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Author: Roelvink, Véronique

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Chapter 11 Description of the sources

11.1 Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MSS 125-128 (olim 124)

The majority of the compositions of Gheerkin de Hondt that we know today has come down to us exclusively in four richly illustrated paper partbooks (superius, contratenor, tenor, bassus), now kept in Cambrai, France.¹⁴⁴⁰ The title pages of the partbooks bear the date 1542 and record in Flemish and French that they belonged to Zeghere van Male, a merchant living in Bruges. The fascinating books have challenged quite a few musicologists and historians from 1843 onwards to write about them, all publishing on the contents, the owner, the composers and the intriguing drawings.¹⁴⁴¹ But it was Nele Gabriëls who unmasked the scribe of the books: Zeghere van Male himself.¹⁴⁴² The year 1542 on the title pages of the partbooks turns out to be the year Zeghere finished his books. It is generally assumed they were actually written between 1540 and 1542, since the year 1540 appears on three pages in the manuscripts.¹⁴⁴³

Zeghere van Male was born between around 1507 and 1512.¹⁴⁴⁴ According to the title pages of the partbooks, in the early 1540s Van Male was a *bocraen*

¹⁴⁴⁰ Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MSS 125-128 (*olim* 124); CambraiBM 125-8. The complete partbooks are available on the internet via two websites: [http://imslp.org/wiki/Chansonnier_de_Zeghere_van_Male_\(Various\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Chansonnier_de_Zeghere_van_Male_(Various)) and <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr> (Cambrai, MSS 125-128). The first website gives photographs of the complete pages in low resolution, plus details of the illuminations in high resolution. The second website shows pictures of all the complete pages, plus a few detailed photographs, both in low resolution. I am grateful to Mrs. Annie Fournier from the Médiathèque Municipale (formerly Bibliothèque Municipale) for showing me the originals in September 2006.

¹⁴⁴¹ De Coussemaker 1975² (facsimile from the first print of 1843); Von Bartha 1930; Diehl 1974, Dewitte 1979, Andriessen 2002, pp. 262-272.

¹⁴⁴² Gabriëls 2010². With this identification, Gabriëls ended the discussions on the possible scribes (see for the last contribution – taking the edge off the suggestion that Gheerkin de Hondt was the scribe – Roelvink 2009, pp. 383-384).

¹⁴⁴³ In the Ct on fol. 35r and fol. 36v and in the S on fol. 96r (Diehl 1974, pp. 108-109, 118-123; Gabriëls 2010², pp. 92-93).

¹⁴⁴⁴ Biographical information derived from Gabriëls 2010², pp. 12-15.

verkooper/marchand demourant ('seller of yarn and ribbons') in Bruges. In his career, he was very successful, witness the fact that he occupied several important positions in Bruges, among others as dean of his guild, governor of schools for poor children, member of the city council and church master of the church of Sint-Jacob (several times from 1553 onwards), his parish church. He was the father of sixteen children, from two marriages. Zeghere van Male died on 7 July 1601 at the highly respectable age of at least 89. He was buried in the church of Sint-Jacob, which today still owns a large painting showing him with both his wives and all of his children (painted by Pieter Pourbus in 1578), and also his copper memorial slab. In addition to appearing on the painting and the memorial slab, the family coat of arms is also in the superius partbook, in the *Secunda Pars* of the motet *Ave Regina celorum / Gaude gloriosa*.¹⁴⁴⁵

The books contain more than two hundred compositions on 146 folios, including works from all current genres: Masses, motets, chansons, Flemish songs, Italian madrigals and instrumental dances. A very pleasing aspect of this anthology is that the models of all the Masses are included, among them the models of three Masses by Gheerkin de Hondt.¹⁴⁴⁶ Ninety-five out of the total of 229 compositions (therefore 41%) are so-called *unica*, works that have only been preserved in Zeghere's partbooks, among them eleven out of the fifteen compositions by Gheerkin. Zeghere assigned forty-two of the *unica* to a composer, of which only four seem to be incorrectly ascribed and five more have an unresolved conflicting attribution.¹⁴⁴⁷

The composers, both internationally well known as well as local, originate from several generations, for example Benedictus Appenzeller, Claudin de Sermisy, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Jean Courtois, Thomas Crecquillon, Ducrocq, Nicolas Gombert, Lupus Hellinck, Johannes de Hollande, Gheerkin de Hondt, Clément Janequin, Josquin des Prez, Johannes Lupi, Jean Mouton, Pierkin de Raedt, Jean Richafort and Adriaen Willaert. Some of them had a clear relation to Bruges already before the creation of the partbooks (for example Appenzeller, Hellinck, Hollande, Gheerkin, De Raedt and Richafort), working in one of the Bruges churches in which polyphony was performed at the time.¹⁴⁴⁸ Interesting is the large number of compositions by Benedictus Appenzeller and Gheerkin de Hondt, both being former

¹⁴⁴⁵ Folio 132v (Diehl 1974, p. 93).

¹⁴⁴⁶ *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* and *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Gabriëls 2010², p. 159-166. Diehl 1974, pp. 396-783 gives overviews of incipits, concordant sources, editions and origins of texts for all compositions.

¹⁴⁴⁸ See § 4.6. An overview of the composers and their relation to Bruges is given in Gabriëls 2010², pp. 153-156.

zangmeesters of Zeghere's parish church Sint-Jacob: they are among the best-represented composers in the manuscripts, with respectively sixteen and fifteen works ascribed to them; only from Claudin de Sermisy do we have more works, namely twenty.¹⁴⁴⁹

The partbooks are famous for the rich and remarkable drawings accompanying the music. It was probably Zeghere himself who was responsible for these fascinating illuminations.¹⁴⁵⁰ Diehl already mentioned that for the most part the drawings contain scenes of everyday life, although sometimes they seem to be a product of pure fantasy and in other cases there even seems to be a relation between the text of a composition and the added drawing(s).¹⁴⁵¹ Indeed, if we consider the work of Gheerkin de Hondt, there are a few relations between the text of a composition and a drawing placed next to it that cannot be coincidental:¹⁴⁵² for example, the large red heart in the initial of the bassus of the chanson *D'ung parfond cueur*,¹⁴⁵³ the drawing of Jesus on a donkey placed next to the Osanna of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*,¹⁴⁵⁴ a procession of the Holy Sacrament to the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* ('The bread that I will give')¹⁴⁵⁵ and the large heavy cannon drawn next to the chanson *Contre raison pour t'aymer* containing the line 'has suddenly struck me almost dead'.¹⁴⁵⁶ However, these obvious connections are rare; most of the time we wonder whether the draughtsman had special intentions in drawing a certain picture, or simply used his very vivid and humorous imagination.

Another intriguing aspect of the books is the detailed instructions for the performers Zeghere added to the compositions. He wrote them in three languages: Latin, Flemish and French. Most of the instructions are rather simple and clear: 'finis' at the end of a composition, 'Prima Pars' and 'Secunda Pars' to indicate the

¹⁴⁴⁹ Based on the table of contents in Gabriëls 2010², pp. 262-271.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Gabriëls 2010², pp. 43-48.

¹⁴⁵¹ Diehl 1974, pp. 189-299. See also Dewitte 1979, pp. 273-280 and Gabriëls 2010², pp. 34-48.

¹⁴⁵² Most of this paragraph was previously published in Roelvink 2009, p. 384.

¹⁴⁵³ Fol. 70r. In all four partbooks we find a large red heart in an initial in only two other places; both compositions have the word 'cueur' (heart) in the first line of the poem: fol. 129r (tenor), *J'amaïs ung cueur*; fol. 86r (bassus), *Mon petit cueur*.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Fol. 77v (tenor). The same type of drawing appears on fol. 22r of the bassus, to the Osanna of the *Missa C'est doncq par moy* (anonymous). The picture of Jesus on a donkey was a common one in the Middle Ages, not only in books but also as a figure in wood, carried around in procession on Palm Sunday, depicting the entry of Christ into Jerusalem (the so-called *palmezel*; for example in 's-Hertogenbosch, see Koldeweij 1990b, p. 513 and 515).

¹⁴⁵⁵ Superius, fol. 58r (already mentioned in Dewitte 1979, p. 279).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Superius, fol. 121v.

first and second part of a motet, or ‘tacet’ or ‘*speelt niet mede*’ (‘does not play along’) to indicate that one voice did not join the rest, with the word ‘trio’ written above the active voices. But sometimes Zeghere was more original in his indications, for example in Gheerkin’s *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, where he writes in the Benedictus:¹⁴⁵⁷ ‘*Benedictus is verblijt, Om dat superius niet mede en pijpt*’ (‘Benedictus is glad that the superius does not whistle along’).¹⁴⁵⁸ With these remarks, Zeghere follows a tradition among educated music scribes playing a game: they used all kinds of quotations from the Bible and from classical and late-medieval sources to make variations on the theme ‘tacet’, to indicate that a voice did not join the others.¹⁴⁵⁹

But sometimes unnecessary annotations (for example, *Hieronder staet een birgierette*, below is a bergerette – French song) might also point in the direction of amateurs performing from the partbooks, in other words: friends and family of Zeghere himself.¹⁴⁶⁰ But the rather good condition of the partbooks, the fact that there are not many ad hoc corrections in the music (leaving mistakes) and the fact that some voice parts are in the same book and therefore the books are not practical for use, does suggest that Zeghere’s books were not used very often.¹⁴⁶¹ In addition to all this, the question is why Zeghere would enter as many as thirteen Masses in his books if he wanted to perform music with his friends and family.¹⁴⁶² Perhaps his intention was not to perform from his books, but to collect the music he liked and reproduce it in the best possible (but also personal) way, maybe to show his loved ones his exceptional work and knowledge.

It remains unsolved how Zeghere van Male built his collection. Several theories have seen the light, the most important ones being by Andriessen and Gabriëls.¹⁴⁶³ Andriessen states that the collection originated from a dynamic process of action and reaction on compositions that circulated in Bruges. According to Andriessen, it

¹⁴⁵⁷ Fol. 52v of the bassus.

¹⁴⁵⁸ On the performance indications: Diehl 1974, pp. 177-184.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Blackburn 2005.

¹⁴⁶⁰ A fine example of a performance in a private household is described in a sixteenth-century conversation book, the *Seer gemeyne Tsamenkouteringen* by Jan Berthout, containing some conversations about music which have been quoted in musicological literature many times, last and most extensively by Vanhulst 2005 (pp. 103-104 and 119-121 for the example). The texts possibly date from the 1540s and mention music of the composers Hellinck, Gombert, Lupi and Richafort.

¹⁴⁶¹ Gabriëls 2010², pp. 104-115.

¹⁴⁶² Of course the Masses could have been used in a private chapel, sung by professional singers, hired by Zeghere personally, but there are absolutely no indications Zeghere had a private chapel in his house or in one of the Bruges churches.

¹⁴⁶³ Andriessen 2002, pp. 270-271; Gabriëls 2010², pp. 167-171.

is plausible that a group of musicians around Van Male's parish church Sint-Jacob and from other churches regularly gathered for 'artistic entertainment'. He supports his statement with examples of mutual relations between compositions (use of the same texts, models for Masses, extra voices added to already existing compositions, responses to chansons), most of them by local composers or anonymous (and therefore likely to be of local origin). Gabriëls states that the biographical data on the local composers suggest that St Donatian was the epicentre of Van Male's music supply, in particular Lupus Hellinck, since Appenzeller and Gheerkin (*zangmeesters* of the Sint-Jacobskerk) had already left town when the actual copying started. Both conclude that Van Male drew on several Attainnant prints too, especially regarding the chansons by Claudin de Sermisy.

In my opinion the lines cannot be drawn that sharp. Bruges was a metropolis and a meltingpot of music. Music could enter the city through various ways, certainly through the highly qualified singers and composers working there, but also through the many (foreign) merchants making their living in Bruges. Fact is that Appenzeller and Gheerkin are overrepresented in Zeghere's partbooks compared to other composers and indeed, it is remarkable that it was Gheerkin's *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* on Hellinck's motet that was chosen and not the one by Hellinck himself (as noted by Andriessen). Without a doubt, Van Male took advantage of his rich musical surroundings to compile his collection before he started the actual copying in 1540.¹⁴⁶⁴ Therefore, at least one of his sources, but certainly one of the suppliers of his newly formed collection of music, must have been Gheerkin de Hondt, the *zangmeester* of his parish church. No matter how, Zeghere van Male's collection gives a fine picture of the music circulating in Bruges at the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked there. It shows that Gheerkin had access to a variety of genres, composed by both local craftsmen and internationally renowned colleagues, belonging to different generations.

¹⁴⁶⁴ I do not completely agree with Gabriëls 2010², p. 167, where she concludes that Van Male 'copied the music as it became available to him, rather than that he had the greater part of the repertoire on his writing desk before commencing copying'. The simple fact that the models of all thirteen Masses in the partbooks are included suggests that Van Male did have a plan, because entering the models to the Masses was more the exception than the rule in those days. Furthermore, all current 16th-century musical genres are represented in the books, which suggests Zeghere did think about what types of music he wanted to include. Finally, the watermark in the paper is the same throughout all the books (Gabriëls 2010², p. 61), suggesting the paper was bought all at once.

11.2 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MSS 156 (formerly 74) and 157 (formerly 75)

For a long time it has been assumed that manuscript 156 in the collection of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch was purchased by the Broederschap's organist in 1549. However, close attention to the style of the copyist, showed that it was the *intoneerder* of the Broederschap, Philippus de Spina, who was actually responsible for all the writing. Therefore, it was no longer tenable that this was the manuscript bought from the organist in 1549. The contents of the manuscript do match a description in the accounts of the Broederschap which mention a new polyphonic choirbook in 1540-1542. But Inv. no. 157 is also qualified to be the book Philippus de Spina then delivered.¹⁴⁶⁵ Since Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* in the 1540s, it will be interesting to see if there are any relations between his biography and oeuvre and the contents of the two polyphonic choirbooks.

Both manuscripts (Inv. nos. 156 and 157) must have been purchased for the weekly Mass on Wednesday and for Masses sung on feasts in the chapel of the Broederschap, because they each contain ten polyphonic Masses. The Masses in MS 156 are all five-part, those in 157 are four-part.¹⁴⁶⁶ The big difference is that in MS 156 the names of all composers are mentioned, but that in MS 157 all Masses are anonymous; for six out of the ten Masses in MS 157 the composer has been identified by now,¹⁴⁶⁷ for two more there is a strong suspicion of the author (see Table 11.1).

If we take a closer look at the composers and their repertoire, indeed we see quite a few relations with the life and work of Gheerkin de Hondt. First, we find two of Gheerkin's own Masses in Inv. no. 156. Furthermore, this manuscript contains as many as three Masses by Lupus Hellinck, who was Gheerkin's colleague *zangmeester* in Bruges and the supplier of the models of two of Gheerkin's own Masses, of which one is in this same choirbook (*Missa In te Domine speravi*).¹⁴⁶⁸ Although Hellinck's work has been spread in manuscripts and prints all over Europe, it still is astonishing that three out of ten Masses in one choirbook are attributed to him, all the more since he personally does not seem to have had any connection to 's-Hertogenbosch. Three other Masses in this choirbook are also by one composer: Jheronimus

¹⁴⁶⁵ Roelvink 2002, pp. 130-135, 141-145. See also § 6.4.11 and § 7.5.2.

¹⁴⁶⁶ For the contents and use: Appendix 13.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Roelvink 2002, pp. 354-363.

¹⁴⁶⁸ The other one is the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* in the Zeghere van Male partbooks.

Table 11.1 Composers in MSS 156 and 157 of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap

| Composer | Masses |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Pe. Manchicourt | 1 (MS 156) |
| Gheerken | 2 (MS 156) |
| Lupus Hellinck | 5 (3 in MS 156, 2 in MS 157) |
| Thomas Crequillon | 1 (MS 156) |
| Jheronimus Vinders | 3 (MS 156), 1? (MS 157) |
| Gascogne | 2 (MS 157) |
| Appenzeller? | 1 (MS 157) |
| Willaert | 1 (MS 157) |
| Willaert/Hesdin | 1 (MS 157) |
| Anonymous | 2 |

Vinders. We do not know much about Vinders; the only clear biographical references come from Ghent, where he was *zangmeester* at the guild of Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-op-de-rade at the Janskerk (now St Bavon's Cathedral) between 16 June 1525 to January 1526. It was only a few years later, in 1533, that Gheerkin de Hondt paid his (rather mysterious) visit to Ghent, coming from the neighbouring city of Bruges.¹⁴⁶⁹ The South Netherlandish composer Vinders was influenced by Benedictus Appenzeller,¹⁴⁷⁰ who was also well known to Gheerkin de Hondt: he served as *zangmeester* in the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges, and as we shall see, both Gheerkin and Appenzeller used the texts *A vous me rends* and *Contre raison pour t'aymer* for their chansons.¹⁴⁷¹ What the exact connection between the Broederschap or Gheerkin and Vinders was, remains unclear, but it certainly is conspicuous that all Vinders's Masses known today (a total of four) are only known from the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbooks. Both Vinders and Hellinck also appear in Inv. no. 157, this time with three Masses (two by Hellinck and one by Vinders).

Another fact that catches our attention is that four Masses in the two choirbooks are based on models by Jean Richafort: three of the Hellinck Masses plus the Mass by Pierre de Manchicourt.¹⁴⁷² Jean Richafort was a popular composer,¹⁴⁷³ with close ties to Bruges. He can be placed there with certainty during several

¹⁴⁶⁹ § 5.1.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Jas ('Vinders, Jheronimus'); Jas 1994a.

¹⁴⁷¹ Chapter 16.

¹⁴⁷² *Missa Cuidez vous que dieu nous faille* (Manchicourt), *Missa Ego sum qui sum*, *Missa Veni sponsa Christi*, *Missa Jam non dicam*.

¹⁴⁷³ Richafort's work was widespread in prints and manuscripts from Italy, Germany, France and the Low Countries, already during his lifetime (Andriessen 2002, p. 313).

periods (he visited the church of Sint-Jacob sometime in 1527-28, and was *zangmeester* of Sint-Gillis in 1543-44 and 1548-50), but it is a possibility that he was connected with the city during the entire period 1527-1550, perhaps because of his work in the nearby town of Aardenburg.¹⁴⁷⁴ No matter how, Richafort and his work were well known in Bruges, witness the fact that Lupus Hellinck used quite a few of Richafort's works as models for his Masses¹⁴⁷⁵ and that Zeghere van Male entered seven of his works in the famous partbooks.¹⁴⁷⁶

Another supplier of a Mass model is Johannes Lupi. As we have already seen, it was probably Gheerkin's initiative to add Lupi's motet *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel / Honor virtus et potestas* to Inv. no. 158, the motet Gheerkin knew so well since it served as a model for his own *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.¹⁴⁷⁷ Johannes Lupi is also indirectly represented in Inv. no. 157, because his motet *Spes salutis* is used as a model for the Mass with the same name, by an anonymous composer.¹⁴⁷⁸

The remaining Mass in Inv. no. 156 is the *Missa Pis ne me peult venir* by Thomas Crecquillon. The relation between Thomas Crecquillon and the Broederschap is clear: in December 1545 he visited 's-Hertogenbosch.¹⁴⁷⁹ If this was the occasion to enter one of his compositions in a manuscript, it certainly was a charming tribute to Crecquillon (one of the singers of the Emperor, court composer and also closely related to one of the Sworn Brethern) to enter one of his Masses based on his own chanson in the 's-Hertogenbosch collection. The manuscript could then have been written between December 1545 and the beginning of October 1547, the month Gheerkin left 's-Hertogenbosch.

Another famous choir master and composer who visited 's-Hertogenbosch (in 1539 and 1545) was Benedictus Appenzeller, well known to Gheerkin. He might be represented in Inv. no. 157 with the *Missa Benedicti*.¹⁴⁸⁰

A relation between Gheerkin and Adriaen Willaert is also there: the chanson *A vous me rends* is attributed to both composers in a Scotto print¹⁴⁸¹ and both men used the lyrics *Mon petit coeur n'est pas a moy* as a basis for chansons, which are documented in the Zeghere van Male partbooks.¹⁴⁸² Willaert's *Missa*

¹⁴⁷⁴ Gabriëls 2010², pp. 146-147 and Andriessen 2002, pp. 310-314.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Blackburn 1970, pp. 155-159.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Gabriëls 2010², pp. 268-269.

¹⁴⁷⁷ § 7.5.2.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Roelvink 2002, p. 144.

¹⁴⁷⁹ § 6.4.11; also Roelvink 2002, pp. 165-172.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Jas 1994b.

¹⁴⁸¹ See below.

¹⁴⁸² Diehl 1974 and Gabriëls 2010². One version by Gheerkin, two by Willaert.

Gaude Barbara is both in the Van Male partbooks and this 's-Hertogenbosch choirbook. Finally, Gheerkin and Willaert are exact contemporaries.¹⁴⁸³

How two Masses by Mathieu Gascogne got into manuscript 157 remains undetermined (let alone that we might find a relation with Gheerkin), since Gascogne was a French composer from an earlier generation (flourished 1517-18) and does not seem to have had any relation with 's-Hertogenbosch.

Being the 's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester*, Gheerkin de Hondt was musically responsible (or at least co-responsible) for the choice of music both for the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* and the chapter of Sint-Jan. Therefore, he must have had a direct influence on the compilation of the manuscripts, although he will not have been the only person to have interfered in the assemblage. Nevertheless, the relations between the life and work of Gheerkin de Hondt on the one side and the majority of the composers and their work in MSS 156 and 157 on the other are so personal that they can no longer be considered coincidental. We may therefore conclude that Gheerkin de Hondt at least influenced parts of the compilation of both manuscripts. This means that both the De Spina manuscripts were compiled during the period 1540 – October 1547. The *Broederschap* accounts only give us one possibility for a manuscript with Masses written by Philippus de Spina, and that is the one from 1540-1542. However, the second manuscript may easily have entered the archives of the *Broederschap* in some other way.¹⁴⁸⁴ Both manuscripts give us a glimpse of the personal taste of *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt (156 a little more than 157), which (combined with his use of models and texts) will be very helpful in determining Gheerkin's own style of composing.

11.3 Gdańsk, Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk 4003 (olim Mus. q.20)

Contrary to Zeghere van Male's partbooks and Philippus de Spina's choirbook, the four paper partbooks now housed in the library *Polskiej Akademii Nauk* in Gdańsk¹⁴⁸⁵ do not excel in beauty. Several scribes have worked on the manuscripts

¹⁴⁸³ On Willaert's biography see: <http://www.adriaenwillaert.be>.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Roelvink 2002, p. 135; it may have been left by Philippus de Spina when he had to flee 's-Hertogenbosch in 1566, or perhaps it was one of the choirbooks of the chapter (we previously saw that other chapter material also entered the *Broederschap* archives).

¹⁴⁸⁵ Gdańsk, *Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, MS 4003 (olim Mus. q. 20); GdańPAN 4003. I thank the librarians of the PAN for showing me the originals in May 2000.

and none of them seems to have taken the trouble to create something special. The majority of the compositions are anonymous; most of them only contain the incipit of a text, instead of the complete lyrics, and some of them do not have any text at all. Therefore, the overviews of the contents which have appeared since 1911, giving us an insight into the compilation of the collection, are very valuable.¹⁴⁸⁶

Originally the partbooks contained 114 (French) chansons and two Dutch songs, which were divided into four 'books'. The first and second books enclosed forty-five plus twenty-eight four-part chansons (superius, altus, tenor and bassus),¹⁴⁸⁷ the third section consisted of eight chansons for three voices (superius, tenor and bassus), whereas the last book consisted of thirty-five two-part chansons (superius and tenor);¹⁴⁸⁸ none of these compositions is attributed to a composer. Between these four books, many pages were initially left blank. Later, by different hands, some of them were filled with other compositions. Therefore, most likely, the pages were originally left blank on purpose. This is more or less confirmed by the fact that the watermark is the same throughout the manuscripts. The marks are all fragmentary, and none of them forms a unity, since pages were cut and parts of the watermarks are now lost.¹⁴⁸⁹

Already in the original partbooks, more than one scribe was active, but they are not very easy to distinguish. The music in the original parts of books I, II and III was written by one main scribe A and a second scribe B; at times a third scribe C is

¹⁴⁸⁶ Günther 1911 was the first to publish on the partbooks, followed by Kłobukowska 1961 and Leszczyńska 2009, the last two also identifying composers and concordances.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Gheerkin de Hondt's chansons *A vous me rends*, *Langueur d'amour* and *Mon petit cueur* belong to the original second book. Note that the B of *A vous me rends*, was switched with the B of Appenzeller's *A vous me rends*.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Books II, III and IV begin on the verso side of a new gathering. The bindings of the books however do not give a decisive answer on the original gatherings in its entirety. At some points the pieces of string – indicating the middle of a gathering – are clearly visible, especially in the T (for example between fols. 9-10, 17-18, 25-26, 32-33, 40-41, 48-49, 56-57, 64-65, 72-73, 80-81, 88-89, 102-104 and 109-110). In the S, T and B books, a folio was torn out between fol. 25 and 26.

¹⁴⁸⁹ It is the well-known Gothic P with a four-petalled flower, found in so many 15th- and 16th-century European sources, but especially in the Low Countries, France and Germany. Leszczyńska 2009, p. 260 identified the mark as Briquet 1907, #8653, but for example the fragments in the CT on fol. 116v and fol. 117v do not exactly match this number. I would therefore suggest to identify this watermark as belonging to the group Briquet #8586-8653. A second watermark is only used in the first six (empty) pages of the partbooks, identified by Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 260-261 as Briquet #1166. The question is when the pages were cut, since some of the later added pieces even miss pieces; therefore the original partbooks were clearly larger than they are now (paper: ± 20.3 x 13.5 cm; cover: 21 x 14.5 cm).

visible (see Table 11.2). The texts in the first part of book I were written by at least two different scribes, but not according to a certain scheme,¹⁴⁹⁰ although the second scribe seems to be solely responsible for the bassus partbook. The original section of the second part of book I (nos. 25-44) only has text incipits, in a lighter colour of ink, the same as the notes; the rest of the text is much blacker.¹⁴⁹¹ Book II then has complete texts again, except for nos. 66, 74 and 75. The music in book IV (letters α-λλ) was perhaps written by the same scribe A as the notes in the first three books, but this is not clearly visible. Who all those scribes were is food for speculation. Since there were more of them, it is tempting to assume that they were part of a scribal workshop.

Table 11.2 Compilation of the four partbooks GdańPAN 4003¹⁴⁹²

| Book | Nos. | Original/ addition | Music scribe ¹⁴⁹³ |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| I | 1-24 | original | A |
| | 25-44 ¹⁴⁹⁴ | original | B |
| | 45 | original | C |
| | 46-47 | <i>empty staves</i> | |
| II | 48-72 | original | A |
| | 73 | original | A/A2? |
| | 74-75 | original | C? |
| | 1-14 | <i>addition</i> | |
| | 15-19 | <i>empty staves</i> | |
| III | i-viiij | original | A |
| | IX-XVIII | <i>addition</i> | |
| IV | α-λλ | original | A? |

¹⁴⁹⁰ For example: text scribe a in book I wrote the text of the S, Ct and T for composition 1 (*Aupres de vous*), scribe b wrote the text for the B; but in chanson 2 (*Dessus le marchie d'Arras*), scribe b wrote the text for S and B, and scribe a wrote the text for Ct and T.

¹⁴⁹¹ The incipits might have been entered by the music scribe, or by a third text scribe.

¹⁴⁹² See also Günther 1911 and Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 261-262, both with minor mistakes.

¹⁴⁹³ Since Gheerkin's work is in the original parts, the additional parts have not been filled in.

¹⁴⁹⁴ The numbering here is misleading: S and T: no. 25 is entered as no. 45 (*Le temps qui court*). S, no. 46 is *Doulce memoire*; Ct, T, B, no. 45 is *Doulce memoire* (T therefore has two nos. 45).

The books do mention an owner and a date: on the inside of the covers we read that they belonged to Philipp Schönberg, living in Gdańsk in 1571. Philipp Schönberg was a singer in St Mary's church in Gdańsk, and from 1564 onwards he was the cantor of the church. His predecessor was Franciscus de Rivulo, who was the first cantor of the church from 1560 until his death in 1564. De Rivulo is represented in the partbooks with eighteen compositions, the majority of his twenty-seven works that have come down to us today. Besides cantor, De Rivulo also worked in a secular ensemble at the Artus Court. Furthermore, he was in charge of the carillon placed on the City Hall. This carillon was built by Jan Moer from 's-Hertogenbosch in 1560 and shipped from Amsterdam in 1561. It was one of the first carillons outside the Low Countries. That De Rivulo knew how to play and maintain this typical Low Countries instrument is remarkable. The only possible explanation is that he had spent quite some time in the Low Countries, perhaps he even originated from the area.¹⁴⁹⁵

Franciscus de Rivulo might be the key figure in the origins of the partbooks GdańPAN 4003. His music was copied on pages which were at first left blank, and therefore the additions (among those by De Rivulo) probably were written in Gdańsk during or shortly after his life there. This is confirmed by an inscription on folio 72v (in the first set of additions) in the superius partbook, where we find the inscription 'Adrianus Vuillart Anno 63' to a composition by Adriaen Willaert.¹⁴⁹⁶ Except for one chanson, the additions are all from a different genre than the original body: a complete Mass,¹⁴⁹⁷ three Mass sections, a Te Deum, seventeen motets, five German compositions (both sacred and profane), a Latin piece and an Italian work.¹⁴⁹⁸ Almost all of these additions have been provided with the name of a composer or his initials: Fransiscus [sic] de Rivulo, Jacques Arcadelt, Orlando di Lasso, and Adriaan Willaert.

The repertoire of the initial parts of the books is not very innovative or surprising. The fact that the original parts are all chansons suggests that the books were intended to be performed from at home.¹⁴⁹⁹ The contents consist

¹⁴⁹⁵ The information in this paragraph is derived from Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 259-260. Leszczyńska also suggests that De Rivulo was in contact with 's-Hertogenbosch. This is plausible, although the bells of the Moer family were famous throughout the entire Low Countries, and De Rivulo might have become familiar with them in some other town. I did not come across his name in the archives in 's-Hertogenbosch.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Already noticed by Günther 1911, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹⁷ At the beginning of this Mass in every partbook, there are remains of an original bookmark, probably in the form of a small leather ball, which was used more often in those days (for example in the Codex Smijers in 's-Hertogenbosch).

¹⁴⁹⁸ Census 1979-1988, Supplement, p. 388.

¹⁴⁹⁹ See also Leszczyńska 2009, p. 262.

of works by among others Appenzeller, Clemens non Papa, Courtois, Crequillon, Gheerkin, Gombert, Josquin, Lupi, Mouton and Sermisy. With a few exceptions, all of these works are known from other sources: three manuscripts and many prints, some of them reprints, by printers like Pierre Phalèse, Tielman Susato, Andrea Antico, Pierre Attaignant, Nicholas du Chemin, Antonio Gardane, Jacques Moderne, Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, largely dated in the period 1528-1560.¹⁵⁰⁰ It has always been assumed that the scribes simply copied their music from the prints, because in almost all cases more than one composition appears in one of the prints and manuscripts.¹⁵⁰¹ Further research brought to light that there are also remarkable similarities between three manuscripts and the Gdańsk partbooks: one kept in Munich (MunBS 260), another one in Torun (TorunK 29-32), and the third one being the partbooks of Zeghere van Male.¹⁵⁰²

This confirms that the copying was done in a professional workshop, where much music was available to copy from, at hand in manuscript form, but also in print. The question remains where this workshop was located. Suggestions have been made that the partbooks were compiled and copied in the Low Countries, already as early as the 1540s, based on their looks and the repertoire in the original parts.¹⁵⁰³ As an important Hanseatic city (officially since 1361), Gdańsk had many lively trading routes. As early as the 14th century there was intensive trade with Bruges, and later also with Antwerp and Amsterdam.¹⁵⁰⁴ Furthermore, relations between the Low Countries, Venice and Gdańsk are also known from two collections dating from the second half of the 16th century.¹⁵⁰⁵ But the key figure here seems to have been

¹⁵⁰⁰ See for an overview of the prints and detailed information per chanson: Kłobukowska 1961, pp. 76-80 and Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 265-269.

¹⁵⁰¹ Arguments against this simple copying are that there are differences in position of the voices (other clefs were used) and that there are differences in the actual music. Therefore the scribe either had a different version to copy from, or he has 'composed' some himself, sometimes even correcting mistakes.

¹⁵⁰² On the concordances in Torun and Munich especially: Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 262-264. Noteworthy is that two of the chansons both in the Gdańsk and Cambrai partbooks are the two closely related versions of *A vous me rends* by Appenzeller and Gheerkin.

¹⁵⁰³ Census 1979-1988, Supplement, p. 389 (based on the calligraphy) and Leszczyńska 2009, p. 260, on p. 262 she adds that the fact that works by the local Low Countries composer Gheerkin de Hondt ended up in the partbooks suggests that the scribes must have had at least connections in that region.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Cieślak/Biernat 1995, pp. 57-61, 88-89, 105-107. The Moer carillon was shipped from Amsterdam (Adriaenssen 1989, pp. 48, 68).

¹⁵⁰⁵ Bernstein 1997, pp. 399-400.

Franciscus de Rivulo: clearly related to the Low Countries, he might have brought the books containing three of Gheerkin's chansons to Gdańsk, where De Rivulo or someone else entered the additions, among them De Rivulo's own works.¹⁵⁰⁶

11.4 **Ottaviano Scotto/Andrea Antico, *Il primo libro de le canzoni francese nuovamente stampate/Canzoni francese di messer Adriano, Venice 1535/1536***

In 1535 the famous Venetian publishing house of the Scotto family published a set of four partbooks containing twenty-three chansons: *Il primo libro de le canzoni francese*. Music printing was not the core business in the family company, which was initiated in 1479 by Ottaviano Scotto, also called Ottaviano I. Ottaviano mainly published books in the areas of philosophy and classical literature in Latin translation, for the Italian academic market. These academic prints would remain an important part of the business for more than a century. In 1481 Ottaviano published his first music book. A few years later, he stopped the actual printing, leaving it to others, to become a publisher-underwriter himself, concentrating on the (international) commerce of bookselling. When Ottaviano died in 1498, his nephews (sons of his brothers) Amadio, Paolo, Giovanni Battista and Ottaviano Secundus took over. The management of the firm was in the hands of Amadio until 1533; in that year, Ottaviano Scotto II became head of the family business.¹⁵⁰⁷

As a doctor of medicine and very familiar with philosophy, Ottaviano II continued to print books in the academic fields that had made the house of Scotto so famous: philosophy, medicine, and religion. But like his uncle, he also published music sporadically: in 1516 he had published Andrea Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* in Rome. When Ottaviano II became head of the Scotto house in 1533, he continued the good relations with Antico. Between 1534 and 1539 they published sixteen music prints together, containing motets, Italian madrigals and chansons. Among the compositions are many works by Adriaen Willaert, who by then was the famous *maestro di cappella* of St Mark's cathedral in Venice. Antico produced the woodcuts for the

¹⁵⁰⁶ Leszczyńska 2009, p. 260. The calligraphed initials she refers to are not exclusive to Alamire; they were widely used in The Low Countries, not only in musical manuscripts.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Bernstein 1998, pp. 29-38.

Scotto prints, Scotto found a printer and took the responsibility for the publications (especially marketing and sales); it remains unclear what the financial agreements between the two men were. In 1539 Ottaviano II left the management of the company to his brother Girolamo. From then on until the latter's death sometime between 1567 and 1569 Ottaviano II no longer published music books, but still some philosophical publications appeared at his initiative.¹⁵⁰⁸

The 1535 print of chansons is also a collaboration between Scotto and Antico. This is confirmed by the title of the book, to be found on the last page of the bassus partbook, accompanied by one of Scotto's printer's marks and the year 1535.¹⁵⁰⁹ This bassus book is now kept in Munich, which also has an altus partbook. However, this altus does not have a title or a year of publishing. Another copy of the altus is kept in Paris.¹⁵¹⁰ Finally, a tenor partbook is in Virginia.¹⁵¹¹

Probably the first print run of these twenty-three chansons was a success, since in 1536 Scotto produced a reprint, of which two partbooks have come down to us: a superius¹⁵¹² and a bassus.¹⁵¹³ The superius has a title page, which gives us a different

¹⁵⁰⁸ Bernstein 1998, pp. 39-44, 111-112, 171-173.

¹⁵⁰⁹ The complete title is: *Finisse il primo Libro de le Canzoni Francese, nuovamente stampate. Et per Andrea Antigo intagliate, et con diligentia corrette. Venetijs Apud Octavianum Scotum. M.D.XXXV.* RISM 1535⁸.

¹⁵¹⁰ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 117 k; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES VMD-26. All are mentioned in RISM 1535⁸. The Munich partbooks are digitally accessible on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 'Andrea Antico Il primo libro de le canzoni francese' (accessed February 2014). I am deeply indebted to Peter de Groot from the Egidius Kwartet for sending me photographs of the Paris copy of the chanson *A vous me rends* and the index.

¹⁵¹¹ USA, University of Virginia Library, Gordon, 1535.A64. This tenor partbook is mentioned in an article by Prof. Paul Walker on the website of the University of Virginia, dated 2008, describing the source (<http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/scholarlyresources/portfolio/gordon/music/>; accessed February 2014); the partbook itself is also available on this website ([http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/uva-lib:1003220/view#openLayer/uva-lib:620215/1391/2003/0/1/1](http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/uva-lib:1003220/view#openLayer/uva-lib:620215/1391/2003/0/1/1;); accessed February 2014).

¹⁵¹² The superius is first mentioned by Kidger 2005, p. 78 as RISM 1536¹⁷. It is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. H. 48 (3) [Cantus]. I am truly grateful to Dr. Bonnie Blackburn for sending me photographs of the title page, the table of contents and the chanson *A vous me rends*.

¹⁵¹³ Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, R.140.4. I am greatly indebted to Herr Klaus Keil from RISM, who supplied me with the not yet published information about this bassus partbook in Bologna, also under RISM 1536¹⁷; the RISM number is

title, the year 1536 and a calligraphed S. This calligraphed indication of the voice type also occurs in all the other partbooks. The title now refers to Adriaen Willaert (*Canzoni francese di messer Adriano*).¹⁵¹⁴ The page does not give Scotto's name, neither does it mention Venice as the place of publication. On the last page of the bassus partbook is the original title, a printer's mark from Scotto (a different one compared to the 1535 print run), Venice as place of publication and the year 1536.¹⁵¹⁵

The tenor book in Virginia has a peculiarity: before the print a loose page from a partbook manuscript is bound in (probably in a later rebinding), showing us the superius part of the chanson *Au pres de vous secretement demeure*,¹⁵¹⁶ with an unidentified coat of arms in the initial A. On the verso side a full colour miniature is drawn, showing among others a man playing the shawm.¹⁵¹⁷

The bassus partbooks in Munich and Bologna allow us to determine if Scotto used the same material from Andrea Antico for both print runs.¹⁵¹⁸ It seems that Scotto did reuse the musical plates. This is clearly visible in the chanson *A vous me rends* in the semiminima c halfway on the second staff, where there is a small bite of the body of the note missing in both prints.¹⁵¹⁹ The text, however, seems to have been reset: the letters in the 1535 print run are more embellished than the ones used in the 1536 print. The table of contents gives the same pattern: the 1535 print uses the same slightly different (more embellished) type than the 1536 print. This would mean that different plates were used for music and text and that (at least) two print runs were needed to complete a book.

from the Online Catalogue, not published in print. The Bologna partbook is accessible on the internet:

<http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=25057> (accessed February 2014).

¹⁵¹⁴ Complete title: *Canzoni francese di messer Adriano, e de altri Eccellentissimi Auttori, nuovamente con ogni diligentia stampate. Libro Primo. M.D. XXXVI. Con gratia, et Privilegio.*

¹⁵¹⁵ Complete title: *Finisse il primo Libro de le Canzoni Francese, nuovamente stampate. Et per Andrea Antigo intagliate, et con diligentia corrette. Venetijs Apud Octavianum Scotum. M.D.XXXVI. RISM 1536¹⁷.*

¹⁵¹⁶ Identified by Prof. Walker as being from Claudin de Sermisy (according to the Grove Music Online also attributed to Jacotin).

¹⁵¹⁷ The remains of the superius manuscript partbook are unknown; Prof. Walker has identified the accompanying manuscripts of the alto and tenor in respectively Florence and Paris (according to Leszczyńska 2009, p. 265 FlorL Ashbr. 1085 and ParisBNC 255).

¹⁵¹⁸ A final answer can only be given if both books can be compared side by side, or if high resolution photographs from both prints are available.

¹⁵¹⁹ There are more peculiarities in the note picture that are the same in both editions.

If we now take a closer look at the altus partbook in Paris, which has no title page or date of printing, it turns out that the font types are different from the font types of the same voice kept in Munich, but that the music is the same.¹⁵²⁰ The font is the same as the one used in the 1536 print run. Therefore, the Paris partbook is to be dated 1536 and not 1535. Table 11.3 gives an overview of the partbooks and their differences.

Table 11.3 The partbooks of Scotto's *Il primo libro de le canzoni francese*

| Library / Partbook | Date | Title page | Title | Table of contents | Music | Text font |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| Munich, altus | [1535] | A | - | Font 1 ¹⁵²¹ | Same as Paris | Font 1 |
| Munich, bassus | 1535, on last page | B | Il primo libro de le canzoni francese (on last page) | Font 1 | Same as Bologna | Font 1 |
| Paris, altus | [1536] | A | - | Font 2 | Same as Munich | Font 2 |
| Bologna, bassus | 1536, on last page | B | Il primo libro de le canzoni francese (on last page) | Font 2 | Same as Munich | Font 2 |
| Oxford, superius | 1536, on title page | S, plus title and year of publishing | Canzoni francese di messer Adriano (on title page) | Font 2 | | Font 2 |
| Virginia, tenor | [1535] | T | - | Font 1 | | Font 1 |

¹⁵²⁰ Based on the pages containing the chanson *A vous me rends* and the index of the partbook. The Munich bassus partbook uses the same font type as the Munich altus partbook, making them belong to the same print run.

¹⁵²¹ Font 1 is a more embellished font than Font 2.

Except for differences in font type, spelling and length of the titles, both prints show us the titles of the same twenty-three chansons. The first five are attributed to 'Adriano' (Adriaen Willaert), number four being *A vous me rends*, which is more likely by Gheerkin de Hondt.¹⁵²² From the other eighteen compositions, only three have been attributed: one to 'Claudin' (Claudin de Sermisy) and two to 'Joa. Lirithier' (Jean Lhéritier).

Over the years, fifteen chansons have been identified with the help of concordances.¹⁵²³ We find chansons by Adriaen Willaert (4), Pierre Moulu (1), Jean Richafort (1), Claudin de Sermisy (5), Jean Lhéritier (2), Tomas Jannequin (1) and Gheerkin de Hondt (1).¹⁵²⁴ Scotto's attributions are not all correct (besides *A vous me rends*): the chanson *En l'ombre d'ung buissonet* is also attributed to Lasson elsewhere. It is clear, however, that most composers are from the same generation: born around 1480/1490 and died around 1550/1560. Furthermore, most of them seem to have French or Franco-Flemish roots.

The main questions here are, of course, how a chanson by the Bruges *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt turned up in a 1535 Venetian print, and why it was ascribed to Adriaen Willaert. There are a few arguments to consider. First, as we have seen in § 4.1 and 4.3, there were contacts between Bruges and Venice, since many Venetian merchants were based in Bruges. However, most of them had exchanged Bruges for Antwerp by 1515, the last galley entering the Bruges harbour in 1520.¹⁵²⁵ Nevertheless, the connections between Italy and the Low Countries and vice versa (and in fact the entire continent of Europe) in the music printing business have been described before, concluding that it is not strange that works by composers from the Low Countries were printed in Italy and vice versa.¹⁵²⁶ And perhaps the strongest argument is that Adriaen Willaert's own brother, Anthonis, lived and worked in Bruges and stayed in contact with his brother in the 1530s and

¹⁵²² See Chapters 12 and 15.

¹⁵²³ RISM 1535⁸ and the Ricercar programme of the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours (<http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/>), which gives a complete table of contents including the concordances. The chanson *Au bois au bois, madame* is missing (misplaced in 1535/9). The chanson *Il est bel et bon* does not belong to the contents. The chanson *Le temps qui court* appears twice in the list.

¹⁵²⁴ All identified in RISM 1535⁸ or on the Ricercar website, except for *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres* by Tomas Jannequin (Christoffersen 1994, volume 1, pp. 203-207 and volume II, pp. 162-163). No biographical information on this Jannequin is available.

¹⁵²⁵ Vandewalle 2002b, p. 41.

¹⁵²⁶ Bernstein 1997.

1540s.¹⁵²⁷ So there could have been many occasions for Gheerkin's chanson to reach Venice. But of course, no one would have known him there, while everybody knew Adriaen Willaert, the *maestro di cappella* at St Mark's. Therefore, a print with works by the famous composer Adriaen Willaert would sell better than one without the local favourite. And of course they were placed in the beginning of this anthology. Among them was *A vous me rends*, which was actually quite a compliment to Gheerkin.

11.5 Tielman Susato, *Het ierste musyck boexken*, Antwerp 1551

The first successful music printer in the Low Countries was Tielman Susato. Probably born near Cologne around 1510-1515, he came to Antwerp in the late 1520s. His first mention is in the 1529 account of the Confraternity of Our Lady in Antwerp, where he functioned as music scribe and (later) as player of the sackbut. He was appointed city trumpeter in the same town in 1531, playing sackbut, field trumpet, crumhorn, flute and recorders, a position he would hold until 1549. In the early 1540s Susato started to print music, first with two business partners, but soon on his own. He published fifty-five music books, in all popular genres (Mass, motet, chanson and Dutch lied), but also the less current dance music and *Souterliedekens* (Dutch translation of the psalms) found their way to Susato's press. In 1561 Susato moved to Alkmaar (nowadays in the province of Noord-Holland), where he started a new career outside the music business. He is signalled at the Swedish court in the 1560s and is last documented in Stockholm in June 1570.¹⁵²⁸

Susato mainly printed music in series, for example the eleven *Musyck Boexkens*, published in three or four partbooks each. The series contains two books with a total of fifty-five Dutch songs, one volume of dance music (not entirely from the Low Countries, because the compositions often are based on French chansons)¹⁵²⁹ and eight books with *Souterliedekens* (by Jacobus Clemens non Papa and his pupil Gerardus Mes). In the preface to the first *Musyck Boexken*¹⁵³⁰ (in the tenor part),

¹⁵²⁷ Gabriëls 2010², pp. 157-158.

¹⁵²⁸ Based on Forney 2005. See there for many more details on Susato's life and references to other publications. On the Swedish connection: Grosjean 2005.

¹⁵²⁹ Schreurs/Sanders 1989, *superius*, p. 7; McTaggart 1997, p. xii.

¹⁵³⁰ Complete title: *Het ierste musyck boexken mit vier partyen daer inne Begrepen zyn xxviiij nieuwe amoreuse liedekens in onser neder duytscher talen, Gecomponeert by diversche componisten, zeer lustich om singen en spelen op alle musicale Instrumenten* (RISM 1551¹⁸). One complete set of books has come down to us, now in Poland, Kraków,

addressed to ‘the agreeable lovers of noble music’,¹⁵³¹ Susato explains why he started this series: after several volumes of Masses, motets and chansons, he also wanted to publish music in Dutch, which could be performed by singers and/or musicians. Therefore, he asked his fellow-countrymen to send him Dutch songs, or even just texts in the vernacular, probably with the aim to have them set to music or do so himself.¹⁵³² This might have been a special call to the literary movement of the *rederijkers* (chambers of rhetoricians), whose texts are already represented in the *Musyck Boexkens*.¹⁵³³ Susato hoped to spread the Dutch song ‘everywhere’, in the same way that Latin, French and Italian compositions were generally used.

Indeed, the Dutch lied was not a widespread genre, even in the Low Countries. The fact that the language was not an easy one and that it was spoken in a small area by a limited number of people, which is still true today, influenced sixteenth-century composers, even to those born and raised in the region. Compared to other genres, not many songs have survived.¹⁵³⁴ Although this does not mean that the Dutch lied was only distributed in the Low Countries, prints and manuscripts from abroad are rare and if they do contain Dutch songs, they often only have an incipit or no text at all.¹⁵³⁵

Many of the songs in the first *Musyck Boexken* are about love: happy, unhappy, sad or unequal. But the books also contain texts about spring (May songs), guilds, drinking, and spiritual affairs (based on a psalm).¹⁵³⁶ One song in particular refers to a religious feast, namely Hellinck’s *Nieuwe almanac ende pronosticatie*, a satirical

Biblioteka Jagiellońska; a copy of the superius is in The Hague, Royal Library, NMI Kluis D 4 (1) (former The Hague, Gemeentemuseum). A facsimile, based on the Kraków set, was published by Schreurs/Sanders 1989, and an edition by McTaggart 1997. Both the first and second *Musyck Boexken* have been recorded by the Egidius Kwartet (Egidius Kwartet 2002).

¹⁵³¹ Translation from Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 5. McTaggart 1997, p. xi translates *Aen de gunstige liefhebbers der edelder Musycken* as ‘To the esteemed *amateurs* of noble Music’. In my opinion ‘amateurs’ does not capture the nuance of the word ‘liefhebbers’. The preface is addressed to all lovers of the Dutch lied, not just to the amateurs performing and composing music or writing texts, but also the people enjoying the music.

¹⁵³² McTaggart 1997, p. xii.

¹⁵³³ McTaggart 1997, p. xiii; Forney 2005, p. 11. The *rederijkers* were groups of (amateur) poets in the late medieval Low Countries, organized in so-called chambers (associations). On the *rederijkers* see: Van Bruaene 2008.

¹⁵³⁴ Bonda comes to a total of 493 liederen (Bonda 1996, p. 544).

¹⁵³⁵ Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 5.

¹⁵³⁶ Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, pp. 7-8; McTaggart 1997, pp. xiii-xv, making different categories.

song for the feast of Holy Innocents. Susato states that he has made a selection: he did not enter songs with words that could incite to vice. Although this was of course a noble ambition, the fifty-five liederen in the first two *Musyck Boexkens* prove that Susato did not completely succeed in his idea: especially among the love songs, some of the texts have an obscene meaning, although it is sometimes hidden.¹⁵³⁷

Remarkable is that every lied has a complete text, which has been put under the notes in a way that text and notes are easy to combine. This probably was Susato's intent, because his public was not only composed of professional musicians. The majority of people buying Susato's work consisted of the middle-class community of merchants and craftsmen living in the great Flemish and Brabant trading towns, for example Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels and Ghent. Most of these families belonged to the wealthier part of society and had enjoyed a music education in singing and/or playing an instrument that had made them fairly good musicians. Susato dedicated many of his music prints to these friends, who performed his music in their own private homes.¹⁵³⁸

Fifteen out of the twenty-eight compositions in *Het Ierste Musyck Boexken* are anonymous.¹⁵³⁹ The composers of the other thirteen works are of Franco-Flemish origin and/or they worked in the Low Countries: Lupus Hellinck, Jheronimus Vinders, Antonius Barbe, Josquin Baston, Gheerkin de Hondt, Carolus Souilaert and Tielman Sustato himself.¹⁵⁴⁰ Among the songs are many unique copies not known from other sources, but also a few copies of songs that were widespread, and compositions by different composers to the same text, for example *O wrede fortune* (Susato and Vinders) and *Myn liefkens bruyn ooghen* (Susato and Swill(i)art).¹⁵⁴¹

The question how Gheerkin's lied *Het was my van te voren gheseyt* was selected for the first *Musyck Boexken* with 'the best, the most artful and exquisite songs

¹⁵³⁷ McTaggart 1997, p. xiv.

¹⁵³⁸ McTaggart 1997, pp. ix-x, xiii, xviii-xix; Forney 2005, p. 6.

¹⁵³⁹ McTaggart 1997, p. xii gives two explanations for this high number of anonymous pieces, compared to other prints that have more attributions: 1) Susato entered 'old' songs in his books (from the early 16th century) of which he did not know the composers' names anymore; 2) attributions were not needed, since the collection was not about the composers, but about the Dutch songs. I would like to add the fact that anonymous or (accidentally or deliberately) falsely attributed compositions were rather normal in 16th-century music collections; there was as yet no copyright.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Lupus Hellinc, Ieronimus Vinders, Anto. Barbe, Josquin Baston, Geerhart and Swill(i)art. Swill(i)art is identified as Carolus Souilaert, who also appears in the second *Musyck Boexken* with five songs (Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 9).

¹⁵⁴¹ Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, pp. 10-14; McTaggart 1997, Critical Report (p. 249 onwards).

composed by the most artful masters that I could find¹⁵⁴² is not hard to answer. Gheerkin was a typical composer of the Low Countries, and therefore he belonged to Susato's 'market'. Susato's music prints were mainly published for middle-class music lovers. One such person was of course Zeghere van Male from Bruges, who had also added Gheerkin's song to his collection. We may therefore assume that Gheerkin's lied was popular among the group Susato aimed at, becoming another confirmation of the statement that he was a typical composer of the Low Countries.

11.6 Pierre Phalèse, *Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties, Leuven 1552 and Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties, Leuven 1553*

A competitor of Tielman Susato was Pierre Phalèse¹⁵⁴³ (ca. 1505/10 – ca. 1573/76).¹⁵⁴⁴ Originally Phalèse worked in Leuven, but in 1570 – after Susato had left Antwerp – he moved his business to Antwerp, to associate with Jean Bellère. In 1545 Phalèse published his first book of chansons, in the form of lute arrangements. It is the beginning of a long series of music prints. In the early years Phalèse introduced his publications together with others, who actually printed the volumes for him (for example Martin Rotarius¹⁵⁴⁵ and Jacob Baethen). Phalèse himself was a book seller at Leuven University, in which capacity he also published texts in the academic field (for example religious books). From 1552 onwards, Phalèse himself started to print. By far the majority of his publications has one or more reprints, and therefore Phalèse must have been a successful publisher.

Like Scotto and Susato, Phalèse printed his music mainly in series, according to the customs of his time. He published series with both spiritual and secular music, in the main genres Mass, motet and chanson;¹⁵⁴⁶ each book contains work by different composers, but he also filled volumes with works by one man, for example Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon. In two of the chanson series we find works by Gheerkin de Hondt: the series

¹⁵⁴² As stated in Susato's preface; translation from Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 6.

¹⁵⁴³ Also: Peterus Vander Phaliesen / Vander Phalisen / Phalesius.

¹⁵⁴⁴ The biographical data are based on Vanhulst 1990, pp. IX-XLII and Bain 1973, pp. 80-84.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Also: Merten de Raymaker(e).

¹⁵⁴⁶ For the catalogue see: Vanhulst 1990; for the editions by genre: Bain 1973, pp. 97-106.

of four-part chansons and the one with five- and six-part chansons. The series of four-part chansons contained seven books; Gheerkin's *Langueur d'amour* is in the fifth, which was published in 1552 and reprinted in 1555 and 1564.¹⁵⁴⁷ In 1553 Phalèse started his series of five- and six-part chansons, the first book containing Gheerkin's *Oncques ne sceu avoir*, which was reprinted only once, in 1556.¹⁵⁴⁸ Both series were produced in partbooks, intended for making music at home, just like Susato's and Scotto's series in partbooks. The complete titles of the books suggest that the chansons were not only meant to sing, but also to perform with instruments.

The title pages of the *Premier livre* and *Cinquiesme livre* containing Gheerkin's chansons show an engraving with the Muse of Singing, Melpomene, a design used by Phalèse for almost all of his vocal music prints.¹⁵⁴⁹ In the left and right upper corner there are two 'escutcheons', respectively showing the initials of Pierre Phalèse and the initials of his printing partner (when Phalèse was solely responsible for an edition, this shield remained empty). In case of the *Premier livre*, the initials of Martin

¹⁵⁴⁷ Complete title: *Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties, nouvellement composez & mises en musique, convenables tant aux instruments qu' à la voix*; RISM 1552¹⁵, RISM 1555²¹ and 1564 (not in the printed edition of RISM). Only of the 1555 and 1564 complete sets of copies have survived:

- RISM 1552¹⁵: Sweden, Stockholm, Statens musikbibliotek, earlier: Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Ty. K. 34 (S); Sweden, Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Mus. Not. Vis. RAR (T).
- RISM 1555²¹: Germany, Kassel, Murhardsche und Landesbibliothek, 4° Mus. 61 b; Great Britain, London, British Library, K. 3. a. 15 (available online); Belgium, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale (Ct), 7° cl. V. K. Chans. 4° II 5.
- 1564: USA, New York, Public Library, Mus. Res. *MN P 534; USA, Cambridge (Mass.), Houghton Library, *43.1813 (S).

¹⁵⁴⁸ Complete title: *Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties Nouvellement composez & mises en musique, convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix*; RISM 1553²⁴ and RISM 1556¹³. Of both print runs complete copies have come down to us:

- RISM 1553²⁴: Sweden, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Utl. vok. mus. tr. 506-510; Belgium, Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, R 27.12 (Ct); Great Britain, London, British Library, Add. MS 31438 (T).
- RISM 1556¹³: Poland, Gdansk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ee 2165 8° adl. 3; Germany, Kassel, Murhardsche und Landesbibliothek, 4° Mus. 62; Great Britain, London, British Library, K. 3. a. 16; Great Britain, Oxford, Christ Church Library, 508⁽⁹⁾-509⁽⁹⁾, (Ct, B), Netherlands, Utrecht, University Library, AA Octavo 26 Rariora (tenor and quinta pars).

¹⁵⁴⁹ Bain 1973, p. 92; Vanhulst 1985, pp. XVI-XVII.

Rotaire appear in the right shield of the first print run, but not of the second print run, since Rotaire did not participate in that.¹⁵⁵⁰

Although the titles suggest that the music was newly composed, nothing is less true. The *Cinquième livre* contains thirty four-part chansons.¹⁵⁵¹ Twenty-eight chansons are attributed to a composer: we find familiar names like Crecquillon (fifteen chansons) and Clemens non Papa (two chansons), but also so-called *Kleinmeister* like [Josquin] Baston, [Jean] Crespel, Antonius Galli and Jan Gerard, and finally there are also unknown composers like Buys, Cabilliau, Simon Cardon, M. Jacob and N. de Wismes. Among the two anonymous chansons is Gheerkin's *Langueur d'amour*. The reprints have the same contents, but they are clearly new print runs, because there are differences in layout. However, Phalèse used the same engraved (embellished) initials, which we see in many of his prints.¹⁵⁵²

The *Premier livre* consists of thirty chansons.¹⁵⁵³ Twenty-two are for five voices, the remaining eight are to be performed by six voices (or instruments, of course). We meet the same composers as in the *Cinquiesme livre*: Crecquillon, Clemens non papa, Josquin Baston, Crespel, Galli and Gheerkin, but here we also find works by [Cornelius] Canis, Chastellain,¹⁵⁵⁴ Hollandre, Larc(h)ier, Jean Loys,¹⁵⁵⁵ Nicolaus Rogier, Petit Jean and [Hubert] Waelrant. Only two of the chansons are anonymous. Here too, there is a fine mix of famous composers, *Kleinmeister* and men completely unknown today.

The two chanson volumes *Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties* and *Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties* are a faithful reflection of the music sounding in the Low Countries. Pierre Phalèse was a well-known and respected music printer in Europe; his prints are spread all over the continent today. The fact that he selected two works by Gheerkin de Hondt confirms that Gheerkin's work was known and appreciated among authorities in the music business in the Low Countries.

¹⁵⁵⁰ The 1553 print is dedicated to Melchior Schetz, an Antwerp businessman.

¹⁵⁵¹ A description of the source and its contents is in Vanhulst 1990, pp. 23-24, 51, 113-114.

¹⁵⁵² We also see them in Susato's series of chanson books (1543-1555). There seems to be no pattern as to where the pictures were placed (no relation text or music for example). On the Phalèse initials: Vanhulst 1990, pp. XIX-XXII.

¹⁵⁵³ A description of the source and its contents is in Vanhulst 1990, pp. 29-30, 54. In the index of the 1553 print, *D'amours me plains* is incorrectly indicated for five voices.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Phalèse printed the name in many variants in the same partbooks: Chasteleti, Chastelain, Castillain, Chastellain, Castelein, Chastillain.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Conflicting attribution with Crecquillon (Vanhulst 1990, pp. 29-30, 54).