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**THE MUSIC OF
DYRICKE GERARDE**

**A dissertation
presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
by
Anthony Milledge**

University of Durham

2001



0 2 APR 2002

ABSTRACT

The extant works of Dyricke Gerarde (fl. c.1540-c.1580) form the largest known collection of presumed holograph musical material written before 1600. 169 of Gerarde's works survive, some in more than one version, most others showing varying degrees of revision and recomposition. This quantity of revision, also the largest amount known from before 1600, is itself invaluable as an insight into the musical development and working practices of a Renaissance composer. Apart from this prolific output, almost nothing is known of Gerarde's life, his dates or nationality, nor precisely what his name was.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine his music, to analyse it from a number of viewpoints, to compare it with appropriate contemporary material and to draw conclusions concerning Gerarde's place in the evolution of sixteenth-century music. To support this, the entire corpus of his work is presented in an academic edition, showing all emendations and recompositions, in parallel score where necessary, and with all incomplete pieces reconstructed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the help and advice received during the preparation of this dissertation:

firstly, to my supervisor, Professor David Greer, for guidance, advice, enlightenment, encouragement, understanding and support;

to John Milsom, Ian Doyle, John Morehen and the late Patricia Greer, for much specialist help;

to Brian Crosby, Simon Anderson and Ian Payne, for information and documents concerning Mr Derrick;

to Chris Banks, Bob Parker, Julian Conway, and the staff of the British Library, of Christ Church Library, Oxford, and of Cambridge University Library, for their assistance with access to manuscripts and printed material;

to Justin Arundale, Peter Best, Janet Cowen, Frank Dobbins, Peggy Forsyth, David McKie, Alan Piper and Victorine Martineau, for their assistance with the translations;

and to my wife, Deborah, for providing the bulk of the translations, for help with the proof-reading, but principally for her support through the final preparation of this work.

Anthony Milledge

St Albans, March, 2001

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Anthony Milledge

**THE MUSIC OF
DYRICKE GERARDE**

Volume One

**Chapters One to Five
(The Manuscripts and Sources)**

INTRODUCTION

The extant works of Dyricke Gerarde (fl. c.1540-c.1580) form the largest known collection of presumed holograph musical material written before 1600. Most of it was in the library of Henry FitzAlan, twelfth Earl of Arundel, and his son-in-law, John, Lord Lumley, at Nonsuch Palace.^{1,2} This library is referred to variously as the Lumley library or the Nonsuch library. The bulk of this collection was given to the Crown in 1609 and later became the core of the British Museum Library, now the British Library, in 1757.

169 of Gerarde's works survive, many in more than one version.³ In addition, the amount of revision present is without precedent before 1600. This ranges from adjustment of isolated notes, adjusting points so that underlay is clearer and more specific, provision, sometimes copious provision, of accidentals, emendation of weak points, to thorough revision of sections, even entire pieces. This large quantity of revision and recomposition is itself invaluable as an insight into the working practices of a Renaissance composer.⁴

The quality of the music, and of the craftsmanship behind it, is generally high, yet Gerarde may not have been a professional composer. There is circumstantial evidence that he may have been an enthusiastic, wealthy and talented amateur. Apart from this prolific output, almost nothing is known of Gerarde the man. His life, his dates, place of birth and nationality are mysteries and even his precise name is not known as he spells it in French (Dericq Gerarde), Flemish (Dyryck Gerarde), English (Derick Gerard) and Latin (Theodoricus Gerardj); on one flyleaf alone, seven different forms are in evidence.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine his music, to analyse it from a number of viewpoints, to compare it with appropriate contemporary material and to draw conclusions concerning Gerarde's place in the evolution of sixteenth-century music. To support this, the entire corpus of his work is presented in an academic edition, showing all emendations and recompositions, in parallel scores where necessary, and with all incomplete pieces reconstructed.⁵

¹ For a detailed description of the acquisition of the library, its contents and subsequent fate, see Jayne and Johnson.

² Milsom (1) covers every entry in the music section of the 1609 catalogue of the library, and discusses the current whereabouts of every traceable item.

³ Two of the extant sets of partbooks are incomplete; i.e. books are missing from the sets. Arguments will be presented to show that there were probably other sets of partbooks that have completely disappeared.

⁴ The only other renaissance composer who has left any comparable amount of reworking is Thomas Tallis - see Milsom (2)

⁵ Except *Urbs beata Jerusalem*, for which only one voice part survives complete.



DEFINITIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Library sigla: Lbl = London, British Library; Och = Oxford, Christ Church Library; Cu = Cambridge, University Library. The sources of Gerarde's music, and other closely-related sources, with the abbreviations used throughout this dissertation are as follows:

British Library Manuscript sources, ex Nonsuch Library, listed in chronological order of being started, the argument for which will be found in Chapter Three:

- A Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 23-25
- B Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 31-35
- C Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 26-30
- D Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 49-54
- E Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 17-22
- F Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 57

Other manuscript sources containing works by Dyricke Gerarde:

- G Och Mss 979-83
- H Cu Ms Dd.2.11.

Manuscript sources which may contain works by Dyricke Gerarde, whose authorship is as yet unproven:

- I Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 64⁶
- J Lbl Royal Appendix Mss, 74-76⁷

The following sources do not contain anything by Dyricke Gerarde, but are mentioned in other literature on the subject. K,M,O and P were in the Nonsuch Library;

- K Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 55
- L Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 56
- M Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 59-62
- N Lbl Add Ms 31390
- O Lbl K.3.a.12.
- P Lbl K.3.a.15.

⁶ If the pieces in this manuscript are really by Dyricke Gerarde, then it is probably **A rolle of Cannons of Dethick Gerrarde**, mentioned in the Nonsuch Library catalogue, but not positively identified. See Milsom (1), 170.

⁷ Known as *The Lumley partbooks*, ex Nonsuch Library, containing English Church music from the reign of Edward VI, and dance tunes and other instrumental pieces in a variety of hands.

References to individual partbooks, where this will not create confusion, will be by Arabic numerals in bold face, thus: **57**.

There is evidence that in some sets of partbooks, the music was entered in recognisably distinct periods of time, distinguished by certain graphical characteristics, to be explained in Chapter Three. In any such period, the material was often entered into different layers of the books according to the number of voices. Where appropriate, these periods are denoted by subscripts, thus C_1 precedes C_2 , and the sections by lower case letters. Thus $B_{2(c)}$ represents Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 31-35, second period of entering material, third section of each partbook. These periods are referred to as *Phases* one to four. In Chapter Eight an attempt is made to achieve a relative chronology for the composition of the music, based on details of style.

Not all the covers nor flyleaves survive. Nevertheless from those that do, and legends on the pieces themselves, it is clear that Gerarde's naming of partbooks was: Superius, Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus, Quinta/Quintus, [Sexta/Sextus], and that of the voices usually: Superius, Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus, with primus and secundus prefixed where necessary. Very rarely the names Cantus, Medius, Altus, Quintus, Sextus appear.

As the named voices do not always appear in the book carrying the same name, the allocation of voices follows that of the edited version, is aligned to vocal ranges, and generally to the original clefs, and abbreviated as follows:

Clef	Voice (in the edition)	Approx.range	Abbreviation
G2	Soprano/Treble	<i>d'-g'</i>	S
C1	Mezzo-soprano/Meas ⁸	<i>b-e'</i>	M
C2	Alto ⁹	<i>g-c'</i>	A
C3	high Tenor	<i>e-a'</i>	T
C4	low Tenor/Baritone	<i>c-f'</i>	Ba
F3	Bass baritone	<i>A-d'</i>	Bba
F4	Bass	<i>F-b</i>	B
F5	Basso profundo	<i>D-g</i>	Bpr

⁸ The parts written in C1, and allotted in the edition to *Meas*, are probably intended for high falsettists - see Appendix Five.

⁹ The alto parts could also be sung by falsettists, but would better suit very high tenors, similar to the *Haute-contre* voice - see Appendix Five.

Occasionally Gerarde uses what seems to be an inappropriate clef, that is, one inconsistent with the vocal tessitura. Thus, some Mean parts use the G2 clef, some Alto parts C3, some Tenor parts C4, some Baritone/ low Tenor parts F3 and some Basso Profundo parts F4. In general, therefore, to avoid confusion, references to the pieces will be via the stave number in the edited version appended to this dissertation.

As the majority of pieces require at least one pair of voices of the same tessitura (and, usually, clef) it is useful to define a *level* as a set of voices of the same range (and clef). Thus a work for MTTBaB (clefs: C1 C3 C3 C4 F4) has four levels, with two voices in the second level. It will be shown that there emerges a pattern to the disposition of the levels among the partbooks that is of greater significance than the names allocated to the books.

Where there are two equal bass parts, the predominantly lower one, i.e. the principal one from a harmonic point of view, is usually Primus Bassus, or just Bassus, the other is then Secundus Bassus. In Source E, partbook 20 usually, but not always, has the lowest voice. For consistency in the edited version, Bass 2 is usually the lower one.

Many pieces are in two sections, the second usually labelled *Secunda Pars*. To distinguish between the two usages of the term *part*, the word *sections* will be used, voice parts being referred to as *voices*, the term *part* being used only if there is no danger of confusion, particularly when referring to partbooks.

It will be shown, in Chapter Six, that there were generally two stages to Gerarde's recomposition method. These are referred to as *Stage One* and *Stage Two*.

The chapters of this study are divided for convenience and referencing into sections, subsections and occasionally further subdivisions. Inside each chapter, examples, tables and diagrams are numbered separately, thus there is a Table 6.4 distinct from Example 6.4, neither being in Section 6.4. Footnotes are numbered consecutively throughout each chapter, but appear on the page to which they are an extension.

The most important and comprehensive work on the Lumley Library is that of Jayne and Johnson, which analyses the contents of the 1609 catalogue. References to this work will appear as in the following example:

2605 (41) **A song of fortie partes, made by Mr Tallys.**

In the above, 2605 is Jayne and Johnson's main catalogue reference, and (41) (my parentheses) is the (original) separate reference to the music section of the 1609 catalogue.¹⁰ The latter reference is also often used alone, prefixed by M, thus the above is M41.

¹⁰ See also Milsom (1) which indexes its entries by these numbers.

Chapter One

GERARDE THE ENIGMA

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Dyricke Gerarde is one of a number of enigmatic composers¹ living in the middle to late sixteenth century, of whom we have little or no knowledge beyond the fact that their music exists. Gerarde is prominent among this group for three reasons. The first is that he has left us so much music - 169 known compositions,² in eight sources, six of which sources being sets of partbooks, now in the British Library, forming the largest known collection of holograph material by one composer originating from before 1600. The second reason is that nearly every piece is revised in some way, giving us also the largest collection of revisions and recompositions known before 1600. The third reason is that he also copied music by others, giving us a number of unique sources of motets and chansons by other Franco-Flemish composers, significant among them being those composers for whom these manuscripts are our only clue to their existence.³ The six sets of books mentioned above came from the library at Nonsuch Palace, usually referred to as the Lumley library.⁴

¹ Others include George Paon and Noë Truie, each represented by one work in source D, a collection of pieces in Gerarde's hand, but otherwise totally unknown, even more mysterious than Gerarde himself. There was at least one composer called Morel, as yet unidentified, but known not to be Clement Morel, associated with Nonsuch and its manuscript music collection. A comparison with Thomas Whythorne may perhaps be drawn, for without his autobiography and his own printing of his songs, he would be unknown as a composer, and we may speculate on how many other Tudor composers have disappeared without trace.

² 168 complete or reconstructable pieces plus fragments of a further seven-voice motet (*Urbs beata Jerusalem*). The figure 169 is, however, somewhat arbitrary, as at least two two-section motets - *Heu michi Domine* and *Si bona suscepimus* - are not so indicated, i.e. in each case the presumed *secunda pars* follows the *prima pars* in the partbooks without comment. It may also be true that *Tua est potentia* in Source B is the *secunda pars* of *Congregati sunt*, which immediately precedes it in the partbooks, though by this point Gerarde was normally labelling the *secunda pars* of a two-section piece explicitly. Also the end result of Gerarde's revision and recomposition process sometimes transforms a piece so much that it is justifiable to regard the two versions as separate pieces. The figure 169 above does not so count different versions. See Appendix One for a complete list of Gerarde's attributable music, including the different versions, and naming each *secunda pars*.

³ Paon and Truie and probably the 'Nonsuch' Morel (see note 1). Morel is discussed further in Chapter Four, Section 4.6; The pieces by Norel, Paon and Truie are looked at briefly in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.

⁴ For a thorough account of this library, see Jayne and Johnson. The music section is dealt with in even greater detail in Milsom (1).

As Nonsuch is the first place where it is known that these manuscripts existed, it has long been assumed that that is where they were written, though there was little evidence presented to support that conclusion. A brief résumé of the history of Nonsuch and the lives of its principal occupants during the sixteenth century follows.

1.2 NONSUCH PALACE

Nonsuch⁵ was the last, and most ostentatious of Henry VIII's palaces, built to outdo anything in the known world, particularly Fontainebleau.⁶ The village and manor of Cuddington,⁷ in Surrey, was razed to provide land for Nonsuch and its immense parks, intended as Henry's hunting ground near London.⁸ Over five hundred workers were pressed into service building the palace. To provide the stone, the buildings of Merton Priory joined those of Cuddington as quarries. Artists, craftsmen and engineers from France, Germany, Holland and Italy were engaged,⁹ including Nicolas Bellin of Modèna,¹⁰ who after working at Mantua had designed the Francis I gallerie at Fontainebleau. He worked at Nonsuch on the extraordinary carved slate of the inner court and probably oversaw the making of the plaster stucco.¹¹ The total known expenditure on Nonsuch, up to 15th November, 1545 (and it is also known that this is an incomplete figure) was £24,536/7/7.¹²

The king, however, died before the palace was completed. During Henry's and Edward VI's reigns Nonsuch was looked after by two successive keepers, Sir Ralph Sadler (from 1542 to 1543), later to become Lord Chamberlain, and thereafter Sir Thomas Cawarden, also Master of the Revels. Nonsuch became Elizabeth I's favourite palace, but from James I onwards the

⁵ For a history of Nonsuch, and an account of the work done on the excavation of its remains, see Dent.

⁶ Lister, 7-8.

⁷ 'Uprooted and dispossessed, Richard and Elizabeth Codington were given the manor of Ixworth in Suffolk in exchange for Cuddington.' (Dent, 30.) The manor at Ixworth was obtained by suppressing the Priory there (Lister, 17).

⁸ 'The property acquired by the King consisted of six messuages, 600 acres of arable land, 50 acres of meadow, 600 acres of pasture, 40 acres of wood, 600 acres of heath and furze, and 20 shillings in rent.' (Dent, 32.)

⁹ Lister, 33, mentions six French clockmakers, French gardeners, a Dutch carver and a German water engineer who worked - if unsuccessfully - on the aquaduct from the spring to the washbasins and fountains.

¹⁰ Payments were made to him for carving slate in 1541-4. (Dent and Biddle, 23.)

¹¹ Dent, p.94. The extent of this work was vast. 'The decoration covered the exterior of the four inward facing walls of the Inner Court, of the whole of the south front, of the east face as far north as the kitchens and probably the west face as well: this means that the whole scheme was at least 900 feet long. Inside the Inner Court the decoration covered the walls from first-floor level to the battlements, outside, facing the gardens, it rose from ground-level to the top of the walls, at least 25 feet high, and covered the east and west towers to a height of nearly eighty feet.' (Dent and Biddle, 21.)

¹² Dent, 48. Dent goes on to compare this with the cost of building Loseley House, near Guildford, in 1562-71, i.e. £1640/19/7.

English monarchs showed total indifference to the place. Eventually, in 1670, Charles II gave it to his mistress, Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, an inveterate gambler, who had it demolished without even visiting it, in order to raise money by selling the materials.¹³ Thus the glories of the most extravagant piece of Tudor architecture were lost for ever. While there exist a number of paintings and engravings of the outside of Nonsuch, and the number of rooms and extent of its ground floor plan are known,¹⁴ our knowledge of the sumptuous interior is provided almost solely by the account of Anthony Watson, Rector of Cheam, who was given a conducted tour in c.1590.¹⁵

1.3 THE FITZALANS, THE LUMLEYS AND THEIR LIBRARY

Henry FitzAlan (c.1511-1579/80), godson of Henry VIII, and named after him, was the only son of William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel. He was in the service of the king from the age of 14 or 15, was summoned to parliament as Lord Maltravers in 1537, was deputy of Calais from 1540, and as Marshall of the Field took Boulogne in 1544, returning to England as Lord Chamberlain in the same year. Also in 1544 he succeeded to the Earldom, and his son, also called Henry, became Lord Maltravers. At Henry VIII's funeral Arundel was one of the twelve assistant mourners. He retained the post of Lord Chamberlain under Edward VI, acting as High Constable on his coronation. Henry VIII's will had put Arundel on the Council of Twelve, intended to assist the executors, but his influence was undermined when Somerset became protector. From this point on his fortunes were constantly affected by political intrigues, his position and influence, and freedom, waxing and waning all too frequently. He spent some time under house arrest and more than a year, from November, 1551, in the Tower. On the 6th July, 1553, Edward VI died, Arundel apparently acquiescing to Northumberland's plan to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne; however he warned Mary Tudor in a letter to escape to safety. On the 19th of July he denounced Northumberland, asserting the right of Mary Tudor to the throne. The next day she was proclaimed Queen. Arundel was made Lord Steward of the Household, and awarded several other posts and benefits.¹⁶

¹³ Demolition began in 1672 (Dent, 207-212).

¹⁴ Dent, 146-7, shows plans and dimensions, based on the excavations carried out in 1959. The palace enclosed two rectangular courts, on different levels, each well over 100 feet in each direction. The buildings were generally two stories high above ground, and at the south-east and south-west corners two great octagonal towers rose at least five stories high. The great wine cellar was 68 feet long and eighteen feet wide. (See photograph in Dent and Biddle, 18.) South of the palace was an octagonal banqueting house.

¹⁵ Watson was rector of Cheam from 1581, and became Bishop of Chichester in 1596 through the influence of Lumley, continuing also to hold the Rectory of Cheam until his death in 1605. Dent, 57, tells us that the 'description [of Nonsuch] is not dated, but it was written after the second marriage of Lumley in 1582, and it makes no mention of the surrender of the Palace to the Crown, which took place in 1592'.

¹⁶ Goodwin (1).

FitzAlan was married twice, firstly (before November, 1532) to Katherine, second daughter of Thomas Grey of Groby, second Marquis of Dorset, who bore him a son, Henry (1538-1556), and two daughters, Jane (c.1539-1576/7) and Mary (c.1541-1557), and secondly to Mary, whose parents were Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall, and Eleanor Grey, sister of the above mentioned Thomas Grey. His second wife, Mary, was therefore cousin to his first wife. She was the widow of Robert Radcliffe, first Earl of Sussex of that family, and brought with her one son, John, from that former marriage.¹⁷ By his marriages into the Grey family, FitzAlan became uncle to Lady Jane Grey.¹⁸ His two daughters both married young, Jane to John, Lord Lumley (1534-1609), by 1552, probably earlier,¹⁹ and Mary to Thomas Howard (1536-72), Duke of Norfolk, in 1556.

Queen Mary considered demolishing Nonsuch, as she had no use for it, but on Arundel's promise to finish the palace, it and its grounds, minus the great park, were bought by Arundel in 1556, in exchange for the curious sum of £485/13/4d and four East Anglian manors.²⁰ Arundel's son, Henry, Lord Maltravers, had died a few months before (25th August) on a diplomatic mission in Brussels, and before Arundel moved in to Nonsuch in 1557²¹ he was twice more bereaved. On August 25th his second daughter, Mary, Duchess of Norfolk died;²²

¹⁷ Burke (2) and Goodwin (1).

¹⁸ I am grateful to the late Patricia Greer for preparing for me a comprehensive genealogy of the various families involved.

¹⁹ Dent, 156: 'Jane FitzAlan, born about 1537, was married at a very early age to John, Lord Lumley. The date of the marriage is not known, but a translation by Lumley of Erasmus' *Instructions to a Christian Prince*, in the BM, is signed "Your Lordship's obedient son, 1550". As Lumley's own father was executed in 1538, he can only mean "son-in-law". See also note 24.

²⁰ Stowbards, Cantlowe, Strumpshaugh and Scrotely, in Norfolk. The letter patent recording Arundel's acquisition of the palace are dated 23rd November, 1556. (Dent, 147.)

²¹ There is no official record of his having been there before 1558. (Dent, 157.), but see note 24.

²² She died of puerperal fever, following the birth, seven weeks earlier, of her only child, Philip Howard (1557-1595).

Nichols, 141 (from Henry Machyn's diary) - concerning Philip Howard:

'The ii day of July the duke of Norfoke sun was crystened at Whytt-hall at after non and the kyng and my Lord Chanseler was the godfathers and my old lade the duches of North foke was the god mother and ther wher iiij^{xx} storchys bornyng.'

Nichols, 149 (from Henry Machyn's diary) concerning the funeral of Arundel's daughter, Mary (words in parentheses are from Strype):

'The furst day of September at after none be[ried the] yonge duches of Northfoke, and the chyrche and the plasse and the strett [hangyd with black] and armes; and be iij of the cloke she was browth to [the church with] a c morners; and her grasse had a canepe of blake [velvet, with] iiij stayffes, borne over her; and many baners, and baner[-rolls borne ab]owt here; and the byshope of London in ys cope and ys myter [on his head,] and all the qwyre of Powlles; and with ij grett whytt branchys, and xij dosen stayffes torchys; and viij haroldes of armes; and my [Lady Lumley] the cheyff mornor, and mony lordes and knyghtes, and gentyll lades and gentyll women.'

less than two months later, Mary, his second wife, also died.²³ FitzAlan therefore invited his other daughter, Jane, and her husband, John, Lord Lumley (1534-1609), to join him, which they did, Lumley taking an active rôle in the take-over of Nonsuch. In August 1557 he ordered the park cleared of cattle and sent an eviction notice to Thomas Bothe, deputy of the reluctant-to-move Sir Thomas Cawarden,²⁴ though the latter continued as keeper of the great park.

Arundel became a principal, but entirely unsuccessful, suitor to Elizabeth I, later incurring her wrath for his constant intriguing against the throne.²⁵ He spent more time under house arrest and a year out of the country. Nevertheless, his political skills were such that he died of influenza, with his head still attached to his body,²⁶ in 1579/80, leaving his estate and debts to

²³ From Lbl.Harl.897,f79 (quoted in Nichols, 360) - concerning the death of Arundel's wife (there is a contradiction here in the date):

'This Mary doter of Sir John Arundell of the West [and widow of Robert, earl of Sussex, who died in 1542] departed this lyff on wensday the 20 October in the 4. and 5. yeres of King Phelyp and quene Mary in the said erl of Arundelles place in St Clementes parishe called the Danes withwt temple barre in London, and was beryed the xxviiiij of october next folowyinge.'

Confusion is here possible as her father was called Arundell and her second husband had the title Arundel. Nichols, 155 (from Henry Machyn's diary), concerning the same event:

'The xxj day of October ded my lade the contes of Arundell at Bathe plase in sant Clement parryche with owt Tempylle bare.

'The xxvj day of October was a goodly hers sett up in sant clementes parryche with owt Tempylle bare of v pryncepalles and with viij baner rolles and a x dosen penselles and iiiij grett skochyons of armes at the iiiij corners.

'The xxvij day of October my lade was browth to the chyrche with the byshope of London and Powlles qwyre and the master and clarkes of London and then cam the corse with v baners [*sic*: paners] of armes borne then cam iiiij harolds in ther cotes of armes and bare iiiij banars of emages at the iiiij corners and then cam the chyff mornars my lade of Wossetur and my lade Lumley and my lord North and ser Antony Selenger. [then came a hundred mourners of men, and after as many ladies and gentlemen, all in black; and a great many poor women in black and rails, and] xxiiiij pore men in blake beyryng of torchys and mony of her servandes in blake cotes beyryng of torchys.

'The xxviiiij day of October was the masse of requiem song and a goodly sermon and after masse her grasse was bered and all her hed offesers with whyte stayffes in ther handes and all the harolds waytyng about her in ther cott armurs and my lord abbott of Westmynster [was the] precher a godly sarmon and my Lord of London song the masse and the byshope of (blank) song the masse of the (blank) and ther was a (blank) masse sayd and after to my lordes plase to dener for ther was a gret dener.'

²⁴ Dent, 149. In the same letter, dated 30th August, Lumley, who again describes himself as Arundel's son, states that Arundel intends to arrive 'very shortly. His pleasure is that you depart these three weeks at the furthest.' [The spelling is here modernised in Dent.]

²⁵ Arundel was considered the leader of the Catholic nobility in England, and together with the Howards of Norfolk, the Percys of Northumberland and others, made a substantial conservative opposition to Elizabeth's protestant reforms. Nevertheless he had openly protested at the treatment of the then Princess Elizabeth during Mary Tudor's reign.

²⁶ Considering his involvement in the Ridolfi plot to marry Thomas Howard to Mary, Queen of Scots and depose Elizabeth, a plot which sent Norfolk and others to the block in 1572, this is extraordinary.

the Lumleys. The Earldom, however, went to Arundel's younger daughter, Mary's son, Philip Howard, who linked the Earldom of Arundel with the Dukedom of Norfolk and the host of other manors and lands owned by both families. He died in the tower on 19th October, 1595, at the age of 38, falsely accused and convicted of high treason,²⁷ and was canonised in 1970, the cathedral of Arundel being re-dedicated to his name.²⁸

John Lumley's father, George Lumley, had been executed at Tyburn in 1537, for high treason. In 1547 Lumley successfully petitioned Parliament to have his title restored; he was restored in blood, succeeding his grandfather, and created Baron of Lumley. He had been educated at the court of Edward VI, whose funeral he attended. At Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1549, he had met the younger Henry FitzAlan, Lord Maltravers, the son of Arundel, and, as we have seen, married the latter's sister, Jane, probably by 1550. In 1553 Lumley was created Knight of the Bath. Two days later he and his wife, aged 19 and 16 respectively, attended Queen Mary's coronation. Lady Jane (Lumley), attired in crimson velvet, rode in the third chariot of state. Lumley was appointed to attend Elizabeth on her journey from Hatfield to London on her accession.²⁹ Involved in the intrigues with his father-in-law and other leading catholics with Spain, he spent some time in the Tower in 1569 and stayed under various forms of arrest until 1573. He and Jane had three children, all of whom died in infancy. His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Darcy of Chiche, bore him no children, so when he died, in 1609, his estate went to his cousin Sir Richard Lumley, later first Viscount Lumley, whose grandson became first Earl of Scarborough.³⁰ Elizabeth died in 1617 or 1618.

Arundel had been briefly Chancellor of Oxford University in 1558/9. He returned with a new member for the Nonsuch Household, the physician and antiquarian Humphrey Llwyd (1527-68), who later married Lumley's sister, Barbara.³¹ He became Arundel's private physician, but is mentioned here because he devoted much time to music and the other arts, and was apparently highly influential in the later acquisitions for the Nonsuch library.³¹ Arundel, Lumley and Llwyd were all members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries.

Both Arundel and Lumley were book collectors. Arundel's library could be seen as having had four components: firstly the large folios with fine bindings, acquired for just these properties ('...for him a library was not a workroom but a showplace'³²); secondly the heavily

²⁷ Creighton.

²⁸ From an inscription in Arundel Cathedral.

²⁹ Goodwin (2).

³⁰ Burke (1), 1880.

³¹ See Thomas (2) for a bibliographical note on Llwyd.

³² Jayne and Johnson, 4. Dent, 163, describes Arundel thus: 'Arundel, not a particularly learned man, and with a rooted dislike for foreign languages....'

annotated books in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, confiscated from Cranmer in 1553 and given to Arundel by Queen Mary;³³ thirdly the books of military history, which Arundel apparently actually read;³⁴ and finally the books bought in profusion for the education of his daughters and step-son. Jayne and Johnson have the following to say about this:

Arundel's son [Henry, Lord Maltravers] was educated at the court of Edward VI and at Cambridge, and left very little to impress on the Earl's library except indirectly after his death in the books which he left to his college classmate, Lord Lumley. But the stepson [John Radcliffe] and the two girls were educated at home, and their father's library made it possible for the girls to acquire considerable reputations for classical learning, in the manner of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth herself. To the influence of the daughters we may trace not only the numerous volumes of exercises and translations in their own hands, but also the relative richness in the Latin and Greek classics and in music.³⁵

Thus we see that Jane and Mary, Arundel's daughters, were both accomplished classical scholars. Some of their exercises and translations are preserved in the British Library³⁶ and the presence of these girls and their half-brother contributed to particular developments of Arundel's library. While Mary left at the age of 14 to become the Duchess of Norfolk, Jane continued as Mistress of the household until her death in 1576/7.

When John and Jane Lumley moved to Nonsuch in 1557, they brought their library with them, merging it with that of Arundel. The library was increased further over the next half century, mainly by Lumley, with advice from Llwyd, until it was the largest in the land.

That Arundel was a patron of music is indisputable. His household contained an unknown, but possibly large, number of musicians,³⁷ including those mentioned by Henry Machyn in his account of the week of festivities in August, 1559,³⁸ for which Arundel paid the equivalent of half a million pounds of today's money in entertaining Queen Elizabeth in the hope of winning her hand.³⁹ It has been suggested that Tallis's forty-part motet *Spem in alium nunquam habui* was perhaps inspired in its nominal division into eight choirs by one of the

³³ Jayne and Johnson, 3.

³⁴ Jayne and Johnson, 4.

³⁵ Jayne and Johnson, 4.

³⁶ Those in Jane's hand: Lbl Royal Mss, 15A,i,ii,ix; those in Mary's hand: Royal Mss, 12A,i-iv. See Milner, 88-9.

³⁷ See Warren (2).

³⁸ Transcribed in Nichols, 206.

³⁹ When Arundel realised that his chances of such a marriage were nil, he used his position as Lord Steward of the Household to recover £951/14/5 from the queen's household. (Dent, 159.)

large rooms in the octagonal towers in the south face of Nonsuch, or by the area around the banqueting hall, which was also ideally suited to holding eight ensembles.⁴⁰ A score, or set of parts, now lost, of this work is listed in the 1609 catalogue,⁴¹ as is a set of madrigals for five voices by Innocentio Alberti, dedicated to Arundel, dated 1568.⁴²

Arundel's household then appears to have included many musicians, and the library eventually contained a significant amount of music, both printed and in manuscript volumes.⁴³ The final inventory of Lumley's household lists a remarkable array of musical instruments,⁴⁴ testifying to the amount of lavish musical entertainment that had graced Nonsuch in its heyday.⁴⁵

Lumley seems to have been more of a scholar than was his father-in-law, and appears to have had some skill as a painter.⁴⁶ He collected paintings, patronising the Dutch artist Richard Stevens,⁴⁷ but it is not known how closely he may have dealt with musicians. However, Byrd dedicated his *Liber Secundus Sacrarum Cantionum* of 1591 to Lumley, ending his encomium: 'Whatever Harmony has up to now suggested to my spirit or pen I have considered ought rightly to be imported to your influence'.⁴⁸ When Arundel gave Nonsuch to Lumley, the latter

⁴⁰ Milsom (1), 170.

⁴¹ Jayne and Johnson catalogue reference 2605 (41): *A songe of fortie partes, made by Mr tallys*.

⁴² Jayne and Johnson catalogue reference 2592 (28).

⁴³ See Jayne and Johnson, and Milsom (1)

⁴⁴ Quoted in Milner, 335:

Great standing wynd instruments with stoppes	viii
Vyrgynalles paires	v
Rygalles paires	ii
Jryshe harpes	ii
Lutes	viii
Howboyes	x
Bumbardes	iii
Crumpe hornes	iiii
Recorders	xv
Vyolens	xiii
Vyoles	xli
Sagbutts	iiii
Cornettes	xii

⁴⁵ See Warren (2), Milner and Dent.

⁴⁶ Kempe, 495, from a letter from Lumley to Mr More of Loseley, 5th September, 1589, in which Lumley requests Mr More to send by bearer the picture of the French Queen 'that he may take the like ont' and will return it with speed.

⁴⁷ Goodwin (2).

⁴⁸ From preface to *Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum* (RISM B5216), in the Nonsuch Library, Jayne and Johnson catalogue reference 2597(33), quoted in Warren (1). The Nonsuch copy has not survived (Milsom, (1)).

also inherited Arundel's large debts, but not the Earldom to pay them with,⁴⁹ so it is probable that the sumptuous musical entertainment that it is assumed that Arundel was able to call on was considerably diminished.

In c.1591, Lumley was obliged to deed Nonsuch to the crown, though he stayed on as keeper of the estate until his death in 1609. Lumley had had the library catalogued at least twice, in 1591 and 1596, and pruned of its duplicate copies (often Lumley would give away the better of two copies, and many libraries, including Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian in Oxford, have benefitted from his generosity).⁵⁰ On his death the library went to the Crown, at which point it was catalogued yet again,⁵¹ and from where, as part of the Royal Library, it (or at least that part which had not somehow got lost, stolen, burnt or sold) was given to the British Museum in c.1757 as the core of the collection now known as the British Library.

It is in the context of the above that the Gerarde manuscripts appear, and it is hardly surprising that generations of librarians and musicologists have assumed that Gerarde was working for Arundel at Nonsuch. However convenient it may be for us that he may have been there, this is as yet unproven.

⁴⁹ In fact Lumley 'inherited' Nonsuch twice, once when Arundel left England in 1566 - when, with the Queen's permission he went to Padua to take the baths, on account of his gout, he made over all his possessions to Lumley (Dent, 160-1) - only to lose it when Arundel, his gout cured, returned the following year (Goodwin (1)), and again in February 1579/80, when Arundel died. (Warren (3), 48.)

⁵⁰ Milner, 337, quotes the following, written by Lumley, from the records of Lumley Castle: 'The library registred in a boke wryten by Alcocke, my L: of Chechester his L: servant, A^o 1596 with all the rest of my boks my self have dyspersed sundery ways'.

⁵¹ Jayne and Johnson, 5, quote from the Prince's Privy Purse Accounts, dated 22nd October, 1609: 'to Mr Holcock for wreating a catalogue of the library whiche his highness hade of my Lord Lumley £8-13-4', adding: 'The "Mr Holcock" was probably the same Mr Alcock who made the 1596 catalogue for Lumley, and the Anthony Alcock who signed the 1609 copy'.

The 1609 catalogue survives at Trinity College Cambridge, MS O.4.38. Jayne and Johnson surmise that it is a copy of the 1596 catalogue, but this is not proven, as the 1596 catalogue is lost (see also note 59, below). The 1609 catalogue runs to more than 2,600 entries, many of them compound. The last section deals with music, and while there are only 45 entries, most of these are compound, and the entries describe an extraordinary collection of printed and manuscript music, both English and foreign - see Appendix Three.

Some confusion has arisen from references to Alcock/Holcock. Jayne and Johnson, 13, mention books given away by Lumley that are now in the Harsnett Library in Colchester. They suggest that these particular book were given by Lumley to his protégé Andrew Watson, who was one of Harsnett's predecessors in the Bishopric of Chichester. It is clear that Anthony Alcock was Watson's servant (see previous note). Dent, however (164), names the Rector/Bishop Anthony Watson.

1.4 THE SEARCH FOR GERARDE

The mystery surrounding Gerarde's identity results from the fact that, apart from the manuscripts themselves, there exists no hard evidence that would give a clue to his life and circumstances. Circumstantial evidence abounds, and this has led to many suppositions concerning Gerarde's life.

The earliest known mention of his name, other than appearances of it in the manuscripts, is in the 1609 inventory of Lumley's library. Beyond the statement of the existence of

- 2588.⁵² **Fower settes of Musick Bookes, of Derick Gerrardes, written, vz.**
 (21)⁵³ **One of six Bookes,⁵⁴**
 (22) **One of five Bookes,**
 (23) **One of five bookes also,⁵⁵**
 (24) **One of fower bookes,⁵⁶**

and the possibly cognate

2607. (43) **A rolle of Cannons of Dethick Gerrarde,⁵⁷**

this inventory reveals nothing.⁵⁸ As both Arundel and Lumley were avid collectors of books, the presence of these music manuscripts in their libraries implies nothing *per se* concerning their provenance. The condition of these books may well have been poor - the presence of poorly-bound books in bad condition in Lumley's library provides circumstantial evidence for the 1596 and 1609 catalogues being different.⁵⁹

⁵² Catalogue referencing from Jayne and Johnson.

⁵³ Separate referencing to the music section of the 1609 catalogue (my parentheses) - see Introduction.

⁵⁴ Lbl, Royal Mss, Appendix 17-22 (Source E).

⁵⁵ These two entries refer to Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 31-35 (Source B) and 26-30 (Source C).

⁵⁶ Almost certainly this refers to Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 23-25 (Source A), consisting now of three partbooks only. It is possible that this was originally a set of five partbooks, as most of the pieces therein are for five voices. If this is true then one book was already lost by 1609.

⁵⁷ Unidentified, and believed lost; Milsom (1), 170.

⁵⁸ Sources D and F, each being an anthology compiled by Gerarde, each containing works by himself and others, are listed in the inventory, but not under Gerarde's name.

⁵⁹ Lumley's Library was a showpiece, and its appearance mattered. Gerarde's books, apart from Source E and possibly Source F (See Chapter Two, Sections 2.6 and 2.7), were not showpiece items, and therefore probably not part of the library. If this assumption is correct, the Gerarde manuscripts would not appear in the 1596 catalogue. However, after Lumley's death, these books, as his property, were understandably included in the 1609 catalogue, as were a number of (mostly unidentified) items, lumped together as item 2606 (42): **Divers imperfect bookes of Musicke, both printed /and written hande**. Thus the 1596 and 1609 catalogues probably differed at least in this respect.

Attempts to date the Gerarde partbooks have proved fruitless. The watermarks, considered in Chapter Two, are fairly common ones, covering a long period. Nor do the texts tell us anything useful. Gerarde set for the most part well-known motet and chanson texts; where the dates of the texts are known, they are consistently too early to add to our scant knowledge of the dates of the manuscripts. The other chanson and madrigal texts have not been identified. Of the sacred texts, only one has a date that may be of any use, and that limited, that of *Lorde be my judge*, which gives us a date of not earlier than 1561 for this piece, which is a late addition to a well-used set of partbooks.

The other two manuscripts containing music by Dyricke Gerarde are not in his hand. The date of Och Mus. 979-983, Source G, is later than 1575.⁶⁰ The contents of Cu Ms Dd.2.11, Source H, were probably written before 1591.⁶¹ Dyricke Gerarde, then, has left us a large number of compositions, most of them, as we shall see, carefully corrected and/or revised, but otherwise has disappeared without trace.

The following material deals with the cataloguing and description of his work over the past two hundred years, and attempts in the twentieth century to discover who he was, and to put him into some historical perspective.

Concerning those partbooks in the (then) British Museum, Royal Appendix 17-35, 49-54 and 57, Thomas Oliphant assumed that Gerarde was a copyist.⁶² If he were, we should ask

⁶⁰ These partbooks are written on printed manuscript paper, probably printed by Tallis and Byrd under their 1575 patent, and are bound with Tallis' and Byrd's *Cantiones* of 1575. (John Milsom, in a private communication.)

⁶¹ On f229 of this manuscript, *Mrs White's Nothinge* is attributed to *John Dowland B.Mus.* Dowland attained that degree in 1588. However, Julia Craig-McFeely, 365, points out that 'the Mus.B. is attached to a piece which has been used as a fill-up at the bottom of a page, and could have been copied in after the rest of the Ms was finished', and gives the date of the book as c.1585-c.1595, with most probably written by 1591, as 'Katherine Darcy married Gervaise Clifton in that year and all her pieces [i.e. those dedicated to her] in this volume bear her maiden name'.

⁶² Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum, 1842, 2-6, 8 and 9. Thomas Oliphant, Secretary of the Madrigal Society, prepared this catalogue for the Library. Some of his comments are as follows (the Arabic numerals are his catalogue entries):

15 [Source E] Motetts [sic], ..., collected by, or originally belonging to, Dyricke Gerarde, whose name is on the title page.... The composers' names are not given.

16 [Source A] ... At the end of the *Cantus* book is a fragment of what seems to be a canon in four parts, composed by Dyricke Gerarde,* by whom the collection was made.

17 [Source C] Motetts, Songs and Madrigals ... some of which are composed by Dyricke Gerarde

18 [Source B] ... A collection apparently made by Dyricke Gerarde. The composers' names are not given.

22 [Source D] A collection ... made by Dyricke Gerarde, composed by himself and others,

25 [Source F] The *Bassus* book** ... for the most part composed by Orlando di Lasso, Theodoricus (Dyricke) Gerarde,

He also says of Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 56 (Source L): 'A volume containing the instrumental score part of Latin and English Songs, roughly noted down; probably by D. Gerard'*** (*Continued overleaf*)

what he was copying. 49-54 and 57 do contain works by other composers, most attributed, some not (for some of the copied works in 49-54, this set of partbooks is the unique source); his own works in these particular collections mostly lie in sections of the books physically apart from the copied works. Of his own (supposed) 169 known compositions, none exist in any form outside the manuscript sources cited in the current work; the almost total lack of any material shared with other settings of his texts, other than standard motifs, is even more enigmatic, for, while the compositional style is that of the Franco-Flemish School of the middle to late sixteenth century, Gerarde would appear to be either not in contact with that school, or determinedly unaffected by and aloof from the normal processes of borrowing and parody associated with it.

Oliphant's assumption was taken by Robert Eitner to be an established fact.⁶³ The statement '...collected by, or originally belonging to, Dyricke Gerarde, whose name is on the title-page...',⁶⁴ referring to Source E, is elevated by Eitner in his statement that 'collected by...' appears on the title page,⁶⁵ which is not the case. Concerning Source A, the imitative piece at the end (fragment 3) is stated to be labelled 'composed by...', which is not the case.⁶⁶ That Eitner's article is not based on a first-hand study of the Mss is evident from the fact that Source D is described as containing '13 Gesge, Mot. u Chans. von ihm [Gerarde]',⁶⁷ when in fact it contains only 9 Gerarde pieces - five motets and four chansons. However, Eitner's assumption that Gerarde was a Netherlander, is supported, but not necessarily proved, by various stylistic characteristics and also by Gerarde's handwriting.⁶⁸

Augustus Hughes-Hughes was apparently the first to question Oliphant's copyist theory, stating that Gerarde was composer of the music in these manuscripts,⁶⁹ also ascribing the

* Ironically, the fragments at the end of the [cantus] and [tenor] books are the only pieces therein almost certainly **not** by Gerarde.

** In fact it is the [sextus] book - not labelled as such, but containing various parts notated in C1, C3 and F4 clefs, none of which is the bassus part. This mistake may have arisen from the fact that the first piece in the book is written in F4. This is not the only time that a cataloguing error has resulted from looking only at a first opening (See Chapter 2, Section 2.5).

*** This is curious; the notation of Royal Appendix 56 is not at all rough, and is in a hand quite different from that of Gerarde.

⁶³ Eitner, IV, 202-3.

⁶⁴ Oliphant, 3.

⁶⁵ Eitner, op. cit., 202.

⁶⁶ Eitner, op. cit., 203.

⁶⁷ Eitner, op. cit., 203.

⁶⁸ Elements of Gerarde's writing suggest that he was either English or Flemish, as assessed by Dr Ian Doyle of Durham University in a private communication.

⁶⁹ Hughes-Hughes: Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1901-9, I, 141, 142, 177, 244, 266-271; II, 132-5 and 194. There are also implied attributions to D. Gerarde of the pieces by Jean Gerarde transcribed in Add. Mss 11583, 11584 and 34071, (Hughes-Hughes, II, 160, 161 and 177), and in III, 202, he attributes the fragments: "Fragments of fugal and other movements in 4 parts, in *quasi*-score, apparently by Diricke (sc. John Theodoricus) Gerarde. *Autograph*."

instrumental transcription *Chera la fountayne*, by Gerardus found in Add Ms 31390 to this same Gerarde,⁷⁰ an ascription later accepted by others,⁷¹ apparently on the sole basis that the manuscript is English.⁷² On both logical and stylistic grounds this is a dubious conclusion. The only link between this piece and the other manuscripts is the name Gerarde, which was shared in some form or other by at least seventeen other known musicians working between c.1540 and c.1585 (see below). In any case the names Dyricke (or names similar to it) and Gerarde (or similar) were extremely common, particularly amongst Dutchmen and Flemings resident in England during the sixteenth century, as the following lists demonstrate.

Warren lists the following, all represented by compositions: Jean Gerard (Jan Gerard or Geraert in the Phalèse prints), Jehan Gerard, Gerardus, Geerhart, Ghirardo, Gheerkin, Gerardus van Turnhout, Jean (Gerardus) van Turnhout, Gerardus a Mes, Gerardus a Salice, Gerard le Coq and Geraert Obrecht. He also lists the following, cited in contemporary sources as musicians: Gerard Avidus, Sir Guerart, Jacques Gerard, Joachim Gerardus and Gerardus Haynes.⁷³ In addition, it may be noted that a Jean Gerard was the printer of *La forme des prieres et chantz Ecclesiastiques*, published in Geneva in 1542.⁷⁴

E. J. Worman⁷⁵ lists amongst the aliens working in the book trade in Tudor England three men called John Deryckson⁷⁶ (or Derickson), a John Direckson (resident here for 18 years in 1562), and, in 1561, Derick Garratson and Direck Gheritz. Aliens (mostly listed as *Dutchmen*) living in England in the sixteenth century, with the surnames Dyricke (or similar) or Gerarde (or similar), number in the hundreds.⁷⁷ Members of Oxford University c.1540-1575 include Robert Derycke (1541) and Thomas Dyrrycke (1574-9), Alexander Gerrard (1578), John Gerarde (1575), Richard Gerarde (1571), Thomas Gerarde (1575), Thomas Gerarde (1577), Thomas Gerrart (1578) and George Garard or Garrarde (1543);⁷⁸ members of Cambridge University during the same period include Charles Derrick (1569), Edward Derycke (c.1570),

⁷⁰ Hughes-Hughes, III, 216.

⁷¹ See Borren, 62, Epps and Warren (1,3).

⁷² Hughes-Hughes' catalogue entry for this piece is as follows:
'ADD 31390 5. "Chera la fountayne" "[Dyricke] Gerardus." f30'.

⁷³ Warren (1), 75.

⁷⁴ Pidoux (2), title page.

⁷⁵ Worman, 16 and 24.

⁷⁶ As surnames and Christian names were often interchangeable - e.g, Philip van Wilder was sometimes referred to as *Mr Philip* - it has been thought appropriate to search also for musicians with surnames like Dyricke or first names like Gerarde.

⁷⁷ Kirk and Kirk list 51 in London alone in 1567, including a Garrett Direckson. Unfortunately none of them is listed as a musician. (Lay Subsidies, London, 1567, quoted in Kirk and Kirk, 316,ff.)

⁷⁸ Foster, I, 397; II, 550, 557-8.

Francis Derrick (or Dyrycke or Dethycke) (1569), Christopher Dethicke (1569), Henry Dethick or Dyrrycke (1556), John Dethyck (1543), Richard Dethicke (1558), Thomas Dethicke (1544), Thomas Dethycke (1562-3), - Dethicke, (1567), James Garrard (1546), Peter Garrard or Garret (1570), Felix Gerrard (1577-8), Gilbert Gerard (577), Richard Gerard (1567) and William Gerard (1572);⁷⁹ no one on this list is specified as a musician.

When the ownership of Nonsuch passed to Arundel in 1556, some of Arundel's men fought a pitched battle with servants of the then keeper, Sir Thomas Cawarden, who did not want to leave; one of the principal protagonists on Cawarden's side was a William Dethick.⁸⁰ The undertaker-turned-diarist Henry Machyn, writing in 1561 names two more Dethykes: 'The xvj day of July [1561] was crystened Robard Dethyke the sune of ser Gylbart Dethyke, Garter, in the parryche of sant Gylles with owt crepull gatte [the Queen was Godmother].'⁸¹ Kempe mentions 'A pedigree preserved at Loseley [House, Surrey], attested in 1597, under the signature of William Dethicke, Garter King of Arms....'⁸²

A Gerrard Derrick was a singing-man at York Minster c.1590-1604. He may have been the Mr Derrick of Durham Cathedral,⁸³ some of whose compositions found their way to Cambridge.⁸⁴ Another Cambridge source contains *Mr Dethick's Pavin*,⁸⁵ which brings us full circle, speculatively, to the Lumley catalogue and the lost *A rolle of Cannons of Dethick Gerrarde*.

Charles van den Borren⁸⁶ was convinced that Gerarde was Flemish, solely on the basis of the latter's name, listing all six British Library sources (A, B, C, D, E and F) and *Chera la fountayne* as Gerarde's work. He raised the possibility that Derick Gerarde may perhaps be identifiable with, or related to, one of the better known Gerardes, perhaps Jean Gerard or Jacques Gerard, but inevitably came up against the absence of hard evidence. His argument curiously centres on the fact that Jean Gerard and Dyricke Gerarde both wrote settings of *Adieu celle que j'ay servi* and that Jacques Gerard and Dyricke Gerarde both wrote settings of *Est il possible*, in each case entirely different settings.

⁷⁹ Venn and Venn, 37, 197 and 207.

⁸⁰ Dent, 150.

⁸¹ Nichols, 264.

⁸² Kempe, Introduction, xxii.

⁸³ fl. c.1620; I am indebted to Dr Brian Crosby of Durham University for information about this man.

⁸⁴ Kyrie eleison, Creed and Jubilate: Peterhouse Mss 475-91. In addition the Kyrie and Creed, and a Te Deum and Benedictus exist at Durham Cathedral. This information is from Dr Brian Crosby and Dr Simon J. Anderson, in private communications.

⁸⁵ Lbl Add Mss 30826-8. See Payne (1).

⁸⁶ Borren (1), 62-70, 112.

René Vannes⁸⁷ questioned the statement that Gerarde was Flemish and refuted Charles van den Borren's identification proposal, citing chapel rolls from the chapels of Charles V and Philip II which demonstrate that Jean Gerard was employed as an haute-contre in the former continuously from 1547 to 1561, and that on the 25th of February, 1575, was awarded 200 livres and a pension of 10 sols for long service in both chapels. He could not therefore, during that period, have been in England long enough to have composed all the pieces in the British Library collection.⁸⁸ However, the assumption that Dyricke Gerarde lived in England for an extended period is not proven, nor is it necessary to refute Charles van den Borren's proposal. A more convincing argument is that the few pieces that are known to be by Jean Gerard are quite different in style from those in the Dyricke Gerarde manuscripts.

Denis Arnold⁸⁹ took the view that Gerarde composed some but not all the pieces in the British Museum/Library collection, but that it was difficult to determine which, that Gerarde had stayed in England, and that this stay had influenced his style which was otherwise that of the mainstream Northern European school, and that as the liturgical texts were in Latin, they had to have been set before 1558, the year of the restoration of the English Church. This last assumption is less well founded than the others, as it is clear that, for example, Byrd's and Tallis' music printing business had a ready market for Latin Church music in the recusant Catholic households, including that of Nonsuch.^{90,91}

The first dissertation concerned solely with Dyricke Gerarde appears to have been that of David Epps.⁹² He agreed that Gerarde was a Fleming, working in England, having been taken into the household of Arundel, but he (Epps) was non-committal over the many anonymous (i.e. unsigned) pieces, which he cautiously did not attribute to Gerarde. In this respect he tacitly reverted to Thomas Oliphant's view.

⁸⁷ Vannes, 166, article on Dyricke Gerarde.

⁸⁸ Vannes, 166, article on Jean Gerard.

⁸⁹ Arnold, Article in M.G.G. IV, 1779.

⁹⁰ The Lumley Library catalogue lists the following:

2596 (32) *Sacrarium cantionum quinque vocum liber primus, autore / Guliemo Birde organista regio, dedicated to the earle of Wurcester, anno 1589.*

2597 (33) *Sacrarium cantionum quinque et sex vocum, liber secundus, / Eiusdem, to the Lorde Lumley, anno 1591.*

2598 (34) *Gradicalia [i.e. Gradualia] ac cantiones sacrae, 3, 4, et 5 vocum, / Eiusdem, to my Lorde of Northampton, / anno d. 1605.*

2599 (35) *His [i.e. Byrd's] kyries [i.e. Masses] of 3, 4, and 5 voices.*

2605 (41) *A songe of fortie partes, made by Mr Tallys [i.e. *Spem in alium nunquam habui*].*

To these may be added many other works to Latin words by non-English composers.

⁹¹ '... in 1560 a Latin prayer book was introduced alongside the English one, for use only in the Chapel Royal and the college chapels of the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, and the schools, Eton and Winchester, where Latin would be understood.' (Wainwright, 44.)

⁹² Epps: Unpublished D.Mus. dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1964.

More substantial work was carried out by Charles Warren.⁹³ He continued the acceptance of Gerard's Flemish origins, enrolment by Arundel and stay in England at Nonsuch Palace, but carefully pointed out the total lack of hard evidence supporting this. He also cautiously attributed certain other pieces and books to Gerarde.⁹⁴ For these attributions there is less supportive evidence, and on stylistic and handwriting grounds they are not here accepted as part of Gerarde's oeuvre.⁹⁵

Warren⁹⁶ investigated thoroughly all known references to sixteenth-century musicians whose name was, or resembled, Gerarde, and verified, by comparing each of their known works with those of Dyricke Gerarde's, that the latter was none of these, though he did surmise that he may have had a family connection with Gerardus van Turnhout. His conclusion on this issue is worth quoting in full:

The fact that there are no concordances between pieces of Derick Gerarde and the continental Gerards seems a strong indication that Derick Gerarde was a separate individual. If Gerard was an uncommon name in the sources of sixteenth-century music, there would perhaps be less hesitation in identifying Derick with Jean Gerard or Gerardus [van Turnhout]. That there are so many apparently different musicians named Gerard, however, gives us courage to assume that Derick was also an individual in his own right.

Furthermore, it ought to be pointed out that the large amount of music contained in the Gerarde manuscripts probably represents a life's work.⁹⁷ It is unlikely that any of the better known Gerards established on the continent, particularly Gerardus van Turnhout and Jean Gerard, could have been in England for the length of time it would have taken to copy or compose it.⁹⁸

The points made here would appear to be unassailable, except the last, which, as in Vannes' argument, depends on Gerarde having been in England for some length of time, something which may be true, but which has not been established. There is no compelling reason why Gerarde should have been in England at all in order to have composed these pieces.

⁹³ Warren (1): Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1966. Also see Warren (2) and (3).

⁹⁴ All of Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 59-62, *Chera la fontayne* in Lbl Add. Ms. 31390, and the madrigal *Patrone, bella patrone*, ascribed to Gharardo di Paniro in RISM 1557¹⁸, a collection of pieces published by Gardano.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 2, Section 2.10.

⁹⁶ Warren (1), 70-95; the list from page 75 of Warren's dissertation is given above.

⁹⁷ In fact it will be argued that there were probably a number of early sets of partbooks that have become completely lost, containing prototypes, probably including revisions, of many of the works found in Sources D, E and F, and possibly further later sets of partbooks, also lost, containing definitive final versions of many of the revised works that did not end up in Sources E or F.

⁹⁸ Warren, (1), 95.

Subsequent writers⁹⁹ have accepted the salient points of the above précis of Gerarde's alleged connections with Arundel and Nonsuch Palace, with varying degrees of caution. John Milsom¹⁰⁰ and Peter Holman¹⁰¹ have also presented arguments that Dyricke Gerarde was the copyist, and composer of, several items in the Lumley Partbooks.¹⁰² These proposals are considered in the next Chapter, but as some of the graphical evidence runs counter to what appears to be the evolution of Gerarde's musical hand, they are here assumed not proven.¹⁰³

It is the purpose of the following discussion to examine all the evidence afresh and clearly to distinguish facts from suppositions.

1.5 THE EVIDENCE

The hard evidence for Gerarde's existence, then, is the collection of manuscripts, mostly in the British Library. On the flyleaf of 31 are the following seven versions of Gerarde's name:

Dyricke gerarde*
 Dericq Gerarde
 Derick Gerarde / Dericke gerarde
 Dyrike Gerrarde
 Dyrik herraiarde
 G?radirike

* This version, is followed, in a different ink, by *is boke to d????* (cut off by subsequent page trim).

These are arranged in the form of a list, and while it is acknowledged that spelling in the sixteenth century was not standardised, the differences here are beyond common variance. The name is spelled in French (Dericq), English (Derick) and Flemish (Dyricke) fashions and the last entry on the list appears to have the two names reversed and combined into one. In the later sets of partbooks, two spellings predominate: D. Gerarde in Sources C and D, and Dyricke Gerard in Sources C and E; while in the (presumed) latest book (Source F) the Latin version of the name, Theodoricus Gerardj, is consistently appended to every piece. From this

⁹⁹ See Fenlon, and Holman.

¹⁰⁰ Milsom (1), 167.

¹⁰¹ Holman, 92.

¹⁰² Lbl, Royal Mss, Appendix 74-76, discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.9 as Source J; Jayne and Johnson catalogue reference 2601 (37). See also Milsom (1), 167, and Holman, 92ff.

¹⁰³ See Chapter Two, Section 2.10.

version, the idea that his name might have been something like Gerardson stems. The search for musicians of this name has again proved fruitless.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that Dyricke Gerarde was in fact a pseudonym,¹⁰⁵ and that this page represents experiments in the presentation of the name. We will return to the idea that Dyricke Gerarde was not the composer's actual name later. In many instances before Source F, the initials D.G. appear in the partbooks.¹⁰⁶ The different appearances of his name are listed in Chapter Two, but it will be useful here to summarise the spellings and number of occurrences of the different versions. They are given in Table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1

Version	Source(s)								Number of occurrences	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total	
Dericq Gerarde		31						1	1	
Derick gerard		32						1	1	
Derick Gerarde		31						1	1	
Dericke gerarde		31						1	1	
Dericke Gerarde				50				1	1	
Derike Gerarde		31						1	1	
direck geruard		32						1	1	
diricke gerarde	23							1	1	
Dyricke Gerard			26					1		
			27					1		
			28					1		
			29					1		
			30					1		
					17			1		
					21			1	7	
Dyricke Gerarde					18			1	1	
dyricke gerrard	24							1	1	
Dyrik herriard		31						1	1	
Dyrike Gerrarde		31						1	1	
Girardirike		31						1	1	

¹⁰⁴ Kirk and Kirk mention a Dierick Gheerartson, who alas was not a musician.

¹⁰⁵ An idea first suggested to me by Professor John Milsom.

¹⁰⁶ If *Dyricke Gerarde* was indeed a pseudonym, there is a possibility that it was chosen for these initials, often appended to his music, readable perhaps as *Deo gracias*, and therefore acting as an acronymic pun.

The surviving covers and flyleaves tell us more, but here the evidence becomes circumstantial. In c.1557, in preparation for the merger of the libraries of Arundel and Lumley, the books were signed by or on behalf of each of the two joint owners, presumably to identify which came from which collection.¹⁰⁷ As more volumes were added to the library, this signing continued. It is significant that 23 and 24 (i.e. all of Source A in which the original first folio survives), 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 (i.e. all of Source C), 49, 50, 51, 52, 53 and 54 (i.e. all of Source D) and 18, 19 and 21 (i.e. all of Source E in which the flyleaves survive) are signed with Lumley's name, by an unidentified secretary,¹⁰⁸ but only 33 (in Source B) bears Arundel's name, twice, by name-stamp. The others are unsigned, or have lost their signed folios.

Though there is apparently no direct evidence that Gerarde worked for Arundel, his connection with the Lumleys can be stated with some assurance. The motet *Murus æneus* has as its full text *Murus æneus sana conscientia*, which, with the third and fourth words exchanged, is the motto of the Lumley family.¹⁰⁹ It is also that of the Earl of Scarborough, who, as the descendant of Sir Richard Lumley, John Lumley's cousin and heir, now (1999) owns Lumley Castle and holds the few remaining records from Nonsuch Palace; it is also the motto of the Williamson family.

Unfortunately almost all the household records from Nonsuch are presumed destroyed with the palace in 1672-c.1687; those surviving make no mention of any musician by name, and the names Dyricke and Gerarde do not appear.¹¹⁰ Nor is there any record of anyone of this name in the records of Lumley Castle.¹¹¹

1.6 THE ENIGMA

From the above it will be seen that the man whose music bears the name Dyricke Gerarde is an enigma; his identity is a mystery, his origins and life unknown, his name in doubt. This mystery remains in spite of a large output of music, and, if he was working at Nonsuch, also

¹⁰⁷ Jayne and Johnson, 5.

¹⁰⁸ Jayne and Johnson, on page 5, informs us that Lumley's name appears on the Nonsuch books in two forms: in his own hand and in that of an unknown secretary. Facsimiles of the two appear in Jayne and Johnson in Plates VII and II respectively.

¹⁰⁹ Information from York Herald, Royal College of Herald, and Pine, 143.

¹¹⁰ Those in the possession of the Earl of Scarborough, kept on microfilm in the Register of National Archives, Historical Manuscripts Commission, were examined (on microfilm) by Charles Warren. (Warren (1), 64).

¹¹¹ At least, none is mentioned by Milner.

in spite of working in the ambit of affluent, high profile, politically active men,¹¹² and frequent royal presence in Elizabeth I's time.¹¹³ It must be considered that the political activity at Nonsuch may be part of the reason why his identity is an enigma. These questions will be returned to in Chapters Eight and Nine after considering the manuscripts and analysing their contents.

¹¹² Arundel, Lumley, intrigues with Spain, Somerset, Norfolk, the Ridolfi plot.

¹¹³ Elizabeth held meetings of the Court and Council in Nonsuch most years from from 1581 onwards and also hunted from there; letters from Elizabeth herself, and from Burghley and Walsingham were written from Nonsuch. (Dent, 168.)

Chapter Two

THE GERARDE MANUSCRIPTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The principal sources of Gerarde's music are from the Nonsuch Library, are presumed to be in Gerarde's own hand, apart from exceptions which will be discussed later, and are now preserved in the British Library, Royal Mss, Appendix 17-35, 49-54 and 57. The complete list of sources, including those cited by earlier writers, but now rejected, is given overleaf. The list shows a variety of reference systems:

Source	This is the arbitrary letter labelling the source in this dissertation;
M	This is the numbering from the Music section of the 1609 catalogue of Lumley's Library, and is also the numbering in Milsom (1). The 1609 catalogue is preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms O.4.38, transcribed with a commentary in Jayne and Johnson;
J&J	This is the numbering from Jayne and Johnson, sequential through all sections of the catalogue;
Oliphant	This is the numbering from Thomas Oliphant's 1842 catalogue of the British Museum Music Manuscripts;
Shelfmark	This is the current location of the source;
RISM	This column contains the RISM sigla of the printed books.

Some folio references to the British Library partbooks include asterisks. These occur where a paste-over has been recently lifted, and to obviate the need for a complete renumbering of the folios. If the paste-over is of the same size as the other folios, and, before lifting, was the visible recto, carrying the folio number, then the revealed (original) page carries the same folio number, plus an asterisk. If the paste-over formed the verso of the folio, then the revealed (usually) blank face of it now carries the asterisked folio number. In both cases f8, e.g., precedes f8*. Where the paste-over is only part of a page, it carries an asterisked folio number whether it is attached to the recto or verso of the original folio. In such a case, therefore, f8 may precede or follow f8*.

TABLE 2.1

Source	M	J&J	Oliphant	Shelfmark	RISM
A	24	2588	16	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 23-25	-
B	23	2588	18	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 31-35	-
C	22	2588	17	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 26-30	-
D	36	2600	22	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 49-54	-
E	21	2588	15	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 17-22	-
F	42	2606	25	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 57	-
G	-	-	-	Och Mus 979-983	-
H	-	-	-	Cu Ms D.d.2.11.	-
I	43	2607	-	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 64	-
J	37	2601	-	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 74-76	-
K	-	-	23	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 55	-
L	-	-	24	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 56	-
M	-	-	27	Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 59-62	-
N	-	-	-	Lbl Add Mss 31390	-
O	4	2572	-	Lbl K.3.a.12.	1550 ¹³
P	27	2591	-	Lbl K.3.a.15.(3)	1555 ²¹

Notes on Table 2.1:

- (a) Sources A to F are in chronological order, the argument for which is in Chapter Three.
 (b) Sources A, B, C and E are listed as one item in 1609 and J&J:

Fower settes of Musick Bookes, of Derick Gerrardes, written, vz.

21. One of six Bookes,
 22. One of five Bookes,
 23. One of five bookes also,
 24. One of fower bookes.

- (c) The identification of 22 with source C and 23 with source B is of course arbitrary.
 (d) Item 42 says: **Divers imperfect bookes of Musicke, bothe printed /and written hande.** It is impossible to be certain that Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 57 is from this unspecified list, but as it is imperfect, and in Gerarde's hand, this long-assumed identification is easy to accept.
 (e) Sources A-H contain works by Dyricke Gerarde; I and J may do; K and M-P do not, but contain items attributed to him by other writers; the copying of L has been attributed to Gerarde, but is not in his hand.

The sources will now be described individually.

2.2 SOURCE A: Lbl Royal Appendix 23-25.

Other references: M24; Jayne and Johnson, from no 2588; Oliphant 16.

2.2.1 Description of the source

These three partbooks are the [Superius], [Contratenor] and [Tenor] books of a set of at least four. No indication is given concerning the number of voices required for any of these pieces. However, with the exceptions of *Amour au ceur* and *Par vous seule*, the copying of each of which was left incomplete, it has been fairly easy to determine the original number of voices in each piece - this is discussed in the Notes on the Reconstructions in the Commentary to the Edition. All are for four or five voices.¹ If there really were only four books, then the missing [Bassus] book presumably also contained the Quintus parts of the five-voice compositions. Alternatively there originally were five books in the set, the [Quintus] book having been lost by 1609.

The pages measure c.8" x 6" (c.203mm x 152mm), each carrying four hand-ruled staves of approximately 6.25" (158mm) length, with ruled margins at both sides. The watermark is a gloved hand plus five-pointed star, with the figure 3 and the letters RP on the glove. Unfortunately the gloved hand plus star was a very common watermark and gives no clues concerning the date of the music.²

The original covers and flyleaves are lost, except for the flyleaves of 23, which have been reused by British Library conservationists as conservation sheets for badly damaged pages at the back of the book. Lumley's name appears on what is now f1 of 23 and 24. On f1 of 24 Gerarde's name (signature?) appears as

dyricke gerard

(sic, no capitals).

On f44 of 23, above one of the fragments, in the same hand, is found:

diricke gerarde

and f43 of 25 is headed

Quod crowder/ of crowder's hill

in the same or a similar hand.

¹ That some pieces are for five voices is verified once, as *Levavi oculos meos* was later copied almost unaltered into Source B.

² Particularly as the particular combination of gloved hand, star and the given letters has not so far been traced in any of the catalogues of watermarks consulted.

In 23, the folios all have two numberings, both modern, i.e. British Museum or Library, the earlier ones crossed out. From the earlier numbers we can ascertain the following:

TABLE 2.2

First numbering		Present numbering	
1	Flyleaf	42	(moved, see below)
2	unused, apart from Lumley's name	3	unused, apart from Lumley's name
3-42	Gerarde pieces	2-41	Gerarde pieces
43-56	unused	unnumbered	unused (14 folios)
		42	ex flyleaf, with fragment 1 pasted to back, f42 ^v
57	fragments	43	fragments 2 and 3A
58	flyleaf	44	fragment 3 pasted on

As f42 is the ex-flyleaf, the recto of f42^v is inaccessible; also inaccessible is the verso of f44, pasted as it is to the other flyleaf. The origins of f42^v, f43 (ex f57) and f44 (ex f58) are unknown; f57 is mounted on a guard, and while it is clear from wormhole evidence that it and the following sheet were adjacent in some source, the wormhole damage does not match that on f42, and neither matches that on the old f56, the last of the unused folios. These fragments may well have come from some other book, though the paper matches that of Source A. However, the fact that the five volumes in Source B have the same paper indicates that paper of this type may have been relatively abundant at the time.

23 now has 58 folios, of which 55 and the ex-flyleaves are original, of which 40 are used, 15, all ruled with staves on both sides, unused.

24 has 43 folios, of which 40 contain music. Of the other three, all ruled with staves on both sides, f1 contains Gerarde's and Lumley's names, f42^v has a later attempt (fragment 3B) to write out fragment 3 in pencil, and the final folio is unused, its earlier numbering, f43, crossed out. Orientation of watermarks and wormhole evidence in the final folios show that f42 is in its correct place between f41 and f43, but has been bound in upside down; as the fragment appears the right way up, this suggests either that the fragment was originally written in with the book upside down, and the page inverted at some rebinding stage, or that this fragment was entered after rebinding. The writing may be as late as the eighteenth century.

25 has been renumbered as follows:

TABLE 2.3

First numbering		Present numbering	
1-41	Gerarde pieces	1-41	Gerarde pieces
42-47	unused	unnumbered	unused, 6 folios
48	fragment 4	42	fragment 4 (f42 ^v)
49	fragment 5	43	fragment 5

Here, from the position of wormholes, it is clear that f42 (ex f48) is in its correct place next to the last unused folio (ex f47). One folio is missing between f42 and f43 (ex f49). This is bound into the Tenor book of Source J (Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 76) as f51. The last page, f43, is mounted on a conservation sheet, so that f43^v is inaccessible. Thus we can trace 50 original folios of 25, of which 41 are used for Gerarde pieces, three more for fragments 4 and 5.

2.2.2 The contents of Source A

These books contain fourteen motets (one a4, thirteen a5), one Italian madrigal a4, 21 chansons (ten a4, eleven a5), a setting of part of a metrical psalm, in English, a4, one part-song a4 set to a mysterious text which may be a cypher, or complete nonsense, and two secular motets a5, 40 pieces in all, by, or probably by, Gerarde. In addition five fragments, in quasi-score, one in three versions, are inserted by different hands at the back of the books.

In addition to *Levani oculos meos*, mentioned in note (1), *Le bergier et la bergierre* and *Tous mes amis* were also later transferred to Source B, but after thorough rewriting. As will be seen, Gerarde's process of recomposition, examples of which abound in the later manuscripts, normally involved erasures and rewriting on the original parts. Little evidence of this practice appears here. In fact comparatively few corrections appear in Source A anywhere, except in the fragments at the back of the books which are undoubtedly in some other hand. The second piece in this source, *Pandalidon flaxos*, presents an enigma. This is (after reconstruction) a solemn four-voice composition, alternating homophonic passages with some imitative writing. It is the words of *Pandalidon flaxos* that are the enigma: they run in dactylic hexameters and appear at first to be imitation Greek, transliterated into the Roman alphabet. But this is no known language, ancient or modern. It does not appear to be a cypher, and may indeed be complete nonsense. The mystery of the text is deepened by the fact that this is among the first compositions attributable to Gerarde.

TABLE 2.4: List of contents of Source A

Title	23	24	25
Reviens vers moy	2-2 ^v (a)	2-2 ^v (b)	1-1 ^v
Pandalidon flaxos	2 ^v -3 ^v	2 ^v -3 ^v	1 ^v -2 ^v
Angelus Domini descendit	3 ^v -4 ^v	3 ^v -5	2 ^v -3 ^v
Ego Dominus	4 ^v -5 ^v	5 ^v -6	4-4 ^v
Soions joyeux joyeulxement	5 ^v -6	6 ^v	5
Joieusement il faict	6 ^v -7	7-7 ^v	5 ^v -6
Le bergier et la bergierre	7 ^v -8	7 ^v -8	6 ^v -7
Peccata mea Domine	8 ^v -9	8 ^v -9	7 ^v -8
Ce mois de may I	9 ^v -10	9 ^v -10	8 ^v -9
Miserere mei Deus	10 ^v -11	10 ^v -11	9 ^v -10
Je ne suis pas de ses gens la I	11 ^v -12	15 ^v -16	10 ^v -11
Misit me vivens Pater	12 ^v -13	16 ^v -17	11 ^v -12
Proba me Domine	13 ^v -14	17 ^v -18	12 ^v -13
Prenez plaisir	14 ^v (c)	18 ^v	17 ^v
Oncques amour I	15 ^v -16	11 ^v -12	13 ^v -14(d)
Tant qu'en amour	16 ^v -17	12 ^v -13	15 ^v -16
Amour au coeur I	17 ^v -18	13 ^v -14(e)	-
Par vous seulle	18 ^v -19	-	16 ^v -17
Si j'ay du mal	19 ^v	19	18(f)
En attendant d'amour I	20	19 ^v	19(g)
Donez secours	20 ^v	20	20
Tous mes amis	21	20 ^v -21	20 ^v -21
Ta bonne grace	21 ^v -22	21 ^v -22	21 ^v -22
Je ne scay pas coment I	22 ^v -23	22 ^v -23	22 ^v -23
Je ne desire que la mort	23 ^v -24	23 ^v -24	23 ^v -24

Title	23	24	25
Adieu celle que j'ay servi	24 ^v -25	24 ^v -25	24 ^v -25
Je suis aimez	25 ^v -26	25 ^v -26	256 ^v -26
Si bona suscepimus	26 ^v -28	26 ^v -28	26 ^v -28
Parvulus filius	28 ^v -29	28 ^v -29	28 ^v -29
Fremuit spiritus Jhesus	29 ^v -30	29 ^v -30	29 ^v -30
Levavi oculos meos	30 ^v -31	30 ^v -31	30 ^v -31
Mon ceur chante I	31-31 ^v	31-31 ^v	31-31 ^v
Vias tuas Domine	31 ^v -32 ^v	31 ^v -32 ^v	31 ^v -32
Lorde be my judge	32 ^v -33	32 ^v -33	32 ^v -33
Ego flos campi	33 ^v -34	33 ^v -34	33 ^v -34
La neve i monti	34 ^v -35 ^v (h)	34 ^v -35 ^v (i)	34 ^v -35 ^v (j)
Omnibus in rebus	36 ^v -37	36 ^v -37	36 ^v -37
Ex animo cuncto	37 ^v -38	37 ^v -38	37 ^v -38
Heu michi Domine	38 ^v -40	38 ^v -40	38 ^v -40
Creator omnium	40 ^v -41(k)	40 ^v -41(l)	40 ^v -41(m)
Fragment 1	42 ^v (n)		
Fragment 2	43(o)		
Fragment 3A	43 ^v		
Fragment 3	44(p)		
Fragment 3B		42 ^v	
Fragment 4			42 ^v (q)
Fragment 5			43(r,s)

Notes on table 2.4

(a) 23: f1 and f1^v unused. All folios in this book have a previous folio number, crossed out, starting from f2. The original flyleaf, numbered as f1, has been reused as a conservation sheet - see f42).

- (b) 24: f1 and f1^v unused. The foliations of 24 and 25 have not been altered.
- (c) 23: f15 unused.
- (d) 25: ff14^v,15 unused. Presumably *Amour au cœur* should have been written here.
- (e) 24: ff14^v,15 unused. Presumably *Par vous seule* should have been written here.
- (f) 25: f18^v: On stave 1 are the first ten notes of *En attendant d'amour II*, which were then abandoned. On stave 2 is written Tenor and the rest of the page is blank. The part for *En attendant d'amour* is written opposite, on f19.
- (g) 25: f19^v unused.
- (h,i,j) f36 unused in all three books.
- (k) 23: f41^v (ex f42^v - see note (a) above) unused, followed by 14 unused folios, originally numbered ff42-56.
- (l) 24: ff41^v,42 unused.
- (m) 25: f41^v unused, followed by six unused folios, originally numbered ff42-47.
- (n) 23 f42 is the original flyleaf, once numbered f1. It is used as a conservation sheet, and has a badly damaged folio pasted to it, as f42^v, origin unknown.
- (o) 23 f43 may not be originally from this book - see note above.
- (p) 23 f44 is the end flyleaf, pressed into service as another conservation sheet, carrying another badly damaged sheet of unknown origin.
- (q) 25: Arcadelt: *Quand'io pens'al maitre*.³ This is continued in Source J, 76, f51 - see note (s) below.
- (r) 25: This fragment starts in Source J, 76, f51^v - see note (s) below.
- (s) 25: Folio 51 of Source J, 76, belongs between ff42 and 43 of 23, from which it at some point got separated.

The final folios, carrying the fragments, are not all in original places in the books. They are discussed above, and below, after table 2.3.

2.2.3 Allocation of voices to the partbooks

In table 2.5, the number of voices given for each piece is based on arguments in the Notes on the Reconstructions, to be found in the Commentary to the Edition. The final column gives the voices presumed missing by the reconstruction process.

³ Identified by John Milsom.

TABLE 2.5: Allocation of voices to partbooks in Source A

Title	vv	23	24	25	[others]
Reviens vers moy	[4]	M	T	Ba	[B]
Pandalidon flaxos	[4]	M	T	Ba	[B]
Angelus Domini descendit	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Bba]
Ego Dominus	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Soions joyeux joyeusement	[4]	S	A	T	[Ba]
Joieusement il fait	[4]	S	A	T	[Ba]
Le bergier et la bergierre	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Bba]
Peccata mea Domine	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Ce mois de may I	[4]	M	T	Ba	[B]
Miserere mei Deus	[5]	M	T1	T2	[Ba,B]
Je ne suis pas de ses gens la I	[4]	S	A	T	[Ba]
Misit me vivens Pater	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Proba me Domine	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Prenez plaisir	[4]	T	Bar	Ba	[B]
Oncques amour I	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Tant qu'en amour	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Amour au coeur I	[5]	M	T	-	[T,Ba,B]
Par vous seulle	[5]	S	-	T	[A,A,Bba]
Si j'ay du mal	[4]	T	Ba	Ba	[B]
En attendant d'amour I	[4]	T	Ba	Ba	[B]
Donez secours	[4]	T	Ba	Ba	[B]
Tous mes amis	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Ta bonne grace	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Je ne scay pas coment I	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Je ne desire que la mort	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Bba]

Title	vv	23	24	25	[others]
Adieu celle que j'ay servi	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Bba]
Je suis aitez	[5]	A	Ba	T	[S,A]
Si bona suscepimus	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Bba]
Parvulus filius	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Bba]
Fremuit spiritus Jhesus	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Levavi oculos meos	5	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Mon ceur chante I	[4]	S	A	T	[Ba]
Vias tuas Domine	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
Lorde be my judge	[4]	S	A	T	[Ba]
Ego flos campi	[5]	M	T	Ba	[T,B]
La neve i monti	[4]	S	A	T	[Ba]
Omnibus in rebus	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Ba]
Ex animo cuncto	[5]	S	A	T	[A,Ba]
Heu michi Domine	[4]	S	A	T	[Ba]
Creator omnium	[5]	M	T	Ba	[B,aB]
Fragment 1	4	Sc	-	-	[-]
Fragment 2	4	Sc	-	-	[-]
Fragment 3	4	Sc	-	-	[-]
Fragment 3A	4	Sc	-	-	[-]
Fragment 3B	4	-	Sc	-	[-]
Fragment 4	4	-	-	Sc	[-]
Fragment 5	4	-	-	Sc	[-]

Sc = in score; see below.

In the high pitched four-voice pieces, a Baritone (C4 clef) rather than a Bass-baritone (F3) is assumed for the missing bassus part; this follows the pattern of the complete four-voice compositions in Source B, and the one piece in Source A whose bassus part is present: *Je suis aitez*.

The seven fragments, not in Gerarde's hand, are written in score or quasi-score (i.e. with the four parts one above the other but not vertically aligned: we do know that Gerarde used such a layout when working on the motet *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* in Source B; this will be described in detail later). Fragment 3A appears to be a copy of fragment 3, 3B being yet another attempt to write this out, probably much later, possibly as late as the eighteenth century.

As paper was expensive in the sixteenth century, it is surprising that these books were left unfilled. Moreover, the numbers of original folios, used and unused, in the three books are very different from one another. It is probable that some of the unused paper was taken for use elsewhere. The paper is the same as that in Source B, and we shall see that additional pages were added to at least four of the books in Source B at some point. We have seen that some of the pages in Source A are no longer in their original places, that the last three folios of 23 come from somewhere else, that another folio from the same source as two of them ended up in Source J, and that f42 of 24 is now upside down. Of course the books have been rebound at least once, in the British Museum, as have those of Source B, resulting there in a radical rearrangement of 34. However the empty pages remain unexplained. If we assume that there were originally only four books, and that they started out with equal amounts of paper, then the most probable reason for the fact that the books were abandoned unfilled is that the writing of all quintus parts into the [bassus] book would clearly fill this book before the others, and Gerarde would have been obliged to turn to another set from then onwards.⁴

If, on the other hand, there were originally five books, then the blank space is as inexplicable as the even greater amount in Source B, but perhaps gives weight to the argument that Gerarde was a wealthy amateur, since only such a person would waste this expensive paper.

In later sets the placing of additional parts, i.e. those in number above the number of books in any set, was sufficiently well thought out that the books were more or less filled at the same time, or in the case of Source B, the residual space was approximately equal in each book of the set.

⁴ Of the extant three books in Source A the one with the most folios is 23, with 55 originals, plus the two flyleaves surviving. From the distribution of watermarks, it is likely that at least seven more are missing, making 62. As the gatherings are generally of four bifolia, a book of 64 folios seems a likely starting point. It is easy to show that the missing 40 bassus parts and 26 quintus parts of the pieces in Source A could be written onto 128 pages, but it is unlikely that any more could have been squeezed in.

2.3 SOURCE B: Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 31-35

Other references: M23; Jayne and Johnson, from no 2588: Oliphant: 18.

2.3.1 Description of the source

This is a complete set of five partbooks, and contains the largest set of Gerarde's compositions known. No covers survive, but the contents appear to be complete. The five volumes, respectively [Superius], [Contratenor], [Tenor], [Bassus] and [Quintus], contain 35 motets a4-8, two graces a5, 36 chansons a5-8, two secular motets a4 and 5 and one setting of an English secular text a5. In addition, the recent lifting of paste-overs and separation of pages that had been pasted together reveal an earlier version of the motet *Aspice Domine*, part of the working score of *Sic Deus dilexit mundum*, a discarded over-cramped writing-out of the English part-song *Yf Phebus stormes*, and two further pieces, a motet, *Derelinquat impius viam (I) a6* and a chanson, *En attendant d'amour a 8*, both discarded and found nowhere else. Thus 79 distinct pieces are to be found in these books. Other paste-overs cover discarded earlier versions of parts of some compositions.

The books contain respectively 108⁵, 109⁶, 101⁷, 108⁸ and 107⁹ folios. Of these, the apparently original stave-carrying folios number 104, 103, 95, 104 and 104 respectively. Filled or part filled pages of music number 131, 129, 129, 126 and 146. The pages measure 7.9" x 5.75" (200mm x 146mm), each holding five hand-drawn staves of approximately 6.8" (173mm) length, with ruled margins at each side.

Two similar watermarks predominate: each is a gloved hand plus star, one being identical with that found in Source A, but for the letters GV instead of RP.¹⁰ The wrist of a third gloved hand watermark is seen on the end flyleaf of 34, the paste-over carrying *Yf Phebus stormes* in 35 has a floral mark, that carrying *Hodie Christus natus est* in 32 a crown, and one unused folio in 31 a goat, surmounting a scroll.

In Chapter One it was noted that the flyleaf of 31 demonstrates seven attempts, presumably by Gerarde, to spell his name:

⁵ Including 37 unused folios, flyleaf and three paste-overs, now lifted. Until 1995, one pair of folios were glued together (f66^v to f66*).

⁶ Including 38 unused folios, two flyleaves and four paste-overs, now lifted.

⁷ Including 30 unused folios, two flyleaves and four paste-overs, now lifted.

⁸ Including 40 unused folios, flyleaf and three paste-overs, now lifted. Until 1995, one pair of folios was glued together (f62^v to f62*).

⁹ Including 29 unused folios and three paste-overs, now lifted. Until 1995, three pairs of folios were glued together (f15^v to f15, 34^v to f34* and f72^v to f72*).

¹⁰ Briquet, 4, No. 11354, the earliest example of which, from Rouen, 1561, has GV but not the 3; No 11369, the earliest example of which, from Hollande Mériot, 1533, has the 3 but not the GV.

Dyricke gerarde is boke to d???i?

Dericq Gerarde

Derick Gerarde

Dericke gerarde

Dyrike Gerrarde

Dyrik herraiarde

Crevadirike

the first (uppermost) of which possibly being his eventual choice, given the (incomplete and illegible) legend following it.¹¹

The flyleaf of 32 has a further variant,

Derick gerard

and on f67^v is

finis direck geruard

bringing the different spellings in this set to nine.

33 bears Arundel's namestamp twice, and on f67^v appear the two lines:

John Theodoricu i cus

finis q^d finis q^d master redford

2.3.2 Contents of Source B

These books contain a great deal of reworking and recomposition, which will be considered in detail in Chapter Four, and had material put into them in four distinct periods, with a not entirely successful attempt to organise the compositions according to number of voices.

Three pieces appear in these books transferred from Source A: *Le bergier et la bergierre* and *Tous mes amis*, both substantially rewritten, and *Levavi oculos*, with only minor changes. Eleven items, after reworking, reappear in Source E, and six in Source F.

Table 2.6 lists the contents of Source B, the foliations being those of 1996, after the paste-overs were lifted.¹² Thus, in 31, f18, *Oncques amour* was written on the paste-overs, so f18^v is blank, originally pasted to what is now f18*, holding the discarded *Derelinquat impius viam*, its verso, f18*^v, holding *Amour au ceur* - being listed in the Lbl catalogues as f18b.

In this table, (X) indicates items completely covered by paste-overs, or by pasting adjacent folios together; (FX) indicates covered fragments.

¹¹ This list is repeated from Chapter One.

¹² The foliation is not entirely logical. See the Introduction for an explanation of this.

TABLE 2.6: Contents of Source B

Title	31	32	33	34	35
Christus factus est	2 ^v -4(a)	2 ^v -4(b)	2 ^v -4(c)	1 ^v -3(d)	1 ^v -3(e)
Fortem vocemus II	4 ^v -6	4 ^v -6	4 ^v -6	3 ^v -5	3 ^v -5
Se dire ie l'osoie	6 ^v -7	6 ^v -7	6 ^v -7	5 ^v -6	6 ^v -7
Vivre ne puis sur terre I	7 ^v -8	7 ^v -8	7 ^v -8	6 ^v -7	5 ^v -6
Je ne scay pas coment II	8 ^v -9	8 ^v -9	8 ^v -9	7 ^v -8	7 ^v -8
Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	9 ^v -11	9 ^v -11	9 ^v -11	8 ^v -10	8 ^v -10
Miserere mei Domine	11 ^v -12 ^v	11 ^v -12 ^v	11 ^v -12 ^v	10 ^v -11 ^v	10 ^v -11 ^v
O Maria vernans rosa	12 ^v -13	12 ^v -13	12 ^v -13	11 ^v -12	11 ^v
Levavi oculos meos	13 ^v	13 ^v	13 ^v	12 ^v	11 ^v -12
Dictes pour quoy	14	14	14	13	12 ^v -13
Vivons joieusement	14 ^v	14 ^v	14 ^v	13 ^v	13 ^v
Adieu l'espoir	15	15	15	14	14
Adieu mon esperance I	15 ^v	15 ^v	15 ^v	14 ^v	14 ^v
Aspice Domine					
Original (X)	16*	16*	16*	15*	15 ^v -15*
Revision	16	16	16	15	27 ^v -28
Hodie nobis de celo	16 ^v	16 ^v	16 ^v	15 ^v	15
Vivere vis recte	17	17	17	16	15 ^v
Ego autem cantabo I	17 ^v	17 ^v	17 ^v	16 ^v	16
Derelinquat impius viam I (X)	18*	18*	18*	17*	16 ^v &17*
Onques amour II	18	18	18	17	16 ^v -17
Amour au coeur II	18 ^v	18 ^v	18 ^v	17 ^v	17 ^v
Tu Bethlehem terra Juda	19	19	19	18	18
J'ay si tort bataillez	19 ^v -20	19 ^v -20	19 ^v -20	18 ^v -19	18 ^v -19
En attendant secours	20 ^v -21	20 ^v -21	20 ^v -21	19 ^v	19 ^v -20
Congregati sunt inimichi nostri	21-21 ^v	21-21 ^v	21-21 ^v	20-20 ^v	20-20 ^v
Tua est potentia	21 ^v -22 ^v	21 ^v -22 ^v	21 ^v -22 ^v	20 ^v -21 ^v	20 ^v -21 ^v

Title	31	32	33	34	35
Misericordia et veritas	22 ^v -23	22 ^v -23	22 ^v -23	21 ^v	21 ^v -22
Je ne suis pas de ses gens la II	23 ^v -24	24 ^v -25(f)	23 ^v -24	22	22 ^v -23
Pour une seule	24-24 ^v	23 ^v -24	24-24 ^v	22 ^v	23-23 ^v
Ce mois de may II	24 ^v -25	25	24 ^v -25	23	23 ^v -24
Puis qu'elle a mis	25 ^v -26	25 ^v -26	25 ^v -26	23 ^v -24	24 ^v -25
Mon ceur chante II	26 ^v -27	26 ^v -27	26 ^v -27	24 ^v -25	25 ^v -26
Yf Phebus stormes					
Original (X)	27 ^v -27*	27 ^v -27*	27 ^v -27*	25 ^v -25*	26 ^v -26*
Revision	27* ^v -28	27* ^v -28	27* ^v -28	25* ^v -26	26* ^v -27
Le bergiere et la bergierre II	28 ^v	28 ^v -29	28 ^v -29	26 ^v	28 ^v
Aiez pitie	29	29	29	27	29
Pere eternal	29 ^v -30 ^v	29 ^v -30 ^v	29 ^v -30 ^v	27 ^v -28 ^v	29 ^v -30 ^v
Vivre ne puis sur terre II	30 ^v -31	30 ^v -31	30 ^v -31	29	31
Je ne me puis tenir	31 ^v	31 ^v	31 ^v	29 ^v	31 ^v
Derelinquat impius viam II	32	32	32	29 ^v -30	32
Adhesit pavimento anima mea	32 ^v -33 ^v	32 ^v -33 ^v	32 ^v -33 ^v	30 ^v -31 ^v	32 ^v -33 ^v
Laudate Dominum II	34	33 ^v -34	33 ^v -34	31 ^v -32	33 ^v -34
Tous mes amys	34 ^v	34-34 ^v	34-34 ^v	32-32 ^v	34&34* ^v (g)
Voce mea ad Dominum	35-35 ^v	35-35 ^v	35-35 ^v	33-33 ^v	35-35 ^v
O souverain pasteur	36-36 ^v	36-36 ^v	36-36 ^v	34-34 ^v	36-36 ^v
Je suis amoureux	37	37	37	35	37
Sic Deus dilexit mundum	37 ^v	37 ^v -38	37 ^v	35 ^v	37 ^v
Le souvenir d'amour	38	38 ^v	38	36	38
Beati omnes	38 ^v -40	39-40	38 ^v -40	36 ^v -38	38 ^v -40
Domine clamavi ad te	40 ^v -41	40 ^v -41	40 ^v -41	38 ^v -39	40 ^v -42
Peccantem me quotidie	41 ^v -42	41 ^v -42	41 ^v -42	39 ^v -40	42 ^v -44
Reveillez vous	42 ^v	42 ^v	42 ^v	40 ^v	44 ^v -45
Je suis desheritee	43	43	43	41 ^v	45 ^v -46

Title	31	32	33	34	35
Puis que fortune	43 ^v	43 ^v	43 ^v	41 ^v	46 ^v -47
Pour une, las, j'endure	44	44	44	42	47 ^v -48
Resiouissons nous	44 ^v -45	44 ^v -45	44 ^v -45	42 ^v -43	48 ^v -50
Plaisir n'ay plus	45 ^v -46	45 ^v -46	45 ^v -46	43 ^v -44	50 ^v -52
Tant ay souffert	46 ^v -47	46 ^v -47	46 ^v -47	44 ^v -45	52 ^v -54
Domine ne memineris	47 ^v -48	48 ^v -49	48 ^v -49	46 ^v -47	56 ^v -58
Venite ad me	48 ^v	47 ^v	47 ^v	45 ^v	54 ^v -55
Tribulationem nostram	49	48	48	46	55 ^v -56
Mon ceur chante III	49 ^v -50	49 ^v -50	49 ^v -50	47 ^v -48	58 ^v -59(h)
Hellas quel jour	50 ^v	50 ^v	50 ^v	48 ^v	60 ^v -61
Le rossignol plaisant	51 ^v -52(i)	51 ^v -52(j)	51 ^v -52(k)	49 ^v -50(l)	61 ^v -62(m)
Laudemus omnes	53 ^v -54	53 ^v -54	53	57	63 ^v -64
Noe Noe Exultemus	54 ^v -55	60	59	57 ^v -58	64 ^v -65
Laudate Dominum I	55 ^v -56	54 ^v -55	53 ^v -54	51 ^v -52	
Respice in me	56 ^v -57	55 ^v -56	54 ^v -55	52 ^v -53	
Deus in nomine tuo	57 ^v -59	56 ^v -58	55 ^v -57	53 ^v -55	
Fortem vocemus I	59 ^v -60	58 ^v -59	57 ^v -58	55 ^v -56	
In patientia vestra	60 ^v	59 ^v (n)	58 ^v	56 ^v (o)	
Laudate Dominum in sanctis	61 ^v -62(p)	60 ^v	59 ^v -60	58 ^v	65 ^v -66
In tribulatione mea	62 ^v -63	61	60 ^v -61	59	66 ^v -67
Hodie Christus natus est	63 ^v -64	65 ^{*v}	65 ^{*v}	59 ^v -60	67 ^v -68
Murus aeneus	64 ^v	62 ^v -63	62 ^v -63	60 ^v	69 ^v -70
Avecques vous mon amour finera	65	61 ^v -62	61 ^v -62	61	68 ^v -69
J'ay tant chasse	65 ^v	64 ^v -65	64 ^v -65	61 ^v	71 ^v -72
Soions joyeux sur la plaisant verdure	65 ^v -66	63 ^v -64	63 ^v -64	62	70 ^v -71
Sic Deus dilexit (FX)		65 [*]	65 [*]		
En attendant d'amour II (X)	66 ^v -66 [*]	65 ^v	65 ^v	62 ^v -62 [*]	72 ^v -72 [*]
Ego autem cantabo II	66 ^{*v} -67(q)	66(r)	66(s)	62 ^{*v} -63(t)	72 ^{*v} (u)

Notes on Table 2.6:

- (a) 31 f1 is the original flyleaf; f2 recto is unused.
- (b) 32 f1 is the original flyleaf; f2 recto is unused.
- (c) 33 f1 is the original flyleaf; f2 recto is unused.
- (d) 34 Flyleaf missing; f1 unused.
- (e) 35 Flyleaf missing; f1 unused.
- (f) 32 *Je ne suis pas* and *Pour une seulle* out of sequence, probably as a result of turning two pages before copying the latter, then turning back.¹³
- (g) 35 ff34^v and 34* unused and glued together, probably as a result of turning two pages while copying.
- (h) 35 ff59^v-60 unused.
- (i) 31 f51 and f52^v unused, followed by 37 unused, unnumbered folios; f53 unused.
- (j) 32 f51 and f52^v unused, followed by 37 unused, unnumbered folios; f53 unused.
- (k) 33 f51 and f52^v unused, followed by 30 unused, unnumbered folios.
- (l) 34 f49 unused, preceded by one unused, unnumbered folio; f50^v and f51 unused.
- (m) 35 f62^v unused, followed by 28 unused, unnumbered folios; f63 unused.
- (n) 32 Followed by one unused, unnumbered folio.
- (o) 34 Followed by 39 unused, unnumbered folios.
- (p) 31 f61 unused.
- (q) 31 f67^v unused.
- (r) 32 f66^v unused; followed by unnumbered flyleaf.
- (s) 33 f66^v unused, followed by unnumbered flyleaf.
- (t) 34 f63^v unused, followed by unnumbered flyleaf.
- (u) 35 Followed by one unused, unnumbered folio.

Sic Deus dilexit mundum and *Venite ad me* are clearly linked, both by their associated texts and their identical endings. They appear, however, not to have been written at the same time. *Sic Deus dilexit* was entered first and twelve pieces stand physically between it and *Venite ad me*. The number of pieces entered after *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* and before *Venite ad me* may be as many as 19.¹⁴ On f54^v of the [quintus] book, 35, on which is written the *2s Contra Tenor* of *Venite ad me*, the legend *2a pars Sic Deus* appears. Later still they were brought together, in Source E, as one two-section motet, though with *Venite ad me* first.

¹³ There is ample evidence of Gerarde creating similar situations elsewhere in the sources.

¹⁴ Because of the division of the books into three according to number of voices.

Of particular interest are the fragments of working score of *Sic Deus dilexit*, which were used, face-down, as paste-overs which hide parts of the discarded chanson *En attendant d'amour*. This score appears originally to have been a twelve-stave bifolium with the staves linked across the gutter on which the six parts were written, one above the other, each occupying two consecutive staves. The musical text here is very similar to the original parts in Source B, and could represent either the original score for the piece or a working document for revision. The fact that it is not exactly the same weights the argument strongly in favour of the former.¹⁵

Le rossignol plaisant: In each of 31, 32, 33 and 34, the relevant parts of this chanson are written on the inside pages of a single bifolium which has then been sewn into the partbook between *Hellas quel jour* and the sequence of unused folios following it, irrespective of the original gatherings. Curiously, in 35, in which two voices are compressed so as to fit on one page each, the chanson is not so treated; the parts simply occupy the next opening to *Hellas quel jour*. In fact, in 35, there appears also to be a single bifolium sewn in - the binding is extremely tight, preventing clear observation - but *Le rossignol plaisant* is written on the outside of this and on the recto of the first folio of the next normal gathering. The inside of the folded sheet, where, from the above discussion it is expected that *Le rossignol plaisant* should be, contains instead *Hellas, quel jour*, which should follow immediately after *Mon ceur chante*, but in fact is separated from it by a complete opening. From the ink and the style of hand-writing it appears that *Le rossignol plaisant* was entered before *Hellas, quel jour*.

33 has approximately four bifolia fewer than each of the other four books. A possible reason for this is that a gathering may have been removed from 33 to provide some of the extra pages for *Le rossignol plaisant* (perhaps not those in 34 - see below).

Vivere vis recte: This contains one of the very few instances of Gerarde not writing out a canon explicitly. The alto part in 35 has an indication of the start of the following canonic voice after two longs, but no indication of interval. In fact the resolution is at the octave below.

2.3.3 Anomalous structure of the Bassus book

As with Source A, Gerarde stopped using these books without filling them. The bulk of the blank leaves was left after the long run of five- and six-voice pieces, which end approximately

¹⁵ Gerarde's recomposition process, analysed more fully in Chapter Four, normally involves making many changes on the partbooks themselves. Such changes for *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* are certainly in evidence on the parts in Source B. That the fragments of score are not exactly the same as the original parts suggests that the parts were made from the score, adapting them as they were copied, rather than the other way round; it seems likely that if Gerarde were making the score in order to revise the piece, it would at least start as a copy of what was in the partbooks.

halfway through the books. In 31, 32, 33 and 34 this long gap terminates with the four-voice motets and the eight-voice pieces which follow, and in some cases also precede, them. The exact order in which the pieces were entered is considered fully in Chapter Three.

The current (2000) layout of 34 (the Bassus book) is quite different. The four-voice motets follow the last of the six-voice pieces, *Le rossignol plaisant*, after only one blank opening, and 78 blank pages separate them from the eight-voice pieces.

Throughout these books the gatherings are of two bifolia each, though in places, due to damage, leaves missing or taken out, or extra pages sewn in, the gatherings are often irregular. This set of partbooks contains far more pages than any of the other sets, and many more pieces - 79 in all. It was used by Gerarde in at least four separate time periods, and may well have been used for performance, and its condition inevitably deteriorated. At some point a necessary and major overhaul of the books took place, in which the gatherings of 34 were interchanged, and in some places the pages reordered individually. The gatherings containing the four-part motets, originally near the end of the book, adjacent to the eight-voice pieces, were moved substantially forwards.

The evidence for this comes mainly from an unbroken sequence of wormholes, from the folios preceding f48 almost to the end of the book; unbroken, but currently out of order. To facilitate analysis of the changes made, the unused and unnumbered folios of 34 need to be identified in some way. Numbering them a, b, and c1-c38, the following table shows the current structure of this book:

TABLE 2.7: The present layout of the Bassus book

folios	recto	verso
1...		
48	<i>Mon ceur chante</i>	<i>Hellas quel jour</i>
a	blank	blank
49	blank	<i>Le rossignol</i>
50	<i>Le rossignol</i>	blank
51	blank	<i>Laudate Dominum</i>
52	<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	<i>Respice in me</i>
53	<i>Respice in me</i>	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>
54	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>
55	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>	<i>Fortem vocemus</i>
56	<i>Fortem vocemus</i>	<i>In patientia vestra</i>
b	blank	blank
c1-38	blank	blank
57	<i>Laudemus omnes</i>	<i>Noe Noe exultemus</i>
.....etc		

Here folios a, b and c33 appear to be bound in separately; their wormholes match exactly those in ff51-2. There is no clear indication of why they are where they are. Two of them may

be the halves of one bifolium that was removed from inside ff51-2, as f52^v has the opening of *Respice in me* written on it, so that the removal must have predated the entering of *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* a4, which is written across the opening f51^v and f52. c34 and c35 are a single bifolium; the general appearance of the wormholes in these pages is different from those in c36-38, but there is in fact a good match and these two groups of pages were probably very close originally. However it has not been possible to identify which sheet (if indeed it exists in the book at all) followed c38. c37 appears to be a separate sheet. Unfortunately, the binding is so tight, particularly at the end of the book, that it is not always possible to see where the gatherings start or where their centres are.

The pages containing the four-voice motets, ff51-6, consisting of the bifolium ff51-2 and the gathering ff53-6, together with the extra bifolium ff49-50, and the pair a-b, possibly itself (originally) a bifolium, and certain of the pages labelled c, have been re-ordered substantially. The wormholes in these pages are particularly clear, and they suggest that the original order of the pages in 34 was as below.

TABLE 2.8: The probable original layout of the Bassus book

This shows what is *now* written on these pages. Horizontal lines show the divisions between gatherings.

folios	recto	verso
1...		
48	<i>Mon cœur chante</i>	<i>Hellas quel jour</i>
c1	blank	blank
49	blank	<i>Le rossignol</i>
50	<i>Le rossignol</i>	blank
c4	blank	blank
c6	blank	blank
c2	blank	blank
c3	blank	blank
c7	blank	blank
c5	blank	blank
c8	blank	blank
c9 - c32	blank	blank
c34	blank	blank
c35	blank	blank
c36	blank	blank
c37	blank	blank
c38	blank	blank
51	blank	<i>Laudate Dominum</i>
a	blank	blank
c33	blank	blank
b	blank	blank
52	<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	<i>Respice in me</i>
53	<i>Respice in me</i>	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>
54	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>
55	<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>	<i>Fortem vocemus</i>
56	<i>Fortem vocemus</i>	<i>In patientia vestra</i>
57	<i>Laudemus omnes</i>	<i>Noe Noe Exultemus</i>
58...		

In the above there remain a number of unanswered questions:

- 1 When were two of the three pages, a, b and c33 removed from inside ff51-52? One of these three presumably belongs to another, nearby, otherwise missing, gathering.
- 2 c5-c8 is a single bifolium. Where is its partner?
- 3 c37 seems to be a single page; where is the rest of this bifolium?
- 4 The match of wormholes between c38 and f51 is not good. However the holes in c36-c37 turn down to the bottom edge of the page, and may show where a worm entered or left the book, so that the absence of holes on the next page is explained. Are there other pages missing here?

If the above reconstruction is correct, then a curious coincidence, consequent on the multiple changes, is that ff49-50 actually have been replaced in their original positions.

2.3.4 Allocation of voices to partbooks

It has been suggested that in Source A the missing [Bassus] book contained all the quintus parts of the five-voice compositions, and, if so, that this may be why the surviving books were never filled. In B, many pieces are in more than five parts, so that allocation of voices to the books is important if the same result is not to follow.¹⁶

In Chapter Three, it will be shown that Gerarde entered works in Source B in four quite distinct time-periods. Up to the end of the third of these the five books were approximately equally filled. The pieces thus far entered were the five- and six-voice pieces up to and including *Resveillez vous*,¹⁷ the four-part works¹⁸ and the seven- and eight-voice pieces apart from *Noe Noe Exultemus* and *Laudemus omnes*.¹⁹ Respectively, 55, 54, 55, 53 and 55 folios of the original books appear to have been used by this time. This balance was obtained by (a) copying most of the sextus parts of the six-voice works into 35, offset by (b) the fact that the compositions a4 do not use 35, and (c) careful allocation of the sixth, seventh and eighth voices in the eight-voice pieces. When he returned to these books later,²⁰ Gerarde appears less concerned about the even filling of the books; nine of the fourteen pieces here reappeared in Sources E and F, and the others may well have been destined for similar copying; indeed these later entries in Source B may have been only testing grounds.

¹⁶ In fact none of this set was filled. This may be further evidence that Gerarde was a wealthy amateur - see Section 2.2, above.

¹⁷ B_{1(a)}, B_{2(a)} and B_{3(a)}.

¹⁸ B_{1(b)} and B_{2(b)}.

¹⁹ B_{1(c)} and B_{3(c)}.

²⁰ B₄ (See Chapter Three)

TABLE 2.9: Allocation of voices to partbooks in Source B.

Title	vv	31	32	33	34	35
Christus factus est	5	M	T1	T2	B	Ba
Fortem vocemus II	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Se dire ie l'osoie	5	M1	M2	T	B	Ba
Vivre ne puis sur terre I	5	M1	M2	T	B	Ba
Je ne scay pas coment II	5	M1	M2	T	B	Ba
Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	5	S	A	T1	B	T2
Miserere mei Domine	5	S	A	Ba	B	T
O Maria vernans rosa	5	S1	A	T	Bba	S2(CF)
Levavi oculos meos	5	M	Ba	T1	B	T2
Dictes pour quoy	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Vivons joieusement	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Adieu l'espoir	5	S	A	T2	Bba	T1
Adieu mon esperance I	5	S	A1	T	B	A2
Aspice Domine						
Original (X)	6	S	A	T	B2	Ba,B1
Revision	6	M	A	T	B2	Ba,B1
Hodie nobis de celo	5	S	A	T2	Bba	T1
Vivere vis recte	6	S	A1	T	B	A2,[Ba]
Ego autem cantabo I	5	S1	A	T	Bba	S2
Derelinquat impius viam (I) (X)	6	S	T2	Ba	B1	T1,B2
Oncques amour II	6	M	T2	Ba	B2	T1,B1
Amour au coeur II	5	S	A	T2	Bba	T1
Tu Bethlehem terra Juda	5	S	A1	T	Bba	A2
J'ay si fort bataillez	5	S	A1	T	Bba	A2
En attendant secours	5	S	A	T2	Bba	T1
Congregati sunt inimichi nostri	5	S1	A	T	Bba	S2
Tua est potentia	5	S1	A	T	Bba	S2

Title	vv	31	32	33	34	35
Misericordia et veritas	6	S1	A	T	B2	S2,B1
Je ne suis pas de ses gens la II	5	S1	A	T	Bba	S2
Pour une seulle	5	S	A	Ba	B	T
Ce mois de may II	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Puis qu'elle a mis	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Mon ceur chante II	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Yf Phebus stormes						
Original (X)	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Revision	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Le bergiere et la bergierre	5	S	A	T2	Bba	T1
Aiez pitie	5	S	A	Ba	B	T
Pere eternal	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Vivre ne puis sur terre II	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Je ne me puis tenir	5	M1	T	Ba	B	M2
Derelinquat impius viam II	6	M1	T	Ba	M2,B1	B2
Adhesit pavimento anima mea	5	S	A	T1	B	T2
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes II	5	S	A	T2	Bba	T1
Tous mes amys	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi	5	S1	A	T	Bba	S2
O souverain pasteur	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Je suis amoureux	5	M	A	Ba	B	T
Sic Deus dilexit	6	M	T1,B1	Ba	B2	T2
Le souvenir d'amour	5	M	T2	Ba	B	T1
Beati omnes	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Domine clamavi ad te	6	S	A2	T	B	A1,Ba
Peccantem me quotidie	6	M	T2	Ba2	B	T1,Ba1
Reveillez vous	6	M	T1	Ba	B1	T2,B2
Je suis desheritee	6	S	A1	T1	Bba	A2,T2

Title	vv	31	32	33	34	35
Puis que fortune	6	S	A1	T1	Bba	A2
Pour une, las, j'endure	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	T2
Resiouissons nous	6	S	A1	T1	Bba	A2
Plaisir n'ay plus	6	M	T1	Ba	B1	T2
Tant ay souffert	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	T2
Domine ne memineris	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	T2
Venite ad me	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	T2
Tribulationem nostram	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	T2
Mon ceur chante	6	S	A1	T1	T2	Bba
Hellas queljour	6	S	A1	T2	Bba	A2
Le rossignol plaisant	6	S	A1	T1	Bba	A2
Laudemus omnes	8	M2,B1	M1,T2	Ba1	B2	T1,Ba2
Noe Noe Exultemus	8	S2,B1	A1	T1	S1,B2	A2,T2
Laudate Dominum I	4	S	A	T	B	
Respice in me	4	S	A	T	Ba	
Deus in nomine tuo	4	S	A	T	Ba	
Fortem vocemus I	4	S	A	T	Ba	
In patientia vestra	4	S1	S2	M	A	
In tribulatione mea	8	M1,B2	T2	M2,Ba1	B1	T1,Ba2
Laudate Dominum in sanctis	8	M2,B2	T2	M1,Ba2	B2	T1,Ba1
Hodie Christus natus est	8	S1,B1	A	Ba	S2,B2	T1,T2
Murus aeneus	8	S1	A,T1	Ba,B1	B2	S2,T2
Avecque vous mon amour finera	8	M1	T1,T2	Ba1,B1	B2	M2,Ba2
J'ay tant chasse	8	M1	T1,Ba2	Ba1,B1	B2	M2,T2
Soions joyeux sur la plaisant verdure	8	M1	T1,Ba2	Ba1,B1	B2	M2,T2
Sic Deus dilexit(FX)	6		Ba,B1,B2	M,T1,T2		
En attendant d'amour(X)	8	M1,M2	T1	Ba1	B1,B2	T2,Ba2
Ego autem cantabo II	7	S,M	A	T	B1	B2

Another factor involved in the organisation of the voice allocation is the choice of into which book or books the voices of the different levels are entered. By *Dictes pour quoy*, this organisation is partly completed: 31, 32, 33 and 34 hold four descending levels from the highest to the lowest (one piece, *In patientia vestra* has only three levels; 31 and 32 each hold a superius part). The fifth voice to be added goes in 35; and, usually, as noted above, so does the sixth. The exceptions, five in number, are among the first nine items in the set (*Christus factus est*, *Se dire ie l'osoie*, *Vivre ne puis (I)*, *Je ne scay pas coment* and *Levavi oculos meos*).

2.4 SOURCE C: Lbl Royal Appendix 26-30

Other references: M22; Jayne and Johnson, from no 2588; Oliphant: 17.

2.4.1 Description of the source

This is a complete set of five partbooks. The pages measure 7.8' x 5.75' (198mm x 146mm), though there is evidence of the pages having been trimmed - in a number of places material in the margins has been foreshortened or curtailed.²¹ Also, in rebinding, some material has disappeared into the binding.²² Each page carries six hand-ruled staves approximately 7.06' (180mm) in length, with plain margins. Each partbook carries its allocation on the title page: Superius, ContraTenor, Tenor, Bassus, Quintus, respectively. The title pages of all five books also show Lumley's name and that of Dyricke Gerard, consistently so spelled. In addition, otherwise blank leaves in 28 and 30 have Gerarde and Derike Gerarde respectively. The books are completely filled. In all books but 29, the *secunda pars* of the final motet, *Ad te levavi oculos*, is written on five unruled staves on the flyleaf. The Bassus book, 29, is mounted throughout on guards.²³

²¹ Pages showing loss of detail due to trimming are as follows:

- 26: ff1, 2, 3, 3^v, 5, 8, 9^v, 14 and 19;
- 27: ff1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 10^v, 13, 15^v, 16, 18, 23 and 24;
- 28: ff2, 7^v, 8, 9, 11, 16^v, 17, 22 and 23;
- 29: ff2, 8, 8^v, 13, 15^v and 17;
- 30: ff1, 3, 7, 11 and 18.

²² Pages on which material has been lost, completely or partially, into the binding are as follows:

- 26: ff16^v, 20^v, 21^v and 23^v;
- 27: ff3, 3^v, 5^v, 8^v, 22^v, 22*^v and 23*^v;
- 28: ff3^v and 8^v;
- 30: ff3^v, 7^v, 8, 9^v, 10, 17^v and 24^v.

²³ On f16 some material is covered by the edge of the guard.

Very few folios in these books show a watermark. The paste-overs (to be discussed below) f22 in 26, f22* in 27, f22* in 28, all carrying the revision of part I of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*, have part of the watermark found throughout Source F: a pot, surmounted by a crown; the paste-over f4* in 27 and the flyleaf of 28 appear to have part of the watermark found throughout Source D: a crescent on a scroll. The paste-over f17* in 27 shows the lower part of a pot, with the letters HD; the second flyleaf of 28 and ff15, 16 and 18 of 30 (these three being the only normal folios of Source C to show any watermark at all) have as yet unidentified fragments.

2.4.2 Contents of Source C

Source C divides naturally and significantly into two parts, the division marked clearly by a change in ink colour, from *Fidem refundens* onwards. In the first section of the books, the ink has faded to a brown colour; in the second, and for many of the alterations to the first, the ink appears almost black. This division is also marked by graphical changes - there is a new C-clef: C_1 , used in all Gerarde's work up to *Ascendens Christus*, is replaced by C_2 , which is then used for all subsequent works, and the handwriting noticeably worsens. These changes are considered in the next chapter.

In table 2.10, P indicates paste-overs.

TABLE 2.10: Contents of Source C

Title	26	27	28	29	30
Die lume un tempo	1-1 ^v	1-1 ^v	1-1 ^v	1-1 ^v	1-1 ^v
Amor piangeva	1 ^v -2 ^v	1 ^v -2 ^v	1 ^v -2 ^v	1 ^v -2 ^v	1 ^v -2 ^v
Già piansi	3-3 ^v	3-3 ^v	3-3 ^v	3-3 ^v	3-3 ^v
Quare fremuerunt gentes	4	4	4	4	4
Egrediente Domino					
Original (X)	4 ^v	4 ^v	4 ^v	4 ^v	4 ^v
Revision	4 ^v P	4 ^v P	4 ^v P	4 ^v P	4 ^v
Dulces exuviae	5-5 ^v	5-5 ^v	5-5 ^v	5-5 ^v	5-5 ^v
Multiplicati sunt	6-6 ^v	6-6 ^v	6-6 ^v	6-6 ^v	6-6 ^v
Timor et tremor I	7-7 ^v	7-9	7-9	7-7 ^v	7-9
Il fuoco ch'io sentia	7 ^v -8 ^v	8 ^v -9 ^v	8 ^v -9 ^v	7 ^v -8 ^v	

Title	26	27	28	29	30
Hodie nobis celorum rex	9-10	10-10 ^v	10-10 ^v	9-10	8 ^v -10
Ascendens Christus	10 ^v -11 ^v	10 ^v -12	10 ^v -12	10 ^v -11	10 ^v -11 ^v
Fidem refundens	11 ^v -12	12-12 ^v	11 ^v -12	11 ^v -12	
Amy souffrez	12 ^v	12 ^v	13	12	12 ^v
Puer qui natus est	13-13 ^v	13-13 ^v	13 ^v -14	12 ^v -14	13-13 ^v
Petite fleur	13 ^v -14	14	14 ^v -15	14 ^v	14
Ceste belle petite bouche	14 ^v	14 ^v -15	15 ^v	15	14 ^v
Bonjour m'amy (a)	15	15 ^v	16	15 ^v	15
J'ay veu le temps (a)	15 ^v	15 ^v -16	16 ^v	15 ^v -16	15 ^v
Est il possible (a)	15 ^v -16	16	16 ^v -17	16	15 ^v -16
J'attens secours II	16 ^v	16 ^v	17 ^v	16 ^v	16 ^v -17
Adieu mon esperance II (b)	17	16 ^v -17	17 ^v -18	17	17 ^v -18
Animam meam dilectam	17 ^v -18	17-18 ^v	18 ^v -19	17 ^v -18	18 ^v -19
Illuminare Jerusalem	18 ^v -19	19 ^v 19 ^v	18 ^v -19	19 ^v -20	
Cognovi Domine	19 ^v -20 ^v	20-21	20-21	19 ^v -21	20 ^v -21 ^v
Da pacem Domine	21	21 ^v	21 ^v	21 ^v	22
Je l'aime bien	21 ^v	21 ^v -22	21 ^v -22	21 ^v -22	22 ^v
Quare tristis es	22 P	22 ^v P	22 ^v P	22 ^v P	23 ^v
Occurrerunt Maria et Martha					
<i>Prima pars, original (X)</i>	22	22 ^v -23	22 ^v	22 ^v	23
<i>Prima pars, revision</i>	22 ^v	23 ^v -24	23	23	23
<i>Secunda pars</i>	23	23 P	23 ^v -24	23 ^v	23
Ad te levavi oculos	23 ^v -25	24 ^v -25	24 ^v -25	24-24 ^v	24 ^v -25

Notes on Table 2.10

(a) Three adjacent five-voice chansons, *Bon jour m'ame*, *J'ay veu le temps* and *Est-il possible*, are prefixed by an inconsistent numbering system, as below.

TABLE 2.11

Chanson	26	27	28	29	30
Bonjour m'ame	3	*	3	1	1
J'ay veu le temps	1	*	1	2	2
Est-il possible	2	3 ^p	2	3 ^p	3

These numbers are written mostly in the left-hand margin. In 27, at * any numbers written in the margin have disappeared with the page trimming. In addition, the relevant headers, i.e. above *Bonjour m'ame* in all five books, and above *J'ay veu le temps* in 26 and 30, contain 5^p, presumably meaning five parts, i.e. voices. This being the case, why in 27 and 29, *Est-il possible* should have the symbol 3^p is a mystery. What these numbers signify is not known. If a cycle of chansons is intended the inconsistency is problematic, as is the fact that they are written for different voice combinations, two for SMATBba and one for SMTBaB, allocated as below:

TABLE 2.12

Chanson	26	27	28	29	30
Bonjour m'ame	S	M	T	Bba	A
J'ay veu le temps	S	A	T	Bba	M
Est-il possible	S	M	Ba	B	T

(b) *Adieu mon esperance*: in 27 and 28, the parts occupy all of the right-hand page of an opening and overflow onto the bottom of the left-hand page.

This set of books demonstrates much revision. Paste-overs, mentioned above, added by or for Gerarde, carry the most extreme examples here. The affected items are as follows:

Egrediente Domino : 26, 27, 28 and 29: the new version is written on complete pages pasted over the originals. 30 is unaffected as this book contains only the (mostly unaltered) plainsong Cantus Firmus.

Il foco ch'io sentia a4 : 26, 27, 28 and 29 only: the new end of section one is on small slips pasted on.

Animam meam dilectam : 26, 27, 28 and 30 : again small slips hold the revised end of section one in these four books.

Quare tristis es and *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*: The original version of the latter motet was rewritten almost immediately, with an improved Cantus Firmus.²⁴ The whole page paste-overs covering the original version in 26, 27, 28 and 29 (30 containing the Cantus Firmus again) hold variously parts of the new version of section one of this motet and parts of *Quare tristis es*. The seemingly illogical layout of these pages is shown after Table 2.13 and explained in Chapter 3, Section 3.4, and in diagrams 3.1 to 3.8.

Eight motets were later copied, after revision, into Source E and one chanson, *Adieu mon esperance*, into Source F. Of these motets, *Cognovi Domine* and *Hodie nobis celorum rex* stand out because the final versions in C and those in E are so different. Gerarde's usual procedure, of making the significant changes in the working books before transcribing them to their new home, was not always followed here. *Timor et tremor*, one of Gerarde's finest works, in spite of substantial revision, was not copied into E. This is the only eight-voice motet from Sources B and C not to be so copied. This setting shares no common material with the second setting, also a8, which appears only in E. The idiom of the later setting is quite different, and perhaps reflects a change in Gerard's attitude towards compactness, homophonic writing and antiphonal effects.

2.4.3 Allocation of voices to part-books

Table 2.13 shows the allocation of all voice parts in Source C. Here P again indicates the position of paste-overs.

TABLE 2.13: Allocation of voices in Source C

Title	vv	26	27	28	29	30
Die lume un tempo (a)	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Amor piangeva	5	M	T	Ba2	B	Ba1
Già piansi	5	M1	T	Ba	B	M2
Quare fremuerunt gentes	5	M	A	Ba	B	T
Egrediente Domino						
Original (X)	5	S	A1	Ba	B	A(CF)
Revision	5	S	A1	Ba	B	A(CF)

²⁴ A solmisation of the vowels of *Lazare veni foras*. See Chapters Three (Section 3.4) and Four (Section 4.3.3).

Title	vv	26	27	28	29	30
Dulces exuviae	5	S	A	T	B	T
Multiplicati sunt	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Timor et tremor I (b)	8	S1	A,T	Ba1,B1	B2	S2,Ba2
Il fuoco ch'io sentia	4	M	T	Ba	B	-
Hodie nobis celorum rex (c)	8	M1,B1	T2	Ba	M2,B2	T,Ba
Ascendens Christus	5	S1	A	T	B	S2
Fidem refondens	4	M	-T	Ba	A	
Amy souffrez	5	S1	A	T	B	S2
Puer qui natus est (d)	6	S	T	Ba	M,B	B
Petitte fleur	6	S	T1	M,T2	B	Bba
Ceste belle petite bouche	6	S	M,Bba	T1	B	T2
Bonjour m'amy	5	S	M	T	Bba	A
J'ay veu le temps	5	S	A	T	Bba	M
Est il possible	5	S	M	Ba	B	T
J'attens secours II (e)	6	S	A	Ba	B	M,T
Adieu mon esperance II (f)	6	M	T	Ba1	B	Ba2,Bba
Animam meam dilectam	6	M	T,Ba1	Ba2	B	Bba
Illuminare Jerusalem	8	M,B	T	Ba	Bar,B	M,T
Cognovi Domine						
<i>Prima pars (g)</i>	8	S1,B1	A1	Ba	T,B2	S2,A2
<i>Secunda pars</i>	8	S1	A1,T	Ba,B2	S2,B1	A2
Da pacem Domine	5	S	A1	T	Bba	A2
Je l'aime bien	5	M	T1	Ba	B	T2
Quare tristis es (h)	6	M1	T	Ba	B2	M2,B1
Occurrerunt Maria et Martha						
<i>Prima pars, original (X)</i>	6	M1	T,B1	Ba	B2	M(CF)
<i>Prima pars, revision</i>	6	M1	T,B1	Ba	B2	M(CF)
<i>Secunda pars</i>	6	M1	T	Ba,B1	B2	M(CF)
Ad te levavi oculos (i)	6	M,B	T2	Ba	B	T1

Notes on Table 2.11

- (a) *Die lume un tempo*. In 30, the first section is written using a C3 clef; this changes to C4 for the *secunda pars*, though the range and tessitura stay the same, that of a tenor voice.
- (b) *Timor et tremor* is one of the few pieces in which all the voice parts are clearly labelled, and unusual in the choice of names. 26 holds *Superius*, 27 *Medius* and *Contra Tenor*, 28 *Sextus* and *Secundus Bassus*, 29 *Bassus*, and 30 *Quintus* and *Secundus Superius*. The names *Medius* and *Sextus* appear nowhere else, though *Sextus* may have been a partbook name.

There are a number of places in which Gerarde changed his mind about allocation of parts when he transferred material from these books to Source E. These include exchanging parts inside a level for the *secunda pars* of two-section works, and making decisions on which of the *bassus* parts is the principal one, and so is entered into the *bassus* book.

- (c) *Hodie nobis celorum rex*. Where C and E differ in the way voice parts continue between sections, it is useful to compare the two to see how Gerarde changed his mind in this matter. If the continuation in Source E is taken as Gerarde's definitive version, and that in Source C is compared with it, his changes are as follows:

TABLE 2.14

Source	Voice:	M1	M2	T1	T2	Ba1	Ba2	B1	B2
C, section 1:		26	29	27	30	30	28	29	26
C, section 2:		29	26	27	30	30	28	26	29
E, both sections		17	19	21	18	22	21	19	20

It will be seen that parts in the top and bottom layers are exchanged at the half-way point at the revision. Again, all voice parts are labelled in Source C: 26 holding *Superius* and *Bassus Secundus*, 27 *ContraTenor*, 28 *Tenor*, 29 *Secundus Superius* and *Bassus*, 30 *Secundus ContraTenor* and *Quintus*.

- (d) *Puer qui natus est*: On copying this into Source E, Gerarde exchanged the two *bassus* parts from the *secunda pars*. What was entered into the new *bassus* book came from 30 in the first section, from 29 in the second. The part in 29 is marked *Bassus*.
- (e) *J'attens secours* is one of the very few pieces by Gerarde using six levels, here SMATBaB.
- (f) *Adieu mon esperance* exhibits misleading clefs. These clefs, C1 C3 C4 C4 F3 F4 suggest MTBaBaBbaB, but the ranges and tessitura are those of MATTBaB, for which C1 C2 C3 C3 C4 F4 would have been more appropriate.

(g) *Cognovi Domine*: The voice allocations are as follows:

TABLE 2.15

Book:	26	27	28	29	30
Part 1:	S,B	A	Ba	T,B	S,A
Part 2:	S	A,T	Ba,B	S,B	A

It is seen that performance of this motet from these books would be difficult. Unless the two sections were not originally intended as parts of the same motet, this is evidence that these books had by this point become a working space for the preparation of material for the definitive set E. When it was later copied into Source E, the layout was made more convenient, and some re-allocation took place. Taking the copy in Source E as definitive of the continuations into section 2, we have:

TABLE 2.16

Source	Voice:	S1	S2	A1	A2	T	Ba	B1	B2
C, section 1		26	30	30	27	29	28	26	29
C, section 2		26	29	30	27	27	28	29	28
E, both sections:		19	17	18	21	21	22	19	20

In the recopying, the bass parts have been exchanged at the second section.

(h) *Quare tristis es* and *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha* were entered in an unconventional way, because of the manner in which the latter was altered.²⁵ Paste-overs appear in all books except 30. The current (2000) layout of these two motets is given in Table 2.17. In this table, P indicates the paste-overs, the backs of which are blank, as indicated. *Videns Jhesus* is the *secunda pars* of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*.

TABLE 2.17

Book	Folio	Motet	Version	Voice
26	22 P	<i>Quare tristis es</i>	-	M1
	22 ^v P	Blank		
	22*	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	1	M1
	22* ^v	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	2	M1
	23	<i>Videns Jhesus</i>	-	M1

²⁵ The details of the alterations which led to this extraordinary layout will be examined in Chapter Three, Section 3.4, and Chapter Six, Section 6.3.3.

Book	Folio	Motet	Version	Voice
27	22 ^v	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	1	T
	22* P	Blank		
	22* ^v P	<i>Quare tristis es</i>	-	T
	23 P	<i>Videns Jhesus</i>	-	T
	23 ^v P	Blank		
	23*	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	1	B1
	23* ^v	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	2	T
	24	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	2	B1
28	22 ^v	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	1	Ba
	22* P	Blank		
	22* ^v P	<i>Quare tristis es</i>	-	Ba
	23	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	2	Ba
	23 ^v	<i>Videns Jhesus</i>	-	Ba
	24	<i>Videns Jhesus</i>	-	B1
29	22 ^v	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	1	B2
	22* P	Blank		
	22* ^v P	<i>Quare tristis es</i>	-	B2
	23	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>	2	B2
	23 ^v	<i>Videns Jhesus</i>	-	B2
30	23	<i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i>		
		and <i>Videns Jhesus</i>	both	M2 (CF)
	23 ^v	<i>Quare tristis es</i>	-	M2
	24	<i>Quare tristis es</i>	-	B1

(i) *Ad te levavi oculos.* in works with two bass parts, 29 usually holds the [primus] bassus, which will generally have the lowest note in the final chord. Here unexpectedly this voice is in 26, the [Superius] book. In the later copy, in Source E, this voice appears in the expected place, the [Bassus] book, 20.

In Source C one can detect a trend towards putting Secundus Superius parts into the Bassus book and Secundus Bassus parts (i.e. B1) into the Superius book. This appears to be related to the growing awareness of the importance of the outside lines of the texture. As will be seen later in this Chapter, by Source E, Gerarde has made this trend into a definitive statement.

2.5 SOURCE D: Lbl Royal Appendix 49-54

Other references: M 36, Jayne and Johnson no 2600, Oliphant 22.

2.5.1 Description of the source

This is a complete set of six partbooks, the pages measuring 8.35' x 6.1' (212mm x 154mm), each having six staves of approximately 7.1' (179mm) length with plain margins. Each book contains 24 folios, each gathering of two bifolia currently mounted on a guard. The original parchment covers are present, each bound in as another gathering. Each cover bears Lumley's name.

The watermark throughout all six books is a crescent surmounting a scroll on which is written 'EDMNDENISE'.²⁶

2.5.2 Contents of Source D

These books contain nine pieces (five motets a6-7 and four chansons a6) by Gerarde, and 26 pieces (eight motets a6-10 and eighteen chansons a6-7) by other composers, much of the latter *unica*. Here Gerarde started yet again to make an anthology. By the time some of his own material had been written into the back of the partbooks, aided by two assistants, one of whose work required much correction, these books, as with earlier sets, became a working environment. Every Gerarde piece shows revision, some of it quite extensive. Gerarde's normally precise erasures and over-writing was abandoned. Instead, rough erasures, even uncharacteristic crossings out, appear, without regard for the appearance of the manuscripts. Each motet reappears in its revised form in the final motet anthology, E, and one chanson, *Or est venu le printemps gracieux*, is transcribed, revised, into F.

The numbering of the books is not consistent with their contents. The probable reason for this is considered below in Section 2.5.3. 49 and 54 are the [Quintus] and [Sextus] books; the parts in 50 are written using middle to low clefs, C3, C4, F3 and F4; this is probably the [Quintus] book. The wide range of clefs - G2, C1, C2, C3, C4 and F4, exhibited by 49 suggest that this is the [Sextus] book. The six volumes, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 and 49 are therefore respectively the [Superius], [Contra Tenor], [Tenor], [Bassus], [Quintus] and [Sextus] books.

Table 2.18 shows the contents and foliation of Source D.

²⁶ Briquet, 2, No. 5304, Paris, dated 1562. A similar example is from Utrecht, 1559.

TABLE 2.18: Contents of Source D.

Composer	Title	50	51	52	53	54	49
Latfeur	J'attens secours	1 ^v (a)	1 ^v (a)	1 ^v (a)	1 ^v (a)	1 ^v (a)	1 ^v (a)
Morel	Bonjour bon an et bon vie(b)	1 ^v -2	1 ^v -2	1 ^v -2	1 ^v	1 ^v -2	1 ^v -2
Havericq	C'est grand plaisir	2	2	2	2	2	2
Truie	Hodie nobis celorum rex	2 ^v -4	2 ^v -3	2 ^v -3	3 ^v -5	2 ^v -3	2 ^v -3
Paon	Domine quinque talenta	4 ^v	3 ^v -4	3 ^v -4	2 ^v	3 ^v -4	3 ^v -4
Anon	Laudem dicite Deo nostro	5-5 ^v	4 ^v -5	4 ^v -6	5 ^v -6	4 ^v -5	4 ^v -5
Phinot	Sancta Trinitas	6	5 ^v -6	6 ^v	6 ^v	5 ^v	5 ^v -6
[Verdelot]	Sancta Maria Virgo	6 ^v	6 ^v	7	3	6	6 ^v
[Arcadelt]	Estote fortes	7-7 ^v	7-7 ^v	7 ^v -8	7-7	6 ^v -7	7-7 ^v
Phinot	Stella ista	8-8 ^v	8-8 ^v	8 ^v -9	8-8 ^v	7 ^v -8	8-8 ^v
Latfeur	Gabriel Angelus (c)	9-9 ^v	9-9 ^v	-	9-9 ^v	8 ^v (c)	9-9 ^v
Havericq	Si mon travail	10	10	9 ^v	10	8 ^v -9	10
Gombert	Au joly bois	10 ^v	10 ^v	10	10 ^v	9 ^v	10 ^v
Gombert	Changons propos	11	11	10 ^v	11	10	11
Gombert	Raison la veult	11 ^v	11 ^v	11	11 ^v	10 ^v	12 ^v
Gombert	Mon petit ceur	12	12	11 ^v	12	11	11 ^v
Clemens	Comme la cerf	12 ^v	12 ^v	12	12 ^v	11 ^v	12
Crecquillon	Retirer il me fault	13	13	12 ^v	13	12	13
Gombert	Paine et travail	13 ^v	13 ^v	13	13 ^v	12 ^v	13 ^v
Gombert	Qui pouldroit	14	14	13 ^v	14	13	14
[Moulu]	J'ay mis mon ceur (d)	14 ^v	14 ^v	14	14 ^v	13 ^v	14 ^v
Gombert	Jouissance vous donneray	15	15	14 ^v	15	14	15
Gombert	Mille regretz	15 ^v	15 ^v	15	15 ^v	14 ^v	15 ^v
Gombert	Si mon travail	15 ^v -16	16	15 ^v -16	16	15	15 ^v -16
Gombert	Je prens congit	16 ^v	16 ^v -17	16	16 ^v	15 ^v -16	16 ^v

Composer	Title	50	51	52	53	54	49
Gerarde	Dum transisset Sabathum	17-17 ^v	17 ^v -18	16 ^v -17	17-17 ^v	16 ^v -17	17-17 ^v
DeWismes	Vivre ne puis sur terre	18	18 ^v	17 ^v	18	17 ^v	18
Gerarde	Magi veniunt ab oriente	18 ^v -19	19-19 ^v	18-18 ^v	18 ^v -19	18-18	18 ^v -19
Gerarde	Versa est in luctum (e)	19 ^v -20	20-20 ^v	19,20 ^v	19 ^v -20	19-19 ^v	19 ^v -20
Gerarde	Las voules vous	20 ^v	21	19 ^v	20 ^v	20	20 ^v
Gerarde	C'est grand plaisir	21	21 ^v	20	21	20 ^v	21
Gerarde	Hatez vous	21 ^v	22	21	21 ^v	21	21 ^v
Gerarde	Or est venu le printemps	22-22 ^v	22 ^v -23	21 ^v -22	22-22 ^v	21 ^v -22	22-22 ^v
Gerarde	Letare Jherusalem	23	23 ^v	22 ^v	23	22 ^v	23
Gerarde	Deus qui superbis	23 ^v -24	23 ^v -24	23 (f)	23 ^v (g)	23 (h)	23 ^v -24

Notes on table 2.18:

- (a) In all six partbooks, f1 is unused.
- (b) In five of the six partbooks, Morel's *Bonjour, bon an et bon vie* is written across the bottom of the first opening, in the blank space left below the Latfeur and Havericq pieces.
- (c) Latfeur's *Gabriel Angelus*, 54, f8^v has a Cantus Firmus to be sung in canon. Gerarde's normal practice, of indicating the canon by direct and also copying the following voice(s), is not followed here. There is consequently no part in 52. A possible reason for this omission is that, apart from the leading canonic voice in 54, Gerarde did not copy this motet himself (see Section 2.5.6 and table 2.20, below).
- (d) The Moulu chanson, *J'ay mis mon cœur*, is a7, but only six parts are written out. There is a canon with the part in 49, at the fifth above at one semibreve. Again the following voice is not copied, and again five of the voice parts were copied by one of Gerarde's assistants.
- (e) The copying of this voice of De Wismes' *Vivre ne puis sur terre* in 53 is the only instance of Gerarde using an E flat in the signature.
- (f) 52: ff23^v and 24 are unused.
- (g) 53: f24 is unused.
- (h) 54: ff23^v and 24 are unused.

2.5.3 Inaccuracies in cataloguing and copying

The entry in the 1609 Catalogue reads:

A sett of Musick bookes in french, manuscript,

The first D.Havericq. 6 vol

This is inaccurate, throwing into relief errors in the cataloguing, both in 1609 and later, when the British (Museum) Library numbering was added. Clearly the first item is *J'attens secours* by Latfeur. The reason for the discrepancy in the early catalogue is thus: The first opening of each book holds three pieces, Latfeur's chanson on the left hand side, Havericq's *C'est grand plaisir* on the right, and Morel's *Bon jour, bon an et bone vie*, which was apparently added as an afterthought, on the left hand page or across the bottom of both pages. In only one book, 49, is Latfeur's name mentioned, whereas Morel's chanson is assigned in every book except 50 (which happens to be the [Superius] book), while Havericq's name appears in every book. Thus the cataloguer, reading from the then first opening of the first volume, i.e. 50, would see only one composer's name, viz that of Havericq, hence the incorrect entry in the 1609 catalogue. The fact that all three pieces on the first opening are in French undoubtedly accounts for the other inaccuracy, that is that the books are 'in french', though of the 35 pieces therein, thirteen are to Latin words.

In Latfeur's *C'est grand plaisir*, the primus superius, clearly so labelled, lies atypically in 49 (50 exceptionally holding the secundus superius, again clearly labelled. It is assumed therefore that this labelling, in 49, led to the book being numbered by the British (Museum) Library cataloguer as the first of the set without the rest of the contents being checked.

On three occasions, due to Gerarde's turning two pages in error, pieces have become out of sequence in one book or other.

53: After Havericq's *C'est grand plaisir* (f2), Gerarde turned two pages and copied Trueie's *Hodie nobis celorum rex* on the two complete openings ff3^v-5. He then turned back to f2^v for Paon's *Domine quinque talenta. Laudem dicite Deo nostro* (anon.) should come next, but this motet requires two pages as it has two sections, so to avoid a two-page turn, he wrote it on the next blank opening, ff5^v-6. He then continued with Phinot's *Sancta Trinitas* on f6^v, turned back to place Verdelots's *Sancta Maria Virgo* on the blank f3, after which the rest of the book is in sequence from Arcadelt's *Estote fortes* on f7.

49: Gombert's *Raison la veult*: this should have followed *Changons propos*, on f11^v, but was copied onto f12^v instead. He then turned back for *Mon petit ceur* (f11^v) and Clemens' *Comme la cerf* (f12), which now precede *Raison la veult*.

52: Gerarde's *Versa est in luctum*. section one is on f19; in error section two appears on f20^v. Thus *Las voulez vous* (f19^v) and *C'est grand plaisir* (f20) lie between the two halves of *Versa est in luctum*.

The first word of Gombert's *Qui pouldroit dire* appears as *Qui* in 49, 51 and 53 and as *Qu'il* in 50, 52 and 54.

2.5.4 Concordances

For the following non-Gerarde pieces, this set of books is the only known source:

Morel	<i>Bon jour, bon an et bone vie</i>
Truie	<i>Hodie nobis celorum rex</i>
Paon	<i>Domine quinque talenta</i>
Anon	<i>Laudem dicite deo nostro</i>
Latfeur	<i>Gabriel angelus</i>
Gombert	<i>Au joli bois</i> ²⁷
Gombert	<i>Changons propos</i> ²⁸
Gombert	<i>Mon petit ceur</i> ²⁹
Clemens non Papa	<i>Come le cerf</i> ³⁰
Crecquillon	<i>Retirer il me fault</i>
Gombert	<i>Paine et traveil</i> ³¹
Gombert	<i>Qui pouldroit dire</i> ³²

For the following non-Gerarde pieces, this set and the single partbook in Source F, also in Gerarde's hand, are the only known sources:

Latfeur:	<i>J'attens secours</i>
Havericq	<i>C'est grand plaisir</i>
Havericq	<i>Si mon traveil</i>
DeWismes	<i>Vivre ne puis sur terre</i>

²⁷ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 192)

²⁸ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 198)

²⁹ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 207)

³⁰ Modern edition in Kempers (CMM 4, XI, 75, cited there as 'dubious')

³¹ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 212)

³² Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 216)

Concordances for the other works are as follows:

Phinot	<i>Sancta Trinitas</i> ³³	RISM 1548:P2017, 1555 ¹¹ , 1564 ¹ , 1578 ¹ ; D B Mus.mss.30075, 40329; D D1 Mus.G15, Mus.Gri.49, Mus.Gri.55; D K1 Mus.143; D Mbs Mus.Mss 1536; D N1a St.Egidien 28; D S1 Cad.Mus.Fol.I22; D Z Mus.74.1; PL Etpn ms.26;
[Verdelot]	<i>Sancta Maria Virgo</i> ³⁴	I Rv Ms.E.II.55-60; RISM 1528 ² ;
[Arcadelt]	<i>Estote fortes</i> ³⁵	I RVal, E.II.55-60;
Phinot	<i>Stella ista</i> ³⁶	RISM 1548: P2017, 1558 ⁴ ;
Gombert	<i>Raison la veut</i> ³⁷	RISM 1549 ²⁴ ;
[Moulu]	<i>J'ay mis mon ceur</i> ³⁸	RISM 1572 ² : Livre de Meslanges, Le Roy et Ballard, 1572;
Gombert	<i>Jouissance vous donneray</i> ³⁹	Walley, Stonyhurst College, Ms B.IV.26;
Gombert	<i>Mille regretz</i> ⁴⁰	RISM 1540 ⁷ ;
Gombert	<i>Si mon travail</i> ⁴¹	GB Lbl Add Ms 31390;
Gombert	<i>Je prens congit</i> ⁴²	RISM 1554 ¹⁰ .

2.5.5 Allocation of voices to partbooks

Table 2.19, overleaf, shows the allocation of all voice parts in Source D.

³³ Modern edition in Höfler & Jans (CMM 59, IV, 164).

³⁴ Modern edition in Bragard (CMM 28, II, 42)

³⁵ Modern edition in Seay, (CMM 31, X, 6)

³⁶ Modern edition in Hofler & Jans (CMM 59, IV, 96).

³⁷ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 203)

³⁸ Modern edition in Jacobs, p.495.

³⁹ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 220)

⁴⁰ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 160)

⁴¹ Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 224)

⁴² Modern edition in Schmidt-Görs (CMM 6, XI, 230)

TABLE 2.19: Allocation of voices to partbooks in Source D.

Composer	Title	vv	50	51	52	53	54	49
Latfeur	J'attens secours	6	M2	T	Ba	B2	B1	M1
Morel	Bonjour bon an et bon vie	7	M1,B1	T	Ba	B2	Ba	M2
Havericq	C'est grand plaisir	6	M2	T1	T2	B	Bba	M1
Truie	Hodie nobis celorum rex	8	M1,2	T1	Ba1	B1,2	T2	Ba2
Paon	Domine quinque talenta	10	S1	T1,2	Ba1,S3	B2	B1,S2	Ba2,3
Anon	Laudem dicite Deo nostro	7	M	T1	Ba1,2	B2	B1	T2
Phinot	Sancta Trinitas	8	M2	T1,2	Ba2	B1	B2	M2,Ba
[Verdelot]	Sancta Maria	6	M	T	Ba2	B1	B2	Ba2
[Arcadelt]	Estote fortes	6	S	A	T1	Ba1	Ba2	T2
Phinot	Stella ista	6	M	T	Ba	T	B	Ba
Latfeur	Gabriel Angelus	6	M	T	-	B	T	Ba
Havericq	Si mon travail	6	S	T	Ba	B	Bba	M
Gombert	Au joly bois	6	S	T	Ba	Bba	T	A
Gombert	Changons propos	6	S	T	Ba	Bba	T	M
Gombert	Mon petit ceur	6	S	A	Ba	Ba	T	T
Clemens	Comme la cerf	6	S	A	T	Bba	T	S
Gombert	Raison la veult	6	S	A	Ba	Bba	T	T
Crecquillon	Retirer il me fault	6	S	A	Ba	B	T	M
Gombert	Paine et travail	6	S	T	Ba	B	Bba	M
Gombert	Qui pouldroit	6	S	A	Ba	B	Ba	T
[Moulu]	J'ay mis mon ceur (a)	7	M	A	Ba1	B2	B1	Ba2
Gombert	Jouissance vous donneray	6	M	T	Ba	B	Bba	T
Gombert	Mille regretz	6	S	Ba	Ba	B	B	T
Gombert	Si mon travail	6	S	T	T	Bba	Ba	A
Gombert	Je prens congit	6	M	M,T	Ba	B	Ba	T

Composer	Title	vv	50	51	52	53	54	49
Gerarde	Dum transisset Sabathum	6	S1	A	T	B	Bba	S2
DeWismes	Vivre ne puis sur terre	6	S	A	Ba	B	Bba	T
Gerarde	Magi veniunt ab oriente	6	M	T1	Ba2	B	Ba1	T2
Gerarde	Versa est in luctum	6	M	T1	Ba2	B	Ba1	T2
Gerarde	Las voules vous	6	M	T1	Ba	B1	B2	T2
Gerarde	C'est grand plaisir	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	B1	T2
Gerarde	Hatez vous	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	B1	T2
Gerarde	Or est venu le printemps (b)	6	S	A	Ba	B	M	T
Gerarde	Letare Jherusalem	6	M2	T	B1	B2	Ba	M1
Gerarde	Deus qui superbis resistis	7	M1	T1	T2	B2	Ba	M2,B1

Notes on Table 2.19.

(a) The copying here of Moulu's *J'ay mis mon ceur* uses the clefs C1 C2 C4 C4 F4 F4, with a second C2 implied by the canon at a fifth above a C4 part. The range of the given C2 part in 51 suggest a tenor rather than an alto, and the general tessitura means that this chanson fits the combination MTTBaBaBB very well, for which C1 C3 C3 C4 C4 F4 F4 would be more appropriate.

(b) *Or est venu le printemps* is one of only four Gerarde pieces written in six levels, SMATBaB, as is *J'attens secours* in Source C.

2.5.6 Handwriting in Source D

Three hands were are at work here, mainly Gerarde and the principal unnamed assistant. They were clearly working together, dividing the work between them. This assistant is not nearly so meticulous as Gerarde: there are numerous errors and *lacunae*, all corrected by Gerarde himself. The third hand is evident in the copying of Gerarde's *Magi veniunt ab oriente*. Table 2.20 shows the way in which they divided up the work. Abbreviations used in this table are as follows:

C = Clef (Gerarde's F-clef is normally \mathcal{C} or \mathcal{C} in this source - where it is different it is indicated); *P* = Proportion sign; *N* = notation; *T* = Text (as all the text is in Gerarde's hand this is commented on only occasionally); *D* = Direct; *E* = end-sign (where Gerarde's end-sign

is not his normal one, it is indicated (where Gerarde has altered the end of a piece, his end-sign will replace that of any other scribe); Arabic numerals indicate the staves in the partbooks;

G = Gerarde; A = Assistant; B = Second Assistant;

(X) = Error(s) corrected by Gerarde, (L) = *Lacuna* corrected by Gerarde; (R) = substantial revision evident. Where two voices appear in one partbook, the second to appear is shown on a separate line.

TABLE 2.20: Division of labour in the writing of Source D

Composer	Title	50	51	52	53	54	49
Latfeur	J'attens secours	G	G	G	G	G	G
Morel	Bonjour, bon an et bon vie	G	G	G	G	G	G
Havericq	C'est grand plaisir	G	G	G	G	G	G
Truie	Hodie nobis celorum rex	G	G	G	G	G	G
		G			G		
Paon	Domine quinque talenta	G	G	G	G	G	G
			G	G		G	G
Anon	Laudem dicite Deo nostro	G	G (?X)	G	G	G	G
				G			
Phinot	Sancta Trinitas	A	G	A	G	G	A
			A				A
Verdelot	Sancta Maria virgo	G	G	G	G	G	G
Arc.	Estote fortes	G	G	G	G	G	G
Phinot	Stella ista	G	G	G	G	G	G
Latfeur	Gabriel angelus	A	A	-	A	G (a)	A
Havericq	Si mon travail	G	A	A	G	G	A
Gombert	Au joly bois	A	A	G	G	A	A
Gombert	Changons propos	G	G	A	A	A	A
Gombert	Raison la veult	A	A	G	G	A	G
Gombert	Mon petit ceur	A	A	A	A	A (L)	G
Clemens	Comme la cerf	A	A	A	G	A	G
Crecquillon	Retirer il me fault	A	A	G	A (L)	A	A
Gombert	Paine et travail	G	1:G 2-6:A	G	G (b)	G	A
Gombert	Qui pouldroit	G	A	G	G	G	A

Composer	Title	50	51	52	53	54	49
Moulu	J'ay mis mon ceur	A	A	A	G	A (X)	G
Gombert	Jouissance vous donneray	G	A (X)	A	A	G (c)	A
Gombert	Mille regretz	A	G	A	A	A	A
Gombert	Si mon traveil	A	A	A	G	A	A
Gombert	Je prens congit	A	A	A	1 CT: G 1 PN: A 2 T: G, else: A 3 C: A, else: G 4-6: G	G	A
		-	A	-	-	A	-
Gerarde	Dum transisset Sabathum	G R	G (R)	G (R)	G	G (R)	G (R)
De Wismes	Vivre ne puis sur terre	G	G	G	G	G	G
Gerarde	Magi veniunt, <i>prima pars</i>	B	B (R)	CPN:B (R) DE: G	G	G	1-2: G 3-5: B
	Magi veniunt, <i>secunda pars</i>	1: B 2-6: G(d)(LR)	G (R)	N: G?B CPDE: G	G	G (R)	G (R)
Gerarde	Versa est in luctum	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)
Gerarde	Las voulez vous	G	G	G (R)	G	G	G (R)
Gerarde	C'est grand plaisir	G	G	G	G	G	G
Gerarde	Hatez vous	G	G	G	G	G	G (L)
Gerarde	Or est venu le printemps	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)	G (R)
Gerarde	Letare Jherusalem	G	G (LR)	G	G	G	G
Gerarde	Deus qui superbis resistis	G	G	G	G	G	G
							G

Notes on Table 2.20:

- (a) 54, Latfeur, *Gabriel angelus* - Gerarde's end-sign here is ||
- (b) 53, Gombert, *Paine et traveil* - Gerarde's end-sign here is again ||
- (c) 54, Gombert, *Jouissance vous donneray* - Gerarde's F-clef here is 7f
- (d) 50, Gerarde, *Magi veniunt ad orientem, 2da pars* - Gerarde's end-sign here is ||

Table 2.21, overleaf, shows the principal graphical differences, in the notation of the music in Source D, between Gerarde's hand, denoted by G, and those of the two assistants, A and B.

TABLE 2.21: Details distinguishing the three hands:

	G	A	B
G-clef			-
C-Clef			
F-clef			-
Proportion sign			
Direct			
End-sign			
Up-stems	Vertical	Slanting up to left	Vertical
Down-stems			
Stem length	Medium	Long	Short

Notes on Table 2.21

- (a) Gerarde's drawing of the older form of F-clef, , differs from that of A, in that the latter's has the two horizontal strokes on the left straight, whereas Gerarde draws the lower one curving up to the right.
- (b) A's proportion sign starts very similar to Gerarde's, i.e. , appearing in this form in Phinot's *Sancta Trinitas*, books 51 and 49 (twice); all later entries are of the distinct form .
- (c) In the copying of Gombert's *Je prens congit* in book 53, stave 1 has Gerarde's clef, A's proportion sign and notation and Gerarde's words, stave 2 is all (apart from the words) in hand A; stave 3 has A's clef, after which the page is in Gerarde's hand.
- (d) In Gerarde's *Magi veniunt*, book 50, the *prima pars* is in hand B, as is stave 1 of the *secunda pars*, the direct is then Gerarde's as is the rest of the page. The rewritten ending ends with ||. In book 53 the picture is less clear: clefs, proportion sign, directs and end-sign appear to be Gerarde's, while the notation appears to be in hand B. In book 49, *prima pars*, staves 1 and 2 are in Gerarde's hand, the remainder in hand B; the copying of the *secunda pars* reverts to Gerarde.
- (e) The differences of stem length are slight, but consistent, so that the overall visual densities of the pages are quite different.

The differences shown above are consistent in Source D, i.e. if the C-clef is , then the up-stems will be vertical and of medium length, the directs will be plain, and the end-sign . But if the C-clef is , then the up-stems will slant and be longer, the directs will be ornate, , and the end-sign will be . The two sets of symbols, then, for hands G and A, appear together on a page only when Gerarde has corrected or altered something written by hand A. However, where hand B appears, in *Magi veniunt* only, it and Gerarde's hand are mixed together on the page, as described above.

2.6 SOURCE E: Lbl Royal Appendix 17-22

Other references: M21; Jayne and Johnson, from no 2588; Oliphant 15.

2.6.1 Description of the source

This is a complete set of six partbooks, though 20 and 22 are imperfect, as described below. The pages measure 10" x 7.9" (255mm x 201mm), each carrying five staves 8.15" (255mm) in length, with the first inset approximately 1.25" (30mm). The margins are plain. The watermark is a cup or shield surmounted by a crown, over a scroll bearing the inscription NICOLASLEBE.⁴³

Three books still have their flyleaves, on which the name Dyricke Gerarde (18) or Dyricke Gerard (19 and 21) appears. The pieces therein do not bear a composer's name, but as many of them appear in other Gerarde sources with his name or initials appended, the attribution can be justifiably upheld. The three books whose flyleaves survive, 18, 19 and 21, also carry a voice allocation, Contratenor, Tenor and Quinta respectively, though these do not consistently describe the actual parts in the motets. These three leaves also carry Lumley's namestamp. The index survives in 17, 18, 19 and 21. The first ten folios of 22 are missing; the remainder have been renumbered. Fortunately, of the seven affected pieces, *Puer qui natus est, Domine clamavi, Animam meam dilectam* and *Aspice Domine* occur elsewhere, (in fact the second half of the sexta pars of *Aspice domine* is on what was f11 of 22 - now f1) and the rest are fairly straightforward to reconstruct.⁴⁴ Folio 1 of the [Bassus] book, 20, is also missing; renumbering has not taken place, so this must be a fairly recent loss.

2.6.2 Contents of Source E

Source E contains forty motets for six to ten voices. Table 2.22, following, lists the contents of the six books. All six books are completely filled, apart from the four *verso* pages listed below. In this table, 17 = [Superius], 18 = Contra, 19 = Tenor, 20 = [Bassus], 21 = Quinta, 22 = [Sexta]. X indicates a leaf missing.

⁴³ Briquet, 3, Nos 8077-9, the earliest examples of which are from Paris, 1566, Nancy, 1566 and Troyes, 1580, respectively. The three are very similar to one another; the closest to that found in Source E is 8077.

⁴⁴ See the Notes on the Reconstructions, in the Commentary to the Edition.

TABLE 2.22: Contents of Source E

Title	17	18	19	20	21	22
Derelinquat impius viam III	1-1 ^v	1-1 ^v	1-1 ^v	(X)	1-1 ^v	(X)
Gloria tibi trinitas	2	2	2	2	2	(X)
Nunquid adheret tibi	2 ^v -4	2 ^v -4	2 ^v -4	2 ^v -4	2 ^v -4	(X)
Puer qui natus est	4 ^v -6	4 ^v -6	4 ^v -6	4 ^v -6	4 ^v -6	(X)
Domine clamavi ad te	6 ^v -8	6 ^v -8	6 ^v -8	6 ^v -8	6 ^v -8	(X)
Animam meam dilectam	8 ^v -10	8 ^v -10	8 ^v -10	8 ^v -10	8 ^v -10	(X)
Aspice Domine	10 ^v -11	11 ^v -12	10 ^v -11	10 ^v -11	10 ^v -11	(X)-1
Letare Jerusalem	11 ^v -12	10 ^v -11	11 ^v -12	11 ^v -12	11 ^v -12	1 ^v -2
Quare tristis es	12 ^v -13	12 ^v -13	12 ^v -13	12 ^v -13	12 ^v -13	2 ^v -3
Versa est in luctum	13 ^v -15	13 ^v -15	13 ^v -15	13 ^v -15	13 ^v -15	3 ^v -5
Da mihi Domine animum purum	15 ^v -16	15 ^v -16	15 ^v -16	15 ^v -16	15 ^v -16	5 ^v -6
Occurrerunt Maria et Martha	16 ^v -18	16	16 ^v -18	16 ^v -18	16 ^v -18	6 ^v -8
Dum transisset Sabatum	18 ^v -20	16 ^v -18	18 ^v -20	18 ^v -20	18 ^v -20	8 ^v -10
Tribulationem nostram	20 ^v -21	18 ^v -19	20 ^v -21	20 ^v -21	20 ^v -21	10 ^v -11
Sic Deus dilexit mundum (a)	21 ^v -23	19 ^v -21	21 ^v -23	21 ^v -23	21 ^v -23	11 ^v -13
Peccantem me quotidie	23 ^v -25	21 ^v -23	23 ^v -25	23 ^v -25	23 ^v -25	13 ^v -15
Domine ne memineris	25 ^v -27	23 ^v -25	25 ^v -27	25 ^v -27	25 ^v -27	15 ^v -17
Ad te levavi oculos	27 ^v -29	25 ^v -27	27 ^v -29	27 ^v -29	27 ^v -29	17 ^v -19
Viri Galilei	29 ^v -31	27 ^v -29	29 ^v -31	29 ^v -31	29 ^v -31	19 ^v -21
Non me vincat Deus meus	31 ^v -32	29 ^v -30	31 ^v -32	31 ^v -32	31 ^v -32	21 ^v -22
Omnis caro fenum	32 ^v -34	30 ^v -32	32 ^v -34	32 ^v -34	32 ^v -34	22 ^v -24
Magi veniunt ab oriente	34 ^v -36	32 ^v -34	34 ^v -36	34 ^v -36	34 ^v -36	24 ^v -26
Domine da mihi	36 ^v -37	34 ^v -35	36 ^v -38	36 ^v -37	36 ^v -37	26 ^v -27
Honor virtus	37 ^v -39	35 ^v -37	38 ^v -39	37 ^v -39	37 ^v -39	27 ^v -29
In monte Oliveti	39 ^v -40 ^v	37 ^v -38 ^v	39 ^v -42	39 ^v -40 ^v	39 ^v -40	29 ^v -30 ^v
Deus qui superbis resistis	41-41 ^v	39-39 ^v	42 ^v -44	41-41 ^v	41-41 ^v	31-31 ^v
Ego autem cantabo II	41 ^v -42	39 ^v -40	44 ^v -45	41 ^v -42	41 ^v -42	31 ^v -32

Title	17	18	19	20	21	22
Timor et tremor II	42 ^v -43	40 ^v -41	45 ^v -47	42 ^v -43	42 ^v -44	32 ^v -33
Hodie nobis celorum rex	43 ^v -44 ^v	41 ^v -42 ^v	47 ^v -50	43 ^v -44 ^v	44 ^v -47	33 ^v -34 ^v
Angelus ad pastores ait	45-45 ^v	43-43 ^v	50 ^v -52	45-45 ^v	47 ^v -49	35-35 ^v
Hodie Christus natus est	45 ^v -46	43 ^v -44	52 ^v -53	45 ^v -46	49 ^v -51	35 ^v -36
Murus aeneus	46 ^v -47	44 ^v -45	53 ^v -55	46 ^v -47	50 ^v -52	36 ^v -37
In tribulatione mea	47 ^v	45 ^v	55 ^v -56	47 ^v	52 ^v -53	37 ^v
Laudate Dominum in sanctis	48	46	56 ^v -57	48	53 ^v -54	38
Noe Noe Exultemus	48 ^v	46 ^v	57 ^v -58	48 ^v	54 ^v -55	38 ^v
Laudemus omnes	49	47	58 ^v -59	49	55 ^v -56	39
Illuminare Jerusalem	49 ^v	47 ^v	59 ^v -60	49 ^v	56 ^v -57	39 ^v
Cognovi Domine	50-50 ^v	48-48 ^v	60 ^v -62	50-50 ^v	57 ^v -58	40-40 ^v
Gratia vobis	51	49-50	62 ^v -63	51	59 ^v -60	41
Laus Deo Patri	51 ^v	50 ^v -51(b)	63 ^v -64(c)	51 ^v	60 ^v -61(d)	41 ^v -42(e)

Notes on Table 2.12

- (a) *Sic Deus dilexit mundum*- in all six books, the *secunda pars*, *Venite ad me*, precedes the *prima pars* - see also below.
- (b) 18 f51^v is unused.
- (c) 19 f64^v is unused.
- (d) 21 f61^v is unused.
- (e) 22 f42^v is unused.

It is clear that this is a late set of books: the motets are fair copies, many appearing in other sets of Gerarde partbooks - B, C and D. It is the only set in which there is a systematic ordering maintained, starting from the six-voice motets and progressing through seven, eight and nine to ten voices. At times sections are out of place, even entire motets; this would appear to be simply the result of turning two pages at once in the copying process, then turning back to fill the empty pages. In 18, *Letare Jerusalem* and *Aspice Domine* have become exchanged for this reason. In all six books, *Venite ad me* precedes *Sic Deus dilexit mundum*. Although it appears first in Source E, all four extant indexes list *Venite ad me* as the *secunda pars*.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ As does the [Quintus] book of Source B, 35, on f54^v. It has already been observed that in Source B, where these two motets first appear, they are separated physically by twelve other items, and chronologically by up to nineteen, *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* coming first.

In 21, the second section (ff27^v-28) of *Ad te levavi oculos* appears before the first (ff28^v-29), presumably through Gerarde's turning two pages after the previous entry. f27^v is headed 2^a pars, and, most interestingly, at the foot of f29, i.e. at the end of section one, is written, in English: *Torne backe agyne for the / seconde parte*.

Care has been taken for the most part to show each motet or section on one opening; this has resulted sometimes in a luxuriously spacious layout, notably in the two prayers *Da mihi Domine* and *Non me vincat Deus*. The large pages, with only five staves on each, contribute to this sense of spaciousness.

In the motets that also appear elsewhere, there are numerous revisions evident, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. Generally, though, it must be said that the revisions tend to be simplifications of line and texture, while underlay, formerly left much to the mercy of the performer, has been made more specific, and there is less scope for *musica ficta* interpretation as accidentals are copiously supplied.

2.6.3 Allocation of voices to partbooks in Source E

TABLE 2.23: Allocation of voices in Source E

Title	vv	17	18	19	20	21	22
Derelinquat impius viam III	6	M2	T	Ba	[B2]	B[1]	[M1]
Gloria tibi Trinitas	6	S2	S1	A1	A2	M2	[M1]
Nunquid adherat tibi	6	S	A	T2	B	T1	[Ba]
Puer qui natus est	6	S	M	Ba	B2	T	[B1]
Domine clamavi ad te	6	S	A1	Ba	B	A2	[Ba]
Animam meam dilectam	6	M	Bba	Ba2	B	T1	[Ba1]
Aspice Domine	6	M	T	Ba	B	A	Bba
Letare Jerusalem	6	M2	M1	Ba	B2	T	B1
Quare tristis es	6	M1	M2	Ba	B2	T	B1
Versa est in luctum	6	M	T2	Ba1	B	T1	Ba2
Da mihi Domine	6	M1	M2	T1	Bpr	T2	B
Occurrerunt Maria et Martha	6	M1	M2	Ba	B2	T	B1
Dum transisset Sabatum	6	S1	S2	T	B	A	Bba

Title	vv	17	18	19	20	21	22
Tribulationem nostram	6	M	T2	Ba	B2	T1	B1
Sic Deus dilexit mundum	6	M	T2	Ba	B2	T1	B1
Peccantem me quotidie	6	M	T2	Ba2	B	T1	Ba1
Domine ne memineris	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	T2	B1
Ad te levavi oculos	6	M	T1	Ba	B2	T2	B1
Viri Galilei	6	M	T1	Ba	B	T2	Bba
Non me vincat Deus meus	6	M1	T1	T2	Bpr	M2	B
Omnis caro fenum	6	M1	T1	Ba2	B	M2	Ba1
Magi veniunt ab oriente	6	M	T1	Ba1	B	T2	Ba2
Domine da mihi animum purum	7	M1	T2	M2,B1	Bpr	T1	Ba
Honor et virtus	7	M1	T	M2,Ba2	B2	B1	Ba1
In Monte Oliveti	7	M1	T1	M2,B1	B2	T1	Ba
Deus qui superbis resistis	7	M1	T1	M2,B1	Bpr	T2	Ba
Ego autem cantabo II	7	S	A	M,B1	B2	T	Ba
Timor et tremor II	8	M1	T2	M2,B1	B2	T1,Ba1	Ba2
Hodie nobis celorum rex	8	M1	T2	M2,B2	B1	T1,Ba1	Ba2
Angelus ad pastores ait	8	M1	T1	M2,B1	B2	T2,Ba1	Ba2
Hodie Christus natus est	8	S1	A	S2,B1	B2	T1,T2	Ba
Murus Aeneus	8	S1	A	S2,B1	B2	T1,T2	Ba
In tribulatione mea	8	M1	T2	M2,B1	B2	T1,Ba2	Ba1
Laudate Dominum in sanctis	8	M2	T2	M1,B2	B1	T1,Ba2	Ba1
Noe Noe Exultemus	8	S1	A1	S2,B1	B2	A2,T2	T1
Laudemus omnes	8	M1	T1	M2,B1	B2	T1,Ba2	Ba1
Illuminare Jerusalem	8	M2	T2	M1,B1	B2	T1,Ba1	Ba2
Cognovi Domine	8	S1	A1	S2,B1	B2	A2,T	Ba
Gratia vobis	9	M2	A,T2	M1,B1	B2	T1,Ba1	Ba2
Laus Deo Patri	10	S1	M,A	S2,B1	B2	T1,Ba1	T,2Ba

Note on Table 2.23

Hodie nobis celorum Rex and *Cognovi Domine* - the allocations in Source C differ from those in the above table, and were described fully under Source C, above.

From this table some observations and a hypothesis may be made. Gerarde handles the layout of the six-part motets differently from that of those in seven or more parts. Recalling that a level has been defined as a set of voices sharing the same tessitura, we find that the majority of the motets have just four levels. In the six-part pieces, book 17 always has the superius, i.e. the top level, or one voice of the top level, 20 always has the bassus, i.e. the bottom level, or one voice of the bottom level. Where there is a second voice in the top level, it will be found in book 18, otherwise the two voices of level two will be found in 18 and 21. The inside parts are in 21, 19 and 22, in that order, with any additional parts of the bottom level also in 22. Of the six possible patterns of part allocation, Gerarde uses the following three:⁴⁶

TABLE 2.24

level	1	2	3	4
	17	18+21	19+22	20
	17	18+21	19	22+20
	17+18	21	19	22+20

The motets with five levels follow the same principle. There are a few exceptions, noted in tables 2.26 and 2.27, below. *Gloria tibi trinitas* is unusual in that it is for six high voices and the copying of *Animam meam dilectam* clearly went wrong, as the bass-baritone part ended up in book 18.⁴⁷

In the works for seven or more voices the allocation is different: 17 still holds a part of level one, 20 still a bassus part; but the extra top and bottom level voices have migrated to book 19, named on the flyleaf as the tenor book. There are always two bassus parts and there are two superius parts in every piece except *Ego autem cantabo*, which has a superius and a mean instead.⁴⁸ The other parts are allocated in various combinations of levels, but always (in descending order) to 18, 21 and 22. Thus, where n = number of levels:

⁴⁶ The individual allocations are shown in Table 2.26.

⁴⁷ See Table 2.27.

⁴⁸ In the earlier version, these are labelled *Cantus* and *Secundus cantus* respectively, so Gerarde presumably thought of them as being both of the top level.

TABLE 2.25

level	1	2 to n-1	n
books	17+19	18,21,22	19+20

This suggests that in the motets in seven or more parts Gerarde thought consciously in terms of a polarised texture, with the paired outer voices forming a framework (the shell⁴⁹) inside which lie the other, less important, voices. This hypothesis is supported by Gerarde's recompositions.⁵⁰ Again there are a few exceptions to this generalised allocation of voices to partbooks. In Tables 2.26 - 2.30, the allocation of levels to partbooks is examined.

TABLE 2.26: Motets for six voices, four levels

Levels:	1	2	3	4
Versa est in luctum	17	18 + 21	19 + 22	20
Magi veniunt ab orientem	17	18 + 21	19 + 22	20
Tribulationem nostram	17	18 + 21	19	22 + 20
Venite ad me	17	18 + 21	19	22 + 20
Peccantem me quotidie	17	18 + 21	19	22 + 20
Domine ne memineris	17	18 + 21	19	22 + 20
Ad te levavi oculos	17	18 + 21	19	22 + 20
Letare Jerusalem	17 + 18	21	19	22 + 20
Quare tristis es	17 + 18	21	19	22 + 20
Occurrerunt Maria et Martha	17 + 18	21	19	22 + 20
Da mihi Domine	17 + 18	21 + 19	22	20
EXCEPTIONS				
Derelinquat impius viam III	17 + [22]	18	19	21 + [20]
Gloria tibi Trinitas	17 + 18	21 + [22]	19	20
Non me vincat Deus	17 + 21	18 + 19	22	20
Omnis caro fenum	17 + 21	18	19 + 22	20

⁴⁹ Milsom (2), 206.

⁵⁰ See Chapter Four, Section 4.

TABLE 2.27: Motets for six voices, five levels

Levels:	1	2	3	4	5
Domine clamavi ad te	17	18 + 21	19	[22]	20
Viri Galilei	17	18 + 21	19	22	20
Dum transisset Sabatum	17 + 18	21	19	22	20
Nunquid adheret tibi	17	18	21 + 19	[22]	20
Puer qui natus est	17	18	21	19	[22] + 20
EXCEPTIONS:					
Aspice Domine	17	21	18	19	22 + 20
Animam meam dilectam	17	21 + 22	19	18	20

TABLE 2.28: Motets for seven and eight voices, four levels

Levels:	1	2	3	4
In monte Oliveti	17 + 19	18 + 21	22	19 + 20
Domine da mihi animum purum	17 + 19	18 + 21	22	19 + 20
Deus qui superbis resistis	17 + 19	18 + 21	22	19 + 20
Timor et tremor II	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
Hodie nobis celorum rex	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
Angelus ad pastores ait	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
In tribulatione mea	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
Laudate Dominum in sanctis	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
Noe Noe Exultemus	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
Laudemus omnes	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
Illuminare Jerusalem	17 + 19	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20
EXCEPTION:				
Honor et virtus	17 + 19	18	22 + 19	21 + 20

TABLE 2.29: Motets for eight and nine voices, five levels

Levels:	1	2	3	4	5
Cognovi Domine	17 + 19	18 + 21	21	22	19 + 20
Hodie Christus natus est	17 + 19	18	21 + 21	22	19 + 20
Murus Aeneus	17 + 19	18	21 + 21	22	19 + 20
Gratia vobis	17 + 19	18	18 + 21	21 + 22	19 + 20

TABLE 2.30: Motets for seven and ten voices, six levels

Levels:	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ego autem cantabo II	17	19	18	21	22	19 + 20
Laus Deo Patri	17 + 19	18	18	21 + 22	21 + 22	19 + 20

We see from the above tables that in all motets in more than six voices, three books hold the voice parts of the top and bottom layers. The Superius book, 17, in every case has one voice of the top layer, the Bassus book, 20, one of the bottom layer, and the Tenor book, 19, has one of each outer layer.⁵¹ Tenor therefore joins *Superius* and *Bassus* as an autological description, *holding* the texture in conjunction with these other parts.

2.7 SOURCE F: Lbl Royal Appendix 57

Other references: (from) M42; Jayne and Johnson (from) no.2606 (**Divers imperfect bookes of Musicke, both printed / and written hande.**); Oliphant 25.

2.7.1 Description of the source

This is the sole survivor of a set of probably six partbooks, containing various inner parts of motets and chansons by Gerarde and others. The pages measure 8.05' x 5.75' (205mm x 147mm), each carrying four printed staves approximately 6.1' (155mm) in length. The margins are decorated with alternating floral motifs. The watermark throughout this book is a pot, surmounted by a crown, the pot carrying the letters PO.⁵²

⁵¹ There are two exceptions. In *Honor virtus* one Bassus part is in 21, with the Tenor book holding a tenor part as well as a voice of the top layer, and in *Ego autem cantabo* the tenor book holds the mean part, (which is very close to the top layer) plus one voice of the bottom layer.

⁵² Briquet, 4, No 12,801. The earliest catalogued appearance of this watermark is in Rouen in 1549.

This Source is an unfinished anthology: much of the book is empty space - and it is probably the [sextus] book. The set (of six) was presumably incomplete by the time of the 1609 inventory of the Nonsuch Library. The decorated pages of the extant volume are very attractive, and such books were probably quite expensive. It is possible that the other books were commandeered for their empty pages.

2.7.2 Contents of Source F

TABLE 2.31: Contents of Source F

Composer	Title	vv	57	part
Lassus	Jesu corona virginum	6	1 ^v -4 (a)	B1
Gerarde	Urbs beats Jerusalem	7	4 ^v -8 ^v (b)	Ba,B1
Gerarde	Adieu mon esperance II	6	9 (d)	Ba
Havericq	C'est grand plaisir	6	9 ^v -10	M
Havericq	Si mon travail	6	10 ^v -11 ^v	M
Latfeur	J'attens secours	6	11 ^v -12	M
Gerarde	Resveillez vous	6	12 ^v -13	T
Clemens	A qui doibs retirer	6	13 ^v -14	M
Caron	Adieu soulas	6	14 ^v -15	B1
deWismes	Vivre ne puis sur terre	6	15 ^v -16	Bba
Gerarde	Or est venu le printemps	6	16 ^v -18	Ba
Anon	Celle qui m'a tant	[6]	18 ^v -19	B1
Hollandre	Quant je voi son ceur	6	19 ^v -20	B
Lupi	Dueil double dueil	6	20 ^v -21	B1
[Clemens]	Me retirer d'elle	6	21 ^v -22	B1
Gerarde	Pour une las j'endure	6	22 ^v -23	B1
Gerarde	Tant ay souffert	6	23 ^v -24	B1
Gerarde	Je suis desheritee	6	24 ^v -25	T
Gerarde	Puis que fortune	6	25 ^v -26	T
Gerarde	Reiouissons nous	6	26 ^v -27(d)	T

Notes on table 2.31:

- (a) f1 is blank;
- (b) *Urbs beata Jerusalem* is Gerarde's largest extant work, and unfortunately the only one not reconstructable. It is in five sections, a6, a6, a5, a6 and a7. As this is the [sextus] book, it is *tacet* in the *tertia pars* and we thus have no clue to the nature of the section. In may be of significant that this motet immediately follows *Jesu corona virginum* by Lassus, which may have served as a sort of model, as it is also in five sections.
- (c) Between f8^v and f9 at least one folio is missing, carrying the end of the [Secundus bassus] part of *Urbs beata Jerusalem* and the opening of *Adieu mon esperance*.
- (d) f27^v is blank, and is followed by 19 blank folios, at one time numbered 28-46. The final folio is from another source entirely; it carries three folio numbers, 114 and 47, both crossed out, and 47, the current one.⁵³

2.7.3 Concordances

Of the non-Gerarde items in Source F, the following apparently have no other known source:

Anon.	<i>Celle qui ma tant pourmenez</i>
Caron	<i>Adieu soulas</i>
Hollandre	<i>Quant je voi son ceur</i>

The following are also in Source D, but otherwise have no known concordance:

Latfeur	<i>J'attens secours</i>
Havericq	<i>C'est grand plaisir</i>
Havericq	<i>Si mon traveil</i>
DeWismes	<i>Vivre ne puis.</i>

For the following, which do not appear in Source D, concordances are as follows:

Lassus	<i>Jesu corona virginum</i>	RISM L786(1565)
Lupi	<i>Deuil double deuil</i> ⁵⁴	RISM 1544 ¹³
Clemens	<i>Me retirer d'elle</i> ⁵⁵	RISM 1553 ²⁵ =1560 ⁵
Clemens	<i>A qui doibs retirer</i> ⁵⁶	RISM 1553 ²⁵

⁵³ This folio carries the end of an unidentified madrigal on the recto, and the opening of *Tra Bei rubin' et perle*, by Lassus, on the verso.

⁵⁴ Modern edition on Blackburn (2) (CMM 84, III, 68)

⁵⁵ Modern edition in Kempers (CMM 4, XI, 22)

⁵⁶ Modern edition in Kempers (CMM 4, XI, 25)

2.8 SOURCES OUTSIDE THE BRITISH LIBRARY

2.8.1 Source G: Och Mus 979-983

This is a large collection made by, and written by, John Baldwin. Five out of six partbooks survive. The collection contains one piece by Gerarde, the six-voice motet, *Sive vigilem*.⁵⁷ The similarities of style and texture with Gerarde's motet *Quare tristis es*, in Source C, suggest that the two were written at about the same time.

2.8.2 Source H: Cu, Ms Dd.2.11

This is a book of lute pieces and transcriptions, dating from c.1590.⁵⁸ f29 contains an anonymous lute transcription of a (lost) chanson, *J'attend secours*, attributed to Dirick Gerard. There is no musical material common to this and the setting of *J'attens secours* in Source C, and a reconstruction of the polyphony (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.6) suggests that the original was for five voices.

2.9 ASSOCIATED SOURCES

2.9.1. Source I: Lbl Royal Appendix 64

Other references: M43, Jayne and Johnson no.2607, not mentioned by Oliphant.

Item 43 of the music section of the Lumley catalogue reads:

A rolle of Cannons of Dethick Gerrarde.

There is no firm evidence that this item and Royal Appendix 64 are related at all. However, the core of the book does appear to have been made from a roll: only one side of each leaf is written on, about half the leaves have music on the recto only, the others on the verso only. This section is enclosed in three normal bifolia. The book contains altogether 155 canons. The part which is suspected of having been a roll holds 151, the first 150 of which are settings of the first verse of each psalm, in English, the 151st being a setting of the Lord's prayer, in Latin. The handwriting is not Gerarde's and the canons are too short to be able to judge on

⁵⁷ See Chapter Seven, Section 7.5.

⁵⁸ See Chapter One, note 61.

stylistic grounds whether or not they are by him.⁵⁹ The watermark of this section is a small rectangle containing the letter A, a sign like a tree, and the letters B and O.⁶⁰

A different watermark, an eagle,⁶¹ distinguishes the three bifolia enclosing the rest, which are written in a different hand. Those at the front carrying the dedication, to James I, by an unidentified Sydrach Rabel and two short canons drawn on circular staves; at the back the first of these folios carries two more canons praising the King, the final two folios being left blank.

2.9.2 Source J: Lbl Royal Appendix 74-76

Other references: M37, Jaynes and Johnson no 2601, not mentioned by Oliphant.

These books are three (Triplex, ContraTenor and Tenor) out of four partbooks dating from the time of Edward VI, now known as the 'Lumley partbooks'. The original content was a collection of English church music⁶², which undoubtedly implies that any connection with Lumley, whose name appears on the original covers of the Triplex and Tenor books, is simply that of eventual ownership. At the back of all three books there are added a number of short instrumental pieces,⁶³ mostly written in quasi-score in a number of different hands, one of which, as Peter Holman⁶⁴ and John Milsom⁶⁵ have pointed out, bears a distinct likeness to that of Dyricke Gerarde. In the next Chapter, the relative chronology of the Gerarde manuscripts is considered, based on what appears to be the evolution of his hand. From that study it appears that, while there are the expected variations and inconsistencies of graphical style, his clefs show a remarkable adherence to the observed development. In particular his C-clef alters radically from C_4 to C_3 in the middle of compiling Source C, and the cursive form of the F-clef evolves from a large form, F_1 , through an intermediate stage, F_2 , to a small one F_3 . In Source J, the pieces which appear otherwise to be in Gerarde's hand consistently juxtapose the early form of the C-clef, C_4 , with the late form of the F-clef, F_3 . While this does not rule out the possibility of these pieces being by Gerarde, the handwriting analysis necessary to determine authorship lies outside the scope of this dissertation. As the short instrumental pieces are so different in nature from the vocal music in Sources A-H, attribution or rejection is also ruled out on stylistic grounds. The case for or against these pieces being by Gerarde is therefore not yet proven, and for the purposes of this study, the contents of Source J have been excluded.

⁵⁹ See Milsom (1), 170, for more information about this manuscript.

⁶⁰ Not found in any of the watermark catalogues searched.

⁶¹ Briquet, 3, No 1369, the earliest appearance of which is given as 1593, from Soleure.

⁶² Modern edition of the Edwardian liturgical music by Judith Blezzard, A-R edition, 1985. (See Blezzard.)

⁶³ Modern edition of the instrumental music by Paul Doe, *Musica Britannica* XLIV. (See Doe (4))

⁶⁴ Holman, 92

⁶⁵ Milsom (1), 167.

2.10 OTHER GERARDE REFERENCES, REJECTED**2.10.1 Source K: Lbl Royal Appendix 55**

Other reference: Oliphant 23;

Source M: Lbl Royal Appendix 59-62

Other reference: Oliphant 27.

Charles Warren⁶⁶ lists the contents of these two items as being by Gerarde. On stylistic grounds alone they cannot be, nor is the handwriting remotely like Gerarde's at any stage of his work. Royal Appendix 59-62 is an Italian source, 55 is probably French.

The following items from Warren's list are quite different in style from the contents of the Gerarde manuscripts; nor are they in Gerarde's hand:

from Lbl Royal Appendix 55: *Amour j'avouray, Blons chevaux, De rien ne vus, Dieu vous garde, Esprits q'un fol amour, Fault il qu'au mal, Il s'en va l'infidelle, Laissez ces forests, L'autre jour m'en revenant, O mort l'onject de mes plaisirs, Pourquoi quittois, Une agreable brunette, Vous me nommez,*

from Lbl Royal Appendix 59-62: *Dames d'honneur*, 34 villanellas, all instrumental pieces listed with Italian titles or untitled.⁶⁷

Accordingly these sources are rejected.

2.10.2 Source L: Lbl Royal Appendix 56

Other reference: Oliphant 24

Oliphant describes this item as follows:

'24. A volume containing the instrumental score part of Latin and English Songs, roughly noted down; probably by D. Gerarde.'⁶⁸ Certainly the contents of this book are not by Gerarde. The handwriting is also not his, so again this source is rejected.

⁶⁶ Warren (3).

⁶⁷ Modern edition of the instrumental music in Lbl Royal Mss, Appendix 59-62 by Michael Morrow, in *Italian Music of the Sixteenth Century*, LPM DM2-3, 1976 (2 vols).

⁶⁸ Oliphant, 6.

2.10.3 Source N: Lbl Add.31390

Augustus Hughes-Hughes,⁶⁹ Charles van den Borren⁷⁰ and Charles Warren⁷¹ list *Chera la fountayne*, a five-part instrumental piece, possibly a transcription of a lost chanson, as being by Gerarde. It is attributed there to a J. Gerard, and again the style is quite different from anything in the main sources of Dyricke Gerarde's work. Warren established the existence of five possible candidates for J. Gerard,⁷² and there seems no justification for regarding this piece as being by Dyricke Gerarde.

2.10.4 Source O: Lbl K.3.a.12

Other references: (from) M4, Jayne and Johnson (from) no 2572, RISM 1550¹³, S_c(12).⁷³

Source P: Lbl K.3.a.15

Other references: (from) M27, Jayne and Johnson (from) no 2591, RISM 1555²¹, P_c(3).⁷⁴

Both these books were in the Nonsuch library. The first contains the chanson *A Dieu celle que j'ay servi* a4, the second *Est il possible* a4, both by Jan Gerard. These sources are mentioned as Charles van den Borren⁷⁵ raised the possibility of identifying Dyricke Gerarde with Jan Gerard (or Jacques Gerarde), based on the existence of these settings.⁷⁶ From the style alone it is clear that these pieces have no connection with Dyricke Gerarde. *A Dieu celle que j'ay servi* was copied by both Edward Thomas Warren⁷⁷ and Charles Burney.⁷⁸

2.10.5 from Source F

Jane Bernstein⁷⁹ lists *Me retirer delle me mort possible* from Source F as being by Gerarde. This is found to be by Clemens non Papa.⁸⁰

⁶⁹ Hughes-Hughes, Vol III, 216.

⁷⁰ Borren (1), 62.

⁷¹ Warren (3).

⁷² Warren (1), 75.

⁷³ Susato chanson series. See Chapter Four, Section 4.3.

⁷⁴ Phalèse chanson series. See Chapter Four, Section 4.3.

⁷⁵ Borren (1), 62-70, 112.

⁷⁶ See Chapter One, Section 1.4.

⁷⁷ Lbl Add.Ms.34071, f20.

⁷⁸ Lbl Add.Ms.11583, f36v.

⁷⁹ Bernstein (1), 28.

⁸⁰ Published by Phalèse, RISM 1553²⁵ = 1560⁵, found in the latter at Och Mus 508-9(10), p.21.

Chapter Three

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is virtually impossible to date specifically any of Gerarde's pieces. However, it is possible to divide his output into a number of groups of pieces, a relative chronology for which can be justified. This argument will depend on a number of factors, including the physical placement in the partbooks, aspects of recomposition and stylistic analysis, and will be pursued in Chapter Eight. First, the manuscripts and the handwriting will be examined with the aim of approximating the order in which the pieces were written down - not necessarily the same as the order in which they were composed.

We may conveniently divide Gerarde's production into four phases. Much of the evidence for this stems from the fact that Gerarde constantly reworked his material, often transferring pieces from one set of books to another at critical points in their development. Later in this chapter a flow chart shows this movement of material. Other evidence comes from the changes made to certain graphical symbols used. While he is consistent in the shape of G-clef used: G , Gerarde changes the C-clef from C to C , the F-clef from F and F to F , then to F and F , the flat sign from b to b , and the end-sign, with which he finishes each piece, which is at first quite arbitrary, becomes variants on || , ||| and ||| before settling on B for all the mature works. Not all the material in the partbooks is in Gerarde's hand. Differences in the formation of some of these symbols help categorise the other hands, as do the shapes of the directs at the line and page ends.

The following table gives a summary of the above mentioned division into groups of Gerarde's extant compositions, and the approximation of the order in which these groups were entered into the partbooks.¹ This division and chronology will then be explained and expanded, supported by evidence from the sources themselves. The totals show the number, in each given source, of pieces appearing for the first time. Items in parentheses are major recompositions.

¹ This table is expanded to show all Gerarde's known works at the end of the chapter: Table 3.11.

TABLE 3.1 The contents of the four phases

Phase	Source	Voices	Pieces	No of new pieces		
1	A _{1(a)}	4	<i>Reviens vers moy</i> and <i>Pandalidon flaxos</i>	2		
		(b) 5	<i>Oncques amour I</i> to <i>Par vous seulle</i>	4		
				Total:	6	
	A ₂	4-5	<i>Angelus Domini</i> to <i>Donez secours</i>	Total:	15	
	A ₃	4-5	<i>Tous mes amis</i> to <i>Vias tuas Domine</i>	Total:	13	
	A ₄	4-5	<i>Lorde be my judge</i> to <i>Creator omnium</i>	Total:	6	
				PHASE 1:	40	
	2	B _{1(a)}	5	<i>Christus factus est</i> to <i>Adieu mon esperance</i>	12	
			(b) 4	<i>Respice in me</i> to <i>In patientia vestra</i>	4	
			(c) 7-8	<i>Ego autem cantabo</i> and <i>En attendant d'amour</i>	2	
				Total:	18	
B _{2(a)}		5-6	<i>Aspice Domine</i> to <i>Mon ceur chante a5</i>	17		
		(b) 4	<i>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</i>	1		
				Total:	18	
C ₁		4-8	<i>Die lume un tempo</i> to <i>Ascendens Christus</i>	Total:11		
				PHASE 2:	47	
3		C ₂	5-8	<i>Fidem refundens</i> to <i>Ad te levavi oculos</i> (<i>Egrediente Domino</i>)	Total:	18
	G	6	<i>Sive vigilem</i>	Total:	1	
	H	[5]	<i>J'attens secours</i>	Total:	1	
	B _{3(a)}	6	<i>Oncques amour II</i>	1		
		5-6	<i>Yf Phebus stormes</i> to <i>Resveilles vous</i> (<i>Aspice Domine, Le bergier</i> and <i>Tous mes amys</i>)	17		
	(c) 8	<i>J'ay tant chasse, Soions joyeux, Murus Aeneus, Avecques vous, Hodie Christus natus est, In tribulatione mea, Laudate Dominum in Sanctis</i>	7			
				Total:	25	
	D ₁	6	<i>Dum transisset</i> to <i>Or est venu</i>	Total:	7	
				PHASE 3:	52	
4	B _{4(a)}	6	<i>Je suis desheritee</i> to <i>Le rossignol</i>	12		
		(b/c) 8	<i>Noe Noe exultemus</i> and <i>Laudemus omnes</i>	2		
				Total:	14	
	D ₂	6-7	<i>Letare Jerusalem</i> and <i>Deus qui superbis</i>	Total:	2	
	E	6-10	<i>Derelinquat impius viam III</i> to <i>Laus Deo</i>	Total:	14	
	F	5-7	<i>Urbs beata Jerusalem</i>	Total:	1	
			PHASE 4:	31		

Notes on Table 3.1:

- (a) It must be emphasised that this is not presented as an ordering of the pieces themselves. Particularly in Sources D, E and F, it could be that most of the pieces appearing for the first time were composed significantly earlier.
- (b) In Phase 3 are included the two pieces from Sources G and H, *Sive vigilem* and *J'attens secours I*, correctly these should not be included in the table at all, as they are not in Gerarde's hand, but they are entered to keep track of them in the totals, and at that point because they were probably contemporary with other items in Phase Three.
- (c) The total number of pieces listed here is 170. This is greater by one than the total number of pieces attributed to Gerarde, for the following reason. *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* appears in Phase Three as a single section motet. However *Venite ad me*, its *secunda pars*, does not appear until Phase 4, being apparently composed much later, and thus shows up as a separate entry.

3.2 PHASE ONE

The first phase consists of the earliest set of partbooks, Source A, which was probably abandoned before the next set, Source B, was started. The work here is very varied, some of small scale, not all of it successful, with the lion's share of technical errors. Few of the devices that characterise Gerarde's work are present here, and the structures are relatively unsophisticated,² but from these pieces Gerarde considered three pieces (at least) worthy of transcription into later books. Of these three pieces, which reappear in Source B, the two chansons *Le bergier et la bergiere* and *Tous mes amys*, are completely rewritten in the later books; the motet *Levavi oculos* however needed only minor changes - these changes were written as amendments to the parts in A, then transferred with a few further changes into B. This pattern, of amending the original, then transferring to a fair copy, becomes more common in his later reworkings. However this process is not apparent in his revision of the two chansons.³

² For description and discussion of such devices and structures see Chapter Seven. The development of Gerarde's technique and the interplay of formal, tonal and textural elements are examined in Chapter Eight.

³ We know, from Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2, that Gerarde used a quasi-score in either the composition or the revision of *Sic Deus dilexit mundum*. It is almost certain that a score of some sort would be used in the composition process of every piece. Whether one would be needed in order to make the reconstructions of these two chansons is debatable, but the absence of substantial revision on the pages of Source A here suggests that Gerarde, still acquiring a technique, would need to transfer the parts into a score before he could do such a major restructuring.

The first two pieces in this set of partbooks, *Reviens vers moy* and *Pandalidon Flaxos*, and four consecutive chansons in the middle, *Oncques amour*, *Tant ay souffert*, *Amour au ceur* and *Par vous seulle* appear to be entered before the rest of the book; they may not be entirely in Gerarde's writing. Several other points cause these six pieces to stand out from the rest. At the end of five of them, the first line of words is written out in a rather beautiful and somewhat ornate script. These pieces, alone in the early material from the Gerarde partbooks, utilise the simple form of the flat: \flat . The rest of the flats appearing in Source A are of the double form: β . In almost all Gerarde's output, he uses a simple form of the direct: \surd , whereas in the middle group of four here the direct is drawn as \sim . This shape also appears in *Pandalidon flaxos*, though not consistently; *Reviens vers moy* uses \surd . Finally, in the only one of the six to utilise a G-clef, *Par vous seulle*, it is drawn as G^{f} . Later in this chapter a comparison of the different hands at work in the Gerarde manuscripts will be undertaken. As these symbols are not the ones that Gerarde used, particularly in the early books, it is assumed that these six pieces were written down, at least in part, or at least had staves prepared, by one of Gerarde's assistants. The G-clef mentioned above, in particular, reappears in Source D, in the hand labelled A, the principal assistant.⁴

Although only three partbooks of Source A now survive, it can be shown that the first two pieces, *Reviens vers moy* and *Pandalidon flaxos*, referred to as $A_{1(a)}$, were for four voices, while the other four reconstruct for five voices and are referred to as $A_{1(b)}$.⁵ Thus there appears to be an embryo plan dividing Source A into sections for four- and five-voice compositions.

The copying of some of these pieces was left incomplete: *Amour au ceur* is missing in 25, and *Par vous seulle* is missing from 24. Blank openings were left for the missing parts; in 25 the blank was left before *Tant qu'en amour* in error.

Thirty-four more pieces were subsequently added to these books, almost all in the hand that evolves throughout the six principal sources, that is assumed to be that of Dyricke Gerarde. However the proposed formal arrangement of the books was now abandoned; four- and five-voice compositions, motets, chansons and other pieces are mixed together without any apparent organisation. The abandonment of such a formal plan shortly after its inception is a recurrent feature in Gerarde's work.

The first fifteen of these items will be referred to as A_2 . This section contains the weakest of the extant compositions and many of the smallest - in terms of number of voices or length. Of these fifteen items, eight are for four voices and seven for five. Five are 20 longs or less in

⁴ Table 2.20, in Chapter Two, shows the division of labour in the copying of Source D. See also below, tables 3.9 and 3.10.

⁵ The reconstructions, and arguments pertaining to the number of voices will be found at the end of the editorial commentary preceding the critical notes to the edition.

length.⁶ It is interesting that the copying of A_1 left unequal numbers of blank pages in the different partbooks between $A_{1(a)}$ and $A_{1(b)}$ - or at least by the time Gerarde started on A_2 these spaces were unequal. Consequently, while there was room for eleven items in this gap in 23, only seven fitted in 24 and ten in 25, the remainder appearing after $A_{1(b)}$, giving rise to a seemingly chaotic ordering of pieces. This phenomenon recurs in Source B apparently for exactly the same reason.

From *Tous mes amys* onwards, (A_3 and A_4), all but three of the 19 compositions are for five voices, reflecting a trend towards works of increasing density and complexity. The pieces in this group are also generally more sophisticated and assured than those in A_2 . The division between A_3 and A_4 is somewhat arbitrary, and marks the point at which the collection of motets and chansons becomes much more varied. This extra division becomes useful, however, when the sources of texts are considered, as these diversify,⁷ and there is a subtle change in style which paves the way for the next stage of the development of Gerarde's musical language.⁸

The majority of Gerarde's extant works are set to French or Latin texts. In this early phase, one work only is to an English text, the metrical Psalm verse *Lorde be my judge*, and only one is to an Italian text, *La neve i monti*. In the latter case he did not write in the words himself. This perhaps suggests a poor command of, or lack of confidence in, written Italian at this time. By the time the later Italian settings appear, he seems to be more confident in this respect, as the texts are then in his hand.

Presumably much early material is lost. How many of the other pieces in Source B are copies of or based on earlier pieces is not known. So far in his known output, Gerarde had not written anything in more than five parts.

3.3 PHASE TWO

From the graphical evidence, which will be presented below, it appears that the order of compilation of Sources B, C and D was far from straightforward, the filling of one set of partbooks being interrupted by that of another.

In Source B, motets - sacred and secular - and chansons follow one another in no formalised order. However, it is divided into three sections, with, originally, large gaps

⁶ For a comparison of lengths and numbers of voices see Chapter Eight, Section 8.2.6, Tables 8.6 and 8.7.

⁷ See Chapter Four, Sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5, and Appendix Two.

⁸ It becomes evident that at the end of each period of Gerarde's work, certain stylistic changes become evident, presaging some more central aspect in the next. This is dealt with more fully in Chapter Eight, Section 8.2.8.

between them. The material was written into B in four distinct time periods, which will be called B₁, B₂, B₃, and B₄ respectively. The three physical sections will be denoted by extensions to the subscripts, (a), at the front of the partbooks, (b), near the centre, and (c), at the end.

In the first section of Source B, the first thirteen pieces, B_{1(a)}, all for five voices, are all very neatly written. These include the motet *Levavi oculos* taken from A, and although they are nearly all subsequently altered in small ways, they have the appearance of fair copies. Naturally, each is a copy, at least from whatever score, quasi-score or other preparatory material Gerarde used when composing. In the case of *Levavi oculos*, it is known to be a copy of a work previously copied into partbooks and already emended. Whether or not the others are similarly reworked from other lost sources is unknown. In any case they were all further altered later.

Similarly the pieces from the second section, B_{1(b)}, i.e. the four motets for four voices, *Respice in me*, *Deus in nomine tuo*, *Fortem vocemus* and *In patientia vestra*, look like fair copies. The third section, B_{1(c)}, consists of the seven-voice motet *Ego autem cantabo* and the eight-voice chanson *En attendant d'amour*. These are also written very neatly, and are apparently Gerarde's first attempt at writing for more than five voices. It seems odd that there seem not to have been any six-voice pieces first, and they represent a somewhat inauspicious start in this field, as later he discarded them both.⁹

For the twelfth item of B_{1(a)}, *Adieu l'espoir*, the first line of words is written at the end of the bassus part in an ornate script similar to that met in the six pieces from A₁ mentioned above. The thirteenth piece, *Adieu mon esperance*, ends with the word *finis*, as part of the end-sign, using a form of *s*, thus: *ſ* also reminiscent of that earlier script. Otherwise the letter formation is similar to Gerarde's normal italic hand. This characteristic *finis* is also found, in books 31, 33 and 34, at the end of *O Maria vernans rosa*, which shows in addition the ornate G-clef described in the section on Source A, and which will reappear in Source D. This again suggests that on occasion Gerarde had assistants, who perhaps prepared and finished pages for him and, as will be seen, sometimes and often incorrectly, wrote parts out for him.

⁹ Where a partbook contains two voices of the chanson, on opposite pages of an opening, the two pages were pasted together; where only one voice was present, it was covered by a whole page paste-over. The material of the chanson was reused as the contrafactum *Avecques vous mon amour finera* (see Chapter Six, Sections 6.4 and 6.5.3). The motet was not erased, nor covered, but reappears completely recomposed in Source E (See Chapter Six, Sections 6.3.2 and 6.5.2).

At this point the layout of these books was as follows:

TABLE 3.2: Source B₁

B _{1(a)}	Pieces for five voices: Many blank pages	<i>Christus factus est</i> to <i>Adieu mon esperance</i>
B _{1(b)}	Pieces for four voices (not in 35): Many blank pages	<i>Respice in me</i> to <i>In patientia vestra</i>
B _{1(c)}	For eight voices: For seven voices:	<i>En attendant d'amour</i> <i>Ego autem cantabo.</i>

The seventeen compositions for five and six voices which follow *Adieu mon esperance* show more alterations, involving some crossing-out. As the number of voices in this group of pieces is now not consistent, we see that Gerarde's apparent original plan is beginning to break down. This group of pieces, from *Aspice Domine* to *Mon ceur chante a5* is B_{2(a)}, and the new four-voice motet *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, which was entered immediately before the other four-voice motets and which, from the ink and overall appearance, would appear to be close to *Puis qu'elle a mis a deux* in time of composition, is referred to as B_{2(b)}.

Source C opens with seven pieces for five voices, after which compositions for four, five, six and eight voices follow in no logical sequence. Also the first three items are the three five-part Italian madrigals, after which is a seemingly random sequence of motets, chansons, a secular motet and another madrigal, up to *Ascendens Christus*. This section of the partbooks is now referred to as C₁. All the pieces in C₁ were written very neatly; all are written in ink which has faded to a rich brown; all show alteration, in both the same brown and in the black ink of the later part of the books. Before the four-voice madrigal *Il foco ch'io sentia* is the legend *A quatro Madrigali* or *Madrigali a quatro voci*. This appears in all four partbooks (not 30) part way down the page, after the end of *Timor et tremor*. The plural may refer simply to the two sections of this madrigal, or it could suggest that there were other four-voice madrigals planned. Thus there may have been originally a formal plan intended for this set of books.

By now, as with Source A, any formal plans in B or C have been abandoned. The two sets become working books, with many corrections and wholesale reworkings appearing. The handwriting worsens, and the alterations to the books, including those to the parts already described, tend to untidiness, incompleteness and it becomes apparent that any idea that they are anthologised presentations of finished products has been abandoned along with the formal plan.

In this phase, Source B is undoubtedly the earlier. Evidence for this comes from the way Gerarde draws his flat signs. For all Source A (other than the six pieces of A₁) and for B₁ and

B₂ - i.e. in all three sections of the book, the flats are drawn thus: ♭, whereas in the rest of his manuscripts he uses the simpler form of ♭ or ♭. Thus C₁, which uses this latter form, should be later than B₂. The early sections of both sets of books show the early form of C-clef, ≡, and it is the subsequent change to this symbol which marks the end of Phase two.

3.4 PHASE THREE

At some point Gerarde must have stopped writing in these books for a while; when he returns the shape of the C-clefs has changed. In A, B₁, B₂ and C₁ these clefs are drawn thus: ≡, whereas the rest of C and B are written using the lazier form: ≡. This change may have taken some time to take place; indeed it is assumed that there must have been other sets of partbooks, since lost, to account for the lack of earlier sources for many of the motets in the later anthology, Source E.

The change to the second form of C-clef marks the beginning of phase three, the most productive period, containing also some substantial reworkings and revision. By the time Gerarde returned to work in Source B the revision process had become extreme, involving occasionally the discarding of whole sections, or whole pieces, by pasting pages over the originals. These paste-overs have been lifted by the British Library conservationists¹⁰ (this being completed by December 1995), revealing the original material.

While it appears that in phase two, B₁ and B₂ precede C₁, phase three probably starts with C and continues with B. The evidence for this is three-fold. Firstly, the F-clef in C remains ¶, whereas B has both ¶ and ¶, the latter tending to ¶. Secondly, C is filled, whereas there remain 30 or so blank folios in each of the partbooks in set B. Thirdly at the beginning of C, a new shape appears for the directs. The normal shape, ∽, is replaced by ∽^Q, which is present as far as *Multiplicati sunt*. For the next piece, *Timor et tremor*, the prima pars uses the less ornate ∽; the seconda pars reverts to ∽^Q. This is even the case when sections of both parts appear on one page. The second form is used from this point to the end of C₁. As phase three starts, this second form is mixed randomly with his original simple form, which takes over completely by *Bonjour m'ame*, apart from the occasional instance of the second form.¹¹ As stated earlier, from *Fidem refondens*, Source C is written in black ink, making a marked contrast with the brown of C₁. This section of these books is referred to as C₂. The new parts of the second version of *Egrediente Domino*, written on pages pasted over the first version, also has the new C-clef, and the simpler direct, ∽ so presumably date from after *Timor et tremor*.

¹⁰ At the request of John Milsom.

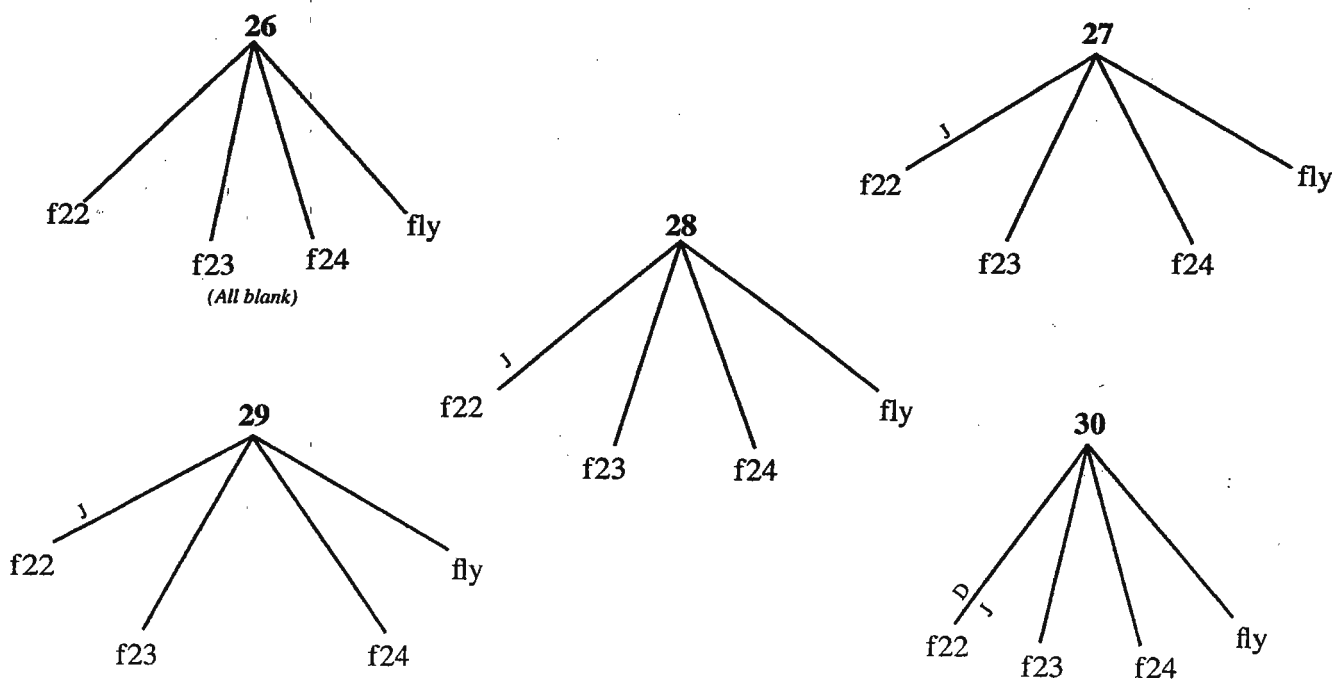
¹¹ This would appear to suggest the intervention of one of Gerarde's assistants. Gerarde's direct is quite plain. See Table 3.16.

It has to be admitted that the shape of the F-clef is not entirely consistent with the given periodisation. Alas the bassus book of set A is missing, but B shows at first a mixture of both forms, predominantly J , which evolves by getting smaller: J to J to J . C uses J almost all the way through. Another graphical anomaly appears in the first piece of this phase, the motet *Fidem refundens*, in which the semibreve-semibreve ligatures appear mostly in the form L instead of the otherwise almost universal L form - the L form appears elsewhere in the Gerarde manuscripts only once, in Source D, in Gerarde's copying of Gombert's chanson *Paine et traveil*, baritone part.

The penultimate and antepenultimate items in Source C, *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha* and *Quare tristis es*, are revealed, by the lifting of the paste-overs covering the discarded first version of the *prima pars* of the former, to be allocated to the partbooks in an unorthodox way, and an analysis of this reveals the probable order in which these pieces were copied, and in the case of the former, revised.

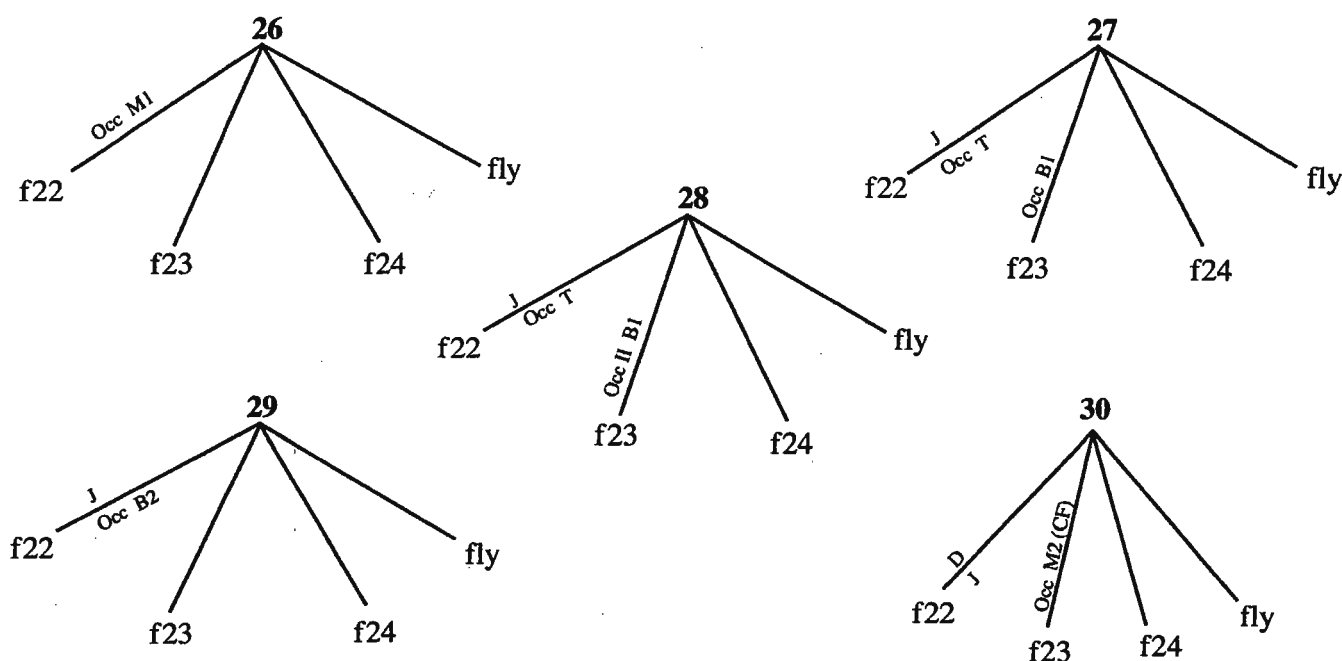
In *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*, M2 (stave 2) sings a repeating *cantus firmus*, alternately at two pitches, written first into 30, f 23. This is a solmization canon, derived from the vowels of its text, *Lazare, veni foras*. Gerarde initially took from this *fa fa re re mi sol fa*, copying into the other partbooks the first half of the motet.

DIAGRAM 3.1: the ends of Royal Appendix 26-30 before *Occurrerunt* was entered:



Key: J = (end of) *Je l'aime bien*
 D = *Da pacem Domine*
 f22 etc = folio numbers
 fly = flyleaf

DIAGRAM 3.2: the same folios with the earliest version of the prima pars:

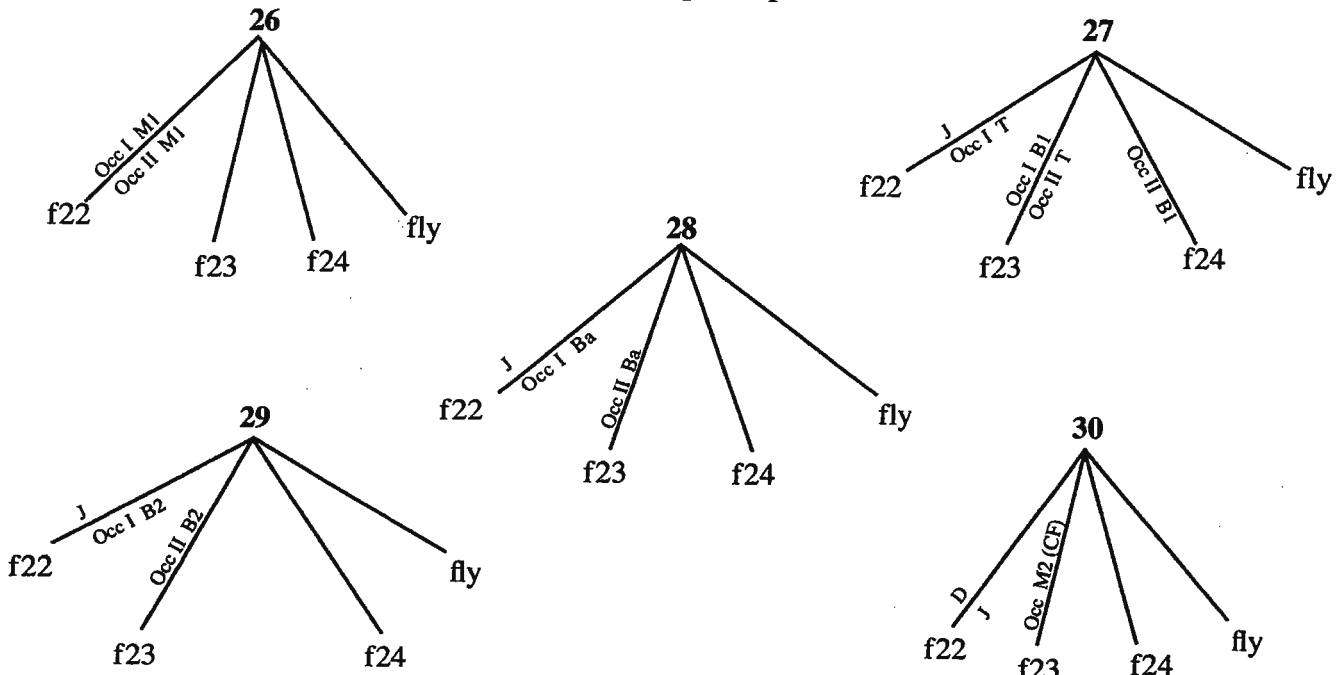


Key: J = (end of) *Je l'aime bien*
 D = *Da pacem Domine*
 f22 etc = folio numbers
 fly = flyleaf
 Occ = *prima pars* of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*
 M1, M2, T, Ba, B1, B2 = voice parts as they appear in the edition
 CF = *cantus firmus*

The legend *2^a pars* is appended to the parts occupying left hand pages in 27 (tenor, on f22^v - the bass 1 part on the recto of the opening has nothing), 28 (baritone, on f22^v) and 29 (bass 2, on f22^v), and that in 26, which is on the recto (mean 1, on what was f22, now f22*) has *2^a pars Verte*. These (apart from the insignificant omission on 27, f23, now f23*) are what is to be expected if the *secunda pars* is to follow either on the next page, or in the case of 27, the next complete opening. The *cantus firmus* is followed by the legend *2^a pars ut supra*, which is discussed below.

Perhaps realising that the *cantus firmus* used was limited in implication, he then altered it to *la fa re re mi sol fa*, which has more potential, and set the first half again. (Coincidentally the solmization is now closer to the actual syllables being sung.) The new version utilizes some of the material from the original version, and was written, not on paste-overs, but on the next available page(s), i.e. where we would expect the original *secunda pars* to have appeared. (See Diagram 3.3)

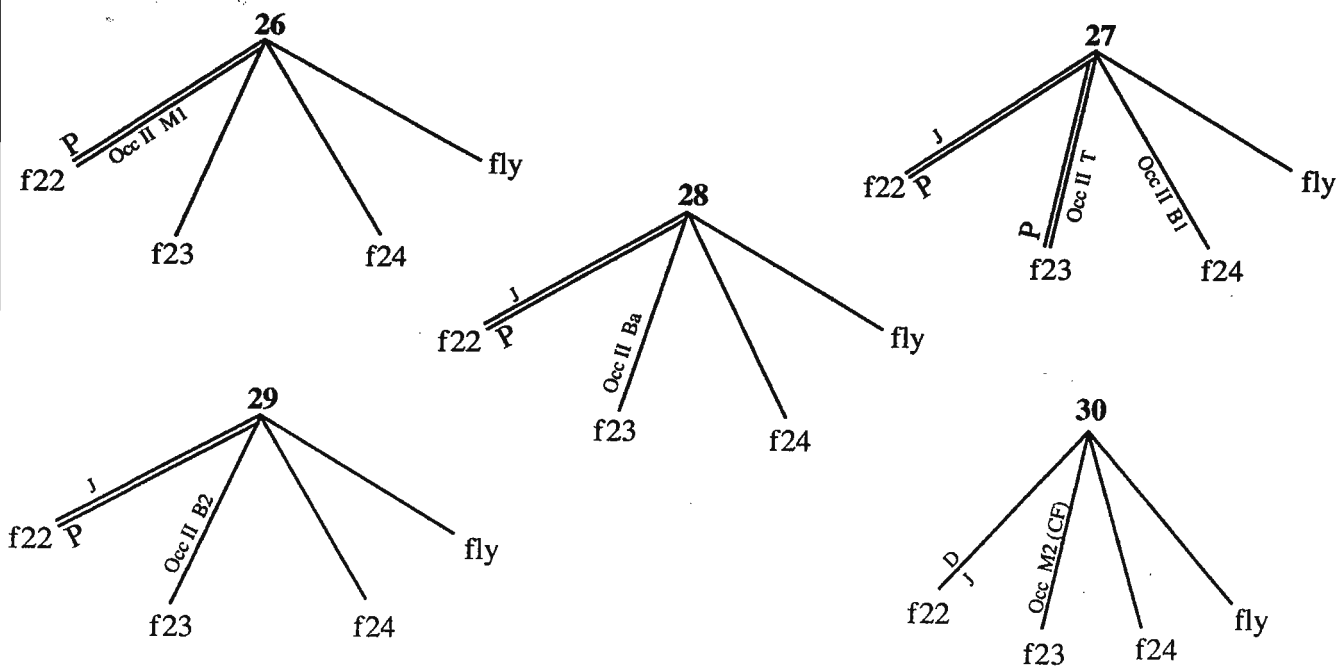
DIAGRAM 3.3: After second version of the prima pars entered:



Key: J = (end of) *Je l'aime bien* D = *Da pacem Domine*
 f22 etc = folio numbers fly = flyleaf
 Occ = *prima pars* of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*
 I = original version II = second, intermediary, version
 M1, M2, T, Ba, B1, B2 = voice parts as they appear in the edition
 CF = *cantus firmus*

The discarded original parts in 26, 27, 28 and 29, were now covered by paste-overs.

DIAGRAM 3.4: after the paste-overs added:

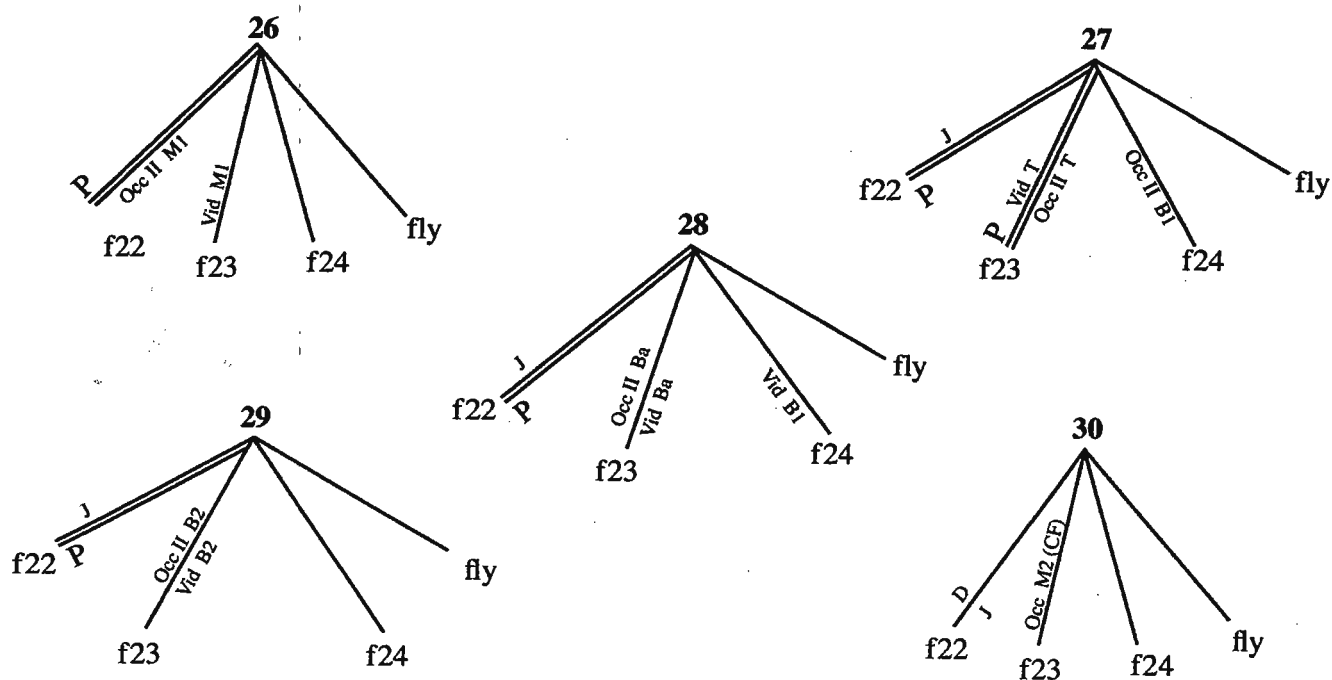


Additional key: P = Paste-over

The *cantus firmus* was not covered; instead, the first note of each phrase was altered, from *fa* to *la*, and initial rest was changed from LLLLB to LLLBS, as the passage preceding the first entry of the *cantus firmus* was now three semibreves shorter.

In 27, the new version of the *prima pars* now runs onto the recto of the final folio of the partbook, and he chose an unusual way to equalise, as far as possible, the residual space in each book. The *secunda pars* in 26 (f23), 28 (f23v) and 29 (f23v) occupies the expected page, i.e. the one following that of the *prima pars*. In 27, the tenor and first bass of the *prima pars* share an opening; the *secunda pars* of the tenor was entered on the paste-over, now f23, preceding the *prima pars*. The *prima pars* of the tenor has appended *tourne backwarde 2^e pars*. The *secunda pars* of bass 1, however, migrates to 28, f24, suggesting that Source C was no longer considered performance material: rather had it become a working environment for recomposition. It should be noted that the *cantus firmus* in the *secunda pars* enters after four longs, whereas in the *prima pars* at this stage, this delay is shorter, by one semibreve. (See Diagram 3.5)

DIAGRAM 3.5: after entering of the *secunda pars*.

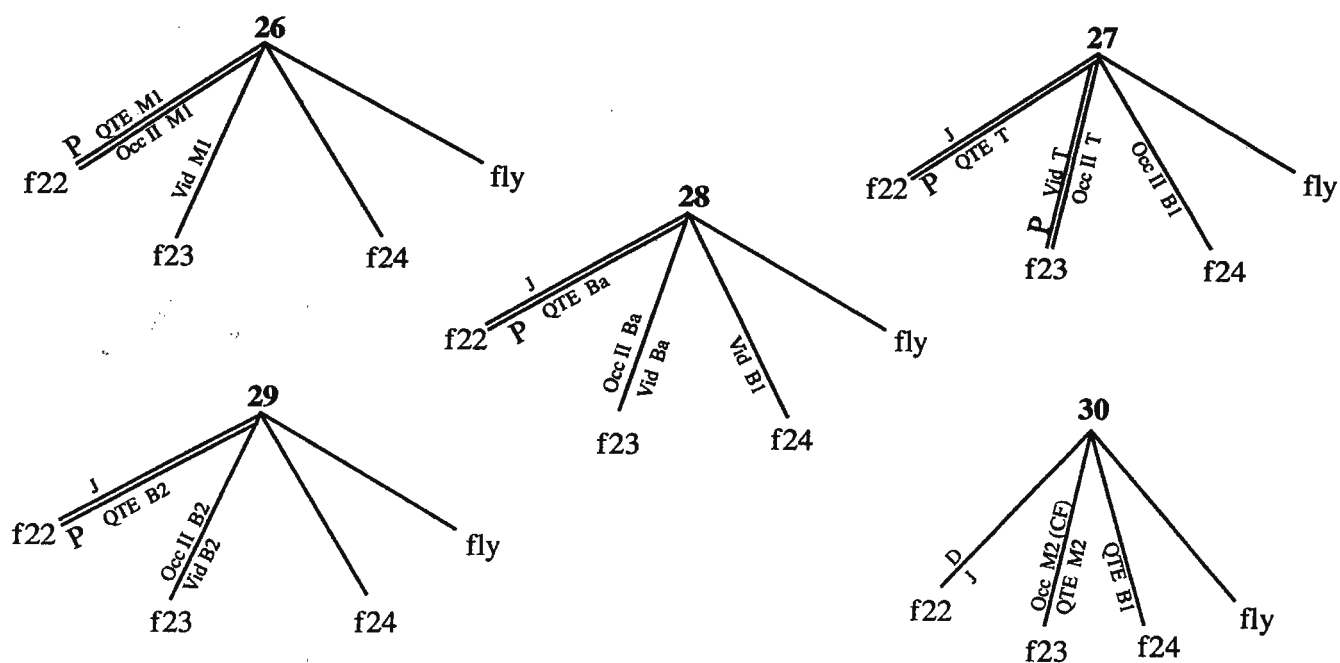


- Key:
- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| J = (end of) <i>Je l'aime bien</i> | D = <i>Da pacem Domine</i> |
| f22 etc = folio numbers | fly = flyleaf |
| Occ = <i>prima pars</i> of <i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i> | |
| I = original version | II = second, intermediary, version |
| Vid = <i>Videns Jhesus</i> , the <i>secunda pars</i> of <i>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</i> | |
| M1, M2, T, Ba, B1, B2 = voice parts as they appear in the edition | |
| CF = <i>cantus firmus</i> | P = Paste-over |

At some point as yet undetermined, before or after the transcription of the *secunda pars*, Gerarde rewrote the opening of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*, extending what is now bar four by a semibreve. The initial rest in the *cantus firmus* was altered again, to LLLBSS. It would have been perfectly easy for him to have extended the breve rest back to its original long value, and to have deleted the redundant semibreve rest. The solution adopted, of merely adding the required semibreve rest, looks like a hurried correction, as an interim measure before the definitive version was produced. In 30 the *cantus firmus* appears once only at each pitch, with appropriate rests and repeat signs. The usual alterations of detail occur throughout the new version of the motet, which was then further altered as it was copied into Source E.

The remaining paste-overs in 26, 27, 28 and 29, plus the next opening in 30, were now used for the motet *Quare tristis es* (See Diagram 3.6). The books were subsequently filled with the motet *Ad te levavi oculos* (See Diagram 3.7). and, as has been noted, in 1995, the paste-overs were lifted by the British Library conservationists. The resulting changes to the pagination are very confusing (see Diagram 3.8).

DIAGRAM 3.6: After the entering of *Quare tristis es*:



Key:

J = (end of) *Je l'aime bien*

D = *Da pacem Domine*

f22 etc = folio numbers

fly = flyleaf

Occ = *prima pars* of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*

I = original version

II = second, intermediary, version

Vid = *Videns Ihesus*, the *secunda pars* of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*

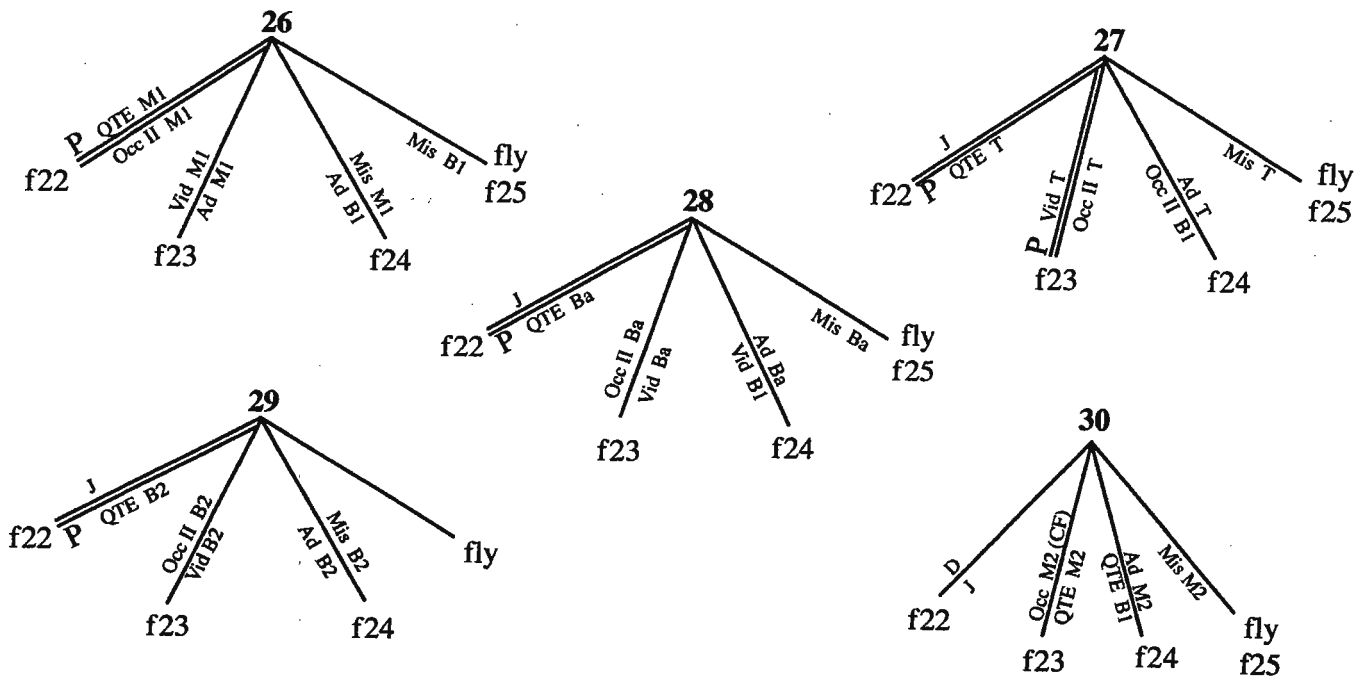
M1, M2, T, Ba, B1, B2 = voice parts as they appear in the edition

CF = *cantus firmus*

P = Paste-over

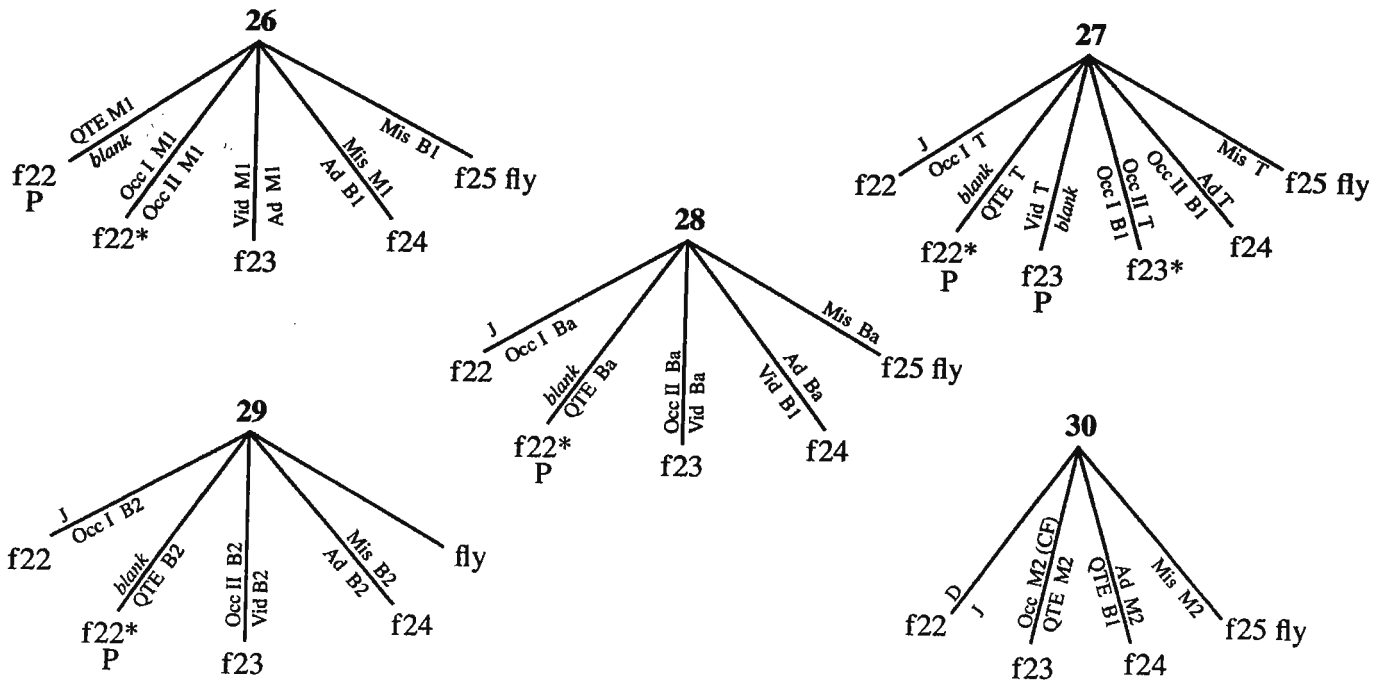
QTE = *Quare tristis es*

DIAGRAM 3.7: After completion of the books:



Additional key: Ad = *prima pars* of *Ad te lavavi oculos*
 Mis = *Miserere nostri*, the *secunda pars* of *Ad te levavi oculos*.

DIAGRAM 3.8: The end section of Source C after the paste-overs were lifted:



To sum up: the process involved here appears to have been:

- (1) The *prima pars* is entered, with the intention of following with the already prepared *secunda pars* (Diagrams 3.1 and 3.2);
- (2) Gerarde changes his mind about the *cantus firmus* and re-enters the *prima pars*, altering the *cantus firmus* (Diagram 3.3);
- (3) The original *prima pars* is covered by paste-overs (Diagram 3.4);
- (4A) The *secunda pars* is entered (Diagram 3.5);
- (4B) Perhaps after realising that the openings of the two sections are of different lengths, the opening of the *prima pars* is adjusted; N.B. (4A and 4B) could have occurred the other way round: the result either way is that *2^a pars ut supra* in 30 is an accurate statement; (5) *Quare tristis es* is entered, partly on the paste-overs. (Diagram 3.6)
- (6) The books are completed by entering *Ad te levavi oculos* at the end of each book. (Diagram 3.7)

The third set of pieces to be found in Source B, which will be referred to as B₃, consists of fourteen five-voice, seven six-voice and seven eight-voice compositions, both sacred and secular, including the recomposed chansons from Source A, *Le bergier et la bergiere* and *Tous mes amys*. It is during this period that *Aspice Domine*, *Derelinquat impius viam I* and *En attendant d'amour II* were hidden.

At exactly which point Gerarde decided to dispense with the early setting of *Derelinquat impius viam* has not been determined, but it seems likely that it occurred during this third phase. The motet was covered by paste-overs on which the chanson *Oncques amours II* was written. This chanson stands out among the early pieces in Source B because of its appearance - considerably less tidy than the surrounding B_{2(a)} compositions - and also because of the use of the later form of C-clef, C . Apart from the possibility that he undertook the rewriting of this motet immediately, Gerarde's first task on returning to Source B appears to concern his unique English part-song *Yf Phebus stormes*. This was entered first with each voice part on one page, and is not in Gerarde's hand. The scribe may not have been familiar with either the English language, or the concept of leaving enough space for words. In the event the music is so cramped on the page that there is no room for the words. After what looks like a desperate attempt to add the text to the first tenor part (in 33) this draft was abandoned. New pages were pasted over the originals and the part-song rewritten, by Gerarde, so that each voice part occupied the full opening. Unsurprisingly, he took the opportunity to make some changes at this stage.

The motet *Aspice Domine*, in B_{2(a)}, which is for six voices, was dealt with next. The single parts in 31, 32, 33 and 34, each occupying one page, were covered, and the new version written on these paste-overs. In 35, which held two voices, the two opposed pages were simply pasted together. These two parts are at ff15^v-16* (the new numbering, after these two pages were separated). The two new parts were then written on the first available pair of facing pages which are ff27^v-28, following *Yf Phebus stormes*.

Both these revisions, of *Yf Phebus stormes* and *Aspice Domine*, use the new C-clef, C , as do all subsequent pieces in this section of the book.

The other five- and six-voice compositions, completing B_{3(a)}, follow in no formal order. No new four-voice compositions were added. The eight-voice pieces, B_{3(c)}, were written into the gap at the end of the books, between the four-voice motets and the final pair. An analysis of the chronology and subsequent layout of these pieces follows.

By the end of phase two, the layout at the ends of these partbooks was as below. In 34 this is not the current (2000) arrangement - the re-arrangement of this book was discussed in Chapter Two. For reasons of space it has been necessary to abbreviate the names of the pieces.

TABLE 3.3

	31	32	33	34	35
	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks
	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	
	11 blank pp	13 blank pp	13 blank pp	11 blank pp	
L	<i>En attendant</i>			<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>
R	<i>En attendant</i>			<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>
L	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>
R	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>		<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>

Key: L = left-hand page of an opening
R = right-hand page.

Since many of the five- and six-voice compositions in the earlier part of the book were written at about the same time as the ones to be discussed below, it is not possible to be exact about the number of pages left blank before the four-voice motets, hence the term 'many blanks'.

At some point during the writing of B_{3(c)}, Gerarde rejected the existing chanson *En attendant d'amour*. As previously described, where two voices shared an opening, i.e. in partbooks 32, 34 and 35, these were simply pasted together. In 32 and 33, sections of the working sheet for *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* were pasted face down on top of *En attendant*

d'amour, thus preserving the lengths of these two books. This hiding of the chanson must have occurred before the writing of *Hodie Christus natus est* which, as will be seen, was the fifth of the eight-voice pieces to be added here. As the material of *En attendant d'amour* was used for the *contrafactum*, *Avecques vous*, which was the fourth to be added here, it is almost certain that the covering took place after the latter was entered, i.e. immediately before *Hodie Christus natus est*. It may be that the use of the working material for *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* dates that motet to immediately before the events just described.

The new compositions were added working backwards from *En attendant d'amour* (assuming that it was still visible) and *Ego autem cantabo*, towards the four-voice motets. The first to be added was *J'ay tant chasse*, two voices of which were entered in each of 32, 33 and 35 on complete openings, these books having the most room. Single pages only were required in 31 and 34; he chose to put these parts on the left-hand pages.

Soions joyeux followed, still working backwards in the books. Again in 32, 33 and 35, two voices share an opening, and in 31 and 34 the right-hand page opposite *J'ay tant chasse* is used, so reversing the order in which these two chansons appear. In fact, in 31 *Soions joyeux* starts at the bottom of the f65^v, under *J'ay tant chasse*, the stave prepared presumably by an assistant, as the C-clef is C , rather than C . Small added staves at the bottom of f63^v of 32 and f70^v of 35, holding the ends of the two contratenor parts, also have this clef.¹²

The layout of the end section now looked like this:

TABLE 3.4

	31	32	33	34	35
	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks
	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	<i>Soions joyeux</i>
	9 blank pp	9 blank pp	9 blank pp	9 blank pp	<i>Soions joyeux</i>
L	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>
R	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>
L	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>
R	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>
L	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>
R	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	

¹² In addition, f66 of 31, ff63^v and 64 of 33 and f62 of 34 overflow onto small added staves; the clefs here are Gerarde's usual ones for this phase, and in all parts the end-signs and the handwriting are Gerarde's.



The next pair to be included, *Murus Aeneus* and *Avecques vous*, were treated similarly, so that we can show the layout to have reached this state:

TABLE 3.5

	31	32	33	34	35
	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks
	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	<i>Avecques vous</i>
	7 blank pp	5 blank pp	5 blank pp	7 blank pp	<i>Avecques vous</i>
L		<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>		<i>Murus Aeneus</i>
R		<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>		<i>Murus Aeneus</i>
L	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>
R	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>
L	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>
R	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>
L	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>
R	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>
L	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>En attendant</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>
R	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	

En attendant d'amour must have been covered before the next motet was added. N.B. this effectively shortened 31, 34 and 35 by one folio. For the next motet *Hodie Christus natus est*, two voices were placed in each of 31, 34 and 35, again working backwards in the books. The other two single parts, in 32 and 33, were written onto the blank sheets covering *En attendant d'amour*, thus creating a seemingly chaotic ordering of the pieces. *In tribulatione mea* and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis* follow, again working backwards, with no complications: the single voices of the former appearing on the right-hand pages, those of the latter on the left.

This completes this group of compositions. The layout of the end of the partbooks was then as Table 3.6, overleaf. In this table, * indicates the covered single pages of *En attendant d'amour*. The discussion will return to the final pair of eight-voice motets later.

TABLE 3.6

	31	32	33	34	35
	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks	Many blanks
	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>
R	blank page	blank page	blank page	blank page	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>
L	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	blank page	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	blank page	<i>In tribulatione</i>
R	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	blank page	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	blank page	<i>In tribulatione</i>
L	<i>In tribulatione</i>	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	<i>In tribulatione</i>	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	<i>Hodie Christus</i>
R	<i>In tribulatione</i>	<i>In tribulatione</i>	<i>In tribulatione</i>	<i>In tribulatione</i>	<i>Hodie Christus</i>
L	<i>Hodie Christus</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Hodie Christus</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>
R	<i>Hodie Christus</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Hodie Christus</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>
L	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>
R	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>	<i>Avecques vous</i>	<i>Murus Aeneus</i>
L	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>Soions joyeux.</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>
R	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>	<i>Soions joyeux</i>
L	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>
R	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>J'ay tant chasse</i>
L		<i>Hodie Christus*</i>	<i>Hodie Christus*</i>		<i>Ego autem cant.</i>
R		<i>Ego autem cant.</i>	<i>Ego autem cant.</i>		

One other graphic clue reinforces the periodisation so far, though it is not at first as consistent as the C-clefs and flat signs already considered. The end-sign, with which Gerarde finished the parts, is, in Source A, a somewhat arbitrary affair, but by the earliest pieces in C and B it had become || or |||| or |||. Later it appears as ||| and finally, by *Ceste belle petite bouche* in C₂ and the start of B₃, the new form B appears, which he keeps for the rest of his known output.

Most of Source D must also date from this period. This set contains works for six and seven voices by himself and for six to ten voices by other contemporary Franco-Flemish composers, those by Gerarde appearing at the end. The set is obviously a collection, nevertheless all five Gerarde motets are later reworked and transferred to E, and one chanson reappears in F. Thus this set is not a fair copy, and, as far as his own work is concerned, the pattern found in Sources A, B and C, that of starting with an anthology which turns into a working document, is continued. Of the nine Gerarde pieces in Source D, the first seven are taken to be in Phase 3, and are accordingly labelled D₁.

In these partbooks, Gerarde was not working unaided. There were two other hands at work on the notation, though Gerarde wrote all the texts in himself. The principal assistant (hand A)

used the C-clef forms \mathbb{C} and \mathbb{C} and the end-sign \mathbb{B} , while Gerarde uses the forms \mathbb{C} and \mathbb{B} consistent with the later stages of Sources B and C. This assistant also draws the G-clef as \mathbb{G} , whereas Gerarde always uses \mathbb{G} , one of the few consistencies in his writing! (the ornate clef-shape \mathbb{G} appears elsewhere, in *Par vous seule* in Source A, as discussed above.) In these partbooks, Gerarde's F-clef again evolves from \mathbb{F} via \mathbb{F} to \mathbb{F} , while that of his assistant is drawn as \mathbb{F} . All flats are \flat . Finally Gerarde's directs are of his usual form, \curvearrowright , those of the assistant being \curvearrowright . Characteristics of the three hands as they appear in Source D are shown in the Table 2.21 in Chapter Two, which is shown as part of Table 3.10 in section 3.6, later in this chapter.

3.5 PHASE FOUR

Returning now to Source B, it is found that the remaining pieces, B_4 , all use the small F-clef, \mathbb{F} , which is the form retained by Gerarde almost to the end of his extant Mss. This group was the last to be added before he stopped using this set of partbooks, and includes the twelve six-voice pieces from *Je suis desheritee* to *Le rossignol plaisant* ($B_{4(a)}$) and the final pair of eight-voice motets *Noe Noe exultemus* (which also uses the middle-sized form \mathbb{F}) and *Laudemus omnes*, ($B_{4(b/c)}$). These two motets continue the reverse ordering of the eight-voice pieces, however, as will be seen from the previous table, there is insufficient room after the four-voice motets. In particular, in 32, though there were two blank pages after the four-voice motets, *Laudemus omnes* needed a full opening, so had to go before the four-voice motets. Hence this pair, lying in 31, 32 and 33n on both sides of the original central group of four-voice motets, are referred to as $B_{4(b/c)}$. The final arrangement of this section was as follows:

TABLE 3.7

	31	32	33	34	35
L	<i>Laudemus omnes</i>				
R	<i>Laudemus omnes</i>				
L	<i>Noe Noe</i>	<i>Laudemus omnes</i>			<i>Laudemus omnes</i>
R	<i>Noe Noe</i>	<i>Laudemus omnes</i>	<i>Laudemus omnes</i>		<i>Laudemus omnes</i>
	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	Motets a4	<i>Noe Noe</i>
R	blank	blank	<i>Noe Noe</i>	<i>Laudemus</i>	<i>Noe Noe</i>
L	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	blank	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>	<i>Noe Noe</i>	<i>Laudate Dom.</i>
R	etc	<i>Noe Noe</i>	etc	<i>Noe Noe</i>	etc
L		<i>Laudate</i>		<i>Laudate</i>	
R		etc		etc	

The final pair of pieces in D, *Letare Jerusalem* and *Deus qui superbis*, are in general appearance markedly different from the rest. The handwriting is slightly coarser and less neat. The F-clef used is again the smallest form: \mathcal{F} . These are the only two pieces in this set to use the small form of the clef, and there may be another significant time interval separating them from the rest of the set of books, during which time B₄ is assumed to have been written. Accordingly they are here labelled as D₂.

Source E, elegantly written with little regard for the price of paper, collects motets for six to ten voices, and is arranged systematically with the six-voice pieces first. 26 of the 41 motets in E are copied from B, C, and D, and as the entire set is of fair copies, it is reasonable to assume that other earlier sets have been lost, containing prototypes for the remaining 15 motets. The recompositional process by which the versions found in E are arrived at will be looked at in Chapter Six. The 15 pieces which appear only in Source E are written in varying styles, thus some of them may be quite early, but as this chapter deals only with the chronology of the manuscripts, they are listed here under Phase Four.

Most of the writing in these books is Gerarde's own, though there are a few places where the aid of an assistant is evident. Perhaps his eyesight was failing him: while the underlay is often precise and plentiful, and accidentals, both chromatic and cautionary (both obviating the need for *musica ficta* interpretation) are present in abundance, there are, for Gerarde, an uncharacteristic number of omissions and copying errors, particularly unfortunate in an attempt at a definitive source.

The symbols discussed above are completely consistent here. The three clefs appear throughout as \mathcal{G} , \mathfrak{E} and \mathcal{F} , flats as \flat , directs as \surd and the end-sign as \mathfrak{B} .

Source F contains works, sacred and secular, by both Gerarde and other composers. Of the Gerarde pieces, only one, the monumental seven-voice motet, *Urbs beata Jerusalem*, is unique to this volume, again presumably copied from a lost prototype. The rest are six-voice chansons copied from sets B and D. As was noted in chapter two, this source, clearly an anthology, is unfinished: much of the book is empty space - and we have only a single partbook.

Gerarde's eyesight may have become worse. The C-clefs now show less consistency though all are variants on the \mathfrak{E} shape. Two forms of F-clef are present: \mathcal{F} and the further development \mathcal{F} . Flats are \flat tending to \flat . End-signs become eventually \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{B} .

In addition, one work by Gerarde appears only in Source G and another only in source H. They are omitted from the above discussion as they are each included in anthologies compiled by other people. In later chapters they are included for convenience in Phase 3.¹³ Their positions in the relative chronology of the pieces will be considered in Chapter Eight.

¹³ See note (b) to Table 3.1.

3.6 HANDWRITING

The evolution of Gerarde's music hand is shown below. It would be too much to expect that the changes would be entirely consistent, and they are not. However the variations lie within the bounds expected of one person, and it has been stated that these manuscripts, other than the noted exceptions, have been written by one person.¹⁴

TABLE 3.8 Graphical symbols used in the above argument

Phase	Source	C-clef	F-clef	Flat	Direct	End-signs
1	A ₁		-	b	~, ~	various
	A ₂		-	β	~	various
	A ₃		-	β	~	various &
	A ₄		-	β	~	various
2	B ₁			β	~	,
	B ₂			β	~	,
	C ₁			b	~, ~	, ,
3	C ₂			b	~, ~	β
	B ₃			b	~	β
	D ₁			b	~	β
4	B ₄			b	~	β
	D ₂			b	~	β
	E			b	~	β
	F	etc		b	~	β

It is possible to distinguish six hands in Sources A - F. They appear as follows:

TABLE 3.9

G	(Gerarde himself):	The majority of the notation and texts;
A	(Principal assistant):	Possibly the musical notation in A ₁ , B _{3(c)} ; Preparation of staves for <i>Soions joyeux sur la plaisant verdure</i> , in 31, 32 and 35, About a third of Source D ₁ (see Table 2.20);
B	(Second assistant):	B _{3(a)} , <i>O souverain pasteur</i> , superius, tenor and bassus parts, Some of Source D ₁ (see table 2.20);
C	(similar to B)	First draft of <i>Yf Phebus stormes</i> ;
D		A ₃ : Words of <i>La neve i monti</i> ,
M	Morel ¹⁵ :	B _{3(a)} : <i>Derelinquat impius viam II</i> , in 31 and 32, some words in <i>J'ay tant chasse</i> , in 31, f65 ^v , staves 2 and 3.

¹⁴ As assessed by Dr Ian Doyle of Durham University, in a private communication. All attempts to identify Gerarde's writing with that of a known sixteenth-century person have failed.

¹⁵ This man is referred elsewhere in this study as the 'Nonsuch' Morel. He was apparently a member of the Arundel household at Nonsuch, but is not identifiable with any of the other Morels known. See Chapter Four, Section 4.6.

The writing of the words is consistent, and is presumed to be in Gerarde's hand, with the exception of the words of *Magi veniunt ab oriente* in 53, which may be in B's hand. In addition to the six hands listed in Table 3.9, the fragments at the end of A show four more, one of which is very similar to Gerarde's, and is almost certainly one of the hands involved in Source J.¹⁶

TABLE 3.10: Details distinguishing the four main hands:

Hand:	G	A	B	M
G-clef			-	-
C-Clef				
F-clef			-	-
Proportion sign				ornate
Direct				ornate
End-sign				
Flat				
Up-stems	Vertical	Slanting left	Vertical	Slanting left
Down-stems				
Stem length	Medium	Long	Short	Long

Notes on Table 3.10

- (a) The list of Gerarde variants given here is not exhaustive, as many of the signs reached a standard form only after a lot of development.
- (b) The differences of stem length are slight, but consistent, and the overall visual densities of the pages are quite different.
- (c) Gerarde's drawing of the older form of F-clef, differs from that of A () in that the latter's has the two horizontal stokes on the left straight, whereas Gerarde draws the lower one curving up to the right.
- (d) A's proportion sign starts very similar to Gerarde's, i.e. , appearing in this form in Phinot's *Sancta Trinitas*, books 51 and 49 (twice); all later entries are of the distinct form . There are many similarities in the symbols used by B and M, but the general appearance of their writing is very different.

There are numerous instances of Gerarde correcting his own copying mistakes, both of basic transcription errors and *lacunae*. In addition, in Source D he had to correct the work of Hand A on four occasions: *lacunae* occurred in Gombert's *Mon petit ceur*, in 54, f11 and

¹⁶ Holman, 92.

Crecquillon's *Retirer il me fault*, in 53, f13; other errors were corrected in Moulu's *J'ay mis mon ceur*, in 54, f13^v and Gombert's *Jouissance vous donneray*, in 51, f15. In Source B, Gerarde had to remove material from the Superius part of *Dereliquat impius viam II*, in 31, f32, where Morel had copied a phrase twice.

3.7 SUMMARY

The graphical evidence points to four periods of work in these books. Some of the symbols in Phase One, particularly end-signs, are quite varied, and the start of Phase Two is taken arbitrarily but conveniently between Sources A and B, at the point where these symbols start to settle down.

The watershed between Phases Two and Three is the change in C-clef from C_3 to C_4 , a fortuitous change as it helps date relatively the more extreme alterations in Source B - *Aspice Domine* and *Oncques amour II* - and Source C - *Egrediente Domino*. This point lies approximately half way through both sets of partbooks.

Phase Four is taken from the change in F-Clef from the larger F_4 and medium F_3 forms to the compact F_2 . These changes lie near the ends of Sources B and D. This Phase includes the two surviving anthologies E and F.

The changes to the clefs which mark the starts of Phases Three and Four are abrupt, and having thus changed these clefs, with few exceptions Gerarde did not reuse the earlier forms. This suggests, though it does not prove, the existence of substantial time gaps at these two points, during which Gerarde may have been working in other (now lost) sets of books.

It is noted that extra hands are in evidence in the earliest pieces, Source A₁, to a limited extent in Source B₃, substantially in D₁ and occasionally in Source E, also that Gerarde had sometimes to correct the work of these assistants.

Table 3.11, overleaf, expanding Table 3.1, lists all Gerarde's known works, divided into the Phases, and further subdivided as described above. Asterisks indicate works destined to reappear elsewhere. (R) indicates a substantial recomposition. (C) indicates a *contrafactum*. For completeness, as in Table 3.1, *Sive vigilem* and *J'attens secours I* are listed in Phase 3, though they are not in Gerarde's hand, and correctly should not be included in this list.¹⁷

¹⁷ Again, for reasons of space, some of the titles of the pieces have been abbreviated.

TABLE 3.11

Phase	Source	Layer	First appearances	vv	Reappearances	vv	Discarded	vv
1	A ₁	(a)	Reviens vers moy	4				
			Pandalidon flaxos	4				
		(b)	Oncques amour I	5				
			Tant ay souffert	5				
			Amour au ceur I	5				
			Par vous seulle	5				
	A ₂	Angelus Domini desc.	5					
		Ego Dominus	5					
		Soions joyeulx	4					
		Joyusement il faict	4					
		Le bergier et la berg.	*5					
		Peccata mea Domine	5					
		Ce mois de may I	4					
		Miserere mei Deus	5					
		Je ne suis pas I	4					
		Misit me vivens Pater	5					
		Proba me Domine	5					
		Prenez plaisir	4					
		Si j'ay du mal	4					
		En attendant d'amour I	4					
		Donez secours	4					
		A ₃	Tous mes amys	*5				
	Ta bonne grace		5					
	Je ne scay pas coment I		5					
	Je ne desire que la mort		5					
	Adieu celle que j'ay		5					
	Je suis aimez		5					
	Si bona suscepimus		5					
	Parvulus filius hodie		5					
	Fremuit spiritus Jhesus		5					
	Levavi oculos meos		*5					
	Mon ceur chante I		4					
	Vias tuas Domine		5					
	A ₄	Lorde be my judge	4					
		Ego flos campi	5					
		La neve i monti	4					
		Omnibus in rebus	5					
		Heu michi Domine	4					
		Creator omnium	5					
		Ex animo cuncto	5					

Phase	Source	Layer	First appearances	vv	Reappearances	vv	Discarded	vv
2	B ₁	(a)	Christus factus est	5				
			Fortem vocemus II	5				
			Se dire ie l'osoye	5				
			Vivre ne puis sur terre I	5				
			Je ne scay pas coment II	5				
			Benedictus Dominus	5				
			Miserere mei Domine	5				
			O Maria vernans rosa	5	Levavi oculos(A ₃)	5		
			Dictes pour quoy	5				
			Vivons joyeusement	5				
			Adieu l'espoir	5				
			Adieu mon esperance I	5				
			(b)	Respice in me	4			
	Deus in nomine tuo	4						
	Fortem vocemus I	4						
	In patientia vestra	4						
	(c)	En attendant d'amour II	8					
		Ego autem cantabo II	*7					
	B ₂	(a)	Aspice Domine	*6				
			Hodie nobis de celo	5				
			Vivere vis recte	6				
			Ego autem cantabo I	5				
			Derelinquat impius v. I	*6				
			Amour au ceur II	5				
			Tu Bethlehem terra Juda	5				
			J'ay si fort	5				
			En attendant secours	5				
			Congregati sunt	5				
			Tua est potentia	5				
			Misericordia et veritas	6				
			Je ne suis pas II	5				
			Pour vous seulle	5				
			Ce mois de may II	5				
Puis qu'elle a mis			5					
Mon ceur chante II			5					
(b)		Laudate Dominum I	4					
C ₁			Die lume un tempo	5				
			Amor piangeva	5				
		Già piansi	5					
		Quare fremuerunt	5					
		Egrediente Domino	*5					
		Dulces exuviae	5					
		Multiplicati sunt	5					
		Timor et tremor I	8					
		Il foco ch'io sentia	4					
		Hodie nobis celorum r.	*8					
	Ascendens Christus	5						

Phase	Source Layer	First appearances	vv	Reappearances	vv	Discarded	vv
3	C ₂	Fidem refondens	4	Egediente Dom. (C ₁)(R)	5	Egrediente Domino (C ₁)	5
		Amy souffrez	5				
		Puer qui natus est	*6				
		Petitte fleur	6				
		Bonjour m'ame	5				
		J'ay veu le temps	5				
		Est il possible	5				
		J'attens secours II	6				
		Adieu mon esperance II	*6				
		Animam meam dil.	*6				
		Cognovi Domine	*8				
		Da pacem Domine	5				
		Je l'aime bien	5				
		Occurrerunt Maria ...	*6	Occurrerunt (C ₁) (R)	*6	Occurrerunt Maria (C ₁)	6
		Quare tristis es	*6				
Ad te levavi oculos	*6						
G		Sive vigilem	6				
H		J'attens secours I	5				
B ₃	(a)	Yf Phebus stormes	5	Aspice Domine(B ₂)(R)	*6	Aspice Domine (B ₂)	6
		Oncques amour(C)	6			Derelinquat I (B ₂)	6
		Aiez pitie	5	Le bergier (A ₂)(R)	5		
		Pere eternal	5				
		Vivre ne puis sur terre II	5				
		Je ne me puis tenir	5				
		Derelinquat impius v. II	6				
		Adhesit pavimento	5				
		Laudate Dominum II	5	Tous mes amys (A ₂)(R)	5		
		Voce mea ad Dominum	5				
		Sic Deus dilexit m.	*6			Sic Deus (quasi-score)	
	(c)	Le souvenir d'aimer	5				
		Beati omnes	5				
		Domine clamavi ad te	*6				
		Peccantem me quotidie	*6				
		Resveillez vous	*6				
		J'ay tant chasse	8				
		Soions joyeux sur ...	8				
		Murus aeneus	*8				
		Avecques vous (C)	8			En att. d'am.II(B ₁)	8
		Hodie Christus natus ...	*8				
		In tribulatione mea	*8				
		Laudate Dominum in s.	*8				
D ₁	Dum transisset Sab.	*6					
	Magi veniunt	*6					
	Versa est in luctum	*6					
	Las, voulez vous	6					
	C'est grand plaisir	6					
	Hatez vous	6					
Or est venu	*6						

Phase	Source	Layer	First appearances	vv	Reappearances	vv	Discarded	vv			
4	B ₄	(a)	Je suis desheritee	*6							
			Puis que fortune	*6							
			Pour une, las, j'endure	*6							
			Resiouissons nous	*6							
			Plaisir n'ay plus	6							
			Tant ay souffert	*6							
			Domine ne memineris	*6							
			Venite ad me	*6							
			Tribulationem nostr.	*6							
			Mon ceur chante III	6							
			Hellas quel jour	6							
			Le rossignol plaisant	6							
			(b/c)	Noe Noe Exultemus	*8						
				Laudemus omnes	*8						
D ₂	Letare Jerusalem	*6									
	Deus qui superbis res.	*7									
E			Derelinquat impius v. III	6	Puer qui natus est (C ₂)	6					
			Gloria tibi Trinitas	6	Domine clamavi (B ₃)	6					
			Nunquid adheret tibi	6	Animam meam (C ₂)	6					
			Da mihi Domine	6	Aspice Domine (B ₃)	6					
			Viri Galilei	6	Letare Domine (D ₂)	6					
			Non me vincat Deus	6	Quare tristis es (C ₂)	6					
			Omnis caro fenum	6	Versa est in luc.(D ₁)	6					
					Occurreunt (C ₂)	6					
					Dum transisset (D ₁)	6					
					Tribulationem (B ₄)	6					
					Sic Deus (B _{3,4})	6					
					Peccantem me (B ₃)	6					
					Domine ne (B ₄)	6					
					Ad te levavi (C ₂)	6					
					Magi veniunt (D ₁)	6					
				Domine da mihi	7	Deus qui sup. (D ₂)	7				
				Honor virtus	7	Ego autem II(B ₁)(R)	7				
				In monte Oliveti	7						
				Timor et tremor II	8	Hodie nobis cel. (C ₁)	8				
				Angelus ad pastores	8	Hodie Christus natus(B ₃)	8				
						Murus aeneus (B ₃)	8				
						Laudate Dominum (B ₃)	8				
						Laudemus omnes (B ₄)	8				
						Noe Noe Exultemus(B ₄)	8				
						Illuminare Jerusalem(C ₂)	8				
						Cognovi Domine (C ₂)	8				
				Gratia vobis	9						
				Laus Deo Patri	10						
			F	Urbs beata Jerusalem			7	Adieu mon esp.II (C ₂)	6		
								Resveillez vous (B ₃)	6		
								Or est venu (D ₁)	6		
								Pour une, las, (B ₄)	6		
		Tant ay souffert (B ₄)				6					
		Je suis desheritee (B ₄)				6					
		Puis que fortune (B ₄)				6					
		Resiouissons nous(B ₄)				6					

Chapter Four

GERARDE'S SOURCES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the sources of Gerarde's texts, and the extremely tenuous evidence which might link Dyricke Gerarde with Nonsuch. It has long been assumed that he worked there, and it has become received wisdom that he did, based only on the fact that the manuscripts attributed to him were in the library there. If we are to continue so to suppose, the evidence that there is must be clarified and shown to have only the weight that it actually has.

4.2 ENGLAND

The obvious English link is the presence of settings of English texts. While Latin, French and Italian texts found favour in most of Western Europe, other languages tended to be set only in their own country. The words of *Lorde be my Judge*¹ are from Hopkins' metrical translation of Psalm 26, first two strophes² published in the English Psalter of 1561.³ The lines of Gerarde's setting have no melodic connection with the tunes then associated with these words, nor with any other known source. The text of *Yf Phebus stormes*⁴ is characteristic of mid-sixteenth-century English verse, but remains unidentified. In both cases Gerarde appears to have written the English words into the partbooks himself. In the case of the part-song, the first draft was written, without words, with each voice part occupying one page. Presumably the copyist⁵ was not sufficiently aware of the physical length of most English syllables: after an attempt, by Gerarde, to add the text of just one line to the first tenor part, in 33, this draft was abandoned, and the song was rewritten, with minor revisions, by Gerarde himself, now with each voice occupying a complete opening, the left hand side of which was on paste-overs covering the original version. In the more spacious rewriting the words fit easily.⁶ From this we can infer that Gerarde had a better understanding of English than did his assistant.

¹ In Source A, signed for Lumley.

² Frost, 11-12.

³ Hughes-Hughes, I, 4

⁴ In Source B₃, not signed for or by either Arundel or Lumley.

⁵ Unidentified assistant, hand C (see Chapter Three, Section 3.6, Table 3.9).

⁶ The two tenor parts have exchanged places in the revision.

We have established a link with Lumley, via the text of *Murus Aeneus*.⁷ The question remains open as to when Gerarde and Lumley might have first met. As Lumley lived in County Durham until 1557, there may be some link with Scottish composers and it may be significant that the text of *Lorde be my Judge* was reprinted in the Scottish Psalter of 1566.

That the Gerarde manuscripts were in use in England or Scotland can be shown from a number of instructions, written in English, in Sources B, C and D, including the partially obscured legend on the flyleaf of 31: *Dyricke gerarde is boke to ?????*

Few of the inscriptions are helpful in this respect. By far the most common is *finis*, occasionally expanded to *finis coronat opus*. Part names are also given in Latin, as are *prima pars* and *secunda pars*. The headings in all books for the two graces in Source B are respectively *Priere devant le repas* and *apres le repas*. Comments such as *8 partes* could represent many languages. In Source C, the opening Italian madrigals are introduced appropriately with *A cinque*, 26 having in addition *Madrigali a cinque voci*, while *Il foco ch'io sentia* is preceded by *A quatro madrigali* in 26 and *Madrigali a quatro voci* in 27, 28 and 29. Other labels and comments in Source C are also in Italian: *motetto*, *prima parte*, *2^a parte*, *A 8 voce*, alongside the more usual Latin *superius*, *contratenor*, *tenor*, *bassus*, *quintus*, *residuum*, *secunda pars ut supra*, *finis*.

There is a small amount of more specific evidence of the partbooks' use in England. In Source B, the instruction *tourne* is written in 35, the [Quintus] book, at the end of f52^v and also that of f53, this opening holding the first pages of the [secundus] ContraTenor and Bassus respectively of *Tant ay souffert*.

Of course *tourne*, by itself, could be a French instruction. However this is expanded in Source C: *tourne backward 2^a pars* appears in 27, f23*^v (as the second part of the Contra Tenor of the motet *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha* appears before the first) in an italic script, and the same brown ink as f23*^v, but in a lighter pen stroke. Comparing this with *2^a pars* on f23, which is in the same ink as the rest of f23, we see that the handwriting of the two are identical. In Source D, *tourne to laeves*, in 52 (the [Tenor] book), f19, informs the reader that the second part of *Versa est in luctum* was written, in error, on f21^v. The handwriting of the instructions in 35 and 27 is, in each case, the same as that of the rest of the relevant page, and is therefore assumed to be that of Gerarde. (It is not so easy to be certain in the case of 52.) These instructions could be addressed to singers, or to the copyist(s) during transcription to the anthologies, possibly himself in the first case, certainly himself in the second.

⁷ In Source B₃; see Chapter One, Section 1.5; the text is *Murus Aeneus sana conscientia*, which, with the last two words exchanged, is Lumley's family motto.

The word *Alleluia* appears in eight motets, usually abbreviated to *alla*, but written in full when necessary, either to clarify the underlay or when the word is left incomplete at the end of a stave in the partbook. From these examples Gerarde's intended division into syllables can be ascertained. The following tables give the breakdown of the examples.

TABLE 4.1: Syllabic division of *Alleluia*.

Motet	Breakdown	Consensus
Angelus ad pastores (E)	alleluya x 14 alleluy-a x 1 allelui-a x 1 alle-luya x 1 al-leluya x 1 alla x 18	al-le-luy-a
Ascendens Christus (C)	alleluia x 12 alle-lui-a x 9 allelu-i-a x 2 allelu-ia x 3 alle-luia x 4 alla x 37	Alle-lu-i-a
Dum transisset Sabatum (D)	alleluya x 4 alleluia x 1 alleluy-a x 1 allelui-a x 1 al-leluia x 1 alla x 80	al-leluy-a
Dum transisset Sabatum (E)	allelui-a x 2 alle-luia x 4 al-leluia x 5 al-le-luia x 1 alla x 86	al-le-lui-a
Gloria tibi Trinitas (E)	allelui-a x 1 alle-luia x 2 al-leluya x 1 alla x 37	al-le-lui-a
Hodie Christus natus (B)	alleluia x 1 alla x 51	no help

Motet	Breakdown	Consensus
Hodie Christus natus (E)	alleluya x 7 allelui-a x 3 alle-luia x 1 alla x 32	alle-lui-a
Honor virtus (E)	allelui-a x 12 alle-lui-a x 4 alle-luia x 2 al-lelui-a x 3 alla x 73	al-le-lui-a
Laudemus omnes (B)	alleluya x 1 al-leluya x 3 alla x 41	al-leluya
Laudemus omnes (E)	alleluia x 1 allelui-a x 1 al-leluia x 2 alla x 39	al-lelui-a
Viri Galilei (E)	allelui-a x 5 alle-luia x 1 alle-lui-a x 3 alla x 54	alle-lui-a

TABLE 4.2: Syllabic division of *Alleluia*, Classification by books

Source	Content	Consensus
Source A:	No alleluias;	no help
Source B:	Two motets;	al-leluya
Source C:	One motet only;	alle-lu-i-a
Source D:	One motet only;	al-leluy-a
Source E:	Seven motets;	al-le-lui-a
Source F:	No alleluias;	no help
All holographs:	Ten presentations;	al-le-lu-i-a

It will be seen that in every case the final syllable is intended to be *-a*, rather than the more usual *-ia*, where the word is set as four syllables the *-i-* being a liquid end to the previous syllable. Table 4.1 shows this feature very clearly, due to the amount of detailed specific

underlay in Source E. In one motet, *Ascendens Christus*, the word is set quite explicitly as five syllables, and the different groupings in the other motets tend to confirm this. The grouping *-lu-i-* is almost unique to England,⁸ and adds weight to the argument placing the copying and/or use of these sets of books in England. It also may be significant that the copyist (i.e. Gerarde) was sufficiently familiar with English usage to include such a refinement into the writing of this word, which otherwise, even in England, was normally written either as four syllables or without regard to syllabic placement.

On the above evidence the supposition that Gerarde was working in England (or Scotland) rests. It does seem sufficient, as there would be little point in giving these instructions in English if he were not, but does not directly support the theory that he worked at Nonsuch, though, if he was connected with Arundel and/or Lumley, it is likely that he did. Whether or not he was ever at Nonsuch, it seems fairly definite that he was connected with Lumley by the time *Murus Aeneus* was written.⁹

4.3 GERARDE'S FRENCH TEXT SOURCES

This section will present an argument based on circumstantial evidence only, to show that

- (a) at first, Gerarde's understanding of the French texts he was setting was limited, and
- (b) he took most of his chanson texts not from chanson leaflets¹⁰ but from printed chanson collections, such as those in the Nonsuch Library.

Hypotheses (a) and (b) are linked: in copying some of the French texts, Gerarde transferred variants and errors into his partbooks. In at least one case the error was later picked up and corrected.¹¹

The two series that we are concerned with here will be referred to by abbreviations:

S_c: Susato chanson series; 14 volumes; first published 1543-1555 (RISM 1543¹⁶, 1544¹⁰⁻¹³, 1545¹⁴⁻¹⁶, M 270(1545), 1545¹⁷, 1549²⁹, 1550¹³⁻¹⁴ and 1555¹⁹);

P_c: Phalèse chanson series; I: Seven books of chansons a4; first published 1554-5 (RISM 1554²²⁻²⁴, 1555²⁰⁻²¹, L 1061(1555) and 1560⁶; II: the first book a 5/6 (RISM 1553²⁴=1556¹³).

⁸ Apart from five examples from Monteverdi no examples of this division of the word are known outside England. The liquid vowel sound produced by linking the *-i-* to *-lu-* rather than *-a-* is also an English trait. (Professor John Morehen, in a private communication.)

⁹ However, any argument for the music's composition, or the partbooks' use, in England, is not also an argument for Gerarde being English.

¹⁰ These were small format publications, a typical title being *S'ensuivent dix-huit chansons nouvelles*, printed with no attributions, publisher's name, place nor date. See the bibliography under *S'en...*

¹¹ *Pour une seule* (see example 4.11, below)

In each series the volume number is given after the abbreviations given above. Thus S_C(12) is the douziesme livre of the Susato chanson series; P_CII(1) is the deuxiesme livre of the Phalèse series a5-6.

For the present argument, significant circumstantial evidence for hypothesis (a) would be confusion of infinitives and participles, confusion of genders, mismatch of number, confusion of homophones, and for (b) it would be of the following kind: Gerarde's text is identical to, or similar to that in one or more of the above series, but diverges from that elsewhere, particularly from the original version, if known.¹² A significant number of such examples is needed. Of the following examples, the most significant are 11 and 13.

Example 4.1: Adieu celle que j'ay servi (Source A₃)

Line 1 should be as above, as it is in both settings in S_C(12). (In S_C(2) each book has *t'ay* for *j'ay*.) Gerarde has *que* in 25 only; 23 has *quy*, 24 has *qui*, both of which are grammatically wrong. This supports hypothesis (a).

Example 4.2: Adieu l'espoir (Source B₁)

The text is identical to that in P_C(I:1), but not to that in [1552]⁸. This gives weak support for hypothesis (b).

Example 4.3: Adieu mon esperance (Sources B₁ and C₂)

The last line in the original text and all other settings examined is: *Las, pardonez-le moy - Ah, forgive me for this*. Gerarde's early setting, in Source B, has the above spelling. This line can also be read as *Las, pardonez l'emoy - Ah, forgive this outburst*, though it appears that nobody (else) has interpreted it this way. The line appears, of course, without punctuation: *Las pardonez lemoy*, and without consistent inter-word spacing. However, in the second version, an *s* appears, in all partbooks in Source C and also Source F: *lesmoy*. This makes sense as *Las pardonez l'esmoy* - simply an acceptable alternative spelling; but *Las pardonez-les moy* is a significant change to the original. We may conclude then that Gerarde transcribed the words for use in the early version, a5, correctly, but may have misunderstood them, and, having later acquired some better knowledge of French, but not of the original poem, altered it in accordance with an irrelevant convention for use in the second setting, a6. This gives weak support for hypothesis (a).

Example 4.4: Amour au cœur I (Source A₁)

There is confusion here between *aimer*, *aime* and *aimez*. This supports hypothesis (a).

¹² All texts and variants are given in Appendix Two.

Example 4.5: **Amy souffrez** (Source C₂)

The text here is identical to that in S_C(12), but ends differently from that in the printed chanson leaflet (S'en (1)). This gives support for hypothesis (b).

Example 4.6: **Dictes pour quoy** (Source B₁)

Line 3 in the Nonsuch setting by Maille, in S_C(9), and also in the setting in 1540¹⁷ (not in the Nonsuch Library) by Manchicourt, is *Dictes le moy car scavoïr ne le puis*, with the opening words presumably intended as *Dictes-le moy...* Gerarde has *Dictes les moy...* which is grammatically wrong, unless he intends (see *Adieu mon esperance*, above) *Dictes l'es moy* (= *Dictes l'emoy*). This example gives support for hypothesis (a).

Example 4.7: **Est-il possible** (Source C₂)

The text is identical with that in P_C(I:5), but not to that by Lassus in 1569¹⁵. This gives weak support for hypothesis (b).

Example 4.8: **Je ne suis pas de ses gens la** (Sources A₂ and B₂)

Line 3 should start *Ils sont...* Gerarde has *Il sont* in all eight books, in spite of having *Ils sont...* in S_C(4) as a possible model. This gives weak support for hypothesis (a).

Example 4.9: **Le bergier et la bergiere** (Source A₂)

The first line in 24 includes *Le bergier et la bergiere*, which is weak support for hypothesis (a).

Example 4.10: **Petite fleur** (Source C₂)

Line 3 in *La fleur de chansons nouvelles* (date unknown, reprinted in Arnoullet) is *Depechez vous plus n'attendez*. This is the version set by Appenzeller in RISM A1292(1542). The setting by Crecquillon in S_C(11) has *Avecque moy plus n'attendez*, another setting by Crecquillon in P_C(I:5) has *Avecques moy plus n'attendez*, Gerarde has *Avecque moy plus n'attendes*. This gives support for hypothesis (b).

Example 4.11: **Pour une seulle** (Source B₂)

Lines 3 and 4 of the text are:

Je suis maintenant ung povre amant
Rempli de desconforte

In the setting by Gallus in S_M(3), in all partbooks, line 4 follows line 3 without a break, but the word *Rempli* (= filled) is repeated, this being shown by text repeat signs. The appearance of text lines 3 and 4 in all partbooks is as follows:

Je suis maintenant ung povre amant Rempli (≠) (space) de desconforte

Gerarde set these two lines (to two different points) as though the division between the lines were after *Rempli*. He even gave *Rempli* a capital *R*. The inevitable revision of *Pour une seulle* included making sense of these lines - he crossed out *Rempli* each time it occurred and inserted it before *de desconforte*, sometimes crossing out the latter first and moving it further on on the page. The musical text received whatever alteration was necessary to accommodate the extra syllables. This example supports hypotheses (a) and (b).¹³

Example 4.12: **Reviens vers moy** (Source A₁)

In line 2 the words *le nuict* appear. Almost certainly these should be *l'ennuy*, as in the setting by Lupi in 1543¹⁶. (In Crecquillon's setting of *Petite fleur* in 1555²¹ the word *ennuie* is spelled *ennuict*, so the above confusion is perfectly comprehensible.) This supports hypothesis (a).

Example 4.13: **Si j'ay du mal** (Source A₂)

Marot's text (stanza 1) is as follows:

*Si j'ay du mal, maulgré moy je le porte;
Et s'ainsi est qu'aucun me reconforte,
Son reconfort ma douleur point n'appaise;
Voilà comment je languis en mal ayse,
Sans nul espoir de liesse plus forte.*

This stanza is set by Anonymous, a4, in P_c(II:1), with the following variant text:

*Si j'ay du mal maulgre moy ie le porte;
Puis qu'ainsi est que nul ne me conforte,
Son reconforte ma douleur point n'appaise;
Voila coment je languis en malaise,
Sans quelqz espoir de lyesse plus forte.*

Gerarde's setting in A uses the same variant exactly, except that *ie* becomes *je*, *voila* becomes *vela*, and *lyesse* becomes *liesse*. This supports hypothesis (b).

¹³ There is an analogous situation in the secular motet *Omnibus in rebus*, in Source A₄, though, as the source of the text is unknown, and there are no known concordances, no significant conclusions can be drawn from this. The first complete line of text is *Omnibus in rebus laudatur maxime constans*, which Gerarde initially set as two points, the first to *Omnibus in rebus laudatur*, the second to *maxime constans*. While the musical setting fits the rhythms and stresses of the words perfectly, this division of the line makes no sense, suggesting that Gerarde did not in fact understand it. At some later date he revised the opening to make more sense of the text. *Laudatur* is moved from the first point to the second. The effect on the first phrase is minimal, as *laudatur* is simply replaced by a repeat of *in rebus*. However the second phrase is now three syllables longer, most of the extra notes being provided by subdivision of semibreves into minims. Gerarde makes no allowance for the different rhythmic requirements of the new text, and the result is much less satisfactory, the repeated notes detracting from the flow of the lines.

Example 4.14: **Ta bonne grace** (Source A₃)

Gerarde's text is very close to that set by Canis in S_C(5), but differs more from that set by Crecquillon in [1552]⁸. This gives weak support for hypothesis (b).

Further to support hypothesis (b) the following table lists all the French texts set by Gerarde in Sources A-D and the grouping of these in S_C and P_C (these are given in the approximate order in which they were entered into the books). The Arabic numerals in the S_C and P_C columns refer to the livres in the series.¹⁴

TABLE 4.3

Source	Chanson text	S _C	P _C (I)	P _C (2)	Author, if known
A ₁	Reviens vers moy	1			
	Oncques amour (I)	3,11	4		
	Tant qu'en amour	3			
	Amour au ceur	13	2		Marot
	Par vous seule	1,4			
A ₂	Soions joyeux joyeusement		5		
	Joisement il faict				
	Le bergier et la bergiere	5			
	Ce mois de may (I)	4			
	Je ne suis pas (I)	4			
	Prenez plaisir	1			
	Si j'ay du mal			1	Marot
En attendant d'amour (I)		1,2			
Donez secours		1,3			
A ₃	Tous mes amis	5			
	Ta bonne grace	5			
	Je ne scay pas coment (I)	5,5			
	Je ne desire que la mort			1	
	Adieu celle que j'ay servi	2,12,13			
Je suis aimez	5				
A ₄	Mon ceur chante (I)		2		
B ₁	Se dire ie l'osoye	5			
	Vivre ne puis (I)		6	1	
	Je ne scay pas coment (II)	5,5			
	Dictes pour quoy	9			
	Vivons joyeusement		1		
	Adieu l'espoir		1		
	Adieu mon esperance (I)		2	1	
En attendant d'amour (II)		4			

¹⁴ There are no chansons in Sources E or G. In Source H, the exact text of *J'attens secours* is not known, and all chansons in Source F are copied from B, C or D.

Source	Chanson text	S _c	P _c (I)	P _c (2)	Author, if known
B ₂	Amour au ceur (II)		2		
	J'ay si fort batailleez				
	En attendant secours		5		
	Je ne suis pas (II)	4			
	Pour une seulle	4			
	Ce mois de may (II)	4			
	Puis qu'elle a mis a deulx	4			
	Mon ceur chante (II)		4		
[H]	J'attens secours (I)		6		Marot]
C ₂	Amy souffrez	12			
	Petite fleur	11	5		
	Ceste belle petite bouche		3		
	Bonjour m'amy		2		
	J'ay veu le temps		4		
	Est il possible		5,7		
	J'attens secours (II)		6		Marot
	Adieu mon esperance (II)		1	1	
	Je l'aime bien	11,14	7		
B ₃	Oncques amour (II)	3,11	4		
	Aiez pitie de votre amant	8			
	Pere eternel	11			
	Vivre ne puis (II)		6	1	
	Je ne me puis tenir	5			
	O souverain Pasteur	11			
	Je suis amoureux	(11)			
	Le souvenir d'aimer				
	Resveillez vous				
	J'ay tant chasse				
	Soions joyeux sur la pl. ver.				
	Avecques vous	2,14	7		
D ₁	Las, voulez vous	14	7		
	C'est grand plaisir				
	Hatez vous				
	Or est venu le printemps				
B ₄	Je suis desheritee				
	Puis que fortune	2			
	Pour une, las, j'endure	11	2		
	Resiouissons nous	8			
	Plaisir n'ay plus	11			Marot
	Tant ay souffert	12			
	Mon ceur chante (III)		4		
	Heilas quel jour		7		
	Le rossignol plaisant		7		

Thus we have some support for the ideas (a) that Gerarde's French was limited and (b) that the texts he set, in particular the text variants, came mostly from either the Susato or the

Phalèse publications mentioned above. Table 4.3 shows also that Gerarde gradually widened his net for texts, as a larger proportion of chansons in the later periods have texts not from S_C or P_C .

4.4 THE NONSUCH LIBRARY

Taking Source A as a whole, its contents fall neatly into six sections:

TABLE 4.4

A_1	(1):	one chanson and <i>Pandalidon flaxos</i> , a4, four chansons a5;
A_2	(2):	six motets a5, and five chansons, four a4, one a5;
	(3):	four chansons for TBaBa[B], all a4;
A_3	(4):	six chansons a5;
	(5):	six motets a5, one chanson a4;
A_4	(6):	two motets a5, one motet a4, one English Psalm setting a4, one Italian madrigal a4, two secular motets a5.

A third hypothesis is now presented:

(c) nearly all the texts used in Phase One (Source A) came from books in the Nonsuch Library.

It will be shown that, apart from the most obscure examples, which remain unidentified, all of the texts in Source A appear in the same or a similar form in one or more of four contemporary printed sources, the two chanson series introduced earlier, S_C and P_C , and two motet series, described below. Furthermore these series were all present in the Nonsuch Library, though two may have been incomplete.

The two motet series are as follows:

S_M : Susato motet series; *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum*, first 11 volumes; first published 1553-5, (RISM 1553⁸⁻¹⁵, 1554⁹, 1555⁸⁻⁹) and possibly all in 1553;¹⁵

P_M : Phalèse motet series; *Cantiones Sacrae*, first 8 volumes; published in 1554-1555 (RISM 1554¹⁻⁴, M272(1554), 1554⁵ and 1555⁴⁻⁵).

In what follows, entries in the music section of the Nonsuch Catalogue are referred to by

¹⁵ The fourteenth book in this series is RISM 1553¹⁶. This suggests that those books for which the only known print is after 1553 originally appeared also in 1553.

'M' plus their catalogue numbers, M1, M2, etc. John Milsom demonstrates that many of the music section of the Nonsuch Library inventory listed many compound entries: each entry could refer to up to fifteen items, generally a series of sets of partbooks.¹⁶ Thus M1, *Liber cantionum sacrarum, vulgo moteta vocant, quinque vocum...* refers to Phalèse's first eight books of *cantiones sacrae*, (P_M) each 'book' being five partbooks. Originally (presumably) forty partbooks in eight sets, this collection, by 1609 (the year of Lumley's death), and possibly by 1579/80 (the year of Arundel's death), had been bound as five tract¹⁷ volumes, all the *Superius* parts together, all the *ContraTenor* parts together, etc, each volume having eight tracts, thus keeping the series together and retaining the partbook format for the convenience of performance. This procedure was followed in many of the other sets in the Nonsuch Library.

By Edward Thomas Warren's¹⁸ and Charles Burney's¹⁹ time, these sets, by then in the British Museum, had been unbound, then rebound as eight tract volumes, each containing the five partbooks of one of the original sets.²⁰ From a binding system convenient for the performer, the present arrangement is convenient only for the librarian, and to a lesser extent for the researcher, as it ensures that the sets are kept close together, but it makes performance from the books or simultaneous reference to the parts impossible.

The tract volumes were signed by or for Arundel and/or Lumley on the first tract only (i.e. the first tract as he would have seen it), and the MB bookmarks appear on the first and last pages of the volumes. Thus, except for obvious sets (for example M1), it is not always clear what the contents of the various tract volumes had been. Milsom (1) concerns itself with identifying these contents as far as is possible.

S_M was represented at Nonsuch by M5: **Ecclesiasticae cantiones quatuor vocum, ex veteri et novo /testamento compositae anno 1553 Atuerp: 5 volum.** This was originally owned by Arundel. John Milsom has shown that the first eight tracts in M5 were volumes 1-5, 7-9 of this series, and that volumes 6, 10 and 11, all missing their *Superius* books, are probably included in M42: **Divers imperfect bookes of Musicke, bothe printed and /written hande** (Jayne and Johnson no 2606).²¹ The British Library has all eleven, RISM 1553⁸, 1553⁹,

¹⁶ Milsom (1), 148ff.

¹⁷ A term used by the British Library to describe an item in which two or more publications have been bound together, each layer then referred to as a tract, the top layer being tract (1.), etc. thus K.3.a.14.(2.) is the second tract (layer) of K.3.a.14.

¹⁸ Warren copied many items from the Nonsuch Library. His incomplete project includes Lbl Add.Ms.34071, Ob.Tenbury Mss.1465 and 1466 and Lbl K.7.i.12. (proof copy of 1771).

¹⁹ Burney's transcriptions are in the British Library at Add.Mss. 11581-91 (c.1780).

²⁰ The current bindings are dated 1757.

²¹ Volume 6 carries both Arundel's and Lumley's names.

1553¹⁰, 1554⁸ (S and CT dated 1553), 1553¹², 1553¹³, 1553¹⁴, 1553¹⁵, 1554⁹, 1555⁸, 1555⁹, at K.3.d.9.-12., and K.3.e.1.-7., respectively.²² Presumably volumes 6, 10 and 11 were imperfect at the time of the binding of this series into one set of tract volumes, and therefore excluded. The eight volumes that were bound together were well finished, and their edges gilded, a process not applied to the three imperfect volumes. We will return to this point presently.

As we have seen, P_M was represented at Nonsuch by M1: **Liber cantionum sacrarum, vulgo moteta vocant, quinque vocum, /ex optimis quibusque musicis selectarum anno domini 1555. /Lovanii, quinque libris seu voluminibus.** This series was originally owned by Arundel, and is known to have been complete at Nonsuch. The eight books are (RISM) 1555², 1555³, 1554³, 1557⁵, M273(1558), 1558⁵, 1558⁶ and 1558⁷. All are preserved in the British Library at K.3.e.8.-15.²³

S_C was represented at Nonsuch by M4: **Chansons a quatre parties imprimees an Anvers par /Tylman Susato, anno domini 1548, 5 volum.** The apparent contradiction in the number of volumes lies in the fact that while the first tracts were for four voices, there is also a quintus book needed for the quintus and sextus parts of livres 5-12 (in fact livre 13 has chansons up to eight voices, but still occupied only five partbooks). John Milsom²⁴ has shown that the first twelve tracts were livres 1-3, 14, 5-12, after which the volumes went into four parts again; he surmises that livres 4 and 13 were not present, but that other books were bound with this set, Cambio's *Canzone villanesche* of 1551 and Donato's *Villanelle* of 1558 at the end. The Old Royal Library catalogue of 1761 states that this item had 'XIV Livres', possibly referring to the presence of the fourteenth book. Books 1-12 and 14, (RISM) 1543¹⁶, 1544¹⁰, [1544]¹¹, 1554¹², 1544¹³, 1545¹⁴, 1545¹⁵, 1545¹⁶, M 270(1545), 1545¹⁷, 1549²⁹, 1550¹³ and 1555¹⁹ (14th book), are preserved in the British Library at K.3.a.1.-13. respectively. However none of this means that livres 4 and/or 13 were not present at Nonsuch in Gerarde's time. In fact there may be a situation analogous with the Susato Motet series S_M here. The bound tract volumes of S_C also had their edges gilded. As is to be expected, livre 4 (RISM 1554¹²) does not have the gilt edges of the other volumes of the set, and is missing its superius book. When the chanson books were bound together, livre 4 would be omitted for exactly the same reason as volumes 6, 10 and 11 of S_M were.²⁵ The British Library does not have livre 13 (RISM 1550¹⁴ is preserved at Munich). Both Arundel and Lumley were book collectors, therefore if either of

²² Discussed in Milsom (1), 154-5.

²³ Discussed in Milsom (1), 151-2.

²⁴ Discussed in Milsom (1), 152-4.

²⁵ This suggests that perhaps livre 4 of S_C should be included in M42. Though there is no evidence that that K.3.a.4. is the Nonsuch copy, neither is there any direct evidence that S_M(10) or (11) were; only S_M(6) of M42 carries any such evidence.

them were directly responsible for the acquisition of these series, it is reasonable to suppose that they would have tried to obtain complete sets. Livre 13 could also have become partially, or even totally, lost, and therefore also excluded from the rebinding.²⁶

P_C was represented at Nonsuch by M27: **Chansons a quat: parties, imprimees a Lovaine a° Domini 1558. 4 vol.** (There were in fact five volumes.) John Milsom has proved the ordering of seven tracts via wormhole evidence as (RISM) 1558¹⁰, 1559⁷, 1554²⁴, 1555²⁰, 1555²¹, L1061(1555) and 1556¹³, and preserved in the British Library at K.3.a.14.(1.)-(2.), K.3.a.15.(1.)-(4.) and K.3.a.16., respectively.²⁷ All seven have gilded edges. These seven tracts are P_C(I:1-6) and P_C(II:1); P_C(I:7) was not included.

Considering the four printed motet and chanson series discussed above, we find that the texts of Source A appear in these series as follows:

TABLE 4.5

A ₁	(1)	The texts of the five chansons are all in S _C , the text of <i>Pandalidon flaxos</i> ²⁸ remains enigmatic;
A ₂	(2)	Five of the motet texts are in S _M , three of the chanson texts are in S _C , one in P _C , <i>Proba me Domine</i> and <i>Joieusement il faict</i> do not appear in these books;
	(3)	One chanson text is in S _C , the other three are in P _C ;
A ₃	(4)	Five of the texts are in S _C , the other is in P _C ;
	(5)	All the motet texts are in P _M . The chanson text is in P _C ;
A ₄	(6)	The texts here are more scattered: one motet text is in S _M , two in P _M ; the words of the English piece are from the psalter of 1561, source unknown: <i>La neve i monti</i> , <i>Omnibus in rebus</i> , <i>Ex animo cuncti</i> .

In addition several motet texts in (5) and (6) are in the Berg & Neuber series of 1564, represented at Nonsuch by M2. This series will be discussed in greater detail later.

²⁶ However, the pattern is not spoiled by the absence of S_C(13) in the Nonsuch Library, as the only chansons in Phases 1 and 2 whose text comes from this volume are *Amour au ceur* (A₁ and B₂), which is by Clément Marot, and therefore possibly known to Gerarde from a more direct literary source, and is in any case in P_C(2), and *Adieu celle que j'ay servi*, which appears in S_C(2) and twice in S_C(12).

²⁷ Discussed in Milsom (1), 164-5.

²⁸ Six texts in Source A have not been found in the Nonsuch Library. Of these, *Pandalidon flaxos*, *Joieusement il faict*, *La neve i monti*, *Omnibus in rebus* and *Ex animo cuncti* have not been found in any other setting at all, neither is it known where the texts come from. That of *proba me Domine* is from Psalm cxxxviii, verses 23, 24 and part of 4.

If we assume, as now seems likely, that $S_c(4)$ was indeed present at Nonsuch, and if Gerarde were also at Nonsuch, then there is some substance in hypothesis (c), that Gerarde took his texts for Source A from the four series of books described above. For this argument it is necessary that $S_c(4)$ was present at Nonsuch - Source A has four texts taken from $S_c(4)$, but none taken from $S_c(14)$. But it is not necessary that $S_c(13)$ was also there - see note (25). The text sources of most of the works in A, with their dates of publication, then appear to be:

TABLE 4.6

Motets:	S_M	1553-4,
	P_M	1555-8,
Chansons:	S_C	1543-55,
	P_C	1554-9, ²⁹
Anthem:	Psalter	1561

The complete list of possible Nonsuch Library text sources for Source A is given in Table 4.7. This list assumes the presence of $S_c(4)$ and $S_c(13)$, though the latter is not essential to this argument, which provides circumstantial evidence for hypothesis (c), that Gerarde took the texts for most of Source A from printed books in the Nonsuch Library. In Table 4.7, the column headed M is for entries in the Nonsuch Library other than the four principal ones. M4+ indicates that S_c has more items than M4.

We will return to this hypothesis in Chapter Eight, after considering Gerarde's apparent rejection of explicit musical influences.

²⁹ The Nonsuch copies of the first two livres were respectively the 1558 and 1559 reprints.

TABLE 4.7: Text concordances for Phase One

MOTETS	CHANSONS			OTHERS	
	P _M = M1	S _M = M5,42	M (other)	S _C = M4+	P _C = M27
A ₁					
			Reviens vers moy	(1)	Pandalidon flaxos
			Oncques amour I	(3,11)	(I:4)
			Tant qu'en amour	(3)	
			Amour au coeur I	(13)	(I:2)
			Par vous seulle	(1,4)	
A ₂					
Angelus Domini		(1)	10		
Ego Dominus		(4,9)	2(5)		(I:5)
Peccata me Domine		(9)	3,14		
Miserere mei Deus		(9)	14	(5)	
Misit me vivens Pater	(4)	(3)	Ce mois de may I	(4)	
Proba me Domine			Je ne suis pas I	(4)	
			Prenez plaisir	(1)	
			Si j'ay du mal		(II:1)
			En attendant d'ampur I		(I:1,2)
			Donez secours		(I:1,3)
A ₃					
			Tous mes amis	(5)	
			Ta bonne grace	(5)	
			Je ne scay pas ... I	(5)	
			Je ne desire que		(II:1)
			Adieu celle que ...	(2,12,13)	
			Je suis aimez	(5)	
Si bona suscepimus	(5)		2(3)		
Parvulus filius	(1)	(5)			
Fremuit spiritus	(2)				
Levavi oculos	(3)				
Vias tuas Domine	(2)		2(3)		
A ₄					
Ego flos campi	(2)		2(2),18*		
Heu michi Domine		(1,8)	2(4)		Lorde be my judge
Creator omnium	(8)				La neve i monti
					Omnibus in rebus
					Ex animo cuncto

Dates of the potential sources:

NONSUCH:

M1: Phalèse, 1555-8
 M2: Berg & Neuber, 1564
 M3: Gardano, 1559
 M5: Susato, 1553-4
 M10: Gardano, 1541-4
 M14: Petrucci, 1519
 M18*: Scotto or Gardano, 1541³⁰

NONSUCH:

M4: Susato, 1543-55
 M27: Phalèse, 1554-9

EP: English Psalter 1561

³⁰ One of a number of candidates for M18, the Nonsuch copy of which is lost (Milsom (1), 161).

4.5 THE OTHER BOOKS

A fifth series of sets of partbooks now has to be described. BN_M refers to Berg and Neuber's *Thesaurus musicus* of 1564, published in five volumes, containing motets for eight, seven, six, five and four voices respectively, RISM 1564¹⁻⁵, and represented at Nonsuch by M2: **Thesaurus musicus, continens selectissimas, octo, septem, sex, quinque /et quatuor vocum, anno Domini 1564, Norimberae. octo vocum** (Jayne and Johnson 2569). The British Library retains the Cantus Secundus book of Volume 1; the rest are lost.³¹

Having shown the possible text sources for Source A, which represents Phase One of Gerarde's output, it is illuminating to do the same with the texts of Phase Two. The result is shown in table 4.8. In this table, pieces not by Gerarde, but transcribed by him, in M36 and M42, are indexed by the Gerarde source letters, D and F respectively. For the other Nonsuch references, see Table 4.7.

From this table, it will be seen that in Phase Two, Gerarde's sacred texts continue to appear in S_M and P_M, and also BN_M, and are predominantly from biblical or liturgical sources. All the chanson texts appear in S_C or P_C, and most significantly, five out of the eight chanson in B₂ are from S_C(4). The texts of the secular motets are from classical sources - *Fortem vocemus* is from Seneca's *Hercules furens*^{31a} and *Dulces exuviae* is from Virgil's *Aeneid*. The madrigals however are to texts of unknown provenance.

It therefore appears, and it can not be stressed enough that this is not proven, that Gerarde's most likely sources of texts for his early pieces were the four series S_C, P_C, S_M and P_M, and that as his work progressed he found his texts further and further afield, starting with BN_M and biblical and liturgical sources. This is a perfectly natural progression, and is of particular interest because those five series are known to have been in the Nonsuch Library.

Table 4.9 shows the possible text sources for Phase Three. While the chanson texts in the main continue to be traceable to the chanson series at Nonsuch, those of the sacred works are not so readily categorised.

³¹ But the British Library does have representative partbooks, for all the items in this series, at A.144.b.(1.-5.). Of these the first is from Nonsuch.

^{31a} Identified by David McKie.

TABLE 4.8: Text concordances for Phase Two

MOTETS

P_M= S_M= BN_M= NL
M1 M5,42 M2 Other Bible/
Liturgy

B1

Christus factus est	(5)			Antiphon
Benedictus Dominus				?Responsory
Miserere mei Domine	(9)			Gradual
O Maria vernans rosa	(1)	(11)		
Respice in me		(5)	6	Ps.24,16-17
Deus in nomine tuo	(2,8)	(4)	14(9)	Prime Psalm
In patientia vestra		(4)		Antiphon
Ego autem cantabo II				Psalm verse

B2

Aspice Domine	(11)	(3)	3,18*	Antiphon
Vivere vis recte		(3)		
Ego autem cantabo I				Psalm verse
Derelinquat impius	(10)			Responsory
Tu Bethlehem terra Juda				Antiphon
Congregati sunt	(7,8)		10(5)	Responsory
Tua est potentia	(7)			Responsory
Misericordia et veritas				Psalm 84, 11
Laudate Dominum om. II			6	Vesper Psalm

C1

Quare fremuerunt gentes				Responsory
Egrediente Domino				Responsory
Multiplicati sunt				Responsory
Timor et tremor I		(3)		Motet for Lent
Hodie nobis celorum rex			D	Responsory
Ascendens Christus	(3)	(10)		Antiphon

SECULAR MOTETS

B1

Fortem vocemus (set twice)

C1

Dulces exuviae

9

Virgil: Aeneid

CHANSONS

S_C= P_C= NL
M4+ M27 Other

Se dire ie l'osoye	(5)		
Vivre ne puis ... I			(I:6,II:1)D,F
Je ne scay pas ... II	(5,5)		
Dictes pour quoy	(9)		
Vivons joyeusement	(8)	(1)	
Adieu l'espoir		(1)	
Adieu mon esperance I			(I:2,II:1)
En attendant d'amour II		(1,2)	

Amour au cuer II		(2)	
J'ay si fort bataillez	(4)		
En attendant secours	(5)		
Je ne suis pas II	(4)		
Pour une seule	(4)		
Ce mois de may II	(4)		
Puis qu'elle a mis	(4)		
Mon cuer chante II		(2)	

MADRIGALS

Seneca: Hercules furens

Die lume un tempo
Amor piangeva
Già piansi
Il foco ch'io sentia

Dates of the potential sources:

NONSUCH:

M1: Phalèse, 1555-8

M2: Berg & Neuber, 1564

M3: Gardano, 1559

M5: Susato, 1553-4

M6: Castillione, 1542

M10: Gardano, 1541-4

M14: Petrucci, 1519

M18*: Scotto or Gardano, 1541

NONSUCH:

M4: Susato, 1543-55

M27: Phalèse, 1554-9

TABLE 4.9: Text concordances for Phase 3

MOTETS					CHANSONS AND GRACES				
	P _M = M1	S _M = M5,42	BN _M = M2	NL Other	Bible/ Liturgy		S _C = M4+	P _C = M27	NL Other
C2									
Fidem refundens						Amy souffrez	(12)		
Puer qui natus est	(5)	(1)		6,18*	Antiphon	Petite fleur	(11)	(I:5)	
Animam meam					Responsory	Ceste belle ...		(I:3)	
Illuminare Jerusalem	(5)		(4)		Responsory	Bonjour m'amy		(I:2)	
Cognovi Domine					Introit	J'ay veu le temps		(I:4)	
Da pacem Domine	(7)	(2)	(1,3)		Prayer	Est il possible		(I:5)	
Occurrerunt Maria					?Responsory	J'attens secours		(I:6)	D,F
Quare tristis es					Ps.xlix,5,8	Adieu mon esperance		(I:2,II:1)	
Ad te levavi oculos					Ps.cxxii	Je l'aime bien	(11,14)		
B3									
Derelinquat imp... II		(10)		8	Responsory	Oncques amour II	(3,11)(4)		
Adhesit pavimento ...					Psalm	Aiez pitie	(8)		
Laudate Dom. omnes II				6	Vesper Ps.	Pere eternel	(11)		
Voce mea ad Dominum					Ps.lxxvi,1-2	Vivre ne puis ... II		(I:6,II:1)	D,F
Sic Deus dilexit mundum			(3)		Antiphon	Je ne suis puis tenir	(5)		6
Beati omnes	(2)	(4)	(3)		Ps.cxxvii	O souverain Pasteur	(11)		
Domine clamavi ad te				9	?Responsory	Je suis amoureux	(11)		
Peccantem me quotidie		(2)	(4,5)	6,8,9	Responsory	Le souvenir d'aimer			
Hodie Christus natus est			(4)	6	Antiphon	Resveillez vous			
In tribulatione mea		(7)			from Ps.xvii	J'ay tant chasse			
Laudate Dom. in Sanctis					Ps.xl	Soions joyeux sur ...			
D1									
Dum transisset Sabatum	(1)	(5,10)	(4)	8	Responsory	Las voulez vous	(14)		
Magi veniunt ab oriente				9	Responsory	C'est grand plaisir			D,F
Versa est in luctum				9	Responsory	Hatez vous			
						Or est venu ...			

SECULAR MOTET**B3**

Murus Aeneus Lumley's family motto

Dates of the potential sources:

NONSUCH:

M1: Phalèse, 1555-8

M2: Berg & Neuber, 1564

M3: Gardano, 1559

M5: Susato, 1553-4

M6: Castillione, 1542

M8: Vautrollier, 1575

M9: Susato, 1546-7

M10: Gardano, 1541-4

M18*: Scotto or Gardano, 1541-5

PARTSONG

Yf Phebus stormes

NONSUCH:

M4: Susato, 1543-55

M27: Phalèse, 1554-9

Of the above sources, M8 is much less likely than the others to have been consulted by Gerarde, given its date of 1575.

By this stage of Gerarde's work another pattern emerges. Looking again at Tables 4.5 and 4.7, we see that the Nonsuch Library was able to provide almost all the texts for the first five subdivisions of Source A. The final group (A₄) however has several texts of unknown provenance. In Phase 2 (Table 4.8), the texts of Source B₁ and B₂ are mostly (28 out of 33 texts) traceable to the Nonsuch Library, the remaining four motet texts being biblical or liturgical. For the final group in Phase 2, however, Source C₂, only four of eleven texts are known to have been at Nonsuch, and while three more are accounted for as responsories, the text sources for the madrigals remain unknown. In Phase 3 (Table 4.9), sixteen of 24 motet texts can be traced to the Nonsuch Library, all except one of the remainder are biblical. Of the chansons, however, only 21 of 27 texts are known to have been at Nonsuch, and the six that are not are all in the last sections of B₂ and C₁.

The emergent pattern is this: that during each Phase Gerarde appears to be content to take texts from a consistent range of sources, at the end of each Phase he starts to look further afield.

Phase four is less straightforward than the other three, as it contains the motets found only in the anthologies E and F, which could have been written much earlier. Of the nine chansons in B₄ six of the texts are traceable to Nonsuch. Of the remaining three, two are the last two chansons Gerarde wrote into these books. Of the motets, six out of seven texts from D₂ and B₄ were in the Nonsuch Library, as were only seven out of fifteen that appear only in E or F. Of the eight remaining three are biblical, one also possibly a responsory, one a hymn for the dedication of a church and five are personal prayers. These prayers include all the pieces with basso profundo parts apart from *Sive vigilem* (Source G), and may signify the advent of a new singer in the Nonsuch retinue.

In Table 4.10. it will be seen that, assuming the validity of the 'Nonsuch Library as source' theory, while S_C and P_C continue to provide texts for the chansons, S_M and P_M are abandoned as sources for the motets. the first phrase only of *Letare Jerusalem* appears in S_M(3), and while the text of *Derelinquat impius viam* appears in S_M(5), this motet has been set by Gerarde twice before, so he would not need an external source for his text. *Venite ad me* is the *secunda pars* of *Sic deus dilexit mundum*, which appeared in Phase 3, though its text appears in 18* on its own.

TABLE 4.10: Text concordances for phase 4

MOTETS	S _M = M5	BN _M =M2	NL other	Bible/ Liturgy/ Prayer	CHANSONS	
					S _C = M4+	P _C = M27
D₂ Letare Jerusalem Deus qui superbis	(3)	(first part only)		Prayer		
B₄ Domine ne memeneris Venite ad me Tribulationem nostram Noë Noë Exultemus Laudemus omnes		(4) (3) (1)	9 9 9	Tract Alleluia Responsory	Je suis desheritee Puis que fortune Pour une, las... Resiouissons nous Plaisir n'ay plus Tant ay souffert Mon ceur chante III Hellas, quel jour Le rossignol	(2) (11) (8) (11) (12) (2)
E Derelinquat impius, ... III(10) Gloria tibi Trinitas Nunquid adheret tibi Da mihi Domine Viri Galilei Non me vincat Deus meus Omnis caro fenum Domine da mihi Honor virtus In monte Oliveti Timor et tremor II Angelus ad pastores Gratia vobis Laus Deo Patri		(1,5)	8 8 3	Responsory Antiphon Psalm cxiii,20,21,23 Prayer Introit Prayer From Isaiah xl, 7-8 Prayer Responsory Responsory Motet for Lent Antiphon Prayer Antiphon		
F Urbs beata Jherusalem				Hymn for the dedication of a church		

Dates of the potential sources:

NONSUCH:

M2: Berg & Neuber, 1564
M2: Gardano, 1559
M5: Susato, 1553-4
M8: Vautrollier, 1575
M9: Susato, 1546-7

NONSUCH:

M4: Susato, 1543-55
M27: Phalèse, 1554-9

Again M8 seems a less likely source than the others, though, as we shall see in Chapter Eight, Gerarde may well have been compiling Source E as late as 1580. Finally, the text

source for *Sive vigilem*, in Source G, which, not being in Gerarde's hand, falls outside the four phase division of his writing, is unknown. The text of *J'attend secours*, in Source H, is assumed to be the same as that of *J'attens secours*, in Source C₂.

4.6 MOREL

Continuing with the search for circumstantial evidence of Gerarde's being attached in some way with Nonsuch we come across a musician called Morel, about whom almost nothing is known. There are other Morels known to have worked in England, France and the Low Countries in the sixteenth century.³² This Morel appears not to be identifiable with any of the known ones. He does however appear to have been at Nonsuch.

In 1549²⁹ (Lbl K.3.a.11 Ex Nonsuch Library, from M4, S_c(11)) there is a setting of *Content ou non* by Morel. The printed edition gives the composer as Clement Morel in the ContraTenor, Tenor and Bassus partbooks; in each case the name *Clement* has been erased. In the Superius book no composer is given; the following is added by hand, as a header: *Morel ex familia excell^{ma} comitis d'arundell*.

In 1558¹⁰ (Lbl K.3.a.14.(1) Ex Nonsuch Library, from M27, P_c(I:1) there is a setting of *Vivons (vivons) joyusement* by Morel. The printed edition again gives the composer as Clement Morel in the Superius, ContraTenor and Tenor books; again in each case the name *Clement* has been erased. In the Bassus book no composer is given; the following is inserted, by hand, as a header: *Morel ex familia Ill Co Darun*. The four parts are all heavily marked with sharps, possibly by Burney, who transcribed this chanson into Lbl Add Ms 11584.

In a sheet now mounted on a guard at the front of Lbl Royal Mss 8.G.vii is a double canon *Honi soit qui mal y pense* by a Morel, referred to in the Nonsuch inventory as **A songe of the Garter**.³³ This is headed *Morel. Viro praeclarissimo d[omino] comiti de Arundell. octo partibus*.³⁴

From these three examples we can see that this Morel took his position in the household (*ex familia...*) of Arundel seriously, and that he is not Clement Morel.

³² Bernstein (2), 567, Dobbins (2), 568.

³³ Jayne and Johnson catalogue reference 2608 (44).

³⁴ 'Its text is the motto of the Order of the Garter, to which Arundel was elected in 1544. One canon, in five parts, is written in the form of a garter with buckle. Inside a knight on a rearing horse lunges his lance - another stave, carrying a three-part canon - at the dragon he is about to impale. Below this is an oak sprig, yet another of Arundel's emblems. The decision to write an eight-part canon may have been influenced by the prominent octagonal towers at Nonsuch.' (Milsom (1), 170-171.)

The same hand that wrote the above three inscriptions was responsible for copying the [*primus superius*] and [*Contra Tenor*] parts (staves 1 and 3 in the edition) of *Derelinquat impius viam II* in Source B. These parts were entered in books 31 and 32; the parts in other books were entered by Gerarde. The parts in this hand (which may be Morel's) contained a disproportionate number of errors and were quite heavily corrected by Gerarde. This same hand also added two half-lines of words in the [*Primus Superius*] part of *J'ay tant chasse*, Source B, 31,f65^v, staves 2-3.³⁵

On the first opening of Source D, Gerarde has added, across the bottom of the pages, a seven-part chanson by 'Morel': *Bonjour, bon an et bon vie*. It is not known whether this is by the same Morel.

The above appears to be the sum total of evidence for the existence of the 'Nonsuch' Morel.

We may wonder why the ascriptions in the two chanson books were altered. It is possible that Susato and Phalèse misattributed the respective chansons to Clement Morel and that someone at Nonsuch (the Nonsuch Morel?) altered the books accordingly. Another possibility is that the two chansons are indeed by Clement Morel but the Morel at Nonsuch claimed composership of the two printed works, perhaps to increase his standing in his circle. The Nonsuch Morel, judging from the parts of *Derelinquat impius viam II* in his hand, appears to have been less than sufficiently competent and the chanson *Bonjour, bon an et bon vie* is fairly dull, unimaginative and commonplace. The chansons and motets printed under the name of Clement Morel, however, are of a competence normal for the compositional school to which he belonged. Whichever is the case, it would appear that there is some connection between Dyricke Gerarde and this Morel, and via Morel to Nonsuch.

4.7 SUMMARY

There appears to be a strong case supporting the assumption that the four series S_M and S_C published by Susato and P_M and P_C published by Phalèse provided most of the texts for Source A, the remaining texts being of unknown provenance. There is some evidence that Gerarde's

³⁵ There seems little need for such an addition (edition, bars 9-12, stave 1), since the musical phrases affected contain no melismas, and a plain text repeat would have sufficed. Unless this was just an unnecessary bit of copying help that he was giving Gerarde, it may hint that Morel was a falsettist who sang from that book. See Appendix Five for a note on the C1 parts.

knowledge of French, at the time he was setting the French texts in Source A, was limited. He was therefore liable to copy errors from one source to another, and this he appears to have done, bolstering the idea that these books were indeed his text sources. That all four series were in the Nonsuch Library, M_5 , M_4 , M_1 and M_{27} respectively, seems fortuitous.

As time passed, Gerarde looked further for his texts, though the Nonsuch Library seems to remain a probable principal source for the chanson texts, and with the addition of BN_M , for many of the sacred texts also.

The enigmatic Nonsuch Morel appears to forge a connection between Gerarde and Nonsuch, as does the setting of *Murus Aeneus*. The presence of a number of instructions in the books, apparently in Gerarde's hand, and in English, together with the curiously English approach to the word *Alleluia*, strengthens the assumption that he worked in this country, and possibly for Arundel and/or Lumley.

Chapter Five

INDEPENDENCE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

It is a curious characteristic of Gerarde's work that almost no borrowing of material from the works of other composers appears to have taken place. In particular, while the Nonsuch Library (at any rate the five series discussed at length in the previous chapter) may well have provided inspiration in the form of texts, but the expected cross-fertilization of musical ideas is almost totally absent. That he was capable of borrowing ideas is shown by the similarity of the endings of his setting of *Le bergier et la bergierre* with that of Gombert, printed in RISM 1544¹³, which was at Nonsuch ($M4(5) = S_c(5)$).

Example 5.1: Gombert, *Le bergier et la bergierre*, setting of *Le loup...*

Musical score for Example 5.1, showing five staves of music with lyrics. The lyrics are: - ne, Le loup, le loup le loup em-por-te noz mou-ton, - lai - ne,] le loup, le loup, le loup em-por-te noz mou-ton, Le loup, le loup, le loup, le loup em-por-te noz mou-ton, - lai - ne, Le loup, le loup, le loup, - lai - ne,] Le loup, le loup, le loup em-por-te noz mou-ton.

Example 5.2: Gerarde, *Le bergier et la bergierre*, setting of *Le loup...*

Musical score for Example 5.2, showing five staves of music with lyrics. The lyrics are: le loup, le loup, le loup em-por-te nous mou-tons, - ne, le loup, le loup, le loup em-por-te nous mou-tons, - lei - ne, le loup, le loup, le loup em-por-te nous mou-tons, - ne, le loup, le loup, le loup em-por-te nous mou-tons, - ne, le loup, le loup em-por-te nous mou-tons.

Later in this chapter a more tenuous link between one phrase of Gerarde's setting of *J'attens secours* and Latfleur's setting of the same phrase will be suggested.¹ Nevertheless, apart from the two examples just mentioned, and shared common characteristics of style, there are no specific musical links with the settings at Nonsuch from which he seems to have taken his texts. This is suspicious, as it was common practice in the sixteenth century to base compositions on previous settings of the same text.² That Gerarde had access to all the models by Lassus, Crecquillon and Gombert that he did, and made no use of them, is surprising in the extreme, and could be taken to indicate a deliberate choice on his part to go another way. However, it may be that he was not a professional musician,³ and if this were the case then the idea of paying homage to other musicians would not be so important to him.⁴

5.2 MUSICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN PHASE ONE

The following tables give the incipits of Gerarde's settings in Source A and those of the corresponding settings by other composers from the Nonsuch collection. The examples in each category are given in the approximate order in which the pieces were entered in Source A. Table 5.2 also demonstrates that not only do the chanson settings use different melodic material, but where the other settings start with the repeated note motif that was to become the hallmark of the *Canzona*, ♩ ♩ ♩, or ♩ ♩ ♩, Gerarde opts for a more lyrical opening (*Ce mois de mai, Je ne scay pas comment* - cf. settings by Appenzeller and Gombert, *Mon cœur chante* - cf. setting by De Vuismes); where Gerarde has the repeated note opening, the other settings do not (*Prenez plaisir, Si j'ay du mal, Tous mes amis, Adieu celle que j'ay servi*); if the other setting has a rising line, Gerarde often responds with a falling one (*Je ne suis pas, Ta bonne grace*), and vice versa (*Oncques amour, Donez secours, Je ne desire, Je suis aimez*).

Although the arguments in Chapter Four related the texts of Source A to the motet and chanson series published by Phalèse, Susato and Berg & Neuber, Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show all relevant incipits from the Nonsuch Library. The reference M18* indicates an unconfirmed candidate for M18, which itself is lost - see Chapter Four.

¹ Examples 5.11 and 5.12.

² For example, Lassus' setting of *Las voulez vous* was used as a model, directly or indirectly, by Faigniet (published in RISM 1569¹¹), Nicolas (in 1572²), and Ferrabosco (copied by Francis Tregian in Lbl Egerton 3665), and Gombert's aforementioned setting of *Le bergier et la bergierre* was paraphrased a3 by Anon, possibly Canis, printed in RISM 1552¹¹ and 1569⁹.

³ This idea is occasioned by the amount of revision present in his manuscripts - Gerarde clearly had enough time on his hands to be obsessive about the alteration of a large number of details. The recomposition is looked at in detail in the next chapter, at the end of which, in Section 6.6, the idea that Gerarde may not have been a professional musician is reinforced. See also Chapter Six, note 25.

⁴ An idea suggested to me by Professor Greer.

TABLE 5.1 INCIPITS OF SACRED MOTETS FROM SOURCE A

A₂:

Angelus Domini descendit a[5]

An - ge - lus Do - mi - ni de - scen - dit

Clemens non Papa a4, in S_M(1) = M5(1)

An - ge - lus Do - mi - ni

Ego Dominus a[5]

E - go Do - mi - nus, hoc est no...

Vaet a4, in BN_M(5) = M2(5)
given as Anonymous a4, in S_M(4) = M5(4)

E - go Do - mi - nus

Louuys a5, in S_M(9) = M5(8)

E - go Do - mi - nus

Peccata mea Domine a[5]

Pec - ca - ta me - a Do -

Susato a4, in S_M(9) = M5(8)

Pec - ca - ta me - a Do - mi - ne

Mouton a4, in M14(7)

Pec - ca - ta me - a

Wuillaert a6, in M3

Pec - ca - ta me - a Do - mi - ne

Miserere mei Deus a[5]

Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us

Vaet a4, in S_M(9) = M5(8)

Mi - se - re - re me - i De -

(Miserere mei, Deus, continued)

Formellis a6, in $BN_M(3) = M2(3)$

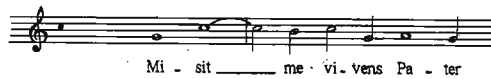


Misit me Vivens Pater a[5]

Ionckers a4, in $S_M(3) = M5(3)$



Clemens non Papa a5, in $P_M(4) = M1(4)$



Proba me Domine a[5]

No Nonsuch text concordance



A₃:

Si bona suscepimus a[5]

Manchicourt a5, in $P_M(5) = M1(5)$



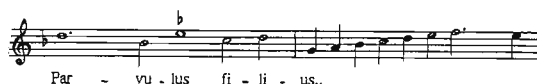
The three other settings of this text at Nonsuch are unlikely to have been sources for Gerarde here as the texts diverge significantly.

Parvulus filius hodie natus est a[5]

Clemens non Papa a4, in $S_M(1) = M5(1)$
(2da pars of Angelus Domini descendit)



Clemens non Papa a5, in $P_M(1) = M1(1)$
and $S_M(5) = M5(5)$ - another setting:
(2da pars of Angelus Domini descendit)



Fremuit spiritus Jhesus a[5]

Fre - mu-it spi - ri-tus Jhe - -

Clemens non Papa a6, in $P_M(2) = M1(2)$

Fre - mu - it spi - ri-tus Jhe - -

Lassus a 6, in $BN_M(3) = M2(3)$

Fre - mu - it spi - ri - tus Je -

Levavi oculos meos a[5]

Le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os

Clemens non Papa a5, in $P_M(3) = M1(3)$

Le - va - vi o - cu - los me

Vias tuas Domine a[5]

Vi - as tu - as Do - mi - ne de - mon - stra mi - chi

Gombert a5, in $P_M(3) = M1(3)$

Vi - as tu - as Do - mi - ne

Two other settings at Nonsuch use a much shorter text, and are therefore unlikely to have been the source of Gerarde's text.

Ego flos campi a[5]

E - go flos cam - pi et li - li - um

Clemens non Papa a7, in $P_M(7) = M1(7)$
and in M18*

E - go flos cam - pi et li - li - um

A₄:

Heu michi Domine a[4]

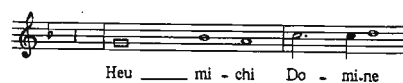
Heu mi - chi Do - mi - ne

Clemens non Papa a4, in $S_M(1) = M5(1)$

Heu mi - chi Do - mi - ne

(Heu michi Domine, continued)

Lassus a 5, in $BN_M(4) = M2(4)$



Anon a4, in $S_M(8) = M5(7)$



Creator omnium a[5]



Vuillaert a6, in $P_M(6) = M1(6)$

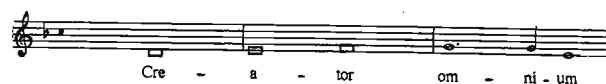


TABLE 5.2 INCIPTS OF CHANSONS FROM SOURCE A

A₁:

Reviens vers moy a[4]



Lupi a4, in $S_C(1) = M4(1)$



Oncques amour I a[5]



Crecquillon a4, in $S_C(3) = M4(3)$



Clemens non Papa a4, in $S_C(11) = M4(11)$



Crecquillon a4, in $P_C(I:4) = M27(4)$



Tant qu'en amour a[5]

Tant qu'en a - mour tu se - ras ma mai - stre - sse

Crecquillon a 4, in $S_c(3) = M4(3)$

Tant _____ qu'en a - mour _____

Amour au cœur I a[5]

A - mour au cœur me point

Vuelrant a4, in $P_c(I:4) = M27(4)$

A - mour au cœur me point _____

Par vous seule a[5]

Par vous seu le le mort m'a ssault

Canis a4, in $S_c(1) = M4(1)$

Par vous seule la mort m'a ssault

A_2 :

Soions joyeux joyeusement a[4]

Soi - ons joy - eux joy - eul - xe - ment

De vuismes a4, in $P_c(I:5) = M27(5)$

Soi - ons joy - eux joy-eul-xe-ment, joy-eul-xe-ment

Joieusement il faict a[4]

Joi - eu - se - ment _____ il faict bon vi - vre

No Nonsuch text concordance

Le bergier et la bergiere a[5]

Le ber-gier et la ber-gier - re

Gombert a5, in $S_c(5) = M4(5)^5$

Le ber-gier et la ber-gier - re

Ce mois de may I a[4]

Ce mois de may sur la rou - se - e

Goddart a4, in $S_c(4) [M42]$

Ce mois de may sur la rou - se - e

⁵ The similarity between these settings demonstrated in examples 5.1 and 5.2 is confined to the final line.

Je ne suis pas de ses gens la I a[4]

Je ne suis pas de ses gens la

Anonymous a4, in S_c(4) [M42]

Je ne suis pas de ces

Prenez plaisir a[4]

Prenez plaisir, coeurs lan-gou reux

Anonymous a4, in S_c(1) = M4(1)

Prenez plaisir coeurs lan

Si j'ay du mal a[4]

Si j'ay du mal malgre moy ie le porte

Anonymous a5, in P_c(II:1) = M27(7)

Si j'ay du mal malgre moy je

En attendant d'amour I a[4]

En attendant d'amour la jouissance

Clemens non Papa a4, in P_c(I:4) = M27(4)

En attendant d'amour la jouissance

Crecquillon a4, in P_c(I:1) = M27(1)

En attendant d'amour

Donez secours a[4]

Donnez secours ma douce amie

Petitjean de Lattre a4, in P_c(I:1) = M27(1)
 Petitjean de Lattre a4, in P_c(I:3) = M27(3)⁶

Donnez secours ma

A₃:

Tous mes amys a[5]

Tous les amis venez ma plainte ouir

Canis a5, in S_c(5) = M4(5)

Tous mes amis venez ma

⁶ The first of these two settings is an expanded version of the second; the openings are identical.

Ta bonne grace a[5]

Ta bon - ne grace et main - tien

Canis a5, in $S_C(5) = M4(5)$

Ta bon - ne gra - ce et main - tien

Je ne scay pas coment I a[5]

Je ne scay pas co - ment

Appenzeller a 6, in $S_C(5) = M4(5)$

Je ne scay pas com - ment

Gombert a5, in $S_C(5) = M4(5)$

Je ne scay pas co - ment

Je ne desire que la mort a[5]

Je ne de - si - re que la mort

Chastellaine a5, in $P_C(II:1) = M27(7)$

Je ne de - si - re que la

Adieu celle que j'ay servi a[5]

A - dieu cel - le que j'ay ser - vi

Manchicourt a4, in $S_C(2) = M4(2)$

A - dieu cel - le qui j'ay ser -

Barbion a4, in $S_C(12) = M4(12)$

A - dieu cel - le que j'ay ser - vi

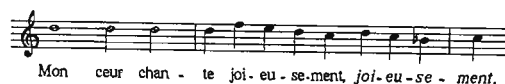
Jan Gerard, in $S_C(12) = M4(12)$

A - dieu cel - le que j'ay ser - vi

Je suis aimez a[5]

Canis a4, in S_c(4) [M42]

Mon ceur chante I a[4]

De Vuismes a4, in P_c(I:2) = M27(2)

Such a complete divergence is unlikely to be a coincidence; it is more likely to be a conscious rejection on Gerarde's part, and bolsters assumption (c) proposed in Chapter Two, that the series of books discussed above were indeed his text sources.⁷

The other texts in Source A, *Pandalidon flaxos*, *La neve i monti*, *Ex animo cuncto* and *Omnibus in rebus*, have no known concordances.

5.3 OTHER TEXT CONCORDANCES

We saw in the previous chapter that from A₄ and Phase Two, Gerarde's net for texts was widened. The possible text-sources were shown in Table 4.8. - other settings of fifteen of the 22 motet texts and all sixteen chanson texts were known to have been available at Nonsuch. Comparing the Gerarde settings in Phase Two with their counterparts in the Nonsuch Library reveals a similar situation - a seemingly obstinate desire for independence.

During Phases One and Two, Gerarde set a number of the above texts twice. The surprising lack of common ground is emphasised if both of his settings of a text are compared with the other Nonsuch settings. Table 5.3 gives the incipits of these pieces,⁸ necessarily repeating some information from the previous table. It will be seen that, in each case, not only are his two settings different from each other, but each is also different from all the other settings.

⁷ He could of course have had access to these four series, taken the words and rejected the music, anywhere. It is in itself no concrete argument for having been at Nonsuch.

⁸ This list includes the two settings of *Vivre puis sur terre*, from Phases Two and Three, because it is probable that the second setting was actually composed first, and significantly earlier than Phase Three. See Chapter Eight.

TABLE 5.3 INCIPTS OF MULTIPLE SETTINGS FROM PHASES ONE AND TWO

Amour au cœur:

Setting a[5] in Source A

A mour au cœur me point

Vuaelrant a4, in $S_c(3) = M4(3)$

A - mour au cœur me point

Setting a5 in Source B

A - mour au cœur me _____ pointe

Ce mois de may:

Setting a[4] in Source A

Ce mois de may sur la rou - se - e

Goddart a4, in $S_c(4)$ [M42]

Ce mois de may sur la rou - se - e

Setting a5 in Source B

Ce mois de may sur la rou - ssee

En attendant d'amour:

Setting a[4] in Source A

En at - ten - dant d'a - mour la jou - i - ssan - ce

Clemens non Papa a4, in $P_c(I:4) = M27(4)$

En at - ten - dant d'a - mour la jou - i - ssan -

Setting a8 in Source B

En at - ten - dant d'a - mour

Crecquillon a4, in $P_c(I:1) = M27(1)$

En at - ten - dant _____ d'a - mour _____

Je ne scay pas coment:

Setting a[5] in Source A

Je ne scay pas coment

Benedictus Appenzeller a6, in $S_c(5) = M4(5)$

Je ne scay pas coment

Setting a5 in Source B

Je ne scay pas coment

Gombert a5, in $S_c(5) = M4(5)$

Je ne scay pas coment

Je ne suis pas de ces gens la:

Setting a[4] in Source A

Je ne suis pas de ses gens la

Anonymous a4, in $S_c(4) [M42]$

Je ne suis pas de ces

Setting a5 in Source B

je ne suis pas de ses gens la

Mon ceur chante:

Setting a[4] in Source A

Mon ceur chan te joi eu se ment

De Vuismes a4, in $P_c(I:2) = M27(2)$

Mon ceur chan te joi eu se ment, joi eu se ment,

Setting a5 in Source B

Mon ceur chan te joi eu se ment

Oncques amour:

Setting a[4] in Source A




Onc - ques a - mour ne fust sans grand lan - gueur

Crecquillon a4, in $S_C(3) = M4(3)$



Onc - ques a - mour ne fut sans grand _____

Setting a6 in Source B



Onc ques a mour ne fust sans grand lan gueur

Clemens non Papa a4, in $S_C(11) = M4(11)$



Onc - ques a.mour ne fut sans grand lan.gueur

Crecquillon a 4, in $P_C(I:4) = M27(4)$



Onc - ques a - mour ne fut sans

Vivre ne puis sur terre:

Setting I a5 in Source B



Vi - vre ne puis sur ter - re _____

de Lattre a4, in $P_C(I:6) = M27(6)$



Vi - vre ne puis sur ter - re

Setting II a5 in Source B



Vi - vre ne puis sur ter _____

Galli a6, in $P_C(II:1) = M27(7)$



Vi vre ne puis sur ter re

de Vuismes a6, in Sources D and F



Vi vre ne puis sur ter

Further support for the idea that Gerarde got his texts from these books arises from the fact that Gerarde's motets *Congregati sunt* and *Tua est potentia* are consecutive in Source B₂. The texts are those of Crecquillon's six-voice setting in P_M(II:1) = M27(7), *prima pars* and *secunda pars* respectively. However, each text is a responsory text in its own right, and Gerarde's settings share no common musical material.⁹ In the last mentioned chanson, *Vivre ne puis sur terre*, it is perhaps significant that Gerarde copied the de Wuismes example himself, yet still was not positively influenced by its musical content. This is the case with all the pieces by others that he copied into Sources D and F, whose texts he also set. We will return to these shortly.

In Phases Three and Four, the chanson texts still come mostly from S_C and P_C, while sources for the motets come from increasingly diverse quarters. Nevertheless, as we have seen, sixteen of the 24 motet texts, and 21 of the 27 chanson texts in Phase Three, seven of the fifteen motet texts and six of the nine chanson texts in Phase Four are known to have been in other settings at Nonsuch. The music however continues to share almost nothing with that associated with the text sources. If we compare Gerarde's musical settings with others that are not considered as candidates for text sources we get exactly the same result - almost no common ground, and what there is seems coincidental.

5.4 NON-GERARDE MATERIAL IN SOURCES D AND F

The lack of cross-fertilization of ideas is particularly striking in the pieces by other composers that Gerarde chose to include in his two unfinished anthologies, Sources D and F, for some of which pieces, and for some of which composers, these are the only sources. As Source F is a single part-book, the following discussion will be restricted to the non-Gerarde works in Source D.

Of the non-Gerarde pieces for which D is the only known source, the most interesting is the ten-voice motet *Domine quinque talenta* by George Paon. Apart from this single work, absolutely nothing is known of Paon. It is a substantial composition, 71 longs in length, written for SSSTTBaBaBaBB (Clefs: G2 G2 G2 C3 C3 C4 C4 C4 F4 F4). The opening point, to the words *Domine quinque talenta tradidisti mihi* (Lord, you gave to me five talents) is given symbolically to five voices with long melismas - one has 26 notes.

⁹ It is tempting to link Gerarde's setting of *Tua est potentia* to that of *Congregati sunt*, as Crecquillon's setting clearly has these two texts as parts of the same motet, Gerarde's settings are adjacent in all the partbooks, and are in the same mode and for the same voices. There is precedent for such an assumption: in Source A there are two examples of two-section motets with the sections not labelled, *Si bona suscepimus/Dominus dedit* and *Heu michi Domine/Anima mea*. However, by Source B he was consistent about labelling the *secunda pars*. This and the fact that each section has the full text of a responsory cause this question to remain open.

Example 5.3: Paon, *Domine quinque talenta*, opening polyphony

The image shows the opening polyphony of the motet. It consists of five staves: four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and one basso continuo staff. The lyrics are: "Do - mi-ne quin-que ta - len - ta, ta - len - ta, Do - mi-ne quin-que ta - len - ta, Do - mi-ne quin-que". The music is in a 4/4 time signature and features a complex, interlocking polyphonic texture.

The style changes abruptly at the second phrase, *Ecce alia quinque super lucratus sum* (Behold I have gained another five), where the 'other five' voices enter on a massive G minor chord, with kaleidoscopic texture changes within it.

Example 5.4: Paon, *Domine quinque talenta*, entry of voices 6-10

The image shows the entry of voices 6-10. It consists of ten vocal staves and one basso continuo staff. The lyrics are: "tra - di - di - sti mi - chi, tra - di - di - sti mi - chi. - Ec - ce - Ec - ce a - li - a quin - que, ec - ce a - Ec - ce, ec - ce a li a quin-que - chi. Ec - ce a - li - a quin-que, a - li - Ec - ce, ec - ce a - li - mi - chi. Ec - ce, ec - ce, ec - Ec - ce, ec - ce a - li - a quin - di - di - sti mi - chi. Ec - ce a - li - a quin-que, ec - ce, ec - ce mi - chi, [tra - di - di - sti mi - chi.] Ec - ce, ec - ce Ec - ce, ec - ce a - li - a quin - que." The music is in a 4/4 time signature and features a complex, interlocking polyphonic texture.

The work is replete with implied false relations, splendid vocal lines and dynamic rhythms, ending in a blaze of G major. Why such a fine large-scale (in both its length and number of voices) work should be the sole legacy of an otherwise historically invisible figure is a mystery to be resolved. Paon's motet does not seem to have inspired Gerarde, whose only

Example 5.6: Morel, *Bon jour, bon an et bone vie*, opening

Bon jour, bon an et bon vi - e, bon jour, bon an et bon vi - e, [bon jour, bon an et bon vi - e, bon jour, bon an et bon vi - e, [bonjour, bon an et bon vie.] bon jour

Noë Truie is represented by the eight-voice *Hodie nobis celorum rex*. This is another unique and substantial work by someone who has otherwise disappeared without trace. There is a similarity between its ending and that of Gerarde's *Dum transisset sabbatum*, but this chordal progression was such a commonplace formula that the similarity is perhaps inconsequential.

Of more significance is the eight-voice motet *Sancta Trinitas* by Phinot. Otherwise an unremarkable work, the point of interest is that it is polychoral. Gerarde wrote this out himself, and therefore had at least this one polychoral work as a model. Nevertheless, while he often utilised antiphonal writing for two equal groups, particularly in the eight-voice motets and chansons, Gerarde never actually wrote polychorally; the antiphonal groups constantly exchange voices, so that each pair of answering quartets tends to have a different make-up. It may be that Gerarde did not realise that this motet was polychoral, or that he ignored the fact: the allocation of voice parts is such that the Baritone part of Choir I and the Mean of Choir II are in the same book, 49, while 51 contains the tenor parts of both choirs, so that, from these books, *cori spezzatti* would be impossible. This suggests an intimate performance situation, possibly in the round, both for this motet and possibly for all Gerarde's antiphonal writing.

It is clear that Gerarde did not indulge in the practice of borrowing and improving on other composers' work. Having written out the Paon and Phinot pieces, he chose not to draw inspiration from them, this testifying to his independence of mind. One of the few places where borrowing might have taken place is in the chanson *J'attens secours*, which shares just one phrase with the setting by Latfeur which opens Source D, though the similarity is limited to a simple device - a row of $\frac{6}{8}$ chords.

Example 5.7: Latfeur, *J'attens secours*, third phrase

- ra,] O que du tout la bel - le me di - ra,
 - ra, O que, o que du tout la bel - le me di - ra, [la bel - le
 - ra, O que du tout ka bel - le me di - ra, [o que la
 - ra, O que du tout la bel - le me di - ra, o que du tout la
 - ra, O que du tout la bel - le me di - ra, [la bel - le
 - ra,] O que du tout la bel - le me di - ra, o que dutout la

This should be compared with the third phrase of Gerarde's setting, shown below, in which the passage is extended and enhanced by the addition of further dissonance.

Example 5.8: Gerarde, *J'attens secours*, third phrase

20
 Ou que du tout la be lle me di ra, ou que du tout la be lle
 con di ra, Ou que du tout la be lle me di ra, ou que du tout,
 Ou que du tout la be lle me di ra,
 di ra, Ou que du tout la be lle me di
 con di ra, Ou que du tout la be lle me di
 con di ra, Ou que du tout la be lle me di
 25
 me di ra, ou que du tout, ou
 ou que du tout la be lle me di ra, ou
 ou que du tout la be lle me di ra, ou que du tout la be lle me di
 ra, ou que du tout la be lle me di ra, ou que du tout la be lle me di ra,
 ra, ou que du tout la be lle me di
 ra, ou que du tout la be lle me di ra,

5.6 SUMMARY

In Appendix Two all the musical sources checked for settings of the chanson texts are mentioned. In all this list, the only common ground appears to be the ends of Gombert's and Gerarde's settings of *Le bergier et la bergierre* and the rows of $\frac{3}{2}$ chords in Latfeur's and Gerarde's *J'attens secours II*.

The only common material found in motet settings is a set of stock formulae - cadential melodic patterns,¹¹ ornamental and other dissonances¹² and standard cadences, as exemplified above,¹³ in other words the common musical language of the time.

A picture emerges of a man in a rich musical environment, with access to the largest library in the land, filled with English and Continental music of all types, willing to trawl through the books of music looking for inspiration in the form of texts, but apparently consciously and conscientiously avoiding the use of any of the musical material associated with those words.

This all intensifies the mystery surrounding Gerarde the man. As a time when it was normal, perhaps expected, to borrow and paraphrase other people's material, he appears deliberately to have gone an entirely different way, weaving his music from material as individual as possible, yet using the common musical language and style. We must link this to the facts that he found it necessary and desirable constantly to update his music, and that he found time and energy to do it.¹⁴

¹¹ Gerarde's melodic material is examined in Chapter Seven, Section 7.11. In particular, Section 7.11.2 examines his use of the standard cadential formulae - see examples 7.22-7.24. See also Section 7.12.13, example 7.55.

¹² Dissonance is discussed in depth in Chapter Seven, Section 7.12.

¹³ Chapter Seven, Section 7.13, deals with Gerarde's cadences. See also above, examples 5.8 and 5.9.

¹⁴ These ideas return us to the idea that Gerarde may not have been a professional musician; see note (2), above.

