THE MUSIC OF DERICK GERARDE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Charles William Warren, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1966

Approved by

Richard H. Hoppin
Adviser
Department of Music
VITA

January 27, 1932
Born - North Platte, Nebraska

1957
B.A., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

1957-1961
Instructor, Wichita High School West, Wichita, Kansas

1961-1964
National Defense Graduate Fellow, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1962
M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1964-1966
Instructor, Department of Music, The Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Musicology

Professors: Richard H. Hoppin and Herbert Livingston

Minor Fields: Brass Instruments and Orchestral Conducting

Professor: William Gower
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A little known composer named Derick Gerarde is represented by a considerable amount of manuscript music in the Royal Appendix collection of the British Museum. This music is found in several closely related sets of part-books dating roughly from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Four of these sets, Royal Appendix 17-22, 23-25, 26-30, and 31-35, are apparently autograph. The name "Dyrick Gerarde" appears on most of the surviving title-pages. Another set, Royal Appendix 49-54, and a single surviving part-book of yet another, Royal App. 57, were apparently copied by Gerarde and include music ascribed to Gombert, Clemens, Lassus, and lesser known Flemish composers.

Not counting duplications and a few fragments of instrumental music, these volumes contain 168 pieces of vocal polyphony that are assignable to Gerarde. Many have one or two voice-parts missing (only the superius, contra, and tenor books have survived in Royal App. 23-25), but the majority are complete. Eighty-eight have Latin texts, seventy-two are chansons, five are madrigals, two have English texts, and one is a setting of a macaronic text. Add to this the single motet
attributed to "Direck Gerarde" in Oxford Chr. Ch. 979-83 and the list of compositions known to be associated with this name is complete.

Who Derick Gerarde was, what kind of music he wrote, and where it fits into the picture of sixteenth-century English music, are questions that have gone unanswered. Catalogue listings of his manuscripts, a few brief encyclopedia entries, and scattered references in secondary sources comprise his meager bibliography. Why such a sizeable body of music should have attracted so little interest is a matter for speculation, for in sheer bulk at least it commands a position of no little significance. Indeed, the manuscripts of Gerarde represent the largest single cache of polyphony presumably by one composer to have survived from the early Elizabethan period.

The comparative neglect of Gerarde may have been inspired by the belief that he was more a copyist than a composer. This idea can be traced back to Thomas Oliphant and the British Museum's first printed catalogue of manuscript music.\(^1\) In spite of the presence of Gerarde's name at the beginning of most of the volumes, Oliphant described Royal App. 17-22, 23-25, and 31-35 as collections made by Gerarde in which "the composers' names are not given."\(^2\) The appearance of Gerarde's name or initials after a few pieces in Royal App. 26-30 no


\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 4-5.
doubt led Oliphant to believe that the unsigned pieces belonged to other composers. Why he chose to disregard Gerarde's name on the title-pages as a general ascription of authorship, however, is not made clear. The fact that Derick had revealed himself as a copyist in Royal App. 49-54 and 57 by including properly ascribed pieces of various composers may have been interpreted as an indication that the other manuscripts also contained copies, even though unascribed.

In addition to the part-books mentioned above Oliphant also attributed to Gerarde the compilation of Royal App. 56, a collection of Tudor keyboard music. This source he described as being "roughly noted down; probably by D. Gerarde," yet the manuscript is neither roughly written nor in a hand remotely resembling what is presumed to be Gerarde's in the part-books.

Oliphant's seemingly arbitrary view of Gerarde as a scribe with pretensions as a composer was later adopted by Robert Eitner and given currency in his Quellen-Lexikon. Eitner summarized Oliphant's descriptions of the manuscripts, adding his own conviction that Gerarde was Netherlandish. In at least two instances, however, he badly misinterpreted his source with

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 9.


\(^5\)Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon (Leipzig, 1900-04), IV, 202-03.
the result that Derick's reputation as a composer suffered further damage. Oliphant had described Royal App. 17-22 as having been "collected by . . . Dyricke Gerard, whose name is on the title-page," but Eitner took this to mean that "collected by" actually appeared on the title-page with Gerarde's name, which is not true. Also not true is his statement that Gerarde is named as collector in Royal App. 31-35. Oliphant suggested that Gerarde was the collector, but nowhere in the part-books themselves is he (Gerarde) referred to as such. Eitner concluded his entry on Gerarde with the statement "Es scheint, als wenn G. der Schreiber der Codices gewesen ist," which may be taken as the nineteenth century's official pronouncement on the subject.

More detailed descriptions of Gerarde's manuscripts than those provided by Oliphant were made available in the catalogue edited by Augustus Hughes-Hughes. Here the idea that Gerarde was primarily a copyist was abandoned, and the music was ascribed to him as a composer. Names of previous owners and other extra-musical additamenta in the manuscripts were noted, and the contents were classified according to texts. In addition to the music of the Royal Appendix part-books, Hughes-Hughes attributed to Derick a five-voice instrumental piece ascribed

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6 Oliphant, op. cit., p. 3.
7 Eitner, loc. cit.
to "Gerardus" in British Museum, Add. 31390. This piece, titled "Chera la fountayne," is one of a large collection of In nomines, fancies, and instrumental chansons, anthems, and motets by English and Flemish composers active in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. A date of 1578, found on one of the folios, is given to the manuscript as a whole by Hughes-Hughes.

The last of the modern catalogues to list the manuscripts of Gerarde was that of the Old Royal and King's Collections printed in 1921. The descriptions are valuable for their precise information, which includes data regarding watermarks detected in Royal App. 17-22 and 49-54. These watermarks were assigned by the editors to Nicolas Lebé and Edmon Denise, whose paper may be dated from the second half of the sixteenth century ("circ. 1560-90" for Lebé, and "Late XVI cent." for Denise).

Even though watermarks from the sixteenth century may not be dated with the accuracy of those from later sources, the dates

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9 Ibid., III, 216.


11 Hughes-Hughes, loc. cit.

12 George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson (eds.), Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), II, 393-94.
Lupi.\textsuperscript{14} He recognized the need for research to solve the problem and concluded that if Jean and Derick were not one and the same they may have been related. It would have been no problem for Jean Gerard, one of the "musiciens protégés" of Philip's court, to obtain passage for a relative into England, especially during the period of close cultural contact that occurred when arrangements were being made for the marriage of Philip and Mary.

Of the major reference articles on Gerarde only that of René Vannes\textsuperscript{15} differs significantly from the views set forth by Van den Borren. Vannes was not willing to certify that Derick was Flemish, even though his name and his use of French texts seemed to point to this conclusion, and he did not agree with Van den Borren's suggestion that Jean Gerard and Derick Gerarde might be the same composer. In his article on Jean Gerard\textsuperscript{16} he cited several documents placing Jean in the service of the Flemish chapel from 1547 to 1575. The chronological distribution of these documents, according to Vannes, makes it improbable that Jean Gerard would have had time during this period to establish himself in England.

The old doubt that Derick was really the composer of most of the music in the manuscripts was revived by Denis Arnold


\textsuperscript{15}Dictionnaire des musiciens (compositeurs) (Bruxelles, 1947), p. 166.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid.
with the suggestion that it would be very difficult to say which of the pieces in the part-books were his.\textsuperscript{17} If it could be established that Gerarde did compose the music he apparently ascribed to himself, Arnold maintained he would be willing to conclude, on the basis of "eine flüchtige Untersuchung" of style, that Gerarde belonged to the school of composition of the European mainland, and that he was little affected by his stay in England. Arnold also suggested that "in view of the use of the Latin rite in all of his liturgical pieces, it is improbable that his music was written in the period after 1558, the year of the re-establishment of the Anglican Church."\textsuperscript{18} That this conclusion is faulty, however, will be demonstrated later in the chapter devoted to Gerarde's music with Latin texts.

One of the most significant contributions to the bibliography of Gerarde consists of a single statement by Joseph Kerman in his "The Elizabethan Motet: a Study of Texts."\textsuperscript{19} In a paragraph devoted to pointing out the fact that "continental music circulated widely in England"\textsuperscript{20} in the second half of the sixteenth century, Kerman cited the library of the Earl of Arundel (d. 1580) as particularly revealing. According to Kerman, Arundel

\textsuperscript{17} Denis Arnold, "Gerarde (Gerard), Derick (Theodoricus)," \textit{Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart}, ed. Friedrich Blume, IV (1955), 1779.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Studies in the Renaissance}, IX (1962), 302.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
would appear to have employed the Netherlandish emigré composer Derick Gerarde." He does not elaborate on the statement, however, and the reader is not made aware of the fact that practically all of the manuscripts of Gerarde are listed in the catalog of the library of the Earl of Arundel and his son-in-law Lord Lumley. Since this catalog contains the only known allusion to Derick outside the manuscripts, its importance cannot be minimized.

The major items in Gerarde's bibliography have been discussed in some detail in order to point out the basic problems regarding Gerarde that must be dealt with — who he was, what kind of music he wrote, and where it belongs in the history of sixteenth-century English music. Most of the authors cited have emphasized the need for research in these matters, beginning with and centering around a study of the music itself. Such research has been taken as the province of this dissertation. In order to limit the task somewhat, only the manuscripts cited above as being definitely associated with the name Derick Gerarde will be taken into direct account. Music ascribed to various other Gerards not identified as Derick will be considered only where useful points of relationship with Derick and the Royal Appendix repertory can be established.

21 Ibid.
In the chapters that follow each of the above cited problems regarding Gerarde will be investigated in detail. First, the manuscripts themselves, their contents and physical attributes, will be described. Second, the circumstances of Gerarde's presumed stay in England will be discussed along with the knotty problem of his identity. Finally, Gerarde's music will be examined and some conclusions drawn about where it fits into the picture of Elizabethan music.

The second volume is divided into two parts: a thematic index listing all the music in the Gerarde manuscripts that is not ascribed to other composers, and a section of selected transcriptions. The pieces in the index are grouped according to textual category, and each is cross-listed by number to the manuscript of its origin. The complete pieces in the second section were chosen with an eye to providing a representative selection of the different kinds of pieces in the manuscripts. These pieces have been classified according to textual and stylistic categories, and where several pieces were available within a particular category selection was made on the basis of musical interest. Detailed information concerning the various textual and stylistic types and their incidence in the manuscripts will be found in chapters IV, V, and VI.
CHAPTER II

THE MANUSCRIPTS

In order that pertinent facts about the manuscripts of Gerarde may be brought together in one place, some of the information given here will duplicate that which is already available in the printed catalogues. The information on format is taken from Hughes-Hughes,¹ and the measurements of the part-books are for the most part those of Warner and Gilson.² A complete statement of foliation that indicates the position of unfoliated leaves by bracketed numbers ([l]) has been provided. Where the present foliation differs from an older one, the original series is given in parentheses, thus: 1-42 (11-52). Also, since Olliphant's listing of the contents of the manuscripts is incomplete and not easily available, and since the listing of Hughes-Hughes is fragmented and not easily put together, the complete contents of each set of part-books will be given. In each set the pieces have been numbered consecutively (they are not numbered in the


²Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), II, 393-94.
manuscripts) in order to facilitate reference, and a concordance of duplicates and thematically related pieces among the various sets has been provided.

**Ll**

Oblong quarto (8 in. x 10 1/4 in.), paper.
17: (Superius) 52 leaves, ff. 1-52.
18: (Contra) 54 leaves, ff. 1-53[1].
19: (Tenor) 66 leaves, ff. 1-66.
20: (Bassus) 50 leaves, ff. 2-51.
21: (Quintus) 64 leaves, ff. 1-63[1].
22: (Sextus) 42 leaves, ff. 1-42 (11-52).

The six volumes of Ll contain forty motets for six, seven, eight, nine, and ten voices. Extra parts for the motets with more than six voices are found in the contra, tenor, quintus and sextus books. The music has survived complete in all volumes except the bassus and sextus, with the result that the first piece lacks both a bassus and a sexta vox, while the next six lack the sexta vox. Fortunately, four of the pieces without the sexta vox, numbers 4, 5, 6, and 7, survive complete elsewhere in the manuscripts, as indicated in the concordances. Besides the missing folios the sextus book has pieces torn from the lower inside corner of the last three folios large enough to include small sections of music. The same situation prevails in the first few folios of the bassus book.

The pieces are arranged in the part-books as follows, those with the least number of voices appearing first.
<table>
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<th>Voices</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
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<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gloria tibi trinitas</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nunquid adheret</td>
<td>2p) Et factus est</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Puer qui natus est</td>
<td>2p) Hic precursor dilectus</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Domine clamavi</td>
<td>2p) Vide in humilitatem</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Animam meam</td>
<td>2p) Congregamini et properate</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aspice Domine</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Laetare Jerusalem</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Quare tristis es</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>10. Versa est in luctum</td>
<td>2p) Cutis mea denigrata est</td>
<td>...........</td>
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<td>11. Da mihi Domine</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Occurrerunt Maria et Martha</td>
<td>2p) Videnis Jesus</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Dum transisset sabatum</td>
<td>2p) Et valde mane</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Tribulationem nostram</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sic Deus dilexit</td>
<td>2p) Venite ad me omnes</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Peccantem me quotidie</td>
<td>2p) Deus in nomine tuo</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Domine ne memineris</td>
<td>2p) Adiuva nos</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Ad te levavi oculos meos</td>
<td>2p) Miserere nostri</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Viri galilei</td>
<td>2p) Cumque intuerentur</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Non me vincat</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Omnis caro foenum</td>
<td>2p) Vere foenum</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Magi veniunt ab oriente</td>
<td>2p) Interrogabat magos</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Domine da mihi</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Honor virtus et potestas</td>
<td>2p) Trinitati lux perhennis</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. In monte oliveti</td>
<td>2p) Verumptamen non sicut</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Deus qui superbis</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Ego autem cantabo</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Timor et tremor</td>
<td>2p) Exaudi Deus</td>
<td>...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incipit</td>
<td>Voices</td>
<td>Concordances</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Hodie nobis coelorum rex</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L3-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>2p) Gloria in excelsis Deo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Angelus ad pastores</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Hodie Christus natus est</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L4-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Murus aeneus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L4-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. In tribulatione mea</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L4-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Laudate Dominum</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L4-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Noe noe exultemus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L4-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Laudemus omnes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L4-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Illuminare Jerusalem</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L3-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Cognovi Domine</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L3-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Veniant mihi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Gratia vobis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Laus Deo patri</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In its original format each volume began with two unfoliated leaves comprising a title-page and an index that were later folded to the back and foliated with the rest of the volume. Title-pages have survived only for the contra, tenor, and quintus books and the indices only in the superius, contra, tenor, and quintus books. Each of the surviving title-pages has the name of the part-book (Contra, Tenor, and Quinta) in ornate italic at the top (cf. Plate I). Below this the name "Dyricke Gerarde" appears in plain italic, and at the bottom the name "Lumley" is written. The hand of the latter inscription, however, is not that of Lord Lumley (d. 1609), but of an unknown secretary.3

In the index the text incipits are arranged in sections according to the number of voices in the piece, those in the six-voice section being alphabetized. Folio numbers given in

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3Jayne and Johnson, op. cit., p. 5; cf. Plate II in Jayne and Johnson and Plate I here.
Title-Page of Contratenor of Ll (Royal Appendix 18)
the index are those of the recto side, which usually contains the ending of the piece in question, the beginning appearing on the verso of the previous folio.

Both styles of handwriting commonly used by the educated man of the late Renaissance, secretary and italic, are found in Gerarde's manuscript. The italic hand, the script of Italian humanism, spread into the Low Countries and thereafter into England at about mid-century, ultimately replacing the indigenous gothic secretary. Depending on the occasion, the learned and well-traveled could use either script, the secretary being considered superior for business and matters requiring rapidity and compactness. The italic, on the other hand, was reserved for special inscriptions, signatures, and significant passages within the body of a letter written in secretary. The purity of both types eventually suffered, and it was not uncommon for a single letter to begin in italic and lapse into secretary, or for the same hand to produce a variety of scripts ranging from the pure secretary to a mixed italic-secretary to a pure italic.  

In Ll a small, neat, and highly current secretary script is employed exclusively for the texts, while the italic is reserved for titles and other inscriptions. The same hand appears

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4 For further information and examples see Hilary Jenkinson, The Later Court Hands in England from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 16-17, 63-65 (numerous plates are provided in a separate portfolio). Excellent plates are also available in James Wardrop's The Script of Humanism (Oxford, 1963), and for the best summary of the history of handwriting in the sixteenth century see Samuel A. Tannenbaum, The Handwriting of the Renaissance (New York, 1930).
Notation and Script of L1
(Royal Appendix 17, fol. 2v)
practically no erasures, corrections, or discontinuities of script suggests that the music was either composed specially for the volumes, or, what is more likely, copied fresh from previously existing sources. That L1 may have been copied in large part from L3, L4, and L5 is indicated by the number of concordances with these manuscripts.

The extra-notational inscriptions that do appear are of the usual functional variety: Arabic numbers at the top of a page to indicate the number of voices, occasional directions for canons, names of extra voice-parts, "Secunda pars," "Verte," etc. The most significant of these additions is the phrase "Torne backe agyne for the seconde parte" that appears at the end of Ad te levavi in the quintus book as a warning to the performer that the secunda pars was copied out of order. The fact that the phrase is written in the same hand as the text may be taken as an indication that the volume was intended for the use of English singers.

   Oblong octavo (6 1/4 in. x 8 1/4 in.), paper.
   23: (Superius) 44 leaves, ff. 1-41 (2-42), 43-44 (57-58).
   24: (Contra) 42 leaves, ff. 1-42.
   25: (Tenor) 43 leaves, ff. 1-41, 42-43 (48-49).

The three volumes of L2, labeled "1", "2", and "3" on the first folios, contain the superius, contra, and tenor parts of a collection of forty-one pieces with texts in Latin, French, English, Italian, and a macaronic language (L2-2). It is
difficult to say how many part-books originally belonged to the
set. The three surviving parts of L2-7 and L2-22 bear a close
thematic relationship to, but are not identical with, the top
three parts of two five-voice settings of the same texts in
Royal Appendix 31-35 (L4-32 and L4-40), but this relationship
provides no infallible clue as to the original number of voices
in the L2 pieces. On the other hand, the fact that the three
voices of Levavi oculos meos in L2 are exactly the same as the
top three voices of a five-voice setting of the same text in
Royal Appendix 31-35 (L4-9) indicates that the setting in L2 is
missing a bassus and a quinta vox.

Whether L2 was originally a five-volume set, however,
or a four-volume set with extra parts in the fourth volume can
only be conjectured. At the time the catalogue of Lord Lumley
was compiled (1609) there were four volumes in the set. That
most of the other descriptions in the catalogue seem to be of
complete sets leads to the assumption that L2 was also complete
at the time the catalogue was made. Yet, there are indications
that enough pieces were for more than four voices to have made
a fifth volume practicable. For example, many have terminal
chords with two roots and a fifth, or two fifths and a root in
the three upper parts, which indicates that at least two other
voices are missing, a bassus with a low root and a quintus with
the third of the chord. The assumption that these chords had

thirds is a fair one in view of the fact that thirds are present in the final chords of all the pieces with complete parts in the other manuscripts.

The order of pieces in the part-books is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Reviens vers moy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pandalidon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Angelus Domini descendit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ego Dominus hoc est</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Soions joieulx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Joieusement il faiet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Le bergier et la bergiere</td>
<td>L4-32 (thematically related)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Peccata mea Domine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ce mois de may</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Miserere mei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Je ne suis pas de ces gens la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Misit me vivens pater</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Proba me Domine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Prenez plaisir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Oncques amour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Tant que en amour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Amour au coeur me poinct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Par vous seule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Si j'ay du mal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. En attendant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Donez secours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Tous mes amis</td>
<td>L4-40 (thematically related)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Ta bonne grace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Je ne scay pas coment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Je ne desire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Adieu celle qui j'ay servy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Je suis amez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Si bona suscepimus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Dominus dedit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Parvulus filius hodie natus est</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Fremuit spiritus Jhesus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Levavi oculos meos</td>
<td>L4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Mon coeur chante</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Vias tuas Domine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Lorde be my Judge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Ego flos campi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unlike L1, L2 consists of disparate gatherings marked by empty folios and other signs of discontinuity. The most striking discontinuity occurs at the end of the superius and tenor books where some instrumental fragments in rough score appear on folios 42-44 and 42-43 respectively. Possibly these leaves were intended originally as wrap-around guards and were subsequently folded to the back and foliated with the rest of the music. Over the score on folio 44 of the superius book the name "direcke gerarde" is written, apparently autograph, and over the one on folio 43 of the tenor book the inscription "Quod Crouder of Crouder's Hill" can barely be made out. Hughes-Hughes regarded "Crouder" as a former owner, apparently on the basis of this inscription. Yet, from about 1350 to about 1550 in England "quod" was the prevailing form of "quoth," and was used in the sense of "written by" or "composed by" and not "owned by."^9

Most of the text is written in a mixture of italic and secretary script with more or less pure types of each present in

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^8 Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., I, 267.

some pieces. Such discontinuity of script indicates that the volumes were a practical repository that had gone through several stages of assembly and reassembly over a period of time. Indeed, the gathering to gathering, folio to folio juxtaposition of neat copy with careless, the presence of notational variants ( $\hat{a} \hat{g} \hat{c}$ $\hat{a} \hat{a}$ $\hat{a} \hat{b} \hat{b}$), and the unsystematic organization of contents would support this conclusion.

Other scribblings and inscriptions appear in L2 in addition to the names at the ends of the superius and tenor books. "Dyricke Gerrarde," probably autograph, is written in secretary on the first folio of the contra, while "Lumley" appears on the first folio of both the superius and the contra. On folio 32 of the tenor book the name "Robert Jenner" (Iverner?) is written in a large, cursive hand unlike that of the text. Who "Robert Jenner" was, however, and what he had to do with the manuscript or the piece on that page is not known.

Other italic inscriptions appear at the bottom of the pages in addition to the standard terms "Verte" and "Finis." Some of these are text incipits of the piece just ended, but in five instances, at the end of the superius parts of 15, 16, and 18 and the contra parts of 3 and 12, the phrase "finis coronat opus" is inscribed ("finis operis coronat" in number 15). What function these words served beyond that of a motto for the end of the piece is not known. The words "finis coronat" appear in conjunction with one of the voices of a motet of Mouton
catalogued by Lowinsky, and here the phrase is used to indicate a "riddle canon." In L2, however, none of the parts having the phrase appended has so far been found to work as a canon, and it seems doubtful they were intended as such. The canons that do occur in Gerardo's manuscripts are marked with the clear verbal directions ("Canon in diapente," "Canon ad lungum") and *signa congruentiae* normally provided by mid-sixteenth-century Flemish composers.

26: (Superius) 26 leaves, ff. 1-26.
27: (Contra) 26 leaves, ff. 1-26.
30: (Quintus) 26 leaves, ff. 1-25 (3-27), 26.

Twenty-nine motets, madrigals, and chansons for four, five, six, and eight voices are contained in the five volumes of L3, and a complete set of parts has survived for each piece with no significant deterioration. Extra parts are found in all five of the volumes. Eight of the motets of L3 are also found in L1, as indicated in the following list of contents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Die lume</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Questi ad un col natio .</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Amor piangeva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) E la banda . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ends of gatherings can be discerned, however. For example, a section of four motets for five voices (numbers 4-7) is labeled "Motetti A 5" in the quintus part of the first motet of the group. Also, at the end of the secunda pars of Multiplicati sunt on folio 6 verso in the superius the inscription "finis q o D. Gerarde" written in fancy italic may have been intended as a formal signature at the end of a gathering of five-voice pieces.

A pure, neat italic script that becomes less neat as the volume progresses is used for the text underlay. In a few pieces the script lapses into the pure secretary of L1. The varieties of script, however, are not so strikingly juxtaposed as in L2.

Title-pages, bent to the back and given folio number 26, have survived in all volumes. On each the name "Dyricke Gerard" appears in large italic along with the name of the part-book. "Lumley" is written at the bottom of the page, as in L1 and L2. According to Hughes-Hughes the name Dyricke Gerarde "is given . . . at the end of each volume by [John, 6th Baron] Lumley [d. 1609], a rather later owner."\(^{11}\) He does not give any reasons why Gerarde could not have inscribed his own name and the name of the volume, nor does he provide any factual basis for his statement that Lumley was a "rather later owner." In any event, the name "Lumley" was written on the pages by a secretary and not Lord Lumley himself.\(^{12}\)

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\(^{11}\) Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., I, 268.

\(^{12}\) Supra, p. 14.
Gerarde's name or initials appear at the end of one or more voice-parts of numbers 7, 8, 10, 19, and 21 ("finis q^od D. Gerarde," "finis q^od D. G.," or plain "D. G."). In addition to these signatures and the usual array of inscriptions, the contra part of Occurrerunt Maria et Martha has "Tourne backwarde" at the end as a warning to the performer that the secunda pars appears out of order. As in L1, the phrase is written in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. Unfortunately, nothing else in the part-books gives any clues concerning the provenance and history of the volumes.

L4  London, British Museum, Royal Appendix 31-35. Oblong octavo (6 1/2 in. x 8 1/2 in.), paper.

31: (Superius) 67 leaves, ff. 1-15 14 bis, 16-42 (15-41), 43-52 (42-51), 53-67 (89-103).
33: (Tenor) 67 leaves, ff. 1-67.
35: (Quintus) 73 leaves, ff. 1-10, 11-72 (10-71) [1].

L4 is by far the most extensive of the sources of Gerarde's music, containing seventy-six pieces for four, five, six, seven, and eight voices, with texts in Latin, French, and English. All parts in all five volumes have survived complete. As in L3, extra parts are found in all five volumes. Apparently, some attempt was made to arrange the music in the part-books according to the number of voices, those with the least number appearing first, but the plan was not consistently carried out, or was obscured by later interpolations. As indicated in the
following list of contents, duplicates of pieces in L4 are to
be found in L1, L2, and L6, but not in L3 and L5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Christus factus est</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Propter quod et Deus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fortem vocemus cuius ex humeris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Fortem vocemus cuius horrentes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Se dire ie losoie</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Vivre ne puis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Je ne scay pas coment</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Benedictus Dominus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Honor virtus et potestas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Miserere mei Domine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Convertere Domine</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. O Maria vernans rosa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Levavi oculos meos</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Dictes pour quoy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L2-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Vivons joieusement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Adieu l'espoir</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Adieu mon esperance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Aspice Domine</td>
<td></td>
<td>L1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Hodie nobis de celo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Vivere vis recte</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Ego autem cantabo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Oncques amour</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Amour au coeur</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Tu Bethleem</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. J'ay si fort battaillez</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. En attendant secours</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Congregati sunt inimici</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Tua est potentia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Misericordia et veritas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Je ne suis pas de ces gens la</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Pour une seule</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Ce mois de may</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Puis qu'elle a mis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Mon ceur chante</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Yf Phebus stormes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Le bergiere et la bergierre</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L2-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(thematically related)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Adhesit pavimento</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Dormitavit anima mea</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Tous mes amis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L2-22</td>
<td>(thematically related)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) In die tribulationis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>0 souverain pasteur</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Je suis amoureux</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Sic Deus dilexit</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Le souvenir d'aimer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Beati omnes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Ecce sic benedicetur</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Domine clamavi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Vide humilitatem</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Peccantem me quotidie</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Deus in nomine tuo</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Reveillez vous</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Je suis dîshérie</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Puisque fortune</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Pour une las j'endure</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Reioùissions nous</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Plaisir n'ay plus</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Tant ay souffert</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Domine ne memineris</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Aduiva nos</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Venite ad me omnes</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L1-17</td>
<td>(secunda pars)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Tribulationem nostram</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Mon cœur chante</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Hellas quel jour</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Le rossignol</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Laudamus omnes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Noe noe exultemus</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Respice in me.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Deus in nomine tuo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Ecce enim Deus</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Fortem vocemus cuius ex humeris</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Fortem vocemus cuius horrendes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>In patientia vestra</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>In tribulatione mea</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>Hodie Christus natus est</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Murus aeneus</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The manuscript is essentially a composite. As in L2, disparate gatherings marked by empty folios, as well as discontinuities of script and foliation, are in abundant evidence. L4 is especially akin to L2 in that the same kind of mixed italic-secretary script employed in L2 is used in L4 along with more or less pure forms of the L1 and L3 secretary and italic. Further, the same notational variants found in L2 are also present in L4. The variant flat (½), in particular, is associated with certain groups of pieces throughout each of the part-books. This flat, which appears to be a characteristic of manuscripts of English provenance, is employed in numbers 1-13, 15-17, 19-30, 64-68, and 76, while in numbers 14, 18, 31-63, and 69-75 the round variety of L1 and L3 is used (cf. Plates II and III). That a different scribe was responsible for the pieces with the "English" flat is suggested not only by its appearance in conjunction with other, less obvious notational variants (½ as opposed to ¼), but also by its use in connection with a particular script — the hybrid secretary-italic (cf. Plate III). The association of

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13Cf., for example, the flats used in British Museum Add. 30513 (Mulliner Book) and British Museum Add. 29996. Facsimiles are available in Willi Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600 (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 13. The same flat is also used consistently throughout Oxford, Chr. Ch. 979-83.
the notational variants with each other, or with a particular
script, is not consistent, however. Indeed, both kinds of flats
occasionally appear side by side on the same page, and in many
pieces the English flat is used with a script that appears to be
identical to the highly current secretary of L1 and L3 (cf.
Plate IV).

The first folio of each volume of L4 is a guard-sheet
bearing the number of the part-book rather than the name (i.e.,
"1" is the superius, "2" the contra, etc.). The name "Dyrick
Gerarde," presumably autograph, appears in secretary on this
leaf in both the superius and contra books, the signature on the
superius being repeated several times with various spellings (the
last signature at the bottom of the page appears as "Girardiricke").
Also, in the top-right corner of the first folio of the superius
book the phrase "Dyricke Gerardeis boke to begin" appears in the
same hand. Unlike the other sets, the name of Lord Lumley is no-
where to be found, but on the first folio of the tenor book the
library stamp of the Earl of Arundel appears twice. 14

Other inscriptions, also apparently autograph, are the
"finis direck gerrard" that is written on a blank folio at the
end of the contra book and the initials "D. G." that appear in
connection with one or more parts of a few pieces (numbers 53,
56, 59, and 60). The direction "Tourne" appears in large italic
next to Gerarde's initials at the end of the quintus and sextus

14 Cf. Jayne and Johnson, op. cit., Plate IV.
of number 53 and also at the end of the same two voice-parts of numbers 54 and 55. The most significant inscriptions, however, are found at the end of the tenor book on folio 67 verso. Here "John Theodoricus" is written in small italic above a line of partially rubbed out script that reads "finis q finis q master Redford." It is clear from evidence provided in another Gerarde manuscript, Royal Appendix 57, that the "Theodoricus" of the first inscription is a part of Gerarde's name (hence the derivative "Derick"), but whether or not "John" belongs in front of the Theodoricus Gerarde cannot be stated with complete assurance on the basis of this inscription alone.

The "master Redford" referred to in the other inscription on folio 67 verso of the tenor book is assumed to be the organist John Redford who died in 1547, but what he had to do with the part-books is not known. There is, of course, the possibility that he composed or copied some of the pieces in the manuscript. Indeed, one of the motets of L4, the seven-voice Ego autem cantabo, has been attributed to Redford, apparently on the basis of a mistaken assumption that the inscription "finis q master Redford" appears on the folio bearing that motet. This inscription, along with the "John Theodoricus," appears on the verso side of an empty guard-sheet, however, and was apparently not intended to be connected with any one piece in the manuscript.

Indeed, the guard-sheet may have been taken from some other book, and Redford’s name may have already been on it.

Hughes-Hughes compared the hand (hands?) of L4 with what he maintained was the autograph of John Redford in British Museum, Add. 29996 and concluded they were not the same. Since the music of L4 is "apparently autograph," at least in part, he maintained Redford "could hardly have been the composer of the works in this MS." Nevertheless, the possibility that someone else besides Gerarde had a hand in the manuscript, perhaps John Redford, may not be discounted so easily. This problem, however, will be taken up later in a section devoted to the question of authorship and in the analysis of the music itself.

L5 London, British Museum, Royal Appendix 49-54. Oblong octavo (6 in. x 8 1/2 in.), paper.
49: (Quintus) 24 leaves, ff. 1-24.
50: (Superius) 24 leaves, ff. 1-24.
51: (Contra) 24 leaves, ff. 1-24.
52: (Tenor) 23 leaves, ff. 1-23.
54: (Sextus) 24 leaves, ff. 1-24.

The six volumes of L5 contain complete parts for thirty-five motets and chansons for six, seven, eight, and ten voices. Unlike L1, which also has six volumes, extra parts for the pieces with more than six voices are found in all six volumes. Eight

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16 Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., I, 269.
17 Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29. Versa est in luctum</td>
<td>2p)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Las voules vous - &quot;D. G.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. C'est grand plaisir - &quot;D. G.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Hatez vous de me faire grace -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Or est venu le printemps</td>
<td>2p)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Letare Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Deus qui superbis -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Available concordances reveal the importance of L5 as a source of unica. Of the twenty-two pieces ascribed to other composers, only four are found in other sources. One of the motets of Phinot, *Sancta trinitas*, is included in the *Tertius tomus evangeliorum* of Berg and Neuber published in 1555, and the other, *Stella ista* may be found in Berg and Neuber's *Novum et insigne opus musicum* printed in 1558. Also, one of the chansons ascribed to Gombert, *Mille regres*, is included in the Krisstein collection of 1540, and another, *Qui pouldroit dire*, is preserved in a manuscript in Munich (Mus. Ms. 1508, Nr. 111). Eight of the ten chansons attributed by Gerarde to Gombert, however, as

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19 Joseph Schmidt-Görg, Nicolaus Gombert, Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V: Leben und Werk (Bonn, 1938), pp. 368-70. Schmidt-Görg mistakenly lists *Raison le veult* in L5 as a four-voice chanson, which apparently led him to identify it with a four-voice setting included in an Attaingnant print.
well as those ascribed to Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon, are found nowhere else. Nor were the pieces attributed to Damianus Havericq, Morel, and Nicholas de Wismes printed, or copied into any other manuscript. Latfeur, Noe Truie, and George Paon are known only by the pieces that Gerarde ascribed to them.

Of the five unascribed pieces in L5 (numbers 6, 8, 9, 21, and 34) three can be identified by concordance. Number 8 is attributed to Verdelot in two sources: Moderne's Tertius liber mottetorum of 1538, and a motet manuscript preserved at the Vallicelliana library in Rome (Ms. Vall. S. Borr. E. 11. 55-60). Number 9 also appears in the Vallicelliana manuscript where it is attributed to Arcadelt, and number 34 is a duplicate of

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21 See the listings of the works of these composers in Robert Eitner, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Hildesheim, 1963), pp. 621, 734, and 931. See also Robert Eitner, Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon (Leipzig, 1900-04), V, 57; VII, 60; X, 280.

22 Ibid., VI, 68; VII, 313.


24 Ibid., pp. 218, 230.
L1-8. By counting the latter as one of Gerarde's compositions the
total of autographs in L5 with duplicates in the other sets is
brought to six, which leaves only three Gerarde unica in L5, num-
bers 30, 31, and 32. The other two unascribed pieces, numbers 6
and 21, have so far not been identified, but probably also belong
to other composers. They are written into the manuscript in a
neat, compact, copy-book fashion, just as the properly ascribed
pieces, while the notation of most of Gerarde's autographs con-
tains erasures and corrections.

The texts of L5 are underlaid entirely in the pure se­
cretary of Gerarde with extra-textual inscriptions in italic.
Lord Lumley's name is given at the beginning of each of the vol­
umes, but, unlike the other sets, Gerarde's does not appear there.
Above Lumley's name on the first folio of each volume is an old
which is not in accord with the "late 16th cent." watermarks of
L5 noted by the editors of the Old Royal Catalogue. 25

Two inscriptions in L5 argue strongly for English pro­
venance. As in L1 and L3, a performance direction in English,
"Tourne to laeves," is found in Gerarde's hand in the bassus
book at the end of the prima pars of number 30. It was intended,
as were those in the other manuscripts, to help the singer locate
a secunda pars that was copied out of order.

Of special interest, however, is the inscription "De

25 Supra, p. 5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Urbs beata Jerusalem</td>
<td>&quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td>L3-21, quintus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. .. . . pardonnez les moy (last part of chanson only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. C'est grand plaisir -</td>
<td>&quot;Damianus Havericq&quot;</td>
<td>L5-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Si mon travail - &quot;Damianus Havericq&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L5-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. J'attens secours - &quot;Latfeur&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L5-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Resveillez vous - &quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L4-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A qui me doibs retirer - &quot;Clemens Non Papa&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Adieu solas - &quot;Caron&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L5-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vivre ne puis - &quot;Nicolaus de Wismes&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Or est venu le printemps 2p) Car ce joudhuy - &quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L5-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Celle qui ma tant pourmenez</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Quant je voi son ceur - &quot;Christianus Hollandre&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. DuEil double dueil - &quot;Jo. Lupi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Me retirer d'elle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Pour une las j'endure - &quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L4-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Tant ai souffert - &quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L4-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Je suis disheritee - &quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L4-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Puisque fortune - &quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L4-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Reouussions nous - &quot;Theodoricus Gerardi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>L4-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. .. . . com' ancide (last part of madrigal only) - &quot;Orlando di Lassus&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Tra bei rubin et perle - &quot;Orlando&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
L6 is unique among the manuscripts in having engraved staves and borders. As in L1 and L5, the script of the underlay is exclusively secretary, italic being used for the names of the composers and other inscriptions ("Verte," "Secunda pars," etc.). Except for the inscription in the tenor book of L4, Royal Appendix 57 is the only source of Gerarde's music in which the name "Theodoricus" appears instead of Derick. It seems clear, however, that Theodoricus Gerardi is Gerarde's formal Latin name and that Derick Gerarde is a shortened, vernacular version.

Unfortunately, the exceedingly neat manuscript of L6 is devoid of extra-textual additions other than the routine inscriptions. Nor are the names of Lumley or Arundel present anywhere in the volume. The last folio containing the madrigal fragments of Lassus is not of the same paper nor in the same hand as the rest of the book and may be what is left of an accretion to the manuscript. This is perhaps significant in view of the fact that the madrigal became popular in the low countries in the third quarter of the century. Possibly, Gerarde wanted to modernize his collection by adding the madrigals of Lassus.

A single six-voice motet of Gerarde, not duplicated in the Royal Appendix manuscripts, is contained in Oxford, Christ Church Ms. 979-83. This important set of part-books, which

unfortunately lacks the tenor book, is the only other source known to contain music attributed to Derick Gerarde, and as such, establishes a valuable point of reference outside the closely inter-related group of Royal Appendix manuscripts. The motet in question, *Sive vigilem* (number 148 in each of the volumes), is one of a huge, generally retrospective collection of pieces ascribed by the copyist, John Baldwin (ca. 1600), to various composers from Fayrfax to John Mundy. A few Scottish and continental composers (Douglas, Ferrabosco, Van Wilder) are represented, but even these were known to have lived in England. In fact, Lassus is probably the only real foreigner represented in the volumes. Many of Baldwin's ascriptions include thumbnail biographies (e. g., "Mr. Johnson: peticanon of Windsore" - 980, number 5; and "Mr. Philips [Philip van Wilder] of the King's privi chamber" - 979, number 6), but, unhappily, the Gerarde inscription consists of nothing more than the name ("Direck Gerrarde").

The Nonesuch Library and the Lumley Catalogue

With the exception of the motet in Oxford Christ Church Ms. 979-83 and the single part-book, Royal Appendix 57, all of Gerarde's music can be traced by inscriptions in the manuscripts of various aspects see Percy Buck et al (eds.), *Tudor Church Music* (London, 1922-29), I, lix; and Joseph Kerman, "Byrd's Motets: Chronology and Canon," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XIV (Fall, 1961), 366-67 et passim.
back to the library of Henry Fitzalan, 18th Earl of Arundel, and his son-in-law John, Lord Lumley. Arundel was the acknowledged leader of the old nobility and the Catholic party in early Elizabethan England, having served as Lord Chamberlain for Henry VIII and Edward VI, and Lord High Steward for Mary and Elizabeth. Both he and Lord Lumley were noted for their antiquarian interests and patronage of the arts, and their home in Surrey was by all accounts one of the most impressive architectural achievements of the new Italianate mannerism that began to invade England at mid-century. Built originally for Henry VIII, who died before it was completed, the palace established a reputation as "the first architectural wonder of the age" and was named, aptly, "Nonesuch." In 1666, two years before the palace was torn down by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, John Evelyn recorded a trip to

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28 Extensive articles with good bibliographies are available on both Arundel and Lumley in the Dictionary of National Biography. More detailed information concerning both, with transcripts of letters and other documents, can be found in Edith Milner's Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle, ed. Edith Benham (London, 1904); see esp. Chapters VI and VII, which deal with the Nonesuch era (ca. 1555-1609). The most authoritative source of information on Arundel is a biography written by one of his chaplains, edited by John Nichols and published as "The Life of the Last Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel," The Gentleman's Magazine, CIII, Part II (July to December, 1833), 10-18, 118-24, and 209-15. Details of Arundel's life not available elsewhere are given in Mark A. Tierney's The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel (London, 1834), I, 319-50.


30 Ian Dunlop, "Nonsuch Palace," The Connoisseur, CCXXXVIII (October, 1951), 127.
After Arundel's death in 1580 the library became the sole property of Lord Lumley, and when Lord Lumley himself died in 1609 the library was given to Henry, Prince of Wales. With Henry's death shortly thereafter most of the volumes bearing the original Arundel or Lumley ex libris, including the manuscripts of Gerarde, became part of the main Royal Library and have since been catalogued as a part of the Old Royal Collection of the British Museum.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the history of the Arundel-Lumley collection that throws light on the date or manner of acquisition of the Gerarde part-books. The tenor book of L4 bears the Arundel name-stamp, so this set at least must have been in the library before 1580, the year of Arundel's death. The most that can be said with assurance regarding the other sets, however, is that they were on the shelves at Nonesuch before 1596, the year the original Lumley catalogue was made.

The 1609 catalogue of the Nonesuch library, the one edited by Jayne and Johnson (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. 0. 4. 38.), is a copy of a 1596 catalogue that no longer exists. In this catalogue, which provides a record of the largest private library

34 For a tabular history of the Old Royal Collection see Jayne and Johnson, op. cit., pp. 292-96. Brief accounts of the history of the major collections of manuscripts in the British Museum, as well as sections on the musical MSS within these collections, are given in Arundell Esdaille, The British Museum Library (London, 1946), see esp. pp. 265-67.

35 Jayne and Johnson, op. cit., p. 32.
in Elizabethan England, a special section is devoted to music. The oldest dated source among the forty-five items listed is the collection of Josquin masses printed by Fossombrone in 1516, and the most recent is the Byrd Gradualia of 1605. Every important kind of sixteenth-century music is represented, including motets, masses, chansons, madrigals, solo keyboard and lute music, and music for dance orchestra. That there are Italian prints and manuscripts as well as Flemish and English testifies not only to the cosmopolitan tastes of the Nonesuch household, but also to the frequent trips made by Arundel to the continent. His trip to the baths at Padua in 1566, for instance, gave him ample opportunity to commission the collection of madrigals written by Innocenzo Alberti (Royal Appendix 36-40), which is dedicated to Arundel.

In addition to the class and title catalogue there is also an author index (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R. 14. 24.) that has not been published. The composers listed in the "Musici" section of this index are "Adriano Willart, Tilman Susato, Vincentio Ruffo, Symeon Boleau, Thomas Tallies, William Birde, Archadelt, Joseph Caymo, Balthazar Donato, Josquin, Berthaldo, Clement Jenkin, Orlandus Lassus, Nicolaus Gombertus, Guil: Textor, Diriek Gerard, Andreas Gabriel, Cypriano Rore, [and] Petrus

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36 Ibid., p. 1.
37 Ibid., pp. 284-86.
38 Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., II, 129.
Aloysius [Palestrina]." At the end of the list the cataloguer wrote "Sunt preterea cantiones variae, madrigali, et moteta musi-
corum elegantissima, quorum nomina hic non habentur."

The main group of manuscripts attributed to Derick Gerarde is listed in the class and title catalogue as follows:

Power 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 four Bookes.

These manuscripts can be identified as L1, L3, L4 (or L4 and L3), and L2 respectively. The appearance of Gerarde's name on the title-pages and guards of these four sets no doubt led the cataloguer to list them as a group under Gerarde's name. On the other hand, the fact that Gerarde's name does not appear at the beginning of L5 probably resulted in its being listed separately, as follows: "36. A sett of Musick bookes in frenche, manuscript, The first D. Haverique 6 vol." Although the single surviving part-book of L6 is not listed, it was probably included among the items covered by entry 42, which reads "Divers imperfect booke of Musick, bothe printed and written hande."

A few of the entries in the music section of the catalogue, mostly manuscripts, have gone unidentified and are presumably lost. One of these, item 43, is listed as "A rolle of

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41 Ibid., p. 286.
42 Ibid.
Cannons of Dethick Gerrarde." On the other hand, there are manuscripts in the present-day Royal Appendix collection that, like L6, are not specifically itemized in the catalogue, but that appear to have been a part of the Nonesuch library. Of particular interest to the present study is Royal Appendix 55, an anonymous volume of French and Italian songs, some of which have lute accompaniment. The volume appears to have been written in the same hand as the part-books of Gerarde, and might have been included with the "Divers imperfect bookes of Musick, bothe printed and written hande."

The question of authorship

The appearance of erasures and corrections in most of Gerarde's part-books indicates they were not designed simply to ornament a nobleman's library, but were intended for performance; the emendations were probably made in the course of rehearsal. The fact that a few pieces in L3 and L4 are signed individually by Gerarde does not necessarily mean, as Oliphant took it to mean, that the unsigned pieces are works of other composers.

43 Ibid.

44 According to John Ward, Royal Appendix 58 could have been such a manuscript. See his article on "The Lute Music of MS Royal Appendix 58," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIII (1960), 117, n. 4.

45 Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., II, 466.
Indeed, there are several considerations arguing against this interpretation.

First, the appearance of Gerarde's name on most of the surviving title-pages or guards was probably intended as a general ascription of authorship covering all the pieces in the volume. Significant in this regard is the fact that Gerarde's name does not appear at the beginning of the two sets containing ascriptions to other composers. Second, a few pieces signed in one set are found in another set unsigned, which makes Oliphant's rigid criterion for attributing works to Gerarde useless. Third, except for L1, in which none of the pieces is signed individually, Gerarde rebound his volumes and wrote music into them over a period of time, with the result that pieces appearing side by side are differentiated by any number of variable factors, including pen size, ink shade, and handwriting style. The sort of whim that might dictate signing one piece "finis quod Derick Gerarde" and not another could easily have been one of these variables.

It may be argued that the presence of the variant notation in L2 and L4 indicates that more than one composer or scribe is represented in the manuscripts. Indeed, it is difficult to believe the same hand would show such distinctive differences with any degree of consistency. In L4, particularly, it has been pointed out that certain groups of pieces make use of the same
set of notational variants, and that this distinction, while not absolutely uniform, is maintained fairly consistently.

In support of the view that another composer or scribe besides Gerarde copied the music with the variant notation it should be pointed out that of the four pieces in L4 signed with Gerarde's initials none is notated with the "English" flat. Also, the two chansons of L2 that bear a close thematic relationship to L4-32 and L4-40 are notated with the English flat, while the L4 versions appear with the round variety found throughout L1, L3, L5, and L6. By the same token, the L4 setting of *Ego autem cantabo* uses the English flat and is closely related thematically to a setting of the same text in L1 that uses the round flat. The appearance of a slightly different hand in the different versions of these pieces would appear to be consistent with the fact that, ordinarily, a parody relationship involves the work of two different composers. Indeed, in only one instance is there an exact duplication of a piece with the variant flat (L2-32 and L4-9), and in both of the duplicates the variant flat is used.

On the other hand, in defense of Gerarde's having produced the music with the notational variants, it ought to be emphasized that in many of these pieces the English flat is the only significant deviation on the page from what appears to be Gerarde's normal hand. It is not impossible that the pieces with the variant notation in L2 and L4 represent an older layer of Gerarde's music that was mixed with later pieces in the process of reorganizing part-books. Indeed, an analysis of the thematically related
52

pieces has shown that the versions with the English flat consistently reveal rather crude and loose-jointed contrapuntal writing that is tightened and refined in the L4 versions. Conceivably, Gerarde as a mature composer may have wanted to salvage some of the music he wrote as a tyro by reconstructing it and bringing it up to date. Thematic reconstruction may serve a variety of purposes, however, and whether Gerarde remodeled the works of someone else in order to bring them up to date, or whether he simply polished some of his own, must be left open to conjecture.

With the evidence at hand there is no infallible way of telling whether Gerarde was the composer of all the pieces in the manuscripts not ascribed to others. Even in well authenticated sources there is an area of doubt, and the question of whether a composer wrote a particular piece may be raised even if it has to go unanswered for lack of evidence proving that he didn't. Thus it is with Gerarde. A great deal of music has been checked in connection with this study and so far none of the 168 pieces attributed to him has been found among the works of other composers.

46 Cf. infra, p. 199.
CHAPTER III

DERICK GERARDE - A PROBLEM OF IDENTITY

Certain assumptions regarding Derick Gerarde may be made on the basis of evidence provided by the manuscripts. First, he was probably employed at one time in the Arundel-Lumley household, for it seems unlikely the tastefully assembled library of these noblemen would have included so many of his manuscripts with so many duplications among them unless Gerarde himself had spent time at Nonesuch copying and composing. Second, as Van den Borren has pointed out, Gerarde's name and his use of French texts suggest he was Netherlandish. His choice of composers to copy in L5 and L6 is revealing in this regard, and probably reflects a national milieu within which he worked. With the exception of Latfeur, Noe Truie, Caron, and George Paon, about whom nothing is known beyond their being copied by Gerarde, the composers named in L5 and L6 are Netherlandish and are all represented in the mid-sixteenth-century prints of Susato, Phalese, and Waelrant.

Unfortunately, neither of these suppositions, that he was

1Les musiciens belges en Angleterre à l'époque de la renaissance (Bruxelles, 1913), pp. 65-66.

2The "Caron" represented by the six-voice Adieu solas in L6 is apparently not the fifteenth-century composer, Philippe Caron, who wrote three- and four-voice chansons.

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Netherlandish and employed at Nonesuch, can be backed up with conclusive evidence. Outside the music itself and the listing of the Lumley Catalogue a musician named Derick, or Theodoricus, Gerarde is nowhere mentioned in contemporary records on either side of the channel. Musical Gerardes are not hard to find in the Low Countries in the middle of the sixteenth century, but none is identified as Derick or Theodoricus. On the other hand, the name does not appear in any form in any of the available lists of musicians active in sixteenth-century England. Not that there was a dearth of native or foreign Gerardes in England at this time, for in addition to a prominent family of English Catholics of this name who gave many sons to the Jesuit underground, many John Gerards and a few Derick Gerards, mostly silk-weavers and cobblers, appeared on the lists of aliens. Certainly, all the records have not been checked, especially unpublished materials in private archives, but enough have been consulted to suggest that, if a musician named Derick Gerarde were in England, the

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3 See the extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources, as well as the index of musicians, compiled by Walter L. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (Princeton, 1953), pp. 315-61. See also the "Register and Index of Musicians" compiled by Frank Ll. Harrison in Music in Medieval Britain (London, 1958), pp. 454-65.


circumstances of his visit were such that he did not attract lasting notice. 6

The most plausible explanation for Gerarde's obscurity, based on the assumptions made about him, is that, as a Nether-landish musician employed in a private Catholic household, he would not have been in a position to attract the official recognition given to musicians in the Anglican cathedrals and the Royal Chapel. The circumstances of Arundel's and Lumley's political career, their gradual alienation from Elizabeth's inner circle for religious reasons, and their eventual confinement to Nonesuch for their part in the Catholic plot to put Mary Stuart on the throne, could have contributed to a social isolation involving other members of the household, including musicians.

That a musician named Derick, or Theodoricus, Gerarde is not cited in contemporary Flemish records suggests the possibility that in the Low Countries he may have been known by a different form of his name. If so, he may perhaps be identified with one of the musicians named Gerard known to have been active on the continent. Before taking up the problem of the various Gerardi, however, it might be helpful to establish a frame of

6 Most of the pertinent volumes of archive materials published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the Public Record Office, as well as those in the series of publications of the Harleian, Surtees, and Camden Societies, have been checked. Woodfill (loc. cit.) lists most of these sources, but for an exhaustive bibliography of the period see Conyers Read (ed.), Bibliography of British History - Tudor Period, 1485-1603 (2d ed. rev.; Oxford, 1959), see esp. the listings in "Miscellaneous Printed Collections" and "Chronicles" on pp. 22-29.
reference at Nonesuch within which a Netherlandish musician could easily have fitted.

Music at Nonesuch

Very little is known about music in private households other than the Royal Chapel in sixteenth-century England. Harrison has cited only one pre-Reformation noble house with a choir capable of singing liturgical polyphony, that of Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland (d. 1527). After the reform, large institutional choirs trained to sing the Catholic liturgy were either dissolved or reorganized to deliver the Anglican Service, while private musical establishments in the great noble houses, such as that of the Earl of Northumberland, were doubtless reduced to providing entertainment and music for private devotions. Woodfill cites records of various houses that list expenses for incidental entertainment or private instruction, but none of these accounts provides proof of the existence of large, permanent musical establishments. That there was a decided decrease in professional musical activity at the domestic level following the Reformation is made clear by Thomas Whythorne.

In time past [Whythorne was forty-one in 1569 when this was written] music was chiefly maintained by cathedral churches, abbeys, colleges, parish churches, chauntries, guilds, fraternities, etc. But when the abbeys and colleges without the universities, with guilds and fraternities,

7 Harrison, op. cit., p. 173.
8 Woodfill, op. cit., pp. 252-79.
era, but this would not necessarily obviate the need for professional singers and instrumentalists. Indeed, the presence in the library of liturgical and para-liturgical polyphony, as well as music for dance orchestra, points to the presence of professional musicians.

Not only did Nonesuch possess what was probably the largest library of music of a private house in Elizabethan England, but it also housed one of the largest, if not the largest, collections of musical instruments. These instruments, listed as follows, were included at the end of an inventory of household goods made for Lord Lumley in 1596.\footnote{Undoubtedly, a collection of instruments large enough to outfit an orchestra of one hundred twenty-two players points to the presence of professional musicians.}

\begin{verbatim}
GREAT standing wynd Instrumentes with stoppes viii
VYRGYNALLES paires v
RYGALLES paires ii
IRYSHE harpes ii
LUTES viii
HOWBOYSES x
BUMBARDES iii
CRUMPE hornes viii
RECORDERS xv
VYOLENS xiii
VYOLES xli
SAGBUTTES iii
CORNETTES xii
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{For a reconstruction of the musical life of the Kytson family at Hengrave Hall at the beginning of the seventeenth century see Edmund H. Fellowes, The English Madrigal (London, 1925), pp. 10-21.}

\footnote{This inventory has survived among the manuscripts of Lord Scarbrough that are preserved at Sandbeck Park, Rotherham, and has been edited by Lionel Cust, "The Lumley Inventories," The Walpole Society, VI (1917-18), 21-29, and by Edith Milner, Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle, ed. by Edith Benham (London, 1904), pp. 327-36.}
to the existence at Nonesuch of an active musical life at some time during the Arundel-Lumley era. Besides domestic use at Nonesuch these instruments were probably also employed in the service of certain high state occasions for which Arundel as Lord Chamberlain was responsible. According to Arundel's biographer, Henry VIII

"... maid him his Lord Chamberlaine about his person, in wch office he continewed duringe the Kinges life; who at his death maid him allso one of his executors. After whose death he remained in the same office aboute Kinge Edward his sonne, and served him his Coronation in place of Highe Countable of England, supplyinge the same to the honour of himselfe, and of the place wch he did use, albeit that by byrth he was Cheefe Butler of England, a place of service both for honor and costlye chardges sufficient, which that day was supplied by the Lorde Matreevers, his Lordships eldest sonne, for thearin consisted not onely the chardge of the Cupboard, but also the service of all the hall beinge Westmynster Hall, throughout that day, wch was onely waited uppon by this Earles servants, in his own liverey, gentlemen and yeomen, being fewer hundreth and fifty servitours."

The pomp and circumstance of Edward's coronation would certainly have called for impressive musical ceremonies, and it is probable that a large group of musicians were among the "fower hundreth and fifty servitours" of Arundel on that day. Even though Arundel's biographer maintained the hall "was onely waited upon by the Earles servants in his own liverey, gentlemen and yeomen," it seems likely the musicians of the Royal Chapel would have been involved on such an occasion and that some of the large collection of instruments kept at Westminster in the

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charge of Philip Van Wilder would have been used. As Lord Chamberlain, Arundel was in charge of the royal servants and responsible to the King for the proper performance of their duties. This responsibility probably did not extend to the King's musicians, however, since the Gentlemen of the Royal Chapel were under ecclesiastical governance and were not considered domestic servants. A detailed set of instructions to the King's servants, titled "The Booke of Henrie Erle of Arundell, Lorde Chamberleyne to King Henrie theighte [sic]," has survived, and no mention is made of musicians or their duties.

Further evidence that musicians were employed at Nonesuch to sing the music in the library and play the instruments listed in the inventory is contained in an eulogistic poem written in honor of Arundel at his death and printed anonymously on a broadsheet by John Allde in London. The poem, entitled "A Moorning ditti upon the Deceas of the Most Noble Prins Henry Earl of Arundel . . . ," reviews the major events and achievements of Arundel's life and includes the following verses (lines 55-60).

For woorthy pleasures ells: his Hors and Armour sitch,
His skil profouund in both, his solem Queer

14 For inventories of the Westminster instruments see Francis W. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music - Their History and Character (London, 1910), pp. 292-300.


in the treatment of simple or compound diseases, or a chorus of musicians, who will alleviate grief and mitigate the frenzies of sickness." Possibly, the phrase "chorus of musicians" is as exaggerated as the "throng of physicians" seems to be, and it may even be that Watson's rhetorical figure was intended to point up the great number of books on medicine and the large collection of music in part-books. At any rate, the account dates from the last decade of the century, well past what was probably the zenith of social activity at Nonesuch during the third quarter of the century when Arundel was alive.

A significant account of musical activity at Nonesuch, and one that cannot be misinterpreted, is that of the chronicler Lysons who recorded a three-day party given by Arundel for Queen Elizabeth that began on the fifth of August, 1559. On that day, according to Lysons, "the Quen grace removyd from Eltham unto Nonshyche, my lord of Arundell's, and ther her grace had as gret cher evere nyght, and banketts; but ye sonday at nyght my lord of Arundell mad her a grett bankett at ys cost as ever was sene, for soper, bankett and maske, w^ drums and flutes, and all ye mysyke yt colde be, tyll mydnyght, and as for chere has not bene sene nor heard." John Strype mentions that on this occasion

19 Ibid., f. 5 verso. "Si in febrem incideris, et afflicta seu desperata valetudine labores, praesto est vel medicorum turba, qui in simplicium et compositorum cura desudabunt, vel musicorum chorus, qui aegritudinem lenient, et morborum insanias mitigabunt."

Petruccio Ubaldini, who was patronized by the Earl of Arundel. While the exact size and nature of Arundel's retinue at Nonesuch is not known, it is fairly certain the members of the household were numerous enough to include a large staff of musicians, foreign or otherwise. This is suggested not only in the account of Arundel's biographer, where four hundred and fifty "gentlemen and yeomen" are referred to, but also by an entry in the Calendar of Patent Rolls for November 20 of 1553.

Licence to the queen's councillor, Henry, earl of Arundell, to retain and keep in his service during his life the number of 200 persons, gentlemen or yeomen, over and besides all such persons as daily attend him in his household and all such as be under him in any office, and to give the same his livery, badge or cognizance; provided that the licence does not extend to any of the queen's servants named in the 'Chequyer roull' or to any others retained as the queen's servants.

The final documents to be considered are household accounts from Nonesuch preserved at Sandbeck Park, Rotherham, in the private archives of Lord Scarbrough. It had been hoped that expenses for music and perhaps even names of musicians would be listed, but such is not the case. The accounts are for the years 1574-77, and are evidently auditor's records that were

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26 Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of the Patent Rolls - Philip and Mary, I (1553-54), 390.

27 At my request, Lord Scarbrough was kind enough to bring the MSS to London for microfilming by the Office of the Register of National Archives, Historical Manuscripts Commission. A set of photos of these documents were also made available to me by Sears Jayne of Queens College, Brooklyn.
drawn up from more detailed accounts. Household expenses, wages, livery, badges, etc., for "his Lordship's folks" are referred to "as they apperith by the household bookes," but these volumes have evidently not survived.

After the death of Arundel in 1580 it is likely that music making on a grand scale declined at Nonesuch, for Lumley could never have had the means that Arundel was heir to. Since Arundel's only son, Henry Maltravers, had died some years earlier, Arundel willed Nonesuch and the London residence at Towerhill, along with the library, paintings, and other household goods, to Lord Lumley. The income-producing Earldom of Arundel, however, went by succession to Philip Howard, the son of Arundel's daughter Mary and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Lord Lumley not only inherited Nonesuch, but also enormous debts incurred during the lavish years of Arundel's hegemony, and it was this state of affairs that eventually led to his deeding Nonesuch back to the Crown. 28

The statement has been made that Lumley himself was one of those eminent bibliophiles who, like Harley and Cotton, and others, had no "personal interest in music or knowledge of it: they seem to have acquired it either incidentally or simply for the sake of having the subject represented on their shelves." 29

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28 Milner, op. cit., pp. 55, 63-64, 82, 85-88. According to Jayne and Johnson, op. cit., p. 9, the palace was given back to the Queen in 1590/1.

It must be pointed out, however, that not only did Lumley "pursue Recondite Learning as much as any man of his Honorable rank in those times,"\(^3\) but also that he was a generous and sympathetic Maecenas to some of the most prominent artists, literary men, and musicians of his day.

In addition to having the largest library of a private house in Elizabethan England, Nonesuch had the finest collection of paintings. The inventory of household goods made in 1596, a document described as being "of the highest importance in the history of Fine Arts in England,"\(^3\) lists portraits of most of the famous Europeans of the time painted by Hans Holbein, Richard Stevens, and others "of Anwarpe." Not only was Lumley an active patron, in particular for the Dutch artist, Richard Stevens, but he was also an amateur painter himself.\(^3\)

Besides being a Maecenas for artists, Lumley was a confidant of literary men, and his library was highly regarded as a rich source of manuscripts and books. An inscription at the beginning of the Author index of the 1609 catalogue states that


\(^3\) Lionel Cust, "The Lumley Inventories," *The Walpole Society*, VI (1917-18), 16.

the handlist was reserved by Lumley for the use of his friends. 33 The London residence of Arundel and Lumley at Tower Hill was especially noted as a gathering place for men of letters. Edmund Spenser must have been a frequent guest, for part of his Faerie Queene (Book III, Canto xi, stanzas 29-46) reveals an acquaintance with the pictures and tapestry that hung there. 34

That Lord Lumley possessed some enthusiasm for music as well as for letters, art, and the sciences, is suggested by the title of John Bull's Pavana and Galliarda "of my Lord Lumley," 35 and is made explicit by William Byrd, who dedicated his Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum of 1591 to Lumley. Byrd praised Lumley's willingness to share his library, his "most intense" love of the arts and sciences, and put himself in Lumley's debt for words of advice that seemed to Byrd "hardly mediocre in matters concerning music." At the end of his encomium Byrd wrote:

"Whatever Harmony has up to now suggested to my spirit or pen I


34 W. H. Welply, "John, Baron Lumley, 1534? - 1609," Notes and Queries, CLXXXI (1941), 86.

than 1580 consists of masses and liturgical motets of Palestrina and Byrd.\textsuperscript{37}

The presence in the Nonesuch library of practically every important kind of sixteenth-century music, solo and ensemble, vocal and instrumental, secular and sacred, points to the existence of a rich and varied musical life. That the great majority of prints and manuscripts were of continental origin is not surprising, for continental influence was particularly strong at Nonesuch during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. This influence is unmistakably revealed in the Italian sculpture and architecture, the patronage of Dutch painting and Italian calligraphy, and the rather intense Humanistic atmosphere that produced translations of the Classics by various members of the household.\textsuperscript{38} Arundel's frequent trips to the continent, both as an official emissary and as a tourist, would have kept him alive to the changing musical fashions in the Italian and Flemish courts, and he probably saw to it that fashions were changed at his own court in accordance with what he saw and heard abroad. Much of the Flemish and Italian music may have been purchased and brought

\textsuperscript{37}Cf. Jayne and Johnson, op. cit., p. 286, items 2596-99 and 2609.

\textsuperscript{38}Several translations and analyses of works of Cicero, Isocrates, Euripides, Erasmus, and others, made by Lord Lumley, Arundel's daughters, Jane and Mary, and his son, Henry Maltravers, are listed among the manuscripts surviving in the Old Royal Collection. See George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson (eds.), Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), I, 167; II, 1, 141, 142, 144, 225.
back to England with the idea of keeping Nonesuch in step with continental styles.

The above-cited documents leave little doubt that the Arundel-Lumley household included an impressive musical establishment. As a gathering place for Elizabethan artists, literary men, and musicians, the Nonesuch library was doubtless an important center in the dissemination of the intellectual and artistic achievements of the continental Renaissance. That Vautrollier in 1570 dedicated to Arundel the first collection of chansons and motets of Lassus to be printed in England,\(^{39}\) five years before the Cantiones of Byrd and Tallis appeared, indicates that the Earl had established himself as a patron of the latest in continental musical styles. With the largest private library of continental music of the sixteenth century in Elizabethan England, one of the finest collections of musical instruments, and a "solem Queer by vois and Instruments so sweet to heer," Nonesuch probably served as a showcase of continental musical taste and a source of instruction to English musicians during the crucial period of stylistic evolution between the death of Taverner in 1545 and the publication of the Byrd-Tallis Cantiones in 1575.

The various Gerards

* The Earl of Arundel would have had ample opportunity during the course of his political career to hand-pick a Flemish

musician for service at Nonesuch. Not only was he "twice Embassador to King Phillip in Flaunders," but he also visited various continental courts where he was entertained as the most powerful of the English nobility next to the Queen. According to his biographer the "greate entertainment which he received of forren Princes was much to be noted; they used him not in sorte of an ordinary nobleman, but with the greatest honour and solemnity, as to a personage of high credit and fame, whose name had (before his person sene) bene well knowen and understoode amonget them." 41

Since Arundel was the recognized leader of the old nobility and the Catholic party in England, his friendship was carefully cultivated by both Charles V and Philip II. 42 When Philip landed at Southampton in July of 1554, Arundel greeted him

40 The Moorning ditti on Arundel's death (supra, pp. 60-61) has marginal comments in prose, one of which reads "Twice Embassador to King Phillip in Flaunders and Chief Commissioner in Queene Maryes dayes."

41 Nichols, loc. cit., p. 211.

42 For a letter from Charles V to Arundel, as well as references to other correspondence between the two, see Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, XI (1553), 270, 284, 327. Also, a personal letter from Philip to Arundel expressing his sorrow over Mary's death is printed in M. Le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed.), Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II (II vols.; "Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire: Collection de chroniques belges," Vol. XXIV; Brusseis, 1882-1900), I, 318-19.
officially and exchanged gifts with him, and when Philip went to Brussels in September of 1555 Arundel went with him. As an important dignitary at the Flemish court, and as an influential ally of Philip, Arundel would probably have had no trouble arranging for the loan of a singer from the renowned chapel choir. In fact, the Earl could as easily have picked up a musician at any one of the continental courts he visited.

On the other hand, it is possible that Derick Gerarde had come to England on his own, perhaps as one of the hundreds of Protestant refugees who fled from the Catholic repressions in the Low Countries in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The great majority of the aliens settling in London were Dutch Protestants who made their living by various crafts and skills. That a fair number of musicians were among them is indicated in the two most important reports of aliens made during this period, one at Easter in 1567 and another in May of 1571. The latter census, for example, lists "Segar van Peacreu, a Netherlander, and a musician . . . who cam for religion, and is of the Douche church."
Some of the musicians accounted for in the census of 1571 had been in England for many years, as in the case of "Gregorie Castor, denizen, a musicioner, borne in Holland, and Elizabeth his weif, borne in Luke; he liveth by his arte of musick, and hathe dwelled within the ward xxiiij yeares, and goeth to his parish church."\(^\text{48}\)

With the decline of patronage in the great noble houses, most of the Dutch musicians who came to London after the Reformation probably had to earn their livelihood as free-lance artists, tutoring, copying, composing, and performing for anyone willing to pay for their services. Such a free agent is doubtless referred to in the account books of Sir Thomas Chaloner for 1551-53, which record a payment "to a Flemming Musician who teacheth my daughter for songbokes (Ytalian) in 4 parts."\(^\text{49}\)

Although a Derick Gerarde is not among the musicians listed in the alien reports, the name itself, or a version thereof, is not uncommon in the records of the Dutch in London. A "Dirick Ghiritz" is listed in a Dutch church register of 1561, and the name "Dierick Gheeraerdtsoen" may be seen along with many other Gerards, including several with the first name of Jean.\(^\text{50}\) None of these, however, is identified as a musician.

If Derick Gerarde had been a Protestant refugee, it seems improbable he would have formed close ties with the Catholic

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\(^{48}\) _Ibid._, II, 83.


\(^{50}\) Kirk and Kirk, _op. cit._, I, 279.
household at Nonesuch. On the other hand, in the third quarter of the century the emotional and social boundaries separating Catholic from Protestant had not yet been drawn taut, and it is possible Gerarde sought his livelihood in London along with the hundreds of other Dutch artisans, not caring particularly about his employer's religious commitment. Notable in this regard is the fact that Vautrollier, the Huguenot printer established in Blackfriar's, dedicated his Lassus Recueil of 1570 to the Catholic Earl of Arundel and included in the collection some Lassus chansons that were turned into chansons spirituelles. That Derick himself could include a setting of the decidedly Catholic, bi-textual Maria vernans rosa/Sancta Maria ora pro nobis (L4-8) in the same part-books with settings of the Calvinist graces (Priere devant le repas, L4-34, and Priere après le repas, L4-42) is an indication of the unsettled religious climate in which the practical musician had to survive.

Whether Gerarde was already in England before he was employed at Nonesuch, or whether he was brought to England by Arundel, cannot be determined on the basis of the evidence at hand. Either way, however, we are faced with a knotty problem of identity if it is assumed that Derick may be identified with one of the continental musicians named Gerarde, for the name appears in at least seventeen different forms in musical sources dating

roughly from 1540 to 1585. In addition to Jean Gerard, Jehan Girard, Gerardus, Geerhart, Ghirardo, Gheerkin, Gerardus van Turnhout, Jean (Gerardus) van Turnhout, Gerardus a Mes, Gerardus a Salice, Gerard je Cocq, and Geraert Obrecht, all of whom are represented by compositions, there is also Gerard Avidius, Sir Guerart, Jacques Gerard, Joachim Gerardus, and Gerardus Hayne, who are cited as being musicians. To complicate matters, there is no way of telling how many separate individuals are represented in this list.

The following chansons are attributed to "Jan Gerard (Geraert)" in prints of Phalese:

1. "Toutes les nuictes je ne pense" in Second livre des chansons a quatre parties ... -Louvain, P. Phaïsse, 1554.
2. "Est-il possible que l'on trouver" in Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties ... -Louvain, P. Phalese, 1555.
3. "Sans liberte qu'un bon" also in the Cinquiesme livre of 1555. A copy of this piece made by Charles Burney is included in British Museum, Additional MS, 11584.  

A Jean Gerard, presumably the same person as the composer in the prints of Phalese, is also listed among the cantores of the Flemish Chapel during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. According to Vannes, a document dated 1561 certifies that Gerard was married and had been a singer in the Flemish Chapel fourteen years. Another dated 1561 lists Gerard's benefices as follows: "aux prébendes de Nivelles; aux cousteries de Flandres; aux

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52 Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., II, 161.
personnats, cousteries et hospitaux de Brabant et Oultremeuse."  

His name appears on Chapel rosters dating from the years 1556, 1559, 1562, 1566, and 1572, and a commendatory letter written by Philip II dated February 25, 1575, provided him with an "ayuda de costa" of two hundred livres and a pension of "dix sols de deux gros, monnaye de Flandre, par jour." This was in consideration of "bons et longz services qu'il a fait en ladite qualité (de chantre), tant à feu de très-haulte mémoire l'empereur Charles-le-Quint, mon seigneur et père (cui Dieu absolle)."

From around 1547 until 1575, then, Jean Gerard sang in the Flemish Chapels of Charles V in Brussels and Philip II in both Brussels and Madrid. After the death of his father, Philip maintained both a Flemish and a Spanish Chapel, the former "comme un souvenir de la chapelle néerlandaise de son père," and even after Philip brought his court back to Madrid from Brussels in 1559 the two choirs were kept separate. At no time does the name Jean Gerard, or that of any other Gerard, appear on the lists of singers in the Spanish Chapels of Charles V and Philip II, nor

54 Edmond Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle* (Bruxelles, 1867-88), I, 245.


was Jean Gerard among the musicians who accompanied Philip to England in 1554. 60

After receiving his pension in 1575 Jean Gerard drops out of sight until April of 1583. This is the date of a letter written to Philip by Alexander Farnese, Governor-General of the Low Countries, requesting a favorable response to the "pretension of Jehan Gerard," whom he cites as being "formerly of Your Majesty's Chapel." 61 It is a covering letter, however, and nothing is said about what the request was, only that it ought to be granted on account of Gerard's many years of faithful service to the King. According to Lefèvre, the letter concerns one of a group of petitions received by Farnese and sent to Philip in connection with "la conservation du catholicisme en Bourgogne." 62

A composer named "Jehan Girard" is also cited in the records of the annual music festivals established in 1576 at Evreux in honor of St. Cecilia. 63 Listed in the documents as

60 For lists of singers in Philip's Chapel in England see Higini Anglés, La musica en la corte de Carlos V (Barcelona, 1944), p. 107 et passim.

61 Archives générales du royaume (Bruxelles), Audience, recueil 187, f. 154.


"chantre et chapellain en l'église cathédrale d'Evreux," Girard in 1580 received a prize for a chanson, and in 1602 was elected "Prince of the Conference." The lateness of his dates makes it seem unlikely that he was the same person as the Jean Gerard of the Flemish Chapel, for the latter had been pensioned in 1575 after at least 25 years of service. The possibility exists, of course, that the two Jean Gerards were related, perhaps father and son, and that the younger Jean was the "[John] Theodoricus Gerardi" who spent time in England in the third quarter of the century, leaving behind a rich cache of polyphony.

The name Gerard by itself occurs in its Latin, Dutch, Italian, and Dutch diminutive forms as an ascription of authorship in several mid-sixteenth-century prints and manuscripts. Attributed to "Gerardus:

2. "Adieu celle que jay servy" in Le douzièmes livre contenant trente chansons amoureuses à cinq parties ... -Antwerpen, T. Susato, 1550. Two copies of this piece are found in the British Museum, one made by Charles Burney in Additional MS. 11583, and the other, also dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, in Additional MS. 34071.

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64 T. Bonnin and A. Chassant, Puy de musique érigé à Evreux en l'honneur de madame Sainte Cécile; publié d'après un manuscrit du XVIe siècle (Evreux, 1837), p. 46.
65 Ibid., p. 66.
Van den Borren agreed with Eitner that the Gerardus and Geerhart of the Susato prints and the Jan Gerard of the Phalese prints were probably one and the same composer, but maintained the Ghirardo of the Gardano print was identified with Jan Gerard by Eitner "sans raisons suffisamment plausibles." Implied in this statement is the understanding that there were sufficient reasons for identifying Jan Gerard with Gerardus and Geerhart, but these reasons are not given. It may be that Van den Borren was swayed by the fact that the names Jan Gerard, Gerardus, and Geerhart, appear in sources from the same locale, whereas Ghirardo is found in Italian prints. Regardless of the geographical separation, however, Ghirardo may just as plausibly be connected with the Gerardi of the Flemish prints and manuscripts. In the first place, Gerarde is a Flemish name and was not common in Italy in either its Flemish or Italian form. In the second place, Netherlandish

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70 A transcription of this piece is provided by Coussemaker, *op. cit.* "Planches," pp. 15-17.

musicians frequently sojourned in Italy where they became attached to the chapels and courts of the church and the nobility.

That Ghirardo was in the service of a noble family is suggested by an ascription that appears in connection with one of his villotte. In Gardano's first book of villotte of 1557 the ascription of Patrone belle patronc appears simply as "Ghirardo," but in Gardano's third volume of villotte published in 1569 Adonai con voi lieta brigada is ascribed to "Ghirardo da Panico, Bolognese." The name "Panico" may refer either to a mountainous region near Bologna or to a noble Bolognese family of the same name. Possibly, Ghirardo da Panico was a Netherlander who settled in Bologna and became attached to the household of Panico. While there he could have been engaged by the Earl of Arundel on the latter's trip to Italy in 1566.

The only definite connection that has been made among the various Gerards listed so far is between Geerhart and Gheerkin. This connection is made on the basis of the fact that the Dutch chanson of Geerhart in Susato's Het ierste musyck boexken has the same text and music as the one of Gheerkin in the Cambrai manuscript. Even here, however, identity problems are raised, for there is no way of telling how many different Gheerkins are

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73 Ibid., I, 48.
represented in the Cambrai manuscript. Besides the pieces by plain
Gheerkin listed above, the fancifully decorated part-books also
contain a Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel (f. 48) attributed
to Gheerkin de Hondt and a motet, Dum penderet Petrus in cruce
(f. 79), ascribed to Gheerkin de Wale. Gheerkin de Hondt was
"maître de chant à la confrérie de N. D. de Bois-le-Duc" in 1539,
but Gheerkin de Wale is unknown outside his single listing in the
Cambrai manuscript. Not only is the latter totally obscure, but
there appears to have been a mix-up concerning his name. In the
indices of the Cambrai part-books it appears as "De Wale," but the
ascription on the folios bearing the music reads "Gheerkin Corael."

In his inventory of the Cambrai manuscript Coussemaker
suggested that Gheerkin could have been Gerardus van Turnhout, one of the better known Gerardi, but later writers have ignored
this suggestion. Van den Borren cited the theory of Van Duyse
that Susato's Geerhart, that is, the Cambrai manuscript's Gheerkin,
was either Gheerkin de Hondt or Gheerkin de Wale. Since he had
already stated his belief that Geerhart and Gerardus were the same
composer and identical with Jan Gerard, Van den Borren thereby
established a tenuous line of connection running from the Cambrai

75 The Kyrie of the mass of Gheerkin de Hondt and the motet
of Gheerkin de Wale are included among the transcriptions of
76 Vannes, op. cit., p. 108.
77 Coussemaker, op. cit., p. 76, n. 1.
78 Van den Borren, op. cit., p. 67, n. 2; and cf. Van Duyse, op. cit., pp. 5-6, 8.
manuscript's Gheerkin de Hondt or Gheerkin de Wale to the Flemish Chapel's Jean Gerard. When this line of connection is stretched by Van den Borren across the channel to include the British Museum's Derick Gerard, the variety of loosely assembled Gerardi becomes interesting, to say the least.

As a matter of fact any one of several apparently different musicians named Gerard could have written the pieces ascribed to Gerardus, Geerhart, Gheerkin, and Ghirardo. Besides Jean Gerard, the best known of these was Gerardus van Turnhout, who rose to the position of maître de chapelle for Philip II. Gerardi, whose real name was Jacques Gheert, was a singer at the Antwerp cathedral in 1545, becoming maître de chant there in 1563. He was in charge of the music for the Conference of the Virgin that was held at the Antwerp cathedral in 1563, and in 1564 he composed a Te Deum for the entry of Margaret of Parma into Antwerp. After the religious wars he spent time repairing the organ and copying music the iconoclasts had laid waste, and on May 2, 1571, he was received at Brussels by the Duke of Alva. The Duke presented him to Philip II, and in 1572 Gerardus became maestro de capilla at Madrid, remaining there and in that position until his death in 1580. His surviving compositions include a single published mass for five voices and a collection of three-voice motets in addition

79The most complete and up to date biography of Gerardus van Turnhout, from which the above account is taken, is that of Vannes, op. cit., pp. 396-97.
to a number of French and Dutch chansons in various Netherlands publications.  

If there is nothing about Gerardus van Turnhout that seems directly related to Derick Gerarde, there is at least nothing in his dossier that would have prevented him from spending some time in England and assuming temporarily a different name. It was not uncommon for clerics to change their names with changes in locale. If during the religious wars in the sixties Gerardus van Turnhout had wanted to get out of Antwerp he could have found no more congenial asylum than in the Catholic household at Nonesuch. That Gerardus was received at Brussels in 1571 by the Duke of Alva and presented to Philip II suggests the possibility of such an arrangement, for the Earl of Arundel was not only a frequent visitor to Brussels and a close friend of Philip, but he was also in correspondence with the Duke of Alva regarding the restoration of Catholicism in England.

The fact that the 1572 roster of the Chapel of Philip II cites "Gerardo de Turnhoudt" as maestro de capilla at the same time that "Joan Gerard" is listed as a singer, provides adequate proof of the separate identity of at least two Flemish musicians

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80 Eitner, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke, pp. 883-84.
81 A. Franklin, Dictionnaire des noms, surnoms et pseudonymes de l'histoire du moyen âge (1100 à 1530), (Paris, 1875), p. vi.
82 Milner, op. cit., p. 56.
named Gerard. Since both were active in the Low Countries in the middle of the sixteenth century, it may be surmised that either or both may be represented in the list of pieces of Gerardus, Geerhart, Gheerkin, and Ghirardo. From what is known about the circumstances of their careers it may also be surmised that either could have been the Gerard who went to England.

On the other hand, Derick Gerard may have been a close relative of either Jean Gerard or Gerardus van Turnhout. While there is no proof of a relationship between Jean Gerard of the Flemish Chapel and Jehan Girard of Evreux cathedral, as indicated earlier, it is known that Gerardus van Turnhout had a son who was a musician. Eitner quotes a document in which he is referred to as "Meester Jan Jacques, Gheerts' sone, sangmeester von Zyne Hoocheyt. Anvers 19. mars 1589." Nothing is known about him before 1577, the year of his appointment as chapel master at Saint Rombaud in Malines, but he is cited in the Acta capitularia as being "Bruxellensis." In 1586 he was chapel master for Alexander Farnese at Brussels, and after 1618 his name disappears from the records. The earliest music of his to appear is a chanson that was included in Phaleses' Een Duytsch Musyck Boeck of

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84 Eitner, Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon, (Leipzig, 1900-04), IX, 477.
85 Vannes, op. cit., p. 398.
Of the lesser known musicians named Gerard, Gerardus a Mes, Gerardus a Salice, Gerard le Cocq, and Geraert Obrecht have left compositions behind. Gerardus a Mes wrote a collection of four-voice souterliedekens published by Susato in 1561, and a five-voice motet in three partes that was published by Birckmann in Dusseldorf in 1556.\(^{88}\) The title-page of the tenor book of the volume of souterliedekens tells us all that is known about him: "Souter Liedekens V, het VIII Musyck-Boexken, met 4 Partien, gecomponeered bij Gherardus Mes, Discipel van Jacobus Clemens non Papa, te singen en te speelen op diversche Instrumenten."\(^{89}\)

Whether he was actually a disciple of Clemens, or an unknown using the name of a popular composer for commercial reasons, cannot be told. In any event he appears to have been a separate individual and may also be represented in the list of pieces of the various Gerards along with Jean Gerard and Gerardus van Turnhout.

Gerardus a Salice is remembered only as having written a four-voice motet, Os justi meditabitur, that was used by Glareanus in his Dodecachordon (1547) as an example of polyphony in the Hypolydian mode.\(^{90}\) In his index of authors Glareanus lists him

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\(^{88}\) Eitner, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke, p. 720.

\(^{89}\) Eitner, Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon, VI, 449.

as "Gerardus a Salice Flandrus." That most of the other composers represented in the Dodecachordon were active in the first half of the sixteenth century indicates that Gerardus a Salice also belonged to an earlier generation than that of Clemens, Lassus, and Derick Gerarde. There is no evidence at hand that would justify identifying him with any of the other Gerards.

Gerard le Cocq and Geraert Obrecht are each represented by a single composition, the former by a five-voice chanson ("Ung coeur en deuil je porte") in Phalese's Second livre des chansons a cinq et six parties of 1553, and the latter by a four-voice chanson ("Si par fortune maves") in Phalese's Second livre des chansons a quatre parties of 1554. Possibly, Gerard le Cocq was the composer identified in Flemish sources as Jehan le Cocq, or Johannes Gallus, and in Italian sources as Maistre Jhan of Ferrara. Geraert Obrecht has been identified with Jan Gerard, but this does not seem likely in view of the fact that a chanson attributed to Jan Geraert appears in the same Phalese print that includes the piece of Geraert Obrecht. On the other hand, the same print contains pieces attributed to both "Le Cocq" and

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91 Ibid., II, 255.
92 Eitner, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke, pp. 481 and 756.
93 See Van den Borren's articles on "Lecocq, Jean" and "Jean, Maître" in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
94 Eitner, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke, p. 138.
"Gallus," and there is little doubt these names refer to the same composer.

Other Gerards mentioned in connection with musical sources, but for whom no compositions have survived, are Gerard Avidius, Sir Geurart, Jacobus Gerardi, Gerardus Hayne, and Joachim Gerardus. According to Fétis, Gerard Avidius wrote a piece in honor of his teacher, Josquin, that Susato included in his Le septiesme livre, contenant vingt et quatre chansons a cinq et a six parties, composees par feu de bone memoire et tre excellent en Musique Josquin des Pres, printed in 1545. Fétis maintained that a comparative analysis of the musical style of the piece of Gerard Avidius and the two pieces attributed to Gerardus in Susato's fourth and twelfth books of chansons led him to believe that Gerard Avidius and Gerardus were the same composer. This conclusion of Fétis must be disregarded, however, for a search of the part-books of Susato's Septiesme livre has failed to reveal any music of Gerard Avidius upon which such an analysis could be based. There are twenty-three pieces by Josquin himself, one each of J. Lebrun, J. Vinders, Benedictus, and Gombert, but none of Gerard Avidius. The pieces by Benedictus and Gombert are settings of the same text, a lamentation on the death of Josquin. The poem itself appears complete on the last page of the tenor book, where

95 Biographie universelle des musiciens (Paris, 1866-70), I, 175-76.

90
it

i s h e a d e d by t h e f o l l o w i n g a s c r i p t i o n o f a u t h o r s h i p :

A v id ii Noviomagi,
Naenia."
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of t h i s

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A v i d i u s w r o t e n o t o n l y t h e poem, b u t a l s o

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It

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c l e a r from t h e e v i d e n c e

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settings.

"Gerardi

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t h a t G e r a r d A v i d i u s w r o t e o n l y t h e poem a n d h a d n o t h i n g

t o do w i t h t h e m u s i c .
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t h e Duke o f A l v a i n B r u s s e l s .
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The f o l l o w i n g

o f p a y m e n t s made t o t h e

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d a t e d a t B r u s s e l s by t h e Duke h i m s e l f

entry is included
is

s u b s c r i b e d a nd

i n No ve mb e r o f 1573:

A S i r G u e r a r t , p o r s e i s r a eses de s u s a l a r i e , d e s d e p r i m e r o
de E n e r o 1571 h a s t a f i n de J u n i o d e l d i c h o a n o que s e l e d i 6
l i c e n c i a , que son c i e n t o y o c h e n t a y dos d i a s , à nueve
p l a ç a s . ...........................................................................................
j.dcxzxviij
Di g o y o S i r G u e r a r t ,
dicho cantidad.

que r e c i b i

de G o n ç a l o Cano

Gerard m ol.

97

S i n c e t h e p e r i o d of d u t y c o v e r e d by t h e payment i s
the

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of J a n u a ry to the l a s t of June

t h a t Gerardus van Turnhout i s

the

of 1571,

"Sir Guerart"

it

from

is possible

r e f e r r e d to h e r e .

Y e t G e r a r d u s v a n T u r n h o u t s u p p o s e d l y was f ^ c e i v e d a t B r u s s e l s b y
t h e Duke o f A l v a on t h e
97

1927),

,
José Subira,
p. 31.

second of May,1571, whereas S i r G u e r a r t

La m û s i c a e n l a

/
c a s a de A l b a ( M a d r i d ,


was being paid for services beginning the first of January. The use of "Sir" within a Spanish text, plus the fact that the Spanish spelling of the name is avoided in the signature, "C. Gerard mol," indicates that Sir Gerard was Flemish or French, or perhaps even English. Whether the "Sir" is used in this instance as a term denoting social rank is not known, however. Nor is it known what the initial "C" or the word "mol" in the signature stands for.

One of the more confounding occurrences of the name is in a document already referred to, the 1571 roster of Philip's Chapel in Madrid. In addition to the name of Gerardus van Turnhout, who is listed as maestro de capilla, the names "Joan Gerard" and "Jacobus Gerardi" appear among the cantores. According to Vander Straeten, Jacques Gerard was a singer in the Netherlands before he came to Madrid to serve in the Royal Chapel. Although the first reaction would be to identify Jacobus Gerardi with Jan-Jacques, Gerardus van Turnhout's son, certain facts known about his life force us to conclude he was a separate individual. For instance, a document naming the members of the chapel that accompanied Philip II on a journey from Aragon and Cataluña to Monzón in 1585 lists "Jaques Gerard" as having died in Saragossa ("murió in Ċaragoça"), whereas Jan-Jacques van Turnhout may be

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98 Vander Straeten, op. cit., VIII, 99.
100 Nicolás S. Solar-Quintes, "Nuevo documentos sobre ministrioles, trompetas, cantoricos, organistas y capilla real de Felipe II," in Miscelánea en homenaje a monseñor Higinio Anglés (Barcelona, 1958-61), II, 886.
accounted for as late as 1618. That three different musicians
named Gerard were in the capilla flamenca in 1571 ought to serve
as a reminder that Gerard was a popular name, as well as to
discourage any tendency to identify one composer named Gerard
with another without adequate evidence.

According to Vannes, two musicians named Gérard Hayne
were active in the second half of the sixteenth century. One
was maître de chant in the chapel of the Imperial Court at Vienna
from 1567 to 1575 and the other was cantor et custus at the church
of St. John the Evangelist in Liège. The latter Gérard Hayne
studied music under Jean Guyot and is described by Vannes as "un
artiste de grand talent qui, selon les historiens, surpassa en
art, son maître." In his will Gérard Hayne of Liège speaks of
a Requiem of his that the singers were supposed to perform at his
death. He also refers to a setting of the Lamentations of Jeremiah,
but apparently none of this music has survived. The date of his
death is given in the following epitaph that is found near the en­
trance to the sacristy of St. Jean: "Ad honorem Dei sui memoriam
vivus posuit Venlis dnus Gerardus Hayne, cantor et custus hujus
Eccliae necon personatus de Borle A° 1592 qui obiit Anno 1601,
4 er Decembri." With the name Joachim Gerardus the list of Gerardi known
to be cited in connection with mid-sixteenth-century musical

103 Ibid.
sources is complete. According to a document cited by Van Doorslaer, Joachim Gerardus was among the choraux who received their education under Philippe de Monte. The document is dated 1571 and originated from the Imperial Court at Vienna where de Monte was maître de chapell for Maximilian II. Apparently, Joachim Gerardus did not sing in the choir, for there are no Gerards listed in the chapel rosters between 1569 and 1576.

Having listed the various Gerards, there remains the question of whether or not any one of them may be identified with Derick Gerarde. Unfortunately, no evidence has been uncovered that could help to establish any more than a speculative connection. Perhaps the most likely prospect is the Jean Gerard of the Flemish Chapel and the Phalese prints, for the circumstantial evidence linking him to Derick Gerarde is greater than that linking Derick to any of the others. Certainly, the appearance of the name "John Theodoricus" at the end of the tenor book of L4 ought not to be discounted in this regard, and probably none of the other Gerards was in a better position than Jean Gerard to have come in contact with the Earl of Arundel during the latter's visits to the Flemish court at Brussels. Vannes statement that Jean Gerard was apparently in the service of the Flemish court continuously from 1547 to 1575, and that he therefore would not have


105 Ibid., p. 54.
had time to establish himself in England during this period, should not be taken as conclusive. The records on which this statement is based are spread over a twenty-five year period with large enough gaps between them to permit a number of extended sojourns in England. Furthermore, the rosters of the Flemish Chapel for 1562 and 1566 are headed by the phrase "Les noms de ceulx du Pays-Bas de las chappelle de sa Magesté, tant absents que présents ...", which suggests the possibility that Jean Gerard could have been absent and still be listed officially as a member of the choir.

In his attempt to identify Derick Gerarde with Jean Gerard and Gerardus, Van den Borren pointed to the fact that both Derick and Jean Gerard set the text "Est il possible que l'on trouver," while both Derick and Gerardus set "Adieu celle que jay servy." He admitted there was nothing extraordinary about two composers with the same name setting the same text, but suggested a comparison of the style of the settings of the common texts might reveal whether or not the same composer produced them all. An examination of these settings, however, has revealed nothing upon which any decisions involving identity could be reasonably based. The differences in style could conceivably have been produced by the same composer, while the similarities were common to many. Indeed, the part-books of Derick Gerarde

106 Vander Straeten, op. cit., VIII, 40, 41, 80.
include a variety of types and styles that were fashionable in some cases as early as 1540 and in others as late as 1575. To compare the features of isolated pieces and use these comparisons as a basis for decisions regarding identity would involve no small amount of risk.

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 were an uncommon name in the sources of sixteenth-century music, there would perhaps be less hesitation in identifying Derick with Jean Gerard or Gerardus. That there were 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. 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.
not impossible that a text that appears to be made up of fragments
of a responsory is actually a different kind of text altogether.
Since the responsory fragments used by Gerarde have so far not been
identified as other kinds of texts, however, they will be listed
with the complete responsories.

Taken together, the complete and incomplete responsories
set by Gerarde represent most of the major feasts. These texts
are listed in Table 1 according to their position in the church
year. The majority are common to both the Roman and Sarum
Breviaries, but a few are peculiar either wholly or in part to
one or the other rite, as noted in the table. With one exception,
the texts consisting of the entire responsory are set in two
partes, while the incomplete texts, with one exception, appear
in undivided settings. In two instances, Magi veniunt and Bene-
dictus Dominus, Gerarde appears to have put together a text from
the parts of two different, but liturgically contiguous respons-
sories. In every case but one where the text of the responsory
is taken over complete the repetitio is set with the same music
to give an overall aBcB form. The exception to this is Honor
virtus, where the repetition of music is prevented by canons
in both partes.

In the responsories with aBcB form voices with the same
range occasionally exchange sections of repeated music, so that
what one voice sings at the end of the prima pars the other sings
at the end of the secunda pars. The more pairs of voices with
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Manuscript(s)</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Liturgical Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hodie nobis coelorum rex</td>
<td>L1-29, L3-10</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.1 for Nativity - BS, f. xxix (repetitio follows Sarum version)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Gloria in excelsis Deo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodie nobis de celo</td>
<td>L4-15</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.2 for Nativity - LU, p. 376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illuminare Jerusalem</td>
<td>L1-37, L3-23</td>
<td>RrV</td>
<td>R.5 for Epiphany - LR, p. 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magi veniunt ab oriente</td>
<td>L1-22, L5-28</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.7 for Epiphany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Interrogabat magos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R.8 for Epiphany - LR, pp. 76-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derelinquat impius</td>
<td>L1-1</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R.5 for first Sunday in Lent-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BR-Verma p. 321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The various parts of the responsory are abbreviated as follows: R - respond, V - versus, r - repetitio. The texts of a prima and secunda pars are separated by the sign /.

The liturgical sources cited are abbreviated as follows:
- LU Liber usualis (Tournai, 1961)
- LR Liber responsorialis (Solesmis, 1895)
- BR Breviarium Romanum (4 vols; Turin, 1960)
- BS Breviarium seu horarium domesticum ad usum Sarum (Paris, 1516)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Text</th>
<th>Liturgical Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derelinquat impius</td>
<td>L4-37</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R.5 for first Sunday in Lent— BR-Verna p. 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplicati sunt</td>
<td>L3-7</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.2 for Passion Sunday - BR-Verna, p. 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Ne quando dicat</td>
<td>L3-7</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.2 for Palm Sunday (Processional) - LU, p. 590 (&quot;Ingrediente&quot; in both Roman and Sarum versions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egrediente Domino</td>
<td>L3-5</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.2 for Palm Sunday (Processional) - LU, p. 590 (&quot;Ingrediente&quot; in both Roman and Sarum versions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In monte oliveti</td>
<td>L1-25</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.1 for Maundy Thursday - BS, f. cxxiiiV (Roman version has a different verse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Verumptamen non sicut</td>
<td>L1-25</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.1 for Maundy Thursday - BS, f. cxxiiiV (Roman version has a different verse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animam meam</td>
<td>L1-6, L3-22</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.6 for Good Friday - LU, p. 704 (not in Sarum Breviary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Congregamini et pro-</td>
<td>L1-6, L3-22</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.6 for Good Friday - LU, p. 704 (not in Sarum Breviary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R.1 for Easter Sunday - LR, p. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelus Domini descendit</td>
<td>L2-3</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.1 for Easter Sunday - LR, p. 83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this table and the ones that follow texts that appear in two different settings are listed twice. Texts with settings that are merely duplicated, however, are listed only once with an indication of the manuscripts in which the duplicate settings are found.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Manuscript(s)</th>
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<th>Liturgical Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dum transisset sabbatum</td>
<td>L1-13, L5-26</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.2 for Easter Sunday - BS, f. cxxiv (Roman version has &quot;Cum transisset&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viri Galilei</td>
<td>L1-19</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.11 for Ascension - LR, pp. 105-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictus Dominus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.2 for Trinity Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honor virtus et potestas</td>
<td></td>
<td>R(r)</td>
<td>R.6 for Trinity Sunday - BS, clxv - clxii (repetitio of secunda pars is that of R.2--R.6 does not appear in Roman Breviary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honor virtus et potestas</td>
<td>L1-24</td>
<td>Rr/Vr</td>
<td>R.6 for Trinity Sunday - BS, f. clxii (not in Roman Breviary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misit me vivens Pater</td>
<td>L2-12</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>R.8 for Corpus Christi - LU, p. 938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si bona suscepsimus</td>
<td>L2-28</td>
<td>R V</td>
<td>R.1 for First Sunday of September - LR, p. 422 (Sarum version has different verse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominus dedit</td>
<td>L2-29</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>repetitio of above respond</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
common ranges in a piece the more likely it is that such inter-
change will take place. In the eight-voice Hodie nobis coelorum
rex, for example, the primus superius exchanges its repetitio
with the secundus superius, the primus contratenor with the
secundus contratenor, and the primus bassus with the secundus
bassus. Only the tenor and quintus keep the same music for the

After the responsories the next most numerous liturgical
texts set by Gerarde are antiphons, which are listed in Table 2
according to their position in the liturgical year. Unless
otherwise noted the Roman and Sarum versions are identical.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
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<th>Liturgical Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tu Bethlehem</td>
<td>L4-20</td>
<td>Lauds on feria 3 after the third Sunday of Advent - AR p. 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelus ad pastores</td>
<td>L1-30</td>
<td>Lauds of the Nativity - LU, p. 397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodie Christus natus est</td>
<td>L1-31, L4-71</td>
<td>Second Vespers of the Nativity - LU, p. 413</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\*Liturgical sources cited are abbreviated as follows:
LU Liber usualis
AR Antiphonale Romanum (Paris, 1949)
PM Processionale monasticum (Solesmis, 1893)
VP Variae preces (Solesmis, 1893)
AS Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum (Paris, 1519-20)
Six of the Latin texts set by Gerarde consist of complete Psalms (cf. Table 3), each of which appears without the Gloria Patri. Since Psalms may appear more than once in a variety of canonical and votive offices, and since a certain amount of disparity in the disposition of Psalms is found among fifteenth and sixteenth-century Breviaries, it is not possible to determine exactly their liturgical use.
**TABLE 3**

**PSALM-MOTETS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Manuscript(s)</th>
<th>Psalm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deus in nomine tuo</td>
<td>L4-66</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Ecce enim Deus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</td>
<td>L4-39</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</td>
<td>L4-64</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhesit pavimento</td>
<td>L4-38</td>
<td>118(Daleth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Dormitavit anima mea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad te levavi oculos meos</td>
<td>L1-18, L3-29</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Miserere nostri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beati omnes</td>
<td>L4-46</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Ecce sic benedicetur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laudate Dominum</td>
<td>L1-34, L4-69</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other liturgical texts besides the responsories, antiphons, and Psalms include an introit, a hymn, and three texts that combine liturgical items in such a manner that their specific liturgical function is obscured, if any was intended. There is the possibility that the three mixed texts were at one time liturgical entities in their own right and that they have not yet been identified as such in the older books. In any event, they are listed as miscellaneous texts in Table 4, with present usage indicated.

One of the mixed-liturgical texts consists of two New Testament verses, *Sic Deus dilexit* (John 3:16) and *Venite ad me*...
### Table 4

**MISCELLANEOUS LITURGICAL TEXTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Manuscript(s)</th>
<th>Liturgical Position&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ascendens Christus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Ascendo ad patrem</td>
<td>L3-11</td>
<td>1p) Responsor 7 (Rr only) for Ascension - LR, pp. 102-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Lauds antiphon (ad Bened.) for Ascension - LU, p. 845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Laetare Jerusalem</strong></td>
<td>L1-7, L5-34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Introit for Mass on fourth Sunday of Lent - LU, p. 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Puer qui natus est</strong></td>
<td>L1-4, L3-14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Hic precursor dlectus</td>
<td></td>
<td>1p) Vespers antiphon (ad Magnif.) for Nativity of John the Baptist - LU, p. 1505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Responsor 6 (Rr only) for Nativity of John the Baptist - LR, p. 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sic Deus dilexit</strong></td>
<td>L1-15, L4-44, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p) Venite ad me omnes</td>
<td></td>
<td>1p) Lauds antiphon (ad Bened.) for second feria within the octave of Pentecost - AR, p. 510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p) Lauds antiphon for the Feast of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus - AR, p. 538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urbs beata Jerusalem</strong></td>
<td>L6-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hymn for Office of the Dedication of a Church - AM, p. 694</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Liturgical sources cited are abbreviated as follows:

- **LR** Liber responsorialis
- **LU** Liber usualis
- **AR** Antiphonale Romanum
- **AM** Antiphonale monasticum (Paris, 1949)
omnia (Matthew 11: 28), that have been found as a liturgical unit only in the Anglican Liber precum publicarum, which was the Latin version of the Book of Common Prayer published in 1560. Here the two verses appear together as "Words of Consolation" that are spoken during the Communion Service. In spite of the fact that the settings of the two verses are separated in L4, there is little doubt that Gerarde intended them to be connected. In the index of L1 the piece is listed as "Sic Deus dilexit – 2p Venite ad me omnes." Furthermore, the two partes are connected by an "Alleluia" that is set to the same music at the end of each pars, giving an overall aBcB form. The added "alleluia" does not appear in the Anglican version, but it does occur at the end of one of the liturgically unrelated Roman antiphons that make separate use of the two verses (cf. Table 4).

A final category of liturgical texts has been reserved for three motets that Gerarde himself labeled for liturgical use. The only one of these that may be attributed to Gerarde, however, is an eight-voice Christmas carol, Noe noe exultemus (L1-35, L4-63), the bass part of which in the L4 version is labeled "De nativitate Domini." The other two labeled pieces are Arcadelt's Estate fortes in bello (L5-9), an All Saints antiphon made proper to St. George by inscription ("De Sancto Georgio"), and the

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3Cf. supra, p. 40.
unattributed *Laudem dicite Deo nostro* (L5-6), which is a Sarum responsory properly labeled for All Saints ("De omnibus Sanctis"). Of the three labeled motets only the one ascribed to Gerarde has not been located in the liturgical books.

The sacred Latin texts set by Gerarde that have not been identified liturgically may be divided up into two general classes: biblical and non-biblical. Many of these texts no doubt had at one time a place in the liturgy that is not prescribed by present-day usage. It has been suggested already that some of the texts that appear to be fragments of responsories may be other kinds of texts that have not been identified in the older liturgical books. As Jacquelyn Mattfeld has stated,

> from the 9th century on, each diocese, each monastic order, and many a large cathedral or collegiate church honored its own saints and even celebrated the feasts of the Temporale in offices peculiar to itself. These offices were drawn up not only by selecting and recombing Biblical texts to form new texts that would be specifically applicable to the saint or occasion commemorated, but also by the composition of original texts.5

Among the non-biblical, liturgically unidentified texts of Gerarde are two honoring the Virgin: the metrical *O Maria vernans rosa*, the *quinta vox* of which sings the phrase "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis" as an ostinato, and *Laudemus omnes*. Five of the non-biblical texts are prayers of petition and penitence. These are listed in Table 5 along with the two Marian texts and

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Manuscript(s)</th>
<th>Scripture&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognovi Domine 2p) Veniant mihi</td>
<td>L1-38, L3-24</td>
<td>Psalm 118:75/77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domine clamavi 2p) Vide humilitatem</td>
<td>L1-5, L4-47</td>
<td>Psalm 140:1.../</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domine ne memineris 2p) Aduiva nos</td>
<td>L1-17, L4-56</td>
<td>Psalm 24:18...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego autem cantabo</td>
<td>L1-27, L4-76</td>
<td>Psalm 58:17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego autem cantabo</td>
<td>L4-17</td>
<td>(same as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego Dominus hoc est</td>
<td>L2-4</td>
<td>Isaiah 42:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Acts 4:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Acts 2:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego flos campi</td>
<td>L2-36</td>
<td>Song of Solomon 2:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Song of Solomon 4:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fremuit spiritus Jesus</td>
<td>L2-31</td>
<td>John 11:[33], 34-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratia vobis</td>
<td>L1-39</td>
<td>Second Corinthians 50:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In tribulatione mea</td>
<td>L1-33, L4-70</td>
<td>Psalm 17:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levavi oculos meos</td>
<td>L2-32, L4-9</td>
<td>Psalm 120:1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miserere mei Deus</td>
<td>L2-10</td>
<td>Psalm 50:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miserere mei Domine 2p) Convertere Domine</td>
<td>L4-7</td>
<td>Psalm 6:3/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misericordia et veritas</td>
<td>L4-25</td>
<td>Psalm 84:11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Bracketed numbers refer to verse fragments, while unidentified words and phrases other than connectives are indicated by dots. Scripture that has been reworded or paraphrased in part is underlined. The texts of a prima and secunda pars are separated by the sign /.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Manuscript(s)</th>
<th>Scripture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunquid adheret tibi Et factus est</td>
<td>L1-3</td>
<td>Psalm 93:20-21/22-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrerunt Maria et Martha Videns Jesus</td>
<td>L1-12, L3-28</td>
<td>John 11:32, [40] / John 11:33, [43], [44], [40]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omnis caro foenum Vere foenum</td>
<td>L1-21</td>
<td>Isaiah 40:6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parvulus filius</td>
<td>L2-30</td>
<td>Isaiah 9:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quare fremuerunt gentes</td>
<td>L3-4</td>
<td>Psalm 2:1-2, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quare tristis es</td>
<td>L1-9, L3-27</td>
<td>Psalm 41:[6], [9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respice in me</td>
<td>L4-65</td>
<td>Psalm 24:16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timor et tremor Exaudi Deus</td>
<td>L1-28</td>
<td>Psalm 54:[6]...[5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Psalm 56:[2] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Psalm 60:[2]...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Psalm 70:[7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Psalm 30:[18]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timor et tremor Exaudi Deus</td>
<td>L3-8</td>
<td>(same as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vias tuas Domine</td>
<td>L2-34</td>
<td>Psalm 24:[4], [5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Psalm 118:133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Psalm 16:[5]...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voce mea ad Dominum clámavi In die tribulationis</td>
<td>L4-41</td>
<td>Psalm 76:2/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
indication of their scriptural make-up. In her article on Josquin's liturgical motets Jacquelyn Mattfeld has pointed out that such biblical melange texts are among the most problematic, and that similar identifiable texts have been found to belong to one of three groups. First, of course, there are the texts of introits, graduals, antiphons, and responsories, which are often a juxtaposition of materials from several places in the Bible. Since many of the liturgical texts in wide circulation in the 15th and early 16th centuries are no longer prescribed by the Roman Church today, these are sometimes mistaken by music historians for free treatment of gospel selections. . . . A second kind of liturgical text commonly made up of combinations of passages from Old and New Testament are, those found in the "composed" offices mentioned above. In them, texts indicated as Tractus or Psalmus are often compilations of whole lines and brief fragments from various places in Scripture, evidently selected because of their having related content appropriate to the feast celebrated in the office. The same is often true of lections and responsories for such offices, which may be only two or three sentences long, or may be of considerable length.

Another type of melange text common in the 15th and 16th centuries seems to have been that in which the composer selected and combined fragments of psalm texts with or without original conjunctive material in order to express some political or personal opinions or sentiments.

Eight of Gerarde's motets use biblical texts that appear to fit either the first or the second of Mattfeld's categories. Three of these, Omnis caro foenum, Ego flos campi, and Ego Dominus hoc est, are made up of selected but essentially unaltered verses, while two others, Parvulus filius hodie natus est and Gratia vobis, begin with words of scripture and then deviate

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6 Located with the aid of PP. de Raze, de Lachaud, and Flandrin's Concordantiarum SS. Scripturae Manuale editio in commodissimum ordinem disposita et cum ipso textu sacro de verbo ad verbum sexies collata (Paris, 1950).

in the manner of a paraphrase. There is an antiphon for Lauds in 
Nativitate Domini that begins with the same words as Gerarde's 
Parvulus filius, but it does not continue the same in either the 
Roman or Sarum versions.\(^8\) Also, a number of benedictions begin­
ning with the words "Gratia vobis et pax a Deo" are included in 
the Elizabethan Preces privatae of 1564, but none of these con­
tinues with the same text as the Gerarde setting.\(^9\)

Two other texts that may fit into one or the other of 
Mattfeld's first two biblical melange categories are Fremuit 
spiritus Jesus and Occurrerunt Maria et Martha, both of which 
deal with the story of the raising of Lazarus. Clemens and 
Lassus also set Fremuit spiritus Jesus, but added a secunda pars 
and a repeated phrase "Lazare veni foras," which appears in one 
voice in the form of an ostinato.\(^10\) The L2 setting of Fremuit 
spiritus Jesus does not include the ostinato, at least among the 
surviving parts, but it does occur in Gerarde's Occurrerunt Maria 
et Martha, the text of which is arranged and set in the form of 
a responsory (i.e., Rr/Vr). Probably both these texts, Fremuit 
spiritus and Occurrerunt Maria, were at one time connected with 
a feast celebrating the raising of Lazarus that is no longer

\(^8\) Liber usualis, p. 399.

\(^9\) Cf. William Keatinge Clay (ed.), Private Prayers Put 
Forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth ("Publica­

\(^10\) Cf. Eduard Reeser (ed.), Drie oud-nederlandse motetten 
("Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis," Vol. XLIV; 
Amsterdam, 1958), pp. 17-32, and F. X. Haberl and Adolf Sandberger 
(eds.), Orlando di Lassos Sämtliche Werke (Leipzig, 1894-1926), 
XV, 23-29.
privatae of 1564, as well as the various Horae and Primers, contained prayers and devotional texts that were adapted from scripture for a variety of domestic uses, and composers may have made more use of these as sources of texts than is presently realized. The Elizabethan Preces privatae, for example, includes a section of selected Psalm verses labeled "Flores Psalmorum," and two of Gerarde's texts, Miserere mei Domine and Miserere mei Deus, are to be found there. A search of various Horae and Primers, both Roman and Sarum, has failed to yield any other Gerarde texts, however.

There is a possibility that some of the Psalm fragments set by Gerarde were intended to serve a fixed liturgical function. Two of the texts, Ego autem cantabo and Domine ne memineris, are Alleluia verses according to present-day usage. The fact that one or two verses of a Psalm are often used for a variety of liturgical chants, however, makes it difficult to establish the exact liturgical identity of a text made up of those verses.

13 Editions of both the Orarium and Preces privatae are available in Clay, Private Prayers, pp. 115-208 and 209-428.


15 Clay, Private Prayers, pp. 311 and 313.

16 Volumes searched include Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie secundum usum Sarum (Antwerp, 1525), Hore Intemerase Virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum (Paris, 1500), and An Uniforme and Catholyke Prymer in Latin and Englishe (London, 1555).

A final category of Gerarde's Latin texts has been reserved for four non-sacred lyrics: Fortem vocemus, which appears in two different settings (L4-2 and L4-67), Omnibus in rebus (L2-38), Ex animo cuncti (L2-39), and Dulces exuviae (L3-6). Of these, only Dulces exuviae has been identified. This text, which is Dido's Lament from Vergil's Aeneid (Bk. IV, 11. 651-58), was one of the best known Latin lyrics of the sixteenth century, and its popularity with Renaissance composers has been a subject of interest for some time.\textsuperscript{18}

The extent to which Gerarde performed acts of "personal criticism" by selecting and piecing together his own text material cannot be determined with any accuracy. It is almost certain, however, that many if not most of the more unusual and complex texts were either taken intact from unknown liturgical sources, or were borrowed from the motets of other composers. Indeed, except for seven of the unidentified, non-biblical texts,\textsuperscript{19} and the three unidentified secular lyrics, Gerarde's Latin texts may be found in a number of settings by other composers in various Netherlandish, German, Italian, and English


\textsuperscript{19}These are the first seven texts listed in Table 5 (supra, p. 108).
collections dating from the second half of the sixteenth century. Perhaps it is more than coincidental that many of these texts can be traced to the motet collections that were available on the shelves of the Nonesuch library. These collections include not only settings of the routine liturgical texts set by Gerarde, but also settings of a significant number of his more unusual texts. For example, one finds the Psalm cento *Quare tristis es* and the responsory fragment *Creator omnium Deus* set by Lassus, the unidentified Christmas text *Noe noe exultemus* set by Antonius Scandellus, the biblical melange text *Ego flos campi* set by Clemens non Papa, the Psalm cento *Timor et tremor* set by Lassus, the New Testament verses *Sic Deus dilexit* and *Venite ad me omnes* set by Francisco de Rivulo in exactly the same manner that Gerarde set them (i.e., aB/cB), the unidentified *Vivere vis recte* set by N. de Wismes, and the Marian text *Maria vernans rosa* set by Clemens.

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20 Orlando Lassus, *Selectissimae cantiones quas vulgo motetae vocant* (Nuremberg, 1568), numbers VII and XXV. The Lumley catalogue number of this print is 17 (cf. Jayne and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 285).

21 *Thesaurus musicus . . . tomus primus* (Nuremberg, 1564), number 29. The Lumley catalog number of the five volumes of this collection is 2 (cf. Jayne and Johnson, *loc. cit.*).

22 *Thesauri musici tomus secundus*, number 3.

23 *Thesauri musici tomus tertius*, number 6.


26 *Liber primus cantionum sacrarum* (Louvain, 1555), f. 13. The Lumley catalog number of this print is 1 (cf. Jayne and Johnson, *loc. cit.*).
Unfortunately, Gerarde does not reveal a definite personality in his choice of texts. One searches in vain for topical or political texts, or texts of a personal nature that might tell us something about him as an individual. As seen through his texts he seems hardly more than an anthologist. Indeed, the textual diversity of his part-books presents a strongly utilitarian aspect, as if they had been put together to serve a variety of domestic purposes ranging from the frivolous to the solemn. We shall consider what these purposes were with regard to the motets after we have investigated aspects of the music other than the purely textual.

**Classical types and mannerist devices**

Gerarde's compositional technique is solidly based on procedures that had become standard throughout much of Europe by the middle of the sixteenth century, procedures that are recognized generally as the basic elements of a classical Netherlands motet style. Yet Gerarde deviates from these procedures in a variety of ways and in a manner that is clearly the result of a desire to be expressive. Indeed, he must be counted as one of the generation of composers headed by Lassus in whose hands the Flemish motet began to be infused with the expressive devices of mannerism.

Perhaps the two clearest signs of mannerist temperament, and the two that most often accompany the decay of a classical
and in a few instances in the underlay of text. Perhaps it is
more than coincidental that the italic is used for the underlay
of the madrigals and the most advanced and expressive of Gerarde's
motets, *Quare fremuerunt gentes* and *Dulces exuviae*.

Gerarde's sensitivity to text is reflected clearly in
his respect for word rhythms. This concern is made obvious in
the music itself by a frequent use of dotted rhythms in order
to reproduce strong and weak syllables, as in Example 1.

**EXAMPLE 1.** a) Opening of *superius* of *Vivere vis recte* (l.4-
l.6); b) Extract from *superius* of *Miserere mei Domine* (l.4-7).

Gerarde's sensitivity to word rhythms is also reflected
in the application of text to music. Frequently the number of
notes in a phrase corresponds to the number of syllables in the
text, care being taken to avoid the "barbarism" of placing
strong syllables in weak metrical position. The opening subject
of *Domine da mihi* provides a good example of Gerarde's most
sure-footed text declamation (cf. Example 2).

Melismas and repeats of text are often clearly indi-
cated with a precise placement of words and syllables, as in
about whether a melisma or a repeat of text is intended. With or without repeat signs passages such as those provided in Example 4 require judicious editing.

**EXAMPLE 4.** a) Extract from *contra* of *Miserere mei Domine* (L4-7); b) Extract from *contra* of *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha* (L1-12, L3-28).

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In connection with our discussion of Gerarde's treatment of text it ought to be noted that minor variants sometimes occur between concordant pieces as a result of differences in the handling of word-rhythms and word repetitions. In the L1 version of *Hodie nobis coelorum rex*, for example, Gerarde eliminates the repetition of a word that occurs in the L3 version without altering the essential melodic, harmonic, or contrapuntal design (cf. Example 5).

**Mode and range**

Based on an examination of voice ranges, key signatures, and final chords, thirty-eight of Gerarde's motets have been found to be in transposed Dorian on G with one flat in the
signature, twenty-two in transposed Ionian on F with one flat in the signature, fifteen in Mixolydian with nothing in the signature, nine in Aeolian with nothing in the signature, and four in untransposed Dorian with nothing in the signature. The modal characteristics are for the most part clearly and consistently established in all the modes except Aeolian. In some of the pieces in Aeolian a considerable number of b-flats appear as accidentals, which suggests at times a strong Phrygian bias. This may be seen in Quare tristis es (Vol. II, p. 352) where the b-flat is used with enough frequency, particularly at cadences, to cause some confusion as to whether the mode of the piece is Aeolian or transposed Phrygian on A.

Of the four or five overlapping authentic and plagal octaves available in each of the modes within the extended Renaissance gamut only the high authentic octave of Aeolian has not been encountered in the motets of Gerarde. As a rule, each voice is assigned a range within a particular authentic or plagal
octave and rarely moves more than a tone above or below that octave. The superius may be assigned either the high authentic or high plagal ranges of the modes (c' - g''), the contratenor the high plagal or middle authentic (f-d''), the tenor the middle authentic or low plagal (c-g'), and the bassus the low plagal or the low authentic (F-d'). The quinta vox, as the high vagans, may be given any range from the high authentic down to the middle authentic, inclusively, while the sexta vox, as the low vagans, may be assigned any octave from the middle authentic down to the low authentic. In three of the prayer-motets, Da mihi Domine, Non me vincat, and Domine da mihi, the bassus uses the low range (D-d) of both G-Dorian and untransposed Dorian. Even though these low parts are texted, it is possible they were meant to be played, or doubled, on the organs, sackbuts, and bass viols available at Nonesuch. Another possibility is that the pieces with the contra-bass clef (\(\text{contra-bass clef}\)) are written in a modulating vocal notation, the so-called low chiavette, and that they were intended to sound a third higher than written. It seems more likely, however, that the F clef was moved up merely to avoid using ledger lines for the bass notes.

The large number of discrete octave ranges in use is reflected in the notation in the use of a variety of standard Renaissance clefs, ranging from the G clef, formed in the modern manner, to the contra-bass clef (\(\text{contra-bass clef}\)). In typical Renaissance fashion, however, Gerarde does not use the available musical space the same way for every piece. Indeed, one is
struck by the variety of ways in which the authentic and plagal octaves in their high, middle, and low range are divided up among the voices. From motet to motet Gerarde alters the density of a given register by adding or subtracting voices with the same octave range. An idea of the various shades of voicing that Gerarde is able to achieve in this manner may be had by examining the various combinations of clefs as they are given in the thematic index (cf. Vol. II).

Accidentals and musica ficta

As a rule the modes retain their linear integrity in Gerarde's polyphony, but there are important and revealing exceptions. Within his imitative, multivoice textures purely melodic tendencies are often purposely negated and the purity of the modes violated for harmonic as well as for contrapuntal reasons. Consequently, Gerarde makes liberal use of sharps and flats. In some instances they prevent the application of musica ficta in order to protect a desired harmony or insure the integrity of an imitation. At other times they indicate necessary alterations that the singer probably would not have made without an indication from the composer. Indeed, a generous use of accidentals was perhaps the only way to avoid confusion among the singers of Gerarde's time, to whom the application of musica ficta was
probably as much a relic of the past as involved canons and intricate proportions. 27

In an attempt to make his intentions clear to the singer, Gerarde provided two different kinds of accidentals, which may be labeled "actuating" and "preventive." Actuating accidentals are placed by notes that the singer is obliged to alter, while preventive accidentals are placed by notes that are not to be altered. Actuating accidentals include sharped leading tones, raised thirds, and flats on B and E, most of which would probably appear gratuitous to a singer trained in the application of musica ficta. The preventive accidentals, on the other hand, prevent the flattening of the B and E by musica ficta.

Normally, Gerarde uses accidentals of both types for one of four reasons: 1) to insure linear adjustments of the kind formerly left to the performers, 2) to produce desirable vertical sonorities, or prevent undesirable ones, 3) to make exact imitations at intervals other than the unison or octave, and 4) to effectively set off or express a phrase of text. The two chief kinds of accidentals used to insure proper linear alterations, the raised leading tone and the flatted sixth degree in Dorian,

27 That there were problems in the use of musica ficta even among the most highly trained professionals of the day is indicated by Ghiselin Danckerts in his report of an interpretive dispute that took place between singers of the Papal Chapel, namely, Danckerts, Morales, and Costanzo Festa. Cf. Lewis Lockwood, "A Dispute on Accidentals in Sixteenth-Century Rome," Analecta musicologica, II (1965), pp. 24-40.
may be seen along with the picardy third at the end of the prima pars of *Ad te levavi* (Vol. II, p. 340, mm. 76-79).

Actuating accidentals are frequently used for no other apparent reason than to produce chords with raised thirds. In *Da mihi Domine*, for example, f-sharp is introduced frequently in order to produce major chords on D (Vol. II, p. 346). These accidentals may be as far removed from the mode as the raised third of the sixth scale degree, but these are comparatively rare and occur only in pieces in F-Ionian and Mixolydian. A g-sharp that occurs in Mixolydian as a result of a desire for major harmony may be seen in Example 6.

**EXAMPLE 6. Extract from *Peccantem me* (L1-16, L4-48).**

To insure major harmonies on G or C, the preventive sharp on B or E is often employed. It appears with particular frequency,
however, as a means of preventing the flatted fifth above E or A. This use of the preventive sharp may be seen in measure 14 of the bassus in *Ad te levavi* (Vol. II, p. 333).

Accidentals of the actuating type are also used to make exact imitations at intervals other than the octave or unison, occasionally in spite of the unusual vertical sonorities they create. In *Laetare Jerusalem*, for example, a g-sharp that is introduced in the sexta vox in imitation of a c-sharp in the bassus produces an augmented sixth with a B-flat in the bassus (cf. Example 7).

**EXAMPLE 7.** Extract from *Laetare Jerusalem* (L1-8, L5-34).

Occasionally, actuating accidentals may be used for reasons other than harmonic or contrapuntal expediency. In *Tribulationem nostram*, in order to set off the words "et iram tu e,"
Gerarde suddenly steps out of the mode by introducing a c'-sharp at the beginning of a point of imitation (Example 8).

**EXAMPLE 8.** Extract from *Tribulationem nostram* (L1-14, L4-58).

In Gerarde's deliberate use of accidentals one can see an almost complete abandonment of the idea of leaving *musica ficta* up to the performer. Yet there are numerous instances where the singer is apparently left to alter a note on his own without a sign from the composer. Fortunately, most of these cases are clearly defined by context, and only a few are problematic.

Sharps and flats are placed to the left, below, or above the note affected, and in some instances appear to have been hastily written in, probably during the course of a rehearsal. As a rule, the accidentals placed below or above the note are the preventive and actuating sharps, the flat being rarely if
ever placed in these positions. Apparently, Gerarde intended the accidental to affect only one note, for there are numerous instances, especially in the more carefully copied part-books, where sharps are provided for each note in a repeated series (cf. Example 9).

EXAMPLE 9. Extract from the tenor of *Da mihi Domine* (L1-11).

![Example 9](image)

On the other hand, there are places, mostly in the less neatly copied volumes, where one accidental obviously affects two or three succeeding notes of the same pitch, even though other notes may have intervened (cf. Example 10).

EXAMPLE 10. Extract from contra of *Dulces exuviae* (L3-6).

![Example 10](image)

Thomas Whythorne, in an "Advertisement concerning the use of Flats and Sharps" printed at the end of the tenor book of his *Songes* of 1571, pointed out that the common practice was to indicate each sharped note, but that a practical necessity had forced him to change this procedure.
sixteenth century treatises were devoted to the principles of composing music that would excite the passions in the manner of poetry or rhetoric. According to Friedrich Blume, these guides to the composition of musical rhetoric were given a "systematisches Zusammenfassung" in Joachim Burmeister's *Musica poetica* of 1606. In this slender volume Burmeister laid down practical guide lines for both the composition and analysis of "poetic music," with examples taken from the motets of Lassus and his close Flemish and German contemporaries. Much of what Burmeister says is appropriate and, as we shall see, illuminating, in our discussion of Gerarde's music.

In a chapter devoted to the methods of analysis (*De analysi sive dispositione carminis musici*) Burmeister advises the tyro to consider the motet as a series of affections or periods ("affectiones sive periodes"), each of which consists of a section of music devoted to the setting of a single phrase of text and its repetitions. The central task of analysis is to establish the identity of the musical setting of each period or affection by examining the various musical devices that give it dimension and character. He discusses these purely musical devices in a rhetorical context, however, as if they were the

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29 A list of the treatises dealing with *musica poetica* is provided by Friedrich Blume in his article on Burmeister in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, II (1952), 491-92.


ornaments or figures of musical speech. In an attempt to acquaint the young composer with the figures and their use as compositional devices, Burmeister devotes a considerable portion of his book to their definition and provides a large number of examples of their use by Lassus, Clemens non Papa, and others.\textsuperscript{32}

Burmeister's instincts as a musical humanist were not restricted to regarding single melodic, harmonic, or rhythmic devices as rhetorical figures, but were operative even in the area of form. Indeed, he advised the composer to regard the motet as if it were an exercise in rhetoric having three parts: a beginning (\textit{exordium}), the body of affections or periods (\textit{corpus cantilenarum}), and an ending (\textit{finis}). The \textit{exordium} is the formal introduction and usually consists of a point of imitation, while the \textit{finis} is the formal close, or \textit{supplementum}, in which one or two of the voices sustain pitches while the others establish the \textit{clausula principalis}. Between the \textit{exordium} and \textit{finis} the main body of the motet consists of a variety of more or less contrasted periods, each of which is contrived out of one or more figures in such a manner that the sense of the words is heightened and brought more clearly to the understanding, "just as in the various assertions and arguments of Rhetoric."\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., pp. 55-70. A list of Burmeister's figures and the examples he cites in the motets of Lassus is provided by Wolfgang Boetticher, \textit{Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532-1594} (Kassel und Basel, 1958), I, 8-9.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 72. "Corpus Cantilenarum est intra Exordium & Finem affectionum sive periodorum comprehensa congeries, quibus textus velut variis Confirmationis Rhetoricae argumentis, animis Insinuantur, ad sententiam clarius arripiendam & considerandam."
Gerarde's motets correspond closely to Burmeister's analytical conception, not only in their use of many of the same devices and procedures that Burmeister described and illustrated in the motets of Lassus, but also in their apparent tendency to be organized within the rhetorically conceived framework described by Burmeister. Indeed, most of Gerarde's motets have what may be termed a formal introduction consisting of a point of imitation, most have a body of more or less contrasted periods, and most have what may be called a formal close or supplementum that begins with an authentic cadence and repeats the last phrase of text with a codetta-like oscillation of harmonies. It must be emphasized, however, that such a rhetorically conceived "form" does not create the kind of balanced formal structure that results from the repetition of musical sections. Except for the settings of the complete responsories, the form of which is determined by the repetitio of the text, Gerarde's motets are through-composed. There are a few motets, however, where a section of music is repeated at the end, perhaps in imitation of the French chanson (cf. Quare tristis es, Vol. II, p. 352). It is interesting to note that in these pieces as in the complete responsories the repeated section is camouflaged somewhat by the interchange of voice-parts.

With no more comprehensive structural goal in sight than that provided by a broadly conceived rhetorical framework, Gerarde approaches each phrase of text as a compositional unit. Consistent with the ideals of musica poetica he sets off each
phrase with a variety of musical contrasts. In the discussion that follows these contrasts will be examined as they represent changes in texture, dissonance treatment, harmonic rhythm, contrapuntal activity, rhythm, mode, and voicing.

Perhaps the most frequent contrasts between periods are those provided by changes in texture ranging from the purely imitative to the purely chordal. True to his Netherlandish background, however, Gerarde prefers textures involving imitation.

According to Burmeister, *fuga* (imitation) is employed frequently throughout the motet, particularly in setting the first phrase of text, "whereby the ears and spirit of the listener are directed to the music, and their good will is enticed."\(^{34}\) In all but seventeen of Gerarde's motets the first phrase of text is set imitatively. Slightly more than half of the subjects that begin with a leap of a fourth or fifth have tonal answers, as in the opening of *Ad te levavi* (Vol. II, p. 332). Otherwise the characteristic motives of the subject are stated exactly in each voice, thus making the introductory imitations conform for the most part to what Burmeister calls *fuga realis*.

As a rule, Gerarde is less careful about making exact imitations within the body of the motet, where subject entries are sometimes truncated (*apocope*), and where some voices occasionally enter without any reference to the motives of the subject.

\(^{34}\) Ibid., p. 72. "Exordium, est prima carminis periodus, sive affectio, Fuga ut plurimum exornata, qua auditoris aures & animus ad cantum attenta redduntur, illiusque benevolentia captatur."
(anaphora). Two other figures described by Burmeister involve imitation in pairs (metalepsis) or contrary motion (hypallage). However, these are not used with significant frequency by Gerarde either in the beginning or the body of the motet.

On the opposite side of the textural spectrum from fuga is noema, a figure in which the voices begin at the same time and move together chordally. Burmeister states that, while fuga is the most commonly used device in the first period, noema may be employed "as often as the pithiness of the words will be served by it." That the incipits of many texts could be well served by either fuga or noema is illustrated in Gerarde's two settings of the secular lyric, Fortem vocemus (L4-2, L4-67), one of which begins with fuga realis and the other with noema. Also, one of the two settings of the Psalm, Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (L4-39, L4-64), begins chordally, while the first phrase of text in the other is set imitatively. Even so, an examination of the incipits of the texts that Gerarde chose to introduce with noema suggests that the "pithiness" of the words may have had something to do with their being set chordally. In addition to Fortem vocemus and Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, these texts include two prayers, Da mihi Domine (L1-11) and Non me vincat (L1-20), the Psalm text, Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi (L4-41), and the

35Ibid. "Noema locum quandocumque in Exordio obtinet. Utinam, quam saepe hoc sit, tam saepe ea textui inserviat sententioso..."
antiphon, *Laus Deo patri* (L1-40), which begins as a sonorous ten-voice *noema* with rhythmically animated chords (cf. Example 11).

EXAMPLE 11. Opening of *Laus Deo patri* (L1-40).

A chordal opening equally as dramatic as that of *Laus Deo patri* occurs at the beginning of the *secunda pars* of the Christmas responsory *Hodie nobis coelorum rex* (Vol. II, p. 378). Here the words "Gloria in excelsis Deo" inspire what may perhaps
best be described as "reinforced" noema. Instead of all eight voices beginning together, a choir of low voices enters alone and is joined immediately on the next strong beat by another consisting of high voices. These successive, strong-beat entries amplify and reinforce the sonority of the chordal opening and clearly indicate a deliberate use of noema as an expressive device.

Within the "body of affections" noema is usually reserved for the dramatic effects of word-painting, as in Domine da mihi at the word "omnibus" (Vol. II, p. 365, m. 41). In an unusual procedure, noema is also used to set each phrase of text in two of the prayers, Da mihi Domine (cf. Vol. II, p. 346), and Non me vincat. These two motets are peculiar not only in their adherence to chordal style, but also in their division into sections by fermatas. Each section begins chordally but becomes gradually more polyphonically animated as the fermata is approached. Both prayers consist of repeated formulas, somewhat in the manner of a litany, and there is the possibility that some kind of alternatim practice was intended.

Lying between fuga and noema is a broad spectrum of mixed textures of which Gerarde is particularly fond. These mixed polyphonic-homophonic textures may be closer to one or the other textural ideal depending on whether a majority of the voices are moving imitatively or chordally. On the imitative side of the spectrum is a texture consisting of a point of imitation in which
One of Gerarde's favorite devices is that of avoiding a completely chordal, declamatory texture by having one voice precede or follow the entry of a homorhythmic group by a short time interval. This procedure may be seen with a large group of chordal voices in *Domine da mihi* at measure 41 (Vol. II, p. 365) and with a smaller group in *Quare tristes es* at measure 62 (Vol. II, p. 358).

Textures that combine elements of both *fuga* and *noema* no doubt represent a more advanced stage of mannerism than that represented by the use of more or less pure figures. Indeed, mixed textures are encountered frequently in the music of Lassus and might be taken along with the more overt forms of textural contrast as characteristic of the most advanced Flemish music of the last half of the sixteenth century. Joseph Kerman has analyzed instances of this "half-homophony, half-polyphony in between plain chordal writing and imitative texture" in William Byrd's *Emendemus in melius* and has come to the following conclusions:

It has not been sufficiently emphasized how radical Byrd's motets must have sounded to Englishmen of the 1570's. In a dozen respects, his motets fairly defied comparison with the music of Taverner, Tye, White, Parsons, or even Tallis. Doubtless the moving declamatory accents of *Emendemus in melius* were most impressive of all; Byrd seems to have thought so, for he set this motet at the front of his publication [i.e., the *Cantiones* of 1575]. There it stands as a manifesto of a revolutionary new spirit in Elizabethan music.

Revolutionary, that is, on the English scene; Continental music had taken such steps before. It seems clear that foreign influence must have been potent on Byrd, who had
come down from the provinces in 1572 and almost at once established himself as London's leading composer.  

Probably much of the "foreign influence" emanated from Nonesuch in Surrey, where the young Byrd would have found a congenial milieu of Catholic tastes and a rich source of the latest continental music. Indeed, there may have been more than mere flattery in Byrd's dedication of the Cantiones of 1591 to Lord Lumley, when he wrote "whatever Harmony has up to now suggested to my spirit or pen I have considered ought rightly to be imputed to your influence." This influence, or rather the influence of music at Nonesuch, shows up clearly in Byrd's mannered compositional techniques, his sensitivity to text, and his preoccupation with the various sonorities of mixed polyphonic-homophonic textures. It is not impossible that the various hybrid figures used by Byrd may trace their lineage back to Lassus via Nonesuch and Derick Gerarde.

Changes in contrapuntal procedure other than those involving texture may also contribute to the character of an affection. These include changes in dissonance treatment, alterations in the harmonic rhythm, and stretto-like increases in contrapuntal activity. As a matter of routine Gerarde uses a great deal of accented and unaccented dissonance, which Burmeister labels syncopa and

38 Cf. supra, p. 67.
symblema. These dissonances include not only the ubiquitous suspension and unaccented passing tone, but also an occasional accented passing or neighboring tone. The number of accented dissonances, especially, may be decreased or increased from period to period, depending on the nature of the text and the melodic motives used to set the text. For example, at the beginning of the secunda pars of Miserere mei Domine the words "Convertere Domine" are set with a motive consisting of an ascending and descending minor second (cf. Example 13). This motive gives rise to a point of imitation with a striking number of suspensions and an unusual accented passing tone whose integrity Gerarde insures with a preventive accidental (cf. m. 5). In order to provide a contrast to the first period, Gerarde then sets the words "et eripe animam meam" with an ascending line emphasizing major seconds and dotted rhythms, avoiding completely the expressive dissonance of the first phrase.

Another expressive device capable of setting off a phrase of text is a deliberate slowing down of the harmonic rhythm. In sixteenth-century polyphony changes of harmony normally occur with the tactus, a half-note in the present transcriptions. The tactus thus provides a firm rhythmic foundation for systematic dissonance treatment. Occasionally, however, Gerarde suspends this harmonic rhythm by setting a phrase imitatively with a


A descending motive that outlines and emphasizes the notes of a single triad. In *Da pacem* an expansive feeling is imparted to the words "in diebus" by the use of this device (cf. Example 14).

An audible increase in contrapuntal activity may also provide a decided contrast to the preceding or succeeding period. Quite frequently in Gerarde's music short phrases of text, or
even single words, are repeated in rapid succession by all the voices with imitations at close time intervals. This device may be seen clearly in the L1 setting of *Ego autem cantabo* at the words "In die" (Example 15).

In addition to making various changes in contrapuntal procedure, Gerarde also provides contrasts in rhythm as a means of setting off phrases of text. These rhythmic changes are interesting in that they reflect a typical Renaissance concern for ease of performance, the same concern that is seen at times in the underlay of text and the use of accidentals. Indeed, at no time in Gerarde's music is the performer forced to make decisions with regard to proportions, for not once is there a change from *tempus imperfectum* (\( \frac{\square}{\square} \)). Gerarde occasionally inserts a triplet rhythm notated clearly in the modern manner (\( \frac{\square\square}{\square} \) or \( \frac{\square}{\square} \)), but
EXAMPLE 15. Extract from Ego autem cantabo (L1-27).
these disturbances in the prevailing binary division of the tactus are quite rare.

Contrasts of rhythm involving apparent contrasts of meter are achieved by Gerarde within tempus imperfectum in a way that represents an ingenious compromise between the composer's desire for rhythmic variety and his reluctance to change mensurations. Temporary shifts to triple meter are accomplished within tempus imperfectum merely by writing homorhythmic phrases with a succession of ternary groups of note values (\(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\)), as in Domine damihi at the words "et ad mala emitanda" (Vol. II, p. 363, m. 22). In the same manner Gerarde may shift to triple meter with notes of smaller value (\(\frac{1}{4}\) \(\frac{1}{4}\) \(\frac{1}{4}\) as opposed to \(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\)). The use of these agitated triple rhythms provides an especially appropriate setting for the words "in brevi ira eius" in Quare fremuerunt gentes (cf. Example 16).

These changes to triple meter are used most effectively in chordal passages with phrase repeats contrasted by high and low voices. Indeed, expressive passages such as that cited in Quare fremuerunt gentes (Example 16), which involve changes in rhythm as well as in texture and voicing, can be quite vivid and represent the most genuinely mannered aspect of Gerarde's compositional technique. Normally, such vivid affections occur as a result of word-painting (hypotypsis). They may involve the expressive use of smaller note values, as in Quare fremuerunt,
there has been no basic change in the kind of note values or meter used. On the other hand, given equal note values, a change to chordal texture will audibly decrease the rhythmic activity.

The character of a period may also be altered by temporary changes of mode, which Burmeister calls pathopoia.40 This occurs most often when a progression of chords sung by one group of voices is repeated by another group at a pitch level other than the unison or octave. For example, at the beginning of the secunda pars of Ad te levavi (Vol. II, p. 340) the first phrase of text is sung chordally by high voices in G-Dorian and is then repeated exactly by voices pitched a fourth lower, which results in the temporary establishment of D-Dorian.

Another common use of pathopoia involves the text-inspired alteration of a melodic line through the addition of sharps or flats foreign to the mode. These chromatic alterations often occur on ascending motifs at the beginning of a point of imitation, usually in an attempt to set off phrases expressing anger or anxiety, as in Tribulationem nostram at the words "et iram tue" (cf. Example 8, supra, p. 128).

A more subtle fluctuation of mode than those involving "real" answers or overt text expression may be seen at the beginning of Quare fremuerunt gentes (Example 17). Here the top three voices enter alone and through the use of an actuating sharp on B and a preventive sharp on E immediately establish Mixolydian

40 Burmeister, op. cit., p. 61.
mode. In the fifth measure, however, a turn towards G-Dorian is accomplished with the re-establishment of the B-flat in the signature and the introduction of the E-flat. This contrast of a major and a minor mode on G is reinforced by a contrast of high and low voicing.

EXAMPLE 17. Opening of Quare fremuerunt gentes (I.3-4).
EXAMPLE 18. Extract from *Fidem refondens* (L3-12).

EXAMPLE 19. Extract from *Miserere mei Domine* (L5-7).

groups are particularly effective and are encountered with more frequency. They may involve either the chordal repetition of a phrase, as in *Quare tristis es* at the words "spera in Deo" (Vol. II, p. 355, mm. 39-45), or the repetition of a point of imitation, as in the beginning of *Quare tristis es* (Vol. II, p. 352).
Repeating a phrase of text chordally with contrasts of high and low groups of voices is also used at the beginning of the secundae partes of two motets, *Domine ne memineris* (L1-17, L4-56), and *Ad te levavi* (L1-18, L3-29), presumably as a means of providing a contrast with the imitative beginning of the prima pars and immediately engaging the attention of the listener after the final cadence of the prima pars. The affinity between the styles of Gerarde and Lassus is perhaps nowhere better seen than in their identical manner of setting the initial phrase of the secunda pars of *Ad te levavi*. Both begin with chordal texture and a contrast between high and low voices (cf. Examples 20 and 21). In his setting of the same Psalm, the English composer Robert White (d. 1574) is closer to the style of Gombert in treating the texture uniformly and imitatively, not only at the beginning of the secunda pars but throughout the motet.\(^42\)

In Gerarde's eight-voice motets phrases of text are frequently repeated antiphonally by two choruses, a device Burmeister calls anaploce.\(^43\) Unlike mimesis, there is no contrast between high and low groups, for the phrase repetitions are made at the same pitch level by equal-voiced choirs (cf. *Hodie nobis coelorum rex*, Vol. II, pp. 374, mm. 25-31). Also, unlike the Venetian style of *cori spezzati*, the antiphonal choirs in Gerarde's eight-voice motets sometimes have five voices each, two voices being

\(^{42}\) *Tudor Church Music*, V, 52.

\(^{43}\) *Burmeister, op. cit.*, p. 62.
EXAMPLE 20. Opening of secunda pars of *Ad te levavi* - Lassus  
common to both groups (cf. Hodie nobis, mm. 10-19). Moreover, the make-up of the antiphonal choirs changes often in the course of a piece, which would defeat the purpose of divided-choir arrangement (cf. mm. 10-19, 25-31, and 50-53 of Hodie nobis). Lacking the pitch contrast of mimesis and the spatial contrast of cori spezzati, one is led to consider the possibility of contrast by tone color. Indeed, phrase repetitions such as those in Hodie nobis coelorum rex may have been contrasted in performance by the various tone colors of doubling instruments. With the orchestral and vocal resources available at Nonesuch, there is the strong possibility that Gerarde's many-voiced motets were performed by large, mixed groups of instruments and voices. With such a group at his disposal Gerarde could easily have experimented with instrumentation in an attempt to enhance the contrasts involved in mimesis and implied in anaploce. It is not impossible that the sound of the Nonesuch ensembles made a strong impression in pre-Baroque England in part because of the voicing contrasts that abound in Gerarde's many-voiced motets, contrasts that would have been audibly enhanced by the English "broken consort" style of performance. That such a style was impressive enough to be noticed on the continent is suggested by a statement of Praetorius, who refers to the English penchant for large ensembles with mixed groups of instruments. 44

44"It is also very pleasant to listen to, if one uses . . . an entire consort after the English manner in such a way that a powerful harpsichord, two or three lutes, a theorbo, a pandora, either, bass viol, recorder or transverse flute, soft
Canon, *cantus firmus*, and ostinato

Perhaps as a reflection of Gerarde's liking for textural variety, as well as a typical late-Renaissance dislike for intellectual, "unrhetorical" devices, canon, *cantus firmus*, and ostinato play a relatively unimportant role in his motets. In fact, only three of the motets, *Honor virtus* (L1-24), *Domine clamavi* (L1-5, L4-47), and *Vivere vis recte* (L4-16), include canons, and in two of these the singers are spared the task of making the resolutions themselves. In *Vivere vis recte* the canonic voice has to be resolved out of the *quinta vox*, which is clearly marked with signs (\(\mid\)) at the points where the canon begins and ends.

In both *Honor virtus* and *Domine clamavi*, however, the resolutions of the canonic voices are written out. In *Honor virtus*, for example, the *bassus* part is labeled "Trinitate in unitate - canon in diapente," and is marked with signs where the two canonic voices begin and end. The first canonic voice, written out and labeled "canon ad lungum," appears as an extra part on the facing page of the *bassus* book, while the second canonic voice, also labeled "canon ad lungum," appears as the *tenor*. According to trombone, *viola bastarda*, and a small violin, well-tuned and nicely adjusted to one another, all play together." Hans Lampl, "A Translation of *Syntagma musicum* III by Michael Praetorius" (unpublished D.M.A. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1957), p. 202.
Glareanus, the phrase "ad longum" was customarily used as a label for the written out resolutions of canonic voices. 45

Gerarde's use of pre-existent melodies has so far not been found to extend beyond the use of plainsong tenors in two responsories, the seven-voice In monte oliveti (Ll-25), and the five-voice Egressiente Domino (Vol. II, p. 328). In both of these the cantus firmus appears in square notes (\(\square\)) in the quinta pars. Unlike the responsories of Robert Parsons, an English contemporary of Gerarde, the voice with the cantus firmus is the first one to enter. 46 Even so, it was not intended to serve as a monophonic, soloistic intonation. In the responsories of Shepherd and Tallis and other, somewhat earlier English contemporaries of Gerarde, the tenor intones the first one or two words of the text monophonically and the polyphony begins with the succeeding words. 47 In Gerarde's two responsories with plainsong tenors, however, the polyphony begins with the first words of the text appearing in all the voices (cf. the opening of Egressiente Domino, Vol. II, p. 328). The successive points of imitation


47 Examples of responsories of Shepherd and Tallis, as well as a discussion of the various ways of setting a responsory, are provided by Frank Ll. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain (London, 1958), pp. 366-71.
that are written around the plainsong tenor use the phrases of text as they are introduced by the cantus firmus, but bear little or no thematic relationship to the music of the chant. In several instances Gerarde appears to change notes of the cantus firmus in order to accomodate his polyphony. For example, the tenth note of Egrediente Domino in both the Roman and Sarum versions is e, but Gerarde changes this note in his setting to f in order to remain consonant with the imitation in the bass (cf. Vol. II, p. 328, m. 5). It may be, of course, that this and other variants exist in liturgical sources that have not yet been identified.

The use of equal note values in the cantus firmus of a responsory-motet, if not an English characteristic, is frequently found in English sources dating from the mid-sixteenth century. Such a procedure was not without precedent on the continent, however, for in 1528 a collection titled Contrapunctus seu figurata musica super plano cantu missarum solennium totius anni was published by Guaynard in Lyon. In it is a large number of mass chants and responsories set polyphonically by Francesco Layolle and anonymous composers, settings in which the cantus firmus appears in equal note values in one of the voices.

Ostinato also plays a comparatively unimportant part in Gerarde's compositional technique, there being only two motets, Occurrerunt Maria et Martha (L1-12, L3-28) and O Maria vernans rosa (L4-8), that use this device. In both instances the

48 Liber usualis, p. 590 and Processionale ad usum Sarum (Antwerp, 1544), f. lxi⁴v.
ostinato consists of two phrases, the second of which is a duplicate of the first a fourth lower (cf. Example 22). A setting of

EXAMPLE 22. a) Contra from Occurrerunt Maria et Martha, and 
b) quintus from O Maria vernans rosa.

\[\text{EXAMPLE 22. a) Contra from Occurrerunt Maria et Martha, and}\]
\[\text{b) quintus from O Maria vernans rosa.}\]

\[\text{a)}\]
\[\text{La-zae-re ve-ni fo-ras La-zae-re ve-ni fo-ras}\]
\[\text{b)}\]
\[\text{Sancta Ma-ri-a o-ra pro no-bis}\]
\[\text{Sancta Ma-ri-a o-ra pro no-bis}\]

O Maria vernans rosa by Clemens does not include the ostinato,\(^{49}\) but as indicated earlier the settings of Lazarus texts by Lassus and Clemens include ostinati with the same text as that of Gerarde's Occurrerunt Maria et Martha.\(^{50}\) Both have different melodies, however.

Dulces exuviae

Perhaps the most expressive of Gerarde's motets is his setting of Dido's lament from Vergil's Aeneid (cf. Vol. II, p. 316). As indicated earlier this text was one of the most popular


\(^{50}\) Cf. supra, p. 112.
with the words of the next phrase, "Et nunc magna mei," but Gerarde employs a device that is much more successful in capturing the spirit of the text. This device, which has already been discussed as a means of achieving contrast between periods, is one in which the harmonic rhythm comes almost to a halt as each voice descends imitatively on the tones of slowly changing, closely related triads. The expansive effect of this point of imitation as it begins its descent in measure 51 is such that one is tempted to label it "polyphonic declamation."

One example of overt word painting by Gerarde will perhaps suffice to show his greater tendency toward dramatic expressiveness, at least in this motet. At the word "poenas" in the **secunda pars** of the motet nothing unusual happens in either Willaert's or Lassus' setting. For this word, however, Gerarde provides a pungent accented dissonance involving the tones d, f, b^, and e^ (m. 24 of **secunda pars**). The e^ appears as an unprepared dissonance, but instead of resolving to d on the weak part of the beat it holds through and the other voices resolve to become consonant with it. Burmeister gives this unusual kind of dissonance treatment the status of a figure and labels it **parrhesia**. Such a sharp sound approached and left by such an unusual procedure must surely have produced the impression of pain that Gerarde intended.

Clearly, in their rather austere, chordal settings of

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52 Burmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
Dulces exuviae Willaert and Lassus were influenced by the same humanistic desire for intelligibility and correctness of text declamation that later produced the vera mesuré and that is antipathetic to imitative polyphony. There can be little doubt, though, that the kind of expressive polyphony represented in Gerarde's setting of the text, with its rich variety of purely musical devices, was more attractive to the Netherlanders, and that Gerarde's version is closer to the mature ideals of the musical humanism of northern Europe than the versions of either Willaert or Lassus.

The question of liturgical use

Denis Arnold has suggested that the presence of Latin liturgical music in Gerarde's part-books indicates the volumes were written before 1558, the year of the reestablishment of the Reformation in England.53. This suggestion is based, apparently, on the assumption that the use of English in the Anglican churches would have precluded the use of Latin motets. Yet the fact remains that a large amount of music with Latin texts of all kinds continued to be written for various reasons throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. The more

53 Denis Arnold, "Gerarde (Gerard), Derick (Theodoricus)," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, IV (1955), 1779.
significant of these reasons have been summarized by Harrison as follows:

Though the accession of Queen Elizabeth I, and the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1559, meant the reestablishment of the English service, it did not mean the end of sacred music to Latin words. In 1560 there was printed, with the Queen's sanction, Walter Haddon's translation into Latin of the Book of Common Prayer (Liber Precarum Publicarum . . . in Ecclesia Anglicana). It was the express wish of the Queen that this book should be used in the two universities and the colleges of Eton and Winchester. . . . Latin music was also sung at the clandestine celebrations of the Latin liturgy in the private chapels of Roman Catholic houses. This would have provided occasions for singing the printed liturgical works of Byrd, the Masses and Gradualia, as well as other Latin pieces. These reasons, together with the purely musical interest of compilers like John Baldwin, may account for the large amount of Latin music composed and copied during the second half of the sixteenth century.54

With the printing of the Latin Prayer book in 1560 and the authorization of its use among "the learned,"55 it seems likely that Latin motets would have been composed to serve as counterparts to the anthems that were allowed in the English version of the services. According to the Queen's injunctions of 1559,

49. . . . for the comforting of such that delight in Musick, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of Common-prayers, either at Morning or Evening, there may be sung an Hymn, or such like song to the praise of Almighty God in the best sort of melody and musick that may be conveniently devised . . . 56


56 Injunctions Given by the Queen's Majesty (London, 1559), no. 49, quoted in Joseph Kerman, loc. cit., p. 281.
Two other Latin service books besides the Liber precum publicarum that could also have provided occasions for the singing of Latin motets are the Orarium of 1560 and Preces privatae of 1564, both of which were updated versions of the old Book of Hours, or Prymer, as it was called in England. Indeed, most of the Latin texts set by English composers between 1560 and the publication of Byrd's last book of Cantiones of 1591, including those of Gerarde, were responsories, antiphons, Psalms, prayers, hymns, and melange texts taken from the scripture, precisely those that could have been used para-liturgically as Latin "anthems" or as proper additions to the liturgy of any one of the three Elizabethan Latin service books.

Even though it was the intention of the reformers that in the English Service the Lessons should not be interrupted by "Antiphons, Responds, and Invitatories," it is not impossible that in the Latin services celebrated in the chapels of "the learned" some antiphons and responsories proper to the season could have been added. Used para-liturgically such music would no doubt have lost some of its more formal liturgical characteristics, which would explain why the monophonic, soloistic intonation is no longer used in polyphonic settings of responsories that date from the 1560's. It would also explain Gerarde's attitude toward his responsory texts. In the absence of formal

57 For a detailed description of the contents of the old Sarum Prymer, see White, op. cit., pp. 58-66.

58 Proctor and Frere, op. cit., p. 52.
ceremonial controls he may have felt justified in leaving out parts of the texts as he saw fit. This no doubt happened also in Catholic countries, however, for the observance of the liturgy was subject to a number of variable conditions and was anything but monolithic.

While it is true that Elizabeth's Injunction of 1559 specifically limited polyphony to the beginning and end of the English Service, it must be remembered that the concern here was for a simplified liturgy designed for the common man, not for the learned or high-born. Presumably, the Earl of Arundel, a powerful noble and a charter member of Elizabeth's Society of Antiquaries, would not have been out of line in having seasonal responsories and antiphons sung in their proper place during the services celebrated in his private chapel at Nonesuch. Indeed, the full Latin services for Matins and Vespers may have been retained at Nonesuch for some time after the death of Mary in 1558. Or, in the absence of a Breviary, the domestic Book of Hours that was published during Mary's reign, titled *An Uniforme and Catholyke Prymer in Latin and Englishe*, may have been used with appropriate musical interpolations.

Finally, it is not impossible that Elizabeth's decision to use the Latin service in her own chapel was influenced in part by her trip to Nonesuch in August of 1559. According to an

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59London, 1555.
eyewitness she was feted over a long weekend by "all ye mysyke yt cold be." Perhaps Sunday Matins at the Earl's chapel with its "solem Queer By vois and Instruments so sweet to heer" helped to remind her of the beauties of the Latin service and of the advisability of retaining it for the use of the sophisticated.

60 Cf. supra, p. 62.
Most of the French texts used by Gerarde were quite popular and were set frequently by French and Flemish composers active around the middle of the sixteenth century. In fact, only one of the poems, *Or est venu le printemps*, has not been located in the chanson collections dating from between 1525 and 1575. The majority of the concordances of Gerarde's texts are with chansons printed by Susato and Phalese in the Low Countries, but a significant number may also be found in the Parisian publications of Attaingnant, and Le Roy and Ballard. Indeed, a complete concordance of Gerarde's chanson texts is made unwieldy by the existence of a large reservoir of poetry that was drawn on by both French and Flemish composers.²

With the exception of six texts by Clement Marot, *Amour au cœur, Je suis amez, J'attens secours, Plaisir n'ay plus*, and the two graces, *0 souverain pasteur et maistre* and *Pere eternel*, virtually all of the poetry selected by Gerarde is anonymous. That none of Ronsard's verse was set suggests either that Gerarde

²Based upon an examination of certain of the prints of Susato, Phalese, and Le Roy and Ballard (cf. Bibliography), the index of Robert Eitner in *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim, 1963), the index of F. Lesure and G. Thibault in *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard - 1551-1598* (Paris, 1955), and an unpublished index of the Attaingnant prints and other sources of the Parisian chanson compiled by Albert Seay.

was cut off from the latest literary fashions on the continent or that he wrote his chansons before it became fashionable to set Ronsard's poetry. It would have been unusual, perhaps, for such a large number of chansons not to include a few lyrics of Ronsard if the music had been written later than 1575. The vogue of Ronsard's poetry began with the publication of *Les Amours* in 1553, but the greatest concentration of musical settings of his poetry appears to have been in the prints of Le Roy and Ballard that date from the 1570's.

In addition to its anonymity, the poetry selected by Gerarde is characterized by a wide variety of verse forms. Preference is shown for four-line strophes, with strophes of eight, five, six, seven, and three lines following in a descending order of frequency. Ten-syllable lines are favored over those with eight or six syllables, while rhyme schemes reveal a wide variety of patterns. Nine of the chansons have textual repetitions or rentrements consisting of a return at the end of the strophe of

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text from the beginning. 8 Beyond a preference for quatrains with
ten-syllable lines and a rhyme scheme of abba or abab, there is
a broad spectrum of verse forms, no one of which occurs with
enough frequency to deserve being called Gerarde's second choice.

In contrast to the motets only one of the French texts,
Or est venu le printemps (L5-33), appears in two partes, the
division being indicated in the bassus by the term "Response"
and in the other part-books with the words "Secunda pars." Chan-
sons with parallel strophes linked by the inscription "Response"
belong to a type known as pièces liées, and were apparently set
by Netherlandish composers almost exclusively. 9 Forty-eight
chansons with responses, mostly by Netherlandish composers, ap-
pear in the thirteen books of chansons published by Tylman Susato
between 1543 and 1550. 10 Lassus also included a few chansons
with responses in his Mélange of 1576, a collection containing a
significant number of text concordances with Gerarde's manu-
scripts. 11

Normally, the response is a reply to the first strophe

8Cf. infra, p.175 for a list of the texts with rentre-
ments and a discussion of their musical forms.

9Trotter, loc. cit., pp. 60-61.

10A. Cutler Silliman, "'Responce' and 'Replicque' in
Chansons Published by Tylman Susato, 1543-1550," Revue belge de
musicologie, XVI (1962), pp. 31-32.

11Cf. Henry Expert (ed.), Orlande de Lassus - Premier
fascicule des Mélanges, Vol. I: Les maîtres musiciens de la ren-
aissance francaise (Paris, 1894), p. 58 for "Responce" to "Si je
suis brun."
or a continuation of its sense. Gerarde's two-part chanson is unusual, however, in that, instead of consisting of parallel strophes, the text is a sonnet with the octave set as the first part and the pair of tercets as the "Response." Significantly, four of the five Italian texts set by Gerarde are also sonnets, and each is divided into a prima and secunda pars in exactly the same way as the two-part chanson. Italian sonnets were commonly set in this manner by mid-sixteenth-century madrigal composers, but there appears to have been little tendency on the part of Netherlandish and French composers to divide their settings of sonnets into two parts. At any rate, the prints of Le Roy and Ballard that are devoted to the settings of the sonnets of Ronsard do not contain examples of this procedure.

General features

Several comparisons may be made regarding the number of voices, the underlay of text, and the choice of modes in the chansons and motets. First, it ought to be noted that five-voice texture is preferred in the chansons, whereas six or more voices

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13 At least such a division is not apparent from the listing of the chansons given by Lesure and Thibault, op. cit., pp. 47-48 et passim. Nor are sonnets among the few chansons with "Responces" that appear in the collections edited by Henry Expert (cf. Bibliography).
are preferred in the motets. Not counting the incomplete pieces of L2, twenty-eight chansons of Gerarde are for five voices, nineteen are for six, and only three are for eight. On the other hand, twenty-one motets are for five and forty-three are for six or more voices.

On the whole, the problems of text underlay in the chansons are the same as those encountered in the motets. Usually, a phrase of text is simply written in at the beginning of the musical phrase and the singer is left with the task of applying melismas or repeats of text where necessary. On the other hand, Gerarde is often very careful in the application of text to music, particularly in those chansons that are representative of his most mature style. Such care is evident generally in a refinement of declamatory technique and particularly in the precise placement of syllables, as in Example 23.

**EXAMPLE 23.** Extract from tenor of *Tant ay souffert* (L4-55).

As in the motets, the favorite modes in the chansons are G-Dorian and F-Ionian. Thirty-one appear in the former mode and twenty-two in the latter. A further comparison reveals a considerable use of the untransposed Ionian mode in the chansons and none in the motets. Also, somewhat less use is made of the
of text. In the other type of chanson, however, the predominant feature is a movement in black semiminims, with each note receiving a syllable of text. These two kinds of chansons may be distinguished at the purely musical level by referring to them as white- and black-note chansons.

As a rule, the two types of chansons are also distinguished by the nature of their texts. If the poetry is highly sentimental and concerned with the pangs or ecstasies of love, it is normally set in the slow-moving motet style, but if it deals with the more light-hearted, earthy aspects of love, or attempts to tell a joke, the shorter note values are used. It ought to be noted, however, that in Gerarde's chansons this distinction is not invariable. The two textual types, which have been labeled chanson sentimentale and chanson grivoise, are present in sources of the French chanson as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century and are fully developed in the prints of Attaingnant.\(^{14}\)

**Forms**

The majority of Gerarde's chansons are through-composed in the manner of the motet. A significant number, however, reveal an attempt on the part of the composer to impose formal designs upon the music not necessarily dictated by the text. These designs are created by the exact, or nearly exact, repetition of

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sections of music with or without a repetition of text. In order to avoid confusion in our discussion of these forms, it will be necessary at the outset to make two distinctions: one, between formal organization and sectional articulation; the other, between two different kinds of musical repetition.

The first distinction to be made is between the forms themselves and the devices of phrase treatment that may be used to help delineate form. On the one hand, the repetition of sections of music, with or without a poetic refrain, creates a balanced formal structure. On the other hand, various kinds of cadences at the ends of metrical units and the articulation of lines by texture may serve to enhance or delineate poetic or musical forms, but these devices do not by themselves create balanced formal designs.

In Gerarde's chansons we must also distinguish between two different kinds of repetition: one, the contrapuntally conceived repetition of phrases by sequence and imitation within a musical section, as in the Netherlandish motet; the other, the exact repetition of homorhythmic or lightly imitative sections of music, as in the French chanson. In the former kind, phrases change their melodic and rhythmic shape as they are repeated in a continuously evolving imitative texture. Indeed, this kind of repetition will be regarded as an aspect of phrase treatment and not form. Only the exact, or nearly exact, repetition of complete
sections of music contributes to the establishment of a balanced form.

The repetition forms in Gerarde's chansons are of two main types: those that occur in conjunction with rentrements and those that occur without a repeat of text. Nine of the chansons have rentrements, and five have sections of music repeated in connection with these poetic refrains (cf. Table 7). A sixth

TABLE 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Form of Strophe</th>
<th>Musical Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bon jour m'amye</td>
<td>L3-17</td>
<td>abcdea</td>
<td>ABA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceste belle petite bouche</td>
<td>L3-16</td>
<td>abcdabcdefga</td>
<td>ABACA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En attendant d'amour</td>
<td>L2-20</td>
<td>abcd(a)</td>
<td>through-composed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je l'aime bien</td>
<td>L3-26</td>
<td>abcdab</td>
<td>ABA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je ne suis pas de ces gens</td>
<td>L2-11</td>
<td>through-composed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je ne suis pas de ces gens</td>
<td>L4-26</td>
<td>through-composed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon cueur chante</td>
<td>L2-33</td>
<td>abcdabcdefabc</td>
<td>AAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soions joieulx</td>
<td>L4-75</td>
<td>abca</td>
<td>ABA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vivons joieusement</td>
<td>L4-11</td>
<td>(a)bcdefg(a)</td>
<td>through-composed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aEach letter represents a line of text, and each letter in parentheses stands for a half-line.*


The text, *Mon cueur chante* (L2-33), has a section of repeated music, but it does not correspond with the refrain of the text. This
repeated. The result is a clear succession of single units with a repeated unit at the end. This type of form is represented in L2 and L4 by a few pieces copied with the variant notation.  

That these chansons belong to an older layer of Gerarde's music is evident from the fact that two chansons of L2 and one of the motets of L4 with the same variant notation are remodeled by Gerarde in order to bring them up to date.

The other kind of repetition form, that in which sections of music are repeated with different words, is also associated with the chansons in the older layer of music. With one exception, this kind of repetition occurs in connection with texts consisting of two quatrains. The music of the first two lines is repeated exactly for the second two lines of text, while the second quatrain is set to new music. Four of the chansons have this kind of form: *Soions joieulx* (L2-5), *Joieusement il fait* (L2-6), *Amour au cueur* (L4-19), and *J'ay si fort bataillez* (L4-21). In two of these, *Soions joieulx* and *Amour au cueur*, the last line is also repeated, with the result that formal organization occurs at both the beginning and the end (cf. *Amour au cueur*, Vol. II, p. 384). One other chanson, *Mon cueur chante* (L2-33), also has AAB form, but its texts consists of nine lines, the last three of which are the same as the first three. It has

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17 For an analysis of this remodeling process, see *infra*, p. 199.
already been pointed out that the use of AAB form in this chanson is in conflict with the refrain structure of the text.

It is perhaps worth noting that in four of the chansons with the AAB repetition scheme a purely musical form is created simply by treating an eight-line poem as if it were a ballade. Many of the chansons with this form in Susato's prints have the standard poetic structure of the ballade (i.e., eight, ten-syllable lines with a rhyme scheme of ABAB BCBC). Only one of the four eight-line texts composed by Gerarde in AAB form has the appropriate rhyme scheme, however, and none has ten-syllable lines. It may be that certain texts consisting of two quatrains were generally regarded as descendants of the ballade and were customarily set in the manner of the older forme fixe. If so, then the attempt to mimic the older form did not extend beyond the repetition of music at the beginning. At any rate, the musical rhyme that normally relates the two quatrains of the ballade is not provided by Gerarde.

Even though many composers used the AAB form, there was no agreement about which texts should receive this treatment. Indeed, it is not unusual to find the same text set in AAB form

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18 See, for example, Crecquillon's Je ne fais rien in Le tiers livre des chansons a quatre parties (Susato, 1544), f. xi. For text, bibliography, and musical incipits see Robert Moore Trotter, "The Franco-Flemish Chansons of Thomas Crecquillon" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1957), p. 308.

19 For a discussion of the structure of the sixteenth-century ballade and its use by Low Countries composers, see Baird, loc. cit., p. 147.
by one composer and through-composed by another. For example, Clemens non Papa's setting of Marot's *Amour au coeur* does not have AAB form, but Gerarde's setting does.\(^20\) Also, Derick Gerarde's setting of *Adieu celle qui j'ay servy* (L2-26) is through-composed, while that of Gerardus in Susato's *Douziesme livre* has AAB form. It may be that Netherlandish chanson composers learned from their Parisian counterparts not only the use of variegated textures with rhythms determined by the text, but also "how to proceed in almost any way [they desire] in the building of what will be to [them] a satisfying musical entity."\(^21\) If this were the case, then one could hardly expect uniformity in the handling of texts.

**Phrase treatment**

Two different kinds of phrase treatment are present in chansons of Gerarde. One type is closer to the style of the French chanson in that a more or less intimate relationship exists between the form of the verse and the structure of the musical phrase. This "style syntaxique" shows up clearly in the phrase treatment of the older group of chansons in L2 and L4, chiefly in their use of cadence and texture as a means of


articulating metrical units in a through-composed chanson, or as a means of delineating the sectionalization of a repetition form. The other kind of phrase treatment is more akin to that of the motet and the madrigal in that musical devices are introduced that have nothing to do with the form of the verse. In this type, expressive relationships between music and text frequently replace the syntactical one. The metrical organization of the verse is often ignored and the text divided up into compositional units consisting of parts of lines, or even single words, depending on the ability of the unit of text to stimulate a suitable musical response in the composer. This style is clearly that of the mature Gerarde and characterizes the younger layer of compositions in L3, L4, and L5. Before taking up this mature chanson style, however, we must first examine the more French approach to the phrase that characterizes Gerarde's earlier pieces.

The first lines of eleven chansons in the older group of L2 and L4 are set homorhythmically. In most of these chordal beginnings the four-note motto of the Parisian chanson is clearly in evidence, as in Example 24.

According to Dénes von Bartha, in his pioneering "Probleme der Chansongeschichte im 16. Jahrhundert,"22 chansons with chordal beginnings that dissolve into imitative counterpoint represent a stylistic compromise between the purely imitative

22Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, XIII (1931), 510.
EXAMPLE 24. Opening of *Je ne sçay pas comen* (L4-5).

Netherlandish chanson and the purely chordal Parisian type. Chansons such as this, von Bartha pointed out, are found not only in the prints of Attaingnant, but also in contemporary Netherlandish sources such as Cambrai MS. 124. It is no doubt true that the first wave of interest in the new chordal-declamatory style reached the Low Countries from Paris, and that by 1540, at least, chordal textures were being incorporated into the traditionally imitative Netherlandish chanson in an attempt to effect a rapprochement of styles. This is true not only of pieces found in the Cambrai manuscript, but also of a significant number of chansons included in the prints of Susato that began to appear in 1543. Crecquillon, for example, is represented in these prints.
by a number of four- and five-voice chansons with chordal beginnings and imitative continuations. 23

The extent to which this rapprochement of Netherlandish and Parisian techniques was carried out in Susato's early prints may be illustrated by the setting of Mectons a fin a tous attributed to "Gerardus" in the Quatriesme livre of 1544. In this chanson practically every feature of the typical Parisian chanson is represented. The first three lines of text are set in a chordal, declamatory manner with full cadences separating them. Even though the fourth and fifth lines are set imitatively, clear breaks between them are maintained by simultaneous cadences in all four voices. Furthermore, a repeat of the music setting the last three lines of text is indicated by signs in the parts, creating the kind of repetition form that was a favorite among the Parisian group of composers. 24 This practice of using repeat signs instead of writing out the repeat of music is not observed by Derick Gerarde in L2 and L4, however.

Netherlandish composers borrowed not only the chordal

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23 See, for example, the transcriptions of Crecquillon's four-voice Oncques amour and five-voice Oeil égaré in Trotter, "The Franco-Flemish Chansons of Thomas Crecquillon," pp. 328 and 399.

24 The chanson of Gerardus is not available in modern edition, but pieces similar to it have been edited by Albert Seay in Thirty Chansons for Three and Four Voices from Attaingnant's Collections ("Collegium Musicum," No. 2; Yale University, Dept. of Music, 1960), and in the same editor's Pierre Attaingnant: Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard ("American Institute of Musicology: Corpus mensurabilis musicae," No. 20; Rome, 1961), cf. esp. Claudin's C'est a grand tort and Secourez moy in the latter collection (pp. 114 and 124).
beginning, but also the use of choral texture and clear cadences as a means of articulating lines of text other than the first. An example of how Gerarde uses these devices to enhance the formal significance of poetic caesura may be seen in *En attendant secours* (Vol. II, p. 390). A clear middle point in the strophe is established after the fourth line, not only by the sense of the text, but also by the fact that the first four lines have six syllables each while the last three have eight. In order to articulate the music at this point, Gerarde sets the last six-syllable line and the first eight-syllable line with choral texture and separates them with a cadence and a rest in all voices (cf. m. 32).

Cadences vary in their ability to punctuate according to a number of melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic factors. The strongest are those in which all the voices cadence simultaneously, as at the last refrain of *Ceste belle petite bouche* (Vol. II, p. 407, m. 50). It is more characteristic of Gerarde's style, however, to avoid complete breaks by having at least one voice sound through the cadence, either by delaying its cadence or by anticipating the entry of the next phrase, as in measure 45 of *En attendant secours* (Vol. II, p. 393).

Changes of texture as well as cadences of various strengths may also be used to emphasize the sectionalization of

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25 For a detailed analysis of the significant cadential factors in the chansons of Thomas Crecquillon, see Trotter, "The Chansons of Thomas Crecquillon: Texts and Forms," p. 65.
begin with something other than a point of imitation, but they
avoid the simple declamation and rhythmic motto of the earlier
type of chordal beginning. Indeed, one can see in the beginnings
of these two chansons an attempt to express the "pithiness" of
the text, rather than reliance on stock musical devices (cf.
Examples 25 and 26).

EXAMPLE 25. Opening of Hellas quel jour (L4-60).

EXAMPLE 26. Opening of Je suis amoureux (L4-43).
Within the body of periods in Gerarde's mature, motet-like chansons, phrases of text and their repetition are contrasted and characterized musically by means of the same devices used in the motets. There is a different emphasis in the chanson in the use of these devices, however. Contrasts between periods achieved by changes in texture, dissonance treatment, and mode are not as important in the chanson as they are in the motet. On the other hand, sectionalization by changes in rhythm is more characteristic of the chanson.

The range of textural types is not as broad in the chanson as it is in the motet. Indeed, there is a definite shift toward the imitative side of the textural spectrum. Chansons consisting of a series of purely imitative periods, while not numerous, are easier to find than motets with pervading imitation throughout. Furthermore, mixed textures in which most of the voices move homorhythmically are not as common in the chansons as they are in the motets. To a composer sensitive to the meanings of his texts the clichés of amour courtois may not have been considered worth declaiming homorhythmically. At least such texts appear not to have been as effective as the church texts in stimulating a dramatic use of noema. Whatever the reason, purely chordal textures in Gerarde's more mature chansons are reserved almost exclusively for periods containing voicing contrasts (cf. Je suis disheritee, Vol. II, p. 412, mm. 36-40).

The use of accented dissonance as a means of setting off a phrase of text is also less common in the chansons than in the
Another way of providing contrast through purely contra-
puntal means is by treating a short motive sequentially with
close-packed imitations. When this device occurs in the chanson
grivoise it is invariably associated with motives consisting of
repeated notes. Thus, what gives the appearance of being a com-
plicated polyphonic texture is really only a section of animated
harmonies, as in Example 28.

EXAMPLE 28. Extract from Puis qu'elle a mis (L4-29).

Changes in rhythm may also set off a period in the chan-
son. A significant kind of rhythmic contrast not encountered in
the motet is that in which black-note rhythms are introduced into
a predominantly white-note texture, and vice-versa. Normally,
Gerarde's white- and black-note chansons are distinct types, but
his more mature chansons often include contrasting periods of
black- or white-note rhythm. For the most part, these changes
from one kind of rhythm to the other appear to have little to do with the text, as in J'ay tant chasse at the words "Je ne voy rien si ne voy vostre face" (Vol. II, p. 416, m. 12). In Le souvenir d'aimer me tient, however, Gerarde may have intended an expressive relationship between the black-note rhythms and the phrase "et du joli temps que verdoye" (cf. Example 29).

EXAMPLE 29. Extract from Le souvenir d'aimer me tient (L4-45).

Whether these changes to black- or white-note rhythm occur for textual or purely musical reasons, it must be emphasized that they represent Gerarde's most advanced means of sectional contrast in his chansons. Indeed, the form-producing effect of such sectionalization is quite strong in a few chansons, especially those in which rhythmic contrast appears in conjunction with changes in texture and voicing. In J'ay tant chasse, for example, the first two lines of text and the fourth line are set homorhythmically.
with an antiphonal repetition of phrases by two four-voice groups (anaploce). These two sections of music, one at the beginning and the other at the end, provide an effective frame for the setting of the third line of text, which introduces black-note rhythms and imitative texture (cf. Vol. II, p. 416).

Contrasts between white- and black-note rhythms are also used to enhance the sectionalization of a repetition form. The most effective instance of this in Gerarde's music is in Ceste belle petite bouche, where the black-note rhythm of the refrain is set off against the minim motion in the rest of the music (cf. Vol. II, p. 402).

In connection with our discussion of rhythmic contrast in Gerarde's chansons it is interesting to note that the canzona for five viols attributed to "Gerardus" in British Museum Add. 31390 contains a clearly defined section of black-note rhythm within a predominantly white-note texture. The piece, titled Chera la fountayne, has already been attributed to Derick Gerarde, probably on the strength of its being found in an English source. In view of the fact that there is a close stylistic similarity between it and the above-mentioned chansons of Gerarde, there need be little doubt that it belongs to him.

Contrasts between high and low groups of voices involving

repeated phrases of text are also encountered in the chansons, especially in the six- and eight-voice chansons. As in the motet, these voicing contrasts within the period are usually declaimed homorhythmically. Thus they set off the texture of the period as a whole from that of the preceding and succeeding periods. This kind of phrase treatment may be seen in *Je suis dis­heritee* at the phrase "Rossignol du bois joli" (Vol. II, p. 412, mm. 36-40). The same combination of contrasts is also used in the *chanson grivoise*, as in Example 30.

**EXAMPLE 30.** Extract from *Puis qu'elle a mis* (14-29).

In Gerarde's eight-voice chansons the favorite voicing contrast is between two four-voice groups that answer back and forth at the same pitch level in the manner of *cori spezzati*. As in the eight-voice motets, however, a real divided choir arrangement cannot be maintained in these pieces, for the make-up
of the antiphonal groups changes often in the course of the chansons. *J'ay tant chasse* (Vol. II, p. 415), for example, begins with the first half-line of text set chordally for a four-voice group consisting of *superius*, *contra*, *tenor*, and *bassus*. In an obvious bit of word-painting this four-voice group is then answered by another with the same distribution of voices. At first glance, it would appear that the music calls for a bona fide divided choir arrangement, but the integrity of the two antiphonal groups is not maintained. By the sixth measure the *superius* and *contra* of one group combine with the *tenor* and *bassus* of the other.

Clearly, the phrase treatment in Gerarde's more mature chansons has the mixed features of a hybrid style. On the one hand, it borrows from the motet most of the devices of *musica poetica*. On the other, it shows the same tendency toward formal organization through purely musical means that is characteristic of the French chanson. It has already been pointed out that contrasting sections of white- and black-note rhythm may contribute to the formal organization of the chanson. Also, the endings are often emphasized formally in much the same way as the more homorhythmic, French type of chanson--through the repetition of the last line or phrase. Instead of repeating a complete musical section exactly, or nearly exactly, however, the phrase repetitions in individual voices are usually spun out imitatively and sequentially, and the motifs change their melodic and
rhythmic shape as they are repeated. This process may be seen clearly in the repetitions of the last line of *Je suis disheritée* (Vol. II, p. 413, mm. 50-65).

No doubt as a result of Gerarde's liking for textural contrast canon plays as unimportant a part in his chansons as it does in his motets. In fact, there are only two instances of its use. In one of the canonic chansons, *Adieu mon esperance* (L4-13), the canonic voice is the *quintus*, which is written out without inscription. The *dux*, which is the *tenor*, is marked with the appropriate *signa* (₅) indicating the beginning and end of the canon. In the other canonic chanson, *Ce mois de may* (Vol. II, p. 387), the *tenor* is also the *dux*, while the *resolutio* is written out in the top voice and labeled "Superius canon ad longum." The canonic voice of *Ce mois de may* is recognizable as a *cantus prius factus*, which brings up the question of the use of borrowed materials in Gerarde's chansons.

**The use of borrowed material**

It has been fairly well established that the popular tune, or *chanson rustique*, played an important part in the history of the polyphonic chanson. According to Howard Brown, borrowed melodies make their way into the polyphonic complex by being used as tenors, by being stated in canon, by appearing
in the Genevan Psalter of 1562. Probably both the Calvinist version and that of Gerarde had a common source (cf. Example 31).

**Example 31.**

a) Opening of *tenor* of *Ce mois de may* (L4-28);


In at least three other instances (Examples 32-34) Gerarde makes use of familiar tunes that "permeate the texture without being stated completely in any one voice." These same tunes were also used in the Huguenot Psalters, but the only clearly relatable phrases between Gerarde's versions and those of the Reformers are stated at the beginning. Musical relationships between Gerarde's chansons and polyphonic settings of the Huguenot melodies have not been discovered yet. Indeed, the question of the relationship between secular chansons and polyphonic settings of Psalms that use common tunes awaits research.

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31 For incipits of tunes that are used in sources of the secular chanson as well as in the Huguenot Psalters, see O. Douen, *Clément Marot et le psautier huguenot* (Paris, 1878), I, 718-35.
EXAMPLE 32. a) Opening of superius of Puisque fortune (L4-51); b) Opening of Psalm 36 from Aulcuns pseulmes et cantiques mys en chant, Strasbourg, 1539 (Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, I, 44).

EXAMPLE 33. a) Opening of superius of Je suis disheritee (L4-50); b) Opening of Psalm 79 from La forme des prieres et chants ecclesiastiques ... Strasbourg, 1545 (Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, I, 80).

EXAMPLE 34. a) Opening of superius of Tant ay souffert (L4-55); b) Opening of Psalm 22 from La forme des prieres et chants ecclesiastiques, Genève, 1542 (Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, I, 30).
In addition to borrowing the melodies of monophonic chansons, the sixteenth-century composer also occasionally based a new composition on a polyphonic model. This practice seems not to have been widespread, however. So far no examples of parody between Gerarde's chansons and works outside his manuscripts have been found. There are instances, however, where a motive appears to be associated with a particular text, but only as a kind of motto or head motive. This may be seen by comparing the beginning of Gerarde's setting of Marot's *Plaisir n'ay plus* with that of Christian Hollander (cf. Examples 35 and 36). It must be

EXAMPLE 35. Opening of *Plaisir n'ay plus* - Christian Hollander (*L'unziesme livre ... a quatre parties*, Susato, 1549).

EXAMPLE 36. Opening of Plaisir n'ay plus - Gerarde (L4-54).
emphasized, however, that the thematic relationship does not extend beyond the initial motive. In fact, it may be that we are dealing with one of a group of stock motives that were used freely without reference to other works. As Howard Brown has pointed out,

linking themes of one composition with those in another is always a dangerous occupation. Even in a style as familiar as Mozart's, the clichés common to all composers in an age are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the original données of the individual. In a period as comparatively unfamiliar as the 16th century it is especially difficult to assess what a composer regarded as a commonplace, and what as the germane element of a theme. 33

At first sight parody relationships would appear to exist within the Gerarde manuscripts between the thematically related settings of Le bergier et la bergiere and Tous mes amis that appear in L2 and L4. A closer inspection reveals, however, that the pieces are related more by a process of modernization than by parody. Possibly, Gerarde wanted to retain the thematic elements of the older versions of L2 and yet recast them in a way that would bring them up to date. Some comparisons of the two settings of Le bergier et la bergiere (Vol. II, pp. 394 and 398) will make this process clear.

In the L4 version the first point of imitation is made more compact by decreasing the time interval between entries. Even though the L2 setting has only three surviving parts, this contrapuntal tightening is made apparent by the fact that all

33 Ibid., p. 158
the voices of the L4 version have entered before the tenor of the L2 setting makes its appearance in measure six. The extra subject entry in the superius at measure six in the L4 version also provides for a more tightly knit structure than in the L2 setting where the repetitive free counterpoint of the superius seems merely to be biding its time.

In the L4 setting, the tendency to write shorter phrases for each voice with less melismatic, "filler" counterpoint is also apparent in the music for the third and fifth lines of text. In particular, in the imitative, white-note setting of the phrase "la dame a dicte a son mignon" the shorter phrases allow for more restatements of the subject and greater thematic unity within the period (cf. mm. 20-30 of the L4 version and mm. 22-31 of the L2 setting). Perhaps the best example of this tendency towards concise expression in the L4 version is in the setting of the phrase "Reprennons nostre alaine." Here Gerarde recasts the imitative original into a short chordal section that is repeated with a contrast of high and low voicing.

A greater economy of means in the L4 version of Le bergier et la bergiere is particularly evident in the smoother connections that are made between the repetitions of certain phrases. In measures 17-18 of the L4 version, for example, Gerarde eliminates the white-note "dead-space" that exists in measures 20-21 of the L2 version. Also, the L2 version takes up two measures in the connection between the last section and its repetition, whereas
the L4 version makes the connection much more efficiently in only one measure.

Thus the L2 version of *Le bergier et la bergiere* appears to have been altered in a manner strongly suggestive of the kind of remodeling that a mature composer might perform on an earlier work. Not only is there a greater economy of expression in the L4 version compared to that of L2, but there is also a greater emphasis on the devices of textural contrast that became fashionable in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Of course, it is possible that the L2 version is the work of another composer, in which case the L4 setting must be regarded as parody in the strictest sense. It seems more likely, however, that the L2 version represents an earlier stage of Gerarde's own compositional technique and that the L4 setting is not parody at all but the result of a stylistic revamping.

**Performance practices**

Certain features of Gerarde's chansons may be loosely assembled and discussed under the general heading of performance practices. The most significant of these has to do with the problem of the tempo relationships between the white-note and the black-note chanson. Even though the two types have the same time signature (\( \frac{4}{4} \)), a comparison of dissonance treatment and the use of rests suggests that in the white-note chanson the semibreve gets the beat and that in the black-note chanson the
minim has the pulse. The basic mechanism of the strong-beat dissonance in sixteenth-century polyphony depends on the existence of an accentual pulse in which the dissonance occurs on the accented part of the beat and is resolved on the weak part. Since this dissonance pattern takes place in the motets and white-note chansons only on the semibreve, it may be fairly assumed that the basic pulse is on the semibreve. In the black-note chanson, however, the dissonance pattern occurs on the minim, which would indicate that the minim and not the semibreve is being given a separate pulse. These patterns of suspension dissonance working at the level of the semibreve in the white-note chanson, and at the level of the minim in the black-note chanson are illustrated in Example 37.

EXAMPLE 37. a) Extract from *Oncques amour* (L4-18); b) Extract from *Puis qu'elle a mis* (L4-29).
That the minim was the basic unit of pulse in the black-note chanson is also suggested by the appearance of the minim as the last note of a phrase and by the use of consecutive minim rests. In the motet or the white-note chanson the note at the end of a phrase, or note of release, is almost invariably a semibreve, and a rest of two minims length is always indicated by a semibreve rest.

Assuming there was a different kind of beat for the black-note chanson, there was in all probability no change in the actual tempo of the note values. That is, the minims go by as fast in the chanson sentimentale as they do in the chanson grivoise. The only difference is that the beat is twice as fast in the latter. It may have been that the basic tactus major was subdivided into a tactus minor in such a manner that the faster accent pattern was comprehended within the slower.\textsuperscript{34} With a subdivided beat such as this it would have been easy to shift back and forth from white-note to black-note motion, as happens in some of Gerarde's chansons. A contemporary analogy of this process of changing beats without changing tempo may be seen in modern dance music. In the fox trot the half-note gets the beat (1 and-a 2 and-a 1 and-a 2), but in the "jump" tunes or in double-time

\textsuperscript{34} Apel has suggested that the terms tactus major and tactus minor indicate, "not different tempi, but different conductor's beats for the same tempo, the latter having two movements of the hand in place of one of the former." \textit{The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600} (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 192.
sections the beat shifts to the quarter note (1-2-1234). It must be emphasized that these shifts to faster note values suggest no change in tempo. Indeed, the black-note chansons and the black-note sections within white-note chansons are faster only by virtue of their smaller note values.

In actual performance the establishment and maintenance of a beat, whether tactus major or tactus minor, was probably the responsibility of one of the performers, perhaps a lutenist or virginalist. The possibility that Gerarde himself played one of these instruments from the bassus book is suggested by the evidence of Royal Appendix 55, a single manuscript volume containing a number of French and Italian songs. Even though the manuscript is anonymous, it is doubtless one of the "divers imperfect bookes of Musick, both printed and written hande" mentioned in the Lumley catalogue.35 The paper used for the volume is the same as that used for L1 (watermark of Nicolas Lebé) and has the same kind of staves. Further, the notation and script for the most part appear to be identical to that of Gerarde, even though more hastily put down (cf. Plate V). The contents suggest strongly that the volume served as a kind of musical notebook. Most of the songs consist of a single treble line with extra strophes of text provided at the bottom of the page. Others have lute accompaniment, and a few consist either of a bass part by itself with only the incipit of the text provided, or of a

35 Cf. supra, p. 49.
PLATE V
half of the sixteenth century, and it is possible that composers and singers depended on these as sources of extra strophes. One such source may have been a collection titled *La fleur de poesie francoyse* published by Alain Lotrian in Paris in 1543. Judging from the large number of texts it contains that were set by both French and Flemish composers, including Gerarde, it was no doubt a popular volume.

The availability of professional singers at Nonesuch would not necessarily have precluded the participation of lords and ladies in the musical performances. As Lord Chamberlain for Henry VIII, the Earl of Arundel was no doubt well acquainted with the tradition of courtly music-making, for Henry himself was noted for his active participation in both the composition and performance of music. That the tradition of family music-making was well established in England before the madrigalian era is indicated in a passage in M. Claudius Hollybande's *The French Schoolmaister* published in London in 1573. The following discourse is included in a section titled "Familiar talks for to speake in all places."

Roland, shall we have a song? Yea Sir: where bee your bookes of musick? for they bee the best corrected. They bee in my chest: Katherine take the key of my closet, you shall find them in a little til at the left hand: behold, ther bee faire songes at fewer partes. Who shall singe with me? You shall have companie enough: David shall make the base:

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Jhon, the tenor: and James the treble.  
Begine: James, take your tune: go to: for what do you tarie?  
I have but a rest.  
Roland: drink afore you begine, you will singe with a better corage.

Even though Arundel himself "had been to neither university and refused to learn or speak any vernacular but his own," he saw to it that his children were raised in the courtly Norman tradition in which French was the chief means of cultured communication and the performance of music was an acceptable pastime. In the Nonesuch household, consequently, the chanson vied with the madrigal as the favored form of secular music. That the chanson was losing ground to the madrigal in the third quarter of the century, however, is indicated by the number of madrigal collections in the Nonesuch library, collections that outnumber the chanson prints and manuscripts by two to one.


CHAPTER VI

MUSIC WITH ITALIAN AND ENGLISH TEXTS

While Gerarde's chansons show two successive waves of influence, from both Paris and the Netherlands, the five madrigals are completely a product of the "nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie."\(^1\) They are with one exception for five voices, the number preferred by the generation of madrigal composers headed by Rore and Lassus, and they reveal the textural variety, the rhythmic flexibility, the refinement of declamatory techniques, and the "extraordinary expansion of form" that Einstein has cited as being characteristic of the post-classic madrigal.\(^2\) Moreover, they show that Gerarde was capable of great subtlety in the use of devices of text illustration.

Four of the five Italian texts used by Gerarde, Die lume (L3-1), Amor piangeva (L3-2), Gia piansi (L3-3), and Il foco ch'io sentia (L3-9), are anonymous sonnets. The remaining text, La neve i monti interno (L2-37), also anonymous, is a twelve-line madrigal

\[^1\] Le quatorzième livre a quatre parties ... faictz (a la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie) par Rolando di Lassus ... (Antwerp, 1555).

with mixed eleven- and seven-syllable lines. Not only do the authors of these texts remain to be identified, but a search of available bibliographical sources has failed to reveal the use of this poetry by any other composer of madrigals. 3

All four of the sonnets are set in two partes, the octava making up the text of the prima pars and the tercetti that of the secunda pars. Only the madrigal appears in an undivided setting. As in some of the motets in two partes, the settings of the sonnets have aperta and chiuso relationships between the endings of the prima and secunda pars. With one exception, the prima pars cadences on either the fourth or fifth degree of the mode, while the secunda pars cadences on the final. In Gia pianisi, however, the prima pars ends on the final of the mode and the secunda pars on the fifth degree. In this instance, however, the secunda pars ends with the words "and humbly begs," and Gerarde may have cadenced away from the final as a means of emphasizing the sense of the text (cf. Example 38).

Like the motets, the madrigals are through-composed, Gerarde's only concern being the fitting expression of each phrase of text. Unlike the motets, however, the majority of which open imitatively, all of the primae partes and all but one of the secundae partes begin with a chordal declamation of the first

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3 Items searched include Emil Vogel's Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700 (Hildesheim, 1962), and, for madrigals in England, Joseph Kerman, The Elizabethan Madrigal (New York, 1962).
The madrigals differ from the motets not only in their preference for chordal beginnings, but also in certain details of phrase treatment. Most of the devices used to characterize a period in the motets are used in the madrigals, but there is a greater emphasis on declamation, a greater use of mixed textures, more reliance on changes of rhythm, and, most important, a more frequent and more striking use of word painting. In fact, it is through the more intimate relationship between music and text that the madrigals must be considered. In the motets the various figures are more or less clear-cut, purely musical devices whose role is not so much illustration as ornamentation of the text. Indeed, in the motets Gerarde usually maintains a rather formal distance between the music and the text. Within the context of the more intimate literary expression of the madrigal, however, this gap is closed, and the chief concern becomes the direct musical illustration of individual words and phrases. Whereas hypotyposis, or word painting, was just another one of many devices in the motet, in the madrigals it becomes the chief figure to which all the others are subordinated.

Compared to the motets, contrast between periods in the madrigals is somewhat less dependent on clear changes of texture unaccompanied by other kinds of change. This is due mainly to a greater emphasis in the madrigals on two different kinds of melodic motion. On the one hand, there is a greater tendency toward declamation in the individual melodic lines. Even though a
phrase may be sung imitatively, a homorhythmic illusion is created at times by the use of many repeated notes and equal note values in all voices. This effect may be seen in Die lume in the several repetitions of the phrase "e sospiro" (Vol. II, p. 421, mm. 17-28).

On the other hand, instead of uniform motion, various groups of rhythmically independent lines may produce a texture of considerable complexity. In measures 62-64 of Die lume, for example, the longer note values of the superius and bassus contrast with the shorter notes of the tenor and quintus, while the contra is rhythmically set off by itself.

Perhaps because of the greater tendency toward declamation in the madrigals, expressive dissonance is less important as a contributing factor in the characterization of a period. Melodic lines with repeated notes lack the kind of conjunct flow that is essential to the formation of accented and unaccented dissonance patterns, as may be seen in the first 25 measures of Die lume (Vol. II, p. 426).

While the madrigals do not use "polyphonic declamation" of the type encountered in the motets and chansons, the regularity of the harmonic rhythm is frequently interrupted as a result of the declamation of repeated notes. An unusual suspension of harmonic rhythm is produced in one instance in Die lume by a sustained chord that appears in the lower voices (cf. Vol. II, p. 424, m. 58). This is a unique effect in Gerarde's music, however, and was obviously designed to contribute to an expressive, monodic delivery of the words "alte parole" in the top voice.
If Gerarde relies somewhat less on purely textural contrasts in his madrigals, other kinds of contrast are more emphasized, particularly those involving changes in voicing and rhythm. As in the motets and chansons, contrasts in voicing occur within a period (mimesis) and are usually homorhythmic in contrast to the more imitative textures of the preceding and succeeding periods (cf. Example 40).

EXAMPLE 40. Extract from secunda pars of Amor piangeva (L3-2).

More frequently than in the motets, however, the periods containing voicing contrasts are also set off from the preceding and succeeding periods through the introduction of faster note values. Indeed, passages such as that in Quare fremuerunt, rare in the motets, are a commonplace in the madrigals. These

*Cf. supra, p. 146.*
rhythmically and texturally contrasted periods of mimesis may even involve rhythmic contrasts between phrase repetitions within the period, as in the secunda pars of *Amor piangeva* at the words "fia da mortali" (Example 41).

**EXAMPLE 41.** Extract from secunda pars of *Amor piangeva* (L3-2).

Syncopation often occurs in conjunction with contrasts of texture and voicing. Periods set off by such a combination of contrasts produce vivid effects that are characteristic of manneristic writing in the late sixteenth century. An example may be seen in *Il foco ch'io sentia* at the repetition of the words "per aventura piu" (cf. Example 42).

Most of the changes of rhythm in Gerarde's madrigals, with or without an accompanying contrast of voicing, represent attempts to express the meaning of the text. Usually, these changes illustrate rather broad shifts of emotion from happy to
sad, light to dark, etc., but more subtle kinds of imagery may occasionally be suggested by the music. In *Il foco ch'io sentia*, for example, Gerarde's setting of the line "se sparge in terra copiosa neve" is probably as replete with subtle expressive devices as any in the madrigal literature (cf. Example 43). An appropriate descending figure on "se sparge in terra" is begun in the bass voice and imitated in the higher voices. After the bass reaches the low F it remains motionless while the other voices descend in parallel 6/3 chords. Then, following one deft touch with another, Gerarde sets the phrase "copiosa neve" with another descending figure involving faster note values and a change to 6/8 rhythm. The sequences of this motif in close imitation provide an ingenious musical representation of falling snow.

While the above example of word painting represents madrigalesque writing at its best, there are other examples in
The two English texts and 'Pandalidon'

Three remaining texts set by Gerarde include a metrical translation of Psalm 26 into English, Lorde be my Judge (L2-38), a macaronic text, Pandalidon (L2-2), and an English madrigal, Ye Phebus stormes (L4-31). Of these texts, only the Psalm can be traced to its source. The metrical translation by Hopkins was first published in the 1561 edition of the English Psalter.\(^6\) Hughes-Hughes maintained that Gerarde's version of the text came from the Scottish Psalter of 1566,\(^7\) but according to Frost,


the version in the Scottish Psalter was taken from the earlier
English Psalter. 8

None of the three surviving voice-parts of Gerarde's
setting of Psalm 26 uses the tunes indicated in the Psalters. It
ought to be noted, however, that another Netherlander in England,
William Daman (d. 1591), also set the text, using the tune for
Psalm 108 that appeared in the Scottish Psalter of 1564/65. 9 In
the general contour of its first phrase, this tune is similar to
the opening of the superius of Gerarde's setting (cf. Example 45).

EXAMPLE 45. a) First phrase of tune for Psalm 108 in Scottish
Psalter of 1564/65 (Frost, English and Scottish Psalm
and Hymn Tunes, p. 154); b) Opening of superius of
Lorde be my Judge (L2-38).

\[\text{Example 45: a) First phrase of tune for Psalm 108 in Scottish Psalter of 1564/65 (Frost, English and Scottish Psalm and Hymn Tunes, p. 154); b) Opening of superius of Lorde be my Judge (L2-38).}\]

Beyond this similarity, however, Gerarde's setting bears no re-
relationship either to the Psalm tune itself or to Daman's setting
of it. Nor is Gerarde's setting akin to the kind of terse,
strophic setting that was the norm in the prints of John Day and
Thomas Este. It resembles more the French chanson in that it
begins chordally, breaks into light imitations, and repeats the
last line of text and music. Moreover, instead of setting just

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8Frost, op. cit., p. 12. 9Ibid., p. 154.
an impressive five-voice English madrigal, *Yf Phebus stormes*, which is as significant historically as it is musically. The text may be incomplete in that it appears to consist of a series of conditional clauses with no conclusion. The author has not been identified, but he would appear to belong to the school of sonneteers headed by Sir Philip Sidney (d. 1586). Indeed, *Yf Phebus stormes* is quite close in style to "The Third Song" of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*. Both poems contain a succession of conditional clauses and both begin in the same spirit.

If Orpheus voyce had force
to breathe such Musick's love (Sidney)

*Yf Phebus stormes* by Cupides yre
had powre to perce his heavenlie hart (L4, anony.)

Gerarde's setting of the anonymous song exemplifies his most mature polyphonic writing (cf. Vol. II, p. 431). The first line is declaimed homorhythmically, but the succeeding lines are handled with more than the usual amount of imitative writing and expressive, accented dissonance. The ear is thus prepared for the contrast of the chordal writing that Gerarde reserves for the last two lines: "When heare they myght his mournefull mynd/
and painefull plaints with hellish eares."

Two examples of expressive text illustration are worth noting in Gerarde's setting of the text. At the words "had powre to perce his heavenlie hart" Gerarde introduces a point of

imitation in which all the voices move downward in a series of parallel 6/3 chords (mm. 5-7). He accentuates the feeling of "powre to perce" by beginning the descent with semibreves and an accented dissonance (m. 6) and then changing to evenly descending minims in the next measure.

For the words "dulfull smart" in measures 16 and 17 Gerarde writes what must surely be one of the most expressive chains of accented and unaccented dissonances in the English madrigal literature. The vertical combination on the last quarter-note of the sixteenth measure (d-f#-b\(^b\)-d) and the first quarter-note of the seventeenth (e\(^b\)-g-b\(^b\)-d) are especially to be noted. It will be recalled that the word "poenas" in the secunda pars of Dulces exuviae evoked a dissonance of similar pungency.

Yf Phebus stormes has never been mentioned in the various studies of the history and development of the English madrigal. It may have been felt that since Gerarde was a Netherlander, his madrigal lay outside the native English tradition. Whether he was a foreigner or not seems unimportant, however, for there are only a handful of pieces with English text dating from the early years of Elizabeth's reign, far too few to allow the luxury of ignoring a single one. Indeed, perhaps more than some polyphonic songs of native English composers, Yf Phebus stormes is a worthy predecessor of the serious madrigals of Byrd, Morley, and Gibbons. As Kerman has stated, "no satisfactory history" of the
native English secular style exemplified in the songs of Byrd has ever been written. When such a history is written, Gerarde's piece will have to be taken into account.

\[12\text{Kerman, op. cit., p. 100.}\]
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Various physical aspects of the Gerarde manuscripts indicate that they were copied for the most part in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, probably the third quarter. Ownership of the volumes may be traced back to the Earl of Arundel (d. 1580) and his son-in-law, Lord Lumley (d. 1609), both by inscriptions in the manuscripts themselves and by references to them in the catalogue of the Nonesuch library prepared for Lord Lumley in 1596. With the exception of two motets in L5, none of the unascribed pieces in the part-books has so far been found among the works of other composers. There are minor notational variants in L2 and L4, but this does not necessarily mean that two different composers or scribes had a hand in the manuscript. Indeed, a motet and two chansons written in the variant notation were remodeled in order to bring them up to date, which indicates the variant notation belongs to an older layer of music in the manuscripts. Altogether, the part-books contain 168 pieces of vocal polyphony that may not be accounted for under any other name except that of Derick Gerarde. In all probability he was the composer of most if not all of this music, and it no doubt represents the work of a lifetime.
Nothing is known about Derick Gerarde beyond what may be conjectured on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Archival records on both sides of the channel are void of any references to a musician named Derick, or Theodoricus, Gerarde. His name, the style of his music, the fact that all of his manuscripts may be traced to the library at Nonesuch, strongly suggest that he was a Netherlander employed by the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley. Beyond this the biography remains blank.

Whether or not Derick Gerarde may be identified with one of the musicians named Gerard that were active on the continent must also remain open to conjecture. Several arguments may be listed against such an identification, however, the most significant of which is based on the fact that no concordances have been found between Derick's music and that of the continental Gerards. If Derick Gerarde were the Jean Gerard of Philip's chapel, or any of the other composers named Gerard known to be on the continent, it seems likely that at least one or two of Derick's 168 compositions would have survived in continental sources. On the other hand, Derick was doubtless a Netherlander, and it is not impossible that some of the pieces attributed to "Gerardus" in continental sources dating from the 1540's and 1550's were written by him before he left for England.

Gerarde's motets show clearly and consistently the influence of Lassus and the generation of composers in whose music the ideals of *musica poetica* began to crystallize. Indeed, Bemister's conception of the motet of Lassus as a three-part
Chapel and in the chapels of the learned by means of the Elizabethan prayer books in Latin. As the leader of the Catholic nobility and the most powerful noble in England, Arundel certainly would not have hesitated to have his chapel choir at Nonesuch perform the Morning and Evening Services with as much solemnity and ceremony as resources and fashion would allow.

The fact that Gerarde's manuscripts were practical repositories of music that were assembled and reassembled over a period of many years is suggested by the presence of an older and a younger layer of music. This age difference shows up clearly not only in the remodeling process that Gerarde applied to three pieces, but also in the forms and phrase treatment of the chansons. The chansons of the older group reveal an affinity with the Franco-Flemish chanson of the 1540's in that the structure of the musical phrases corresponds closely to the form of the verse. Clear-cut cadences and changes between homorhythmic and lightly imitative textures are used to articulate the various metrical divisions of the poetry. These same devices are also used to outline the sectionalization of the two repetition forms that are associated with the older group of chansons. In one of these the last line is repeated exactly, or nearly exactly, and in the other the music of the first two lines of an eight-line poem is repeated exactly for the second two lines, while the second quatrain is given new music. Another kind of repetition form that is not found exclusively in either the older or younger group of chansons is that in which a section of music from the
beginning is brought back at the end. This form is invariably associated with strophes having corresponding textual refrains, but not all texts with rentrements have repeated sections of music.

The other kind of phrase treatment in the chansons is more akin to that of the motet and madrigal of the third quarter of the sixteenth century and reveals clearly the ideals of musica poetica. Instead of outlining and enhancing the structure of the verse, metrical unity is distorted by the repetition of lines, half-lines, and even single words. Phrases expand through the introduction of a variety of purely musical devices and become musically controlled periods whose role is ostensibly the ornamentation and illustration of the text rather than the delineation of poetic form.

In spite of the use of the devices of musica poetica, however, the more mature chansons of Gerarde are rarely as expressive as the motets or madrigals, probably because the traditional lyrics of amour courtois were not as successful in stimulating an affective response in the composer as the more profoundly personal texts of the church or the more intimate lyrics of the Italian madrigal. Yet, the chansons are significant musically in a way that the motets and madrigals are not, and that is in their use of the contrast between white- and black-note rhythm as a means of producing sectionalization. Normally, the white- and black-note chansons are distinct types in Gerarde's part-books, but in the more mature group of chansons there is a
tendency for single pieces to include both sections of white notes and sections of black. The resulting sectionalization by rhythm is historically significant in that it represents the chief means by which the seventeenth-century canzona breaks up into rhythmically contrasted movements.

The use of borrowed materials in the chansons is restricted to popular tunes. In one chanson a cantus prius factus is stated in canon, and in four others the characteristic motives of the borrowed melodies are absorbed into the imitative texture. No instances of parody were found, unless the term is stretched to cover the polishing process that a composer performs on pieces that are ostensibly his own. According to Burmeister, the Renaissance concept of imitatione referred to the act of using the procedures of other composers both in kind (genus) and in particular (species) in order to put together a new piece of music.¹ Such an act would appear to have nothing to do with the process of remodeling parts of a piece in order to bring it up to date.

Gerarde's five madrigals, four of which are sonnets in two partes, are set off stylistically from the motets and chansons by their greater use of mixed, complex textures, their rhythmic flexibility, their refinement of declamatory techniques, and, in particular, their use of overt devices of text illustration. The distance that Gerarde normally maintains between the music and the text in the motet by the use of more or less pure

¹ Joachim Burmeister, Musica poetica (Rostock, 1616), p. 72.
musical figures is less in the madrigals. Frequent, vivid changes between white- and black-note rhythms are the chief means of suggesting broad shifts of emotion in the text, but there are numerous examples where subtle shades of meaning are illustrated musically in a masterful way. In fact, the madrigals and the English song, _Yf Phebus stormes_, present for the most part the same high standard of expressive writing that is apparent in Gerarde's setting of _Dulces exuviae_.

We may conclude by emphasizing that in the third quarter of the sixteenth century Nonesuch castle probably played a significant if not crucial role in importing the musical ideals of Lassus and his generation into England. Documents have been cited proving the existence there of an impressive musical establishment during the years of stylistic evolution that occurred in English music between the death of Taverner in 1545 and the publication of the Byrd-Tallis _Cantiones_ in 1575. With the largest private library of continental music in Elizabethan England and one of the largest collections of musical instruments, the Earl of Arundel's "solem queer by vois and instrument so sweet to heer" was probably more than a figment of poetic imagination. Indeed, there were few other places in England in the period following the Reformation where an English composer could have heard the latest in continental music performed with something of the style and resources of continental courts.

As a Netherlandish composer in residence at Nonesuch Derick Gerarde would have found himself in the mainstream of
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_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _. Orlandi Lassi sacrae cantiones vulgo motecta appellatae quinque et sex vocum liber secundus. Venice, 1566.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _. Orlandi Lassi sacrae cantiones vulgo motecta appellatae quinque et sex vocum liber tertius. Venice, 1566.

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_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _. Primus liber modulorum quinis vocibus constantium Orlando Lassusio auctore. Paris, 1571.

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* Quartus tomus Evangeliorum. Nürnberg, 1555.

* Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum.* Nürnberg, 1558.

* Psalmorum selectorum a praestantissimis huius nostri temporis in arte musicae artificibus in harmonias quatuor, quinque, et sex vocum redactorum Tomus primus.* Nürnberg, 1553.

* Tomus secundus Psalmorum selectorum, quatuor et plurium vocum. Nürnberg, 1553.

* Tomus tertius Psalmorum selectorum, quatuor et plurium vocum. Nürnberg, 1553.

* Secunda pars magni operis musici, continens clarissimorum symphonistarum tam veterum quam recentiorum, praecipue vero Clementis non Papa, carmina elegantissima.* Nürnberg, 1559.

* Thesaurus musici continens selectissimas octo, septem, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum harmonias ... Tomi primi continentis octo vocum. Nürnberg, 1564.

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* Thesauri musici tomus tertius continens cantiones sacras ... sex vocum. Nürnberg, 1564.

* Thesauri musici tomus quartus continens quinque vocum harmonias. Nürnberg, 1564.

* Thesauri musici tomus quintus, et ultimus, continens sacras harmonias quatuor vocibus componistas. Nürnberg, 1564.


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THE MUSIC OF DERICK GERARDE

VOLUME II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

By

Charles William Warren, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
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Approved by

Richard A. Happin
Adviser
Department of Music
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INTRODUCTION

The present volume includes a thematic index of all the pieces in Gerarde's manuscripts not ascribed to other composers and transcriptions of selected motets, chansons, and madrigals. The pieces in the index are arranged alphabetically within each of the textual categories—motet, chanson, and madrigal—the English psalm setting and the piece with the macaronic text being placed at the end of the section of madrigals. Melodic incipits of each piece appear in a descending order of clefs, and where two or more parts have the same clef, the one beginning with the highest note comes first. In those cases where two parts with the same clef open with the same note, the one that begins first is given precedence. Each piece is identified by the first few words of the text and by its manuscript number as given in Chapter II. An asterisk placed after the manuscript number indicates that the music is incomplete in that particular source. Practically all the pieces with missing parts belong to L2, which consists only of the superius, contra, and tenor books. There are, however, a few motets in L1 that lack a sextus or a bassus, or both (cf. supra, p. 12).

The transcriptions are also arranged according to textual category, those with the fewest number of voices appearing first.
in each section. Parts have been labeled according to the name of the part-book in which they are found, or according to the designation given on the folio bearing the part. These names have been abbreviated and placed at the beginning of each piece as follows: S - superius, C - contratenor, 5 - quintus, T - tenor, 6 - sextus, and B - bassus. The designations "primus" and "secundus" are indicated by arabic numerals (e.g., S\(^1\) stands for primus superius and S\(^2\) for secundus superius). Extra parts not named by Gerarde have been given appropriate labels within parentheses.

Standard editorial procedure regarding reduction of note values (2 to 1) and the indication of ligatures (\(\rightarrow\)) has been followed. Gerarde's liberal use of accidentals discourages any but the most obvious editorial additions. Such additions, made above the staff, include sharps for leading tones in cadences, flats on B and E to avoid melodic tritones, and both flats and sharps to carry altered notes over a bar-line. Gerarde's preventive sharps on B and E have been changed to naturals, and those accidentals that appear above or below the note have been placed to the left. Also, sharps or flats that would be redundant with modern barring are left out and indicated in the critical notes.

Gerarde's versions of the texts have been retained with a few additions and changes for the sake of clarification. Text repetition not written out in the parts has been added within brackets, and commas have been inserted to help delineate the repetitions of phrases. Minor variants in spelling in the French
and English texts have been eliminated, the version appearing in the greater number of parts being the one used. Also, in the Latin texts occasional ampersands have been replaced by "et." Finally, apostrophes and ligatures indicating elision and liaison have been added to the French and Italian texts. Gerarde does supply a few apostrophes in the Italian texts, but they are used indiscriminately to indicate both missing letters and the joining of words that have no consonant separating them.
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PART II. MUSIC
CRITICAL NOTES

Only one source has been used for each transcription. Indeed, except for Ad te levavi, Quare tristis es, and Hodie nobis coelorum rex, only one source exists. Minor variants of the type described in Chapter IV (cf. supra, p. 121) may be found between the L1 and L3 versions of Ad te levavi, Quare tristis es, and Hodie nobis, but only one version is given and no attempt has been made to indicate the variants.

Motets

1. Dulces exuviae
   2p) Urbem praeclaram

Source: Royal Appendix 26-30 (L3) - fol. 5-5\textsuperscript{v} in all part-books.

Quintus, meas. 19 of secunda pars - extraneous semiminim on f' inserted between d' and e' by hand other than than of original copy.

2. Egregiente Domino

Source: Royal Appendix 26-30 (L1) - fol. 4\textsuperscript{v} in all part-books.

3. Ad te levavi oculos meos
   2p) Miserere nostri

Source: Royal Appendix 17-22 (L1) - fol. 27\textsuperscript{v}-29 in superius, tenor, bassus, quintus, and sextus - fol. 25\textsuperscript{v}-27 in contratenor.
Chansons

1. *Amour au coeur*

Source: Royal Appendix 31-35 (L4) – fol. 18\(^\text{V}\) in superius, contra-
tenor, and tenor – fol. 17\(^\text{V}\) in quintus and bassus.

Quintus, m. 41 – third e flattened also; m. 47 – both e's sharped.

2. *Ce mois de may*

Source: Royal Appendix 31-35 (L4) – fol. 24\(^\text{V}\)-25 in superius and
tenor, fol. 25 in contratenor, fol. 23\(^\text{V}\)-24 in quintus,
fol. 23 in bassus.

3. *En attendant secours*

Source: Royal Appendix 31-35 (L4) – fol. 20\(^\text{V}\)-21 in superius,
contratenor, and tenor – fol. 19\(^\text{V}\)-20 in quintus – fol.
19\(^\text{V}\)-19\(^\text{V}\) in bassus.

Quintus, m. 53 – both e's flattened.

4. *Le bergier et la bergiere*

Source: Royal Appendix 23-25 (L2) – fol. 7\(^\text{V}\)-8 in superius and
contratenor – fol. 6\(^\text{V}\)-7 in tenor.

5. *Le bergier et la bergiere*

Source: Royal Appendix 31-35 (L4) – fol. 28\(^\text{V}\)-29 in superius,
contratenor, and tenor – fol. 28\(^\text{V}\) in quintus – fol.
26\(^\text{V}\)-27 in bassus.

6. *Ceste belle petite bouche*

Source: Royal Appendix 26-30 (L3) – fol. 14\(^\text{V}\) in superius and
quintus – fol. 14\(^\text{V}\)-15 in contratenor – fol. 15\(^\text{V}\) in
tenor – fol. 15 in bassus – 6 in contratenor book.
1. Dulces exuviae

Dulces exuviae dum fata,
quem de-de-rat cur-sum for-tu-na pe-re-

et quem de-de-rat cur-sum, et quem de-

vi-xi Et quem de-de-rat cur-sum fortu-

de-de-rat cur-sum for-tu-na pe-

et quem de-de-rat cur-sum for-

pe-re-gi, for-tu-na

de-re-gi, for-tu-na pe-re-gi, for-

na pe-re-gi, for-tu-na pe-re-gi,

re-gi, pe-re-gi, for-tu-na pe-

na pe-re-gi, for-tu-na pe-

pe-re-gi Et nunca mag-

tu-na pe-re-gi, [pe-

re-gi]

pe-re-gi Et nunca mag-

na pe-re-gi, [pe-

re-gi]

pe-re-gi Et nunca mag-

na pe-re-gi, [pe-

re-gi]

re-gi Et nunca magna re-

[et]
2. Egrediente Domino

Egrediente Domino, Egrediente Domino, Egrediente Domino.

Egrediente Domino, Egrediente Domino, Egrediente Domino.

Egrediente Domino, Egrediente Domino, Egrediente Domino.
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rex-i-o-nem[pun-ci-an-tes,pun-ci-an-
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3. Ad te levavi oculos meos

si-cut o-cu-li an-cil-le, o-cu-li an-cil-le

Si-cut o-cu-li an-cil-le, o-cu-li an-cil-le

Si-cut o-cu-li an-cil-le, o-cu-li an-cil-le

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Si-cut o-cu-li an-cil-le, o-cu-li an-cil-le

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Si-cut o-cu-li an-cil-le, o-cu-li an-cil-le

Si-cut o-cu-li an-cil-le, o-cu-li an-cil-le
ad dominum, ad dominum, ad dominum
ad dominum, ad dominum, ad dominum
ad dominum, ad dominum, ad dominum
ad dominum, ad dominum, ad dominum
Mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se- -re-re no- stri Do- -mi- ne, mi- -se-
tum repleta est, [qui - a multum repleta est]

pleta est, repleta est, repleta est, qui - a multum repleta est, repleta est, qui - a multum repleta est, repleta est, qui - a multum repleta est, repleta est, qui - a multum repleta est, qui - a multum repleta est, repleta est, qui - a multum repleta est,
4. Da mihi Domine
...bas me, et qua-re con-tur-bas me, Spe-
...re con-tur-bas me, et qua-re con-tur-bas me, Spe-
...tur-bas me, et qua-re con-tur-bas me Spe-
...me, et qua-re con-tur-bas me Spe-
...re con-tur-bas me, et qua-re con-tur-bas me
In Deo spera in Deo
In Deo spera in Deo
In Deo spera in Deo
In Deo spera in Deo
Deo spera in Deo
Deo spera in Deo spera in Deo
6. *Domine da mihi animam purum*
tu-a precepta custodi-am

ut tu-a precepta cus-

tu-a precepta custodi-am, ut tu-a precepta cus-

omnibus vitae mea di-

todi-am omnibus vite mea
todi-am omnibus vite mea
todi-am omnibus vite mea
todi-am omnibus vite mea
7. Hodie nobis coelorum rex
De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est

lorum rex

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est

Ut homi-

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est ut

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est ut

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est ut

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est ut

De vir-gi-ne nas-ci digna-tus est ut

Digna-tus est ut hom-
ho·mi-nem per·di·tum, ho·mi-nem per·di-

ut ho·mi-nem per·di·tum, ut ho·mi-nem per·di-

ut ho·mi-nem, ut ho·mi-nem per·di-

di·tum, ut ho·mi-nem per·di-

ho·mi-nem, ut ho·mi-nem per·di·tum, ut ho-

mi-nem per·di·tum, ut ho·mi-nem per·

di·tum,

ad reg·na ce·les·ti·a re·vo·ca·ret

ad reg·na ce·les·ti·a re·vo·ca·ret

di·tum ad reg·na ce·les·ti·a re·vo·ca·ret

di·tum ad reg·na ce·les·ti·a re·vo·ca·ret

ad reg·na ce·les·ti·a re·vo·ca·ret
humano generi apparuit
humano generi
humano generi
humano generi apparuit
humano generi apparuit
Gloria in excelsis Deo,
Gloria in excelsis Deo,
Gloria in excelsis Deo,
Gloria in excelsis Deo,
Gloria in excelsis Deo,
Hominum genus apparuit.

Mano genus apparuit, apparuit.

Apparuit, apparuit, apparuit.

Apparuit, apparuit, apparuit.
1. Amour au cœur

Amour au cœur me pointe, L'a-
Amour au cœur me pointe, L'a-
Amour au cœur me pointe, L'a-
Amour au cœur me pointe.
jouer i-rons pour cueil - lier vert
m’y et moy sur la ra-sine,
Re-gardant la feuille à l’en-
vers puis sel-le craind le des-
cou-vert
m’y et moy sur la ra-sine,
Re-gardant la feuille à l’en-
vers puis sel-le craind le des-
cou-vert
3. En attendant secours
4. Le bergier et la bergère (L2 version)
Le berger et la bergère,

ils sont en l'ombre d'un buisson.

Il s'entend prêcher de l'autre,

[de l'autre] que grand pein.

Le berger et la bergère,

ils sont en l'ombre d'un buisson.

Il s'entend prêcher de l'autre,

[de l'autre] que grand pein.

Le berger et la bergère,

ils sont en l'ombre d'un buisson.

Il s'entend prêcher de l'autre,

[de l'autre] que grand pein.
Le loup en-porte nous montons mon compagnon pour dieu sal-

nes. Le loup, le loup en-porte nous montons mon compagnon pour dieu sal-

nes. Le loup, le loup en-porte nous montons mon compagnon pour dieu sal-

nes. Le loup, le loup en-porte nous montons mon compagnon pour dieu sal-

nes.
5. Le bergier et la bergère (14 version)
6. C'est belle petite bouche

C'est belle petite bouche, c'est belle petite bouche,

C'est belle petite bouche, c'est belle petite bouche,

C'est belle petite bouche, c'est belle petite bouche,
guîl est bien heureux qui la touche,

C'est la belle petite bouche, ces
touche.

guîl est bien heureux qui la touche,

C'est la belle petite bouche, ces
heureux qui
la touche.
son-spire [mon cœur son-spire] toutes les nuits
ceur son-spire, son-spire
toutes les nuits
ceur son-spire, mon cœur son-spire toutes les nuits qu'ont le ton-che, qu'ont
C'est-sa-ment mon cœur son-spire
ceur son-spire, mon cœur son-spire toutes les nuits qu'ont le
mon cœur son-spire toutes les nuits qu'ont le

-tes les nuits qu'ant le ton-che
qu'ant le ton-che, qu'ant le ton-che en disant vray dien mon doux
le ton-che, qu'ant le ton-che en disant vray dien mon doux
les nuits qu'ant le ton-che en disant vray dien mon doux
-tes les nuits qu'ant le ton-che [toutes les nuits qu'ant le ton-che] en disant vray dien mon doux
Puis que j'ai perdu mon ami
Feuilleté ma laisser-

Feuilleté ma laisser-

Feuilleté ma laisser-

Feuilleté ma laisser-
se-

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8. J'ay tant chasse
pour acquérir

ne puis con-trir pour acquérir
[ pour acquérir ] le don de

plus ne puis con-trir pour acquérir

plus ne puis con-trir pour acquérir

plus ne puis con-trir pour acquérir

plus ne puis con-trir pour acquérir

plus ne puis con-trir pour acquérir

le don de vos-tre grace

vos-tre grace je ne voy rien je ne voy rien
vos-tre grace

le don de vos-tre grace

vos-tre grace je ne voy rien je ne voy rien
vos-tre grace

le don de vos-tre grace

vos-tre grace je ne voy rien je ne voy rien
MADRIGALS

1. Die lume

Die lume un tempal cie-co mon-dy

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Die lume un tempal cie-co mon-dy

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Die lume un tempal cie-co mon-dy

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Die lume un tempal cie-co mon-dy

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Die lume un tempal cie-co mon-dy

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Die lume un tempal cie-co mon-dy

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¿Qué te das cuenta de tu patria, qué te das cuenta de tu patria, qué te das cuenta de tu patria, qué te das cuenta de tu patria...
così vivo è chiaro l'umedestra nebbia
la so spone così vivo è chiaro l'umedestra nebbia
co-si vivo e chiaro l'umedestra nebbia
co-si vivo è chiaro l'umedestra nebbia
co-si vivo è chiaro l'umedestra nebbia
co-si vivo è chiaro l'umedestra nebbia
co-si vivo è chiaro l'umedestra nebbia
co-si vivo è chiaro l'umedestra nebbia

poi su le primibo re
poi su le primibo re
poi su le primibo re
poi su le primibo re
poi su le primibo re
poi su le primibo re
poi su le primibo re
poi su le primibo re

Ne po teo fan-sia no-stro mal ri-paro
le primibo re Ne po teo fan-sia no-stro mal ri-paro
le primibo re Ne po teo fan-sia no-stro mal ri-paro
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2. Yf Phæbus stormes

Yf Phæbus stormes by cupids yre,
by cupids yre had powre to perce his

by cupids yre had powre to perce his heavilie hart,
Chad powre to perce

Cupidsyre had powre to perce his heavilie hart, had powre to perce his

had powre to perce his heavilie hart.
Orpheus care by waun-ding steppe's could long de-taine, by waun-
ding steppe's could long de-taine, could long de-taine, Yf. He as woun-
did brest do fare. Yf he as woun-did brest do fare.

As woun-did brest do fare in woe-full teres could still re-
maine in woe-full teres. Yf he as woun-did brest do fare.