-36	Fantazia. 18.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
36v	Almaine. 18.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
37	Galliard. 18.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
37v-38	Fantazia. 19.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
38v	Almaine. 19.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
39	Galliard. 19.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
39v-40	Fantazia. 20.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
40v	Almaine. 20.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
41	Galliard. 20.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
41v-42	Fantazia. 21.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
42v	Almaine. 21	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
43	Galliard. 21.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
43v-44	Fantazia. 22.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
44v	Almaine. 22.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
45	Galliard. 22.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
45v-46	Fantazia. 23.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
46v	Almaine. 23.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
47	Galliard. 23.	Gio: Coperario	incomplete
47v	-	-	[ruled, barred; no music entered]
[30 unnumbered]	-	-	[ruled, barred; no music entered]
[1 unnumbered]	-	-	[ruled, unbarred; no music entered]
[4 unnumbered]	-	-	[ruled, barred; no music entered]

Folios	Title	Composer	Notes
[13 unnumbered]	-	-	[ruled, unbarred; no music entered]
[3 unnumbered]	-	-	[blank leaves]

It is possible that this manuscript represents the commission given to John Woodington, who was paid £20 ‘for a whole sett of Musicke Bookes by him p<sup>ro</sup>vided & prickt w<sup>th</sup> all Coperaries & Orlando Gibbons theire Musique, by his Ma<sup>ts</sup> speciall Comand & Warr<sup>t</sup> of the 15<sup>th</sup> of Febr. 1634’.<sup>60</sup> However, as Willetts has pointed out, ‘it would have been extremely unusual for payment to have been made in advance’,<sup>61</sup> and the organ book is unfinished. As mentioned above, Pinto believed this manuscript to date from the 1620s and to be in William Lawes’ youthful hand. Lawes did have access to the royal binder, as *Ob* Mus Sch. B2 and B3 and *Lbl* Add. MS 31432, all autographs, have the royal arms stamped on their covers. Comparison with Lawes’s known autograph scores has revealed Pinto’s assertion to be untrue, however, but Hand 1 of the Barnard manuscripts is a match. This is made especially clear when the longer textual incipit on f. 31, ‘Heare begingth for 2 treble viollins y<sup>e</sup> basse violl & y<sup>e</sup> Organ’, is compared, the ‘&’ and the word ‘Organ’ bearing particularly close resemblance to the styles of the capital ‘O’ in the ‘Barnard’ manuscripts (Figure II/17).

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<sup>60</sup> RECM, iii, p.150

<sup>61</sup> ‘John Barnard’s collections of Viol and Vocal Music’, pp. 34-5

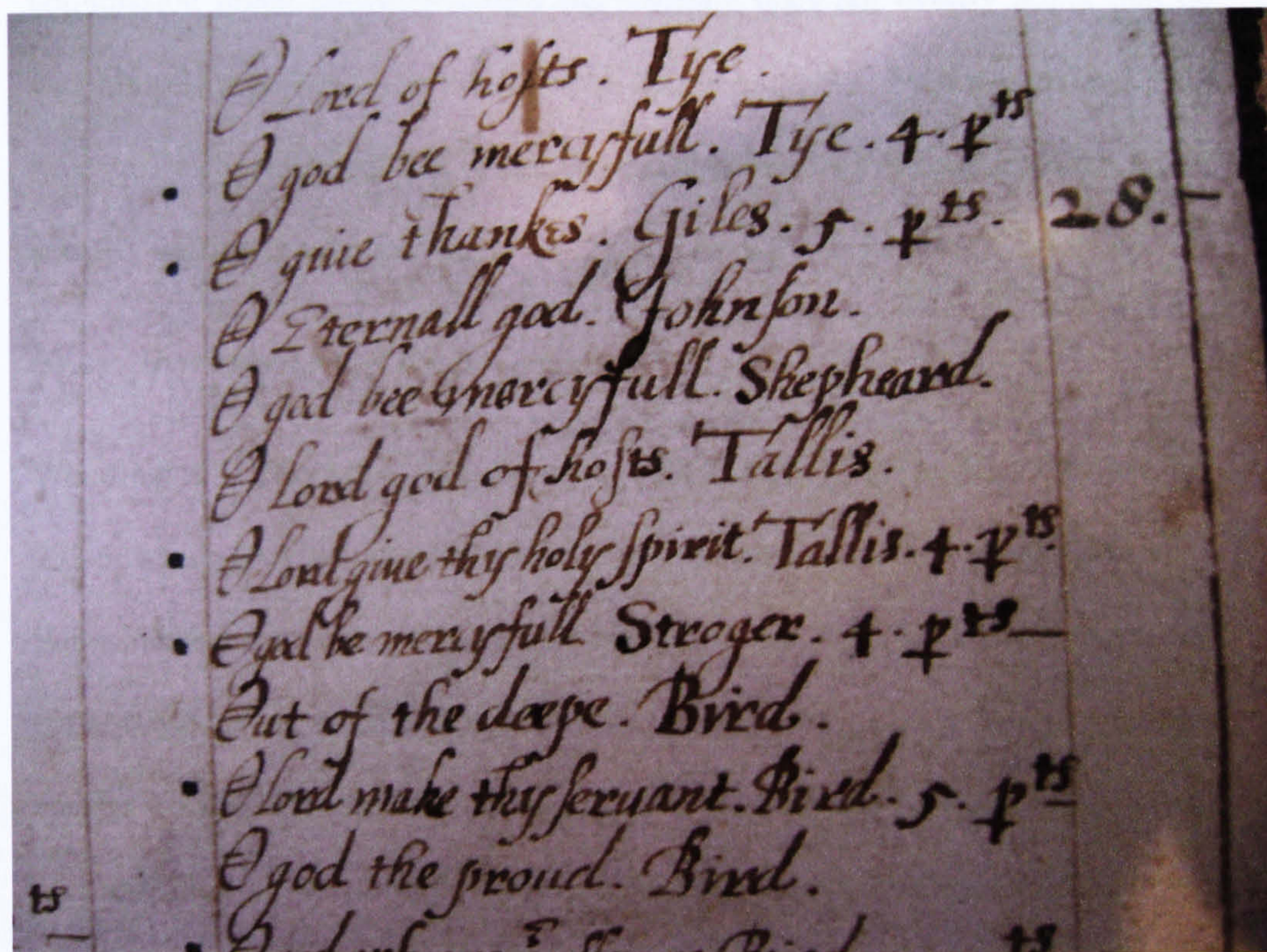


**Figure II/17: Hand 1's text hand in *Lbl* RM. 24.k.3 and the 'Barnard' manuscripts**

a) *Lbl* RM 24.k.3, f. 31



b) *Lcm* MS 1051, Index to Full anthems:



Clef formations put RM 24.k.3 at the second stage of Hand 1's development, and this tallies with the mid-1630s dating.<sup>62</sup> The possibility of Woodington as copyist

<sup>62</sup> VdGS Index I.

1 cannot entirely be discounted, although his signature does not seem to be a close match to the text hand under discussion.<sup>63</sup> As well as being a vicar choral of St. Paul's from before 1628,<sup>64</sup> Woodington was a member of 'Coperario's Musique', formed by Prince Charles (later Charles I) in 1622. As a violinist, he was joined by Thomas Lupo and Vallett, both on violin, Ferrabosco junior and Coperario on viols and Orlando Gibbons as keyboard player. This closeness to both the court and St. Paul's qualify him as a possible Hand 1, as does his handsome commission noted above, although the wording does not overtly imply that he was himself a copyist. The commission describes books 'by him provided', not necessarily copied by him; it would be plausible that he sub-contracted the job of actually writing out the music.

#### **B) *Och Music MSS 732-5***

Woodington is also connected, as is RM 24.k.3, with the partbooks *Och Mus. Ms 732-5*, which provide the instrumental parts to Coperario and Gibbons's Fantasia-Suites. Rather than being companion volumes to the organ book, i.e. presentation parts, these appear to be either performing parts or draft copies. The manuscripts are the work of four scribes, one of whom is the 'Barnard' Hand 1. The contents and copyists are given below, with copyists in square brackets after the foliation:

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<sup>63</sup> See above, figure II/11/a.

<sup>64</sup> The vicars choral are only named in leases and indentures; therefore any dates of admission can only be conjectural.

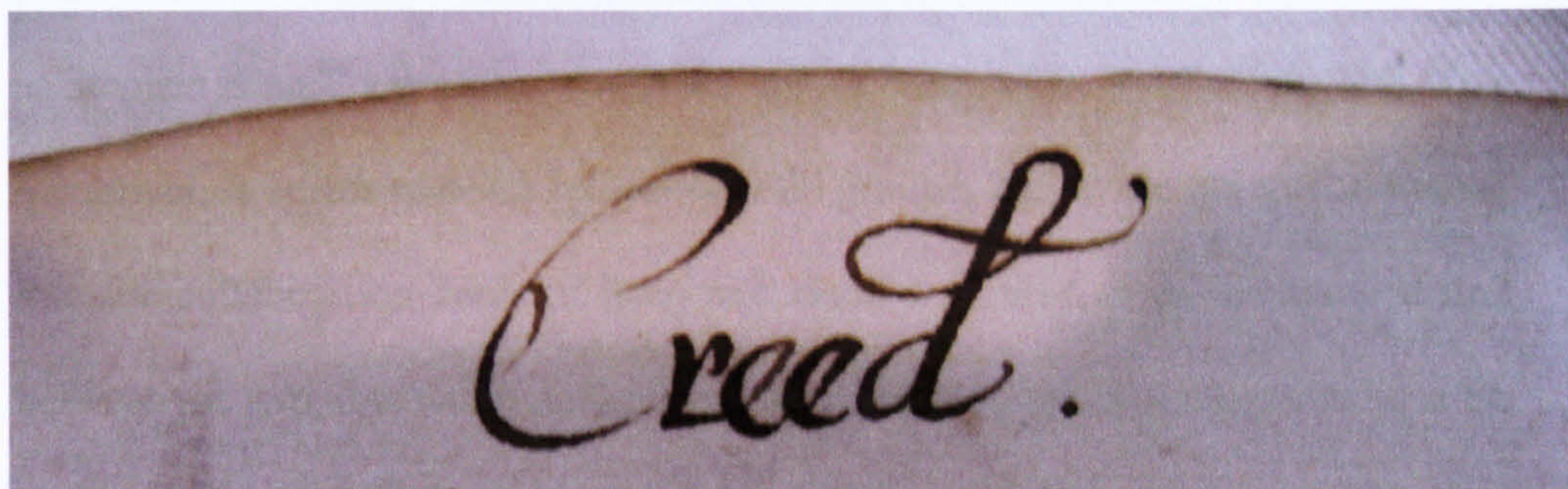
Table II/6: *Och* Music MSS 732-5 Contents

Composer	Title	Ms 732	Ms 733	Ms 734	Ms 735
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.1 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	0 <sup>v</sup> -1 [1]	-	1 <sup>v</sup> -2 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.2 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	1 <sup>v</sup> -2 [1]	-	2 <sup>v</sup> -3 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.3 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	2 <sup>v</sup> -3 [1]	-	3 <sup>v</sup> -4 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.4 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	3 <sup>v</sup> -4 [1]	-	4 <sup>v</sup> -5 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.5 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	4 <sup>v</sup> -5 [1]	-	5 <sup>v</sup> -6 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.6 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	5 <sup>v</sup> -6 [1]	-	6 <sup>v</sup> -7 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.7 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	6 <sup>v</sup> -7 [1]	-	7 <sup>v</sup> -8 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.8 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	7 <sup>v</sup> -8 [1]	-	8 <sup>v</sup> -9 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.9 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	8 <sup>v</sup> -9 [B]	-	9 <sup>v</sup> - 10 [D]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.10 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	9 <sup>v</sup> - 10 [B]	-	10 <sup>v</sup> - 11 [D]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.11 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	10 <sup>v</sup> - 11 [B]	-	11 <sup>v</sup> - 12 [D]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.12 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	11 <sup>v</sup> - 12 [B]	-	12 <sup>v</sup> - 13 [D]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.13 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	12 <sup>v</sup> - 13 [B]	-	13 <sup>v</sup> - 14 [D]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.14 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	13 <sup>v</sup> - 14 [B]	-	14 <sup>v</sup> - 15 [D]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no.15 – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	14 <sup>v</sup> - 15 [B]	-	15 <sup>v</sup> - 16 [B]	-

Composer	Title	Ms 732	Ms 733	Ms 734	Ms 735
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 1 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	15 <sup>v</sup> - 16 [B]	0 <sup>v</sup> -1 [B]	16 <sup>v</sup> - 17 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 2 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	16 <sup>v</sup> - 17 [B]	1 <sup>v</sup> -2 [B]	17 <sup>v</sup> - 18 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 3 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	17 <sup>v</sup> - 18 [B]	2 <sup>v</sup> -3 [B]	18 <sup>v</sup> - 19 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 4 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	18 <sup>v</sup> - 19 [B]	3 <sup>v</sup> -4 [B]	19 <sup>v</sup> - 20 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 5 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	19 <sup>v</sup> - 20 [B]	4 <sup>v</sup> -5 [B]	20 <sup>v</sup> - 21 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 6 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	20 <sup>v</sup> - 21 [B]	5 <sup>v</sup> -6 [B]	21 <sup>v</sup> - 22 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 7 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	21 <sup>v</sup> - 22 [B]	6 <sup>v</sup> -7 [B]	22 <sup>v</sup> - 23 [1]	-
[John Coperario]	[Fantasia Suite no. 8 for two violins – Fantazia; Almain; Galliard]	22 <sup>v</sup> - 23 [B]	7 <sup>v</sup> -8 [B]	23 <sup>v</sup> - 24 [1]	-
Orlando Gibbons	Fantasia 1 [a 3, for the 'great dooble basse]	25 <sup>v</sup> - 26 [B]	-	24 <sup>v</sup> [1]	3 <sup>v</sup> -4 [B]
Orlando Gibbons	Fantasia 2 [a 3, for the 'great dooble basse]	26 <sup>v</sup> - 27 [B]	-	25 [1]	4-4 <sup>v</sup> [B]
Orlando Gibbons	Fantasia 3 [a 3, for the 'great dooble basse]	27 <sup>v</sup> - 28 [B]	-	25- 26 [1]	1 <sup>v</sup> -2 [B]
Orlando Gibbons	Fantasia 4 [a 3, for the 'great dooble basse]	28 <sup>v</sup> - 29 [B]	-	26- 27 [1]	2 <sup>v</sup> -3 [B]
Orlando Gibbons	Fantasia [1 a 4, for the 'great dooble basse]	31 <sup>v</sup> - 32 [B]	9 <sup>v</sup> - 10 [C]	27- 28 [1]	5 <sup>v</sup> [B]
Orlando Gibbons	Fantasia [2 a 4, for the 'great dooble basse]	33 <sup>v</sup> [C]	10 <sup>v</sup> - 11 [B]	28 [1]	6 <sup>v</sup> [C]

As well as copying music into these books, Hand 1 also added the names of parts to the covers – the ‘Canto secundoe’ of MS 733 has a distinctive ‘d’ which is occasionally employed by this copyist in the ‘Barnard’ manuscripts (Figure II/18).

**Figure II/18: Formation of ‘d’ in *Och* MS 733 and the ‘Barnard’ manuscripts**  
– *Lcm* MS 1051, f. 333



Hand 1 has also added ‘the great Dooble Basse’ to MS 735, perhaps a clarification of Scribe B’s initial title ‘Orlando for the Double Base’ on the same cover. The Woodington connection arises from two instances of his name that occur, on the verso of the cover of MS 732, and on the back cover of MS 734. The first of these is spelled ‘John Wodenton’, the next ‘woodingtun’; neither instance matches his known signature, shown above as Figure II/11/a , neither is in the same hand, and neither matches Hand 1. Pinto has suggested that these were Woodington’s ‘personal playing parts’,<sup>65</sup> and this is possible, but it seems unlikely that he added any music or annotations to them, which would be unusual if they were indeed used by him.

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<sup>65</sup> *Musica Britannica*, 60, p. xvi

The distribution of copying shown in Table II/6 implies that Hand 1 was working closely together with Scribes B and C, while Scribes B and D were working in tandem. B and D both remain to be identified (neither are found in any other manuscripts connected with Hand 1), but Scribe C, who only copied two pages in *Och* MS 733, and one in each of MSS 732 and 735, has been identified as Stephen Bing,<sup>66</sup> a prolific copyist and minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. This identification seems to be on relatively solid ground, but before we read too much into the collaboration between Bing and Hand 1 as regards an institutional link between the two, it is worth noting that Bing was not appointed minor canon at St. Paul's until 1640/1.<sup>67</sup> On the basis of the obvious connection of these manuscripts to Woodington, it is tempting to postulate that *he* might be a possible Scribe B, especially given the fact that it is scribe B who copied the violin parts – these being those Woodington himself, as a violinist, would have played. There is no positive evidence, however, for a conclusive identification, and the incomplete state of these manuscripts shrouds the extent of the collaboration between the four scribes.

### C) *Och* Music MSS 725-7

The set of partbooks *Och* Mus. MSS 725-7, now bound together as a single item, are entirely copied by Hand 1. Containing music in tablature for lyra viol consort, they transmit pieces by William Lawes, Robert Taylor and Simon Ives.

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<sup>66</sup> See Viola da Gamba Society Index

<sup>67</sup> It is at this time his name first appears in the Warden's Account Book, *Lgc* MS 25746, p.42, appended to the account for the year 1641-1642 (the accounts run from St. John Baptist's Day).

Table II/7: *Och* Music MSS 725-7 Contents

Folios	Title	Composer
0v-1	Fantasia first	W: Lawes
1	Seraband	W: Lawes
1v	Pavin: first	W: Lawes
2	Almaine	W: Lawes
2v-3	fantasia. Second	Wj: Lawes
3v	-	Wj: Lawes
6	Almaine. First	M <sup>r</sup> Ro: Tayler
6v	2. Almaine	M <sup>r</sup> Ro: Taylor
[Reversed]		
23v	M <sup>rs</sup> Mary Brownes Choyce	Sy: Ive
23v	Coranto	S: I:
23	M <sup>rs</sup> Colliers Choyce	S: I:
23	The Choyce	S: I:

Again thought by Pinto to be a William Lawes autograph,<sup>68</sup> the ascriptions nevertheless show that the copyist is Hand 1. Again, salient features of the hand, especially the flourish ending the pieces, are found in this copyist's other work, as is the use of the Lawes 'signature', showing the copyist had close access to, and was probably working from, autograph copies. The inclusion of music by Simon Ives is particularly interesting here, and serves to further link Hand 1 to a St. Paul's Cathedral circle. Described by Anthony Wood as 'a singing man in the Cath[edral] Ch[urch] of St Paul in London ... before the Rebellion broke out',<sup>69</sup> Ives' name does not appear in any records appertaining to the vicars choral. However, the surviving references often only give the number of vicars rather than their names, not discounting the possibility. From 1661 until his death the following year he was a minor prebendary of St. Paul's, having also been a

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<sup>68</sup> 'William Lawes' Music for Viol Consort', *Early Music* 6 (1978), p. 22

<sup>69</sup> Holman, Peter: 'Ives, Simon', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy

London wait from 1637. He also had court connections, having composed songs for Shirley's masque 'The Triumph of Peace' in 1634, and for Henrietta Maria's visit to Enstone in 1636.<sup>70</sup> Copyist 1 seems to have had close links with Ives, as of the ten pieces by him, nine are ascribed 'S: I:', the other (the first) 'Sy: Ive'. In the 'Barnard' manuscripts, Hand 1 similarly ascribes numerous pieces simply with initials, including 'L: W:' for Leonard Woodson, and 'W: B:' for William Byrd. This does not necessarily imply personal acquaintance, especially in the case of Byrd – in this case it possibly indicates that the composer was well known, or more likely that the attribution reflects the copy from which the scribe was working.

### ***Ob* Tenbury MS 302**

*Ob* Ten MS 302 is a score of three-, four- and five-part fancies by various composers compiled by three scribes, containing the following:

**Table II/8: *Ob* Tenbury MS 302 – Table of Contents**

<b>Folios</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Copyist</b>
1-2	Three fancies	Thomas Lupo	'A'
2v-5	Five fancies	Coperario	'A'
5-6	Two fancies	Lupo	'A'
7-12	Eleven fancies	Lupo	Hand 1
12	Air	William Lawes	Hand 1
12v-16	Nine fancies	Lupo	Hand 1
16v-19	Three fancies	Coperario	Hand 1
19v	Fancy	Dr Bull	Hand 1
20-20v	Two fancies	William Cranford	Hand 1
21-21v	Air and 2 others	W. Lawes	Hand 1
22	Domine fac meum	Morley	Hand 1

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<sup>70</sup> Holman, Peter: 'Ives, Simon', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy



Folios	Title	Composer	Copyist
22v	Agnus Dei	Morley	Hand 1
23-34	Twelve fancies	Lupo	Hand 1
34v-41v	Seven fancies	Coperario	Hand 1
42-43	Fancy	Simon Ive	Hand 2
43-45v	Four fancies	Michael East	Hand 2
46	Solo e pensoso	L.M [Marenzio]	Hand 1
46v	O voi che sospirate	[Marenzio]	Hand 1
47v-49	Two In nomines	Gibbons	Hand 1
50v-51	Fancy	William Lawes	Hand 1
52v-53, 54	In nomine	William Lawes	Hand 1

Willetts concentrated primarily on this source in attempting to identify the main scribe, Hand 1, concluding on the basis of mainly circumstantial evidence that it might be John Tomkins, and linking it further to John Barnard through the appearance of Hand 2, Adrian Batten.<sup>71</sup> The other copyist involved, Willetts' Scribe 'A', also compiled part of the Indexes to *Ob Ten MS 791*, the 'Batten' Organ Book, giving the page numbers for anthems found in the 'Barnard' manuscripts. She interprets this, along with the fact that Scribe A numbered some of Hands 1 and 2's entries in *Tenbury MS 302* as proof that 'A was working in some way with copyist B [Hand 1]',<sup>72</sup> and also links it to Hand 2 through the Batten organ book. However, this is not necessarily so, as there is no direct evidence of *simultaneous* collaboration in either case. In *Ob Ten MS 302*, all the leaves copied by Scribe A, comprising the first gathering, are of a different, later, paper than the rest of the manuscript, and in *MS 791*, this hand is only found in the indexes relating to the 'Barnard' manuscripts. That Scribe A used gatherings of different paper, added annotations to already copied items and used a

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<sup>71</sup> Willetts: 'John Barnard's collections of Viol and Vocal music'

<sup>72</sup> 'Barnard's collections' p.30

continuation of the numbering scheme employed by Hand 1 implies to me that the possibility exists of Scribe A being a subsequent owner of both MSS 302, 791, and perhaps also the 'Barnard' manuscripts.

This source, like *Och Mus.* MSS 725-7, contains music by Simon Ives, in this case copied by Hand 2, Adrian Batten. This single four-part fancy, along with four fancies by Michael East, is all that this scribe contributed to the manuscript. The East pieces are ascribed 'mr East: 1630:' by the copyist, but the Ives fancy is simply titled 'Ive'. The lack of a title to this name may imply personal acquaintance, but may reflect the fact that Ives was not necessarily a well-known musician at the time the manuscript was copied. This may or may not be 1630, if the date appended to the East pieces is taken as a copying date – it is also possible that this is a date of composition found on the manuscript Hand 2 was copying from.<sup>73</sup>

### **'Hand 1': The copyist's identity**

It has been mentioned above that Willetts suggested John Tomkins as a possible identity for Hand 1. He certainly had the necessary court and St. Paul's connections, having been appointed vicar choral at St. Paul's in 1619, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1625, and he could have had access to William

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<sup>73</sup> Batten, in copying leaves into the 'Barnard' manuscripts, appended the date '1635' to Tallis's Short Service, so there is evidence for him adding a date of copying.

Lawes's manuscripts through Henry Lawes, his colleague at the Chapel.<sup>74</sup> On the basis of the consort manuscripts *only*, this identification seems plausible. However, the link between Tomkins and the 'Barnard' manuscripts, other than the institutional connection between Barnard himself and John Tomkins, is more difficult to prove, and does not stand up for a number of reasons. Primarily, his death on 27<sup>th</sup> September 1638 rules him out for the same reasons John Ward must be excluded.<sup>75</sup> The instructions to the printer, as well as many of the preparations of verse anthems in the 'Barnard' manuscripts are in Hand 1, as is the note 'all those with a prick before them are fitted for the presse and printed' found in several of the books. As printing was not completed until 1641, it cannot have been John Tomkins who made these annotations, excluding him as copyist. It should be noted that John Barnard appears to have had some personal connection with the Tomkins family, as he collected the wages of Robert and Giles Tomkins,<sup>76</sup> brothers to John and musicians in ordinary at the Chapel Royal. As well as being joint organist of the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's, John Tomkins' virtuosity on a stringed instrument of some description is attested to by his close friend Phineas Fletcher in his poem 'The Purple Island', published in 1633:

Young Thomalin [Tomkins], whose notes and silver string  
Silence the rising Lark and falling Swan.

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<sup>74</sup> Cunningham, 2007: p.148

<sup>75</sup> See above, pp102-3

<sup>76</sup> RECM, iii, pp. 221-2

We have seen that this copyist, in his use of tablature, was probably a lyra violist, and well versed in the performance of consort music, but was evidently someone other than John Tomkins.

If the copyist is not John Tomkins, then who? He must have had close connections to both St. Paul's, through Adrian Batten and perhaps Simon Ives, and the court, where he would have had access to autograph sources of William Lawes' music, and been alive in 1641 to see Barnard's *First Book* through the press. The one possibility that remains to be considered is that the copyist is John Barnard himself.

Barnard, as we have seen, certainly owned several manuscripts, not least *Lcm* MSS 1045-51. He is also referred to in Nicholas le Strange's partbooks *Lbl* Add. MSS 39550-4, where the 'Barnard score: B' has been examined for collations of several pieces. Reference is also made to 'Barn: 2<sup>d</sup> catalogue',<sup>77</sup> implying there may have been more than one source associated with Barnard available to the collator. This is strengthened by the fact that on numerous pages the collator has written 'exam: by Barnard', with 'score: B' having been added in a different hand.<sup>78</sup> The manuscripts which have been briefly discussed above also contain many examples of cross-referencing, as does *Ob* Tenbury MS 791. For example, folio 35v of *Ob* Tenbury MS 302 is annotated 'looke to this fancy in some other coppies', and f. 23v of *Och* Mus. MS 727 is entitled 'M<sup>ris</sup> Mary Brownes choyce by Sy: Ive. for 3 lyros; the other parts ar in the 2 violl bookes'.

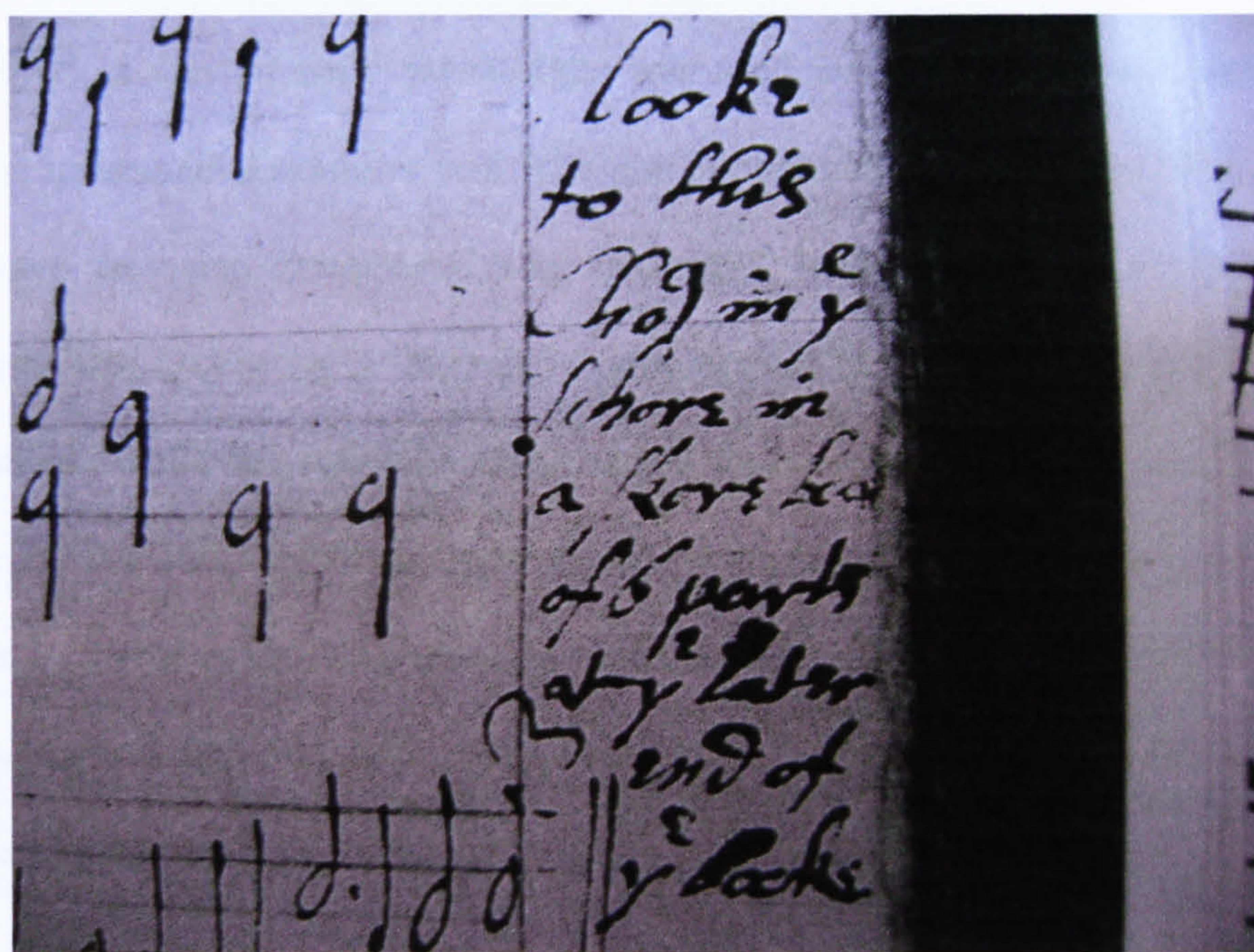
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<sup>77</sup> Add. MS 39550, f. 29: 'the cleffe of all this plainsong stands one line higher in Barn: 2<sup>d</sup> catalogue'

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, Add. MS 39553 (Tenor), f. 38v

Also, and possibly most interestingly, the single occurrence of Hand 1 in *Ob Ten* MS 791, is a marginal annotation on folio 217, Byrd's 'Christ rising', which reads as follows: 'look to this Cho<sup>s</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> schore in a skore booke of 6 parts at y<sup>e</sup> later end of y<sup>e</sup> booke.' It is probable that all the sources mentioned here belonged to Barnard – if not they certainly belonged to somebody closely associated with Hand 1.

**Figure II/19: Annotation in Hand 1 in *Ob Ten* MS 791, folio 217**



It would be pertinent at this point to mention the two sets of partbooks *US-Wc* MS M990.C66F4, Vols. 1 and 2, and *Lbl* Add. MS 30487. These were shown by Gordon Dodd to have close links, in terms of certain variants, to the 'Barnard' sources consulted by Sir Nicholas le Strange in the compilation of his sets of manuscripts. All these partbooks are copied in the same hand, Willetts' Scribe A, who appears in *Ob Tenbury* MSS 302 and 791, in the latter case as the compiler

of various Indexes (see above, p. 117). I have suggested that this copyist was a subsequent owner of these manuscripts, and therefore acquainted with Barnard and his 'circle' of copyists. The question of whether the partbooks mentioned above were those consulted by Le Strange remains unanswered – as they are sets of partbooks, none of them can be identified as 'Barnards Score B:'. The reference to 'Barn: 2<sup>nd</sup> catalogue' likewise implies a reference collection along the lines of *Lcm* MSS 1045-51, and it is most probable that the method of collecting employed in the 'Barnard' manuscripts was used in compiling a catalogue of secular instrumental music as well. The sets of partbooks mentioned by Dodd do not have the same characteristics as *Lcm* MSS 1045-51, and despite sharing variants with Le Strange's 'Barnard' source, cannot be shown to be the sources consulted. While the sources can be linked to John Barnard, there is still no evidence that the copyist was working in tandem – indeed I have shown that Willetts' Scribe A probably added his parts later. It follows that the Washington partbooks and *Lbl* Add. MS 30487 could be fair copies made from Barnard's sources, and that it is these, now lost, which were consulted by Le Strange.

Returning to the identification of Hand 1, the most compelling evidence that the copyist is Barnard can be found, unsurprisingly, in the 'Barnard' manuscripts. As already stated, this is the Hand all the directions to the printer are found in, and it was Barnard himself who went through such pains 'in gathering, Collationing, Correcting, revising this that is already done'. Morehen has

interpreted this as implying Barnard did no copying himself,<sup>79</sup> but 'this that is already done' may well mean 'this *copying* that is already done *by me*'; that is to say, it does not necessarily indicate the entire corpus of Barnard's collection was prepared for him by assistants. In fact, Barnard's references to 'collationing' must certainly include the various annotations regarding this, such as 'The fol: both sides alike, 122' in *Lcm* MS 1045, f.148, and the correcting hand throughout the manuscripts, as described above, is that of Hand 1. Willetts was of the opinion that the correcting hand in the 'Barnard' manuscripts was not the same,<sup>80</sup> thus excluding the possibility Barnard might be the copyist. This was backed up by reference to his signatures in the warden's account book and in the Public Record Office, but despite apparent differences between Barnard's signature and the copying hand, I believe the two can be reconciled.

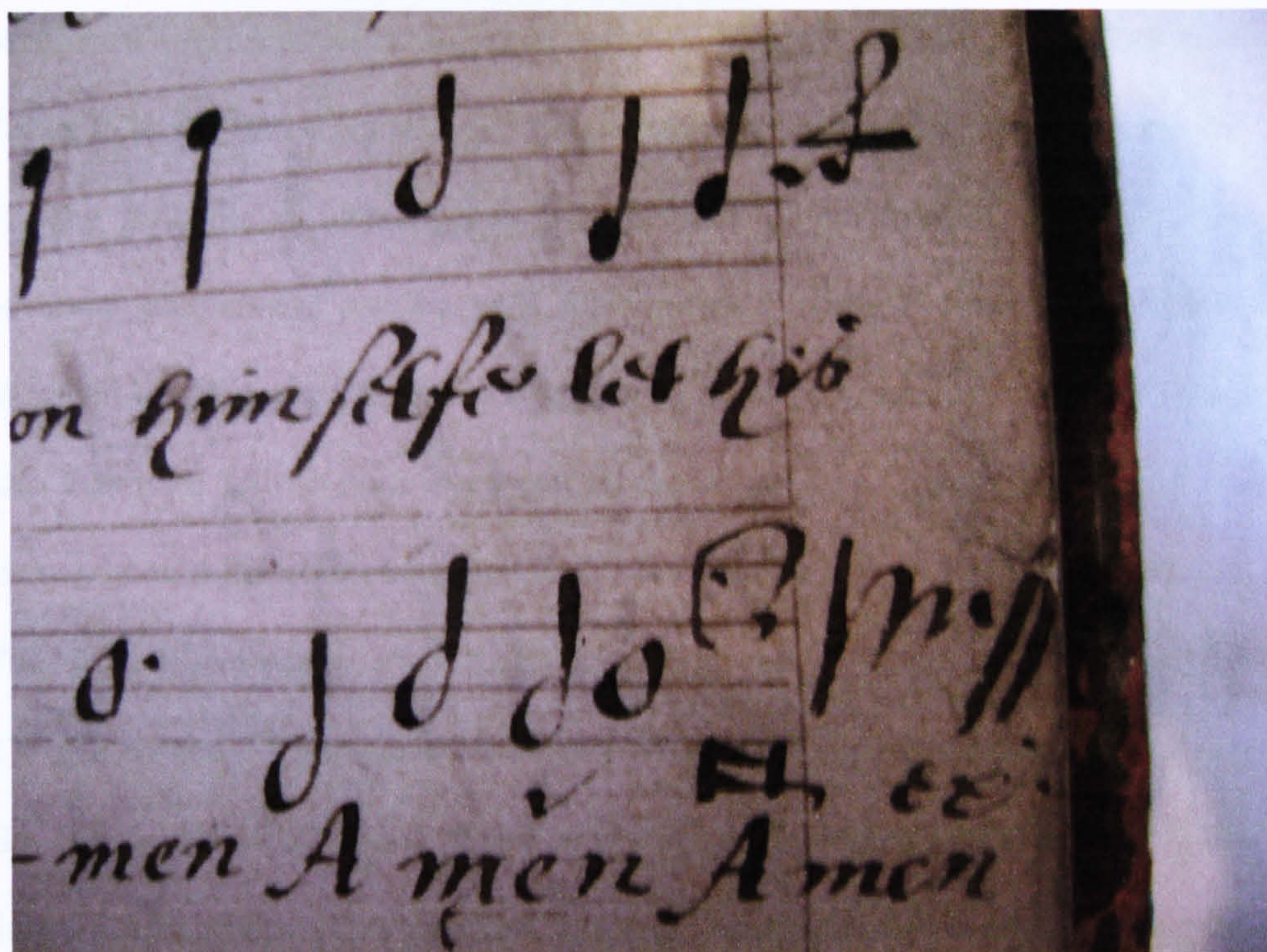
John Barnard's signature, as preserved in the warden's account book, is distinctive, to say the least, and graphologists would surely have a field day with its elaborate decoration, including underlining and a series of crosses. There is also elaboration above, with two diagonal lines bisected by a horizontal stroke. This overt flamboyance is reflected in various facets of Hand 1, not least an unusual *custos* which can be found in both the 'Barnard' manuscripts and *Ob* Ten MS 302 (Figure II/20).

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<sup>79</sup> 'Sources', p. 274

<sup>80</sup> Barnard's collections, p. 36

Figure II/20: Custos and ornamental ending in Hand 1 – *Lcm* MS 1051, f. 2



The distinctive ornamental ending employed by Hand 1, found throughout his known copying activity and shown above, is likewise more ostentatious than those employed by other copyists. Willetts compared Barnard's signature with what appears to be a 'signed' piece in the 'Barnard' manuscripts, noting that 'there are discrepancies ... especially in the form of the capital B.'<sup>81</sup> It has already been noted that there are different stages of Hand 1 within these manuscripts – that these often appear side by side complicates the picture, this being because blank pages were filled in as space ran out. Even within these separate stages there are ingrained discrepancies, leading Willetts to note that several pages are

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<sup>81</sup> 'Barnard's collections', p. 33



'written in several different hands or styles of hand',<sup>82</sup> and this copyist has been shown to have often used secretary and italic scripts in tandem (see above, pp. 98-9). The problem of identification on the basis of a signature is problematic, however, and should not be used as a primary method outweighing others. Morehen has remarked that if an example of Barnard's signature could be found (the examples known now were not at that time), the 'mystery [of Hand 1's identity] could be settled conclusively',<sup>83</sup> but the reality is not so straightforward. The 'signed' piece to which Willetts refers is Barnard's *Preces and Responses* for 27<sup>th</sup> March and 5<sup>th</sup> November, which is attributed variously across the books to 'Jo: Barnard' and 'Jo: Bar:'. If this is autograph, the copyist or composer is not duty bound to append a signature, although many often did, such as has been described with William Lawes. For example, Adrian Batten, in copying his own music into the 'Barnard' manuscripts, has simply titled them 'Battens Commaundements & Creed', with no signature to be found. It is possible, therefore, that the copyist *is* Barnard, but that his known signature does not match what simply amounts to writing his own name in his manuscripts. Willetts mentioned that the shape of the capital B did not match Barnard's signature. However, the instances of Barnard's signature as found in the warden's account book vary wildly, *particularly* in the shape of the capital B (figure II/21/a-g):<sup>84</sup>

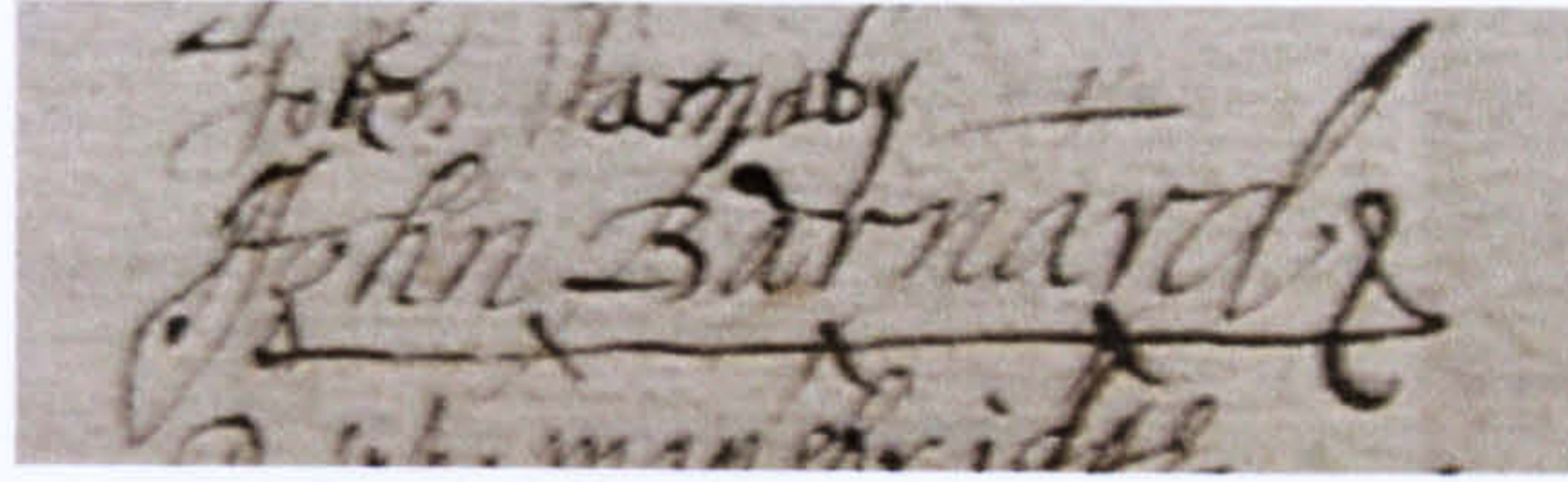
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<sup>82</sup> 'Barnard's collections', p. 33

<sup>83</sup> Sources, p. 274

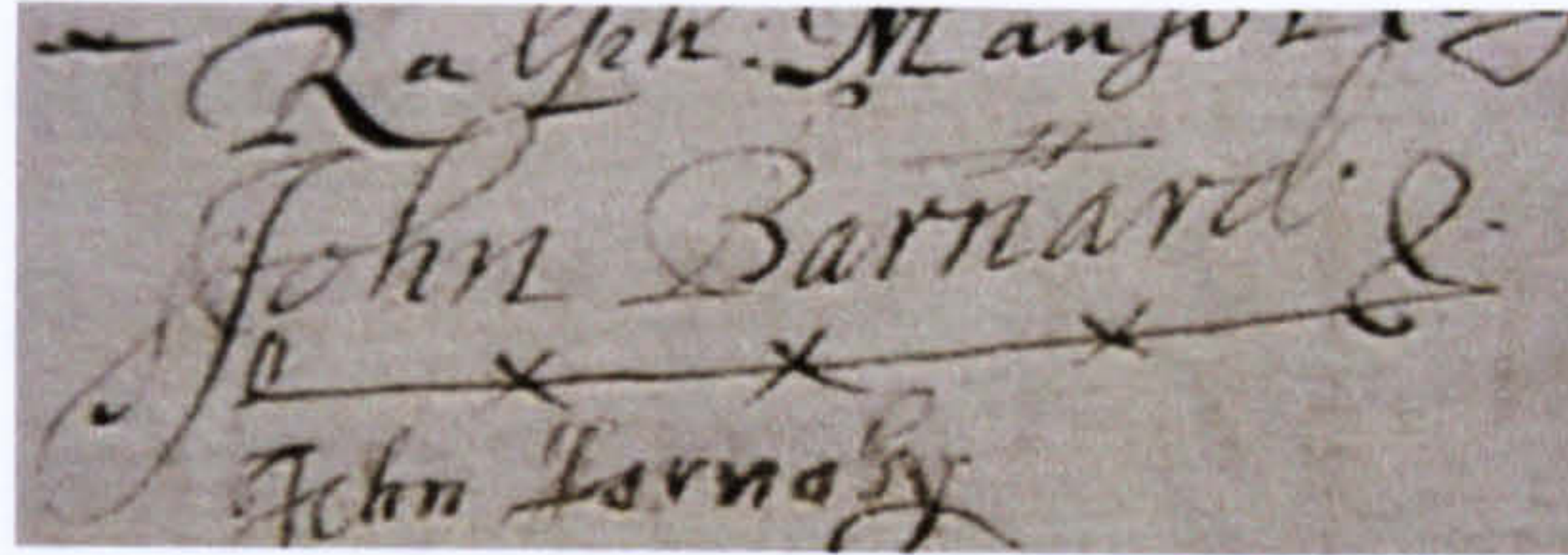
<sup>84</sup> All references are to *Lgc* MS 25746

**Figure II/21/a: folio 3 [accounts ending 1632]**



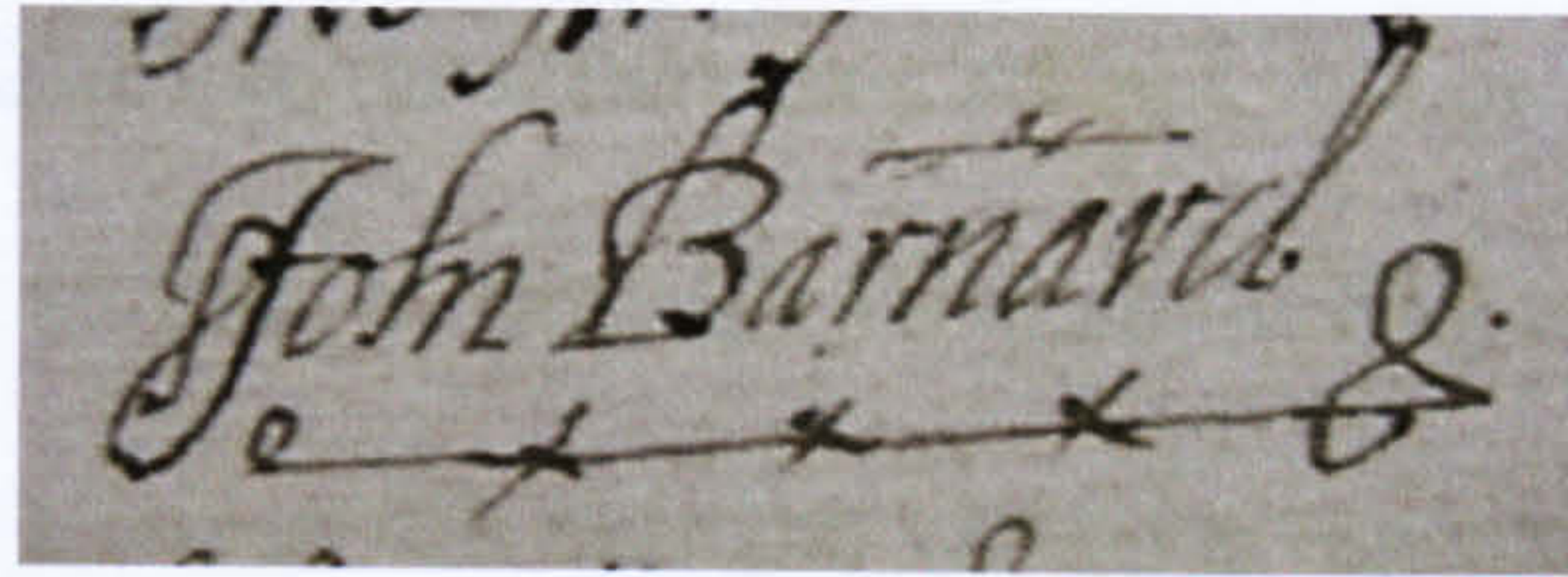
John Barnard  
 John Barnard

**Fig: II/21/b: folio 19 [1635]**



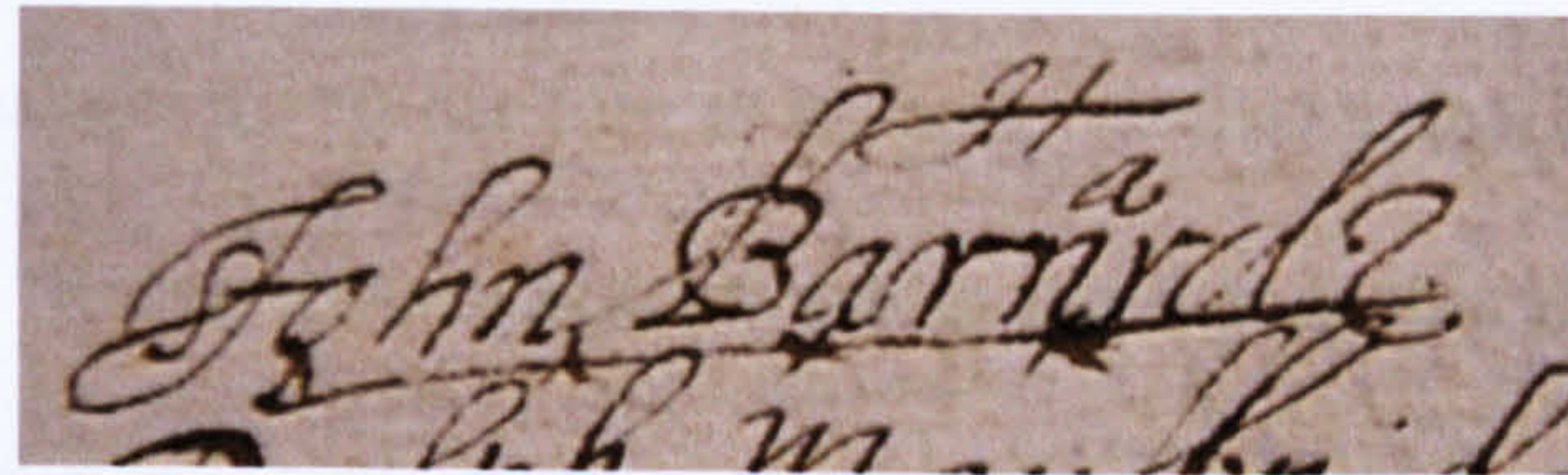
John Barnard  
 John Barnard

**Fig: II/21/c: folio 31 [1639]**



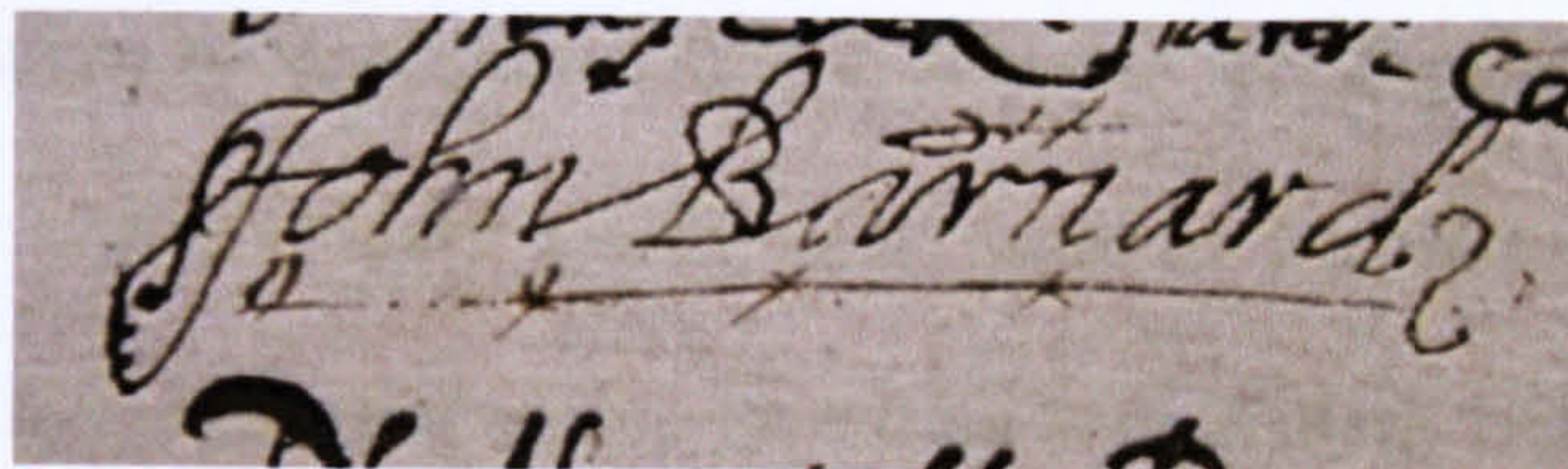
John Barnard

**Fig: II/21/d: folio 39 [1641]**

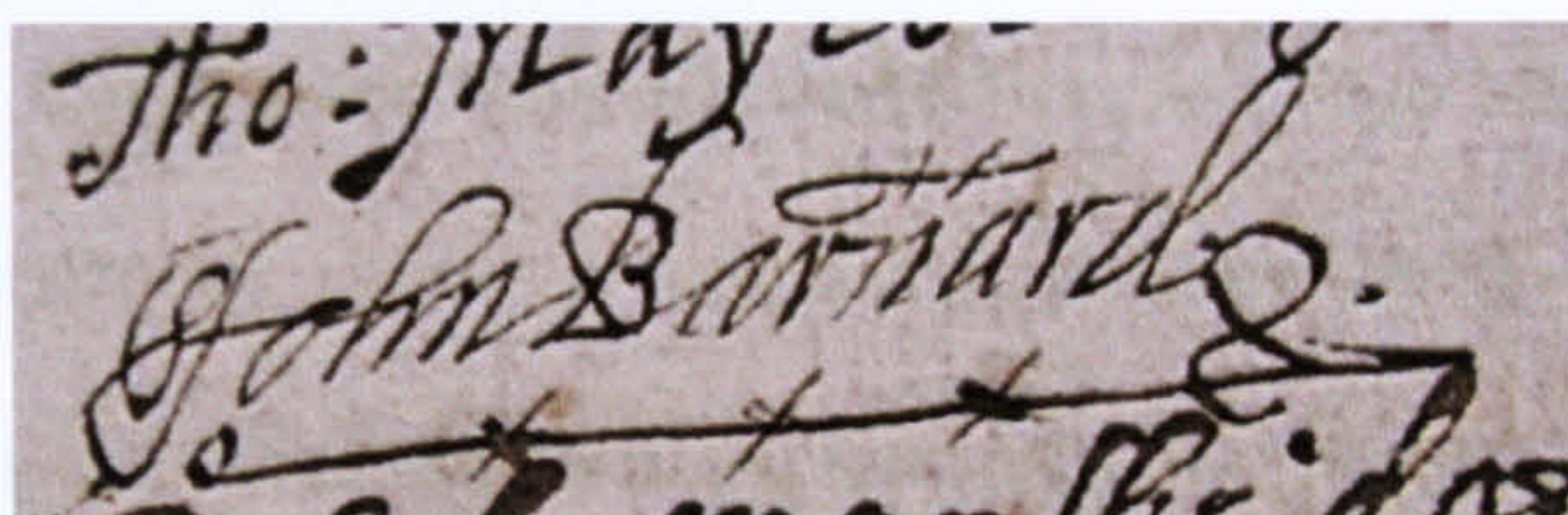
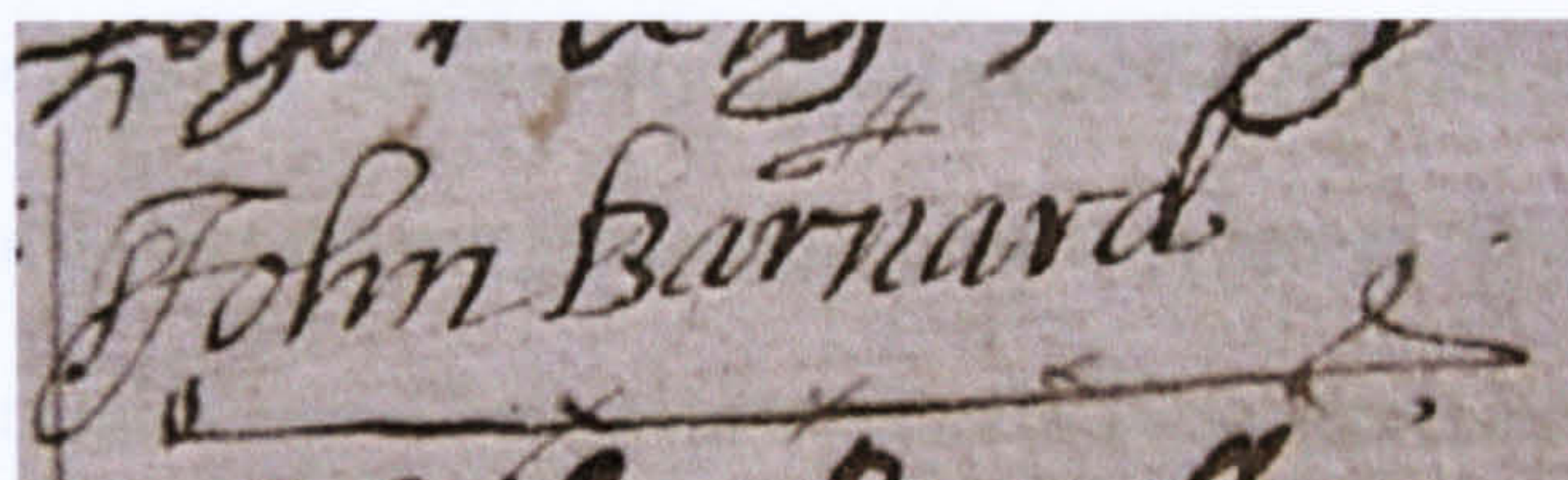


John Barnard

**Fig: II/21/e: folio 42 [1642]**



John Barnard

**Fig: II/21/f: folio 45 [1643]****Fig: II/21/g: folio 47 [1644]**

In addition to this notable difference, in one instance the ‘h’ and ‘n’ of John are elided (see figure II/21/c); in the others they are not, and on one occasion, Barnard has even omitted the second ‘a’ from his surname, having to add it above, with an arrow (figure II/21/d). Given this extreme variance, especially on the level of the individual letter, it is perhaps futile to attempt to match any hands on the basis of comparison with a signature. The evidence for Barnard as Hand 1 is therefore compelling, most strongly given his role as corrector, collator and editor. All the pieces unique to the ‘Barnard manuscripts’ are in this hand; this includes all the music by Marson and West, both of whom had strong Canterbury connections, as did Barnard, who would doubtless have known both of them personally.

It is important to note, however, that in some of the ‘Barnard’ partbooks, Leonard Woodson’s ‘Arise O Lord’ has the note ‘made for Mr Barnard’ appended to it. This seems, at face value and as interpreted by both Willetts and Morehen, to be a phrase Barnard himself is unlikely to have used, but this supposition is

dependent on context. If it is in the form of a dedication, as it is in Marson's four-part Creed 'made for Docter Hunt', it would not, perhaps, be so unusual for Barnard to refer to himself in the third person. However, if it means that this *copy* was made for Mr Barnard, then it must surely rule John Barnard out of the argument. It is not possible to say which of these is the case, so it is therefore not possible to prove or disprove conclusively the argument for Barnard as Hand 1. However, I have shown that the copyist cannot be William Lawes, John Ward or John Tomkins, and to me it seems Barnard must remain a strong probability.

#### ***Lcm* MSS 1045-1051 – The repertoire**

As has been established, the 'Barnard' manuscripts contain exclusively sacred music, much of which is unique to this source. As the books were part of Barnard's personal collection of music, it is reasonable to suppose that some of the compositions he selected reflect both his musical taste and perhaps his personal circumstances. Liturgical manuscripts of the period tend to consist of a 'core' repertoire of London composers, often, as in the cases of Tallis and Byrd, of previous generations, supplemented with works by local musicians, generally working at the institution where the books were used. In contrast to this, Barnard's collection includes a large amount of music by minor, provincial figures, a number of whom are not represented in any other extant source. However, as it is with liturgical manuscripts, the lesser-known composers often hold the key to a book's provenance, and so with Barnard's manuscripts it is the

minor composers who can serve to shed light on Barnard's personal acquaintance, tastes and his collecting activities.

We have seen that Barnard was in all probability a lay clerk at Canterbury Cathedral, and this is supported by the wealth of Canterbury repertoire found in his manuscripts, most notably that of George Marson. Barnard has included Marson's Second Service, consisting of all the canticles for the two Anglican morning services and Evensong, his 5-part Preces and Psalm, the full anthem 'O gracious god' and the three verse anthems 'O sing unto the Lord', 'God is our hope and strength', and 'O God which still dost guide our land'. The only other extant source of Marson's music is the manuscript additions to the copy of Barnard's *First Book* now in the Chapter Library at Canterbury Cathedral, and these supply the Contratenor Cantoris parts.<sup>85</sup> Marson was *Magister Choristarum* at Canterbury from the death of George Juxon in 1598 until his own in 1632. The Indexes to Barnard's manuscripts contain entries for Marson's first service, but this was never copied into the books. It is presumably this service that survives incomplete at Durham, in the later manuscripts *Drc* MSS A6, C1, C13 and E11a.

Another Canterbury composer represented is William West, whose Sharp Service, and two anthems, 'Save me O God' and 'Have mercy, Lord' are to be found in Barnard's manuscripts. Nothing by him is in any other surviving manuscript of the period, and given the quality of his writing, it is unsurprising

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<sup>85</sup> These readings appear to derive from a different source than that used by Barnard, as the readings vary greatly. The copy of Barnard's *First Book* of Canterbury provenance, now in the British Library (k.7.e.2 – Tenor Cantoris) also has Marson's 'O gracious God' as part of its manuscript additions. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

that his work did not receive a wider distribution. A Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, he obtained his place from Thomas Woodson, a vicar choral of St. Paul's, who sold it in 1605 to 'William West of Canterbury'.<sup>86</sup> It is unclear whether he held any other post in London, but Spink refers to him as 'Pauli canonicis minor', not giving the source of this tantalising reference.<sup>87</sup> He is not mentioned in any extant leases of the minor canons or any other St. Paul's records, and his death in 1643<sup>88</sup> is not recorded in the registers of St. Gregory. As he was appointed to the Chapel Royal in 1605, it is probable that Barnard had not known him at Canterbury, yet still saw fit to include him in his anthology.

A composer Barnard certainly would have known from his days as a lay clerk was William Pysinge, who was a chorister at Canterbury when Barnard arrived. He is represented in *Lcm* MSS 1045-51 by a single anthem, 'I will magnify thee, O Lord', with verses for two means and the usual five-part chorus, with split countertenors.

Of course, the majority of music in the manuscripts can be linked with Barnard's St. Paul's, and its close connections with the Chapel Royal. As well as the large amount by Batten, Cranford is represented, as are John Tomkins, John Gibbs (Pierson's predecessor as Almoner at St. Paul's) and Barnard himself. What is most interesting, however, is the large number of minor, provincial

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<sup>86</sup> Ashbee, BDECM, p. 1142

<sup>87</sup> Spink, 'Music 1540-1660', in *St. Paul's Cathedral* (2004), p. 316. The source of this reference is probably a lost memorial in St. Faith's under St. Paul's Cathedral (BDECM, p. 1142) which describes him as such. It remains unsupported by further documentary evidence, however.

<sup>88</sup> The Bodleian register describes him as 'tenor, deceased' in November 1643. Ashbee: BDECM, p. 1142

composers with no apparent connection to Barnard, the Chapel Royal or London, and the inclusion of these seems to indicate that Barnard's aim in producing these manuscripts was to bring together a collection of sacred music as wide-ranging as possible, perhaps with eventual publication in mind. Such composers include 'Jones',<sup>89</sup> whose seven part 'I will give thanks' is his only known work, and Oker, a composer with Wells and Gloucester connections whose anthem 'Grant we beseech thee' is given pride of place on the first folio of Barnard's manuscripts.

There are a large number of verse anthems in Barnard's manuscripts, many of which are scored for a Bass and found only in the Bassus Cantoris partbook. The note in Barnard's Indexes stating 'those with a cross before them the parts are all in these books' indicates his collection was split over several sets of manuscripts, and this is implicitly confirmed in the Preface to his printed *First Book*, when he speaks of the 'order of my Collections'.

*Lcm* MSS 1045-51 may be viewed as a Laudian-inspired collection, a gathering of music from across the kingdom that exemplified the resurgence of sacred polyphony in England, sanctioned by a sympathetic hierarchy, but as the manuscripts were never meant to be used as performing parts, the relevance of this is somewhat diminished. However, the inclusion of John Tomkins' setting of the Sanctus, as well as the Sanctus and Gloria from Batten's and Tallis' Short Services shows a certain Laudian bias. Music for the Communion Service and concerned with the sacraments was given a revival under Laud, as the 'beauty of

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<sup>89</sup> This may be Thomas Jones, organist at Chester from 1614 until sometime between 1631 and 1637, or perhaps Luke Jones, minor canon at St. Paul's and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

holiness' became an increasing tenet of worship in the Anglican cathedrals. What is most likely, however, is that Barnard was simply an enthusiastic collector, copying whatever music he could get his hands on, without a great regard for quality, as evidenced by his inclusion of some compositions which can be described as mediocre at best. It was not until the publication of his *First Book of Selected Church Music* in 1641 that Barnard displayed a degree of critical choice, inadvertently helping to create a canon of English church music which continues to persist today, and it is this publication that is studied in detail in the following Chapter.



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

Without doubt, Barnard’s crowning achievement was the publication in 1641 of his *First Book of Selected Church Musick*, which brought together a collection of what he saw as the great works of the most celebrated Elizabethan and Jacobean composers. Barnard’s choice of repertoire will be discussed in Chapter Four; the present Chapter is concerned with the printing of this vast, ten-volume project and its surrounding bibliographical issues, beginning with information concerning Barnard’s printer, Edward Griffin II.

#### The Griffin publishing house

John Barnard used Edward Griffin II as printer for the *First Book*. This in itself is unusual, as Griffin was not known for issuing music – in fact, Barnard points this out in his Preface:

As for the worke it selfe, if there be found any want of Method in disposing the Songs, or any faults in the Printing (which I hope are such as will offend the eye, rather then the eare, and by the judicious singer easily Corrected) let it be excusable, both in me and the Printers, that we were both beginners; they in dealing with Musick, and I with Printing.

It is true that the house of Griffin had never before printed music of such complexity and on so grand a scale, but its previous publications do include various editions of the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, along with, in 1640, the first English edition of George Buchanan’s Latin psalm paraphrases with

music. This was reissued several times, again in 1648, 1660 and 1683.<sup>1</sup> Also, and perhaps worryingly, Griffin issued, in 1641, an edition of Sternhold and Hopkins, in which the setting of musical type is incompetent in the extreme. For example, on page 59,<sup>2</sup> the setting of the tune 'Old Hundredth' for 'All people that on earth do dwell' is given as follows:

**Figure III/1: 'Old Hundredth' as typeset by Griffin**



This demonstrates a lack of care in composition and editing, perhaps something Barnard ought to have been wary of when assigning Griffin the task of preparing his *First Book*. Barnard himself would no doubt have had to take on a mammoth editing and proof-reading task to iron out unmusical composers' errors.<sup>3</sup>

It is worth outlining here a brief history of the house of Griffin, which can be gleaned largely from the records of the Stationers' Company. It appears that Edward Griffin I (the father of Barnard's publisher) was apprenticed to

<sup>1</sup> Krummel, *English Music Printing* (Oxford: 1975), p. 95

<sup>2</sup> This publication is paginated, not foliated

<sup>3</sup> It appears this task was not completely successful – errors in the text will be discussed below

Henry Conneway for eight years beginning at Michaelmas 1589,<sup>4</sup> and took up his freedom on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1611/12, registering his first publication on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1613.<sup>5</sup> He was allowed to expand his business to include two presses on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1615,<sup>6</sup> and on his death in 1621 was succeeded by his widow Anne. She took up partnership with John Haviland, Robert Young and Miles Flesher, and her son, Edward Griffin II, took up his freedom on January 18<sup>th</sup> 1636/7. He was licensed as a Master Printer in 1637, and allowed 'to have the use of a Presse, or Presses and Printing-house, for the time being'.<sup>7</sup>

When Edward Griffin I took up his freedom he became resident in Eliot's Court, a hub of printing activity. It had been founded in 1584, and continued to grow throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Haviland replaced Griffin on his death, and further expanded printing activity, being sent abroad to source Greek type in 1631.<sup>8</sup> In 1623, he and Anne Griffin had three presses between them, and the other printers at Eliot's Court would have added to this total. Edward Griffin II took up Haviland's place when he died in 1638, after Haviland left a bequest of £50 to Anne Griffin and 20 shillings for a ring to Edward. The business carried on as it had previously under Edward Griffin II, and it can therefore be assumed that there were three presses available for the printing of Barnard's *First Book*, with one reserved for proofing. Sarah Griffin, Edward (II)'s widow, was still living at Eliot's Court in 1659, as several of her imprints from this time show.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers 1554-1640*, 5 vols. (London: 1875-94) ii, 162

<sup>5</sup> Arber, *Registers III*: 31

<sup>6</sup> Arber, *Registers III*: 699

<sup>7</sup> Arber, *Registers IV*: 532

<sup>8</sup> Plomer, 'The Eliots Court Printing House 1584-1674', *The Library*. 2/2, p. 181

<sup>9</sup> Such as *A letter from a person of quality in Edenburgh to an officer of the Army, wherein is given a true accompt of Generall Moncks proceedings, dated the 25th. of October, 1659.* ,

Neither Griffin nor the other printers at Eliot's Court were known for producing elaborate works on a large scale, as their surviving publications show. Much of its output was that of a trade house, and as such much of it lies behind other firms' imprints.<sup>10</sup> Also, it is noticeable that a high proportion of books published by the printers here bear only their initials rather than a full name, a practice which continued throughout the seventeenth century. During the Commonwealth period, especially after the death of Edward Griffin II, the house published a large number of tracts bearing the initials S.G, for Griffin's widow, Sarah. It is not known whether the Eliot's Court printers prepared pirated editions, but it is probable that they did as this seems to have been a widespread practice. If an expensive volume sold well, a cheaper version, similar in all respects, would be released and copyright breached. Some printers even pirated their own work, in order to create additional 'first editions', a practice employed famously by Thomas East in his 'hidden editions' of madrigal books.<sup>11</sup>

### **Bibliographical description of Barnard's *First Book*:**

#### **a) Paper Types used in the *First Book***

There are nine distinct paper types, easily identifiable by their watermarks, to be found across all extant copies of Barnard's *First Book*, three of which are common to all ten volumes. The paper containing these marks could also be

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London : Printed by Sarah Griffin, for Thomas Hewer, and are to be sold at her house in Eliots Court in the little Old Baily. [Wing (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) L1423]

<sup>10</sup> Plomer, 'Eliots Court Press: Decorative Blocks and Initials'. *The Library* 4/3 (1922), p. 194

<sup>11</sup> On 'hidden' editions see particularly Smith, J: 'The Hidden Editions of Thomas East'. *Notes*. June 1997, 1059-91; *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (2003).

classified further, with sub-division into different thicknesses, although differentiation on such a basis can only be, at best, arbitrary. That a paper type is of a different thickness while being identical in all other respects is not necessarily indicative of its having been produced in a separate mould, and because of the inexact nature of papermaking, paper often varies in density within a single sheet.<sup>12</sup> An example of this inconsistency can be seen in gathering N of the British Library copy of the Tenor Cantoris part, where the outer folio is of a seemingly heavier paper than the two inner folios, although they are clearly from the same, and not a twin, mould, the watermark being identical.<sup>13</sup> For the purposes of this study, then, reference will be made to the various watermarks, which are illustrated below (Figures III/W/1-9). They will be described, and attempts made to discern their provenance and occurrence in contemporary manuscripts or printed books.

The papers used in the printing of the *First Book* are generally of fine quality, as one would expect for such a large-scale folio size collection. Paper quality was of paramount importance in the production of music books, both printed and manuscript, as the heaviness and size of the noteheads was likely to cause show-through, rendering the leaves illegible. Thompson notes a case, in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9, where leaves were glued together in order to double their thickness and prevent such an occurrence.<sup>14</sup> This practice has also been employed in *Lbl* Add. MS 31443, an eighteenth-century manuscript with

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<sup>12</sup> See Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972), 76-7, and Thompson: 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade 1648-1688'. Unpublished Ph.D diss. University of London (1988), 21.

<sup>13</sup> See Stevenson: 'Watermarks are twins'. *Studies in Bibliography*. 4 (1951-2), 57-95.

<sup>14</sup> Thompson, 'Manuscripts', 163

links to Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, where folio 14 is made up of two sheets glued together.<sup>15</sup>

The problem of show-through is also apparent in Barnard's own manuscripts, *Lcm Mss 1045-51*, and at various points he was forced to resort to copying onto one side of the paper only.<sup>16</sup> We have seen that these manuscripts were made up almost entirely of 'pot' type papers, and it may be because of this problem with show-through that Barnard came to the decision to use better quality paper for his printed books.

Most of the paper used in England at the time of Barnard's publication was imported from France, particularly from Norman or Breton mills in the northern and western regions of the country.<sup>17</sup> English paper mills were not yet producing paper on any considerable scale, and did not in any case produce paper of such quality to have been considered worthy for such a project as the *First Book*. Dutch papers were likewise not of sufficiently high quality until later in the seventeenth century, perhaps not until the very end,<sup>18</sup> and although some paper was described by dealers as 'Dutch', this can be accounted for by the fact that many French mills were run on Dutch capital.<sup>19</sup> After 1625, the Morlaix region of Brittany seems to have supplied most of England's paper; prior to this it had been the Pays d'Auge, which in 1600 is thought to have supplied between 80% and 90% of the white paper used

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<sup>15</sup> This manuscript is discussed in chapter Six, in relation to its links with the perpetuation of Barnard's printed repertoire in the eighteenth century.

<sup>16</sup> See previous chapter. This is most noticeable in the section of the manuscripts devoted to Batten's anthems, with, for example, the versos of ff. 208, 211, 212 and 213 (184, 187, 188 and 189 in the Tenor partbooks) blank in all copies.

<sup>17</sup> Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper-Supply: I. The Seventeenth Century.' *The Library*, 4/11, 292-3.

<sup>18</sup> Thompson: 'Manuscripts', 39

<sup>19</sup> Heawood, *op.cit.*: 293.

here,<sup>20</sup> the primary reason being cost. The predominance of Norman paper during this early period can be ascribed to the fact that, at around 3s. per ream, it cost half as much as paper imported from Troyes, La Rochelle, or Gênes.<sup>21</sup> Around 1660, the prevalence of Norman paper in England was replaced by one of paper from the mills of the Angoumois region, which produced a higher quality product more suited to music books. Angoumois paper had been used before this time, but not in any great quantity – Stevenson estimates that it comprised only 5% of paper used in seventeenth-century England, notwithstanding its later prevalence.<sup>22</sup> However, the inferior quality of much Norman paper precluded it from widespread use in music copying or printing.

The publication date of the *First Book*, 1641, falls directly in the centre of a period of change regarding the position of watermarks on paper. It makes use of paper types which have marks on one half of the sheet only, and also those with mark and countermark on each half. Gaudriault has demonstrated that marks on one half of the folio only were becoming less common by 1640-50, and the hitherto more rare type of mark and countermark spread over both halves of the sheet began to occur more often.<sup>23</sup>

In 1636, an ordinance was passed by the *Lieutenant de Baillage* at Rouen which ordered two or three letters of the maker's name to be included in the paper, and also a mark indicating the type of paper itself.<sup>24</sup> These initials could either be incorporated into the watermark design or serve as an independent countermark. Both forms can be found in the *First Book*. The

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<sup>20</sup> Stevenson, *The Unicorns of Normandy*. Allan. H Stevenson papers, Princeton University Library.

<sup>21</sup> Krill, *English Artists' paper: Renaissance to Regency* (2003)

<sup>22</sup> *The Problem of the Missale Speciale*: (1967) 312.

<sup>23</sup> Gaudriault, R: *Filigranes et autres caractérostogies des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle*, Paris (1995), 29

<sup>24</sup> Gaudriault, *op. cit.* 13

forms these letters can take appear to be limited to a small number of combinations – when two letters occur these are always the initial. Three letters could be combined as follows; JBA, JBD or JBN for John Barnard, for example.<sup>25</sup> However, watermark E from the *First Book* (see below) incorporates the initials *NIM*, which may signify the maker Nicolas Misson, thus giving a further combination.

This ordinance may have followed from a royal warrant of c.1635 on the occasion of fiscal reform, which ordered each maker to include his mark in the paper. This is cited by Misson<sup>26</sup> and Le Clerc<sup>27</sup> but Gaudriault questions its verity, having found no trace of the warrant.<sup>28</sup> Of course, most papermakers had included some sort of identifying mark, usually initials or a monogram, since long before this time, as the papers used in Barnard's manuscripts, and described in the previous chapter, show.

There now follows an inventory of the watermarks and paper types found in the *First Book* and a brief description of each. Images are shown at actual size, so measurements are not given.

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<sup>25</sup> Gaudriault, *op. cit.* 23

<sup>26</sup> Misson: *les anciennes papeteries*, p.2

<sup>27</sup> Le Clerc: *Le papier* (1926) p.88

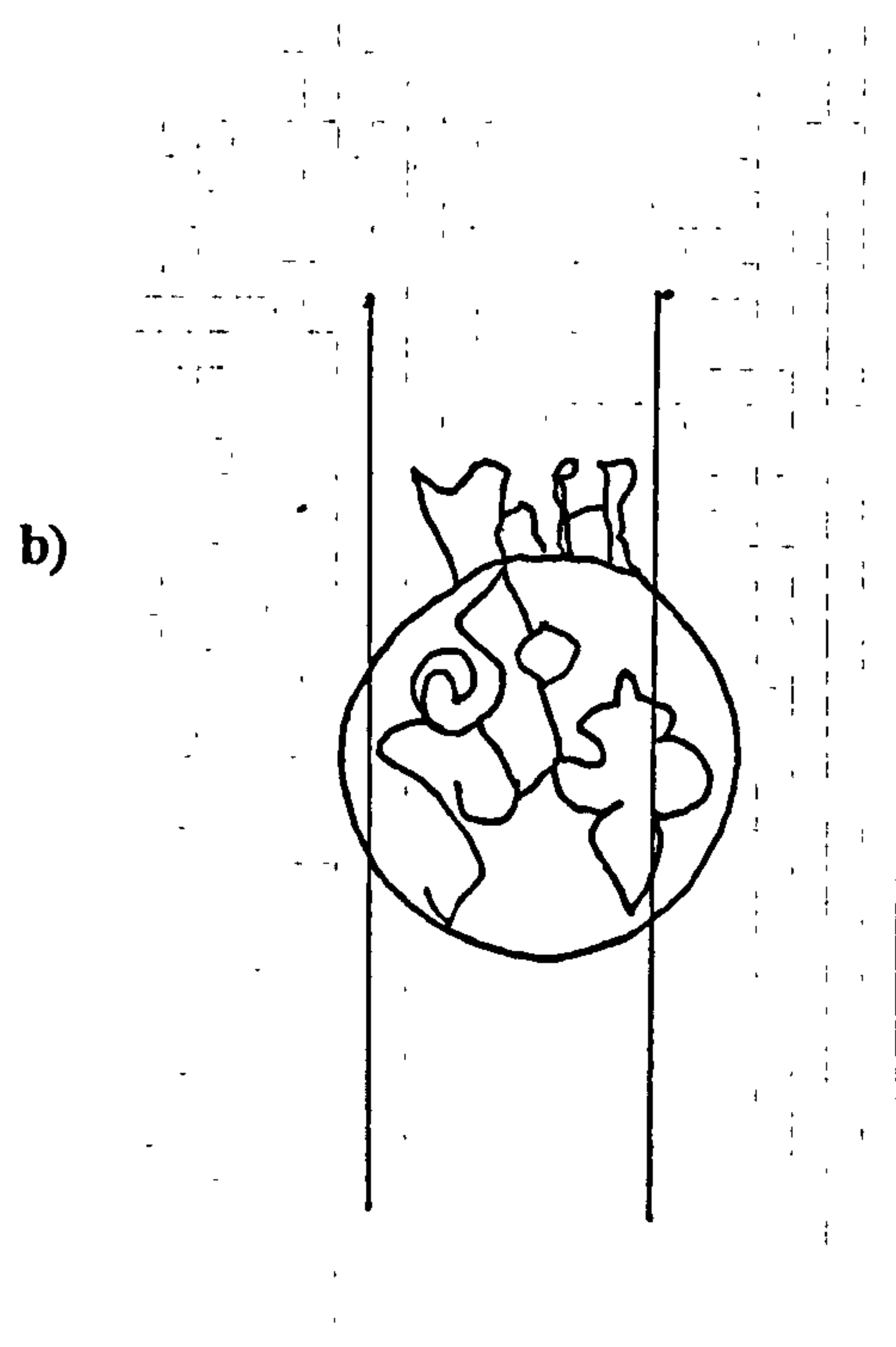
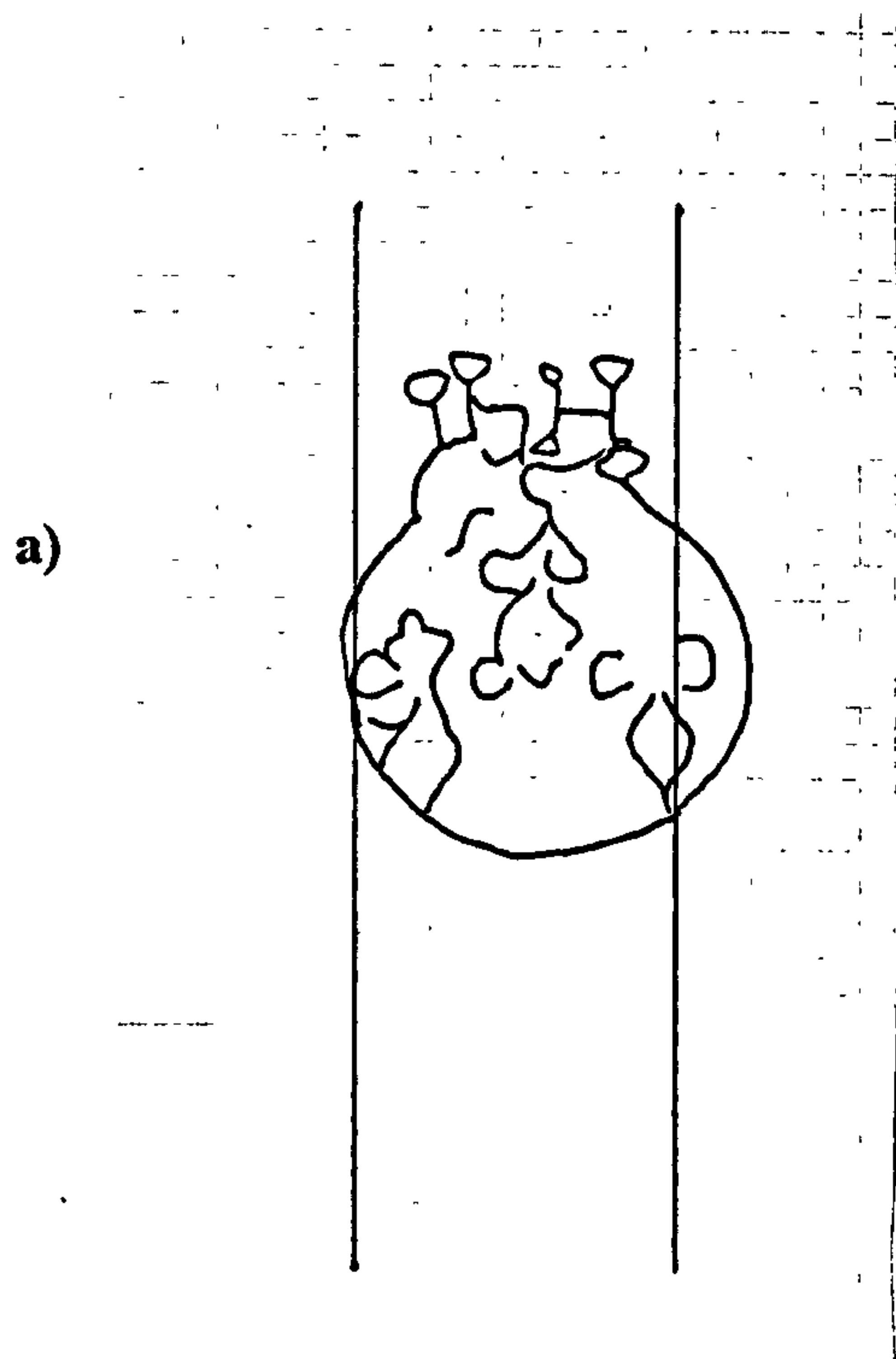
<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 25



**Figure III/W/1: Paper A:**

a) *Lbl k.7.e.2, Secundus Contratenor Decani, f. ii*

b) *Lbl k.7.e.2, Medius Decani, f. ii*



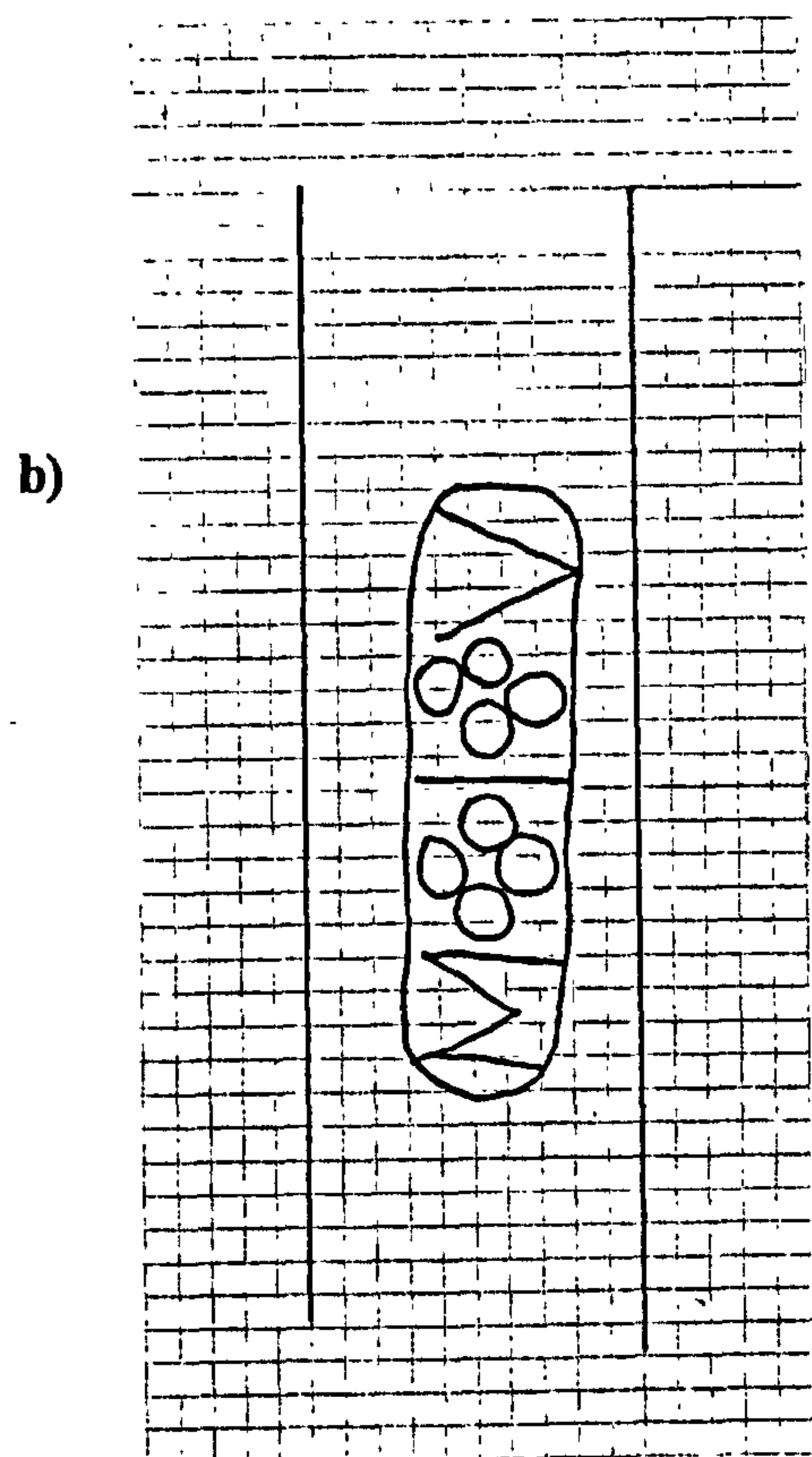
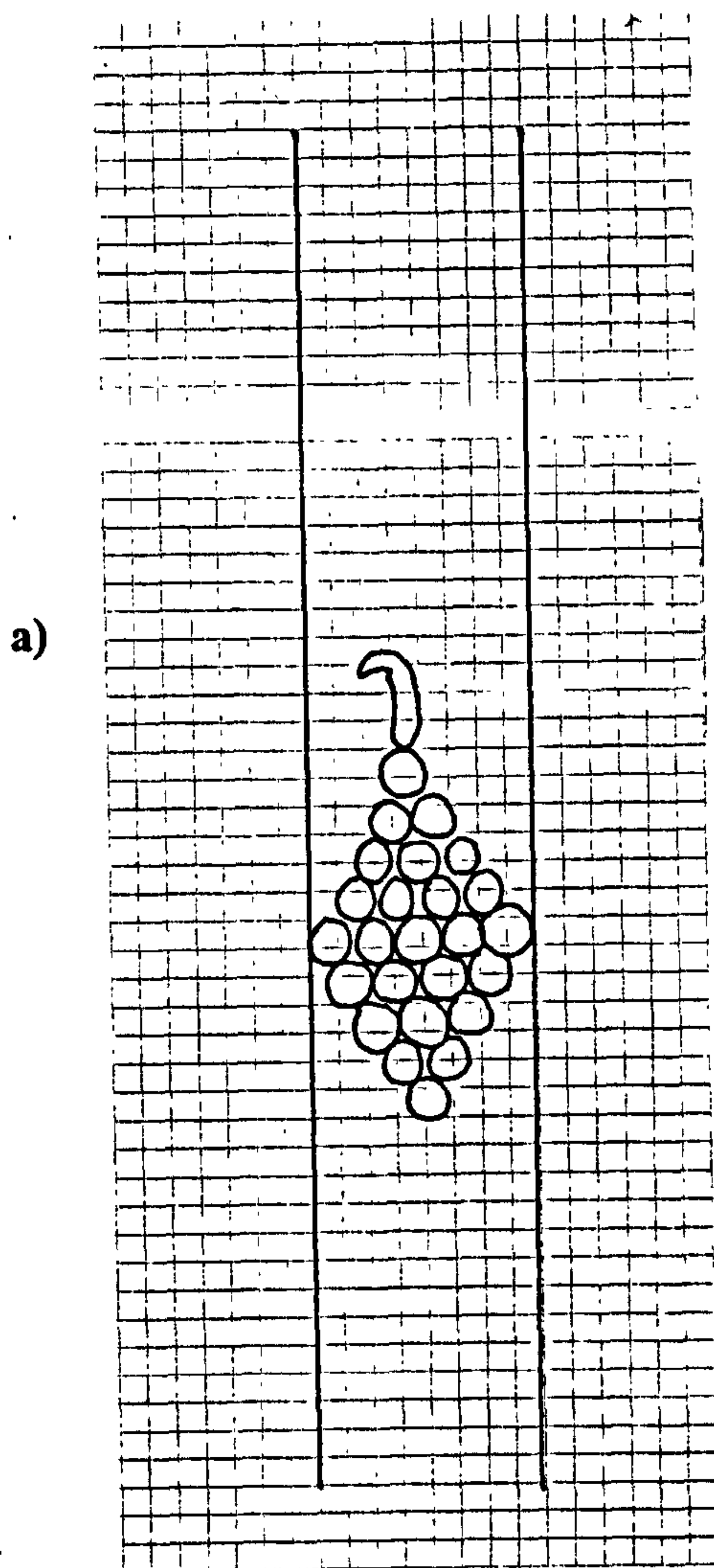
This paper is used for the prefatory material for all volumes, and also the final few gatherings. It is the finest quality of all the paper types found, and its density is well suited to music printing. The watermark is found in various stages of distortion, as the examples show. It appears, however, to comprise three fleurs-de-lis and a crown, signifying the arms of France. This mark was only used on royal paper, 540x405mm in size, as specified by the Rouen ordinance of 1636.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Gaudriault, *op. cit.* p.85

**Figure III/W/2: Paper B:**

- a) Watermark from *Lbl* k.7.e.2 Tenor Cantoris f. 61
- b) Countermark from *Lbl* k.7.e.2 Tenor Cantoris f. 66



This is the most common paper found in the *First Book*, and is used in all copies to some degree, being most prevalent in the first half of the publication and on those pages dated 1639. The 'grapes' watermark seems to have been used in the Bordeaux region more often than anywhere else in the seventeenth century,<sup>30</sup> but cannot elsewhere be matched with its countermark of *MIV*. This countermark also occurs in papers from an unknown producer,<sup>31</sup> although with a primary mark of the arms of Troyes<sup>32</sup> in 1637, used in William Camden's *Britannia*. This date and use in London suggest a Norman origin, and the paper is of sufficiently average quality to support this assertion. However, no identity or occurrence elsewhere of this particular grapes mark can be traced.

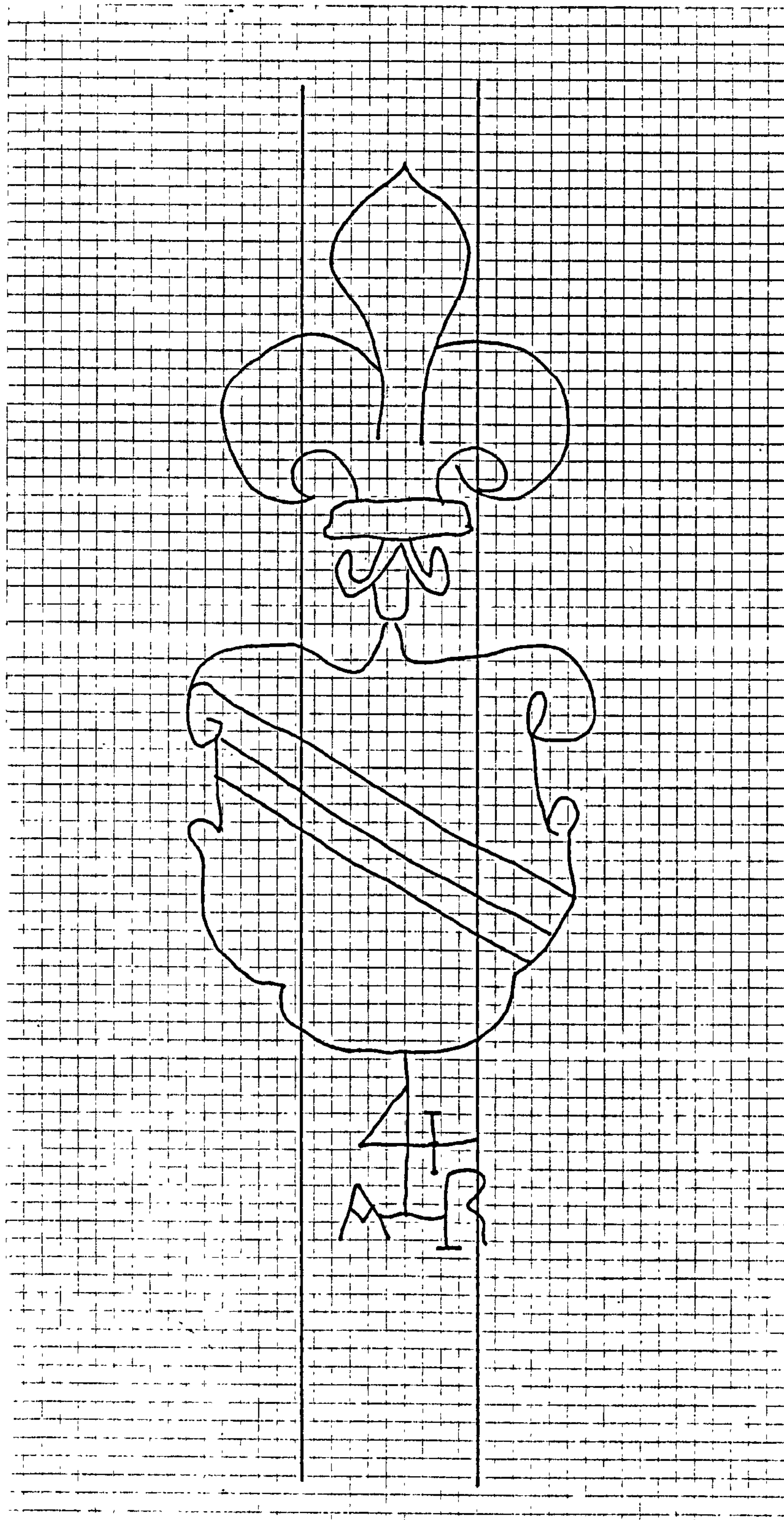
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<sup>30</sup> Nicolai, *Histoire* vol.2, p.94

<sup>31</sup> Gaudriault, 302

<sup>32</sup> Gaudriault: *op. cit.* no.217, Heawood: *Watermarks Mainly of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (2nd ed. 1969), no.588

Figure III/W/3: Paper C: *Lbl* k.7.e.2 Tenor Cantoris f. 40



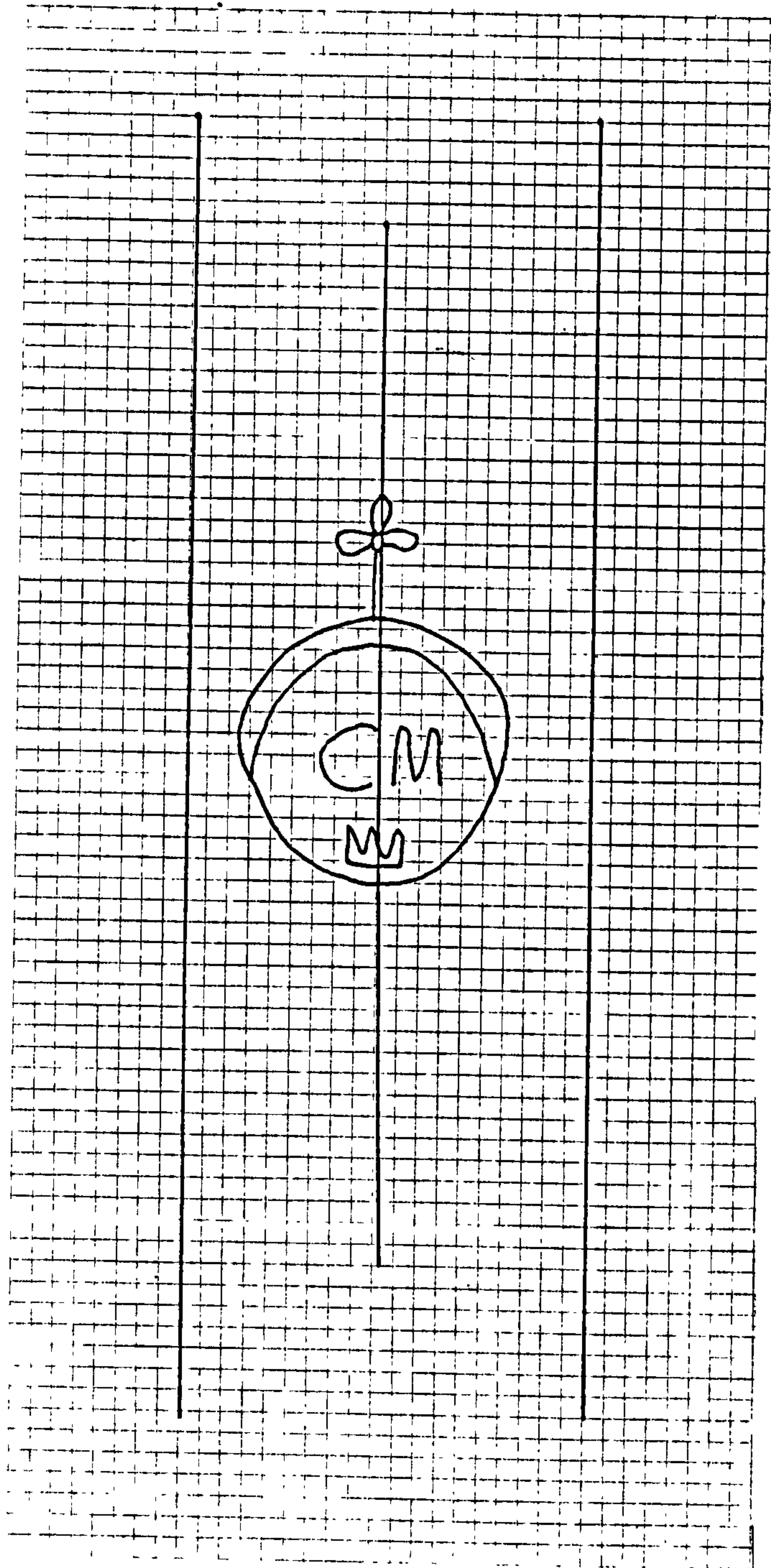
This paper is of a similar quality to paper B, with some show-through, although its thickness varies throughout – gathering G of the British Library’s *Bassus Cantoris* part is particularly thin and prone to show-through. The watermark takes the form of a Strasbourg bend with the number 4 and the initials *AR*. These initials are not uncommon among seventeenth-century papermakers, and Gaudriault notes both A. Riberolles and Adrian Richard active at this time, and an unknown maker with these initials coupled to a quatrefeuilles, dated 1639.<sup>33</sup> The ‘4’ joining the mark to the initials is a device which appears most often in paper emanating from the Vosges region.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Janot, *Les Moulins à papier de la région vosgienne*.

Figure III/W/4: Paper D: *Lbl* k.7.e.2 Medius Decani f. 55

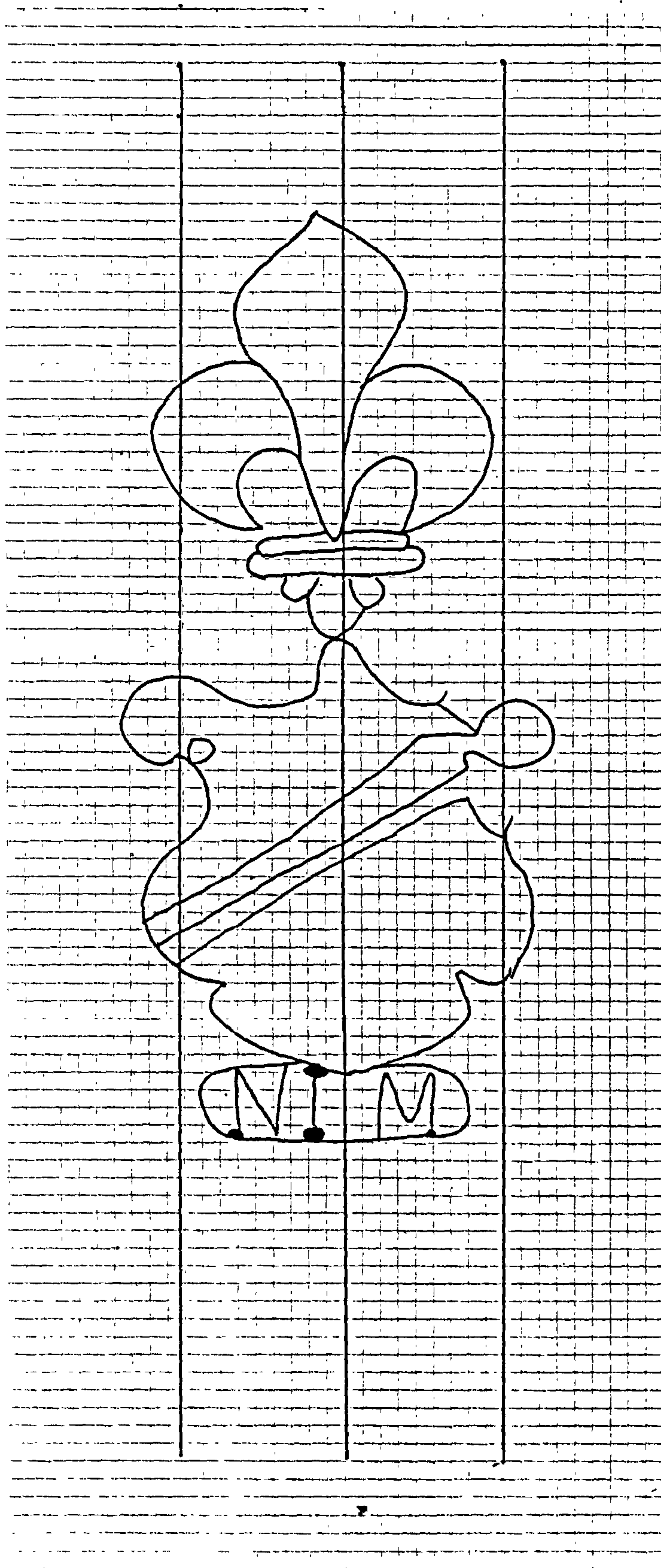


This paper is of superior quality to B and C, and is used for most of the *Medius Decani* volumes, but is not apparent to such an extent in any other extant volumes. The watermark is a globe with the initials CM and a crown, with a cross above and no countermark. This mark, symbolising the light of Christ in the world, had been in widespread use since before 1600, and continued until well after the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>35</sup> It is French, but the initials CM are not identified by any authority.

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<sup>35</sup> Gaudriault, *op. cit.* 156



Figure III/W/5: Paper E: *Lbl* k.7.e.2, Bassus Decani f. 100

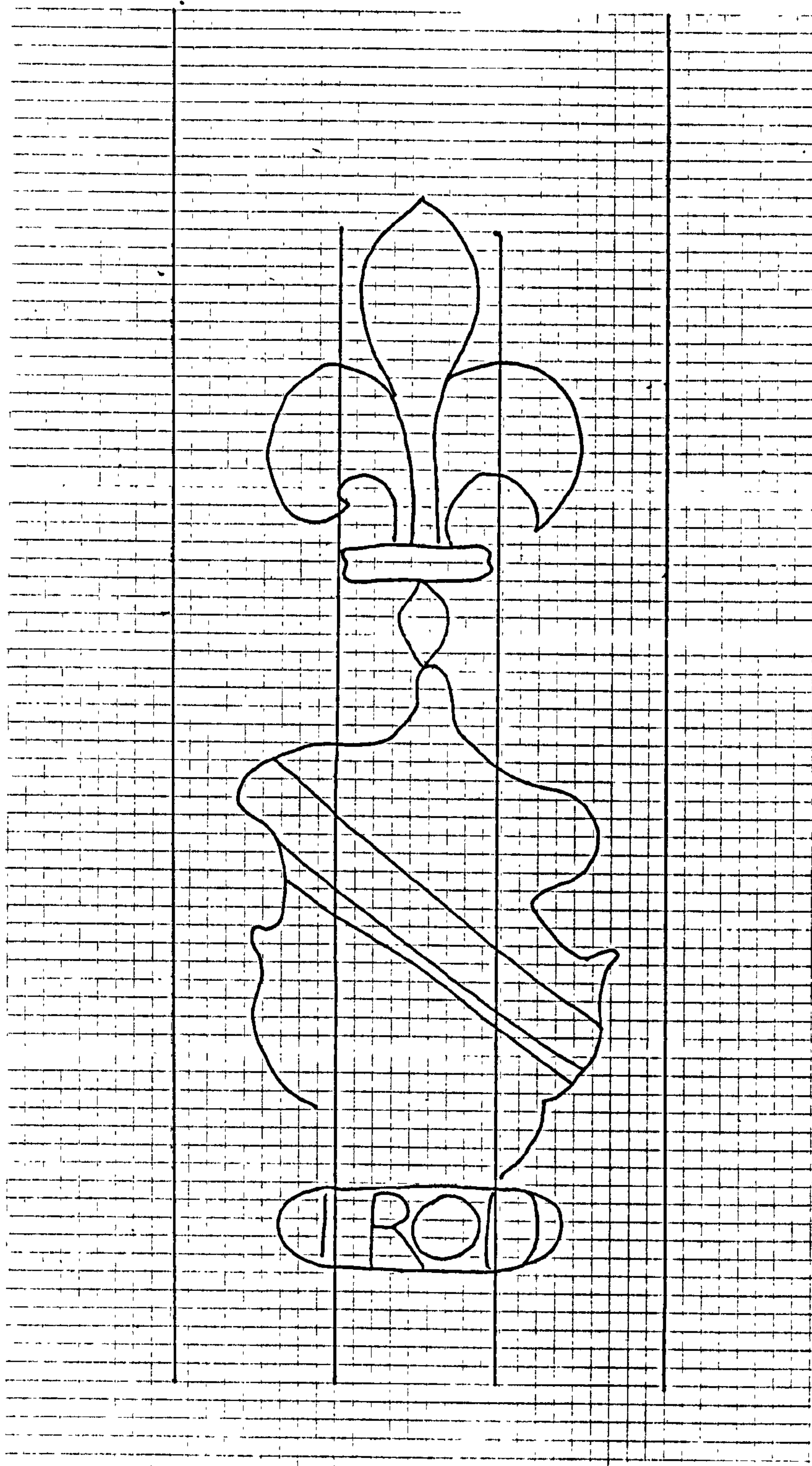
This paper is of a similar quality to papers B and C, and has as its mark a Strasbourg bend with the initials NIM and no countermark. Janot identifies these as the initials of Nicolas Misson, active from 1629<sup>36</sup> in the Vosges region at the Gros Bernard d'Archettes paper mill, which operated between 1494 and 1891.<sup>37</sup>

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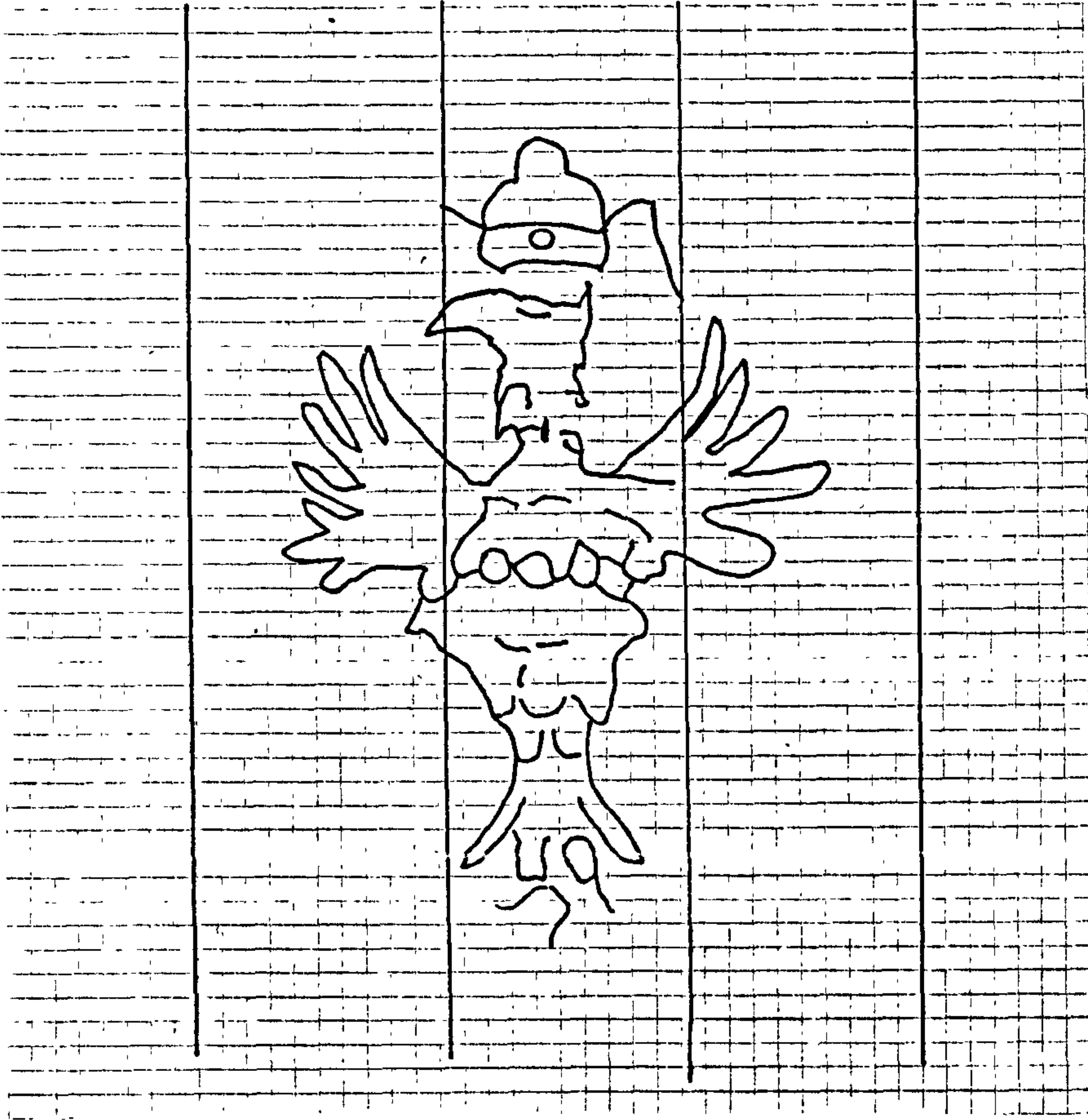
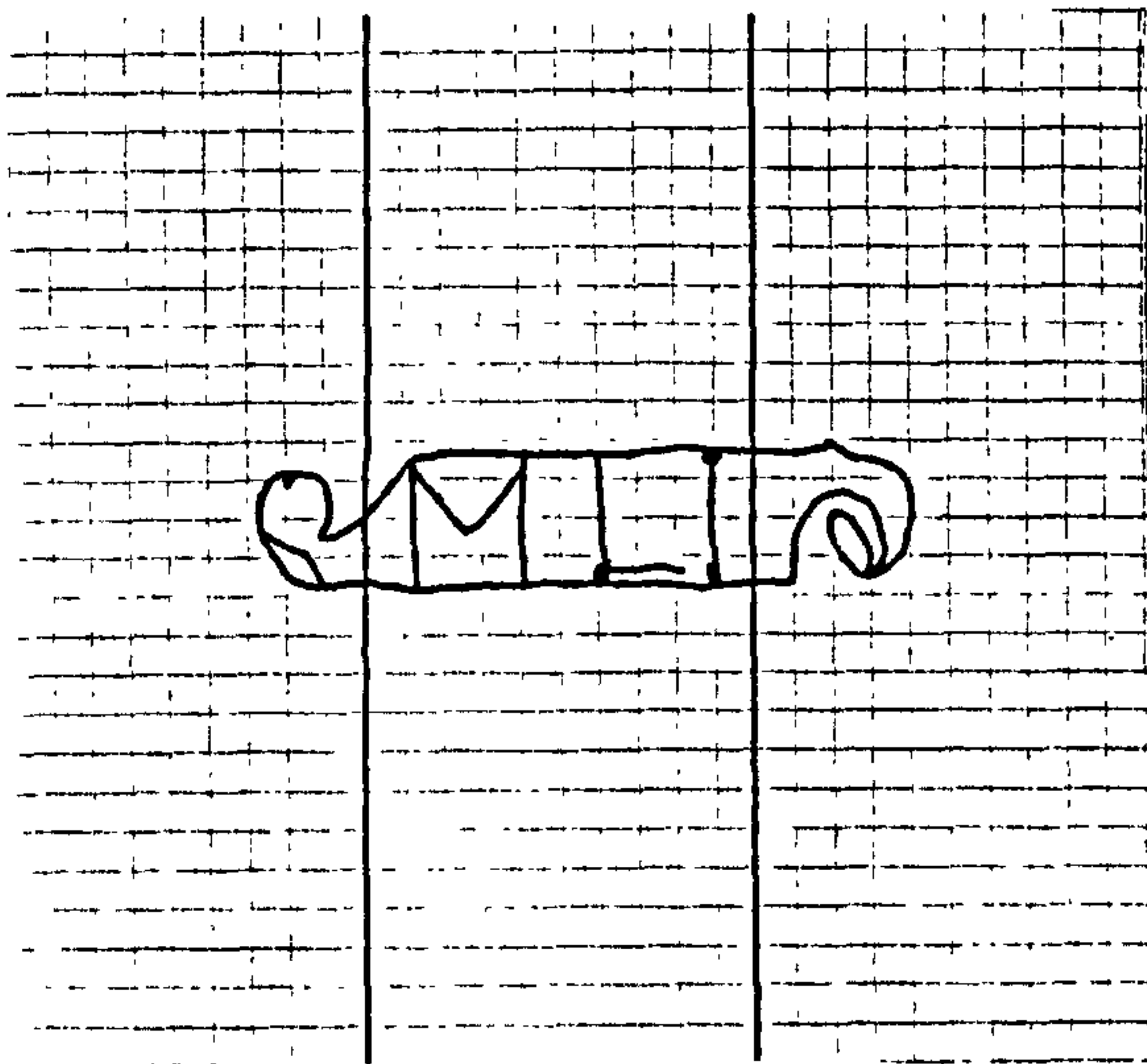
<sup>36</sup> Janot: *Moulins a papier*, 110-1

<sup>37</sup> Janot, *op.cit.*, xiv-xv

Figure III/W/6: Paper F: *Lbl* k.7.e.2, *Secundus Contratenor Decani*, f. 107



This paper is used sparingly, always in close proximity to paper E, to which it is similar in quality. These two paper types are often found bound together in the same gathering. The mark is a Strasbourg bend with the initials IROD[?]. The maker cannot be identified.

**Figure III/W/7: Paper G:****a) Watermark from *Lbl* Add. MS 30478, f. 121****b) Countermark from *Lbl* Add. MS. 30478, f. 124**

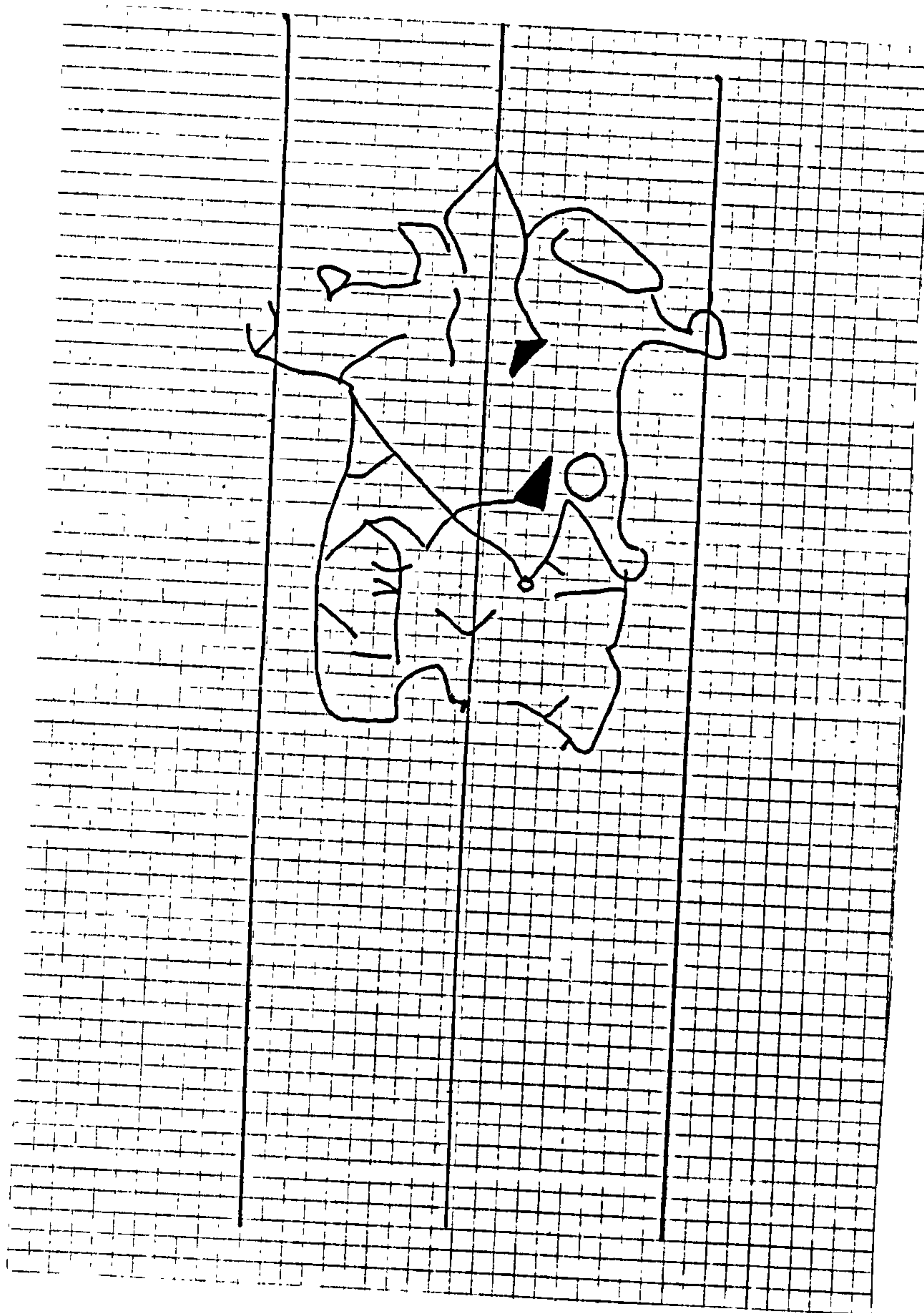
This paper is much thinner than A-F, and found only in the reset final gatherings of *Lbl* Add. 30478 and *Lbl* k.7.e.2 *Bassus Cantoris*. In both cases it is the outer sheet of a gathering of four. Its mark is an eagle with wings outstretched and head in profile with a crown, and the countermark is the set of initials MLI. The eagle thus was used primarily on papers of *format ordinaries*, above all in the eastern regions of France and in particular in Vosges. However, many of the Vosges papermakers ceased production in the 1630s because of war in the area.<sup>38</sup> The MLI countermark was used by Michel LeJeune, but has not as yet been found in use prior to 1660. It is used in conjunction with an eagle as Heawood no. 1265, but this dates from 1682. Morehen has suggested that the *First Book* may have run to two editions, with *Lbl* Add. 30478 being a composite volume, the final gathering ‘printed on paper which is considerably thinner and about half an inch shorter ... than all the other leaves in this particular copy’ and with the type having been reset.<sup>39</sup> On the face of it, and with the possible later dating of this particular watermark, Morehen’s assertion would seem to be well founded. However, there are other factors which make the existence of a second edition extremely improbable, and these will be discussed below.

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<sup>38</sup> Gaudriault, *op. cit.* 78

<sup>39</sup> ‘Sources’, p297

Figure III/W/8: Paper H: *Lbl* Add. MS 30478, f. 122



This paper is found as the inner sheet of the final reset gatherings described above. It is also very thin and of markedly poorer quality to papers A-F. Its watermark is a coat of arms, but in both examples of this paper, it is extremely distorted and cannot be confidently identified. They may be the three compasses and 'CH' of the papermakers Danise, LeClerc & Nivelles,<sup>40</sup> or perhaps the arms of Rohan-Guéméné,<sup>41</sup> but it is impossible to tell and foolish to speculate.

**Paper 9: *LF Bassus Cantoris* f. 123**

This only occurs once, as the outer sheet of the final gathering in the Lichfield Bassus Cantoris volume, and is in a very deteriorated state. Its mark is a coat of arms, possibly of France, and the name 'PROWIN'[?]. I have been unable to identify this mark, neither was it possible to obtain an accurate image of it.

Table III/1 shows the distribution of paper types across all surviving volumes of the *First Book*, as well as the location of all surviving parts:

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<sup>40</sup> Gaudriault *op. cit.* ex. 80

<sup>41</sup> Gaudriault *op.cit.* ex. 193. This mark was in use from 1654-6 in the Vannes region, although often with a 'K' as countermark (p.95).



Table III/1: Distribution of Paper Types in the *First Book*

	Paper A	Paper B	Paper C	Paper D	Paper E	Paper F	Paper G	Paper H	Paper I
Medius Decani ( <i>Lbl</i> )	[ii-v], 116-131	1-6, 25-30, 87-8	-	7-24, 31-86, 89-115	-	-	-	-	-
Medius Decani ( <i>Och</i> )	116-131	-	-	11-115	-	-	-	-	-
Medius Cantoris ( <i>Lcm</i> )	116-127	11-30, 43-103	31-42	-	104-115	104-115	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Decani ( <i>Lcm</i> )	[v-vi]	1-12, 19-30, 43-84, 91-7	13-18, 37-42	31-6, 85-90	-	-	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Decani ( <i>Lf</i> )	[i, iv], 110-126	7-12, 19-20, 29-30, 43-83, 97-103	13-18, 31-42	85-96	105-8	104&9 <sup>1</sup>	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Decani ( <i>Och</i> )	[ii-vi], 25-30, 49-102, 110-133	1-18, 103 <sup>2</sup>	31-42	19-24, 43-8	-	-	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Decani ( <i>WO</i> )	[i-vi], 110-117, 120-133	1-12, 19-30, 43-90, 97-103	13-18, 31-42,	91-6	105-108	104&109	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Decani ( <i>CA</i> )	114-131	7-30, 43-82, 84-7	37-42	31, 35-6, 83&8, 90-92, 95, 97-101, 108-113	102-107	-	-	-	-

<sup>1</sup> Outer folios of gathering<sup>2</sup> This folio is actually 109, but it is a single sheet nevertheless, with no corresponding countermark. This irregularity will be discussed further below.

	Paper A	Paper B	Paper C	Paper D	Paper E	Paper F	Paper G	Paper H	Paper I
I. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>LF</i> )	114-120	14-30, 43-82, 84-7	37-42	31-6, 43-82, 83&8, <sup>3</sup> 89-101, <sup>4</sup> 108-113	102-107	-	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>LbI</i> )	-	55-94	41-2	43-54	-	-	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>Lcm</i> )	[i-vi]	1-30, 43-82, 84&7 <sup>5</sup>	37-42	31-6, 43-83, 85-6, 88-94, 97	-	-	-	-	-
I. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>Och</i> )	[v-vi], 114-131	1-6, 13-24, 31-6, 61-6, 83-101	-	7-12, 25-30, 37-60, 67-82, 102-107	108-113	-	-	-	-
II. Contratenor Decani ( <i>LbI</i> )	[i-vi], 111-115	1-12, 20-24, 43-98	13-17, 31-42	25-30	99-104	105-110	-	-	-
II. Contratenor Decani ( <i>GI</i> )	[vi], 117-126 <sup>6</sup>	1-18, 25-36, 43-98	37-42	19-24	100-103	99&104 <sup>7</sup> , 105-110	-	-	-
II. Contratenor Decani ( <i>Lcm</i> )	[i-vi], 112-123	1-12, 19-30, 43-8, 55-98	13-18, 31&6 <sup>8</sup>	32-5, 37-42, 49-54	99-104	105-110	-	-	-

<sup>3</sup> Outer folios of gathering

<sup>4</sup> f. 95 is numbered 97, and bound between ff.96-7. This is a modern binding error. f.95 is a single sheet.

<sup>5</sup> Middle folios of gathering

<sup>6</sup> The final gathering (ff. 123-6) is incorrectly numbered 121-4.

<sup>7</sup> Outer folios of gathering

<sup>8</sup> Outer folios of gathering

	Paper A	Paper B	Paper C	Paper D	Paper E	Paper F	Paper G	Paper H	Paper I
II. Contratenor Decani ( <i>Och</i> )	[iii-vi], 111-124	1-12, 19- 36, 49-54, 61-98	13-18, 37-42	43-8, 55-60	99-104	105-110	-	-	-
II. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>Lf</i> )	[i-vi], 104- 125	1-66	-	67-96	98-103	-	-	-	-
II. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>WO</i> )	[i-vi], 104- 108, 110-125	1-12, 19- 30, 37-90	31-6	13-18, 91- 102	-	-	-	-	-
II. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>Och</i> )	[i-ii, iv-vi], 104-125	1-12, 19- 30, 37-42, 49-90	31-6	13-18, 43-8, 91-102	-	-	-	-	-
II. Contratenor Cantoris ( <i>Lcm</i> )	103-125	2-66, 85- 90	-	67-84	98-102	-	-	-	-
Tenor Decani ( <i>Och</i> )	[ii-vi], 105-126	1-6	-	7-104	-	-	-	-	-
Tenor Decani ( <i>Lf</i> )	105-126	8, 11-12, 19-30, 43- 93, 95-6, 98	13-18, 31-42	-	99-104	-	-	9-10, <sup>9</sup> 94&7 <sup>10</sup>	-
Tenor Decani ( <i>Lcm</i> )	[ii-v], 105- 125	19-21, 27- 30, 73&8 <sup>11</sup> , 93-8		31, 38-92	99-104	-	-	-	-

<sup>9</sup> Inner folios<sup>10</sup> Middle folios of gathering<sup>11</sup> Outer folios of gathering

	Paper A	Paper B	Paper C	Paper D	Paper E	Paper F	Paper G	Paper H	Paper I
Tenor Cantoris ( <i>Lbl</i> )	[ii-vi], 103-124	1-30, 43-96	31-42	-	97-102	-	-	-	-
Tenor Cantoris ( <i>Och</i> )	[ii-vi], 103-124	1-6, 15-16 <sup>12</sup>	-	7-14, 17-102	-	-	-	-	-
Tenor Cantoris ( <i>WO</i> )	[vi], 103-124	1-30, 43- 96	31&6, 37-42	-	97-102	-	-	-	-
Tenor Cantoris ( <i>Lf</i> )	[i-ii, iv-vi], 103-124	1	-	7-102 <sup>13</sup>	-	-	-	-	-
Tenor Cantoris ( <i>Lcm</i> )	[vi], 103-120	1-6	-	7-18, 26-9, 31-102	-	-	-	-	-
Tenor Cantoris ( <i>Lbl</i> <i>Add. 30478</i> )	103-120	91-6	-	-	97-102	-	121&4 <sup>14</sup>	122-3	-
Bassus Decani ( <i>Lcm</i> )	[i-vi], 105- 126	1-30, 49- 92	31-48	-	94-7, 99-104	93&8	-	-	-
Bassus Decani ( <i>Lf</i> )	105-117, 119-120, 122-126	8-30, 61- 78, 81-92	31-6	37-60, 79- 80 <sup>15</sup>	94-7, 99-104	93&8, <sup>16</sup> 118&121 <sup>17</sup>	-	-	-
Bassus Decani ( <i>Lbl</i> )	[i-vi], 105-122	1-30, 49-92	31-48	-	94-7, 99-104	93&8 <sup>18</sup>	-	-	-

<sup>12</sup> Inner folios of gathering D

<sup>13</sup> f. 60 has been incorrectly bound where f.6 should be. This is an error made by a modern binder.

<sup>14</sup> Outer folios of gathering

<sup>15</sup> Single gathering

<sup>16</sup> Outer folios of gathering

<sup>17</sup> Middle folios of gathering

<sup>18</sup> Outer folios of gathering

	Paper A	Paper B	Paper C	Paper D	Paper E	Paper F	Paper G	Paper H	Paper I
Bassus Decani (Och)	[iii], 107-126	1-14, 17- 30, 50-92	15-16, <sup>19</sup> 31-42	-	93-104	-	-	-	-
Bassus Decani (WO)	[ii-vi], 105- 109, 117- 122, 124-5	1-5, 7-8, 11-14, 17- 26, 28-30, 61-92	15-16, <sup>20</sup> 31-6	-	93-8, 100- 103, 123&6 <sup>21</sup>	99&104	-	-	-
Bassus Can (Lbf)	[i-vi], 105- 116, 118-121	1-30, 43- 93, 94-97	31-42	-	93&8, <sup>22</sup> 100- 103, 117&22 <sup>23</sup>	99&104 <sup>24</sup>	123&6 <sup>25</sup>	124-5	-
Bassus Can (Lcm)	[i-vi], 94-7, 105-126	1	-	2-93, 98-104	101-2, 117&122	-	-	-	-
Bassus Can (Mp)	[i-vi], 105- 126	1-30, 43- 92	31-42	95-102 <sup>26</sup>	93, 103	104, 117&22	-	-	-
Bassus Can (Och)	[i-vi], 105-126	-	-	-	1-104	-	-	-	-
Bassus Can (Ljf)	[vi], 105- 116, 118- 121, 124-5	1-19, 30, 43-92, 94-7	31-2, 35-42	-	93&8, <sup>27</sup> 99-104	-	-	-	123&6 <sup>28</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Inner folios of gathering C<sup>20</sup> Inner folios of gathering<sup>21</sup> Outer folios<sup>22</sup> Outer folios of gathering<sup>23</sup> Outer folios of gathering<sup>24</sup> Outer folios of gathering<sup>25</sup> Outer folios of gathering<sup>26</sup> These leaves are from another copy of the same part<sup>27</sup> Outer folios of gathering<sup>28</sup> Outer folios of gathering

**b) Quiring**

All the books are printed in folio, and their collations are here described using the formula A-Z (no I, U or W), thereafter Aa-Zz, with the number of leaves in a gathering indicated by a superscript number. Modern flyleaves are not included, and where volumes are repaired, the original collation is given, as due to inconsistencies and inaccuracies in Barnard's numbering system, some copies have had leaves replaced incorrectly after modern repairs or rebinding. Missing leaves in a gathering are given in square brackets, and the collation begins from the first complete gathering for which it is possible to ascertain the collation.

Where volumes have tight bindings, as is most usually the case, it has been possible to ascertain the collation by reference to the distribution of watermarks. This is also the case where volumes have been disbound and repaired, such as in the case of *Lbl* Add 30478, in which the folios have been divided into separate sheets. In all cases, folio [i] is a fly-leaf, and is missing in most examples. It is included here for consistency. The collation formulae are consistent across various copies of the same part, and therefore are given once, with missing leaves noted for each copy. None of the leaves found in any copy of the *First Book* are signed, and most likely never were; in each case, gathering A signifies the prefatory material.

[i] Medius Decani:

A-R<sup>6</sup>, S<sup>1</sup>, T-Z<sup>6</sup>, Aa<sup>4</sup>

[ii] Medius Cantoris:

*Lcm* copy [unica] lacking ff. i-vi, 1-10, 84, 122, all after 127. Quiring takes into account the missing leaves, so A-B<sup>6</sup> is assumed.

A-R<sup>6</sup>, S<sup>1</sup>, T-Z<sup>6</sup>

[iii] Secundus Contratenor Decani:

A-O<sup>6</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, Q-X<sup>6</sup>, Y<sup>4</sup>

[iv] Primus Contratenor Decani:

A-R<sup>6</sup>, S<sup>1</sup>, T-Aa<sup>6</sup>

[v] Primus Contratenor Cantoris:

A-O<sup>6</sup>, P<sup>4</sup>, Q-R<sup>6</sup>, S<sup>1</sup>, T-Aa<sup>6</sup>

[vi] Secundus Contratenor Cantoris:

A-Q<sup>6</sup>, R<sup>1</sup>, S-Y<sup>6</sup>, Z<sup>4</sup>

[vii] Tenor Decani:

A-O<sup>6</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, Q-Y<sup>6</sup>, Z<sup>4</sup>

[viii] Tenor Cantoris:

A-X<sup>6</sup>, Y<sup>4</sup>

[ix] Bassus Decani:

A-O<sup>6</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, Q-Y<sup>6</sup>, Z<sup>4</sup>

[x] Bassus Cantoris:

A-X<sup>6</sup>, Y<sup>4</sup>

The collation of these partbooks, when taken together with the distribution of paper types across the volumes, sheds some light on the processes involved in the production of the *First Book*. What is immediately obvious is that several of the voice parts are collated similarly, with a gathering of 2 (one sheet of

paper folded in half to make 2 folios) occurring at the same point (gathering P) in the Secundus Contratenor, Tenor and Bassus Decani parts. This forms ff. 79-80, containing on each occasion the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis of Orlando Gibbons' Second Service. The Secundus Contratenor part also has the Jubilate on this gathering. This is the last of the services represented in the *First Book*, and is followed by the section containing the Preces, Psalms, Responses and the Litany. This would indicate, therefore, that the first 'layer' of the books contained the services only, beginning at gathering B.<sup>42</sup> This is confirmed by the collation of the remaining volumes – both the Medius parts begin a new gathering at this point, as do the Primus Contratenor Decani, and Secundus Contratenor, Tenor and Bassus Cantoris parts. The Primus Contratenor Cantoris has a gathering of 4 immediately preceding this point, and the Preces begin on a new gathering of 6 (gathering Q), as would be expected. However, this part throws up some problems, as although the numbering of the folios here is consecutive (P<sup>4</sup> is f.82 and Q<sup>1</sup> is f.83), the music is not. There appears to be at least one folio missing, as the end of the Gloria to the Magnificat, as well as the entire Nunc Dimittis, is not present. The printed Table of Contents gives the Nunc Dimittis as beginning on folio 83. This is the case in every surviving copy, and must have been an oversight on the part of the collator, although how this can have escaped detection is suspicious in itself, if Barnard is to be believed:

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<sup>42</sup> Gathering A, the prefatory material, forms part of the final 'layer' of the *First Book*, discussed below.



What paines, (and I may adde watchings) I have sustain'd in  
gathering[,] Collationing, Correcting, revising this that is already  
done<sup>43</sup>

The copy of this part in the British Library, which is of Gloucester provenance,<sup>44</sup> even has bar lines entered throughout, indicating that it was used for performance of the Gibbons Second Service, but there is no ending supplied in manuscript or otherwise, and no sign that there had ever been one. Perhaps a single sheet with the missing text was supplied when the books were sold, but if this was the case, none has survived. The seriousness of this omission, unnoticed by Barnard or his printer, is unfortunately not uncommon in the publication as a whole. Other such mistakes will be discussed below.

The second 'layer' of the partbooks, therefore, begins with the Preces and Psalms of Thomas Tallis. Again, the collation can provide evidence that this new layer only extends to the beginning of the full anthems. In both the Medius parts and the Primus Contratenor Cantoris, gathering S (f.97) is a single half-sheet of folio, comprising the final part of Tallis' Litany. In all other parts, the leaves comprising this section are made up of two gatherings of 6, with no need for the insertion of an extra page. It is possible that a similar collation was intended to be used at the end of the first layer in the Primus Contratenor Cantoris part, with perhaps a gathering of 4 with an additional single sheet to complete the services section. However, for unknown reasons, this never occurred.

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<sup>43</sup> Preface to the *First Book*

<sup>44</sup> See below, Chapter Five

The third layer comprises the rest of the book and the prefatory material. However, this layer uses a number of paper types, and can in many cases be subdivided into at least two sections. As can be seen from the Paper Distribution Table above, the prefatory material is always made up of one gathering (A<sup>6</sup>, where 1 is the flyleaf) of paper type A. This paper is also found at the end of all volumes, making up the final few gatherings. In many cases, the introduction of paper A occurs at the same point in terms of the music, this often coinciding with Tallis' 'I call and cry'. This is the case in all surviving Tenor Decani parts, and all Primus Contratenor Decani parts except that at Canterbury. In every instance, however, this paper is to be found at either end of the volume, this perhaps indicating a deliberate choice on Barnard's part to use the best quality paper to begin and end his *First Book*, giving it an outward appearance of quality not always reflected in the paper used for the bulk of the pages.

However, there are notable anomalies in the paper types used for this final layer, especially in the Tenor Cantoris (*Lbl* Add. 30478) and Bassus Cantoris (*Lbl* k.7.e.2 and Lichfield) parts. In all three occasions, the final gathering of these partbooks contains paper unused elsewhere in the publication. In *Lbl* Add. 30478 it is of noticeably smaller size, apparently having been trimmed at the bottom, and in this part and *Lbl* k.7.e.2 the type has been completely reset. This led Morehen to suggest that the Tenor part in question was a composite of two separate editions,<sup>45</sup> but this would appear unlikely for a number of reasons which will be discussed shortly.

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<sup>45</sup> Sources, pp. 298-9. Morehen appears not to have been aware of the re-set type in the Bassus Cantoris volume.

The appearance of different paper at this point in the partbooks seems to indicate simply that Barnard's printers ran out of paper type A before the print run had been completed, and inferior paper from stock had been substituted. However, this does not account for the resetting of type, and it also suggests that the prefatory material was prepared and printed before work had finished on the final items in these partbooks. This would be contrary to accepted practice, and indicates that more than one press might have been in use – the prefatory material being prepared and printed on one while imposition continued on the final few anthems of the books. The appearance of paper H in folios 9-10, 94 and 97 of the Tenor Decani volume at Lichfield further complicates the situation, as these leaves have not been reset, and it is probable therefore that this paper was available to the printer at the time of the *First Book's* production. That it is found so early on in this volume indicates that Griffin was at least using this paper in 1639, when printing is likely to have begun (or the type was cast), and still had stocks remaining when production of the *First Book* came to an end in 1641. I have been unable, however, to trace its use, or indeed that of any of the paper types found in the *First Book*, in any other Griffin publications from this period.

The single occurrence of paper I in the final gathering of the Lichfield Bassus Cantoris volume also implies that this paper was only used for want of paper A. The leaves on which it occurs are not reset, and again, this must have been a paper type in use by Griffin at the time of publication. It is not unusual for different paper types to occur in this way, as the warehouseman might at any time put out small remnants of paper left over from printing other books.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p.134

That it only occurs once, and is in the Bassus Cantoris part, indicates that the ten volumes of the *First Book* were printed ‘vertically’ (i.e. concurrently), but in three layers as previously outlined. That is to say printing was completed for all copies initially up to the end of the services, then continued to the anthems, and concluded with the printing of the remaining anthems and the prefatory material.

The volume of papers A to D in the *First Book* confirms that they were most likely bought particularly with this project in mind, and they are, in general, of superior quality to papers E-I, which occur in more random positions and with much less regularity.

### c) Type

The appearance of the *First Book* is reminiscent of a presentation music manuscript, and as such the type used is very distinctive. The type used for the text is a quasi-secretary hand, unlike anything else seen in England in contemporary printed books. It comes closest to, and is surely influenced by, the French *civilité* types first introduced by Robert Granjon around 1557. These types were also cast by Philippe Danfie and Richard Breton under the terms of Granjon’s ten-year ‘privilege’, granted by Henri II,<sup>47</sup> and had been created in order to give printed works an approximation of manuscript copies, as ‘l’art du main’ was very highly regarded. Barnard evidently had the same in mind when preparing his *First Book*, as the type-face, elaborate initial letters and large diamond-shaped noteheads are all reminiscent of presentation manuscripts of the 1630s. In this respect, the size of the noteheads are

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<sup>47</sup> Updike, D: *Printing Types: Their History, Form, and Use* (2001). Vol. 1, 200-1.

therefore not uniform, as shown in Figure III/2, and the stems on the quavers vary widely in style, an undertaking that surely would have created additional effort and cost.

**Figure III/2: Type specially cast for Barnard's *First Book***



The civilité type does not match any of those described by Enschedé,<sup>48</sup> and Reed presumes it to have been produced in England.<sup>49</sup> Its uniqueness supports this assertion, as having such a type specially cast abroad would surely have been financially prohibitive. If, then, it was cast in England, along with the several capitals and incipits that are also unique to the *First Book*, it is most likely to have been done so by either John Grismand, Thomas Wright, Arthur Nicholas or Alexander Fifield, who were named in the decree passed by the Court of the Star Chamber in 1637 as the four original 'Founders of Letters for Printing'. The decree limited their number to four, and this perhaps implies that prior to this there were a greater number of founders in business; it could

<sup>48</sup> *Typefoundries in the Netherlands from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century*. It is, however, listed in Carter and Vervliet: *Civilite Types* (1966), p. 84.

<sup>49</sup> *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1952), p.50

of course have been from one of these earlier founders that Barnard acquired his type, in preparation for his forthcoming project.

While the indebtedness of Barnard's text design to presentation manuscripts is obvious, both Le Huray<sup>50</sup> and Morehen<sup>51</sup> have commented on its similarity in particular to the pre-Restoration manuscript part-books in Durham Cathedral Library, in particular those of group 3, *Drc* MSS C2-3, 7-8, 11, 13-14, 16 and the 'Dunnington-Jefferson' manuscript in York Minster library, and this has led both to speculate that the type may have been designed by the copyist of the relevant Durham manuscripts. This particular copyist is now known to have been Toby Brookinge,<sup>52</sup> a countertenor lay-clerk at Durham from 1623-42 whose copying hand is also to be found in the Peterhouse 'Caroline' partbooks. However, such a style of manuscript, with the quasi-secretary script and diamond-headed notes can also be found in *Lbl* Add. MS 29289. There are several clues to this manuscript being of St. Paul's Cathedral provenance, not least the fact that it would appear at least partly to be in the hand of Adrian Batten, and contains a highly conservative repertoire with a strong London bias. It is the only source for a number of pieces, notably the Te Deum and Evening Service by 'Merricoke'. Thomas Mericocke was a lay vicar at St. Paul's from 1535-7, and nothing more of his compositional output survives, save for an *In Nomine* to be found in *Ob* Mus. Sch. D 212-6.<sup>53</sup> A similar instance is found with the Te Deum of 'Woodson', the (mis)attribution of which will be discussed in more detail below.<sup>54</sup> Towards

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<sup>50</sup> 'Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music', p.191

<sup>51</sup> Introduction to facsimile Edition, iv

<sup>52</sup> Crosby: *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (1986) p. 242

<sup>53</sup> Bowers: 'Mericocke, Thomas' in *New Grove Online*.

<sup>54</sup> The identity of 'Master Woodson', whose Te Deum was printed by Barnard, is discussed in Chapter Four, below.

the end of *Lbl* Add. MS 29289, the Preces, Creed for men's voices and Litany presumably by Batten seem to be autograph, the Creed is also appended with what looks like a signature (f. 110), further strengthening the argument for Batten as copyist of these works.<sup>55</sup> If the manuscript was copied by Batten, who also copied items into Barnard's own manuscripts (*Lcm* MSS 1045-51), its stylistic similarity to the *First Book* becomes of more than passing interest. Not only are both the musical and textual hands similar, but the layout of the manuscript itself bears a striking resemblance to that used by Barnard in his printed anthology. There are nine staves per page, as in the *First Book*, and this is unusual in music manuscripts of the period, only occurring elsewhere in the incomplete set of manuscripts *GB-Y* MS M1-5(S), which also have features of presentation manuscripts. If *Lbl* Add. MS 29289 is indeed of St. Paul's provenance, as it seems to be, it and its nine companion volumes would have been known by Barnard, and it is likely, therefore, that the *First Book* was modelled on such a set. With this in mind, it is tempting to conclude that it was Adrian Batten who may have designed the type-face used by Barnard, or at least it was designed in imitation of his hand, perhaps as a homage after his death in 1637. Boyer has shown, citing paper evidence, that the earlier part of this manuscript was most probably copied after the Restoration by Thomas Quartermaine, a vicar choral at St. Paul's, as a repair of an older book, although retaining the earlier repertoire.<sup>56</sup> The leaves containing the music by Batten described above, however, are on a different, older paper, and it is likely that Quartermaine, who was paid for transporting the choir books to

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<sup>55</sup> See Bunker Clark, 'Colleagues and Collaborators', p.213

<sup>56</sup> Boyer: *The Cathedral, City and the Crown*. It is plausible that Quartermaine, in repairing an older book, copied the presentation style of earlier leaves. There is no doubt that the book and its repertoire are closely linked with the St. Paul's of the 1630s.

safety from the burning cathedral in 1666, was recreating a pre-Civil War set of partbooks.

The music text itself is the largest seen in England before the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> It is obvious that the type was especially cast for this publication, and must have been done so at great expense. I have not located any instances of this type in use before the issue of Barnard's publication, and it is so large that it would have been impractical for use in anything much smaller than a volume in folio. It does, however, make one appearance in 1657, in John Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum, or the devotions of His Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings, rendered in verse*. Perhaps this re-use of Barnard's music type was a nod towards the association of the *First Book* with the last days before the Commonwealth. However, Wilson's publication does not make use of Barnard's civilité text, employing only the notes. The clefs are also different, although the time signatures used are those found in the *First Book*. Because there was no need for a G-clef in Barnard's publication, one was apparently not cast, and the printer of the *Psalterium Carolinum* has had to make use of a Roman capital 'G' instead. Regular bass clefs are also used, rather than the improvised clef used by Barnard, made up of a C-clef and two minims with a stem. Even Barnard's C-clefs are created *ad hoc*, from breves and a vertical line. Slurs have also been employed, and it is the absence of these in the *First Book* that creates no end of ambiguity with regard to the underlay. Perhaps the printer of the *Psalterium* was aware of this, and remedied it in his own publication.

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<sup>57</sup> Krummel, *op. cit*, p. 96. It has a height of 18.4 mm, 2.4 mm larger than its closest rival. See Krummel, *op. cit*, Appendix.



**Figure III/3: Barnard's music type in the *Psalterium Carolinum*, with 'G' clef in Roman type**



The printer of the *Psalterium Carolinum* is not named on the title-page, and none of the other printed matter can be identified with any certainty with that belonging to the Eliot's Court Press at the time. The type, therefore, or at least the music type, was no longer in the possession of Edward Griffin, and must have been sold on at some time before 1657, perhaps following Barnard's death. Assuming that Barnard himself paid for the casting of the type, and there is no evidence to suggest otherwise, he would have retained it as his personal property after the printing of the *First Book* was completed, so it is little wonder that it is not found in any other publication of the Eliot's Court Press.

#### **d) Decorative Blocks**

There are numerous types of decorative blocks, ornaments and initial letters to be found in the *First Book*. While many are stock patterns, some are unique to this publication, and must therefore have been specially cast along with the type. This is most notably the case with the decorative initials found at the

start of the Te Deum and Creed on several occasions, as they contain the incipits ‘Wee praise thee O God’ and ‘I beleeve in one God’.

As well as the decorative initials, there are a number of blocks in use as head- or tail-pieces and to fill spaces between items, and these are shown as Figure III/4/a-h. A number of these occur within the prefatory material of the *First Book*, and of particular interest are those found on folios [i] and [ii]. The first encountered, III/4/a, is a factotum block of a rose, 42mm square, with a fleur-de-lis inserted at its centre.<sup>58</sup> This block is found in many imprints of Edward Griffin, including James Yorke’s *Union of Honour* of 1640, and *A briefe recital* by T[homas] W[iddrington], printed in 1641, although in the latter case the outer block has been rotated 90 degrees anticlockwise.

**Figure III/4: Decorative blocks used in the *First Book***

**a) Prefatory material, f. i (42x42mm)**

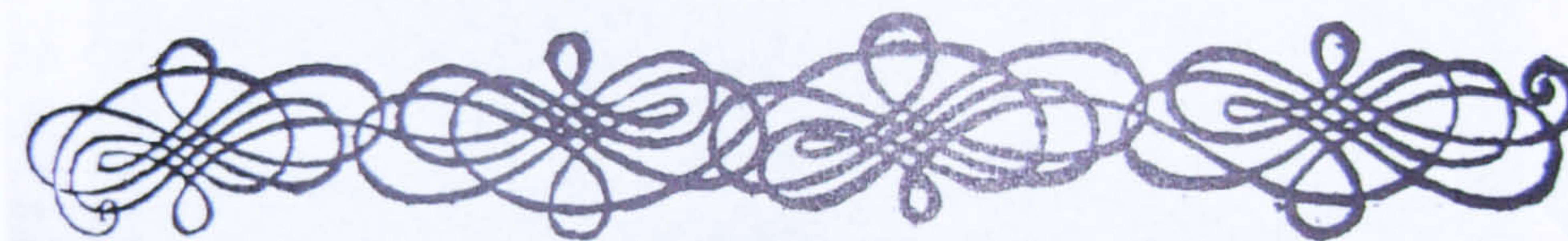


**b) Prefatory material, f. ii (37x134mm)**

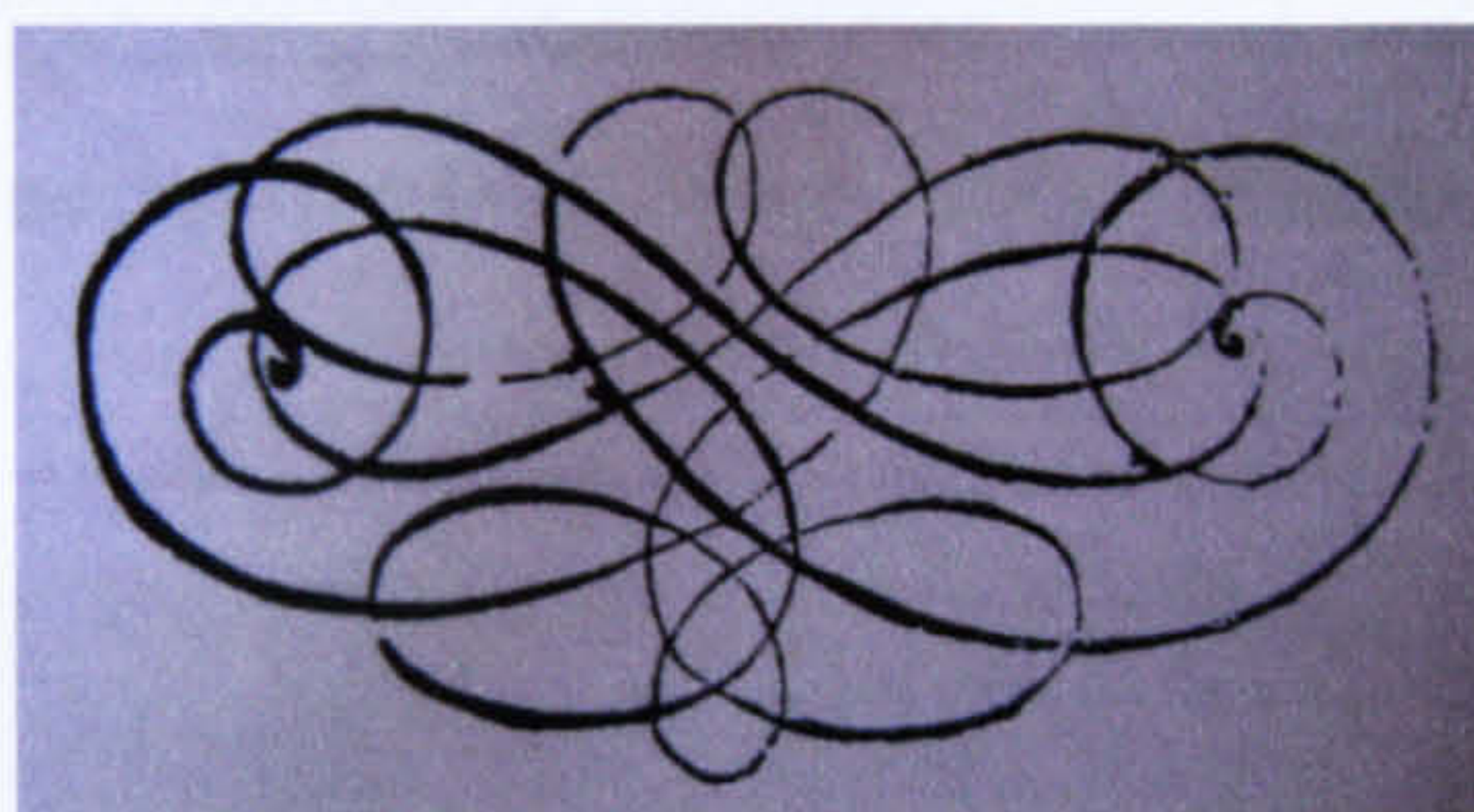


<sup>58</sup> This block is shown in McKerrow, 1913, as number 422(B)

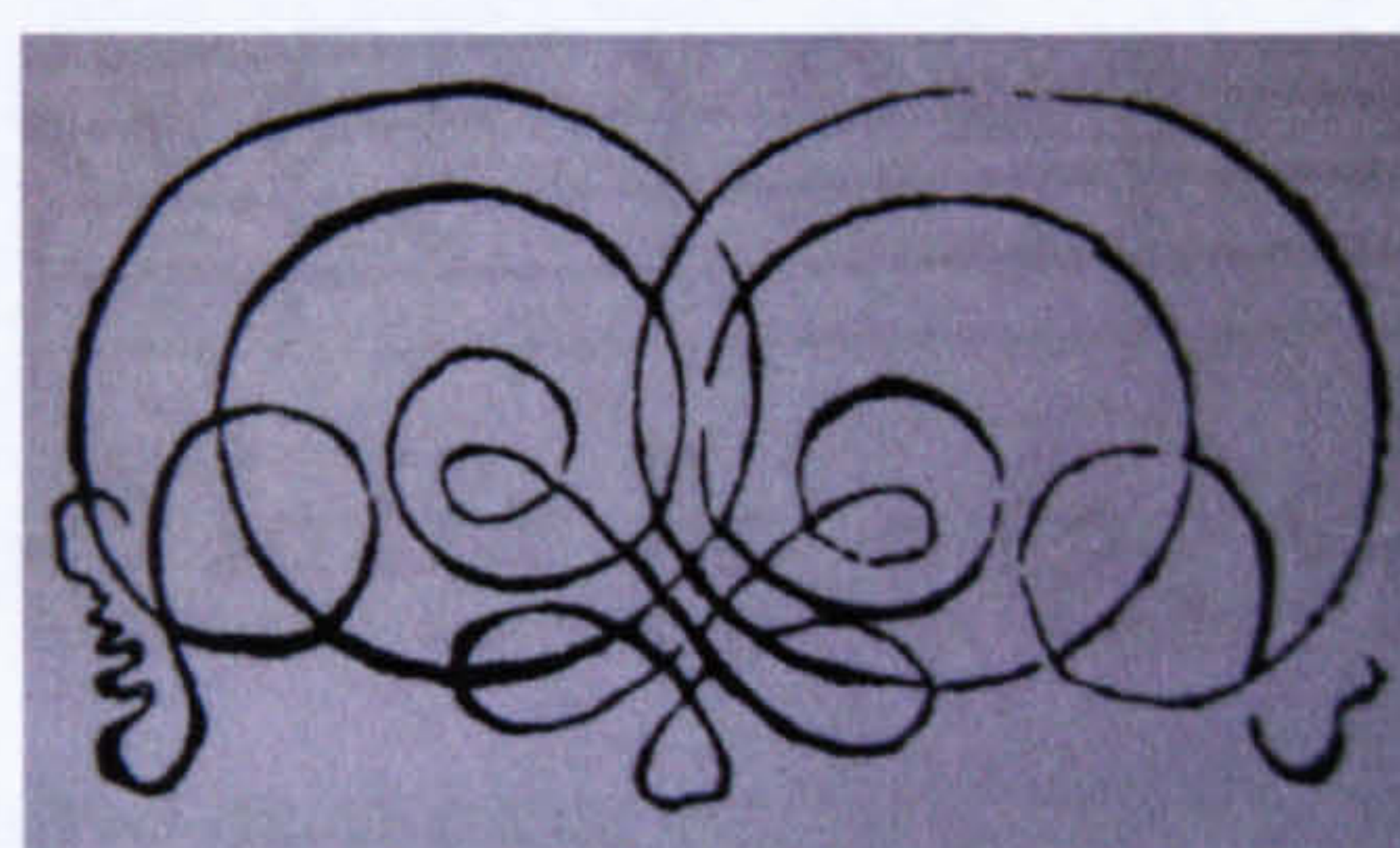
c) **Tail-piece: Medius Decani, f. 5 (20x148mm)**



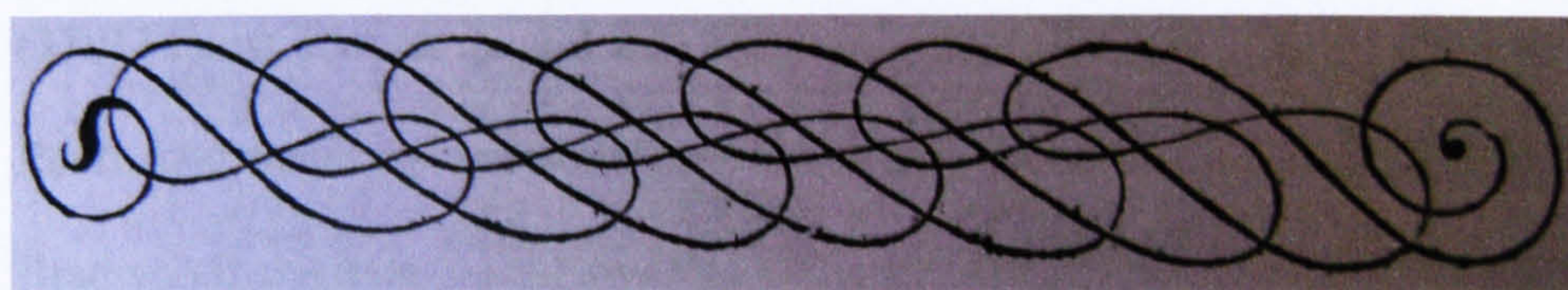
d) **Tail-piece: Medius Decani f. 15 (42x86mm)**



e) **Tail-piece: Medius Decani f. 26v (34x62mm)**



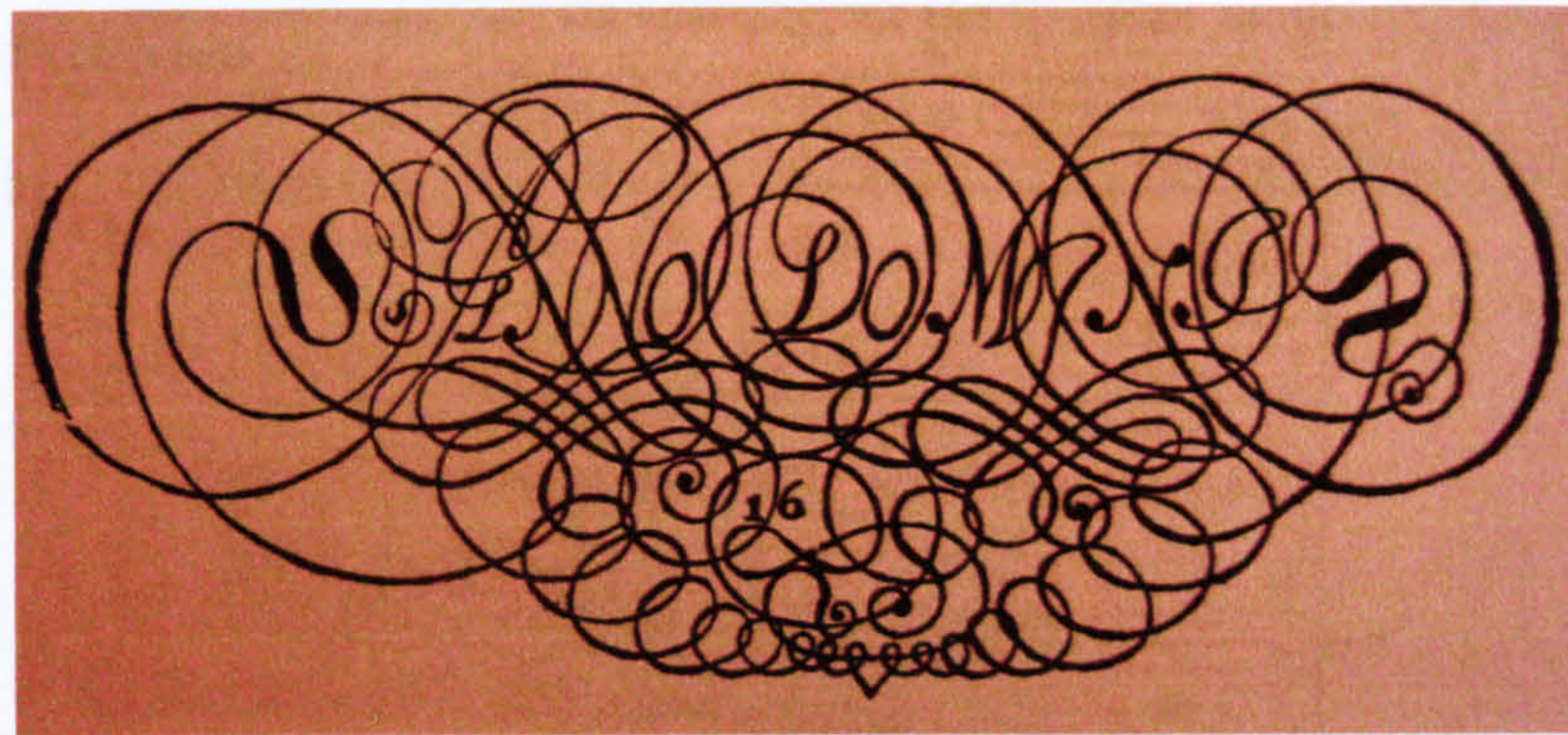
f) **Tail-piece: Medius Decani f. 61v (21x165mm)**



**g) Tail-piece 'Anno Domini 1639': Medius Decani 78v (82x210mm)**



**h) Tail-piece as g) but without date: Prefatory material, f. v (82x210mm)**



Of the decorative head-piece on f.[ii], III/5/b, which has as its design the sun in glory and four horsemen between sprays of flowers and foliage (37x134mm), Plomer locates it as early as 1610 in Machan's *Homer, Prince of Poets*, and traces its use down to 1638.<sup>59</sup> It had been used by Melchisedech Bradwood, and then passed down to Edward Griffin II, being used by him and others at Eliot's Court. This particular head-piece appears to have had an unusually long life, and can still be found in publications from the Eliot's Court presses as late as 1658. The final block, III/4/g, appears to have been specially cast for Barnard, and its 'Anno Domini 1639' evidently represents the year in which production was underway. That it should appear in the

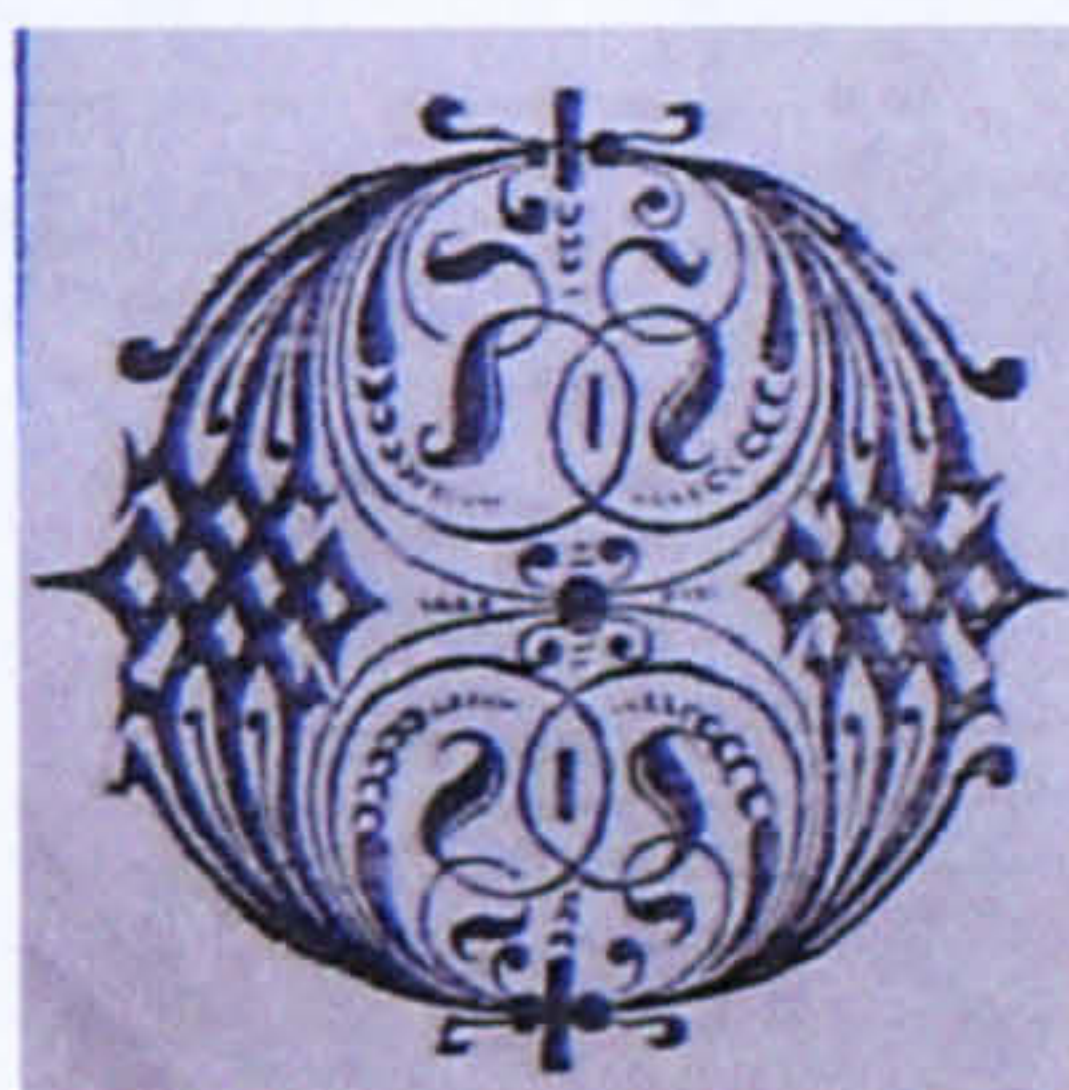
<sup>59</sup> *English Printers' Ornaments*, p.72. It is shown as example 62.

prefatory material, put together in 1641, without a date, is unusual, and this has led Morehen to question the date of publication.<sup>60</sup>

Of most interest, however, are the ornamental initials found throughout the *First Book*. These are not only interesting in their own right, but they also shed some light on the methods and processes used in the printing of Barnard's anthology. In total, there are thirteen different styles of decorative initial used throughout, and these are briefly described below, their number determined by the order in which they appear in the *Medius Decani* part:

**Figure III/5/a-o**

**a) Style 1: 'O' used for many initials, similar to style 3/4 (50x49mm)**

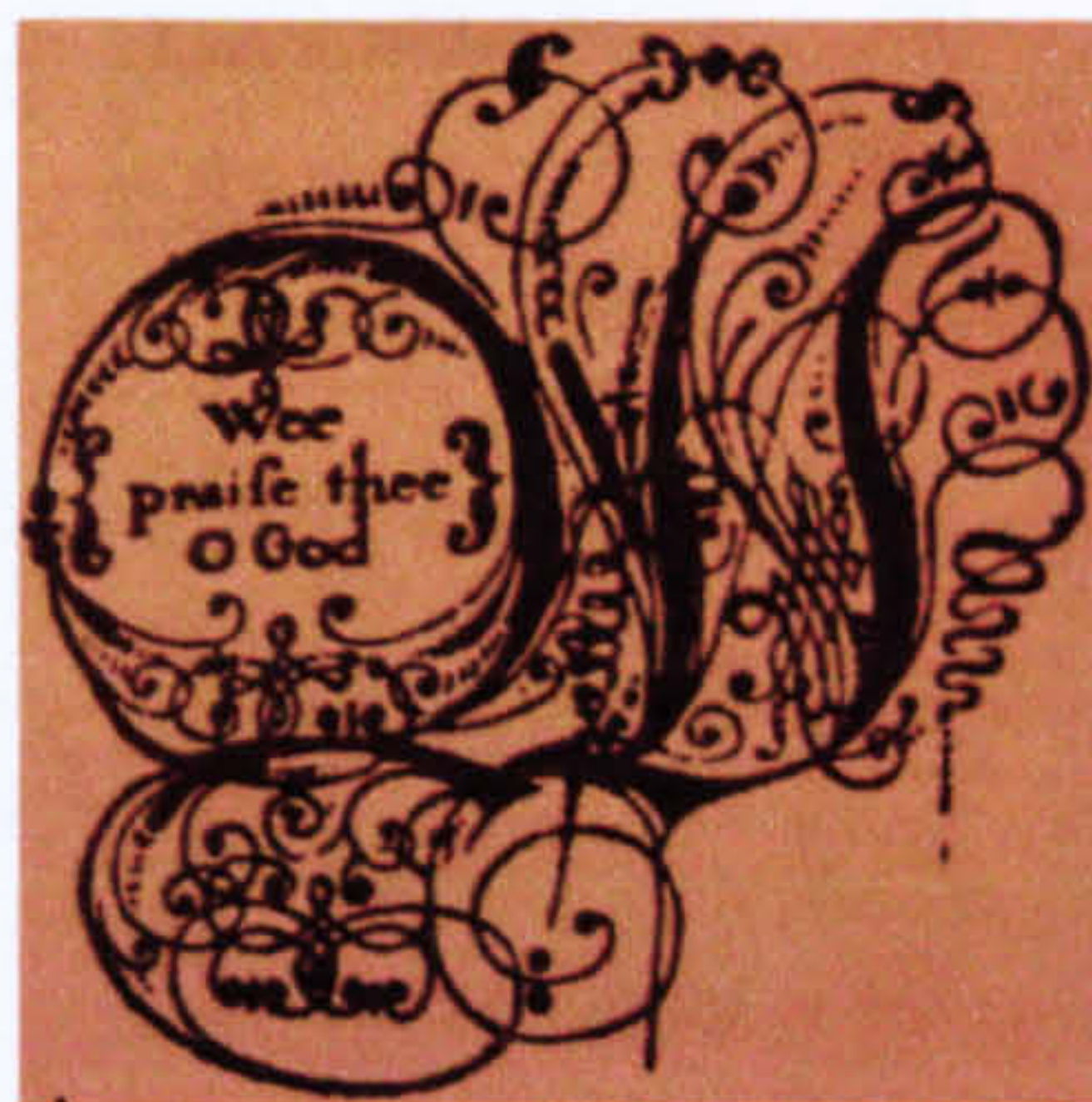


**b) Style 2: initials with incipit (W=68x68) (A=66x73) (T=85x70)**



<sup>60</sup> 'Sources', p. 287. The issues surrounding the date of publication and the possibility of a second edition are discussed below.

c) Style 2a: 'W' with incipit (not italic) (68x69)



d) Style 3: Small filigree letters (B=45x33; L=40x32; M=46x32; H=53x35; A=46x37)



e) Style 4: Large filigree letters (B=79x60; T=64x76)



f) Style 5: 'Apostles' set [All initials = 42x42mm]



g) Style 6: elaborate outer decoration – large [MD f.45] (C=54x45; O=47x45; M=52x44)



h) Style 7: flower/vine outer decoration. (L=33x35; W=33x32; O=34x32; B=28x29; H=33x32; I=29x28; P=34x32; M=33x32)



i) [7a – with outer frame] (36x36)



j) Style 8: small box with decoration of grapes (T=25x25; B=24x22; I=23x24)

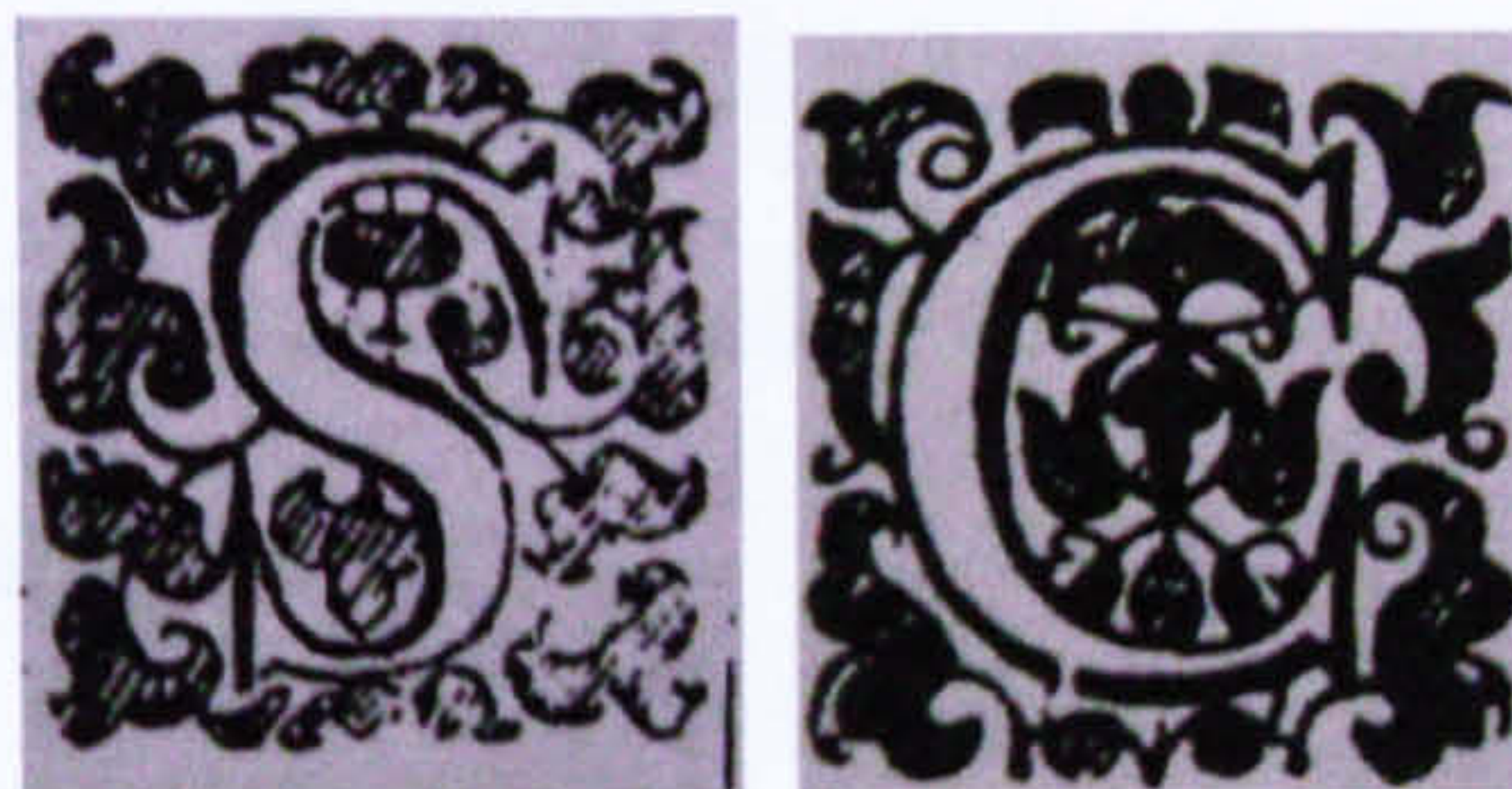


k) Style 9: c.40x40mm, no dots in outer frame [MD f. 99v]





**l) Style 10: as style 7, but smaller (S=20x21; C=21x21)**



**m) Style 11: [as MD f.107] (O=21x21)**



**n) Style 12: [as MD f.107v] (O=19x19)**



**o) Style 13: [as MD f.128] (C=25x25)**

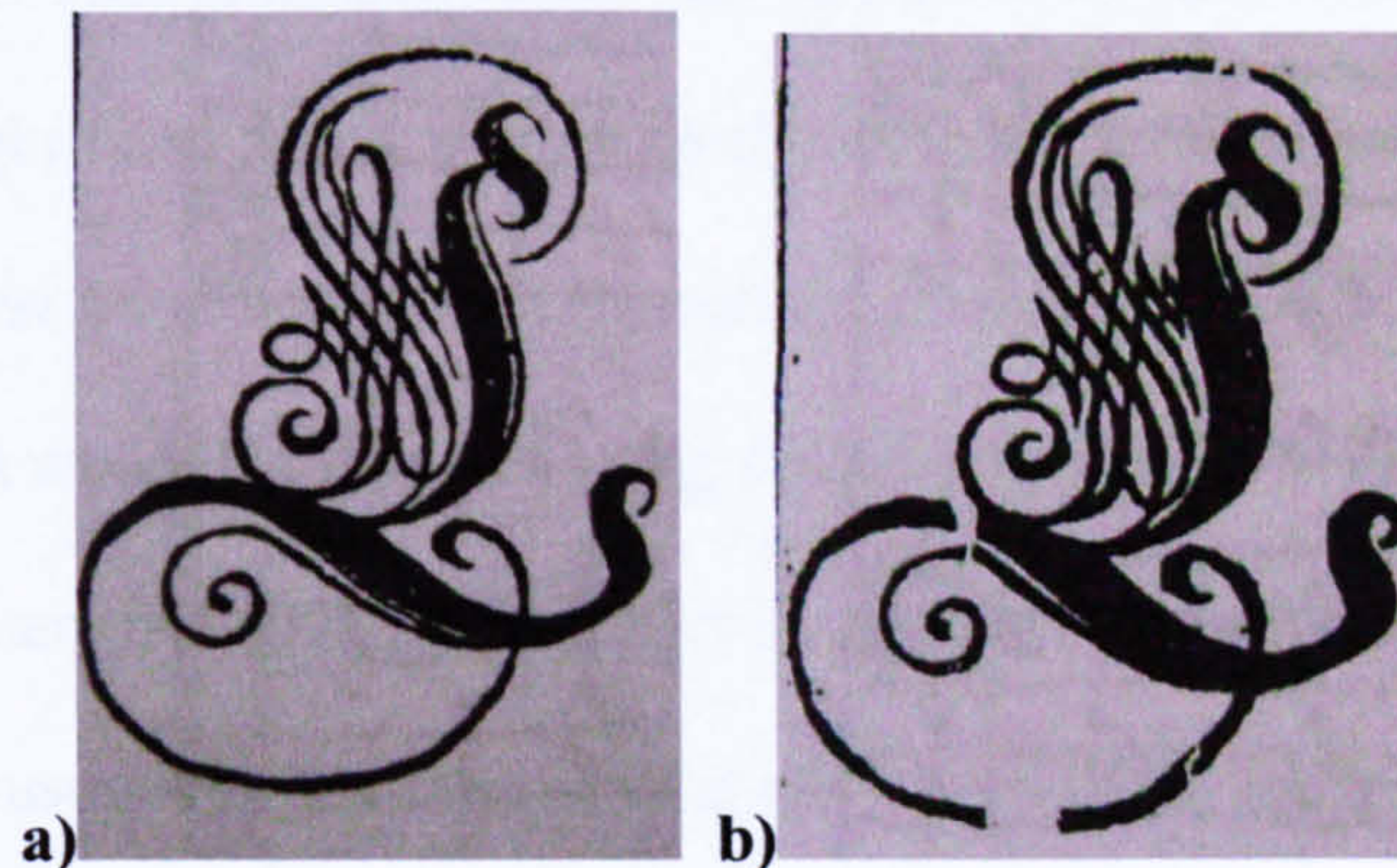


Styles 5-13 are stock types which were supplied to many printers, and those belonging to one printing house cannot always be differentiated from those belonging to another. However, in many cases slight differences can be noted, and a block positively identified. Such identification can be of aid when a printing date is questioned – often the state of deterioration noticeable in the blocks can be indicative of a similar printing date, and on occasion a block can be seen to have deteriorated during the course of a single publication. This is the case of the ‘L’ of style 3, which is the most widely used of all the blocks in

the *First Book*. When the example on f.4 of the *Medius Decani* book is compared with that found on f.125 of the *Bassus Cantoris*, a marked deterioration is immediately noticeable, with breaks in the top and bottom of the block, as shown in figure III/6.

**Figure III/6: Damaged 'L', style 3**

a) *Medius Decani*, f. 7; b) *Bassus Cantoris*, f. 125



This style of type seems to have been particularly prone to breakage, perhaps because of its elaborate nature, and a similar deterioration can be seen in the 'B' from this set, for example, between *Medius Decani* f. 3 and *Bassus Decani* f. 39.

The condition of the other blocks when compared to their appearances in other Griffin prints are consistent with a publication date of 1641 for the *First Book* being correct.<sup>61</sup> The 'T', style 8, can be located on leaf A2 of George Abbot's *Job Paraphrased*, published by Edward Griffin II in 1640. It is in a similarly damaged state here, with a break in the top frame to the right of the central stem of the 'T' itself. This is also true of the 'M', style 5, which belongs to the style known as the 'Apostles' series, showing various Apostles and their symbols within a decorated frame. This was widely used by printers

<sup>61</sup> The date of 1641 has been questioned by Morehen, and questions surrounding this are discussed below.

of the period, and Morehen has stated that those exemplars found in Barnard's print cannot be identified in any other publication of the period.<sup>62</sup> This is not, as has already been shown with other styles of type fount, the case, however, and the 'Apostles' 'M' appears, for example, in Sir Richard Baker's *Meditations and Disquisitions upon the First Psalme of David*, printed by Griffin in 1641. This particular initial can be positively identified because of a break in the right-hand frame, level with the third dot from the top.

The *First Book* was the culmination of Barnard's editing and collecting work, a project which had been ongoing since before 1625, as described in the previous chapter. As such, and as it was certainly intended to replace erroneous manuscript collections in England's cathedrals, one would expect it to have high production values. Thus, consistency in layout between parts must surely have been a consideration, and because it has already been established that special type had been cast, it would naturally follow that this type would be used consistently across all voice parts. For example, it would be expected that the same ornamental initial would be used to begin the same piece in each volume, and this is ordinarily the case in the *First Book*. Such uniformity is not untypical of Griffin, and his printing of James Yorke's *Union of Honour* in 1640, and again with a revised title-page in 1641, uses a range of initials of types 5, 7, 8 and others found in Barnard. Interestingly, the Preface and Dedication also uses letters of style 5, the same as in the *First Book*. It does not, however, employ the more elaborate of Barnard's initials, strengthening the supposition that they were indeed specially cast and owned by Barnard. Nevertheless, uniformity between parts would have been

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<sup>62</sup> 'Sources', p.294

expected, but the wide range of different ornamental initials used in Barnard's publication raises some questions. None of Griffin's previous, or indeed subsequent, publications uses as many initials as the *First Book* – he in fact never printed anything approaching the *First Book* in terms of scale and complexity again.

Table III/2 shows the distribution of ornamental initials across all ten volumes of the *First Book*. Shading indicates instances where a different style of initial has been used for the same piece:

Piece reference	Initial Letter	Style of letter											
		MD	MC	1CD	1CC	2CD	2CC	TD	TC	BD	BC		
Dedication	A	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Preface	M	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
1a	O	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1b	W	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1c	B	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
1d	L	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
1e	T	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1f	H	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
1g	A	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1h	M	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
1i	L	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2a	O	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2b	W	2a	-	2a	2a	2	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a
2c	B	4	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
2d	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2e	T	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2f	M	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2g	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2h	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3a	O	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1 <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	1
3b	W	2a	2a	2/2a <sup>2</sup>	2	2a	2/2a <sup>2</sup>	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a

<sup>1</sup> Block rotated 90 degrees clockwise

<sup>2</sup> Some copies have variant settings of the folio here (see below)

Reference	Initial	MD	MC	ICD	ICC	2CD	2CC	TD	TC	BD	BC
3c	B	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	4
3d	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3e	T	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3f	M	5	5	3/5 <sup>2</sup>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
3g	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4a	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4b	W	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
4c	B	4	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
4d	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4e	T	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
4f	M	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
4g	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
5a	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5b	W	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
5c	B	3	4/3 <sup>3</sup>	3	4/3	3	4/3	3	4/3	3	4/3
5d	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
5e	T	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
5f	M	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
5g	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
6a	O	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6b	W	2 <sup>4</sup>	2	2	2a	2	2a	2	2	2	2
6c	B	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
6d	L	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

<sup>3</sup> Type 4 is on the false start (f.30v / gathering F<sup>6</sup>)

<sup>4</sup> Both beginnings of this piece [f.36v and f.37] use the same style of initial

Reference	Initial	MD	MC	1CD	1CC	2CD	2CC	TD	TC	BD	BC
6e	T	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
6f	M	3	3	5	3	5	3	3	3	3	3
6g	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
7a	C	6	6	9	9	9	9	9	6	9	9
7b	W	2	-	2a	2a	2a/2 <sup>5</sup>	2	2	2	2	2
7c	B	4	4	4	4	4	4	4 <sup>6</sup>	4	4	4
7d	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
7e	T	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
7f	M	3	3	5	3/5 <sup>7</sup>	5	3	3	3	3	3
7g	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
8a	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8b	W	2	-	2	5	2a	2a	2	2	2	2
8c	B	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4
8d	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
8e	T	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
8f	M	3	3	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
8g	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
9a	W	2	2	2a	2a	2a	2a	5	2a	2	2
9b	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9c	L	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
9d	T	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
9e	M	5	5	3	7	7	3	3	3	3	3
9f	L	7	7	7	7	7	3	3	3	7	3

<sup>5</sup> Block 2 is used in the reset version of this folio (see below for discussion of these variant settings of the early Contratenor folios)

<sup>6</sup> Block inverted here

<sup>7</sup> The variant setting of this folio uses style 5

Reference	Initial	MD	MC	1CD	1CC	2CD	2CC	TD	TC	BD	BC
10a	M	3	3	6	5	5	5	5	5	7	5
10b	L	7a	7a	3	5	5	7a	3	5	3	3
11	W	2a	-	2a	2a	2a	2a	2	2	2a	2a
12a	M	6	6	6	3	3	6	6	6	3	3
12b	L	7a	7a	5	5	3	5	3	3	3	3
13a	M	5	-	3	5	6	3	7	7	5	5
13b	L	7	7	7	7	3	7	7	7	5	5
14a	M	3	3	5	7	7	5	3	3	3	7
14b	L	5	5	3	5	5	3	5	5	3	3
15a	W	2a	5	2a	2a	2a	2a	5	5	5	5
15b	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15c	M	3	3	3	3	3	3	6	6	6	6
15d	L	7a	5	7a	-	7a	7a	3	3	3	3
16a	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16b	W	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
16c	O	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16d	M	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
17a	O	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
17b	O	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
17c	S	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
18a	O	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
18b	W	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
18c	H	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
18d	T	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
19a	O	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
19b	T	4	-	4	4	8	8	8	8	8	8





Reference	Initial	MD	MC	1CD	1CC	2CD	2CC	TD	TC	BD	BC
46	O	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
47	I	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
48	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	P	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
50	B	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
51	T	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
52	W	7	-	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
53	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
54	O	11	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	11
55	I	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
56	O	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
57	B	8	-	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
58	O	7	-	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
59	S	5 <sup>8</sup>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
60	D	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
61	H	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
62	L	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
63	O	11	-	1	1	1	1	6	6	6	6
64	O	1	-	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
65	H	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
66	A	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
67	O	7	-	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
68	B	8	-	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8
69	O	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

<sup>8</sup> Block inverted

Reference	Initial	MD	MC	ICD	ICC	2CD	2CC	TD	TC	BD	BC
70	I	7	-	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
71	T	8	-	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
72	C	13	-	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
73	C	10	-	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
74	D	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
75	L	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

This Table shows that, on first glance, the use of initials seems to be largely consistent. However, there are some interesting facts notable also, chiefly the inconsistency that seems to occur out of nowhere from item 9e (Magnificat to Giles' First Service) and 15d (Nunc Dimittis of Gibbons' Second Service). The latter also marks the end of the first 'layer' of the partbooks. Up to this point, the distribution of initials has remained largely uniform, with a maximum of only two styles for the occasional item. From item 9e, however, there are as many as four types of initial for the same item across the ten partbooks, including the first uses of styles 7 and 7a. As the book is on the whole quired in sixes, the inner and outer formes for all six folios would have had to be prepared at the same time. Therefore, typographical material should only appear *once* in each gathering. As each forme would have had to be set up in order, the inner gathering, comprising ff. 3-4v of a 6 folio collation, would have been the first to reach completion. Theoretically, then, it could have gone to print before the final folios had been set up. This raises the possibility that typographical material found on the inner forme could also make a reappearance on f.6v, for example. However, McKerrow points out that while this was possible, it would be impractical in the extreme, and while it would have saved on the amount of type needed, it would have caused further problems with runs on particular letters.<sup>63</sup> The 'L', style 3, is employed twice in each group of pieces,<sup>64</sup> and often occurs in the same gathering (gathering B, ff. 7 and 11v, of the *Medius Decani* part). We can deduce from this that there was more than one version of this letter available to the

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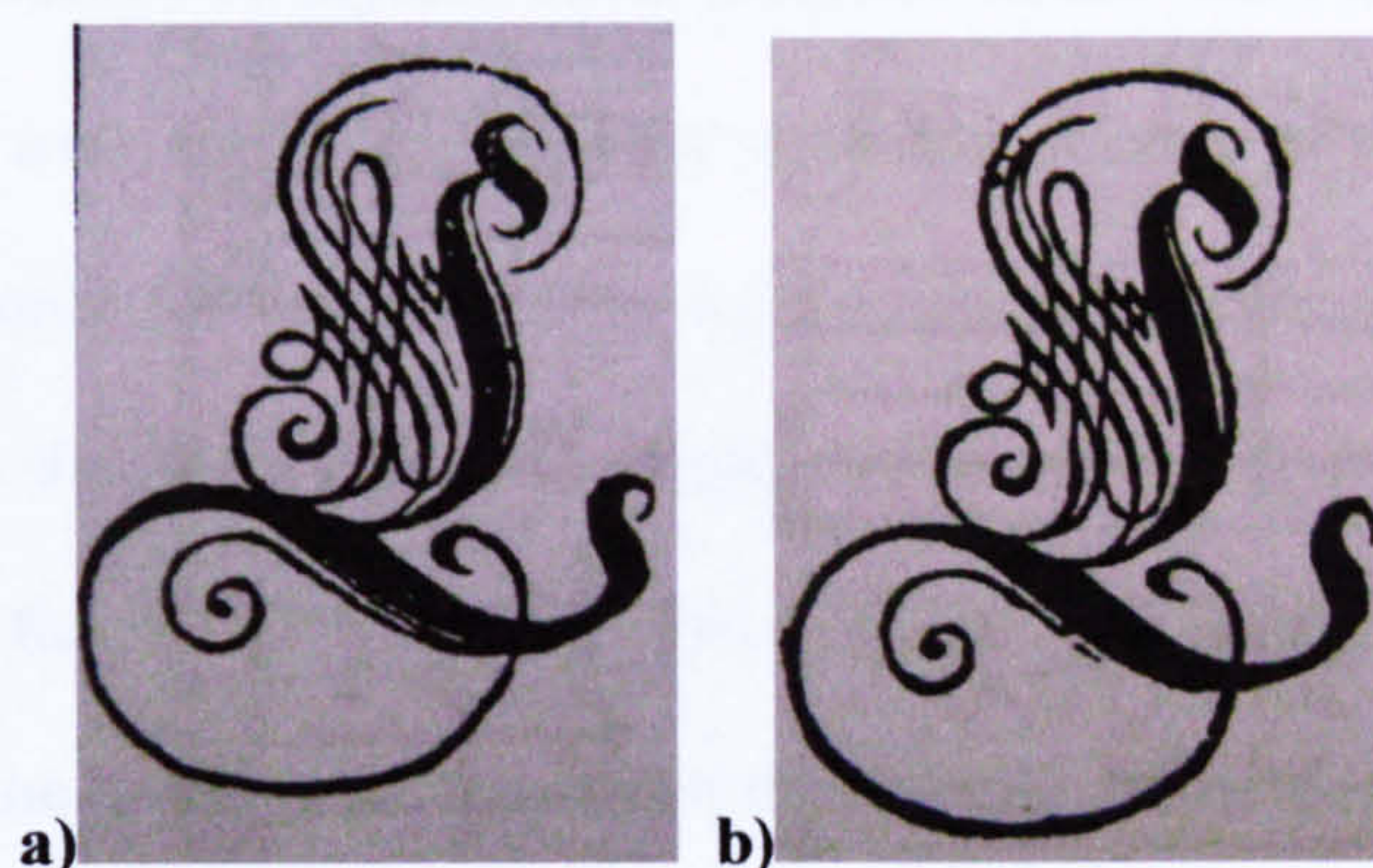
<sup>63</sup> McKerrow: *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (1927), p.32

<sup>64</sup> As the initial to both the Kyrie and Nunc Dimittis

compositor, and a closer check of the two initials in question reveals slight differences in the curve of the 'L', shown in Figure III/7.

**Figure III/7: Two different casts of capital 'L', style 3**

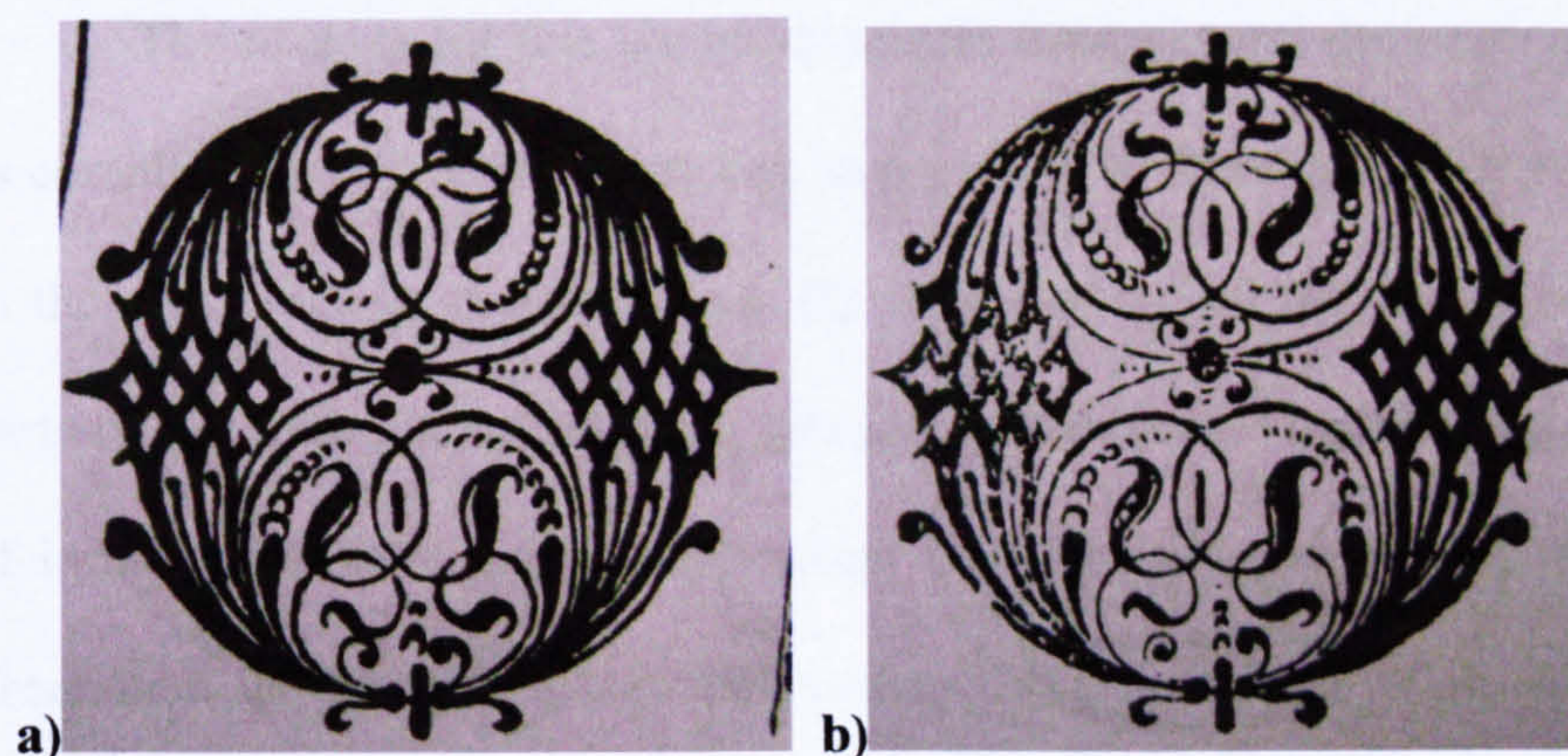
**a) Medius Decani, f. 7; b) Medius Decani, f. 11v**



However, it is important to remember that even printings from the same letter could differ in size, as when the type was pressed into the paper, different rates of paper shrinkage could distort the size and shape of the type.<sup>65</sup> A similar situation can be seen with the letter 'O', style 1, in its use as initial for items 2h and 3a. This occurs in all copies, and close inspection reveals that there are two distinct types of this letter, shown as Figure III/8.

**Figure III/8: Two different casts of capital 'O', style 1.**

**a) Medius Decani, f. 14v; b) Medius Decani, f. 15v**



<sup>65</sup> Gaskell, *op. cit.*, 76-7.

When styles 2 and 2a are inspected, further questions are raised about the impositions of type. On no occasion do the two blocks, both of which were only good for the Te Deum, appear in the same gathering in one voice part. Why, then, are there two styles? Their presence would seem to indicate that two gatherings were set up in type, and probably printed, at the same time. This would account for the larger 'B', style 4, occasionally employed for the Benedictus, but this theory does not hold. There are not four different 'L's (style 3), and the incipit to the Creed only occurs in one form, easily identifiable by the break in its uppermost decoration, and in the interior line of the oval containing the words 'I beleeve in one God'. The sporadic appearance of the 'W', style 5, further complicates matters, but it can be easily determined that this is only used where there is no incipit to the Te Deum, such as in the Byrd first service (item 4b).<sup>66</sup> Barnard must have been mindful that such instances occasioning more than one of the same initial would occur, so consciously prepared enough of these particular initials. It seems this was not always possible, however, and from item 9e, there is a sudden inconsistency hitherto not encountered.

The reasons for this abrupt departure from general uniformity are not as complicated as it might seem, and have simply to do with a sudden increase in the recurrence of certain letters. Up to this point, all the items have been parts of full morning and evening services, and therefore made use of a range of initials with little duplication, except in those instances described above. From item 9e, Barnard prints the evening services *only* of Ward, Byrd and Morley, as well as Woodson's Te Deum. This necessitates, therefore, an

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<sup>66</sup> The Item number refers to the Table of Contents, Appendix C.

increased use of the initials 'M'[y soul doth magnify] and 'L'[ord, now lettest thou]. Unsurprisingly this results in many instances of one gathering in the same voice part requiring numerous versions of the same letter. However, in this case it appears that not enough initials in the hitherto preferred style 3 were available, and therefore a wide array of styles have been employed. For example, gathering P (ff. 73-8) of the *Medius Decani* volume contains three different styles of 'M' (6, 5 and 3) and 'L' (7a, 7 and 5). It is interesting to note the absence of 'L', style 3, which has up to this point been the preferred initial. It could be that it was set in type somewhere else, although it is not clear whether more than one gathering was set up at the same time, as discussed above.

However, this does not account for the discrepancies between individual partbooks, and there are many examples of different initials being used for the same item across the voice parts, as shown in Table III/2. Often the decorative initial changes where a piece is of different length in different books, because of a more elaborate vocal part for example, and a smaller letter has been used to accommodate this. This has largely to do with the frequency and extent of the use of standing type, which is discussed below, pp. 216-22.

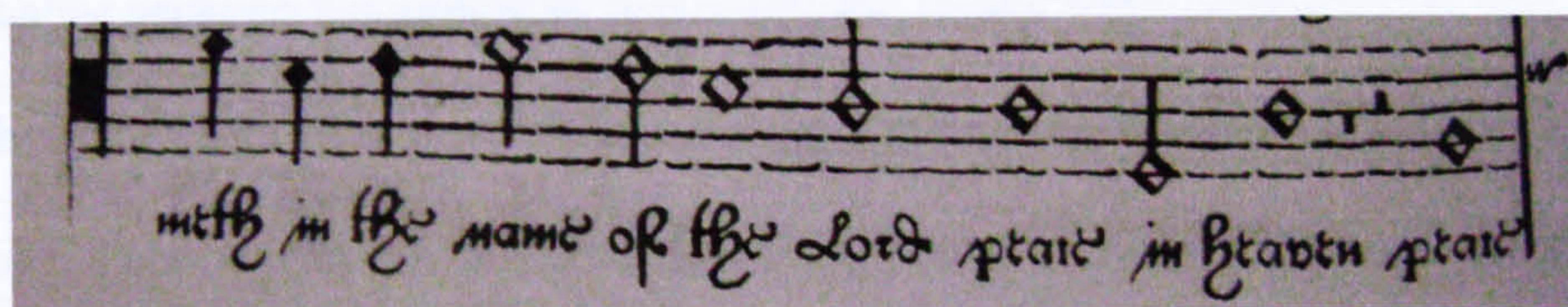
### **Errors and inconsistencies in Barnard's print**

The *First Book*, as mentioned previously, contains a not inconsiderable number of errors, which serve to shed more light on the printing process followed by Griffin and Barnard. The major errors tend to be typographical, regarding mistakes in the actual mechanics of printing, rather than musical, and Barnard seems to have been aware of this, speaking of mistakes offending

the eye rather than the ear in his Preface. However, some of these are nothing short of printing disasters, and it is inconceivable how they could have escaped the attention of a diligent proof-reader. One of the most serious lapses in this regard concerns Gibbons's 'Hosanna to the Son of David'. One of the more popular anthems in the repertoire at the time, judging by its widespread appearance in contemporary manuscript sources, Barnard's printed version is rendered unperformable due to the transposition of the second contratenor parts for Decani and Cantoris, in all copies, as shown in Figure III/9.

**Figure III/9: Incorrectly printed Contratenor parts**

**a) Secundus Contratenor Decani, last system of f. 116v**



**b) Secundus Contratenor Decani, first system of f. 117**



**c) Secundus Contratenor Cantoris, last system of f. 115v**



**d) Secundus Contratenor Cantoris, first system of f. 116<sup>67</sup>**



<sup>67</sup> The notes in pencil are printed, but not reproduced in the facsimile edition.



Although this particular anthem does not appear in Barnard's manuscript collection, it is most unlikely that the copy-source used by the compositor transmitted such an error. The reason for the error lies simply in the fact that this anthem is split across two gatherings. Folios 115v in the Cantoris book and 116v in Decani are the last of gathering X in both copies, and the compositor working on gathering Y has transposed the two parts, although the page headers remain consistent. That the proofreader missed this is not perhaps so surprising when we consider that he would have been checking loose folios. Because the *musical* text is correct, the incorrect header probably escaped his attention, and when the books were eventually bound, it is these headers that were followed, resulting in an incomprehensible final result. This is not an isolated incident, however, and there are similar instances, although perhaps less disastrous, throughout the books. Without exception, these occur on folios where two gatherings meet, indicating that several gatherings were being worked on by the printers simultaneously, following a preordained scheme, presumably drawn up by Barnard himself.

One such issue concerns gatherings F and G, across which incorrect composition has occurred in all but the Bassus Decani book. Gathering G, beginning at folio 31 in every partbook, commences in each case with the Benedictus from Gibbons's Short Service, complete with initial 'B' of style 3. This consistency throughout the set strongly indicates that it was the printer's intention to begin at this point with this music, on the presumption that the preceding thirty folios (B-F) would be complete with the contents up to this point. This in turn points to the probability that gathering G was begun before the imposition of type on gathering F had been completed, and therefore that

different sections of the same partbooks were being printed, or at least the type set up, simultaneously. In order to better illustrate this, it is necessary to investigate the various problems this has thrown up across the set of ten books.

As previously mentioned, the Bassus Decani book is the only one of the ten which is correct at this point. Gibbons's Te Deum ends on f. 30v, and is rounded off with a decorative tail-piece, employed to fill the empty space left at the bottom of the page. The Benedictus begins, as would be expected, on f. 31. However, in the remaining four Decani books, the compositor has run out of space to fit the end of the Te Deum on gathering F, and because gathering G had already been printed off, there is a resultant loss of text. This, unlike the confusion to befall Gibbons's 'Hosanna', was noticed by the proofreader, whom we can safely assume to have been Barnard himself, given that he mentions revising and correcting in the Preface, and corrected. Every extant copy of the parts concerned has the missing music inserted by hand at the top of f. 31 (see Figure III/10). While Morehen believed these to be additions made by later, post-Restoration users of the books,<sup>68</sup> when viewed side by side it is evident that they share the same hand, and this strongly suggests that these corrections were applied to the whole set at the same time, before they left the printers and were released for sale.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> 'Sources', p.297

<sup>69</sup> Because Playford was selling copies of Barnard's *First Book* at the Restoration, it might be suggested that these corrections were made by him before he released his copies for sale. However, these additions match neither his known music or text hands.

**Figure III/10: Missing text inserted by hand**

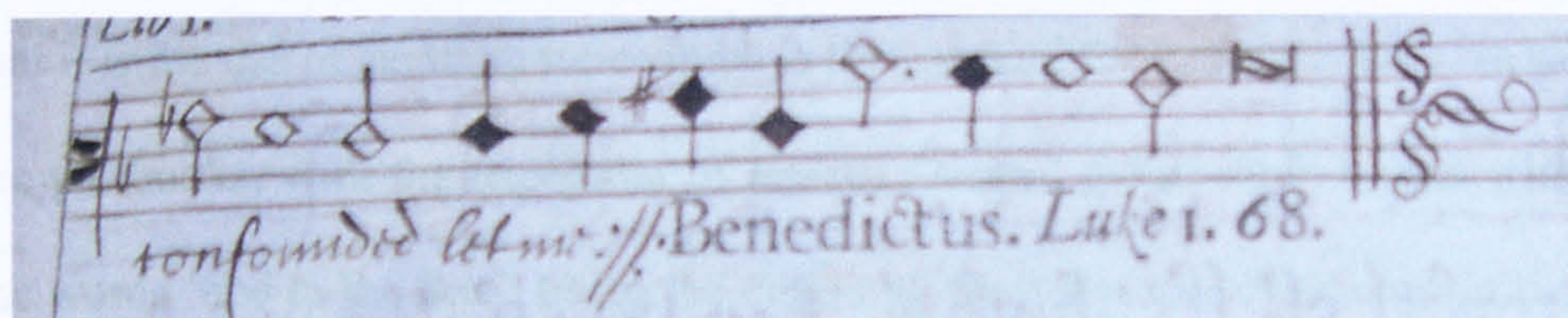
**a) Lichfield**



**b) Worcester**



**c) Gloucester**



All five of the Cantoris books also transmit errors at this point, but although less musically problematic, nevertheless represent an example of an embarrassing oversight on the part of the compositor. In each case, Gibbons's Benedictus begins on f. 30v, with a capital of style 2. However, because of the premeditated scheme of beginning different sections simultaneously, it also begins afresh on f. 31.<sup>70</sup> The Table of Contents, the last part of the books to be set up and printed, gives the page number of this part of Gibbons's service as 31, ignoring the redundant beginning on f. 30v. That such an error, occurring in half of the partbooks, should remain uncorrected is unusual, and perhaps

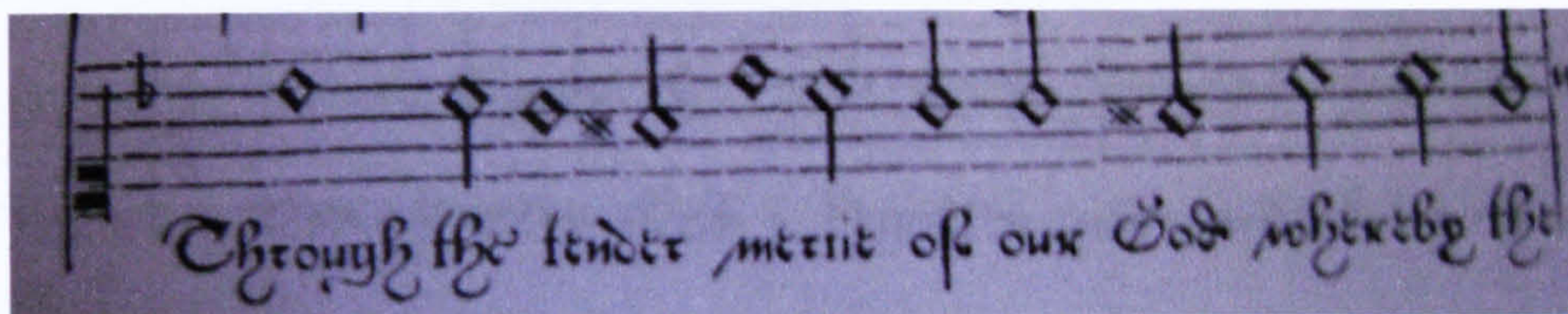
<sup>70</sup> A similar situation is present in the Medius Decani book from gathering G<sup>6</sup> to H<sup>1</sup>, folios 36v and 37, where Mundy's Te Deum begins twice. Incidentally, the standing brevier type from the *incorrect* imposition (folio 36v) is that used in all the other Decani books, showing a new setting was made for folio 37 by another compositor after this gathering in the other books had gone through the press.

points to either a rush to complete the printing, or financial constraints rendering a reprinting of the relevant folios uneconomical. It could easily have been corrected by pasting a blank page over the offending folio, but there is no evidence of paper discoloration to suggest this was the case. It seems that Barnard did not have patronage for his expensive enterprise, as the dedication does not mention anything of the sort, and is to the King, having something of an 'all-purpose' feel to it.

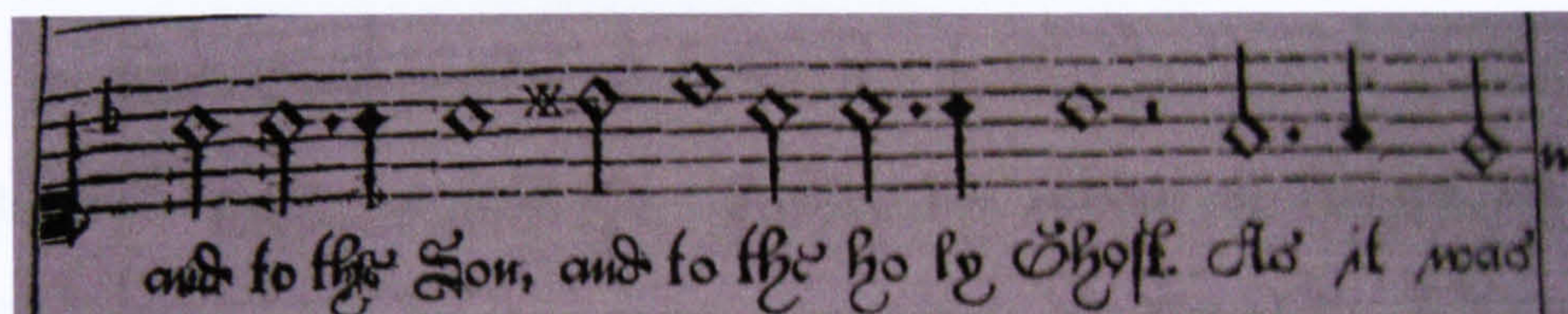
The Decani books, again with the exception of the Bassus part, suffer from a similar mishap over folios 24v and 25, which occur across gatherings E and F and concern the Benedictus of Byrd's Short Service. Here it would seem that it is the use of standing type which is the cause of the printer's woes. In all the partbooks, with the exception of Bassus Decani, gathering F begins with the words 'and to the Son', being the doxology from Byrd's Benedictus. In the Cantoris books, this follows on directly from f. 24v, as would be expected. However, the Medius, both Contratenor, and Tenor Decani books suffer again from a loss of musical text at this point. Why the Bassus Decani books should be correctly imposed but all the others wanting is unclear, and indeed unusual, but it seems the compositor has confused the Decani and Cantoris parts, and while the page headers give the correct voice parts, the music is incorrect, as in Gibbons's 'Hosanna' described above. As the Gloria to Byrd's Benedictus is scored for full choir, it seems the compositor has set up the type following on from the Cantoris parts, and the same standing type has been used for the Decani books, on the misunderstanding that as the music is the same for both sides of the choir, the same imposition of type could be used. This is illustrated in Figure III/11.

**Figure III/11: Missing text in Decani parts, gatherings E to F**

a) Last system of folio 24v, Medius Decani



b) First system of folio 25, Medius Decani



Somehow, this *lacuna* escaped the attention of the proofreader, and in this case subsequent owners of the books have been forced to fill in the missing text by hand, with varying degrees of success. In the Worcester Primus Contratenor Decani book, for example, an extra stave has been added by hand in the middle of f. 25, with the missing text ('dayspring from on high hath visited us'), but the stave remains blank as this corrector (in this case the amendments are in the hand of Nathaniel Tomkins) obviously did not have access to a source containing the missing music from which to copy. The beginning of the Gloria has been filled in at the top of f. 25, transcribed from the Cantoris part, which transmits the same music for this full section. Less noticeable but nevertheless important is an extra minim rest in the Tenor Cantoris partbook, printed on the last piece of the final stave of folio 18v. The first piece of the first stave of folio 19 also transmits what is effectively the same minim rest, unnecessarily. This further illustrates the problems inherent in compiling one gathering at a time, occurring in this case between gatherings D and E. The Christ Church, Oxford, copy of this part has had the rest on folio

18v scratched out by a subsequent user of the book, but in all others it remains uncorrected, as printed, missed again by the proofreader. The same error occurs in the *Secundus Contratenor Cantoris*, where an attempt has been made at correction in the Worcester copy only, and the *Bassus Cantoris* part, where the first rest of folio 19 has been scratched out in all but the British Library copy.

Among the various works printed by Edward Griffin II, such idiosyncrasies are not entirely uncommon, and point to a less than utterly diligent approach on his, or his composers' behalf. It is important to note that Griffin was primarily a trade printer, producing small scale works, pamphlets and small format books, and he seems to have had some trouble with larger-scale works of any kind, let alone something as alien as music. For example, the 1641 edition of Malvezzi's writings on Tacitus, in an English translation by Sir Richard Baker, suffers from inconsistencies in terms of gatherings and pagination. A large, single volume in folio, this publication also makes use of many of the decorative blocks found in the *First Book*, such as the 'I' of style 7, and the 'S' and 'T' of style 5. With regard to discrepancies in the pagination, it is notable that there is a jump from p.224 to p.329, and later from p.414 to p.425. On neither occasion is there any loss of text, and the "missing" pages occur where one gathering meets the next. On each occasion this is the beginning of a new discourse, and it seems, therefore, that printing was not done from beginning to end, but rather beginning at various points throughout the book, at the first discourse (p.1), the 32<sup>nd</sup> (p.329) and the 41<sup>st</sup> (p.425). The gatherings are also inconsistent, and as the pages in this book are signed, it is possible to deduce further problems encountered in its printing.

The gatherings are signed as follows: A-Z, Aa-Cc, D\*-E\*, Dd-Kk. Gathering Dd begins with p.425, the 41<sup>st</sup> discourse, and it is evident, therefore, that it was estimated this discourse would commence on p.425 and gathering Dd of the finished book. However, this appears to have been a miscalculation on the part of the compositors, and has necessitated the inclusion of gatherings with the unusual signatures D\* and E\* immediately preceding this, as when gathering Cc was reached, the printing of the book up to the 41<sup>st</sup> discourse had not been effected, and as gathering Dd had already been printed, this correcting action was necessary. Other mistakes in this print include the incorrect use of a standing header on p.394, where it reads ‘the six and thirtieth discourse’ rather than ‘the nine and thirtieth’. While these inconsistencies might point to a conflation of more than one edition of the work, this is not the case, as the paper types remain consistent throughout, with examples of the same mark in each section. Richard Baker, the translator of this work, may be forgiven these lapses, if he was intended to proof-read this volume – he spent much of the latter part of his life, from 1635 until his death ten years later in the Fleet debtors’ prison – he was most likely not available to do so. However, this case does illustrate the often cavalier approach to typographical inconsistency employed by the compositors at Edward Griffin’s publishing house. With this being a single volume, albeit large in scale, it is little wonder that Barnard’s *First Book* suffered from similar compositional problems.

Those *lacunae* described above are the most serious errors in Barnard’s print, but by no means are they the only ones. On the whole, the problems encountered are indeed ‘such as will offend the eye, rather than the eare, and

by the judicious singer [be] easily Corrected'.<sup>71</sup> Among the most common typographical errors are the imposition of an incorrect clef, the instances of which are given below:

**Table III/3: Incorrect or Inverted Clefs**

Voice Part	Incorrect Clef <sup>72</sup>	Inverted Clef
Meduis Decani	-	39/3-4; <sup>73</sup> 41v/5
Medius Cantoris	11/6(C <sup>3</sup> )	38v/6; 85v/1
Primus Contratenor Decani	6/1(C <sup>4</sup> ); 68/9(C <sup>4</sup> ); 69/8(C <sup>4</sup> ); 115v/2 <sup>74</sup>	51/5 <sup>75</sup>
Primus Contratenor Cantoris	52v/2(C <sup>4</sup> )	-
Secundus Contratenor Decani	61v/1-3(C <sup>4</sup> ); 65/1(C <sup>4</sup> )	51/5
Secundus Contratenor Cantoris	43/9(C <sup>4</sup> ); 109v/2 <sup>76</sup>	-
Tenor Decani	74/4-8(C <sup>3</sup> ); 74v/2,4- 8(C <sup>3</sup> ); <sup>77</sup> 78/4 (C <sup>3</sup> ); <sup>78</sup> 83v/1; <sup>79</sup> 89v/1-3,5-6(F); <sup>80</sup> 126/3(C <sup>3</sup> )	1/4; 4/5; 39v/5; 53/6; 60v/7; 64v/1; 123v/7
Tenor Cantoris	68/3(C <sup>3</sup> ); 70/3-5(C <sup>3</sup> ); 72/4- 8(C <sup>3</sup> ); 73/2,4-8(C <sup>3</sup> ); 76/4(C <sup>3</sup> ); 80/5(F); <sup>81</sup> 81v/1, <sup>82</sup> 3(F) <sup>83</sup>	63/3; 114v/8
Bassus Decani	88v/6(C <sup>3</sup> )	79/2; 124v/2 <sup>84</sup>
Bassus Cantoris	88v/6(C <sup>3</sup> ), 92v/1-6 <sup>85</sup>	7v/5; 76v/7 <sup>86</sup>

<sup>71</sup> 'Preface' to the *First Book*, iv

<sup>72</sup> The following scheme is used: folio number/system number.

<sup>73</sup> These examples have been corrected by hand, in the printing shop. A discussion of printing-shop corrections will follow, as will the existence of uncorrected copies

<sup>74</sup> Originally printed as a C<sup>3</sup> clef, this has been corrected in all copies to the correct C<sup>4</sup> clef

<sup>75</sup> All inverted clefs in the Contratenor books refer to a mirror image of the clef, as an inverted C<sup>3</sup> clef is not discernible on the printed page

<sup>76</sup> See footnote 74

<sup>77</sup> In all but the Lichfield copy these have been corrected by adding an extra line, resulting in a hybrid C<sup>3</sup>/C<sup>4</sup> clef. The Lichfield copy is uncorrected.

<sup>78</sup> This has been corrected in all but the Lichfield and RCM copies

<sup>79</sup> At the entry of the choir, no clef has been printed. However, one has been added by hand in all but the Lichfield copy

<sup>80</sup> This concerns the Answers only, and again the Lichfield copy is the only one to remain uncorrected

<sup>81</sup> This error has been corrected by hand in all copies

<sup>82</sup> See note 79 above

<sup>83</sup> See note 81 above

<sup>84</sup> Only the first part of the clef is given here, i.e. the part used for the C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> clefs in the Medius books

<sup>85</sup> The Priest's part *only* of the Litany has C<sup>3</sup> rather than C<sup>4</sup> clefs

<sup>86</sup> Corrected by means of a paste-down in all but the British Library copy



Similar problems are encountered in terms of key signatures; errors concerning these are given below:<sup>87</sup>

**Table III/4: Incorrect or Inverted Key Signatures**

Voice Part	Incorrect Key Signature	Inverted Key Signature
Medius Decani <sup>88</sup>	44/3-4; <sup>89</sup> 70/7-8(m); <sup>90</sup> 71/7(m); <sup>91</sup> 73/8(m); <sup>92</sup> 90/5(m); 94v/6(E); 113v/5; <sup>93</sup> 116/7-8(m)	-
Medius Cantoris	51v/6(C); 52/3(C); 52v/1,3(C); 53/2,4(C); 70/1(m); 72/8(m); 101v/9(A); 108/5(C); 116v/7-8(m)	-
Primus Contratenor Decani	31v/2(D); 47v/1(m); 53v/4(D); 69/8(*); 99/2,4- 6(m); 99v/1; <sup>94</sup> 100v/9(m); 107/8(m); 108v/3; <sup>95</sup> 128v/7(m); 129v/8(m)	-
Primus Contratenor Cantoris	33v/4,7(C); 36/7(C); 36v/4(C); 54v/1-8; <sup>96</sup> 88/7; <sup>97</sup> 88v/4(D); 97/6; <sup>98</sup> 97v/1; <sup>99</sup> 105/8; <sup>100</sup> 112v/8(m); <sup>101</sup> 114/1-2(m); 126v/7(m)	-

<sup>87</sup> The name of the note on which the key signature has been incorrectly imposed is given in brackets. (m) signifies a missing key signature. Where a clef is incorrect but the key signature correct to that clef, this has not been mentioned, as these instances can be seen in the previous table. Where the clef is incorrect, but the key signature is consistent with a *correct* clef, this is indicated with (\*).

<sup>88</sup> In both Medius parts, when a C<sup>2</sup> clef is used, the b flats appear on both the top line and bottom space of the stave. This only applies to the section of the books before the anthems; after this point, b flats appear on the top line only, with the exception of Tye's *Deus Misereatur*, where they follow the earlier pattern, apart from in the first part, in which the b flats occupy only the bottom space.

<sup>89</sup> Accidental on top line omitted

<sup>90</sup> Added by hand in all copies

<sup>91</sup> Added by hand in all copies

<sup>92</sup> Added by hand in all copies

<sup>93</sup> The b flat is missing, probably because of the proximity of an ornamental block which meant there was no room for it

<sup>94</sup> Misplaced to right of time signature

<sup>95</sup> E flat added by hand in all copies

<sup>96</sup> Each stave on this folio has a key signature of one flat, although the correct signature is one of no accidentals

<sup>97</sup> This has been added by hand in all copies

<sup>98</sup> This has been added by hand in all copies

<sup>99</sup> Misplaced to the right of the time signature

<sup>100</sup> Added by hand in all copies

<sup>101</sup> This has been added by hand in the *Och* copy only

Voice Part	Incorrect Key Signature	Inverted Key Signature
Secundus Contratenor Decani	33v/4,7(C); 34v/2-4,7(m); 47v/1(m); 55v/1-8; <sup>102</sup> 81v/4-6(D); 86/4,6(D); 94/2,4-6(m); <sup>103</sup> 95v/9(m); 102/8(m); 109v/8(m); 110/7(m); 111/1-2(m)	36/5; <sup>104</sup> 80/5; 87/8
Secundus Contratenor Cantoris	33v/4,7(C); 36/7(C); 36v/4(C); 39/1(m); 39v/7(m); 41/9(C); 41v/1,5(m); 43v/5(*); 48v/4(D); 50v/2(m); 51v/1(D); 77/4,6(m); 92/2,4-6; <sup>105</sup> 92v/1; <sup>106</sup> 101/8; <sup>107</sup> 102v/3; <sup>108</sup> 103/7(m)	41v/3; 54/3
Tenor Decani	78/4(G); <sup>109</sup> 79v/3(m)	42v/6; <sup>110</sup> 81v/7 <sup>111</sup>
Tenor Cantoris	23v/4(F); 30v/1; <sup>112</sup> 80/5; <sup>113</sup> 87/8-9(m); 87v/1-9(m); <sup>114</sup> 120/1(B)	42v/3 <sup>115</sup>
Bassus Decani <sup>116</sup>	32/1; <sup>117</sup> 72v/2(B); <sup>118</sup> 85/6(m); <sup>119</sup> 88v/6(C); <sup>120</sup> 89/6-7,9&89v/1-6(m); <sup>121</sup> 98v/7(A); 102/4-7(m) 104/7(m)	51v/4; 68v/4 <sup>122</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See note 96

<sup>103</sup> Added by hand in *Lcm* copy; in pencil in Gloucester copy

<sup>104</sup> In variant setting only – see below

<sup>105</sup> These have been added by hand in all copies

<sup>106</sup> Misplaced to the right of the time signature

<sup>107</sup> Added by hand in all copies

<sup>108</sup> The E flat has been added by hand in all copies

<sup>109</sup> This key signature is consistent with the original, incorrect C<sup>3</sup> clef

<sup>110</sup> Corrected by hand in all copies except Lichfield

<sup>111</sup> Corrected by hand in all copies except Lichfield

<sup>112</sup> Misplaced to right of time signature

<sup>113</sup> It is unclear what this key signature originally was, but it has been added or corrected by hand in all copies

<sup>114</sup> Missing from all choir entries

<sup>115</sup> Corrected by hand in all copies

<sup>116</sup> Key signatures of one flat occupy the second line of the stave only, with the exception of ff. 93v, 94, 94v, 98 and 98v, where they also appear above the stave

<sup>117</sup> Misplaced to right of time signature

<sup>118</sup> Corrected in all but the *Lbl* copy

<sup>119</sup> By hand in all but *Lbl* copy

<sup>120</sup> This key signature is consistent with the original, incorrect C<sup>3</sup> clef

<sup>121</sup> Missing from all choir entries

<sup>122</sup> Corrected in *Lcm* copy only

Voice Part	Incorrect Key Signature	Inverted Key Signature
Bassus Cantoris	30v/1; <sup>123</sup> 88v/6(C); <sup>124</sup> 89/6-7,9&89v/1-6(m); <sup>125</sup> 95v/7-9(m); 102/4-7(m); 104/7(m); 109/4(m); 124/9(D); 124v/3(F) <sup>126</sup>	50/7; <sup>127</sup> 67/2; <sup>128</sup> 81/8 <sup>129</sup>

From the information given in the above tables, we can see certain correspondences across multiple partbooks. For example, folio 33v in the *Secundus Contratenor Decani*, and *Primus and Secundus Contratenor Cantoris* books has misplaced key signatures on the fourth and seventh systems. This strongly indicates, as would be expected in partbooks containing largely the same music, the use of standing type.<sup>130</sup> This folio contains the first part of Gibbons's Magnificat from his First, or Short, Service, which until the text 'He hath shewed strength' has the same music for both sides of the choir. Indeed, it appears evident that standing type has been used for the full sections of this folio in the partbooks named above. Not only are the same misplaced clefs transmitted, the 'L' of 'ORLA. GIBBONS' in the marginal ascription is shifted upward. Only the name of the voice part in the page header has been changed, appropriate to the partbook. The standing type continues until the piece of type containing the semibreve F to the last syllable of 'generations', half way across the last system of the page. However, the situation regarding standing type, especially with regard to the four Contratenor partbooks, is far

<sup>123</sup> Misplaced to right of time signature

<sup>124</sup> This key signature is consistent with the original, incorrect C<sup>3</sup> clef

<sup>125</sup> Missing from all choir entries. f. 89v has missing key signature added by hand in all but the *Lbl* copy

<sup>126</sup> This is consistent with the original, incorrect C<sup>1</sup> clef

<sup>127</sup> Corrected in all but *Lbl* copy

<sup>128</sup> Corrected in all but *Lbl* copy

<sup>129</sup> Corrected in all but *Lbl* copy

<sup>130</sup> Standing type refers to type kept complete, as either individual words, lines, borders etc and reused for the printing of different folios. For a full description of standing type, see Gaskell, pp 116-7.

less clear cut. The facsimile *Primus Contratenor Decani* partbook, for example, does not use the same setting of type as the *Secundus* for folio 33v – the key signatures are correct and the notes and text do not appear in the same position as in the other books. Investigating further, it is evident that folio 34 of both *Contratenor Decani* partbooks, although they transmit exactly the same music, are not printed from the same setting of type, and likewise, this folio in the Worcester copy of the *Secundus Contratenor Cantoris* book is printed from a different imposition than the other surviving copies of the same part. This highlights an interesting aspect of the *First Book's* production – that four separate printings were made for the four *Contratenor* partbooks, even where two different voice parts, or even four, contain exactly the same music. This seems a needless waste of time and effort, and suggests a total lack of familiarity with the mechanics of printing music on the part of the printers, and a lack of common sense from Barnard himself, in his presumed capacity as overseer of the project. The situation regarding distribution of these parts is confused further by the fact that most of the facsimile reprints of the *First Book* are composite, made up of two or more surviving copies. An example of part of the first folio of the *Contratenor Decani* part is shown below in both settings of type.

**Figure III/12: Variant setting of type in Contratenor parts**

**a) In *Lcm* and facsimile (Secundus Contratenor Decani), f. 1**



**b) In *GL* copy of the same part, f. 1**



Although these look the same at first glance, closer examination reveals two different settings. Most obviously, the sharp signs are positioned differently on the staves, with the Gloucester version on the third line (for a C#), and the other setting using the second space – a less satisfactory result. Indeed, it is possible that the setting in the Gloucester copy may represent a later, improved version, as the text is less cramped and the incorrect *custos* on the second line has been remedied. However, it is equally probable that the two versions simply represent the efforts of two different composers. This unnecessary duplication continues until the commencement of Morley's 'First Service', and it is at this point that the distribution of parts also changes. Up to this point, both Contratenor Decani books have carried the same music, as

have both on the Cantoris side. However, In the Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus and Kyries of Morley's service, the parts split within sides, therefore Primus Decani and Cantoris are the same, as are Secundus.<sup>131</sup> This distribution changes yet again at the Creed to the same service, with Primus Decani and Secundus Cantoris carrying the same music in the full sections, as well as Secundus Decani and Primus Cantoris. This somewhat unorthodox distribution of parts is consistent with that employed by Barnard in his manuscript partbooks, but not in any other partbooks of the period, highlighting yet another aspect of idiosyncrasy. This distribution again points to a project that had not been thought through entirely thoroughly, and it is only at gathering M (folio 61) that the voice designations in the page headers are changed to reflect the existence of two contratenor parts per side, from simply 'Contratenor Decani' to '1: Con: Decani' and so on across all four parts. This type of distribution is subsequently used for the remainder of the books.

The existence of two settings of type for each contratenor part might explain the instances where a loss of text, such as those outlined above, has occurred, as the different settings appear often at what seem random intervals throughout the books. However, on no occasion does one setting of the part contain musical text missing from the other, from one folio or gathering to the next, making the compositorial mistakes in Barnard's print all the more inexplicable. The following table shows where the different settings have been used, using the facsimile edition as a basis for comparison, simply for ease of reference.

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<sup>131</sup> This applies to the full sections only.

**Table III/5: Distribution of different settings of type in Contratenor parts**

Voice Part	Variant folios <sup>132</sup>					
	<i>Gl</i>	<i>Och</i>	<i>Lbl</i>	<i>Lf</i>	<i>Lcm</i>	<i>WO</i>
<b>Primus Contratenor Decani</b>	N/A	1-2; 5v	N/A	7-21	5r; 13-21; 23-24	1-3; 13-22; 24
<b>Secundus Contratenor Decani</b>	1-6; <sup>133</sup> 7-22; 23; 24; 25; 32; 43-8	32; 36; 49-54	No differences	N/A	No differences	N/A
<b>Primus Contratenor Cantoris</b>	N/A	No differences	No differences	50-53	No differences	N/A
<b>Secundus Contratenor Cantoris</b>	N/A	31-6	N/A	No differences	No differences	31-36r

It is essential to note that certain of these variant settings *are* reproduced in the facsimile edition, although in the second partbook. Folios 7-22, 24, 31 and 33v-35 differ in the facsimile edition's Primus and Secundus Decani books, and therefore examples of these folios, where they are shown as variant in the above Table, can be found in either the Primus or Secundus part of the facsimile as appropriate. Likewise folios 13-18 and 37-54r differ between the facsimile edition's Cantoris parts. The folios to which this applies are given in bold type in the Table. Those folios which appear neither in the facsimile Primus nor Secundus books are given as Appendix E.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>132</sup> i.e. folios that vary from the facsimile edition

<sup>133</sup> Folio 4 is missing

<sup>134</sup> The folios to which this applies are: Primus Contratenor ff. 1-6, 23, 25r, 32, 36 and 43-54; Secundus Contratenor ff. 31-6

While the differences between the two settings of these parts are on the whole cosmetic, there are a number of important differences in the musical text, and these are as follows, again following the facsimile edition:<sup>135</sup>

**Secundus Contratenor Decani:**

**Folio 2v, system 4, item 5: semibreve rest in variant setting**

**Folio 2v / 9 / 6: misplaced accidental correctly positioned**

**Folio 5v / 1 / 5: flat sign in variant setting**

**Folio 6 / 1 / 1: no rest in variant setting**

**Folio 8 / 6 / 1: e' in variant setting\***

**Folio 9 / 7 / 15: minim rest in variant setting\***

**Folio 11 / 9 / 10: minim in variant setting\***

**Folio 14v / 4 / 10: e' in variant setting\***

**Folio 16 / 4 / 10: omitted in variant setting\***

**Folio 17v / 55 / 15: b in variant setting\***

**Folio 20v / 8 / 2: dotted minim in variant setting\***

**Folio 23 / 7 / 1: c' in variant setting**

**Folio 23v / 8 / 6: inverted as semibreve rest in variant setting**

**Folio 24 / 7 / 4: no accidental in variant setting\***

**Folio 43 / 9 / 20: crotchet in variant setting**

**Folio 44v / 3 / 7: flat sign in variant setting**

**Folio 45v / 4 / 12: inverted as b in variant setting**

**Folio 47v / 7 / after 16: extra a minim here. This is the correct reading.**

**Folio 49v / 1 / 1-2: These notes correctly omitted in variant setting**

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<sup>135</sup> Those entries with an asterisk are variants reproduced in the facsimile edition of the Primus part.



Folio 50v / 5 / 11: This note not in variant setting

Folio 52 / 9 / 4: e' in variant setting

#### Primus Contratenor Cantoris

Folio 52v / 1 / 11: crotchet in variant setting\*

Folio 53 / 5 / 8: d' in variant setting\*

#### Secundus Contratenor Cantoris:

Folio 31 / 1 / after 10: minim rest printed in variant setting

Folio 31 / 4 / 1: minim rest printed in variant setting. By hand in other books

Bibliographically, these divergent settings might be seen as evidence of whole-sheet cancellation, where the sheet has been entirely reset and reprinted following an initial print run which was inadequate. However, that ten gatherings should be cancelled in this way is improbable in the extreme, and while it is possible one setting of type was destined for Primus, and the other for Secundus Contratenor, the lack of differentiation in the page headings has resulted in the parts having been amalgamated into the books, used side by side in the printing shop and subsequently sold and bound together. Both settings, therefore, appear at random across the parts. The variant settings tend to appear as an entire gathering differing between partbooks. It appears on occasion that the variant settings use the actual typographical material of the other setting, and vice versa, implying that one is a corrected, or improved version. The spacing between the words often seems the same, but close

inspection shows that the same pieces of type are not used in both settings. However, the surface similarities do seem to show that one setting was used as the basis for the other, begging the question of why there is a second setting at all. Line endings tend to be in the same place, and often the only differences are spellings of the words, spacing of notes, and occasionally an italic text as opposed to Roman capitals in the marginal ascriptions. These all point to several compositors, but it should be noted that the differences in spelling, which remain on the whole consistent within gatherings but differ across them, do not necessarily indicate different compositors. An example of the often minute differences is shown as Figure III/13, and examples of all the reset folios which do not appear in either of the facsimile contratenor parts are given in the Appendixes.

**Figure III/13: Minor differences between different settings of the same folio – Secundus Contratenor Decani f. 54**

**a) Setting in *Lcm* and facsimile**



**b) Setting in *Och* copy**



A possible explanation for the extreme similarities between the variant settings of these parts might be that a compositor was using this to train an apprentice or less experienced type setter. It may be that one setting was produced and then copied by the apprentice directly from the original. This might explain why line breaks tend to occur at the same points, and why underlay, even when ambiguous, is largely consistent. The above example shows how 'wthout' has been altered to read 'without', but examination of the pieces of type used for the remaining notes shows this is not simply a stop-press correction, as might be first thought. The process of creating these extra settings was, nevertheless, an unnecessary duplication of work, and is

testament to both Barnard's lack of experience and control over the project, and the printers' lack of a proven track record in setting music from movable type.

### Retention of Standing Type

The retention of standing type in printed music books of the period was a practice by which the formes, after printing, were returned to the compositor, who would re-use certain parts of the type for subsequent setting. This has been brought to light by Morehen in his examinations of Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* and Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets*,<sup>136</sup> and this practice was also employed by Barnard's compositors. Most obviously, the prefatory material, the last part of the books to be completed, is printed from the same imposition of type across all ten partbooks, the only differences between the copies being the numbering in the Table of Contents. It has also been employed throughout the entire project, to varying degrees, and with varying degrees of success. The anthems, especially those of four parts, use it to a great extent. We have established that the section of the books containing the anthems was printed after the services, through the previous examination of paper types, and it seems that by this time some of the earlier problems of unnecessary duplication in the contratenor parts, and missing musical text, had been overcome. For example, Tallis's 'O Lord, give thy Holy Spirit' is printed from exactly the same setting of type in all four contratenor books, the only difference being the voice designation and the page number. This is also true

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<sup>136</sup> Morehen: 'A neglected East Anglian madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean period', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11 (1998), pp.298-9; 'Thomas Snodham, and the Printing of William Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets*', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 12/2 (2001), pp. 116-8

of the other voice parts, which is to say, *Medius Decani* and *Cantoris* only differ in the folio number and voice designation, as do the *Tenor* and *Bass* parts. On closer inspection, we can also see that certain elements of the page have been retained as standing type across all the partbooks. This includes the ornamental block containing the initial letter 'O', the section heading 'Here Followeth Full Anthems. / of 4, 5, 6, 7, & 8. Parts', the '*Lib. I.*' and 'Full Anthems' of the page header, and the marginal annotations '4. Parts' and 'Aprayer', this last having been imposed as a single word. The *Tenor* and *Bass* parts also use the same decorative block to fill the space left at the end of this anthem (the *Medius* and *Contratenor* parts make use of an extra stave), but it is positioned slightly differently in each part, indicating that it was imposed separately.

This scheme continues until Mundy's 'O Lord, the maker', which uses *Dec/Can* antiphony and therefore demands a different setting for each side. What is also notable is that each partbook utilises the same layout for this section of anthems, comprising the first gathering of such, with one page containing one anthem until Sheppard's 'Haste thee O God'. By this stage of the printing it appears the printers were retaining standing type as much as possible – and it is clear, on examination of the parts, that with the exception of the antiphonal section of Mundy's 'O Lord the maker', the *Decani* and *Cantoris* parts re-use the same setting of type. In the *Tenor* books, standing type has been retained until the tenth note of the last system on folio 95v (*Decani*), and recommences at the semibreve rest in the third system of folio 96. This is also true of the other voice parts, and can be proven by the number and size of pieces of type used to make up the stave – the distortions of each

piece are the same in Decani and Cantoris. An examination of the Tenor parts shows that with the exception of Mundy's 'O Lord the maker', Batten's 'When the Lord turned again', the third part of Tye's *Deus misereatur* and Gibbons's 'Hosanna' both sides use the same setting of type, with only folio numbers and voice names altered. Settings in Decani and Cantoris only differ where each side has different music, and this applies to all voices as far as the anthems are concerned. It is also clear that the ornamental initials, page headers and marginal annotations have been kept *in situ* in the forme for *all* the voice parts, the rest of the page being imposed around them. This was common practice in non-music books, where page-headers and margins would be retained in what was known as a 'skeleton' forme. This would certainly have saved time, and also shows that by this stage, printing procedure was to impose a gathering in one voice part, print it, and then use the same basic template for the other parts. The inversion of the capital 'S' to Tye's 'Sing unto the Lord' in every book further illustrates this practice. It is evident that standing type, in the form of the composers' names, was also retained, as can be seen from the slightly askew 'E' of 'Edmund Hooper' appended to his 'Teach me thy way', and the oversized 'F' in Richard Farrant, found after his 'Call to remembrance' in all voice parts. It is also worth mentioning that the final page of this gathering, containing Batten's 'Hide not thou thy face', transmits 'Eull' rather than 'Full' in the page header. Again, this is true of all parts, showing both an erroneous retention of type in the skeleton<sup>137</sup> and a slack proofreader. Additionally, the 'A' of 'Adrian Batten' on this page also

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<sup>137</sup> Folio 47v of the Tenor Decani book also furnishes an example of possible errors in retaining a skeleton forme. The voice designation is, erroneously, Bassus Decani.

uses a broken piece of type.<sup>138</sup> Further examples of this retention of standing type abound, such as highlighted by the ‘swash’ italic ‘A’ of ‘Adrian’ appended to his anthem ‘Lord we beseech thee’, and the distorted capital ‘T’ in Tye’s ‘O LET the people’ (the third part of his *Deus Misereatur*).

As well as these established uses of standing type, it also seems apparent that entire pages of text were retained, and the music inserted around them, a practice which has not been located in any other music publication of the period. This is certainly true of the first page of music in the books, where it is evident that the Venite text has been retained for each side of the choir. If one examines the spacing between the words, and the positioning and spacing within the brevier text blocks, which transmit the text sung by the other side of the choir, it is clear that each side of the choir makes use of exactly the same setting of type. The extensive and unusual use of standing type in this way has been made possible by the syllabic nature of Tallis’s Short Service, and seems to show that standing type was retained not as single words or lines, but as an entire page, around which only the notes, clefs and voice names have been reset from part to part.<sup>139</sup> This is made even clearer when examining the page headers, which on folio 2 read ‘Dicani’ and on folio 4 ‘Deani’ in all Decani parts except the Bass.<sup>140</sup> The variant settings of the Contratenor Decani part do not use this standing type however – the entire page, including the title (note the ‘H’ in ‘THE’), is from a different setting of type.

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<sup>138</sup> This piece of type also appears in the page headers in the Cantoris books on folio 70v

<sup>139</sup> However, the ‘skeleton’ does not always match from page to page – for example the italic ‘L’ of ‘Lib. I.’ on folio 5v of the Tenor Decani part is incorrectly given as a regular capital in the Medius part. The opposite is true of folio 4v. It is probable these pieces somehow became transposed, while the rest of the forme remained unchanged

<sup>140</sup> The unique status of the Bassus Decani part is discussed below

The same is true of the Cantoris books, which differ in the full sections from the Decani books,<sup>141</sup> but are consistent among one another, with all titles using the same broken 'O' in 'OF' on folio 1, for example.<sup>142</sup> This continues for the entirety of the first gathering, excepting the reset Contratenor parts. By folio 7, the first of the next gathering, pages of standing type appear not to have been retained, because the increasing complexity of the music rendered this impractical. Instead, it seems individual words are retained, but even this is not always the case. In the text 'and the strength of the hills is his also', from Strogers' Venite in the Decani books, all parts use 'hils', a spelling not employed elsewhere by Barnard, and the Tenor, Bass and one of the settings of the Contratenor part also transmit 'strenth'. The Medius and other Contratenor settings are correctly 'strength'. This suggests that the printing of the Decani books, at least at this early stage, was begun with the Bassus, then Tenor, and so on until the Medius part was printed. This is at variance with what appears to be the practice used for the Cantoris parts, and again probably indicates a separate compositor, with a different approach, employed in setting parts for either side. This would make sense in the early stages of production, where Decani and Cantoris had different music. This practice of retaining an entire page of standing type seems to have been discontinued after the first gathering, due most probably to reasons of impracticability, and is not used in the section devoted to anthems.

Later in the books, standing type was retained for use on both sides of the choir, and this is particularly noticeable in the later services. Most affected by this are the marginal ascriptions, and on folio 59 of the Bassus Cantoris

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<sup>141</sup> Note 'sal=va=tion' in Cantoris and 'salva=tion' in Decani, folio 1, 3<sup>rd</sup> system

<sup>142</sup> This has been corrected in the Bassus Cantoris part, indicating that parts were printed 'vertically', i.e. from Medius to Bassus. However, see below.

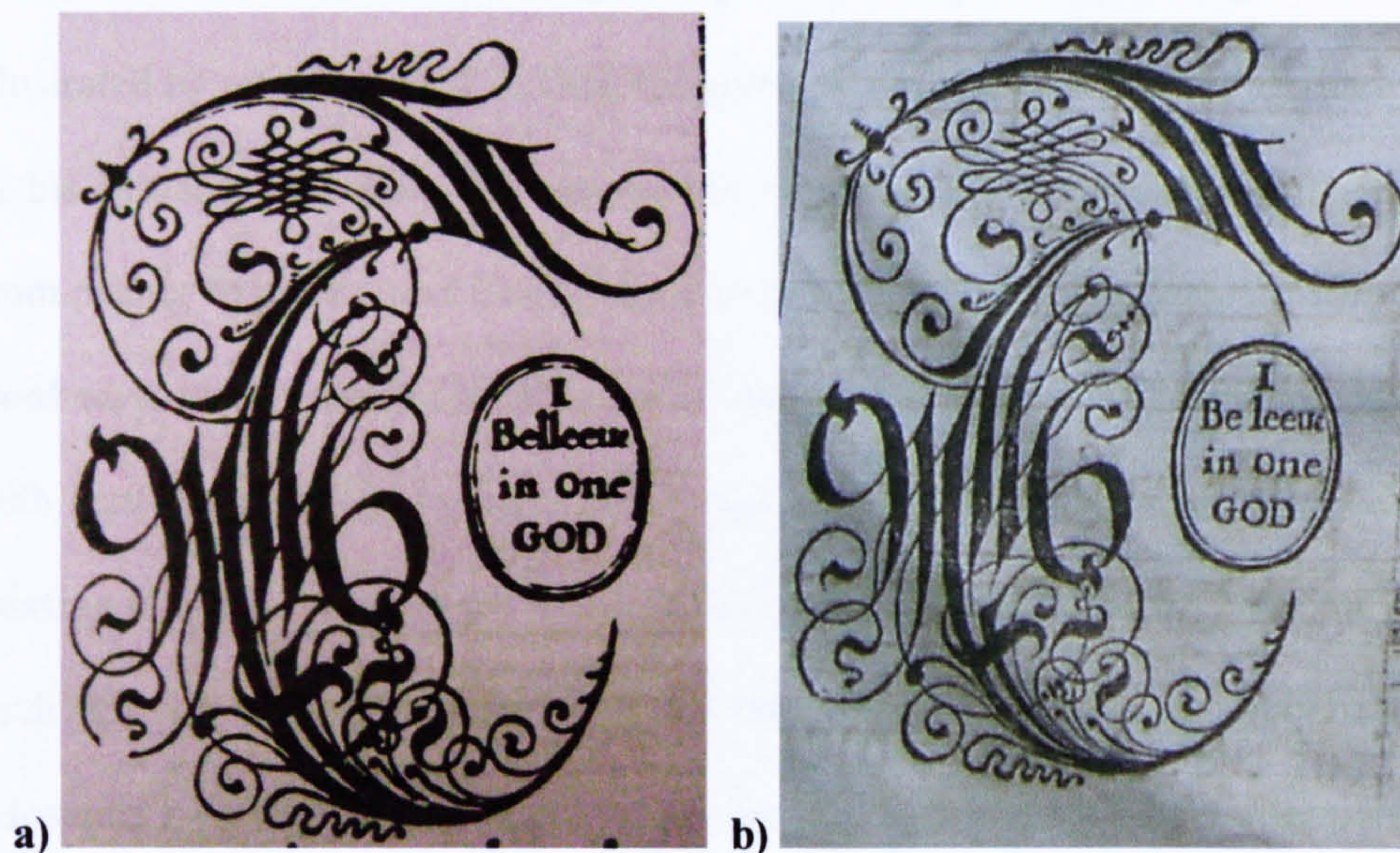


book, 'Morly' has been incorrectly imposed as 'Morlr'. This error is repeated on the same folio of the Medius, Primus Contratenor and Bassus Decani books, as well as the Medius and Primus Contratenor Cantoris, even though each of these folios transmits a different part of the service.

It has been mentioned above that the Bassus Decani part does not use standing type in entirely the same way for gathering B, containing Tallis's Short Service. Neither does it use the same setting of type as found in the variant version of the Contratenor part. There are numerous individual characteristics in this first gathering of music that appertain to this part only, for example, the colon after 'Lord' on the first line of folio 1, and the erroneous 'Dicani' and 'Deani' are not transmitted. However, the brevier text on the seventh system of f. 2v uses the same unusual spelling of 'heretage' as the other books, but in the final system, 'lighten', again in the brevier, is given a lower case 'l', while a capital is used in all the other Decani partbooks. The Benedictus sees further differences – the spacing between the words shows that lines of standing type were not used, and the 'lessed' of 'Blessed' is printed in the same type as the rest of the text, where the other parts, in all partbooks of both sides, use Roman capitals, as remains subsequent practice throughout the books. Immediately following this, the Kyrie, Creed and Gloria use capitals of the same type as the rest of the text at '(L)ORD', '(T)HE' and '(A)ND', again at variance with the other voice parts. Also interesting to note is that the decorative capital 'T' for the Creed contains the incipit 'I belleve in one God', whereas in all other copies, and in all other instances of its use in the Bassus Decani partbook, the incipit is 'I beleeve in one God', with an obvious space where the first 'l' has been removed, as shown in figure III/14.

**Figure III/14: Two states of incipit within capital ‘T’**

**a) Bassus Decani f. 4; b) Secundus Contratenor Decani, f. 11v**



It appears, therefore, that gathering B of the Bassus Decani book, which is the same in all surviving copies of the part, represents an earlier effort, perhaps having been the first part printed, and certain typographical aspects subsequently changed. This is supported by the fact that while a large part of the text seems to have been retained as standing type, such as the broken ‘n’ of ‘Amen’ to the Creed, visible in all Decani parts, other mistakes have been amended, most notably the erroneous ‘Almiighty’ at system 4, folio 4 and the missing semibreve rest in the group on the second system of folio 5.<sup>143</sup> This seems to further support the theory that this part was the first of the Decani books to be printed.

<sup>143</sup> The missing rest has been added by hand in some copies.

### Corrections and amendments in the *First Book*

The potential for error, when printing from movable type, is great, as illustrated by reference to the examples given above, and conceded by Barnard in his Preface. However, the approaches to correcting these errors differed from printer to printer and from project to project. As we have seen, the *First Book* seems to represent something of a learning curve from beginning to end, with confusion over gatherings, false starts, needless duplication of type and missing music more prevalent towards the earlier part of the books – the only such error in the latter part being the transposition of parts to Gibbons's 'Hosanna'. As such it would necessarily be expected that it is the earlier part of the books where most corrections occur. When discussing early printed books, it is of the utmost importance to realise that each copy of a book printed from movable type has the potential to be different, and should be therefore be treated as a unique source. This is particularly pertinent when considering corrections, as what is true of one copy may not necessarily be so in the others.

A myriad of methods of correcting printed matter abounded at the time of the *First Book*'s publication, the most straightforward being a simple *errata* list inserted at the end of a volume. Griffin's status as largely a trade printer, involved in printing small scale works in quantity with a large turnover, meant that this was the quickest and simplest way of drawing a reader's attention to any errors that might have crept in, and was used by him in a number of publications. No surviving copy of Barnard contains such a list, however, and it can be safely assumed that one was not included with the original publication. It was not uncommon for music publications to include *errata*

lists, and the first two issues of Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songes* of 1588, as well as Tomkins' *Musica Deo Sacra*, so do.

Stop-press correction was also commonly employed by printers, especially if the author or publisher was proof reading himself. From some of the serious omissions in the *First Book* described above, it would seem that this was not the case with Barnard. Stop-press correction is used when a proof-sheet is printed off and checked by the proof reader. This occurred while the print run was in progress,<sup>144</sup> so if any mistakes were noticed, the press would literally have to be stopped, the forme amended, and printing would then continue. When Barnard's *First Book* is considered, however, there are to be found no examples of stop-press correction. This is not in itself entirely unusual, as the stop-press correction employed after the checking of a press proof was in fact often the second or third stage of proof correction,<sup>145</sup> the first being the reading of an initial proof by a corrector. In the case of Barnard's *First Book* it might reasonably be assumed that Barnard himself read these proofs, as this was a specialist publication that Griffin's men would not be familiar with. This first proof would generally be printed on inferior quality paper, one forme at a time,<sup>146</sup> corrections would be noted and the compositor would effect them before sending the corrected version to the printer again. The most common errors occurring in this first proof would be turned letters; in the case of the *First Book* this would include turned notes, clefs and so on. Presumably checks would also be made for missing notes or words, the use of an incorrect style of type and the innumerable other errors that could have

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<sup>144</sup> In continental printing, this would occur just before the print run commenced, thus obviating the need for stop-press correction. (Gaskell, *op. cit.* p.115)

<sup>145</sup> Gaskell: *op. cit.* p.115

<sup>146</sup> Gaskell: *op. cit.* p.111

crept into the print. Nevertheless, proof-correction in the *First Book* seems to be somewhat hit-and-miss – we have seen the grave errors resulting from loss of text and incorrect continuation across two formes, errors which could conceivably have been missed if the corrector was examining only a single forme each time, as was the practice. However, the number of ‘turned sorts’ is relatively high, and we have already seen the frequency of incorrect clefs and key signatures throughout Barnard’s books. There are also numerous errors which could not possibly have escaped the eye of a proof-corrector, no matter how unskilled he might have been. For example, in both Bassus books, the Magnificat to Morley’s service begins ‘MYy Soule’. On one occasion, ‘LORD’ has been printed as ‘LODR’, in the *Primus Contratenor Decani* book, folio 70v, and this again remains uncorrected.

What seems apparent is that if proof-correcting did take place, and it would be extremely unusual if it had not, the compositor left the checking to Barnard or his representative, most probably due to his lack of familiarity with music. That it was Barnard himself is implicitly confirmed in the Preface, where Barnard mentions the ‘Collationing, Correcting, revising this that is already done’. This appears, however, to have been unsuccessful, but as we cannot know how incorrect the original proofs were, it is impossible to know whether the original errors were more numerous. Financial considerations could also have been a factor, as Gaskell notes that while the compositor’s errors were his own responsibility, any that escaped the eye of the corrector became the corrector’s responsibility, ‘and he was charged if a sheet was spoiled as a result and had to be reprinted’.<sup>147</sup> If stop-press correction was not

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<sup>147</sup> Gaskell, *op.cit.* p.116

effected, as it seems not to have been, then other methods of correcting must have been used, concerning the correction of sheets that had *already* been printed, and it is presumably this to which Barnard refers when he speaks of 'revising this that is already done'.<sup>148</sup>

The most radical method of correcting a sheet was to completely cancel it – that is to say destroy it, reset the type and print new copies of the offending page. There is no evidence that this took place during the printing of the *First Book*, but cancel slips *were* used. There were various methods of using cancel slips in early printing, in some cases reprinting a single note and then pasting it over the incorrect original, such as can be found in Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones, quae ab argumento Sacrae vocantur* printed by Thomas Vautrollier in 1575.<sup>149</sup> Morehen has also highlighted the use of cancel slips in Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* of 1611; again, these often corrected a single wrongly printed note.<sup>150</sup> In the *First Book*, a cancel is used in the Bassus Cantoris book at folio 75v, system 6, after note 9 until system 7, note 4. This extensive correction is necessary due to the compositor having used standing type for both the Bassus Decani and Cantoris parts<sup>151</sup> without realising the Bass part splits at this point. This cancel is present in all surviving copies of the part with the exception of that in the British Library, where it appears that one was never present. If a paste-down cancel has come loose and been lost, it

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<sup>148</sup> Morehen identified what he thought to be a stop-press correction in the Bassus Cantoris part of Gibbons's six-part Anthem 'Lift up your heads', where 'a note correctly printed as c in the Lichfield Cathedral copy of the Bassus Decani part is wrongly printed as e in the British Museum and Christ Church copies of the same part-book; it is also wrongly given in the Lichfield Cathedral and Christ Church copies of the Bassus Cantoris part' (Sources, p. 304). It is unclear to what this refers.

<sup>149</sup> Location of this. See Milsom, 'Tallis, Byrd and the 'Uncorrected Copy: Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Music printed from Movable Type', *Music and Letters* 77 (1996), 348-367, for a detailed discussion of corrections, amendments and differences between the surviving copies of this publication.

<sup>150</sup> Morehen: 'Snodham', pp.110-115

<sup>151</sup> This can be seen from the broken minim at system 2, note 2

often leaves some evidence of itself such as paper discolouration, but there is nothing of this sort in the British Library Bassus Cantoris part. Incidentally, and of great importance, the British Library of this part is that from which the facsimile reprint has been taken, and therefore transmits an erroneous reading unbeknownst to those consulting it.<sup>152</sup> The uncorrected and corrected versions are shown as Figure III/15; it is interesting to note how the illusion of print has been created in the manuscript paste-down by the use of compartmentalised stave-lines.

**Figure III/15: Cancelled and uncancelled versions of Bassus Cantoris passage, f. 75v**

**a) Uncancelled version, *Lbl* and facsimile**



**b) Cancelled version, *LF***



In addition to this example of a paste-down cancel, one can be found in the Medius Cantoris book, folio 29, system 4, note 4 until the end of the

<sup>152</sup> This and further problems with the facsimile edition will be discussed in Chapter 6 below.

system,<sup>153</sup> and the Secundus Contratenor Cantoris part, folio 94, system 6, covering the first four notes.<sup>154</sup> All other corrections in Barnard's *First Book* are effected either by means of erasure or additions in manuscript. Because of the widespread use of the *First Book* after the Restoration, there are numerous additions made by later users of the books as errors initially missed by Barnard were discovered, but it is the printing shop corrections with which we are concerned here.<sup>155</sup> These are identifiable by the fact that the corrections are made in exactly the same way in multiple copies of the same part, as with the manuscript ending to Gibbons's Short *Te Deum* described above.

The Bassus part of Gibbons' 'Lift up your heads' has a correction on folio 116v, system 2, note 7, in both Decani and Cantoris. Here, a *d* was printed instead of the correct *b* – both facsimile parts transmit this incorrect reading. All surviving Cantoris parts are uncorrected at this point, while the Decani parts at Lichfield and the Royal College of Music have a manuscript correction, where the offending note has been carefully scratched out and the correct *b* entered by hand. The copy of this part at Worcester has this page in manuscript, copied as the books began to deteriorate in the eighteenth century, and gives *both* notes, as shown in Figure III/16.

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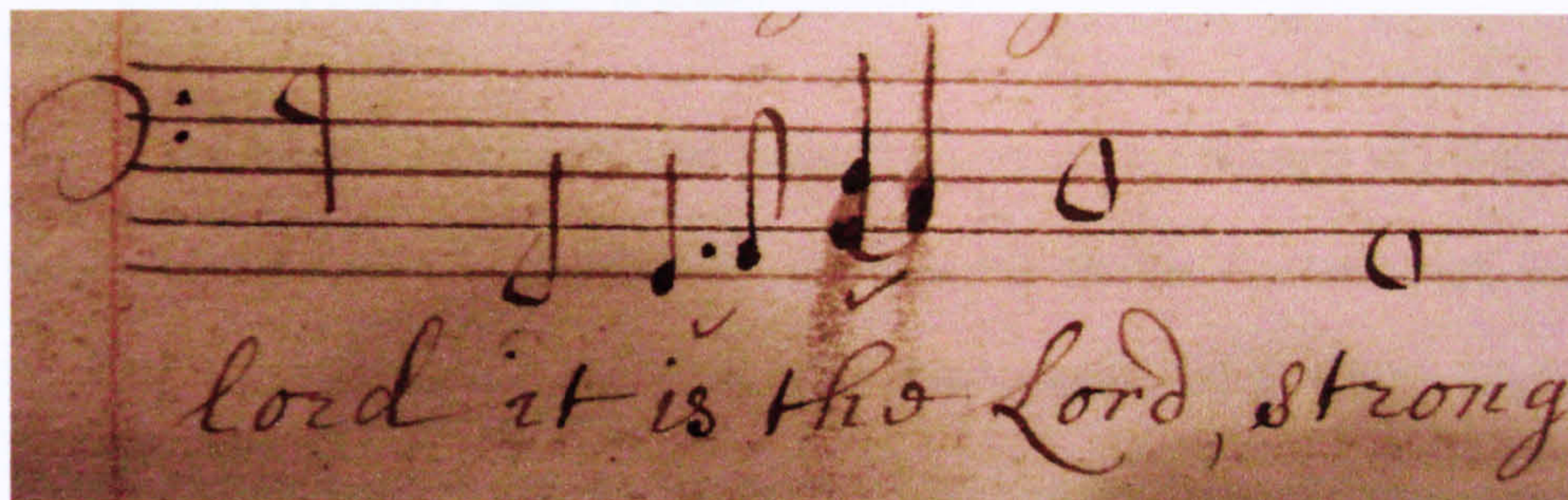
<sup>153</sup> The unique copy of this part is that housed in the Royal College of Music, and is of probable Oxford provenance.

<sup>154</sup> This is present in all surviving copies of this part.

<sup>155</sup> An inventory of all additions and corrections, both in-house and otherwise, is given as Appendix D.



**Figure III/16: Worcester MS version of Gibbons' 'Lift up your heads'**



This shows that the copy of this part at Worcester was also originally uncorrected, as otherwise the incorrect note would not be present in the manuscript version.

Throughout all parts of Barnard's *First Book* it is the manuscript correction that abounds, and clearly the majority of these were done in-house. These are of great importance from an editorial point of view, especially where corrections survive in some copies of a part, but not in all. As we have seen, the paste-down cancel used in the Bassus Cantoris book is not present in the British Library copy, and on closer inspection of this copy, it would appear that it has escaped correction throughout. Of all the ten volumes of the *First Book*, the Bassus Cantoris has been most subject to the corrector's scrutiny, containing thirty-four printing-shop manuscript amendments. Interestingly, none of these occur in the section of the book devoted to anthems, and of course, the copy in the British Library contains no printing-shop corrections at all. This is not to say that because this voice part is the most corrected, it must be the most *correct*, in fact, many errors, both typographical and musical, have escaped the eye of the corrector. One such example, illustrating the corrector's inconsistency, occurs on folio 65v, where a semibreve rest on the seventh system has been carefully scratched out, but a misplaced # sign, printed before

note 10 instead of note 11 on the fifth system of the same page, has gone unnoticed.

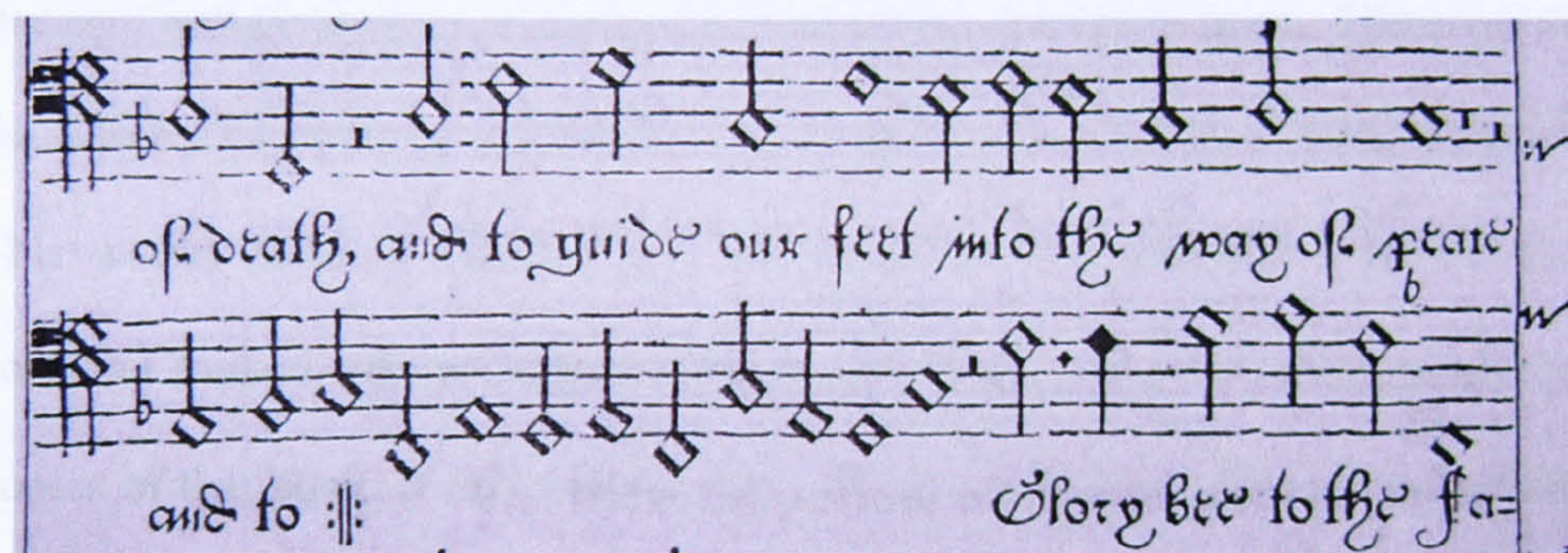
The extent of these in-house corrections reveals the dangers of printing music from movable type. Folio 49, again in the Bassus Cantoris part, for example, contains three errors in the first four systems, all of which would impact dramatically on the performance of the music. Two of these errors concern ‘turned sorts’, where a semibreve high *b flat* has been inverted, appearing as a low *f*; the third is a misplaced *e* printed two notes too early and inserted by hand in the correct position. Corrected and uncorrected versions are shown as Figure III/17.

**Figure III/17: Corrected and uncorrected versions of Bassus Cantoris part, f. 49**

**a) Corrected: Lichfield copy**



**b) Uncorrected: Lbl copy**



The use of erasure as a method of correction took a steady hand, as the paper could easily be damaged, and the corrections effected in this way in the *First Book* show a great degree of skill. As a copyist himself, Barnard would have used this method, and indeed has on several occasions in his manuscript collection. This is perhaps the reason that there are no examples of *printed* corrections in the *First Book*, simply because Barnard was more used to making manuscript amendments, or could not incur the extra cost of having new pages printed, which, if he had missed the mistakes at the first-proof stage, could not be charged to the house.

While some of these corrections were necessary from a musical point of view, others were done for purely cosmetic reasons, such as the correction of inverted key signatures, but never to the extent to which Byrd and Tallis went in the printing of their *Cantiones Sacrae*, where the position of a word might be slightly altered, or the direction of a stem reversed. There is also a possible example of a reading being improved, rather than corrected, where in the Medius Decani part, the originally printed semibreve *b* on folio 10, system 8, note 5 has been altered to a dotted minim followed by a crotchet *d*.

That an entire copy of one voice part such as the British Library's Bassus Cantoris should go uncorrected, however, is very unusual. The copy of the Tenor Decani book at Lichfield is similarly uncorrected in its entirety.<sup>156</sup> This would seem to indicate that the print run was completed before the corrector looked over a completed book, and then set about correcting all the copies of that book. If this was the case, it would mean Barnard only checked

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<sup>156</sup> With the exception of the insertion of the missing end to Gibbons's Short Te Deum – a correction that was presumably made early on in production. Also unusual is the fact that all the other books from the Lichfield 'set' show the in-house corrections present in other copies of those parts.

the books for errors after their completion. This is at variance with known practice, and makes little sense, especially as Barnard knew he was dealing with printers who had never issued music before. Perhaps Barnard was present at the first stage of proof correction, but after this only checked the press proof, and this *after* printing and collating. Barnard's Preface often reads as something of an apology, and he openly admits the presence of errors, 'upon promise of amendment in the next onset'. He also states that the *First Book* is 'thinner by much of what I intended to clap into it', and this admission, coupled with the existence of uncorrected copies and the unorthodox approach to correcting, points to a rush to get the books on sale. It would seem that the reason for this haste was the political tension of the time, in which discontent with the church and the King was growing. As we have seen, Barnard had begun collecting examples of church music during the 1620s, and had surely spent a small fortune on having the type for the *First Book* specially cast. The labour intensity of printing such a large-scale work from movable type would have incurred almost prohibitive printing costs, and Barnard would only have spent so much if he thought he could get a good return. Had it been published in 1639, the date found in several of the ornamental blocks used in the print, he may have done, as the prevailing theological climate was more conducive to the spread of the 'beauty of holiness'. However, by 1641, the date printed on the *First Book's* title page, his chances of success were much slimmer. Laud was impeached and imprisoned in the same year, and although we cannot say whether Barnard's publication was released before or after this event, it is clear that his market was rapidly drying up. Confronted with this political and religious tension, Barnard may have panicked and wound up the

project before it was properly completed, which may account for the large number of serious omissions in the publication, and the existence of uncorrected copies.

### **Date of publication and the possibility of a second edition**

Because of the scale of Barnard's publication, and the complexity of setting up music from movable type, it is likely that completing the project would have taken some time, even with a number of presses, and it appears that the *First Book* was in production for around two years at least.<sup>157</sup> It is likely that work was begun in earnest on the *First Book* in 1639. This is supported by the fact that several decorative blocks used in Barnard's publication bear the date 'Anno Domini 1639'. This could represent the date of casting, but this is unlikely, as the same blocks appear in the prefatory material of the *First Book* reading '16--' – the numerals used are simply pieces of regular type rather than an integral part of the block.<sup>158</sup> That they are not dated '1641', the date that appears on the title page, has led Morehen, since repeated by others,<sup>159</sup> to question the date of publication.<sup>160</sup> Morehen found it suspicious that the date on the title page is followed by a block without a date, and suggests that the prefatory material might have been imposed at an early stage in the compilation, 'contrary to contemporary practice'.<sup>161</sup> However, study of the paper used for the first gathering shows that it is the same as that found for the

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<sup>157</sup> The dates 1639 and 1641 both appear in the books.

<sup>158</sup> Although they are not of the same type as the fount used to supply folio numbers or the marginal annotations.

<sup>159</sup> See, for example, Weber, 'The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 14, pp. 6-17

<sup>160</sup> 'Sources', p.287; 'Introduction' to the facsimile edition; *The Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems*, p. 239.

<sup>161</sup> 'Sources', p.288

final leaves of all surviving copies, and of a type not found at all in the earlier parts of the *First Book*. This asserts beyond doubt that the prefatory matter was the last material to go through the press, only being imposed after the final pieces in each volume had been printed. This is also the only way the Table of Contents could be as accurate as it is.<sup>162</sup> I believe that there can be no doubt 1641 represents the actual date of publication, especially given the dedication to King Charles I, with its wish for his 'returne to present the unfained Service', a possible indication of troublesome times.

Morehen has also suggested that the *First Book* ran to more than a single edition. The evidence provided for this assertion is the existence of a reset gathering in the Tenor Cantoris part preserved in *Lbl* Add. 30478, printed on paper 'which is considerably thinner and about half an inch shorter' than the rest of the book.<sup>163</sup> We have seen that these final four leaves, ff. 121-4, are in fact printed on two different kinds of paper, one of which appears in both the Bassus Cantoris book at the British Library, and the Tenor Decani book at Lichfield.<sup>164</sup> Morehen speculated that the parts of the *First Book* preserved in *Lbl* Add. 30478 were composite, made up of two editions. He thought the final four reset leaves to be from a later edition, citing the worn appearance of the decorative block at the foot of folio 121v as evidence of this. However, that the *First Book* ran to a second edition is extremely unlikely, and that *Lbl* Add. 30478 is a composite is not the case.<sup>165</sup> What is most likely is that the final

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<sup>162</sup> Despite several errors – see Appendix C: Table of Contents of the *First Book*

<sup>163</sup> 'Sources', p.297

<sup>164</sup> See above, Table III/1

<sup>165</sup> This manuscript contains only the anthems from Barnard's publication, and was put together as a presentation manuscript, supplementing the *First Book* with anthems in manuscript. It was copied by Alexander Shaw in the 1660s.

gathering represents an example of a simple resetting of type, the reasons for which will now be discussed.

Firstly, although the paper is different from that used in the rest of the *First Book* as it appears in *Lbl* Add. MS 30478, the same paper exists in the Tenor Decani book at Lichfield, where the leaves for which it is used have not been reset. In the Lichfield Tenor Decani book this paper appears as early as folios 9-10 (the inner sheet of gathering C) and was therefore most probably paper used by Griffin for his other publications; paper left over from printing other books could of course be put out at any time. The two kinds of paper used in *Lbl* Add. MS 30478 are also used to make up the final gathering of the British Library copy of the Bassus Cantoris part. These leaves *are* significant, as these four folios have also been reset. What is more, they make use of the same skeleton formes as the reset Tenor leaves with their unusual spelling of 'Anthemes',<sup>166</sup> as well as the same standing type for the brevier text<sup>167</sup> and the titles. The initial 'Deliver' of Bull's 'Deliver me O God', on folio 124v in the Bassus and 123v in the Tenor, uses a damaged capital 'L', which is not in this state in the other books. So we have two reset final gatherings, using the same standing type, in two single copies of different voice parts. There is no doubt that these leaves are later settings, for as well as the generally poorer condition of the blocks and individual letters, various errors have been corrected, most notably, the missing crotchet f, added in the corrector's hand in the British Library and Worcester Cathedral copies of this part, is *printed* in Add. MS 30478. Also, the incorrect 'eneimes' in the Bassus parts of Ward's 'Let God Arise' has been corrected to 'enemies' in the reset version. Some mistakes are

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<sup>166</sup> Note the thin 'A' of 'Anthemes' on folio 124 of both parts, for example

<sup>167</sup> Note the italic 'D' of 'Deliver me also' on f. 123v, Tenor Cantoris and 124v, Bassus Cantoris

retained, however, such as the erroneous C<sup>1</sup> clef on folio 124v, system 3 of both settings of the Bassus Cantoris part, and some new ones have appeared, including the misplaced key signature on folio 124, system 9 of the reset Bassus part. There also seems to have been less care taken over the composition of these later settings of type, with a large number of quavers imposed the wrong way round.

There can be no doubt that these reset folios were made up after the standing type used in the earlier settings had been discarded, most noticeable from the discrepancies in the brevier text blocks. It is also evident that these folios were set up using the originals as a template, although the likelihood that the rubrics were set up from dictation is high, given the variant spellings of 'appoynted' (first setting) and 'appointed' (second setting) before Byrd's 'Christ Rising'. That the incorrect clef in the Bass part described above remains uncorrected, however, is interesting. The only differences in the *musical* text between the two settings are as follows:

Tenor Cantoris:	f.121v, system 5:	crotchet f added after note 13
	f.123v, system 7, note 10:	printed incorrectly as d in second setting.
Bassus Cantoris:	f.123, system 2, note 16:	Breve in first setting
	f.123, system 4, notes 2-3:	No coloration in first setting
	f.123, system 7, notes 9-10	C, g in first setting

One possible explanation for these re-settings of type is that Barnard was not happy with the first version, perhaps because the correction in the Tenor part on folio 121v, system 5 appears cramped in manuscript. However, the amendment of one error is not reason to effect the cancellation of a whole gathering, especially in two voice parts, and more typographical mistakes have found their way into the reset gatherings.



What is most likely, however, is that new sheets needed to be printed because the originals became damaged, either in the printing house or whilst on sale, necessitating Barnard's return to the printers with orders to reproduce these final gatherings. The printers may also have miscalculated the number of pages printed, and taken the formes apart before realising this. There cannot have been an accident at the press, the collapsing of a forme for example, as if this occurred during the printing of the Tenor book, no copies of the Bassus book with standing type from the first setting would exist. It is clear that both Tenor and Bassus parts were printed from the same, second, setting of type. It is difficult to say how much time elapsed between these two printings, but because the paper is found as early as folios 9-10 in the Lichfield Tenor Decani book, it is likely that the reset pages were printed soon after initial production had been completed. Boorman has stated that 'most printers of the sixteenth century, regularly produced new sheets, new gatherings, and new editions of books as the stock ran down',<sup>168</sup> and this may also be the case here.

The likelihood that both *Lbl* Add. MS 30478 *and* the Bassus Cantoris book, *Lbl* k.7.e.2, are both made-up copies is very slim indeed. They cannot be shown to have similar provenance, and the fact that there are no other leaves in any surviving copy of any part exhibiting signs of both anomalous paper *and* reset type, these gatherings were most probably victim to damage of some description, necessitating a second printing. These re-set folios that are not transmitted in the facsimile edition are given in Appendix E.

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<sup>168</sup> Boorman, S: 'Review' of Smith, J: *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57 (2004), 327-8. However, it is highly improbable that Barnard's stock was running low.

## Summary

The bibliographical aspects of Barnard's *First Book* shed some light on the printing process, and most notably Barnard's own approach to it. The number of typographical errors is fairly high, but the *First Book* is on such an unprecedented scale this is perhaps forgivable. However, the number of musical errors, often inexcusably resulting in loss of text and occasionally an entire piece, belies the over-ambitiousness of the project, and a rush to get the books on sale while Barnard still had a chance of recouping some of the 'ventrous Charges of this enterprize'.<sup>169</sup> The approach to correction again shows Barnard's lack of familiarity with the printing process, and the existence of entirely uncorrected copies of a part is unusual. The needless duplication of contratenor parts in the first part of the *First Book*, setting each page twice when the same formes could have been used for both Primus and Secundus parts, shows Barnard's poor comprehension of the science of music printing, but this had been overcome by the later part of the books. In the section devoted to anthems, standing type is used a great deal more, and there is only one setting of type for each voice part in the four-part anthems. The *First Book* may, in this respect, be seen as a learning process for Barnard, and without doubt a second volume, which he intended to produce dependent on the success of the first,<sup>170</sup> would have contained far fewer typographical errors and been more concisely produced.

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<sup>169</sup> 'Preface' to the *First Book*

<sup>170</sup> 'Preface' to the *First Book*