

**Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, *c.* 1580–*c.* 1680:
Towards a Performance Practice**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Birmingham City University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2019

The Faculty of Arts, Design and Media, Birmingham City University
(Royal Birmingham Conservatoire)

Abstract

Despite the long-acknowledged and widespread association of wind instrumentalists with English cathedrals in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the continued performance tradition enjoyed by sacred vocal music of the period, the performance practices that may have been employed by English cathedral wind bands during this time have been strangely neglected in the literature until now. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna through case studies focussing on Durham, Exeter and Canterbury Cathedrals, covering the period from around 1580, when instrumentalists first begin appearing in cathedral muniments, until around 1680, when the wind band ceased to be a regular feature of the English cathedral soundscape. Employing a combination of traditional musicological and archival research and bespoke practice-led research methodologies, a range of possible performance solutions are proposed for the modern instrumentalist wishing to approach this repertoire from an historically-informed perspective, whilst at the same time providing much needed historical and social context for the practices and people involved.

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i | Acknowledgements

I would like to record my gratitude to Birmingham City University and Royal Birmingham Conservatoire for the financial and institutional support I have enjoyed during the preparation of this thesis. I have received generous advice and guidance from Carrie Churnside and Ron Woodley, but in particular from Jamie Savan, whose expert supervision, insight, and cornetto playing have all proven invaluable.

I came to this project with over ten years' experience as a professional freelance cornettist, during which time I was lucky enough to participate in many performances and recordings which may be described as the products of research. I am therefore indebted to previous generations of historical performers whose work to bring newly-discovered repertoire and practices to the wider public continues to inspire. Over the past three years I have also benefited from conversations and correspondence with John Harper, Dominic Gwynn, Magnus Williamson, Kirsten Gibson, Simon Anderson, Christoph Reido, Katherine Butler, Daniel Bamford and Samantha Arten. Particular thanks are due to Ian Payne for supporting my practice-led research with the provision of transcriptions, advice and enthusiastic participation.

I would like to thank the staff at Worcester Cathedral Library, Worcester County Records Office, Kent History and Archives Centre, Durham Cathedral Library and Archives, and in particular Ellie Jones at Exeter Cathedral Library and Daniel Korachi-Alaoui at Canterbury Cathedral Library for their assistance. Two of my research sessions could not have happened without the generous cooperation of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral and the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral. The choirs of both these establishments, their directors David Newsholme and James Lancelot, organists Nicholas Freestone and Jamie Rogers, and all their support staff brought open hearts and minds to my research, for which I am extremely grateful.

'Sackbottors' Ashley Naylor, Daniel Price, Guy Morley, Martyn Sanderson, Stephanie Muncy-Dyer and Stephen Saunders have provided their professional services at various stages of this project, and they have been rewarded with ale, no amount of which is enough to thank Catherine Motuz for her contributions to Chapter 8. Additional thanks are due to Silas Woolston, Bill Hunt, Andrew Kirkman, and Nathaniel Wood. Caroline Ritchie valiantly proofread my drafts, but all errors or omissions are entirely my own.

I am ever thankful to my parents, not least for having a spare room in Birmingham, and to my wonderful husband, Tim.

ii | Preface

Cathedral Accounting Periods and Dates

The accounting year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas in seventeenth-century England and was divided into four quarters as follows:

Michaelmas term: 29th September – 24th December

Nativity term: 25th December – 24th March

Annunciation term: 25th March – 23rd June

John the Baptist term: 24th June – 28th September

Dates are given according to the Julian calendar, which was current in England until 1752.

Where accounts refer to an entire financial year, the date is given as spanning two years (i.e. 1633/4) to take account of the financial year spanning two calendar years.

Editorial Policy: Translations and Transcriptions

Archive material for this period survives in Latin and English, and often in a combination of both languages. Translations are, on the whole, taken from the secondary literature, but where new translations were required, these have been provided by Professor Ron Woodley. For transcriptions of documents in English, original spellings have been retained but typography has been updated (for example, where *u* is used for *v* and where *j* is used for *i* these have been modernised). Contractions have been expanded in square brackets and missing or illegible letters are presented in italics. Quotations from the *Records of Early English Drama* series are also presented in this manner.

In Part 2, participant responses to questionnaires have been pragmatically standardised (by removing spelling errors and adding punctuation where necessary). Any text added to complete sentences is in square brackets.

Abbreviations

Library sigla are presented using the RISM institution abbreviation (most archive material discussed is from UK collections and I therefore omit the RISM country code) followed by the local shelf mark. The following library codes are used:

EXcl	Exeter Cathedral Library
EXed	Devon Records Office
NYPL	New York Public Library
DRc	Durham Cathedral Library
Lbl	The British Library
Cu	Cambridge University Library
Lbm	The British Museum
WOr	Worcester County Record Office
CA	Canterbury Cathedral Library & Archive

Liturgical terms are abbreviated as follows:

Bs	Benedictus	Pr	Preces
C	Credo	Ps	Psalm
G	Gloria	Resp	Responses
K	Kyrie	S	Sanctus
M	Magnificat	Sc	Sursum corda
N	Nunc dimittis	Td	Te deum
V	Venite		

Voice parts and instrument names are given in a variety of latinate and anglicised forms in the source materials. The following are used for consistency:

M	Medius	C	Cantoris
Tr	Treble	D	Decani
A	Altus	Ctt	Cornett
CT	Contratenor altus	Sbt	Sackbut
T	Tenor		
B	Bassus		

Note names are given using the Helmholtz system.

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Chapter 1 | Introduction

Shortly after the restoration of Prayer Book services at Canterbury Cathedral in 1660, the Dean and Chapter received a petition. It was written on behalf of Francis Linneal and Francis Onslowe ('sackbotters') and Richard Munteer and John Foade ('cornettors'), asking that they be included in the recent distribution of money 'amongst their fellowe Members of the Quier' and stating that they were 'still ready to p[er]forme their severall dueties with their Fellow Members', having been prevented from doing so by eighteen years of war and Interregnum.¹ They are amongst thirty-three people named in Canterbury Cathedral's archives between 1598 and 1670 as players of either the cornett or sackbut who were paid for their attendance at Cathedral services. Canterbury is particularly well-served with archival material for this period, but the situation is mirrored to a greater or lesser extent at the two other locations with which this study is concerned: Durham Cathedral and Exeter Cathedral.

Other than that provided by the treasurer's books, however, the surviving evidence regarding these instrumentalists and their activities is restricted to scant yet tantalising snippets of information. A handful of descriptive accounts (of varying degrees of political bias), together with a slender repertoire of incomplete and tangentially related instrumental music are all that come down to us as clues, which frames the problem at the heart of my study: we know that instrumentalists were paid specifically to participate in provincial English cathedral services from around 1580 until around 1680, but who were they, what were they doing, and why were they there? This thesis adopts academic and practice-led research methodologies to develop a range of possible answers to these questions, with the intention of providing a new palette of performance solutions for those wishing to approach repertoire from this period in an historically informed manner. Before outlining the parameters of this research project, the methodologies used and developed, and assessing existing contributions to the literature, it is necessary to provide some historical, religious and social background to the period in question.

¹ Canterbury Cathedral Library (CA), DCC/PET/217

1.2 | Research Context

1.2.2 | Instruments and the Reformation

The complex causes and effects of the Reformation continued to reverberate across Europe throughout the period of this study, with well-documented consequences in mid-seventeenth-century England. Scholarship in English Reformation history is extensive, and this is not the place to attempt to precis the many nuanced, and often conflicting interpretations of this historical period that have been written since, but there are two threads from this story that have implications for the present study: the theological and moral debate surrounding instruments in church, and the position of the cathedral and its musical practices in the wider urban context. Both impact on an understanding of what instrumental participation brought to a seventeenth-century liturgical event and are therefore worth examining here.

The first thread is summarised well by the anonymous author of *The Praise of Musike* (1586), who presents the problem as follows:

Some mislike not all kinde of singing, but that which is song by the Ministers alone, or by singing men duputed for that purpose: and there are they, which canot away with exquisite and cunning Musicke, nor with the sounde of instruments in the Church, but measuring all things by their owne humors, thinke plaine song farre more meete for Gods congregation.²

Plainly put, some people approved of the elaborate use of music, including instrumental participation, in church services, be it for moral or theological reasons or merely as a matter of taste, and some did not. A whole spectrum of opinion is likely to have existed in between, and as will become evident from a close reading of many contemporary accounts, it is the extremes of the spectrum identified by the *Praise* author that are most often found in print. Whereas these extremes used to be considered a symptom of a conformist / non-conformist divide within both the general populace and the body of the Church of England, the situation is now considered to be less clear-cut, given that conformism and non-conformism themselves have undergone something of a re-examination in recent years.³ However, the

² Anon., *The Praise of Musicke: Wherin besides the antiquities, dignitie, delectation & use therof in civill matters, is also declared the sober and lawfull use of the same in the congregation of the Church of God* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586), p. 139.

³ John Coffey, for example, describes how ‘much of early Protestant Dissent [non-conformism] was not dissent *from* the Church of England, but dissent *within* it and on its behalf’ and it is important to bear in mind how characters such as Peter Smart and John Cosin, whose long-running battle over the enactment of the liturgy at Durham will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, fit into this narrative. John Coffey, ‘Church and State, 1550—

underlying theological basis for the two sides of this controversy are still worth considering, not least because partisan language colours so many historical texts on this matter.

Elizabeth I's *Act of Uniformity* (1559) enshrined in law the use of the Book of Common Prayer as the officially sanctioned order of worship in English churches and cathedrals, finally completing Thomas Cranmer's project begun twenty years before to create a standardised vernacular English liturgy. Despite this, however, the text of the Book of Common Prayer itself, and the manner in which its observation was enforced, left considerable room for interpretation, particularly relating to musical provision, encouraging a wide spectrum of Protestant persuasions to adopt and adapt the text and its rubrics. The Act allowed for music which is 'moderate and destyncte' and which could be 'playnelye understood' to be used to embellish Prayer Book services, and went some way towards acknowledging some widely-held Elizabethan beliefs about music's effect on the listener, noting that it should be 'comforting of such as delyte in musicke'. Composers were encouraged to produce 'the best sort of melodye and musicke that may be conveniently devysed', and the Act specifically required that cathedral choirs be maintained;⁴ but on the contested suitability or desirability of the three types of church music relevant to this period – polyphony, psalmody and instrumental music – it remains frustratingly ambiguous.

Protestants of all stripes found points of contention in the musical provision defined, or otherwise, by the Book of Common Prayer, but by the end of Elizabeth's reign a 'Calvinist consensus' is identified by Jonathan Willis as holding something like the middle ground in English thought on the matter.⁵ Unlike some of the more extreme continental thinkers whose views were influential in England,⁶ Calvin allowed for provision of music in worship, positively encouraging the use of the congregational psalm singing which rose in popularity throughout the period of this study:

The other matter is the psalms which we wish to be sung in the church as we have it from the example of the ancient church and also the testimony of Saint Paul, who says that it is good to sing in the congregation with mouth and heart [...] The psalms can stimulate us to

1750: The emergence of dissent', in *The T&T Clark Companion to Non-conformity*, ed. by Robert Pope (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

⁴ As quoted in: Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Site and Identities* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 57.

⁵ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 77.

⁶ Heinrich Bullinger is a case in point here: 'Let no man think that prayers sung with man's voices are more acceptable unto God, than if they were plainly spoken or uttered.' Heinrich Bullinger, *Decades* 5, quoted in Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 49.

raise our hearts to God and arouse us to an ardour in invoking as well as in exalting with praises the glory of His name.⁷

His views on instruments, however, were strong and contributed to the contemporary concern that outward displays of devotion commonly associated with Catholic worship, or ‘popery’ as it was termed in myriad contemporary sources, were dangerous:

We are to remember that the worship of God was never understood to consist in such outward services, which were only necessary to help forward a people as yet weak and rude in knowledge in the spiritual worship of God. A difference is to be observed in this respect between his people under the Old and under the New Testament; for now that Christ has appeared, and the church has reached full age, it were only to bury the light of the gospel should we introduce the *shadows* of a departed dispensation. From this it appears that the Papists, as I shall have occasion to show elsewhere, in employing instrumental music cannot be said so much to imitate the practice of God's ancient people as to ape it in a senseless and absurd manner, exhibiting a silly delight in that worship of the Old Testament which was *figurative* and terminated with the gospel.⁸

His response to Psalm 150 (‘Praise him with the sound of the trumpet, praise him with the psaltery and harp : Praise him with the timbrel and dance, praise him with stringed instruments and organs’⁹) follows a similar argument, strongly aligning instruments with primitive worship practices of Old Testament peoples:

With respect to the *tabret, harp, and psaltery*, we have formerly observed, and will find it necessary afterwards to repeat the same remark, that the Levites, under the law, were justified in making use of instrumental music in the worship of God; it having been his will to train his people, while they were yet tender and like children, by such rudiments until the coming of Christ. But now, when the clear light of the gospel has dissipated the *shadows* of the law and taught us that God is to be served in a simpler form, it would be to act a foolish and mistaken part to imitate that which the prophet enjoined only upon those of his own time.¹⁰

Calvin’s New Testament justification for these views rests, in part, on this oft-quoted passage from I Corinthians:

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. [I Corinthians 13. 1.]¹¹

⁷ Charles Garside Jr., ‘The Origin’s of Calvin’s Theology of Music: 1536–1543’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 69 (1979), pp. 1–36 (p. 10).

⁸ Rev. James Anderson, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms by John Calvin*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1847), III, p. 495.

⁹ Psalm 150:3–4

¹⁰ Anderson, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms by John Calvin*, p. 312.

¹¹ Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett, eds., *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 217.

This association of instruments with insincerity of thought, or at the very least, the danger of enabling a display of faith that is not mirrored by one's internal devotion, underpins the Puritan suspicion of instruments in church which persists throughout the period in question. In *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572), a puritan manifesto of 'Popishe abuses yet remayning in the Englishe Church', John Fielde and Thomas Wilcox complain of Holy Communion services carried out 'pompeously, wth singing, piping, surplesse and cope[-wear]ing' at which the choir '[t]osse the Psalmes [...] like [t]ennice balles'.¹² Seventy years later, as Richard Culmer triumphantly describes the sacking of Canterbury Cathedral by parliamentary troops, we see the same combative language, criticising the 'Cathedral Seraphims heard tossing their Quire Service from one side of the Quire to the other'¹³ that is characteristic of many sources that may be considered Puritan in nature. It is worth bearing in mind that these opinions are not simply hot air, but represent a well-developed theological standpoint.

Documented instances of instrumentalists being employed by cathedrals, a move seemingly at odds with the 'Calvinist consensus' described above, coincide with the initial flourishing of a somewhat less austere approach to the accoutrements of worship that developed gradually throughout the first half of the seventeenth century and which have been closely associated with instrumental participation in the liturgy by a number of previous scholars.¹⁴ However, just as the 'Calvinist' position on music in worship has become more difficult to define since historians rejected the 'shackles of the [...] Anglican-Puritan paradigm'¹⁵, so has what was once considered its polar opposite, Arminianism and its eventual (arguable) manifestation as Laudianism in the 1620s and 1630s. Without wanting to perpetuate out-dated binary oppositions, nor over-simplify a complex area, it is worth mentioning some of the characteristics of the kind of Arminian-influenced High Church worship styles that have relevance to the research questions this thesis seeks to address.

The three main tenets of Arminianism, all of which impact on a consideration of liturgical musical provision, can be summarised as follows: a renewed emphasis on the distinction between clergy and congregation, which maintained an 'exalted role of church and

¹² Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 66.

¹³ Richard Culmer, *Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury* (London: Richard Cotes, 1649).

¹⁴ See for example John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1991), p. 186.

¹⁵ Anthony Milton, review of Nicholas Tyacke, 'Anti-Calvinists: The rise of English Arminianism, c.1590–1640', in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39 (1988), pp. 613–16 (p. 616).

cleric within society'; a renewed and extended emphasis on ritual within the service, often at the expense of the sermon; and an improvement in the physical setting in which worship took place, both in the fabric of church buildings themselves and in the vestments and furnishings associated with them.¹⁶ The concept of the 'beauty of holiness' defines the last of these, a concept which can be seen as a tangible embodiment of sacramentalism over predestination, or the possibility that man can influence his path to the afterlife by his devotional actions on earth, and which was one of the theological questions that divided Calvinist and anti-Calvinist thinkers across Europe at the time.¹⁷ Highly embroidered vestments, gold gilt altars and a fully polyphonic treatment of the liturgy are all things which represent this 'beauty of holiness', with direct consequences for the funding of composition, copying and performance of liturgical music in the years before the Civil Wars.

This thesis considers the influence of these doctrinal and theological constructs at each study location, and assesses the extent to which performance practices in these provincial places interacted with central decrees, drawing in particular on the Visitation Articles of Archbishop Laud, which provide an important source of information about instrumental participation in the liturgy in the 1620s and 1630s. The influence of Cambridge University, and King's College in particular in the 1590s and early 1600s has emerged as an important source of instrumental performance practices that may be associated with an anti-Calvinist agenda, and this is discussed in detail in Part 1. However, the relevance of these matters to those 'on the ground' is also called into question, drawing on modern scholarship in Reformation studies that attempts to assess the impact of national religious change on everyday lives.¹⁸ Jonathan Willis summarises his own conclusions on the matter particularly neatly when he describes how 'psalmody, polyphony and instrumental music formed key

¹⁶ Michael Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and society in County Durham, 1617–1642', in *The last principality: politics, religion and society in the bishopric of Durham, 1494–1600*, ed. by D Marcombe (Nottingham, 1987), pp. 202–18 (p. 210).

¹⁷ This is a highly complex area and I limit my consideration of these issues to aspects which directly impact my research questions in this thesis. Anthony Milton provides a useful summary of some of the deeper theological arguments in his review of Nicholas Tyacke's 1988 publication *Anti-Calvinists: The rise of English Arminianism, c.1590–1640*. For details see fn. 15.

¹⁸ See for example: Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Patrick Collinson, 'Merry England on the Ropes: The Contested Culture of the Early Modern English Town', in *Christianity and Community in the West*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 131–47.

stages along a continuum of indifference'¹⁹ for those engaged in the everyday provision of worship, once the layers of hyperbole and polemic are peeled back from the language of the source materials. An exclusive focus on such materials also privileges the loudest voices of history, usually those that made it into print, and it has been the aim throughout this project to engage with quieter voices in an attempt to uncover meaning and motivation in performance practices. One of the questions posed in the case study of William Mather (Chapter 4.2), for example, is the extent to which the type of dialogues found in primary sources around the use of wind instruments in church, let alone the use of music in worship generally, actually affected the conduct and motivations of the individuals concerned, and, crucially, how answering these questions can move an understanding of performance practice forward.

1.2.3 | The Cathedral in its Urban Context

The position of the cathedral within the English Reformation narrative is also important to my investigation but, as the close relationship between ecclesiastical and civic music-making that emerges in Chapter 4.2 demonstrates, the cathedral as an institution cannot be understood without reference to its wider urban context. Just as the type of binary opposites that previously defined Reformation historiography have been challenged in recent years, so too have some of the constructs around the cathedral itself, including, but by no means limited to the following:

Cathedral vs. Parish
Ecclesiastical vs. Civic
Central vs. Peripheral
Conformist vs. non-Conformist
Polyphony vs. Psalmody

¹⁹ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 77.

As Chapters 2–4 show, the balance between the two sides of each of these dichotomies varies from place to place and over time, sometimes strengthening, sometimes disintegrating, but always remaining fluid, and sometimes being cast in a new light by the evidence of instrumental performance practices.²⁰ The town wind band, or waits, which provided musicians for services at Canterbury, traditionally belonged to a world of guilds, corporations and civic institutions, but found regular employment in the cathedral for the first half of the seventeenth century. What effect might this transfer of sounds between contexts have had on the listener? How might performance practices between civic and ecclesiastical settings have been moulded to fulfil different roles? The vast majority of the population did not experience worship in a cathedral context during this period, instead attending their local parish church. In this case, can the cathedrals truly be considered ‘central’ to the spiritual lives of the masses, and if not, what can this tell us about investment in cathedral worship in the light of the political situation in the run up to 1642? These are some of the questions that it is possible to address once the cathedral is situated within the wider urban soundscape to which it belonged.

One fact is indisputable: during the early 1640s, cathedrals bore the brunt of the iconoclasm of parliamentary forces, whether their representation of all things ‘popish’ was misplaced or not.²¹ As a consequence, unknowable quantities of documentation, musical texts, artefacts and places, were destroyed, not to mention the estimated 200,000 lives lost as a result of the subsequent Civil Wars. This makes a meaningful contextual interpretation of the remaining sources problematic at first glance, more than likely contributing to the lack of engagement with the topic of this thesis in the secondary literature to date. The total absence of liturgical musical texts, including partbooks or instrumental parts bearing references to wind instruments from this period is one particularly notable lacuna, but I have attempted to approach these gaps in the historical record without the preconceived notion that something is necessarily missing, instead seeking to suggest reasons why such evidence may not have been there in the first place. For example, when examining DrC, MSS E4–11, which contain music for Durham Cathedral’s six annual festal occasions, at which cornetts and sackbuts are

²⁰ See Chapter 2.1 on the turf wars between civic dignitaries and the clergy over seating in the choir at Exeter Cathedral, and Chapter 3.2 on the popularity of Sunday afternoon sermons in the Chapter House at Canterbury Cathedral.

²¹ For contemporary comment on the Puritan distrust for cathedrals see: Claire Cross, “‘Dens of Loitering Lubbers’: Protestant Protest Against Cathedral Foundations, 1540–1640’, in *Schism, Heresy and Protest*, ed. by Derk Baker (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), pp. 231–8.

recorded as having been in attendance, I ask how the surviving materials may have been used by instrumentalists in the choir, instead of presuming that a lack of surviving instrumental parts necessarily precludes their participation in liturgical polyphony (see Chapter 2.2). The prevailing lack of materials also encouraged the inclusion of unwritten repertoires in this investigation, discussed in Chapter 8. This is not to diminish the scale of material destruction inflicted on cathedrals during this time, however. By engaging with several lesser-known provincial composers of the period I have been repeatedly struck by the quality of compositional output that might now only be represented by a handful of pieces. A case in point is Solomon Tozer, lay vicar at Exeter Cathedral in the early seventeenth century. His verse anthem *O Lord, let me know mine end* features in practice-led research discussed in Chapter 7 and only survives thanks to being copied into the Durham partbooks at some point in the 1630s, all of Exeter's pre-Civil War partbooks having been lost. Had more of Tozer's work survived, there is no reason why it would not have been a regular feature of Evensong services today.

1.2.4 | Music in Social Context

Whilst Reformation themes clearly play a significant part in our understanding of the context surrounding instruments in church during the period in question, the social status of musicians themselves was also undergoing a shift that can be more strongly associated with socio-economic than theological concerns at this time. Returning to 1572 *Admonition to Parliament* introduced above, it is possible to identify language in this text that resonates with many Elizabethan accounts of how certain musicians were viewed by society at large, not just within the confines of the church. The 'piping' complained of by the authors here is, at this time, often used as a derogatory term to describe the activities of minstrels²² (a demographic that shared legal status with vagabonds in late-sixteenth-century England²³) and

²² Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae romanae & britannicae* of 1565 translates *Tibicen* (piper) as 'He that bloweth a trumpet, or playeth on a shalme or flute. Any minstrell'. Quoted in Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 375.

²³ Katherine Butler, 'Pipers, Paupers, and Princes: Social class in the praise and dispraise of music' at MedRen, Basel (2019) [Unpublished conference paper]. I am grateful to Katherine Butler for providing several references from the 'praise of music' genre of early seventeenth-century writing that have enriched this chapter.

one that retains negative connotations in some hands well into the seventeenth century.²⁴ The full title of Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, published 1587, is a prime example of Elizabethan usage and is worth quoting in full:

THE
Schoole of Abuse,
Contayning a pleasaunt invec-
tive against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters,
and such like Caterpillars of a Common wealth,
setting up the Flagge of defiance to their mis-
chivous exercise, and overthrowing their Bul-
warkes, by Prophane writers, Naturall
reason and common experience.²⁵

The association between the trades Gosson lists and a tendency towards idleness leading to poverty and therefore reliance on the Parish is strong at this time, contributing to the poor reputation of itinerant workers. Thomas Whythorne, writing in the late sixteenth century and whose compositional output will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7, complained of how the term ‘minstrel’ was used as a catch-all to describe any musician not employed by the church²⁶ (as a private music teacher, this would have included those of his own profession) and places minstrels firmly at the bottom of his hierarchy of the musical profession.²⁷ His description of minstrels as ‘those do use to go with their instruments about the countries to cities, towns, and villages [...] and there [...] sell the sounds of their voices and instruments’ is not so far removed from the tradition of the travelling waits band as documented by

²⁴ Peter Smart's repeated use of the term is discussed in Chapter 1.1 in particular.

²⁵ Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1587), p. 1.

²⁶ James M. Osborn, *The autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (London: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 203–6. As quoted in Katie Nelson, ‘Thomas Whythorne and Tudor Musicians’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2010), pp. 101–2.

²⁷ Nelson, ‘Thomas Whythorne’, p. 119.

payment records up and down the country in the second half of the sixteenth century, although he does not describe waits by name.²⁸

As Katie Nelson has shown in her close reading of Whythorne's writings in the context of Elizabethan social constructs, nomenclature surrounding different types of musical activities is highly inconsistent during this period, and although civic musicians do seem to fall into the terminological gaps, it is clear that secular music-making, be it in the home or the street, began to gain popularity and acceptability around the turn of the seventeenth century. A rash of publications in the 'praise of music' genre (of which the anonymous source quoted on p. 2 is an early example) appeared around the time of the Jacobean succession, and can be seen as a reaction amongst the professional musical class against over-zealous puritan clergy and their long-standing distrust of music.²⁹ The series of poems that precede Thomas Ravenscroft's 1614 publication *A brief discourse of the true (but neglected) use... of measurable musick* include contributions from leading musicians of the day (Thomas Campion, Nathaniel Giles and Martin Peerson, to name but three) on the 'praise of musick' theme, and, along with the growing body of secular sources for domestic music-making from this period, confirm the increasing social acceptance of instrumental music. However, civic musicians, an important sector of the profession when considering instruments in church, continue to tread the line between minstrelsy and acceptability, and between music as a trade and music as an art during this period. The anonymous *Praise* author of 1586 clearly holds waits bands in some esteem when he compares the musicality of the town and the musicality of the countryside:

For to omit the court with her consortes, corporations with their waites, and other places both of greater countenance and frequency, wherein Musick may seeme by more authoritie to claime acquaintance, and to looke but with halfe an eie into the country, wherein toiling and as they call it good husbandrie should exclude all pleasurable recreation, howe hartily

²⁸ Mark Brayshay, 'Waits, musicians, bearwards and players: the inter-urban road travel and performances of itinerant entertainers in sixteenth and seventeenth century England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31 (2005), pp. 430–58 (p. 436 onwards).

²⁹ Butler, 'Pipers, Paupers, and Princes'. See also the anonymous *Praise of Music* in Lbl Royal MS 18.B.xix, f. 5v, in which the writer states that '[...] divers preachers being sett a worke by the humors of these aforesayd reformers were bould to set out bookes and also in their Sermons did perswade the people from the reverent vse of service in songe, affirminge it to be nothing but an vnnessisary pypinge, and minst'elsie. So as ye estimacion & reputation of songe in Churches (except *Geneua* psalmes) was in short tyme in no regard (nay in detestacion) with the Comon people. Thus the estimacion of singing being diminished in the myndes almost of all men (which was one speciall policie of these pretented reformers)'. I am grateful to Samantha Arten for allowing me access to the pre-publication draft of her forthcoming edition of this text.

doth the poorest swaine both please himself, and flatter his beast with whistling and singings?³⁰

Indeed, Thomas Morley, in his introduction to *The first book of consort songs* describes the City of London waits as ‘excellent musicians’, but this view was not universally held. Ravenscroft himself is rather sneering of the professionalisation of town instrumentalists in his preface to *A brief discourse*:

As for those common kinde Practitioners, (truly ycleped Minstrells, though our City makes Musitians of them) who making account forsooth to doe the Art Honour, now in these daies of the ill opinion, and small credit it beares, haue (fairely) brought it downe from a cheife Liberall Science, to the basest almost of Mechanick Functions.³¹

The formalisation and apparent legitimisation of cathedral wind bands around the turn of the seventeenth century therefore coexists alongside a continuing unease associated with wind players and their soundworld on a social level, at least amongst the musical profession whose opinions have survived. The extent to which this may have impacted on the musicians concerned is a question addressed in relation to the Canterbury musicians in Chapter 4.2, but, together with the religious-historical reception of instrumentalists outlined above, provides important context for the practices I go on to consider.

The period of this study covers four monarchies and a commonwealth; it is therefore tempting to chart the course of instrumental participation in liturgical music across this ever-shifting political and historical landscape, but the patchy and fragmented nature of surviving documentary evidence does not lend itself to this type of chronological investigation. Instead, I have chosen to focus on individual events and occasions at each study location, relating back to the wider historical narrative of the period as appropriate. The earliest instance considered specifically relates to events at Canterbury Cathedral in 1589, and the latest dates from the 1680s at Exeter. By situating my research within this period, I am able to consider not only the status of each location and instance, but also the wider process of change that brought about instrumental participation in the liturgy in different ways and at different times. By the end of this research period, for example, the emergence of Baroque style was complete in mainstream musical centres across Europe, but for provincial places seemingly on the periphery of cultural life at this time, the chosen time-frame provides an opportunity to

³⁰ Anon., *The Praise of Musike* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586). I am grateful to Katherine Butler for providing this reference.

³¹ Thomas Ravenscroft, *A brief discourse of the true (but neglected) use... of measurable musick* (London: Thomas Adams, 1614), p. A v.

test the periodisation of musical trends and practices and their expression in liturgical repertoire and performance practice.

1.2 | Research Questions

This thesis seeks to articulate three central research question:

1. Who played instruments in cathedral services during the period in question, and how can a greater understanding of their educational, social and musical background inform attempts to reimagine the performance practices with which they might have engaged?
2. Why were instruments used in cathedral services during this time? What is the meaning and significance of their presence, and how can conflicting contemporary responses to this presence be understood in the context of the historical narrative of the time?
3. What did the instrumentalists play, and how did they play it? How can a deeper engagement with the context of their employment inherent in questions one and two enable new parameters of historically informed performance to be developed?

In order to address these questions, the thesis is divided into two parts. Part 1 adopts an institution-by-institution approach, in which questions one and two frame the investigation through a series of case studies. Here I undertake an assessment of the state of knowledge surrounding each place, looking at issues of local relevance and building up a repertoire of musical works through which to address question three. Each chapter also includes a detailed case study focussing on one aspect of importance from each location. In Chapter 2.2, this relates to a particular set of partbooks from the library of Durham Cathedral (DrC, MSS E4–11) and considers the ways in which they represent some of the key performance practice questions I seek to address. In Chapter 3.2, I look at the activities of Henry Travers, a Restoration sackbut and cornett player and composer from Exeter Cathedral, as a method of comparing pre- and post-Restoration practices at this institution. William Mather, cornettist at Canterbury Cathedral and leader of Canterbury's City Waits in the 1630s, is the focus of the third case study. The uniquely detailed paper trail he left enables deep engagement with some of the pressing socio-historic issues of the day and allows a re-assessment of some conclusions drawn by previous scholars surrounding the activities of cathedral musicians.

Question three is addressed in Part 2, which contains my response to four practice-led research sessions undertaken during this project with the aim of situating the archival, historical and musicological work carried out in Part 1 in a practical performance context. The aim of these exercises was not to create and present polished performances of the repertoire identified in Part 1 as a research output, but instead to integrate practice-led research into the investigatory process. I drew on a combination of existing practice-led research methodologies and bespoke processes developed for and by these research sessions to support this work. A detailed discussion of this methodology can be found in Chapter 5.

1.3 | Research Parameters

1.3.1 | Study Locations

The three study locations (Durham Cathedral, Exeter Cathedral and Canterbury Cathedral) were selected on the following basis: references in the secondary literature suggesting the use of instruments in a liturgical context during the period in question; and the survival of accessible archive documents in support of this body of work. A timeline showing collated archival reference from both the secondary literature, and arising from this project, can be found at Appendix 1. By deliberately focussing on places which by today's standards may be considered provincial, it has also been possible to consider several underlying dichotomies that feature in the secondary literature surrounding liturgical music making outside London and the Chapel Royal. These are detailed in full on p.7 above, but include the relationship between that which is central and that which is peripheral, and of how national trends, such as Laud's attempts at doctrinal reform in the 1620s and 1630s, may manifest themselves in the relationship between the provincial cathedral and surrounding urban centre. The transmission of repertoire is something which has received a reasonable amount of attention from previous scholars,³² but by examining the movement of personnel between provincial cities and by mapping some of these journeys onto evidence of shifting performance practices, I have been able to shed new light, particularly on the second of my research questions: why use instruments in the first place?

³² See for example work on collections of polyphony such as J. Bunker Clark, 'Adrian Batten and John Barnard: colleagues and collaborators', *Musica disciplina*, 22 (1968), pp. 207–29; Peter Le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle partbooks', *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), pp. 17–42; Brian Crosby, 'Durham Cathedral's Music Manuscripts', *The Musical Times*, 115 (1974), pp. 418–21.

Looking at these provincial places has also enabled engagement with people, practices and musical texts which are currently under-represented in scholarship, and encouraged engagement with disciplines outside musicology and Historically Informed Performance. In particular, the work of the ‘history from below’ movement in historical studies (discussed below, p.26) has considerably enriched Chapter 4.2, the case study of William Mather, providing a framework for the investigation of individuals mostly ignored by history until recently. By re-balancing the historical narrative surrounding English sacred music of this period away from a London-focussed, composer-centric, text-oriented bias, engaging and refreshing stories emerge. One aim of Part 2 is to develop ways of integrating these stories into performance.

1.3.2 | Performance Situations

My research aims to establish the extent and nature of instrumental participation in cathedral services between *c.*1580 and *c.*1680. Although anecdotal evidence of instruments other than the organ in a liturgical context survive from earlier in the Elizabethan period,³³ it is not until the late 1580s that these references can be backed up with payment records that confirm employment by the church. By ‘instrumental participation’ in this context, I mean any occasion on which instrumentalists other than organists were paid to be present, or were reported to have been present, at cathedral services. During this period, such services were conducted, to a greater or lesser degree of rigidity (see Chapter 2 in particular on this point), in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer. Morning Prayer, Holy Communion and Evening Prayer were the staples of the liturgy, and suggestions of instrumental participation, both with or within the choir and separately, survive for all three types of service.

³³ See the section from *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572) quoted on p. 5, and Thomas Whythorne’s complaint that church music under Elizabeth was ‘so slenderly maintained... [that] ye shall have few or none remaining, except it be a few singingmen and players on musical instruments.’ As quoted in Nelson, ‘Thomas Whythorne’, p. 101.

1.3.3 | Instruments

I set out to include all non-keyboard instruments in my research. I do not seek to address anew the role of the organ in church, but the interaction between the organ and other instruments and voices is central to developing a performance practice and is considered in detail, particularly in Chapter 7.

Most references in existing secondary literature relate to the use of wind instruments, particularly cornetts and sackbuts (I will use this English term for the renaissance trombone throughout), but there are many instances of unspecified instruments in primary sources. For example, when James I visited Durham en route to Scotland in 1617, he requested that the services he attended at Durham Cathedral involved ‘no playing on the organ or other instruments’.³⁴ Lieutenant Hammond, during a visit to Exeter in 1635, records hearing ‘vials, and other sweet instruments’ during services there, also writing of ‘organs with other instruments, suited to most excellent voices’ at Lincoln Cathedral the previous year.³⁵ In locations where waits were employed in church (for example, at York and Norwich, see Appendix 1), archival references do not specify the exact instruments involved. It is widely acknowledged that waits of this period were skilled on multiple instruments, and the possibility that their performances may not have been limited to cornetts and sackbuts alone must not be discounted. However, during the course of my research I have not found any direct references in cathedral payment records to the playing of instruments other than cornetts and sackbuts, and the fact that Canterbury and Durham employed a seemingly standard line-up of two players on each instrument, and Exeter owned two of each instrument (at least) throughout the early seventeenth century, leads me to suggest that cornetts and sackbuts were the most likely instruments to be considered suitable for use in church at this time.³⁶

³⁴ Peter Smart, *A short treatise of altars, altar-furniture, altar-cringing, and musick of all the quire, singing-men and choristers, when the holy Communion was administered in the cathedrall church of Durham* (London, 1643), p. 19.

³⁵ L. G. W. Legg, ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties ... 1634* (London: 1904); L. G. W. Legg, ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties, made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company of Norwich in 1635* (London: Camden Society, 1936), 16.

³⁶ Additionally, Visitation Articles received by Gloucester Cathedral also refer to two of each instrument: ‘according to ancient custom there ought to be two sackbutts and two cornetts for the singing-service and

Not all cornetts or sackbuts are made equal, however, and David Lasocki presents evidence of the manufacture of cornetts in a variety of sizes in his work on the English branch of the Bassano family of instrument makers. This record, for example, describes the contents of an instrument chest made by the Bassano brothers and inventoried in 1571:

Item [...] A great half-bass curved cornett of very great resonance [...] two more bass curved cornetts with keys [...] four curved cornetts with their keys [...] and 3 more which have no keys, all of great resonance.³⁷

The few surviving cathedral records that mention cornetts directly do not specify the size of instrument to which they refer, although some civic records relating to waits differentiate between the cornett and the lysarden, by which the tenor instrument is often known in English sources.³⁸ The performance context in which cornetts may have been used, however, leads me to suggest that they were used in matching pairs in cathedral bands, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Three of the original cornetts now in UK collections can be confidently ascribed an English provenance. These are the two treble instruments held at Christ Church Library, Oxford, and a tenor instrument in the Norwich Museum. The organological significance of these instruments has been assessed by a number of writers whose work is discussed below (beginning p.23).

There are no original sackbuts surviving from sixteenth- or seventeenth-century England, despite their use in a wide variety of musical contexts. The association between the sackbut and the shawm in England, for example, was already well-established by the start of the period in question, with the two instruments featuring heavily in waits bands, an association that persisted into the seventeenth century as the following illustration shows:³⁹

anthems', HMC 55, Various vii, Gloucester Diocese MSS., 64, as quoted in Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 150.

³⁷ David Lasocki, *The Bassanos: Venetian musicians and instrument makers in England 1531–1665* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 212.

³⁸ See in particular reference to instruments of the Exeter waits on p. 83.

³⁹ This image appears in Trevor Herbert, 'The Sackbut in England in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Early Music*, 18 (1990), pp. 609–16 (p. 609).

Figure 1: 17th-century waits playing shawms and sackbuts (Magdelene College, Cambridge)



However, some inferences about the type of sackbuts that may have been in use can be drawn from continental sources. Praetorius gives two sizes of *Quart-Posaunen* (bass trombones in D and E), a tenor in A with a crook for playing in G (which he describes as a *Rechte gemein Posaun*, or ‘common’ trombone) and an alto trombone.⁴⁰ The tenor instrument has a range down to useable *E* (theoretical *E^b*) when playing in A, and down to *D* when playing in G. This would enable a tenor instrument to comfortably cover bassus parts of the period, which have a range down to F at pitch, and the addition of a G crook would enable downwards transposition of up to a minor third. Virgiliano provides a slide position chart for a tenor instrument playing in clefs ranging from C3 to F3, along with a wide variety of transpositions in which players should be able to play, suggesting that the ‘common’ trombone was played flexibly in all registers during this period.⁴¹ The ‘dubble sackbot’ mentioned in the archives at Exeter could refer to either an instrument in G, or a larger bass instrument in D, and the performance implications of pairing such an instrument with the pre-1642 Exeter organ and

⁴⁰ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 3 vols (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), II.

⁴¹ Aurelio Virgiliano, *Il Dolcimelo d’Aurelio Virgiliano dove si contengono variati, passaggi, e diminutioni così per voce, come per tutte sorte d’instrumenti musicali; con loro accordi, e modi de sonare* (c. 1600), pp. 50–51. I am grateful to Catherine Motuz for her help interpreting this chart.

its reputed 20' bass pipes are discussed in Chapter 3.1. James Talbot's late-seventeenth-century manuscript is the only English source to discuss the sackbut in detail from this period. Trevor Herbert has suggested that Talbot 'had a familiarity with Praetorius [1619] and Mersenne [1636]',⁴² and the measurements that Talbot gives indeed confirm that the English instruments of which he writes can be compared with continental European instruments of the type discussed above. Original instruments survive on the continent in a wide variety of pitches and some, such as the 1579 Schnitzer tenor in the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona, are equipped with a large selection of crooks to accommodate variations in organ pitch and transposition.

1.4 | Literature Review

There is a large body of musicological scholarship dedicated to English sacred vocal music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from which stems a smaller, but not insignificant number of performance practice-related texts, many of which deal with issues relevant to the research questions outlined above. The fact that the repertoire with which this study is concerned maintains an important place within the living liturgy of the Anglican church has led, according to Andrew Parrott, to the myth of an 'unbroken tradition', implying that the way we normally hear English Renaissance music today, its resonances and meanings, must reflect the ways in which it was performed four centuries ago. Many liturgical and concert performances of 'Anglican' church music may be said to conform to these ideals.⁴³ However, several dissenting voices have recently interjected in the discourse and the prevailing set of performance choices is beginning to face challengers. Performing pitch,⁴⁴ historical voice

⁴² Herbert, 'The Sackbut in England in the 17th and 18th Centuries', p. 609.

⁴³ I do not use the term 'Anglican' to describe English sacred vocal music of this period elsewhere in this thesis for exactly these reasons. The term itself is not contemporary with the repertoire, and historians have long since abandoned it as an accurate description of the Church of England before the Restoration. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 138.

⁴⁴ Andrew Johnstone, "'As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), pp. 507–25.

types⁴⁵ and the role of the organ⁴⁶ have all received varying degrees of attention and, as is demonstrated throughout this study, work in these areas is integral to my approach to defining a role for additional instruments. I will discuss items that relate specifically to the three study locations in the chapters to which they refer, concentrating here on scholarship of broader national scope that contributes to the research context in which this study is situated.

The impetus for this project was Andrew Parrott's 2015 re-publication of his 1978 *Early Music* article "'Grett and Solempne Singing': Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in which he presents evidence for the inclusion of wind instruments in performances of English liturgical music dating from the early sixteenth century until around 1642.⁴⁷ Aside from a newly-written postscript on the subject of viols in church, Parrott's re-issue contains surprisingly few alterations from the original text, which is worthy of note for two reasons. Firstly, despite all that has been written about English sacred music in the intervening years, he clearly feels compelled to restate that issues of performance practice within this field have not received the levels of attention of those in other genres. For him, it seems, his two central question – 'Were any instruments employed other than the organ? If so, which ones and under what circumstances?' – remain unanswered. Secondly, in his new postscript, he addresses several questions which have been raised specifically by the modern performance anomaly of pairing a viol consort with an Oxbridge choir to record and perform liturgical and para-liturgical repertoire of the period, despite their being, paradoxically, significantly more evidence to support the use of wind instruments in this context than strings. The attached discography (see p. 259) shows that six out of the ten discs of relevant repertoire released in England since 2000 follow this pattern, whilst only two use wind instruments at all, an inconsistency that this project seeks to address.

Parrott's article drew on his own extensive archival work, mostly carried out at London institutions, along with sources of historical eye-witness accounts, principally those

⁴⁵ Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs: The 'Countertenor' Cross-Examined.', in *Composers' Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), pp. 46–121.

⁴⁶ John Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church c. 1500–1640', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. by Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), pp. 215–31.

⁴⁷ Andrew Parrott, "'Grett and Solempne Singing': Instruments in English church music before the Civil War', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), pp. 182–87; Andrew Parrott, "'Grett and Solompne Singing': Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance*, ed. by Andrew Parrott (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80

of Lieutenant Hammond, who toured the English counties in 1664 and 1665,⁴⁸ and several volumes of *Public Progresses*, a multi-volume collection of documents relating to the travels of the reigning monarch around England, volumes of which cover the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I.⁴⁹ Since Parrott's first publication, however, the volume of transcribed, edited and published archival materials has grown exponentially and has considerably eased the burden on researchers of this period who previously had to start from original documentation in order to contribute to the body of knowledge. The *Records of Early English Drama* (REED) project is perhaps the greatest representative in this field. This project aims 'to find, transcribe, and publish external evidence of dramatic, ceremonial, and minstrel activity in Great Britain before 1642', and the volumes for Kent and Devon have been particularly useful to this project.⁵⁰ The volume for Durham was, at the time of writing, still in progress, but I am grateful to the team at the University of Durham who are overseeing this project for permission to use some of their unpublished data. REED transcriptions come to an abrupt halt in 1642, however, and provided an opportunity to explore the archives for the period immediately following the Interregnum myself. This has been greatly aided, once more, by the countless hours of voluntary work dedicated to cataloguing cathedral archives since the dawn of the digital age. However, the great advantage of this digital shift means that more attention can now be paid to the context surrounding the raw materials with which we have to work, something of which I have been acutely aware during this project.

Although London establishments have received, perhaps understandably, a significant amount of scholarly attention over the years,⁵¹ several volumes on provincial places have also been important to this project. Ian Payne's 1995 book *The provision and practice of sacred music at Cambridge colleges and selected cathedrals, c.1547—c.1646 : a comparative study*

⁴⁸ Legg, Short Survey ... 1635; Legg, Short Survey ... 1634.

⁴⁹ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823); John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his royal Consort and family, etc.* (London: J.B. Nichols, 1828).

⁵⁰ James M. Gibson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Kent: Diocese of Canterbury*, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002), II; John M. Wasson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Devon* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1986).

⁵¹ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Andrew Ashbee and David Lasoki, *A biographical dictionary of English court musicians, 1485–1714* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland: A. Ashbee, 1991), IV (1603–1625); Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland: A. Ashbee, 1988), III (1625–1649).

of the archival evidence, contains some of the only work to consider the use of instruments other than the organ in any great depth, providing a particularly solid basis of archival work at Exeter Cathedral to which my chapter on the subject is indebted. His transcriptions of some of the more obscure items from Exeter composers included in the appendix to his book made the process of preparing performance materials considerably easier, and I am also grateful to Dr. Payne for some extremely helpful email correspondence regarding sources of Exeter music throughout this project. Subsequent articles on Winchester Cathedral and Norwich Cathedral also helped place my three study locations in a national context.⁵² Payne's work, along with that of many other scholars, takes 1642 as a natural cut-off point which, if nothing else, has left me with an opportunity to stretch the frame of reference for the investigation of winds in church into the Restoration period. Ian Spink's *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660–1714* has proven an excellent starting point for this endeavour and contains a brief account of the musical provision at all England's cathedrals and collegiate churches once Prayer Book services were reinstated in the early 1660s.⁵³

Another writer to have undertaken significant archival work in provincial places is Roger Bowers, whose collection of essays on the subject of singers in ecclesiastical institutions covers the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.⁵⁴ Bowers' conclusions are not without controversy, and Andrew Parrott undertook a thorough rebuttal of many of them in *Composers' Intentions?*, contributing greatly to our understanding of, for example, the use of the countertenor voice in music before Purcell, an issue which has proven vital to the consideration of the role of winds within the larger cathedral ensemble.⁵⁵ Bowers' contribution to the literature on Canterbury includes the only writing on the use of winds at this location and is also controversial, as is discussed in Chapter 4.1, but the volume of archival information he manages to present provided an important starting point for my own work at this location.

⁵² Ian Payne, 'The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes (d. 1629): Instrumental Music at Salisbury and Winchester Cathedrals Revisited', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 83 (2011), pp. 369–96; Ian Payne, 'New light on *New Fashions* by William Cobbold (1560–1639) of Norwich.', *Chelys: The Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society*, 30 (2002), pp. 11–37.

⁵³ Ian Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

⁵⁴ Roger Bowers, 'Canterbury Cathedral: The liturgy of the cathedral and its music, c. 1075–1642', in *English church polyphony: Singers and sources from the 14th to the 17th century*, ed. by Roger Bowers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 408–50.

⁵⁵ Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs'.

As mentioned above, organological work on cornetts and sackbuts from this period is hampered by a lack of surviving artefacts. Bruce Haynes includes four surviving English treble curved cornetts in his *History of Performing Pitch*, although only the first two of these can be ascribed an English provenance with any degree of certainty. These are reproduced here as Haynes records them for reference:

Pitch	Nominal Key	Maker	Location: ID
440	A	Bassano?	Oxford: Christ Church Library, A
440	A	Bassano?	Oxford: Christ Church Library, B
[440+/-	A		Warwick: W. Museum, M41
460+/-	A		Oxford: Bate 500] ⁵⁶

The Christ Church cornetts are the two most important of these, and they have been discussed in detail by Jamie Savan in his 2016 article ‘Unlocking the mysteries of the Venetian cornett’, and in ‘Revoicing a ‘choice eunuch’: the cornett and historical models of vocality’, published in 2018.⁵⁷ Haynes’ work on pitch and transposition systems in general has been invaluable when faced with the challenge of integrating fragmentary organological evidence into performance practice solutions,⁵⁸ and the implications of using these instruments in practice are considered in Chapter 7.⁵⁹

Despite the lack of surviving sackbuts from seventeenth-century England, Trevor Herbert’s doctoral thesis and subsequent publications on the use of the sackbut in England into the eighteenth century provide a wealth of references to instrument purchases, anecdotal descriptions of their use, and payment records to musicians that build up a picture of how widespread these instruments were. In addition, he also clears up some confusion

⁵⁶ Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002), pp. 425–6. Haynes’ information on this subject comes from Edward H. Tarr, ‘Ein Katalog erhaltener Zinken’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 5 (1981), pp. 11–262.

⁵⁷ Jamie Savan, ‘Unlocking the Mysteries of the Venetian Cornett: *ad imitar piu la voce humana*’, *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 28 (2016), pp. 31–55; Jamie Savan, ‘Revoicing a ‘choice eunuch’: The cornett and historical models of vocality’, *Early Music*, 46 (2018), pp. 561–78.

⁵⁸ Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, pp. 62–72 & 130–3.

⁵⁹ One further tenor cornett survives in Norwich Museum. The playing pitch is unknown, but from the dimensions it is likely to sit around $a'=465$.

surrounding early references to the use of instruments at Canterbury Cathedral (discussed in detail in Chapter 4.1) inherited from early-twentieth-century writings on the subject.⁶⁰

As will become increasingly clear in this thesis, wind instruments cannot be considered in isolation from the organ when working in a cathedral context, and the narrative surrounding English organs from this period is complex. Once again, no original pre-Restoration instruments survive intact but painstaking work on the slender archaeological evidence – limited to a soundboard, a few surviving pipes and a handful of written specifications – has led to an impressive selection of literature, three reconstructed instruments and a growing discography that provide an insight into this area.⁶¹ Of critical importance to this project have been questions around pitch, organ performance style and transposition, on which subject Andrew Johnstone’s article “‘As it was in the beginning’: Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music’ sheds important light.⁶² In particular, his coverage of the issue of minor-third transposition as an editorial policy, including a thoroughgoing examination of the history of this practice, has contributed enormously to the sense that performance practice issues in English seventeenth-century repertoire are long overdue a rethink. J. Bunker Clarke’s volume on transposition in seventeenth-century organ books also gives a useful summary of the issues, including a source-by-source description of the relevant musical texts.⁶³

This project was well under way before ensemble improvisation emerged as an important aspect of the discussion. Many questions remain unanswered, possibly more than when I started investigating improvisation as a possible performance practice in English

⁶⁰ Trevor Herbert, ‘The Trombone in Britain before 1800’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Open University, 1984); Trevor Herbert, ‘The Sackbut and Pre-Reformation English Church Music’, *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 5 (1993), pp. 146–58; Herbert, ‘The Sackbut in England in the 17th and 18th Centuries’.

⁶¹ Magnus Williamson, ‘Early English Organs and Early Anglican Liturgical Polyphony: Some Considerations of Performance Practice’, *The Royal College of Organists Yearbook*, 2004–2005 (2004), pp. 46–53; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Dominic Gwynn, ‘A New Pre-Reformation Organ for the Church of St Teilo’, in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The experience of worship in cathedral and parish church*, ed. by Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson (London: Routledge, 2017). See also online materials on the website of the Early English Organ Project <https://i.rco.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/The-Early-English-Organ-Project.pdf> [Accessed 11th June 2019].

⁶² Johnstone, “‘As it was in the beginning’”.

⁶³ J. Bunker Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments and the Transposing Organ* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1974).

cathedral bands, but the literature surrounding this subject has brought several broad issues to the fore. Firstly, most existing scholarship on ensemble improvisation is based on continental sources and practices. Adam Knight Gilbert focusses on German *Stadtpipeifer* bands, Christoph Reido on Italian opera bands, and Philippe Canguilhem on continental theoretical sources for ensemble improvisation techniques,⁶⁴ but by engaging with this literature I have been encouraged to consider English practices in a wider continental context, particularly in relation to theoretical sources with relevance to performance practice. I am particularly fortunate to have been able to make use of Catherine Motuz's unpublished work on developing a pedagogy for improvised counterpoint in an ensemble context, work which informed my design of the workshops discussed in Chapter 8. Secondly, this work has led to a questioning of the type of educational provision in which improvisation techniques could have flourished, and highlighted an important gap in our knowledge of this area. Jane Flynn's work on the education of choirboys in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both in England and elsewhere, shows how changes in the Elizabethan period led to an increase in emphasis on composition as a tool for musical pedagogy, away from memorisation and improvisation, but a lack of surviving materials from the seventeenth century surrounding the teaching process mean that little has been written on the subject as it developed after 1600. I have repeatedly referred to Rebecca Herrisone's work on English theoretical sources from the seventeenth century, which provides a detailed survey of some of the major themes concerning writers on music at this time,⁶⁵ many of which are embedded in sources ostensibly designed as teaching materials, but no assessment of the didactic quality of such sources yet exists. This is a major obstacle in further work on improvisation.

The majority of research on issues surrounding performance in this field to date has been solidly musicological, organological or editorial in methodology. This scholarship is vital to the understanding of the surrounding performance context, but when it comes to addressing my research questions, I have already acknowledged that a traditionally text- or artefact-based approach is unsuitable in a field which has scant physical evidence on which to

⁶⁴ Adam Knight Gilbert, 'The improvising *alta capella* ca. 1500: Paradigms and procedures', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 29 (2005), pp. 109–23; Christoph Riedo, '“Chi vorrà inserire le sinfonie agl'inni il virtuoso professore le potrà cavare con facilità dal basso continuo”: (Multipart) Bowed Instrumental Improvisation in the Seventeenth Century' at Cremona Baroque Music, Cremona (2018) [Unpublished conference paper]; Philippe Canguilhem, 'Toward a stylistic history of Cantare super Librum', in *Studies in Historical Improvisation*, ed. by Massimiliano Guido (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 55–71.

⁶⁵ Rebecca Herrisone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

draw. This underlying problem has encouraged me to look further afield and subsequently to engage with the body of research surrounding urban musicology, historical sociology and Reformation studies in my attempts to find meanings amongst anecdotal and archival evidence. Fiona Kisby's contribution to the literature in the area of urban musicology is significant and provides an exemplar of the synthesis between musicology and social history,⁶⁶ as is Mark Brayshay's 2005 article for the *Journal of Historical Geography* mapping the travel habits of early modern performers, including waits bands, as they moved from city to city. Brayshay assesses the impact of an itinerant existence on the earning power and employment status of a sector of society traditionally under the radar of historical enquiry. He identifies signifiers of musical importance amongst the seemingly tangentially related details of a performer's travel itinerary, such as the implication that hosting a travelling waits band suggests that a town's local provision was less than satisfactory, and has encouraged engagement with the concept of mapping generally throughout this thesis.⁶⁷

The work of the *Church Music in English Towns* project which ran in the early 2000s was amongst the first to explore the concept of soundscapes in an historical context, albeit in a period somewhat earlier than my own.⁶⁸ The idea that cathedral practices, cathedral musicians, and even cathedral music existed in isolation from its wider urban environment can no longer be considered valid thanks to these contributions to the literature, and the fluidity of boundaries they propose, is an important thread in my work. Whereas musicology may still be in the process of adapting such a fluid approach to place and space, there is a growing body of research in the field of historical studies which may be said to reflect not only this, but also the increased prerogative of researchers to embrace diversity in their work. In the context of this project, my focus on cathedral musicians has been informed by the concept of 'history from below', a trend in historical studies which is best represented in the literature by The Many-Headed Monster, a scholarly blog devoted to under-researched individuals of the early modern period, particularly women, ethnic minorities and the lower

⁶⁶ Fiona Kisby, ed., *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge: 2001); Fiona Kisby, 'Music in European cities and towns to c.1650: a bibliographical survey', *Urban History*, 29 (2002), pp. 74–82.

⁶⁷ Brayshay, 'Waits, musicians, bearwards and players', p. 435.

⁶⁸ C. Burgess and A. Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: church music in English towns, 1450–1550', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), pp. 1–46; Caroline M. Barron, 'Church Music in English Towns 1450–1550: An Interim Report', *Urban History*, 29 (2002), pp. 83–91; Peter Borsay, 'Sounding the Town', *Urban History*, 29 (2002), pp. 92–102.

social classes.⁶⁹ The blog's curator, Mark Hailwood's monograph *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* provides a series of refreshing angles from which to consider the lives of the Canterbury musicians, for example, and provides a good model for how 'history from below' can be applied in practice.

As discussed above, Reformation studies are of great importance when addressing questions surrounding liturgical music of the seventeenth century and the historiography of the period itself often reflects shifting interpretations of the musical narrative. I am indebted to Jonathon Willis for his 2010 publication *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* in this regard, which gives an in-depth, up-to-date assessment of many of the theological, philosophical, liturgical and social causes and effects of the Reformation as it was experienced by many of the characters and institutions under consideration here.⁷⁰ By signposting seminal texts on both sides of the historiographical debate, such as Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* and Dairmid MacCulloch's *Reformation* (discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.1) Willis encourages an awareness of divisive tendencies in Reformation literature and warns against adopting such tendencies in one's own work.

1.5 | Research Methodologies

This project adopts a version of the 'iterative cyclic web' methodological model published by Smith and Dean in 2009 in *Practice-led Research, Research-led Practice in the Creative Arts*.⁷¹ My adaptation of this model to best serve the practice-led elements of the project (shown in the diagram on p. 143) is discussed in detail Chapter 5. The 'academic research' section of the diagram includes archival work, transcription of musical sources and collation and interrogation of secondary literature on a location-by-location basis. Given the recent large-scale transcription and digitisation of cathedral records already alluded to, I adopted a context-based approach to archival work necessary to advance the field now that so much information is in the public domain. This approach involved both revisiting archive references included in the secondary literature and extending the frame of reference from an exclusive focus on cathedral records to include records from civic archives.

⁶⁹ <https://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com> [Accessed 11th June 2019].

⁷⁰ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*. In particular see pp. 138 & 243.

⁷¹ Hazel Smith and Roger T. Dean, eds., *Practice-led Research, Research-led Practice in the Creative Arts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

An initial visit to Worcester Cathedral at the beginning of this project showed that a second look at existing archival work would prove fruitful.⁷² Anthony Boden, writing about Thomas Tomkins' anthems for men only suggests that Tomkins' motivation for writing these 'may be the result of the poor quality of the treble voices at certain times at Worcester, for in 1619 cornetts were engaged to double the treble parts',⁷³ quoting a 1918 study of the organists of Worcester Cathedral as his source. The payment record to which this source refers reads as follows: 'Pay[e]d to Goodma[n] Stanton the Musitian for playing on the cornetts in the Quayre. xxs', and is recorded as an extraordinary payment in a chronological list dating it between December 24th 1618 and January 9th 1619. By re-visiting the source of this record, I established that this is the only reference to cornetts that survives at this location, casting doubt on Boden's claims elsewhere that, following the occasion of Elizabeth I's visit to Worcester in 1575, 'cornetts continued to be used in the cathedral well into the seventeenth century'.⁷⁴ The archival evidence does not appear to support this, and in fact gives no indication at all as to *why* Goodman Stanton was engaged on this occasion, but by revisiting the original source, the name, rate of pay and approximate date of payment to this musician can be established, providing instead much-needed context in a location where archival evidence is sparse. Furthermore, another reference to instrumental music at Worcester, upon a second look, reveals that three distinct groups of musicians were paid for their services at the cathedral during Elizabeth I's visit to the town in 1575, an event that has featured in the secondary literature on numerous occasions, but none of them were paid by the cathedral itself.⁷⁵ Records do not, therefore, support the theory that instrumental performance was a regular, long-term occurrence at Worcester, but the context of these two references is revealing and suggested from the outset that similar exercises in my three study locations would provide much needed background for the evidence currently in circulation.⁷⁶

⁷² Worcester was initially included in my proposed case studies, but archive material at this location is highly fragmentary.

⁷³ Anthony Boden, *Thomas Tomkins : the last Elizabethan*, with commentaries on Tomkins's music by Denis Stevens [et al.] (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 276.

⁷⁴ Boden, *Thomas Tomkins*, p. 93.

⁷⁵ Worcester County Record Office (WOr), MS 9360/A14 (Chamber Order Book, 1575), unfoliated loose leaves.

⁷⁶ The approach proved particularly useful in Canterbury, where a close reading of the source materials has allowed me to challenge some of Roger Bowers' claims regarding musician's literacy during the first half of the seventeenth century. See pp. 112–123.

Alongside addressing evidence from cathedral muniments, I assessed surviving repertoire at each location to create a library of pieces suitable for practice-led research. The aim was to include repertoire that could be associated with local practices at the times when instruments are evidenced by the archives, hence the focussed on provincial composers from each location. Durham is well-sourced with information about the specific choice of pieces for a given occasion,⁷⁷ and Durham's famous collection of pre-Restoration partbooks transmits a considerable amount of repertoire – around six percent of all English sacred vocal music of the period, according to Brian Crosby's calculations. Musical evidence at Exeter and Canterbury is considerably less complete. At Canterbury, the only surviving pre-Commonwealth music is limited to 14 folios of manuscript in post-Restoration bindings, bound together with a printed copy of Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Music*.⁷⁸ However, Roger Bowers has identified a number of composers from the ranks of cathedral personnel during the early seventeenth century,⁷⁹ and work by many of these is included in Barnard's collection (Barnard was himself a Canterbury lay vicar). Daniel Bamford's work on transcribing and editing the contents of Barnard's collections has been invaluable here in establishing what remains of the work of local Canterbury composers and I am grateful to Dr Bamford for his permission to use this work in my practice-led research.⁸⁰ Ian Payne has carried out similar work at Exeter, for the handful of pre-Restoration composers who were employed at Exeter and whose work survives elsewhere, and I have added to this body of work with new transcriptions from the sources.

⁷⁷ See Brian Crosby, 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', *The Musical Times*, 121 (1980), pp. 399–401; Brian Crosby, 'An Early Restoration Liturgical Music Manuscript', *Music & Letters*, 55 (1974), pp. 458–64.

⁷⁸ CA, Music MS 1A.

⁷⁹ Bowers, 'Canterbury Cathedral: The Liturgy... and its music', p. 232 & 38.

⁸⁰ Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production and Influence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, York, 2009).

1.6 | Ethics statement

The practice-led research sessions discussed in the second half of this thesis were designed and carried out in consultation with the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire Research Ethics Committee. Information sheets and consent forms can be found in Appendix 3.

Part 1

Chapter 2 | Durham Cathedral

2.1 | Instruments in the choir at Durham Cathedral: Existing contributions to the literature

Of the three case studies addressed by this project, Durham Cathedral has been the beneficiary of the largest volume of scholarly research into historical musical trends and practices by some considerable margin. The amount of seventeenth-century choral polyphony from Durham that survived the ravages of the Civil War goes some way to accounting for the interest this choral institution aroused in musicologists and theologians throughout the twentieth century, but a similarly well-preserved cathedral archive, providing a wealth of much-needed context, has also fuelled scholarly curiosity. Consequently, the base of knowledge surrounding the use of wind instruments in the cathedral from which this project takes its starting point is considerably better developed here than at Exeter and, to a certain extent, Canterbury. Before any attempts are made to fill in the gaps in this knowledge – and many do remain – an overview of the existing literature, its strengths and weaknesses, and the vital background information it provides will follow here. Three writers' contributions to this literature will be discussed in depth: Brian Crosby's publications on music at Durham Cathedral represent the largest single body of work on the subject, but additional, valuable contributions on a variety of relevant issues have also been made by Simon Anderson and John Cannell.

2.1.1 | Roger North on Durham

Even before twentieth-century interest in Durham's musical history got underway, however, one much earlier writer, the diarist, biographer and amateur musician Roger North (1651–1734), provides us with valuable insight into the employment of winds in a liturgical context at this location. Following a trip to the Northern counties in 1676, he records these impressions of the practices he witnessed there:

... [at York] and at Durham, especially the latter, is the promenade of the gentry, and in Durham, so solemnly, that every afternoon you see all the company in the towne walking there. They have the ordinary wind instruments in the Quires, as the cornet, sackbut, double curtaile and others, which supply the want of voices, very notorious there; and nothing can so well reconcile the upper parts in a Quire, since wee can have none but boys and those

none of the best, as the cornet (being well sounded) doth; one might mistake it for a choice eunuch.¹

This extract provides a tantalising glimpse of a vibrant musical scene associated with the cathedral, raising many of the questions which later scholars were to address, and some which have not yet received due attention. The ‘want of voices’ to which North refers has long been associated with the hiatus in the training of choir boys, and general interruption of musical activity, brought about by the Interregnum, but has been interpreted by many as the primary reason for the employment of winds in cathedral choirs in the first place, even before the Civil Wars.² The list of instruments involved is also something of a conundrum. As Brian Crosby’s work confirms, players of the cornett and sackbut are listed regularly in cathedral payment records from the 1620s until the 1690s, but there is no documentary evidence to support the use of the ‘double curtaile and others’ mentioned by North. Perhaps the ‘promenade of the gentry’ is key to understanding this: at Exeter, the statutes of the city waits stipulate that the band must ‘upon every soneday and upon everie principal feaste to go before the mayre next before the sergeants when he goeth to the sermons at St. Peter’s [Exeter Cathedral]’.³ If North were witnessing a similar procession at Durham, he may have seen the musicians of the waits band, playing on all the instruments he mentions, perhaps even playing with singers, accompanying the gentry on the way to Evensong at the cathedral, before hearing the cornetts and sackbuts of the cathedral ensemble during the service. Whether the cathedral wind players and the city waits were as closely associated at Durham as they were elsewhere in the seventeenth century is not something that can be established from records that are currently available, but North’s observations firmly situate the practices of the cathedral within the wider context of the town, reminding us that considering ecclesiastical practices in isolation is a limiting approach.⁴

¹ As quoted in: John Wilson, *Roger North on Music. Being a selection from his essays written during the years c.1695–1728* (London: Novello & Co., 1959), p. 40.

² For example: Anthony Boden, *Thomas Tomkins : the last Elizabethan, with commentaries on Tomkins's music by Denis Stevens [et al.]* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 276.

³ From *Hooker’s Commonplace Book*, DRO, ECA/Book 51, f. 183, quoted in John M. Wasson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Devon* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1986), p. 166.

⁴ A handful of payments were made by Durham Cathedral to Durham’s waits band in the early seventeenth century, but none of the musicians are listed by name. At the time of writing the *Records of Early English Drama* publication for North East England was still in preparation. It is possible that entries in the city archives, which I have not consulted, may shed further light on the relationship between the cathedral band and the waits

The chronology of North's writings and their eventual publication dates is complex, but by the time his text about Durham was published posthumously in 1742 the entry relating to the cathedrals had been edited and reads instead:

In these churches, wind musick was used in the Choir; which I apprehend might be introduced at first for want of voices, if not organs; but, as I hear, they are now disused. To say the truth, nothing comes so near, or rather imitates so much, an excellent voice, as a cornet pipe; but the labour of the lips is too great, and it is seldom well sounded.⁵

The first thing this revised extract tells us is that by the early- to mid-eighteenth-century, the practice of employing winds in church, at least in the Northern counties, had ceased, an observation borne out by archival evidence.⁶ But North's repeated comparison between the cornett and the human voice, which appears both here and in *The Theory of Sound* (c. 1710–28), is perhaps the most important point to take away from his writings.⁷ A common trope amongst continental writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the perceived ability of the cornett, and indeed the sackbut, to imitate the human voice made them the perfect instruments with which to enhance the performance of sacred music, thus justifying their place in a devotional setting. On this matter, North's rather disparaging assessment of the capabilities of cornettists (presumably in the North of England, but he could have been referring to his experience is general) is somewhat at odds with that of another renowned English diarist John Evelyn. Evelyn's diary entry for 21st December 1662 records how, after the introduction of a French-style violin band at the Chapel Royal, 'we no more heard the cornet which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skillfull'.⁸ Such divergent experiences of this particular instrument serve as a reminder that in seventeenth-century England, as now, a whole spectrum of musical ability was likely to have been heard in the nation's churches and that regional variations in performance quality were

band at this location. I am grateful to Dr Mark Chambers of the *REED North-East* project for allowing access to their unpublished materials.

⁵ As quoted in: Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 40, fn. 17.

⁶ Woodfill also cites the following reference in support of this from Canterbury in 1752 and 1761, where an inventory lists 'two brass Sackbuts not used for a grete number of years past', although I have not been able to verify this reference, which is quoted in Trevor Herbert, 'The Trombone in Britain before 1800' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Open University, 1984), p. 275.

⁷ North's exact wording here is: 'the cornett ... imitates the human voice the best of any'. This bears a striking resemblance to the words of Francesco Rognioni, writing in 1620: '*Il Cornetto, è un instrumento, che partecipa della voce humana più d'ogn'altro*'. One wonders whether North may have been familiar with this treatise.

⁸ E. S. De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 449.

highly likely to have influenced contemporary opinions on the suitability of instruments for use in church. Having said that, Evelyn and North, along with Peter Smart who will be discussed in the second half of this chapter, are among the very few writers to commit value judgements about performance on wind instruments in church to paper during the seventeenth century and care must therefore be taken when attributing national significance to what they have to say.

2.1.2 | Brian Crosby and Durham's extra-musical primary sources

Leap forward three centuries and approaches to liturgical performance at Durham once again began to attract scholarly attention, the largest contribution to which came from Cathedral lay clerk and Durham Choir School teacher Brian Crosby. In Crosby's own words, 'for over 35 years it has been my delight to explore the Cathedral archives, seeking information about the choir and its music',⁹ and the research he conducted can be considered a true life's work. By the time of his death in 2015 the list of his publications on the musical establishment of Durham Cathedral had reached double figures. Although the nucleus of his work can be found in his 1993 PhD thesis from Durham University, the various subjects to which he turned his attention appeared as short articles and pamphlets over the preceding three decades, and it is interesting to trace the course of his scholarship through these items before addressing their manifestation in the thesis itself. Crosby's studies leaned heavily towards the period up to c.1650 and indeed devoted considerable space to the monastic foundation and early Reformation musical establishments, but in later publications he can be seen addressing post-Restoration matters. The great advantage with a work of this breadth is that some overarching themes relevant to Durham Cathedral as an institution can be traced over a considerable period of time. One important example that Crosby addresses is the concept of Durham as a peripheral outpost of the English church, isolated as it is by geography, and the potential impact on musical developments this may have had. Instead of creating the impression of artistic and creative isolation, however, Crosby is able to refer to evidence from across the centuries which show that Durham was anything but disconnected from the wider church. The appointment of the first cantor in 1386–7, for example, coincides with the

⁹ Margot Johnson, ed., *John Cosin: from priest to Prince Bishop. Essays in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of his birth* (Durham: Turnstone Ventures, 1997), p. xii.

same development at Westminster Abbey,¹⁰ whilst William Whittingham's biographer reports that during his time as Dean (1563–1579) 'he was very careful to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the Queen's chapell to furnish the Quire with all'.¹¹

Combined with the evidence of the surviving music partbooks of the mid-seventeenth century, we are reminded that Durham was an integral part of the national network that was the Church of England, this despite, or perhaps even because of its remote location. The extent of this connectedness and its effects on localised performance practices will be addressed in Chapter 2.2.

The background to Crosby's work, as is the case with many who turned their attention to cathedral music making during the embryonic stages of the early music revival, is bound up with the editorial and research activities of E. H. Fellowes, whose *Tudor Church Music* series published between 1923 and 1937 inspired countless subsequent studies.¹² The reception of this seminal work impacts directly on many of the issues with which this project is concerned, including, but not limited to, questions of performing pitch, transposition, styles of organ accompaniment, the relationship between text and music and the development of an 'Anglican' church music aesthetic which remains current in the twenty-first century. For Crosby, however, an investigation of the seventeenth-century performance materials at Durham from which Fellowes worked provided the most obvious starting point for further research, and in 1974 Crosby published *Durham Cathedral's music manuscripts*, a brief overview of the contents and form of all music surviving in manuscript in Durham Cathedral Library.¹³ In this publication he mainly addresses eighteenth-century items which had come to scholarly attention for the inclusion of many works by Bach and Handel, but two general points of interest arise. Firstly, despite the availability by the eighteenth century of printed collections of music for cathedral use, hand copying remained the best way to get the newest

¹⁰ Brian Crosby, 'The Music across the Centuries', in *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric and Culture*, ed. by David Brown (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 333–50 (p. 335).

¹¹ Crosby, 'Music across the Centuries', p. 340.

¹² E. H. Fellowes, P.C. Buck, and A. Ramsbotham, eds., *Tudor Church Music*, 10 vols (London: Stainer and Bell, 1922–9).

¹³ Other writers to address the Durham MSS before Crosby include: Wyn K. Ford, 'An English Liturgical Partbook of the 17th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 12 (1959), pp. 144–60; John Buttrey, 'William Smith of Durham', *Music & Letters*, 43 (1962), pp. 248–54; H Watkins Shaw, 'Musical life in Durham Cathedral, 1622–1644', *Musical Opinion*, 35 (1963); John Morehen, 'Sources of English Cathedral Music, c.1620–1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969).

available music into the cathedral repertoire quickly, often before printed editions became available. The copying of Handel's *Messiah* into the cathedral manuscripts as early as 1751 is cited by Crosby as evidence of the connectedness of Durham to the musical scene in London, despite the geographical disconnect, a characteristic that was established well before the eighteenth century. The inclusion of two Durham sources now at the British Museum in Crosby's overview also raises the question of whether a printed set of Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641) was ever possessed by Durham, based on the appearance of a bass decani volume of this publication bound together with post-Restoration manuscript additions of Durham origin in Lbm MS K.7.e.2. When assessing how the re-establishment of the choral service may have unfolded in 1660, it is worth bearing in mind that this nationally circulated publication may have been part of the Durham repertoire, despite no mention of it surviving in the records.

Crosby's next publication of interest refers to the contents of Miscellaneous Charter 7116, a roll from amongst the Cathedral muniments, which contains details of 'all the Vestments Ornaments Song Bookes and other moveable goods belonging to the Cathedrall Church of Durham' and which he dates to between 1665 and 1667.¹⁴ Crosby was quick to recognise the importance of the information contained within this small fragment of archival evidence, but the implications for the present project cannot be overstated. The section of the inventory headed 'In the Song Schoole' lists the following:

Item Psalterium Carolinum composed by Dr Wilson in three
parts
Item Sr William Leightons Divine Lamentations in ffower
parts
Item Dowlands Songes in ffower parts
Item Jones Vltimum Vale to Musick in ffower
parts
Item ye Psalmes of David composed in fower parts for
voices & Instrumts
Item Morleys Introduction to Musick
Item Consort Lessons for Six Instrumts set by exquisite
Authors
Item Two Deskes and two Backseates
Item One pair of Iron Barres
Item One ffoulding Table
Item Morleys ffower parts
Item Orianaes ffower parts
Item Two Sackbutts and Two Cornetts &
2 Cricketts in ye qur for Sackbutts
Item two Books in Fol: bound in Black Leather and ruled

¹⁴ Brian Crosby, 'A 17th-Century Durham Inventory', *The Musical Times*, 119 (1978), pp. 167–70 (p. 169).

with the Churches Armes on them.¹⁵

The most obvious items of note are the two cornetts and two sackbuts, which ratify archival evidence from the treasurer's accounts that the instruments continued to be employed following the Restoration.¹⁶ Whilst a copy of Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* also appears in the Cathedral Library, its inclusion amongst the song school items locates it firmly within a pedagogical context, providing at least a point of reference when considering the educational processes involved in the general teaching of the choir boys. Morley's publication and the other titles listed in the inventory are discussed in Chapter 8.

In this article, Crosby also used the details of the inventory to begin to identify how the surviving MS part books from Durham might be usefully categorised, a process which he completed in his 1993 thesis. He identified that a ten-book system was in use, with each set of books containing medius, contratenor altus I and II, tenor and bassus books for both cantoris and decani sides of the choir, and concluded that of the surviving MSS, all the sets in use in the decades preceding the Civil War are represented by at least one (and up to eight) surviving books per set.¹⁷ Further investigation into the pattern of copying activities and the different hands which contributed to each set enabled Crosby to establish a chronology for the part books which in turn informs an understanding of the development of the liturgical repertoire in use at Durham around this time.¹⁸ As will be seen in Chapter 2.2, there is an argument for reading this repertoire as a barometer of religious and political change both locally and nationally, and without Crosby's work on the bare bones of the repertoire itself, this approach would not be possible.

In 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', written three hundred years after the document to which it refers, Crosby discusses the oldest surviving service sheet from Durham Cathedral and the information it transmits about the shifting patterns of liturgical performance in the

¹⁵ As reproduced in Brian Crosby, 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350–c.1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1993), p. 284.

¹⁶ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 195. Crosby does not mention the two 'cricketts in y^e qu^r for Sackbutts' listed below the instruments. The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'crickett' or, more fully, 'cricket stool' as 'A low wooden stool; a footstool'. See "cricket, n.2." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, December 2019, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/44389> [Accessed: 30th January 2020]. I am grateful to Trevor Herbert for bringing this definition to my attention.

¹⁷ Crosby, 'A 17th-Century Durham Inventory', p. 169.

¹⁸ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 221 onwards.

decades either side of the Interregnum.¹⁹ The scarcity of such detailed performance records from any other institution of the seventeenth century makes the information contained within the 1680 sheet all the more fascinating, as Crosby was quick to acknowledge. Found pasted into the cover of a bassus partbook copied in the 1670s, the document is damaged, but Crosby's transcription of the contents, including his completion of the missing text, is reproduced in Figure 1. In total, twenty-one morning services, twenty-one evening services and forty-seven unique anthems appear during the month, and whilst Matins and Evensong were clearly sung daily, on Wednesday and Friday mornings no anthem was included. Perhaps a metrical psalm took its place. The continuity of repertoire in use before 1640 and after 1660 is most striking amongst the anthems, where thirty-five of the forty-seven post-Restoration items appear in the pre-1640 partbooks. This continuity is attributed by Crosby firstly to the survival of so much MS material from before the Civil War to which the musical staff of the cathedral obviously had instant access.²⁰ Unlike the situation at other institutions such as Canterbury and Exeter, where rampaging troops had taken great delight in the destruction of choir books, Durham was not faced with the expensive and time-consuming task of rebuilding its entire collection of choral music, which may perhaps account for the lack of reference to printed sources (such as Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*) popular elsewhere.

¹⁹ Brian Crosby, 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', *The Musical Times*, 121 (1980), pp. 399–401 (p. 400).

²⁰ Crosby, 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', p. 399.

Figure 1 : A service sheet from Durham Cathedral, 1680

June	Morninge	Eueninge: Service: 1680
(Tuesday:1)	<i>t</i> [O. Gibbons] short service	<i>t</i> [O.] Gibbons: [short] Eueninge service
	<i>t</i> (Behold) [now praise the Lord]	<i>tv</i> [Ravenscroft]: O lett me heare thy louinge
	[R.] Allinsons	kindness
(Wed:2)	<i>t</i> [Byrd's] (s)hort service	<i>t</i> Birds: short service
		<i>t</i> Almighty god ye fountaine [T. Tomkins]
(Thursday:3)	<i>t</i> [R. Farrant's] (sho)rt service	<i>t</i> [R.] Farrants: Eueninge service
	<i>t</i> [The Lord bless] us: [R. White]	<i>tv</i> O lord yu hast searched me out [Batten]
(Fryday:4)	(Childs in D so) 1 re	Childs in D sol re
		<i>t</i> Out of the deep [Full anthem]: Morley
Satt(er):5)	<i>t</i> [Patrick's short] service	<i>t</i> Patterick: Eueninge service
	<i>t</i> (Deliver me fro)m mine Enemies	<i>t</i> God standeth in the congregation [Read]
	[would be Byrd; should be R. Parsons]	
Sunday:(6)	[Bryne's short] (s)ervice	Brynes: Eueninge service
 <i>tv</i>	Holy lord god Almighty: Battins
Munday:7	[J. Farrant's in D] (s)ol re	[J.] Farrants in D sol re
	<i>t</i> Arise [O Lord]: Tallis	<i>t</i> Blessed be thy name o God [Tallis]
Tuesday:8	[?Nicholls short] service	Nichols: Eueninge service
	O <i>tv</i>	Let god Arise: tow Basses: wards
Wed:9	Wil(kes short) service	Fosters second service
		<i>t</i> o how glorious art thou o God [R. White]
Thursday:10	Childs B(enedic)tie [in Gamut]	Childs: Eueninge service [in Gamut]
	O pray for (the pe)ace: Nichols	<i>tv</i> If the lord himselfe: [Edw.] Smiths
Fryday:11	Fosters: (secon)d service	<i>r</i> Fosters: second Eueninge service
		<i>t</i> O God the proud [Byrd]
Satterd:12	Wilkinsons (sho)rt service	<i>t</i> Reads: short service
	<i>t</i> O lord give (ear) [Byrd]	When the lord turned: Fosters
Sunday:13	<i>t</i> Tallis: short (ser)vice	<i>t</i> Tallis: Eueninge service
	<i>t</i> I will magnifi(e t)he(e) o lord: Hooper	<i>v</i> I will alwayes Give thanks: [W.] Kings
Munday:14	<i>v</i> Shaws: short (se)vice	<i>v</i> Shaws Eueninge service
	O pray for the (p)ease: Childs	<i>t</i> I call and cry [Tallis]
Tuesday:15	Hiltons: shor(t) service	Hiltons short Eueninge service
	Blessed by the (l)ord god: Childs	<i>v</i> I will give thanks Nichols
Wed:16	Childs in F faut	Childs in F faut
		<i>t</i> Save me o God [? Byrd; or Hilton, Portman
Thursday:17	<i>v</i> Childs: in E: $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>v</i> Childs: in E: $\frac{1}{2}$ - both <i>v</i>)
	O clap yor hands: Childs	<i>tv</i> Behold how good and Joyfull: Portman
Fryday:18	Loosemore short service	Loosemore short Eueninge service
		<i>t</i> I lift my heart to thee [Tye]
Satterd:19	<i>t</i> [T.] Tomkins short service	<i>t</i> [T.] Tomkins short service
	<i>t</i> Give laud vnto [the Lord] [J. Mundy]	<i>t</i> Call to remembrance [Hilton]
Sunday:20	<i>rt</i> Gibbons short servi(ce)	<i>tv</i> Battins 3 for vers
	<i>v</i> o Give thanks Willi(am) [Tucker]	<i>tv</i> praise the lord o my soule Battins
Munday:21	<i>t</i> Strogers sh(ort) service	<i>t</i> Strogers short Eueninge service
	<i>t</i> o thou God (Almighty)	If the lord himselfe Foster
	[would be Mundy; should be Hooper]	
Tus(day):22	Childe <i>tv</i>	I will magnifie ye lord Pearson
 <i>tv</i>	[R.] Hinde: o sing vnto the lord
Wed:(23)	<i>rt</i> [R. Farrant's short service]	<i>rt</i> [R.] Farrants short
		<i>t</i> Almighty [and everlasting God] [O.] Gibbons
Thursd(ay):24)	[Parsons of Exeter]	Persons of Exeter
	<i>v</i> (O) sing [unto the Lord] Child	<i>tv</i> Vnto the(e) o lord Wilkinson
Fryda(y):25)	<i>r</i> [Childs in D] sol re	<i>r</i> Childs in D sol re
		<i>r</i> O pray for the peace Nichols
(Satterd:26)	<i>r</i> [Bryne's] (sh)ort	<i>r</i> Bryne short
	<i>t</i> (Behold) it is Christ [Hooper]	<i>t</i> o lord I bow the knees of my heart
(Sunday:27)	<i>rt</i> (Tal)lis short	<i>rt</i> Tallis short [W. Mundy]
	<i>t</i> lift up your heads [O. Gibbons]	<i>tv</i> We praise the(e) ô father [O. Gibbons]
(Munday:28)	<i>rt</i> Wilks short	<i>r</i> Nichols magnific(at)
	<i>rt</i> o how glorious [R. White]	<i>tv</i> Blow vp the trumpet [Peerson]
(Tuesday:29)	<i>r</i> [W.] Munday's short	<i>rt</i> Reads [short]
	<i>r</i> If the lord himselfe: Foster	<i>tv</i> O God my heart prepared is [R.] H[utcheson]
(Wed:30)	<i>r</i> Hiltons short	<i>r</i> Hiltons short
	Behold [how good and joyful]	o lord Let it be thy pleasu(re) [J. Hutchinson]
	[J.] Hutchinson	

Crosby also identifies the continuity of musical personnel, particularly the post-Restoration appointment of John Foster, a pre-1640 choir boy, to the role of Organist and Master of the Choristers, as a factor in the continuity of repertoire choices. The case of Foster, and indeed his music, is an interesting one though, as he is amongst only a handful of Durham locals represented among the composers in the 1680 list.²¹ As will be seen, the activities of Durham composers during the 1630s has implications for our understanding of the religious climate at Durham during this time, and the fact that so few works by locals made it into the Restoration repertoire may be considered a signifier of local attitudes to liturgical embellishment in around 1660. Furthermore, no mention is made of *Preces* or *Responses* on the sheet, two liturgical items which received increased polyphonic treatment amongst Durham composers pre-1640. Whilst, as Crosby points out, it is entirely possible that they were still sung, the possibility that they were not may have implications for our understanding of Restoration liturgical performance as a whole and must also be borne in mind.

Whilst Crosby draws on this early research in his 1993 thesis, the additional breadth of contextual evidence he brings to a consideration of Durham's musical practices in his later work is striking. The scope of the thesis itself begins far earlier than the time-frame of this present study, but usefully includes a detailed consideration of musical provision at the cathedral in the period directly preceding my own. Crosby assesses the effects of mid-sixteenth-century religious upheaval (the split from Rome, the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the Act of Uniformity, the reign of Mary I, and Elizabeth I's Act of Supremacy) on the formation of the choir, commissions for new music and the enactment of the liturgy, painting a detailed picture of the religious-political landscape around the cathedral itself.²² His discussion of the character of William Whittingham, Dean of Durham from 1563–79, citing his 'Genevan persuasion'²³ as a strong influence on his approach to musical provision at the cathedral, is particularly interesting, contrasting as it does with the high-church tendencies which were to become so far-reaching by the 1620s and 1630s. The context for Whittingham's theological approach to music, how it fits in with wider philosophical ideas and its relationship with developments in the seventeenth century is addressed in Chapter 2.2 of the present study, but the musical evidence that Crosby cites enables one to draw parallels

²¹ Ibid.

²² Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', pp. 136–53.

²³ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 139.

between approaches to liturgical embellishment at both the beginning and the end of the period in question. By identifying a possible sixth ‘lost’ set of music books, that containing ‘Services and Anthems for men’ listed in the Song School inventory, but no longer in the cathedral’s collection, he sheds light on the inclusion of several items in the post-Restoration repertoire which date from a full century earlier (items by, for example, Mundy, Sheppard and Tallis).²⁴ These items would have fulfilled a similar role post-1660 as they had post-1560, providing music which could have been performed without boys’ voices, the training of which had met with interruption during both periods. Whether, as was the case in 1660, instruments were used to support the choir lacking in treble voices in the 1560s is not a question addressed by Crosby, nor one for which archival evidence is forthcoming, but it is interesting to note the similarities of musical conditions that Crosby’s extensive contextual information portrays.²⁵

The presence of cornetts and sackbuts, as evidenced by the Song School inventory and the treasurer’s accounts, is acknowledged by Crosby in his earlier writings, but it is not until his dissertation that he dedicates any significant space to consideration of their role or function. He frames this within the context of the debate between Peter Smart and John Cosin, embarking upon a detailed examination of the toing and froing that occurred between the two men during the decades preceding the Civil War. The intricacies of this debate, along with musical evidence that may contribute to our understanding of it, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.2, but the evidence to which Crosby refers clearly provided the impetus for further work aimed at establishing more about the cornett and sackbut players to which the archives refer. He managed to narrow down the point at which instrumentalists were first employed by the cathedral to between December 1624 and July 1628, despite extremely patchy payments records surviving from around this time,²⁶ and it is likely that the installation of Richard Neile as Bishop of Durham in 1617 provided the impetus for beginning this practice. Neile, a devotee of William Laud who took a Cambridge divinity

²⁴ Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 144.

²⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 1, casual references to cathedral musicians survive from early in Elizabeth’s reign. Further work is required establish how their possible liturgical use may have manifested itself in practice during this period.

²⁶ A marginal comment found in Episcopal Visitation articles from 1665 states: ‘the Bishop [John Cosin] likes them [the cornetts and sackbuts] very well having been established in his time when he was a Prebendary heretofore.’ Cosin was a Prebendary between 1624 and 1628. (DCA, Hunter MS 11, ga. 83., as quoted in Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 193).

doctorate in 1600 and who maintained close links with Durham House on the Strand throughout his career, shares aspects of his background, particularly the Cambridge connection, with individuals from my other two study locations, George Marson at Canterbury and Edward Gibbons at Exeter, whose arrivals at their respective institutions coincided with the appearance of instrumentalists in cathedral archives, strengthening the apparent influence of Cambridge on provincial musical practices.

Crosby identified four musicians by name from the payment records. These are John Hawkins and George Barnfather (cornettists) and William Sherwin and Miles Atkinson (sackbut players). George Barnfather had been a chorister from 1613 to 1615 and Hawkins a supernumerary lay-clerk from c.1601, but Crosby could not provide any information about either of the sackbut players.²⁷ His search of the Durham Parish Registers named a further four individuals identified as sackbut players, two of whom, Roger Richardson (bur. 5th April 1630) and Robert Richardson (daughter baptised 4th May 1642) could have been employed by the cathedral based on Crosby's proposed time-frame. One further possible sackbut player, John Watkins, was identified by Crosby when examining the notebooks of Peter Smart, who named him as the author of a document recording all of John Cosin's musical innovations during the 1620s. Crosby suggests that this John Watkins was buried on 8th June 1629 and had also received his musical education as a chorister.²⁸ Advances in the digitisation of probate records have enabled me to carry out probate registry searches for all the named musicians, but unfortunately nothing has surfaced that might shed any more light on these individuals, and many questions remain. Comparison of the four signatures which survive in the treasurer's accounts with those surviving at Canterbury Cathedral suggest that they were all educated men, and certain conclusions can therefore be drawn about the musical training of at least those individuals who were formerly choristers.²⁹

²⁷ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 194.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ The *Records of Early English Drama North-East* project, due to include lists of those identified as waits band members from materials in Durham City Archives, will enable cross-referencing between those employed by the cathedral and those employed by the town in order to build a better picture of the type of instrumental musicians the cathedral was employing around this time, but at the time of writing this work had not yet been completed.

The situation after the Restoration is somewhat less clear, and Crosby's paragraph on this subject is worth quoting in full:

The Treasurer's books confirm that the cornetts and sackbuts were used in the years following the Restoration. The sackbuts were discarded *c.* 1680, but the cornetts continued to be used until their users, Robert Arundel and Matthew Ridley, who had been playing them since 1663, died in 1696 and 1698 respectively. Possibly, by then their positions had become sinecures.³⁰

Elsewhere Crosby refers to Arundel and Ridley as 'boy cornettists',³¹ and at least one sackbut player, Alexander Shaw who was sacked for an unspecified misdemeanour in 1681, had also been a chorister at the Restoration.³² This confirms that the pre-war practice of recruiting instrumentalists from within the ranks of the choirboys continued after the Restoration. It is interesting to speculate, though, how long the practice of winds contributing to the service continued, and to what extent they participated in the performance of the newer repertoire that appears in the 1680 service sheet and was added to the partbooks throughout the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Chapter 7 addresses the extent to which performance practice solutions suggested by pre-Restoration repertoire can be adapted and applied to later works.

2.1.3 | Simon Anderson and Music by Durham Composers

The preceding paragraphs by no means do justice to the breadth of Crosby's research at Durham, but begin to indicate the level of knowledge Crosby developed about this institution in the areas most relevant to the present project. Although the subject has received relatively little scholarly attention since Crosby's day, there are two more recent pieces of work which are of interest. Simon Anderson's 1999 doctoral thesis 'Music by Members of the Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral in the 17th Century' is a useful addition to the literature.³³ Anderson himself acknowledges his work as a continuation of Brian Crosby's, whose thesis leaves off in 1642, and indeed refers the reader to Crosby's work for biographical information about the composers he discusses. In his work on the Durham partbooks, he focuses more heavily on the post-Restoration materials, in order to limit duplication of

³⁰ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 195.

³¹ Crosby, 'Music across the Centuries', p. 342.

³² Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 155.

³³ Simon Anderson, 'Music by Members of the Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral in the 17th Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1999).

Crosby's work. Included in the thesis are extracts or full transcriptions of many of the musical items by local Durham composers contained in the Durham partbooks, many of which do not appear in modern edition elsewhere. Accompanying these transcriptions are a textual commentary, full list of sources, list of variants between sources and a brief musical commentary for each piece. This provides both a good indication of compositional style within the work of local Durham composers and a point of comparison between local and national trends. Beginning with the late sixteenth-century organist and master of the choristers John Brimley (1502–76) and ending with Thomas Allinson (c.1672–1705), the breadth of Anderson's work covers the entire period of the present study, also giving vital context concerning the periods immediately before and afterwards. Of Anderson's transcriptions, some are small extracts (unhelpfully not always including the beginning of the piece), some are heavily reconstructed, and some are fully transcribed from original parts. Not all pieces are included, but the selection gives a good indication of what is salvageable from the surviving materials. His use of a minor third transposition in his examples (unnecessary really, considering these examples cannot have been intended for performance given their context) gives a rather distorted representation of the repertoire from a performance practice perspective, underlining how overdue untransposed critical performing editions of some of this repertoire still are. However, Anderson is one of the few scholars to have addressed this body of repertoire musically as opposed to materially, and as such his approach is valuable.

Anderson does briefly address the question of cornetts and sackbuts in the choir, again referring the reader back to Crosby on the subject. He even highlights a recurring marking in some partbooks copied by Toby Brooking, which he suggests may have indicated performance on the cornett, but does not seem especially convinced himself of this interpretation, offering many other possibilities for the meaning of the marks in question.³⁴ However, it is worth quoting his short paragraph on performance suggestions in full here:

It is known that two sackbutters and two cornet players were paid at Durham from the 1620s through to the 1690s. No evidence survives of music from which they may have played, nor of which parts, though from practical experience of performing reconstructions it seems the most successful effects are obtained when the sackbuts double tenor and bass and cornets double the two altos. In verse writing they should only be employed in choruses so as not to distort the solo, and in full works they should play throughout. It appears that the high

³⁴ Anderson, 'Music ... of Durham Cathedral', p. 181.

frequencies of the medius voice support its projection in the building, and doubling is not required.³⁵

Private correspondence with Simon Anderson has provided further details of the nature of the performance to which he refers and the processes that contributed to his performance practice decisions. The first point to note is that the performance in question was not designed specifically for investigating the possibilities for the use of wind instruments. Instead, its aim was to perform some of the repertoire from the Durham sources, and which Anderson newly transcribed, which was unlikely to have been heard since the seventeenth century. As such, it cannot be considered as practice-led research in the sense that it was conceived with research as the primary aim. Secondly, whilst the men's voices were all provided by the Cathedral choir, women's voices were used on the treble parts, instead of boys. This issue will be addressed in later chapters, but the likelihood is that women's voices would be better able to project in an acoustic such as Durham than the boys of the choir. Thirdly, the event took place as a concert performance with the performers arranged under the tower of the cathedral, and not in the choir stalls themselves, again increasing the ability of the upper parts to project, probably at the expense of the middle voices. Anderson's choice of transposition also raises question, as without the upwards minor third transposition he uses and upon which recent research casts considerable doubt, the contratenor altus lines are too low for performance on regular treble cornetts. All these points will be considered in greater detail elsewhere, but the fundamental supposition that winds were there to support the voices, i.e. to make up for some shortcoming in the abilities of the choir, is an angle that Anderson seems to have taken without question. I would argue that this is, at this stage, not a forgone conclusion, and that it should not be assumed that the instruments' role was exclusively one of vocal support at Durham or indeed elsewhere. Although Anderson's approach to performance practices may be described as 'of its time' in this instance, as the only other researcher to approach historical performance of mid-seventeenth-century Durham repertoire to date, his work is of great interest.

³⁵ Anderson, 'Music ... of Durham Cathedral', p. 191.

2.1.4 | John Cannell and the music of William Smith

The final publication to be considered here is John Cannell's 2003 edition of the works of William Smith for the *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* series, the only instance of a local Durham composer receiving such comprehensive treatment in a scholarly edition.³⁶ Regularly performed at Evensong services up and down the country today, Smith is best remembered for his shortest work, the *Responses*, but was an important figure in the expansion of polyphonic liturgical embellishment that was undertaken at Durham in the period immediately preceding the Civil War. The context for this expansion and some possible explanations for its extent and arguable success will be discussed in Chapter 2.2.

Cannell's introduction provides a neat precis of the musical background in which Smith was working at Durham – mostly derived from Crosby's work – along with a detailed biography of Smith himself, the contents of which are important considering he was one of five William Smiths operating in Durham between the turn of the seventeenth century and the 1640s, causing questions of identity to rather hinder early studies of the repertoire.³⁷ Cannell also locates Smith within the wider compositional spectrum of his English colleagues, contrasting his work with that of William Lawes, his almost exact contemporary, but one whose vastly different employment context and almost polar opposite approach to the assimilation of Italianate style bares little comparison with Smith's conservatism. Nevertheless, the characterisation of this 'transitional' period in English composition that Cannell puts forward – less reliance on imitative counterpoint, increasingly expressive harmonies, frequent cadences and greater variety of note length – are all found in Smith's work, juxtaposed against more archaic techniques such as cross-relations, false relations and the use of the English cadence.³⁸ In addition to the 'regional quirks' Anderson identifies as being typical of Durham composers, such as absence of triple time sections, lack of chromatic harmonies and almost complete absence of note values of less than a quaver, we can build up a good picture of how Smith's compositional activities, and the tastes of the Durham Chapter, fit into the wider national scheme. The comparisons Cannell makes between Smith's work and the pre-Civil War works of Henry Loosemore and William Child

³⁶ John Cannell, ed., *William Smith: Preces, Festal Psalms and Verse Anthems* (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2003).

³⁷ Buttrey, 'William Smith of Durham'.

³⁸ Cannell, *William Smith*, p. xii.

are also useful when considering the extent to which the Interregnum impacted on compositional style, and therefore potentially also performance practices from 1660 onwards.³⁹

Cannell's edition is not quite complete, omitting Smith's communion music comprising responses to the commandments, a gospel response and two verse settings of the creed on the grounds that with only three surviving voice parts and sparse organ parts they were not salvageable. Fortunately, Simon Anderson thought differently, and he supplies reconstructions of all these items with his thesis.⁴⁰ In a twenty-first-century liturgical context these service items may seem insignificant when considering performances with winds in a cathedral context given the fact that polyphonic settings of these sections of the Prayer Book service are now liturgically obsolete. However, as will be seen in Chapter 2.2, it is precisely this repertoire which is reported as having been performed with instrumental accompaniment at this location, and as such, the availability of salvageable primary sources is significant.

In addition to service music, Smith composed both verse anthems and festal psalms, all of which are presented by Cannell in his edition. The choice of texts for many of Smith's verse anthems represents a response to theological developments particular to Durham in the 1620s and 1630s and will receive further consideration in Chapter 2.2. The festal psalm, a genre to which both William Smith and his fellow Durham composers Edward Smith and Henry Palmer contributed, was a relatively short-lived genre but one which seems to have been fairly widespread in its 'heyday'. Described by Cannell as 'harmonised psalm settings for festal occasions', the earliest examples are by composers such as Tallis, Farrant and Byrd, who retain certain aspects of the chant traditions on which they are based in their compositional procedures, such as antiphonal settings, solo-voice intonations of the opening half-verses and a tendency towards full choir settings elsewhere.⁴¹ These pieces, written for important liturgical occasions, in full style and utilising the spatial aspects of the cathedral choir at Durham seem to cry out for performance with wind instruments and, along with service music by Smith and his contemporaries, form the core repertoire of practice-led investigations into performance options which will be discussed in later chapters. Cannell does briefly mention the possibility of instrumental participation in Smith's music, suggesting, in contrast to Anderson, that cornetts and sackbuts may have been used to double

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Anderson, 'Music ... of Durham Cathedral', pp. 272–88.

⁴¹ Cannell, *William Smith*, p. xii.

the medius and bassus on each side of the choir ‘at least on festal occasions’.⁴² Although this is a more convincing arrangement of players than Anderson’s suggestion, Cannell does not take into consideration the fact that the instrumentalists were paid to be there at every service during the 1620s and 1630s, instead limiting their use to what was effectively the six days of the church year designated as major feasts.⁴³

There are many aspects of liturgical performance practice at Durham Cathedral in the seventeenth century about which a great deal is already known and has already been written. The names and general educational backgrounds of at least some of the cathedral instrumentalists, the frequency and terms of their employment and the longevity of their presence both as individuals and as an entity have all been discussed by Brian Crosby. The performance materials they used have been dated and issues surrounding the chronology of their production and the hands that worked on them have been established by Crosby and Anderson, and their musical contents given a place within the broader context of national compositional trends by Anderson and Cannell. Large amounts of the repertoire have been transcribed or reconstructed, and although gaps remain, it is possible to assess the extent of salvageable musical items from work that has already been undertaken. First-hand accounts of performances involving instrumentalists, from John Cosin, Peter Smart and, later in the century, Roger North have all been examined as a means of establishing the fact that instrumental performance was an important aspect of Durham musical life at this time, and provide vital clues as to religious-historical factors which may have been at play. There remains, however, a disconnect between this detailed background evidence and the practical, performative act of participating in the liturgy as an instrumentalist, despite suggestions having been made in this direction over the years. Chapter 2.2 aims to address this disconnect between context and performance, whilst Chapters 6–8 discuss how practice-led research has helped establish what performance practice parameters may have been involved.

⁴² Cannell, *William Smith*, p. xv.

⁴³ Crosby states ‘[The players’] attendance at services was not just confined to Sundays, for a minute for 22 November 1633 warned them that they would be fined 12d. if they were absent on Sundays, and 6d. if absent on weekdays.’ No reference is provided for this minute.

2.2 | ‘Tenn Bookes... for ffestivall daies’: Durham Partbooks MSS E4–11 and the participation of wind instruments in liturgical music at Durham Cathedral, 1620–1680.

The chance survival at Durham of twenty-four partbooks and five organ books begun in the 1620s and added to well into the 1660s has secured not only an important body of evidence relating to musical practices at Durham Cathedral during this time, but also nationally, transmitting a significant percentage of English sacred repertoire from the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ Combined with a wealth of extra-musical archive material and a well-documented religious-political historiography of the area, some important conclusions can already be drawn about musical practices in Durham during the period in question, as discussed above. However, despite such a wealth of contextual information, the presence of wind instruments in Durham Cathedral choir, whilst continually acknowledged in the secondary literature, has never been considered in detail. It is the purpose of this chapter to address this, by laying the contextual foundations required to assess the contribution wind instruments could have made to performance of liturgical music at Durham, by identifying specific repertoire which could have been performed with winds based on the evidence at hand, and by making some suggestions for other ways in which winds may have contributed to liturgical performance that may not be immediately apparent from archival evidence.

2.2.1 | The Provenance of MSS E4–E11

Eight of the Durham partbooks, MSS E4–11, have been chosen as the unifying thread running through this contextual and musical consideration, principally for their microcosmic representation of some of the issues surrounding the question of wind instruments in liturgical music at Durham. To this end an overview of their provenance, history and contents follows.⁴⁵ Crosby identified items from six sets of partbooks, plus five organ books, in his

⁴⁴ Brian Crosby put this figure at around 6% in 1993. Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 221.

⁴⁵ I am not the first to identify MSS E4–11 as a useful vehicle for assessing the extent of religious change in seventeenth-century Durham. Following completion of this chapter I became aware of Nicholas Heppel’s contribution to Margot Johnson, ed., *John Cosin: papers presented at a conference to celebrate the 400th anniversary of his birth* (Durham: Turnstone Ventures, 1997). In his paper entitled ‘Cosin and Smart: Using Musical Evidence to Untangle some Historical Problems’, Heppel also suggests that the expansion of polyphonic musical treatment of the liturgy is symptomatic of Laudian policy, undertaking a close reading of

assessment of the pre-Restoration materials as a whole, labelling MSS E4–11 as set three. Each set would originally have comprised ten books and of the six sets, set three is the most intact (a summary of the form and contents of all twenty-nine items which contain early-seventeenth century materials can be found in Table 1). The whole collection is a remarkable resource, but set three is unique for several reasons. Firstly, the volumes are considerably larger than those from the other sets, measuring around 500mm by 300mm (compared to around 300mm by 180mm for the other choir books). The layout of music on the page is clear and spacious and the contents neatly and consistently ordered. The set has the feel of a complete project in and of itself, in contrast to some of the other volumes which were recompiled, added to and altered over a fifty-year period. Crosby identifies three copyists at work on the set, Toby Brooking and John Todd, both of whom contributed significantly to the production of the Durham MSS during the period in question, and a third, unnamed individual. Comparisons with Toby Brooking's signature has led Crosby to suggest a date of the later 1630s for the copying of this set.⁴⁶ In addition to its size, the spaces left for large initials (which sadly remain empty), and the use of oblong notation as opposed to the more up-to-date rounded notation of the other volumes, led Crosby to propose that the large medieval manuscripts which may have been in the Cathedral library at the time of its copying could have inspired its production.⁴⁷ Additionally, these characteristics are indicative of the nostalgia at the heart of the English counter-Reformation movement which, as will be seen, had strong roots at Durham.

Unlike the other partbooks, set three only contains music for the six most important feasts of the church year (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday and All Saints' Day), probably an important factor in the excellent preservation of the materials, but also a signifier of the ceremonial function both of the books themselves and the music contained within. The repertoire, along with services by national figures such as Byrd and Batten, includes polyphonic settings of the preces and festal psalms by both local and national figures, with William Smith featuring amongst them. It has been suggested that the work of local composers appearing in the Durham sources of this period often represent part of a wider project to complete the provision of polyphonic service music available throughout

Smart and Cosin's exchanges similar to that which I have included here. However, Heppel does not consider instrumental participation, nor performance practice more generally, in his paper.

⁴⁶ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 240.

⁴⁷ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 238.

the year with, for example, setting of the collects for the day and festal psalms for specific occasions written to ‘fill gaps’ left between those items copied from elsewhere, and William Smith’s contributions to the set three manuscripts would certainly fall into this category.⁴⁸ All this suggests that the commissioning of the set, which seems to have included both the writing and copying of music, would have represented a sizeable investment on the part of the Dean and Chapter. It is worth considering the context for such an investment and the information it provides about the religious-historical climate in Durham at the time.

⁴⁸ Cannell, *William Smith*, p. xi.

Table 1 : Contents of the Durham partbooks, after Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, 1993

Set & Contents	Set 1: Anthem Books	Set 2: Service Book	Set 3: Service Books	Set 4: Service Book	Set 5: Anthem Books	Set 6: Composites	Post-Restoration items completing or contributing to pre-1642 sets
Partbooks	C4 II Contratenor Decani	C18 Bassus Decani	E4 Medius Decani	C8 [Contratenor]	C2 I Contratenor Decani	C11 Tenor Decani, Anthems	C1 Medius [Cantoris], Anthems & Services, c.1660s, replaces missing Medius Cantoris from sets 1 & 5
	C5 II Contratenor Cantoris		E5 Medius Cantoris		C3 II Contratenor Decani	C13 Tenor Decani, Services	C12 Tenor Cantoris, Anthems & Services, c.1680, repeats much of set 1 repertoire
	C6 I Contratenor Cantoris		E6 Secundus Contratenor Decani		C7 (1 st fasc.) [I Contratenor Cantoris]	C16 Bassus, Anthems	C15 Tenor, Anthems, c.1660s, repeats much of set 1 & 5 repertoire
	C7 (2 nd fasc.) [I Contratenor Cantoris]		E7 Primus Contratenor Cantoris		C14 Tenor Cantoris	E11a Alto, Service (the Clumber MS)	C17 Bass Cantoris, Anthems, c.1660s, replaces set 5 bass cantoris
	C9 Tenor Decani		E8 Secundus Contratenor Cantoris		York MS M29s [Bassus] (Dunnington-Jefferson)		C19 Bass Cantoris, Anthems, late 1670s, replaces missing bass decani from sets 1 & 5
	C10 Tenor Cantoris		E9 Tenor Decani				
			E10 Tenor Cantoris				
			E11 Bassus Cantoris				
Measurements	286–95mm x 183–8mm	341mm x 226mm	495–501mm x 295–8mm	292mm x 184mm	293–30mm x 191–205mm	297–9mm x 192–7mm (Clumber MS: 355mm x 216mm)	

Copyists	John Todd, Toby Brooking, John Geeres	John Todd, Toby Brooking plus John Gaydon? and 1 anonymous hand	John Todd, Toby Brooking plus 1 anonymous hand	John Todd	Toby Brooking	Toby Brooking	
Copying dates	Begun 1625, added to in 1630s and 1660s	Similar dates to Set 1	Late 1630s	Similar dates to Set 1, added to until 1739	1630s	Late 1630s	
Notes	Originally 37 full and 42 verse anthems	Verse services, preces, festal psalms	Preces and festal psalms for major feasts, and verse services. Largest, most complete set.	Full services in liturgical groupings for Matins, Communion and Evensong	Anthems for feast days beginning 4 th Sunday of Advent through to Whit Sunday, then saints days, then general full and verse anthems	Copied for clergy to follow / sing from. Produced for individuals, not as part of a complete 10-book set.	
Organ book (Not in sets)	A1 1 st layer: Copied mid-1630s by William Smith 2 nd layer: Copied 1638–9 by Henry Palmer		A2 Variety of hands, John Todd predominates. Includes some pre-1620s additions, table of contents dated 1681.	A3 Early part copied by William Smith pre-1642, later part by John Foster at Restoration		A5 Copied 1638–9 by Henry Palmer	A6 Copied 1638s by Henry Palmer

2.2.2 | Evidence of the Smart-Cosin Debate

As the scene of the now-famous Smart-Cosin debate of the late-1620s and 1630s, the situation at Durham is representative of the turmoil that characterised the English political and religious landscape in the middle of the seventeenth century. Transmitted to the modern reader via a series of letters, sermons and articles, the debate took place between the Calvinist prebendary Peter Smart and the high churchman and Dean of Durham John Cosin and documents many of the fundamental differences between the prevailing Calvinist agenda of the Elizabethan reformed church and the emerging Arminianism of a sector of powerful churchmen influenced by the Dutch divine Jacob Arminius, the theological background to which is outlined in my Introduction. Arminius's doctrine found fertile ground in Durham thanks to the sympathetic leadership of Bishop Richard Neile in the 1620s and formed the theological basis of Archbishop William Laud's Laudianism of the 1630s. The royal favour that this religious persuasion enjoyed led to widespread efforts to roll out Laudianism nationally throughout the decade preceding the Civil War, and Durham is widely considered to have been, along with Westminster Abbey, a seedbed for the development of high church tendencies and their related practices. The degree to which efforts for a national Laudian church succeeded on the ground have long been a matter for debate amongst Reformation historians and it has been shown that Laudian influence on musical provision at Canterbury, for example, was less significant than previously thought.⁴⁹ However, Durham's credentials as an Arminian institution, particularly in the 1620s but also continuing into the 1630s, are difficult to counter and must be considered an important influence on musical provision.

Further than providing evidence of the wider religious-political divide which emerged in Durham in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, documents relating to the Smart-Cosin debate also transmit some of the most specific details about liturgical performance practice to come from any location in England during this time, offering valuable insight into how wind instruments may have been used in the context of Neile and Laud's doctrinal reforms. Table 2 lays out the relevant quotations from both Smart and Cosin which impact on

⁴⁹ See also Peter Jonathan Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603–c.1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sheffield University, 2001), p. 127.

our understanding of performance practice issues. Bold highlights are mine and indicate sections of particular interest.

Table 2: Items relating to liturgical performance practice with instruments from documents recording the Smart-Cosin debate.

Date	Documentary Evidence	Source
1617, King James I visits and takes Holy Communion on Easter Day	The consideration of which impediments of devotion, moved our most learned and religious King <i>James</i> , when he received the holy Communion in the Cathedrall Church, upon Easter-day, 1617, to give charge, or at least in his name charge was given... that the Communion should be administred in plain ma[n]ner; & it was expresly commanded, that no chaunting should be used by the Quire-men, nor playing on the Organs or other Instruments.	Peter Smart, <i>A short Treatise of Altars, Alter-furniture, Alter-cringing, and Musick of all the Quire, Singing-men and Choristers, when the holy Communion was administred in the Cathedrall Church of Durham, by Prebendaries and Petty-Canons, in glorious Copes embroidered with Images.</i> (1629), p. 19. ⁵⁰
1629	Nay the Sacrament it selfe of the holy Eucharist, is turned rather into a theatricall stage-play, then a representation of our Saviour Christ his passion; At the administration of which so many pictures are exhibited to be seene, with other ceremoniall toyes and Popish trinkets, forbidden by the Act of uniformity, and injunctions; And againe, so strange, ridiculous, and idolatrous gestures, with excessive noise of Musicall harmony, both instrumentall and vocall, at the same time , as the like was never used before, either in this, or any other Cathedrall Church, not onely of England, but of Spaine, Italy, France, and Germany, as travellers report.	Smart, <i>Treatise</i> , p.8.
1629	[Note: Not only the holy Communion, but the Sacrament of Baptism also hath beene horribly profaned, as well with images on the Font, as also with immoderate piping and chanting , contrary to the doctrine of our Church in the Homilies. Blaxton and Cosin.] Neither rest they contented with the horrible prophanation of the Lords Supper, with immoderate chaunting, and Organ playing, and with other superstitious vanities; but the Sacrament of Baptisme also, they will not suffer it to be administred, without an heideous noise of musick, both of voyces and instruments.	Smart, <i>Treatise</i> , p. 9.
1629	Why then are set before us so many objects of vanity, so many allurements of our outward senses, our eyes & eares, & consequently our minds from the meditation of Christs death & passion, and our sins which were the only cause of all our miseries, & his lamentable sufferings. Can such paltry toyes bring to our memory Christ and his blood-shedding? Crosses, Crucifixes, Tapers, Candlesticks, gilded Angels, painted Images, golden Copes, gorgious Al[tars, sumptuous Organs, with Sackbuts and Cornets piping so loud at the Communion table, that they may be heard halfe a mile from the Church?	Smart, <i>Treatise</i> , p.19.
[re: Organs installed 1621]	... you have built a new payre of gorgious organs, which have cost at least 700li, which you command to be played upon not only at the 6 o'clock prayer in the morning (whereby you have driven away from the church all schollars and artificers, which were wont to frequent that morning prayer, when it was short, and plainly said, so that they might understand it) but you also injoyne the organist to play upon the	Quoted in: <i>The Correspondence of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham</i> , ed. G Ornsby. 2v. (Surtees Society 52, 55), (Durham, 1869-72), i, p. 167, Item 9

⁵⁰ Available on EEBO: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:48826 [Accessed: 27th August 2019].

	same organs, all the tyme that both the sacraments of Baptisme and the Holy Communion are administred.	
	Ninthly, hee hath turned most of the Service into Piping, and singing, so that the people understand it not no more than they doe Greeke or Hebrew:... Hee will not suffer so much as the holy Communion to be administered without an hydeous noyse of vocall and instrumentall Musicke (the tunes whereof are all taken out of the Masse-booke):...	Peter Smart, <i>The vanitie & downe-fall of superstitious popish ceremonies: or, A sermon preached in the cathedrall church of Durham by one Mr. Peter Smart, a praebend there, July 27. 1628</i> (Edinburgh: Robert Charteris, 1628), p.3v. ⁵¹
1642	Notwithstanding this [49 th] Injunction, our <i>Durhamers</i> have been so eager upon piping and singing, that in stead of the Morning Prayer at 6. Of the clock, which was wont to be read distinctly and plainly, for Schollers, and Artificers before they began their work, they brought in a solemne Service, with singing and Organs, Sackbuts and Cornets , little whereof could be understood of the people, neither would they suffer the Sacrament to be administered without a continuall noise of Musick both instrumentall and vocal, to the great disturbance of those holy actions.	Smart, <i>A Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations in the change of Services and Ceremonies; Of presumptuous irregularities, and transgressions against the Articles of Religion, Act of Parliament for uniformity, Canons, Advertisements, Iujunctions, and Homilies, &c.</i> (London, Joseph Hunscoth, 1642), p.9, point 18. ⁵²
1642	They offended in singing the <i>Nicene Creed</i> not after the manner of distinct reading, as the aforesaid Injunction commands, and as that which is called the Apostles Creed is sung, yet forcing the people with brawling in the time of Divine Service, to stand up upon their feet, all the time that it is sung though they understand nothing, neither can they perceive, whether it be a prayer or a Creed contrary to the Rubrick and Injunction, and 18. <i>Cannon</i> which injoyneth the people to stand up, when the Apostles Creed is said, saying with the Minister in an audible voice, which none can do when the Nicene Creed is sung by the whole Quire, with all their musical instruments.	Smart, <i>Catalogue</i> , p.10, point 20
1642	They offend in chanting in the Quire amongst singing men and children, which Is a base employment, for Major Cannons, Prebendaries, and Preachers, amongst whom it is a thing unaccustomed and unlawful...	Smart, <i>Catalogue</i> , p.10, point 22

⁵¹ Available on EEBO: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:27942:4 [Accessed: 27th August 2019].

⁵² Available on EEBO: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:48966 [Accessed: 27th August 2019].

Considering the amount of information that survives in documentary and musical evidence from Durham, it is surprising how few of the performance implications contained within have been addressed either by the secondary literature or by the wider historical performance movement. Taking the music contained within MSS E4 – 11, recorded payments to cornett and sackbut players throughout the 1630s and Smart’s detailed litany of complaints as a starting point, there are many items of repertoire that suggest themselves as those which would have originally been performed with winds. Service music, for example (canticles in particular but also including creeds, responses and collects), barely features in the current discography of English sacred repertoire from this period recorded with instruments (a small enough catalogue to begin with, see p. 259), whilst it is precisely this category of music towards which much of the Durham performance practice evidence points. Canticles feature in three of the practice-led research sessions discussed in Part 2, although the difficulty of using music which is now liturgically obsolete in context (sung settings of the Nicene Creed, for example) means that many types of liturgical repertoire from Durham still remain to be explored practically.

2.2.3 | Two reconstructed services

Leaving MSS E4–11 aside for a moment, items from the Durham repertoire that may also have been intended for performance with winds can be identified from accounts of the visit of Charles I to Durham *en route* to Scotland on June 1st 1633. The account which survives in the *Correspondence* of John Cosin (as translated from the Latin by Crosby) begins as follows:

The whole choir, minor canons and clerks, [accompanied] on the organ and by other musical instruments, sang a Te Deum ... Then the minister (who was the principal bass on Decani), standing up, uttered, according to the English liturgy, ‘O Lord show they mercy upon us’; and the choir, [accompanied] on the organ, replied, ‘And grant us thy salvation’. The minister then continued, ‘O Lord save the king’, &c., together with the three Collects which are said daily at Evensong. After they were finished, the anthem, ‘I will exalt thee O Lord, &c.’, from Psalm 30, was sung.⁵³

Cosin goes on to list a further three anthems in addition to *I will exalt thee O Lord* which were sung during the course of the royal visit, both at the Saturday Evensong and Morning Prayer the following morning: *Sound [Blow out] the trumpet in Sion, O Praise God in his holiness*, and *O God of gods and King of kings*. Crosby, via *The Sources of English Sacred Music 1549-1644* identifies several possible composers of these anthems, some represented

⁵³ Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 195.

in the Durham partbooks and others not, from which it is possible to reconstruct the order of service, including the musical items, that Charles may have heard on his visit.⁵⁴ Using the information from Table 2, it is also possible to speculate which items could have been performed with wind instruments, and using a combination of all these sources of information, along with further extracts from Smart's writings regarding the order of the liturgy adopted at Durham in the 1630s, the following order of service for Matins in the presence of the King may be suggested:

⁵⁴ The exact form these services may have taken is difficult to establish. A major cause of controversy at Durham in the 1620s was the division of Morning Prayer into two or even three separate services. Smart complains that 'our brainsick Innovators of *Durham*, removed the ordinary Service [Morning Prayer] to 8 a clock, and so it continued about a yeer, and all that time, they had 3 forenoon Services, one at 6. another at 8. and a third at 10. of the clock, afterwards upon better advice (because three Services in one forenoon were tedious) they took quite away the plain and best Morning Prayer, appointed by this Injunction [1559], and put in place thereof, the ordinary Divine Service, and called the people thereunto, by the ringing of three Bels, to which not 3 persons usually resorted, especially in Winter, time, and dark mornings.' It is not absolutely clear from Cosin's account, for example, whether Communion would have taken place directly after this service.

Table 3: June 2nd 1633, order of mattins for the third Sunday after Trinity.⁵⁵

Musical items are given in bold. Items marked with a * indicate those in which participation by winds is supported by documentary evidence from Durham, and (*) designates items for which evidence for performance with winds exists from outside Durham.		
Liturgical item ⁵⁶	Suggested musical repertoire	Notes
Hymn or song	Orlando Gibbons, <i>Sing unto the Lord, O ye saints</i>	Set 1 1559 Injunctions: ‘in the beginning, or in the end of common prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung a hymn, or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God...’ Given Smart’s complaints about the extent of polyphonic settings over congregational singing, I have suggested this anthem on a Trinitytide text.
Sentence, Invitation, Confession, Absolution		
Lord’s Prayer		
Preces	From Byrd ‘Preces and Great Service’	Set 2 This is not a major feast, although the presence of the King may mean it was treated as such. The additional singers in the King’s retinue are likely to have contributed to this occasion, hence my suggestion of a verse service and polyphonic set of Preces. ⁵⁷
Venite*	From Byrd ‘Preces and Great Service’	Set 2
Psalm	Psalm 9, <i>I will give thanks unto thee</i>	No polyphonic setting of this psalm survives in the Durham partbooks. Possibly sung on plainsong tones as per Smart’s ‘immoderate chaunting’.
Old Testament Lesson	[I Samuel II]	
Te Deum*	From Byrd ‘Preces and Great Service’	Set 2
New Testament Lesson	[Mark 3]	
Benedictus*	From Byrd ‘Preces and Great Service’	Set 2
Apostles Creed		
Preces		See above
Collects: 1. Collect of the day	[O Lord we beseech thee mercifully to hear us]	Although several collects for the day appear in the Durham partbooks, this does not number amongst them. <i>Sources</i> lists only one setting, by Barcroft. ⁵⁸
2. O God who are the author of peace		
3. O Lord our heavenly father		
Litany		
O Lord save the King, collect for the King and Queen		

⁵⁵ Dates are according to the Julian Calendar, as per John Cosin’s *Correspondence*.

⁵⁶ Compiled with reference to: Brian Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011); John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1991). I am grateful to John Harper for his correspondence regarding technical liturgical matters, and for providing additional information regarding the historical enactment of the Book of Common Prayer.

⁵⁷ Court records confirm that the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal accompanied Charles on this trip, along with ten trumpet players. There is no evidence that the Royal Wind Music were also in attendance.

Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland: A. Ashbee, 1988), III (1625–1649), p. 71.

⁵⁸ Ralph T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660* (London, 1972), p. 57.

Anthem (*)	<i>Sound [Blow out] the trumpet in Sion,</i> Martin Pearson	Set 5 Smart complains 'that the said Dean and Prebendaries did absolutely forbid and prohibit the Psalms in Meeter to be sung before and after Sermon, and at the Administration of the holy Communion: and instead thereof turned prayers and peeces of reading Psalmes in to Anthems and caused them to be sung'. ⁵⁹
Sermon		
Anthem (*)	<i>O Praise God in his holiness,</i> E. Smith	A2, A5

Exactly what the instrumentalists may have played in such a context is not something which can be answered using the archival or documentary evidence currently available given the lack of surviving instrumental parts or performance instructions in the sources. References in the secondary literature mostly restrict themselves to suggesting that a cornett and a sackbut player played on each side of the choir, taking the top and bottom parts respectively, and most writers restrict their use to full choir sections.⁶⁰ This has neat parallels with the *bicinium*-style organ accompaniment of sacred music from this period proposed by Andrew Johnstone, but would also challenge modern ears for whom the consequent unison playing occurring in full sections may seem unusual.⁶¹ The lack of instrumental parts or partbooks with instrumental designations is one thing which has confounded the question of the role of the instruments to this point, but interpreting this factor as a barrier to effective performance can probably be consigned to the history books at this stage. As Simon Anderson points out when assessing the practicalities of the ten-book set so common in English cathedrals, whilst the men tended to have one book each, the boys would almost always have shared.⁶² At Durham, with 5 boys per side plus a cornettist (not acknowledged by Anderson here, despite their documented presence at every service during the 1620s and 1630s) this would have meant six performers to a book, with one bass sharing with a sackbut player on both sides. MSS E4–11 in particular exhibit many characteristics of volumes

⁵⁹ Peter Smart, *Canterburies crueltie covvorking vvith his prelatieall brethren, in the persecuting of Peter Smart, and other godly Protestants, for withstanding their superstitious proceedings in the bringing of innovation into the church* (London, 1643), p. 9.

⁶⁰ Passing reference to this arrangement of players is made by: Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 127; Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 171; Cannell, *William Smith*, p. xv. No supporting evidence is offered for this assumption by any of these writers.

⁶¹ Andrew Johnstone, "'As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), pp. 507–25 (p. 511).

⁶² Anderson, 'Music ... of Durham Cathedral', p. 35.

designed to be shared, given their large size and clarity of design, and it may be possible that the increased use of instrumentalists at major feasts may have been a further contributing factor in the manner of their production. Anderson also points out how little music each non-soloist choir member would have to sing taking into consideration divisions and verses, and suggests that the partbooks may be considered more of an *aide memoir* than an item to be read from.⁶³ Furthermore, the longevity of items in the Durham repertoire must have meant that any choir member with a background in the song school and as a chorister (which the Durham instrumentalists certainly seem to have been) would have had an extensive memory bank of cathedral repertoire which would have needed little prompting from the partbooks themselves. The danger of associating these materials with the modern reliance on the printed page may have been hampering our understanding of instrumental performance in church for many years, and this is discussed further in Chapter 7, where experimental performance with mocked-up part books shows how use of these materials by a mixed ensemble of singers and instrumentalists works in practice.

Despite being an undoubtedly important occasion, the King's 1633 visit did not fall on one of the major feasts of the church year. By returning to MSS E4–11, and taking the evidence from Table 2 once more as a guide, it is possible to propose how instrumentalists might have contributed to proceedings on an occasion of liturgical importance, one which we know attracted the attentions of local composers looking to complete polyphonic settings of large swathes of the liturgy in accordance with Laud's 'beauty of holiness' doctrine. Taking Easter Sunday 1638 as a hypothetical test case (according to Crosby MSS E4–11 would have been in use by this point), and remembering that the normal order of Sunday morning proceedings in a post-Reformation cathedral included Mattins, the Litany and Holy Communion, followed by Evensong later in the day, it is possible that wind instrumentalists could have been particularly busy on such an occasion. In addition to the anthems and service music of the 1633 service, an Easter Sunday Mattins could have included fully polyphonic preces, a large-scale festal psalm and a polyphonic setting of the collect of the day. To make full use of MSS E4–11, Robert Parson's *First Service* for the *Venite*, *Te Deum* and *Benedictus*, and William Smith's *Preces* and *I will give thanks* (Ps 9) would make practical choices, meaning that only the anthems and collect would need to come from another set of books. Richard Dering's *Almighty God which through thy only begotten son* (the collect for

⁶³ Anderson, 'Music ... of Durham Cathedral', p. 36. See participant responses to use of full-sized partbook materials at the Birmingham workshop discussed in Chapter 7 for some interesting perspectives on this.

Easter Sunday and Easter Monday) appears in set five of the Durham partbooks and seems a likely candidate for this occasion, whilst set five also provides the two Easter anthems *Christ Rising* (Byrd) and *We praise thee O father* (Gibbons), one of which might serve for Matins, the other for Evensong. William Smith provides preces for Gibbons's festal psalm *Awake up my glory* for the Easter Evensong service and again, Parson's *First Service* would make a practical choice for the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*. There is evidence from Smart and Cosin's writings that suggests performance with winds would be appropriate in at least the service music, but it should be pointed out at this stage that, despite many accounts of the practice elsewhere, the participation of winds in the performance of anthems at Durham is never expressly mentioned by either writer.

Matins and Evensong aside, the service that appears to have attracted more of Peter Smart's ire than any other is that of Holy Communion, and indeed it seems that during the 1620s and 1630s Communion on a major feast day would have been a thoroughly musical affair. According to Table 2, 'most of the Service' consisted of 'piping and singing', with even the administration of Communion itself accompanied by 'an hydeous noyse of vocall and instrumental Musicke'. Although two items from the Communion service, *Kyrie* and *Credo*, were commonly set to music by English composers including Durham locals around this time, settings of the *Gloria*, *Sursum Corda* (*Lift up your hearts*) and *Sanctus* are quite rare, with only six, seven and four settings respectively appearing in *Sources*.⁶⁴ However, one of the few individuals to complete the full setting of the Communion service was Durham composer John Foster, whose *First Service* (Td, Bs, K, C) was written whilst he was still a chorister in around 1638 and whose *Second Service* (G, Sc, S) also appears as a later addition in the Durham partbooks. It is possible that the later items were post-Restoration additions, completed at a time when John Cosin had once more returned to Durham as Bishop, suggesting that ostensibly Laudian influences may have persisted after the Interregnum. Further work is required to establish whether Foster's first and second service could be considered as one complete setting for Communion, with the regular items being augmented in a deliberate attempt to create a full musical setting during the height of Laud's influence,

⁶⁴ These figures are likely to be in need of updating.

but such a compositional effort would certainly reflect the political backdrop of the high church leanings evident at Durham during this time.⁶⁵

2.2.4 | Other Possibilities for Instrumental Participation

One of the most tantalising snippets from Smart's diatribe, however, potentially has little to do with the music transmitted to us by the surviving partbooks and may hold the key to the question of what else wind instrumentalists might have contributed to the liturgical experience at Durham, aside from playing some kind of role in the choir. According to Smart, the 'hydeous noyse' that continued throughout the Communion itself consisted of 'tunes ... taken out of the Masse-booke' and it is worth considering how this description might have manifested itself in performance. If the 'Masse-booke' (a description with rather 'popish' overtones in and of itself) to which Smart refers contained the repertoire of plainchant to which the liturgy was sung on occasions that did not warrant a polyphonic setting, there are a variety of improvisation techniques evidenced by both continental and English writers of the seventeenth century that may have been employed to render ensemble performances suitable for this context, and which may have elicited considerable Puritan ire from a character such as Smart. The widespread provision of vernacular psalters in the 1570s and 1580s, continued reference to plainsong psalm-singing by cathedral choirs throughout Elizabeth's reign,⁶⁶ and the inclusion of plainsong tones in Edward Lowe's *A review of some short directions for the performance of cathedral service* (1661), published as a handbook to those in charge of reinstating BCP services at the Restoration, suggest that the use of plainsong sources may have remained current throughout the period of this study, despite a lack of surviving examples. The song school background of the instrumentalists at Durham may therefore imply some familiarity with chant repertoire and, as discussed in further detail in Chapter 8,

⁶⁵ Only extracts appear in Anderson, 'Music ... of Durham Cathedral', pp. 33–39. It has not been possible to reconstruct the entire service setting for this project, and as the use of polyphony for these elements of the liturgy are no longer considered appropriate in a modern cathedral setting, it has not been possible to fully enact such elements in context. This is an avenue for future practice-led research.

⁶⁶ Payne cites records from York Minster showing payments to equip a number of choirmen with 'a psalter and a booke of Geneva psalmes' between 1574 and 1581, and from Lincoln Cathedral, where William Byrd quarrelled with the Dean and Chapter over his decision to leave plainsong psalm singing to the men alone. Ian Payne, *The provision and practice of sacred music at Cambridge colleges and selected cathedrals, c.1547—c.1646: a comparative study of the archival evidence* (New York, London: Garland, 1993), p. 44 & 58.

may provide a possible source of cathedral wind band repertoire for which documentary evidence is unlikely ever to materialise.

Chapter 3 | Exeter Cathedral

When Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, visited Exeter Cathedral on his way to the court of Charles II in 1669, the cathedral's reputation had clearly preceded it. Cosimo's account describes the music, 'reckoned among the best in the kingdom', and the service itself with great clarity, providing some valuable insights into the enactment of the post-Restoration Prayer Book service and the music it involved.¹ Although no rival for his sixteenth-century ancestors in terms of artistic patronage, Cosimo III had more than likely heard some of the best music and musicians that seventeenth-century Europe had to offer, and the fact that Exeter provided something to pique his interest speaks volumes. He was visiting at an interesting time in the musical history of the Cathedral and indeed the nation. This period saw England's *seconda prattica* finally emerge to replace the 'old, Grave & Solemn way'² of writing music for the church, a transition that, at Exeter in particular, can be better understood by a renewed engagement with evidence relating to the provision of instrumental music. It is the purpose of the present chapter to build on the work of previous musicologists, archivists and historians to assess how performance practices either side of the Interregnum may be newly interpreted, and, using Exeter lay clerk, trombonist and composer Henry Travers as a case study, to locate these performance practices within the Cathedral space, itself a place of great physical and social transition during this time. Like many provincial cathedrals, Exeter's collection of sacred polyphony did not survive the attentions of Parliamentary troops in the 1640s, a problem compounded by the fact that no Restoration partbooks survive either.³ I will therefore also take this opportunity to suggest ways in which some of the liturgical repertoire at Exeter may be reconstructed and performed in context, introducing materials and concepts that are discussed further in Chapter 7.

¹ Vyvyan Hope, John Lloyd, and Rev. Audrey Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter: Exeter Cathedral, 1988), pp. 67–68.

² Lbm, Harley MS 7338, f. 13, quoted in William Webber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of 'Ancient' Church Music', *British Library Journal*, n.v. (1989), pp. 187–205 (p. 198).

³ The earliest surviving partbooks at Exeter date from the late eighteenth century. These are highly fragmentary, with mostly only tenor and bass parts surviving. They are in the process of being catalogued by archivists at Exeter Cathedral Archives and I am grateful to Ellie Jones for sharing the work-in-progress catalogue with me. Very few items by pre-Civil War composers are represented, but the sources are useful for identifying possible items from the Restoration repertoire. These are discussed below.

3.1 | ‘Vials and other sweet instruments’ at Exeter Cathedral

3.1.1 | Archival Evidence from Exeter, 1609–42

Aside from a number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century depictions of instruments amongst Exeter Cathedral’s monuments, including the famous angel instrumentalists that adorn the Minstrel’s Gallery, the earliest surviving evidence of musical instruments (other than the organ) being associated with the cathedral itself dates from 1586, and appears on a memorial plaque to Matthew Godwin, organist from 13th May 1586 and for the next eight months until his untimely death at the age of seventeen. The plaque depicts two lutes, a cornett and what could be either a sackbut or slide trumpet, along with an image of Godwin kneeling in front of a small organ. There is no archival evidence to suggest that this depiction was anything other than symbolic, but it should be noted that it dates from just three years before the first reference to instrumental participation in the liturgy at Canterbury Cathedral, similarly isolated and unsupported by the archives. Whether Godwin either played or used these instruments in the course of his work is impossible to prove either way, but around twenty years later, in 1609, archival references to instrumental performance activities at Exeter begin in earnest, and from this point on, the situation is a little clearer.

There is a flurry of references dating from the 1550s to the purchase of ‘instruments called vyalles for choir secondaries by Royal decree’,⁴ and to the purchase of replacement strings a year later, but after that, viols are not mentioned again in the archives until 1637. Instead, it is cornetts and sackbuts which find a regular place in cathedral musical life from the early years of the seventeenth century. Whilst at some locations, payments to city waits bands in the sixteenth century can be seen as early indicators of instrumental performance in church, no such evidence survives at Exeter and instead a request by Edward Gibbons to the Dean and Chapter in 1609 for the purchase of ‘one double sackbut and one single sackbut’ seems instead to indicate the importation of ideas about instrumentation from further afield. Gibbons, the incoming Master of the Choristers, was a chorister at King’s College, Cambridge and son of William Gibbons, wait of the city of Cambridge, a background which would surely have encouraged an enthusiasm for instrumental music. I have already

⁴ ‘instrumenta vocat[a] vyalls pro Choristis secundum Injunctiones Regias’, ECA, D&C 3552, f. 53v, as quoted in Ian Payne, *The provision and practice of sacred music at Cambridge colleges and selected cathedrals, c.1547—c.1646 : a comparative study of the archival evidence* (New York, London: Garland, 1993), p. 142.

discussed the influence of Richard Neile, another Cambridge man, at Durham in the early seventeenth century, and it is probably no coincidence that recent Cambridge alumnus George Marson oversaw the first official appointment of wind instrumentalists at Canterbury in 1597/8 (see Chapter 4 for details), suggesting that the fertile musical environment fostered by the collegiate churches there had widespread consequences for provincial centres. As the evidence collected together in Table 1 shows, archival references are patchy towards the beginning of the century, but wind instruments clearly maintained some kind of presence at Exeter until the Civil War and beyond.

Table 1: Archive references to instruments and instrumentalists at Exeter Cathedral, 1609–1681.

Date	Archive catalogue details	Reference
1609	D&C 3553, f. 11	Edward Gibbons to be paid £20 per annum ‘so longe ... as he shall teach the Choristers and Secondaries ... in Instrumentall Musicke’. ⁵
1609	D&C 3553, f. 13v	‘Edward Gibbins granted leave of absence, Mr Chambers to instruct the choristers in his place; D&C to consider Gibbins’ request for “one double sackbutt and one single sackbutt”’. ⁶ †
1622	D&C 3553, f. 107v	‘Seats for the choristers and secondaries “and for the musicke” near the bishop’s seat in the quire to be made from materials in the cathedral workshop ... curtains to be provided for the organs.’ ⁷ †
1623	D&C 3553, f. 111v	‘the organs to be used with the psalms before and after morning prayer.’ †
1632–40	D&C 3556, pp. 43, 51, 75, 94, D&C 3787	Yearly payments for ‘pricking’ books for the choir. Only two earlier instances occurred in 17 th c., one in 1608 and one in 1618. †
1635–6	D&C 3787	‘Item to Richard Carter for mending a cornet 12d’. °
		‘Item to Richard Rosser for mending a Sagbot 20d’. °
		‘Item to John Whitrowe the 11 th of October for mending a dubble Shagbott 1s’. °
1637	D&C 3557, p. 59	‘two new Shagbutts and two new cornetts to be provided for the service of the Quire with all convenient speed, together with a set of vyolls’. ⁸ †
1637	D&C 3557, pp. 92–3	John Whitrow, secondary appointed lay vicar on death of Thomas Clode, provided ‘he continue his playing upon instruments as occasion shall require’. †
1638	D&C 3557, pp. 92–4	Richard Carter nominated for next lay vicar’s place, but on condition that ‘he continue his playing upon instruments as occasion shall require’. †
1639–40	D&C 3787	Item paid Mr. Hopwood for mending of two Shagbutts, and for bringing from London ... 30s 2d. °
		Item paid him for Cornetts bought in London [?]. °
1664	D&C 3559, p. 479	‘Henry Travers granted £10 “towards the charge he shall be at in learning to play upon the Cornet and Shagbutts whilst he is in London” Mar 1664.’ ⁹ †
1664	D&C 3559, pp. 492–3	‘£19 paid for shagbutts and cornetts purchased in London by Mr [Henry] Travers for the use of the church’ †
1668	D&C 3560, pp. 30–1	‘William Wake to receive £20 a year for instructing the choristers and secondaries “in instrumental musick vizt viols and violyns, composing and singing”’. ¹⁰ †
1671	D&C 3560, p. 156	‘£3 10s paid to [Henry] Travers for paper, pricking and writing out 12 books for the use of the choir’. †

⁵ Quoted in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 146.

⁶ Quoted in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 146.

⁷ Quoted in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 151.

⁸ Quoted in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 146.

⁹ Quoted in Ian Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 254.

¹⁰ Quoted in Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Siege : Cathedrals in English Society, 1600–1900* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), p. 165.

1673	D&C 3560, p. 261	'paid 5s for 3 singing books [Peter Pasmore] brought to the Chapter House.' * [Possibly William Child's <i>The First set of Psalms</i> (London, 1639) or Michael Wise's service music for 3vv]
1676	D&C 3560, p. 373	'[Peter Pasmore] chorister, to improve his skill on the organ; D&C to pay £20 for him to be taught in London by Mr Blow, the King's organist, for one year. Pasmore to receive 40s expenses and £12 as choir pay.' *
1676	D&C 3560, pp. 386–87 /	Payments to Tobias Langdon for paper and for copying service books. *
1677	3561, p. 21	
1679	D&C 3561, p. 93	'[Peter Pasmore] lay vicar; D&C grant of £10 to pay Dr Blow for organ tuition, and to have additional pay.' *
1680	D&C 3561, p. 166	'[Tobias Langdon] paid £10 for copying services; granted leave to go to Salisbury.' *
1680	D&C 3561, p. 179	'[Tobias Langdon] paid £3 for copying '3 new services of Mr Wise's for the use of the choir'.' *
1681	D&C 7062/1	'Request [by Tobias Langdon] for payment of £8 10s for pricking services and anthems, as listed, brought from London and Salisbury. List includes 6 anthems by Dr John Blow, and three verse creeds, William Child's morning and evening services, four anthems by Michael Wise and two by Pelham Humphrey.' ¹¹ †
† Information from the Cathedral Archive online catalogue * Information from Angela Doughty's choir lists ¹² ° A selection of regular quarterly payments for instrument maintenance appearing throughout this period; my transcription from the original documents 21.01.17		

¹¹ Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714*, p. 254.

¹² I am grateful to the staff at Exeter for granting access to this unpublished database of archival references to choir personnel compiled by library volunteer Angela Doughty.

As well as ascertaining when wind instruments may have appeared at Exeter, it is also possible to demonstrate that the instruments to which the archives refer were played by choir secondaries at this location, as per the references to John Whitrowe and Richard Carter in Table 1. These secondaries, effectively choristers whose voices had broken but who were continuing their musical education within the cathedral precincts,¹³ were not a universal feature of English cathedrals at this time, but were also maintained at both Bristol and Canterbury,¹⁴ two other locations where instrumental music can be associated with cathedral practices. At Exeter, secondaries are always included in references to instrumental teaching (and indeed teaching in general), suggesting that they would have been well-placed to provide a core of skilled instrumental personnel very easily should the need arise. The situation here can be compared to that at Durham, where cornetts and sackbuts were played by trained choir members, but contrasts with the arrangement at Canterbury, where a mixture of choir personnel and civic musicians participated in instrumental performance. The 1622 reference (shown in Table 1) to the provision of seating for the choristers, the secondaries, ‘and for the musicke’ also raises the possibility that ‘the musicke’ could have been an entirely separate entity, at least on some occasions, and that perhaps the civic employees of the city waits may have had some involvement with cathedral performances. Sadly, due to a lack of documents recording the names of the secondaries employed at Exeter, it is not possible to thoroughly cross-reference between these and the twenty-two named city waits of this period to establish whether, as discussed in Chapter 4, a similar link to that at Canterbury exists.¹⁵ As Ian Payne has pointed out in his extensive study of historical documents in the Exeter Cathedral library,¹⁶ the waits as a group are also not mentioned in the archives, but the possibility that they may have occasionally participated in cathedral music-making cannot be entirely discounted.

¹³ Jane Flynn, ‘Thomas Mulliner : an apprentice of John Heywood?’, in *Young Choristers 650–1700*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 173–94 (p. 174).

¹⁴ Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Siege*, p. 159.

¹⁵ I extracted the names of city waits from John M. Wasson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Devon* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1986), pp. 151–204. ECA, D&C 3801 and 3802, which contain the relevant accounts for the period, do not list the secondaries by name. Instead, their collective stipend is signed for each quarter by a member of the choir. The only names of secondaries that survive are those appearing in the Chapter Acts and listed by Angela Doughty (see fn. 12). None of the names from this list correspond to any of those of the waits.

¹⁶ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, pp. 150–54.

3.1.2 | Lieutenant Hammond

It is worth examining some more of Ian Payne's conclusions in detail at this point, as his work represents the fullest assessment of musical provision at Exeter cathedral to date and some of the conclusions he draws are highly relevant to performance practice issues. He dedicates more space than any other writer to the use of wind instruments in a liturgical setting and is the first scholar to suggest exactly how they could have been employed. He also addresses the perennially thorny debate around the use of viols in a liturgical context (outlined briefly in Chapter 1), citing several of the references from Table 1, along with anecdotal evidence from one contemporary writer, as significant contributing factors.

Payne frames the viols debate as a conundrum: the first seventeenth-century reference in Exeter's cathedral records to the use of viols in any context appears in 1637;¹⁷ and yet, the oft-cited Lieutenant Hammond, visitor to the cathedral in 1635, recalled experiencing 'vialls and other sweet instruments' in his account of his trip. Here is the relevant section from Hammond's text:

For 2. things in her [Exeter Cathedral] besides that great Bell, she may compare with any of her Sisters in England, one is a stately, rich, high Seat for the Bishop; and/the other is a delicate, rich, and lofty Organ which has more additions than any other, as fayre Pipes of an extraordinary length, and of the bignesse of a man's Thigh, which with their Vialls, and other sweet Instruments, the tunable Voyces, and the rare Organist, togeather, makes a melodious, and heauenly Harmony, able to rauish the Hearers Eares.¹⁸

Whereas Hammond's writings give no reason for him not to be trusted when it comes to descriptive accounts (the absence of polemic in his work sets him aside from other writers of the period, such as Peter Smart and Richard Culmer¹⁹), at no point does he claim to have been at a service in the cathedral when he heard these musical delights, despite Payne's statement to the contrary. Of course, he may have been, but he also goes on to describe the generous hospitality of the vicars at Exeter, where 'there is a faire Colledge, for the Vicars, with a great Hall, and within their Court, a Cup of good Ale, which I liberally tasted off, with their honest

¹⁷ Payne ascribes their use in the 1550s to a 'brief Edwardine innovation' (*Provision and Practice*, p. 143), and given the lack of expenditure on strings recorded in the archives, I am inclined to agree with him.

¹⁸ L. G. W. Legg, ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties, made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company of Norwich in 1635* (London: Camden Society, 1936), 16, p. 74.

¹⁹ See for example: Richard Culmer, *Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury* (London: Richard Cotes, 1649); Peter Smart, *A Sermon preached in the Cathedrall Church of Durham, July 7 (1628)*.

Organist, and some of the merry Vicars'.²⁰ This has led the Reverend Vyvyan Hope to suggest that Hammond's general enthusiasm for all things Exeter (he is also particularly gushing about the monuments) may have been influenced more by a good night on the town than anything else.²¹ Compare this with his opinion of Peterborough, for example:

Their Drink is vnholosome ... [but] very conuenient and necessary to auoyd the diuellish stinging of their humming Gnatts, which is all the Towne Musicke they haue...²²

and we see that appreciation for hospitality and music are closely associated throughout Hammond's travels, suggesting that, despite his rare non-partisan style, his words should still be treated with a degree of caution.

Furthermore, it is possible that there were situations in the seventeenth century in which liturgical music was heard in a non-liturgical, public setting (as opposed to the type of domestic setting with which devotional anthems with viols are most commonly associated). Performances of sacred music in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey, for example, could potentially have seen practices from domestic and liturgical settings combine quite happily, perhaps providing the recreational violists of the Abbey choir with an outlet for their playing alongside their singing colleagues. If this type of performance situation was a widespread phenomenon, then perhaps Hammond's account may refer to this middle ground between private and liturgical performance.²³

3.1.3 | Performance Practice Issues in the Secondary Literature

Turning to Ian Payne's approach to performance practice matters, however, and we see that the 'entirely conjectural'²⁴ suggestions he makes for the use of instruments rely rather heavily on Hammond's words for validity. It is worth sketching out the solutions Payne proposes and the reasoning behind them in detail, before suggesting some additional factors that may contribute to our palette of options in this area. His suggestions for instrumentation in Exeter repertoire are based on three things: that cornetts and sackbuts were in regular use according to the archives; that viols were used in an ecclesiastical context according to Hammond

²⁰ Legg, *Short Survey ... 1635*, p. 77.

²¹ Hope, Lloyd, and Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral*, p. 57.

²² Legg, *Short Survey ... 1635*, p. 90.

²³ Whilst this is an area that needs considerably more research, I am grateful to Professor John Harper for bringing the Jerusalem Chamber performances to my attention.

²⁴ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 150.

(already questioned above); and that violins were found during the service at King's College, Cambridge, based on the partial survival of 'A Verse for the Organ, Sagbot, Cornute & Violin', by Henry Loosemore.²⁵ This last point, along with the lack of references to a viol *consort* in the cathedral archives, leads him to suggest a broken consort-style approach to instrumental participation in liturgical music. He cites two musical examples to support this (given in Appendix 2.9). The first is Edward Gibbons' *How hath the City sate solitary*, which survives, according to Payne, only in an early-eighteenth-century copy by Thomas Tudway, whose notes describe it as 'for voices with two instrumental parts Annex'd'. Payne suggests that, in fact, a third instrumental part is implied by Tudway's score, in addition to an organ part necessitated by 'the clear need for some filling-in in order to complete the harmony in places'.²⁶ He concludes that Gibbons may have intended the first, second and fourth parts to be taken by instruments, the third by an alto voice, plus the organ for the bass. He assesses the writing style and texture as 'short, rhythmic and non-contrapuntal', and therefore not especially characteristic of contemporary string writing, concluding that wind instruments were probably intended instead.²⁷

²⁵ I reconstructed this piece afresh and performed it on two occasions during practice-led research sessions. Various interpretations of the designated instrumentation, including the possibility that, on account of inconsistent contemporary terminology a viol was intended for one of the instrumental parts, are discussed in Chapter 7.

²⁶ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 152.

²⁷ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 152.

Table 2: Pre-Civil War Exeter composers and their surviving compositions. (MP = Morning Prayer, HC = Holy Communion, EP = Evening Prayer).

Composer	Dates	Occupation at Exeter ²⁸	Title	Voicing	Liturgical Function	Sources	Surviving parts ²⁹
Salomon Tozar	d. 1619	Chorister until 1610, secondary until 1618, lay vicar until 1619	<i>O Lord, let me know mine end</i> (v) (sometimes att. Adrian Batten) [See Appendix 1 for my transcription.]	5vv	Psalm 39:8 Day 8, MP	Drc (A5 & Set 5), Cp, Lcm (“Durham exciles”), Tenbury (Batten Organ Book), Dunnington-Jefferson	Organ MD MC I CtD II CtD I CtC TC BD BC
			Te Deum & Jubilate (f) (Jubilate survives in 18 th /19 th c. Exeter Partbook MUS/2/12)	4vv		NYp (“Chirk” partbooks), Och Mus 6.	Organ M Ct T B
Thomas Gale	d. 1640	Lay vicar from at least 1614, admitted priest vicar 1628	<i>O how amiable</i> (v)	Inc.	Psalm 84, vv. 1–2, 13 Day 16, EP	Drc (Set 5), Lcm (“Durham Exciles”), Dunnington-Jefferson	I CtD II CtD I CtC TC B
Greenwood Randall	c. 1590 – c. 1640	Appointed to teach choristers under Edward Gibbons from 1610,	A verse service often attributed to his father, William Randall, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Clearly att. Greenwood Randall in Lbl source. (Te, J, K ,Cr, Ma, N)	?		Lbl Add. 17784, WRch	CtD CtD TC BD

²⁸ The information is taken from Angela Doughty’s unpublished lists of all musical personnel associated with Exeter Cathedral between 1550 and the early 1990s (see fn.12)

²⁹ Sources and surviving parts are compiled from Ralph T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660* (London, 1972).with reference to M. Bevan, ‘Batten [Battin, Battyn], Adrian’, *Oxford Music Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02322>> [Accessed: 24.02.2018]; Norman Josephs and John Morehen, ‘Randall [Randoll], William (i)’, *Oxford Music Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.22870>> [Accessed: 24.02.2018]; S Jeans and A Cichy, ‘Facy [Facye, Facey, Facie, Facio], Hugh’, *Oxford Music Online* <[10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09215](https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09215)> [Accessed: 23.02.2018]; Andrew Chichy, ‘Lost and Found: Hugh Facy’, *Early Music*, 42 (2014), pp. 95–104; John Steele, ‘Lugge, John’, *Oxford Music Online* <[10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17144](https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17144)> [Accessed: 23.02.2018]; Philippe Oboussier, ‘Parsons, Robert (ii)’, *Oxford Music Online* <[10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20961](https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20961)> [Accessed: 4.01.2018]; Brian Crosby, ‘The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350–c.1650’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1993).

		secondary from 1611, lay vicar from 1612					B
Edward Gibbons	c. 1565–c. 1650	Master of the Choristers 1608–1649	<i>Awake and arise</i> (f) (ed. C.F. Simkins, Mortimer Series 495 (London: Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew Ltd. (1959))	3vv	Psalm 35:23 Day 7, MP	Och Mus. 43 (late 17 th c.)	Score
			<i>How hath the city sate solitary</i> (v) [See Appendix 1 for Ian Payne’s transcription]	5vv	Lamentation s 1:1, paraphrase (Burial of a Child)	Och Mus. 21 (c. 1670) Lbm (“Tudway” MS)	Score
			What strikes the clock	3 viols		Drc, Hunter MS 33	Fragment (see Crosby)
			K, Cr (to William Mundy’s “Short Service”)	?		Och Mus. 1220-1224 & Och Gibbs 12 (prayer book interleaved with music)	AD TD TC BD BC
Hugh Fac[e]y	1598–c. 1649	Chorister and secondary until 1618. Occasional organist.	Short Service for meanes (Te, Bs, Ma, N) (f) [See Appendix 2 for Ian Payne’s transcription.]	4		NYp (“Chirk” partbooks)	M Ct T B
			Magnificat (Latin-texted)	4, bc [?]		Lcm 1181	?
			Instrumental music including viol divisions and an organ voluntary (widely published)			NYp (Drexel), sources in Manchester and Oxford	
John Lugg[e]	c.1585–c.1650	Organist from 1603 and lay vicar-choral from 1605 until 1647.	Behold how good and joyful (v)	?	Psalm 133:1 Day 28, MP	Cp (“Latter Caroline Partbooks”), Lbm (“Tudway” MS), NYp, Y (“Dunnington-Jefferson”)	MD CtD TD BD MC TC BC Score Organ
			It is a good thing to give thanks (f) (ed: Ian Payne)	5	Psalm 92:1 Day 18, MP	Lbm (T. Myriell’s “Tristitiae Remedium”, 1616)	C A T B Q Sx

Robert Parsons (ii) [Referred to as 'Parsons of Exeter' to distinguish him from the earlier Robert Parsons 'of Wells']	d. 1673	Appointed secondary 1611, lay vicar before 1620, priest vicar 1640	Let my complaint (v)	Inc.	Psalm 119:169 Day 24, EP	Cp ("Latter Caroline Partbooks"), Lbm (Harley MS 4142, text only)	MD CtD TD BD MC TC BC
			Stir up, we beseech thee (f)	Inc.	Collect for 25 th Sunday after Trinity	NYp, Lbm (Harley MS 4142, text only)	Organ
			Short service for meanes (V, Te, Ma, N) (f)	4vv		Lbm	C A T B
			Te, Bs, K, Cr, Ma, N	4vv		Och (Mus 6) NYp ("Chirk" partbooks)	Organ M Ct T B
			Whole Service (Te, J, K, Cr, Ma, N) (f) (ed. Christopher Shaw, www.notamos.co.uk)	4vv		Lbm ("Tudway" MS)	Score
			Morning & Evening service in D (Te, Bs, K, C, M, N)	?		Cp, Drc (Set 5)	Organ I CtD II CtD I CtC TC B
			Above the stars (v) [See Appendix 1 for Ian Payne's transcription.]	5vv	Hymn	Drc (Set 5 & post-Rest.), Lcm ("Durham Exiles"), Tenbury MS 921 (18 th c. score with viols)	Organ M I CtD II CtD I CtC TC TD B
			Ever blessed Lord (f)	?	Collect ?	Cp, Drc (A3 & post- Rest.), Lcm ("Durham exiles")	Organ MD Ct D TD BD MC TC BC

			How many hired servants (v)	4vv	Luke 15:17 4 th Sunday in Lent	Drc (Set 1 & post-Rest.) Och Mus 6., NYp ("Chirk" partbooks)	Organ M II CtD II CtC I CtD I CtC TD TC BD B
			Lord, comfort those (v)	?	BCP – A prayer in the time of pestilence.	Clifford, 1663 Cpc (Pembroke College) Harley MS 4142 (Texts) Och	MD CtD TD TC BD BC

Payne's second example is by Robert Parsons (ii) (d. 1673), not to be confused with the sixteenth-century composer of the same name from Wells. *Above the stars my saviour dwelt* (see Appendix 2.8) is a verse anthem with sections for mean, alto and tenor, and full sections for five-part choir (with two contratenor altus parts). Table 2 gives the sources. Again, Payne cites surviving instrumental parts in an eighteenth-century source, Tenbury MS 921, as evidence for possible performance with instruments, in this case viols, as part of the liturgy at Exeter. He suggests that in the verse sections, each voice could have been accompanied by a corresponding viol (presuming that such instruments were available pre-1637) and that cornetts and sackbuts could have supported the full sections. Despite the obvious problem of citing eighteenth-century sources for seventeenth-century practices, I find Payne's suggested instrumentation compelling, although his comparison between the compass of the three 'instrumental' parts of *Above the stars* and the instrumental parts in Loosemore's *Verse*, themselves reconstructed, is difficult to reconcile, given that the original instrumental lines for the Loosemore are lost. My reconstruction of the Loosemore piece is included in Chapter 7, along with a discussion of how my editorial choices were shaped by the various performance practice issues involved.

A recurrent theme in Payne's reasoning is how to pin down an alternative to the five-part homogenous viol consort scoring that is preserved in many domestic sources of liturgical anthems, but which does not fit with the evidence available in the Exeter archives before 1637. Regarding the situation post-1637, there is also no indication of how many viols were included in the set requested in the Chapter Acts, nor, in fact, any evidence of whether they ever arrived, but all this could be considered moot if Payne's suggestion that instruments from elsewhere may have been used is examined in a little more depth. As mentioned above, it is impossible to say either way whether civic instrumentalists ever participated in liturgical events at Exeter, but if one was to take a view that they might have done (especially given Edward Gibbons' family background) Payne's assertion that they would have been 'hard pushed' to furnish a full consort of viols, or of any other instruments for that matter, can be called into question.³⁰ Records published by *REED Devon* from City Council Chamber Act Book 6, 1601 contain the following:

And that the said Waytes shall menteine ther said Instrmentes in all reparacions & stringes
& other wise at ther owne Coste

³⁰ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 151.

And the said Waytes doo also agree that the said Waites at ther Charges shall by a sett of vyalles & other instrmentes And that the said Waytes shall deliver unto the Cittie all suche instrmentes as they well & sufficiently repered as they received the same.³¹

Written ten years before these entries, in the 1590s, *Hooker's Description of the Citie of Excester*, which includes many insights into the duties of the civic band around this time, also gives a clear indication of the variety of instruments they had at their disposal:

The[y] [the waits] shall trewlye & in salffitie redelyver at all tymes when the same shalbe required of theym such settes & Noyses of Instrumentes as they have of the Citie aswell Recordes as others Bought at the Cities charges ... Whiche sayde Instrumentes ar as followeth/ A Doble Curtall/ A Lyserden, Too tenor hoyboyes/ A Cornet/ A sett of case of fflower Recorders/ Bowght by mr. Nicholas Martyn.³²

This information raises the possibility that a far wider variety of instruments could have been found in the vicinity of the cathedral, and from far earlier than previously thought (perhaps dating back to Matthew Godwin's tenure as organist) suggesting that, in addition to the medius/bassus doubling suggested by previous scholars, a full *colla parte* doubling in four-voice music could have been used. Although contratenor altus parts are too low for treble cornetts, a tenor cornett, or 'Lyserden' as it is described in the above quotation, would be a suitable instrument for these parts, but only if one is prepared to accept the speculative nature of the association between the civic and ecclesiastical musicians. The question of how to accommodate the antiphonal nature of cantor/decani writing, along with the overall effect of part-for-part doubling in comparison to the medius/bassus approach is given close attention in Chapter 7.

That Payne chose *Above the stars* and *How hath the city* as examples specifically, also highlights another awkward corner in his approach to identifying repertoire for cathedral instrumentalists: the reliance on sources that contain separate instrumental parts, or the suggestion that they at least once existed. As reported in Chapter 2, not a single untexted instrumental part, or the suggestion of one, exists in the Durham partbooks, the single biggest repository of sacred music from this period copied for a location at which instrumentalists were employed by the cathedral for over 80 years. At Canterbury, there is archival evidence for the existence of a sackbut book, but nothing relating to the four cornettists who were at one time in the simultaneous employ of the cathedral. Furthermore, Payne's suggestion that the use of a fourteen-book set of partbooks at Exeter in the 1620s and 1630s may be

³¹ City Council Chamber Act Book 6, DOr, ECA/G1/B1/6, f. 21v, cited in Wasson, *REED Devon*, p. 178.

³² *Hooker's Description of the Citie of Excester*, DOr, ECA/Book 52, f. 523, cited in Wasson, *REED Devon*, p. 172.

attributed to the need for copies for instrumentalists is more likely to have been a result of the particularly large choir that the cathedral maintained at this time (fourteen choristers compared to Durham's ten, for example). All these factors point to a need to separate the potential presence of instrumentalists in a liturgical setting, at Exeter and elsewhere, from the presence or absence of 'instrumental parts' as we understand them today. As discussed in Chapter 2.2, many characteristics of the Durham partbooks, particularly those intended for festal occasions, suggest that they could easily have been shared between instrumentalists and singers, and no reason has so far come to light that would preclude a similar scenario from having played out at Exeter. Of course, the practicalities of playing viols from shared partbooks are obvious, perhaps another indication that their use at Exeter may have been restricted to the non-liturgical. By leaving behind the assumption that instrumental performance and instrumental parts are intrinsically linked, it is possible to reconcile the scope and level of instrumental participation evidenced by the archives with the surviving materials we do have, as opposed to attempting to establish the existence of the ones we don't.

One final response to Payne's thoughts on instrumentation comes back to an archival reference to seating arrangements in the choir, dating from 1622, that describes how seats were to be provided 'for the musicke'. Whilst it is by no means a given that these seats were provided to be played from as opposed to merely sat upon, if they were, their number supports the two options for instrumental participation discussed above: part-for-part wind accompaniment of the four-part texture popular amongst composers of service music at Exeter around this time³³ (see Table 2); or medius-bassus wind doubling as discussed in Chapter 2.2. Evidence from Durham Cathedral suggests that instrumental participation in the liturgy may in fact have been more common in service music (i.e.: in settings of the proper of the mass) than anthem settings, and if the same were true in Exeter, a four-part team of instrumentalists, regardless of what they were playing, would accord with practices that from other locations and reflect the evidence of the archives. By stepping back from the long-held assumption that anthems were more likely to attract instrumental participation (a fallout of the modern tendency to perform domestic settings of consort anthems with choirs), and some twenty-first-century notions of engagement with musical materials, a considerably broader

³³ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 114.

and more flexible approach to the performance of Exeter's associated repertoire may be developed.

I have compiled Table 2 to broaden these repertoire choices further. This lists all surviving repertoire by the composers Ian Payne identifies as having been associated with Exeter Cathedral in the seventeenth century, along with their sources, location of any modern editions, liturgical function and, where unedited, an indication of whether they are in a salvageable condition. The table shows that, despite the size of the sample, an even spread of anthems, service music and extra-liturgical items in both full and verse settings survive. The appearance of two collect settings is significant (John Luge's *It is a good thing to give thanks* and Robert Parsons' *Ever blessed Lord*), as are Edward Gibbons' additions to Mundy's *Short Service*. These items are suggestive of the type of compositional activity that was being undertaken by local composers at Durham and Canterbury during the 1620s and 1630s, whereby gaps in liturgical settings were gradually plugged, replacing said liturgical items with sung polyphony as a response to High-Church influences gaining a foothold in the run-up to the Civil War. It is interesting to note the overlap between Exeter repertoire, set 5 of the Durham partbooks and their Peterhouse cousins, and the partbooks from Chirk Castle, and it is likely that the Exeter repertoire can be expanded considerably by examining the pre-Restoration relationships between these four institutions. Le Huray, for example, suggests a possible Exeter connection with Chirk in the personage of William Deane, organist of Chirk Castle and Wrexham parish church in the 1620s, based on the unusually strong representation of 'minor West-county composers' in the Chirk partbooks. This leads him to suggest that Deane may have himself hailed from the west, taking repertoire from his home town with him to Chirk.³⁴ Were this to be the case, other items from the Chirk partbooks could conceivably have been copied from Exeter sources. Popular (although by the date of copying, somewhat old-fashioned) anthems by Tallis (*Hear the voice and prayer* (4vv), *If ye love me* (4vv)) and Tye (*Blessed are all they* (4vv), *O God be mercifull* (4vv)), along with service music by Elway Bevin, organist of St Augustine's, Bristol, all cluster around the items by Exeter composers (note the prevailing four-part texture). Such items could, therefore, be tentatively included in any attempt to reconstruct Exeter's pre-Civil War repertoire.

³⁴ Peter Le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle partbooks', *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), pp. 17–42 (p. 19).

3.1.4 | Exeter's 'rich, and lofty organ' and Some Implications for Performance Practice.

Having established some parameters for possible repertoire choices, and revisited the evidence for instrumental performance, two practical aspects of instrumental participation in the pre-Restoration liturgy at Exeter remain to be discussed: the status of the 'rich, and lofty organ' witnessed by Lieutenant Hammond in 1635; and the performance space itself, as it existed in the first half of the seventeenth century. A summary of what little is known about the pre-Civil War organs at Exeter is provided by Malcolm Walker and David Davies in *Heavenly Harmony: Organs and Organists of Exeter Cathedral*, a recent update of work carried out in the 1950s by Betty Matthews that draws heavily on the work of Stephen Bicknell.³⁵ It is clear that the 1665 John Loosemore organ, the case of which still dominates the pulpitum screen at the West end of the choir, was not the instrument Hammond would have seen, but evidence from the cathedral archives does not shed much light on the history of the organs up to this point. The last organ to be built in the cathedral before the Loosemore instrument was made by Laurence Playssher in 1513, for the substantial sum of £164 15s 7¼d, and, as the account rolls tell us, it was also situated on the pulpitum.³⁶ No actual specifications for the instrument survive, but Hammond's account refers to 'fayre Pipes of an extraordinary length, and the bignesse of a man's Thigh', suggesting that, if Hammond was referring to the Playssher instrument, there was something remarkable about this organ. To investigate these claims, Stephen Bicknell has compared the expenditure on supplies for the organ with estimated prices of tin in the early sixteenth century. Adjusting for inflation, he has concluded that the Exeter instrument of 1513 required around 2000lbs of lead, compared to the 1000lbs purchased for Robert Dallam's 1661 New College, Oxford instrument of 24 stops and a longest pipe-length of 24'.³⁷ Bicknell states that the Exeter instrument, had it compared in pitch to other English organs of the period operating on a 5' or 10' system, would therefore have been the largest instrument in the British Isles before the Civil War, and could easily have had 20' metal bass pipes based on the materials list that survives. This leads him to conclude that, despite several instances of small-scale expenditure over the ensuing 122

³⁵ Malcolm Walker and David Davies, *Heavenly Harmony : Organs and Organists of Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter: Impress Books Ltd., 2014); Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

³⁶ 'pro novis organis in pulpito', ECA, D&C 2704/7, quoted in Walker and Davies, *Heavenly Harmony*, p. 307.

³⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English organ*, p. 39.

years, the 1513 instrument could have been the organ that Hammond saw. The next known organ with 20' basses built in the British Isles was in fact the Loosemore instrument in Exeter Cathedral, which Bicknell also suggests may have been 'no coincidence'.³⁸

If we take Bicknell's position, there are many performance practice implications arising from the use of what would essentially have been a Tudor organ throughout the early seventeenth century, not least the issue of transposition. A hangover from the medieval tradition of *alternatim* performance of plainchant with choir and organ, organ transposition persisted as a concept into the 1660s and by the turn of the seventeenth century was, as Andrew Johnstone states, 'so strongly consolidated that every new English church organ made between c. 1600 and the early Restoration period had to incorporate the medieval transposing feature.'³⁹ In practice, this feature meant that Tudor organs were typically pitched a fourth higher than notated choir pitch and that the organists, using a system of clef substitution, transposed the music to meet the pitch of the singers. One shift that occurred in the early seventeenth century, however, was the development of full 10' ranks, the first of which was installed by Thomas Dallam at Worcester in 1613, a full century after the Playssher instrument at Exeter was built. These new 10' ranks enabled a considerable expansion in the range of bass notes available to the organist, as, instead of transposing down a fourth on a 5' stop, the organist could now transpose up a fifth on a 10' stop and achieve the same result.⁴⁰

It would be extraordinary if an establishment with so fine a reputation for its music would, during a period of greatly increased musical activity in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, still have been using such an antiquated organ. I suggest instead, however, that archival references to work on the organ between 1618 and 1620 may in fact have involved the conversion of the organ to incorporate the new full 10' diapason, and possibly also a second 'chair' division, thus bringing the organ right up to date with current developments. In 1618, the Dean and Chapter suggested that 'Mr Gibbons should inquire for a sufficient man to amend the organs, but to certify the Dean and Chapter what the cost will amount unto for doing the same before any work be begunne herein', a decree that suggests, according to Walker, that the outlay was likely to be significant, given that advanced warning

³⁸ Bicknell, *The History of the English organ*, p. 40.

³⁹ Andrew Johnstone, "'As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), pp. 507–25 (p. 511).

⁴⁰ Johnstone, "'As it was in the beginning'", p. 512.

was required.⁴¹ The man eventually engaged to carry out this work was none other than Thomas Dallam himself. This, combined with the survival of three organ voluntaries for ‘double organ’ (i.e.: for an instrument with two keyboards and two divisions) by Exeter organist John Lugge, is further evidence to support the idea that, despite its age, the Exeter organ probably shared more features with other early Caroline instruments than with its Tudor contemporaries. It is also possible that the appearance of a ‘dubble sackbutt’ in cathedral archives throughout the first half of the seventeenth century may also have been related to the specifications of the organ. If the 20' basses Bicknell suggests Hammond could have seen functioned not simply with the bass notes of the 10' stop, but as a double diapason enabling an octave-lower doubling of the bass line, perhaps the ‘dubble sackbot’ had a role supporting this function. Practice-led research using the St Teilo reconstructed organ by Göetze and Gwynn has contributed greatly to my understanding of the role and function of the organ in combination with instruments in early-seventeenth-century repertoire and these findings are discussed in Chapter 7.

3.1.5 | Architectural Changes in the Choir Space at Exeter.

The 1513 organ, like its successor, stood on the pulpitum screen overlooking the choir. The imposing vista that Loosemore’s organ creates when looking east down the nave seems, therefore, to have remained relatively unchanged for over five hundred years. Other aspects of the cathedral are somewhat altered, however, and several of these alterations have the potential to impact quite heavily on any attempt to reinterpret Exeter’s liturgical performance practices. Firstly, the nave would have been mostly empty of seating during this period, as the services themselves were conducted exclusively in the choir. Only the sermon was read from the pulpit, to a standing congregation, almost as if the nave was an outside space. Other alterations concern the choir (the physical space as opposed to the musical ensemble) and inform our understanding of the relationship between the choir and the rest of the building. Records show that the choir stalls were backed with fourteenth-century wooden panels up to 1658, when they were removed to better facilitate work on the wall that divided the cathedral in two during the Interregnum. One panel remains, and shows how the openings behind the choir stalls, marked with an arrow on Figure 1, would have been completely sealed prior to 1658. A direct comparison can be made with St David’s Cathedral, which still

⁴¹ ECA, D&C 3553, p.78; Walker and Davies, *Heavenly Harmony*, p. 441.

has the original sixteenth-century woodwork in the choir. This sense of enclosure is also evident at many other cathedrals. Figure 2 shows the rather imposing choir door built in the 1640s at Winchester cathedral (and now in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University)⁴², suggesting that, regardless of the fact over a century had passed since the Reformation, elements of the closed and cloistered pre-Reformation enactment of the liturgy remained.

Figure 1: Exeter Cathedral Choir & St David's Cathedral Choir



⁴² This image is reproduced in Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Siege*, p. 18.

Figure 2: Winchester Cathedral choir door.

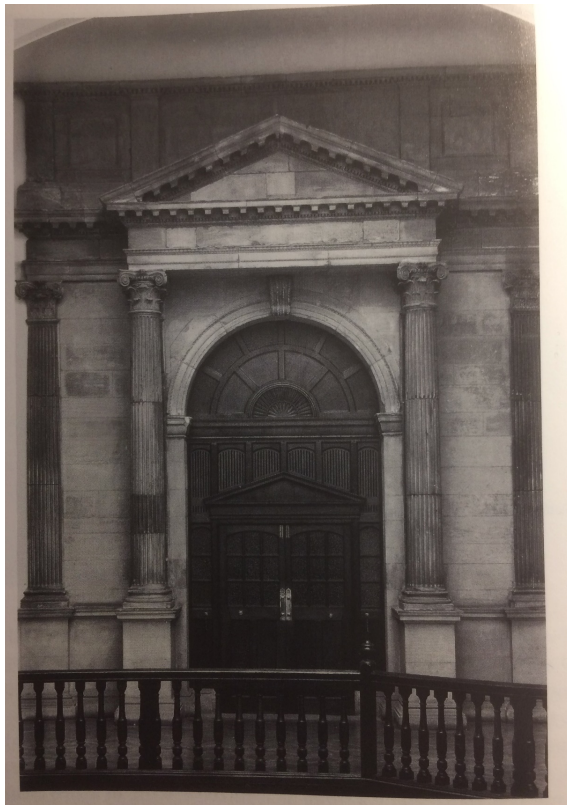
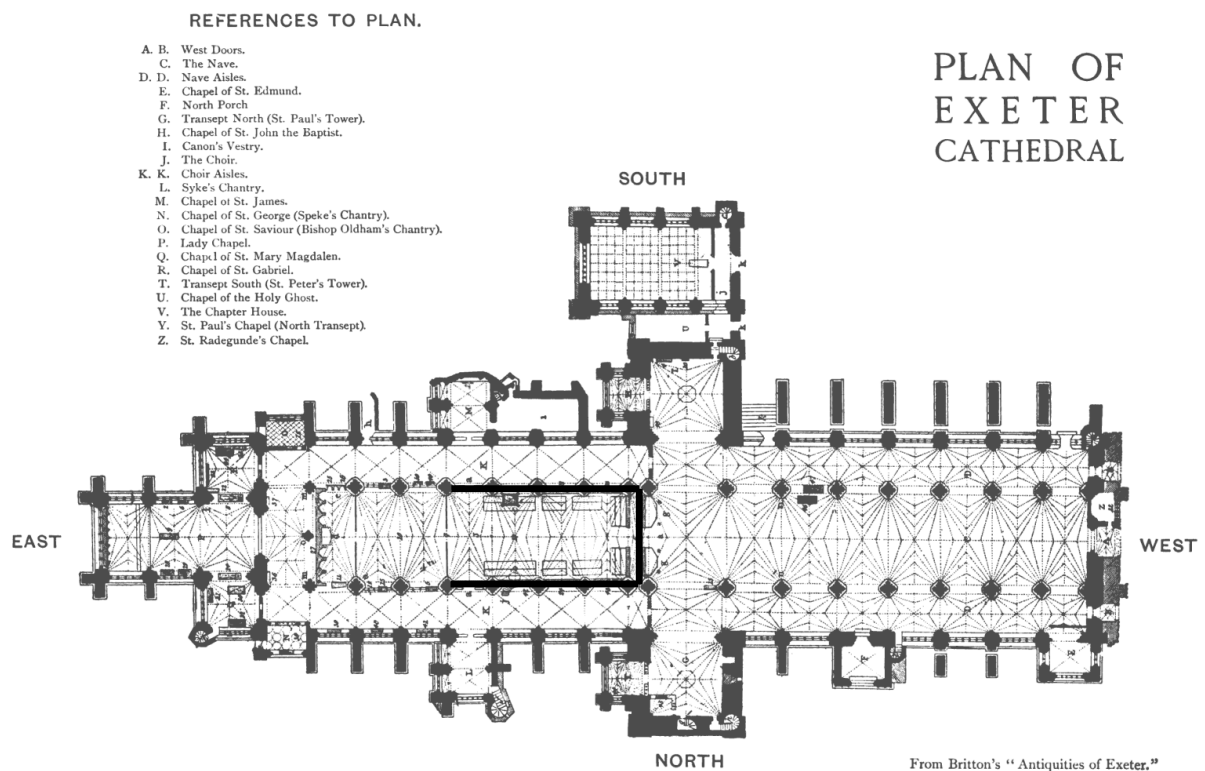


Figure 3: Exeter Cathedral floorplan



This sense is backed up by contemporary writers, particularly those with High-Church leanings. Foulke Robarts, a Prebendary at Norwich Cathedral, published a response to accusations of popery and superstition in 1639, entitled *Gods Holy House and Service, according to the primitive and most Christian forme thereof*, in which he lays out quite clearly how hierarchical access to the various spaces within the cathedral was managed. It is worth quoting here at length:

Distinctions of severall places in the house of God are not any conceit, crept in with Poperie: but such as have been Constituted and put in use, very early in the Primitive Church, by what partitions or boundaries every one of them was severed from other I cannot so fully finde out, neither is it material. Only, this is agreeable with good reason, order and comeliness, free from any colour of Superstition: that as there be severall rancks of people, professing Church-unity, so they have their places in their severall distances. Some are unworthy to Come within the doores of the Church and therefore are to stand without. Some are fit to be received in, to be baptized: Some to be instructed in the grounds of Religion and to repaire with the rest of the Congregation: All which is done in the nave and body of the Church. And as men profit in knowledge, and a working Faith, to discern the Lords body They are admitted into a higher roome; where the sacraments of the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, is to be administred, at the holy Table, in the Chancell: which devideth it from the rest of the Church.⁴³

Bearing this in mind, I have marked on Figure 3 the area of the cathedral that would have been enclosed on three sides during this period. This corroborates my personal experience of standing in the choir at Exeter, imagining the pre-1658 fittings, and effectively experiencing a small space, a room-within-a-room, so to speak, in which musical proceedings might have felt rather different to the ‘cathedral experience’ we might expect today. The archives also tell us that, in 1635, a gift of £100 was spent ‘for furnishing and adorning the Quire of the Church with a suite of new hangings and a faire new covering for the Communion Table.’⁴⁴ I would propose, therefore, that the choir of Exeter Cathedral would have been both architecturally and acoustically a very different place in the first half of the seventeenth century to the space it is now. This may impact significantly as we attempt to find new ways of interpreting the musical performance that may have taken place there, especially if we are to revisit questions of instrumentation in liturgical repertoire. Practice-led research sessions at Worcester and Canterbury have both confirmed that a reassessment of cathedral performance aesthetics is vital for convincing instrumental performance in the space, and this is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

⁴³ Foulke Robarts, *Gods holy House and Service, according to the primitive and most Christian forme thereof* (London: The Cotes, 1639), p. F 41.

⁴⁴ ECA, Act Book 1635–1643, D&C 3557, pp. 9, 67, 99. Quoted in Lehmborg, *Cathedrals Under Siege*, p. 16.

There is much that remains speculative about the nature of instrumental participation in the liturgy at Exeter before the Civil War, but by bringing together evidence and scholarship from a variety of sources, it has been possible to pinpoint some aspects that would benefit from practical performance research as a next step. Ian Payne's suggested instrumentations deserve to be tested practically, as do other options that could have been made possible by the involvement of civic musicians. The relationship between Playssher's organ, Dallam's possible alterations, and the cornetts and sackbuts that feature so heavily in the archives is another area on which practical research has shed much-needed light, as shown in Chapter 7. Finally, the reinterpretation of items from Exeter's skeleton surviving repertoire in the context of the space as it existed in the early seventeenth century may also help retune some twenty-first-century expectations of liturgical music to a different soundworld.

3.2 | Henry Travers and the Restoration Service at Exeter

Prayer Book services were reinstated at Exeter in 1660, following a period of considerable turmoil for the fabric and institution of the cathedral that mirrored national trends. A dispute between Presbyterians and Independents over use of the building for worship had resulted, in 1557, in the construction of a dividing wall across the east end of the cross isle, over the pulpitum screen, effectively splitting the building in two and allowing for simultaneous services by the two competing denominations.⁴⁵ The fate of the 1513 Playssher organ during this period is not at all clear, but it seems that when John Loosemore set about repairing it in 1660, using pipes returned by those who had taken them away for safe keeping, he found that it was beyond saving.⁴⁶ The redressing of these two issues, along with many other physical improvements to the choir and nave, accompanied the immediate reinstatement of the college of vicars choral and the Dean and Chapter, signalling a restorative zeal within the cathedral precincts, which has been remarked upon by historians.⁴⁷ The following paragraphs will address how the Restoration impacted on instrumental participation in liturgical music at Exeter, and, using the work of Henry Travers as a case study, assess how the changes that occurred can be placed in a national context.

⁴⁵ Hope, Lloyd, and Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral*, p. 61.

⁴⁶ Hope, Lloyd, and Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral*, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Hope, Lloyd, and Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral*, p. 64.

The musical institution at Exeter experienced something of a brain drain during the Civil War and subsequent Interregnum. With choral services suspended, the roles of the vicars choral, the secondaries and the choristers were surplus to requirements, leading many men to seek employment elsewhere. William Wake, a chorister and secondary until the early 1640s, made his way, like many others, to London, only to be recalled to Exeter (for a fee) at the Restoration.⁴⁸ Matthew Locke, possibly Exeter's most famous musical son, may have left as a conscript in 1646 with Charles I's army *en route* to France, never to return to Exeter.⁴⁹ By the 1650s, Edward Gibbons and John Luge, the long-serving Master of the Choristers and Organist respectively, were dead, and by the restoration of sung services on 30th August 1660, it had been over fourteen years since any choristers had received training. Despite this, recruitment of new choral personnel was swift, with twelve choristers being admitted on 18th March 1660/1 and the lay vicars' and secondaries' places filling up soon after.⁵⁰ Although the musical staff at the Restoration was certainly smaller than it had been at its peak before the Civil War (twelve vicars (four priests and eight laymen), twelve choristers, and an unspecified number of secondaries, compared to fourteen priests, twelve secondaries and fourteen choristers⁵¹), the reinstated choir would have been able to make a reasonable contribution to the enactment of the liturgy from its earliest days.

The subject of instrumental performance in the cathedral is one on which the archives are mysteriously quiet in the period immediately after the Restoration. As can be seen from Table 1, there are no references to individual choir members and their instrumental skills to mirror those of the 1630s, and it is impossible to say either way, therefore, whether the musical establishment would have included instrumentalists or not at this stage.⁵² This contrasts with the situation at, for example, Canterbury and Durham Cathedrals, where instrumentalists were reinstated immediately following the Restoration, presumably to resume their pre-war duties, whatever these may have been. By 1664, however, the suggestion of instrumental participation in the service resurfaces in relation to Henry Travers,

⁴⁸ John Frederick Chanter, *The Custos and College of the Vicars Choral of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of St Peter, Exeter* (Exeter, 1933), p. 27.

⁴⁹ Peter Holman, 'Locke [Lock], Matthew', *Oxford Music Online* <10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16848> [Accessed: 7th January 2018].

⁵⁰ Chanter, *The Custos and College*, p. 27.

⁵¹ Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714*, p. 254.

⁵² I have checked Dean and Chapter records until 1670 to find no mention of repairs to instruments of the type found in the first half of the seventeenth century.

chorister in the 1630s and then lay vicar and later priest vicar, who was reimbursed expenses of £10 ‘towards the charge he shall be at in learning to play upon the Cornet and Shagbutts whilst he is in London’.⁵³ This is in addition to ‘£19 paid for shagbutts and cornetts purchased in London by Mr [Henry] Travers for the use of the church’ the same year.⁵⁴ These references are interesting, particularly given their timing, and given the fact that Travers, along with Wake, had been in London during the Interregnum.⁵⁵ Had he been musically active in that time, he would have been well aware of current trends in performance style at a time when court music still very much involved the cornetts and sackbuts that would have been familiar to him from his youth. The composer John Hingeston, who wrote at least one volume of dance suites for cornetts and sackbuts, was in charge of the eight-strong ensemble known as ‘his Highness Musique’ at Oliver Cromwell’s Protectorate Court, and was also recommended by Playford in his *Musicall Banquet* of 1651 as a teacher ‘for the Organ or Virginall’, placing him at the centre of the musical life of the capital.⁵⁶ At the Restoration, many members of the old Royal Wind Music under Charles I were reinstated, including composer and cornettist William Child. Although the identity of Travers’ teacher in London is not known, Child, or one of his Royal Wind Music colleagues, would perhaps be a strong contender for the job.

Bearing in mind the possible performance of Matthew Locke’s *Five-part tthings for His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts* at Charles II’s coronation in 1662,⁵⁷ the style of instrumental performance that Travers may have brought back to Exeter with him in 1664 would have been a very different one to that which he left behind twenty years previously. Whereas Restoration zeal saw old practices reinstated wholesale at other locations, it is possible that at Exeter, links with the capital may have provided an opportunity for emergent musical styles to flourish. Although no records of music copying appear until 1671, perhaps, as Spink suggests, printed collections of pre-war repertoire such as Barnard’s *First Booke* or

⁵³ ECA, D&C 3559, p.479, as quoted in Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714*, p. 254.

⁵⁴ ECA, D&C 3559, p.492–3.

⁵⁵ ECA, D&C 3559, p. 430, records that Henry Travers was to be given a lay vicars place if he returns from London.

⁵⁶ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 267.

⁵⁷ Trevor Herbert, ‘Matthew Locke and the cornett and sackbut ensemble in England after the Restoration: the ‘labelled evidence’’, in *Brass Music at the Crossroads of Europe: The Low Countries and Contexts of Brass Musicians from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Keith Polk (Utrecht: STIMU, 2005), pp. 57–67 (p. 61).

Tomkin's *Musica deo sacra* could have been complemented by new repertoire from the early days of the Restoration.⁵⁸ This situation can be contrasted directly with that at Durham by glancing through the June 1680 service sheet (discussed in detail in Chapter 2), which records a distinctly conservative approach to the planning of liturgical repertoire that is heavily reliant on pre-Civil War items, and suggests that, by contrast, the use of performance practices from cosmopolitan London may have been commonplace at Exeter.

What were these practices, and how might they have differed from practices before the Civil War and therefore from practices at other institutions? Peter Holman has suggested that Matthew Locke's more 'old-fashioned' anthems with instrumental consorts, possibly cornetts and sackbuts, could date from the early 1660s and may therefore provide some clues.⁵⁹ These are listed in Table 3, which I have compiled to make some tentative suggestions for how the Restoration repertoire at Exeter may have looked.

⁵⁸ Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714*, p. 254.

⁵⁹ Holman, 'Locke [Lock], Matthew'.

Table 3: Restoration composers at Exeter

Composer	Dates	Occupation at Exeter	Title	Voicing	Liturgical Function	Sources	Surviving parts
Henry Travers	d. 1679	Chorister, secondary from 1638, lay vicar from 1663, priest vicar from 1676	Shall we receive good (Job 2:10)	4vv plus 3 solo voices	First lesson, MP, 4 th June	Cu Ely 9 EXcl MUS/2/6 (Tenor) EXcl MUS/2/42 (5) (Bass)	Score T B
			Ascribe unto the Lord (Ps 29:2)	Inc.	Trinitytide, Day 5, EP	EXcl MUS/2/10, 14–17	?
			M, N	Inc.		EXcl MUS/2/12	B
			Td, J, S, K, Nic (in F)	Inc.		EXcl MUS/2/22	B
			V	Inc.		EXcl MUS/2/25	Tr B
			The Lord hear thee (Ps 20)	Inc.	Day 4, MP (for Queen's Accession)	EXcl MUS/2/25	Tr B
Henry Hall	c. 1656 – 1707	One of the Children of the Chapel Royal until 1672. Appointed to teach singing and organ playing at Exeter, 1673, lay vicar and organist from 1674, deserted post, 1679, moved to Hereford.	God standeth in the congregation (Ps 82)*	?	Day 16, EP	Y ("Gostling" partbooks)	M M A T B
			By the waters of Babylon* (Ps 137) *These two pieces identified by Ian Spink as early works pos. dating from Exeter years ⁶⁰	?	Day 28, EP	Lbl Add. 31444 Lbl Harley 7340 Lbl Add 29481 (Also complete in Cjc partbook set from early 18 th c.)	Score
Peter Passmore	c. 1665 – 1696	Chorister then organist, studied with Blow at Cathedral's expense	O remember not our old sins (Ps 25:6)	?	Day 5, MP	EXcl MUS/2/1	B
			O praise the Lord all ye heathens (Ps 117)	?	Day 24, MP	EXcl MUS/2/1	B
			Behold I bring you glad tidings (Luke 2:10–11)	?	2 nd Lesson, MP, Nativity	EXcl MUS/2/4 (Organ & Chorus)	?

⁶⁰ Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714*, p. 256.

Matthew Locke	1621/3–1677	Chorister	I will hear that the Lord God will say (Ps 85:8)	7/5vv, 3 insts	MP, Christmas Day	Edited in <i>Musica Britannica</i> 38. ⁶¹ Identified as early works by Peter Holman. ⁶²	
			Lord thou hast been gracious (2 nd part of I will hear)	7/5vv, 3 insts			
			The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble (Ps 20)	5/5vv, 4 insts	Day 4, MP		
			When the son of man shall come in his glory (Matt 25:31)	6/6vv, 4 insts	2 nd Lesson, MP, 28 th January		
John Blow	1648/9–1708	Cathedral archives record a request, in 1681, by Tobias Langdon ‘for payment of £8 10s for pricking services and anthems, as listed, brought from London and Salisbury’ ⁶³ . Some suggestions as to what these pieces may have been are included here.	6 anthems , possibly including:				
			O Lord God of my salvation (Ps 88) (f)	6/8vv	EP, Good Friday	?	?
			O God, wherefore art thou absent (Ps 74) (f)	5vv SSATB	Day 14, EP	Edited in <i>Cathedral Music</i> , vol. 2, by William Boyce	
			God is our hope and strength (Ps 46) (f)	8vv SATB/S ATB	Day 9, MP	Edited in <i>Cathedral Music</i> , vol. 2, by William Boyce	
			Turn thee unto me (Ps 25) (v)	S/4vv	Day 5, MP	Transcription published on CPDL by James Gibb	
			The Lord, even the most mighty God, hath spoken (Ps 50) (v)	B/4vv	Day 10, MP	?	?
			3 verse creeds [possibly from the Service in G, which includes 3 creed settings]	5vv SSATB		Edited in <i>Cathedral Music</i> , vol. 1, by William Boyce	
William Child	1606/7–1697		Morning and Evening service [possibly the Whole Service in C which has been dated to this period]			Cu, DRc, Lbl, WRch	

⁶¹ Peter Le Huray, ed., *M. Locke: Anthems and Motets*, Musica Britannica (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976), 38.

⁶² Holman, ‘Locke [Lock], Matthew’.

⁶³ ECA, D&C 7062/1.

Michael Wise	c. 1647– 1687		4 anthems [a further 3 services by Wise appear to have been copied into the repertoire a year earlier] ⁶⁴ . These could have included:				
			By the waters of Babylon (Ps 137)	SSAB	Day 28, EP		?
			Have pity on me (Ps 9:13–15)	SSAB	Day 2, MP		?
			Christ rising again from the dead (I Cor)	SSA	Easter Sunday	Ed. Michael Smith, 1973	
			O praise God in his holiness (Ps 150)	SAB	Day 30, EP		?
Pelham Humphrey	1647/8– 1674		2 anthems. His only two without string parts are: ⁶⁵				
			Have mercy upon me, O God (Ps 51)	3/4vv	Day 10, MP		
			Hear O heav'ns (Isiah 1:2)	3/4vv SATB	1 st Sunday of Advent	Edited in <i>Cathedral Music</i> , vol. 3, by William Boyce	

⁶⁴ ECA, D&C 3561, p.179. These are identified as early works by Smith: Michael Smith, 'The Church Music of Michael Wise', *The Musical Times*, 114 (1973), pp. 69–73.

⁶⁵ Bruce Wood, 'Humfrey [Humphrey, Humphrys], Pelham', *Oxford Music Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13544>> [Accessed: 26.02.18].

As discussed in relation to Durham, personnel levels at Exeter suggest that *colla parte* doubling of medius and bassus lines during full choir sections of verse anthems, and in pieces composed in the full idiom could have been considered the standard approach to instrumentation in early-seventeenth-century repertoire, with the potential for wind instruments to effectively take solo lines in some verse anthems as detailed in Ian Payne's work. These options are tested and discussed in Part 2. In contrast here, a consort-style, *concertato* idiom in Locke's early anthems, in which instruments play obbligato lines separate from vocal line and that Holman compares to Schütz is in evidence, as can be seen in *The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble* (Example 1), and *I will hear what the Lord God will say* (Example 2).⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Peter Le Huray assigns the instrumental parts to stringed instruments in his *Musica Britannica* editions, whilst Peter Holman's *Oxford Music Online* article suggests the parts could be taken by cornetts and sackbuts. The transcriptions included here are taken from Peter Le Huray in *Musica Britannica*, vol 38, pp. 82–88 and 116–124, omitting the instrumental designations. Original sources have not been consulted.

Example 1: Matthew Locke: *The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble*

[Instrument I]
 [Instrument II]
 [Instrument III]
 [Instrument IV]
 Tenor
 Organ

6

The Lord hear thee in the day of trou- le,

12

in the day of trou- ble the name of the God of Ja- cob de - fend thee, send thee help from the san - ctu

Example 2: Matthew Locke, *I will hear what the Lord God will say*

[Instrument I]

[Instrument II]

[Instrument III]

Bass

Organ

7

I will hear what the Lord God will say con -

13

cer - ning me, for he will speak peace un-to his peo - ple, and to his saints, that they turn not a - way.

The ranges and compositional style of these accompaniments would suit the cornetts and sackbuts that are suggested by the Exeter archives in the 1660s and, when compared with what little else we have in terms of cornett or sackbut repertoire from England around this time, seem fairly idiomatic.⁶⁷ Had Henry Travers made sufficient progress with his studies, and successfully encouraged others to join him, practices at Exeter could potentially have represented a comparatively modern approach to instrumental participation in liturgical music, although reliable evidence to support this is unlikely ever to come to light. It was not possible to include these pieces in the practice-led examination of Exeter repertoire discussed in Chapter 7, but a performance scenario that models Haynes' suggested organ pitch of $a'=428$ for the 1665 Loosemore Organ and tests a selection of instrumentations and transpositions would shed more light on the suitability of such pieces for performance with winds.⁶⁸

However, tastes changed quickly in Restoration England. Henry Travers was appointed in 1663, one year after the following famous report is recorded by the diarist John Evelyn:

21 [December 1662]: '[One] of his Majesties Chaplains preachd: after which, instead of the antient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the Organ was introduced a Consort of 24 Violins betweene every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church: This was the first time of change, & now we no more heard the Cornet, which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skilfull ...'⁶⁹

There is evidence from the cathedral archives that by 1668, provision at Exeter had caught up with the times. William Wake began receiving an additional £20 a year at this point for instructing the choristers and secondaries 'in instrumental musick vizt viols and violyns', and

⁶⁷ See for example, Matthew Locke's *Five part things for His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts* (1661) and incidental music from *Psyche* (?1673) where the cornett in particular is assigned both floridly ornamented lines and high-register playing of the type not in evidence in composed English liturgical music up to this point. This contrasts with pre-Civil War items such as John Adson's *Courtly Masking Ayres* (London, 1621), of which three have the designation 'For cornets and Sagbuts', with Loosemore, Hingeston and Coprario's surviving offerings for the cornett, and also with the huge volume of consort music written for interchangeable wind and string bands. None of these items can realistically be described as florid, although Loosemore (when performed in accordance with my suggestions in Chapter 7) and Adson did not shy away from the high register. It appears that cornett playing in England had undergone something of a transformation by the Restoration, albeit one that was rather short-lived. Space here does not permit the thorough examination that this subject deserves.

⁶⁸ Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002), p. 458.

⁶⁹ E. S. De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

whereas it is unlikely that Exeter could have furnished the full ‘four and twenty fiddlers’ of Chapel Royal fame, it seems reasonable to suggest that string playing at least began to gain a foothold in the cathedral soundscape around this time. The fragmentary nature of the surviving repertoire from Exeter confounds any attempt to make concrete performance practice conclusions, but based on these archival references, some tentative parameters may be drawn. For example, it is possible that the 1670s and 1680s could have seen contributions from both string and wind players in the service. Exeter’s eighteenth-century partbooks contain several of Blow’s anthems with obbligato string parts, such as *And I heard a great voice* and *Sing we merrily*, in which additional wind instrumentalists could have supported the full choir sections, along with a large number of his more ‘old-fashioned’ full anthems, suggesting that liturgical performance practices were both varied and highly transitional around this time.

The Restoration musical establishment at Exeter seems to have been keen to maintain high standards, sending Henry Travers for his cornett and sackbut lessons and, later, organist Peter Passmore for organ lessons with John Blow. Furthermore, copying activities throughout the 1660s and 1670s (including a whole new set of twelve choir books in 1671) supports the theory that Exeter was keeping very well up-to-date with developments in London throughout this period. Considering that by 1680 music by Blow, Child, Wise and Pellham Humphrey was being ‘brought from London and Salisbury’ (some suggestions as to what this music may have been are made in Table 3), it could be that the 1671 set included early works by these composers, plus perhaps the early Locke anthems discussed above, along with some items by locals,⁷⁰ and the type of pre-war items from Chapel Royal composers that were early additions to the Anglican ‘canon’ cemented by Tudway at the turn of the eighteenth century.

There are also spatial implications for the adoption of *concertato*, as opposed to *colla parte* performance by instrumentalists that are interesting to consider in the context of the choir space at Exeter. Experience suggests that *colla parte* performance from within choir stalls is entirely practical and comfortable, at least for cornettists, but that performance of more complex obbligato lines in consort with the organ requires closer proximity between players. Although space on the pulpitum screen at Exeter is currently very tight, the organ of the 1660s would have occupied a considerably smaller footprint, and been overall much smaller than the instrument currently in use. I suggest that it would have been entirely

⁷⁰ One piece by Solomon Tozer and one piece by John Lugg were copied into partbooks in the late eighteenth century, for example.

possible to accommodate the two violinists and a viola player, or perhaps the cornett and two sackbuts, required to perform some of the *concertato* pieces mentioned above from the organ loft, certainly with no more discomfort than in many Italian organ lofts where iconographic evidence supports the practice.

Despite its fragmentary nature, it is possible that by reading the evidence of the Exeter archives in the context of practices elsewhere, particularly at Durham, Exeter's approach to music in the liturgy at the Restoration may be interpreted as a microcosmic representation of the emergence of the true English baroque in church music performance, and one that sets it apart from other locations in this study. The transition from 'antient, grave and solemn' polyphony to 'French fantastical light' homophony in compositional practice, the shift away from wind instruments in church to strings, and the commissioning of an organ case with pipes on both the east and west sides, all signify a modernising public turn in liturgical performance at Exeter between the Restoration and the 1680s. These signifiers are reflected elsewhere in the cathedral. Once the screens enclosing the choir stalls had been taken away in 1660 during work to remove the dividing wall, they were not reinstated; seating installed in the nave in 1677, primarily for use during extra-liturgical sermons and lectures, signals a shift in the role of the wider congregation, for whom access to the inner choir and therefore the possibility of directly interacting with the liturgical process, was previously highly restricted; and finally, the possibility of a move from the choir stalls to the organ loft for Lieutenant Hammond's 'melodious instruments', necessitated by the transition to *concertato* playing in liturgical music, suggests that the transparency and light of the Restoration space may be seen reflected in the music performed within. All of this goes some way to explaining the musical reputation enjoyed by Exeter Cathedral at this time.

Chapter 4 | Canterbury Cathedral

4.1 | Substitutionem et Tibicinorum: Instruments in the Choir at Canterbury Cathedral

As is the case at Exeter, the dearth of surviving musical repertoire at Canterbury from before the Civil War has hampered any investigation into the role of the cathedral band at this location, despite their long-acknowledged presence in the secondary literature. However, as this chapter seeks to demonstrate, there are still ways in which a better understanding of the musical context at Canterbury can be achieved. By revisiting the secondary literature surrounding musical practices and bringing up-to-date socio-political studies to the musicological arguments, it is possible to challenge some of the conclusions of previous scholars in the light of many decades of additional research. A broader scope of archival research that goes beyond that which has already been carried out (specifically, by incorporating evidence from the city archives instead of focussing exclusively on the cathedral itself) creates the possibility of testing the boundaries between the musical landscape of the cathedral and that of the wider city, and to incorporate the wealth of information that these archives hold into the broader picture of musical life at this institution. In this chapter I will argue against the assertion that instrumental musical participation in the liturgy at Canterbury was a product of central doctrinal edict and instead propose that it represents a localised, grass-roots tradition entwined with the wider soundscape of the town, through a focus on the professional life of one of the cathedral cornettists. Additionally, I will challenge the assumption that twenty-first century notions of literacy can be brought to bear on formulating a role for the Cathedral instrumentalists, and will present new archival evidence in support of both these arguments.

4.1.1 | Archival References to the Canterbury Cathedral Wind Band in Secondary Literature.

References to performance on wind instruments at Canterbury Cathedral have featured in secondary literature on performance practice since the earliest years of the discipline, but not without some degree of confusion. In 1910, Francis W. Galpin (in *Old Instruments of Music: Their History and Character*) named 1532 as the earliest reference to cornetts and sackbuts being employed at Canterbury Cathedral. He did not include a reference to support this claim,

nor did he specify the nature of their employment, but this did not stop it being taken as fact (by Woodfill in 1958, Le Huray in 1967, and Parrott in 1978) until 1993, when Trevor Herbert published ‘The Sackbut and Pre-Reformation English Church Music’.¹ Herbert stated very clearly that no evidence to support the 1532 date has ever come to light, instead suggesting 1598 and 1634 as years in which wind instruments may have been associated with Canterbury,² and Roger Bowers completed the picture with his invaluable 1999 publication, which includes extensive archival research on the choral institution in general.³ Since Bowers’ study, only two writers have given any consideration to the instrumentalists of Canterbury. Ian Spink, in *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* simply notes that their positions were reinstated at the Restoration but that as the musicians died out, they were not replaced.⁴ Andrew Parrott, in the 2014 re-issue of his 1978 article “‘Grett and Solempne Singing’: Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War’, responds to some of Bowers’ conclusions regarding the literacy or illiteracy of the players concerned⁵ (to be discussed in more detail below), but neither writer makes any move to positively suggest a role for the instrumentalists involved. Parrott focusses on Bowers’ conclusions about what they *couldn’t* contribute to the liturgy (i.e.: written polyphony), which is a useful starting point, but it is the purpose of this chapter firstly to challenge some of these assumptions and secondly to propose some options for what instrumentalists *could* have been contributing to the liturgy at this time.

Earlier misrepresentations aside, however, the secondary literature presently in circulation provides a useful timeline of references to instrumental performance associated with the cathedral, which is brought together in Table 1.

¹ Trevor Herbert, ‘The Sackbut and Pre-Reformation English Church Music’, *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 5 (1993), pp. 146–58 (p. 151 & fn.27).

² Whilst Herbert’s HBS article (fn.1) does not cite the supporting archive references for these dates, these are found in Trevor Herbert, ‘The Trombone in Britain before 1800’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Open University, 1984), p. 239 & p.155 respectively.

³ Roger Bowers, ‘Canterbury Cathedral: The liturgy of the cathedral and its music, c. 1075–1642’, in *English church polyphony: Singers and sources from the 14th to the 17th century*, ed. by Roger Bowers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 408–50.

⁴ Ian Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 206.

⁵ Andrew Parrott, “‘Grett and Solompne Singing’: Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War’, in *Composers’ Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance*, ed. by Andrew Parrott (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80 (p. 376 fn. 32).

Table 1: References to instrumental performance at or around Canterbury Cathedral appearing in secondary literature to 2017.

Date	Reference	Source
1572	Canterbury Cathedral paid 40 shillings each to ‘those skilled in music’ and to ‘the trumpeters’ when Elizabeth visited the church in 1572.	‘New Foundation Treasurer’s’ Accounts, CCA-DCC-TA/7, f96v. Reproduced in Nichols, <i>Public Progresses</i> , 1823 and referenced in REED Kent, p.1075.
1589	“seeing him [the Archbishop, John Whitgift] upon the next Sabaoth day after in the Cathedrall Church of Canterburie, attended upon by his Gentlemen, and servants... also by the Deane, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their Surplesses, and scarlet Hoods, and heard the solemne Musicke with the voyces, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbutts, hee was overtaken with admiration, and tolde an English Gentleman of very good qualitie (who then accompanied him) That they were led in great blindnesse at Rome, by our owne Nation, who made the people there beleewe, that there was not in England, either Archbishop, or Bishop, or Cathedrall, or any Church or Ecclesiasticall government; but that all was pulled downe to the ground, and that the people heard their Ministers in Woods, and Fields, amongst Trees, and brute beasts; But, for his owne part, he protested, that (unlesse it were in the Popes Chappell) hee never saw a more solemne sight, or heard a more heavenly sound”	Paule, Sir George: <i>The life of the most reverend and religious prelate John Whitgift Lord Archbishop of Canterbury</i> (London, 1612), quoted in Parrott (1978/2014) & Herbert (1984).
1598–1611	Cathedral accounts record payments to <i>tibicinorum</i> amongst payments to choir substitutes.	Discussed by Bowers (1995). Bowers concludes that, based on the evidence of their signatures, these instrumentalists (all cornettists) “can have had no contribution to make to the choir’s sung polyphony”.
1622–1649	Cathedral accounts record regular payments to four musicians listed separately.	CCA-DCC-MA/41, various folios. Bowers conducts a thorough assessment of these payment records in his 1995 publication. His conclusions are discussed in depth later in this chapter.
1625	Treasurer’s accounts record a payment for repairs to ‘ye Sackbut bookes’	CCA-DCC-TA/33, f3.
1634	Miscellaneous accounts record payment ‘To Mr Vaughan for pricking one service in both ye Sackbut bookes’	CCA-DCC-MA/41. Both these references are discussed by Bowers.
1634	Visitation articles record presence of ‘two corniters and two sackbutters, whome we do most willingly maintaine for the decorum of our quire’	HMC 3, House of Lords MSS., 125, quoted by Woodfill (1969), Parrott (1978/2014), Bowers (1995).
1637	Cathedral statutes establish the choir at ‘six Minor Canons, six Substitutes, one Organist, as the custom has long obtained in the Church, twelve Lay Lerks, one Master of the Choirsters, ten Choirsters... two Sackbutters and two Corniteers...’	Quoted by Spink (1995) and Bowers (1995).
1660	Four instrumentalists reinstated at the Restoration	CCA-DCC-TB/1-6. Mentioned by Spink (1995).
Mid-1700s	Cathedral inventories list ‘two brass Sackbuts not us’d for a grete number of yeres past’	Quoted by Herbert (1984).

As can be seen from this short list, anecdotal evidence of instrumental performance at Canterbury pre-dates any archival evidence from the Cathedral records, and it is worth spending a moment considering the context of these early anecdotal references. The first of these is reported in relation to Worcester Cathedral, where a visit by Queen Elizabeth I in 1575 is described in *Public Progresses*⁶ along with a transcription of the City Chamberlain's expenditure for the occasion (and from whence the "Grete and Solempne singing" from which Parrott's article takes its name originates). A footnote in this source details similarities with the Queen's 1572 visit to Canterbury. At Worcester, the mention of cornetts and sackbuts in association with the 1575 visit has been interpreted by some as an indication of their regular employment by the cathedral itself,⁷ though it seems that the musicians were rather members of the progress, the two groups mentioned in the records being 'the Yerle of Leycester's Musicians' and 'the Queen's Musicians'.⁸ In the case of Canterbury, the town waits would be a more likely recipient of the 6s 8d concerned, as they are listed simply as 'the Musicians' alongside 'Walter the Jester' and 'the clerk of the Market', whilst those in the Queen's service are listed as such.⁹ However, regardless of who exactly the musicians were in the case of the Canterbury visit, if the similarities with the Worcester visit extended to the role of the instruments on the day itself (performing in the context of a liturgical service, either accompanying voices or not, depending on one's reading of the quotation concerned), we may consider this to be an early documented example of instrumentalists being associated with the cathedral. In London and at court, instrumental music had been a feature of large-scale liturgical occasions since the early sixteenth-century,¹⁰ and it is possible that, following

⁶ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), p. 538.

⁷ Anthony Boden, *Thomas Tomkins : the last Elizabethan, with commentaries on Tomkins's music by Denis Stevens [et al.]* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 93. See Chapter 1, p. 28, for some arguments against this assumption.

⁸ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 549.

⁹ Records relating to the Canterbury Waits start in 1401, and entries in the City Chamberlain's Accounts and minutes of the Burghmote Court of the City of Canterbury show that they were an active part of city life during the period in question. Evidence from late sixteenth-century York Minster shows that the York Waits were responsible for providing an instrumental contribution to church services there, and entries in the City records of both York (1566) and Exeter (late 1500's) required the presence of the waits "for the worship of the City". As demonstrated in the second half of this chapter, members of the Canterbury Waits also enjoyed a long association with the Cathedral.

¹⁰ Parrott, "'Grett and Solempne Singing" (2015)', p. 369.

Elizabeth's progresses, some of the practices she brought with her to these two locations remained in vogue, gradually establishing themselves, and leading to the increase in anecdotal and archival evidence which begins around 15 years later.¹¹

The second reference, relating to the year 1589, comes from *The Life of Archbishop Whitgift* by Sir George Paule, described on the title page as 'Comptroller of his Graces Householde'. Published in London in 1612, the volume's stated aim was 'to write... the life of the most Reverend, and worthy Prelate John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterburie, to the end that posteritie might take true notice of the worth of such, as have well guided the Sterne of this Church, and settled the peace thereof'.¹² Amongst the ninety-two pages mostly dedicated to chronicling Whitgift's dealings at court (including events surrounding the Gunpowder Plot) is a second-hand account, relayed to the author by 'an English Gentleman of very good qualitie'¹³ of the reaction of a visiting 'Intelligencer from Rome' to the goings-on on the Sabbath in the cathedral. What follows is a fine example of the English establishment's rejection of perceived anti-Protestant propaganda (i.e.: the suggestion that the split from Rome had left the people to 'hear their Ministers in Woods, and Fields, amongst Trees, and brute beasts'), framed by a depiction of a solemn and sumptuous liturgical ceremony, complete with 'Surplesses, and scarlet Hoods' and 'solemne Musicke with the voyces, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbutts'. All the usual problems of interpreting this kind of source apply in this instance, however, the first being that the event in question was already thirty years in the past when Paule published his work. Secondly, Paule's choice of words may have been very accurate, but they may also simply represent his best depiction of a 'solemne' occasion, perhaps influenced more by his regular attendance at court than in Canterbury itself. Herbert states most categorically that there is no evidence from the Cathedral archives to suggest the employment of wind players before 1598, and the city accounts (specifically CCA/CC/F/A/19, Account book of the City Chamberlain, 1587–92) do not record additional expenditure on the waits during this year. Perhaps, as at Worcester in

¹¹ This would also accord with the timings of two Elizabethan references to instrumentalists in cathedrals by Thomas Whythorne and the authors of *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572) as discussed in Chapter 1, p. 5.

¹² George Paule, *The life of the most reuerend and religious prelate John Whitgift, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Written by Sir George Paule Knight, comptroller of his Graces householde* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1612), p. B. I.

¹³ Sir Edward Hobby, according to the marginalia.

1575, musicians formed part of the visiting entourage, bringing practices with them from the capital for a special occasion.

All subsequent references in the secondary literature refer to entries in the Cathedral archives and form the basis of what little has been written about instrumental participation at Canterbury to date. The literature focusses almost exclusively on evidence that confirms the presence of instrumental musicians in the cathedral context, and only Roger Bowers makes any attempt to suggest a role for the individuals listed in the cathedral records. Research undertaken as part of the present study enables an alternative reading of Bowers' cited evidence to be proposed, but in the first instance a brief summary of Bowers' approach to his materials and the context in which he frames them would seem appropriate here.

4.1.2 | The Reformation / Counter-reformation Context for Musicological Research at Canterbury.

Written as part of a general history of Canterbury Cathedral edited by renowned Reformation scholar the late Patrick Collinson, Bowers' study represents the single most thorough investigation into musical practices at the Cathedral available to the modern musicologist. It spans the entire period from c.1075 to 1642 and presents a large volume of archival evidence and wider research which has proven invaluable in the early stages of the present study. Specific details relating to seventeenth-century instrumental performance practice form only a very small part of the work – unsurprising for a relatively short chapter covering such a long time period – but it is the narrative framework into which these considerations fall that is of greatest importance here. For anyone attempting to suggest a role for instrumental music within the wider context of cathedral practices at this time, and then to work towards recreating the soundworld of the cathedral for twenty-first century ears, it is crucial to understand where this article situates its findings in the wider religious/political narrative.

By way of introduction to the historiography of this narrative, Jonathan Willis, in his 2010 book *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities*, suggests that the study of changing post-Reformation religious practice in England falls into 'revisionist' and 'post-revisionist' camps.¹⁴ He describes the first group as those for whom the Reformation signified a highly traumatic event in the lives of all

¹⁴ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Site and Identities* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 243.

concerned, and who paint a ‘brutal picture of destruction’ wrought by the reforming powers on the beauty, harmony and might of Catholicism. Willis cites Eamon Duffy’s *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992) as representative of the view that the Reformation ‘represented a violent rupture from a popular and theologically respectable religious system’, and from Bowers’ writings about Canterbury one may conclude that he broadly identifies with this paradigm. His language surrounding the new role of the music staff of the Cathedral during the 1550s illustrates this, describing how the choir were by turns ‘belittled by the new liturgy’, ‘pushed to... the margins of the Cathedral’s functions’, ‘professionally demeaned’, ‘debilitatingly underemployed’ and ‘artistically superfluous’.¹⁵ This ‘narrative of decline’¹⁶ is not purely a twentieth-century construct, having sixteenth-century parallels in such publications as the anonymous *The Praise of Musicke* (1586), where the author laments the rise of metrical psalmody over that of sung polyphony,¹⁷ but it should be acknowledged that historical and religious studies of this period have given rise to an alternative interpretation of the situation at hand.

This alternative, ‘post-revisionist’ approach, described by Willis as a ‘modification and refinement’ of revisionist views, sees more in the way of continuity and accommodation on the part of the general populace on the path to a Protestant England than revisionist scholarship might suggest. Focussing on the rise in popularity of congregational psalm singing in his study, Willis suggests that the participatory nature of the newly reformed church on a parish level contributed to a large degree to its (arguable) success, citing, amongst other things, the 121 reprints of Sternhold and Hopkins’ *Whole Book of Psalmes* between 1566 and 1630 as testament to this fact.¹⁸ The relationship between parish and cathedral during this time is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1, but in the first instance it must be acknowledged that congregational singing was practised in the sermon house of Canterbury Cathedral from the 1560s¹⁹, and continued there until 1640 when it was moved

¹⁵ Roger Bowers, ‘The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c.1075–1642’, in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. by Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks (Oxford: OUP, 1995), pp. 408–50 (p. 430).

¹⁶ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 138.

¹⁷ Anon., *The Praise of Musike* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586), cited in Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 66.

¹⁸ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 190.

¹⁹ 11 psalters were purchased for the Sermon House at Canterbury in 1566, Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 155.

into the Cathedral itself. Bowers relates how psalm singing even became a tool of dissent amongst the congregation on one particular occasion in 1641, when the assembled masses defiantly continued in their singing of Psalm 119 in protest at perceived idolatry on the part of the clergy.²⁰ Bowers' source for this anecdote, fully titled *Dean and chapter newes from Canterbury: shewing, the Canterburian Cathedrall to be in an abbey-like, corrupt, and rotten condition, which calls for a speedy reformation, or dissolution: which dissolution is already foreshown, and begun there, by many*, is an interesting document and, as the title suggests, not without bias, but it does at least confirm that this particular aspect of post-Reformation practice, one which became bound up with a grass-roots, populist movement towards participatory worship, was a feature of the Canterbury Cathedral soundscape.

4.1.3 | Literacy in the Wind Band – Countering Roger Bowers' Assertions.

It is my hypothesis – one which is developed further in the second half of this chapter – that the involvement of the wind-band in church also reflects something of the civic-popular-protestant side of the city's soundscape, but there are three principal assertions in Bowers' text regarding performance on instruments in church that impact on any consideration of how this contribution may have manifested itself. All three intersect with the wider historical narrative discussed above and all three can be countered with new evidence from the archives. Each will be discussed in turn.

The first refers to the educational experiences and musical abilities of the instrumentalists concerned, and is summarised by the following two statements: 'Until the 1620s, almost all the players were not merely uneducated, but barely literate, unable even to sign their names in receipt of their pay',²¹ and, following on from this:

The band's function was 'to make music in the quire' [pro melodiam in choribus] of the Cathedral, on feast-days and their vigils. Precisely what music was played is not divulged, but as least it is clear that at this time the band can have had no contribution to make to the accompaniment of the choir's sung polyphony.²²

Bowers draws these conclusions based on signatures surviving in Cathedral payment records, but, as can be seen from Figure 1, the evidence is not nearly so clear-cut as the above statements imply. Bowers seems to be assuming that anything other than a full signature

²⁰ Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', p. 450. Psalm 119 has 176 verses, making it the ideal tool for protest.

²¹ Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', p. 441.

²² Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', p. 442.

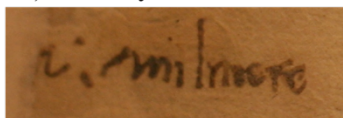
implies that the writer was illiterate (and therefore unable to read music). Figure 1 presents examples of all the instrumentalists' signatures available for the period in question, showing the earliest example for each individual, and giving two examples where both a signature and an initial have been used at different times. Anthony Milmore signs for his wages in 1598, but writes an initial in 1602, and Abraham Cadd uses both a full signature and an initial during 1622/3, suggesting that use of initials would not necessarily have signified an inability to sign one's name. There is also a clear distinction to be made between the initial of John Bashford, the initial of Edward Huit and the simple mark of Richard Mounteere from the 1630s, whereby a more nuanced continuum of signatures and marks, and therefore a more complex picture of the musicians' literacy than the simple literate/illiterate dichotomy proposed by Bowers, can be discerned. It is also important to note that social historians have long since recognised this continuum. In 'Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730', David Cressy states that the early modern curriculum was structured in such a way that reading and writing were taught in succession, as opposed to simultaneously, meaning that a child who left school early may have had time to acquire the 'passive literacy' of one able to read but not write, whilst only those who stayed on would have developed 'active literacy', the ability to do both. He suggests that a large part of the population of early modern England may indeed have fallen into this 'semi-literate' category, but that, of course, exact figures can never be any more than conjecture at this stage.²³

²³ David Cressy, 'Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730', *The Historical Journal*, 20 (1977), pp. 1-23 (p. 2).

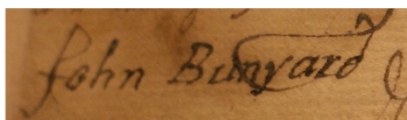
Figure 1 : Signatures in receipt of pay for *tibicinorum* at Canterbury Cathedral, 1598–1665.

from 1598–9

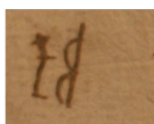
a) Anthony Milmore



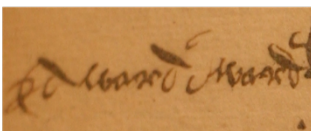
b) John Bunyard



c) John Bashford

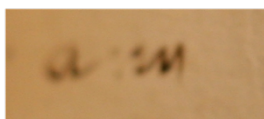


d) Edward Ward

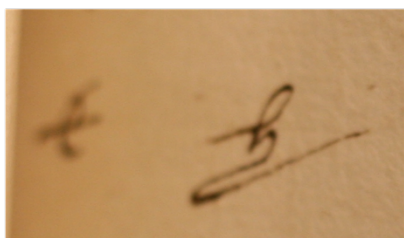


from 1602–3

e) Anthony Milmore

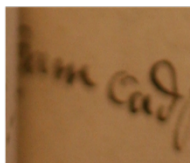


f) Edward Hewitt

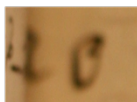


from 1622–3

g) Abraham Cadd

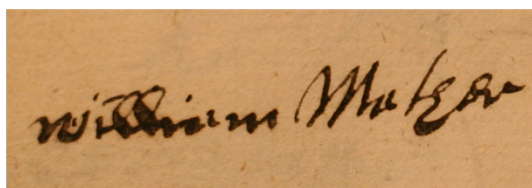


h) Barnaby Bunyard

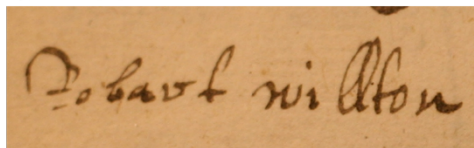



from 1633–4

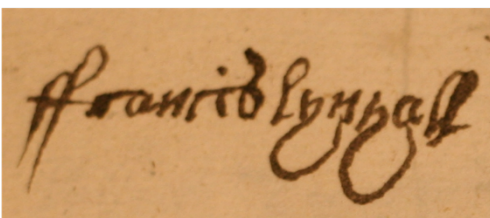
i) William Mather[s]



j) Rob[e]rt Wilton

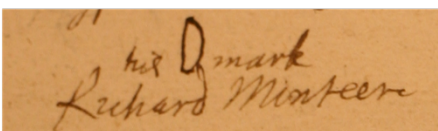


k) Francis Lynyall

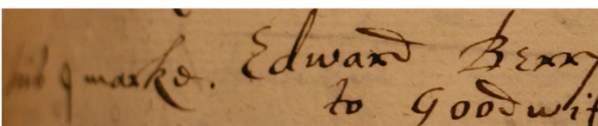


from 1634–5

l) Richard Mo[u]nteer[e]

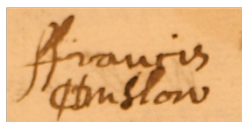


m) Edward Berry



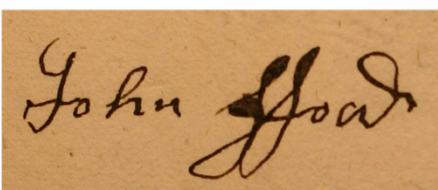
from 1661–2

n) Francis Onslow



from 1664–5

o) John Foad



Further than this, however, it is now a widely acknowledged fact that musical literacy and educational literacy in the early modern period may not have been as closely intertwined as previously thought. The study of nineteenth-century mining town bands by Trevor Herbert to name but one comparable example,²⁴ suggests that an inability to read or write words does not necessarily go hand in hand with an inability to read music and therefore to play from notation, and the same may well be true of this period. Additionally, the rise of participatory worship (including the singing of metrical psalms) which grew in the second half of the sixteenth century suggests that exposure to written musical forms would have been greatly increased. A 1570 edition of the *Whole Book of Psalmes* even included a brief introduction to musical notation, detailing ‘how to call every Note by his right name, so that with very little diligence... thou maiest more easely by the viewing of the letters come to the knowledge of perfect solfay’.²⁵ This type of exposure would have led to a previously unseen growth in musical literacy amongst the general population.

One final note on literacy relates to the distinction Bowers makes between seemingly literate church musicians and supposedly illiterate town musicians, and the barriers between the musical capabilities of each group, another distinction which breaks down in the face of archival evidence. Contrary to his implications that church musicians and town musicians were distinct entities, records show that throughout the period in question there was significant cross-over between those playing in church and those playing as part of the waits band, and also between those playing in church and those singing in church, as was indeed the case in other English cities, such as York and Norwich during this period.²⁶ Edward Warde (c.1580-1634), a Canterbury cornettist with a thirty-seven-year association with the Cathedral, is a case in point here. He appears in the first available payment records under *Substitutionem et Tibicinorum* for John the Baptist term 1598, and continues to feature amongst the instrumentalists (earning 25s per quarter pro rata) until Nativity of 1602 when he started to receive the stipend of a choir substitute (40s per quarter). By 1622/3 he had

²⁴ Trevor Herbert, ‘Brass bands and other vernacular traditions’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 177–92 (p. 183).

²⁵ Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The whole booke of Psalmes* (London: John Day, 1570).

²⁶ Andrew Parrott, in his rebuff of Bowers’ statements regarding literacy amongst musician at Canterbury and Lincoln Cathedrals, cites the excellent reputations of the Norwich waits and the City of London waits as an indication of their musical skill, also pointing out that Orlando and Edward Gibbons were the sons of a Cambridge and Oxford wait, in Parrott, “‘Grett and Solempne Singing’ (2015)”, pp. 376, fn. 32.

returned to his duties as an instrumentalist where he remained until his death during Annunciation term 1635. Additionally, he is also named in the City Chamberlain's Accounts in 1595 as belonging to the five-strong town waits band, in an entry recording expenditure on their new liveries,²⁷ and his employment portfolio is by no means unique. John Bunyard, listed as a cornettist in the 1603 Cathedral Treasurer's Accounts,²⁸ was also a regular choir substitute between 1597 and 1604.²⁹ William Mather (*c.*1600-1642) played in the Cathedral ensemble throughout the 1630s, whilst also being appointed leader of the town waits in 1638, following a petition from a number of competing groups.³⁰ Incidentally, Mather also signs a complete signature (see Figure 1.i), casting further doubt on Bowers' assumptions surrounding the educational expectations of waits band players. Mather is the subject of a more detailed case study that follows in Chapter 4.2.

This interchange between cathedral players and singers, and between cathedral and town musicians, also continues into the second half of the seventeenth century. Although Bowers' study ends at the outbreak of the Civil War, post-Restoration records demonstrate that the situation persisted, albeit temporarily, following the Interregnum. Two petitions from the Cathedral archives confirm this.³¹ One, dated 1660 in the catalogue, was made on behalf of Francis Linneall and Francis Onslowe (sackbuteers) and Richard Munteere and John Foade (cornettists) to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, stating that they 'did heretofore belong to the quier of the Church' and that 'since it hath pleased Almighty God to sette this distracted nation in its Former purity of Religeon', could they please have their jobs back.³² A similar petition, dated 1658 by the catalogue, was made on behalf of the same individuals (except for Francis Onslowe, who is replaced by a Richard Foade, brother of John) to the Burghmote Court of the City of Canterbury.³³ Here the petitioners 'formerly did usually play about this City in the mornings and other times of publique meetinges within the said City

²⁷ CCA, CC/F/A/20, f.161.

²⁸ CCA, DCc/TA/12, f.9v.

²⁹ CCA, DCc/MA/41, f.131v onwards.

³⁰ CCA, CC/AC/4, f.136v-137. I am grateful to Daniel Korachi-Alaoui at Canterbury Cathedral Archives for bringing this document to my attention.

³¹ Full transcriptions of these petitions can be found in Figure 2.

³² CCA, DCc/PET/217.

³³ CCA, CC/P/P/B/1658-61.

Figure 2: Petitions of the Canterbury city waits and cathedral wind band for employment at the Restoration.

DCA, CC/P/P/B/1658/41	CCA-DCc-PET/217
To the Right wo[shipful] the Maior Aldermen and Com[m]on Councell now assembled in Burghmote	[To the] Reverend Father + the Deane and prebends of the Ca[the]drall and Metropolitall Church of Christ Canterbury
The humble petit[i]on of Richard Monteere John Foade Richard Foade and Francis Lynneard	The humble petition of Francis Linneall of the City of Canterbury aforesaid sackbotter, Richard Munteere of the same Cornetor, Francis Onslowe of the parish of the Church of Christ Canterbury afores[aid] Sackbotter And John Foade of the said City of Canterbury Cornetor,
Schriveth	
That whereas your petit[i]oners formerly did usually play about this Citty in the mornings and other times of publique meetinges within the said Citty their musick com[m]only called the waites And whereas yo[ur] petit[i]oners had then sanc[t]ion to their said musick Their humble desire therefore is that yo[ur] wo[shi]pps would be pleased to grant unto yo[ur] petit[i]oners [?]esand leave to play with their said Musick as formerly and that yo[ur] wo[shi]pps would be pleased to grant unto them their said sanc[t]ions And yo[ur] petit[i]oners shall ever pray	humbly Shreve that your petitioners did heretofore belong to the quier of the Church aforementioned And were sworne members, And whereas for some yeares la[st?] they have bin p[re]vented to officiate their places as formerly, yet since it hath pleased Almighty God to sette this distracted nation in its Former purity of Religeon, And to grant us our Civill Liberty From which wee have bin soe longe separated, your petitioners doe hereby declare their Readines to officiate their said places, And doe further offer that they have bin ready (as in duety they were bound) to officiate in their severall and respective places, ever sithence this one happy Freedome, and restaurant[i]on to our truely Ancient and Apostolike Fellowship wherefore your petitioners beinge informed that there hath bin some Mony lately distributed Amongst their Fellowe Member of the Quier aforesaid It is humble desired, that as they have bin, and still are ready to p[er]forme their severall dueties with their Fellow Members, that soe they may bee p[ar]ticipate with them in their refreshings. And you petitioners shall as in Duty bound ever pray.

their music com[m]only call the waites', and again they request the reinstatement of their official duties presumably brought to a standstill by the war.³⁴

Although I have not yet been able to establish whether the waits' duties were reinstated, cathedral treasurer's accounts resume payments to the four wind players for their duties in church from 1660, including an additional payment of 20s each for new surplices.³⁵ It is interesting to note the language of PET/217, in which the instrumentalists clearly consider themselves part of the choir. There is often confusion about references to the choir in the primary sources, designating as it does both the body of singers and the physical location within the cathedral, but here I feel that the meaning is unambiguous. These instrumentalists were as much a part of the ensemble of church musicians as the lay clerks and choir substitutes, which strengthens the arguments for their contribution to the performance of polyphony still further.

These post-Restoration arrangements were relatively short-lived, however. The pre-war practice of allocating a separate page in the accounts for the *Stipendia Tibicinum* continues, but as each musician dies they are not replaced, and by 1669/70 the only entry lists 5s 'given to bury John Foade to his brother', signed for with the mark of Richard Foade, and the remaining £8 15s 'for the Stipends of the Sackbuteers and Cornets' is recorded under extraordinary receipts for that year.³⁶ Clearly tastes and times had changed, as instrumentalists were no longer required to fulfil whatever duties it was they had previously undertaken. Spink does not mention instruments in his brief assessment of musical activities immediately following the Restoration, although further archival work may help to establish

³⁴ The archives provide us with further indications of the upheaval of the Civil War on the musicians at Canterbury. CCA, DCc/PET/184 records the petition of Francis Onslowe for the position of lay clerk at the cathedral on the grounds that, having been injured whilst fighting for the King, he could no longer play the sackbut. CCA, DCc/PET/34 records Francis Linneal asking for a loan of 40s to replace the sackbut confiscated from him by a soldier during the war. Linneal's request appears to have been granted, as his wages are docked at various points throughout the following year. Onslowe does not appear to have been successful in his petition, but clearly managed to continue in his role as he received wages until shortly before his death in 1662. His probate inventory survives, recording that he left, amongst other things, a pair of virginals and his surplice to posterity, but not his sackbut. Perhaps this was one of the 'two brass Sackbuts not us'd for a grete number of yeres past' recorded in mid-eighteenth century Cathedral inventories for 1752 and 1761. (This record is provided in Galpin 'The Sackbut', pp.15–16 without a reference.)

³⁵ CCA, DCc/TB/1-6

³⁶ CCA, DCc/TB/6, f.9r.

whether any parallels existed with, for example, Exeter's use of stringed instruments around this time.³⁷

The second of Bower's assertions is that the archives demonstrate a progressive improvement in the provision of instrumental music at Canterbury, one measured by the 'literacy' of the players employed, that coincides with wider religious-historical factors.

A second initiative of the period [1625–1642] concerned the character and role of the wind-band in services on festivals and their eves; for while it remained usual for functional or even total illiterates to be appointed to play the Cornett, the signatures of the sackbut players show that from the mid-1620s their appointments were being conferred on literate men of good education.³⁸

I would suggest that the evidence shown in Figure 1 does not support this assertion. Only one of the instrumentalists from the earlier set of records seems to have had genuinely shaky penmanship (John Bashford), whilst the later records show at least two individuals who sign only with a mark (Richard Munteere and Edward Berry). That the musicians were increasingly active within the Cathedral in the early seventeenth century (and in fact also in the City itself, as referenced by the City Chamberlain's Accounts to be discussed later in this chapter) is certainly supported by the archival evidence, but Bowers' conclusions about a shift in the literacy of those concerned seems unfounded.

It is important to note that Bowers specifically links the perceived 'improvements' in the provision of wind instrumentalists at this time with the appointment of Isaac Bargrave as Dean, the accession of Charles I and the subsequent ascendancy of Archbishop William Laud, stating that 'in all likelihood, he [Dean Bargrave] was no unwilling conduit for Laud's ambition to make of this Cathedral a cynosure and show-case of Arminian principles or worship in practice'.³⁹ These principles are discussed in detail in Chapter 1, but can briefly be summarised as high-church Protestantism with an emphasis on the 'beauty of holiness', (characteristics of which might include lavishly embroidered copes, surplices, bowing at the altar, a liturgy embellished with polyphony and, famously in Durham, 'sackbuts and cornetts, which yield an hydeous noyse'); they became the target of widespread accusation of 'popishness' in the run up to the Civil War, finally costing Laud his neck. However, whether Canterbury can actually be considered a 'Laudian' institution at this time is a matter of some debate, and this impacts strongly on how the role of wind instrumentalists is perceived.

³⁷ Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714*, p. 207.

³⁸ Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', p. 445.

³⁹ Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', p. 445.

Patrick Collinson, in the same volume in which Bowers' article originally appeared, argues that it is difficult to designate Canterbury as a 'Laudian' Cathedral with any degree of certainty,⁴⁰ a view echoed in the more recent work of Ian Atherton.⁴¹ Bowers interprets the perceived improvements in instrumental provision (along, incidentally with increased use of the organs at Canterbury during this time) as a reaction to Laudian decree, but in discussing the concept of Laudianism on a national level, Atherton proposes an alternative relationship between the top-down dictates of Laud's doctrine and what actually happened on the ground. He suggests that the fabric of practices in use in cathedrals was so varied across the country that central decrees effectively had to be 'grafted on' to existing cathedral practices in order to create the impression of a powerful centralised church. In terms of the Canterbury Cathedral wind band, for example, the fact that it had already been established for at least 30 years (and possibly longer) by the time Laud became archbishop, suggests that existing practices at Canterbury were rather co-opted by Laud here, instead of being established or overtly improved by his doctrinal policies.

This leads neatly to the final extract from Bowers' text deserving attention in the pursuit of a role for the instruments at this location. This relates to the attendance records of the cornett and sackbut players:

This new distinction [that between supposedly literate players of the sackbut and illiterate players of the cornett] found reflection in their respective patterns of attendance; the record of one sackbutteer was exemplary and that of the other only somewhat less so, while that of the cornettiers was apparently negligent and haphazard.⁴²

Table 2 presents transcriptions of the two pages from Miscellaneous Accounts (MA) 41 cited by Bowers as the evidence for this, laying out the allocated stipend for each musician and the amount they were finally paid. The information is represented graphically in Figure 3.

Attendance levels certainly fluctuated across these two periods, but I would argue that the attendance of the cornetts was actually more consistent over time than that of the sackbuts, with the most consistent attendance demonstrated by cornettist William Mather, also leader of the town waits from 1638 and, from his signature, an educated man, contradicting Bowers' assumptions on a number of levels. It should also be noted that the two pages are from 1635/6

⁴⁰ Quoted in Peter Jonathan Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603–c.1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sheffield University, 2001), p. 127.

⁴¹ Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *The Historical Journal*, 53 (2010), pp. 895–918 (p. 910).

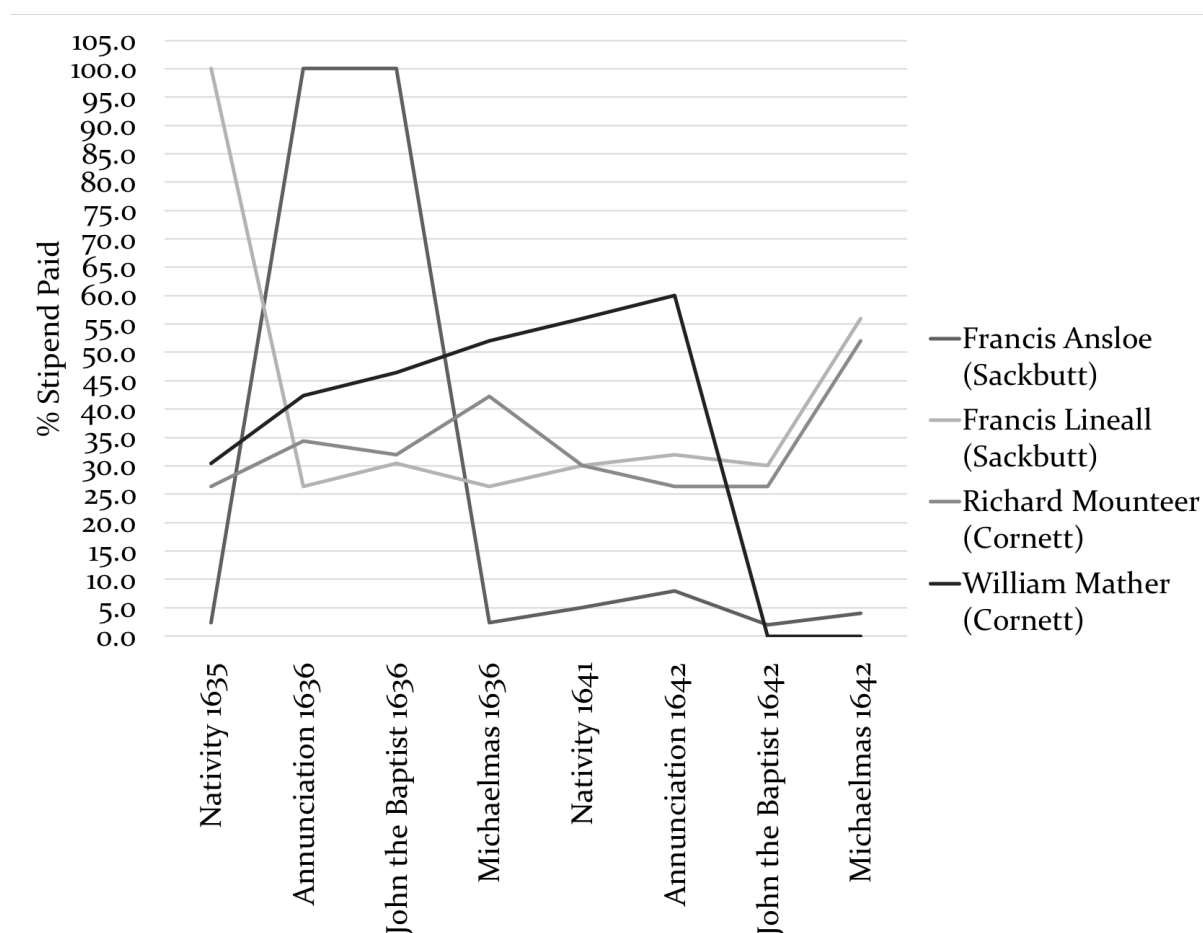
⁴² Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', p. 445.

and 1641/2 respectively and show consistent wind-band personnel over the whole seven-year period, suggesting that absence amongst the wind-band was not seen as overly problematic by the cathedral, otherwise the players would surely have been replaced.

Table 2 : Total allocated stipend compared to total stipend paid to wind band members, Canterbury Cathedral, 1635–42.

1635-6 (MA41, f474)	Instrument	Stipend	Amount Paid	% of Stipend Paid
Nativity				
William Mather	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 7 - 6	30.4
Francis Lineall	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	1 - 5 - 0	100
Richard Munteer	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 6 - 6	26.4
Francis Ansloe	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 0 - 6	2.4
Annunciation				
William Mather	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 10 - 6	42.4
Francis Lineall	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 6 - 6	26.4
Richard Munteer	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 8 - 6	34.4
Francis Ansloe	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	1 - 5 - 0	100
St John the Baptist				
William Mather	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 11 - 6	46.4
Francis Lineall	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 7 - 6	30.4
Richard Munteer	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 8 - 0	32
Francis Ansloe	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	1 - 5 - 0	100
Michealmas				
William Mather	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 13 - 0	52
Francis Lineall	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 6 - 6	26.4
Richard Munteere	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 10 - 6	42.2
Francis Ansloe	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 0 - 6	2.4
1641-2 (MA41, f535v)				
Nativity				
W[illia]m Mather	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	[Missing]	
Fr[ancis] Linyall	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	[Missing]	
Fr[ancis] Onslowe	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - [Missing]	
Rich[ard] Mountier	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 7 [Missing]	30?
Annunciation				
W[illia]m Mather	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 15 - 0	60
Fr[ancis] Linyall	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 14 - 0	56
Ric[hard] Mountier	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 13 - 0	52
Fr[ancis] Onslowe	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 2 - 0	8
St John the Baptiste				
William Mather	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 0 - 0	[Buried 1642, St Margaret's Canterbury?]
Francis Linyall	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 8 - 0	32
Rich[ard] Mountier	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 6 - 6	26.4
Franc[is] Onslowe	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 1 - 6	2
Michaelmas				
Franc[is] Onslowe	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 1 - 0	4
Fran[cis] Linyal	Sackbutt	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 7 - 6	30
Rich[ard] Mountier	Cornett	1 - 5 - 0	0 - 6 - 6	26.4

Figure 3: Percentage of allocated stipend paid to Canterbury Cathedral wind band, 1635–42.



More interesting to speculate here is why, in a period during which Bowers claims Laudian reforms were the impetus behind improvements in musical provision at Canterbury, the attendance of the wind-band is considerably reduced in comparison to the previous period for which there are payments records surviving (the early 1620s). MA41 f. 269r shows either poor record-keeping on the part of the treasurer or full attendance on the part of the wind-band, cornetts and sackbuts alike, for the entire year 1622/3. The band were not formally entered into the statutes of the cathedral until 1637, by which time I would suggest that instrumental participation in the service may in fact have been in decline and that any of Laud's policies designed to co-opt this tradition for a greater purpose came rather too late in this instance. Only five years later 'zealous troopers' entered the Cathedral, and the ensuing vandalism resulted in the destruction of almost the entire collection of choral polyphony. Only the jubilant writings of Richard Culmer in *Dean and Chapter Newes* (1659) leave much indication as to what practices may have been destroyed along with the pricksong and surplices: '... their Quire, which before had all the pipes, both Service and Sermon, hath

never since that time had once Service, or Sermon to this day. There are no Cathedral Seraphims heard tossing their Quire Service from one side of the Quire to the other, only plain Service-book Service is held in the Sermon-house'.⁴³

4.2 : A day in the life of William Mather: Cornitor, publican, wait.

In order to demonstrate some of the themes and issues discussed in the first half of this chapter, I have conducted a case study of one of the musicians employed by Canterbury Cathedral. William Mather worked there as a cornettist (or 'cornitor' according to contemporary terminology) from some time before 1633 until his death in 1642, and his presence in the primary sources makes him one of the best-documented seventeenth-century professional musicians encountered in the course of this project. Despite this, he is not named in any secondary literature and no attempt has yet been made to put his life in context or to consider how elements from his personal history may contribute to our understanding of the musical role he shared with his colleagues. By mapping the musical activities of the Canterbury Cathedral wind band onto the framework provided by his paper trail, drawing on research from other locations where necessary, I sketch out what might be considered a typical day in Mather's life, examine the cultural context in which he and his colleagues worked, and discuss how this approach to archival work has, in combination with practice-led research, enabled me to begin identifying meanings in the sources on which I have drawn.

Firstly, what do we know about this person, and how? The only impression he has made on scholarship so far is as part of Roger Bowers' head-count of wind musicians employed by Canterbury Cathedral between around 1597, when they are first mentioned in payment records, until 1642, when Bowers' study draws to a close.⁴⁴ Neither William nor his colleagues are mentioned by name, and considering the general scarcity of documents relating to 'non-elite' musicians in seventeenth-century sources, one might legitimately conclude that this is all we are ever likely to know about a character like Mather. But his story stood out as a potential avenue by which to discover more about seventeenth-century musical life in Canterbury, so, heeding the warning of Fiona Kisby in her 2002 bibliographical review of the meeting point between urban history and musicology – that is, to avoid limiting archival research to one type of source material – I embarked on a more

⁴³ Richard Culmer, *Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury* (London: Richard Cotes, 1649), p. D.2.

⁴⁴ Bowers, 'Canterbury Cathedral: The Liturgy... and its music', p. 441 & 45.

inclusive investigation into Mather's life.⁴⁵ By engaging closely with the *Records of Early English Drama* volume for Kent,⁴⁶ and by embracing a range of digital tools now available for research into genealogy and local history, I have built up a much fuller picture of Mather's biography, and of his work patterns, as follows.

His baptism is not recorded, but he married for at least the second time on 19th December 1632, putting his probable date of birth at around the turn of the century. He married Elizabeth Vaughan, aged 22, and his occupation on this marriage license is listed as 'musician'. He lived in the Parish of St Margaret in central Canterbury, a couple of minutes' walk from the cathedral. William first appears in Canterbury Cathedral Treasurer's Accounts in Nativity term 1633–4, signing for his pay as a *tibicine* (piper)⁴⁷ but the accounts are missing for the previous eleven years so it is impossible to say for certain when his involvement with the cathedral began. He appears in all the subsequent surviving accounts until John the Baptist term 1641/2.⁴⁸ He had one child from his first marriage and a further 5 from his second, one of whom, Thomas, may have followed him into cathedral employment, petitioning for a position as a lay clerk at the Restoration.⁴⁹ William's probate inventory was made on June 8th 1642 suggesting that he died on or around this date.

As a cathedral wind player, Mather was allocated a stipend of £6 per year paid quarterly and was also provided with a surplice at the cathedral's expense. Although Bowers suggests that the band were only expected to attend on feast days and vigils (approximately 52 days out of the year), their pay compares favourably with that of the Durham wind band of the same period, whose attendance was required every day except Wednesday and Friday. Not all the Canterbury band received the whole stipend each quarter, so it is difficult to say exactly what commitment the players were expected to make, but I would estimate that they were playing at least weekly on Sundays and then at additional festal occasions through the year, allowing, therefore, plenty of time for other employment.

⁴⁵ Fiona Kisby, 'Music in European cities and towns to c.1650: a bibliographical survey', *Urban History*, 29 (2002), pp. 74–82 (p. 75).

⁴⁶ James M. Gibson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Kent: Diocese of Canterbury*, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002), II.

⁴⁷ CCA, DCC/MA/41, f. 347.

⁴⁸ CCA, DCC/MA/41, f. 535.

⁴⁹ CCA, DCC/PET 40.

Mather is first mentioned by name in the city records in 1638 after he, on behalf of three fellow musicians, petitioned the citizen's court of the City of Canterbury, to be allowed to form the city's officially sanctioned waits band. This mutinous plan to replace the pre-existing band appears to have been the brainchild of one of William's cathedral colleagues, the sackbut player Francis Lynneal, and eventually resulted in the disastrous decision on the part of the court to appoint two members from each rival group to the job. Mather then proceeded to complain fairly continuously for the next four years about pay and conditions until the court eventually ran out of patience and sacked them all in 1642.⁵⁰

The motivation for Mather and Lynneal's plan can, of course, only be the subject of speculation, but perhaps the mutinous group, all regular members of the cathedral band, may have considered themselves somewhat musically superior to the existing players, only one of whom appears in cathedral records in an official capacity, and then for just one term. Either way, they were keen to claim the work for themselves, despite the poor remuneration on offer. Although the annual stipend of the Canterbury waits is not recorded, the band's counterparts in Norwich were paid £13 a year between 5 players in 1580. On the basis that wages took little notice of the high inflation in early years of the seventeenth century, and that the Canterbury band consisted of four players plus two apprentices, I have calculated that Mather may have received around £4 per year for his activities as a wait. In addition to his £6 cathedral stipend, even these two jobs would only have made him as much as a manual labourer, who generally took home between £7 and £10 a year in the 1630s.⁵¹

Mather's probate inventory, reproduced in full in Figure 4 reveals that he had a third, apparently quite profitable strand to his hitherto seemingly precarious existence. It is very fortunate that this inventory survives, as Canterbury is one of the poorest served areas in terms of surviving probate inventories compared to national averages, and although there are numerous pitfalls involved in interpreting these documents, it is possible to use them as an indicator of the relative comfort in which an individual and his family lived, and to shed a little light on their day-to-day lives.⁵²

⁵⁰ CCA, CC/AC 4, f. 158, as transcribed in Gibson, *REED Kent*, p. 301.

⁵¹ G. Clark, 'The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1209–2004', *Journal of Political Economy*, 113 (2005), pp. 1307–40 (p. 55).

⁵² Tom Arkell, 'Interpreting Probate Inventories', in *When death do us part : understanding and interpreting the probate records of Early Modern England*, ed. by Tom Arkell, Nesta Evan, and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000), pp. 72–102.

Figure 4 : William Mather's probate inventory, KRO, PRC11/9/112/1

An Inventory of ye goods and Chattels of William
Mather Late of St. Margarets - ye City of
London deceased taken by us above
June ye 8. 1642. names are miswritten.

In ye purse and girdle and
various apparell — 02: 00: 00:

In ye best Chamber.

In ye one standing bed furnished — 05: 00: 00:
It two Cushion stools and one chaire. — 00: 08: 00:
It one Court Cubbord & one chest — 00: 06: 00:
It one wicker chaire & one wicker chaire — 00: 03: 00:
It one table and six wicker stools — 01: 05: 00:
It ten pictures: one looking glass: &
two boxes: one small japane picture } — 00: 03: 00:
It one pe of brandy: & a pe of
tongues: & two small cushions }

In ye green Chamber.

In ye one bath and 4 wicker stools — 00: 15: 00:
It one Court Cubbord: one chest:
one Cubbord clock: 2 small matt:
two chaires: & 4 cushions — } — 00: 10: 00:
It one musick instrument — 02: 00: 00:
It one small table — 00: 02: 00:

In ye little Chamber.

In ye 2 half-headed beds: & 2
with 2 beds: 2 beds: & 2 blankets } — 01: 10: 00:

In ye best Chamber.

In ye one small standing bed: with a
small feather bed & rugge, with
a French bedstead & 2 wicker
It a trunk and a chest } — 00: 04: 00:
It for wood — 01: 00: 00:

In ye Hall.

In ye one table: one wicker stool: 3
wicker chaires: one few stool: & a
Cradle } — 00: 08: 00:
It a press and Cubbord clock — 00: 16: 00:
It a Jack and weights — 00: 12: 00:
It a bedding piece & two spits — 00: 13: 04:
It a glass case & skettin & salt boxes } — 00: 04: 00:
It the yrons belonging to ye fire — 00: 07: 00:
It 13 pewter — 01: 00: 00:
It 3 iron pots: very small — 00: 06: 00:
It one wicker noggan: one small kist:
with a lock & key } — 00: 06: 00:
It 2 eggs: glasses and other earthen
dishes }

It ye wooden dishes & keuchers — 00: 02: 00:
It 2 frying pans and ye tinned
and one griddle — 00: 02: 00:

In ye Sellar.

In ye 2 Steekings and fire — 03: 12: 00:
It ye Leaks — 00: 05: 00:
It ye Linnen & 2 ye of ye
Shirts worn with one dozen of
nappes: 8 table cloths short &
long: 3 ye of pillow cases &
Cubbord cloths } — 02: 00: 00:
It ye Signe board — 00: 13: 04:
It the Lombr and Hags omitted — 00: 05: 00:

Richard Rymer
Richard Rymer

The details of William's musical instruments, which appear in the first column, could have been highly enlightening, but the entry is tantalisingly unspecific and does not list any instrument by name. At a combined value of £2 in used condition he could have owned a couple of cornetts (trebles cost 35s each and tenors 50s new in 1622⁵³) plus maybe a shawm and some recorders.⁵⁴ However, on closer examination, the household items he owned contain some of the wealth signifiers identified by social historians from comparative probate studies that give some indication of Mather's social status. There are items from all three 'comfort levels' amongst 'middling' citizens identified by Lorna Weatherill, and the total value of the probate inventory (£24 19s 2d) places him in Johnston's middle band (third out of five) of households, described as having 'apparently satisfied normal aspirations' in their household possessions.⁵⁵ This final income stream must, therefore, have been reasonably successful, as it was responsible for lifting him and his family out of the lowest income and comfort brackets.

The large quantity of beer (432 servings at 2d/quart) and the listing of 'ye signe boord', first suggested the possibility that he ran a tavern, probably with the help of his wife Elizabeth, and he would not have been alone amongst cathedral employees, or the wider public, in 'moonlighting' in this manner.⁵⁶ It is estimated that by 1630, there were around 50,000 alehouses in England, up from around 24,000 in 1577, with a decreasing ratio of alehouse per head of population even keeping abreast of the rapid population growth that

⁵³ Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland: A. Ashbee, 1991), IV (1603–1625), p. 113.

⁵⁴ Edmund Salter, wait of the University of Cambridge, who died in 1657 (and who also, incidentally, worked as a 'victualler') left a watch, 3 lutes and 3 cornetts at a combined value of £2 in his probate inventory. Cu, UA Vice-Chancellor's Court Inventories, Bundle 14, 1650–60, as quoted in Ian Payne, *The provision and practice of sacred music at Cambridge colleges and selected cathedrals, c.1547—c.1646 : a comparative study of the archival evidence* (New York, London: Garland, 1993), p. 305.

⁵⁵ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (New York: Routledge, 1988); J. A. Johnston, *Probate inventories of Lincoln citizens, 1661–1714* (Woodbridge: Lincoln Record Society, 1991). As discussed in Arkell, 'Probate', p. 89.

⁵⁶ James Saunders, 'Music and moonlighting: the cathedral choirmen of early modern England, 1558–1649', in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. by Fiona Kisby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 167–80.

occurred during the same period.⁵⁷ The alehouse shown in Figure 5 is by the Dutch painter Jan Mince Molenaar, but it could be considered representative of the kind of establishment Mather may have run, based on the items depicted that appear in his inventory: a table and joint stools, table linen, jugs, glasses, earthenware, wooden dishes and trenchers. Early Modern social-historical opinion is divided on the matter, but the clientele, probably representatives of the lower- to middle-class to which Mather himself belonged, may either have been plotting the overthrow of church and state, a process greatly assisted by the proliferation of alehouses in the early modern period (Scott) or ‘too concerned to keep themselves together body and soul to become radical activists’ (Clark).⁵⁸ This is vastly oversimplifying the matter, but, just as the cathedral and its music has come to represent different interpretations of the historical record at just this moment in history, so too has the alehouse, and it so happens that Mather found himself well-connected to both.

Figure 5: Tavern scene by Jan Mince Molenaar, early seventeenth century.



⁵⁷ Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 4.

⁵⁸ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (London, 1990); Peter Clark, ‘The Alehouse and The Alternative Society’, in *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill*, ed. by Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas (Oxford, 1978), pp. 47–72. As discussed in Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England*, p. 19 & 64 respectively.

Having established the elements that constituted Mather's range of employment and money-making possibilities, we can consider how this may have looked in practice by examining a 'typical' day. I have chosen Sunday 28th January 1638 for this test case. Candlemas, or the Presentation of Christ in the Temple would have been celebrated on this day, and it would also have marked the end of the waits' winter season. Perhaps 'ye County dynner', an annual gathering of civic dignitaries and guildsmen and women at which the waits band always played, had happened the night before. 4 shilling's worth of 'strong beere', plus 23 shillings 2d for 'sacke and Claret' amongst the 61 guests may have made for sore heads the next day, but in any case, Mather and his waits would have started Sunday playing 'with their musick in the morninges in the stretes of this Cittie'.⁵⁹ Exactly what they would have played is unclear, but perhaps there were some transferable items from their cathedral repertoire that would have been suitable.

Documents from Canterbury are not particularly helpful when it comes to the schedule for the rest of the day, but it is possible that contemporary references to the Durham cathedral band may prove informative here, especially bearing in mind that the pay of the two groups was roughly commensurate. The breakdown of Sunday morning services at Durham in the 1630s is given in Chapter 2, Table 3, and has at least partially been constructed from the useful paper trail of accusations and counter-accusations left by friction between high-church and Puritan factions in Durham at this time. I have highlighted the sung items, and marked with an asterisk those items for which contemporary evidence of instrumental participation exists. I would have thought it unlikely that the Canterbury band, given their civic duties as waits, would have been in attendance at Morning Prayer, but the Holy Communion service, which garnered severe criticism during this period for 'popish' tendencies, might easily have involved instruments. An expansion in polyphonic settings of liturgical items was one practice that drew criticism at Durham and we can see evidence of the practice in use at Canterbury too. Although Canterbury's pre-Restoration partbooks do not survive, several composers who can be associated with the cathedral in the first half of the seventeenth century contributed works to John Barnard's printed collection of church music first published in 1641.⁶⁰ For some, this is the only surviving source of their work. George Marson, organist and master of the choristers at Canterbury from around 1603 until

⁵⁹ CCA, CC/AC 4 ff. 38–8v, as transcribed in Gibson, *REED Kent*, p. 285.

⁶⁰ Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production and Influence' 3 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, York, 2009), III, p. i.

his death in 1632, leaves an almost unique four-voice polyphonic setting of the Nicene Creed, an item to which Peter Smart records instrumentalists contributing at Durham.⁶¹ Marson and William West, another local, also composed four- and five-part Kyrie settings respectively, suggesting that the repertoire at Canterbury could have furnished quite a full polyphonic communion service as occasion required.

Durham sources also suggest that the wind band provided instrumental accompaniment to the administration of the sacrament itself, highlighted in the table towards the end of the service, and although nothing survives to confirm this practice at Canterbury, perhaps this is an area in which the repertoire of the two ensembles may have intersected. As discussed in Chapter 6, at a practice-led research session at Canterbury Cathedral in January 2019 the wind band played some 4-part vocal music with appropriate Epiphany texts, along with two pieces from the fragmentary instrumental repertoire. The vocal music in particular would suit outside performance from memory, a practice familiar to the *Stadtpfeiffer* bands of German towns, providing a possible point of overlap between the civic and ecclesiastical pursuits of the group. Ensemble improvisation may also have found an outlet in this context. A thorough discussion of the case for an unwritten repertoire amongst cathedral bands can be found in Chapter 8.

The Sunday afternoon sermon may have been Mather's next engagement, if the role of the Exeter waits band is any kind of model for that of Canterbury. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Exeter statutes instructed them 'upon every soneday and upon everie principal feaste to go before the mayre next before the sergaents when he goeth to the sermons at St. Peter's [Exeter Cathedral]',⁶² implying a procession of civic dignitaries escorted by 'the Musick'. Sermons, with metrical psalms sung to an organ accompaniment, had been a feature of Canterbury's Sunday afternoons since at least 1625, and contemporary accounts suggest they were popular and well-attended.⁶³ However, the Chapter made an ill-fated decision in 1641 by moving the Sunday afternoon sermon from the 'large, warm, well-seated' Sermon House to the 'cold and inconvenient' Cathedral choir, where the congregation were 'hem'd in with their Quire service, [so] that all that will partake of the Sermon, should of necessity

⁶¹ Peter Smart, *A catalogue of superstitious innovations* (London: Joseph Hunscoth, 1642), p. 10.

⁶² John M. Wasson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Devon* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1986).

⁶³ Culmer, *Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury*, p. B 1v.

partake of their Cathedrall-Ceremonious-Alter-Service'.⁶⁴ This 'alter-service', or Evensong, as we would recognise it today, was likely to have been Mather's final engagement of the day, with further instrumental contributions to the liturgical repertoire possible during the canticles and anthem. The Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis of Marson's *Second Service*, and William Pysinge's anthem *I will magnify thee, O Lord* would have been suitable local choices, and recordings of both these pieces made during practice-led research at Canterbury can be found in the appendices. There are also ambitious verse anthem settings of the Collect for this day (*Almighty and Everlasting God, We Humbly Beseech Thy Majesty*) by William Smith of Durham and Thomas Tomkins, and it is possible that either of these setting could have featured in the now-lost Canterbury repertoire and been accompanied by the cathedral wind band.

Such a highly embellished sung service would certainly have fanned the flames of growing hostility towards the Cathedral amongst Puritan factions in Canterbury during the late 1630s and early 1640s, an hostility that our musicians may have found themselves at the centre of. On the one hand, Mather's waits band were a visual and aural representation of all things civic, with their roots in public order and control, but with strong ties to trade, guildsmanship and secular governance. On the other, the cathedral band may have been seen and heard by the townspeople as an ecclesiastical appropriation of the civic soundscape for 'popish' ends. Can these seemingly conflicting functions of Mather and his two bands, and the aural and visual representations of civic and ecclesiastical power they constituted be reconciled in this context? Or could this be an example of how some of the binary oppositions constructed to explain the historical landscape of this period are disrupted when considered 'from below', drawing on the activities of the non-elite, 'middling type' of citizen, as opposed to those traditionally considered the agents of political change? Mather's portfolio career dictated that he take work that presented itself to him, and references to his exploits in the city archives suggest he took proactive steps to create that work, or even appropriate others' work for his own ends. Perhaps, instead of representing the triumph of the High Church over Puritanism, or the infiltration of secular space with civic noise, the busy schedule of Canterbury's wind musicians represents the triumph of Mather and his colleagues' attempts to improve their lot in a precarious marketplace.

⁶⁴ Culmer, *Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury*, p. B 1v.

Rediscovering William Mather has unearthed some engaging and interesting materials and encouraged an inclusive approach to secondary literature, but the task of locating the point at which these impressions from Mather's life intersect with my research question will benefit from further work in the future. As such, I have three example questions that I believe can be informed by further engagement with Mather's story and those like it:

Did Mather and his cathedral wind band colleagues contribute high quality, professional performances to the enactment of the liturgy?

The schedule I have outlined above suggests that many of those who played instruments in the cathedral were regular performers within the wider context of the city, despite the fact they were only required in church two or three times a week. The relative stability of personnel during the 1630s discussed in the first part of this chapter suggests that, just as standards of town waits performance had increased elsewhere by this time, the same could easily have been true of the Canterbury group.⁶⁵ Brayshay also points to the lack of references to visiting waits bands in the Canterbury records, interpreting this as an indication of the quality of resident players.⁶⁶ The controversy that engulfed the waits band in 1638 suggests that pride in the ability to do one's job to the highest standard was also a feature of this particular group of individuals, although infighting about money eventually put an end to their employment. Further consideration of what made a high-quality performance and what exactly constituted 'professionalism' for an early modern musician is required here.

⁶⁵ Jane Flynn suggests that the broadening of the education of choirboys to include non-liturgical musical skills brought on by the Reformation, meant that some went on to be employed as secular musicians instead of remaining in the church. Flynn attributes the increased availability of well-rounded musicians to the increased quality and ambition of the London Waits around the turn of the seventeenth century, and there is every reason to suggest this may have been the situation elsewhere. Jane Flynn, 'The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 180–99 (p. 198).

⁶⁶ Mark Brayshay, 'Waits, musicians, bearwards and players: the inter-urban road travel and performances of itinerant entertainers in sixteenth and seventeenth century England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31 (2005), pp. 430–58 (p. 436).

How does a deeper understanding of seventeenth-century musical lives interact with findings from the practice-led research scenarios I have constructed so far?

As waits, the Canterbury musicians' primary role was an 'outside' one. They played in the streets every morning throughout the winter, presumably to rouse the citizens from their beds. One account has them playing 'Hoboyes and Sackbuttes' 'vppon the Gates of Canterburie' to welcome the Spanish ambassador to the city in 1623. One of these gates is still standing and I suggest that a fairly full-bodied performance approach would be required of anyone wanting to be heard from the ground. They were also a boisterous group of individuals, often cropping up in Canterbury's civic records during this period in relation to disciplinary issues, often of fighting between themselves under the influence of alcohol, possibly sold to them by Mather. Compare the impression this gives with feedback from participants in practice-led research during Evensong at Worcester Cathedral (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6). I collected impressions of the contribution the wind band made to the performance from participants (in the choir and congregation) and these were some particularly stand-out descriptors of the experience:

'relaxing', 'reflective', 'solemn', 'not especially prominent', 'blended into the service',
'unobtrusive'

As a guest in someone else's act of worship, these are exactly the kind of responses I would hope to gather, and they reflect fairly accurately the way in which period wind players today are trained to play in combination with singers. Repeated instructions to imitate the human voice from historical treatises have also become a mantra amongst modern teachers, but potentially conflicting interpretations of 'vocality' between the historical and modern listener need to be considered and incorporated here. In the context of the 'immersive turn' in historical studies, into which many aspects of my research may be said to fit, making the most of every opportunity to connect with the agents of an historical scenario is vital and yet the Anglican choral tradition, to which much of my proposed repertoire for cathedral instrumentalists now belongs, is particularly encumbered with aesthetic baggage. One challenge for the future will be establishing whether it is either appropriate or desirable to locate the performance practices that I feel best represent the historical record in a twenty-first-century liturgical context.

What about Mather's personal piety?

Mather moved easily between shifting spheres of power – the civic, the ecclesiastical and the emergent social – participating in what appears, after nearly four centuries, to have been a complex web of influence and control. But we know nothing of his personal opinion of any of the rituals he participated in, or of how he conducted himself in his many roles. Julian Barnes' Dr Max in *England, England*, a satirical novel set against the backdrop of a failing twenty-first-century living heritage enterprise, warns passionately against assuming that one universal experience applies to citizens of all centuries. Of medieval man, he asks 'To what end did they trade, marry build and create? Because they wanted to be *happy*? They would have laughed at the pettiness of such ambition. They sought *salvation*, not happiness.'⁶⁷ In which case, did Mather lead a godly, righteous and sober life? Was his tavern a hotbed of Puritan scheming and intrigue? Did underlying 'popish' sympathies encourage his participation in the cathedral liturgy? Or, as I suggested above, was it he who was in control of his working life, self-employed and self-motivated to make the most of his talents and secure his next gig, regardless of who was paying?

Underpinned by the ongoing 'history from below' movement led by social historians, and by the activities of urban musicologists in the early 2000s, there is considerable scope for further work on the type of fragmentary materials relating individuals like Mather and his colleagues discussed above, particularly in developing ways to integrate this research into practice. At the very least, this case study demonstrates how a lack of obvious primary source materials relating to my research question (musical texts, instruments and iconography) represents an opportunity to take another look at the performance of English sacred music from this period, and the wider soundscape to which it belongs.

⁶⁷ Julian Barnes, *England, England* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1998), p. 195. This work was brought to my attention by John Butt, who draws on Barnes' scenario when discussing the interaction between history and heritage and the implications of re-enactment on perceptions of authenticity. John Butt, *Playing with History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 181.

Part 2

Chapter 5 | Practice-led research methodologies

‘Knowledge comes from doing.’¹

The second part of this thesis records the results of four practice-led research scenarios in which I tested and assessed performance practice issues raised in Part 1. The four sessions were:

1. Choral Evensong at Worcester Cathedral, Monday 15th October 2018.
2. ‘Singing with Cornetts and Sackbuts: A performance research workshop’ at the University of Birmingham, 29th November 2018.
3. [Choral Evensong at Canterbury Cathedral, Saturday 26th January 2019.]
4. Open workshops: ‘Durham Cathedral in the 1620s: A liturgical context for historical improvisation?’, June 2018 and March 2019.

The aim of the session at Canterbury was to capture audio documentation of some of the research processes undertaken at Worcester, where audio recording was not permitted. As such, the session was not designed to address separate research questions and is therefore not discussed in its own right. Instead, I will refer to audio examples recorded at Canterbury and discuss how the experience was shaped iteratively by previous research sessions during Chapters 6–8.

For those working in the Historically Informed Performance (HIP) movement, the progression from research to performance that I have undertaken seems to be a well-trodden path, having underpinned the ‘Early Music’ industry since the mid-twentieth century. Indeed, Dana Marsh’s introduction to the inaugural issue of the journal *Historical Performance*, launched in 2018, neatly sums up how HIP relates to the mix of research processes with which it is associated, suggesting that, methodologically, work on performing the music of the past is well served:

[...] “historical performance” refers to an outcome of means, methods, interdisciplinary synergies and their generative feedback loops that inform our interpretation of music coming

¹ Mary Brydon-Miller, Davydd Greenwood, and Patricia Maguire, ‘Why action research?’, *Action Research*, 1 (2003), pp. 9–28 (p. 14).

from social and cultural origins that are now wholly or partially lost – or, as often, obscured by some assumed, and unquestioned tradition.²

This definition fits the research aims of this project well in many respects, particularly with reference to the ‘assumed, and unquestioned traditions’ associated with English church music of the seventeenth century. However, Marsh’s emphasis on HIP as an *outcome* is important here, as HIP projects in which participatory performance elements constitute a core research method, as opposed to a research outcome (such as a public concert or CD recording), are surprisingly rare. As such, a brief overview of three projects that fall into this category and an assessment of their suitability as models for my work begins this chapter. Formal methodological precedent for practice-led research of the type I have been conducting is also difficult to pin down, especially given the complex nature of the relationship between performance and liturgy and the unique audience/performer exchanges it necessarily involves, and given my place as a participant and practitioner dealing exclusively with original work by others in the performative process. In response to these two problems I have developed a methodological approach of my own that I believe has implications for HIP research beyond the scope of this project. Although this approach falls broadly under the Practice-led Research, Research-led Practice paradigm formalised by Hazel Smith and Roger Dean in 2009,³ aspects of Performative Research and Action Research also contribute to my framework, and I will discuss these in the second half of the chapter.⁴

Before examining some methodological models, however, it is worth revisiting the research questions outlined in Chapter 1 and identifying why it is that practice-led research is necessary to satisfactorily address them. As Part 1 of this thesis has shown, it is possible to identify who played instruments in cathedral services at the three study locations, and to a

² Dana T. Marsh, ‘Foreword’, *Historical Performance*, 1 (2018), pp. 1–6 (p. 1).

³ Hazel Smith and Roger T. Dean, eds., *Practice-led Research, Research-led Practice in the Creative Arts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

⁴ Whilst the term ‘practice-led research’ has become relatively widely used and understood in the performing and visual arts since Smith and Dean’s original publication, at the time of writing, PRAG-UK (the Practice Research Advisory Group) had dropped the ‘-led’ from their literature. I have chosen not to adopt this terminology, primarily because it makes no allowance for the ‘research-led practice’ side of the equation that is so important for HIP, and secondly because of the uneasy relationship between the practice-led research scenarios I have undertaken and the PRAG definition of ‘outputs’, which places a heavy emphasis on creative work. See <https://prag-uk.org/glossary-of-terms/output/> [Accessed: 30th July 2019] for information about these definitions.

certain extent suggest some motivating factors behind their employment, mostly based on religious-historical evidence. Previous scholars and practitioners have also suggested ways in which instrumentalists may have contributed musically, with some dismissing the possibility of instrumental contributions to vocal polyphony outright (such as Roger Bowers), and some attempting to assimilate wind instruments into performances of liturgical music which do not reflect historical practice (such as Simon Anderson). Items in the discography that include wind instruments exclusively reflect what little is known of Chapel Royal practices, leaving the seemingly standard cathedral line-up of two cornetts and two sackbuts, along with a considerable amount of the repertoire with which they engaged, unrepresented in the recorded literature. Whilst several previous scholars have suggested ways in which this ensemble may be deployed – doubling the medius and bassus parts on each side of the choir, either in a supporting role, or by way of adding solemnity to a liturgical occasion – the fact that this approach has not been adopted in a single contribution to the discography suggests that further research is required to establish how such an arrangement of players may manifest itself in practice. The lack of supporting musical evidence for how instruments were used in church also means that practice-led research is the only way of establishing what the parameters of these practices may have been. As Chapters 6–8 demonstrate, the wide range of performance practice questions that are intertwined with the use of instruments also demonstrates why practice-led research has been an integral part of this project.

5.1 | Methodological Models

The Experience of Worship (EoW) project ran principally between 2010 and 2012 as part of the seven-year AHRC/ESRC-funded Religion and Society project and delivered its findings in a multi-authored book entitled *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*, published in 2017.⁵ The project is concerned with research into artefacts, music, texts, spaces and performance practices surrounding liturgical enactment in England and Wales c. 1535 and the authors have engaged closely with the philosophical and methodological implications of working with enactment as a research tool, providing useful context for my own work. Whereas the EoW project adopted an immersive approach to their enactments (use of the word ‘performance’ is restricted in their literature to

⁵ Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson, eds., *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The experience of worship in cathedral and parish church* (London: Routledge, 2017).

distinguish liturgical events from entertainment), I have chosen to be highly selective about the research questions that my four practice-led sessions were designed to address, but by choosing to address some of these things in context (particularly during the Worcester evensong session discussed in Chapter 6), some of the approaches adopted by the EoW authors are highly relevant.

The EoW use of enactment as a methodology in and of itself has a philosophical grounding in the work of Emmanuel Kant, whose writings on experience have resonances in many of the methodological approaches I will discuss in this chapter. In his introduction to *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted*, John Harper quotes the following statement from Kant which is of particular interest:

There can be no doubt that all our knowledge begins with experience [...] but though all our knowledge begins with experience, it does not follow that it all arises from experience.⁶

Kant's maxim can be seen to encapsulate both the practice-led – knowledge beginning with experience – and the academic – that which does not arise from personal experience, but the experience of others – and thus fits well with my adaptation of Smith and Dean's research cycle shown in Figure 1 (on p. 143 below). As an additional tool for the historical researcher, Harper also cites the early twentieth-century historian R.G. Collingwood, who writes about the importance of imagination as an historical resource for those looking to 'enter into the mind of those engaged in past events' in the search for deeper historical understanding. I have already discussed Julian Barnes' Dr Max (Chapter 4.2), whose warnings against an assumption of universal experience apply particularly aptly to the socio-historic elements of this project,⁷ but equally, when working with performance as a research tool I have been careful to limit my questions to establishing what *could* have been possible within known historical parameters, and leaving imaginative interpretation aside. On this point, Harper concedes that 'any experience *per se* is immediate and present, not past and historical', an

⁶ John Harper, 'Investigating the experience of late medieval worship', in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The experience of worship in cathedral and parish church*, ed. by Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁷ See Chapter 4, p. 134.

important consideration when developing research questions for practice-led work, and a point at which my approach diverges from the immersive.⁸

On a practical level, Harper also discusses, for example the use of modern editions of music and texts during medieval enactments, explaining how ‘normativity took precedence as a research environment rather than historical accuracy’ with the goal of providing modern enactors with the same level of familiarity with written materials as their historical counterparts.⁹ Whereas singing and playing from facsimile sources might be used as part of the investigative process in the service of a particular research question, I also deliberately chose to use modernised materials in all my practice-led sessions (see Chapter 7 for more on this point) in order to focus on specific research questions appropriate to this project. Not only is it a practical way of engaging participants quickly, but it has also meant that, where the act of interpreting notation is not the primary research goal, this process does not get in the way of other research questions. This is an example of the type of pragmatism that Harper advocates when dealing with historical enactment that he also applies to working in a cathedral environment, an approach that has proven invaluable.

The contrast drawn by Nils Holger Petersen in his contribution to the EoW publication, between that which is ‘staged’ and that which is ‘performative’ also has resonances in my methodology, particularly in relation to work on improvisation discussed in Chapter 8.¹⁰ Whereas it would have been inappropriate to test ensemble improvisation techniques in context given the early stage of proficiency at which the performers concerned (myself included) were operating, I was still keen to establish a space in which genuine improvisation could occur, a space in which what Petersen describes as performativity, or ‘aspects of the performance that cannot be controlled or rehearsed, including all that happens by momentary inspiration and errors’ could be explored.¹¹ The aim of working in this space was to create sounds and experiences on which to reflect, something that could not have been achieved by a written exploration of the subject in the same way. Improvisation projects such

⁸ See Chapter 16 of *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted* for reflective accounts of participants in the EoW enactments who used costuming and characterisation of historical figures as a tool for research.

⁹ Harper, ‘Enacting Late Medieval Worship: Location, Processes and Outcomes’, p. 37.

¹⁰ Nils Holger Petersen, ‘Reconciling the Historical and the Contemporary in Liturgical Enactment’, in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The experience of worship in cathedral and parish church*, ed. by Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson (London: Routledge, 2017), (p. 274).

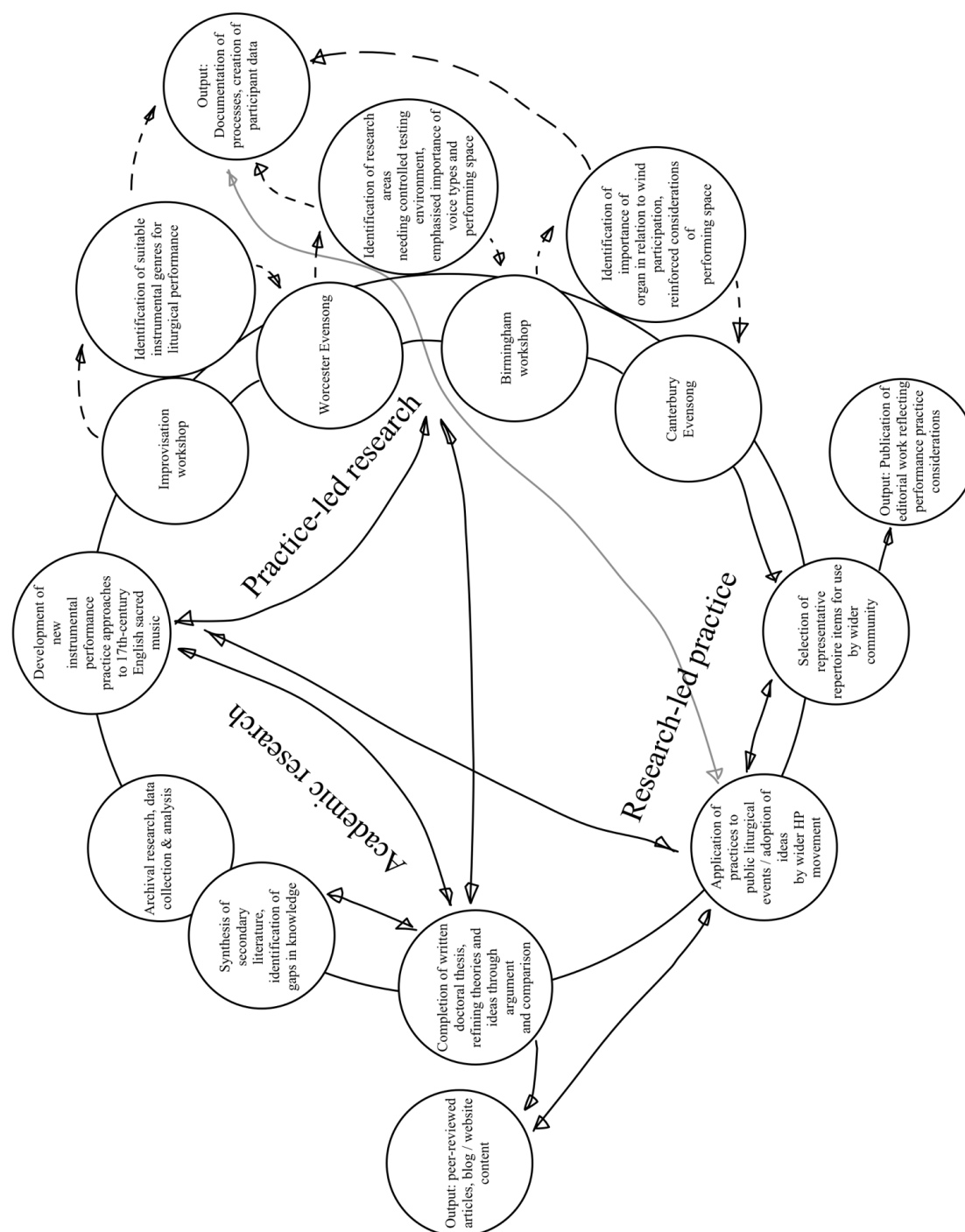
¹¹ Petersen, ‘Reconciling the Historical and the Contemporary in Liturgical Enactment’, p. 275.

as the AHRC-funded Division Lobby project, directed by Paula Chateaufneuf between 2009 and 2011 and focussing on Italian diminution practice, and ongoing work on *contrapunto alla mente* by David Mesquita at the Schola Cantorum, Basel, both also operate on these principles. Whilst the Division Lobby project culminated in public improvisation concerts, reaching the ultimate goal of those seeking insights through performativity in this field, Mesquita's presentation with his students at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, 2019 adopted an approach closer to my own in which practical experimentation with improvised ensemble performance is combined with an academic exploration of the sources and context in front of an audience. Both these example projects show how practical collaborative working can further understanding and, when combined with the level of documentation and reflectivity achieved by the EoW project, provide strong methodological precedent for this project.

5.2 | Practice-led Research and the Iterative Cyclic Web

In order to visualise some of the research methodologies I have drawn on during this project, I have adapted the 'iterative cyclic web' model, developed by Smith and Dean (Figure 1), overlaying the composite elements of my project onto their original model and identifying areas on this model where I have integrated elements of other approaches into my work.

Figure 1: Adaptation of Smith & Dean's 'iterative cyclic web' of Practice-led research.¹²



¹² Based on Smith and Dean, *Practice-led Research*, p. 20.

The area labelled ‘academic research’ refers to Part 1 of my thesis, in which I used traditional research methods to identify potential areas that could be developed through practice-led research.¹³ The ‘research-led practice’ identified on the diagram applies more to future, post-doctoral outcomes of the project in this case, such as adoption of new performance practice ideas by the wider HIP community, perhaps via publication of editorial work arising from the project itself. Traditional HIP outputs such as a concert or CD recording, would also fall into this category. The public-facing nature of many of these outputs has prompted Hazel Smith to identify music as one of the areas in which the research-led practice area of the cycle is more strongly represented than in other disciplines,¹⁴ and many HIP practitioners would surely agree with this sentiment. The ‘practice-led research’ area of the diagram, containing the four sessions I will discuss in detail in Chapters 6–8, relates iteratively both to the other two areas, and internally; each session was designed to build on the previous session, taking prompts from participants (myself included) to identify research questions to address next time around.

This iterative process is neatly summarised by the diagram shown in Figure 2, which is taken from the literature on Action Research (AR), a methodology that also has parallels with some of my own work (see below for further details). Although each subsequent session took pointers from what came before, the Canterbury Evensong session was not designed as a ‘culmination’ of previous work, whilst naturally benefiting from the processing of information and experience created by the earlier sessions in the manner shown in the diagram. The author of this diagram is an education researcher describing problem-solving processes in the classroom, and identifies this five-stage process of involving students in this method.¹⁵ The stages are listed below, with their equivalent stages in my project give in brackets:

¹³ Although I have chosen to adopt Smith and Dean’s labelling of ‘academic’ and ‘practice-led’ research as separate but related entities, this language is in no way intended to imply that practice-led work is somehow non-academic. It is simply a convenient way of distinguishing between two types of research that have informed this project.

¹⁴ Smith and Dean, *Practice-led Research*, p. 8.

¹⁵ W. Ian O’Byrne, ‘Four steps to conducting action research in the classroom’ <<https://wiobyne.com/action-research/>> [Accessed: 27th February 2019].

Selecting a focus (Designing a research question)

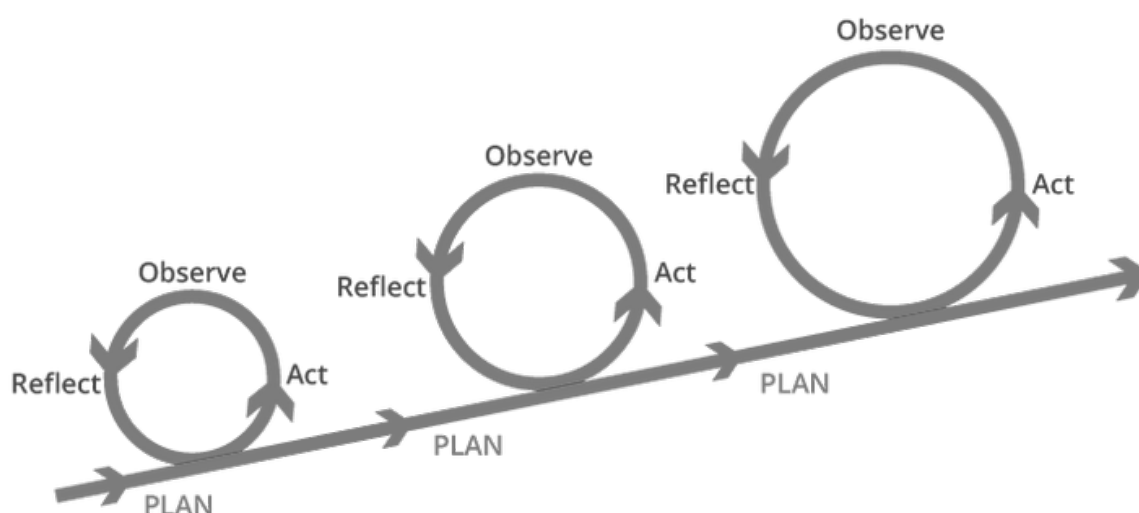
Collecting data (Embarking on practice-led research)

Analyzing and interpreting data (Reflecting on the process and integrating the reflections of others)

Taking action (Identifying what practice-led research has shown)

Continuing the action research cycle (Selecting a new focus based on experience)

Figure 2: The inquiry cycle¹⁶



The large circles in the practice-led research area on Figure 1 give examples of some conclusions that informed planning for the following session, but are by no means exhaustive, and dashed arrows show how the inquiry cycle integrates in the broader cyclic web. I returned to academic research between each session to underpin the planning process.

During the sessions themselves, I used two types of qualitative information-gathering to collect data from my participants. Documentary evidence, such as audio/visual recording and results from questionnaires is complemented by investigational evidence, including email correspondence, telephone interviews and anecdotal contributions. These techniques allow participants to express ideas and experiences freely, vital when dealing with fundamentally subjective considerations of musical performance. Indeed, one of the central principles of AR states that ‘Action Research challenges the claims of a positivistic view of knowledge which holds that in order to be credible, research must remain objective and value-free’,¹⁷ which I

¹⁶ O’Byrne, ‘Four steps to conducting action research’.

¹⁷ Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, and Maguire, ‘Why action research?’, p. 11.

feel serves research into liturgical music, especially when carried out in context, particularly well. For example, participants in the Worcester Evensong were asked to give their overall impression of the contribution of wind instruments to the service (positive or negative) and to give a reason for their choice. This gave them the opportunity to provide a value judgement of the experience based on their personal motivations and preferences, which provides both a direct comparison with seventeenth-century value judgements of the practices tested (referring back to the ‘academic research’ area of the diagram above) and informs decisions about the suitability of practices for use in a liturgical context in the future (referring forward to ‘research-led practice’).

5.3 | Performative Research and Action Research in HIP

Thus far, my processes map neatly onto Smith and Dean’s Practice-led Research, Research-led Practice cycle, and use established qualitative research techniques, but the interplay between the four research sessions I conducted, and the relationship between my research questions and the participants themselves are two areas in which other methodologies provide useful support. Performative Research was defined by Brad Haseman in 2006 in order to further characterise the role of the performer in practice-led research. Although his statement that, in Performative Research ‘practice is the principal research activity’ does not account for the ‘academic research’ area of the cycle defined above, his approach does go some way towards formalising my own participation in the practice-led research I carried out, and the advantages of involving others in live performance scenarios as a way of creating insights. My role as a ‘performative researcher’ is characterised by Haseman as follows:

[Performative researchers] construct experiential starting points from which practice follows. They tend to ‘dive in’, to commence practising to see what emerges.¹⁸

[...]

Most commonly, performative researchers progress their studies by employing variations of: reflective practice, participant observation, performance ethnography, ethnodrama, biographical/autobiographical/narrative inquiry and the inquiry cycle from action research.¹⁹

Despite the extensive academic research underpinning the four sessions, the iterative, organic evolution from one to the other in terms of the practices tested and the methods used to gather

¹⁸ Brad Haseman, ‘A Manifesto for Performative Research’, *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy*, 118 (2006), pp. 98–106 (p. 101).

¹⁹ Haseman, ‘A Manifesto for Performative Research’, p. 104.

data resonates strongly with Haseman's description, as does the 'enthusiasm of practice' he describes as an important factor motivating practitioners to undertake research activities. Whereas there is a clear research problem at the core of this project (archival evidence of instrumental participation in the liturgy exists, supporting musical evidence does not) my professional practice as a cornettist is what drew me towards using practice-led research and has influenced my work at every stage of the process.

The collaborative, participatory nature of the four sessions under consideration have also embodied elements of AR, to which Haseman also alludes above, and which I feel may have implications for practice-led research in HIP beyond the scope of this project. The journal *Action Research* was launched in 2003, but the field was already well developed, if disparate at this stage. AR is most commonly associated with research in education, organisation studies, healthcare and social policy research, where social justice is the unequivocal goal. Although this may raise questions as to AR's relevance to historical musicology, during the practice-led phase of my research cycle many of the guiding principles of AR have proven formative. This definition of AR by Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, whilst aspiring to considerably loftier aims than my own, is worth quoting in full. I have highlighted particularly relevant moments in bold:

[AR is] a **participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowledge** in pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, **grounded in a participatory worldview** which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. **It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in pursuit of practical solutions** to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally, the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.²⁰

The nature of the repertoire I am working with meant that I could not pursue practice-led research by myself.²¹ Over 130 people took part in the four research sessions, from school

²⁰ Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, eds., *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), p. 1. Quoted in Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, and Maguire, 'Why action research?', p. 10.

²¹ Compare, for example, John Irving's detailed commentary on the processes behind his 2014 CD of solo keyboard sonatas by Josef Haydn (John Irving, 'Creating Haydn's Sonatas at the Keyboard – Performer Rights and Responsibilities in Historical Performance', *Muzikologija*, 16 (2014), pp. 31–46. Irving discusses his relationship to the repertoire in terms of embodiment, defining three stages – 'conceptual embodiment', 'physical embodiment' and a 'critically reflective process' – to develop new insights into Haydn's works. Whilst he does not describe it as such, his writing is autoethnographic in nature, using himself and his relationship with his research questions as a subject for investigation. In large-scale performance situations,

children and cathedral congregations to professional church musicians with considerably more experience in liturgical music than me, and I have maintained an inclusive approach to their contributions, as per Mary Brydon-Miller's understanding that

[AR researchers have] an **abiding respect for people's knowledge and for their ability to understand and address the issues** confronting them and their communities [emphasis mine].²²

What, for example, do the choristers think about the effect of instruments on their role in the choir, and what might this tell us about its effect on choristers in the seventeenth century? Are there any parallels between modern reception of instruments in church and historical commentary? These are just two examples of questions I could not answer without the contributions of a wide range of participants, and my methods for capturing the knowledge and expertise of these participants, and for returning this knowledge to the inquiry cycle, are discussed in Chapter 6. Tenets of AR also supported my work with religious institutions more broadly, where my research interests have had to be mapped on to continuing day-to-day cathedral life, without which two of my sessions could not have functioned. On occasion, this has been a frustrating process, but AR's aim of 'embrac[ing] the notion of knowledge as socially constructed and recognising that all research is embedded within a system of values'²³ has enabled me to find meanings in these frustrations by engaging with this value system, in particular by reassessing my role, and therefore the role of my historical counterparts, in the liturgical process. This is also considered in more detail in Chapter 6.

To conclude, I will return to my adaptation of the iterative cyclic web above. This shows how my research project, in the main, follows the pattern of academic research – practice-led research – research-led practice established by Smith and Dean. However, within the practice-led area of the cycle, Haseman's Performative Research has enabled me to explore the performance-related motivations behind my work and how these have fed into the academic research I have done, and AR has guided many of my interactions with participants and stakeholders. One of the most exciting possibilities for AR in this context, however, is in the afterlife of this project and my privileged position within the HIP community, represented by the grey arrow on Figure 1. As outputs are created and ideas developed by this project are

participants undergo these stages collaboratively and I have therefore found it helpful to look to collaborative research outside musicology for methodological precedence for my work.

²² Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, and Maguire, 'Why action research?', p. 14.

²³ Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, and Maguire, 'Why action research?', p. 11.

adopted by practitioners, and if I continue to practice AR in my professional role, the inquiry cycle can continue and the project's impact can grow.

Chapter 6 | Practice-led research at Worcester Cathedral

The first practice-led research session organised in association with this project took place on Monday 15th October 2018 during evensong at Worcester Cathedral. The session was designed to explore repertoire from the Durham partbooks using the instrumental forces of two cornetts and two sackbuts evidenced by Durham Cathedral archives. Logistical considerations meant that undertaking this work in context at Durham would have been prohibitively expensive, and it therefore seemed logical to build on existing relationships between Royal Birmingham Conservatoire (RBC) and Worcester Cathedral by carrying out this work locally. I was not granted permission to make an audio or visual recording of the service, and for this reason I will refer to audio documentation captured at Canterbury Cathedral in January 2019 during this and the following chapters.

The Worcester evensong performance had three aims: to explore the effectiveness of *medius* / *bassus* approach to the distribution of instruments within the choir;¹ to consider spatial aspects of performance within the physical performance space of the cathedral choir; and to perform a selection of repertoire from the Durham part books in a liturgical context, examining the effects of this on the reception of the service amongst the participants. Two student sackbut players from RBC joined myself and Jamie Savan on cornett, with the men and boys of Worcester Cathedral Choir, their assistant organist and musical director. I collected feedback from all the participants in the service (the congregation, choristers, lay clerks, instrumentalists and cathedral personnel) via questionnaires, in order to assess the effectiveness and impact of the performance practice decisions I made. I also conducted a telephone interview with the Director of Music and an email interview with the Precentor after the event. The questionnaires, along with collated responses, can be found at Appendix 3.1–3.2.

As discussed in previous chapters, the extent of the use of wind instruments in cathedral services varied from location to location. Their use in Canterbury, for example, seems to have been restricted to Sundays and feast days, contrasting with evidence from Durham that the instrumentalists were expected to be in attendance every day during much of the 1620s.² Whilst the event at Worcester did not fall on a feast day, thanks to the flexibility

¹ This is introduced in Chapter 2, p. 63.

² See Chapter 2, p. 50, fn. 44 and Chapter 4, p. 124.

and accommodating nature of the Dean and Chapter I was able to select some musical items that were not necessarily liturgically appropriate to the day, but which served my research aims well. I was keen to include Durham repertoire that can be dated with some certainty to the time during which instruments were in most regular use, and therefore chose one of William Smith's festal psalms, *Awake up my glory* to be performed as an antiphon. I also had to balance the amount of new music for the choir to learn, and therefore chose service music that was already in their repertoire, but that also happened to be represented in the Durham partbooks. Happily, it was also possible to maintain a local connection with the service music and the anthem, as both were written by men who had served at Worcester. Nathaniel Patrick, who wrote the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* was Master of the Choristers from 1590 until his death in 1595, and Thomas Tomkins needs little introduction as Worcester's most famous organist and composer of the chosen anthem, *O praise the Lord* à 12. Tomkins' *O praise* does not appear in the Durham partbooks, but given the local connection and the enthusiasm of the choir for this piece, it seemed a pragmatic choice. **Error! Reference source not found.** gives the order of service along with instrumentation and distribution of voices for sung items. Scores of items marked with an asterisk can be found in Appendix 2.1–3:

Table 1: Order of Service, Worcester evensong

Liturgical item	Title	Composer	Original Key	Key of performance	Original scoring	Vocal scoring & Instrumentation of performance
Voluntary	<i>Fantasia</i> [I]	William Smith	d	d	Organ	Organ
Antiphon	<i>Awake up my glory</i> *	William Smith	F	F	M, Ctl, CtlII, T, B	Tr + Ctt, A, A, T, B + Sbt
Preces		William Smith			M, Ctl, CtlII, T, B	
Psalm 127	[Sung to chant]					
First Lesson	1 Kings 6:2–10					
Canticle	Magnificat*	Nathaniel Patrick	B flat	C	M, Ct, T, B	Tr +Ctt, A, T, B + Sbt
Second Lesson	John 12:1–11					
Canticle	Nunc Dimittis	Nathaniel Patrick	B flat	C	M, Ct, T, B	Tr +Ctt, A, T, B + Sbt
The Apostles' Creed	[Said]					
Prayers	[Said]					
Responses		William Smith				
Collects	[Said]					
Anthem	<i>O praise the Lord</i> *	Thomas Tomkins	F	G	MMM, CtCtCt, TTT, BBB	Tr Ctt Ctt, AAA, TT Sbt, BB Sbt
Intercessions	[Said]					
Postlude	In Nomine à 4	William Byrd	F	F	4 Instruments	2 ctt, 2 sbts

The choir at Worcester is small when compared to both modern cathedral choirs elsewhere and to many seventeenth-century establishments. Vocalists numbered eight men and ten boys, divided evenly across the two sides of the choir, although cathedral statutes provide for sixteen boys and twelve men, which would put numbers closer to the historical norms amongst the men at my three study locations. The choir split for *decani* and *cantoris* sections, maintaining the antiphonal character of the chosen repertoire, except in the Tomkins, which is for twelve voices in one choir. Of note is the typical modern use of the countertenor voice (i.e.: a male voice in the falsetto range) to sing contratenor altus parts in the Worcester choir. This practice is intricately tied up with questions of performing pitch, with the complex reception history of English sacred music of the period, and with the flexibility required of a modern cathedral choir to perform a wide variety of repertoire, and although the historical evidence for the countertenor voice in this context has been thoroughly dismantled by Andrew Parrott, it is a persistent feature of many vocal ensembles, cathedral-based or otherwise, who perform seventeenth-century English music.³ Whereas allocation of a high tenor voice might be considered a more historically appropriate choice for the contratenor altus parts, and has a considerable bearing on the balance of the ensemble overall, it is simply not practised in cathedral choirs today, and I therefore had to accept this compromise when testing other aspects of performance practice, and interpret my findings accordingly.

The use of the countertenor voice also impacted on the choice of keys for the performance, an important consideration when employing instruments. Upwards transposition of a minor third is almost ubiquitous in editions of seventeenth century English sacred music, to facilitate performance with alto voices (be they male or female). The keys into which this practice puts much of the music makes performance with historical winds anachronistic. In order to strike a balance between the comfort of the singers and the ability of the winds to play in historically appropriate keys, I chose an upwards transposition of one tone for the canticles and anthem. We performed the antiphon in the original key. Although the pitch at which this repertoire was originally performed may well have been higher than $a'=440$, it was not practical to test the effects of this on this occasion. Questions of both pitch and key are considered in more detail in Chapter 7 following controlled experimentation with the St Teilo organ – an historical reconstruction of the type of organ believed to have been in

³ See in particular Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs'.

use in the early seventeenth century – designed to establish the practicalities of using organologically accurate cornetts of the period in English repertoire.⁴ For the moment, however, it is enough to bear in mind that evidence from Worcester suggests that the organ installed by Dallam in 1613 could have been pitched between a tone and a minor third above $a'=440$,⁵ and the fact that the same builder was responsible for the instrument installed in Durham ten years later raises the possibility that a similar pitch may have been used there. The diagram in Figure 1 shows the layout of the choir at Worcester and the positioning of the singers in relation to the wind instruments and organ that was used during the service. Neither the seventeenth-century organ nor the choir screen on which it stood survive at Worcester and instead a small modern chamber organ is used for services that require continuo-style accompaniment. The specifications of this instrument consist of an 8' stopped diapason, 4' flute and 2' principal,⁶ which can be compared directly with the specifications for the Dallam's 1613 instrument:

The particulars of the great organ
 Two open diapasons of metall CC fa ut a pipe 10 foot long
 Two principals of metal
 Two small principals or 15ths of metal
 One twelfth of metal
 One recorder of mettall, a stopt pipe

In the Chaire Organ
 One principal of mettall
 One diapason of wood
 One flute of wood
 One Small principal of fifteenth of mettall
 One two and twentieth of mettall⁷

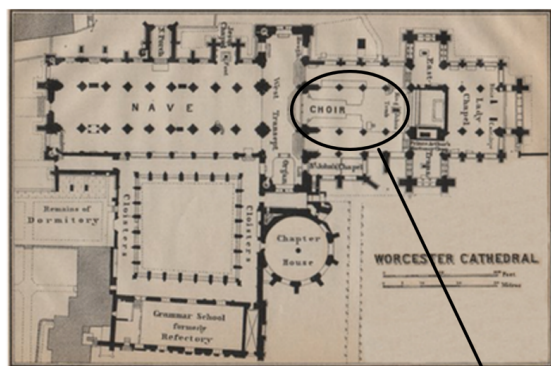
⁴ Full details of the St Teilo organ can be found on pp. 177–8.

⁵ Johnstone, ““As it was in the beginning””, p. 519. Note that Johnstone describes the evidence for absolute pitch in documents relating to the Worcester instrument as ‘inconclusive’. Neither instrument is listed in Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, p. 458.

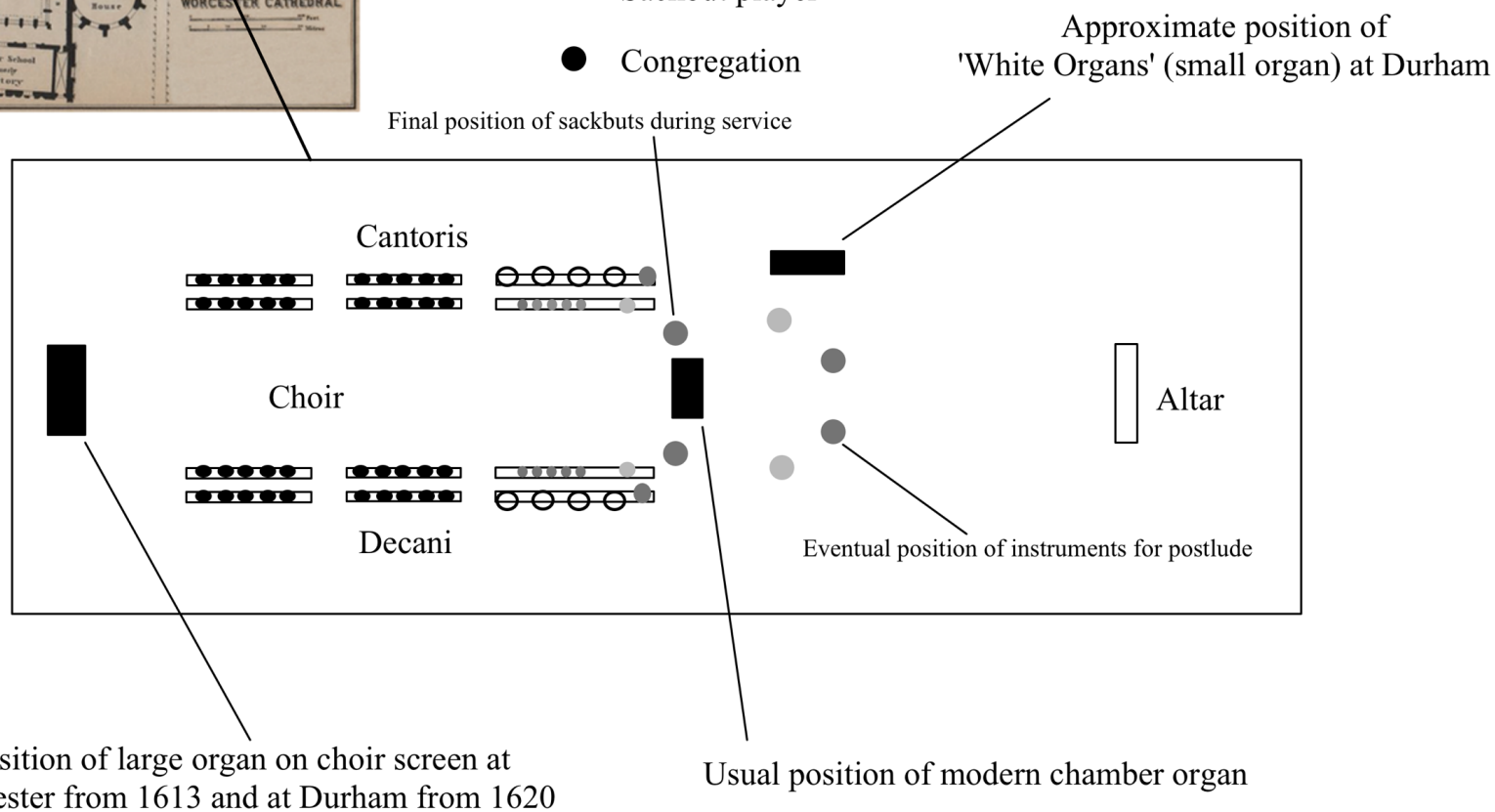
⁶ See <https://www.tickell-organs.co.uk/specInfo/opus60.php> for more information about this instrument.

⁷ As quoted in Bicknell, *The History of the English organ*, p. 78.

Figure 1: Layout of cathedral choir at Worcester evensong



- Singing men
- Choristers
- Cornettist
- Sackbut player
- Congregation



As these specifications show, direct comparison with an instrument of similar capabilities was not possible on this occasion (again, see Chapter 7 for discussion of the effects of using an historically reconstructed organ). However, records show that at Durham around the same time, the provision of organs was in a state of transition and that, until the completion of a new instrument in the early 1620s (also by Thomas Dallam and also mounted on the choir screen) a further instrument, known as the ‘White Organs’ was ‘daily used at ordinary services’ and situated on the floor on the South side of the choir.⁸ The specifications of this instrument are not known, but it does at least mean that the spatial arrangement of the choir, instruments and organists used in the Worcester Evensong may have been closer to that of seventeenth-century Durham than first appears.

My primary research aim for this occasion was to test a specific distribution of instruments within the choir that would solve the problem of accompanying largely five-part repertoire with the ensemble of four players that was evidently standard in many provincial institutions in the early seventeenth century, not least at Canterbury and Durham where the evidence is very clear. Although modern performances of English liturgical music of this period with winds are rare, and recordings rarer still, documented modern approaches to instrumentation are exclusively consort-based, with the assumption that one instrument would double every voice in a given texture, an approach which neither reflects archival evidence from provincial locations nor heeds the suggestions of a number of previous scholars.⁹ Spink and Cannell, both discussed in Chapter 2, presume a *medius* / *bassus* arrangement of cornetts and sackbuts on each side of the choir,¹⁰ and Howard Mayer Brown’s designation of ‘highlighting’ instruments in his study of the Florentine *intermedii* also

⁸ C.W. Eden, *Organs Past and Present in Durham Cathedral* (Durham: The Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1970), p. 4.

⁹ Three items from the discography that use winds in liturgical repertoire are: *Byrd: The Great Service in the Chapel Royal*, Musica Contexta, Steven Divine, and The English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble, dir. Simon Ravens (Chaconne, 2012); *The Tudor Choir Book*, Croydon Minster Choir of Whitgift School and The English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble, dir. Ronny Krippner (Convivium Records, 2017); *Thomas Tallis: Spem in alium, Music for mondarchs and Magnates*, The Sixteen, dir. Harry Christophers (Coro, CORSACD16016, 2003). These are all designed to reflect Chapel Royal practices and all assume a consort of wind instruments accompanying singers, although the second title uses winds on parts extrapolated from the organ books in pieces by Morley.

¹⁰ See Chapter 2.1, p. 63.

provides possible continental precedence for this instrumentation,¹¹ but the perceived drawbacks of this approach appear to have put modern performers off testing this in practice. There are three reasons why this instrumentation may, at first glance, seem problematic: it leaves the inner voices of the texture unaccompanied, raising the issue of balance; it means that, in full sections, the instruments are playing in unison, a practice normally considered anachronistic amongst historical wind players; and, if the organist is playing from an original-style organ part, where mainly treble and bass voices are given with minimal filling in of inner parts, further duplication of the outer parts may seem unnecessary at the expense of adding contratenor altus and tenor parts on instruments.

I was able to consider all three of these points in detail during the performance at Worcester, with the help of additional feedback from fellow participants and members of the congregation. From my point of view as a participant, the overall effect of the instruments on the balance of choir was difficult judge in light of the issues of numbers and voice types mentioned above, and I personally felt throughout that the performance was treble-heavy. I found that the doubling of the bass parts by sackbuts mitigated for this to an extent, but that the sackbuts could have further alleviated the problem by playing out more. Others agreed:

...could have done with more sackbuts. [congregation member]

...there was a lack of bass in relation to the trebles. [congregation member]

There was a general feeling that, had there been an instrument on each part, the balance issues would actually have been exacerbated:

Only doubling the outer voices improves the clarity of the texture, allowing the inner voices to be more present compared to a consort-style accompaniment. [instrumentalist]

However, the one congregation member commented on the blend between the treble sound and the cornett sound, describing it as ‘extraordinary’, and others agreed:

[I was surprised] how well suited the choir singing with the instruments was. [congregation member]

¹¹ H Mayer Brown, *Sixteenth-century Instrumentation: The music for the Florentine intermedii* (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), p. 62. This is supported by the words of Vincenzo Galilei, writing in 1581: ‘Cornetti and trombones were invented and introduced into musical ensembles because of the need for sopranos and basses, or should we say, to give them body and volume... rather than for any good and essential effect that they may have...’. As quoted in Savan, ‘Revoicing a ‘choice eunuch’’, p. 565. I am grateful to Jamie Savan for pointing out the Florentine connection.

They [the instruments] go particularly well with voices. [congregation member]

The congregation clearly felt that blend with the choir was successful and balance less successful, but the line-up of the choir was more likely to have been a factor in this instance than the presence of the instruments. I suggest that a full-strength choir of 6M/CtCt/TT/BB on each side, with contratenor altus parts taken by men singing in their natural voice at the top of their range and sackbuts playing with more presence would have created an improved balance of well-blended top lines and clear, distinct inner voices, supported by a full bass sound. Indeed, Andrew Parrott, in his wide-ranging assessment of the issues surrounding adult falsettists in historically informed performances of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century repertoire, cites two contemporary references to the sound of the contratenor altus voice: ‘The *Counter* is the prince of all / Whilk does require a mighty voce’ from an anonymous late-sixteenth-century Scottish poem; and ‘Seas, and Flouds, from Shore to Shore, / Shall the *counter-tenour* roare’.¹² One can only imagine the effect in the second half of the Patrick *Magnificat* we performed at Worcester, which leads off each phrase with a contratenor altus entry (see Example 1), were the focus to shift from the upper line and a high tenor step in on this part. It was possible to test this to an extent at the Birmingham research workshop, and this is discussed in Chapter 7.

¹² Parrott, ‘Falsetto Beliefs’, p. 80.

Example 1: Nathaniel Patrick, Magnificat, bb. 47–73

47 Can. Dec. Can.

emp-ty a-way. He re-mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath hol-pen his ser-vant Is - ra - el: as_

emp-ty a-way. He re-mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath hol-pen his ser-vant Is - ra - el: as he

emp-ty a-way. He re-mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath hol-pen his ser-vant Is - ra - el: as_

emp-ty a-way. He re-mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath hol-pen his ser-vant Is - ra - el: as_

54 Dec. Can. FULL

— he pro-mis - ed to our for - fa - thers, A - bra-ham and his seed, for - ev - er. Glo-

pro-mis - ed to our fore - fa - thers, A - bra-ham and his seed, for - ev - er. Glo -

— he pro-mis - ed to ou fore-fa - thers, A - bra - ham and his seed, for ev - er. Glo-ry be

— he pro-mis - ed to our fore-fa - thers, A - bra-ham and his seed, for ev - er. Glo-

61

- ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the_ Son: and to the Hol - ly Ghost; As it was in the be-gin-ning,

ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin-ning,

to the fa - ther, and to the_ Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be-gin-ning,

- ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the_ Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be-gin-ning,

68

and is now, and ev-er shall be: world with-out end. A - men, A - men.

is now, and ev-er shall be: world with - out end. with - out end. A - men.

is now, and ev-er shall be: world with - out end, world with-out end. A - men.

is now, and ev-er shall be: world with-out end. A - men.

The second perceived problem with this manner of instrumental doubling proved the most surprising aspect of this experiment. During rehearsals, when all four instrumentalists were standing next to each other in a small room, the distribution of the instruments and subsequent unison playing in full sections felt odd, but as soon as we were arranged on opposite sides of the choir in the cathedral itself, the distribution felt completely natural and unproblematic. I found that the antiphonal nature of the music was enhanced by having instruments on both sides and did not experience the difficulties of intonation that were expected to cause concern between the cornetts. Colleagues also identified other advantages of this approach:

[Antiphonal] playing made what would otherwise have been a strenuous performance very manageable. [instrumentalist]

It felt very normal. Playing in unison was not off-putting at all. [instrumentalist]

Both these factors made for an entirely comfortable performer experience that makes the most of the performance directions embedded in the music, without recourse to playing in extreme registers for any of the instrumentalists involved.

The choice of the choir to perform Tomkins' *O praise the Lord* in twelve parts also provided an opportunity to compare the medius / bassus instrumental distribution with another approach on this occasion. The size of the choir and restrictions in rehearsal time meant that only one treble part could be taken by the boys, and there were, in the event, only enough men to cover two of the tenor parts. This piece is for one choir throughout, with no antiphonal writing, and the winds were therefore able to supply the missing voice parts in order to create the full twelve-part texture. I was initially sceptical that this approach would be successful, despite the fact that in continental repertoire of this period it is considered valid.¹³ I was unsure that the cornetts would carry enough on their individual lines to balance with 10 trebles on a single line, or whether the sackbuts would come through what is a very thick contrapuntal texture. However, congregation feedback suggests that the overall

¹³ Michael Praetorius describes how, in performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's sacred motets, a choir may consist of one voice and several instruments: 'wenn in einem Concert der eine Chor mit Cornetten, der ander mit Geigen, der dritte mit Posaunen, Fagotten, Flöitten und vergleichen Instrumenten, doch daß bei jedem Chor zum wenigsten eine Concertat – das ist, eine Menschen-Stimme darneben geordnet', in Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 3 vols (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), III, p. 134. In the large-scale motets of Heinrich Schütz, such as *Alleluia, Lobet den Herren* (Ps 150), instruments are assigned to fully texted vocal lines, presumably with the implication that, for parts in an extreme tessitura, instruments would replace voices.

impression was favourable, if top-heavy. It is not out of the question that, historically, winds could have been used to plug gaps in the choral line-up. Roger North travelled around the Northern counties in 1676, and writing c.1726 in *Notes of Comparison between the Elder and Later Music and Somewhat Historicall of both*, reports the following:

In the north, where good or at least skillfull voices were scarce, and I am sure at Durham and Carlisle if not at York, the Quires in time of memory have had wind musick, to supply the want of voices, and sound great.¹⁴

O praise the Lord is represented in the library at Worcester in an almost-complete print of *Musica Deo Sacra*, the posthumous printed collection of Tomkins' work published by his son Nathaniel in 1668. Denis Stevens suggests either an important state occasion or Tomkins' degree exercise of 1607 as possible motivation for the composition of such an ambitious piece, but Tomkins was already organist at Worcester by this point, so it is not out of the question that the piece may have been performed there.¹⁵ The single reference in Worcester Cathedral Treasurer's Accounts to the employment of winds involves a payment of twenty shillings 'to Goodma[n] Stanton the Musitian for playing on the cornetts in the Quyre' between 24th December and 9th January 1619/20,¹⁶ so it is just possible that the second style of instrumental distribution may have mirrored local practices from Worcester, where winds could have been used to make up the numbers at important occasions.

The interaction between the instrumentalists and the organ was, as mentioned above, difficult to assess on this occasion in light of modern organ provision at this location. The Tickell instrument at Worcester is particularly quiet in the space, and although it carried well enough in solo verse sections and during the opening voluntary, it was no match for the choir and wind instruments once the whole ensemble was singing and playing. Experience of playing with the St Teilo organ mentioned above, both at the Birmingham workshop (see Chapter 7) and in my professional practice confirm that it is considerably more powerful than the Tickell instrument, but again, how it would compare in the space is not something that could be tested on this occasion. However, feedback from the choir and fellow

¹⁴ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 286.

¹⁵ Stevens suggests an early date for all of Tomkins' works for more than six voices, based on the copying of two of them into Tenbury MS 1382 copied in 1617, and the appearance of a third in the list of anthems performed at the coronation of James I in 1603 in Boden, *Thomas Tomkins*, p. 208.

¹⁶ WOr, MS 9360/A14 (Chamber Order Book, 1575), unfoliated loose leaves.

instrumentalists suggests that, whilst the winds made the organ harder to hear, the overall performing experience was made easier by having instrumentalists playing:

In the absence of hearing the organ, having the bass line doubled strongly probably helps.
[instrumentalist]

It [the instruments] sounded nice and kept it on the beat. [chorister]

This supports the theory that the presence of winds in cathedrals may be more closely related to the provision of organs than to the shortcomings or otherwise of the choir. It is perhaps no coincidence that the demise of the cathedral wind band, having survived the upheavals of the civil wars, occurs at the very moment that developments in English organ building lead to more substantial and, presumably, louder instruments being installed in many cathedrals during the first twenty five years of the Restoration. Stephen Bicknell describes two ‘waves of activity’ associated with this period, which map onto trends in the use of instruments rather neatly.¹⁷ Initially, builders such as George Dallam (son of Thomas), Thomas Harris and John Loosemore were commissioned to replace instruments lost, damaged or beyond repair following the Commonwealth years, installing what Bicknell describes as ‘unadventurous’ instruments that maintained many pre-Civil War characteristics, including the transposing system.¹⁸ Such instruments were installed at both Canterbury (by Lancelot Pease, finished 1662) and Durham (by George Dallam, finished 1662), mirroring the reinstatement of wind bands in their pre-Restoration form at both locations. The same happened at Exeter (with John Loosemore’s organ, built 1662–65), where cornetts and sackbuts were certainly returned to use, but it is less clear how. By the 1680s, however, all three locations had had their instrument either replaced, as at Durham and Canterbury, or updated as at Exeter, incorporating many elements of the emergent French style imported from the continent post-Commonwealth by Renatus Harris and Bernard Smith. I will discuss the implications of these changes further in Chapter 7, particularly in relation to organ pitch, but the Worcester experience raised the possibility that the shortcomings of the Tickell instrument, when compared to our expectations of the balance between choir and organ based on later historical, continental or modern church organs, shows a closer relationship between winds and organ in a cathedral context than previously thought.

¹⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English organ*, p. 117.

¹⁸ Bicknell, *The History of the English organ*, p. 115.

The modern listener's expectations of cathedral space and acoustic, and the type of sounds we expect to hear as a listener, and be able to produce as a performer in a cathedral, is a point alluded to in my previous chapter about Exeter.¹⁹ This was highlighted particularly strongly during the instrumental postlude performed by the two cornetts and two sackbuts at the end of the Worcester service, in place of an organ postlude. I chose a four-part *In Nomine* by William Byrd for this occasion. We tested two playing positions, both marked in Figure 1, but found that neither produced the effect we were expecting. In the first position it was very difficult to hear the other players, and, given the particular stance required to play from sheet music within the choir stalls, ensemble communication was almost impossible.²⁰ In the second position, communication was easier, but the feeling one would normally expect from a large cathedral space in which the resonant acoustic allows for ease of projection, was almost entirely missing. The extra effort required to attempt to recreate the effect we were anticipating made for a strenuous performance that felt unsatisfactory from a performer's point of view. A tight schedule on the day meant that we did not have the opportunity to reflect on the rehearsal and make the necessary adjustments before the performance. Had this been the case, I would have suggested shifting our expectation towards a chamber music aesthetic as a first step to a more satisfactory performance, a shift that would take account of the choir space as a room within the wider cathedral building instead of the echo-chamber we expect to encounter when we enter a cathedral. With the benefit of this experience to draw on, the instrumental contributions to the Canterbury service were considerably more comfortable and rewarding.

In addition to exploring options for instrumentation, a secondary aim of this exercise was to gauge the impression made on those in the congregation by the addition of instruments to the liturgical repertoire. Anecdotal evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries accounts for a large proportion of what we know about performance practices, and I wanted to assess how congregations today respond to the instruments in comparison with the eye-witness accounts of historical figures. I was anticipating a small congregation, but was pleasantly surprised (as were the lay clerks, according to their feedback in Appendix 3.2) that the congregation outnumbered the performers by some degree. I was also pleasantly surprised that every person who was there completed and returned a feedback form (see Appendix 3.1

¹⁹ See Chapter 3, p. 91.

²⁰ This concern would, of course, be irrelevant had we been playing from memory or improvising. See Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion of this point.

for these forms), providing me with a broad selection of opinions and perspectives. Overall responses were all positive, possibly down to the novelty of the experience for many attendees, but some of the additional comments left by congregation members are interesting:

[I was surprised by] the calm, relaxed feel given.

[I was surprised how the instruments] created [a] solemn atmosphere, quite reflective.

[It was] different and relaxing.

Feedback from the Precentor and Director of Music followed similar lines:

What was particularly lovely about your musicians is the way that they blended into the service. [Precentor]

I really appreciated the unobtrusive playing. It was nothing like a concert, which is exactly what we wanted. [Director of Music]

One contributor's use of the word 'solemn' leapt to my attention as mirroring exactly a large number of contemporary descriptors of cornetts and sackbuts in England during my study period (the 'grett and solempne singing with cornets and sackbuts' recorded following Elizabeth I's 1575 visit to Worcester is a prime example). The original liturgical meaning of the word 'solemn' (i.e. designating a more festal occasion than a 'simple' feast) and the manner in which it was more than likely being used by contemporary writers, does not quite equate with its twenty-first century implications and so it surprised me that the regular church-goer who made this comment clearly found something in the sound that did not agree with their historical counterparts. 'Calm', 'relaxing' and 'reflective' are also, perhaps unsurprisingly, terms that one does not find in contemporary accounts, and are particularly at odds with the words of Puritan firebrands such as Peter Smart, whose 'Shackbuts and cornetts, which yield an hydeous noyse' with their 'piping so loud [...] they may be heard halfe a mile from the church'²¹ suggests a different auditory experience altogether. Of course, Peter Smart is just one man, and not without political bias, but the contrast with the Worcester congregation's feedback leads me to suggest that, as instrumentalists, the 'unobtrusive' playing technique we tend to adopt when accompanying vocal music, and which is highly valued by modern choral directors, may be something of a twenty-first century invention. Indeed, the Italian cornettist Luigi Zenobi, discussing the importance of developing both loud and soft playing techniques, gives the following advice:

²¹ Smart, *A short treatise of altars*, p. 19.

[wind players] must cultivate the *piano* more than the *forte*, since the former serves for the chambers of princes and in places of respect, and it is the main mode of disclosing the defect and the excellence of the players, which does not occur in bandstands and chapels and wherever one plays as loud as one can.²²

None of the practice-led research scenarios I have carried out in the course of this project have provided the opportunity to test how the evidence of Zenobi and Smart may interact with the cathedral space, particularly given the chamber-like qualities I have begun to perceive in the architecture and acoustics, but this question would certainly benefit from further attention in the future.

Although this research activity was not without its challenges, particularly in terms of logistical factors beyond my control, it was an enormously useful exercise for three main reasons. The liturgical context for the performance of the chosen repertoire is something which, in comparison to other aspects of performance practice, we know a lot about, and the experience of performing in this context was, in the event, one of the most enlightening aspects, especially given the willingness of participants and stakeholders to provide on-the-spot feedback. The success of the medius / bassus instrumental scoring and its implications for future historically informed performances of the relevant repertoire is also significant as it provides a very straightforward solution to the problem of accompanying pieces in diverse vocal scorings with one wind ensemble of a fixed line-up, as evidenced by the cathedral archives. Finally, the opportunity to perform ‘on location’ in the cathedral highlighted how some of the preconceptions we hold as performers may be challenged when approaching our task of playing with and in the choir.

²² As quoted in Savan, ‘Revoicing a ‘choice eunuch’’, p. 565.

Chapter 7 | Exeter Repertoire in Practice

Practice-led research workshop, University of Birmingham, 29th November 2018

The experience of undertaking practice-led research in context at Worcester Cathedral was both highly informative and engaging for congregation and performers alike. In response to the experience, however, I felt that establishing a more controlled environment in which research questions could be addressed without the time pressures associated with a working cathedral, would enable deeper engagement with a number of issues. To this end, I set up a performance research workshop at the University of Birmingham on November 29th 2018. The choice of location enabled me to use a reconstructed Tudor organ, which it is not possible to relocate easily, and also to involve research staff and students from both the University of Birmingham and Royal Birmingham Conservatoire in the research process. My primary aim for the workshop was to address some of the questions arising from research into performance practices at Exeter Cathedral, discussed in detail in Chapter 3, in the light of the Worcester session. The following chapter outlines the format of the workshop itself, the research questions I addressed, the methods I used to engage the participants and gather their input, and the conclusions the process enabled me to draw.

7.1 | Five Aspects of Performance Practice

7.1.1 | Instrumentation

Whereas specific instrumental forces (two cornettists and two sackbut players) are documented at both Canterbury and Durham, evidence from Exeter is less clear. Cathedral archives record repairs to cornetts and sackbuts during the first half of the seventeenth century,¹ and a reference from 1637 to ‘two new Shagbutts and two new cornetts to be

¹ ECA, D&C 3787, 1635–6 (John the Baptist to Michaelmas, repairs to a cornett and a sackbut, and Michaelmas to Nativity, repairs to a ‘dubble Shagbott’); ECA, D&C 3787, 1637–8 (Michaelmas to Nativity, two separate repairs to sackbuts); ECA, D&C 3787, 1638–9 (John the Baptiste to Michaelmas, repairs to two sackbuts, followed by payment for ‘mending one of the same Shagbotts another tyme’). These payments appear in the Extraordinary Solutions Accounts series. There are unfortunately no records in this series before 1635 and it is

provided for the service of the Quire with all convenient speed, together with a set of vyolls'² suggests that two of each wind instrument was the minimum available. This reference, supported by the writings of Lieutenant Hammond, also suggest that viols may have been heard in, or at least around, the Cathedral in the 1630s.³ The instrumentation available at the Birmingham workshop (two cornetts, including one tenor cornett, three sackbuts and one bass viol) gave a wide selection of possible instrumentations to test in the context of repertoire from Exeter, and reflected the range of possibilities suggested by the archives. Additionally, it was also possible to test some potentially rare instances of instrumental writing associated with Exeter Cathedral originally discussed by Ian Payne. For example, Payne's reconstructions of Edward Gibbons' *How hath the city sate solitary* and Robert Parsons' *Above the stars*⁴ were performed with a selection of instrumentations and the success of each was considered by the participants.

7.1.2 | Interaction Between Winds, Voices and Organ

Use of the St Teilo organ, a reconstruction of a Tudor instrument notionally dating from c.1520 and built by Martin Goetze and Dominic Gwynn for the *Experience of Worship* project,⁵ was central to testing the relationship between the three elements of the cathedral ensemble at Exeter: the instruments, voices and organ. Full details of this instrument are given below. Dr Silas Wollston, a leading performer on historical keyboard instruments, was in attendance to play. My reasons for considering the St Teilo reconstruction a close representation of the type of organ that might have been in use at Exeter during the first half of the seventeenth century are given in Chapter 3.

therefore not possible to establish how regularly or continually instrument repairs such as these occurred between Edward Gibbons' original request for sackbuts in 1609 and the last records dating from 1639.

² ECA, D&C 3557, p. 59, quoted in Ian Payne, *The provision and practice of sacred music at Cambridge colleges and selected cathedrals, c.1547—c.1646 : a comparative study of the archival evidence* (New York, London: Garland, 1993), p. 146.

³ See Chapter 2, p. 75.

⁴ Transcribed in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, pp. 352–405.

⁵ See <http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk>; Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson, eds., *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The experience of worship in cathedral and parish church* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Practice-led research into the relationship between the three elements of the cathedral ensemble aimed to establish the effect of two styles of organ accompaniment in conjunction with wind instruments and voices in sung liturgical items. Use of medius/bassus doubling with winds proved successful at the Worcester evensong, but the organ used for this performance was not representative of the type of instrument likely to have been in use the early seventeenth century, and it was therefore not possible to test how the organ and winds interact using this performance approach. I wanted to ask how the balance of the ensemble would be affected with winds playing outer voices and the organ playing a full harmonic accompaniment, compared to winds playing outer voices and the organ providing a *bicinium*-style accompaniment of the type described by Andrew Johnstone. His footnote on why he advocates this style of accompaniment for seventeenth century English music is worth quoting in full:

Modern practice [...] still has to recognise the possibility that 17th-century Anglican accompaniments were played, as they were written, predominantly in two parts. Experiments with the Wetheringsett organ [for details see fn.19 below] have revealed, however, that there are good reasons for resisting the urge to ‘fill out’ the sparse texture so common in old organ books: a *bicinium* choral accompaniment provides support for the two lines that most need it, is easier to transpose, conserves wind, and enables the use of partial-compass stops and sub-octave doublings of the bass part. The organ manuscripts, furthermore, which contain directions for neither 6-3 chords nor inner-voice accidentals, are quite useless for improvising a full-textured accompaniment that agrees with all the voice parts.⁶

When combined with medius/bassus doubling, however, this approach initially seems to heavily favour the outer two parts and it was therefore important to establish how this functioned in performance.

Following the Birmingham workshop, I was also involved in a further recording project using the St Teilo organ to record large-scale English sacred music from the period in question and I will also draw on this experience when discussing the interaction between the organ, voices and winds.⁷

⁶ Andrew Johnstone, “‘As It Was in the Beginning’: Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music”, *Early Music*, 31 (2003), pp. 507–25 (p. 523).

⁷ See *In Chains of Gold* vol. 2, Fretwork Magdelene Consort, His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, dir. William Hunt (Signum, forthcoming). This CD includes solo organ tracks which demonstrate the capabilities of the St Teilo instrument, and also shows the variety of effects that can be achieved when it is used to accompany consort singing.

7.1.3 | Restoration Practices

As Chapter 3.2 shows, Exeter Cathedral made considerable investment in instrumental wind playing in the early years following the Restoration. My case study focussing on Henry Travers⁸ suggests that during this transitional period, wind players may have been engaging with the new, emergent style of church music in a way that is rarely represented in modern historically informed performance. I selected and transcribed one of the few surviving pieces by Travers (*Shall we receive good*, see Appendix 2.11) for the Birmingham workshop in order to test whether practices I associate with pre-Civil War performance (medius/bassus doubling of vocal lines, for example) transfer readily to Restoration repertoire, or whether alternative performance solutions may be considered more appropriate. The role of the organ in this experiment was also revealing.

7.1.4 | Use of Partbook-format Performing Materials

It was also possible to conduct an initial experiment into the use of partbook-format performing materials, as opposed to scores, by singers during the workshop. Using modernised mock-ups of the fourteen-book sets that records show were in use at Exeter Cathedral pre-1642,⁹ the combined ensemble of singers and instrumentalists was able to experience performance from accessible versions of original materials in order to assess the practicalities of using such a set, and to establish what implications these materials may have had for singers and instrumentalists alike. Whereas I feel that this area requires more attention, the experience has confirmed that the materiality of historical sources in performance is an important and often overlooked aspect of performance practice.

7.1.5 | Use of Transposition for Cornetts

Use of the St Teilo organ (pitched at $a'=465$, a more accessible version of English *Quire-pitch* (Q), or $a'=474$) also enabled me to test a theory about cornett transposition as a possible performance solution to one of only a handful of pieces with instrumental designations for wind instruments surviving from early-seventeenth-century England, Henry Loosemore's *A verse for ye Organ, A Sagbot, Cornute, & Violin*. A straightforward performance of the

⁸ See Chapter 2, pp. 92–104.

⁹ ECA, D&C 3787 (Easter 1640), quoted in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 81.

original materials involves several challenges of tessitura and key, and I wanted to explore in practice how transposition might solve some of these issues using organological evidence of cornetts from the period as context.

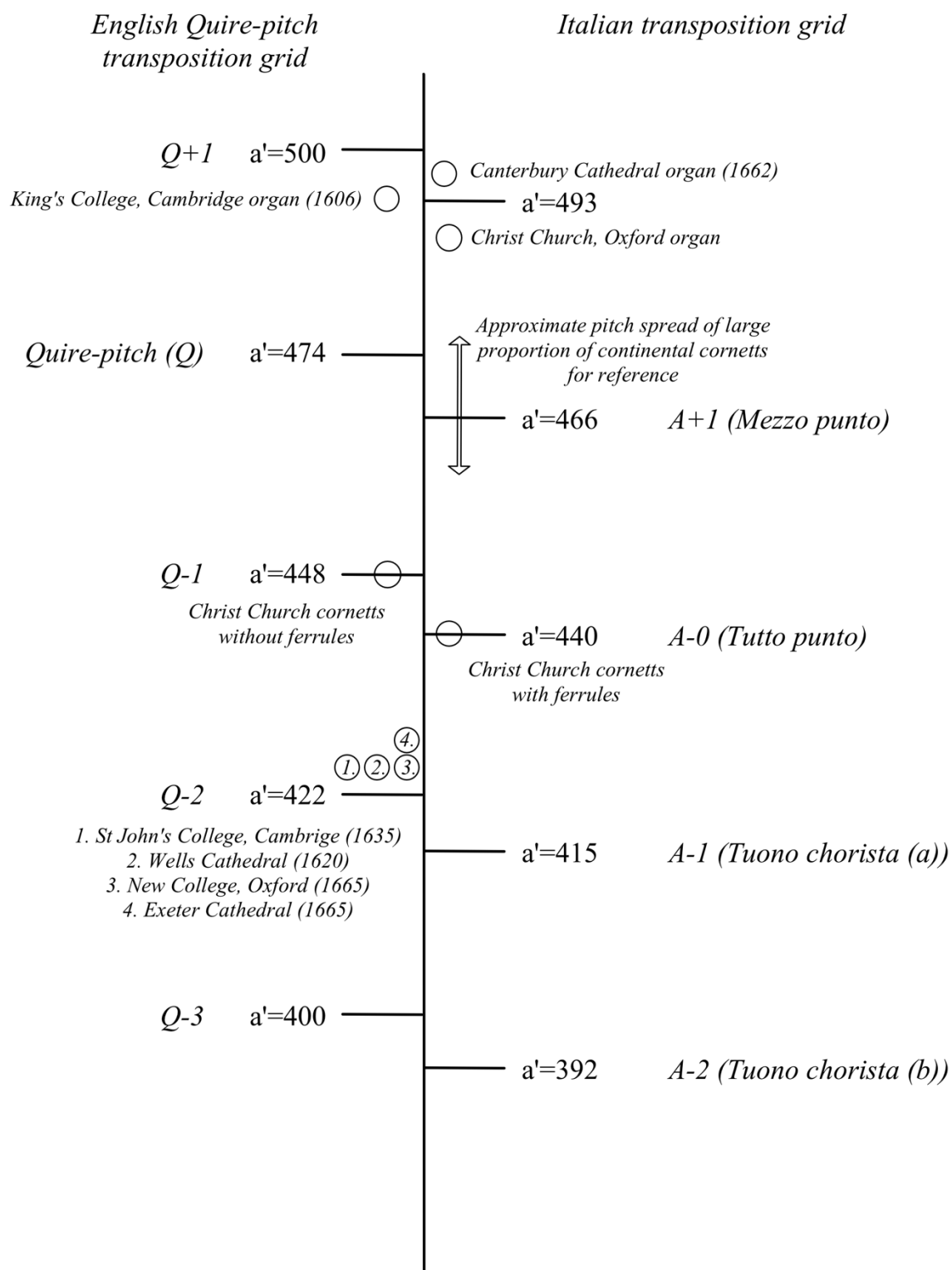
As mentioned in my introduction, the two most important early-seventeenth-century cornetts – indeed, two of only three instruments whose English provenance can be stated with any degree of certainty – are those currently housed in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. According to Savan, these instruments are pitched at $a'=448$ – 452 without their silver ferrules, the addition of which bring them down in pitch to around $a'=440$.¹⁰ Figure 1 visualises how both incarnations of these instruments (with and without their ferrules) interact with a selection of known organ pitches from seventeenth-century England and shows how, as Haynes and Savan suggest, upwards transposition by a tone in the cornetts may have been one way of reconciling the cornett and organ pitches where organs are pitched especially high (for example, the King's College, Cambridge, Christ Church, Oxford and Canterbury Cathedral organs clustered around $Q+I$ on the diagram).¹¹

Using the Christ Church cornetts and the pitch of the Christ Church organ as evidence, this is how I proposed we approach the Loosemore *Verse*, with the wind instrumentalists using one-tone-up transposition from the flat original key into a more idiomatic sharp key. This has the added advantage of lifting the tessitura of the second line (nominally the cornett part, if Loosemore's ordering of the instruments in his title is accurate) into a range suitable, if a little low, for a cornett. In order to maintain a one-tone separation of the instruments, the cornettists played instruments pitched at $a'=415$ (our $Q-I$) to match the $a'=465$ organ (our $Q+I$).

¹⁰ Jamie Savan, 'Unlocking the Mysteries of the Venetian Cornett: *ad imitar piu la voce humana*', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 28 (2016), pp. 31–55 (p. 42).

¹¹ This diagram brings together several sections of Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002). Organ pitches are listed on p. 458.

Figure 1: Pitches of seventeenth-century English organs in relation to Quire-pitch and Italian-pitch transposition grids (after Haynes)



As Figure 1 shows, of course, this is not the only transposition scenario that may have been at play when incorporating instruments into the cathedral soundscape, especially given the wide range of organ pitches suggested by seventeenth-century evidence. Continental sources confirm that both wind instrumentalists and organists were expected to be able to transpose freely and fluently into a variety of keys and using a variety of techniques, as demonstrated by Aurelio Virgiliano, whose *Il dolcimeolo* (c. 1600) includes a comprehensive list of transpositions in which cornettists and trombonists might be expected to play. This includes not only those transpositions achievable by clef substitutions (primary transposition), but also transposition down a tone and a minor third in C clefs, and up a tone in G2 clef, three secondary transpositions that will prove significant later in this chapter. In addition to Virgiliano, Girolamo Dalla Casa, whose treatise on cornetto playing certainly made it to London if not beyond, also describes how the cornett, the ‘most excellent’ of wind instruments, ‘is played [...] in every sort of key, just as the voice’.¹² Thomas Whythorne’s *Duos, or songs for two voices* (London, 1590), described as ‘made for two children to sing’ or ‘for two treble Cornets to play or sound’, has been identified by Jamie Savan as a source of English repertoire in which transposition techniques such as those described by Virgiliano are required for successful performance of the written materials. Although transposition tables of the extent included by Virgiliano do not appear in English instrumental treatises until the eighteenth century,¹³ transposition is addressed by a number of English theorists, often slightly confusingly thanks to what Herissone describes as the ‘muddled state’ of English modal theory in the late-sixteenth-century.¹⁴ By 1673, however, Matthew Locke tells us that ‘easiness of transposing Compositions from one Key to another, is a thing so frequent, that no one is esteem’d a Master who cannot do it Proper’, and it seems reasonable to suggest that,

¹² Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir...* (Venice: Gardano, 1584). This publication is listed in the 1635 and 1639 catalogues of London bookseller Robert Martin. See Donald William Krummel, ‘Venetian Baroque music in a London bookshop: Martin’s catalogues 1633–50’, in *Music and Bibliography: essays in honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. by Oliver Neighbour (London: Bingley, 1980), pp. 1–27 (p. 11).

¹³ Rebecca Herissone, *Music theory in seventeenth-century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 188.

¹⁴ Herissone, *Music theory in seventeenth-century England*, p. 177.

based on these sources, transposition at sight may have been a standard skill amongst English instrumentalists.¹⁵

Continental sources also provide insight into the use of transposition by organists, which are particularly thought-provoking given the range of organ pitches shown in Figure 1. Organist and organ builder G.B. Morsolino, writing to dispute the proposed lowering of the pitch of the organ at Cremona in 1582, describes how the widespread practice of maintaining organs at high pitch (*A+1* on Figure 1) necessitates transposition by the organist:

This situation obtains because, not wishing to hinder the organs when playing with wind instruments, they leave them in the above-mentioned *mezzo punto* pitch, **which is however too high for the chapel singers**. Because of this practice, organists are always (or at least sometimes) compelled to play lower than the written key in order to accommodate the singers. This is what is done at St. Mark's in Venice [emphasis mine].¹⁶

Both Zacconi (in 1592) and Diruta (in 1609) also describe downwards transposition by a tone or minor third to find 'a comfortable pitch for the choir', thus, for cornetts at the same pitch as the organ, Virgiliano's rubrics for playing a tone and minor third lower in vocal music (often notated in C clefs) would have been invaluable. If *mezzo punto* was too high for the choir of St Mark's, Venice, however, what transposition scenario might the organist (and indeed the cornetts and sackbuts) of, for example, Canterbury Cathedral with its *Q+1* organ have needed to employ to find a 'comfortable' singing pitch? Or indeed, using Exeter's Restoration Loosemore organ (at *Q-2*), would the organist have transposed up to meet the singers (and possibly the instruments) at *Quire-pitch*, and how does the primary transposition necessitated by the English transposing organ interact with these secondary adjustments in pitch?

¹⁵ Transposition as it was conceived in continental sources is closely entwined with modal theory as demonstrated by Jamie Savan, (Jamie Savan, 'Revoicing a 'choice eunuch': The cornett and historical models of vocality', *Early Music*, 46 (2018), pp. 561–78 pp. 571–2.) and Josué Meléndez Peláez (Josué Meléndez Peláez, 'The Modern Cornett: Performing modes in Renaissance music, some problems and solutions' at MedRen, Basel (2019) [Unpublished conference paper].). A thorough assessment of how English compositional practice reflects the transition from modality to tonality in the early seventeenth century is beyond the scope of this thesis, but is an important next step in considering how instrumental and vocal practices around this time may have interacted and in assessing the extent to which continental theory may apply in an English context.

¹⁶ As quoted in Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, p. 64.

In the light of the tessitura of contratenor altus parts in seventeenth-century choral writing, the pitch range of a minor third between the lowest and highest pitched organs listed by Haynes has implications for the performance of such repertoire, and although the equipment available at the Birmingham workshop did not enable a full examination of transposition in practice, the work that took place confirms how important this question is for the performance of seventeenth-century English sacred music, and has allowed me to make some suggestions for performance options that take account of these considerations.

7.2 | The Workshop

7.2.1 | The Participants

Twenty-two people participated in the workshop. This breaks down into eighteen singers (one doubling bass viol), three sackbut players, two cornettists and an organist. Two participants also shared organ-pumping duties. The vocal forces represented a reasonably close approximation of Exeter's choral establishment in the run-up to 1642, particularly in terms of the men's voices. I allocated the contratenor altus parts, usually taken by women or falsettists in the modern choral tradition, to high tenors. Women sopranos took the medius parts and although the Exeter choir boasted fourteen choristers at its early-seventeenth-century peak, I feel that the balance of medius to other parts was probably fairly accurate. Recruiting sufficient high tenors to make the contratenor altus parts prominent, or indeed balanced at all, in the texture, was an issue, but as I will discuss below, the relationship between the voices, organ and winds revealed by the experience goes some way towards mitigating for this.

7.2.3 | The Workshop Space

As can be seen from Figure 2, the physical space in which the workshop took place was a challenge. The room was considerably fuller than I had anticipated by the time all the participants were seated, and the resultant effect on the acoustic is something I have had to consider carefully when examining my results. Of particular note is the volume of the organ, which verged on the overpowering in the workshop room. This can be compared directly to the experience of working with the same instrument in a large church acoustic, in which not only the sound, but the presence of the instrument is completely altered. The two images in Figure 3 show the different spaces in which I have worked with this instrument, but can in no

way illustrate the change of performing experience. Of course, the large organ at Exeter was situated on the choir screen throughout the seventeenth century, and therefore neither of the scenarios to which I refer can be said to accurately reconstruct the historical performing environment, but it is important to raise the space as a possible influence on participant responses at this stage.

Figure 2: The practice-led research workshop space, University of Birmingham, Bramall Building.



Figure 3: The St Teilo organ in the workshop room at the University of Birmingham, November 2018, and in St Jude's on the Hill, Hampstead Garden Suburb, January 2019.



7.2.4 | The Organ

The organ is described as ‘a piece of creative archaeology’ by the team responsible for its commissioning and construction, who based the instrument on the experience of building two other English organs after fragmentary surviving components for the Early English Organ Project in 2001 and 2002.¹⁷ The St Teilo organ is based on the type of instrument believed to have been in use around 1520. It has the following stops:

- I Open metal principal 5ft (*C – g#'* in front)
- II Open metal principal (*c – a''*)
- III Open metal octave

¹⁷ Detailed specifications of these two instruments can be found on the Royal College of Organists website: <<https://i.rco.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/The-Early-English-Organ-Project.pdf>> [login required].

- IV Open metal octave
- V Open metal fifteenth
- VI Stopped wood diapason 10ft (full compass)¹⁸

Two principal pieces of historical evidence informed the construction of the St Teilo instrument: a soundboard discovered at Wetheringsett in Suffolk and a set of specifications for an instrument at Holy Trinity, Coventry dating from 1526.¹⁹ The key compass is 46 notes, *C to a''*, matching the number of grooves in the Wetheringsett soundboard, and the specifications in the Coventry document. The instrument is effectively in F, pitched a fourth higher than ‘singing’ pitch, but with an additional fold-down ‘modern’ keyboard enabling use of the instrument in both its native 5ft pitch and in modern C. An organist of the seventeenth century would have used a system of clef substitution to transpose at sight when accompanying choirs, playing a fourth lower than notated pitch. It is important to note that when considering issues of transposition in the wider ensemble, any transposition in the organ is in addition to this primary transposition of a fourth, and that, designating a transposing organ the labels *Q* or *mezzo punto*, as in Figure 1, is simply for convenience. These issues are considered in further detail below.

The St Teilo organ is pitched at *a'*=465, a semitone above *a'*=440. It is tuned in a modified meantone tuning after Arnolt Schlick’s *Spiegel der Orgelmacher*, published in Speyer in 1511 and intended for use throughout the Holy Roman Empire.

¹⁸ This information is taken from the Experience of Worship website

<http://s361690747.websitehome.co.uk/EoW2/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/da_01_org.pdf> [Accessed: 6th June 2019].

¹⁹ On the historical evidence for reconstructing Tudor organs see Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 30–32; Dominic Gwynn, ‘The Early English Organ Project’, *Organ building*, 2 (2002), pp. 70–77; Martin Goetze and Dominic Gwynn, ‘A conveyance of a pair of organs, Holy Trinity Church, Coventry, 1526’, *BIOS Journal*, 9 (1985), pp. 40–41. On the St Teilo instrument see Dominic Gwynn, ‘A New Pre-Reformation Organ for the Church of St Teilo’, in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The experience of worship in cathedral and parish church*, ed. by Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson (London: Routledge, 2017).

7.2.5 | Data-gathering Methods

During the workshop, participants were invited to reflect on each activity or experiment in turn using a smartphone app or paper questionnaire. The questionnaire can be found at Appendix 3.4. I used a mixture of multiple-choice answers and free text boxes to gather responses, which can also be found collated in the appendices. I made an audio recording of the workshop for personal reference purposes.

The wording, design and intent of the questionnaire itself requires some explanation. I wanted the participants to contribute answers to the following question: Does my interpretation of the historical record applied to performance practice make a convincing, practical and satisfying solution to the question of the role of wind instruments in sacred music of the period? The word ‘convincing’ was chosen to describe participant responses to each performance solution (after ‘successful’ and ‘satisfactory’ were both rejected), as this term enabled participants to consider the practice in the context of the research supporting it, without necessarily expressing overt aesthetic value judgements, although there was plenty of free space available for these judgements should the participants wish to include them. A wide variety of perspectives and backgrounds were represented at the workshop (singers, instrumentalists, professional musicians, students, academics and observers) and I was keen to record responses from all of these standpoints. It was particularly important to be able to take advantage of the input of those other than myself, who brought fewer preconceptions to the experience than I inevitably did, having worked with the materials closely, and having started to build a picture of practices I thought might be the most successful based on the Worcester Evensong session.

7.3 | Workshop Repertoire and Design

Six pieces were used as materials for the workshop:

1. Henry Loosemore (1607–1670), *A verse for ye Organ, A Sagbot, Cornute, & Violin*
2. Hugh Facy (1598–c.1649), Magnificat from Short Service for meanes
3. Robert Parsons (1596–1676), *Above the stars* and Edward Gibbons (1568–c.1660), *How the City sate solitary*.
4. Solomon Tozer (c.1595–1619), *O Lord, let me know mine end*.

5. Henry Travers (c. 1620–1679), *Shall we receive good*.
6. Thomas Morley (1557/8–1602), *Out of the deep*.

The following paragraphs explain the design of the workshop, broken down by repertoire item, and describe which performance practice methods were tested and why. Participant responses are discussed at the end of each section.

7.3.1 | Henry Loosemore (1607–1670), *A verse for ye Organ, A Sagbot, Cornute, & Violin*, NYPL, Drexel 569

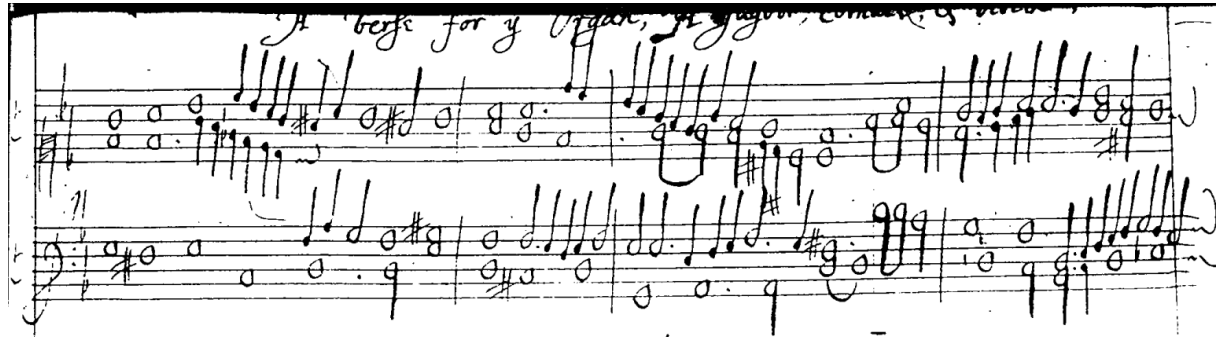
Whilst this piece cannot be associated with Exeter Cathedral with any degree of certainty (aside from the fact that Loosemore was probably a chorister there in his youth), it is one of the very few surviving pieces for cornett and sackbut with specific instrumental designations from this period. Ian Payne identifies it as a possible contender for the type of instrumental work that might have been performed after sermons at King’s College, Cambridge in the first half of the seventeenth century,²⁰ and given the fact that Edward Gibbons, teacher of the choristers at Exeter from 1608 had previously been at King’s and maintained close familial ties there, it is not out of the question that this piece, or pieces like it, might have featured in the repertoire of Exeter’s cornett and sackbut players. Contrary to the suggestion of the title, it is purely instrumental (unlike William Lawes’ lost setting of *Before the mountains*, described as *An Anthem with verses for Cornetts and Sagbutts*, only the words of which survive in the Chapel Royal Wordbook, GB-Ob Rawl Poet 23) but it seemed appropriate to revisit the work with a view to getting a sense of the kind of instrumental writing that might have featured in pieces that involved obbligato winds, none of which survive today.

The only source for Loosemore’s piece is his personal organ book, now held in the New York Public Library, meaning that instrumental parts have to be extrapolated from the organ score to reconstruct performance materials. Payne includes a transcription of the piece in *Provision and Practice*, dividing the top voice between the cornett and violin, the second between the violin and the sackbut (based on the range down to g making this line unsuitable for the cornett, and the correspondence with the third voice to the range of a tenor sackbut) and allocating the bass to the organ. He also adds an editorial fifth voice to complete the

²⁰ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 150.

harmony where it is lacking in the organ part. Here are the opening bars of the original, followed by Payne's transcription:

Example 1: Henry Loosemore, *A verse for ye Organ, A Sagbut, Cornute and Violin*, NYPL, Drexel 5469, pp.202–4



Example 2: Loosemore *Verse*, transcribed by Ian Payne, *Provision and Practice*, pp.338–348.

A VERSE FOR THE ORGAN, A SAGBUT, CORNUTE, & VIOLIN

Henry Loosemore

Cornett

Editorial Fifth Part,
to Complete the Texture

Violin

[Tenor] Sackbut

Editorial Bass Part,
to Complete the Texture

Organ

No modern edition of the piece has been published, so Payne’s transcription was the starting point for our play-through during the workshop, but it was a matter of mere seconds before our organist pointed out that, using the ‘modern’ keyboard, the St Teilo organ did not have enough notes in the bass to play the score at written pitch. Instead, by employing the transposing keyboard and sounding at the instrument’s native pitch of a fourth higher, Loosemore’s part fit perfectly within the organ’s range. We replicated this upwards transposition in the winds and found that the two upper instrumental parts were lifted out of the lowest range of the cornett (and in fact, had we had a violin present would have enabled the cornett to play the second line below the violin, reflecting continental practice in writing for the two instruments).²¹ This also allowed a tenor sackbut to comfortably double the bass, instead of recourse to editorial intervention to create a sackbut part. The disadvantage of this transposition was the resulting key signature, particularly in the cornetts, adding a flat to an already awkward flat key. However, by using transposing instruments pitched a tone lower and reading a tone up, as per the Christ Church scenario discussed on p. 171 above, the piece became instantly more idiomatic for the instrument, settling into a range one might readily expect to find in continental writing. The following example shows the opening bars of my own transcription reflecting how transposition in the cornetts relates to transposition in the organ. Both treble parts were taken by cornetts on this occasion, but in a performance with violin, the violin would play in the same key as the organ:

Example 3: Loosemore, *Verse*, with organ at sounding pitch and treble parts transposed for cornetts one tone lower

The musical score for Example 3 shows the opening bars of 'Verse' by Loosemore. It is arranged in four staves: Violin, Cornute, Sagbut, and Organ. The Violin, Cornute, and Sagbut parts are transposed one tone lower than the Organ part. The Organ part is in the bass clef, while the others are in the treble clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The score shows the first three measures of the piece, with a repeat sign at the end of the third measure.

²¹ Examples include Giovanni Paolo Cima’s *Sonata à 3* (violin, cornetto and trombone) from *Concerti Ecclesiastici* (1610); Amadio Freddi’s *Messa, vespro et compieta* (1616), scored for violin, cornett, 5vv. and continuo; Nicolaus a Kempis’s *Symphonia secunda à 3* (violin, cornetto and trombone) from *Symphoniae unis, duorum, trium, IV et V instrumentorum...* (1647); Giovanni Gabrieli’s *Canzon IV à 6*, *Canzon XIV à 10*, and *Canzon XVII à 12* from *Canzoni e sonate* (1615).

With the resulting shift in tessitura, colleagues were quick to point out that this unpromising-looking piece suddenly became a ‘real’ piece of instrumental ensemble music. So much so that I was able to programme the piece for performance at the Canterbury Evensong in January 2019 (discussed in Chapter 6) as part of the musical offering at the end of the service, as Payne suggests its original function may have been. On this occasion, we modelled a different performance practice solution required when using cornetts and organ at the same pitch. In this case, we played at $a'=440$, but the solution would have been equally valid historically for instruments pitched at *c. a'=474*, or English *Quire-pitch*, which is also the pitch of a large sample of surviving continental cornetts.²² Both the cornetts and the organ transposed up a fifth in this scenario, but had we been using an historical English organ with a transposing keyboard, the organist would have simply had to read up a tone. A complete transcription reflecting the Christ Church scenario can be found in Appendix 2.5, and a recording of the performance at Canterbury can be found in Appendix 4.1.

Given the pitch of the St Teilo organ and lack of availability of cornetts at anything other than *Q* or *Q-1*, it was not possible to model a scenario in which cornetts could have played with the Loosemore organ installed at Exeter in 1665 that Haynes suggests was pitched quite considerably lower than the Christ Church and Canterbury instruments (see Figure 1). Without further corroborating evidence that the Christ Church cornetts were either a standard pitch or somehow much flatter than their now-lost contemporaries, the relationship between the cluster of low-pitched (*Q-2*) organs and the cornetts that may have played with them remains entirely conjectural.²³ The instruments are unlikely to have been related by a semitone, and one can only presume that, in the case of *Q-2* organs, cornetts at *Quire-pitch* and therefore related to the organ by a tone would have been more standard. It seems more likely in the case of this piece that the organist would have read up to meet the instruments and, in the case of choral repertoire, the voices, although the implications of and evidence for this assumption are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

²² See the graph in Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, p. 391.

²³ One possible solution in the case of the Loosemore instrumental piece would be upwards transposition by a tone by the organist (on an instrument in F). This would put instruments at *Quire-pitch* in two flats, but would be considerably more satisfactory than the instruments transposing down to meet the organ.

7.3.2 | Hugh Facy (1598–c.1649), Magnificat from Short Service for meanes, Chirk Castle Partbooks, NYPL Drexel, Chirk 1–4

I chose this piece as an example of simple four-part writing of the type that might be considered representative of provincial, non-festal service music of the period. Facy's bibliographical information is provided in Chapter 3.1, Table 2. The only source of the piece is the Chirk Castle Partbooks, where it appears alongside other items with Exeter connections, suggesting that it is likely to have been part of the Exeter pre-Civil War repertoire.²⁴ There are no cantoris and decani markings in the Chirk Castle source, presumably due to the small size of the choir for which it was prepared, but I took the liberty of adding these editorially for the workshop on the basis that they would more than likely have been included had the piece been performed in a cathedral setting. A copy of the score we used is included in Appendix 2.6.

We sang through the piece using four different performance practice options:

1. Voices and full four-part organ accompaniment (5', octave added in Gloria)
2. Voices, organ accompaniment as above, medius/bassus instrumental doubling of vocal parts on both sides of choir
 - a. Instruments throughout
 - b. Instruments in full sections
3. As for 2., but using modernised partbook-format materials
4. Voices and instruments with two alternative organ accompaniments:
 - a. *Bicinium*-style
 - b. Full colla parte

Participants were asked to reflect on the effect of each of the variables on the overall performance of the piece from their point of view as a singer or instrumentalist. This is a snapshot of the responses:

²⁴ On the relationship between the Chirk Castle Partbooks and composers associated with Exeter Cathedral, see Peter Le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle partbooks', *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), pp. 17–42. I am grateful to Ian Payne for supplying his transcription of this piece for use in the workshop.

Question	Responses				
	1	2	3	4	5
On a scale of 1 – 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, did the instruments make it easier or harder to sing your part?	5	5	6	0	0
Did you feel more supported as a singer when the organ provided:	A full four-part accompaniment		A bicinia-style accompaniment		Didn't notice the difference
	14		4		3
What did you find the most convincing instrumentation?	Organ accompaniment		Organ and winds throughout		Organ with winds in full sections
	2		5		7
On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, how did you find singing / playing from parts compared to singing / playing from a score?	1	7	2	5	2

Some interesting points also emerged in the comments section provided with each question. Two participants raised the issue of being able to hear the organ once the whole ensemble was singing and playing:

Hearing a definite bass (sackbut) was useful.

Easier to hear and feel the harmony with the instruments rather than just the organ.

The general level of support provided by instruments seems to have been welcome:

Did not put off at all. Added support. The line (melody) is quite simple anyway.

Easier, but it was also the 2nd time [...] through! Lovely to have the support though.

This was not universally the case, however, and several pointed out that singing in the middle of the texture was less affected than singing the outer, doubled voices. Overall volume also seems to have been an issue:

It got quite loud, and although some tunes were easier to find, I found singing was more difficult in terms of pitch relation with the other voices.

There was little difference to me in the middle of the texture.

I also found that the organ, despite the size of the room, was difficult to hear once everyone was playing and singing. However, from outside the texture, I found that once the organist changed from a full four-part accompaniment to a *bicinium*-style accompaniment, mirroring the winds, there was a great deal more clarity in the vocal parts. This enabled the middle parts to become more prominent in the texture, even given the unbalanced numbers between contratenor altus and other parts. Others agreed:

From my perspective the individual voice parts and especially the text became very much clearer with bicinia accompaniment. (Though I was standing right next to the organ).

The recording made at Canterbury Cathedral in January 2019 shows this clarity of text and line. Appendix 4.2 and 4.3 contain short clips from two of the pieces included in the Evensong programme. The first, from George Marson's *Magnificat*, is accompanied with winds on all four parts, and the second, William Pysinge's *O Lord let me know mine end* uses medius/bassus doubling. The organist is playing full throughout, but the result can be compared to the effect achieved at the Birmingham workshop, ensuring the inner parts come through despite the heavy medius bias of the Canterbury choir.

The final experiment involving this piece used modernised partbook-format performing materials designed to replicate the number of partbooks available to the Exeter choir during the 1620s and 1630s, based on estimates for copying activities included by Payne in *Provision and Practice*. As discussed in Chapter 3.1, I propose that the particularly large sets of book (twelve or fourteen in a set, compared to Durham's ten, for example) possibly reflects the size of the choir here, as opposed to the presence of instrumentalists as Payne suggests, but the idea behind this experiment was to test how the use of these performing materials might play out in performance. I wanted to see how practical it would be to intersperse the players with the singers and share parts between two or three performers by recreating the size of the page and notation, but using a modern typeface for accessibility. A sample page appears in Appendix 2.7 (although it is difficult to convey the scale of the partbook format here) and the image below shows the parts in use:

Figure 4: Modernised partbooks in use, University of Birmingham, November 2019.



My proposal does not take account of the fact that additional copies may well have been made either for instrumentalists or for extra singers (and this applies here as well as to the surviving materials at Durham), but if it turned out to be the case that sharing partbooks proved a practical solution, this may, to a certain extent, explain the complete lack of surviving instrumental parts (or copied-out medius parts for choristers) in cathedral collections. These are the responses of the participants to the use of these materials:

Question	Responses				
	1	2	3	4	5
On a scale of 1 – 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, how did you find singing/playing from parts compared to singing/playing from a score?	1	7	2	5	2

Again, free text responses from participants are informative. Many raise the point that, by the time we swapped to these materials, the piece was quite familiar and therefore singing from the parts was not especially challenging. This is interesting as, even after just a couple of run-throughs, participants were beginning to rely less heavily on the musical text itself and seem much less concerned with the partbook format than I would have predicted. Some even found it beneficial:

Because we had the parts after singing from the score a few times it was v. easy.
And actually less confusing as the part was nice and big and you didn't get
distracted with the rests, just counted

It is much easier because we just focus on our own. However, sometimes when we
have long rests but the other parts come in, it makes me doubting [*sic*] myself if I
come in on the right bar.

Removed some of the distraction of other parts

Singing from parts was easier in terms of reacting to Dec/Can swapping than from
the full score, but I would have had no idea that the opening B-flat was the mediant
of G minor from the AII part alone!

All the participants seemed happy with the size and readability of the materials and as an
instrumentalist I personally found it comfortable to share one partbook with two other
singers, even given the awkward performing space. This confirms my suspicion that a lack of
surviving instrumental parts, or references to them, may be no indication of the absence of
instrumental participation in liturgical music.

One particularly interesting further issue is highlighted by these two comments:

It's easier when you can see the other parts as it helps for entries etc.

One has to listen to the other parts more intently because you have no score.

Such a distinction between reading and listening as a performer, particularly in this
repertoire, is something that deserves considerably more attention. I deliberately did not
invite anyone to 'conduct' the workshop, instead simply beating a tactus myself when I was
not playing and 'leading' from the cornett when I was. Continental sources begin to mention
tactus-beating as a method of ensemble coordination from the late fifteenth century, with
Tomás de Santa María (in 1565) suggesting that instrumentalists should 'mark the tactus and
the half tactus with the foot, as the hand cannot do so whilst playing'.²⁵ In England, tactus
was defined as early as 1517 in the anonymous *Art of Music* as 'ane continuall motion, or ane

²⁵ John Spitzer and Neil Zaslaw (rev.), 'Conducting', *Oxford Music Online*
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06266>> [Accessed: 18th July 2019]. Thomas Mace repeats
this advice in *Musick's Monument* (1676). This issue is also discussed by Andrew Lawrence King on his HIP
blog 'Text, Rhythm, Action!': <https://andrewlawrenceking.com/2019/05/02/the-best-practical-musick-thomas-maces-rule-of-time-keeping/> [Accessed: 22nd July 2019].

chop witht ye hand of the preceptour'²⁶ and in Dowland's translation of Ornithoparcus's *Micrologvs* (1609), the 'tact' is 'a certain motion made by the hand of the chiefe singer, according to the nature of the marks, which directs a Song according to Measure'.²⁷ An early eighteenth-century definition of the 'manuductor' describes 'an antient Church Officer, who from the Middle of the Choir gave the Signal to the Choristers to begin to sing, and marked the Measure, beat Time, and regulated the Musick'.²⁸ Although references to the duties of the master of the choristers, or indeed any other member of an English cathedral's musical staff in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth centuries do not, to the best of my knowledge, mention this practice, it would seem sensible to assume that someone within the choir would have been responsible for providing a tactus in the manner described by contemporary writers.²⁹ The resultant low-intervention directorial style, combined with the type of modernised partbook materials designed for this workshop, is a performance scenario with considerable scope for further work in the future, in order to establish the extent to which the type of additional listening and inter-ensemble communication that began to emerge from this experience can be developed as a performance practice in and of itself, regardless of the use or otherwise of wind instruments.

²⁶ Anon., *Art of Mvsic*, GB-BL Add. 4911, (c. 1517), f. 24v. As transcribed in Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universtity Press, 1995), p. 362.

²⁷ As transcribed in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 361.

²⁸ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or an universal dictionary of arts and sciences* (London, 1728), p. 495. As transcribed in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 212. Chambers' definition does not specify what is meant by 'ancient' in this context.

²⁹ The earliest iconographical evidence from an English source of which I am aware is the engraving of James II's coronation in 1685 (reproduced in R King, *Henry Purcell: a greater musical genius England never had* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), p. 118.) in which a figure to the left of the image can be seen waving a long stick at performers on the opposite side of the choir.

7.3.3 | ‘Consort’ anthems? : Robert Parsons (1596–1676), *Above the stars* and Edward Gibbons (1568–c. 1660), *How the City sate solitary*

Ian Payne identified both these pieces as possible examples of obligato instrumental writing with a liturgical or extra-liturgical function in *Provision and Practice*, suggesting a number of instrumentations that might reflect the personnel available at Exeter pre-1642 (see Chapter 3.1). The sources for both pieces raise a number of concerns as regards the instrumental parts themselves, however, as both are eighteenth-century copies (*Above the stars* appears in Tenbury, MS 921, in an unknown hand, and *How the City* in BL Harley, 7340, compiled by Thomas Tudway), and are fraught with pitfalls when trying to identify what might be the work of the original composer and what has been embellished, or even newly composed, by the copyist. I wanted to establish, therefore, how convincing the instrumental writing seemed in performance.

We began with *Above the stars*, a score of which can be found at Appendix 2.8. In order to familiarise ourselves with the piece, we sang it through in a straightforward verse anthem version that survives incomplete in the Durham partbooks, but which can be reconstructed with the aid of the Tenbury source. No organ part survives in the Durham sources, and Payne suggests that the organ part given in Tenbury ‘bears signs of having been composed or arranged by a later hand’ and it is also possible that the instrumental parts were composed later.³⁰ However, given our earlier experiments with Loosemore’s *Verse*, and knowing that at least one anthem with ‘Verses for the cornetts and sackbuts’ was part of Chapel Royal repertoire during the mid-seventeenth century (William Lawes’ lost anthem *Before the mountains*), it was important to get an idea about how idiomatic the instrumental parts felt in performance. We tried two instrumentations, both based on Payne’s theory that a mixed string and wind ensemble could have been in use at Exeter in the early seventeenth century,³¹ and the participants considered each instrumentation in turn:³²

³⁰ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 406.

³¹ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 151.

³² Note that three instrumentations were listed on the questionnaire, but due to time constraints we only tried two (cornett/trombone/viol and cornett/viol/trombone).

Question	Responses									
	Cornett/trombone/viol					Cornett/viol/trombone				
Compared to the 'Durham' version of this piece, how convincing do you consider the Tenbury instrumental accompaniment in the two versions we tried:	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
	4	3	7	4	4	0	1	3	7	10

The preference for the viol on the middle part was unexpected, but this arrangement of mixed strings and winds was certainly convincing, whereas the use of the viol on the bass here did not work well at all. As a listener I certainly found the cornett part idiomatic, as far as comparisons with other English repertoire of the period allow, which, given its close relationship to the highest voice in the organ part, leads me to suggest that the extrapolation of obbligato instrumental parts from organ scores may have been a widespread practice.

Gibbons' *How hath the city* has an even more problematic history than Parsons' *Above the stars*, in that Tudway's copy is the only surviving source.³³ However, the inscription that appears before this piece in Tudway's collection is really quite specific about the nature and provenance of the work. It reads:

How hath the City sate solitary / Lament[atons] Chap[ter the] 1st - / A verse
Anthem for 2 voices / with two [*sic*] instrumental parts Annex'd

[...]

Compos'd / By Edward Gibbons Custos / of the College of Priests vicars / of the
Cathedrall Church of Exeter / 1611

As a piece, it is less satisfactory than the Parsons, with extended contratenor altus duo sections with instruments interspersed with very short choruses. It is also harmonically awkward in places, particularly in the verses. The instrumentation is not specified, but the two upper parts as they stand, with a range of *a – a''*, strongly suggest cornetts. I allocated the third voice to a trombone to reflect the instrumentation most likely to have been available to Gibbons at the time the piece may have been written, but it would also suit a viol well. We

³³ Daniels and Le Huray, *Catalogue*, gives Och MS Mus. 21 (score, c. 1670) as a source, but it is not listed in the Christ Church library catalogue: <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+21> [Accessed: 16th May 2019].

used Ian Payne's transcription of the piece from *Provision and Practice*, which can be found in Appendix 2.9. No organ part survives, and this transcription includes an editorial fifth voice above the bass to complete the harmony.³⁴

The instrumental parts were popular amongst the participants:

Sounded exciting with [instrumental] parts - would have been thin without.

I liked the cornetts in the Gibbons!

I do like the instrumental accompaniment, but I think the two soloists are somewhat lost among the instrumental parts.

I was particularly interested in the responses of the instrumentalists to these parts:

As an instrumentalist I found these parts quite exciting - but rather difficult! Quite hard to offer much more feedback without opportunity to rehearse and explore this particular piece at greater length.

I certainly agree that the cornett parts are challenging, and would welcome the chance to revisit this piece again in the future, but again, when compared to the Loosemore with which we started the day, the instrumental writing seems, from a cornettist's perspective, highly idiomatic and completely plausible.

7.3.4 | Solomon Tozer (c.1595–1619), *O Lord, let me know mine end*

This is one of a small handful of pieces left by Tozer,³⁵ who was employed in the choir at Exeter in a number of roles throughout his short life. As a secondary, he would have received musical instruction from Edward Gibbons who was appointed in 1609 for a salary of £20 a year 'so longe... as he shall teache the Choristers and Secondaries... in Instrumentall Musicke', and also from that of long-serving organist and accomplished composer in his own right, John Lutte. This piece was clearly widely copied during the seventeenth century, also

³⁴ By his own admission, Payne's transcription makes no attempt to correct the many scribal errors that this source contains. The piece would require considerable editorial intervention before it can be considered suitable for public performance.

³⁵ A Te Deum and Jubilate survive in the Chirk Castle partbooks and associated Och. Mus 6 organ book.

appearing in Restoration Durham partbooks DRc MS C17 & C19.³⁶ My transcription of this piece, which has not been published in a modern edition, appears in Appendix 2.10. It is a fine example of a simple verse anthem and, as with many other items from provincial composers who are under-represented in the surviving sources, it hints at a wealth of high-quality compositional activity happening outside London that is now difficult to appreciate. The main question I wanted to address with this piece related to the use of transposing cornetts and the effect of this on the listeners. For the cornett players, I also wanted to compare the use of transposing instruments in a vocal context with their use in an instrumental context, as tested with Loosemore's *Verse*. My question focussed on the blend between the cornetts and the other elements of the ensemble (sackbuts, organ and voices). Option a refers to standard cornetts at the same pitch as the organ (a'=465). Option b refers to cornetts pitched one tone lower and transposing up. These are the responses of the participants:

Question	Responses				
	1	2	3	4	5
Listen carefully to the cornetts. We will use two approaches to transposition. Please rate the following, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing:					
Blend with voices, option a	0	3	6	8	2
Blend with voices, option b	0	1	4	9	5
Blend with sackbuts, option a	0	3	5	7	5
Blend with sackbuts, option b	0	1	3	6	6
Blend with organ, option a	0	3	3	7	2
Blend with organ, option b	0	1	2	8	4

These results are also reflected in the free text comments, where the majority of participants found the warmer sound of the transposing instruments better suited to the ensemble.

However, one cornetist commented:

As a player this is hard to answer because the key was not very forgiving for the 415 cornett (option B). With reference to our earlier experiments [with Loosemore's

³⁶ A full list of sources is given in Ralph T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660* (London, 1972), p. 150.

Verse], I think the lower pitched cornetts offer much potential for realising music in flat keys.

This is a sentiment I agree with, as despite the key signature, the Tozer necessitated a lot of c#s and d#s in the medius part on low pitch cornetts which is not generally considered idiomatic due to the increased need for awkward cross-fingerings, whereas the same transposition in Loosemore's *Verse* actually helped move the cornett parts towards friendlier keys.³⁷ It is interesting to note the preference amongst participants for a warmer cornett sound, although the perception of tone quality is likely to have been affected by the acoustic, particularly as the very bright sound of the high-pitched cornetts is intensified in a small space.

7.3.5 | Henry Travers (c. 1620–1679), *Shall we receive good*

This piece was chosen to represent early-Restoration compositional style at the workshop in order to be able to compare and contrast instrumental performance practices and their relationship to pre- and post-Restoration music.³⁸ I transcribed this work from a score held in the Fitzwilliam Museum (MU.MS.238), previously CU Ely 9, from the library of Ely Cathedral, which is in an eighteenth-century hand (see Figure 5 below, and Appendix 2.11 for a transcription).³⁹

³⁷ The medius parts for this piece are also, as was customary, notated in C2 clef, which would, according to Virgiliano, not be suitable for playing in upwards transposition by a tone.

³⁸ Henry Travers' biographical information can be found in Chapter 3.2, p. 94.

³⁹ Cu, MU.MS.238 is a miscellaneous collection of anthems used by a number of Organists of the Chapel Royal in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries, all in score and copied by a number of hands seemingly over a long period of time.

Figure 5: Extract from CU MU.MS.238, showing notation of ensemble verse section, chorus section and solo verse section.



I tested three parameters with this piece:

1. Use of 'pre-Restoration' doubling practices in full sections.

As a composer whose experience of instrumental participation in the liturgy spanned the Interregnum, I wanted to test whether medius/bassus doubling suited Travers' compositional style, or whether alternative approaches to early Restoration pieces need to be considered. Cornetts doubled the soprano line and sackbuts doubled the bass line during the chorus sections (bb. 25–31, 44–50, 74–80 and 96–108). There are no cantoris and decani markings in the score. These are the participants' responses:

Question	Responses				
	1	2	3	4	5
This is a Restoration piece. On a scale of 1 – 5, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing, how do you think the instrumental doubling practices I am associating with the pre-Restoration period work when applied to this piece?	0	1	4	7	8

The majority of participants found the result convincing, but several comments suggested that it felt less appropriate in this piece than in Facy's Magnificat and Tozer's *O Lord*:

It didn't seem quite as natural as in the earlier works, possibly because of the nature of the phrases? It's not quite those long lines as in the earlier pieces. But it was still helpful as a singer to have the extra support.

Probably less necessary, but it sounds very rich and would help if the choir was weak.

Two instrumentalists mentioned the problematic key, an issue that could be solved by use of low-pitch cornetts as per earlier experiments, and one participant suggested full *colla parte* doubling with instruments during full sections:

In my opinion it would help if all the parts were doubled like a Bach Chorale with instruments.

We did not try this arrangement of instruments in this piece. It would have necessitated the use of either a tenor cornett or another trombone on the second line down, though the additional instruments would also give more choice when allocating solo vocal lines (see item three below).

2. Two different approaches to organ accompaniment.

Although the source for this piece retains few of the characteristics one might expect to find in a Restoration organ book of the type in use at many sacred institutions when the piece was newly written, it is possible to use the surviving materials to sketch out two approaches to organ accompaniment that may impact on the relationship between the organ, winds and

voices during this transitional period. Had this piece survived in a Restoration source, it is likely to have been presented as a skeleton score arranged over two six-line staves giving at least the top and bottom voice, plus varying levels of information on the inner parts and the addition of some (though by no means complete) figures where inner voice parts are lacking.⁴⁰ There is generally little distinction in such sources between the notation of chorus and verse sections, and only in a handful of exceptional cases are chorus sections notated more fully than verse sections.⁴¹ However, in her detailed study of Restoration organ books, Rebecca Herissone concludes that accompaniments at this time appear, on the whole, to have been conceived in three and even four parts. This is due to the fact that many include both a top and bottom line, plus the addition of figures which completes the harmony of the outer voices, or inner voice incipits giving imitative entries which may or may not be in addition to the given figures.⁴² This contrasts with the *bicinium*-style accompaniment of pre-Restoration items advocated by Johnstone and which corresponds to the role of the wind instruments as tested at the Worcester evensong, and it therefore seemed appropriate to examine how a fuller organ accompaniment style likely to have been in use when Travers wrote *Shall we receive good* interacts with wind instrument participation.⁴³

In the experiment discussed below (using the verse section at b. 51), the organist distinguished between playing the vocal lines as written and playing an improvised harmonic realisation over the bass. As the table below shows, there was almost an even split in preference between continuo playing and doubling of parts:

⁴⁰ As summarised in Ian Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 64.

⁴¹ Rebecca Herissone, *'To fill, forbear, or adorne': The organ accompaniment of Restoration sacred music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 60.

⁴² This is a complex area addressed in detail by Herissone, who takes into account the considerable inconsistencies between sources that make generalisations on the subject difficult. See in particular the musical examples on pages 28, 30 and 36 of Herissone's book which show the variety of ways accompaniments were notated in comparison to surviving scores, in Herissone, *'To fill, forbear, or adorne'*.

⁴³ By the time Travers returned from London to Exeter in the early 1660s, a new organ was being built at Exeter Cathedral by John Loosemore, the case of which is still in use at the cathedral today. The new instrument was finished in 1665, and therefore, in addition to the prevailing compositional style and newly re-established choral institution, organ provision was also in a state of flux during this period. This means that the St Teilo instrument is probably not representative of the kind of organ for which this piece would have been written.

Question	Responses	
	Basso continuo – the given bass line plus a realisation of the figures, which may or may not be the composer's original	Doubling of vocal line
Silas will play two types of accompaniment in the verse section from bar 51. Which do you think is most convincing?	12	10

Several participants had concerns that doubling the voices was out of keeping with the style of the piece:

Continuo texture [gave] more room for shaping of vocal lines i.e. stile moderno.
Doubling seems more appropriate to contrapuntal style.

I found that the vocal lines need more space than the doubling was giving them.

One observation that the performance 'lost harmony with just doubled vocal lines' highlights the fact that in this instance the vocal lines themselves do not necessarily render a full harmonic texture, suggesting that some added harmonies would have been necessary even when the vocal lines are being followed.

3. Substitution of one voice with an instrument in duet sections.

By way of comparison with the same practice in Tozer's *O Lord*, one of the sackbut players took the solo tenor line from b. 51, to test how successful instrumental substitution felt in this piece. These are the responses of the participants:

Question	Responses				
	1	2	3	4	5
We will replace one voice with an instrument in the verse section at bar 8. How convincing do you think this is, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing?	2	4	4	4	5

There were a number of useful observations at both ends of the spectrum. Some were negative, focussing on blend and textual clarity:

Sounded better with tenor solo as the blend works better with soprano and tenor compared to soprano and sackbut.

I feel it doesn't blend well with the voices and muddles the text.

Some were positive:

I enjoyed this. It brought to mind similar practices employed in the music of Schütz. I wonder whether there is theoretical justification for this??

I thought this sounded very promising - allowing for the singers' unfamiliarity with the parts - with greater confidence in delivery I think this balance may have been very effective.

Personally, I find that this makes a very convincing performance option, reflecting a practice that is well-documented throughout the seventeenth century in European sources.⁴⁴ I was interested to note that participants identified resonances with performances of Heinrich Schütz's music in *Shall we receive good*, where instrumental substitution of soloistic vocal parts is a common approach, and feel that the line lent itself to the sackbut here particularly well.

7.3.6 | Thomas Morley (1557/8–1602), *Out of the deep*

I included this piece in order to give the participants the opportunity to compare some music by a national figure with that of the provincial circle at Exeter. I also wanted to provide a comparison between what might be considered the standard consort-style approach to instrumental accompaniment of sacred music more often (but still rarely) heard in modern performance, and some of the practices I am associating with provincial places that do not currently feature in an historically informed approach to this repertoire. *Out of the deep* was widely copied throughout the seventeenth century, appearing in sources associated with Durham Cathedral, Peterhouse, Cambridge, King's College, Cambridge, Gloucester Cathedral, Christ Church, Oxford, Wimbourne Minster, York Minster, Chirk Castle and the Chapel Royal, and the ways in which it was performed are likely to have been as varied as the sources in which it survives. At one end of the scale lies a purely choral performance with organ accompaniment likely to have been familiar to congregations of the smaller establishments listed above. At the other might lie a full *colla parte* distribution of wind instruments in the chorus sections, either with or without obbligato instrumental lines

⁴⁴ See Chapter 6, p. 160, fn.13.

extrapolated from the organ part, as per the experiments with pieces by Parsons and Loosemore above. Records from the Chapel Royal certainly confirm that the provision of enough players for this arrangement would have been possible during the 1630s (on 26th December 1633, twelve surplices were ordered ‘for His Majesty’s musicians for the wind instruments, at times of their service in the Chapel’),⁴⁵ as do the many records for purchase of cornetts and sackbuts that survive from the early years of the century.⁴⁶

We performed the piece using different combinations of medius/bassus doubling and full *colla parte* doubling in the chorus sections, focussing on the closing chorus and *Amen* (a score can be found in Appendix 2.12). In the first, the instruments played only the top and bottom lines throughout (*bicinium*-style, as it is referred to in the participants comments). In the second, we doubled all the instrumental lines throughout the chorus and the Amen. In the third, we played top and bottom in the chorus section, and added extra instruments in the final *Amen*. I would have predicted that the full doubling might have been most popular amongst the participants, as it certainly creates an impressive sound, but their responses were, interestingly, quite mixed, with issues surrounding clarity of the text at the fore:

Brass doubling the voice make the atmosphere a lot [more] convincing. The danger of this is we hardly can hear the words because most of the time, brass instruments are a lot louder. Having the organ playing with (without [instruments] doubling) only creates the atmosphere of the open sky but we can hear the text more clear[ly]. Having the amen alone doubled with the brass is really amazing! Changing the color [sic] suddenly and become[s] much grand[er]!

Fully doubled texture is thicker and perhaps less effective for clarity of the text? In *bicinium*, the ‘treble’ text was more audible, I think?!

Singers needed to work much harder at clarity and intention of text when doubling instruments. Particularly enjoyed last chorus of Morley starting *bicinium* and then going into 5 parts for the Amen.

The participants also responded to the historical evidence from Durham and Canterbury, where such an approach may not have been possible:

⁴⁵ Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland: A. Ashbee, 1988), III (1625–1649), p. 81. Quoted in David Lasocki, *The Bassanos: Venetian musicians and instrument makers in England 1531–1665* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 179.

⁴⁶ Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland: A. Ashbee, 1991), IV (1603–1625), pp. 108, 11 & 13. Quoted in Lasocki, *The Bassanos*, p. 177.

5-part doubling is certainly impressive, but wouldn't have been an option in provincial cathedrals. It would be good to try using four instrument to achieve the same??

The recording made during the Canterbury evensong (Appendix 4.2) shows how four-part *colla parte* doubling sounds with two cornetts and two sackbuts, albeit in a four-part piece on this occasion. As the participants observed, the clarity of the text, particularly in the inner voices, definitely suffers.

The contrast in texture achieved by using both doubling styles struck a chord with a number of participants:

The full doubling felt preferable. Nice to have contrast for the Amen.

With reference to the final added question, 2 part vs full texture, I guess there's a distinction to be made between 'convincing' and 'satisfying'. The latter term certainly describes the experience of that full-bodied Amen - but that's not to negate the 'convincing-ness' of the bicinia approach that preceded it. It certainly presents an appealing option in performance.

Full texture for amens, endings make best sense, with sparser doubling (outer parts) elsewhere.

I also found the addition of full parts in the *Amen* a satisfying contrast to the more transparent medius/bassus doubling in the chorus sections and would like the opportunity to experiment with this approach in other pieces, particularly those that close with a doxology. However, where I can imagine the Facy Magnificat, for example, benefitting from this kind of treatment in performance, it depends on having either a tenor cornett or an additional sackbut on the second line down. As is often the case, the contratenor altus part would not fit on a treble cornett, even in transposition. It is therefore unclear whether such an approach could be considered a viable practice for provincial institutions.

7.4 | Conclusions

I will consider my primary research question – Does my interpretation of the historical record applied to performance practice make a convincing, practical and satisfying solution to the question of the role of instruments in sacred music of the period? – as it applies to each area of investigation in turn, drawing together participant responses and identifying further avenues for research that the workshop experience has helped to identify.

Instrumentation

The experience of both the Worcester and Canterbury services and this workshop have shown that the medius/bassus approach to instrumental doubling, suggested by multiple writers over the years but never, to the best of my knowledge, tried in performance, makes a convincing solution to the question of what cornetts and sackbuts may have played had they been involved in instrumental accompaniment of a provincial cathedral choir. The repeated references to clarity of text in participant responses suggests that the comparatively sparse texture achieved by doubling the outer parts only has a positive effect on the performance. Additionally, participant comments regarding the strength of the bass sound when doubled with trombones indicates that this would have been practical in an historical context where the lower end of the organ may have been relatively weak. The positive response of participants to the impressive sound of full doubling in Morley's *Out of the deep* was not surprising, but it was interesting to note that clarity of text remained a concern, and that more than one participant suggested that using full doubling only in the *Amen* section was both convincing and satisfying. The language with which these preferences were expressed, such as changes of colour and contrast, is, however, something I associated with a modern concept of orchestration. I suggest that looking at the interaction between modern notions of instrumental 'colour' and those expressed historically may be a further avenue for research in the future.

Interaction between winds, instruments and voices

Again, clarity of text emerged as one of the strongest considerations of workshop participants when questioned about accompaniment styles, either with the organ, or with the instruments, or with both. This was also clearly an issue for contemporary listeners such as Peter Smart of Durham, whose many complaints include 'excessive noise of Musicall harmony, both instrumentall and vocall, at the same time' leading to 'such a confusion of the fore-noone Liturgie, that the greater part thereof, can no better be understood, then if it were in Hebrew or Irish',⁴⁷ although it may well have been the use of polyphony in general that was at the root

⁴⁷ Peter Smart, *A short treatise of altars, altar-furniture, altar-cringing, and musick of all the quire, singing-men and choristers, when the holy Communion was administered in the cathedrall church of Durham* (London, 1643), p. 7.

of Smart's problem here. Although participant responses were split on the question of full doubling compared to *bicinium*-style in the organ for pre-Restoration repertoire, I propose that matching the medius/bassus skeleton in both organ and instruments allows for the greatest clarity both of the text and of the inner voices, and a number of participant responses support this. It was difficult to fully test the effect of using high tenor voices on contratenor altus parts on this occasion due to numbers (there were not enough tenor voices to cover both sides of the choir), but simply leaving these parts un-doubled by instruments or organ immediately allows them more prominence in the texture. An example from the discography of successful deployment of high tenors in this manner can be found on the Orlando Gibbons Project's 2017 release *In Chains of Gold: The English pre-Restoration Verse Anthem*, although in this case the vocalists are singing in consort with sopranos on the medius parts, instead of in a choir with boys. The expense and logistical considerations of assembling a fully professional choir, complete with four high tenor voices and a team of engaged and willing trebles means that I have not been able to fully test my hypothesis of a three-part symbiotic relationship between organ accompaniment, instrumental accompaniment and historical vocal line-up on this occasion, but the workshop experience has at least hinted at the direction in which further practice-led research may take this music.

One of the less commonly acknowledged differences between an organ built after a sixteenth-century aesthetic, such as the St Teilo instrument, and the type of modern chamber organ most commonly used to accompany seventeenth-century repertoire today is the use of open pipes. Economic and logistical considerations make the use of stopped pipes in modern instruments attractive for those who perform repertoire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (including many cathedrals) and who need one instrument to fulfil a variety of roles, but the resulting change in timbre has a considerable effect on how the sound of the instrument interacts with other elements of a given performance.⁴⁸ Whereas circumstances did not allow for a full exploration of this area here, the experience of using the St Teilo instrument with historical winds and voices, both at the Birmingham workshop and in my wider professional practice, has shown that the alteration of timbre achieved through the use

⁴⁸ The question of timbre has been the subject of experimentation by the physicist and organ builder Walter Chinaglia. Details of his work, including comparative spectral analyses of stopped and open pipes, and recorded examples of his own unstopped instruments, can be found on his website: <https://www.organa.it/monteverdi/> [Accessed: 16th July 2019].

of open pipes and the effect this may have had in a cathedral acoustic is a further avenue for research in the future.

Restoration practices

Participant responses suggest that pre-Restoration practices involving wind instruments do not map onto Restoration repertoire especially satisfactorily, and I would agree with this sentiment. Medius/bassus doubling in chorus sections, whilst offering a level of support appreciated by the participants, was identified as being less convincing in later repertoire due to changes in compositional style favouring shorter phrases and shorter, more homophonic chorus sections in general. Instrumental substitution of a solo vocal line was popular amongst participants, and parallels with similar practices in performances of Schütz's music were mentioned twice. Subsequent research has revealed that the organist at Exeter during Travers' career was a German émigré, Theodore Colbey [Colbius], who was a member of Edward Lowe's circle in Oxford.⁴⁹ I have not been able to establish anything more about his provenance, but given his associations with Lowe, his support for instrumental music at Exeter is not surprising. He is also likely to have been familiar with many up-to-date developments in sacred music in England at this time, and could perhaps have brought practices from the continent with him, but without further details of his life, this is purely conjectural.

Use of the St Teilo organ also highlighted the degree to which changes in organ design and specification may interact with changes in accompaniment style during the Restoration period, and therefore with wind contributions to performance. Continuo-style accompaniment realised in three or four parts of the verse sections of *Shall we receive good* – as opposed to a skeleton *bicinium*-style approach – was favoured by participants and represents a departure from an organ accompaniment style that can be easily mirrored by wind players. This shifting relationship between the organ and the wider cathedral ensemble, whilst seemingly tangential to the role of the other instruments, holds, I propose, the key to the demise of cornetts and sackbuts as regular cathedral instruments during the Restoration. Whilst the oft-cited arrival of the twenty four violins at court, and new music composed in

⁴⁹ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 382.

the ‘french fantastical light way’⁵⁰ indicate how tastes in the capital changed in this period, each of my study institutions embarked on major organ-building projects in the 1660s which resulted in larger, more flexible and presumably more powerful instruments. These were replacing what were effectively Tudor instruments, albeit subject to some minor innovations in the early seventeenth century,⁵¹ and whilst Restoration organ sources do not reveal much about use of registrations in the accompaniment of sacred music,⁵² it is clear that a wider variety of choices would have been available to the player than ever before. If we imagine that wind instruments were principally replaced by organ stops during the Restoration, and not strings as may seem the case when only London-centric practices are considered, this sheds light retrospectively on the function of the winds in the pre-Restoration cathedral ensemble. A cathedral wind band may have provided the kind of additional support to the voices that a fuller organ registration could provide by the late seventeenth century, potentially bringing the ability to add changes of ‘colour’ to the performance (but see my point above on this). John Evelyn’s reference to ‘the Cornet, which gave life to the organ’ in his diary entry for December 1st 1662 may be better understood in this light.⁵³

Use of partbook performing materials

The experience of using large partbook-format performing materials confirmed a number of hypotheses I proposed during Chapter 3.1 on the performance context at Exeter Cathedral, whilst also demonstrating that this approach could be a valuable research tool in the future. By replicating the size and number of available copies (albeit without knowing the exact distribution of copies between the singers) I was able to test whether sharing of parts between singers and instrumentalists was a possibility in performance, thus enabling instrumental participation without the use of separate instrumental parts. As a participant in the workshop I found this completely possible and look forward to being able to test this in a cathedral context, or at least in a more appropriate space, in the future.

⁵⁰ E. S. De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 449.

⁵¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 87–88 for details of work carried out on the organ at Exeter in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

⁵² Herissone, ‘*To fill, forbear, or adorne*’, p. 46.

⁵³ De Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, p. 449.

Of greater significance, however, was the impact that the use of partbooks had on the ensemble experience, as remarked on by many participants, and I find that this has clear viability as a possible avenue for future work. By creating accessible editions (using modern notation and barlines, specifically) it is possible to engage participants very quickly in the use of partbook-format materials, fostering the type of inter-ensemble engagement that started to emerge during the workshop, and which is likely to have been a feature of an historical ensemble operating without a conductor in the modern sense of the word.

Use of transposing cornetts

Conclusions about the use of transposition as a possible performance practice for English repertoire are limited to one piece (Loosemore's *Verse*) and reflect the one performance scenario (Christ Church, Oxford, c. 1605) about which enough organological evidence survives to begin to make practical experimentation possible. Participants in the workshop found upwards transposition of the piece by a fifth with low cornetts, modelling the Christ Church scenario, satisfactory, convincing and practical. In subsequent performances from my professional practice, upwards transposition by a fifth with high cornetts has been shown to make a pragmatic solution for performance with a modern organ, bringing a previously unperformed piece of rare English music for cornett and sackbut into use. It was interesting to test use of low cornetts in vocal music, although the impact of the different instruments was of most relevance to those playing, with little discernible effect on listeners. Research on incorporating historical fingering charts and unmodified reconstructions of original instruments into performance practice of continental repertoire has shown that a flexible approach to key and transposition was a valued aspect of a Renaissance musician's toolkit, and both the transposition scenarios I have outlined above are supported by evidence from continental treatises.

There are three further instrumental items for cornett, sackbut and organ from seventeenth-century England and it is worth briefly sketching out how the above performance practice scenarios may impact on their interpretation. *A verse for the Organ, A sagbot and Cornute* by John Coprario follows Loosemore's *Verse* in Drexel 5469 and is notated in the same manner, i.e.: on two six-line organ staves. No individual instrumental parts survive and so, just as for Loosemore's *Verse*, these have to be extrapolated from the organ part. If the Christ Church scenario is applied to a straightforward distribution of cornett doubling the top organ line and sackbut doubling the bottom, the cornett part is uncomfortably, and I would

say, unidiomatically high for the instrument, but by attributing the cornett to the second voice down of the predominantly four-part organ texture it is, in transposition up a fourth (or a fifth and using a *Q-1* cornett), remarkably comfortable. The range of the organ part is *C – a''* which fits within the range of a transposing organ keyboard of the period. Organ countermelody is a characteristic of verse writing in choral pieces at this time (the first quarter of the seventeenth century) and it therefore seems reasonable to suggest that the cornett may not automatically have taken the upper voice in the texture in this piece. The close proximity of this piece to Loosemore's *Verse* in Drexel 5469 suggests a similar use and, if Ian Payne's assertion is correct and the items were performed at King's College Chapel (with its *Q+1* organ) in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, this performance scenario may have been one way of realising this piece. A transcription of this solution can be found at Appendix 2.13.

Two instrumental fantasias by John Hingeston date from a little later than those found in Drexel 5469 and are unlikely to share the same function given their probable date of composition during the Commonwealth, when Hingeston was 'Master of the Music' at Cromwell's private court. Two of the violinists, Thomas Blagrove and William Howes, were also cornettists, and it is likely that the pieces were written with these players in mind.⁵⁴ One piece is for two cornetts, sackbut and organ (henceforth Hingeston a) and the other is for one cornett, sackbut and organ (henceforth Hingeston b). The organ scores are notated in the same manner as Drexel 5469 and occupy a comparable range (*C - g''*) but in this instance, instrumental parts do survive. These are notated in the same key as the organ score. Hingeston a is in C1 clefs for the cornetts and F4 for the sackbut, and Hingeston b is in G2 clef for the cornett and F4 for the sackbut. Upwards transposition by a fourth or fifth would be impractical in these piece due to the range of the cornett parts, which would consistently rise to *c'''*, and for this reason I would suggest that an at-pitch performance would be more appropriate. I have been unable to locate any information about the organs owned by Cromwell's court at Whitehall and Hampton Court Palace,⁵⁵ nor about the pitch or key compass of the 1643 Christianus Smith organ now housed at N. P. Mander Ltd., London. This instrument is decorated with painted panels depicting a cornettist on one side and a sackbut player on the other and would be of the correct period to provide clues as to possible performance solutions for these pieces, but not until further information comes to light.

⁵⁴ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 267.

⁵⁵ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 267.

There is currently no corroborating evidence of cornett pitch from England against which to compare my research in this area, but the process has prompted me to consider afresh the wider issue of pitch in the performance of seventeenth-century choral music. There is a strong correlation between institutions with $Q+1$ organs and institutions that employed cornettists in the seventeenth century, including Canterbury and Durham Cathedrals (King's College, Cambridge and Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford being the other two). Experience from my professional practice (including participation in the Orlando Gibbons Project discussed briefly in above) has shown that the tessitura of contratenor altus parts, when allocated to high tenors, produce considerable challenges at the higher pitches. *In Chains of Gold* was recorded at $a'=465$, but the Canterbury organ may have been yet another large semitone higher, if Haynes' calculation of $a'=495$ is accurate. This raises significant questions as to how widespread 'at pitch' performance of seventeenth-century choral music may originally have been. Routine downwards transposition in the organ of a tone from $Q+1$ (meeting $Q-1$ cornetts) or Q (in combination with Q cornetts also transposing down), would bring the extreme top end of the contratenor altus ambitus down from the equivalent of modern c'' to around a quartertone either side of modern a' , making an historically accurate line-up of voice types considerably more accessible and putting yet more distance between 'minor-third up' modern performances and historical performance pitch. As Andrew Parrott points out, this level of flexibility, backed up by continental theorists, is also discussed by Thomas Morley, who admonishes his student for setting an exercise in three flats, as follows:

The musick is in deed true, but you have set it in such a key as no man would have done, except it had beene to have plaide it on the Organes with a quier of singing men, for in deede, such shifte the Organistes are many time compelled to make for ease of the singers...⁵⁶

As mentioned above, it has not been possible to assemble the forces required to test all these suggestions practically during this project, but success of using practice-led research to address just a few questions shows that there is considerable potential in this area for future work.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs: The 'Countertenor' Cross-Examined.', in *Composers' Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), pp. 46–121 (p. 82).

7.5 | The Birmingham Workshop in its Methodological Context

This workshop was an important element in the cycle of inquiry instigated by the Worcester Evensong, allowing for a controlled approach to a number of research questions that it is not possible to attempt in a cathedral environment. As a manifestation of research methodology, I also feel that there are lessons to be learnt from the experience that may prove beneficial to future researchers looking to use practice-led research methods as part of their HIP toolkit. A rigidly-designed questionnaire that relies on a highly methodical route through the performance materials at hand without any room for issues of timing or personnel occasionally led to confusion on the part of the participants, undermining the integrity of the survey responses. As a performer, I am used to allowing performance decisions to be made organically, but creating a process that allows for experimentation whilst remaining within the structured framework necessary for the collection of data is integral to the success of practice-led research. This leads me to suggest that a less formal data-gathering process that relies more heavily on audio/visual documentation of discussion-based feedback (despite the logistical challenges and additional workload this brings) would be a better solution.

It was also interesting to observe how removing the element of ‘rehearsal’ from the process and placing a strong emphasis on experiment altered the dynamic of the experience considerably. This raises questions around the effect on the practice-led research cycle when the outcome is not a ‘finished product’, for example a concert performance or church service. By removing this goal-oriented element and separating research from performance in this way, are the possibilities for answering research questions improved, or is a well-managed and well-documented rehearsal process, with an end goal in mind, actually better? Had we been ‘rehearsing’ in the traditional sense, would we have been able to separate our motivation to produce a ‘good performance’, from the research questions at hand? I suggest that creating this third space between academic work and artistic outcome has been highly beneficial in this instance, not least because of the range of views represented in the research process that would have been excluded from many a professional performance situation, and feel that there is considerable potential to develop this approach in the future.

Chapter 8 | Durham Cathedral wind band: The case for an unwritten repertoire

The case studies that form the first half of this thesis have focussed on how wind instrumentalists may have contributed to the performance of polyphonic music in a liturgical context at Durham, Exeter and Canterbury Cathedrals. The vast majority of anecdotal references left by those who heard instrumental performances in church relate to just such liturgical practices, placing the instrumentalists in question firmly within the wider cathedral ensemble of choir, winds and organ. Additionally, any secondary literature that has addressed this issue to date also focuses exclusively on the instrumentalists' possible contribution to sung polyphony. However, the writings of Peter Smart, discussed in detail in Chapter 2.2, also suggest that, at Durham at least, the wind band may also have played independently of the choir, at places in the service where one might more readily expect to hear organ music, or extra-liturgical sung items. Smart mentions the administration of Holy Communion and the baptism service (as quoted below) in particular, singling out both these occasions as ones at which instrumentalists played, the results of which he is not especially keen on. However, given the lack of surviving instrumental music that can be directly associated with Durham's cornett and sackbut players (or, in fact, with any cathedral wind bands of this period), many questions remain. It is the purpose of this chapter to consider what an instrumental cathedral repertoire may have comprised during this period, using the evidence of Smart's writings and the contents of the Durham Song School library as a starting point, and to propose how an unwritten repertoire may have manifested itself in the liturgical context of Durham Cathedral. I will also discuss whether methodologies employed by scholars of earlier historical periods to identify and reconstruct improvised practices can be legitimately applied to seventeenth-century England. The tripartite relationship between theoretical treatises, compositional practice and archival or anecdotal evidence utilised by writers such as Philippe Canguilhem, Miguel Roig-Francolí and Adam Knight Gilbert in their discussions of continental improvisation practices has proved a useful framework for work on unwritten repertoires, and my consideration of cathedral wind-band practices will explore this approach.¹

¹ Philippe Canguilhem, 'Toward a stylistic history of *Cantare super Librum*', in *Studies in Historical Improvisation*, ed. by Massimiliano Guido (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 55–71; Adam Knight Gilbert, 'The improvising *alta capella* ca. 1500: Paradigms and procedures', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 29

8.1 | Extra-liturgical Instrumental Contributions to the Service

As previously discussed, the exact details of the prevailing liturgical context in seventeenth-century Durham remain somewhat speculative. The volatile religious-political climate resulted, to an extent, from perceived deviation from the form of Prayer Book services on the part of the High-Church Chapter, deviations which cannot be traced with absolute certainty. However, as shown in Chapter 2.2, it is possible to tentatively reconstruct the type of service one may have expected to encounter at Durham in the decades before the Civil War. The following table summarises the possible form and order of non-festal Sunday services at Durham during this time, based on the correspondence between Peter Smart and his rival, John Cosin:

Table 1: Order of worship for a non-festal Sunday at Durham Cathedral in the 1620s and 1630s.

Items in bold = sung items, * = evidence from Durham of instrumental participation, (*) = evidence from elsewhere for instrumental participation	
Matins	Holy Communion
Hymn or Song	Lord's Prayer, Collects for Purity
Sentence, Invitation, Confession, Absolution	<i>The Ten Commandments</i>
Lord's Prayer	Collects for the King and for the day
Preces	Anthem (*)
Venite *	Epistle & Gospel
Psalm	Nicene Creed *
Old Testament Lesson	Notices
Te Deum *	Offertory Sentences, Prayer for the hurch militant, Exhortation, Invitation, etc.
New Testament Lesson	Lift up your hearts
Benedictus *	Preface
Apostles' Creed	Sanctus
Preces	Prayers
Litany	Communion of All Present *
	Gloria
	Blessing

All the entries highlighted in bold show instrumental contribution to vocal polyphony, and are consistent with references from other locations that confirm this practice as widespread. However, there are two comments from Smart's writings, included in his letters accusing John Cosin of 'popery' and in the *Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations*, published 1642, that could suggest instrumental performance occurring independently of sung vocal

(2005), pp. 109–23; Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, 'Playing in Consonances: A Spanish Renaissance Technique of Chordal Improvisation', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), pp. 461–71. I also am grateful to Christoph Reido for sharing his thoughts on ensemble improvisation with me.

polyphony. In these comments, he is also quite specific about how some of these performances sounded (emphases mine):

‘Hee [John Cosin] will not suffer so much as the **holy Communion** to be administered without an hydeous noyse of vocall and instrumentall Musicke (**the tunes whereof are all taken out of the Masse-booke**):...’²

‘... Neither rest they contented with the horrible prophanitation of the Lords Supper, with immoderate chaunting, and Organ-playing, and with other superstitious vanities; but the **Sacrament of Baptisme** also, they will not suffer it to be administered, without an hideous noise of musick, both of voyces and instruments...’³

Even accounting for the political bias in Smart’s writings, it is interesting to note that he singles out the period *during* the administration of the sacrament (in Holy Communion), and *during* the baptism service as moments when *still* the voices and instruments played and sang. I am particularly interested in his observation that ‘the tunes [of whatever it was the instrumentalists were playing] were all taken from the masse-bookes’.⁴ It is these moments that I would like to consider here in an attempt to establish what it was that Smart might have heard. The three suggestions I make here were the subject of open workshops I led with professional and student wind players in June 2018 and March 2019 designed to explore the practical implications of each. These workshops provided, on the one hand, an exciting opportunity to engage the research community in some of these practices in a hands-on way,

² G Ornsby, ed., *The Correspondence of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham*, 2 vols (Surtees Society, 1869–72), 52 & 55, p. 183.

³ Peter Smart, *A catalogue of superstitious innovations* (London: Joseph Hunscomb, 1642).

⁴ Smart’s choice of words here is worth considering. His references to ‘chaunting’ and ‘masse-bookes’ implies the use of modified pre-Reformation practices in cathedral services at Durham, presumably involving the adaptation of Latin chant melodies to English words for some sections of the liturgy. This practice is almost wholly unsupported by written evidence, aside from two sixteenth-century annotated copies of the Book of Common Prayer (using adapted Sarum melodies) discussed by John Milsom (John Milsom, ‘English-texted chant before Merbecke’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 1 (1992), pp. 77–92.) It is therefore difficult to suggest chant sources that could have been in use at Durham during the early seventeenth century, for which reason Merbecke’s *Book of Common Prayer Noted* has been selected as the basis for improvisatory experiments, despite the fact that its reception history is less than clear. That Smart’s words were meant as derogatory is without doubt, as confirmed by the words of George Wither, complaining about the printer’s monopoly blocking the progress of the Reformation in the early 1600s. Of ‘the mere stationer’ he complains, ‘Marry a Tolleration he would hold well with all, soe he might have but the sole printing of the Masse-booke or our Ladye’s Psalter’. (Quoted in: James Doelman, ‘George Wither, the Stationers Company and the English Psalter’, *Studies in Philology*, 1 (1993), pp. 74–82 (p. 82)).

but on the other, provided the wind players (myself included) with a live performance scenario in which to explore and reflect on the improvisation practices in question, which cannot be easily replicated in a closed rehearsal space. I will consider each instrumental performance suggestion in turn and will refer to recordings made during the workshops throughout this chapter.

The first possibility is that the cornetts and sackbuts could have been playing written vocal polyphony, either instrumentally or with voices, during these liturgical events. Had Smart heard Latin-texted polyphony, such repertoire could easily have elicited the charge of popery implied by his accusation that ‘the tunes are all taken out of the Masse-booke’. Although no Latin-texted items appear in the Durham partbooks that survive today, such items may well have been available to the musicians of the early seventeenth century. An Elizabethan Dean of Durham, William Whittingham (Dean from 1563–1579), despite being of a famously puritan bent,⁵ is recorded as being ‘very careful to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the Queen’s chapell to furnish the choir with all, him selfe being skillfull in musick’.⁶ Considering pre-Civil War partbooks were still being copied into in the 1680s, it is conceivable that Elizabethan sources could have remained in use well into the Jacobean and Caroline periods. Unfortunately, a lack of surviving sources that can be associated with ecclesiastical institutions makes the task of establishing the contents of an Elizabethan cathedral repertory somewhat problematic, but there are connections between the few surviving sources that provide clues. For example, the Ludlow Partbooks, copied for the use of the Church of St Lawrence, Ludlow, represent the only source from the Elizabethan period that can be associated with church services with any degree of certainty.⁷ Despite their provincial origins, these fragmentary sources contain a number of Latin-texted items, including those by composers with Chapel Royal connections (Byrd, Tallis and Sheppard), which suggests that these kinds of items may have been found elsewhere, including at Durham. A further, even older set of sources, Peterhouse, Cambridge’s Henrician Partbooks, contain exclusively Latin-texted works and dates from the 1530s. In his attempts to identify the provenance of these books, Nicholas Sandon proposes that they may have been copied for a New Foundation cathedral (Canterbury and Durham are both New Foundation

⁵ Brian Crosby, ‘The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350–c.1650’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1993), p. 139.

⁶ As quoted in Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 143.

⁷ Alan Smith, ‘Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow’, *Music & Letters*, 49 (1968), pp. 108–21 (p. 114).

establishments) as part of Henry VIII's push to improve musical standards at these institutions following the Reformation. If, as Julia Craig-McFeely suggests, the Henrician books were copied for Durham and then brought to Peterhouse in the 1630s by John Cosin, then they, or at least sources like them, would have been well-situated to provide the Durham musicians with a wealth of extra-liturgical items with more than a hint of 'popery' about them, with which to embellish the Prayer Book services of the early seventeenth century.⁸

Presuming that the transmission of new music from Chapel Royal circles to the provinces remained a consistent trend throughout the period in question – and payment records for copying activity at Durham suggest this to have been the case⁹ – then there are a number of items by national figures that would seem to fit this first category of repertoire suggestions for the cathedral wind band. For example, William Byrd wrote several communion motets with Latin texts, including a *Viderunt omnes* in 4 parts for communion on Christmas Day, a *Pascha nostrum* in 5 parts for communion on Easter Sunday and a *Beata viscera* in 5 parts for communion on the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁰ I selected Byrd's four-part offertory motet for Epiphany, *Reges Tharsis*, for performance at the Canterbury evensong which makes for a very convincing instrumental performance, and could easily have been played from memory by the instrumentalists for 'piping so loud at the communion table, that they may be heard half a mile from the church'.¹¹ There is also much in the way of continental precedence for such practices. Large collections of vocal music copied without texts survive from Lerma, in Spain, and Regensburg, in Germany, in sources that can be closely associated with the cathedrals and their wind bands at both locations. Although surviving English sources of untexted motets are mostly domestic, and are therefore more difficult to associate with liturgical music-making, this absence of materials in no way

⁸ Julia Craig-McFeely, notes on 'GB-Cp MS 40 [Triplex] (Peterhouse Partbooks: Henrician Set)', <<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/987/#/>> [Accessed: 2nd September 2019].

⁹ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 159.

¹⁰ *Viderunt omnes*, *Pascha nostrum*, and *Reges Tharsis* were printed in *Gradualia II* (1607) and *Beata viscera* in *Gradualia I* (1605). Whereas many of Byrd's Latin-texted works did circulate in manuscript, no manuscript copies of these pieces survive.

¹¹ Peter Smart, *A short treatise of altars, altar-furniture, altar-cringing, and musick of all the quire, singing-men and choristers, when the holy Communion was administered in the cathedrall church of Durham* (London, 1643), p. 19. A transcription of this piece is available in Appendix 2.4.a, and recorded excerpt is available in Appendix 4.4.b.

detracts from the possibility that instrumental performance of vocal music may have been a part of the wind band's activities.

My second suggestion is that the cornetts and sackbuts drew on a body of composed instrumental repertoire to provide the 'continual noise of Musick' of which Smart complains.¹² A rise in the popularity of domestic music-making in the early seventeenth century led to the publication of countless books of instrumental music and it is possible that some of these repertoire items could have made their way into the church. An inventory of the contents of Durham Choir School made in the 1660s lists several such publications:

Item Psalterium Carolinum composed by Dr. Wilson in three parts [1657]

Item Sr William Leightons devine Lamentation in fflower parts [1614]

Item Dowlands Songes in fflower parts [1597]

Item Jones Ultimum Vale to Musick in fflower parts [1605]

Item Morleys Introduction to Musick [1597]

Item ye Psalmes of David composed in fower parts for voices and Instrmts set by exquisite Authors [1599]

[...]

Item Morleys fflower parts [1594]

Item Orianaes fflower parts [?1601].¹³

Although this inventory was made somewhat later than the period in question, all but the first item date from between 1594 and 1614, suggesting that a flurry of purchasing activity may have happened in the early years of the seventeenth century. When considering repertoire suitable for inclusion in a pre-Civil War liturgical context, most of these items are either too late, too secular, or for too many instruments to fit our purposes, but one publication remains: 'ye Psalmes of David composed in 4 pts for voices and instruments'. There are several candidates for the identity of this item. It could have been a copy of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins's 4-part metrical psalter published in 1563, the title page for which reads: '... the whole psalmes in foure partes, whiche may be song to al musicall instruments, setforth for the increase of virtue and abolishing of other vayne and trifling ballades.'¹⁴ However, this volume only appears once in the English Short Title Catalogue, so by the time the Choir

¹² Smart, *A catalogue of superstitious innovations*, p. 9.

¹³ As transcribed by Brian Crosby in Crosby, 'Choral Foundation', p. 284.

¹⁴ ESTC Citation number: S104575

School inventory was compiled, it would have been almost a century old. Another candidate is Richard Allison's collection, *The Psalmes of David in Meter*, the full title of which reads: *The plaine Song beeing the common tunne to be Sung and plaide upon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base Violl, Severally or altogether, the Singing part to be either Tenor or Treble to the Instrument, according to the nature of the voice, or for fowre voyces*. This was published in 1599, around the same time as many other items in the inventory, and although it is a domestic source, could these harmonisations have been adapted by the cathedral wind band for use in the service? Although Smart complains that the communal singing of psalms had been banned at Durham in the 1620s (though John Cosin denies this)¹⁵, an instrumental performance of such items, which have, after all, a plainsong foundation, could have proved too much for Smart's Calvinist temperament.

One type of instrumental music common in this period, composed on a Latin plainsong, is the In Nomine, a genre of consort music that enjoyed widespread popularity from the mid-sixteenth- to late seventeenth-centuries. Nowadays, the In Nomine is associated almost exclusively with viols and recorders, and indeed, many examples are problematic for performance with cornetts and sackbuts. Many have few rests, and an extreme range better suited to string instruments, but this is not exclusively the case. I selected an In Nomine by Brewster (forename unknown, fl. mid-sixteenth century) for performance with two cornetts and two sackbuts at the June 2018 workshop, and the ensemble found it to be well-suited to the instruments and comfortable in terms of range and tessitura. When played on winds, the *cantus firmus* is prominent in the texture, and in this instance, where the In Nomine tune is presented unbroken and unornamented in equal note values throughout, the plainsong basis is unmistakable.¹⁶ The Brewster In Nomine is taken from the 'Dow' partbooks, a set once belonging to Robert Dow, fellow of All Souls College, Oxford until his death in 1588. This source contains a mixture of Latin- and English-texted liturgical items, some popular songs, and ten In Nomines ranging from 4 to 6 parts, a mix of repertoire common to at least one other Elizabethan source of liturgical music, the 'Hamond' partbooks, Lbl Add. MS 30480–4, which also, incidentally, contain a concordance with the Brewster In Nomine mentioned above. Katherine Butler has shown that, although the institution with which the 'Hamond' set

¹⁵ Ornsby, *Cosin Correspondence*, p. 202.

¹⁶ A performance of Byrd's 4-part In Nomine was included in the Worcester evensong discussed in Chapter 6, a transcription of which can be found at Appendix 2.4.b. A recording made at a later date can be heard at Appendix 4.4.b and demonstrates the clarity of the plainsong melody in performance with winds.

was originally associated cannot be established with any degree of certainty, its contents suggest an ecclesiastical and possibly also pedagogical origin, given the large variety of seemingly child-like hands tasked with making additions to the books at various stages in their history.¹⁷ Although no such source survives from Elizabethan Durham, the ‘Dow’ and ‘Hamond’ sets perhaps give an indication of the type of items that might have been available in the cathedral precincts in the early seventeenth century. Money was spent on copying music for the Durham choir in 1589 and again in 1596/7¹⁸ and had the contents of the resultant books borne any similarities to those discussed above, it is possible that such instrumental items as this Brewster In Nomine and those by many other contemporary composers would have been available to the Durham Cathedral wind band. Having benefitted from a song school education, some of the materials may even have been particularly familiar to the cornettists. That the Elizabethan ‘sett of singing books gylded’, to which the 1596/7 payment records refer, and whatever it was they may have contained would have been accessible to the musical personnel of the 1620s and 1630s is confirmed by Brian Crosby’s observation that these same covers are nowadays found on Drc MS C4, C5, C9, C10 and C 17, or his Set 1 of the Durham partbooks, which were begun in 1625, suggesting that the continued use of musical sources over many decades was not unusual at this time.¹⁹

¹⁷ Katherine Butler, ‘From Liturgy and the Education of Choirboys to Protestant Domestic Music-Making: The History of the ‘Hamond’ Partbooks (GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30480–4’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 50 (2019), pp. 29–93 (p. 61).

¹⁸ Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 159.

¹⁹ Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 159.

8.2 | A Context for Ensemble Improvisation?

The following quotation from Roger North, writing in the late seventeenth century, introduces a third possibility for instrumental repertoire within the cathedral precincts, and, bearing in mind the choir school educational background of the cathedral wind players at this location, deserves consideration:

But it is sure enough that the early discipline of musick in England was with help of the Gamut to sing plainsong at sight, and moreover to descant, or sing a consort part at sight also, with such breakings, bindings and cadences as were harmonious and according to art; and this not of one part onely, but the art was so farr advanced that divers would **descant upon plaine-song extempore together**, as Mr Morley shews [emphases mine].²⁰

North is referring here to improvised counterpoint, a practice widespread in England and continental Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but one which is rarely associated with post-Reformation English cathedral practice. The question is, would the Durham cathedral wind band, and indeed the singing men and boys of the cathedral choir, have had the skills to ‘descant upon plaine-song extempore together’, *during the period in question*, and could this have been what Peter Smart meant when he complained of ‘a hydeous noyse of vocall and instrumentall Musicke (the tunes whereof are all taken out of the Masse-booke)...’? I will discuss what these skills entailed in practice shortly, but before this, two terms need clarification – ‘descant’ and ‘plainsong’ – particularly in light of the fact that both terms underwent something of a semantic shift around the turn of the seventeenth century.

The first definition comes from Thomas Morley’s 1597 treatise *A plaine and easie Introduction to practicall musicke*, which appears amongst the contents of the Durham Song School as listed in the 1660s (see above). This work, which incorporates ideas from continental writers such as Orazio Tigrini (c.1535–1591) and Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590), continued to influence composers and music theorists throughout the seventeenth century in both England and continental Europe, with writers from Praetorius to Mace drawing on Morley’s example.²¹ The second section of *A plaine and easie Introduction* is titled ‘Treating of Descant’, and contains the following neat definition of the term:

²⁰ Edward Rimbault, ed., *Roger North: Memoirs of Musick* (London: George Bell, 1846), p. 68.

²¹ R. Alec Harman and Thurston Dart, eds., *Thomas Morley: A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1952), pp. xxii, xxiv. All subsequent reference to *A Plain and Easy Introduction* are taken from this edition.

The name of Descant is usurped of the musicians in divers significations; sometime they take it for the whole harmony of many voices; others sometime for one of the voices or parts, and that is when the whole song is not passing three voices; last of all they take it for singing a part extempore upon a plainsong, in which sense we commonly use it; so that when a man talketh of a Descanter it must be understood of one that can, extempore, sing a part upon a plainsong.²²

What follows in Morley's treatise is an explanation with musical examples of some of the techniques that can be heard in Appendix 4 but first, it is important to establish the parameters in which these techniques could have transferred to an English liturgical context at this time, given that Latin plainsong had more or less ceased to provide the foundation for liturgical musical embellishment, improvised or otherwise, at the Reformation. It also no longer formed the basis for an entire educational system the way it had under the Latin rite, when choirboys spent many hours a day learning plainsong by heart, and when learning to improvise was an integral part of an education in singing. As John Aplin observes in his survey of the survival of Latin plainsong in Anglican music, by 1565, so a good 70 years before the period in question, an entire generation of choristers had been educated without memorising Latin chant.²³ However, though greatly reduced in scope, the chanting of the liturgy did persist in the Reformed English rite, a practice formalised by the publication in 1550 of Merbecke's *Book of common prayer noted*. This provided plainsong settings of the English words of Mattins, Evensong, Holy Communion and the burial service, settings which are based on their Sarum predecessors in many respects.²⁴ When attempting to pin down what 'plainsong' meant in this period, Merbecke's publication is helpful, and although its reception history is far from clear it may be considered a reasonable representation of how chant tunes were adapted to vernacular use. Despite the fact that regional variations are likely to have existed, improvised techniques using these settings may easily have qualified as those taken 'from the Masse-bookes' that so irked Peter Smart.²⁵

The June 2018 and March 2019 workshops were designed to test some of these improvisation techniques, along with the other suggested repertoire items, using the forces

²² *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 140.

²³ John Aplin, 'The survival of plainsong in Anglican music : Some early English Te Deum settings', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979), pp. 247–75 (p. 248).

²⁴ Jane Flynn, 'The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 180–99 (p. 181).

²⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 2, the provision of psalters is recorded in Elizabethan cathedral muniments. See p. 66.

that would have been available at Durham during the period in question. To help engage the workshop participants in the techniques in question, I was joined by Catherine Motuz, an historical trombone specialist who has developed a method for teaching historical improvisation to singers and instrumentalists following close study of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources, and we worked together to situate these techniques within the context of the seventeenth-century sources and practices outlined above. We focused on three techniques: use of ‘faburden’-style parallel and alternating intervals; improvised counterpoint; and improvised canons. With the caveats about selection of plainsong sources mentioned above in mind, I chose sections from Merbecke’s *Book of Common Prayer Noted* as the basis for the exercises we used, focussing on items from the communion service as per Peter Smart’s complaints. Recorded examples from the workshop are found at Appendix 4, and I will refer to these in the following paragraphs, which discuss the practical manifestations of each technique in turn.

Faburden and parallel/alternating intervals

Morley does not include faburden in the main body of his treatise. He describes it as ‘in times past in England ... and ... at this day in other places the greatest part of the usual music which in any churches is sung’.²⁶ This suggests that, in his experience, the practice of faburden (i.e. singing in parallel intervals above or below a plainchant) and the related ‘gymel’-style of alternating intervals, had been, in the main, superseded by other musical styles in English churches by the end of the sixteenth century, and probably remained more closely associated with places still reliant on chant as the basis of liturgical enactment. In English compositional practice, however, there are examples from the late sixteenth century which may represent a persistence of faburden-style composition in the reformed church, such as faburden organ setting of hymns by Preston in Lbl Add. 29996,²⁷ and in 1558 the theorist known as Scottish Anonymous provided rules for refining the basic ‘gymel’ style as it had been described by Guilielmus Monachus around eighty years earlier.²⁸ As the following

²⁶ *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 206.

²⁷ Brian Trowell, ‘Faburden [faburdon, faburthon, fabourden, faberthon etc.]’, *Oxford Music Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09199>> [Accessed: 8th August 2018].

²⁸ Trowell, ‘Faburden’.

examples demonstrate, the technique can also be traced in compositional practice throughout the seventeenth century, and therefore deserves exploration.

At its most basic, faburden is a very simple way of creating ensemble music out of one line of plainsong and was strongly associated with English practices, particularly with instruments, from the fifteenth century.²⁹ That the earliest surviving references to the practice in England originate at Durham Cathedral, where the four subjects the master of the choristers was expected to teach in 1431 were listed as ‘pryktenote ffaburdon deschaunte et counter’,³⁰ may be entirely coincidental, but the fact remains that this is an unsophisticated technique which would in no way have depended on literate transmission for survival. The following examples are transcribed from three types of faburden improvisations after instructions by the late-fifteenth-century theorist Guilielmus Monachus, writing in Italy but possibly himself an Englishman, on an extract from Merbecke, which were performed by participants at the March 2019 workshop:³¹

²⁹ F. Ll. Harris (1962) associates the thirteenth-century origins of the word with ‘burdones’ or shawms, and a reference to ‘die pusauner pusaunoten über einannder mit dreyen stimmen, als man sunst gewonlichen singet’ [‘the trombones sounded about each other in three voices, as one usually sings’] from 1414 implies a long association between instrumental playing and extemporisation. As quoted in Trowell, ‘Faburden’.

³⁰ Crosby, ‘Choral Foundation’, p. 88.

³¹ Guilielmus Monachus’s dedicates a section of his treatise *De Preceptis Artis Musicae* to ‘the rules of counterpoint of the English, which, according to the English themselves, is made in two ways’. These two ways are initially described as ‘faburden’, sung in three voices, and ‘gymel’, sung in two voices, but rules are eventually given to create four-voice versions of both, and the terminological distinction is not altogether consistent. In ‘gymel’-style counterpoint in two parts, the added voice may move in thirds or sixths with the cantus firmus, beginning and ending on a unison or octave (Ex. 2 & 3). In three parts, thirds and sixths may be added simultaneously (Ex. 4). To create a bass when the soprano is in octaves or parallel sixths, ‘you should create the contratenor bassus descending beneath the tenor in fifths and thirds below’, ensuring that the penultimate note is a fifth below, and that the bassus voice ends on a unison with the tenor (Ex. 5). To add a fourth voice, alternation between thirds and fourths above the cantus firmus may be used, so long as the penultimate note makes a fourth and the final a third with the cantus firmus (Ex. 6). Eulmee Park, ‘*De Preceptis Artis Musicae* of Guilielmus Monachus: A new edition, translation, and commentary’ (PhD, Ohio State University, 1993), p. 180.

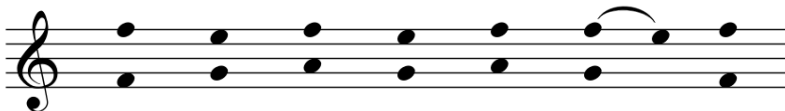
Example 1: Extract from the communion service



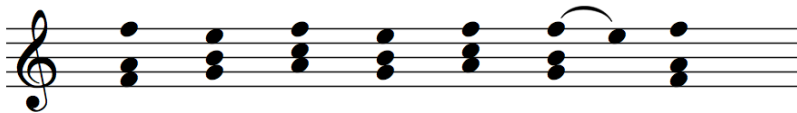
Example 2: Parallel thirds (with added suspension to create final cadence)



Example 3: Parallel sixths (with added suspension to create final cadence)

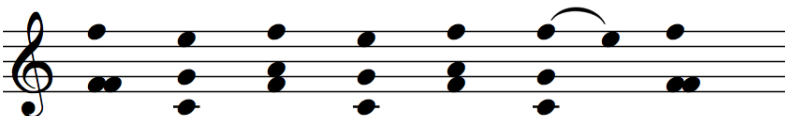


Example 4: Parallel sixths and thirds at the same time



Example 5 shows the formulaic addition of a bass alternating in thirds and sixths below the tenor, and Example 6 shows what happens when a fourth voice is added, alternating in thirds and fourths above the tenor:

Example 5: Addition of bass voice



Example 6: Addition of fourth voice alternating thirds and fourths above the tenor



Although such early sources may seem far removed from the seventeenth-century musicians working at Durham, written musical examples which come very close to replicating these techniques appear throughout the seventeenth century. Thomas Ravenscroft's metrical setting of Psalm 61, published in Richard Allison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1621) and found amongst the contents of the Durham Song School inventory discussed above, is an example of a near-formulaic application of alternating intervals around a plainsong. Example 7 gives Ravenscroft's plainsong a completely formulaic treatment according to Guilielmus Monachus (with the addition of F sharps at cadences)³² and Example 8 gives Ravenscroft's harmonisation. Performances of both these examples (pitched a 5th higher to suit the instrumentation) are included in Appendix 4.5 and 4.6 respectively, and it is striking how similar the two versions sound.

Example 7: Formulaic application of intervals around the tenor (Ps 61)

³² I am grateful to Catherine Motuz for providing this realisation.

Example 8: Ravenscroft's harmonisation of Ps 61 using interval formulae

1

Re - gard (O Lord) for I com - plain, and make my suit to thee:

3

Let not my words re - turn in vain, but give an ear to me.

5

From off the coasts and ut - most parts of all the ear a - broad:

7

in grief and an - guish of my heart, I cry to thee O God.

Ravenscroft was not the only composer in Allison's collection to use these techniques.

Example 9 gives the opening two phrases of a Magnificat by John Farmer which also uses alternating intervals. As is to be expected in a composed piece, formulaic sections are interspersed with more freely-worked sections, demonstrating how improvisable intervallic formulae were an element of compositional vocabulary during this period:

Example 9: Extract from a Magnificat by John Farmer, from Ravenscroft's *Whole booke of psalmes*, pp. 12–13

1

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, my sp'rit eke e - ver - more,

3

re - jo - ceth in the Lord my God, which is my Sa - vi - our.

Christopher Simpson's 1665 publication *The Division Viol, or the Art of Playing Extempore Upon a Ground* contains even later examples of alternating interval improvisation familiar from Guilielmus Monachus's text, as Example 10 shows. Although Simpson calculates his intervals from the bass line instead of the tenor, the examples shows how the methodical application of alternating intervals persisted as an improvisational method into the late seventeenth century, here fully assimilated into an instrumental context. The second example can even be read as a manifestation of Lusitano's warnings about improvising *contrapunto in accordo*, i.e. adding a fourth voice, which can only be done 'with care', especially at cadence points where an element of coordination is required to execute a suspension.³³

³³ Carl Dahlhaus, 'Formen improvisierter Mehrstimmigkeit im 16. Jahrhundert', *Musica*, 13 (1959), pp. 163–67 (p. 166).

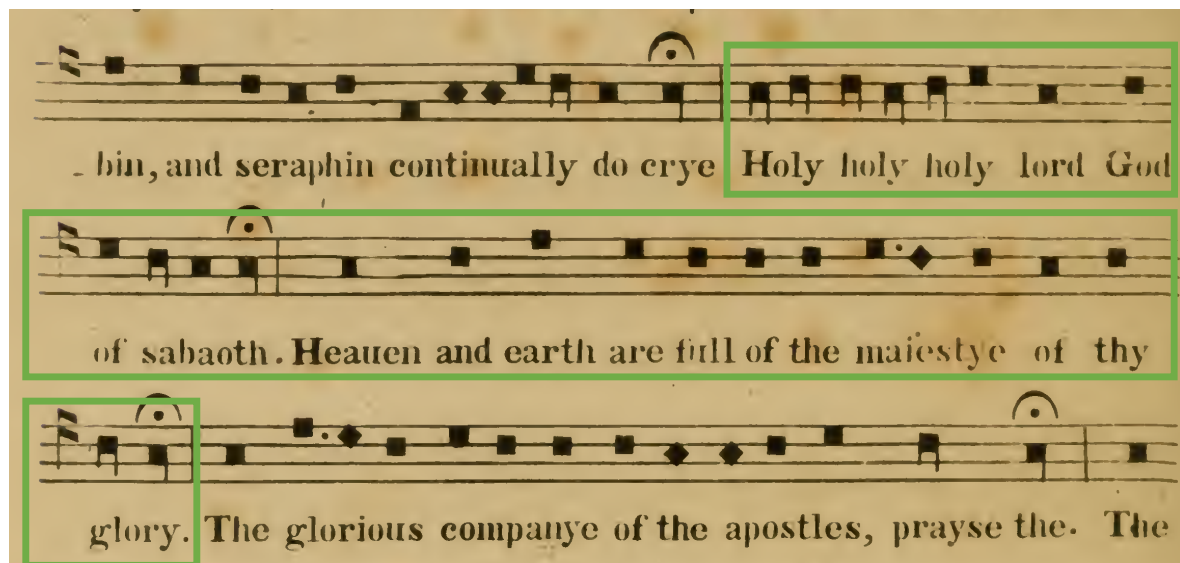
Example 10: Extract from Christopher Simpson's *The Division Viol*

The June 2018 and March 2019 workshops provided an opportunity to test instrumentally some parallel and alternating interval improvisations on chant from Merbecke in a live performance situation, in order to establish whether the techniques that the participants had tried out vocally could be convincingly transferred to instruments. Example 12 is a transcription of a four-part instrumental improvisation performed in March 2019 on a section of the *Te Deum* (*Holy, Holy, Holy*) from the morning service, a moment in the liturgy where cornetts and sackbuts are reported to have participated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁴ Example 12 is a plain version, and the intervals above and below the tenor are given. Example 13, a worked-out version with added divisions, shows how, once the basic framework of contrapuntal movement has been established, it takes only one small step further to create something that begins to sound like a ‘real’ piece.³⁵ In order to fully demonstrate the potential of this technique, Appendix 4.7 contains audio of Example 13 recorded at a later date.

³⁴ See Chapter 2, p. 60.

³⁵ Morley is frustratingly quiet on the subject of divisions, but hints that dividing or ‘breaking’ a melodic line was ‘a thing in common use amongst the singers’, albeit in the context of discussing the problems this can cause with contrapuntal line. *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 156. However, in his section on canons two parts in one upon a plainsong (to be discussed in more detail below) he gives three examples of how to divide a plain melody for interest, simply advising the student to ‘keep the substance of the note’. *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 178. John Coprario includes a broader selection of example in the section ‘Of Division’ in *Rules how to compose*, f.11v–18.

Example 11: Extract from the Te Deum (Morning Prayer), Merbecke



Example 12: Formulaic harmonisation

Example 13: Formulaic harmonisation 'divided' after Morley

Improvised counterpoint

This is the technique that Morley refers to as ‘descant’ in his *Plaine and Easy Introduction* where, after his table laying out concords and discords, he adds further to his definition of this practice cited above:

The first way wherein we show the use of the chords is called Counterpoint, that is when to a note of the plainsong there goeth but one note of descant. Therefore when you would sing upon a plainsong look where the first note of it stands and then sing another for it which may be distant from it three, five, or eight notes, and so forth with others, but with a sixth we seldom begin or end.³⁶

Morley’s treatise lays out how to add an additional voice to a plainsong melody by selecting the appropriate intervals above the plainsong, dependent on the melodic movement of the original line, essentially outlining practices extensively discussed by Johannes Tinctoris in his *De arte contrapuncti* (1477) and threaded through the work of continental writers throughout the intervening century.³⁷ Whereas Tinctoris gives every possible interval that creates a consonance with each melodic movement of the plainsong for the student to memorise, Morley gives written-out examples by his student, Philomathes, which he then corrects, but the net result of showing how to move pleasingly between consonant intervals to create note-against-note, or first-species counterpoint is fundamentally the same.³⁸ In the workshop we used interval pairs after Tinctoris and restricted ourselves to stepwise movement over a stepwise cantus firmus to simplify the process, but the overall consensus amongst participants was that creating a second part in this manner was surprisingly straightforward and satisfying. The exercises in Example 15 and Example 16 were completed

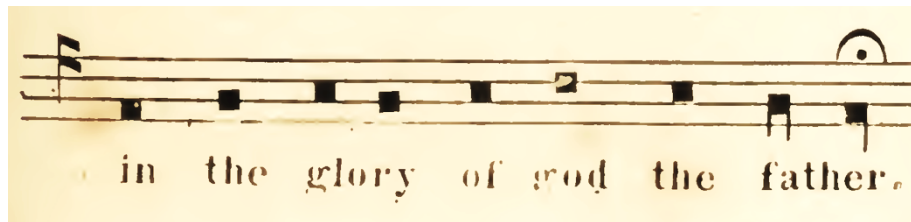
³⁶ *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 142.

³⁷ See for example Book I.iii of *De arte contrapuncti* titled *On the particular nature, quality, and ordering of any consonance; and first on the unison*, where Tinctoris sets out all the ways in which the added voice may move after a unison with the plainsong giving 36 possible moves in total, dependent on the movement of the cantus firmus. Ronald Woodley, ed., Johannes Tinctoris, *De arte contrapuncti*, <http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deartecontrapuncti/#> [Accessed: 9th September 2019].

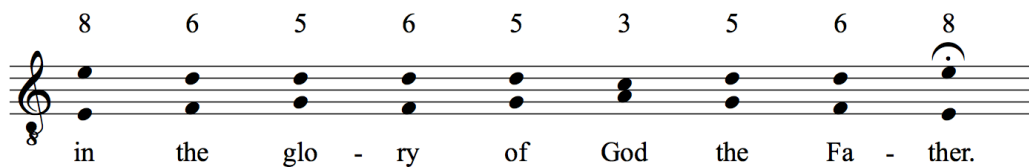
³⁸ When Morley’s student queries how it is possible to tell which movements are within the rules of first-species counterpoint ‘when they be mingled with other notes’, Morley responds thus: ‘There is no way to discern them but by diligent marking wherin every note standeth, which you cannot do but by continual practice, and so by marking where the notes stand and how far every one is from the next before you shall easily know both what chords they be and also what chord cometh next’. *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, pp. 147–8. This suggests that the methodical memorisation of intervals implied by Tinctoris’s writings was an approach with which Morley was familiar.

by the whole group vocally, as Morley suggests, and Example 17 was performed by one sackbut and one cornett to demonstrate how, even in just two parts, the resultant ‘instant polyphony’ may create convincing instrumental *bicinia* using skills transferred directly from vocal practice³⁹:

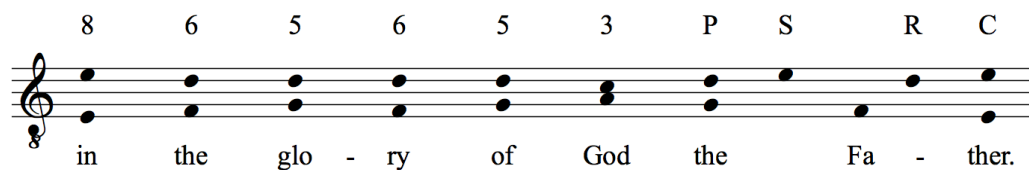
Example 14: Extract from the communion service



Example 15: Alternating intervals over a plainsong after Tinctoris and Morley



Example 16: Alternating intervals with added final cadence



Example 17: Alternating intervals ‘divided’ to create instrumental *bicinium*



³⁹ A recording of Example 17 can be found at Appendix 4.8.

Perhaps the most successful technique explored in the workshops was a combination of improvised counterpoint and parallel intervals to create a three-part texture. Guilielmus Monachus also describes this practice in his section on ‘contrapuncti Anglicorum’. His approach involves contrapuntal improvisation of a bass below the cantus firmus, which is then shadowed in real time at the 10th by the superius, prompting Neils Berentson to describe it as seeming like ‘a kind of wizardry’ to the modern student of improvised counterpoint.⁴⁰ Vincente Lusitano’s 1553 treatise *Introdutione facilissima et novissima*, however, contains a considerably more straightforward method for achieving a three-part texture. Here a descant is improvised over the cantus firmus, whilst a further voice doubles the cantus firmus at the 10th, ‘dividing’ the line with ornamentation.⁴¹ In John Dowland’s 1609 translation of Andreas Ornithoparcus’ *Micrologus, or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing*, precisely this arrangement of voices is described as follows (the musical example is transcribed in Example 18 and can be heard at Appendix 4.9):⁴²

The most famous manner of *Counter-point*, as (saith Franchinus) is, if the *Base* goe together with the *Meane*, or another *Voyce*, being also distant by a tenth, whilst the *Tenor* doth goe in Concord to both, thus:



⁴⁰ Niels Berentsen, ‘Discantare Super Planum Cantum: new approaches to vocal polyphonic improvisation’ (PhD, Leiden University, 2016), p. 152. Berentsen suggests that ‘The difficulty of having to ‘shadow’ a melody at the tenth, as it is being invented in real time, can probably be alleviated by copious collective practice and a shared collection of melodic commonplaces.’ Even the brief experience of preparing for the workshops I am discussing has shown how quickly such a collection of ‘melodic commonplaces’ can develop.

⁴¹ ‘One can sing easily in concert when the superius will always sing tenths from one note to the next, and the third part as it pleases him, except for parallel thirds or sixths [...]’. Vicente Lusitano, *Introdutione facilissima et novissima* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1553). As quoted in Berentsen, ‘Discantare Super Planum Cantum’, p. 152.

⁴² John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus, or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing*. (London: Thomas Adams, 1609), p. 82.

Example 18: Transcription of three-part counterpoint from *Ornithoparcus*

The musical score for Example 18 consists of two systems of three staves each. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom two staves are in bass clef. The music is in common time (C). The first system contains 10 measures, and the second system contains 10 measures. The counterpoint is written in a style typical of 16th-century lute tablature transcriptions.

Example 19 is a transcription of this practice over an extract from Merbecke, improvised at the March 2019 workshop, which can be heard at Appendix 4.10. The cantus firmus is in the bass and the first-species contrapuntal line is in the middle voice. The top stave doubles the cantus firmus at the 10th.

Example 19: Matthew 7:21 from the communion service, Merbecke

The musical score for Example 19 consists of three systems of three staves each. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom two staves are in bass clef. The music is in common time (C). The lyrics are: "Not ev' - ry one that saithe un - to me Lord, lorde shall en - tre in to the king - dome of heaven, but he that doth the will of my fa - ther which is in _____ heaven." The score includes measure numbers 7 and 13.

An example of this technique in compositional practice can be found in Henry Lawes's setting of *Lord shower on us thy grace*, from *Choice Psalmes Put into Musick for Three Voices* (1648):⁴³

Example 20: Henry Lawes, *Lord shower on us thy grace* (1648)

Cantus Primus

Cantus Secundus

Bassus

Thorow Base

Lord showre on us thy grace, in - rich in - rich with gifts di - vine:

Lord showre on us thy grace, in - rich with gifts di - vine:

Lord showre on us thy grace, in - rich with gifts di - vine:

6 8 7

⁴³ I am grateful to Gordon J Callon for providing this transcription.

Canon

Some impressive facts and figures accompany the body of evidence surrounding canons from this period. George Waterhouse, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal between 1588 and his death in 1602, wrote 1,163 canons two parts in one on a plainsong on the *Miserere* (described as ‘sufficient to quench the thirst of the most insaciate scholler whatsoever’ in the preface), collected in Cu Dd.iv.60 (c. 1600). John Farmer (composer of the Magnificat setting shown in Example 8 above) left 40 canons on *Cunctipotens genitor*, which may pale into insignificance when set aside Waterhouse’s achievement, but Farmer’s publication also includes a poem in its preface which provides some clue as to the practical application of canon-writing techniques at the time. This is an extract:

**Two parts in one vppon a ground
in number fortie wayes,
A thing most rare surpassing farre
most songsters now a dayes.**

**If this in youth performed be
as plainly you may see,
What fruite hereafter may wee hope
to haue of such a tree.**

Compare this with the title page of Elway Bevin’s 1631 treatise *A Brief and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* and two things stand out:

A
BRIEF AND
SHORT INSTRUCTI-
ON OF THE ART OF
MUSICKE, to teach how to
make Discant, of all propor-
tions that are in use:
VERY NECESSARY FOR ALL
such as a desirous to attaine to knowl-
edge in the Art; And may by practice, if they can sing, soone be able
to compose three, foure, and five parts: And also to com-
pose all sorts of Canons that are usual, by these directions
of two or three parts in one, upon the Plain-song.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Elway Bevin, *A Brief and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (London: R. Young, 1631).

Firstly, the association of canons with singing is clear from both texts. Secondly, the importance of practice is underlined in each, suggesting that, instead of simply being a compositional game, or exercise, those writing canons, or writing instructions for their creation, had some kind of performance scenario in mind for their work. As Rebecca Herrisone points out, there is little ‘instruction’ included by Bevin,⁴⁵ who instead spends a great deal of time showing off about how complex his canons are, but he published his treatise whilst he was organist and master of the choristers at Bristol Cathedral, suggesting an underlying pedagogical intention for his work, despite its shortcomings as an instruction manual.

Unlike Morley, Bevin does not use the term ‘extempore’ to describe the process of creating counterpoint anywhere in his treatise, but it is interesting to note his persistent description of canons as pieces to be sung, despite the absence of text. On page thirty three he writes ‘This canon may be sung after the manner of a round’, and on page forty seven, ‘This canon is to be sung in all distances’, and the title page transcribed above suggests that the ability to sing (which at this time was associated more with a theoretical understanding of how to interpret musical notation than with technical vocal proficiency) was a prerequisite for being able to create the kind of instant counterpoint Bevin’s canons represent. In 1592, William Bathe described his rules for creating canons on a cantus firmus as ‘A general table comprehending two parts in one, of all kinds upon all plaine Songs [...] with such fascility that the upper part is made, and never booked’, suggesting that the ultimate goal for his students was indeed to ‘make’ counterpoint without recourse to written notation. By the time Bevin published his *Brief and Short Introduction*, possibly as a codification of some of his teaching interests in the cathedral precincts at Bristol, he seems to be assuming proficiency in improvised canon as a starting point from which to develop a more overtly ‘compositional’ approach to the form, suggesting that these techniques could also have been a part of the unwritten musical toolkit of a cathedral wind band made up of song-school educated musicians such as those at Durham.

Canonic writing is ubiquitous in seventeenth-century compositional practice, but it is also possible to find stand-alone, improvisable canons clearly intended for performance. Example 21 is taken from the end of William and Henry Lawes’ *Choice Psalmes put into Musick* (1648) and follows sixteenth-century rules on how to improvise a canon (given

⁴⁵ Rebecca Herisone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 199.

below) to the letter.⁴⁶ In the example, Lawes does not give a solution to the final cadence, but the application of standard cadential patterns familiar from improvising counterpoint over a cantus firmus provides a number of options for a satisfactory ending. A performance of this piece can be heard at Appendix 4.11.

Example 21: Three-part canon from William Lawes, *Choice Psalmes put into Musick* (1648)

A Canon of 3. Voc. in the Unifon, and 5. below. William Lawes.

'Tis joy to see how deadly sin by faith in Christ doth mercy win, by
faith in Christ, by faith in Christ doth mercy win.

In the workshop, I began the exploration of canon improvisation using the most straightforward two-voice canon without a cantus firmus model. As with the previous two methods, the treatises give a set of rules for the student to memorise in order to successfully improvise a canon, and in England the most extensive of these comes from William Bathe's *Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*, published in 1592. Bathe gives rules for canons at every conceivable interval, but this simplified chart, prepared by Julie Cumming and Peter Schubert, gives the rules for canons at the fourth, fifth and octave.

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Catherine Motuz for bringing this example to my attention.

Table 2: Permitted intervals for canonic improvisation

Rules for <i>melodic interval choice</i> for the Dux (lead voice) ⁴⁷						
at the 8 ^{ve}	below	3↑	5↑ (once)	↑6		1 (unison)
		3↓			4↓ (once)	
	above	3↑		↑6	4↑ (once)	1
		3↓	5↓ (once)			
at the 5 th	below			2↑ and ↑6	4↑ (once)	1
		3↓	5↓ (once)			
	above	3↑	5↑ (once)			1
				2↓	4↓ (once)	
at the 4 th	below	3↑	5↑ (once)	2↑ (once)		
				2↓	4↓ (once)	
	above			2↑	4↑ (once)	
		3↓	5↓ (once)	2↓ (once)		

The arrows refer to permitted intervals in a given direction. For example, in order to improvise the example transcribed below (two voices at the fifth below), the lead voice is permitted to move up by seconds and sixths and once by a fourth, and down by thirds and down once by a fifth. This ensures that the resulting intervals follow good rules of counterpoint. Additionally, a cadential pattern may be instigated by the lead voice. By alternating the lead voice between the two players in an ABA format, and introducing division in the third section, a satisfactory instrumental *bicinia* results. A recording of this example can be found at Appendix 4.12:

⁴⁷ This table appears in Julie Cumming, ‘Renaissance Improvisation and Musicology’, *Music Theory Online*, 19 (2013).

Example 22: Improvised canon at the 5th below

The musical score consists of three systems of two staves each (treble and bass).
System 1 (measures 1-5): The treble staff starts with a whole note G4, followed by A4, B4, C5, and D5. The bass staff starts with a whole note G3, followed by A3, B3, C4, and D4. This illustrates a canon at the fifth below.
System 2 (measures 6-9): The treble staff continues with E5, F#5, G5, and A5. The bass staff continues with E4, F#4, G4, and A4.
System 3 (measures 10-13): The treble staff has a half note G5, followed by a quarter note F#5, and then a quarter rest. The bass staff has a half note G4, followed by a quarter note F#4, and then a quarter rest.

The experience of improvising two-part canons at the June 2018 workshop underlined the simplicity of this method, but in order for instrumental canons to be considered a contender for inclusion in the Durham musician's toolkit, the more complex technique of improvising a canon over a cantus firmus must be considered. Continental writers such as Zarlino and Lusitano give extensive examples of plainsong patterns and all their possible harmonisations to memorise, which, when combined, produce the desired 'two parts in one upon a plainsong',⁴⁸ but Morley advocates a much more straightforward solution, and one that can produce quite florid results. He advises the student to begin with a first-species framework (i.e. a note-against-note contrapuntal line) that also obeys the rules of improvised canon (at the fourth above in this case, found in the bottom line of Table 2), and then to divide this line to create melodic interest:

[...] in the making of two parts in one in the fourth, if you would have your following part in the way of counterpoint to follow within one note after the other, you must not ascend two nor descend three; but if you descend two and ascend three it will be well, as in this example (which because you should the better conceive I have set down both plain and divided) you may see.⁴⁹

These are the two examples he gives, with my annotations:

⁴⁸ Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 319.

⁴⁹ *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 180.

Example 24: Morley's first-species counterpoint framework

[illegible]

Example 23: Morley's framework 'divided'

A musical score for the song 'The Rose Tree'. It consists of three staves: a treble staff for the melody, a treble staff for a second voice or instrument, and a bass staff for the bass line. The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the melody. The score is for a single system, showing the first line of the song. The melody starts with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a half note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a half note F#5, a quarter note G5, a quarter note A5, a half note B5, a quarter note C6, a quarter note D6, a half note E6, a quarter note F#6, a quarter note G6, a half note A6, a quarter note B6, a quarter note C7, a half note D7, a quarter note E7, a quarter note F#7, a half note G7, a quarter note A7, a quarter note B7, a half note C8, a quarter note D8, a quarter note E8, a half note F#8, a quarter note G8, a quarter note A8, a half note B8, a quarter note C9, a quarter note D9, a half note E9, a quarter note F#9, a quarter note G9, a half note A9, a quarter note B9, a quarter note C10, a half note D10, a quarter note E10, a quarter note F#10, a half note G10, a quarter note A10, a quarter note B10, a half note C11, a quarter note D11, a quarter note E11, a half note F#11, a quarter note G11, a quarter note A11, a half note B11, a quarter note C12, a quarter note D12, a half note E12, a quarter note F#12, a quarter note G12, a half note A12, a quarter note B12, a quarter note C13, a half note D13, a quarter note E13, a quarter note F#13, a half note G13, a quarter note A13, a quarter note B13, a half note C14, a quarter note D14, a quarter note E14, a half note F#14, a quarter note G14, a quarter note A14, a half note B14, a quarter note C15, a quarter note D15, a half note E15, a quarter note F#15, a quarter note G15, a half note A15, a quarter note B15, a quarter note C16, a half note D16, a quarter note E16, a quarter note F#16, a half note G16, a quarter note A16, a quarter note B16, a half note C17, a quarter note D17, a quarter note E17, a half note F#17, a quarter note G17, a quarter note A17, a half note B17, a quarter note C18, a quarter note D18, a half note E18, a quarter note F#18, a quarter note G18, a half note A18, a quarter note B18, a quarter note C19, a half note D19, a quarter note E19, a quarter note F#19, a half note G19, a quarter note A19, a quarter note B19, a half note C20, a quarter note D20, a quarter note E20, a half note F#20, a quarter note G20, a quarter note A20, a half note B20, a quarter note C21, a quarter note D21, a half note E21, a quarter note F#21, a quarter note G21, a half note A21, a quarter note B21, a quarter note C22, a half note D22, a quarter note E22, a quarter note F#22, a half note G22, a quarter note A22, a quarter note B22, a half note C23, a quarter note D23, a quarter note E23, a half note F#23, a quarter note G23, a quarter note A23, a half note B23, a quarter note C24, a quarter note D24, a half note E24, a quarter note F#24, a quarter note G24, a half note A24, a quarter note B24, a quarter note C25, a half note D25, a quarter note E25, a quarter note F#25, a half note G25, a quarter note A25, a quarter note B25, a half note C26, a quarter note D26, a quarter note E26, a half note F#26, a quarter note G26, a quarter note A26, a half note B26, a quarter note C27, a quarter note D27, a half note E27, a quarter note F#27, a quarter note G27, a half note A27, a quarter note B27, a quarter note C28, a half note D28, a quarter note E28, a quarter note F#28, a half note G28, a quarter note A28, a quarter note B28, a half note C29, a quarter note D29, a quarter note E29, a half note F#29, a quarter note G29, a quarter note A29, a half note B29, a quarter note C30, a quarter note D30, a half note E30, a quarter note F#30, a quarter note G30, a half note A30, a quarter note B30, a quarter note C31, a half note D31, a quarter note E31, a quarter note F#31, a half note G31, a quarter note A31, a quarter note B31, a half note C32, a quarter note D32, a quarter note E32, a half note F#32, a quarter note G32, a quarter note A32, a half note B32, a quarter note C33, a quarter note D33, a half note E33, a quarter note F#33, a quarter note G33, a half note A33, a quarter note B33, a quarter note C34, a half note D34, a quarter note E34, a quarter note F#34, a half note G34, a quarter note A34, a quarter note B34, a half note C35, a quarter note D35, a quarter note E35, a half note F#35, a quarter note G35, a quarter note A35, a half note B35, a quarter note C36, a quarter note D36, a half note E36, a quarter note F#36, a quarter note G36, a half note A36, a quarter note B36, a quarter note C37, a half note D37, a quarter note E37, a quarter note F#37, a half note G37, a quarter note A37, a quarter note B37, a half note C38, a quarter note D38, a quarter note E38, a half note F#38, a quarter note G38, a quarter note A38, a half note B38, a quarter note C39, a quarter note D39, a half note E39, a quarter note F#39, a quarter note G39, a half note A39, a quarter note B39, a quarter note C40, a half note D40, a quarter note E40, a quarter note F#40, a half note G40, a quarter note A40, a quarter note B40, a half note C41, a quarter note D41, a quarter note E41, a half note F#41, a quarter note G41, a quarter note A41, a half note B41, a quarter note C42, a quarter note D42, a half note E42, a quarter note F#42, a quarter note G42, a half note A42, a quarter note B42, a quarter note C43, a half note D43, a quarter note E43, a quarter note F#43, a half note G43, a quarter note A43, a quarter note B43, a half note C44, a quarter note D44, a quarter note E44, a half note F#44, a quarter note G44, a quarter note A44, a half note B44, a quarter note C45, a quarter note D45, a half note E45, a quarter note F#45, a quarter note G45, a half note A45, a quarter note B45, a quarter note C46, a half note D46, a quarter note E46, a quarter note F#46, a half note G46, a quarter note A46, a quarter note B46, a half note C47, a quarter note D47, a quarter note E47, a half note F#47, a quarter note G47, a quarter note A47, a half note B47, a quarter note C48, a quarter note D48, a half note E48, a quarter note F#48, a quarter note G48, a half note A48, a quarter note B48, a quarter note C49, a half note D49, a quarter note E49, a quarter note F#49, a half note G49, a quarter note A49, a quarter note B49, a half note C50, a quarter note D50, a quarter note E50, a half note F#50, a quarter note G50, a quarter note A50, a half note B50, a quarter note C51, a quarter note D51, a half note E51, a quarter note F#51, a quarter note G51, a half note A51, a quarter note B51, a quarter note C52, a half note D52, a quarter note E52, a quarter note F#52, a half note G52, a quarter note A52, a quarter note B52, a half note C53, a quarter note D53, a quarter note E53, a half note F#53, a quarter note G53, a quarter note A53, a half note B53, a quarter note C54, a quarter note D54, a half note E54, a quarter note F#54, a quarter note G54, a half note A54, a quarter note B54, a quarter note C55, a half note D55, a quarter note E55, a quarter note F#55, a half note G55, a quarter note A55, a quarter note B55, a half note C56, a quarter note D56, a quarter note E56, a half note F#56, a quarter note G56, a quarter note A56, a half note B56, a quarter note C57, a quarter note D57, a half note E57, a quarter note F#57, a quarter note G57, a half note A57, a quarter note B57, a quarter note C58, a half note D58, a quarter note E58, a quarter note F#58, a half note G58, a quarter note A58, a quarter note B58, a half note C59, a quarter note D59, a quarter note E59, a half note F#59, a quarter note G59, a quarter note A59, a half note B59, a quarter note C60, a quarter note D60, a half note E60, a quarter note F#60, a quarter note G60, a half note A60, a quarter note B60, a quarter note C61, a half note D61, a quarter note E61, a quarter note F#61, a half note G61, a quarter note A61, a quarter note B61, a half note C62, a quarter note D62, a quarter note E62, a half note F#62, a quarter note G62, a quarter note A62, a half note B62, a quarter note C63, a quarter note D63, a half note E63, a quarter note F#63, a quarter note G63, a half note A63, a quarter note B63, a quarter note C64, a half note D64, a quarter note E64, a quarter note F#64, a half note G64, a quarter note A64, a quarter note B64, a half note C65, a quarter note D65, a quarter note E65, a half note F#65, a quarter note G65, a quarter note A65, a half note B65, a quarter note C66, a quarter note D66, a half note E66, a quarter note F#66, a quarter note G66, a half note A66, a quarter note B66, a quarter note C67, a half note D67, a quarter note E67, a quarter note F#67, a half note G67, a quarter note A67, a quarter note B67, a half note C68, a quarter note D68, a quarter note E68, a half note F#68, a quarter note G68, a quarter note A68, a half note B68, a quarter note C69, a quarter note D69, a half note E69, a quarter note F#69, a quarter note G69, a half note A69, a quarter note B69, a quarter note C70, a half note D70, a quarter note E70, a quarter note F#70, a half note G70, a quarter note A70, a quarter note B70, a half note C71, a quarter note D71, a quarter note E71, a half note F#71, a quarter note G71, a quarter note A71, a half note B71, a quarter note C72, a quarter note D72, a half note E72, a quarter note F#72, a quarter note G72, a half note A72, a quarter note B72, a quarter note C73, a half note D73, a quarter note E73, a quarter note F#73, a half note G73, a quarter note A73, a quarter note B73, a half note C74, a quarter note D74, a quarter note E74, a half note F#74, a quarter note G74, a quarter note A74, a half note B74, a quarter note C75, a quarter note D75, a half note E75, a quarter note F#75, a quarter note G75, a half note A75, a quarter note B75, a quarter note C76, a half note D76, a quarter note E76, a quarter note F#76, a half note G76, a quarter note A76, a quarter note B76, a half note C77, a quarter note D77, a quarter note E77, a half note F#77, a quarter note G77, a quarter note A77, a half note B77, a quarter note C78, a quarter note D78, a half note E78, a quarter note F#78, a quarter note G78, a half note A78, a quarter note B78, a quarter note C79, a half note D79, a quarter note E79, a quarter note F#79, a half note G79, a quarter note A79, a quarter note B79, a half note C80, a quarter note D80, a quarter note E80, a half note F#80, a quarter note G80, a quarter note A80, a half note B80, a quarter note C81, a quarter note D81, a half note E81, a quarter note F#81, a quarter note G81, a half note A81, a quarter note B81, a quarter note C82, a half note D82, a quarter note E82, a quarter note F#82, a half note G82, a quarter note A82, a quarter note B82, a half note C83, a quarter note D83, a quarter note E83, a half note F#83, a quarter note G83, a quarter note A83, a half note B83, a quarter note C84, a quarter note D84, a half note E84, a quarter note F#84, a quarter note G84, a half note

This further example from Farmer demonstrates the technique in use over a genuine plainsong melody. As the recording at Appendix 4.13 shows, it is not the most inspiring of Farmer's output. Indeed, Morley's marginal note on the subject ('Great masteries upon a plainsong not the sweetest music'⁵⁰) speaks volumes, but it gives an idea of the complexity of theoretically improvisable canons of this nature which appear in composed repertoire:

⁵⁰ *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 179.

Example 25: Canon two parts in one on a plainsong (*Cunctipotens genitor*) by John Farmer

The image displays a musical score for a canon. On the left, a historical manuscript page is shown, featuring a single staff of music with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The text 'XVI.' is at the top, and 'The plain song.' and 'a parts in one.' are written below the staff. On the right, a modern musical notation version of the same piece is presented, consisting of three staves: a single staff for the plainsong and two staves for the canon parts, all in a treble clef and one-flat key signature.

Considerable further work is required to develop the skills necessary for improvising canons on a plainsong as an instrumental ensemble, but the prevalence of canon techniques in pedagogical sources from late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century England suggest that this would be a worthwhile research activity, bringing insights into the relationship between instrumental and vocal teaching, which was clearly in transition during this period. Jane Flynn's assessment of the impact of the Reformation on the education of choristers concludes that a shift away from improvised techniques to written composition, and from an exclusively vocal training towards one that included instrumental lessons, occurred during the Elizabethan period, and many references from the cathedral archives confirm that instrumental teaching became an important part of the role of the Master of the Choristers.⁵¹ However, the use of a plainsong model combined with improvisational techniques as a pedagogical tool did not disappear, instead transferring from a vocal to an instrumental context. William Byrd's *The playne song briefs to be played by a Second person – playe this Ut re mee fa sol la for the grownd of this lesson* is one example of how plainsong-based teaching transferred to the keyboard, and an examination of this type of keyboard repertoire (particularly that of the Mulliner Book) shows that many of the techniques Morley goes on to describe in his *Plaine and easie introduction* can be found within this body of work.⁵² That

⁵¹ Flynn, 'The education of choristers', p. 189.

⁵² For example, rhythmic figuration of a cantus firmus that Morley describes (*Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 169) can be seen in Tallis's *Natus est nobis* (number 9 in the Mulliner Book). See Jane Flynn, 'Thomas Mulliner: An Apprentice of John Heywood?' in *Young Choristers*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice

musical learning was a transferrable skill between vocal and instrumental performance is also evidenced by the title page of Lbl Add. MS 31390, fully titled *A booke of In nomines & other solfainge songes of v. vi. vii. & viii p[ar]ts for voyces or Instrumentes* (copied c. 1578), a volume to which Flynn attributes a likely pedagogical function.⁵³ Additionally, the instructions of Elway Bevin (discussed above) that the canons in his treatise are also to be sung confirms fluid boundaries between instrumental and vocal skill that is at odds with the modern tendency towards specialism. Personal experience has shown that the techniques I have described are considerably easier to master instrumentally once they have been practiced vocally, and although nothing is known of the process of wind instrument teaching in England at this time, particularly in the apprentice system operated by civic musicians, I would suggest that, at least in a cathedral context, these techniques could have remained current amongst the instrumentalists concerned into the seventeenth century.

Conclusive proof that the Durham wind band improvised during services at the cathedral is unlikely ever to come to light, but the above examples give some idea of how these practices may have sounded if they did. Equally unlikely is the rediscovery of an entire written repertoire of English cathedral wind band music of the scope and quality of that preserved at, for example, the church of San Pedro, Lerma, which is complete with instrumental designations and which is neatly ordered to correspond to the liturgical calendar of the institution where it was performed. However, wind bands were a long-standing, active and important part of the musical establishment of many provincial English cathedrals after the Reformation and, in the absence of surviving sources, all possibilities for the music they may have performed should be considered, including the likelihood that they were participants in a partly aural tradition. In his *Brief introduction to the skill of song*, William Bathe observes that ‘many things are taught here by rule, for which teachers heretofore gave no rule’,⁵⁴ reminding us to consider how musical training from this period may have proceeded without ever being committed to paper. The anecdotal evidence of Smart’s

(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 187). Flynn also cites Blitheman’s *Eterne rerum* (number 49 from the Mulliner Book) as an example of the ‘breaking’ of a ground to create two equal voices, a technique also described by Simpson almost a century later, by which ‘two viols may move in *Extemporary* Division a whole Strain together, without any remarkable clashing in the *Consecution* of 5ths and 8ths.’ (Flynn, ‘Thomas Mulliner’, p. 188).

⁵³ Flynn, ‘The education of choristers’, p. 196.

⁵⁴ William Bathe, *A brief introduction to the skill of song* (London: Thomas East, 1596).

complaints has prompted investigation into an under-researched aspect of improvised techniques that deserves more work, and although Simpson's treatise was not published until the 1660s, and Lawes' canons not until 1648, both have resonances and consistencies with compositional practice and theoretical works from decades, indeed centuries earlier, demonstrating that the principles of ensemble improvisation were alive and well in seventeenth-century England, despite remaining well under the radar until now.

Chapter 9 | Conclusion

This thesis set out to address three principal research questions. The range of solutions I have developed for each question is summarised below.

Who played instruments in provincial English cathedral services between *c.* 1580 and *c.* 1680, and how can a greater understanding of their educational, social and musical background inform attempts to reimagine the performance practices with which they might have engaged?

Existing secondary literature in this area associates two distinct groups of musicians with performance on wind instruments in a liturgical setting during the period in question: town and city waits bands, and members of cathedral musical establishments. In so far as it is possible to tell, Durham and Exeter Cathedrals appear to have employed ex-choristers to play instruments during services, with limited crossover between civic musicians and cathedral musicians in these locations, although patchy records prevent concrete conclusions from being drawn. Further interrogation of archive material at Canterbury carried out during the course of this project, however, suggests that the two groups at this location were more closely related than previously thought, with members of the Canterbury Waits appearing amongst the singingmen in cathedral payment records, and individuals associated with the Cathedral also appearing amongst the City archives in relation to their activities as waits. By identifying these individuals by name for the first time, it has been possible to build up a more complete picture of how the role of a cathedral wind musician in Canterbury interacted with the wider urban landscape and, in a location where musical and anecdotal evidence is scarce, has brought new insights into a demographic previously unrepresented in the secondary literature.

Having established more about the lives of some of the musicians in question, however, one area stands out as key to further understanding of their musical role, namely details about early seventeenth-century musical education, both within and outside of the cathedral context. Jane Flynn's work on sixteenth-century educational practices holds clues to the direction in which music education was moving around the turn of the seventeenth century, but further work is needed to establish how the surviving pedagogical sources that have been discussed during this thesis (such as Bathe, Morley, and Bevin) may have been

used didactically, and how the skills they transmit manifest themselves in practice. I have begun to explore, for example, the practice of improvised canon as described by a number of these writers, and have tentatively suggested that improvised counterpoint and faburden-type techniques may have formed part of the cathedral wind band's professional toolkit (see Chapter 8), but many questions remain. How, for example, do keyboard, singing and instrumental techniques interact in this period? Were these skills interchangeable, as I have presumed in my chapter on this subject? John Evelyn laments the loss of the cornett 'in which the English were so skilfull'¹ from the band of the Chapel Royal in 1662, but how can our understanding of 'skill' in this period inform our approach to performance? Many writers have considered the 'art' of performance on the lute, keyboard, or with the voice, but what constituted the 'art' of wind playing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to what extent can continental clues to this question be applied to English practices and repertoires? Addressing some of these questions may be easier now that I have made some first steps towards establishing a musical context in which to situate this endeavour, but there is scope for considerably more work here.

Why were instruments used in cathedral services during this time? What is the meaning and significance of their presence, and how can conflicting contemporary responses to this presence be understood in the context of the historical narrative of the time?

By bringing together a wide variety of contemporary responses to the use of instruments in church music in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England (see Chapter 1) it has been possible to provide some much-needed religious-historical context for the controversy to which their use gave rise in Durham during the 1620s and 1630s (see Chapter 2). The cornetts and sackbuts of the cathedral wind band at Durham represented, for Peter Smart, an affront to the principles of the Reformed liturgy of the Church of England, as odious a characteristic of the 'beauty of holiness' as 'alter-ducking' and 'cope-wearing'.² It is clear that the association between the use of winds and High-Church, counter-reformation sentiment was widespread,³ possibly motivating the direct employment of instrumentalists by cathedrals from around 1600. I have identified King's College, Cambridge as a source of

¹ De Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, p. 449.

² Smart, *A Sermon preached in the Cathedrall Church of Durham, July 7.*

³ See Culmer, *Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury*.

performance practice ideas that may be associated with High-Church influences, citing the appointment of musical personnel with King's College connections to each of the three study locations at around the time instruments begin to feature in payment records. However, in locations where the crossover between the civic musicians of the City Waits band and the cathedral instrumentalists was strong, a more nuanced, alternative interpretation needs to be considered, one which takes into account the uneasy relationship between the soundworld of City Waits and the civic, secular power they represent, and the transfer of this soundworld, via instruments and personnel, into the sacred cathedral space. The language of documents such as the *Admonition to Parliament* (1572), discussed in Chapter 1, suggest that this was not a new phenomenon at the start of the period of this study, and also confirms that instruments featured in services well before any official record of their presence was made. By revisiting repertoire from the reigns of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth using the methodologies I have developed in this project and then situating this within the wider context of the ongoing 'Reformation project', this uneasy relationship may perhaps be better understood. Jonathon Willis identifies this very issue in his work on music in parish churches:

Elizabethan parish music was a varied, vibrant and responsive practice, capable of being moulded according to the requirements of parishioners and therefore sensitive to their needs. Historians and musicologists have tended to presume that cathedral music was a different beast altogether. And yet, as with preconceived notions about the parish, there seems to be a relative paucity of evidence to substantiate the claims of a 'great gulf' between their respective worship practices. It is time to discover how, (or indeed, whether) the Elizabethan cathedrals investment in musical provision reflects the formation of a distinctly post-Reformation musical practice, and the negotiation of a new and distinctly Protestant role.⁴

If the role of instrumentalists is considered as a lens through which to examine the wider musical context, I propose that an inclusive investigation into the place of instruments in the urban landscape would go a long way towards addressing this issue.

What did the instrumentalists play, and how did they play it? How can a deeper engagement with the context of their employment inherent in questions one and two enable new parameters of historically informed performance to be developed?

I have repeatedly referred to the aim of the project as the drawing up of performance practice parameters for those wishing to undertake historically informed performances of sacred

⁴ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 140.

music from this period with wind instruments, and I maintain that these terms accurately describe what I have arrived at over the course of this PhD: a range of performance possibilities that reflect the historical record. The integration of academic research and practice-led research into one cycle of inquiry (see Chapter 5), opening up the research process itself to participants and stakeholders and building performatively on the work of previous scholars, has had tangible, practical implications for my research conclusions, whilst also demonstrating how this approach could be developed in the future. For example, the testing of medius/bassus doubling with winds at the Worcester evensong (see Chapter 6) showed that, in the context of a cathedral choir space, this approach is highly effective and convincing, allowing greater prominence to the text than a consort-style line-up of instruments and enabling middle voices in a given texture to balance well with the wider ensemble. Instrumental performance in the choir space also provided valuable experience of the acoustic properties of this area of the cathedral compared to the nave, demonstrating a practical, musical manifestation of contemporary descriptions of the choir as a private, chamber-like space (as discussed in Chapter 3). By reflecting on these findings, assimilating them into the Birmingham workshop, and adding use of the St Teilo organ to the research tools available, it was possible to examine different approaches to organ accompaniment in the context of an ensemble of winds and singers. In so doing, I have established that a combination of *bicinia*-style organ accompaniment as proposed by Andrew Johnstone, medius/bassus instrumental doubling with cornetts and sackbuts, and use of high tenor voices on the contratenor altus parts makes a highly satisfactory performance solution for a wide variety of liturgical repertoire from the turn of the seventeenth century until the 1640s.

Use of the St Teilo organ also prompted a close examination of the factors surrounding use of transposition in practices from this period, enabling a new performance approach to two rare items of seventeenth-century English instrumental music with winds to be developed (see Chapter 7). In turn, this has led to consideration of transposition as a possible routine solution to the extremely high pitch of some English organs of the seventeenth century, bringing continental sources on the practice into direct contact with English repertoire and accommodating the scant organological evidence of surviving English cornetts from the period.

These solutions, however, rely on a number of factors that are not accessible in the majority of modern performance scenarios and are considerably less successful if any elements are compromised. The St Teilo instrument is unique and difficult to replicate using the organ provision in modern cathedrals, although the increasing use of digital instruments

may provide possibilities for exploring this problem further in future. The line-up of modern cathedral choirs is also a fixed phenomenon, with female or countertenor voices occupying the contratenor altus parts in seventeenth century repertoire. The variety of music with which cathedral choirs engage makes this a non-negotiable characteristic of the ensemble, and the resultant alto range requirements make deviation from the now-traditional minor-third transposition a challenge. This transposition effectively precludes the use of historical wind instruments. Instead, the experience of the Worcester evensong has shown that a one-tone upwards transposition, putting a large proportion of the repertoire into one sharp, instead of four flats, provides a reasonable compromise, allowing for doubling with sackbuts and cornetts at $a'=440$ in a considerably more idiomatic key and enabling participation by male countertenors and female altos. If my suggestion that downwards transposition by a tone on a $Q+1$ organ was indeed a routine procedure, modern performance at $a'=440$ is actually very close to the historical pitches outlined in Chapter 7. One outcome of this project will be the publication of a selection of early seventeenth-century choral repertoire, including those items used in the course of my practice-led research, in original keys and one-tone upwards transpositions, complete with instrumental parts, enabling this research to have an immediate impact on the possibilities for using wind instruments in cathedral services with a modern cathedral choir.

This being said, and despite having carried out two research sessions in cathedrals, I have yet to fully address ways in which the performance practices I propose may best be served in this context, or indeed, whether liturgical performances are the best outlet for the performance aspects of this work at all. I was lucky to work with two very open-minded directors of music at Worcester and Canterbury, both of whom appreciated the value of the research process and felt that research-led intervention in the liturgical cycle was worth the occasional deviation from normal proceedings. I have been acutely aware from the outset that my research has taken place partly in the context of a living liturgy which is there to serve a faith community above all other things, and that in order to fully explore the implications of certain aspects of my research questions, alternative performance scenarios will need to be developed. For example, evidence from Durham, Canterbury and Exeter suggests that as the 1620s and 1630s wore on, prayer book services were given a fuller and fuller polyphonic treatment, with sections of the service that are said in modern usage being set to music, music

which is effectively liturgically obsolete today.⁵ As discussed in Chapter 4.2, it is also possible that a modern historical wind performance aesthetic may not be reflective of approaches adopted by seventeenth-century cathedral musicians, although the validity of this observation, and indeed the desirability to replicate an ‘outdoors’ approach in modern performance, is open to debate. This leads me to suggest that concert performances of some of the practices I have been working on may be a more suitable platform on which to engage with the breadth and scope of repertoire associated with instrumental participation. Such an outcome would not only allow the completion of the research cycle give on page 143 but also provide an outlet for repertoire that is heavily underrepresented in the modern HIP canon. As a continuation of my point above about examining cathedral music-making in the broader urban context, seeking out alternative performance situations for liturgical practices would also provide an opportunity to achieve genuine synthesis between some of the socio-historical research that needs to continue in this area and the practice-led methodologies I have worked on in the course of this project, a synthesis which is not possible to achieve in a modern cathedral setting.

At the outset of this project one of the biggest challenges I faced was the widely acknowledged and seemingly insurmountable problem of the lack of musical texts or iconography supporting the proposition that wind instruments played in a liturgical context in provincial English cathedrals throughout the seventeenth century. The expectation of colleagues was that, by undertaking this research, these items would surface and the problem would be solved. Surviving depictions of cornetts and sackbuts in English sources are still exceedingly rare, and I was therefore delighted to discover this engraving by William Hole contained in Michael Drayton’s 1612 poem *Poly-Olbion* during a trip to Wells Cathedral Library:

⁵ See, for instance, Peter Smart’s complaint that ‘the Nicene Creed is sung by the whole Quire, with all their musical instruments’ during communion at Durham. See Chapter 2, p. 59.

Figure 1: William Hole's engraving of the battle for Lundy Island, *Poly-Olbion*, p.55.



It depicts the opposing armies of England and Wales engaged in a musical battle over ownership of the island of Lundy, a puffin colony in the Bristol Channel, at a time when English sovereignty and British unity were hot political topics under James IV and I.⁶ England's band includes cornett- and sackbut-type instruments in the bottom left hand corner, and they have even gone to the trouble of bringing along an organ, complete with bellows boy. The Welsh have mustered an army of harps and flutes. The poem does not record who won. It is fair to say that, if we are looking for iconographical evidence for the use of winds

⁶ Philip Schwyzer, <http://poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk/2014/09/poly-olbion-and-the-union-question/> [Accessed 7th June 2019].

in cathedrals around England during this time, this is not it, but the image is significant in other ways. As this project has shown, the sound of cornetts and sackbuts would have been a common and familiar one to early seventeenth-century citizens of many English towns and cities, as part of both civic and cathedral bands, and a casual depiction such as this reinforces the position of this sound world in the public consciousness. The boundaries between the civic and ecclesiastical are also crossed in the English ensemble, with overtly secular musicians, such as the pipe and tabor player and the bagpiper playing alongside those with sacred connotations. If one were to stretch the reading further, the image also strengthens the association between the cornetts and sackbuts and the organ, a relationship which has proven vital to an understanding of the role of winds in church thus far. If nothing else, the scarcity of images such as this make it an extremely interesting document. However, instead of closing the debate down, the continuing absence of materials more closely related to my research questions turns out to have provided a unique and wonderful opportunity to re-examine existing documentation and scholarship and to identify new avenues for research into the place of wind instruments in the Early Modern cathedral soundscape, for which this thesis is merely the starting point.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 | Primary and secondary literature references to the use of wind instruments in association with ecclesiastical institutions, c. 1570–c. 1690

This table adopts a slightly wider frame of reference than the period of this study and includes references to the activities of all wind musicians, and ambiguous references to ‘instrumentall musick’ or similar, in and around religious institutions. Many of the references are discussed in the body of this thesis, whilst others fall outside the parameters of the present study. It is by no means designed to be an exhaustive survey of all available archive and secondary material, but simply serves to place newly-researched references from the three study locations in a wider national context. Full bibliographical details for the secondary sources cited are given at the end of the table.

Date	Location	Reference	Primary Source	Secondary Source
1566	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford	Of the Queen’s visit to Oxford: ‘she entered into the church [...] and there abode while the choir sang and played with cornetts Te Deum.’	R. Stephens, <i>A brief rehearsal of all such things as were done in the university of Oxford during the queen’s majesty’s abode there</i> , BM, Harl.MS.7033, f. 151.	Smith, 1967, ¹ p. 450; Parrott, 2014, p. 369.
1566	York	The ordinance of the Guild of musicians states that part of the duty of the waits was to aid in the ‘worship of the city’. See also council order of 19th November 1566, in which it was ‘agreed that from now forth the worship and decentness of this ancient city there shall be continually four waits.’	YRO, Register of the deeds, Guild ordinances, f.142v; YRO, House book, xxiv, f.58.	Smith, 1967, p.446.
1572	Canterbury	Canterbury Cathedral paid 40 shillings each to ‘those skilled in music’ and to ‘the trumpeters’ when Elizabeth visited the church in 1572.	CCA, DCc/TA 7, f. 96v.	REED Kent, ² p.1075.

1572	London	John Fielde and Thomas Wilcox complain of Holy Communion services carried out ‘pompeously, w ^t singing, piping, surplesse and cope[-wear]ing’ at which the choir ‘[t]osse the Psalmes [...] like [t]ennice balles’.	<i>An Admonition to the Parliament</i> (Hemel Hempstead: J Stroud, 1572).	Willis, ³ p. 66.
1575	Worcester	Cornetts and sackbuts heard at Queen Elizabeth’s 2 visits to the cathedral: 1. On the Saturday ‘[...] she entered into the Church with grett and solempne singing and musick, with cornetts and sackbutts’; 2. On Sunday ‘[...] being settled in her traves, or seate, rychly decked and adorned in the upper end of the Chancell, next to Prynce Arthur's Chapell, and hering a great and solem noyse of syngyng of service in the Quier, both by note and also plaing with cornetts and sackbutts’.	Chamber Order Book of the City of Worcester, WRo BA9360/A14/Box 1/1, ff. 124v & 125.	1. Most recently, Parrott, 2014, ⁴ p. 369. NB: Only summarised accounts for the Cathedral survive from this period and I can find no mention of cornetts and sackbuts amongst these records.
1570s & 1580s	Coventry	3 cathedral lay clerks employed as waits.		Willis, p. 221
1577–90	Norwich	Norwich waits were also singing men of the cathedral, and performed there at least every Christmas from 1577 to 1590. TA typical entry from 1581 states that 5/- was given to ‘Petro Spratt, Roberto Thacker et sociis vocat the waits of the city tempore festi natalis.’ [Roll 32]	NWcl, Receiver's a/cs., rolls 28 (1577), 29 (1578), 30 (1579), 31 (1580), 32 (1581), 34 (1584), 35 (1586), 36 (1589), 37 (1590).	Smith, 1967, p. 444.
1580s	Bristol	Church Warden’s accounts record waits providing music at St James’ Parish Church and Temple Church in 1587 and 1588, eg: 2/- paid ‘to the waits for singing a carol at Christmas in the church.’	Temple Church, Bristol, Chw. a/cs., No. 00064 (3).	Smith, 1967, p.446; <i>REED</i> Bristol, ⁵ p. 127.
1583	Canterbury	Whitgift ‘heard the solemn music with voices and organs, the cornett and sackbuts, [and] he was overwhelmed with admiration.’		Herbert, 1984 ⁶ ; Smith, 1967, p. 451; Smith, G, <i>Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral</i> , p. 272. NB: Possibly same source, or a conflation of 1589 quote?

1589	Canterbury	An account of an Italian visitor to Canterbury records that he ‘heard the solemn Musicke with the voyces, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbutts, hee was overtaken with admiration.’	Paule, George, <i>The life of the most reverend and religious prelate John Whitgift Lord Archbishop of Canterbury</i> (London, 1612).	Herbert, 1984, p. 155; Parrott, 2014, p. 370. NB: Not mentioned by Bowers.
1590–91	York	Regular payments to waits playing in the cathedral, incl. payments made ‘to those that played upon Sagbuttes and cornettes in York Minster.’	YMA, D&C, E2/21, f. 38v & 40.	Payne, 1993, ⁷ p. 147.
1590s	Exeter	Extracts from Hooker’s Commonplace Book regarding the duties of the city waits: ‘to be attendant about the mayor for the worship of the Citie and for the solacyng of hym and others with their noyses and melodies with their instruments apoynted and convenient.’ ‘upon every soneday and upon everie principal feaste to go before the mayre next before the sergaents when he goeth to the sermons at St. Peter's [Exeter Cathedral].’	DRO, ECA, Book 51, f. 183.	REED Devon, ⁸ p. 166.
1590s		Thomas Whythorne complains that Elizabethan cathedral music was ‘so slenderly maintained... [that] ye shall have few or none remaining, except it be a few singingmen and players on musical instruments.’	James M. Osborn, <i>The autobiography of Thomas Whythorne</i> (London: Clarendon Press, 1961).	Nelson, ⁹ p. 101.
1591	Chester	Cathedral made payments to city waits.		Woodfill, 1969, ¹⁰ p. 150.
1592	Bristol	Waits paid 2/- for providing music at the cathedral in 1592.	Bristol Cathedral Treasurer’s Accounts, 1592, f. 21v.	Smith, 1967, p. 446.

1594/5	Trinity College, Cambridge	First recorded use of cornetts and sackbuts. £4 paid ‘for a sackbut and the Cariage’.	TCA, SBAs 1595, f. 285v.	Payne, 1993, p. 146.
1595/6	Trinity College, Cambridge	A cornett ‘bought for the Chappell’ for 20s.	TCA, SBAs 1596, f. 307.	Payne, 1993, p. 146.
1598	Canterbury	First recorded payments by cathedral to cornett and sackbut players ‘to support the melody on feast days and vigils’. Paid as choir secondaries. By 1622 they get their own page in the Treasurer’s Accounts under ‘tibicines’. Payments continue until 1641/2.	CCA, MA41, beginning f. 131v, ending f. 535.	Herbert, 1984, p. 173, citing Woodruff and Danks, 1912, p. 447; Bowers, p. 440.
1598	St George’s Chapel, Whitehall	‘2 psalmes and two antems songe with great melodie, organs, voices, shakbuts and other instruments’		Parrott, 2014, p. 379.
1599	St George’s Chapel, Windsor	‘Then we heard some glorious music in the church at English vespers, choir with organ, cornet and fife accompaniment’	Thomas Platter the Younger	Parrott, 2014, p. 379.
1599	Westminster Abbey	Payments ‘for the cornets and sackbuts upon the Queen’s day’	Lwa, Treasurer’s Accounts no 33653, f. 4.	Parrott, 2014, p. 370.
1601	St George’s Chapel, Whitehall	‘they began to play on the organ, and on wind instruemetns, with much other music and song. The officers said, “They are singing the Psalms of David”.’	Russian envoy Grogorii Mikulin.	Parrott, 2014, p. 380.
1604	St Paul’s Cathedral	Royal procession past St Paul’s ‘upon whose lower battlements [the choir sang] and anthem..., to the music of loud instruments...’	Nichols: Progresses... of King James I, I, p. 367.	Parrott, 2014, p. 380.
1605	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford	Plaque on the case of the two Christ Church Cornetts records that they were bought ‘in preparation for the visit of James I and his Queen to the House on 27 August 1605’ where ‘the King and Queen heard excellent voices mixt with instruments at a service in the Cathedral’.		Savan, 2018, ¹¹ p. 42.

1605	Greenwich	Report of the christening of Princess Mary: 'then begane an Antheme... (the Chorus whereof was filled with the help of musicall instrumentes).' 'the Chappell and the Musitions joyned together, making excellent harmony with full anthems'		Parrott, 2014, p. 380.
1609	Exeter	Edward Gibbons to be paid £20 per annum 'so longe ... as he shall teach the Choristers and Secondaries ... in Instrumentall Musicke'.	ECA, D&C 3553, f. 11.	Payne, 1993, p. 146.
1609	Exeter	'Dean and Chapter to consider Gibbins' [Edward Gibbons] request for one dubble sackbutt and one single sackbutt'	ECA, D&C 3553, f. 13v.	
1612	St James' Palace	Member of the Chapel Royal 'sung divers excellent Anthems, together with the Organs and other wind Instruments' prior to the funeral of Prince Henry.		Parrott, 2014, p. 380.
1615	Chichester	'And are the said organs and other instrumentall musicke used att time of divine service as it out to be', from visitation articles by Archbishop George Abbott.		Kenneth Fincham, 'Contemporary Opinions of Thomas Weelkes', <i>Music & Letters</i> , 62, 3 (1981), p. 352; Parrott, 2014, p. 377.
1619	Bristol	Payment relating to musicians at St Thomas' Church: 'Johnson ye waiteplayer for his sonne, for plaicing a part of the shackbutt'.	Great Audit Book, 1615–19, p. 341.	Herbert, 1984, p. 209.
1619	Winchester	Dean Young notes in his diary that 'I had to give the Queer and Musitians £7' and additionally, 'I gave Mr Chanter 20s, 20s to Mr Holmes, 20s to the Cornet 20s to another cornet 5s to an sakbut 5s to the musitians 10s to Mr Coleon 12s 4d & to uthers so fare as it went 10s'.	WCA, Dean Young's Diary, p. 23; WCA, Treasurer's Account Book 1640, 'varia'.	Payne, Will and Probate, ¹² p. 379.
1619	Worcester	'Payd to Goodma Stanton the Musitian for playing on the cornetts in the Quyre 20s', between December 24 th and January 9 th 1618/19	WO, Treasurer's Book A26, f. 96.	Atkins, <i>Early Occupants</i> , ¹³ p.47.
1620	St Paul's Cathedral	Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal 'with solemn singing brought the king into the quire [and] the began to celebrate Devine Service, which was solemnly performed with organs, cornetts and sackbuts' at the King's visit.	Nichols, Progresses... of King James, IV, p. 601.	Woodfill, 1969, p. 149.
1622	Exeter	'Seats for the choristers and secondaries and for the musicke near the bishop's seat in the quire to be made from materials in the cathedral workshop ... curtains to be provided for the organs.'	ECA, D&C 3553, f. 107v.	Payne, 1993, p. 151.

1622		‘Wherein doth our practice of singing and playing with instruments in his Majesty’s chapel and our cathedral churches differ from the practice of David, the priests, and Levites? Do we not make one sign in praising and thanking God with voices and instruments of all sorts?’	Henry Peacham, <i>The Compleat Gentleman</i> , (1622).	Strunk, 1950, ¹⁴ p. 332; Parrott, 2014, p. 372.
1623	Salisbury	Edmund Tucker, acting organist, petitioned the Chapter for the job of an altarist, music copyist and sackbut player. Lehmberg states: ‘A former chorister at Salisbury was granted a benevolence for playing on the sackbut until an altarist’s place became vacant.’	SBca, Act Book 1622–1642, MS 83, p. 5. [See also HMC 55, Various I, Salisbury Dean & Chapter, p. 352 as cited in Woodfill].	Lehmberg, ¹⁵ p. 166.
1624–28	Durham	Marginal comment about John Cosin confirms these dates as point at which cornetts and sackbuts were introduced: ‘the Bishop [Cosin] likes them very well having been established in his time when he was a Prebendary heretofore’.	DRc, Hunter MS 11, ga. 83.	Crosby, 1993, ¹⁶ p. 193.
1625	Salisbury	Salisbury Cathedral used cornetts and sackbuts.	No archive reference given.	Herbert, 1984, p. 225, citing Woodfill, p. 149.
1625	Westminster Abbey	‘2 Shagbutts and 2 Cornitors’ listed among the ‘singing men of Westminster’ at funeral of James I.		Parrott, 2014, p. 380.
1628	Durham	Peter Smart preaches a sermon against ‘popish’ practices: ‘And what meant he by a good service? his meaning was manifest; where goodly babylonish robes were worn, imbroydered with images. Where he might heare a delicate noise of singers, with Shakebutts, Cornets, and Organs, and if it were possible, all kinde of Musicke, used at the dedication of Nabuchodonosors golden image. [...] For if religion consist in Alter-ducking, Cope-wearing, Organ-playing, piping and singing... If I say religion consist in these and such like superstitious vanities, ceremoniall fooleries, apish toyes and popish trinkets, we had never more Religion then now.’	More references to instruments in the debate between Smart and Cosin can be found in Chapter 2.2, Table 2.	Parrott, 2014, p. 372; Crosby, p. 170.
1629	Durham	Publication of Smart’s <i>A short treatise...</i> : ‘Can such paltry toyes bring to our memory Christ and his blood-shedding? Crosses, Crucifixes, Tapers, Candleticks, gilded Angels, painted Images, golden copes, gorgious Alters, sumptuous Organs,		

		with Sackbuts & Cornets piping so loud at the Communion table, that they may be heard halfe a mile from the Church?’		
1632	Chapel Royal, Scotland	Edward Kellie ‘carried home an organist and two men for playing on cornets and sackbuts [...] most exquisite in their several faculties’ to Edinburgh	William Daune, <i>Ancient Scottish Melodies</i> (Edinburgh, 1838), p. 365.	Herbert, 1984, p. 239; Parrott, 2014, p. 370.
1632–6	Durham	Payments to George Barnfather and John Hawkins (cornetts) and William Sherwin and Miles Atkinson (sackbuts).	DCD, L/BB/24 f. 22; DCD, L/BB/26, 26v.	Crosby, p. 194.
1633	Durham	John Cosin records account of Charles I’s visit to Durham: ‘The whole choir, minor canon and clerks, [accompanied] on the organ and by other musical instruments, sang a Te Deum...’	Cosin Correspondence, vol I, p. 212–15.	Crosby, p. 195.
1634	Canterbury	Visitation articles record maintenance of: ‘one Dean, twelve canon, six Preachers, six Minor Canon, six Substitutes, one Organist, as the custom has long been obtained in the Church, twelve Lay Clerks, one Master of the Choristers, ten Choristers, two Instructors of the boys in Grammar (of whom one shall be Master and the other Under-Master), fifty Boys to be educated in Grammar, twelve Poor men to be fed at the cost of the Church, two Sackbutteers, and two Corniteers, two Vergers, two Sub-sacrists, four servants in the Church to ring the bells and put all things in order.’ [Original in Latin] Payroll records ‘two cornitors and two sackbutteres, whome we do most willingly maintaine for the decorum of our quire’.		Herbert, 1984, p. 239.
1634	Lincoln	Lieutenant Hammond recalls hearing ‘organs with other instruments, suited to most excellent voices’ when visiting the cathedral. During this period the city waits were paid £4 per year ‘for their service and paines in the Quier of the Cathedrall Church upon everie Sunday & holyday at morning and evening service’.	Hammond, <i>Relation</i> , 1634, pp. 6–7 & LI, Chapter Acts 1598–1669, f. 196v.	Woodfill, p. 149. NB: No specific year is given for the payments to waits.

1635	Exeter	Lieutenant Hammond hears ‘vials and other sweet instruments’ on his visit to Exeter Cathedral	Hammond, <i>Relation ... 1635</i> , p. 74.	Parrott, 2014, p. 374; Payne, 1993, p. 143.
1635–6	Exeter	References to mending of instruments at Exeter: ‘Item to Richard Carter for mending a cornet 12d’; ‘Item to Richard Rosser for mending a Sagbot 20d’; ‘Item to John Whitrowe the 11 th of October for mending a dubble Shagbott 1s’	ECA, D&C 3787	
c. 1635	Chapel Royal	<i>Before the mountains were brought forth</i> set by William Lawes (lost). Described as ‘An Anthem with verses for Cornetts and Sagbutts’ in Chapel Royal Word Book.	Chapel Royal Wordbook, Ob Rawl Poet 23.	Parrott, 2014, p. 380.
1636		Charles Butler, in <i>Principles of Musick</i> , states that ‘because Entata [stringed instruments] are often out of tun; (which sometime happeneth in the midst of the Musik, when it is neither good to continue, nor to correct the fault) therefore, to avoid all offence (where the least shoold not bee givn) in our Chyrch-solemnities onely the Winde-instruments (who Notes ar constant) bee in use.’		Herbert, 1984, p. 449, fn. 2; Parrott, 2014, p. 374–5.
1636	Dublin	Reference to ‘two cornettists and two sackbutters for attendance in the choir’.		Herbert, 1984, p. 243 citing Dart, 1960, p. 150.
1637	Exeter	‘two new Shagbutts and two new cornetts to be provided for the service of the Quire with all convenient speed, together with a set of vyolls’	ECA, D&C 3557, p. 50 (May 1637).	Herbert, 1984, p. 243; Payne, 1993, p. 143.
1637	Exeter	John Whitrow, secondary appointed lay vicar on death of Thomas Clode, provided ‘he continue his playing upon instruments as occasion shall require’	ECA, D&C 3557, pp. 92–3	
1638	Exeter	Richard Carter nominated for next lay vicar’s place, but on condition that ‘he continue his playing upon instruments as occasion shall require’	ECA, D&C 3557, pp. 92–4	
1639–40	Exeter	‘Item paid Mr. Hopwood for mending of two Shagbutts, and for bringing from London ... 30s 2d.’; ‘Item paid him for Cornetts bought in London [?].’	ECA, D&C 3787	
1643	Trinity College, Cambridge	Last recorded payment to a sackbut player	TCA, SBA 1644, f. 75r	Payne, p. 146.

1644		Sir Edward Dering published <i>A Declaration</i> , in which he describes contemporary church music: ‘one single groan of the Spirit, is worth the Diapason of all the Church Musick in the world. Organs, Sackbuts, Recorders, Cornets & c. are mingled together, as if we would catch God Almighty with the fine ayre of an Anthem, whilst few present do or can understand.’	Edward Dering, <i>A Declaration...</i> (London, 1644), p. 10.	Herbert, 1984, p. 253; Parrott, 2014, p. 372.
1653	Trinity College, Cambridge	Nicholas Hooke publishes a poem containing the following lines: ‘[...] the Lusemores too, I think For Organists; the Sack-buts breath may stink, And yet old <i>Brownes</i> be sweet; o’ th’ Violin, <i>Saunders</i> plays well, where <i>Magge</i> or <i>Mel</i> han’t been. Then on his <i>Cornet</i> brave thanksgiving <i>Mun</i> , Playes in King’s Chappell after Sermon’s done:’		Payne, p. 150; citing Scholes, <i>Puritans and Music</i> , pp. 175–7.
1660	Canterbury	Francis Lineall and Francis Onslowe (sackbut players) and Richard Mounterre and John Foade (cornettists), cathedral band at Canterbury until 1642, petition the Dean and Chapter to be reinstated.	CCA, DCc/PET/217.	
1660–70	Canterbury	Continuing payments to two cornett players and two sackbut players until 1670 when the last musicians dies.	DCA, DCc/TB 1–6.	Spink, 1995, ¹⁷ p. 206.
1662		John Evelyn writes: ‘[One] of his Majesties Chaplains preachd: after which, instead of the antient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the Organ was introduced a Consort of 24 Violins betweene every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church: This was the first time of change, & now we no more heard the Cornet, which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skilfull: I dined at Mr. Poveys, where I talked with Cromer a greate musitian.’	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , ed. E.S. de Beer (London, Oxford University Press, 1959.	Various.
1662	Worcester	Anniversary of Charles II’s coronation: ‘The King’s Coronation Day solemnly kept by the Dean and Chapter in the Cathedral who preached on I Chron. Clergy band attended, 6 Trumpets. After prayers and sermon which was not ended until half an hour past one. The dean feasted; gave a largesse to soldiers and trumpets.	J. W. Willis Bund, ed., <i>Diary of Henry Townsend, 1640–1663</i> , 2 vols	Lehmann, p. 202.

		At night bonfires in College, trumpets sounding, 2 drums beating, and some guns. Before evening prayer the Dean, Dr. Britten, petty canons, and quire went from the Church door, trumpets first sounding. The Te Deum was sung round about the sanctuary in church yard, and so round to College gate into the church. Bells rung all day.'	(Worcester: Worcestershire Historical Society, 1920).	
1663	Gloucester	Visitation articles state that 'according to ancient custom there ought to be two cornetts and two sackbuts for the singing-service and anthems'	HMC 55, <i>Various</i> , vii, <i>Gloucester Diocese</i> , MS 64.	Woodfill, 1958, p. 150, fn. 19; Herbert, 1984, p. 265; Spink, 1995, p. 259.
1663–76	York	Cornetts and sackbuts reinstated at the Restoration, continuing in use until at least 1676 when Roger North records hearing them		Spink, p. 398.
1664	Exeter	Henry Travers, lay vicar, granted £10 'towards the charge he shall be at in learning to play upon the Cornet and Shagbutts whilst he is in London'	ECA, D&C 3559, p. 479.	Spink, p. 256.
1664	Exeter	Accounts record '£19 paid for shagbutts and cornetts purchased in London by Mr [Henry] Travers for the use of the church'	ECA, D&C 3559, pp. 492–493.	Spink, p. 256.
c. 1665	Durham	Song School inventory lists 'Item Two Sackbutts and Two Cornetts & 2 Cricketts in ye qu[ir]e for Sackbutts'.	DRc, Misc. Ch. 7116.	Crosby, p. 283.
1668	Exeter	Accounts record William Wake to receive £20 a year for instructing the choristers and secondaries 'in instrumental musick vizt viols and violyns, composing and singing'	ECA, D&C 3560, pp. 30–31.	
1673		Matthew Locke, writing in <i>The Present Practice of Music Vindicated</i> : 'above a Year after the Opening of His Majesties Chappel, the Orderers of the Musick there, were necessitated to supply the superior Parts of their Musick with Cornets, and Mens feigned Voices, there being not one Lad, for all that time, capable of singing his Part readily'		Quoted in Parrott, <i>Falsetto Beliefs</i> , ¹⁸ p. 78.
1676	Durham	Roger North describes visiting cathedrals at York, Lancaster, Durham, Newcastle and Carlisle. He writes: '[...] There and at Durham, especially the latter, is the promenade of the gentry, and in Durham so solemnly, that every afternoon you see all the company in the towne walking there. They have the ordinary wind instruments in the Quires, as the cornet, sackbut, double curtaile and others, which		Various

		<p>supply the want of voices, very notorious there; and nothing can so well reconcile the upper parts in a Quire, since wee can have none but boys and those none of the best, as the cornet (being well sounded) doth; one might mistake it for a choice eunuch.’</p> <p>By 1742 this passage had been altered to read: ‘In these churches, wind musick was used in the Choir; which I apprehend might be introduced at first for want of voices, if not organs; but, as I hear, they are now disused. To say the truth, nothing comes so near, or rather imitates so much, an excellent voice, as a cornet pipe; but the labour of the lips is too great, and it is seldom well sounded.’</p>		
1682	Canterbury	Galpin quotes an archive reference that states: ‘There are four places vacant in the Church which were supplied formerly by two sackbutts and cornetts.’	No archive reference given.	Herbert, 1984, p. 275.
1696	Durham	Final recorded payment to cornettist Robert Arundel	No archive reference given.	Crosby, p. 195.
1698	Durham	Final recorded payment to cornettist Matthew Ridley	No archive reference given.	Crosby, p. 195.
1710–28		Roger North describes instruments in his essays on <i>The Theory of Sound</i> : ‘The other instruments that sound ‘by the spring of the lipps’ are the ‘tuba ductilis’ or Sackbutt... used in consorts of wind musick; the Cornett, which ‘imitates human voice the best of any’, and for that end is used in some cathedralls; the ‘Serpentine’; and the Sowgelders Horn – ‘the arcuate cornett used by itinerant gelders’ - which ‘sounds very loud’ and ‘alarmes the villages with no unpleasant noise.’	Lbl, Add. MS 32534, f. 73v.	Herbert, 1984, p. 287.
1752 & 1761	Canterbury	‘Two brass sackbuts not us’d for a grete number of yeres past’ listed in cathedral inventories.	No archive reference given.	Woodfill, p. 150; Herbert, 1984, p. 465.

¹ A. Smith, ‘The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals in the Reign of Elizabeth I’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 94 (1967), pp. 37–49.

² James M. Gibson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Kent: Diocese of Canterbury*, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002), II.

³ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Site and Identities* (England: Routledge, 2010).

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- ⁴ Andrew Parrott, “‘Grett and Solompne Singing’: Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War’, in *Composers’ Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance*, ed. by Andrew Parrott (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80
- ⁵ Mark C. Pilkington, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Bristol* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997).
- ⁶ Trevor Herbert, ‘The Trombone in Britain before 1800’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Open University, 1984).
- ⁷ Ian Payne, *The provision and practice of sacred music at Cambridge colleges and selected cathedrals, c.1547—c.1646 : a comparative study of the archival evidence* (New York, London: Garland, 1993).
- ⁸ John M. Wasson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Devon* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1986).
- ⁹ Katie Nelson, ‘Thomas Whythorne and Tudor Musicians’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2010).
- ¹⁰ Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, 1969).
- ¹¹ Jamie Savan, ‘Revoicing a ‘choice eunuch’: The cornett and historical models of vocality’, *Early Music*, 46 (2018), pp. 561–78.
- ¹² Ian Payne, ‘The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes (d. 1629): Instrumental Music at Salisbury and Winchester Cathedrals Revisited’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 83 (2011), pp. 369–96.
- ¹³ Sir Ivor Atkins, *The Early Occupants of the Office of Organist and Master of the Choristers at... Worcester* (Worcester: Worcester Historical Society, 1918).
- ¹⁴ Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).
- ¹⁵ Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Siege : Cathedrals in English Society, 1600–1900* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996).
- ¹⁶ Brian Crosby, ‘The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350–c.1650’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1993).
- ¹⁷ Ian Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).
- ¹⁸ Andrew Parrott, ‘Falsetto Beliefs: The ‘Countertenor’ Cross-Examined.’, in *Composers’ Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), pp. 46–121.

Awake up, My Glory

Psalm 57:9-12, Psalm 118: 19-24, Gloria Patri

William Smith
ed. John Cannell

MC Verse

Medius
Decani and Cantoris

Contratenor I
Decani

Contratenor I
Cantoris

Contratenor II
Decani and Cantoris

Tenor
Decani and Cantoris

Bassus
[Decani] and Cantoris

Organ

MC

B[D]

Verse

glo - ry, a - wake up, my glo - ry, my glo - ry;

A - wake up, my glo - ry, a - wake up, my glo - ry, my glo -

This edition (in its original key) appears in John Cannell, *William Smith: Preces, festal psalms and verse anthems*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 135, (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2003), pp. 46-58. With thanks to the publishers for permitting use of this edition for the Worcester performance.

7

MC

a - wake, a - wake, a - wake, a - wake, lute and harp, lute

B [D]

ry; a - wake, a - wake, a - wake, lute and harp,

10

MC

— and harp: I my - self, I my - self will a - wake,

CT1C

Verse

I my - self will a - wake, will a - wake, I my -

B [D]

— and harp: I my - self, I my - self will a -

13

MC

I my - self will a - wake right ear - ly. I

CT1C

self will a - wake, I my - self will a - wake right ear - ly.

B [D]

wake, I my - self will a - wake right ear - ly. Chorus

[FULL]
M [Chorus]

16

M will give thanks un - to thee, O Lord, a - mong the peo -

CT1 **Chorus** I will give thanks to thee, O Lord, a - mong the peo - ple: and

CT2 I will give thanks to thee, O Lord, and I will

T I will give thanks to thee, O Lord, a - mong the peo - ple, a -

B **Chorus [FULL]** I will give thanks to thee, O Lord, a - mong the peo -

20

M ple: and I will sing un - to thee a - mong the

CT1 I will sing un - to thee a - mong the na - ti -

CT2 sing un - to thee, un - to thee a - mong, a - mong the na -

T mong the peo - ple: and I will sing un - to thee,

B ple, the peo - ple: and I will sing un - to thee, and

23 [CAN.]

M na - ti - ons, and I will sing un - to thee a - mong the na - ti - ons. For

CT1 - - ons, to thee a - mong the na - ti - ons. For

CT2 - ti - ons, to thee a - mong the na - ti - - ons. For the

T I will sing un - to thee a - mong the na - ti - ons. For the

B I will sing un - to thee a - mong the na - ti - ons. For

Cantoris

27

M the great - ness of thy mer - cy reach - eth un - to the heav'ns: and thy

CT1 the great - ness of thy mer - cy reach - eth un - to the heav'ns:

CT2 great - ness of thy mer - cy reach - eth un - to the heav'ns:

T great-ness of thy mer - - cy reach - eth un - to the heav'ns:

B the great - ness of thy mer - cy reach - eth un - to the heav'ns:

31 [DEC.]

M truth, and thy truth un - to the clouds. Set up thy - self, O God, set

CT1 and thy truth un - to the clouds. Set up thy - self, O God,

CT2 and thy truth un - to the clouds.

T and thy truth un - to the clouds. Set up thy -

B and thy truth, and thy truth un - to the clouds.

Decani

35

M up thy - self, set up thy - self, O God, O God, set up thy -

CT1 O God, set up thy - self, O God, set up thy self, O God,

CT2 Set up thy - self, O God, set up thy - self, O God, set

T self, O God, set up thy - self, O God, O God,

B [DEC.] Set up thy - self, O God, set

M self, O God, a - bove the heav'ns: and they glo - ry a - bove all

CT1 set up thy - self a - bove the heav'ns: and thy glo-ry a- bove all

CT2 up thy - self a - bove the heav'ns: and thy glo - ry a - bove all

T set up thy - self a - bove the heav'ns: and thy glo - ry a - bove

B up thy - self, O God, a - bove the heav'ns: and thy glo - ry a - bove

[CAN.]

M — the earth. Op - en me the gates of righ - teous - ness: that

CT1 — the earth. Op - en me the gates of righ - teous -

CT2 — the earth. Op - en me the gates of righ-teous-ness: that

T all the earth. Op - en me the gates of righ - teous -

B all the earth. Op - en me the gates of righ - teous - ness: that

Cantoris

46 [DEC.]

M I may go in - to them, and give thanks un - to the Lord. This is the

CT1 ness: that I may go in - to them, and give thans un - to the Lord. This__

CT2 I may go in - to them, and give thanks un - to the Lord. This__

T ness: that I__ may go in - to them, and givethanks un - to the Lord. This__

B I may go in, may go in - to them, and givethanks un - to the Lord. Decani This__ [DEC.]

50

M gate, this__ is the gate of the Lord: the righ - te - ous shall__ en -

CT1 __ is the gate, this__ is the gate of the Lord: the righ - te - ous shall en -

CT2 __ is the gate, this__ is the gate of the Lord: the righ - te - ous shall__

T __ is the gate, this__ is the gate of the__ Lord: the righ - te - ous shall

B __ is the gate, this__ is the gate of the Lord: the righ - te - ous thall en -

54 [CAN.]

M
- ter in - to it. I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me:

CT1
ter in - to it. I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me: and

CT2
en - ter in - to it. I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me:

T
en - ter in - to it. I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me, for

B
ter in - to it. I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me,
Cantoris

59

M
and art be-come my sal - va - ti - on, and art be-come my sal - va - ti -

CT1
art be-come my sal - va - ti-on, sal - va - ti - on, my sal - va - ti -

CT2
and art be-come my sal - va - ti - on, be - come my sal - va - ti -

T
thou hast heard me: and art be-come my sal - va - ti-on, be - come my sal - va - ti -

B
thou hast heard me: and art be - come, and art be-come my sal - va - ti -

63 [DEC.]

M on. The same stone which the build - ers re - fus - ed: is be -

CT1 on. The same stone which the build - ers re - fus - ed:—

CT2 on. The same stone which the build - ers re - fus - ed, re - fus -

T on. The same stone which the build - ers re - fus - ed:

B on. The same stone which the build - ers re - fus - ed: is be -

Decani

67

M come the head - stone, is be - come the head - stone in the cor - - ner.

CT1 is be - come the head - stone, is be - come the head - stone in the cor - ner.

CT2 ed: is be - come the head - stone in the cor - - ner.

T is be - come the head - stone in the cor - ner.

B come, be - come, is be - come the head - tone in the cor - ner.

71 [FULL]

M This is the _____ Lord's do - ing, this is the Lord's do - ing: and

CT1 This is the _____ Lord's do - ing, this is the Lord's do - ing: and

CT2 This is the _____ Lord's do - ing, this is the _____ Lord's do - ing: and

T This is the _____ Lord's do - ing, this is the Lord's do - ing: and

B This is the _____ Lord's do - ing, this is the Lord's do - ing: and

[FULL]

[Chorus]

75

M it is mar - vel - lous, mar - vel-lous in our eyes.

CT1 it is mar - vel - lous, mar - vel-lous in our _____ eyes.

CT2 it is mar - vel - lous, mar - vel-lous in our _____ eyes.

T it is mar - vel - lous, and it is mar - vel-lous in our eyes.

B it is mar - vel - lous, mar - vel-lous in our eyes.

Verse

MC This is the day, this is the _____ day,

CT1D Verse This is the day, this is the day,

CT1C Verse This is the day, this is the day, this is the

Verse

84

MC this is the day which the Lord hath made: we will re - joice

CT1D this is the day which the Lord hath made: we will re-joice and be

CT1C day which the Lord hath made, which the Lord hath made: we will re - joice and be

88

MC and be glad, and be glad, and be glad in it, be glad in it.

CT1D glad, and be glad in _____ it.

CT1C glad, and be glad, and be glad, and be glad, and be glad in it.

91 [FULL] M [Chorus]

M
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the

CT1
[Chorus]
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho -

CT2
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the

T
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho -

B
[FULL]
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the

Chorus

95

M
Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and

CT1
- ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now,

CT2
Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now,

T
- ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, is

B
Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and

M
ev - er shall be: world with - out end, and ev - er shall be, world

CT1
and ev - er shall be: world with - out end, with - out

CT2
and ev - er shall be: world with - out end, with -

T
now, and ev - er shall be: world with - out

B
ev - er shall be, shall be: world with - out

M
with - out end. A - - - - men.

CT1
end. A - men, a - - - - men.

CT2
out end. A - - - - men.

T
end. A - - - - men.

B
end. A - - - - men.

Magnificat

from the Service in G minor

Nathaniel Patrick
ed. Watkins Shaw

FULL

Treble
My soul doth mag-ni - fy the Lord: and my spirit re - joi - ceth in God my_

Alto
My soul doth mag-ni - fy the Lord: and my spirit re - joi - ceth in God my

Tenor
My soul doth mag-ni - fy the Lord: and my spirit re - joi - ceth in God my_

FULL
Bass
My soul doth mag-ni - fy the Lord: and my spirit re - joi - ceth in God my

6 **DEC.** **CAN.**

Tr.
Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed: the low - li - ness of his hand - maid - en For_

A.
Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed: the low - li - ness of his hand - maid - en For_

T.
Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed: the low - li - ness of his hand - maid - en. For_

DEC. **CAN.**
B.
Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed: the low - li - ness of his hand - maid - en. For_

12 **DEC.**

Tr.
_ be - hold from hence - forth: all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - ed. For he that is_

A.
_ be - hold, from hence - forth: all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - ed. For he that is

T.
_ be - hold, from hence - forth: all ge - ne - r - ti - ons shall call me bless - ed. For he that is

DEC.
B.
_ be - hold, from hence - forth: all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - ed. For he that is

This edition appears as Church Music Society Reprint no. 40, *Nathaniel Patrick: Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from the service in G minor*, ed. Watkins Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.).

18 FULL

Tr. — migh - ty hath mag - ni - fied me: and ho - ly is his Name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear

A. migh - ty hath mag - ni - fied me: and ho - ly is his Name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear

T. migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi - ed me: and ho - ly is his Name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear

B. FULL
migh - ty hath mag - ni - fied me: and ho - ly is his Name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear

25 CAN.

Tr. him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons. He hath shew - ed strength with his arm: he hath scat - ter -

A. him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons. He hath shew - ed strength with his arm: he hath scat - ter -

T. him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons. He hath shew - ed strength with his arm: he hath scat - ter -
CAN.

B. him: through - put all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons. He hath shew - ed strength with his arm: he hath scat - ter -

32 DEC.

Tr. ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - on of their hearts. He hath put down the migh - ty from their

A. ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - on of their hearts. He hath put down the migh - ty

T. ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - on of their hearts. He hath put down the migh - ty

B. DEC.
ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - on of their hearts. He hath put down the migh - ty

38 CAN. FULL

Tr. seat: and hath ex - al - ted the hum - ble and meek. He hath fill - ed the hun -

A. from their seat: and hath ex - al - ted the hum - ble and meek. He hath fill - ed the hun -

T. from their seat: and hath ex - al - ted the hum - ble and meek. He hath fill - ed the hun -

B. CAN. FULL
from their seat: and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek. He hath fill - ed the hun -

44 CAN.

Tr. gry with good things: and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re - mem - b'ring his

A. gry with good things: and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re - mem - b'ring his mer -

T. gry with good things and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re - mem - b'ring his

B. CAN.
gry with good things: and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re - mem - b'ring his

50 DEC. CAN. DEC.

Tr. mer - cy hath hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to

A. cy hath hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to our fore -

T. mer - cy hath hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to

B. DEC. CAN. DEC.
mer - cy hath hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to

56 CAN. FULL

Tr. our for - fa - thers, A - bra-ham and his seed, for - ev - er. Glo - ry be to the

A. fa - thers, A - bra-ham and his seed, for - ev - er. Glo - ry be to the

T. ou fore-fa - thers, A - bra-ham and his seed, for ev - er. Glo - ry be to the fa -

B. our fore-fa - thers, A - bra-ham and his seed, for ev - er. Glo - ry be to the

62

Tr. Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning,

A. Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning,

T. ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning,

B. Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning,

68

Tr. and is now, and ev - er shall be: world with - out end. A - men, A - men.

A. is now, and ev - er shall be: world with - out end. with - out end. A - - - men..

T. is now, and ev - er shall be: world with - out end, world with - out end. A - - - men..

B. is now, and ev - er shall be: world with - out end. A - - - men..

O praise the Lord, all ye heathen, bb.1-15

Psalm 117

Thomas Tomkins
ed. David Pinto

Medius Primus

Medius Secundus

Medius Tertius

Primus Contratenor

Secundus Contratenor

Tertius Contratenor

Tenor Primus

Tenor Secundus

Tenor Tertius

Bass Primus

Bass Secundus

Bass Tertius

Pars Organica

O praise the Lord, all ye heathen

O praise the Lord, all ye

O praise the Lord, all ye heathen

O

8

M1 O praise the Lord, all ye hea -

M2 hea - - - then,

M3 O praise the

C1 O praise the Lord, all ye hea - then, - - - ye

C2 - then O praise the Lord, all ye hea -

C3 praise the Lord, all ye hea - - - - - then, O

T1 hea - - - then, praise the Lord, all ye hea - - - then,

T2 Lord, all ye hea - - - - - then,

T3 O praise the Lord, all ye hea - - - then,

B1 O praise the Lord, all ye hea

B2 all ye hea - - - - - then,

B3 O praise the Lord, all ye hea - - -

Org.

M1 - then, hea then, O praise the Lord, all ye hea - then,
 M2 O praise the Lord, all ye hea - then, ye hea - then,
 M3 Lord, all ye hea - - then, O praise the Lord,
 C1 hea - then, O praise the Lord, all ye hea -
 C2 then ye hea - then, all ye hea - - then,
 C3 praise the Lord, all ye hea - - then,
 T1 O praise the Lord, all ye_
 T2 O praise the Lord, O praise the Lord,
 T3 all ye hea - - -
 B1 - then, O praise the Lord, all ye
 B2 O praise the Lord, all ye hea - then,
 B3 - then, O praise the Lord, all

Org.

Reges Tharsis et insulae

From *Gradualia II* (1607)

William Byrd (c.1540–1623)

Alto I

Re - ges Thar - - - sis,

Alto II

Re - ges Thar - - - sis, et in - su -

Tenor

Re - ges Thar -

Bass

Re - - ges Thar - -

5

et in - su-læ mu - ne-ra of - fe - rent, of - fe - rent,

læ mu - ne - ra of - fe - rent, et in - su-læ

- - - - sis et in - su - læ, mu - ne-ra of - fe -

- sis, et in - su-læ, mu - ne-ra of - fe - rent, of - fe -

9

et in - su-læ mu - ne-ra of - fe - rent, et in - su-læ

mu - ne-ra of - fe - rent, et in - su-læ mu - ne-ra of - fe -

rent, of - fe - rent, et in - su - læ, mu - ne - ra of - fe -

rent, et in - su-læ, mu - ne-ra of - fe - rent,

13

mu - ne-ra of - fe - rent, Re - ges A - ra - bum, Re - ges A - ra -
 rent, of - fe - rent, Re - ges A - ra - bum, Re - ges
 rent, of - fe - rent, of - fe - rent, Re - ges A - ra - bum, A - ra -
 of - fe - rent, of - fe - rent, Re - ges A - ra - bum,

18

-bum et Sa - ba, et Sa - ba, et Sa - ba
 A - ra - bum et Sa - ba, et Sa - ba, do -
 -bum et Sa - ba, et Sa - ba, et Sa -
 Re - ges A - ra - bum et Sa - ba, et Sa -

22

do - na ad - du - cent, do - na ad - du -
 na ad - du - cent, do - na ad - du -
 -ba, do - na ad - du - cent, do - na ad - du -
 ba, et Sa - ba do - na ad - du -

26

cent, et a - do - ra - bunt e - um om - nes Re - ges

cent, et a - do - ra - bunt e - um, et

cent, et a - do - ra - bunt

cent, et a - do - ra - bunt e -

31

ter - ræ, et a - do - ra - bunt e - um

a - do - ra - bunt e - um om - nes Re - ges ter -

e - um om - nes Re - ges ter - ræ, om - nes Re - ges

um om - nes Re - ges ter - ræ,

35

om - nes Re - ges ter - ræ, om - nes Re - ges ter -

ræ, om - nes Re - ges ter - ræ, Re - ges ter -

ter - ræ, Re - ges ter - ræ, om - nes Re - ges

om - nes Re - ges ter - ræ, om - nes Re - ges ter -

40

- ræ, om - nes gen - tes, om -

ræ, om - nes gen - tes ser - vi - ent e -

ter - ræ, om - nes gen - tes, om - nes

ræ, om - nes gen - tes, om - nes gen -

45

- nes gen - tes ser - vi - ent e - i, om - nes

- i, ser - vi - ent e - i,

gen - tes, om - nes gen - tes ser -

tes ser - vi - ent e - i, ser - vi - ent e -

49

gen - tes ser - vi - ent e - i, om - nes

om - nes gen - tes ser - vi - ent e - i, ser - vi - ent

- vi - ent e - i, om - nes gen - tes, gen - tes ser -

i, om - nes gen - tes ser - vi - ent e -

53

gen - tes ser - vi - ent e - - i, ser - vi - ent

e - - - - i, om - nes gen - tes

- vi - ent e - - - - i, om - nes gen - tes,

i, ser - vi - ent e - - - - i, om - nes

57

e - - - - i, ser - vi -

ser - vi - ent e - i, ser -

om - nes gen - tes ser - vi - ent,

gen - tes ser - vi - ent e - - - - i, ser - vi - ent

59

ent e - - - - i.

- vi - ent e - - - - i.

ser - vi - ent e - - - - i.

- - - - i.

In Nomine à 4

William Byrd

Treble

Alto

Tenor

Bass

6

11

16

Measures 16-20 of the musical score. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a melody with various note values including half notes, quarter notes, and eighth notes, with some accidentals. The second staff is also in treble clef and contains whole notes. The third staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with eighth and quarter notes. The fourth staff is also in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter and half notes.

21

Measures 21-25 of the musical score. The system consists of four staves. The top staff continues the melody from the previous system. The second staff continues with whole notes. The third staff continues the bass line with eighth and quarter notes. The fourth staff continues the bass line with quarter and half notes.

26

Measures 26-30 of the musical score. The system consists of four staves. The top staff continues the melody, ending with a double bar line. The second staff continues with whole notes, also ending with a double bar line. The third staff continues the bass line, ending with a double bar line. The fourth staff continues the bass line, ending with a double bar line.

A Verse for the Organ, a Sagbut, Cornute, & Violin

NYPL, Drexel 5469, pp. 202-4

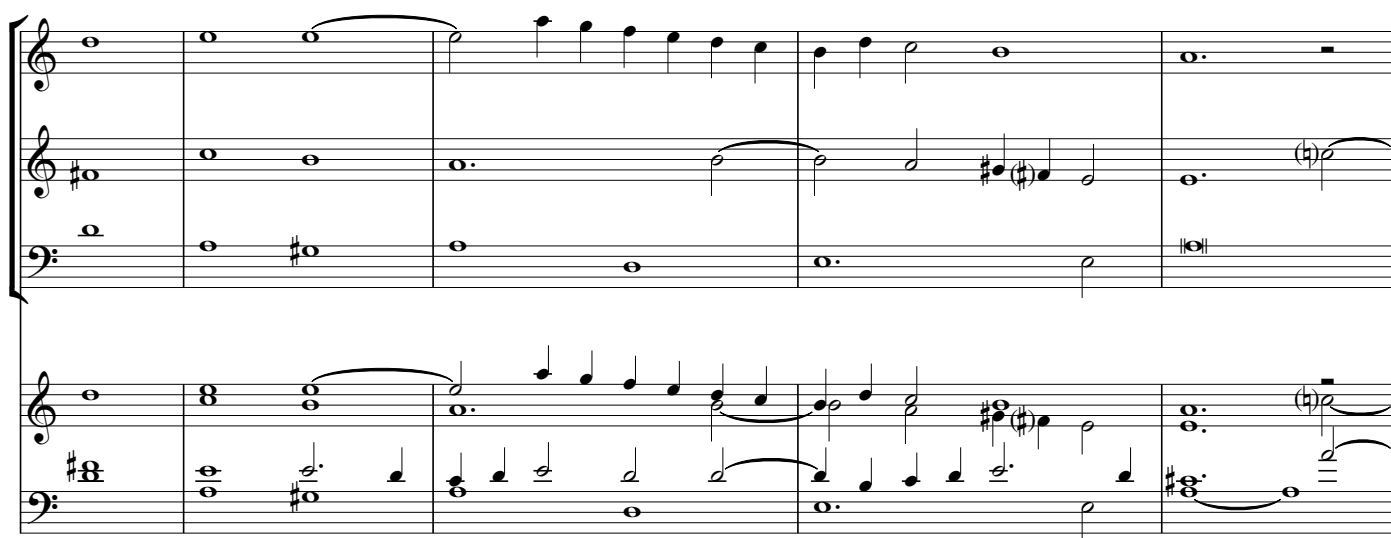
Henry Loosemore
ed. Helen Roberts

[Violin]

[Cornute]

[Sagbut]

Organ



8



12

Musical score for measures 12-15. The score is written for two systems, each with three staves (treble, middle, and bass clefs). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. Measure 12 shows a whole note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff. Measure 13 features a half note in the top staff and a whole note in the middle staff. Measure 14 has a half note in the top staff and a whole note in the middle staff. Measure 15 contains a half note in the top staff and a whole note in the middle staff.

16

Musical score for measures 16-19. The score is written for two systems, each with three staves (treble, middle, and bass clefs). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. Measure 16 shows a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff. Measure 17 features a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff. Measure 18 has a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff. Measure 19 contains a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff.

20

Musical score for measures 20-23. The score is written for two systems, each with three staves (treble, middle, and bass clefs). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. Measure 20 shows a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff. Measure 21 features a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff. Measure 22 has a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff. Measure 23 contains a half note in the top staff and a half note in the middle staff.

24

Musical score for measures 24-27. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lower staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a variety of note values including half notes, quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests. Measure 24 starts with a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 25 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 26 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 27 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4.

28

Musical score for measures 28-31. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lower staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a variety of note values including half notes, quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests. Measure 28 starts with a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 29 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 30 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 31 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4.

32

Musical score for measures 32-35. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lower staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a variety of note values including half notes, quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests. Measure 32 starts with a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 33 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 34 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. Measure 35 has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4.

36

Measures 36-39 of a musical score. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clef). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody in the upper staves features eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, with some measures containing rests. The lower staves provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines. Measure 39 ends with a double bar line.

40

Measures 40-43 of a musical score. The score continues with two systems of grand staves. The musical notation includes various note values and rests, maintaining the harmonic and melodic structure established in the previous measures. Measure 43 ends with a double bar line.

44

Measures 44-47 of a musical score. The score continues with two systems of grand staves. The notation shows a continuation of the musical themes, with some measures featuring more complex rhythmic patterns. Measure 47 ends with a double bar line.

48

Musical score for measures 48-51. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clef). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody in the upper staff begins with a whole rest in measure 48, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The lower staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with various note values and rests.

52

Musical score for measures 52-55. The score continues with two systems. The upper staff features a melodic line with some ties and a key signature change to two sharps (F# and C#) in measure 54. The lower staff continues the accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

56

Musical score for measures 56-59. The score concludes with two systems. The upper staff shows a melodic phrase ending with a whole note. The lower staff provides a final accompaniment with sustained chords and moving lines.

60

Musical score for measures 60-63. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and slurs.

64

Musical score for measures 64-67. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and slurs.

Magnificat

from the Short Service for Meanes

NYPL, MS Mus. Res. MNZ (Chirk)

Hugh Facy
trans. Ian Payne

[FULL]

Mean

Ct

T

Bass

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my sp'rit re - joic -

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my sp'rit hath re-joic -

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my sp'rit re - joic -

[FULL]

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my sp'rit re - joic -

5

[DEC.]

ed in God my Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed the low - li -

ed in God my Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed the low - li -

ed in God my Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed the low - li -

[DEC.]

ed in God my Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed the low - li -

10

[CAN.]

ness of his hand - maid - en. For be - hold from hence - forth:

ness of his hand - maid - en. For be - hold from hence - forth: all ge - ne -

ness of his hand - maid - en. For be - hold from hence - forth:

ness of his hand - maid - en. For be - hold from hence - forth: all

[CAN.]

14

all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - ed. [DEC.]
 ra - ti - ons, ge - ne - ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - - ed. For he
 all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - ed. [DEC.] For
 ge - ne - ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - - ed.

19

[DEC.] For he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fied
 that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi - ed
 he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi - ed me, hath mag - ni - fied
 for he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi - ed
 [DEC.]

23

[FULL] me: and ho - ly is his Name, and ho - ly is his Name. And his
 me: nd ho - ly is his Name, and ho - ly is his Name. And his
 me: and ho - ly is his Name, and ho - ly is his Name. And his
 me: and ho - ly is his Name. And his [FULL]

mer - cy is on them that fear him, that fear_____ him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti -

mer - cy is on them that fear him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti

mer - cy is on them that_____ fear_____ him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti -

mer - cy is on them that fear him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti -

[CAN.]

ons. He hath show - ed strength with his arm, with his_____ arm:

ons. He hath show - ed strength, hath show - ed strength with his arm: He hath

ons. he hath show - ed strength with his_____ arm:

[CAN.]

ons. He hath show - ed strength with his arm:

he hath scat - ter - ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - ons of

scat - ter - ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - ons, in the i - ma - gi - na - ti -

He hath scat - ter - ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - ons, in the i - ma - gi -

he hath scat - ter - ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - ons of their

43

[DEC.]

their hearts, of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty

ons of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty

na - ti - ons of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from

hearts, of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty

[DEC.]

48

[CAN.]

from their seat: and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

from their seat: and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

their seat: and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek, and meek. He

from their seat: and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

[CAN.]

53

[FULL]

He hath fill - ed the hun - gry with good things:

[FULL] He hath fill - ed the hun - gry with good things: and

hath fill - ed the hun - gry with good things, with good things.

[FULL]

He hath fill - ed the hun - gry with good things, with good things:

and the rich he hath, and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re -

the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way, and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re -

and the rich he hath sent emp - ty, sent emp - ty a - way. He re -

and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re -

mem-b'ring his mer - cy hath holp - en his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to our fore -

mem-b'ring his mer - cy hath holp - en his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to our fore - fa -

mem-b'ring his mer - cy hath holp - en his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to our fore -

mem-b'ring his mer - cy hath holp - en his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to our fore -

fa - thers, A - br - ham and his seed for e - ver.

fa - thers, A - bra - ham and his seed for e - ver. Glo - ry

fa - thers, A - bra - ham and his seed for e - ver. Glo - ry be to the

fa - thers, A - bra - ham and his seed for e - ver. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and

Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho - ly

be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the Ho - ly

Fa - ther, and to the Son, and to the Ho - - ly

to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost, and to the Ho - - ly

Ghost: as it was in the be - gin - ning is now, and e - ver shall be, world with - out end, and

Ghost: as it was in the be - gin - ning is now, and e - ver shall be, world with -

Ghost: as it was in the be - gin - ning is now, and e - ver shall be, world

Ghost: as it was in the be - gin - ning is now, and e - ver shall

e - ver shall be, world with - out end. A - - - - men.

out end, world with - out end. A - - - - men.

with - out end, world with - out end. A - - - - men.

be, world with - out end. A - - - - men.

Magnificat

from the Short Service for Meanes

NYPL, MS Mus. Res. MNZ (Chirk)

Mean

Hugh Facy
trans. Ian Payne

[FULL]

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my sp'rit re - joic -

5 [DEC.]

ed in God my Sa - vi - our. For he hath re - gard - ed the low - li -

10 [CAN.]

ness of his hand - maid - en. For be - hold from hence - forth: all ge - ne -

15 [DEC.]

ra - ti - ons shall call me bless - ed. For he

21

that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fied me: and ho - ly is his Name, and

26 [FULL]

ho - ly is his Name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear him, that fear

31 [CAN.]

him: through - out all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons. He hath show - ed strength with his arm, with

36

his arm: he hath scat - ter - ed the proud

40

in the i - ma - gi - na - ti - ons of their hearts, of

44 [DEC.]
 their hearts. He hath put down the might - ty from their____

49 [CAN.]
 seat: and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

54 [FULL]
 He hath fill - ed the hun - gry with good things: and

59 [CAN.]
 the rich he hath, and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way. He re - mem - b'ring his mer -

64 [DEC.] [CAN.] [DEC.]
 cy hath help - en his ser - vant Is - ra - el: as he pro - mis - ed to our fore - fa - thers, A - br -

69 [FULL]
 ham and his seed for e - ver. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the

75
 Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost: as it was in the be - gin - ning is now, and

80
 e - ver shall be, world with - out end, and e - ver shall be, world

83
 with - out end. A - - - - men.

Above the stars

Robert Parsons

ed. Ian Payne

Notes from I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547-c.1646* (New York & London: Garland, 1993), p. 406:

'Sources: St Michael's College, Tenbury, MS 921 (deposited at the Bodleian Library, Oxford), pp. 44-58 (this contains the complete text in a mid-eighteenth-century score); and the following Durham Cathedral Library MSS contain music for the choruses (the organ part, and both the instrumental and most of the vocal music for the verse sections, are lacking. [This is with the exception of the Tenor solo, bb. 103-49].

Mean	C1	Mean (c.1660)	pp.272-3
Alto I	C2	Contratenor (c.1640)	pp.151-2
Alto II	C3	2nd Contratenor Decani (c.1640)	pp.122-3
	C7	1st Contratenor Cantoris (c.1635)	p.86
Tenor	C11	Tenor Decani (c.1640)	pp.49-50
	C14	Tenor Cantoris (c.1660)	pp.107-8
Bass	C16	Bassus Decani (c.1640)	p.218
	C19	Basses (c.1675)	pp.263-4

This is not a complete critical edition but, rather, a conflation of the Durham vocal parts and the organ part (heavily arranged, if not composed, by the copyist) of MS Tenbury 921. The Durham text has no key-signature, and accidentals which are lacking from them are noted below when they conflict with the key-signature in the text which is taken from Tenbury. All verse and chorus indications, and fermate, occur in at least one of the sources, and underlay follows Durham throughout. The high degree of compatability which exists not only between the pre- and post-Restoration Durham texts of the vocal parts, but also (and especially) between Durham and Tenbury, gives no reason to assume that the Tenbury copyist interfered with them in any way. The Tenbury organ part, however, would not seem to have been closely (or accurately) copied from a pre-Restoration original, for it bears signs of having been arranged or composed by a later hand, possibly the Tenbury copyist himself.'

Robert Parsons (ii) (1596-1576). Not to be confused with the Elizabethan composer of the same name, Mr Robert Parsons of Exeter, as he is often described in manuscript sources, was a long-serving singing man at Exeter Cathedral between around 1611, when he first appears in the records as a secondary, and his death in 1676, despite his initial appointment as a lay vicar being disputed on the grounds he was considered 'not fit for a counter tenor'. A Morning and Evening Service in D, along with three further liturgical items by him survive, including a four-part setting of the collect *Ever blessed Lord*, suggesting that he may have contributed to the expansion of polyphonic settings of BCP texts undertaken by many composers during the period before the Civil Wars.

Above the stars

Robert Parsons
ed. Ian Payne

Mean

Organ

7

M

A - bove the stars, a - bove the stars

Org.

14

M

my sa - viour dwells, I love, I care for no-thing else,

Org.

21

M

I love, I care for no - thing else, I love, I care for no - thing else.

Org.

[Chorus]

Mean

I love, I care for no - thing else,

[Chorus]

Alto I

I love, I care for no - thing else, I love, I care for

[Chorus]

Alto II

I love, I care for no - thing else, I love, I care for

Tenor

[Chorus]

I love, I care for no - thing else, I love, I care for no -

[Chorus]

Bass

I love, I care for

Organ

31

M

I love, I care for no - thing else.

A I

no - thing else, I love, I care for no - thing else.

A II

no - thing else, I love, I care for no - thing else.

T

- thing else, I love, I care for no - thing else.

B

no - thing else, I love, I care for no - thing else.

Org.

35 [Instrument I]

A I & Inst. I

[VERSE: Alto II]

A II & Inst. II

There, there he sits, and fits a

Org.

42

A I & Inst. I

A II & Inst. II

place For the glo-ri-ous heirs of grace,

Org.

48

A I & Inst. I

A II & Inst. II

for the glo-ri-ous heirs of grace, the glo-ri-ous heirs of grace,

Org.

54

[VERSE: Mean]

M

Dear sa - viour, dear sa - viour, raise___ my dul - ler

[Instrument II]

A II & Inst. II

Org.

62

M

eyne, raise___ my dul - ler eyne, Let me be-hold thy

A II & Inst. II

Org.

71

M

beams di - vine, let me be - hold thy beams di - vine.

verse Count[erte]n[o]r

A II & Inst. II

Let me be-hold thy beams, let me be - hold thy beams di - vine.

Org.

79 [Chorus]

M
Dear sa - vi - our, raise____ my dul - ler eyne, raise____

A I
Dear sa - vi - our, raise____ my dul - ler eyne,

A II
Dear sa - vi - our, raise my dul - ler____ eyne,

T
Dear sa - vi - our, raise____ my dul - ler eyne,

B
Dear sa - vo - our, raise____ my dul - ler eyne,

Org.

86

M
— my dul - ler eyne,

A I
raise,____ O raise____ my dul - ler____ eyne,

A II
raise my dul - ler eyne,____ Let me be-hold thy

T
raise____ my dul - - ler eyne, Let me be-hold thy

B
raise____ my dul - ler eyne,____

Org.

92

M
Let me but see thy beams di - - vine, let

A I
Let me be - hold thy beams di - -

A II
beams di - - vine, let me be - hold thy beams

T
beams di - vine, let

B
Let me be - hold thy beams di - vine, let

Org.

97

M
me be - hold thy beams di - - - - vine.

A I
vine, let me be - hold thy beams di - vine.

A II
di - vine, be - hold thy beams di - vine.

T
me be - hold thy beams di - - - vine.

B
me be - hold thy beams di - - - - vine.

Org.

102 [Instrument I]

A I & Inst. I

[Instrument II]

A II & Inst. II

T

[Tenor solo]

Ra - vish my soul with won-der,

Org.

107

A I & Inst. I

A II & Inst. II

T

ra - vish my soul with won der and de- sire: Ere

Org.

112

A I & Inst. I

T

I en - joy, ere I en - joy, let me thy

Org.

117

[Mean]

M

Let me thy joys_____ ad mire, let me thy joys ad -

[Alto II]

A II & Inst. II

Let me thy joys' ad - mire, let me thy joys_____ ad -

T

joys ad - mire,_____ ad- mire, let me thy joys ad mire, let me thy joys ad -

Org.

123

M

mire;

[Instrument I]

A I & Inst. I

[Instrument II]

A II & Inst. II

mire;

[Instrument III]

T

mire; *does not appear in DrC MS C11 And won - d'ring, won - d'ring, let____

Org.

130

M

Verse

Come Lord

A I & Inst. I

A II & Inst. II

Verse

Come Lord Je - su,

T

— me say: Come Lord Je - su, come a- way, come a- way,

Org.

136

M

Je - su, come a- way, come a- way, come Lord

A II

come a- way, come a - way, come Lord Je - su, come a- way,

T

come Lord Je - su, come a- way, come a- way,

Org.

142

M Je - su, come a - way, come a - way, come Lord Je - su, come a - way, come a -

A II come a - way, come Lord Je - su, come a - way,

T come a - way, come Lord je - su, come a - way, come a - way,

Org.

148 [Chorus]

M way, come a - way. Come a -

A I & Inst. I [Chorus] Come Lord Je - su, come a - way,

A II [Chorus] come a - way. Come Lord

T [Chorus] come a - way, come a - way. Come Lord Je - su, come a - way,

B [Chorus] Come Lord Je - su, com a - way,

Org.

154

M way, come Lord Je - su, come a - way, come Lord Je - su, come

A I Come Lord Je - su,

A II Je - su, come a - way, come a - way,

T come Lord Je - su, come a - way, come a - way, ——— come a -

B come Lord Je - su, come a -

Org.

159

M a - - way, come ——— a - way, come Lord Je - su, come a -

A I come a - way, come Lord Je - su, ——— come a - way, come

A II come Lord Je - su, come ——— a - way,

T - - way, come a - way, come Lord

B way. come Lord Je - su, come a - way,

Org.

164

M
way, com a - way, sweet Je - su, come a - way, sweet Je - su,

A I
a - way, sweet

A II
sweet Je - su, come a - way, come a - way,

T
Je - su, come a - way, sweet Je - su, come a - way, come

B
come a - way, sweet Je - su, come a -

Org.

170

M
come a - way, sweet Je - su, come a - way, come a - way.

A I
Je - su, come a - way, a - way.

A II
sweet Je - su, come a - way.

T
a - way, come a - way, a - way.

B
way, sweet Je - su, come a way.

Org.

How hath the city sate solitary

Edward Gibbons

ed. Ian Payne

Verse Anthem for two contratenor altus soloists, MCTB and 4 instruments

Text: Lamentations 1:1 (paraphrase), Burial of a Child

Notes from I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547-c.1646* (New York & London: Garland, 1993), p. 382:

'Source: BL Harley 7340, ff. 94r-9v

Title (on prefatory staves): 'How hath the City sate solitary / Lament[at]ions Chap[ter the] 1st - / A verse Anthem for 2 voices / with two [sic] instrumental parts Annex'd'.

Ascription (on prefatory staves): 'Compos'd / By Edward Gibbons Custos / of the College of Priests [sic] vicars / of the Cathedrall Church of Exeter / 1611'.

The anthem is apparently scored for three unspecified melody instruments (not two, as stated in the MS), two alto soloists, and four-part choir. (The bass would probably have been played on the organ, though no organ part is given in the score.) In the MS, throughout the piece, the staves are divided into groups of two and three by braces at the beginning of many systems, labelled 'instruments' and 'voices'. These are often demonstrably incorrect (for example, the obviously instrumental bass line in the verses being bracketed with the 'voices'), but the scoring of the opening bars makes it quite certain that three instruments (excluding the bass) were required, and only two voices are ever employed for the verse sections. These braces are shown in the transcription by broken lines (-----) wherever they occur in the MS, before the bars which correspond with the first bar of a system as the score is set out in the original MS. It should be assumed that the two upper parts, together with whichever of the alto part is not texted in the verses (they are usually fully-texted except at the opening of each section) should be taken by the three instruments. No attempt has made to compose an editorial organ part, but where the harmony or the texture seem to require it, some filling-in has been added above the bass line in small notes: this is intended to suggest some of the material that may have been added in performance, possibly from an organ part that has not survived, and is not intended as a substitute for a proper organ part.'

The piece also survives in Och MS Mus. 21.

Edward Gibbons (1658-c.1650) was the son of William Gibbons, wait of the city of Cambridge, and brother of Orlando. He was master of the choristers at King's College, Cambridge from 1592-98 and appointed *informator* at Exeter in 1608 for a salary of £20 a year 'so longe... as he shall teache the Choristers and Secondaries... in Instrumentall Musicke' (Payne, *Provision and Practice*, p. 235). Jane and Mary Gibbons, who married Exeter composers Thomas Gale and Greenwood Randall respectively on the same day in 1626, may have been Edward's daughters. His tenure at Exeter lasted over 40 years, ending with the start of the Interregnum in 1649. He also composed a Kyrie and Credo to William Mundy's *Short Service*, and a three-voice setting of *Awake and arise* (Le Huray, *Catalogue*). Apart from some entries in cathedral records relating to disciplinary issues from the 1620s, little else is known about him, but his time at Exeter corresponds with that of long-serving organist and master of the choristers, John Lugg, with whom he must have worked closely. Between them, they presided over one of the largest English cathedral choirs of the period, which saw regular expenditure on the purchase and repair of cornetts and sackbuts, along with significant outlay on the organ, suggesting a progressive and ambitious musical establishment.

How hath the city sate solitary

Edward Gibbons
ed. Ian Payne

Instrumental parts

Instrument I

Instrument II

Instrument III & Altus I

Altus II

Mean

Tenor

Bass

Instrument IV & Editorial 5th voice

6

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

[Verse]

How hath the Ci - ty sate so - li -

13

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

[Verse]

How hath the Ci-ty, the Ci-ty sate so - li -

ta - ry,

20

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

ta - ry, that was full of peo - ple

The El - ders are

26

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

The El - ders are ceas-ed from the

ceas-ed from the Gate, the young men from their Mu-sic,

32

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

Gate, the young men from their Mu-sic.

A II

The joy of our heart is ceas - ed,

Inst. IV

38

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

our dance is turn - ed in - to mourn - ing,

A II

The crown is

Inst. IV

44

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

The crown is fall'n from our head,

A II

fall'n from our head, Woe—

Inst. IV

50

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

Woe _____ un - to us,

A II

un - to us, that _____

Inst. IV

55

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

we have sin - ned, that we _____ have _____ sin - ned.

Inst. IV

59 Chorus

M.

Woe _____ un - to us, that we, that we have sin - ned.

Chorus

A.

Woe _____ un - to us, that we, that _____ we have sin - ned.

Chorus

T.

Woe _____ un - to us, that we, that _____ we have sin - ned.

Chorus

B.

Woe un - to us, that we, that we have sin - ned.

Inst. IV

65 Instruments

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

71

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

Verse

O ho - ly, ho - ly Lord

O Lord, God,

78

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

God,

And con -

Which has wound - ed us for our sins.

84

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

sum - ed us from our trans-gres-sions,

A II

And con-sum - ed us from

Inst. IV

89

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

by the late hea - vy plague

A II

our trans - gres-sions, By the late hea - vy

Inst. IV

94

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

An dread - ful, dread - ful vi - si - ta - ti -

A II

plague,

Inst. IV

100

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

on.

And

now,

in

106

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

the midst of judge - ment hast show - ed mer - cy,

And

111

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III &
A I

A II

Inst. IV

now, in the midst of judge - ment hast show - ed mer-cy, hast show - ed

117

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

mer - cy, And hast re-deem'd our souls ev'n

A II

And hast re-deem'd,

Inst. IV

123

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

from the jaws of death, of death.

A II

the jaws of death. O give thanks

Inst. IV

129

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

O give thanks, For his mer-cy,

A II

un - to the God of Heav'n,

Inst. IV

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

en - dur-eth for e - ver.

A II

For his mer-cy en - dur-eth

Alto

Inst. IV

Chorus

M.

And his mer - - cy en -

Chorus

A.

For his mer - - cy, for his mer - - cy en - dur -

Chorus

T.

For his mer - - cy, for his mer - - cy en -

Chorus

B.

For his mer - - cy,

Inst. IV

147

M. dur - eth, en - dur - - eth for e - - ver.

A. eth, en - dur - eth for e - - ver.

T. dur - eth, en - dur - eth for e - - ver.

B. en - - dur - - eth for e - - ver.

Inst. IV

152 Instruments

Inst. I

Inst. II [Instruments]

Inst. III & A I [Instruments]

A II Verse Lord, thou

Inst. IV

159

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

Verse

Thou hast ta - ken a -

A II

— art be - come gra - ci - ous un - to thy land,

Inst. IV

166

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

way thy dis - plea - sure,

A II

Thou has ta - ken a - way thy dis - plea - sure,

Inst. IV

172

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

And turn - ed thy - self

A II

And turn - ed thy - self

Inst. IV

178

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

Like as a

from thy wrath ful in - dig - na - ti - on,

183

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

fa - ther pi - tieth, pi - tieth his own chil dren

Ev'n so, ev'n so is the

189

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

For he show-eth

Lord mer - ci-ful, mer - ci-ful to them that fear him,

194

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

where - of we be made, He__

A II

He re- mem - b'reth that we are__ but dust,

Inst. IV

199

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

— re-mem-b'reth that__ we are but dust, but dust.

A II

but dust. O__ give thanks

Inst. IV

205

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

O give thanks, For__ his mer-cy,

A II

un - to the God__ of Heav'n,

Inst. IV

Inst. I

Inst. II

Inst. III & A I

A II

Inst. IV

en-dur-eth for e - ver.

For _____ his mer-cy _____ en - dur-eth

Chorus

M.

Chorus

A.

Chorus

T.

Chorus

B.

Inst. IV

And his mer - cy en - dur - eth, en - dur -

For his mer - cy, for his mer - cy en - dur - eth, en - dur - eth

For his mer - cy, for his mer - cy en - dur - eth, en - dur - eth

For his mer - cy, en - dur -

M.

A.

T.

B.

Inst. IV

-eth for e - ver. for e - - - ver.

for e - ver. for e - - - ver.

for e - - - ver. for e - - - ver.

-eth for e - ver. for e - - - ver.

O Lord let me know mine end

Solomon Tozer (c.1595-1619)

trans. Helen Roberts

Verse anthem: T/MAATB/MT/MAATB/T/MAATB

This work has been reconstructed from the following MSS:

Drc MS A5 (Organ)

Drc MSS C2 (I Contratenor Decani), C3 (II Contratenor Decani) & C14 (Tenor Cantoris)

Cp MS 44, f.g6 (Medius Decani)

Drc C7, fascicle 1 (I Contratenor Cantoris) has not been consulted as it is missing from the facsimile collection at Senate House Library.

The Dunnington-Jefferson MS, the 'Batten' Organ book (Tenbury MS 791) and the 'Durham Exciles', all of which transmit this work, have not been consulted.

Text: Psalm 39:8

Verses are for Tenor Cantoris, with an additional Medius Cantoris verse (bb. 30–56) added here to complete the texture.

The bassus part has been extracted from the organ part.

The sources are mostly unproblematic, save for a missing beat at the end of b. 57 (the end of a page in the organ part). The custos markings point to the notes of the following bar, but without the extra beat, the bass voice cannot carry the full text.

The original barring of the organ part has been retained throughout. This has necessitated alteration to the length of final notes in the vocal parts, most of which appear as longs in the original part books.

Spelling and punctuation have been modernised and standardised.

Original note lengths have been retained.

Editorial accidentals are given in square brackets in the organ part and above the note in the vocal parts. Cautionary accidentals are given in round brackets throughout. Accidentals should be interpreted according to modern usage (applying to the bar in which they appear) unless explicitly marked otherwise.

Internal custos in the organ part are represented by crossed noteheads. These are rarely given a note value in the source and no attempt to add further to their meaning has been made here.

Changes to the original are described below according to the following scheme: bar number, voice name (LH / RH in the organ part), description of change.

18 Organ RH final crotchet is e in source

24 T # appears between 2 c's in sources

46 T 1st note is d in source

57 Organ part omits final beat of this bar in source

105 AI 2 \circ d's in source. Part altered to provide suspension as per organ part

Solomon Tozar [Tozer] (b. 1595?, d. Exeter, 23rd May 1619) was a chorister at Exeter Cathedral until 1610 when he was appointed choir secondary in place of George Masters. In 1618 he was appointed lay vicar in place of William Gale, a post he held until his death. He also leaves a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in the Chirk Castle part books and the associated Och. Mus 6 organ book. As a secondary, he would have received musical instruction from Edward Gibbons who was appointed in 1609 for a salary of £20 a year 'so longe... as he shall teache the Choristers and Secondaries... in Instrumentall Musicke'. Tozer would also have benefitted from the teaching of long-serving Exeter organist John Luge, an accomplished composer in his own right. This work is a functional and pleasing setting of the text without necessarily demonstrating ground-breaking compositional flair. It was clearly widely copied in the first half of the seventeenth century and as a simple piece certainly has appeal.

O Lord let me know mine end

Solomon Tozer
trans. Helen Roberts

Medius
[Decani]

Altus I
[Decani]

Altus II
[Decani]

Tenor
[Cantoris]

[Bassus]

Organ

5 [Verse: Tenor Cantoris]

T

O Lord, O Lord, let me know mine

9

T

end, and the num - ber of my days, and the num - ber of my

13

T

days; that I may be cer - ti -

16

AI

[Chorus: Altus I FULL]

That I

T

fied how — long I — have to live.

19

M

[Chorus: Mean FULL]

That I may be cer - - ti - fied how

AI

may be cer - ti - fied,

[Chorus: Altus II FULL]

AII

That I may be cer - ti - fied, that I may be cer - ti-fied

[Chorus: Tenor FULL]

T

[Chorus: Bass FULL]

B

That I may be cer - ti - fi - ed. how

M
long I have to live, I have to live.

A I
how long I have to live, how long I have to live.

A II
how long I have to live, to live.


T
how long I have to live, I have to live.

B
long I have to live, how long, how long, how long I have to live.


M
[Verse: Medius Cantoris]
Be - hold, be -

T
[Verse: Tenor Cantoris]
Be - hold, be - hold


32

M 

hold thou has made my days, my days, as it were

T 


thou hast made my days, as it were a span long,




36

M 

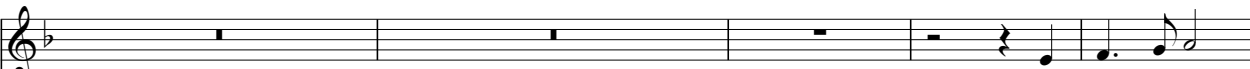
a span long, and my age is— no - thing

T 


and my age is no - thing and my age is



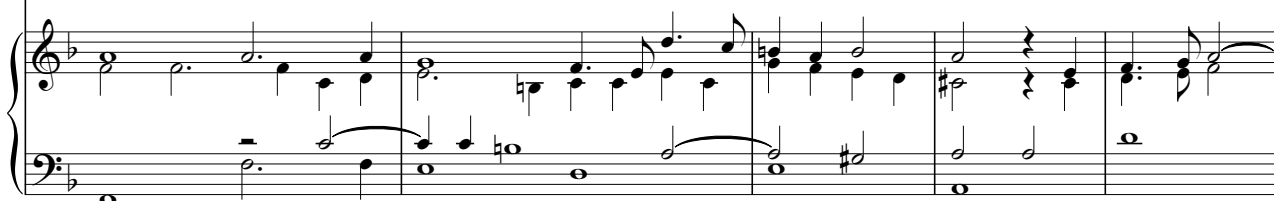
40

M 


and ve - ri-ly

T 

no - thing in— re-spect of— thee,




45


M 
 ev' - ry man liv - ing, and ve - ri-ly ev' - ry man

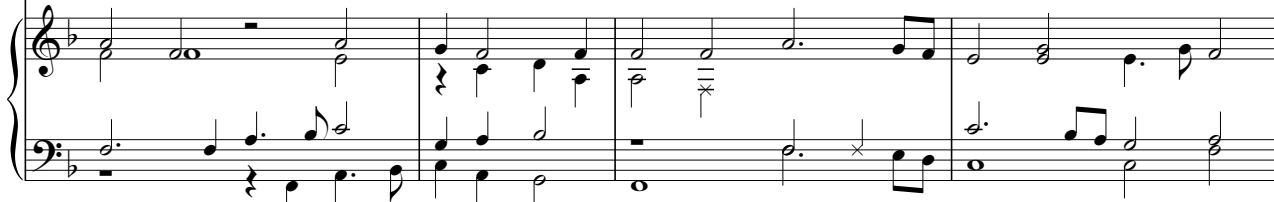
T 
 and ve - ri-ly ev' - ry man liv - ing



49

M 
 liv - ing

T 
 and ve - ri-ly ev' - ry man liv - ing is al - to - ge - ther



53

M 
 is al - to - ge - ther va - ni -

T 
 va - ni - ty, is al - to - ge - ther va - ni -



56

[Chorus: Medius FULL]

M ty, And ve - ri - ly ev' - ry man liv - ing

A I [Chorus: Altus I FULL] And ve - ri - ly ev' - ry man liv - ing

A II [Chorus: Altus II FULL]

T [Chorus: Tenor FULL] And

B [Chorus: Bass FULL] ty. And ve - ri - ly ev' - ry

And ve - ri - ly ev' - ry man

59

M is all to - geth - er va - ni - ty, van - i - ty.

A I is all to - ge - ther va - ni - ty van - i - ty.

A II ve - ri - ly ev' - ry man liv - ing is all to - ge - ther van - i - ty.

T man liv - ing is al - to - ge - ther van - i - ty.

B liv - ing is al - to - ge - ther va - ni - ty.

62

[Verse: Tenor Cantoris]

T

For man walk-eth in a vain sha-dow,

67

T

and dis-qui - et-eth him self, and dis-qui - et-eth him

71

T

self in vain, in _____ vain,

74

T

he heap - eth up rich - es

78

T

and can not tell who shall ga - ther

83

T

them and now Lord, and now Lord,

88

T

what is my hope,

91

M

And

T


tru - ly my hope is even in thee, is even in thee.

M 
now Lord, and now Lord what is my hope,

A I 
And now Lord, and now Lord

A II 
And now Lord what

T 
[Chorus: Bass FULL] And now Lord,

B 
And now Lord, what is my



M 
tru - ly my hope is even in

A I 
what is my hope, tru - ly my hope is even in

A II 
is my hope what is my hope, tru - ly my hope is even in

T 
what is my hope

B 
hope, what is my hope,



M
thee, tru - ly my hope is even in thee.

A I
thee, tru - ly my hope is even in thee — in thee.

A II
thee, is even in thee.

T
tru - ly my hope is even in thee, is even in thee.

B
tru - ly my hope is even — in thee.



M
A - - - men A - - - - - men.

A I
A - - - - - men A - - - - - men.

A II
A - - - - - men A - - - - - men.

T
A - - - - - men, A - - - - - men.

B
A - - - - - men A - - - - - men.



Shall we receive good

Henry Travers

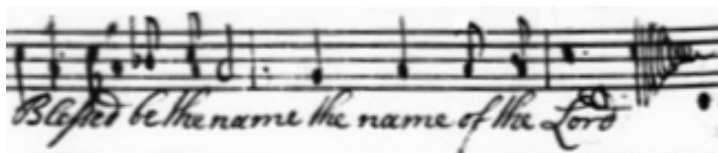
trans. Helen Roberts

Verse anthem: STB/SATB/B/SATB/SAT/SATB/SATB/S/SATB

Source: Fitzwilliam Museum, MU.MS.238, ff. 4-8v (previously Cu Ely 9) (Score)

Also survives in EXcl Mus. 2/6 (Tenor) and EXcl Mus. 2/42 (Bass), which have not been consulted.

Text: Job 2:10



Critical commentary:

Aside from substantial bleedthrough in the Cambridge source, the materials are unproblematic. The original key signature has been retained, even though four flats might reflect modern useage more closely. All note values are original. Spelling and punctuation has been modernised and standardised.

Henry Travers (c.1620 - 1679) is named as a former chorister appointed lay vicar at Exeter Cathedral in 1638. He seems to have spent at least some of the Commonwealth period in London, as Cathedral records from 1663 state that he is 'to have a lay vicar's place if he returns from London'. Exeter covered the costs of at least two return trips to the capital for Travers: he was granted £10 towards the cost of 'learning to play upon the cornett and shagbutts when he is in London', and paid a further £19 to buy 'shagbutts and Cornetts ... for the use of the Church', both in 1664. Ian Spink describes this anthem as providing 'evidence of a capable if conservative technique', (Oxford Music Online) perhaps developed during studies with members of the newly-re-established Chapel Royal. Travers' colleague Peter Passmore, Exeter organist in the 1670s, is recorded as having studied in London with John Blow, suggesting that Exeter musicians were keen to keep up with the latest developments during the Restoration period and maintain the ambitious musical establishment that Exeter fostered during the pre-Commonwealth years.

Shall we receive good

Henry Travers
trans. Helen Roberts

Vers 3 voc: [STB]

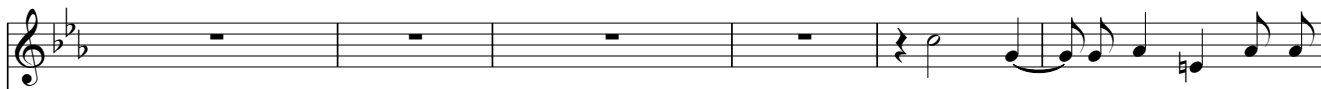
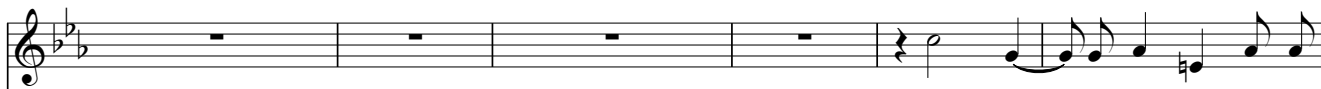
[Soprano]  



[Alto]  



[Tenor]  

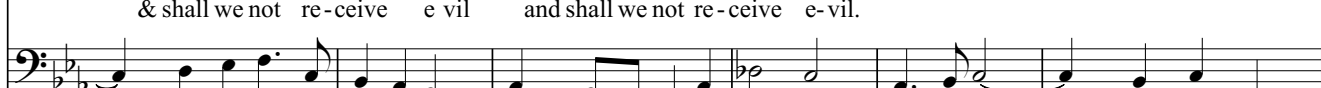
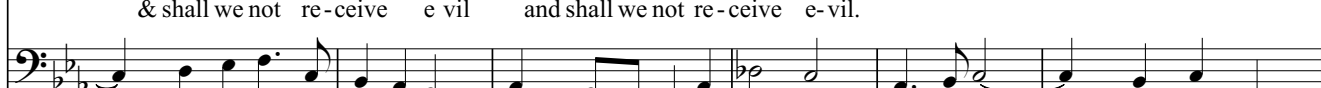
[Bass]  Shall wee  Shall we___ re-ceive good from the hand of God

[Organ]  

4   Shall we___ re-ceive good from the

  Shall we___ re-ceive good from the

  & shall we not re-ceive e vil and shall we not re-ceive e-vil.

10  hand of God  and shall we not re-ceive e-vil and

 hand of God___ and shall we not___ re-ceive e-vil  and shall we not___ re-ceive e-vil

15

shall we not re - ceive e - vil.

and shall we not re-ceive e - vil. Though he slay me_

Though he slay me_ though he slay me_

19

yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him yet will yet will I trust in

— yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in

— yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in

25

Cho:

Him. Though he slay me though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him.

Though he slay me though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him.

Him. Though he slay me though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him.

Him. Though he slay me, though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him.

32

[Bass] Vers Solo:

Shall mor - tal man be more just than God be more just than

God shall a man be more pure than his ma-ker be more pure than his

#3 4 3 b3

Cho: as before

Though he slay me though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him

Though he slay me though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him

Though he slay me though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him

ma-ker. Though he slay me, though he slay me yet will I trust in Him yet will I trust in Him

Vers 3 voc: [SAT]

[Soprano] I have heard of thee by the hear-ing of the Ear But now mine Eyes

[Alto] I have heard of thee by the hear-ing of the Ear

[Tenor] I have heard of thee by the hear-ing of the Ear

[Organ] I have heard of thee by the hear-ing of the Ear

seeth thee But now mine Eye but now mine Eyes seeth thee.

But now mine Eyes see thee But now my Eyes but now my Eyes seeth thee.

But now mine Eyes see thee But now my Eyes seeth thee.

62 [Tenor] Vers Solo

Where-fore I ab-hor my self where-fore I ab-hor my self & re-pent in dust and ash-es

68

and re-pent in dust and ash-es and re-pent in dust and re-pent in dust and ash-es.

74 Cho:

Shall mor-tal man be more just then God shall a man be more pure then his

Shall mor-tal man be more just then God shall a man be more pure then his

Shall mor-tal man be more just then God shall a man be more pure then his

Shall mor-tal man be more just then God shall a man be more pure then his

78

ma-ker shall a man be more pure then his ma-ker

ma-ker shall a man be more pure then his ma-ker

ma-ker shall a man be more pure then his ma-ker

ma-ker shall a man be more pure then his ma-ker

Vers [SATB]

[Soprano] Nak - ed nak - ed Came I out of my mo - thers

[Alto] Nak - ed nak - ed came I out of my mo - thers

[Tenor] Nak - ed nak - ed came I out of my mo - thers

[Bass] Nak - ed nak - ed came I out of my mo - thers

[Organ]

85

womb and na - ked nak - ed shall I re - turn thi-ther.

womb and nak - ed nak - ed shall I re-turn re - turn thi-ther.

womb and nak - ed nak - ed shall I re-turn shall I re-turn thi-ther.

womb and nak - ed nak - ed shall I re-turn, re - turn thi-ther.

90 [Soprano solo]

The Lord gave the Lord gave and the Lord hath tak-en a - way and the Lord hath tak-en a - way

—

bless - ed be the name _____ Bless - ed be the

Bless - ed be the name of the Lord bless - ed be the name Bless-

Bless - ed be the name the name of the Lord Bless - ed be the Name _____

Bless - ed be the name _____ of the Lord Bless - ed be the name Bless - ed be the Name _____

100

The musical score consists of five staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). It begins with a common time signature 'C'. The melody starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B-flat4, and C5. There are repeat signs after the first measure and after the fourth measure. Below the staff, the lyrics are: "name the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name the name of the Lord Bless". The second staff continues the melody from the first staff, starting with a half note D5, followed by quarter notes C5, B-flat4, and A4. It also includes repeat signs. The lyrics below are: "- ed be the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name of the Lord Bless". The third staff has a bass clef and continues the melody with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes F3, E-flat3, and D3. It includes repeat signs. The lyrics below are: "— the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name the name of the Lord". The fourth staff continues the melody with a half note C3, followed by quarter notes B2, A2, and G2. It includes repeat signs. The lyrics below are: "— the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name_____ of the Lord Bless". The fifth staff continues the melody with a half note F2, followed by quarter notes E2, D2, and C2. It includes repeat signs. The lyrics below are: "the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name_____ of the Lord Bless".

1.

2.

name the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name the name of the Lord Bless

- ed be the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name of the Lord Bless

— the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name the name of the Lord

— the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name_____ of the Lord Bless

the name of the Lord Lord Bless - ed be the name_____ of the Lord Bless

- ed be the name_____ Bless - ed be the name the name of the Lord

- ed be the name Bless - ed be the name of the Lord

Bless - ed be the name_____ the name of the Lord

- ed be the name Bless - ed be the name_____ the name of the Lord

Out of the deep, bb. 67-79

Psalm 130

Thomas Morley

67

Medius

And he shall re-deem Is - ra - el from all his sins, from all his.

Contratenor I

And he shall re-deem Is - ra - el from all his sins, from all

Contratenor II

And he shall re-deem Is - ra - el from all his sins, from all his

Tenor

And he shall re-deem Is - ra - el from all his sins, from all his

Bassus

And he shall re-deem Is - ra - el from all his sins, from all

Organ

73

M

sins. A - - - - - men.

CTI

his sins. A - - - - - men.

CTII

sins, from all his sins. A - - - - - men.

T

sins, his sins. A - - - - - men.

B

his sins. A - - - - - men.

Organ

A Verse for the Organ, a Sagbut & Cornute

NYPL, Drexel 5469, pp. 205-7

John Coprario
ed. Helen Roberts

[Cornute]

[Sagbut]

Organ

4

8

12

16

Measures 16-20 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a variety of note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. There are several slurs and ties across measures, indicating phrasing and continuity. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

21

Measures 21-24 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with various note values and rests. There are slurs and ties across measures. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

25

Measures 25-28 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a variety of note values and rests. There are slurs and ties across measures. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

29

Measures 29-32 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with various note values and rests. There are slurs and ties across measures. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

33

Measures 33-36 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests. A key signature change to one sharp (F#) is indicated in measure 35.

37

Measures 37-40 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with various note values and rests. A key signature change to two sharps (F# and C#) is indicated in measure 39.

41

Measures 41-44 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a mix of note values and rests. A key signature change to one sharp (F#) is indicated in measure 43.

45

Measures 45-48 of a musical score. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with various note values and rests. A key signature change to two sharps (F# and C#) is indicated in measure 47.

49

Measures 49-52 of a musical score. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system (measures 49-50) features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The second system (measures 51-52) continues the melody and bass line, with some chords and rests.

53

Measures 53-56 of a musical score. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system (measures 53-54) features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The second system (measures 55-56) continues the melody and bass line, with some chords and rests.

57

Measures 57-61 of a musical score. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system (measures 57-58) features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The second system (measures 59-61) continues the melody and bass line, with some chords and rests.

62

Measures 62-65 of a musical score. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system (measures 62-63) features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The second system (measures 64-65) continues the melody and bass line, with some chords and rests.

66

Two systems of musical notation, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system (measures 66-68) features a melody in the treble clef with eighth and quarter notes, and a bass line with eighth and quarter notes. The second system (measures 69-71) continues the melody and bass line, with the treble clef showing some chromatic movement and the bass clef featuring a series of eighth notes.

70

Two systems of musical notation, each with a grand staff. The first system (measures 70-72) shows a melody in the treble clef with quarter and eighth notes, and a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. The second system (measures 73-75) continues the melody and bass line, with the treble clef showing some chromatic movement and the bass clef featuring a series of eighth notes.

74

Two systems of musical notation, each with a grand staff. The first system (measures 74-76) shows a melody in the treble clef with quarter and eighth notes, and a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. The second system (measures 77-79) continues the melody and bass line, with the treble clef showing some chromatic movement and the bass clef featuring a series of eighth notes.

Appendix 3.1 | Worcester Cathedral Evensong, participant questionnaires

375

Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, c.1580–c.1680: A Doctoral Research Project at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire ²

Joining the choir for Evensong this evening are two cornettists and two sackbut players from RBC. We are using some performance practices I am developing as part of my doctoral research into the use of wind instruments in a liturgical context in 17th-century England, and playing some music that I think may originally have been performed with cornetts and sackbuts. I would like to gather some information about your experience of this service in order to help me understand the role of the instrumentalists in more detail. I would be very grateful if you could complete these short questions, and add any comments you may wish to make at the bottom. Please leave this in the pew and I will collect them at the end. You may keep the pencil!

Helen Roberts

Are you:	<input type="checkbox"/> a chorister? <input type="checkbox"/> a lay clerk?
What was your overall impression of the instruments and their contribution to the service?:	<input type="checkbox"/> Positive <input type="checkbox"/> Negative
Can you give a reason for your choice?	
Did the instruments make it easier or harder to sing your part?	<input type="checkbox"/> Easier <input type="checkbox"/> Harder
Did the instruments make it easier or harder to hear the other choir members?	<input type="checkbox"/> Easier <input type="checkbox"/> Harder
Did the instruments make it easier or harder to hear the organ?	<input type="checkbox"/> Easier <input type="checkbox"/> Harder
Would you change anything about the way the instruments played, and if so, what?	
Did anything surprise you about the service this evening?	
Thank you for your time. Please add any further comments here.	

Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, c.1580–c.1680: A Doctoral Research Project at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire

Joining the choir for Evensong this evening are two cornettists and two sackbut players from RBC. We are using some performance practices I am developing as part of my doctoral research into the use of wind instruments in a liturgical context in 17th-century England, and playing some music that I think may originally have been performed with cornetts and sackbuts. I would like to gather some information about your experience of this service in order to help me understand the role of the instrumentalists in more detail. I would be very grateful if you could complete these short questions, and add any comments you may wish to make at the bottom. Please leave this in the pew and I will collect them at the end. You may keep the pencil!

Helen Roberts

Are you:	<input type="checkbox"/> In the congregation? <input type="checkbox"/> Part of the Cathedral personnel?
Is your primary motivation for attending the service:	<input type="checkbox"/> Devotional? <input type="checkbox"/> Musical?
How often do you attend Evensong a year, either here or at any other institution?:	<input type="checkbox"/> Fewer than 10 visits <input type="checkbox"/> 10–20 visits <input type="checkbox"/> More than 20 visits
What was your overall impression of the instruments and their contribution to the service?:	<input type="checkbox"/> Positive <input type="checkbox"/> Negative
Can you give a reason for your choice?	
Did anything surprise you about the service this evening?	
Thank you for your time. Please add any further comments here.	

Appendix 3.2 | Worcester Cathedral Evensong, collated questionnaire responses, congregation

Participant type	Reason for participating		Regularity of participation/year			Overall impression		Reason	Any surprises?	Additional comments
	Devotional	Musical	>10	10-20	<20	Positive	Negative			
Congregation										
✓		✓	✓			✓		They add a sense of conviction and authority	The contribution that the instruments made to the service	It would be wonderful to have instruments (in addition to the organ) more regularly particularly those used this evening. They go particularly well with voices.
✓	✓				✓	✓		The instruments added enormously to the choir	The calm, relaxed feel given	My friends all asked for your musicians to come every week - and I agree! Thank you
✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		The variety and unfamiliar sound was most enjoyable	No	Thank you for coming to join us
✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		But only for occasional use. Interesting alternative to traditional organ accompaniment	Created solemn atmosphere, quite reflective.	
✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		Very positive musical accompaniment to choral parts of service		
✓		✓	✓			✓		They added a further dimension to the music		Lovely playing, thank you
✓		✓			✓	✓			That the organist accompanied the responses	Was pleased that they played a voluntary at the end
✓	✓				✓	✓		Novelty!	An unexpected introit and the omission of two psalms, but broadly what I expected	The brass give a slightly 'dirtier' sound than the purity of tone associated with the English choral tradition as it has developed in subsequent centuries. At the same time a recognisably 'early music' sound. However, they weren't especially prominent and didn't particularly add or subtract from my devotional enjoyment of the service.

	✓		✓		✓		Delightful music and singing	Combination of instruments and singing was extra special	Hope RBC come again and regularly to Worcester Cathedral. Great, new innovation. Extraordinary, well done.
✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	Interest in early music and its authentic performance	Change of 'texture' with the instruments	More, please!
✓		✓			✓	✓	Adds depth and richness to the service		Absolutely exquisite!
✓	✓				✓	✓	Wonderful reminder of the past		
✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	A beautiful worship	I wondered what a sackbut was!	Do it again, <u>often</u> .
✓	✓				✓	✓	Joyfulness	Organ accompaniment of responses.	
✓		✓			✓	✓	An excellent accompanied evensong, a pleasure to listen to, thank you!		
✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	I thought it added something beautiful to the service	How enjoyable and well suited the choir singing with the instruments was	
✓		✓			✓	✓	It felt very different, quite unique		
✓	✓			✓		✓	Different and relaxing	An opening anthem	
✓		✓	✓			✓	Lovely sound! (Bit biased as I started playing sackbut)	Never heard of Smith or Patrick...	Hope this will be a regular occurrence

Appendix 3.2 | Worcester Cathedral Evensong, collated questionnaire responses, choir and choristers

Participant type			Overall impression		Reason	Ease of singing		Hear other choir members		Hear the organ		Any changes about how instruments played?	Any surprises?	Additional comments
Chorister	Lay clerk	Choral scholar	Positive	Negative		Easier	Harder	Easier	Harder	Easier	Harder			
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	They made no mistakes	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	No!	It was epic	You are amazing!
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	They were good	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	No	No	
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	No	No	
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	They sound nice	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	No	No	
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>		✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	No	No	
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓			
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓		<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	Quieter	No	
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	It sounds nice	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	No	No	
✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	Because it sounded nice and it keeps it on the beat	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	No	No	
<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>		No difference		No difference		No difference	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, splendid	Huge congregation	
<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	A pleasant change	No difference			✓		✓	No	Size of congregation!	
<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>		✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓		No difference	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	The size of congregation!	
<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	It brings a luminous beauty to the music and worship	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓		✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A - it was fantastic!	N/A	Thank you and come again - soon!

<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	Added depth and richness of sound	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓ (only because I was standing right next to them)		✓	Not at all, it was beautiful.	No	Please come back any time!
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	It was an enjoyable and interesting experience	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓		✓	Slightly quieter, other than that, it was very enjoyable	No	Very grateful for the opportunity
<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	No difference		No difference		No difference	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, lovely	Pleasant surprise in [every?] way	
<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	Different colours added to choral texture and a new character to the music in the service	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	I felt more supported as a singer and didn't find the instruments distracting at all	I thoroughly enjoyed the [performance] (struck through) service and felt the instruments enhanced the experience considerably.

Appendix 3.3 | Canterbury Cathedral Evensong, information sheet and consent form



Instrumental Evensong at Canterbury Cathedral
with His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, 26th
January 2019

Information for choir members.



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Instrumental Evensong with His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, Canterbury Cathedral, 26th January 2019

Please write Y[es] or N[o] in each box to indicate your response to the points below then complete the details at the bottom of the form – name, date and signature. Many thanks.

If you are under 18, this form must be completed and signed by a parent or guardian.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Participant Information Sheet dated 08/01/2019 regarding the above project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and (where applicable) have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. ☐
3. I agree to take part in the above project. ☐
4. I agree to audio recordings being made of this service. ☐
5. I understand that the audio recordings made during this project will be used primarily as a research tool by the researcher only and consent to their use in this manner. ☐
6. I understand that short extracts of the recordings may be used to illustrate specific points as part of a doctoral thesis submission, making them a public document. I consent to the use of audio recordings in this manner. ☐
7. I understand that short extracts of the recordings may be used at conference presentations, and consent to their use in this manner. ☐

Individual anonymity will be preserved at all times.

I am signing on my own behalf / on behalf of a participant who is under 18 (delete as appropriate).

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Print Name

17.01.19

Dear Choir Member,

I am delighted to be joining you as a member of His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts for an Instrumental Evensong on Saturday January 26th 2019. This event forms part of my ongoing doctoral research project at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire into the use of wind instruments in provincial English cathedrals between c.1580 and c.1680. Canterbury is one of my case study locations and I have spent many hours in the Cathedral Archives here and elsewhere, working to establish what performance practices may have been used by cathedral instrumentalists in the seventeenth century. I am very excited to have the opportunity to put some of this research into practice *in situ* and am grateful to the Dean and Chapter for supporting this event.

To allow me to make the most of this opportunity, I would like to make an audio recording of the service. As I will be playing, this will primarily enable me to listen back to the performance and reflect on the experience at a later date. Short extracts may also provide material for my final thesis submission and may also prove useful at conference presentations in the future. In order for me to be able to use the recording in this way, I need written consent from all participants. Please complete the attached consent form and return it to David Newsholme in advance of January 26th. **If you are under 18, this form needs to be completed by a parent or guardian.**

If you have any questions regarding this form, you are very welcome to email me using the contact details below.

I very much look forward to meeting you all in a few weeks.

With best wishes

Helen Roberts



Consent form date of issue:

Page 1 of 1

Consent form date of issue:

Page 1 of 1

Appendix 3.4 | Birmingham Workshop, participant questionnaires

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Singing with Cornetts and Sackbuts

1. What is your role in the workshop today?

☐ Singer

☐ Organist

☐ Cornettist

☐ Sackbut player

☐ Observer

☐ Rather not say

2. Are you associated with:

☐ University of Birmingham?

☐ Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?

☐ Other

3. If you are a singer, are you:

☐ A first-study singing student?

☐ A trained voice, but not a first-study singer?

☐ An experienced but untrained choral singer?

☐ Relatively inexperienced, but enjoy singing for fun?

☐ Other (please specify)

4. If you are a singer, have you every sung with cornetts and sackbuts before?

☐ Yes

☐ No

5. Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis

a) Instruments vs. no instruments

On a scale of 1 - 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, did the instruments make it easier or harder to sing your part?

1

2

3

4

5

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

1

6. Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis

b) Full organ doubling vs. bicinia accompaniment

Did you feel more supported as a singer when the organ provided:

☐ A full four-part accompaniment?

☐ A bicinia-style accompaniment?

☐ Didn't notice the difference.

7. Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis

c) What did you find the most successful instrumentation?

☐ Full organ accompaniment

☐ Bicinia-style organ accompaniment

☐ Accompaniment with winds only

☐ Accompaniment with organ and winds throughout

☐ Accompaniment with organ through and winds highlighting

Other (please specify)

8. Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis

d) Singing from parts

On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, how did you find singing / playing from parts compared to singing / playing from a score?

1

2

3

4

5

N/A

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

9. Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis

e) For the observers, did you notice any differences between performance from parts and performance from vocal scores?

2

10. Robert Parsons: Above the stars

a) 'Durham' version

Compared with the Facy service music, how successful do you find the instrumental doubling in this piece, where 1 is unsuccessful and 5 is successful?

	1	2	3	4	5
Support of voices	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Relationship to organ accompaniment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Support or otherwise of the text	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Comments

11. Robert Parsons: Above the stars

b) 'Tudway' version

Compared to the 'Durham' version of this piece, how successful do you consider the instrumental accompaniment in the three versions we tried:

	1	2	3	4	5
Cornett, trombone, viol	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Viol, trombone, trombone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cornett, trombone, trombone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Comments

3

12. Solomon Tozer: O Lord let me know mine end

Listen carefully to the cornetts during this piece. We will use two approaches to transposition. Please rate the following, where 1 is unsuccessful and 5 is successful:

	1	2	3	4	5
Blend with voices, option a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Blend with voices, option b	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Blend with sackbuts, option a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Blend with sackbuts, option b	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Blend with organ, option a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Blend with organ, option b	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Comments

13. Henry Travers: Shall we receive good

a) This is a post-Restoration piece. On a scale of 1 - 5, where 1 is unsuccessful and 5 is successful, how do you think the instrumental doubling practices I am associating with the pre-Restoration period work when applied to this piece?

1	2	3	4	5
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. Henry Travers: Shall we receive good

b) Silas will play two types of accompaniment in the verse section from bar 51. Which do you think is most successful?

- ☐ Basso continuo
- ☐ Basso sequente

15. Henry Travers: Shall we receive good

c) We will replace one voice with an instrument in the verse section at bar 51. Compared to the same practice applied to the Parsons piece, how successful do you think this is, where 1 is unsuccessful and 5 is successful?

1	2	3	4	5
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4

16. General feedback

a) Think about your previous experience of singing / hearing / playing Anglican choral music from the 17th century. How did your experience today compare according to the following criteria, where 1 is unfavourable and 5 is favourable?

	1	2	3	4	5
Balance of voices	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Clarity of text	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Interest value of performance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Liturgical suitability	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. General feedback

b) Please add anything else you would like to comment on in the box below.

Appendix 3.5 | Birmingham Workshop, collated responses

What is your role in the workshop today?	Are you associated with:	If you are a singer, are you:		If you are a singer, have you ever sung with cornetts and sackbuts before?	Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis a) Instruments vs. no instruments On a scale of 1 - 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, did the instruments make it easier or harder to sing your part?		Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis b) Full organ doubling vs. bicinia accompaniment Did you feel more supported as a singer when the organ provided.	Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis c) What did you find the most convincing instrumentation?	
Response	Response	Response	Other (please specify)	Response	Response	Why?	Response	Response	Why?
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	An experienced but untrained choral singer?		Yes	2	Hearing a definite bass (sackbut) was useful	Didn't notice the difference.	Accompaniment with organ through and winds highlighting	Variety
Singer	University of Birmingham?	A trained voice, but not a first-study singer?		No	1	Didn't put off at all. Added support. The line (melody) is quite simple anyway.	A full four-part accompaniment?		
Singer	University of Birmingham?	An experienced but untrained choral singer?		No	3	Added to the texture, didn't affect the sight reading very much	A full four-part accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ and winds throughout	Made the texture better and fuller
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	A first-study singing student?		No	3	There was little difference to me in the middle of the texture	A full four-part accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ and winds throughout	It had the fullest sound
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	A first-study singing student?		Yes	3		A full four-part accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ through and winds highlighting	
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	A trained voice, but not a first-study singer?		Yes	3	I did not find much of a difference in terms of ease of singing	Didn't notice the difference.	Accompaniment with organ and winds throughout	
Organist	Other								Stiles comments: Bicinium not really audible with principal (5') only - needed octave as well, I think Low D not available on organ
Singer	University of Birmingham?	A first-study singing student?		No	1	Because they're going playing your part so you can listen to see if you're right	Didn't notice the difference.	Accompaniment with organ and winds throughout	Texture seems bare if just wind and voices
Singer	University of Birmingham?	A trained voice, but not a first-study singer?		No	1	For me, the tune that has been given is a little bit higher than usual. Therefore with instruments playing along with the singers make us sing easier	A full four-part accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ through and winds highlighting	Give different colors. When the winds shut up during the verse, then it makes the point that the music are spotlighting on the verse.
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	A first-study singing student?		No					
Cornettist	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?					it got quite loud, and although some tunes were easier to find, I found singing was more difficult in terms of pitch relation with the other voices.	A bicinia-style accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ through and winds highlighting	
Singer	University of Birmingham?	A trained voice, but not a first-study singer?		No	3		A full four-part accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ through and winds highlighting	
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	A trained voice, but not a first-study singer?		No			A bicinia-style accompaniment?		

What is your role in the workshop today?	Are you associated with:	If you are a singer, are you:		If you are a singer, have you ever sung with cornets and sackbuts before?	Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis a) Instruments vs. no instruments On a scale of 1 - 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, did the instruments make it easier or harder to sing your part?		Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis b) Full organ doubling vs. bicinia accompaniment Did you feel more supported as a singer when the organ provided:	Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis c) What did you find the most convincing instrumentation?	
Response	Response	Response	Other (please specify)	Response	Response	Why?	Response	Response	Why?
Singer	University of Birmingham?	A first-study singing student?		No		Easier to hear and feel the harmony with the 2 instruments rather than just the organ	A full four-part accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ and winds throughout	
Singer	Other	An experienced but untrained choral singer?		No		Easier, but it was also the 2nd time go through! Lovely to have the support though	A full four-part accompaniment?		
Comettist	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	Other (please specify)	Instrumentalist	No		N/A	A bicinia-style accompaniment?		
Sackbut player	University of Birmingham?					1	A full four-part accompaniment?		
Sackbut player	University of Birmingham?	Other (please specify)	Sackbut I did have first-study lessons a long time ago, and grew up as a choir girl but haven't sung for a long time!				A full four-part accompaniment?		
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	Other (please specify)		No		It did make it easier, but when the instruments were at the other side of the room they got a little bit lost in amongst all of the singers! When they were stood next to us playing from partbooks that was enormously helpful!	A bicinia-style accompaniment?		
Singer	Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?	An experienced but untrained choral singer?		Yes		Better sense of the geography of a line when singing from a part	A full four-part accompaniment?	Full organ accompaniment	Full in verse sections, (i.e. fewer voices singing), Bicinium in chorus with added diapason.
Singer	University of Birmingham?	An experienced but untrained choral singer?		No		1	A full four-part accompaniment?	Accompaniment with organ through and winds highlighting	
Singer	University of Birmingham?	A first-study singing student?		No		The instrumental doubling made it seem easier to follow the music, though I was singing the top part, so my part was doubled.	A full four-part accompaniment?		

Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (d) Singing from parts On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, how did you find singing / playing from parts compared to singing / playing from a score?		Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (e) For the observers, did you notice any differences between performance from parts and performance from vocal scores?		Robert Parsons: Above the stars (a) 'Durham' version Compared with the Facy service music, how convincing do you find the instrumental doubling in this piece, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing?			Robert Parsons: Above the stars (b) 'Tudway' version Compared to the 'Durham' version of this piece, how convincing do you consider the instrumental accompaniment in the three versions we tried.				
Response	Why?	Open-Ended Response	Support of voices	Relationship to organ accompaniment	Support or otherwise of the text	Why?	Cornett, trombone, viol	Viol, trombone, trombone	Cornett, trombone, trombone	Why?	
4	simply regarding orientation / sight-reading							1	5	Cornett gave better lead on top. Tbn better as bass, tho nice to have viol in middle	
2	One has to listen to the other parts more intently because you have no score. It was made easier because we had already sung it in full score		3		3	It seemed a little too much and was hard to judge in the room we were in.	1		4		
4	Singing from parts was harder as couldn't follow others.		3		4	In the Facy the instruments provided more support than they did in the parsons	2		4	The viol was better on the alto part rather than the bass and same with trombone as trombone was a little overpowering.	
5	If I got lost it was very difficult to find my note							4	4	The different timbres and registers of the combinations of different instruments made a fuller [sound] and made it easier to pick out your part.	
5	It's easier when you can see the other parts as it helps for entries etc							4	3		
2	Removed some of the distraction of other parts							5	5	They all sounded convincing enough to me, but it was quite difficult to judge from a performer's standpoint - it may have been easier as an onlooker	
						Organ part loud (too loud) in verses? But is this a later-composed organ part? I should have tried without the 'extra' principal.		5	5	Clearer with viol. More transparent?	
3	I feel like it seemed easier just because the notes were bigger and easier to see	No	4		4	Doesn't seem to make much difference other than create a more sturdy grounded texture	3		3	3 They all seemed equally convincing	
2	It is much easier because we just focus on our own. However, sometimes when we have long rests but the other parts come in, it makes me doubting myself if I come in on the right bar.	Yes	3		3	3	2		2	Viols have very distinguish color compare to other winds. Viols stand out more and it is nicer to have more blend color within the winds	
								3	5	4	
		There was more of a sense of togetherness when singing from parts. Having the instrumentalists with their respective voices also helped with blend.	4		4	4	Contrast between verse and chorus sections allows for more variation than in the service music.	1		5	The 'broken consort' with viol in the middle works very well.
2	It wasn't hard because we had done it before. Had it been the first time, singing from parts would have been more difficult.							3	5	Because of balance and mix of different instrumental colours for each one of the voices. Gibbons - 5 (convincing)	
2	The parts were larger and easier to see (the scores were tiny)							4	4	The versions didn't feel any different	

Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (Singing from parts On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, how did you find singing / playing from parts compared to singing / playing from a score?)		Hugh Facy: Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (Singing from parts On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is easier and 5 is harder, how did you find singing / playing from parts compared to singing / playing from a score?)		Robert Parsons: Above the stars (Durham) version Compared with the Facy service music, how convincing do you find the instrumental doubling in this piece, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing?			Robert Parsons: Above the stars (Durham) version Compared with the Facy service music, how convincing do you find the instrumental doubling in this piece, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing?			
Response	Why?	Open-Ended Response	Support of voices	Relationship to organ accompaniment	Support or otherwise of the text	Why?	Cornett, trombone, viol	Viol, trombone, trombone	Cornett, trombone, trombone	Why?
4	Easier to see and focus on parts but harder to understand harmony and the position of which the part im singing fits into the instrumentation	Na		3	4	3 The organ doubling	3		5	Though the most convincing version was with the viol in the inner voice
2	Because we had the parts after singing from the score a few times it was v. easy. And actually less confusing as the part was nice and big and you didn't get distracted with the rests, just counted	-		5	4	4	3		5	Good to have the viol in high register - wasn't noticeable on the bottom. Gibbons: Sounded exciting with parts - would have been thin without
N/A										My answer assumes the question above is changed so the second option is cornett, viol, trombone. This version marginally more convincing for reasons of balance. Gibbons: as an instrumentalist I found these parts quite exciting - but rather difficult! Quite hard to offer much more feedback without opportunity to rehearse and explore this particular piece at greater length.
1				5	5	4	5		4	
				4	5	4	4		4	5
4	It was harder as I've got used to following entries in rests!						3		5	I found the viol got a little lost when on the bass but came through much more clearly when on an upper part. I found this really beautiful. I liked the cornetts in the Gibbons!
2							1		4	Instrumental parts convincing if it continues playing in the chorus
3		parts always engender better listening		4			5		5	All possibilities seem equally valid, much would surely have been contingent on number of vv. and acoustics. I personally thought the best sound came when the viol was playing the Alto II part and the trombones were on the tenor line. I do feel like the mean solo line felt weaker than the others, because it was the only one not doubled by an instrument, which made it feel more unbalanced. Gibbons: I do like the instrumental accompaniment, but I think the two soloists are somewhat lost among the instrumental parts.
N/A	Since we had sung through the piece several times, singing from parts was not difficult, but I do not know if it would be more or less difficult if I had started the piece while trying to sing from parts rather than the score.						3		5	

Solomon Tozer: O Lord let me know mine end Listen carefully to the cornetts during this piece. We will use two approaches to transposition. Please rate the following, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing.							Henry Travers: Shall we receive good a) This is a Restoration piece. On a scale of 1 - 5, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing, how do you think the instrumental doubling practices I am associating with the pre-Restoration period work when applied to this piece?		Henry Travers: Shall we receive good b) Silas will play two types of accompaniment in the verse section from bar 51. Which do you think is most convincing?	
Blend with voices, option a	Blend with voices, option b	Blend with sackbuts, option a	Blend with sackbuts, option b	Blend with organ, option a	Blend with organ, option b	Why?	Response	Why?	Response	Why?
2	4	2	4	2	5	B deftly matched organ in terms of blend. B felt more comfortable all round.		Stylistically it just felt odd to have 2 doublings	Why?	Doubling - vocal lines. More musical / characteristic to what I'm familiar with
2	4					Fuller sound		In my opinion it would help if all the parts were doubled like a Bach Chorale with instruments.	Why?	Doubling of vocal line - more organic and has more flow
3	4	3	4	3	4	Option a sounded higher even though the two were at the same pitch.		It helped make the singers sound more full and helped support them	Why?	Doubling the vocal lines - it helped to strengthen the two solo parts when doubling
4	3	4	3	3	4	Option B had a sharper more cutting tone which blended with the organ by not others. Option a's warmer tone blended better with the others.		I think this works well much as it does in other pieces.	Why?	Doubling of vocal lines. It doesn't convolute the texture.
4	3	4	3	3				5	Why?	The vocal lines don't need to be doubled, better effect if not
4	4	4	4	4	4	I couldn't hear much difference personally		5 Seemed to work fine	Doubling of the vocal lines	
					5	Suggested editorial changes - bass 3 f sharp b 98/4, c sharp tenor, 99/2		Similar texture and effect I played 5 at pitch on the 10'	Why?	Doubling vocal lines - Principal (5') sound supports better than 'flute' sound (of 10') 10' up an octave unsatisfactory as continuo sound. Organ plus the organ - used in chapel royal. This could work better. Seems more authentic especially as the organist would not necessarily have the score and I feel doubling is not necessary
3	3	3	3	3	3			They still seem to work well and do 4 not intrude	Why?	
2	5	2	5	2	5	A doesn't really fit as it goes higher (?). B has more warmer sound that mixes in the others		I think with doubling, obstruct the 3 liberty of the singers	Basso continuo - the given bass line plus a realisation of the figures, which may or may not be the composer's original.	
4	4	4	4	4	4			5	Doubling of the vocal lines	
4	5	4	5	4	4	The larger instruments have a warmer sound, which blends more easily with the other voices in the 5 texture.		The key is problematic, but I found 4 the overall effect pleasing.	Why?	Basso continuo. I found that the vocal lines need more space than the doubling was giving them.
3	5	2	5	2	5	The colours blended in a nicer way in option b, the sound was warmer 5 and had a more 'velvet' [?]		Don't know I preferred this piece. 5 Sounded better	Doubling of the vocal lines	
4	3	3	5	4	4	Option b sounds better. But with 4 voices the cornetts sounded louder			Why?	Basso Continuo - The doubling distracted from the voices

Solomon Tozer: O Lord let me know mine end Listen carefully to the cornetts during this piece. We will use two approaches to transposition. Please rate the following, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing.							Henry Travers: Shall we receive gooda) This is a Restoration piece. On a scale of 1 - 5, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing, how do you think the instrumental doubling practices I am associating with the pre-Restoration period work when applied to this piece?		Henry Travers: Shall we receive goodb) Silas will play two types of accompaniment in the verse section from bar 51. Which do you think is most convincing?	
Blend with voices, option a	Blend with voices, option b	Blend with sackbuts, option a	Blend with sackbuts, option b	Blend with organ, option a	Blend with organ, option b	Why?	Response	Why?	Response	Why?
	3	4	3	5	4	4		Im not sure	Why?	Exact doubling of vocal lines feels a little forced
	5	4				Were the 415 instruments not as good as the 465 ones? As a player this is hard to answer because the key was not very forgiving for the 415 cornett (option B). With reference to our earlier experiments, I think the lower pitched cornetts offer much potential for realising music in flat keys.		Probably less necessary, but it sounds very rich and would help if the choir was weak	Why?	Basso continuo - Lost harmony with just doubled vocal lines
	4	4	4	4	4	Couldn't really tell the options apart		Only gets a 4 because of the key - but transposition as per previous option might solve this.	Basso continuo - the given bass line plus a realisation of the figures, which may or may not be the composer's original.	
	3	5	3	5		I found that the second version (with transposing cornetts) was softer and did seem to blend more easily: the first version on the lines felt more distinct.		5 It didn't seem quite as natural as in the earlier works, possibly because of the nature of the phrases? It's not quite those long lines as in the earlier pieces. But it was still helpful as a singer to have the extra support.	Doubling of the vocal lines Why?	I liked the chordal accompaniment, which sounded more stylish. Basso continuo - continuo texture more room for shaping of vocal lines ie stile moderno. Doubling seems more appropriate to contrapuntal style.
	4	2	4	2	4	2		4 Sound effective especially when chorus is homophonic	Why?	Basso continuo - Again the answer to the above would depend on quality of vvv, and acoustics. I preferred to hear the voices alone on their lines, for whatever that's worth...
	5	4	5	4	5	4		5 Doubling great in chorus sections	Why?	
	3	5				I think the brighter sound of option b in the cornetts fits better, as it helps the sound to carry more within the texture.		3 I believe it just provides more body to the sound. In this particular chorus part, I do not think it sounds notably strange.	Basso continuo - the given bass line plus a realisation of the figures, which may or may not be the composer's original.	

Henry Travers: Shall we receive good? We will replace one voice with an instrument in the verse section at bar 51. Compared to the same practice applied to the Tozer piece, how convincing do you think this is, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing?		General feedbacka) Think about your previous experience of singing / hearing / playing Anglican choral music from the 17th century. How did your experience today compare according to the following criteria, where 1 is unfavourable and 5 is favourable?				General feedbackb) Please add anything else you would like to comment on in the box below
Response	Why?	Balance of voices	Clarity of text	Interest value of performance	Suitability for use in a service	Open-Ended Response
1	Just sounded as if the singer was missing.	5		5		5 Morley - The full doubling felt preferable. Nice to have contrast for the Amen.
1	I believe this would have been used as a last resort. Strange balance between singers and instruments. Sounded better with tenor solo as the blend works better with soprano and tenor compared to					5-part accompaniment in Morley was more convincing.
2	soprano and sackbut.	4	3	5		4 5/4 part texture was fuller as it supported singers more.
2	I feel it doesn't blend well with the voices and muddles the text.	4	4	4		3 In all I find the parts with most instruments most convincing.
2		3	3	5		5 Unison was more convincing in my opinion!
2	I preferred the sound of a voice on the Tenor line	3	4	4		3 I preferred the 5 part texture in the Morley
3						Bicinium cornetts & sackbuts verses full 5-part doubling. Fully doubled texture is thicker and perhaps less effective for clarity of the text? In bicinium, the 'treble' text was more audible, I think?! Gibbons - these parts are credible to me, but lots of details need sorting out (by the editor!)
3		3	4	5		5
3	It is ok, but I prefer to have voices rather than trombone as the substitution. With trombone, you have the atmosphere of grandeur of the instrument itself. But having the brass tutti during the choir entrance	4	3	5		4 Brass doubling the voice make the atmosphere a lot convincing. The danger of this is we hardly can hear the words because most of the time, brass instruments are a lot louder. Having the organ playing with (without doubling) only creates the atmosphere of the open sky but we can hear the text more clear. Having the amen alone doubled with the brass is really amazing! Changing the color suddenly and become much grand! I think with this will encourage the congregation to sing more appropriate (because most of them are amateurs and they sometimes get shy to open their voice). As the conclusion, maybe you can think more the approach of the service mostly to everybody get the atmosphere and hear clear text!
3		5	5	5		5 Doubling voices was more convincing in my opinion! 😊 It was very exciting to take part in this workshop and interesting to find out about the early music we ran through along with singing with sackbuts and cornets for the first time!
4	I enjoyed this. It brought to mind similar practices employed in the music of Schütz. I wonder whether there is theoretical justification for this??	5	3	5		5 Gibbons - These need another look, and a test with viols. Morley - 5-part doubling is certainly impressive, but wouldn't have been an option in provincial cathedrals. It would be good to try using four instrument to achieve the same??
4		4	2	5		3 Morley - depends on texture, but it felt better when doubling only top and bottom part in general. I don't know anything about Anglican choral music from the seventeenth century. Morley - Final version sounded great.
4	Sounded nice					

Henry Travers: Shall we receive goodc) We will replace one voice with an instrument in the verse section at bar 51. Compared to the same practice applied to the Tozer piece, how convincing do you think this is, where 1 is unconvincing and 5 is convincing?		General feedbacka) Think about your previous experience of singing / hearing / playing Anglican choral music from the 17th century. How did your experience to day compare according to the following criteria, where 1 is unfavourable and 5 is favourable?				General feedbackb) Please add anything else you would like to comment on in the box below
Response	Why?	Balance of voices	Clarity of text	Interest value of performance	Suitability for use in a service	Open-Ended Response
4	Fit very well between the soprano and bass part. Sonically convincing to 1 but i am newly exposed to early music	3	4	3		I found the full texture polyphony of the instruments more convincing, especially at the amen. As new singer to early music and in fact choral singing in general (usually a solo song/operatic singer) singing with the doubling of parts and having a strong harmonic foundation provided by the instrument made it considerably easier to sing leading me to find it more convincing.
5	Made a lovely rich sound		2	5		It seems to me that instruments would have been used as necessary - when organ was broken, when singers had lost voices etc! When organs were reliable and louder I suppose loud winds wouldn't have been necessary?! Morley - Wow! When the instruments doubled the 5 parts in the amen it was 3 like the sound had come out! - everything was more colourful.
5	I thought this sounded very promising - allowing for the singers' unfamiliarity with the parts - with greater confidence in delivery I think this balance may have been very effective.					With reference to the final added question, 2 part vs full texture, I guess there's a distinction to be made between 'convincing' and 'satisfying'. The latter term certainly describes the experience of that full-bodied Amen - but that's not to negate the 'convincing-ness' of the bicinia approach that preceded it. It certainly presents an appealing option in performance.
5	The sackbut created a nice balance	2	3	4		Instrumental doubling throughout (5 part) I found more convincing. Full doubling just for amen worked well.
5	with the other 2 voices	4	3	5		The 5 part texture just for the amen really provides a different dimension to the ending and lifts the work off the ground in the Out of the Deep
5	I think this worked really well indeed! It sounded very much of the time.	5	5	5		I thought the 5-part doubling was fantastic: incredibly rich! It seems to work really well when it was introduced at the very end. This was quite different to my previous experience of singing repertoire from the period in Anglican services, and much more interesting and stylish!
		5	4	5		Singers needed to work much harder at clarity and intention of text when doubling instruments. Particularly enjoyed last chorus of Morley starting bicinium and then going into 5 parts for the 5 Amen.
		4	4	5		Morely - full texture for amens, endings make best sense, with sparser doubling (outer parts) elsewhere.

Appendix 3.6 | Birmingham Workshop, information sheet and consent form



Singing with Cornetts and Sackbuts, University of Birmingham, November 29th 2018, 2-5pm

A Performance Research Workshop

23.11.18

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking part in the workshop today. The event is designed to address some research questions that have arisen during my doctoral studies into the use of wind instruments in provincial English cathedrals between c. 1580 and c. 1680. In addition, it is also an opportunity for us to explore some English sacred music from the period in an historically informed performance context, challenging some of the modern performance aesthetics that have grown up around this genre.

The outline timetable for the afternoon is as follows:

2.00-2.10	Welcome
2.10-2.50	Hugh Facy, <i>Maginificat</i>
2.50-3.30	Robert Parsons, <i>Above the stars</i> , Edward Gibbons, <i>How hath the city</i>
3.30-3.50	Break
3.50-4.10	Solomon Tozer, <i>O Lord let me know mine end</i>
4.10-4.40	Henry Travers, <i>Shall we receive good</i>
4.40-5.00	Thomas Morley, <i>Out of the deep</i>

During the workshop, I will be asking you to reflect on and record your experiences using a questionnaire. The information you provide will be used exclusively for research purposes. If you would rather not be identified in your responses, please answer 'rather not say' to the first question. The questionnaire can be completed on a smartphone, tablet or laptop, but if you need a printed version, this will be provided.

In order to document the process, I would like to use audio/visual recording. This is for two reasons: firstly, as an *aide memoire* and to enable me to participate fully in the workshop without having to make notes; and secondly as potential material for the final submission of my thesis. Any material that I do submit becomes part of a public document. In order for me to make the recording in the first place, and then to use short extracts to illustrate specific points in my final submission, I need written consent from all participants. There is no obligation to provide this consent. Please complete the attached consent form and return it to me at the start of the session.

Please do not take any printed music away with you after the session. Some of the editions are not yet published and permission has been kindly granted for their use in the workshop on condition that they do not wander off.

Please enjoy the afternoon! If you have questions at any point, please do not hesitate to ask.

Helen



ROYAL
BIRMINGHAM
CONSERVATOIRE

Consent form date of issue:

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CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: **Singing with Cornetts and Sackbuts: A Performance Research Workshop, Thursday 29th November 2018 at the University of Birmingham**

Please write Y[es] or N[o] in each box to indicate your response to the points below then complete the details at the bottom of the form – name, date and signature. Many thanks.

- I confirm that I have read and understand the Participant Information Sheet dated 23/11/18 regarding the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and (where applicable) have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. ☐
- I agree to take part in the above study. ☐
- I agree to audio/visual recordings being made of this workshop. ☐
- I understand that the audio/visual recordings made during this project will be used primarily as a research tool by the researcher only and consent to their use in this manner. ☐
- I understand that short extracts of the recordings may be used to illustrate specific points as part of a doctoral thesis submission, making them a public document.
 - I consent to the use of audio recording in this manner. ☐
 - I consent to the use of video recording in this manner. ☐
- I understand that my responses to the questionnaire will be anonymised before being used in any published form and consent to their use in this manner. ☐
- I agree to being contacted again in connection with the current project, for example, should the researcher require clarification regarding any of my responses. ☐

Please delete as appropriate:

- I am happy to be identified by name as a participant in any publication or conference presentation arising from this research

or

- I prefer to remain anonymous.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Consent form date of issue:

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