

THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY IN NOMINE:  
NETWORKS OF MOBILITY, INFLUENCE, AND INTERTEXTUALITY

A Dissertation  
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## ABSTRACT

The *In Nomine*, a practice of composing textless polyphonic works around a cantus firmus derived from an excerpt of a mass by John Taverner, emerged as a unique tradition in mid-sixteenth century England and immediately flourished among composers both famous (Byrd and Tallis) and long forgotten (Strogers and Woodcock). Despite the *In Nomine*'s recent invention, it was of singular interest to composers and became one of the most popular cantus firmus forms in Elizabethan England.

Previous scholarship has pointed to the technical experiments and derivative imitation that characterize many *In Nomines* as signs of compositional immaturity and ascribed them to the youthful efforts of composers-in-training, positing that the *In Nomine*'s popularity resulted mainly from its utility in the training of choristers in composition and viol playing. My work reconsiders these experimental and intertextual aspects of the sixteenth-century *In Nomine* as evidence that Elizabethan composers cultivated the *In Nomine* as a means of asserting their belonging within a musical community. It was music for musicians—a single, flexible template through which composers could show off, reference prior works and other traditions, and create in-jokes with each other. These pieces contain many seeming contradictions: they are experimental yet also full of pre-existing material; they are non-liturgical, yet their *Sarum* cantus firmus is potentially fraught with religious and political significance; they have antiquarian features as well as innovative ones; and they are both compositional and performative.

In chapter one, I use the concept of musical mobility to trace the musical networks through which the In Nomine, manuscripts, and instruments flowed. Chapters two and three construct an analytic framework for understanding the sophistication and breadth with which In Nomine composers drew from different musical traditions: chapter two considers the influence of continental genres and instrumental techniques while chapter three looks at the influence of speculative music and rhythmic complexity. Chapter four reexamines Elizabethan practices of citation and emulation through the lens of intertextuality, synthesizing the analytical insights of the previous two chapters and showing how the mobile musical networks explored in chapter one are instantiated through and among the extant musical traces of the sixteenth-century In Nomine.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Zoe Tall Weiss is a musicologist and performing musician on the viola da gamba and Baroque cello. She earned a B.Mus in historical performance from Oberlin Conservatory in 2007, a M.Mus in historical performance from Boston University in 2009, and has recently completed a Ph.D. in musicology at Cornell University. Zoe has published articles in *Haydn: the online journal of the Haydn Society of North America* and *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*. A critical edition of Agostino Agazzari's *Eumelio* co-edited with Elizabeth Lyon and Matthew Hall is forthcoming from A-R Editions. She has presented her work at conferences including the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society.

Zoe performs regularly with the Oberlin Consort of Viols and the Smithsonian Consort of Viols and is a founding member of LeStrange Viols and Science Ficta. She has taught viol at workshops for the Amherst Early Music Festival and the Viola da Gamba Society of America and served two terms on the Board of Directors for the VdGSA. She is currently on the editorial board for *The Journal of the VdGSA*.

Zoe's recordings with LeStrange Viols and ACRONYM can be heard on the New Focus label, including the album *Æternum* which emerged from her research into the British Library additional manuscript 31390. While at Cornell, Zoe taught courses for the Cornell Prison Education Program and received a Don M. Randel fellowship to develop and teach "Resistance, Reform, and Revolt: Sound and Music in Early Modern England." She also received the Ellen Gussman Adelson Prize from Cornell's Department of Music.

## DEDICATION

To the memory of my mother, Deborah Tall

it all began like this  
with wandering as it is told

from pillar to post  
to vanishing point

harm's way

song's lineage

-Deborah Tall

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is about a community of musicians and the musical tradition they invented and cultivated together. A project as large as a dissertation is also, necessarily, a shared creation of an author and her community. I have been fortunate to be a member of many incredible communities—of academics, musicians, family, and friends—and this work is the richer for their involvement in it and in my life.

My academic community at Cornell has been a source of inspiration and encouragement for the last seven years. I am grateful to my committee members David Yearsley and Rebecca Harris-Warrick, and particularly my advisor Andrew Hicks, for allowing me to burrow deeply into unfamiliar music and trusting that I would emerge with something worthwhile. Their guidance in how to approach and frame the material was invaluable. I am thankful both for their patience during periods when work on the dissertation wasn't possible and their enthusiasm and prodding when I needed it. Many of the skills I learned in seminars with Neal Zaslaw and James Webster also made their way obliquely into this dissertation and they have both been wonderful mentors to me over the years. Every single professor at Cornell has encouraged me to continue performing music, has made accommodations without complaint to allow me to do so, and has valued that part of my life and considered it an integral part of my scholarship. I cannot imagine having done this work anywhere else.

My fellow grad students at Cornell have been an important and sustaining community over the years, and many have become close friends as well as colleagues. The countless rehearsals, performances, dinners, and sloth days spent with Matthew Hall, Elizabeth Lyon, and David Miller over the years have been a source of great joy, stimulating conversation, and therapeutic commiseration. Matthew and Lizzy have also helped me in innumerable ways over the course of this project, allowing me to talk through problems and offering advice and direction when I've been most stuck. My dissertation writing companion, Anna Steppler, kept me typing even during difficult times, generously sharing tea and ideas and helping me understand my own thoughts better.

The Cornell Viol Consort spent years patiently indulging my obsession with In Nomines and reminding me every week why I love this instrument and this music. Stephen Spinelli has been one of my biggest cheer-leaders along the way, with a belief

in me so infectious that I couldn't help but share it. No department can function without kind and competent administrators, and I am deeply grateful to Colette Larkin and Fumi Nagasaki-Pracel for many years of greasing the wheels of the bureaucratic machine and graciously accommodating my last-minute requests. Equally indispensable has been the assistance of the incredible staff at the music library, especially during the Covid shutdown when they worked around the many restrictions to make sure we had all the resources we needed. Bill Cowdery has been a fabulous ally, always curious about the books I was checking out and willing to look things up or make scans for me when I discovered I was missing a crucial item.

Thanks to Ross Duffin for his interest in the project and for introducing me to the David and Lussy manuscript at Case Western Reserve University. Thanks also to William Claspy and Eleanor Blackman at Case special collections for facilitating my visit to that manuscript. Rebekah Ahrendt introduced me to mobility theory and provided just the right spark to help me figure out chapter one, for which I am extremely grateful. Many thanks to Jeffrey Dean for sharing his font set for mensuration signs which I have used within this dissertation.

Loren Ludwig has played many important roles in the creation of this dissertation, from mentor and extraordinary reader to musical colleague and dear friend. For the last 13 years, his passion for polyphonic music and the human relationships it facilitates has guided my own discoveries and explorations of this music both as a scholar and a musician. It is safe to say that without his friendship, I would never have found myself writing a dissertation about the In Nomine. Nor would I have managed to complete it without his patient and honest guidance, which was particularly crucial during the final stages of the project.

I have been blessed with an incredible musical community that has supported my development as a performer, scholar, and teacher. It was at Oberlin where I first discovered the viol and my love of polyphony, discoveries that altered the course of my musical life. None of what I have done since would have been possible without Catharina Meints, who gave me all the tools and inspiration I needed to become a practitioner of this music as well as introducing me to the In Nomine. Her generosity in allowing students to play the antique instruments of the Caldwell Collection of Viols sparked in me a visceral and material connection to the past whose traces can be found throughout this dissertation. The joy of being welcomed into her home as a friend for

the Oberlin Consort of Viols's annual New Year's celebration is unparalleled and it was to that gathering that I first brought the pieces of Add. MS 31390 to read and explore.

Also at Oberlin, my years of singing in Steven Plank's Collegium Musicum introduced me to Renaissance music "from the inside" at the same time as his courses first piqued my interest in music history. His encouragement and support as well as his example of balancing research and practice have inspired me ever since.

The Viola da Gamba Society of America, for which I've had the privilege of serving on the Board during much of this project, continues to exemplify to me the extraordinary generosity of spirit found in folks who love the viol and polyphony. Too numerous to recall or name, all the late-night (and sometimes inebriated) consort sessions with musicians, professional and amateur alike, at which I have played In Nomines over the years are woven into my musicality and my understanding of these pieces.

Special thanks to the Conclave special project who first played through all the unrecorded pieces from Add. MS 31390 with me and to Ken Slowik who allowed me and Catherine Slowik to program an entire concert of In Nomines for a Smithsonian chamber music concert, both of which allowed me the experience of exploring this music "off the page." I am also deeply indebted to my own consort, LeStrange Viols, for letting me lead them in our recording of pieces from Add. MS 31390. Doug, Kivie, John Mark, and Loren, you are my closest musical family, and I cannot adequately express my gratitude for your contributions to my learning and growth over our years of making music together. Your presence in my life has been one of its greatest joys. Thank you for teaching me most of what I know about this music.

Last, but certainly not least, my family and closest friends have been a necessary and constant support throughout the years in which I wrote this. Writing a dissertation is a marathon and also sometimes a sprint, and I wouldn't have made it without the strength and humor of those dearest to me. So much love and gratitude to Caroline, Kate, Joy, Emily, Janey, and Val. I would have given up years ago if it weren't for John S., whose insight and wisdom are inexhaustible. Thanks to Judy, who provided the venue and company for a writing retreat that ultimately jumpstarted the completion of this project for which I am profoundly grateful. An infinity of thanks is due to my father, David Weiss, who has been my life-long interlocutor and duet partner of the imagination. Throughout this journey he has been essential to the development of this

work, helping me find clarity in my own thoughts and continuously challenging me to be a broader, stronger, thinker. He's talked me down from many a ledge and patiently waded through every draft of this project, improving my ideas and prose along the way.

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Deborah Tall, who didn't live long enough to see me embark on this degree but who nonetheless started me on this path. A talented pianist in her youth, she nurtured and encouraged my interest in music—and when I fell in love with the viol and early music, she learned to love it too, even though she preferred Chopin and Brahms. As a poet and nonfiction writer, she knew how to draw on both artistic creativity and research to support each other and modeled for me what a life dedicated to such work could look like.

One final piece of gratitude looks towards the future and the birth of my first child in just a few short weeks. Dear one, who knows if this work would ever have reached its conclusion without the immutable deadline of your arrival in this world?

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## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used here are my own and are based on library shelf marks except for manuscripts with common nicknames. Notes on the dates copied, copyists, and owners are drawn from a variety of sources including: Craig-McFeely, "English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530–1630"; Dodd and Ashbee, *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*; Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I & II*; Edwards, "The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music"; individual library catalogs; and DIAMM.

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Add. MS 11586   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 11586: Copied by Charles Burney, 18th century.   |
| Add. MS 15117   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 15117: Collection of lute pieces and songs with lute accompaniment, copied 17th century.                           |
| Add. MS 15233   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 15233: Manuscript of music, plays, and poems, associated with St. Mary-at-Hill, copied c. 1555.                    |
| Add. MS 17797   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 17797: Collection of motets, madrigals, and anthems, copied early 17th century.                                    |
| Add. MS 22597   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597: Tenor partbook from set of five, copied c. 1565–85.   |
| Add. MS 29246   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246: Lute accompaniments and arrangements from the Paston collection, copied after 1611.                         |
| Add. MS 29401-5 | GB-Lbl Add. MS 29401-5: Set of five partbooks copied by a scribe employed by Paston c. 1613.                                      |
| Add. MS 29427   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 29427: Altus partbook, scribes include Thomas Myriell, copied c. 1612–7.   |
| Add. MS 29996   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 29996: Organ book, early part in hand of John Redford, copied mid-16th century with additions in the 17th century. |
| Add. MS 30485   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 30485: Virginal book, copied late 16th-early 17th century.   |
| Add. MS 31403   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 31403: Keyboard collection, first part of which is music from first half of 17th century, copied c. 1700.          |
| Add. MS 31390   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390: <i>A Booke of In nomines &amp; other solfainge songes</i> , tablebook, copied c. 1578.                      |
| Add. MS 32377   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377: Discantus partbook from set of five, copied c. 1585–90.   |
| Add. MS 34049   | GB-Lbl Add. MS 34049: Discantus partbook from set of five, copied by a scribe employed by Paston in the early 17th century.       |

Add. MS 41156-8	GB-Lbl Add. MS 41156-8: Set of three partbooks, copied by scribes employed by Paston in the early 17th century.
Add. MS 47844	GB-Lbl Add. MS 47844: Altus / Tenor partbook with music for 5-7 parts, copied c. 1581.
Baldwin Commonplace Book	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2: Commonplace book copied by John Baldwin c. 1580–1606.
Baldwin Partbooks	GB-Och Mus. 979-83: Five partbooks from a set of six copied by John Baldwin c. 1575–81 with later additions. Bound together with Byrd and Tallis's <i>Cantiones</i> publication of 1575.
Bodleian d.212-216	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216: Set of five partbooks, copied c. 1610 with later additions.
Bodleian e. 423	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 423: Single partbook with music in 5-6 parts, copied c. 1575–86.
Bodleian e. 437-442	GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 437-442: Set of six partbooks owned by Francis Withy, copied early 17th century.
Bull 1185	F-Pn Rés. 1185: Collection of keyboard works by John Bull, possibly copied before 1613, possibly by Bull himself.
Ch. Ch. 371	GB-Och Mus. 371: Keyboard book, copied 1560s.
Ch. Ch. 463-7	GB-Och MS Mus. 463-7: Set of five partbooks, mostly Ferrabosco I, copied c. 1600.
Ch. Ch. 1113	GB-Och Mus. 1113: Keyboard book of Italian and English music, copied in the 1620s.
Ch. Ch. 1142a	GB-Och Mus. 1142a: First section is a keyboard book, copied mid-17th century.
Cosyn Virginal Book	GB-Lbl R.M.23.1.4: Virginal book copied by Benjamin Cosyn in the early 17th century, later additions include score of four-part services.
Dallis Lute Book	IRL-Dtc Ms. 410/1: Previous shelf-mark D.3.30/1. Lute book copied by a pupil of Thomas Dallis, c. 1583–5.
Dow Partbooks	GB-Och MS Mus. 984-8: Set of five partbooks copied by Robert Dow c. 1581–88 with later additions.
Drexel 5612	US-NYp Mus. Res. Drexel 5612: Large collection of keyboard music from first half of 17th century, copied c. 1620–60.
Eton Choirbook	GB-WRec MS 178: Important manuscript of pre-Reformation vocal polyphony, copied c. 1500–1504.

Filmer 1	US-NH Misc. MS 179, Filmer 1/a-e: Set of five partbooks, copied c. 1588–1603.
Fitzwilliam Virginal Book	GB-Cfm MS 32 G.29: Keyboard collection, copied early 17th century.
Folger 408	US-Ws MS Va 408: Discantus partbook from set of five, copied c. 1590.
Forrest-Heather Partbooks	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 376-381: Set of six partbooks containing Tudor masses copied in stages over a hundred years. Earliest layer (containing Taverner's <i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i> mass) copied c. 1528–30 at Cardinal College, Oxford. Belonged to John Baldwin c. 1581 who recopied damaged sections of the bassus partbook.
Forster Virginal Book	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.3: Keyboard collection, copied c. 1624.
Hamond Partbooks	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30480-4: Set of five partbooks, copied by many scribes c. 1560–90.
Harley 7578	GB-Lbl Harley 7578: Partbook bound together with unrelated other manuscripts, copied second half of 16th century.
Histoire de la notation	<i>Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses origines, par MM. Ernest David et Mathis Lussy</i> (ML431.D24). Kelvin Smith Library Special Collections. Case Western Reserve University. Copy of David and Lussy's 1882 publication into which fragments of 13th to 17th-century manuscripts have been bound.
Henry VIII Manuscript	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31922: Probably copied as an anthology of the repertory at Henry VIII's court c. 1510–20.
Holmes Cittern Book	GB-Cu MSS Dd 4.23: Cittern book copied by Matthew Holmes, c. 1580–1615.
Holmes Consort Books	GB-Cu MSS Dd 5.20 and 5.21: Set of partbooks for broken consort, copied by Matthew Holmes c. 1585–1605.
Holmes Lute Books	GB-Cu MSS Dd 2.11 and GB-Cu MSS Dd 9.33: Lute books, copied by Matthew Holmes c. 1590–1605.
Kassel 125	D-Kl 4° Ms. Mus. 125/1-5: Set of five partbooks of English music, copied c. 1595.
Lansdowne 763	GB-Lbl Lansdowne MS 763: Collection of 15th-century treatises on music later bound together.
Lestrange Partbooks	GB-Lbl Add. MS 39550-4: Five partbooks from a set of six (Sextus missing) owned by Sir Nicholas Le Strange and compiled c. 1630–40.
Lumley Books	GB-Lbl Royal App. 74 and 76: Triplex and tenor partbooks from a set of four, copied c. 1547–8 with later additions.

Marsh Lute Book	IRL-Dm MS Z3.2.13: Lute book, copied c. 1595.
Marsh Z 3. 4. 1-6	IRL-Dm MSS Z 3.4.1-6: Set of six partbooks, copied second quarter of the 17th century.
Mcghie Manuscript	GB-DORmcghie Mcghie Manuscript: Formerly known as the James Manuscript. Discantus partbook from set of six (Tenbury 389 is from the same set), copied c. 1595–1613.
Merro Partbooks	US-NYp Mus. Res. Drexel 4180-4: Set of six partbooks, copied by John Merro c. 1615–1625.
Mulliner Book	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513: Commonplace book compiled by Thomas Mulliner c. 1545–70.
My Ladye Nevells Booke	GB-Lbl MS Mus. 1591: Keyboard collection of works by William Byrd, copied by John Baldwin in 1591.
Mynshall Lute Book	GB-Lam MS 601: Lute book, copied by Richard Mynshall c. 1597–1600.
Old Hall Manuscript	GB-Lbl Add. MS 57950: Choirbook, copied c. 1410–20.
Petre 1, 2	GB-CF MS D/DP Z6/1 and GB-CF MS D/DP Z6/2: Two partbooks, probably copied for John Petre c. 1590.
RCM 2049	GB-Lcm MS 2049: Four from a set of possibly six partbooks, copied early 17th century.
The Rough Books	GB-Och MS Mus. 423-8: Set of six partbooks owned by John Browne, copied early 17th century.
Rowe 316	GB-Ckc Rowe 316: Single partbook, several copyists, c. 1565.
Sadler Partbooks	GB-Ob MS. Mus. e. 1-5: Set of five partbooks, copied c. 1580–5.
Tenbury 354-8	GB-Ob MS Tenbury 354-8: Set of five partbooks, copied by scribe employed by Paston in the late-16th or early-17th century.
Tenbury 389	GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389: Single partbook from set of six (McGhie Manuscript also part of this set), copied c. 1595–1613.
Tenbury 1018	GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1018: Score of polyphony, copied late-16th or early-17th century.
Tenbury 1464	GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464: Bassus partbook from set of five, copied c. 1575 with later additions.
Tompkins Keyboard Book	F-Pn MS Rés. 1122: Keyboard collection, copied by Thomas Tompkins mid-17th century.

- Tregian Manuscript GB-Lbl Egerton 3665: Score of polyphony, copied by Francis Tregian (the Younger) c. 1613–9.
- Wode Partbooks GB-Eu MS La III. 483 (a-c): Three partbooks (cantus, tenor, bassus) from set of five. Copied by Thomas Wode (Wood) c. 1562–92 with 17th century additions.
- GB-Lbl Add. MS 33933: Altus partbook from set of five. Copied by Thomas Wode (Wood) c. 1562–92 with early 17th century additions.
- IRL-Dtc MS 412: Quintus of set of five partbooks. Copied by Thomas Wode (Wood) c. 1562–92 with early 17th century additions.
- York 91S GB-Ym M 91S: Miscellany of mostly continental secular pieces, copied third quarter of 16th century.

## Introduction

My first contact with the In Nomine came just weeks after I began playing the viol during my freshman year at Oberlin. My teacher, Catharina Meints, put some music on the stands in front of us and with a mischievous twinkle in her eye told us we were in for a treat. We found ourselves playing the very last seventeenth-century In Nomines by Henry Purcell, exquisite and challenging music that we did our best to live up to. That was eighteen years ago now and the In Nomine has been a constant presence in my life as a viol player ever since. Despite having spent the last three and a half years researching and writing this dissertation, my primary orientation towards these pieces remains that of a musician. My experience playing and recording many of the pieces discussed in this study is as important a basis for my knowledge of them as the analytical work and research I have done.<sup>1</sup> While some of the analytical tools I use are facilitated by a score format that aligns the voices with barlines (for the sake of ease of reading, examples are offered in score with measure numbers), it is important to remember that this was primarily a partbook tradition without barlines, a format that offers a first-person musical perspective quite different from the comprehensive vantage point available by reading a score. My experience as a musician playing and listening to this music is no doubt quite different from that of the sixteenth-century musicians I write about; however, approaching this music from the parts and with an instrument in hand nonetheless preserves some of that original, unrecoverable experience. Even the most highly educated sixteenth-century musicians were unlikely

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<sup>1</sup> LeStrange Viols's album *Æternum* emerged from my research into the manuscript Add. MS 31390 and contains nine early In Nomines as well as several other pieces mentioned in this dissertation. The process of rehearsing and recording these works on the antique instruments of the Caldwell Collection of Viols has profoundly shaped my understanding of these pieces.

to have been able to “read” a piece without playing it from five separate partbooks—especially challenging if those parts were oriented in the four cardinal directions on a single opening, as in the striking table-book format of Add. MS 31390.<sup>2</sup> I think it is safe to assume that sixteenth-century musicians’ primary contact with these pieces would have been experiential and auditory. Certainly, the non-prescriptive elements of sixteenth-century musical notation (the common absence of notated cadential *ficta*, for example) require musicians to hear the entirety of the texture to even know the correct pitches to sing or play. While not always explicitly mentioned, this performative orientation is pervasive throughout this study. Equally pervasive, and I hope obvious to the reader, is my love for this repertory. I find these early In Nomines delightful, quirky, and often full of depth and beauty. While some are more skillfully crafted than others, I try to avoid value judgements as they obstruct one’s ability to “get under the hood” of a piece and understand how it works and what it has to offer. It is my hope that readers of this dissertation will be moved equally to listen to and play this music and will come to enjoy it as much as I do.

### **What is an In Nomine?**

In Nomines are pieces of (usually untexted) polyphony written on a particular cantus firmus that derives from a mass composed by John Taverner (c. 1490–1545), probably written in the mid-to-late 1520s. The Taverner mass uses the Sarum antiphon *Gloria tibi Trinitas* as its cantus firmus throughout, but there is a strikingly beautiful passage in the Benedictus where the prevailing six-voice texture is reduced to four voices for the text “in nomine Domini.” Unlike other sub-sections of the mass, this

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<sup>2</sup> On the materiality of partbooks, see van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe*.

section of the Benedictus includes the entirety of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant in the second voice in equal note values (breves) without interruption. Via a somewhat mysterious process, this section of the Benedictus was excerpted (without its text) from the mass and other composers began writing new textless polyphony based on its cantus firmus; these pieces were called “In Nomine,” in reference to the text of the excerpt within the mass, rather than “Gloria tibi Trinitas,” as would be expected for a piece of polyphony based on that plainsong. While the cantus firmus from the Taverner excerpt is musically indistinguishable from the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* antiphon, the title “In Nomine” is one of several markers that identify Taverner’s mass as the source of the cantus firmus rather than the Sarum liturgy.

In the 1550s to 1570s there was an explosion of interest in writing In Nomines (as these pieces are still known) and composers of varied stature—anonymous, long-forgotten (e.g., Nicholas Stogers and Clement Woodcock), and still famous (e.g., Thomas Tallis and William Byrd)—all wrote In Nomines. The manuscript sources for these In Nomines are, for the most part, later than when these pieces were likely written. This makes it difficult to construct a precise chronology and also implies that there are probably a good number of earlier In Nomines that may not have made it into these later manuscript collections and are lost to us. Examining this intense period of early In Nomine production, Oliver Neighbour notes that although “Tye and Tallis were a generation older than their most important successors in the field of the In Nomine . . . the younger composers . . . produced their settings relatively early in their careers, so that the time lag between the In Nomines of the two generations was much less than might have been expected.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, composers of multiple

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<sup>3</sup> Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 31.

generations were near-simultaneously involved in the production of these pieces, and these composers all shared the same context of being employed by elite sacred-musical institutions.<sup>4</sup> A second wave of In Nomine composition in the late-sixteenth century, around 1590–1610, also among composers at these same institutions, coincides with the assembly and copying of some of the most important manuscript sources. The tradition of composing In Nomines persisted well into the seventeenth century, where it became firmly connected with the tradition of viol consort playing within wealthy aristocratic households (many of them Catholic). This change in social context, moving from musicians employed by sacred institutions to those patronized by individual families, coincided with changes in musical style to produce In Nomines that function differently than their earlier counterparts that are the focus of this dissertation.<sup>5</sup>

I have chosen to look exclusively at In Nomines written in the sixteenth century, with a special focus on the first wave of composition in the 1550s to 1570s, to discover how this repertory is connected to the community of musicians who created it, what the musical interests and values of this community were, as well as what this tradition might have meant to them. I will argue that the relationship between social (or institutional) structures and musical structures was reciprocal, that the appeal of composing In Nomines was in part their ability to foster and shape a sense of community by providing a dedicated, shared platform for musical discourse. In Nomines also provide a key perspective on textless polyphony in the second half of the

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<sup>4</sup> With the exception of Alfonso Ferrabosco I, an Italian who worked at Elizabeth I's court. A second possible exception is Edward Blankes, about whose biography we know only that he was a member of the London Waits from 1582–94. Two of his compositions, however, appear in Add. MS 31390 suggesting that before he joined the Waits he was connected to the same social and musical networks as many other In Nomine composers.

<sup>5</sup> These later In Nomines are fascinating in their own right and are discussed in Loren Ludwig's dissertation "Equal to All Alike" (chapter three) and Catherine Slowik's forthcoming dissertation "Cantus Firmus Techniques in English Instrumental Music (1540–1680)."

sixteenth century. All In Nomines begin with a single set of constraints (above all, the same cantus firmus) which allows us to compare how different composers responded to the same musical prompt. These compositional reactions tell us something about traditions of textless polyphony as well as the In Nomine tradition itself.

Though almost always textless, some In Nomines were given evocative or enigmatic subtitles. These subtitled In Nomines include all but three of those by Christopher Tye as well as several unattributed In Nomines that survive incompletely and may well be by Tye.<sup>6</sup> Why Tye's many In Nomines received subtitles (and why he appears to have written so many more than any other composer) remain mysteries. Some of Tye's titles are descriptive; *Re la re*, for example, refers to the solmization syllables of the opening point. Others are illustrative, such as *Rachells weepinge* where the falling triads seem to represent Rachel's falling tears, or *Crye* whose quick repetitions of a single pitch resemble street cries.<sup>7</sup> Still other titles appear to be jocular admonitions for would-be performers; *Trust*, *Howld fast*, and *Seldom sene* probably reference the metrical games found in each of these In Nomines, the first of which sets the cantus firmus notes in five minims while the latter two include difficult syncopations and proportions (these pieces are discussed in chapter three). While Robert Weidner has posited explanations for most of Tye's titles (although I find some of his theories unconvincing) even he is puzzled by the possible significance of a title such as *Farwell my good 1. for ever*.<sup>8</sup> Whether some or all of these titles originated with

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<sup>6</sup> These fragments are found in the *Histoire de la notation* manuscript held by Case Western Reserve University and are discussed further in chapter three.

<sup>7</sup> There are many such pieces that imitate street cries especially at the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. Orlando Gibbons's five-part In Nomine, *The Cryes of London*, combines mostly-untexted polyphony with snippets of texted music that mimic the cries of street vendors.

<sup>8</sup> Weidner argues, for example, that *Rounde* is a reference to the popular tune *Selinger's Round*, which he believes Tye quotes in the In Nomine. The cited passage in *Rounde*, however, bears only a marginal resemblance to *Selinger's Round* and occurs within the duple section of the In Nomine rather than in the triple section where it would fit more naturally and be more easily recognizable. Weidner, "New Insights

Tye himself or were nicknames added later to distinguish his many In Nomines is also unclear—the subtitles are found consistently in the main source of Tye’s In Nomines, Add. MS 31390, while they are often missing from other concordant sources. These titles, whether intended by Tye or appended by others are certainly part of the social life of In Nomines and the in-jokes cultivated by the network of musicians who wrote and appreciated them.

The In Nomine emerged at a moment in English history when pieces written on a cantus firmus were becoming less common than they had previously been. The newly Reformed liturgy under Edward VI and Elizabeth I no longer allowed traditional plainchant in its vocal polyphony, and cantus firmus writing largely retreated to the sphere of keyboard works, untexted pieces, pedagogy, and the private musical circles of recusant Catholics. Besides the In Nomine, the Easter respond *Dum transisset Sabbatum* and the antiphon *Miserere mihi* were the most common. Though also popular, the tradition of writing textless polyphony on the *Miserere* differs from the In Nomine tradition in that it began as a liturgical composition and transitioned to a non-liturgical one while the In Nomine, though derived from a mass, was itself never liturgical.<sup>9</sup> Eight polyphonic *Dum transisset* settings are found alongside the many In Nomines in Add. MS 31390, including four settings by Christopher Tye (c. 1505–1573) who also contributed twenty In Nomines to the same manuscript. There is a striking stylistic contrast between works on the two cantus firmi by Tye: while the *Dum transisset* settings make use of imitation, a compositional feature gaining popularity in mid-

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on the Early ‘In Nomine,’” 38–41.

<sup>9</sup> There are technically more extant sixteenth-century settings of the *Miserere* than there are In Nomines, but only if one includes George Waterhouse’s unusual and monumental achievement of composing 1,163 canonic *Miserere* settings. Without Waterhouse’s contribution, there are more surviving In Nomine settings. See Collins, “Sufficient to Quench the Thirst of the Most Insaciate Scholler Whatsoever’: George Waterhouse’s 1.163 Canons on the Plainsong *Miserere*.”

century England, they do not approach the intensity of imitation found in his many monothematic In Nomines. All four *Dum transisset* settings feel more conservative and similar to each other, lacking the invention, variation, and rhythmic vitality of the In Nomines. Compare, for example, the opening of Tye's third *Dum transisset* setting (ex. 0-1) with the opening of his In Nomine "Rachells Weeping" (ex. 0-2). These two pieces, both appearing in Add. MS 31390, use a similar opening point of imitation, but the frequent cadences (and the plangent cross-relations they create) in the In Nomine (presumably illustrating Rachel's sadness) give the piece more pathos than does the consonance of the *Dum transisset* setting. While this difference may be due to the affordances of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant itself, it is also emblematic of a pattern of stylistic difference between In Nomines and other cantus firmus settings.

**Example 0-1. Tye *Dum transisset Sabbatum* #3, mm. 1-8**

The musical score for Example 0-1 consists of five staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom three are in bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score is numbered 2 through 8 above the first staff. The music is polyphonic, with various rhythmic values including minims, crotchets, and quavers. The score is numbered 2 through 8 above the first staff.

### Example 0-2. Tye In Nomine a5 *Rachells Weeping*, mm. 1-8

The image shows a musical score for Example 0-2, Tye In Nomine a5 *Rachells Weeping*, mm. 1-8. The score is in G major and 4/4 time, featuring five staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and three instrumental staves (Violin I, Violin II, and Cello/Double Bass). The music is polyphonic, with the vocal parts and instrumental parts all using breves for the cantus firmus. The score is numbered 2 through 8 above the staves. Blue arrows point to specific notes in the vocal and instrumental parts.

Note too that Tye's *Dum transisset* setting uses semibreves for the cantus firmus, while the In Nomine uses breves. This is an important distinction, one which readily distinguishes In Nomine settings from other plainsong compositions. Semibreves were the standard way of setting chant in this period but polyphonic In Nomines never use semibreves and instead mostly use breves as the Taverner does. While setting a plainsong in breves was a somewhat archaic practice at this point, it also extended the length of the pieces, giving composers more scope within which to work.

### The In Nomine as Social Network

Many scholars have noted among In Nomine composers the apparent interest in processes of experimentation.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes this experimentation pushes familiar compositional techniques to their logical extremes, for instance distilling the use of imitation into an obsessive monothematicism.<sup>11</sup> Other experiments resist the very rules

<sup>10</sup> Robert Weidner writes of Tye: "He left a legacy of instrumental ensemble music that reveals a skilled hand which, freed of the vocal requirements of translucent textual clarity, reveled in experiment with many of the more complex compositional devices then known to his craft." Weidner, "The Instrumental Music of Christopher Tye," 369. Oliver Neighbour writes, "the genre became to some extent an arena for technical experiment or display." Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Tye, especially, explores monothematicism in twelve of his twenty-one surviving In Nomines. See chapter two for a discussion of how monothematicism can be used to create structure.

of composition, such as the two In Nomines that attempt to write polyphony in a mode unrelated to that of the cantus firmus.<sup>12</sup> Another important trend within the In Nomine repertoire is the frequent quotation or emulation of other In Nomines, including Taverner's mass excerpt. While such citational practices are not themselves uncommon, their frequency and density within such a limited repertoire are nonetheless noteworthy. Both these important characteristics have been explained as side-effects of the In Nomine's use as a training tool within rudimentary Elizabethan musical pedagogy, specifically as symptomatic of the efforts of immature composers. This is not, however, the only possible explanation for these observed traits. This dissertation argues instead that the use of experimental and intertextual techniques demonstrates that the In Nomine was an important site of musical discourse among composers generally, developing and mature, making it mid-sixteenth century England's prime example of a humanistic repertoire.<sup>13</sup>

Other evidence for the In Nomine as a repertoire of intellectual engagement are its stylistic assimilations from other genres. Long criticized as conservative, even by the fifteenth-century music theorist Tinctoris,<sup>14</sup> English cantus firmus polyphony privileged the audibility of the chant, which before the Reformation could take the place of chant liturgically, even if it was textless. Post-Reformation, textless polyphony on plainsong cantus firmi, even if no longer used for liturgical purposes, must still have held some symbolic equivalence to chant. The In Nomine thus occupies a politically delicate middle-ground, maintaining a potentially suspicious connection to pre-Reformation

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<sup>12</sup> The In Nomine a4 by Goldar and In Nomine a5 #1 by Strogers. These examples are discussed in chapter four.

<sup>13</sup> For examples of similar communal musical engagement on the continent, see Hatter, *Composing Community in Late Medieval Music*; Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*; Davison, "Continental Cousins of the In Nomine Family."

<sup>14</sup> Dedication to *Proportionale musices* (1473-4). Translated in Strunk and Treitler, *Source Readings in Music History*, 293.

liturgical practices while existing largely within the growing sphere of secular textless music probably intended for instruments. In Nomines encompass this duality musically as well. They often preserve some features of the pre-Reformation treatment of chant such as setting it in upper voices and long note values to make it audible against the faster-moving polyphonic parts, even as the In Nomine's stylistic promiscuity and assimilation of elements from contemporary secular genres defies these traditions and takes cantus firmus setting in new directions.

The lack of liturgical context or obvious public occasions for the performance of such textless polyphony may have created a space for the cultivation of the In Nomine as music for musicians. Unlike print publications, which could be profitable both monetarily and in prestige, as far as we know In Nomines circulated exclusively in manuscript copies. A few In Nomines turn up in the libraries of connoisseurs like Edward Paston or Francis Tregian, and others are scattered across partbooks and commonplace books, but the largest two sources assemble In Nomines en masse either preferentially (Add. MS 31390) or exclusively (Bodleian d.212-216). The latter source, compiled in the early-seventeenth century, contains many unica of mid-sixteenth century works, which suggests, I argue, that the compiler, a musician working in London, had access to loose leaves of works that may or may not have ever been intended to be preserved or shared in a manuscript. These tantalizing clues hint at the In Nomine's circulation within insular performance networks rather than as works commissioned by patrons or institutions or for the broader publication market.

The In Nomine provided an ideal form for humanistic musical discourse. More than freer forms of textless polyphony, the In Nomine allows for easy comparisons between pieces and more audible conversations among musicians. This is music for performers (and composers) who already know the tune, as it were. Many In Nomines

engage with the fundamental building blocks of music, which Jane Hatter describes as “music about music.”<sup>15</sup> Composers could compete and respond directly to each other within the boundaries of the form and, despite our chronological and cultural distance, it is possible to find and at least partially reconstruct traces of these conversations within the music. Participation in writing In Nomines may also have been an important way for composers to signal their membership within both a compositional lineage that connects to John Taverner and other pre-Reformation composers and a contemporary community of professional musicians. For later In Nomine writers, this community would have included revered mid-century composers like Tye, Tallis, and Byrd.

### **The In Nomine as Speculative Network**

The network of musicians who produced In Nomines revolved around elite sacred institutions, such as the Chapel Royal and other major musical establishments in London, as well as regional cathedrals and collegiate chapels. While professional service within these religious institutions is an important common thread among In Nomine composers, they are also connected by the tradition of English musical pedagogy, particularly the emphasis on speculative music found within the English university system.<sup>16</sup> Roger Bray has noted that “the compositional theory arising from *musica speculativa* pervaded the musical profession so completely that it was espoused even by composers not seeking degrees, was assimilated into compositional technique, and was practised not only in every single surviving Tudor Mass but also in many later sixteenth-century works.”<sup>17</sup> Bray has documented the use of *musica speculativa* in

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<sup>15</sup> Hatter, *Composing Community in Late Medieval Music*, 125.

<sup>16</sup> See chapter three for the place of speculative music theory and speculative music composition in England within the university curriculum.

<sup>17</sup> Bray, “Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England,” 2.

compositions intended as demonstrations of compositional skill for the awarding of academic degrees, such as Robert Fayrfax's Mass *O quam glorifica* (1504). There is evidence that these academic masses were submitted in presentation copies that highlighted their learned-ness by using cryptic verbal canons and proportional notation that was ill-suited to actual performance. Further, it seems some of these pieces were re-notated into copies intended to be used by actual musicians to perform them.<sup>18</sup> The incorporation of elements of *musica speculativa* into the world of *musica practica* (specifically the In Nomine) is explored specifically in chapter three, but it is important to note here how the tradition of academic complexity and puzzles is connected to the origins of the In Nomine. John Taverner did not himself receive a collegiate degree, but he was Master of Choristers at Oxford's Cardinal College (now Christ Church) from 1526–30 and it is likely that the Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas* was written during his time there. Intriguingly, Bray believes there is evidence that parts of Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass were re-notated for performance much as Fayrfax's *O quam glorifica* mass was: "At least two of Taverner's Masses, *Gloria tibi Trinitas* and *Corona spinea*, also contain evidence of contemporary arrangement, notably *Gloria tibi Trinitas* in the presence of extra semibreves—indeed, it is likely that the final passage of each movement has been renotated."<sup>19</sup>

If Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass did indeed draw on speculative traditions in its original form, it ties both Taverner and his mass to this musical tradition, which Bray argues was important to Tudor composers' sense of prestige, even if they did not receive collegiate degrees. It is another facet of what it meant to be a serious composer during this period and may explain why it was an excerpt from this particular mass that

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<sup>18</sup> Bray, 12. On renotation more broadly, see Rodin, "Unresolved."

<sup>19</sup> Bray, 14.

became a touchstone for so many. The In Nomine tradition confirms that collegiate musicians were not the only ones interested in using esoteric processes and notation in their compositions, although Christopher Tye, a doctor of music, was certainly the foremost proponent of this within the In Nomine. The In Nomine's origin from a single piece of music that was possibly tied to the speculative compositions of academic music study is further proof of a network of highly educated musicians cultivating this form for their own amusement and interest—a similar musical context to that found on the campuses of Cambridge and Oxford. As Bray notes, “The learned composers of the time were playing elegant academic games with each other, and over the centuries we have become heirs to their puzzles, pitting our wits against theirs with the additional handicap of our imperfect knowledge of the rules of the game and of the prevailing context.”<sup>20</sup> Part of the work of this dissertation is to unravel a few of these puzzles and games to reveal the hidden conversations beneath them.

## **Chapter Summaries**

This study is presented in four chapters. The first, “The Social Origins of the In Nomine,” looks at the earliest emergence of the In Nomine tradition. Using the methodology of mobility theory, I trace the mobile networks of people, instruments, and manuscripts that participated in In Nomine production and dissemination. Having established these networks, I show that they do not support the theory that In Nomines were developed and utilized primarily for educational purposes; rather, I argue, they served an important social function for those who wrote them. Drawing on scholarship about remembrance, invented traditions, and nostalgia in Early Modern England, I propose that the composition of In Nomines was one way that musicians positioned

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<sup>20</sup> Bray, 12.

themselves within networks of belonging—networks that connected them to John Taverner and pre-Reformation musical practices, to traditions of academic and speculative music making, and to a broad community of colleagues. Instead of a compositional exercise, In Nomines were a site of musical discourse used by composers of varying ages and experience to foster social connections. While chapter one establishes the material and biographical evidence for these mobile networks and sets out the main claims of the dissertation, the musical evidence that supports these claims is left to the three subsequent chapters. That evidence is the musical traces of the In Nomine's engagement in the social life of music. Whether that engagement be with styles and techniques from other genres (chapter two), the world of proportions and speculative music (chapter three), or prior In Nomines (chapter four), it reveals a sophisticated musico-social awareness and a conscious participation in a musical community by the composers of these works.

Chapter two, "Style in the Early In Nomine," investigates stylistic markers of genre and instrumentalisms within the In Nomine repertory. I argue that rather than possessing a single or unified style, In Nomines contain a deliberate patchwork of styles and draw from diverse generic sources and musical traditions. These stylistic borrowings come equally from older music and newly fashionable music from the continent, which I use to situate the In Nomine as a repertory in dialogue with other music circulating in England in the mid-sixteenth century. The In Nomine's appetite for conversation with other musical traditions is a marker of both the education and broad musical experience of its practitioners—education and experience beyond reach for a chorister or musical apprentice. This chapter also grapples with how to define instrumental music in sixteenth-century England and what the stylistic features of this newly emerging repertory of instrumental music are (which I call "instrumentalisms").

Finally, the chapter considers the In Nomine's use of experimental techniques to create structure, particularly within monothematic works.

Chapter three, "Rhythmic and Metrical Complexity in the Early In Nomine," looks closely at the cross-pollination among music-theoretical traditions as expressed in both speculative music and the In Nomine. The social context in which speculative music was cultivated provides an important parallel to the networks I have traced among In Nomine composers. John Baldwin's commonplace book (the Baldwin Commonplace Book, copied c. 1580–1606) provides a site of overlap between these repertoires, where pieces of mind-bogglingly complex metrical proportions rub elbows with In Nomines that also make use of proportions, albeit of a much simpler variety. The use of metrical proportions in late-sixteenth century English music is examined both through its connection to music theory and the speculative musical traditions that were still at the core of the university music curriculum as well as the broader context of Elizabethan cultural ideas about proportion. In addition to proportions, the chapter looks at other undertheorized techniques of rhythmic complexity that are used within the In Nomine repertory, naming and documenting some for the first time.

Finally, chapter four, "Intertextuality in the Early In Nomine," examines the extensive practice of borrowing, modeling, and quotation within the In Nomine tradition as musical traces of the social relationships (real or imagined) that existed between composers of these works. In order to better contextualize these types of intentional practices, the chapter begins with a survey of the entire breadth of intertextual possibility in the sixteenth-century In Nomine: the rules of counterpoint and the particular possibilities of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* plainsong, the idiomatic and generic signifiers discussed in chapter two, the techniques of complexity from chapter three, and the experimental attitude that led writers of In Nomines to resist the rules of

traditional composition. These non-deliberate or ambiguously deliberate intertextualities allow a more nuanced perspective on the more familiar, intentional practices of motivic borrowing and modeling or emulation. Such intentional intertextualities are no more monolithic than the non-intentional ones, and close readings reveal the different kinds of professional/personal relationships that they illustrate. Some kinds of modeling provide evidence of a master/student relationship between the composers while others illustrate a musical conversation between professional equals or an extensive homage from one colleague to another. These various modes of modeling can all be seen in the family of related pieces surrounding the five-part In Nomine of Robert Parsons (c. 1535–1571/2). A chronological shift in motivic-citation practices can also be seen between the first and second waves of In Nomine production, which I argue supports chapter one's assertions about the trajectory of the In Nomine from newly invented to established tradition. The dissertation's claim that the In Nomine emerged largely as a site for musical conversation and belonging among mature professional musicians is also supported by both the prevalence of intertextual borrowing and the types of borrowing that are most commonly seen in In Nomines.

### **History of In Nomine Scholarship**

There is a wealth of scholarship on the In Nomine, although most of it is not recent. As the largest single corpus of untexted polyphony from mid-sixteenth century England (excepting Waterhouse's *Miserere* canons), the In Nomine remains both important to understanding this era of music and also mysterious. Ernst Hermann Meyer was one of the first scholars to seriously examine the In Nomine, which he

recruited into his narrative about the development of English chamber music.<sup>21</sup> As one of the earliest forms of untexted music in England, Meyer identified the In Nomine as a first step towards the emancipation of instrumental music from vocal music. For Meyer, England's evolution towards chamber music was parallel but distinct from the rest of Europe, and the In Nomine played an important role, Meyer argued, in this evolution. On the continent, he tracks the origin of that supreme instrumental form, the sonata, to the Italian canzona, which in turn emerged from the French chanson. In England, however, he argues that the primary instrumental genre of the Fantasia ultimately emerged from the motet and that, "The Innomine was the connecting link between the vocal motet and the Fantasia."<sup>22</sup> Thurston Dart and Robert Donington concurred, writing, "the In Nomine was the chief means by which the great tradition of vocal polyphony was brought to bear on the evolution of genuinely instrumental chamber music in England."<sup>23</sup> Because of this line of argument, the In Nomine was enlisted in the effort to define and celebrate England's "Golden Age" of music before the centuries of Italian and German domination to follow. These efforts resulted in Edmund Fellowes's work on a complete works edition of William Byrd which began in 1937 and followed upon "Tudor Church Music" (begun in 1922) which had collected the complete works of Thomas Tallis, John Taverner, Christopher Tye, and even the little known Osbert Parsley.<sup>24</sup> Because of the In Nomine's generative importance in this Anglo-centric narrative, the influence of continental genres on the In Nomine has been ignored or de-emphasized in ways that have done a disservice to the understanding of the In Nomine

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<sup>21</sup> Meyer, *English Chamber Music*.

<sup>22</sup> Meyer, "The 'In Nomine' and the Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style in England," 28.

<sup>23</sup> Donington and Dart, "The Origin of the in Nomine," 101.

<sup>24</sup> See Fellowes, *Byrd: Collected Vocal Works*; Buck and Fellowes, *Tudor Church Music*.

tradition itself. This is addressed in chapter two which attempts to reconnect the In Nomine to several instrumental traditions from the continent.

In spite of considerable genealogical interest in the In Nomine, the enigma of the name remained unsolved until 1949, following nearly two centuries of conjecture. Earliest mention of the In Nomine comes in 1636 when Charles Butler in *The Principles of Musik* discusses a type of discanting where one voice sings the cantus firmus and the rest discant upon it found “in the excellent Musik of the In-nomines of Parsons, Taverner, D. Ty [Tye], &c.”<sup>25</sup> Noting that these pieces differed from the prevailing musical norms, Roger North complained in 1728 that music with a cantus firmus such as the In Nomine, “is a sort of harmonious murmur, rather than musick . . . not unlike a confused singing of birds in a grove.”<sup>26</sup> Two eighteenth-century attempts at a comprehensive history of music first grapple with the problem of the origins of the In Nomine’s title. Charles Burney in his *A General History of Music* (1776–89) identifies the origins of the title from the text of the mass, “This was an ancient Chant to that part of the Mass, beginning Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, upon which the English masters of the sixteenth century had great delight in exercising their science and ingenuity.”<sup>27</sup> In his *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* from 1776, John Hawkins dealt with the origin of the In Nomine in a lengthy footnote. He identified John Taverner’s In Nomine as particularly important but concludes that the allusion is to the Vulgate translation of the nineteenth Psalm.<sup>28</sup> The puzzle was finally cracked in 1949 simultaneously by Gustave Reese in the United States and Thurston Dart and

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<sup>25</sup> Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, 91.

<sup>26</sup> North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, 250.

<sup>27</sup> Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Volume 2:567.

<sup>28</sup> Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, by Sir John Hawkins. In Five Volumes*, 3:280.

Robert Donington in the United Kingdom when they discovered that the Taverner In Nomine was a note-for-note extract from his *Missa Gloria tibi Trinitas*.<sup>29</sup>

Despite having solved the riddle of the title, it remained uncertain why Taverner's "In nomine Domini" fragment began to travel independently of the mass, why it was so popular, or why its cantus firmus was taken as the basis for so many subsequent compositions. Both Reese and Dart and Donington speculate about the elegance of the excerpt, the ideal qualities of the antiphon as a cantus firmus, and its clarity as a pedagogical exercise, but few speculations have been advanced since. Once the question of the origin of the In Nomine was settled, interest in the tradition waned. As Robert Weidner noted only twelve years later, the appearance of these "articles on the origin of this textless, cantus firmus motet for viols seems almost to have marked the end of interest in the form."<sup>30</sup>

More recent scholarship and analyses of In Nomines has been conducted primarily within the sphere of individual composer studies. In this context, In Nomines have been used to assess compositional skill and put forward "minor" composers as worthy of study and performance. Following Meyer's narrative of chamber music's gradual independence from its vocal origins, the analysis of In Nomines has fallen along the lines of distinguishing between their "vocal" and "instrumental" compositional features. The musical features recruited for these distinctions include clefs and ranges, thematic material, thematic techniques, and rhythmic complexity. The distribution of musical elements along the vocal-instrumental continuum has also been used to create a purported chronology of In Nomines. Donald Key describes the gradual assimilation of instrumental techniques into the In Nomine, writing that in the

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<sup>29</sup> Reese, "The Origin of the English 'In Nomine'"; Donington and Dart, "The Origin of the in Nomine."

<sup>30</sup> Weidner, "New Insights on the Early 'In Nomine,'" 29.

earliest examples, “the overall appearance is identical to the English cantus firmus vocal motet of the period.”<sup>31</sup> In the same vein, Weidner proposes a chronology of Christopher Tye’s twenty-one In Nomines based on their “complexity” and “instrumental” nature.<sup>32</sup> These chronological schemes are necessarily speculative and grounded in stylistic observations because of the absence of other evidence. Biographical details for many of the composers are scarce or even completely absent and the manuscript sources mostly postdate the composition of the pieces, offering little help in determining which were written earlier or later than others.

Another primary vein of scholarship on the In Nomine has looked at this repertoire within the sphere of musical pedagogy, identifying it as music composed by and/or for viol-playing choristers. Meyer hints at this idea almost as an afterthought: while primarily intended for performance in church, court, or home, the In Nomine “was perhaps also used for teaching purposes.”<sup>33</sup> But the musical purpose of the In Nomine was set aside by Reese and Donington and Dart, and both Key and Weidner’s dissertations follow Meyer’s main claim that the In Nomine was used non-liturgically in church or for home music-making.<sup>34</sup> Warwick Edwards revived Meyer’s aside about the pedagogical efficacy of the In Nomine in a 1970 article on “The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England”: “it is also probable that some of them had a didactic purpose.”<sup>35</sup> He fleshed out the idea four years later in his dissertation where he concretely locates this didactic purpose in one of the major sources of In Nomines, the

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<sup>31</sup> Key, “Two Manuscripts of Ensemble Music from the Elizabethan Period British Museum Add. Ms. 31390 and Bodleian Library Mss. D. 212-216,” 188.

<sup>32</sup> Weidner, “The Early in Nomine,” chap. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Meyer, “The ‘In Nomine’ and the Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style in England,” 30.

<sup>34</sup> See Donington and Dart, “The Origin of the in Nomine”; Reese, “The Origin of the English ‘In Nomine’”; Key, “Two Manuscripts of Ensemble Music from the Elizabethan Period British Museum Add. Ms. 31390 and Bodleian Library Mss. D. 212-216”; Weidner, “The Early in Nomine.”

<sup>35</sup> Edwards, “The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England,” 119, 121.

manuscript Add. MS 31390.<sup>36</sup> He considers Add. MS 31390 a pedagogical manuscript because its title page admits “solfainge” as an alternative performance practice to the use of instruments and the manuscript includes a mensuration chart (fol. 127v). The long-held assumption that these pieces were for viols (assumed because seventeenth-century In Nomines are often explicitly for these instruments) was challenged by Paul Doe who made the case for the public performances of some In Nomines by wind bands such as the London Waits or household musicians.<sup>37</sup> In Doe’s view, the In Nomine likely had a formal or ceremonial purpose, its popularity driven by a desire for solemn, learned counterpoint.<sup>38</sup> Despite the evidence of clefs and narrow ranges he cites, these claims have not often been seriously considered by later researchers. Oliver Neighbour provided a lone dissenting voice against the idea that the In Nomine was a compositional exercise. “The composition of In Nomines was not primarily an exercise for beginners,” he writes, “but the genre became to some extent an arena for technical experiment or display” by composers.<sup>39</sup> However, the argument that the In Nomine was a didactic tool took on solidity in Ian Woodfield’s *The Early History of the Viol* where he argued that both the composition and the performance of these pieces reflected pedagogical goals.

Quite a few “In nomines” appear to have been written as exercises to enlarge the composer’s technique or to extend the sight-reading abilities of singers and players. . . . Assuming that textless pieces of this type were not conceived as purely theoretical exercises. . . .their performers would most likely have been the children of the choir-schools to which the composers were attached.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Edwards, “The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music,” 82.

<sup>37</sup> Doe, “The Emergence of the In Nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians.”

<sup>38</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I*, XLIV:xx.

<sup>39</sup> Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 28.

<sup>40</sup> Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 217. Many of Woodfield’s claims in *The Early History of the Viol* have been challenged and refuted in recent years, particularly his account of the origins of the viol. These critiques, however, do not touch on his writing about the In Nomine. See Hoffmann, *The Viola Da Gamba*.

More than a decade later, Virginia Brookes combined Neighbour and Woodfield's suggestions to propose that the In Nomine was the sixteenth-century equivalent to what "fugue was to become in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the medium through which an aspiring composer was able to demonstrate his paces."<sup>41</sup> Brookes's view stems from her observation that the repertory contains many one-offs, single examples from obscure composers.<sup>42</sup> Karen Butler and Jane Flynn have both examined didactic repertories by mapping the connections between manuscripts and pedagogical institutions, and Flynn suggests that the In Nomines which quote or paraphrase the opening point of the Taverner reveal pedagogical imitation rather than homage.<sup>43</sup> As this narrative has solidified, the supposedly "student" nature of In Nomines has provided a convenient bucket into which to throw pieces that are found to be compositionally unsatisfactory. David Baker writes of Parsons's four-part In Nomines: "these pieces are perhaps the least interesting of the [cantus firmus] instrumental pieces which may be ascribed to Parsons. At times, the writing is crude and one has the impression of a composer not entirely at ease with his form or the musical material. On these grounds, the pieces may be regarded as early works."<sup>44</sup> Neighbour makes a similar argument about Byrd: "the 4-part In Nomines, at least, suggest student works."<sup>45</sup> For Woodfield, the argument that the In Nomine resulted from rudimentary pedagogy rests on the chronological and geographical coincidence of

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<sup>41</sup> Brookes, "In Nomine," 4.

<sup>42</sup> Brookes writes, "that the In Nomine might have had some pedagogical significance is suggested by the existence of one or two examples as the sole surviving output of composers who would otherwise be quite unknown today." Brookes, 4. Of course, several prominent composers wrote quite a few In Nomines as well, such as Tye (24), Byrd (7), Parsons (7), White (6), and Strogers (6).

<sup>43</sup> See Butler, "From Liturgy and the Education of Choirboys to Protestant Domestic Music-Making"; Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513)." Flynn writes of Add. MS 31390, "It also includes pieces by students that begin with an extract from another composer's work; for example, four of the *In nomines* begin in a similar way to John Taverner's." Flynn, 196.

<sup>44</sup> Baker, "The Instrumental Consort Music of Robert Parsons (d. 1570)," 7.

<sup>45</sup> Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 50.

three things: the acquisition of viols for teaching choirboys, the popularity of musical choirboy entertainments, and the composition of In Nomines. This particular understanding of the context and purpose of the In Nomine has become so widespread that in 2013 Kerry McCarthy could confidently write, “string playing and creative improvisation around a fixed melody were, as we have seen, two important parts of a chorister’s training, and the two met in the musical form of the In Nomine.”<sup>46</sup> This dissertation, particularly chapter one, aims to question and complicate these narratives surrounding the In Nomine and propose new explanations for the popularity and longevity of the In Nomine form.

### Analysis

Some of the analytical techniques used in this dissertation are general to this era of music, while others are specific to cantus firmus pieces and the In Nomine itself. Nevertheless, it seems prudent to familiarize readers with some basic concepts here to clarify how I approach this music and what terminology I will use throughout the subsequent chapters. The two most important topics are cadences and the cantus firmus, both of which I will introduce in the following sections. Another necessary introduction is to Thomas Morley, a music theorist and composer whose 1597 treatise *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* provides an important contemporary perspective.<sup>47</sup> Although well versed in continental traditions of music theory, Morley also studied with William Byrd and his treatise offers us a useful hybrid of theoretical/practical and continental/English approaches to music. He will be cited often in later chapters.

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<sup>46</sup> McCarthy, *Byrd*, 47.

<sup>47</sup> Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*.

## Cadences

Cadences in this repertory are not necessarily self-evident or easy to identify. While many fall within the norms of sixteenth-century cadential practice, they also belong to a transitional moment where features of what will, in later analytic traditions, come to be thought of as tonal cadences are becoming more common. Don Randel has suggested a continuum across which cadences gradually acquire the features of tonal cadences rather than a sudden shift from dyadic to tonal composition—a useful mindset as long as it doesn't imply a teleological approach.<sup>48</sup> Much has been written about the cadence's role in the development of tonality in the English music-theoretical tradition, yet the broad variation in actual cadential practice during this period has received little attention.<sup>49</sup> Looking, as we are, at a particular moment in time rather than a centuries-long evolution, we should begin by grounding ourselves in normative sixteenth-century cadential practice. In sixteenth-century music, a cadence is a strictly two-voice affair, and participation by other voices is entirely optional. These dyadic cadential voices create either a major sixth that expands to an octave or a minor third that contracts to a unison. Most often this cadential motion is preceded by a dissonance (as seen in ex. 0-3). In a standard cadence, each of the two voices has its prescribed motion: one moves down by whole step while the other moves up by half step. In a so-called Phrygian cadence, the intervals are reversed: one voice moves down by half step while the other moves up by whole step.<sup>50</sup> I follow Anne Smith's naming of these voices: the *tenorisans* is the voice that descends and the *cantisans* is the voice that ascends.<sup>51</sup> The two parts

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<sup>48</sup> Randel, "Emerging Triadic Tonality in the Fifteenth Century."

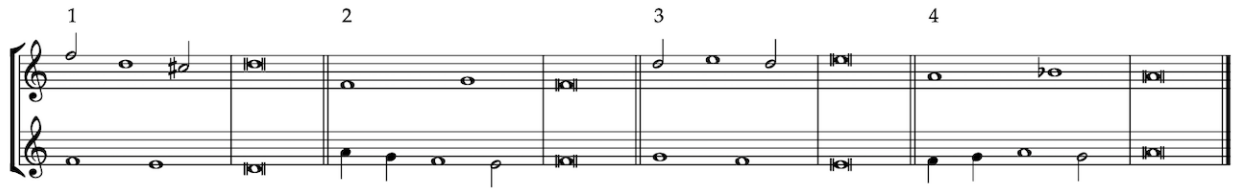
<sup>49</sup> See Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*; Johnson, "Solmization in English Treatises around the Turn of the Seventeenth Century"; the exception is Hauge, "English Music Theory c.1590-c.1690," 71–87.

<sup>50</sup> The Phrygian mode is where this type of cadence occurs naturally on the final of the mode, hence the name.

<sup>51</sup> Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, 76.

may, of course, be inverted (the *cantisans* below the *tenorisans*) but this does not change their names. Example 0-3 shows the four possible configurations: the first has the *cantisans* in the top voice and the *tenorisans* in the bottom voice while the second swaps the voices; the third and fourth show the same thing but for a Phrygian cadence.

**Example 0-3. Normative dyadic cadences**



In examples 0-3.1 and 0-3.4, I have notated the required accidentals to make the cadence but in much sixteenth-century music, these alterations (*musica ficta*) are not explicitly notated and require the knowledge and experience of the performer to sing or play the correct pitch based on contextual cadential cues (such as the syncopated dissonance). While the example above shows the normative forms of these cadences, actual music is rarely so normal. The *cantisans* voice, for instance, is often highly decorated and the *tenorisans* voice may be as well. Also typical is for one of the two voices to have a rest on the final resolution. Another common variation in this period in England is that the *tenorisans* moves upwards from its penultimate note to create a third or sixth rather than a unison or octave at the resolution. Sometimes the syncopated dissonance in the *cantisans* is omitted entirely or avoided through decoration of either or both the voices. A final important variation that emerges in cadences in the sixteenth century and will ultimately lead to a new understanding of the cadence as a harmonic phenomenon rather than a dyadic one is a *tenorisans* variant that approaches the final resolution not by step but by leap of a fifth down or a fourth up; e.g., in example 0-3.1 above, the lower voice would have an A in the first measure and then leap down to the

D, altering the dissonance between the voices from a seventh to a fourth. This variation is not very common in the In Nomine repertoire but does occasionally appear (particularly in sections of “instrumental” character, discussed in chapter two), though the descent by fifth is commonly added below a more standard dyadic cadence.

Cadences also come in many different flavors. At root, a cadence is a moment of rest and structural punctuation within a piece. As with linguistic punctuation, to which music theorists explicitly compared musical cadences, there are stronger and weaker options.<sup>52</sup> The participation (or lack thereof) of other voices, for instance, affects the perceived strength of the cadence, as does the relation of the cadential final (the pitch on which the unison or octave resolution lands) to the mode of the piece as a whole. Bypassing the syncopated dissonance between the two voices and simply moving from major sixth to octave or minor third to unison creates a cadence that is weaker than one that moves through dissonance. Likewise weaker are cadences that happen quickly or occur at metrically weaker moments. Cadences can also be evaded—set up as though they are about to happen but then avoided. Looking at a two-voice example of evaded cadences (*cadenze fuggite*) from Gioseffo Zarlino’s *Le institutioni harmoniche*, Smith identifies eight different mechanisms through which a cadence can be averted, many of which occur commonly in the In Nomine repertory.<sup>53</sup> Some of these evasions may still require *ficta* alterations while others will preclude them.

Cadentially required *ficta* also create opportunities for dissonance where composers can pit one set of contrapuntal rules against another. The classic English cross-related cadence is often the result of the conflict between the cadential *ficta* rule

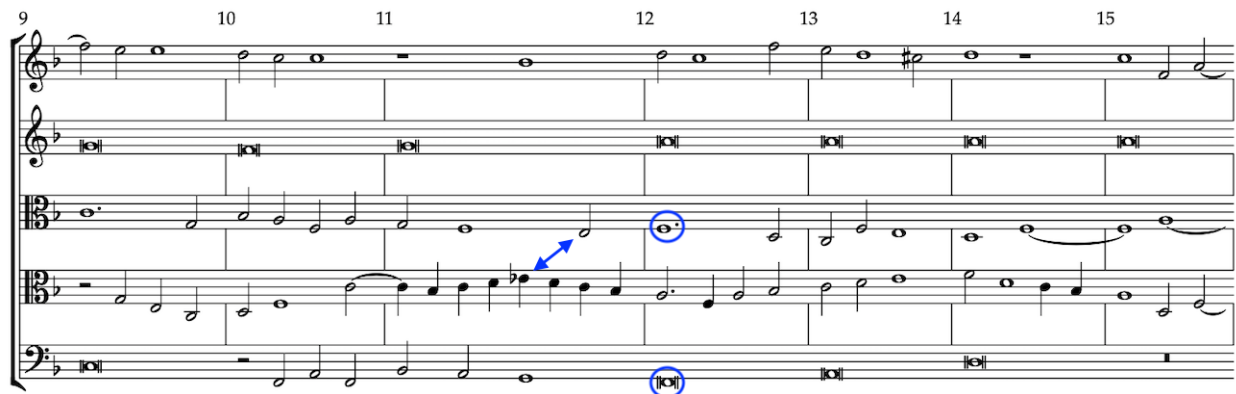
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<sup>52</sup> See Smith, 72–73.

<sup>53</sup> Smith, 78–79.

(where the raised pitch becomes a *mi*) and the *fa-super-la* rule.<sup>54</sup> This can lead to a simultaneous or near-simultaneous *mi-contraf* just before the resolution of the cadence. A textbook example occurs in the version of the Taverner In Nomine with an added fifth voice preserved in Add. MS 31390.

**Example 0-4. Taverner In Nomine with *si placet*, mm. 9-15**



Here the dyadic cadence between the third and fifth voices resolves to F in measure 12. In this case, no cadential *ficta* is needed for the *cantisans* in the third voice because the E $\natural$  is already *mi*. The fourth voice, however, ascends to *la* (D) and then one note above it (*fa-super-la*) before descending requiring the E to be a *fa* (or an E $\flat$ ). In this instance, the E $\flat$  is notated in the manuscript, but even if it weren't, it would be a required *ficta* alteration. The two rules put *mi* and *fa* (E and E $\flat$ ) in extremely close proximity, an effect that can be surprising and jarring for the uninitiated, but becomes sublimely beautiful with familiarity.

Composers, however, can and do manipulate these rules to create even more extreme clashes between *mi* and *fa*, dissonance so extraordinary that editors in the past have chosen to break one of the rules rather than allow them to run into conflict with

<sup>54</sup> The solmization rule “una nota super la semper est canendum fa” states that when a melody goes one note beyond the hexachord, i.e., a single note above *la*, and then returns downwards, that single note is solmized as *fa* leading to a semitone between *la-fa*. The B $\flat$  in the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant itself may be considered an instance of *fa-super-la* since the Dorian mode does not traditionally have a B $\flat$ .

each other. For an example of this unusual dissonance treatment one need look no farther than Christopher Tye’s *In Nomine a5* “Follow me” (ex. 0-5). The cadentially required C#s in the second voice in measure 50 are so dissonant against the motivic C#s in the top voice that the editor, Paul Doe, has omitted the C#s, despite an explicit sharp written in one of the four extant copies (Add. MS 31390), and has added unusual cautionary naturals.<sup>55</sup>

**Example 0-5. Tye *In Nomine a5* *Follow me*, mm. 48-51 (note values halved)**



The use of strong dissonances is an important feature of the *In Nomine* repertoire. Some dissonance, such as that seen in example 0-5, is motivated by competing contrapuntal rules, while other instances, such as the F#/F# clash at the opening of the Parsons’s *In Nomine a5* (discussed in chapter four) seem motivated by the composer’s desire for modal ambiguity or juxtaposition.

The variety found within cadential practice in *In Nomines*, including the relationship of cadences to dissonance, are considered at length in chapter two. In that chapter, particular types of cadences are tied to different instrumental genres that

<sup>55</sup> To my ear, this dissonance makes sense provided the functions of the lines are made clear in performance. The cadential voices must phrase their cadence correctly—the C# is the resolution of the dissonance of the D against the E leading to the ultimate resolution to D in measure 51—while the top voice must sound like a motivic entrance that imitates those in the fourth voice in measure 48 and the third voice in measure 49.

influenced the In Nomine. The background given here provides the necessary tools to follow that argument.

### **The Cantus Firmus**

One cannot analyze In Nomines without considering the relationship between the cantus firmus and the polyphonic voices. Cantus firmi provide important limitations to a piece and the limits they impose can be a useful compositional tool—a constraint that unlocks possibilities for creativity. This section introduces several important analytical features of the chant: what voice the cantus firmus is in, what modal transposition, what note-value, what alterations it receives, and what its relationship is to the contrapuntal structure. It also looks specifically at how the melody of the chant invites repetitive, static, or sequential possibilities in the surrounding polyphony as well as how its contours and pitch content affect the overall composition.

There are several conventions for cantus firmus treatment within the In Nomine tradition which stem from the original Taverner excerpt. The majority of In Nomines, for example, place the cantus firmus in the second (alto) voice as Taverner does while in other untexted plainsong settings there is no consistent preference for a single voice.<sup>56</sup> Even five-part In Nomines, which expand Taverner's four-voice texture through the addition of a second tenor voice, continue to put the cantus firmus in the second voice—fully 70% of early In Nomines do this. Similarly, more than 80% of early In Nomines keep the chant in its original D mode; almost all the rest transpose the chant to G in order to facilitate its placement in other voices within the overall tessitura.<sup>57</sup> Despite

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<sup>56</sup> Blitheman's six *Gloria tibi Trinitas* settings in the Mulliner Book (five of which are in three voices) cycle through placing the chant in each of the three voices.

<sup>57</sup> The only exceptions are five In Nomines which transpose the chant to A: Eglestone's In Nomine a5 #1, Woodeson's In Nomine a5 #1, Byrd's In Nomine a5 #2 and two of the three "consort song" In Nomines. These last are probably related to the desired tessitura for the singer. Later keyboard In Nomines also commonly transpose the chant to A.

these similarities, there remains a surprising diversity in cantus firmus treatment among In Nomines. The chant is usually presented in breves, however dotted breves or dotted semibreves are also used (though never the semibreves that were standard for other cantus firmus settings). Composers may also vary when the chant begins, and both of these variables affect the overall length of the piece. Despite these variations, In Nomines do all have roughly the same number of cantus firmus pitches. Following the lead of Oliver Neighbour, I have numbered the notes of the chant (see ex. 0-6, below) and will often refer to locations within In Nomines by “cantus firmus note” (e.g., CF16).<sup>58</sup> Organizing my analysis through the architecture of the chant allows me to compare how composers worked with and against the structure of the cantus firmus.

Fidelity to the plainsong also varies. Some In Nomines present the cantus firmus exactly as it is found in the Sarum Rite and the Taverner or with small alterations, say, an extra repetition of a note. Many elegantly weave a point of imitation into the cantus firmus line or create a *cantisans* cadential figure. Others make more substantial changes, altering pitches or deleting many notes. Christopher Tye, especially, tends to omit large portions of the chant, particularly in the meandering section between CF30 and CF47 (see ex. 0-6). In his In Nomine a4, Stonings goes so far as to omit the B $\flat$  at CF29, a pitch of considerable importance in other In Nomines.

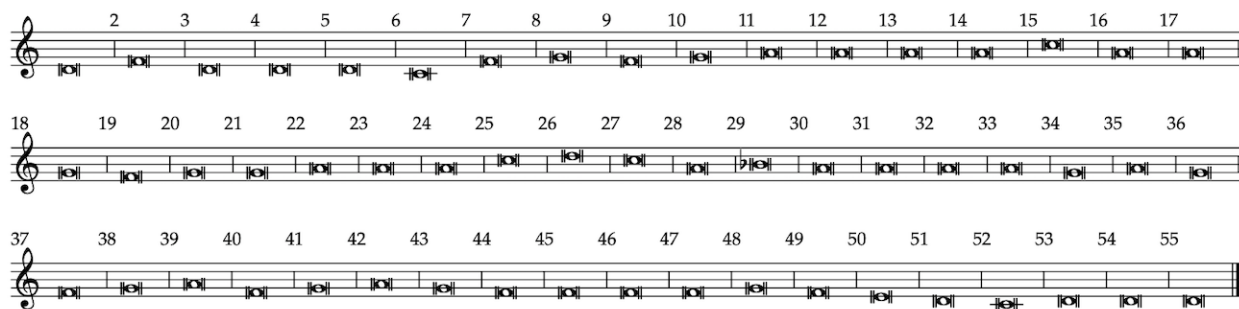
There is variation too in the role the cantus firmus line plays in the overall structure of each In Nomine. Some In Nomines treat the cantus firmus as a structural contrapuntal voice, exploiting its stepwise motion to create cadences in which the chant participates as one of the dyadic voices. Others, instead, approach the chant as more of

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<sup>58</sup> Modern editions, including my own, tend to make each measure one breve long, but measure number and CF-number will not always correspond. Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 30.

a contrapuntal constraint, a pitch that dictates the consonances available to the other voices, but do not involve the cantus firmus structurally. Besides its role in note-by-note counterpoint, the cantus firmus provides other opportunities for composers to create structure. The chant's overall contour—beginning and ending at its lowest point and reaching its apex an octave above the final in the middle—has implications for the ranges of the other voices and the overall tessitura of the piece. Another feature of the chant that can influence the structure on an In Nomine are its melodic repetitions and moments of stasis. These repetitions (CF37-39 is repeated at CF40-42, CF17-19 is repeated at both CF35-37 and CF42-44, and CF1-6 is largely repeated up a fifth at CF14-18, for example) and static moments (CF11-14, CF22-24, CF30-33, or CF44-47) can be used to structure analogous repetitions in the other voices.

**Example 0-6. In Nomine cantus firmus**



In Taverner's mass excerpt, the ascending melody in the top voice from CF17-19 recurs exactly at CF42-44 though the other voices do not repeat (exx. 0-7 and 0-8). Unlike later In Nomines with more pervasive imitation, Taverner's setting strings together many successive points of imitation which are not repeated by each individual voice or obviously derived from each other. This feature makes the melodic repetition in the top voice quite noticeable.

### Example 0-7. Taverner In Nomine, mm. 15-23

### Example 0-8. Taverner In Nomine, mm. 41-47

In contrast to the Taverner, the repetitions in other In Nomines tend to include all the voices rather than a single one. This complete repetition is necessary in order to make the repetition audible because these later pieces already have so much motivic repetition. A clear example of this can be seen in the Anonymous In Nomine a5 found in Add. MS 31390 (exx. 0-9 and 0-10). When the four consecutive A pitches from CF11-14 recur in CF30-33, so too does the earlier point of imitation which had been previously abandoned. The two passages are very similar with differences only resulting from the extension of the cadence between voices three and four which delays the entry of the top voice.

### Example 0-9. Anonymous In Nomine a5, mm. 11-18

### Example 0-10. Anonymous In Nomine a5, mm. 29-37

In the three places (CF11, 30, and 44) where the chant rests on a single pitch for four notes, composers are forced to work within a limited pitch space, as in the example above. This often leads to passages of harmonic stasis. These passages are commonly the site of rhythmic and motivic fragmentation where interest is generated through texture.

On the other end of the spectrum, the scalar motion in CF48-52 provides the most sustained change without repetition in the entire chant. This provides an opportunity for sequential patterns, though this opportunity is not often exploited. Examples 0-11 to 0-14 show the use of sequences in the polyphony as a response to the movement of the

chant. The Anonymous In Nomine a4 (ex. 0-11) provides a clear example of a sequence using the scalar descent at the end of the chant.

**Example 0-11. Anonymous In Nomine a4, mm. 51-56**

Musical score for Example 0-11, Anonymous In Nomine a4, mm. 51-56. The score is in G minor and 4/4 time. It consists of four staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and three lute parts (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The vocal line features a sequence of descending eighth notes from G4 to D3. The lute parts provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines. Measure numbers 51 through 56 are indicated above the staves.

Poynt also creates a short sequence here in the third voice in his In Nomine a4.

**Example 0-12. Poynt In Nomine a4, mm. 47-53**

Musical score for Example 0-12, Poynt In Nomine a4, mm. 47-53. The score is in G minor and 4/4 time. It consists of four staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and three lute parts (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The vocal line features a sequence of descending eighth notes from G4 to D3. The lute parts provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines. Measure numbers 47 through 53 are indicated above the staves.

However, the sequential possibility of this moment is explored most spectacularly in Tallis's second In Nomine a4. Tallis uses this moment to take a pattern in the bottom voice and launch a sequence of descending thirds that goes on for nearly a full circle around the octave.

**Example 0-13. Tallis In Nomine a4 #2, mm. 48-63**

Nor is this passage the only lengthy sequence in this extraordinary In Nomine. The first occurs in the bass voice between CF35 and CF43 over the F-G-A repetitions in the chant. As will be discussed in chapter two, these long sequences are a marker of emergent instrumental style.

**Example 0-14. Tallis In Nomine a4 #2, mm. 38-46**

Other important features of the chant that can affect the surrounding polyphony are its single B $\flat$  pitch (CF29) and its ambitus. The phrase at the exact halfway point of the chant (CF24-30) happens to include both the singular B $\flat$  and the highest pitch (CF26) in the melody. Because the cantus firmus is most commonly found in the second voice,

this highest phrase of the chant sometimes crosses above the top voice at this moment. However, when In Nomines place the chant in the top voice, this moment often becomes the point of farthest distance between the top voice and the lower voices, creating a large gap in the texture. The lone B $\flat$  creates a special kind of melodic pull within the chant because that half-step is not native to the Dorian mode. The subsequent gravitational pull of the B $\flat$ 's resolution to A makes that A the site of a cadence in over half of In Nomines, by far the most common place for a cadence to occur within the entire corpus. That this motion in the cantus firmus often accompanies a cadence to F, rather than A, is intriguing since the B $\flat$  in the chant unavoidably creates a tritone against the cadential E, foreshadowing the dissonance of the dominant-seventh chord that will become an integral part of emerging tonal practice. However, in these instances, a seventh-chord is never created because the lowest voice always participates in the cadence by stepping down from G to F rather than jumping C to F.

Other analytical lenses will be discussed and employed at different points throughout the later chapters but this introduction will give the grounding needed to understand most of the readings offered throughout this dissertation.

### **Scope**

Defining the "early" In Nomine is not at all straightforward. While there are clear stylistic and contextual differences between the "sixteenth-century In Nomine" and the "seventeenth-century In Nomine" the gradual rate of stylistic change makes it difficult to clearly demarcate a boundary between them. Additionally, the chronological disconnect between the composition of In Nomines and their copying into extant manuscripts muddies the waters considerably. One source in particular, Bodleian d.212-

216, presents a conundrum. These partbooks were likely copied in the early-seventeenth century and contain a mix of In Nomines from the first wave of production (1550s to 1570s) and the second (1590s to 1610) as well as some later additions. Identifying a cut-off point within this second wave is both impossible and necessary. I've followed the lead of both Warwick Edwards in his dissertation "The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music" and Paul Doe, the editor of the *Musica Britannica Elizabethan Consort Music* volumes, in including most, but not all, of the pieces found in Bodleian d.212-216 in this study. While birth years are not known for some of the more obscure composers, I have generally excluded composers born after 1575 and included those born before then. These choices are inevitably somewhat arbitrary and lead to oddities: they entail including an In Nomine by Edward Gibbons but excluding those of his more famous but much younger brother Orlando, or including an In Nomine by John Baldwin that he has specifically dated as composed in 1606. I have attempted to counter this arbitrariness by deemphasizing the later cohort of composers while still including them within the dataset. A full list of In Nomines included in this study and their manuscript concordances can be found in Appendix A.

Another difficult decision surrounds the In Nomines written for keyboard. These pieces are also complicated by the late date of their sources, copied well after their composition, and this is compounded by confusion as to whether or not they are "In Nomines" or *Gloria tibi Trinitas* settings. Sixteenth-century sources do not consistently name these keyboard pieces In Nomines, but later seventeenth-century ones do. Another difference is that keyboard settings tend to set the chant in semibreves (as is typical of other plainsong settings) rather than the longer note values (usually breves) that are typical of In Nomines (following Taverner). The Mulliner Book, a commonplace book belonging to the music student Thomas Mulliner and copied circa 1550–75,

contains seven settings of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant (six by John Blitheman and one attributed to Carleton, although probably not the composer Nicholas Carleton who wasn't born until c. 1570–75) that are quite different from the three pieces titled In Nomine also transmitted in the Mulliner Book which appear to be keyboard transcriptions of originally polyphonic works.<sup>59</sup> Though some of these Blitheman settings are also transmitted in seventeenth-century manuscripts which title them “In Nomine,” this may just reveal a terminological slippage at a time when the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* tune was more recognizable as the cantus firmus of an In Nomine than as an independent plainsong.

Besides the Mulliner Book, there is one other early source of keyboard In Nomines: Ch. Ch. 371, a small collection of keyboard pieces, copied in the 1560s, during the likely peak of early In Nomine production. Ch. Ch. 371 is striking in its similarities to the important manuscript of polyphonic In Nomines, Add. MS 31390, titled “A booke of In nomines & other solfainge songs.” The twenty-seven works in Ch. Ch. 371 include keyboard transcriptions of two chansons by Henry VIII's court lutenist Philip van Wilder who is highly represented in Add. MS 31390, a madrigal by Giacomo Fogliano which also appears in Add. MS 31390, and two hexachord pieces which are a type of “solfainge” piece. Ch. Ch. 371 contains five keyboard In Nomines / *Gloria tibi Trinitas* settings, including a transcription of the Taverner original with notated ornaments typical of keyboard repertory, three keyboard settings by Stogers (one of which is incomplete), and a two-voice setting of the plainsong by Tallis mysteriously titled “ij parts on a rownd tyme,” which highly paraphrases the chant in the lower

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<sup>59</sup> A fourth piece in the Mulliner Book titled “In Nomine” by Alwood is not based on the Taverner Benedictus excerpt but rather on the Benedictus of one of Alwood's own masses, revealing a possible broader use of the title, at least at its time of origin.

voice. Ch. Ch. 371 also has a number of other cantus firmus settings by John Redford and several *Miserere* settings as well. The overlap of composers and types of pieces between Ch. Ch. 371 and Add. MS 31390, as well as their chronological proximity, speaks to the fluidity of a common repertoire across performance media. Vocal music could be sung, played by a consort of instruments, or performed on a keyboard; similarly, textless music could be played instrumentally or “solfa-ed” by voices. Most keyboard settings of *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, however, remain distinct from In Nomines. The keyboard sources themselves exhibit this distinction: polyphonic In Nomines transcribed for keyboard put the cantus firmus in breves and are in four or five voices, while those composed for keyboard set the cantus firmus in semibreves and use a two or three-voice texture.

The exception to this distinction is John Bull and his twelve settings of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant, which present another difficult case. They are preserved in four different manuscripts, all dating from the seventeenth century. Yet it seems improbable that Bull would have composed such pieces later in his career, i.e., after he left England in 1613. Bull probably joined the Chapel Royal as a chorister in 1574 and studied with John Blitheman before becoming a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1586. It seems likely that Bull wrote his keyboard settings during his time at the Chapel Royal, also probably when he wrote his one polyphonic In Nomine preserved in the Dow Partbooks (which were copied in the 1580s). Because the keyboard pieces are preserved only in seventeenth-century sources which use the titles In Nomine and *Gloria tibi Trinitas* interchangeably, it is impossible to determine what the original titles of the pieces were.

It is tempting to conclude that many of these keyboard works are settings of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant and not true In Nomines, yet Bull’s pieces are different than all

of the other keyboard examples from the sixteenth century. Firstly, Bull doubles the semibreves of the cantus firmus to give each pitch a full breve value, as most polyphonic In Nomines do, even though the keyboard idiom (particularly virginal) requires restriking the pitch to keep it sounding. Secondly, Bull's In Nomines show a level of inventiveness and experimentation that is on par with the polyphonic In Nomines that make up the bulk of this study and that other keyboard settings of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant do not. He often switches to triple time for the final section, as do many polyphonic In Nomines, and explores conceits such as setting the cantus firmus in eleven (breve plus three semiminims). Of course, much of what is inventive about Bull's pieces is in their keyboard-isms, those particular textures and figurations that are idiomatic to keyboard playing.<sup>60</sup> In this way they are quite different from the polyphonic In Nomines with their usual emphasis on imitation. Different too are the generic influences. In Bull, the obvious comparisons are to collections of virtuosic virginal works (more so than to the more liturgical organ music collections), while the polyphonic In Nomines, as we'll explore in chapters two and three, draw influence from a larger variety of other genres.

For the purposes of this study, the keyboard In Nomines will hover in the margins, drawn into the discussion only when appropriate to illuminate the main focus of this dissertation: the polyphonic In Nomines from the earliest examples to the early 1590s.<sup>61</sup> A list all keyboard pieces on *Gloria tibi Trinitas* plausibly composed in the sixteenth century and their manuscript concordances can be found in Appendix B.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> For descriptions and analysis of Bull's keyboard In Nomines, see Cunningham, "The Keyboard Music of John Bull," 124–60.

<sup>61</sup> Most of these keyboard In Nomines, particularly those by Bull are explored in Cunningham, "The Keyboard Music of John Bull."

<sup>62</sup> This includes one Anonymous work in a 17th-century source that may be by Blitheman. Two other Anonymous works in the same source show evidence (range, etc.) of being from the 17th-century and are not included.

## Transcriptions/Editorial Policy

Most of the modern notation examples found in this dissertation are my own transcriptions. While all early In Nomines that survive completely have been published in modern scholarly editions (most in Musica Britannica's *Elizabethan Consort Music* volumes), these editions halve the original note values, which makes analysis and discussion more difficult, especially when comparing them to manuscript sources. My transcriptions preserve the original note values and, though barlines are included, I have attempted to minimize their intrusion by placing them between rather than through the staves. In most cases, barring follows the length of the cantus firmus notes, which means largely by breve. Bar numbers are included for ease of reference. I have opted to use the historical names for note values: breve, semibreve, minim, semiminim, and fusa. In some cases the examples are annotated to highlight the features discussed in the text. My convention is to circle the notes in the two voices that form the resolution of a dyadic cadence to indicate the location of cadences. I use rectangular boxes to show thematic entrances and double-headed arrows to indicate cross-relations. Several musical examples are discussed in multiple locations throughout the dissertation and I have chosen to repeat them for the convenience of the reader.

All transcriptions of sixteenth-century polyphony must grapple with translating a notational system that was more relational and provisional into one that is fully prescriptive. This applies to rhythmic imperfection and alteration, as well as the application of *musica ficta*. As with all other editors of this music, my choices reflect both my understanding of historical musical and notational practices as well as my own aesthetic preferences. Compared to the Musica Britannica editions of these pieces, I am much more tolerant of dissonance and inclined to add *ficta* to clarify cadences even when it creates dissonant cross-relations with other voices. All accidentals that are

editorial are given in brackets; those that are not in brackets are found in at least one of the original sources. A full accounting of the variation between sources can be found in the editorial notes of the *Musica Britannica* volumes.<sup>63</sup>

The numbering of pieces varies from editor to editor: some choose a single set of numbering for all the In Nomines by a given composer and others restart their numbering for In Nomines a4, a5, etc.<sup>64</sup> The order of these numbers does not in any way reflect chronology and should be understood simply as a naming convention. This dissertation follows the numbering found in the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* compiled by Gordon Dodd and revised and expanded by Andrew Ashbee.<sup>65</sup> These numbers refer only to the In Nomines of a particular number of parts. Thus, for example, Robert Parsons has an In Nomine a4 #2 as well as an In Nomine a7 #2. If there is only a single In Nomine extant from a composer for a given number of voices, it receives no number. I have also followed Dodd and Ashbee's *Thematic Index* for standardizing the spellings of composers' names which are transmitted quite variously in early modern sources. Appendix A lists all the In Nomines included in this study and their manuscript concordances as well as their publication in modern scholarly editions.

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<sup>63</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I*; Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music II*.

<sup>64</sup> Paul Doe in *Musica Britannica* numbers continuously while the *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* restarts its numbering depending on how many parts a piece has.

<sup>65</sup> Dodd and Ashbee, *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*.

## I

### The Social Origins of the In Nomine

One of the enduring mysteries of the In Nomine is why so many were written. And equally mysterious, what was their purpose? Over the last eighty years the answer to this question, and the general view of the In Nomine's place within the musical world of mid-sixteenth century England, has shifted away from the sphere of domestic chamber music and towards the sphere of the choir-schools, specifically those in London. Ian Woodfield articulates this new and generally accepted view, arguing that both the composition and the performance of In Nomines were rooted in pedagogical practices. He writes that "quite a few 'In nomines' appear to have been written as exercises to enlarge the composer's technique or to extend the sight-reading abilities of singers and players."<sup>1</sup>

This outlook paints a picture of young men composing In Nomines as test or show pieces that were played on viols by other young men both for edification and perhaps professional performance. This chapter attempts to expand this account and de-center the role of rudimentary pedagogy from the cultivation of In Nomines. Rather, I will argue that the In Nomine emerged as a means to create community across a geographically and chronologically diverse network of musicians in response to the traumatic changes in music-making wrought by the Reformation. My methodology involves tracing mobile networks of places, people, and manuscripts in order to argue that In Nomines were cultivated primarily by mature musicians rather than students, that viols were a possible but not exclusive performance option for In Nomines, and

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<sup>1</sup> Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 217.

that Add. MS 31390, an important source of early In Nomines, had necessary connections to East Anglia as well as London and may not have been a primarily pedagogical manuscript. An examination of a second major source of sixteenth-century In Nomines, Bodleian d.212-216, demonstrates an interest among musicians in collecting and preserving these pieces for posterity, part of a pattern of dissemination that illustrates that In Nomines held more value than mere occasional exercises in counterpoint. Centering this chapter on musical networks rather than individual pieces allows a larger picture to come into focus—that of a community grappling with a moment of great flux as religious and political turmoil impinged on their professional work and their identities as performers and composers of liturgical music. The uncertainty and flip-flopping policies of the short reigns of Edward VI and Mary I did not fully abate when Elizabeth I took the throne, and it was the latter’s religious settlement of 1559 that had the most profound impact on musical training. I argue that one impetus for the emergence of the In Nomine, and its subsequent popularity, was the huge sense of loss sparked by the single event that would have rippled through the entire network of In Nomine composers: the enormous changes in liturgy and musical practice that resulted from the Reformation. In response to this loss, the In Nomine served as a way for musicians to forge connections to pre-Reformation musical practices as well as strengthen their connections with each other. Once established, the In Nomine became a preferred medium for musical discourse among composers.

### **Mobile Networks and the Reformation**

The ephemeral and dynamic network of musical mobility I construct here draws on work on the “mobilities paradigm,” a methodology that arose from work in the fields of sociology and geography before being taken up more recently by the

humanities. Stephen Greenblatt's humanistic manifesto for mobility studies cautions that "mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense" before it will be "possible fully to understand the metaphorical movements" as even these will have a component of physical movement as well.<sup>2</sup> Mobility studies has been readily adopted by musicologists and ethnomusicologists whose subjects and objects of study have always been mobile. Researchers looking at the music of migration, exile, and diaspora have all found the critical lens of mobility a useful tool for considering transnational lives and identities.<sup>3</sup> This approach has also informed new kinds of biography which consider mobility in the lives of individuals.<sup>4</sup> Other studies have investigated music's mobility through its circulation, with topics ranging from the middle ages to the instant and global mobility afforded by recent technologies. Event mobility is another growing topic in which concerts and festivals are understood as sites that bring mobilities such as people, sound, and gear together.<sup>5</sup>

A mobility approach can illuminate networks because networks are the paths along which mobility flows. However, networks should not be looked at via "mathematically precise network analytic approaches," Mimi Sheller writes, but rather as "a 'messier' imagery of liquid social dynamics."<sup>6</sup> A mobile musical network is not just made up of people, it also includes the material (and immaterial) sociality in which manuscripts, instruments, musicians, churches, and embodied practices contribute equally.<sup>7</sup> Nor must a mobile network be literal or face-to-face, even though it is tempting to presume "a 'metaphysics of presence,' proposing that it is the immediate

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<sup>2</sup> Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*, 250.

<sup>3</sup> See Levi et al., *Music and Displacement*; zur Nieden and Over, *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe*.

<sup>4</sup> See Panter, Paulmann, and Szöllösi-Janze, "Mobility and Biography."

<sup>5</sup> Hannam, Mostafanezhad, and Rickly-Boyd, *Event Mobilities*.

<sup>6</sup> Sheller, "Mobile Publics," 41.

<sup>7</sup> Horner, "On the Study of Music as Material Social Practice."

presence of others that is the 'real' basis of social existence."<sup>8</sup> Instead, a mobility framework can explore the ephemeral sociality of relationships that can be forged across time and space through the mediation of notated music. Even more ephemerally, social connections can be formed through the performative act of composing oneself into the In Nomine tradition. In this way, the In Nomine is then a "realm of 'imagined presence'" where the form itself creates relationships despite physical absence.<sup>9</sup> The non-physical relationships created by In Nomine composition are crucial to understanding the social phenomenon of the In Nomine.

Additionally, the mobilities paradigm emphasizes the dynamic participation of places in fostering relationships between people and objects. Hannam, Sheller, and Urry write that it "argues against the ontology of distinct 'places' and 'people.' Rather there is a complex relationality of places and persons connected through both performances and performativities. Thus activities are not separate from the places that happen contingently to be visited."<sup>10</sup> Mapping the geography of the In Nomine network reveals the way people and musical materials are entangled with places, places which constitute the "necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities."<sup>11</sup> There are many strands that hold together the community of men (as far as we know, it was only men) who wrote In Nomines. The introduction has already pointed towards the importance of *musica speculativa* and how even composers without collegiate degrees or affiliations chose to engage with that tradition—a tradition Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass may well have been part of. Another strand of community that bound together In Nomine composers was the

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<sup>8</sup> Büscher, Urry, and Witchger, *Mobile Methods*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Büscher, Urry, and Witchger, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, "Editorial," 13.

<sup>11</sup> Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 3.

church. With only one exception, every single early In Nomine composer of whom we have any knowledge was primarily employed by a chapel or cathedral.<sup>12</sup> The daily rituals and embodied interactions of the liturgy, performed by In Nomine composers, brings each of them into a “complex relationality” with the sacred institutional spaces in which they worked. Through this mobile network of shared performativity, we may see strong connections between men who never met each other. It is even likely that participation in this performative network itself may have contributed to the appeal of the In Nomine for these composers, for whom it held a symbolic place. These daily liturgical rituals, which were both musical and embodied, constituted a large part of every day, particularly before the Reformation. Flynn reports that the Statutes for Cardinal College, Oxford,

specify that at 5:00 a.m. the choristers were to chant Marian matins and hours; after the chaplains and clerks had sung first matins and prime, the choristers sang the Lady Mass in polyphony with their master and some of the clerks; at 9:00 a.m., after the minor offices, they sang the daily Mass with the chaplains and clerks; at 3:00 p.m. they said Marian vespers; and at 7:00 p.m. with several chaplains and clerks, they sang polyphonic settings of Salve Regina with the versicle Ave Maria; Ave Maria and the Jesus Antiphon, Sancte Deus, sancte fortis.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to these services required of the choristers, the chaplains and clerks also sang vespers and compline with extra polyphonic antiphons.<sup>14</sup> In their limited free time, choristers received instruction in grammar and virtue. Chorister training was participatory and involvement with the liturgy propelled their musical education. John Aplin describes the Sarum Rite as “a plainsong liturgy, and polyphony functioned as a

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<sup>12</sup> That exception is Alfonso Ferrabosco I, an Italian who served as a courtier to Elizabeth I between 1562 and 1578—though he continued to travel often on the continent throughout his service to the queen and his musical influence in England continued long after his final departure. That Ferrabosco wrote three In Nomines as is itself intriguing, perhaps an attempt to participate in a uniquely English musical form.

<sup>13</sup> Flynn, “A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513),” 120.

<sup>14</sup> Flynn, 120.

ceremonial adornment to it.”<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, choristers’ musical education began with the singing of plainsong, learned by ear and through the tool of hexachordal solmization. Such novices participated in services and could earn “spur money” by correctly reciting the gamut to any man caught wearing spurs in church.<sup>16</sup> On three occasions payments were made by Henry VII to choristers at St. George’s Chapel, Windsor “in rewarde for the Kinges spurres.”<sup>17</sup> Plainsong was everywhere, from the constant performances of services to the classroom where choristers learned to improvise above and around it. This was the shared performative experience of the first generation of In Nomine composers considered in this study who had, or had at least begun, their training prior to Edward VI’s accession in 1547.

The rhythm of daily life and liturgy changed dramatically with the Reformation. Under the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I, these daily services were reduced, altering the routines of movement and communal performance. Choirboys suddenly had more free time and received more hours of instruction in written composition rather than improvisation.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the change in liturgy was not only one of language in which English replaced Latin, but one of substance, which drastically altered the lives of choirboys. Ian Payne conjectures that the reason for the early acquisition of viols by Exeter “was that the Edwardine Reformation, by abolishing elaborate polyphony and reducing the number of daily services from ten to three, left choristers with less to occupy them; teaching them to play viols (probably in addition to keyboard instruments) was a profitable, educative and vocational way of filling their leisure

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<sup>15</sup> Aplin, “The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music,” 247.

<sup>16</sup> Flynn, “A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513),” 121.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Edwards, “A Famous Choir School. St. George’s Chapel, Windsor.”

<sup>18</sup> Flynn, “A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513),” 258.

time.”<sup>19</sup> The Reformation also changed the musical landscape for adult musicians because plainsong-based composition was no longer favored for liturgical use. Plainsong had been the structural backbone of musical and compositional practice, and unsurprisingly the transition away from it was rocky. Existing works were fitted with English contrafacta as many “tried to delay the inevitable by clinging to the genre they knew best, the plainsong *cantus-firmus* type.”<sup>20</sup> This included John Merbecke’s publication of the *Booke of Common Praier Noted* in 1550 which set the liturgy in monodic tunes loosely adapted from Sarum melodies. Perhaps this moment also produced the “Englished” version of Taverner’s *In Nomine* found in John Day’s *Certaine Notes* from 1560.<sup>21</sup>

It is out of the turbulence of these liturgical changes, which occurred both in 1547 with Edward VI’s accession and in 1558 with Elizabeth I’s, that the *In Nomine* is born. We can imagine the *In Nomine* combating the musical instability of these transitional moments by providing a fixed and familiar framework for non-liturgical composition. Oliver Neighbour has written that *In Nomines* “are most easily seen as occupying a relatively brief period of fairly intense activity.”<sup>22</sup> He places this activity in the late fifties to early sixties, namely, the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign and the second abandonment of plainsong liturgy. There are compelling reasons to question this and to suspect that it was the first liturgical revolution under Edward that produced the *In Nomine*. Firstly, the texted *In Nomine* in Day’s *Certaine Notes* may have been made well before its 1560 publication. John Aplin believes the collection to have been compiled before Mary’s

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<sup>19</sup> Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646*, 143.

<sup>20</sup> Aplin, “The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music,” 248.

<sup>21</sup> “In trouble and adversity.” It is given the title “In nomine of master Tauerners.” It is also one of the pieces indicated to be sung by children. *Certaine Notes Set Forth in Foure and Three Parts*.

<sup>22</sup> Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 50.

reign began but its publication was delayed during the return to Catholicism.<sup>23</sup> This would indicate that the excerpt from Taverner's mass was already circulating under the title *In Nomine* during Edward VI's reign. Secondly, the surviving *In Nomines* by the oldest generation of composers such as Tallis, Whitbrooke, Parsley, Mericocke, Thorne, and Goldar, are often in four-parts rather than five. In this, they not only follow the Taverner more closely, but they also reflect the move to four-voice writing which is linked to Edwardian simplifications of texture.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, most Edwardian musical texts were destroyed during Mary's reign, so it is not surprising that we have no early manuscript sources of *In Nomines*. It is striking, however, that during the beginning of Elizabeth's reign we see an upswell of *In Nomine* copying and production.

### **Loss and an Invented Tradition**

The loss of the plainchant-based liturgy caused by the Reformation would have been felt keenly by those whose entire musical training centered around the memorization and polyphonic elaboration of Sarum melodies. These losses were probably spiritual as well as habitual and musical, and felt fresh even decades later. Philip Schwyzer has demonstrated the tendency of early modern English writers to telescope time when talking about the still-sharpness of the loss caused by the Reformation. He documents the use of the language of recency to situate the past "a single fork behind us in time's garden of forking paths."<sup>25</sup> Even in its title, the *In Nomine* collapses temporal and liturgical distance to arrive back at the Latin mass itself.

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<sup>23</sup> Aplin, "The Origins of John Day's 'Certain Notes.'"

<sup>24</sup> Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646*, 26. Tye appears to be a notable early exception, of his surviving output, we have only one four-part but over twenty five-part *In Nomines*.

<sup>25</sup> Schwyzer, "'Late' Losses and the Temporality of Early Modern Nostalgia," 97.

The use of plainsong situates the past closer than it would otherwise seem both musically and spiritually. For Loren Ludwig, the ongoing use of cantus firmi from the Sarum Rite had continued spiritual relevance that reflects a “liturgical *habitus*.”<sup>26</sup> This *habitus* derives from the same daily set of performances of the liturgy described earlier in this chapter, a lifetime of embodied liturgical practice. Habitual movements and performances, however, extended beyond the chapel and into the school room as well. The loss of the improvisatory traditions where “polyphony was conceived as a *trope*, an effusion of creative ritual energy triggered by the plainsong liturgy” went hand in hand with the growing professionalism, instrumental instruction, and compositional focus of musical education.<sup>27</sup> While the use of Sarum plainsong in composition always evokes the pre-Reformation liturgy to some extent, this evocation seems to get stronger in the seventeenth century where plainsong canons and cantus firmus polyphony (including In Nomines) would be cultivated by recusant composers or those in the employ of wealthy Catholic families.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, In Nomines, though themselves untexted, always have two texts hovering in the background: the words of the mass from which they take their name (“in nomine Domini”) and the words of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* antiphon. While both of these texts are originally Catholic, neither would have been particularly objectionable to Elizabethan adherents of the Church of England, for whom Marian texts and those concerning transubstantiation were much more controversial. Robert Weidner has even argued that the In Nomine was more connected to Protestantism than Catholicism, citing Taverner’s possible Protestant leanings and the early publication of Taverner’s In Nomine with English text (by Thomas Causton, a

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<sup>26</sup> Ludwig, “Equal to All Alike,” 184.

<sup>27</sup> Ludwig, 180.

<sup>28</sup> See Ludwig, 171–87.

member of Edward VI's Chapel Royal) by Protestant printer John Day.<sup>29</sup> He even suggests that the "in nomine Domini" text from the mass could have been reinterpreted as the Protestant slogan "in nomine Domini, non papae."<sup>30</sup>

For all these reasons, in considering the effusion of mid-sixteenth century In Nomines that are the core of this study, the specifically religious Catholicity of plainsong itself or its implied texts do not seem to be the only or even most important aspect of what made the In Nomine an appealing form. Plainsong cantus firmus composition meant more for these early In Nomine composers than their use in liturgical ritual; it was also their musical training, their day-to-day activities, the musical language they spoke to one another. Without excluding or sidelining the ritual and religious importance of plainsong, it is equally important to see how completely it inhabited multiple domains of the life experience and identity of these men.

The Reformation brought with it many losses. As Andrew Gordon explains, "The ruptures of Reformation brought the prospect of memorial crisis to early modern Europe, provoking intense reflection on the social functions of memory and the terrifying spectre of oblivion."<sup>31</sup> In urging us to consider "the causal role of remembrance in material arts and creativity as a whole," Gordon reminds us that remembrance is not a thing one feels but a thing one does.<sup>32</sup> Writing an In Nomine is an act of remembrance—a remembrance of a lost tradition, a lost way of life, a lost faith—an act of remembrance that became a newly invented tradition. Another way to think about the loss suffered by the musical community during the Reformation is that it

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<sup>29</sup> Weidner, "The Early in Nomine," 132.

<sup>30</sup> Weidner, 156.

<sup>31</sup> Gordon and Rist, *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, 2–3.

<sup>32</sup> Gordon and Rist, 4.

triggered an intense nostalgia. Svetlana Boym describes how nostalgia fuels the invention of new traditions, couched as “restored” practices from the longed-for era. As a remedy for nostalgia, an invented tradition “builds on the sense of loss of community and cohesion,” she writes, “and offers a comforting collective script for individual longing.”<sup>33</sup> To paraphrase Thomas D’Urfey, the “pill” with which to purge this nostalgic melancholy was participation in a broad musical network through the writing of an In Nomine, an act which conferred membership to the compositional lineage of John Taverner.

The loss of the plainchant liturgy is precisely what made the In Nomine the perfect invented tradition. It became an object and practice which was “liberated for full symbolic and ritual use when no longer fettered by practical use,” as Eric Hobsbawm writes.<sup>34</sup> Unfettered by use in the church, cantus firmus composition was free to become a meaningful tradition to those who practiced it. Like all invented traditions, much of its meaning came from an “attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.”<sup>35</sup> This process is buoyed and normalized by repetition, explaining why the symbolic use of cantus firmus writing should coalesce around a single plainsong. It may seem that the In Nomine was an odd choice—there was no long tradition of using the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant prior to Taverner’s mass and, until the examples of In Nomines and *Gloria tibi Trinitas* settings found in the Mulliner book, there is no evidence that the cantus firmus enjoyed much popularity between Taverner’s mass and the emergence of the In Nomine. Rather, the In Nomine became the focal point of an invented tradition because the cantus firmus offered a connection, not only to a historical tradition itself,

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<sup>33</sup> Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 42.

<sup>34</sup> Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1.

but also to Taverner, symbolically centering him in the desire for continuity with the past. By tying the new tradition to Taverner and the older breve-style of cantus firmus setting, the early writers of In Nomines sought an unbroken thread to pre-Reformation musical practices and the last generation of composers before the great upheaval.

Being an invented tradition, the In Nomine professes its historical reference but is a “formalization and ritualization” of the past, not an imitation of it.<sup>36</sup> At the same time that it asserts continuity with him, In Nomines, with very few exceptions, do not actually strive to sound like Taverner’s writing. Likewise, the tradition is not threatened by deviations. We see composers’ comfort with the form in their interest in experimentation, the working out of what is possible within the In Nomine’s model. Looking at Thomas Tallis’s output from this era, for instance, John Milsom concludes that “the underlying spirit of the mid-century is one of research and experiment . . . in which the structural possibilities of repetition, homophonic texture and above all pervasive imitation began to preoccupy the minds of composers.”<sup>37</sup> These elements are just the beginning of the experimentation seen in early In Nomines. The experimental side of the In Nomine encompasses examples as extreme as the serial rhythm of Picforth’s In Nomine (discussed at length in chapter three), the monothematicism found in Tye (examined in chapter two), and the attempts by Goldar and Stogers to write In Nomines in the major mode (seen in chapter four).

Such experimentation has traditionally been thought to reflect the immaturity of In Nomine composers, young men being put through their paces. Yet such experimentation is rarely isolated. As we’ll see in chapter four, it appears in musical conversations, revealing the communal nature of the form and its role in creating and

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<sup>36</sup> Hobsbawm and Ranger, 4.

<sup>37</sup> Milsom, “English Polyphonic Style in Transition,” 128.

maintaining a network of church musicians even across great distances. Kristine Johanson attempts to capture nostalgia's temporal duality by invoking the two-faced god Janus who stands in the present while looking both to the past and the future.<sup>38</sup> This is an apt metaphor for the In Nomine whose social meaning is as Janus-faced as its musical style, facing equally the past-made-present of the Reformation's trauma and the present-made-future of a vibrant invented tradition.

### **The Networks**

This section delineates the network of In Nomine composers by isolating and connecting its various strands in different combinations: the early In Nomine's entanglements with geography, institutions, instruments, manuscripts, and communities of musicians. I first look at the musical training and performances of choirboys, including their use of viols, their repertory of consort songs, their compositional education, and their possible connections to the In Nomine. I then examine extant manuscripts that have been connected to choirboy education and compare them to Add. MS 31390, a major source of In Nomines that has been proposed to have connections to pedagogy. I conclude with a deeper look at the geographical and social origins of the two largest manuscript sources of In Nomines, Add. MS 31390 and Bodleian d.212-216, origins that highlight musical mobility through and across the network of In Nomine composers.

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<sup>38</sup> Johanson, "On the Possibility of Early Modern Nostalgias," 14–15.

## Viols, Choirboys, and In Nomines

Woodfield's argument that the In Nomine is pedagogical rests on the chronological and geographical coincidence of three things: the acquisition of viols for teaching choirboys, the popularity of musical choirboy entertainments, and the composition of In Nomines. It is these connections between viols, choirboys, and the In Nomine that I want to question here. While important evidence is surely lost, what survives suggests that before the 1570s, the use of viols in choirboy education was restricted to institutions in London. Woodfield argues for the early adoption of the viol as a teaching tool at the elite London choirboy institutions of the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's, and St. George's where it became an important part of their education.<sup>39</sup> Six Italian players had been brought to the court by Henry VIII in 1540; soon thereafter two members of the Chapel Royal, Thomas Kent and Thomas Browne, had taken up the viol and were later employed at the court.<sup>40</sup> Woodfield suggests that given his long career, Browne had learned the viol as a child in the Chapel Royal in the 1540s.<sup>41</sup> The children of St. Paul's may also have been known for their viol playing as early as the 1540s, although they became famous for it in the 1560s.<sup>42</sup> The surviving evidence for the use of viols in teaching institutions outside of London comes only in the 1580s and later.<sup>43</sup> It is not until the 1580s and 1590s that records confirm the purchase and maintenance of viols by cathedrals and collegiate churches with strong choirboy educational

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<sup>39</sup> Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 213.

<sup>40</sup> Woodfield, 208. Hoffmann argues these new Italian players were primarily violinists though they may also have played the viol. Hoffmann, *The Viola Da Gamba*, 104.

<sup>41</sup> Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 209.

<sup>42</sup> Woodfield documents references to the children of St. Paul's playing viols beginning in 1549 and reaching a peak in the early 1560s. Woodfield, 213.

<sup>43</sup> One exception is Exeter, which seems to have introduced viols as early as 1550 when Lewis Mugge was appointed to teach the choristers to play, since they now had more time under Edwardine liturgy. Payne argues that this practice was discontinued with Mary's ascension in 1553. No sixteenth-century composer of In Nomines, however, is known to have been affiliated with Exeter. Woodfield, 216; Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646*, 142.

programs.<sup>44</sup> Viols are also absent from the probate records of vicars choral and lay clerks at these study institutions before the 1580s—in contrast to keyboard instruments which are often mentioned.<sup>45</sup> Trinity College Cambridge, the only Cambridge college to have purchased viols in this period, did so beginning after 1594/5.<sup>46</sup> Surviving records suggest that Lincoln also acquired a consort in 1594/5, but at Peterborough, York, Ely, and Norwich, there is no evidence that viols were acquired until the seventeenth century, though tuition on private instruments was possible from the 1580s.<sup>47</sup> Payne stresses that the use of the viol to teach choristers expanded and became even more popular moving into the seventeenth century.<sup>48</sup> The picture that emerges is one in which London institutions like the Chapel Royal and St. Paul’s appear to have been using viols to instruct the choirboys much earlier than institutions with less money or further from the capital. Whether choirboys were playing In Nomines on viols likely depended on where one was geographically since, as I explore below, In Nomines were not only a London phenomenon. Choirboys and viols, however, were not the only option for the performance of In Nomines. Paul Doe has asserted that the use of paired clefs and narrow ranges in some In Nomines suggests performance by wind instruments. Specifically, he argues for the public performance of In Nomines by professional ensembles such as the London Waits or household musicians.<sup>49</sup>

In the London choir schools, viols were common enough to be mentioned in several plays performed by the choristers. John Redford’s *Wyt and Science* from 1545

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<sup>44</sup> Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646*, 137–45.

<sup>45</sup> Payne, 134–35 and 137.

<sup>46</sup> Payne, 138.

<sup>47</sup> Payne, 134, 143–45.

<sup>48</sup> Payne, 145.

<sup>49</sup> Doe, “The Emergence of the In Nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians,” 88.

(when Redford was Master of Choristers at St. Paul's) includes stage directions such as "viols enter here."<sup>50</sup> Viols are cited in scripts almost as often as violins and cornetts, but there are also references to regals, virginals, trumpets, and drums.<sup>51</sup> Whether the viols referenced in the plays were played by choirboys themselves is unclear. Professional musicians such as the London Waits were routinely hired to play for the choirboy plays, which would have included both intra- and extra-dramatic music. The frequent musical interludes as well as the songs and dances woven into the plays were themselves what distinguished chorister dramas from those of adult theatrical companies and contributed to their appeal and popularity.<sup>52</sup> These choirboy plays, put on primarily by the children of the Chapel Royal and the children of St. Paul's, greatly increased in popularity during the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, seemingly coinciding with the use of viols in London choir schools.

Of all the musical content of the choirboy plays, the genre most associated with them is the consort song. The consort song, as named and described by modern scholars, is a piece for solo voice and three to five instrumental lines. For these instrumental parts, Philip Brett writes, "there is every indication that viols were the preferred medium, though the lute or regal may often have replaced the strings."<sup>53</sup> He suggests that the consort song format could have emerged from the court where boys might have sung to the accompaniment of the professional viol players there.<sup>54</sup> Drawing the consort song into closer relation to the In Nomine, Brett even contends that the shift from four-part to five-part consort song in the plays was fueled by a desire to imitate

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<sup>50</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps, *The Moral Play of Wit and Science, and Early Poetical Miscellanies*.

<sup>51</sup> Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance*, 72.

<sup>52</sup> Austern, 79–80.

<sup>53</sup> Brett, *Consort Songs*, XXII:xv.

<sup>54</sup> Brett, "The English Consort Song, 1570-1625," 75.

the richer sonorities of the In Nomine—though, given the In Nomine’s own possible shift from four parts to five, the argument could just as easily be made the other direction.<sup>55</sup> The use of viols to accompany the five-part consort songs of the 1570s seems probable, but the earlier four-part consort songs may have just as likely been performed to the accompaniment of regals, which as Jane Flynn notes were then of “equal prominence with viols.”<sup>56</sup> Viols clearly had a place in choirboy education and drama but they did not have a monopoly.

One concrete point of convergence between consort songs and In Nomines is a manuscript that is both a major source of consort songs and includes a number of In Nomines, the Dow Partbooks. In addition to examples from both traditions, the Dow Partbooks also contain three interesting hybrids, consort songs on sacred texts that use the In Nomine cantus firmus without naming it. These In Nomine consort songs are particularly striking examples because they are not typical In Nomines to which a texted line has been added. Instead, all three are quodlibets comprised of a texted tune taken from metrical psalters in the top voice, the In Nomine cantus firmus in the second voice, and three other untexted parts below. These consort songs are also atypical for In Nomines in two respects. First, in two of these songs the chant has been transposed to an A final, a transposition rarely found in any other polyphonic In Nomines of the sixteenth century, though common in keyboard In Nomines. Second, they are unusual in their presentation of the cantus firmus which, like other non-In Nomine cantus firmus pieces, is written in semibreves rather than the usual breves of In Nomines. Despite these differences and despite the absence of any textual reference to the In

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<sup>55</sup> Brett, 76.

<sup>56</sup> Flynn, “A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513),” 154 and 383; See also Austern, *Music in English Children’s Drama of the Later Renaissance*, 24.

Nomine, these three pieces remain a curious point of overlap between the In Nomine and the consort song.

Was the In Nomine part of this constellation of choirboy plays, musical pedagogy, and viols? Woodfield argues that the temporal and institutional proximity of In Nomines to these plays suggests a connection, and he proposes two possible uses of the In Nomine in this context.<sup>57</sup> First, he posits that In Nomines may have played a part in choirboy plays themselves. Indeed, the plays contained much extra-dramatic music, about which we know very little, and Woodfield has proposed these musical interludes as a possible performance venue for the In Nomine. He even suggests that one of the virtues of the In Nomine in this dramatic context was its wordlessness and political neutrality.<sup>58</sup> Another performance context which Woodfield sees as appropriate for the noncommittal solemnity of the In Nomine was at the annual feasts of the City companies at which choirboys provided entertainment. In Nomines, he muses, might have been played, “perhaps after a formal Latin grace, a final benediction, or during a ceremonial procession.”<sup>59</sup> Woodfield paints an attractive picture, but I am skeptical of his assertion of the In Nomine’s neutrality. Though wordless, the use of a cantus firmus from the Sarum Rite would likely not have been religiously (and thus politically) neutral. Nor might the structural use of plainsong have been lost on the audience. As Ludwig writes, even without sacred text, for some listeners the compositional use of plainsong continued to have a vestigial “ritual importance” and the liturgical connotations of plainsong continued to be audible.<sup>60</sup> The very feature to which

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<sup>57</sup> Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 217–18.

<sup>58</sup> Woodfield, 218.

<sup>59</sup> Woodfield, 218.

<sup>60</sup> Ludwig, “Equal to All Alike,” 172.

Woodfield ascribes the In Nomine's solemnity may have actually disqualified it from public performance.

A different kind of proposed connection between choirboys and the In Nomine is to choirboy pedagogy. This narrative sees the In Nomine as a compositional exercise—part of the chorister curriculum, as it were. Many scholars have advanced this claim, which I have summarized in the introduction.<sup>61</sup> The composition of an In Nomine does after all reflect the advanced steps of teaching choristers to improvise and compose music based on plainsong. Flynn has reconstructed the pedagogical progression of skills used in the first half of the sixteenth century, proposing that a change in music pedagogy occurred only after the first few years of Elizabeth's reign as the liturgy of the Anglican church became solidified around 1563.<sup>62</sup> Before this point, a chorister's education would have begun with unmeasured plainsong before moving on to measured notation, called "pricksong." Next came various kinds of faburden using "sights," a method of visualizing a note while singing a different note to produce parallel thirds and sixths. Then the student would learn to descant above and below a plainsong, often aided by the use of a keyboard instrument. After 1563, Flynn argues that the focus of chorister education shifted away from these improvisatory practices and towards the composition of written polyphony.<sup>63</sup> Even so, descanting against a plainsong remained a critical first step towards composition, long after the Reformation. Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* documents the

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<sup>61</sup> See Meyer, "The 'In Nomine' and the Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style in England," 30; Brookes, "In Nomine," 4; Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 28 and 50; Baker, "The Instrumental Consort Music of Robert Parsons (d. 1570)," 7.

<sup>62</sup> The progression of skills she documents are: plainsong, pricknote, faburden, descant, squarenote and counter. These are followed by skills on the organ of improvising against plainsong. Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513)," chap. 3; Flynn, "The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century."

<sup>63</sup> Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513)," 258.

importance of descanting to his own pedagogy, as do other treatises.<sup>64</sup> Ludwig explains that there is a “substantial repertory of pedagogical music principally from the 1590s that relies on musical exercises based on ‘plainsong’ cantus firmi to teach the composition and performance of counterpoint.”<sup>65</sup> Even as composing around a plainsong retained its importance as a stepping stone towards free polyphonic writing, contrapuntal improvisation upon a plainsong itself became less useful—as plainsong exited the liturgy, written composition became a more important skill. The changes in musical education in the 1560s also reflected the growing professionalism of choirboy education. No longer was the main goal their moral upbringing through daily performance of the liturgy and grammar school education, one which had even encouraged the enrollment of boys from “gentle” families.<sup>66</sup> Even the choirboy plays, which had originally been for the edification of the boys, as evidenced by their moralistic content and tone, later focused entirely on the entertainment of an audience as children’s companies rented professional theaters in which to compete with adult troupes.<sup>67</sup>

These are compelling narratives. However, at least the first generation of In Nomines were written by men too old to have been choristers at the time of composition. If we assume a composition date of the late 1520s for Taverner’s mass, placing it at Cardinal College, Oxford where it was copied out by William Forrest before Wolsey’s fall from grace in 1529, this provides a *terminus post quem* for In Nomine

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<sup>64</sup> “When I learned descant of my maister Bould, hee seeing me so toward and willing to learne, euer had me in his companie, and because he continually carried a plainsong booke in his pocket, hee caused me to doe the like, and so walking in the fieldes, he would sing the plainsong, and cause me sing the descant.” Morley also alludes that his methods reflect the pedagogy of William Byrd, his own teacher. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 120.

<sup>65</sup> Ludwig, “Equal to All Alike,” 158.

<sup>66</sup> For example, Thomas Tusser, from a “gentle” family, was a choirboy at St. Paul’s. See Flynn, “A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513),” 124.

<sup>67</sup> Austern, *Music in English Children’s Drama of the Later Renaissance*, 2.

compositions.<sup>68</sup> Already by that date, Tallis, Tye, Parsley, and Whitbrooke certainly, and Mericocke, Hake, Thorne, Poynt, and Goldar probably, would have been too old to have been choristers. Though born later, Alfonso Ferrabosco I only arrived in England as a (young) adult musician hired by the queen and his In Nomines would not have been apprentice works either. Rather than being written by choirboys themselves, the first generation of In Nomine composers appear to have been adult professional musicians when they wrote their In Nomines. So we require a different explanation for these composers, at the least. Geography too presents a problem here: not all of these In Nomines could have been written in or for London. Neither Osbert Parsley nor John Thorne were associated with London when they would likely have written their In Nomines. Parsley spent his entire career as a member of the choir in Norwich, and Thorne spent most of his career in York where he served as organist and Master of Choristers starting in 1541.<sup>69</sup> Of Thomas Mericocke, we know only that he was a lay vicar at St. Paul's in London from 1535–37. He might well have stayed in London but he may also have gone elsewhere. About Poynt, whose four-part In Nomine Hugh Benham supposes to be one of the earliest based on its close similarity to the Taverner, we know nothing, not even his first name.<sup>70</sup> Christopher Tye spent most of his career at Ely, though his connection with Edward VI more than suggests his presence in London during his reign.<sup>71</sup> One could suppose that Parsley, who was not a Master of Choristers, wrote his In Nomines near the end of his life when the In Nomine trend had expanded

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<sup>68</sup> On dating the Forrest-Heather partbooks, see Bergsagel, "The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses," 247; For the dating of Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass, see Doe, Benham, and Bowers, "Taverner, John."

<sup>69</sup> Louise Rayment has connected Thorne to a circle of men associated with St. Mary-at-Hill in 1539–40. In all likelihood his In Nomine was written after 1540. See Rayment, "A New Context for the Manuscript of Wit and Science," 55.

<sup>70</sup> Benham, "Poynt."

<sup>71</sup> See Weidner, "New Insights on the Early 'In Nomine,'" 31. See also Mateer, "The 'Gyffard' Partbooks," 25–26.

from London and Norwich could possibly have had viols (although the “sporadic” accounts only confirm the purchase of viols in 1624/5).<sup>72</sup> However, Parsley’s In Nomines show up in Tenbury 1464, a manuscript which was copied c. 1575, before such a possibility was likely, according to Payne. Parsley’s In Nomines are also particularly inventive and experimental, a quality that has been attributed to the results of a pedagogical process, but which in Parsley’s case—born in 1511—cannot be so. Nor is there reason to suppose that experiment and invention are solely the domain of the young. Despite his geographical isolation, Parsley’s music seems to have circulated outside of East Anglia since three of his In Nomines end up in the Bodleian d.212-216 partbooks (which though housed at Oxford now have strong connections to London). This circulation too points to a non-pedagogical purpose to the works as they apparently held interest for other musicians, particularly the compiler of Bodleian d.212-216 who, as we’ll soon see, was carefully collecting In Nomines.

Even if they were not all active in London, the known composers of In Nomines were (with only the exception of Ferrabosco I) associated with elite institutions that had strong chorister programs, and many of them worked with choirboys. Around a third are known to have been choirmasters or masters of the children. Many others may have, in fact, served in this capacity even though their appointment was as organists—these jobs were commonly conflated before 1591.<sup>73</sup> Were In Nomines examples of cantus firmus writing for boys to emulate?<sup>74</sup> This seems possible, particularly during the Edwardine reforms or after the Elizabethan settlement when plainsong no longer had a

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<sup>72</sup> Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646*, 144.

<sup>73</sup> Payne, 68.

<sup>74</sup> For imitation as a pedagogical method in England, see Milsom, “English Polyphonic Style in Transition,” 20; more broadly, see Brown, “Emulation, Competition, and Homage,” 12–13.

place in the liturgy but still held an important place in music pedagogy.<sup>75</sup> This theory is supported by the appearance of *In Nomines* in Thomas Mulliner's commonplace book, which had probably been composed by older professionals. One of these professionals was John Blitheman, an organist who served in the Chapel Royal and was possibly one of Mulliner's teachers, whose set of six *Gloria tibi Trinitas* settings for keyboard lay out the possibilities for setting plainchant by putting it in all the voices and demonstrating both keyboard and polyphonic textures. Blitheman's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* settings differ from the polyphonic *In Nomines* in the Mulliner book by setting the plainsong in the typical manner of semibreves rather than the *In Nomine* manner of breves. This differentiation between the *In Nomine* and other cantus firmus pieces is significant and reflected in the titles given in the Mulliner Book.<sup>76</sup> It suggests that the writing of *In Nomines* was more than a pedagogical trend in which the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* plainsong was a favored cantus firmus for compositional exercises.

Plenty of plainsongs were used pedagogically, *Misereres* in particular, and plenty of others continued to be used for serious composition, for example Tallis's *Felix namque* settings in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book.<sup>77</sup> Such plainsong settings are found in abundance in the organ book Add. MS 29996, said to be in John Redford's hand, which contains eleven *Miserere* and three *Felix namque* settings as well as one or two settings of many other plainsongs, notably not *Gloria tibi Trinitas*.<sup>78</sup> Redford, the Master of Choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral, died in 1547, just before Henry VIII's death, so we can suppose that Add. MS 29996 represents a keyboard repertory that someone in his

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<sup>75</sup> *In Nomines* do make a brief liturgical appearance in the earliest metrical psalms in English, several of which are *In Nomines* fitted with psalm texts. *The Early History of the Viol*, 221.

<sup>76</sup> The keyboard settings that use semibreves for the cantus firmus are all titled "*Gloria tibi Trinitas*" while the originally polyphonic settings that use breves for the cantus firmus (though presented on two staves and playable on the keyboard) are called "*In Nomine*."

<sup>77</sup> On the history of *Miserere* settings, see Danner, "The 'Miserere Mihi' and the English Reformation."

<sup>78</sup> Deeper in the book are two *In Nomines* but they are in a different hand and were copied later.

position would have wanted to have on hand (before the Edwardine reforms). Perhaps the In Nomine had not yet emerged as a tradition, or if it had, it was not considered part of the keyboard or liturgical repertory. The absence of *Gloria tibi Trinitas* from among all the different plainsong settings in Add. MS 29996, and indeed from other sources of plainsong settings, may also suggest that outside the context of the In Nomine tradition it was not a popular plainsong.

If the In Nomine tradition truly originated in the process of teaching composition around a plainsong, one would expect it to resemble the treatment of other plainsong settings. And yet it does not. The In Nomine is distinct from pedagogical treatments of other plainsongs in five ways: (1) its robust intertextual tradition, (2) the old-fashioned pacing of the chant in breves, (3) its assimilation of stylistic elements from diverse musical genres, (4) its complete absence from later published pedagogical materials, and (5) its connection to a single piece of origin as reflected in its title. Surviving settings of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* plainsong before the Mulliner Book are rare, and the surge of interest in the chant among keyboard players (and to a lesser extent lute players) that occurred after the 1590s was perhaps fueled by these composers' exposure to earlier polyphonic In Nomines. While earlier keyboard sources, like the Mulliner Book, are careful to differentiate between plainsong settings and In Nomines, later sources, such as the keyboard book owned by Thomas Tomkins (Paris 1122), which contains dated compositions by Tomkins himself, use *Gloria tibi Trinitas* and In Nomine interchangeably. This synonymy emerges only in the seventeenth century and obscures the earlier distinction between the two titles. This early naming convention suggests that the identity of an In Nomine is connected to the melody's derivation from Taverner's mass, rather than the Sarum plainsong. Though nothing else from the mass excerpt might be used—though, as we'll see in chapter four, sometimes it is—the

connection to the mass and Taverner himself remains a defining feature of what makes an In Nomine an In Nomine.

While the geographic confluence of viols, choirboys, and In Nomines in London is suggestive, there is little surviving evidence that viols were similarly available to choirboys outside of London until at least the third quarter of the sixteenth century. In London, the possible venues suggested for the performance of In Nomines include the interludes of choirboy plays or more public festive occasions, though I doubt that the prominence of Sarum plainchant would have been deemed appropriate in these circumstances. More acceptable would have been the three In Nomine consort songs from the Dow Partbooks in which the plainsong is disguised beneath a more prominent church tune not of Sarum origin. These three pieces and the transmission of both consort songs and In Nomines within the Dow Partbooks suggests that both types of pieces circulated within overlapping, if not identical, musical networks. As for the possible use of the In Nomine in choirboy pedagogy, the first generation of In Nomine composers were too old to have been choristers when they wrote their contributions to the tradition (and were not all based in London). I have also noted the distinction in cantus firmus treatment between In Nomines and other pieces built on plainsongs, which distinguishes the In Nomine from other cantus firmus pieces, such as the *Miserere*, that were used pedagogically. While it seems to me unlikely that most early In Nomines were composed by choirboys, they most certainly could have been played or sung by them, whether in performance or in the classroom, as Woodfield secondarily suggests. That said, supplying students with music to practice reading is an insufficient explanation for the composition of an entire corpus of music around a single cantus firmus, not to mention its broad dissemination.

## Pedagogy, Manuscripts, and In Nomines

Several important manuscripts have been linked to facets of chorister pedagogy, from teaching them how to read and perform polyphony to how to compose it. Some of these manuscripts also contain In Nomines. This section provides a brief overview of each of these manuscripts and their connection to the In Nomine, arguing that the In Nomines within them are not examples of polyphony composed by choristers themselves.

Jane Flynn connects the Mulliner Book to Thomas Mulliner's studies with John Heywood, though Mulliner also seems to have been connected to St. Paul's.<sup>79</sup> Flynn points to the Latin poems and translation exercises at the front and back of the book as reflecting his continued study of Latin after Mulliner's premature departure from Magdalen College, Oxford.<sup>80</sup> The musical contents of the manuscript also reflect some of the stages of Elizabethan musical pedagogy, preserving what Flynn demonstrates to be songs that would have been sung by choristers and keyboard works written by older professionals whose level of compositional sophistication progresses throughout the book.<sup>81</sup> As a commonplace book, the Mulliner Book preserves what Thomas Mulliner himself chose to write down for his own reference and the "serious" pieces particularly seem to act as examples of good polyphonic writing from the generation of musicians who would have been his teachers and mentors. The Mulliner book contains four polyphonic pieces called In Nomine as well as seven keyboard settings of *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, the six by Blitheman mentioned above and one attributed to "Carleton" (though it cannot be by Nicholas Carleton, a keyboardist and composer who wasn't

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<sup>79</sup> Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513)."

<sup>80</sup> Flynn, 292–93.

<sup>81</sup> Flynn, chap. 4.

born until c. 1570–75). The four polyphonic In Nomines follow the pattern of the keyboard pieces in being by well-established musicians and include the Taverner excerpt, one by Robert White, one by Robert Johnson, and one by Alwood. This last is not actually based on the *In nomine Domini* section of Taverner's mass but rather the cantus firmus of the same segment of one of Alwood's own masses. This fascinating example sheds light on the origins of the title and perhaps it suggests Alwood's desire to start a tradition of his own in parallel to the one based on Taverner's mass. No In Nomine by Mulliner himself or any of his fellow students is transmitted in the commonplace book.

Another important manuscript, the Hamond Partbooks, has recently been convincingly shown by Katherine Butler to be a repository of chorister repertory. Specifically, she argues, the partbooks originated at an institution of moderate means somewhere in London or East Anglia.<sup>82</sup> The partbooks contain many different hands, some skilled, some rudimentary, which Butler suggests is evidence that choristers themselves took part in the copying as part of their training. The partbooks contain three broad subdivisions which house different repertoires—the first section is liturgical, the next quasi-sacred (including consort songs), and the last textless. Additionally, Butler's new dating of the paper (c. 1570) reveals that much of the repertory included was a decade or two old at the time of copying.<sup>83</sup> There are only two In Nomines in the Hamond partbooks: one, an English contrafactum of the Taverner In Nomine, "O give thanks unto the Lord," found in the sacred song section and the other an anonymous work of four parts in the textless music section. If this four-part In Nomine were written by a student, he was an extremely talented one. The piece is well-

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<sup>82</sup> Butler, "From Liturgy and the Education of Choirboys to Protestant Domestic Music-Making," 64.

<sup>83</sup> Butler, 51.

structured and uses a number of points of imitation whose entrances are later packed together quite tightly though the opening is more expansive. It features a duet between two voices and ends with a rather wonderful sequence. The opening motive, including the Phrygian cadence at CF6, strongly resembles White's *In Nomine a4 #1*, though the rest of the piece does not appear to be modeled on it.<sup>84</sup> The possible connection with White is particularly interesting because it supports Butler's geographical hypothesis about the origins of the Hamond Partbooks. White studied at Cambridge from 1555–62 before moving to Ely from 1562–67 and later becoming Master of Choristers at Westminster from 1569–74. It is not hard to imagine a chorister at a moderately financed institution in East Anglia or London coming across a piece of his.

Louise Rayment's work on the network of London musicians in the orbit of the parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill and its flourishing song school has uncovered connections to two different pedagogical manuscripts.<sup>85</sup> One, Add. MS 15233, contains the texts for John Redford's choirboy play *Wit and Science* as well as the words to several extant consort songs and a lamentation on the difficulties of learning pricksong.<sup>86</sup> The other manuscript is the organ book Add. MS 29996, which has already been mentioned. Add. MS 29996 was copied out in layers, the first of which is dominated by composers connected to St. Paul's and St. Mary-at-Hill. It opens with eleven *Miserere* settings, all quite short, which demonstrate different ways to set plainsong using proportions and various rhythmic patterns in the free voices.<sup>87</sup> Settings of many other plainsongs

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<sup>84</sup> Though there are three more shared cadences between the two pieces, the White contains eight cadences with no corresponding cadence in the Anonymous work. The Anonymous *In Nomine a4* also transposes the cantus firmus and places it in a different voice than does the White.

<sup>85</sup> Rayment, "A New Context for the Manuscript of *Wit and Science*," 55.

<sup>86</sup> "Of all the creatures, lesse or moe, / We lytle poore boyes abyde much woe." In Halliwell-Phillipps, *The Moral Play of Wit and Science, and Early Poetical Miscellanies*, 62.

<sup>87</sup> Called "figuration." See Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513)," 177.

(though none on *Gloria tibi Trinitas*) complete the first layer. Two In Nomines by William Byrd and Robert Parsons follow, but they are in a different, later hand from the earlier plainsong settings (these two In Nomines are deeply connected and are discussed at length in chapter four). These In Nomines are then followed by a much later layer in yet another hand with music by Alfonso Ferrabosco II and Thomas Morley which does not appear to be connected to the manuscript's original pedagogical context. It is unclear when the two In Nomines were added and whether the manuscript was still being used pedagogically at the time.

The Dow Partbooks appear to have no connection to musical education, but they nevertheless transmit many of the consort songs associated with choirboy plays. The books also transmit ten In Nomines (although one was added later in an unknown hand) and, as mentioned above, they contain three anonymous quodlibet settings of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant although these are not called In Nomine. To a person unfamiliar with In Nomines or the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* tune, the compositional sophistication of these quodlibets—the fitting together of the tune and the chant—would be entirely lost. The texts of these consort song In Nomines do not make reference to *Gloria tibi Trinitas* so it is safe to assume that they fit within the non-liturgical In Nomine tradition despite the differences mentioned above. As in many other In Nomines, these pieces seem to be a musical conversation starter, an exploration of what is possible, and a self-conscious code. The plainsong here acts as an in-joke for a community of men who would understand the reference to the In Nomine and appreciate the contrapuntal feat. Would the choristers who would have likely sung these consort songs have gotten the joke? The other ten In Nomines included in the Dow Partbooks are almost all by well-established composers such as Byrd, Parsons, Strogers, and Tye. The inclusion of one

that appears to be an outlier, an In Nomine by Clement Woodcock, can be explained by its connection to some of the other pieces and is discussed in chapter four.

The same three consort-song In Nomines from the Dow Partbooks show up in exactly the same order in the seventeenth-century manuscript Add. MS 17797, a book of madrigals and motets. Craig Monson has connected this manuscript to pedagogy at Oxford under Richard Nicholson, many of whose compositions appear in the book.<sup>88</sup> Specifically, Monson notes that the provisions for the Oxford Music Professorship endowed by William Heather, to which Nicholson was appointed in 1626, required the Master to “bring with him two boys weekly...and to play Lessons of three Parts.”<sup>89</sup> Monson observes that Add. MS 17797 contains a madrigal arranged for two treble singers and viols, positing that it might represent the musical content of these weekly meetings.<sup>90</sup> He likewise believes that the two matched sopranos “in the Italian manner” required by most of the manuscript’s madrigals points to the practice of having two boys singing music lessons.<sup>91</sup> Richard Nicholson is also the scribe for the ten anthems that were added to the back of an important manuscript source of In Nomines, Bodleian d. 212-216 which we’ll explore in detail below. Nine of these anthems also call for two sopranos which Monson considers telling.<sup>92</sup> Of course, Italianate writing and the equal trebles it often called for was all the rage at the turn of the century, even from the beginning of Nicholson’s career when he was appointed *Informator choristarum* at Magdalen College, Oxford in 1595. Attributing all equal treble writing at Oxford to lessons for the boys seems a stretch and the three consort song In Nomines included in

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<sup>88</sup> Monson, “Richard Nicolson,” 433.

<sup>89</sup> Crum, “Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection,” 23.

<sup>90</sup> Monson, “Richard Nicolson,” 433.

<sup>91</sup> Monson, 435 (f.n. 6).

<sup>92</sup> Monson, 435 (f.n. 6).

Add. MS 17797 are for a single treble only.<sup>93</sup> However, Add. MS 17797 does seem to be in the pedagogical orbit of Nicholson's activities at Oxford and may thus shed light on at least part of the journey of Bodleian d. 212-216.

A much later manuscript that seems to represent the dramatic music of choristers is Add. MS 15117, a book of lute songs whose texts are associated with choristers. Several of these are set for a lute tuned in D, a rather unusual choice unless they were transcribed from consort versions (i.e., viols tuned in D).<sup>94</sup> Though it contains a few untexted instrumental pieces, there are no In Nomines.

Of all the manuscripts above which have been connected to chorister repertoires, only one, the Hamond Partbooks, contains an In Nomine that may have been composed by a student. The other In Nomines in these manuscripts either seem to function as examples of good polyphonic writing (Mulliner Book) or a repertory of good pieces to sing/play (Dow Partbooks).<sup>95</sup> Generally, the major manuscript sources of In Nomines themselves have not been suggested to be connected to chorister pedagogy, with one exception: Add. MS 31390 (copied c. 1578). A number of scholars have posited that this manuscript, the largest sixteenth-century source of In Nomines (*A booke of In nomines & other solfainge songes*) reflects the repertory of choirboys (though not their own compositions).<sup>96</sup> The table of mensural values found on the final page of Add. MS 31390 supports the theory of a pedagogical origin, indeed, a similar table showing ligature

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<sup>93</sup> Sixteenth-century In Nomines do not generally exhibit equal treble voices. In general, the cleffing scheme of five-part In Nomines is quite consistent: top voice in treble clef, cantus firmus in soprano clef, third voice in alto clef, fourth voice in tenor clef, and bottom voice in bass clef. Christopher Tye alone seems to have been interested in experimenting with tessitura and two of his In Nomines (*Saye so* and *Rounde*) have two treble voices above the cantus firmus (though only in *Rounde* are they in the same clef). Ferrabosco I's three In Nomines all put the third voice in mezzosoprano clef as do Tye's *I comme* and Byrd's In Nomines a5 #3 and #4 (both based on Ferrabosco In Nomines).

<sup>94</sup> Joiner, "British Museum Add MS. 15117," 60.

<sup>95</sup> See Appendix A's concordances for all the In Nomines found in these sources.

<sup>96</sup> Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513)," 268; Edwards, "The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music," 82.

shapes can be found painted on the wall of the chorister classroom at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.<sup>97</sup> Yet, Add. MS 31390 looks different than all the other choirboy-linked manuscripts surveyed above. The only one it might resemble on the surface are the Hamond Partbooks, but a close examination reveals they are less similar than they may seem at first. Of the three sections of the Hamond Partbooks, only one, the untexted pieces, has much in common with Add. MS 31390. Add. MS 31390 contains no consort songs and its complete lack of texting means that the motets it contains were unlikely to have been used liturgically. The section of liturgical music in the Hamond books contains English anthems as well as Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis settings and other functional music by English composers while the motets found in Add. MS 31390 are almost entirely on Latin texts and many are by continental composers. The two large collections have just six concordances, of which only one, Philip van Wilder's *D'ung nouveau dart je suis frappé*, is not found in multiple other sources.<sup>98</sup> If Add. MS 31390 doesn't look like the Hamond Partbooks, there is another manuscript it does look more like, York 91S.

York 91S is an important collection of chansons, motets, and madrigals by both foreign and English composers that records English interest in foreign music present in the 1560s when it was copied. It is both the first example of manuscript transmission of madrigals in England as well as the first secular source of motets by continental composers.<sup>99</sup> Milsom has argued that York 91S may have, at least partly, originated at

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<sup>97</sup> Given the rebinding of the book and the later addition of pieces, it is very likely the book originally read the other way around and this table would have appeared at the beginning rather than at the end as it currently does. On St. George's, see Flynn, "The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century," 183.

<sup>98</sup> For a discussion of van Wilder's pieces in the Hamond Partbooks, see Butler, "From Liturgy and the Education of Choirboys to Protestant Domestic Music-Making," 57. A complete list of the contents of the Hamond Partbooks and their concordances are found in Butler, 84–89.

<sup>99</sup> Milsom, "English Polyphonic Style in Transition," 64.

the court on the basis of two observations. First, the seemingly arbitrary mixture of genres indicates that a wide variety of both printed and manuscript sources were used as exemplars for copying or else that the pieces were copied from intermediate sources that were already miscellanies. The only access to such variety of sources, including continental prints, would likely have been at court where any intermediate miscellanies would also have been copied. Second, York 91S contains four works by van Wilder, an important lutenist and composer at court, as well as partsongs by John Sheppard and Thomas Tallis who were also probably connected to the court.<sup>100</sup> Though at least a decade later, Add. MS 31390 contains many of the same pieces as York 91S as well as works from the same generation of continental composers and the same kind of “miscellany” of genres and styles. The prevalence of music by Tye and van Wilder, likely colleagues at the court of Edward VI, in Add. MS 31390 also supports this theory of royal repertory. If this were true, would *In Nomines* have been part of the world of courtly music? Robert Weidner has raised the possibility that Tye’s *In Nomines* were “specifically created for the musical recreation of the young Prince Edward,” who may well have studied music with Tye.<sup>101</sup>

Having surveyed the manuscripts that have been connected to chorister education, we see that only a handful of *In Nomines* show up in these manuscripts. On the other hand, we’ve seen that one of the largest sources of early *In Nomines*, Add. MS 31390, which has been long thought of as chorister-connected appears to have less in common with other chorister-related manuscripts than it does with York 91S, a manuscript which may reflect the musical repertory of court circles. In the next section,

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<sup>100</sup> Milsom, 64.

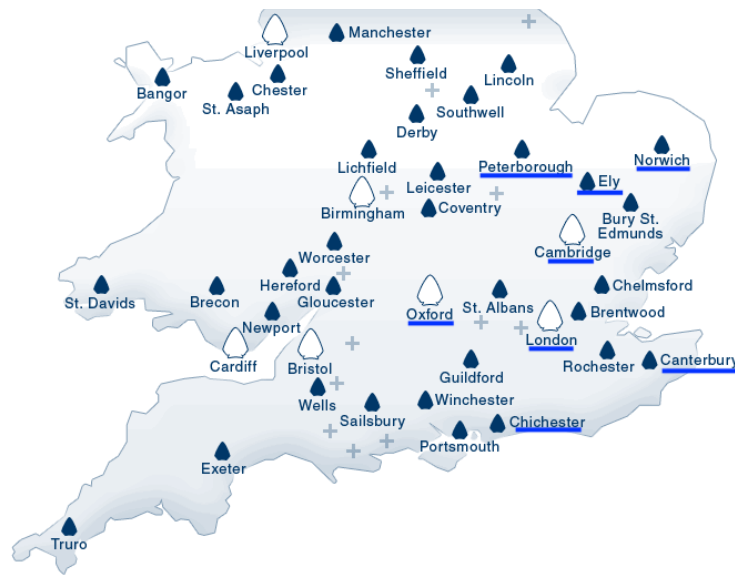
<sup>101</sup> Weidner, “New Insights on the Early ‘*In Nomine*,’” 35.

I will explore to origin and purpose of Add. MS 31390 in greater detail as well as the second largest source of early In Nomines, Bodleian d.212-216.

## Manuscripts, Geography, and In Nomines

Several attempts have been made to identify a geographical locus for In Nomine production. Woodfield suggests that the In Nomine arose out of, “a small, quite tightly knit group of composers, centred around three important London choir-schools, the Chapel Royal, St. Paul’s and Westminster (possibly with an outpost at Ely).”<sup>102</sup> Robert Weidner finds instead that Oxford, Cambridge, Ely, and London serve as “focal points” with London as the most important of these.<sup>103</sup> He posits that early composers of In Nomines are all connected to locations within sixty miles of one of his four focal points. Figure 1-1 shows the locations of cathedrals in southern England. I have underlined the cathedrals at which composers of In Nomines are associated.

**Figure 1-1. Map of Cathedrals in Southern England**



<sup>102</sup> Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 218.

<sup>103</sup> Weidner, “New Insights on the Early ‘In Nomine,’” 32.

My approach to the geography of the In Nomine is both broader and more localized—broader because the intangible network formed by the composition of In Nomines reaches beyond geography, and more localized because I use the movement of individual manuscripts to chart how the geography of In Nomine production changed over time. I have chosen two manuscripts which capture different snapshots of the In Nomine story and are, not incidentally, the two largest sources of early In Nomines. The first is the table-book Add. MS 31390 (c. 1578) which we've already encountered several times. The second is a set of partbooks from the Bodleian, d.212-216, a source devoted exclusively, in its earliest layer, to preserving In Nomines. Though the partbooks were compiled in the early seventeenth century, they anthologize many earlier works. By exploring the networks surrounding these manuscripts, I demonstrate both how geographically different yet socially similar these networks look.

The origins of the manuscript Add. MS 31390 are unknown. Later associated with Clement Woodcock and Chichester, Woodcock's supposed copying of the manuscript has now been disproven by Robert Ford's discovery of Woodcock's signature on documents at Canterbury, which reveals that it is not the hand that copied Add. MS 31390.<sup>104</sup> There is, however, still reason to believe that Woodcock was connected to the manuscript. A petition found on folio 128v concerns William Whalley who was a vicar at Sidlesham.<sup>105</sup> Whalley's predecessor as vicar of Sidlesham, one Edward Bragg, was the recipient of a grant of administration left by Woodcock upon his death.<sup>106</sup> Despite the fact that he was not the copyist, Woodcock may well have

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<sup>104</sup> Ford, "Clement Woodcock's Appointment at Canterbury Cathedral," 41.

<sup>105</sup> The note reads "M[emorandum] that no promise nor graunt be made of the vicaridge of Pagham in sussex neer Chichester uppon former graunt made therof & now this second tyme 9 October 1596 confirmed unto Wm. Whalley of Pagham preacher [?] and Mr of Artes whoe remayneth destitute of all staie of Living." Transcription from Edwards, "The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music," 95.

<sup>106</sup> Edwards, 96.

provided the copyist with some of the music, much of which probably originated in East Anglia, where Woodcock was from. A network of composers in East Anglia and their connections to composers in London can account for all of the English music found within Add. MS 31390. The continental music that appears in Add. MS 31390 could easily have been copied from continental prints owned by the court, as suggested by Milsom, or by copies of those prints circulating in London. Two of the composers found in Add. MS 31390, Osbert Parsley and Robert Mallorie, spent their careers entirely in Norwich and Peterborough, respectively. Their relative isolation strengthens the argument that much of the music collected in the manuscript originated in East Anglia rather than London. Paul Doe has expressed the same belief, opining that the manuscript came from “Tye country.”<sup>107</sup>

There are four composers with connections to both London and East Anglia whose music is found in the manuscript. Nicholas Strogers is surmised to have been born and trained in East Anglia because the surname is more common there. He later served at the London parish church St. Dunstan-in-the-West between 1564 and his death in 1575.

A more likely conduit between London and East Anglia is Christopher Tye whose music is highly represented in Add. MS 31390, including twenty In Nomines. Tye earned a BMus from Cambridge in 1536, which stated that he already had ten years of experience teaching music, thus placing him in Cambridge from 1526. He then became a lay clerk in 1537 at King’s College. Sometime between 1541–3 he became Organist and Master of Choristers at Ely Cathedral where he remained until he became

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<sup>107</sup> Private communication with Ian Payne, quoted in Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals*, c. 1547-c. 1646, 287.

a priest and retired from church music in 1561.<sup>108</sup> However, there are good reasons to believe that he spent time in London, particularly in the 1550s. Tye seems to have had a close relationship with Edward VI, perhaps even as his music tutor, as Tye's *The Actes of the Apostles* is dedicated to Edward in a very familiar tone.<sup>109</sup> Tye also received a measure of cloth for the coronation of Mary Tudor in 1553, implying his presence in London.<sup>110</sup> Assuming this is true, Tye would have had the opportunity to work at the Chapel Royal with important figures such as Thomas Tallis, John Sheppard, and possibly even the young William Byrd who may have been a chorister there. Tye would also have met the most important court musician, Philip van Wilder, before his death in 1553. Add. MS 31390 contains a larger selection of van Wilder's compositions than any other English manuscript, so a connection to him must be accounted for. Tye's presence at the court would also explain the inclusion of a great quantity of continental music that was not widely available elsewhere in England. Perhaps Tye, having gathered copies of all this music, brought it back to Ely with him.

Another vector between London and East Anglia is Robert White. It is possible that White was a chorister in London in the 1540s, but we find him definitively at Cambridge in 1554.<sup>111</sup> White studied at Trinity College, Cambridge under Thomas Preston (an *In Nomine* composer, though not represented in Add. MS 31390) between 1554–5 and possibly longer, and then stayed on until 1562.<sup>112</sup> He may have barely overlapped with Clement Woodcock, who had just arrived at King's College Cambridge in 1562–63. In 1562, White moved to Ely to take up the vacancy created by

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<sup>108</sup> Payne, 253.

<sup>109</sup> Weidner, "New Insights on the Early 'In Nomine,'" 31.

<sup>110</sup> Mateer, "The 'Gyffard' Partbooks," 26.

<sup>111</sup> Mateer, "Further Light on Preston and Whyte," 1077.

<sup>112</sup> Mateer, 1077.

Tye's retirement where he also married Tye's daughter. Five years later, White left Ely for Westchester and eventually went back to the London area where he finished his career as Master of Choristers at Westminster.<sup>113</sup> He may have brought music from East Anglia to London with him where it was augmented by the works of other composers. This interpretation explains the inclusion of a work by Ferrabosco I, who had only arrived in England in 1562. However, it does not explain how the music or the compiled manuscript made its way to Chichester.

A final vector to consider is Clement Woodcock himself. Trained as a choirboy under Tye at Ely, Woodcock was well placed to inherit Tye's collection of music upon his retirement, which took place only a year before Woodcock left for Cambridge. This sort of gift would not have been unusual; in 1587 a musician and possible teacher of choristers at Ely, Edward Watson, bequeathed his music books to one of the choristers.<sup>114</sup> If he received this material, it is possible that Woodcock brought it with him to Cambridge, Canterbury, and eventually to Chichester where he was Organist and Master of the Choristers from 1570 to his death in 1590. There is good reason to believe that Add. MS 31390 was not copied straight from authoritative sources but rather from copies of those sources: many pieces are riddled with errors or missing notes. Edwards writes, "Experience of transcribing from 31390 suggests that its compiler worked carefully, but was not discriminating in his sources."<sup>115</sup> Likely, the compiler worked from whatever sources he had available, some of which were corrupted.

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<sup>113</sup> Mateer, "The 'Gyffard' Partbooks," 38.

<sup>114</sup> Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646*, 134.

<sup>115</sup> Edwards, "The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music," 97.

There are two ways in which Add. MS 31390 has been altered between its original copying and its acquisition by the British Library. Robert Ford has suggested that the copyist of Add. MS 31390 was a man named Worm or Wormall, which would certainly explain the motto (*vermis et non homo*) found on the title page as a pun on his name.<sup>116</sup> The title page of the manuscript (where this motto is found), however, likely postdates the bulk of the copying.<sup>117</sup> The title page refers to music in v, vi, vii, and viii parts when the only eight-part piece is a motet by Byrd that was added sometime later, probably after 1590 (the publication date for another later addition, a madrigal by Giovanni Croce).<sup>118</sup> Likely written at least twelve years later than the bulk of the manuscript copying, the title page may also give an inaccurate account of the performance practice of “solfainge,” or at least describe a practice temporally removed from the original copying of the manuscript.

There is compelling evidence, pointed out by Warwick Edwards, of a second change to the manuscript: large sections of Add. MS 31390 likely initially appeared in reverse order and got turned around when the original spine was replaced.<sup>119</sup> This would have been an easy mistake as the table-book format allows the pages to read in either direction. There are three strong pieces of evidence to support such a claim. Firstly, there is the table of mensural values currently found on folio 127v which would make more sense at the beginning of such a text. Secondly, the bi-partite motets all appear with the *secunda pars* preceding the *prima pars*. Lastly, Tye’s four *Dum transisset*

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<sup>116</sup> Ford, “Clement Woodcock’s Appointment at Canterbury Cathedral,” 40. Ford, however, doesn’t mention where he found this name or who this man might be.

<sup>117</sup> Pinto, “Purcell’s In Nomines.”

<sup>118</sup> While it is possible that Croce’s music was circulating in manuscripts prior to publication, his music only survives in English manuscripts post-1600 where it is copied from published versions which seems the likeliest source for the Add. MS 31390 copy as well.

<sup>119</sup> Edwards, “The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music,” 92.

settings begin with the one called “Dum transisset once agayne.”<sup>120</sup> Such changes to the manuscript obscure our ability to distinguish its purpose at the time of compilation from its later purposes.<sup>121</sup>

The second major manuscript source of In Nomines from the sixteenth century is quite different than Add. MS 31390. Instead of containing a diverse repertory, the Bodleian partbooks d.212-216 are devoted entirely (in their original layer) to In Nomines. This first layer of the partbooks is highly organized—it was clearly planned and its contents assembled well before copying began. This portion of the books contains sixty-four In Nomines. These In Nomines are divided into separately numbered sections by number of voices (four or five) and within these sections, pieces are ordered by number of flats in the key signature. The music is copied only on the *recto* side of each folio in order to prevent bleed through from obscuring subsequent pieces (later additions were copied both *recto* and *verso*) and many pieces are marked *probatum* to indicate that they had been checked for errors. The high level of organization and attention to accuracy and detail in this earliest layer illustrates a real interest in preservation on the part of the compiler.

The organization and preservational intent displayed in the first layer of copying is not present in either of the two subsequent additions to the partbooks. The first of these added nine more separately numbered In Nomines by Orlando Gibbons and Alfonso Ferrabosco II and the second tacked on ten verse anthems. These two subsequent hands offer us a few clues about the movements of these partbooks. The hand that copied the nine additional In Nomines is the same anonymous hand of Scribe

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<sup>120</sup> These arguments are summarized in Edwards, 92–94.

<sup>121</sup> Add. MS 31390 continued to play an important role as a repository of In Nomines throughout the seventeenth century as argued by David Pinto in Pinto, “Purcell’s In Nomines.”

A from Bodleian e.437–442, a set of partbooks acquired and added to by John Withy, which contain fantasias for viol consort.<sup>122</sup> The hand that copied the anthems, however, probably belongs to Richard Nicholson, who spent his career at Oxford, and is the same hand that copied the sixth part of three of these anthems into the back of the sextus book of the Forrest-Heather Partbooks.<sup>123</sup> If the hand that copied the anthems into the back of Bodleian d.212-216 is indeed Nicholson's, we can infer something about the whereabouts of the partbooks, at least after the bulk of the copying was done. The Forrest-Heather books were in the possession of John Baldwin before they passed to William Heather, probably during the seventeen years they were both at the Chapel Royal. The books were then bequeathed to Oxford by Heather in 1627, just one year after Nicholson, who had been the organist at Magdalen college, became the first master of Music Praxis under Heather's foundation.

Knowing that both the Forrest-Heather and Bodleian d.212-216 partbooks ended up together at Oxford, perhaps they were traveling together before that. Given John Baldwin's interest in preserving older music (see chapter three), might he have been involved in the compilation of In Nomines at the Chapel Royal? Despite there being a small section of untexted pieces, there are no In Nomines included in the so-called Baldwin Partbooks which he copied c. 1575–81 while he was at Windsor. Baldwin's commonplace book, however, includes nine In Nomines. The Baldwin Commonplace Book was largely copied between 1590 and 1600 although there are pieces dated as early

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<sup>122</sup> Ashbee, *The Viola Da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol. 2:148.

<sup>123</sup> One of these anthems (attributed elsewhere to Edward Smith) is marked with the initials R.N. suggesting that Nicholson was the copyist rather than the composer. The Forrest-Heather partbooks are an important source of Tudor masses, originally started by William Forrest when he was at Cambridge with John Taverner—Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass itself takes pride of place at the beginning of these partbooks, including a portrait of the composer in the initial. The sextus partbook has an interesting history as it was, apparently, damaged and the last four masses were recopied by John Baldwin who seems to have had possession of the set of books from 1581.

as 1581 and as late as 1606.<sup>124</sup> The commonplace book contains several In Nomines, including two by Baldwin himself, one from his time at Windsor and one from when he was at the Chapel Royal. But the narrow scope of the In Nomines included by Baldwin—most were by other men connected to St. George’s, Windsor—suggests he did not have access to many others. Given his interest in metrical complexity, he would have likely found William Mundy’s In Nomine a5 #2 (found in Bodleian d.212-216) worthy of inclusion had he seen it. Yet Baldwin’s interest in the form doesn’t end with his time at Windsor, his second In Nomine (this one including a canon), dated 1606 in the manuscript, is the latest dated piece in the commonplace book.

Was there a resurgence of interest in the In Nomine at the Chapel Royal in the first decade of the seventeenth century? The Bodleian partbooks d.212-216 contain works by a number of other composers associated with the Chapel Royal during this period: Thomas Weelkes, Elway Bevin, Orlando Gibbons, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, William Randall, and John Bull. The partbooks also contain works by other composers active in and around London 1600–1610 such as Richard Alison, Martin Peerson, and Leonard Woodeson. In fact, even the In Nomines by earlier composers are probably London-based with most having worked at St. George’s, St. Paul’s, or the Chapel Royal. For example, in marked contrast to Add. MS 31390, only two In Nomines by Tye are present here. We can posit that the pieces copied into Bodleian d.212-216 represent an attempt to collect as many older In Nomines as were available in London and combine them with a crop of new In Nomines composed by the elite musicians of London in the early-seventeenth century. We can also suppose that the copying was done by someone in London before the books were taken by William Heather to Oxford in 1626.

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<sup>124</sup> Owens, *London, British Library, R.M. 24. d. 2*, vi.

The dissemination of early In Nomines, as traced here in the two largest collections of these pieces, suggests a broader interest in the form than classroom use. Neither the production of these pieces by students for compositional practice nor production by teachers as compositional examples sufficiently explains why the compiler of Bodleian d.212-216 went through so much trouble to carefully anthologize current and earlier In Nomines. What pedagogical purpose would make these pieces a collector's item, worthy of gathering together and segregating from other types of pieces for special preservation?

### **Conclusion**

The three explorations above have tried to account for who was where, who likely knew whom, and who had what manuscript, i.e., the mobile networks through which social connections and material objects flowed. In support of my argument that pedagogical use was not the driving force for the production and dissemination of early In Nomines, I have shown that In Nomines were not entirely a London phenomenon and that their composition and collection was present in East Anglia as well. This, in combination with the scant evidence for the use of viols outside of London before the 1570s, perhaps also suggests that the In Nomine was not originally associated with performance on viols and only became so later. Likewise, the choirboy plays of the London choristers were unlikely to have driven In Nomine production outside of London. I have made the case that the earliest In Nomines could not have been written by students of composition but rather by mature composers. A connection to pedagogy (through, say, performance) is still possible but cannot tell the whole story. In looking at manuscripts which originated in educational contexts, we have seen that they do not contain many In Nomines and do not resemble either of the manuscripts in which the

majority of sixteenth-century In Nomines are preserved. Examining closely these two largest sources of early In Nomines, I have questioned whether the materials found in Add. MS 31390 were originally pedagogical despite the mensuration table found in it. Additionally, I have argued that the purpose of Bodleian d.212-216 was preservational rather than didactic. It is important to note that given the dearth of surviving manuscript sources from the first half of the sixteenth century and earlier in England, the manuscript sources and repertories that do survive may not accurately represent the traditions present in England during this period. Nevertheless, the many sources that preserve In Nomines show them to be an important part of the musical landscape.

Without excluding the possibility that some In Nomines may have been pedagogical exercises, we nonetheless need a more convincing reason for mature composers to have participated in the In Nomine tradition. After all, this group includes the venerable Tallis, that most prolific In Nomine composer Tye, and the obscure Osbert Parsley, who spent his entire career far outside of London and was not even a teacher of choirboys. Nor does the pedagogy theory adequately address the wide dissemination of some In Nomines. The Parsons In Nomine a5 does not circulate as if it were a work produced in or intended for the classroom. Rather, it was arranged for lute, cittern, and keyboard (including by Byrd), and appears in over twenty different sources. As I document in chapter four, this piece inspired multiple imitations and homages, including one by the adult Byrd who overlapped with Parsons in London for more than a year before the latter's accidental drowning in 1571/2. Clearly Parsons's In Nomine is not a student work, nor was its utility restricted to his students' education or performance. Nevertheless, the In Nomine is connected to the academic study of music, through its origin in Taverner's possibly academic mass, through its cultivation among

highly educated musicians, and through its incorporation of techniques of speculative music (explored in chapter three).

What then are we to make of these earliest In Nomines, especially at the origin of the tradition, written by professionals working in sacred musical institutions? The In Nomine's origins may at first appear to be continuous with prior musical practices but are, in fact, a departure from past norms in two key respects. Firstly, while the use of plainchant as the basis for composition was common, from what we can tell from surviving sources, the exceptional popularity of a particular chant was not. The apparent singular interest in the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* plainsong is only rivaled by the preoccupation with the *Miserere mihi*, though in that case the chant was popular liturgically before becoming the basis of secular compositions.<sup>125</sup> Secondly, while citations and borrowings are common in Elizabethan compositions, the intensity of the tradition of allusion and quotation within the confines of the relatively small In Nomine repertoire, as documented in chapter four, sets it apart. These features mark the In Nomine as a clearly defined tradition, separate from those that preceded it.

Both the sudden appearance of the In Nomine and the brief window of "intense activity" in which many were written are hallmarks of an invented tradition, a tradition which I have suggested served as a musical reaction to the Reformation rather than a pedagogical innovation. Seen as a community's response to the liturgical upheaval of the Reformation, the form itself acted as a mooring in a sea of unpredictable mobility. This single cantus firmus became a thread of lineage, not only to a lost musical past but to a specific musical piece. Each In Nomine enacts a renewed bond with both Taverner and the tradition he represents. The act of writing an In Nomine carves out for its

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<sup>125</sup> See Danner, "The 'Miserere Mihi' and the English Reformation."

composer an identity within that lineage even as its traditions were severed by the requirements of the new liturgy. That lineage of In Nomine composition itself functions as a large mobile network, insular and self-conscious, but one unbounded by time and space.

This chapter has provided much evidence that pedagogy was not the primary motivation for the composition of In Nomines. The evidence to support my assertion that In Nomines were more importantly a vehicle for fostering community and continuity will be laid out in the following three chapters. Musical networks, I argue, are critical to understanding the In Nomine's popularity precisely because the pieces themselves are self-aware in the way they create community through musical references and assimilations. In Nomines are generically heterogeneous, drawing stylistic elements from continental chansons and other textless and instrumental traditions as well as experimenting with metrical complexity and proportions from the *musica speculativa* tradition, the topics of chapters two and three. The repertory is also extremely intertextual with common allusions to the Taverner as well as to other popular In Nomines, a phenomenon explored in chapter four. In the sixteenth-century In Nomine there is a visible spirit of one-upmanship and daring, of experimentation and boundary pushing, of traditionalism and innovation. To me, this voracious appetite for variety, novelty, and sociality speaks to a lively communal effort in their production—and to the In Nomine's important place within that community.

## II

### Style in the Early In Nomine

The question of the In Nomine's place in English musical culture, and indeed in music history, surveyed in the introduction, has guided many of the observations about its musical style. Ernst Hermann Meyer's early description that the In Nomine bore "many traces of the pre-Reformation cantus firmus motet" that were combined with a nascent instrumentalism derived from dance music, advanced his narrative about the origins of instrumental music in England.<sup>1</sup> Fully embracing the In Nomine as an instrumental repertoire, Paul Doe and Warwick Edwards have used stylistic evidence to make arguments about which instruments most likely played them.<sup>2</sup> Focusing on musical style as evidence of performance practice has somewhat limited the scope of discussion. In all likelihood, In Nomines were both solmized and played on instruments and probably on both viols and wind instruments, not to mention lutes, citterns, and keyboards. Rather than attempting to pin down a unified style for the In Nomine, this chapter documents and explores the influence of several different genres of music as well as compositional techniques on the style of early In Nomines. This focus reveals a breadth of stylistic borrowing in the In Nomine—a breadth that combines old-fashioned features of the liturgical tradition with newer trends in secular music, some recently imported from the continent.

The In Nomine is distinctive in its simultaneous forward-looking use of styles from innovative continental instrumental works and backwards-looking use of a strict

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<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *English Chamber Music*, 98.

<sup>2</sup> See Doe, "The Emergence of the In Nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians"; Edwards, "The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England."

cantus firmus and arcane proportions (discussed in chapter three). The notion of the In Nomine as a compositional exercise or as a proving ground for young composers fails to account for the stylistic diversity found within the In Nomine repertory.<sup>3</sup> Young musicians tasked with writing a cantus firmus exercise would likely not yet be fluent in the newly fashionable secular musical styles that make their way into so many In Nomines. The In Nomine's chronological bidirectionality, discussed broadly in chapter one, shows up here in the mixing of older compositional styles such as cantus firmus motet or *si placet* additions, with newer ones such as the chanson-influenced features of mid-century English part-songs or the techniques of instrumentalism from the fantasia, ricercar, and instrumental chanson. In Nomines draw from centuries of musical styles to create a repertory that is unlike any other. To analyze these pieces is to explore their multi-directionality: In Nomines simultaneously continue the pre-Reformation Catholic tradition of plainsong descant, reach back towards traditions of metrical and notational complexity, absorb the current interest in pervasive imitation, and point towards an instrumental future. Like the Elizabethan religious settlement, so too did the In Nomine balance and compromise the new and the old, the native and the foreign, to create a particularly English kind of hybrid. The politico-religious hybridity of the In Nomine, considered in the previous chapter, is analogous to the stylistic hybridity explored here, both of which were a product of the In Nomine's cultivation within insular networks of elite musicians.

Most importantly, the In Nomine served a musical play-space where experimentation and whimsy abound, and it is in this context that generic borrowings and stylistic hybridity occur. The In Nomine provided fertile ground to composers for

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<sup>3</sup> See chapter one and Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*; Brookes, "In Nomine."

musical innovation and playfulness, processes that include the importation of stylistic markers from continental genres (such as cadences, stereotypical motives, compositional techniques, and distinctive textures) into In Nomines. Even if we accept the stylistic diversity itself as definitional, we can also see that despite the apparent limitations imposed by the cantus firmus, In Nomines are positioned in playful conversation with their own constraints. Rather than passively accepting the cantus firmus as a burden, composers of In Nomines actively sought out and exploited its possibilities, including pushing back against its harmonic implications in ingenious ways.

Perhaps what we can say then is that the prevailing style of the sixteenth-century In Nomine is a style of engagement. In Nomines engage with musical traditions past and present as well as with the form itself, testing its boundaries by creating vertical dissonances against the very notes of the cantus firmus, horizontal dissonances against its mode, and rhythmic dissonances against its mensuration. In Nomines also engage with each other, a type of engagement that will be the topic of chapter four. In documenting the In Nomine's stylistic engagement with various compositional traditions and techniques, this chapter aims to show how eclectic and all-encompassing the aesthetic of early In Nomines was. This eclecticism points to a vibrant community of composers who would have understood the generic references and playful experimentation in the works of their peers.

This chapter argues that the In Nomine is a kind of musical platypus, incorporating elements from disparate musical styles; hence, this chapter is itself a grab-bag, encompassing the many vectors through which the In Nomine assimilated stylistic content. I begin with a consideration of what "instrumental style" might be, followed by documenting a constellation of techniques linked to instrumental performance that

make their way into In Nomines. Next, I take a close look at some of the instrumental genres whose mannerisms are found within the In Nomine corpus: fantasias and ricercars, and the textless chansons that were an important part of the instrumental repertory. Finally, the chapter ends with a more conceptual source of stylistic material; practices of experimentalism, particularly regarding imitation, and how they are used to create structure within In Nomines. One key thread of this experimentalism, techniques of metrical and rhythmic complexity, will receive fuller exploration in chapter three.

### **“Instrumentalism” and the Early In Nomine**

“Instrumental” style in this period is extremely tricky to define, especially since the distinction between vocal and instrumental music is rarely entirely clear. One need look only as far as the title given to Add. MS 31390, “A booke of In nomines & other solfainge songes of v:vi:vii:&viii pts for voyces or Instrumentes” to see that repertory and performance medium were not strictly correlated. Nor was this distinction likely important to sixteenth-century musicians. Despite its vocal origins as a mass excerpt, the In Nomine is a primarily textless tradition; whether played or solmized (an “instrumental” use of the voice), these pieces were composed without text in mind. Furthermore, many In Nomines use various techniques to cultivate musical structure and organization—structure that is unnecessary in texted music, in which the words provide the key structural scaffolding. Keyboard In Nomines are distinctly instrumental and are often idiomatic for the keyboard interface, taking advantage of what is comfortable in the hand. The existence of a few contrafacta and church tunes fitted against the cantus firmus are the texted exceptions that prove the textless rule. As discussed in chapter one, in the sixteenth century, In Nomines circulated in manuscripts

(or subsections of manuscripts) that compile textless music, and it is only in the early-seventeenth century that they become associated with the performance tradition of aristocratic viol consort playing. While emphasizing the likelihood of the solmized (vocal) performance of *In Nomines*, I argue that we should understand *In Nomines* as textless in original conception rather than as a vocal repertory often played on instruments. This is not identical to saying that they are “instrumental” works.

Edwards has claimed that in the *In Nomine*, “a musical style was emerging which was in many ways distinct from that of contemporary settings of words, a style which featured textures decidedly more effective on instruments than voices.”<sup>4</sup> A number of scholars, including Edwards, have attempted to pin down what makes some polyphony more “instrumental” than others. Meyer suggested that shorter imitative motives, cadences that are more defined and less elided, and the use of repeated-note figures are some of the instrumentalisms that emerge in *In Nomines*.<sup>5</sup> Edwards has also noted that the ambitus of some *In Nomine* parts exceeds standard vocal ranges and that others contain large leaps and awkward melodies.<sup>6</sup> Building on these observations, I would add that the use of sequences, ostinatos, and fragmentary disjunct motives (resembling arpeggios) which are typical of much textless polyphony, are also importantly present in *In Nomines*. Many of the rhythmic and metrical complexities discussed in chapter three are also, at least in the sixteenth century, techniques of untexted music, although they have their origins in texted music. Nevertheless, as Edwards aptly cautions, we must not be “beguiled by melodic and rhythmic idioms whose apparent instrumental characteristics merely reflect anachronistic modern

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<sup>4</sup> Edwards, “The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England,” 117.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *English Chamber Music*, chap. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Edwards, “The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England,” 118.

assumptions about the nature of instrumental music.”<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it is important to remember that every feature listed above also occurs in unequivocally vocal works, if perhaps with less frequency or to a less extreme degree. In short, a piece that has these hallmarks of “instrumental style” is not necessarily a piece for instruments nor is a piece that lacks these features necessarily vocal.

The problem of defining instrumental style in relation to an indistinct corpus of instrumental music has been investigated closely by scholars of late-fifteenth century Italian music, the agreed-upon site of the emergence of music originally conceived for instruments. Instrumental ensembles were flourishing and, in addition to well-documented improvisatory practices, there is suggestive evidence of written repertoires for instrumental ensembles as well.<sup>8</sup> But what were those repertoires? The problem has been examined from many angles. Louise Litterick has focused on texting practices, arguing that the inclusion or exclusion of text in manuscripts was not random and reflects traditions of performance practice. In the Italian manuscripts she studies, *frottole* always receive Italian texts while secular Franco-Netherlandish works are usually textless.<sup>9</sup> The earliest manuscript containing only textual incipits is the Casanatense Chansonier (I-Rc MS 2856), c. 1479–81, about which Litterick notes, “A record of payment to its copyist describes the book as being written ‘a la pifaresca’, which clearly points to use by wind players.”<sup>10</sup> Regarding pieces conceived purely instrumentally, Litterick concludes, “both the cantus-firmus setting and what has been termed the free instrumental chanson doubtless grew directly out of the Italian habit of performing

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<sup>7</sup> Edwards, “Songs without Words by Josquin and His Contemporaries,” 577.

<sup>8</sup> See Gilbert, “The Improvising Alta Capella ca. 1500”; Gilbert, “Quattrocento Consorts.”

<sup>9</sup> Litterick, “Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century.”

<sup>10</sup> Litterick, 480.

imported vocal pieces with instruments alone.”<sup>11</sup> John Banks finds textlessness alone an insufficient marker of instrumental music and proposes a multi-vectored approach to determining a coherent instrumental repertory. In addition to patterns of deliberate textlessness, he establishes congruences with tablature sources (which are explicitly instrumental) to define entire manuscripts or internal segments of manuscripts as instrumental music.<sup>12</sup> The accepted trajectory is that vocal repertoires played on instruments gave rise to similarly styled pieces written with instruments in mind. In fact, Banks argues that the procedure of taking a line from a vocal work and writing a new piece around it is one that helps define this new instrumental repertory. Acknowledging this connection to vocal music, Edwards prefers to describe pieces organized around non-textual principles as “songs without words” rather than “instrumental.”<sup>13</sup>

Drawing on these attempts to identify of a body of instrumentally conceived works, scholars have then tried to identify stylistic elements that would distinguish these pieces from texted repertoires. These include the use of sequences and ostinatos (repetitions that are considerably smaller in scale than those used in song forms, where whole sections repeat), and densely packed imitation of short motives. However, there are a number of confounding factors. Edwards observes that focusing on pieces that appear “instrumental” ignores the likelihood that there are other pieces conceived for instruments that look identical to vocal works.<sup>14</sup> Sarah Fuller likewise cautions that the “instrumentalisms” mentioned above also show up in liturgical music. Josquin’s masses, she writes, “show a marked pre-occupation with sequence, ostinato, and close

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<sup>11</sup> Litterick, 481.

<sup>12</sup> Banks, *The Instrumental Consort Repertory of the Late Fifteenth Century*.

<sup>13</sup> Edwards, “Songs without Words by Josquin and His Contemporaries.”

<sup>14</sup> Edwards, 582.

imitations." "Might the stylistic process," she asks, "involve an assimilation of instrumental idioms into vocal music?"<sup>15</sup> These possibilities cannot be ignored and the distinctions between instrumental and vocal style must remain somewhat fluid.

In England, the transition from instrumental performance of vocal works to a possible dedicated instrumental repertory emerges only in the early-sixteenth century at the court of Henry VIII. John Bryan has examined the transmission of pieces by Heinrich Isaac at Henry's court, concluding that the reception of Isaac's works in England was as instrumental music.<sup>16</sup> The reception of Isaac in England is thus similar to the textless circulation of Franco-Flemish polyphony in Italy documented by Litterick and others. Jane Bernstein has explored English manuscript copies of continental chansons and notes that these manuscripts are "miscellanies copied by or for amateur musicians. In most cases, the scribes organized the contents of these commonplace books into sections that carefully separated the texted from the untexted pieces. The chansons appear most often in the untexted portions."<sup>17</sup> This includes Add. MS 31390, a fully textless manuscript and an important source of In Nomines that also contains many chansons transmitted without their texts. The practice of adopting vocal pieces without their texts into an instrumental repertory coexists with the emergence of pieces conceived without words and constructed around other organizing principles. Edwards succinctly describes how scholarly investigation mirrors these two sources of instrumental music: "In the first approach the focal point is what instrumental ensembles actually *played*, but in the second it is the repertory *written* for them that counts."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Fuller, "Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q16," 93.

<sup>16</sup> Bryan, "Extended Play."

<sup>17</sup> Bernstein, "The Chanson in England 1530-1640," 229.

<sup>18</sup> Edwards, "The Instrumental Music of Henry VIII's Manuscript," 274.

Focusing on the latter, Edwards surveys the many sub-types of instrumental compositions found in the Henry VIII Manuscript and the *XX songes* publication of 1530 (of which only the bass partbook survives, though some of the contents are known from concordances). Of particular interest are the very long solmization and hexachord pieces by William Cornysh, Robert Fayrfax, and Robert Cowper found in these sources (the latter two only incompletely). John Bryan connects these pieces to the works of unusual length by Isaac and Agricola that are also found in the Henry VIII manuscript.<sup>19</sup> This group of pieces draws heavily on ostinatos and sequences as well as very short repeated motivic figures. It is worth remembering that at least some of this music (Isaac and Agricola) was originally texted and its apparent use as an instrumental repertory in England (as in Italy) does not mean the pieces were composed specifically with instruments in mind. These features, however, taken from vocal music played instrumentally were then composed into new textless repertories such as the *In Nomine*.

### **Comparing In Nomines with Other Textless Works**

While all the music in Add. MS 31390 is textless, much of it is identified in the manuscript by incipit and either exists or may have existed elsewhere with text. There are, however, some pieces other than *In Nomines* that stand out as having been originally conceived as textless and seem to take advantage of the distinctive possibilities of instrumental performance. This section considers three such works from Add. MS 31390—Robert Johnson's *A Knell*, Clement Woodcock's *Browning*, and Robert Parsons's *The songe called trumpetts*—and compares their seemingly instrumental

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<sup>19</sup> Bryan, "Extended Play."

features to In Nomines found within the same manuscript. It then considers the origin of these instrumental features in earlier textless works, such as those in the Henry VIII Manuscript discussed above.

Robert Johnson's *A knell* (a reference to the repetitive tolling of bells) uses a repeating two-bar ostinato throughout. The consonances that accompany the ostinato vary slightly but the repetition of the ostinato remains exact—even when the mensuration changes and the ostinato accelerates. At the opening (ex. 2-1) the ostinato is first introduced as a point of imitation though it then continues constantly throughout the entire piece.

**Example 2-1. Johnson *A knell*, mm. 1-12**

The musical score for Example 2-1, Johnson's *A knell*, measures 1-12, is presented in five staves. The top staff is in Treble Clef, the second staff is in Alto Clef, and the bottom three staves are in Bass Clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The music features a repeating two-bar ostinato pattern in the lower staves, with the upper staves providing a counterpoint. The measures are numbered 1 through 12 above the staves.

Because the cantus firmus of the In Nomine (*Gloria tibi Trinitas*) does not support it, In Nomines never have a single ostinato or harmonic pattern that repeats throughout, but they do often have potential passages of harmonic stasis, at moments when the cantus firmus sits on a single pitch or cycles obstinately through two or three pitches. These moments are often sites for composers to “maintain a point,” a technique discussed later in this chapter. However, several other features from ostinato pieces are borrowed by In Nomines. Ostinato pieces are often more consonant and less polyphonic, appearing to be organized around vertical harmonic patterns rather than

linear counterpoint.<sup>20</sup> The middles or ends of ostinato pieces also tend to climax with writing in fast note values and disjunct fragments rather than full motives. A third common characteristic (though not unique to ostinato pieces) is a triple-time section at the end.

Johnson's *A knell* exhibits all three of these features. In the example above, the stepwise movement of the ostinato to its final is used in five out of six repetitions as the *tenorisans* voice for a cadence, which establishes a repetitive harmonic pattern that is only occasionally varied throughout the piece. The clear, unelided cadences at these points segment the music into small units of two perfect semibreves. Two-thirds of the way through the piece, Johnson introduces the disjunct fragments that are so common in this untexted repertoire. This gesture always starts with a rest and is usually three (sometimes five) notes long and exclusively semiminims. It almost always includes a leap of a third; about half include a second leap of a third, while the other half have a movement by second. These fragments are also extremely consonant: they outline consonant pitches available within the pitch-space of that moment (see ex. 2-2).

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<sup>20</sup> Speaking of "harmony" in the sixteenth century is often controversial and yet ground basses and their attendant harmonic patterns (Greensleeves, for example) existed and were used in compositions. Another haven of "harmonic writing" can be seen in pieces for large numbers of voices. Tallis's *Spem in alium* or Carvor's *O bone Jesu* largely move from one consonant vertical sonority to the next as the rules of dissonance treatment seem nearly impossible to accommodate at that scale without producing forbidden parallels. I use the word harmonic sparingly and often prefer to emphasize the way this kind of writing produces more homophony and consonance than imitative counterpoint.

**Example 2-2. Johnson *A knell*, mm. 47-55**

Musical score for Example 2-2, Johnson's *A knell*, measures 47-55. The score is written for five staves: Treble clef (top), Alto clef (second), Bass clef (third), Bass clef (fourth), and Bass clef (fifth). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The music consists of a single melodic line in the top voice, with accompaniment in the other four voices. The melody is characterized by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The accompaniment features a steady rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, often in a lower register. The piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 55.

Finally, Johnson's *A knell* ends with a triple section (ex. 2-3), even though the entire piece was already in a perfect mensuration.

**Example 2-3. Johnson *A knell*, mm. 64-70**

Musical score for Example 2-3, Johnson's *A knell*, measures 64-70. The score is written for five staves: Treble clef (top), Alto clef (second), Bass clef (third), Bass clef (fourth), and Bass clef (fifth). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The music consists of a single melodic line in the top voice, with accompaniment in the other four voices. The melody is characterized by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The accompaniment features a steady rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, often in a lower register. The piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 70.

Another example of disjunct fragments can be seen towards the end of Clement Woodcock's setting of the song *Browning* which features a longer ostinato than the one found in the Johnson. In example 2-4 the tune begins in the top voice with the pickup to the fourth measure of the excerpt, following the conclusion of the tune in the fourth voice.

**Example 2-4. Woodcock *Browning*, mm. 54-62**

Compare the examples above to Henry Stonings's *In Nomine a5* (ex. 2-5) which exhibits the same use of disjunct fragments which outline consonances defined by the *cantus firmus* and a generally busy, fragmented texture. Some of Stonings's fragments here are five or even more notes long.

**Example 2-5. Stonings *In Nomine a5*, mm. 28-33**

There are many *In Nomines* that make use of these disjunct fragments and about a dozen that end with a section in triple time. Both features appear predominantly in five-part *In Nomines* and rarely in the more sober and old-fashioned four-part ones, hinting that these instrumental techniques were associated with music in five parts.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Five-part *In Nomines* were not necessarily later than four-part ones. John Baldwin composed an *In Nomine a4* in the 1590s while Christopher Tye, an early *In Nomine* composer, left us mostly *In Nomines a5*.

Homorhythm and antiphony are other features of the textless pieces found in Add. MS 31390 that are occasionally used in In Nomines. Robert Parsons's *The songe called trumpetts* is an instrumental piece in which there are sections of restricted harmonic motion that repeat simple sequences of triads over and over. Parsons orchestrates these repetitions as antiphonal quartets with the two bottom voices and the two top voices trading off throughout the piece (see ex. 2-6).

**Example 2-6. Parsons *The songe called trumpetts*, mm. 30-40**

Moments of antiphonal texture like those seen in example 2-6 show up occasionally in the In Nomine repertory. Antiphony is used to particularly great effect in the In Nomine a5 by Parsons. In some respects, this In Nomine resembles Parsons's

other instrumental works like *The songe called trumpetts* and *De la Court* more than it resembles other In Nomines. But where the antiphony of *Trumpetts* and *De la Court* is between trios and quartets and often in echo gestures, Parsons takes this texture to its extreme in the In Nomine a5 (see ex. 2-7). The antiphonal texture of this In Nomine might more properly be called call-and-response since it is always a single voice echoed by the other non-cantus firmus voices.

**Example 2-7. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 1-9**



Such harmonically oriented bass lines, relatively limited ranges, and antiphonal textures of *The songe called trumpetts*, *De la Court*, and the In Nomine a5 have led Doe to conclude that these Parsons pieces, as well as many other In Nomines, were originally intended for performance by wind instruments.<sup>22</sup> All three of these pieces by Parsons, however, were widely disseminated and survive in numerous sources that suggest performance on multiple possible instruments—the In Nomine a5 was especially popular and exists in arrangements for keyboard and intabulations for lute and cittern.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Doe, “The Emergence of the In Nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians”; The London Waits, proposed by Doe as possible performers of In Nomines were primarily a wind band though they also acquired a number of viols during the 1560s in order to compete with the St. Paul’s choirboys whose performances on viols were then in vogue. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 214.

<sup>23</sup> This popularity no doubt led to the imitations and homages to this piece which are discussed in chapter four.

Now I turn to the origins of these instrumentalisms, for the use of ostinatos, consonant writing, and fragmented figures found in these works were not recent innovations. As mentioned above, vocal works by Isaac and Agricola found without text in the Henry VIII manuscript exhibit many of the same characteristics. John Bryan characterizes several unifying features of these pieces and their originally textless English counterparts such as William Cornysh's *Fa la sol*, found in the same manuscript. These features include the repeated use of fragmentary motives, a slower opening that leads to growing rhythmic activity, and the use of syncopated triple groupings in a prevailing duple meter.<sup>24</sup> Describing Isaac's use of slow harmonic rhythm amid rhythmic complexity, the early sixteenth-century music theorist Glareanus noted: "It also gave him pleasure to show his versatility especially in tones remaining unchanged in any one voice, but with the other voices running about and clamoring around everywhere, just as the waves moved by the wind are accustomed to play about a rock in the sea."<sup>25</sup> Bryan demonstrates this very technique in Cornysh's *Fa la sol* which was printed alongside two very long textless hexachord pieces by Fayrfax and Cowper that are transmitted solely in the 1530 publication *XX Songes*. Only the bass partbook of this publication survives but even in that part alone we can still see many of these same instrumentalisms within both pieces. While interlocking rhythmic complexity is hard to judge from a single part, the overall rhythmic activity increases throughout each piece. There are moments of stasis and extraordinary repetition, fragmentary motives, and sequential passages.

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<sup>24</sup> This last feature is common in *In Nomines* and discussed at length in chapter three. Bryan, "Extended Play," 125, 128, 131.

<sup>25</sup> Miller, "The 'Dodecachordon' of Heinrich Glarean," 473.

Figure 2-1. Fayrfax *Ut re mi fa sol la* in *XX songes*, 1530



All of these features can be seen in the above excerpt (fig. 2-1) from the *secunda pars* of Fayrfax's *Ut re mi fa sol la*. On the third line of the first page is a long moment of stasis where the bass alternates G and D over and over. The line below features descending fragmentary motives and at the end the first line of the second page a sequence.

One final source of instrumental style that should be mentioned is the exclusively instrumental domain of dance music. Much dance music has not survived which makes it more difficult to study. This lack of survival may, ironically, be due to its popularity. As Edwards writes, "The well used manuscripts of professional musicians however would doubtless have been discarded as soon as they wore out or when their contents ceased to be fashionable. It is probably for this reason that surviving consort dances are deceptively small in number."<sup>26</sup> While this chapter brackets the discussion of dance music, instead focusing on other instrumental traditions, it is worth briefly mentioning the *basse danse* which has some similarities to the In Nomine tradition. Like In Nomines, *basses danses* consisted of instrumental polyphony (in this case, probably improvised) around a pre-existing cantus firmus

<sup>26</sup> Edwards, "The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music," 3.

(sometimes a tune taken from a chanson). In the sixteenth century, the popularity of the serious *basse danse* gave way to a similarly grave non-cantus firmus dance, the pavane, which flourished in England. There are very few examples of English pavans from the sixteenth century. Those found in the Lumley Books from the middle of the century are fairly short and mostly homorhythmic unlike the elaborate polyphonic pavans that emerged at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Dowland's *Lachrimae* pavans are a famous example). Homorhythm is not common in early In Nomines and the examples presented in this chapter seem more connected to the homorhythms found in the chanson repertory than in the pavans of, say, the Lumley Books. However, dances should not be ruled out as a possible stylistic influence on the In Nomine.

It is worth briefly reiterating that In Nomines are alone among untexted cantus firmus compositions in their interest in assimilating these instrumental techniques. The *Dum transisset Sabbatum* settings found in Add. MS 31390 do not show these features and non-liturgical *Miserere* settings from this period go in two different directions, some are virtuosic keyboard works and others are used as the basis for writing canons upon a plainsong. Only the In Nomine consistently incorporates the style of other untexted polyphonic works.

### **The Influence of Fantasias/Ricercars on In Nomines**

The instrumental style of the In Nomine has a still more contemporary source in the burgeoning genres of fantasia and ricercar, although the style of these genres itself is difficult to define. I have bundled fantasias and ricercars together because although the two genres part ways in the seventeenth century, the terms were often used interchangeably in the sixteenth century for the same piece of music or designated

pieces that look identical in style to each other.<sup>27</sup> For example, an important French publication of ensemble ricercars from around 1550 continued to use “R” to designate the ricercars (following the convention of the 1540 Italian publication that it copies) but refers to them in the text as “phantaisies instrumentales.”<sup>28</sup> Both fantasies and ricercars come in several stylistic forms: some examples look like preluding or improvisation while others are more strictly imitative. Likewise, both genres were written for solo instruments such as viols, lutes, or keyboard instruments as well as for ensembles. Sixteenth-century ensemble ricercars were usually for three or four voices (although Orlando di Lasso published a collection of two-part ricercars in 1577), while fantasias may include five- or six-voice examples as well. Both the fantasia and the ricercar emerged on the continent (particularly in Italy) early in the sixteenth century and made their way to England through Italian, Spanish, and French sources by the second half of the century where native composers found particular inspiration in the fantasia.

In the 1570s in England, most extant fantasias were written for lute or keyboard although examples for ensemble by Blankes and Paradiso exist, and the former survives in Add. MS 31390. By the seventeenth century, the fantasia had become strongly associated with the viol consort as had the *In Nomine*. Already by 1597, Thomas Morley refers to the fantasia as the most important type of untexted music: “the most principall and chiefest kind of musicke which is made without a dittie.”<sup>29</sup> But this was not the case even a few decades earlier. The earliest fantasias in England vary widely but their defining feature is their lack of text, even though solmization was a potential, and occasionally suggested, performance option. They were a repertory for instruments,

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<sup>27</sup> Swenson, “The Four-Part Italian Ensemble Ricercar from 1540 to 1619,” 3–4.

<sup>28</sup> *Musicque de Ioye*.

<sup>29</sup> Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 206.

but, like the In Nomine, are so stylistically varied that they are hard to describe. In his thesis on the fantasia in England, Graham Strahle notes: “Paradoxically, perhaps the only general observation which can be made is that the fantasia was a composition whose chief characteristic was that it encompassed a very wide variety of techniques.”<sup>30</sup> Despite this variety, most fantasias fall into two broad categories: the florid and free and the imitative and metrically strict, though both types of fantasias could be improvised (Francesco da Milano, the famed Italian lute player who lived 1497–1543, was renowned for his improvised fantasias of both kinds). But even these broad types are not wholly separate. “As can be seen in the works of a great many lute composers of the period,” Strahle writes, “the two styles were actually often employed in the one composition.”<sup>31</sup> Nor must a fantasia be so named. The terms fantasia and ricercar were used interchangeably in Italy, and the same distinctions just described can be seen in the “free” and “imitative” ricercar. In addition, the fantasia sometimes took on functions, such as tuning and warming up the hands, that were later associated with prelude. Adrian Le Roy’s instructional manual for the lute, published in England in 1568, includes a *Petite fantasie* for checking the tuning, which meanders across the strings before trying out some scalar passages.

Continental lute fantasias appear in several Elizabethan lute books including fourteen by Francesco da Milano himself. Six fantasias in four parts by Robert White are preserved in Add. MS 29246, a manuscript of lute accompaniments to various vocal and instrumental pieces (for which only the tablature arrangement of the lower three voices survives).<sup>32</sup> White’s fantasias begin imitatively and most are bi- or tripartite, restarting

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<sup>30</sup> Strahle, “Fantasy and Music in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England,” 5.

<sup>31</sup> Strahle, 22.

<sup>32</sup> Paul Doe’s reconstruction of these fantasias can be found in Musica Britannica’s *Elizabethan Consort Music I*.

with a new imitative point after a pause or a double bar. The surviving parts are idiomatic for the lute with parallel runs of notes in duets and trios; hence it is unclear if they were originally intended for another performance medium. Likewise, the “Fansye” by Newman found in the Mulliner Book, with its predominantly two-voice texture in which the occasional third voice is always homorhythmic with one of the other two, would be perfectly at home on the lute or keyboard. Only two fantasias composed by Henry VIII’s lutenist, Philip van Wilder, survive: one for lute and one in four parts.<sup>33</sup> This second fantasia is transmitted in score in the early-seventeenth century Tregian Manuscript and is built not on points of imitation so much as on a conceit: the piece can be played both with and without the longer rests that appear in all four parts. This “Fantasia con pause, e senza pause” is cleverly done and imitation is included as much as possible. Because of the conceit, these imitative points are based on thirds, outlined or filled in, allowing the parts to fit together in the two different vertical configurations (see ex. 2-8). While there are some moments of less than elegant dissonance in the *senza pause* rendition, the two versions each work remarkably well, even maintaining the same cadential structure.

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<sup>33</sup> See Bernstein, “Philip Van Wilder and the Netherlandish Chanson in England,” 75 for a list of van Wilder’s surviving output.

Example 2-8. van Wilder, *Fantasia con pause, e senza pause*, opening

The image displays a musical score for the opening of van Wilder's *Fantasia con pause, e senza pause*. The score is arranged in four systems, each containing four staves (treble, alto, tenor, and bass clefs). The first system is marked 'con pause' and covers measures 1 through 8. The second system covers measures 9 through 16. The third system is marked 'senza pause' and covers measures 1 through 7. The fourth system covers measures 8 through 12. The music features a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with various rests and phrasing slurs. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

Strahle proposes that in addition to manuscript transmission from abroad, the fantasia may also have arrived in England with foreign musicians. The Flemish viol players Hans Hossenet and Hans Highorne who arrived in 1526 are likely too early to

have known the form, but the six-part Italian consort of viols/violins who arrived in the mid-1540s may well have brought examples with them.<sup>34</sup> Certainly the arrival of Alfonso Ferrabosco I in 1562 spurred the cultivation of fantasias in England.<sup>35</sup> The Italian players from the 1540s may also have brought examples of ensemble ricercars with them, including those in *Musica nova*, published in Venice in 1540. The four-part ricercars of *Musica nova* do not exhibit many of the instrumentalisms found in In Nomines or described above, and the style of the music is not distinct from contemporary motets. There are, however, some interesting details about the publication that illuminate possible connections to the In Nomine tradition. One of the included ricercars by Girolamo Parabosco is on a cantus firmus. While this is not surprising if one considers the imitative ricercar to be essentially an instrumental motet, (as John Caldwell does in his Grove article on the subject), an explicitly instrumental piece based on a cantus firmus is provocatively parallel to the In Nomine tradition.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, ensemble ricercar publications often list various performance options which can include solmization by singers. Again, it is not surprising to see publishers pitching their wares as widely as possible, yet here too (perhaps as in the In Nomine) we have explicitly instrumental music being suggested for solmization. It certainly reinforces the idea that just as vocal music could be played on instruments, instrumental music could be sung by voices—such suggestions of solmization don't preclude the music from having been originally conceived of as instrumental. This may refine our understanding of the title page of Add. MS 31390 ("A booke of In nomines & other solfainge songes of

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<sup>34</sup> Strahle, "Fantasy and Music in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," 300.

<sup>35</sup> Strahle, 301–2; Field, Helm, and Drabkin, "Fantasia."

<sup>36</sup> Caldwell, "Ricercaire."

v:vi:vii:&viii:pts for voyces or Instrumentes”) as a reflection of performance possibilities rather than performance intentions.

Writing in the Grove article on “Fantasia,” Christopher D.S. Field declares that “the In Nomine should not be regarded as a species of fantasia, though the two genres came to be cultivated in close relationship.”<sup>37</sup> John Harper disagrees, describing the In Nomine as, “the fantasia on the cantus firmus entitled ‘In nomine.’”<sup>38</sup> Jean Jacquot also describes the In Nomine as a fantasia on an original subject constrained by the harmonic implications of the cantus firmus.<sup>39</sup> A *Fancy* by John Baldwin “upon a ground” confirms the possibility of a fantasia with a harmonic constraint. Both Harper and Field, moreover, are happy to include in the fantasia genre (at least as “fantasia-like”) a group of textless pieces that are not explicitly called fantasias, though these pieces have no cantus firmus, ostinato, ground, or solmization scheme. Field writes, “Especially interesting are the fantasia-like compositions not based on a cantus firmus that make extensive use of imitation, such as the five-part and six-part ‘songes’ of Parsons and Robert White.”<sup>40</sup> The word “song” here does not necessarily connote vocal performance as the term was used more broadly.<sup>41</sup> The flexible relationship between instrumental fantasia and texted polyphony can be seen in the structure of several examples which contain final repetitions in the style of partsongs and chansons.<sup>42</sup> A piece called “Partyne’s Fancy,” preserved incompletely in Folger 408, shows evidence of a repetitive structure much like a partsong. A fascinating example of the categorical

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<sup>37</sup> Field, Helm, and Drabkin, “Fantasia.”

<sup>38</sup> Harper, “Ensemble and Lute Music,” 281.

<sup>39</sup> Jacquot, “Sur Quelques Formes de la Musique de Clavier Élisabéthaine,” 247.

<sup>40</sup> Field, Helm, and Drabkin, “Fantasia.”

<sup>41</sup> See Edwards, “The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England,” 117. Parsons’s *Trumpetts* is referred to in one source as a “cante cantate” (a singing song) but this source is a set of partbooks for broken consort, an instrumental ensemble consisting of a lute, bandora, cittern, recorder, and bass viol. See the Holmes Consort Books.

<sup>42</sup> See Harper, “Ensemble and Lute Music,” 290–91.

fluidity between fantasias and other repertories is Tye's *Rubum quem* which is extant in four sources each assigning it a different title. The Dow Partbooks give the incipit "Rubum quem" while Tenbury 1464 gives it a solmization title ("sol mi ut") based on the opening point. In Add. MS 22597, the piece is labeled a "singing song" and in Petre 1 a "phantazia." The seeming interchangeability of these titles is striking. Petre 1, copied circa 1590, is the latest of these sources suggesting that perhaps the category of fantasia later came to include these textless pieces titled with incipits or solmizations, as it did textless transcriptions of vocal works.

There is little evidence to go on in characterizing the style of English fantasias before the 1580s and Strahle declines to examine these early fantasias, citing the difficulty in dating pieces that show up in retrospective anthologies. The examples found embedded alongside In Nomines from the 1560s and 70s, however, show a very different style than those which can be conclusively dated later. A "Phancy" by Edward Blankes, a member of the London Waits, survives completely in Add. MS 31390 (copied by 1578) and partially in the later manuscript Tenbury 389 (one step lower). It is a fascinating piece in its own right, but it also provides a point of reference for what a fantasia from the 1570s might look like. Blankes's *Phancy* (ex. 2-9) begins with a dactylic (long-short-short) point that is presented first as a duet between the top two voices and then in descending imitation (as we'll see below, dactylic opening gestures were associated with the chanson tradition).

Example 2-9. Blankes *Phancy*, mm. 1-6

The Blankes *Phancy* has much in common with homorhythmic chansons or dances. In addition to its chanson-like opening, much of the piece follows the melody of the top voice rather than points of imitation. There are several completely homorhythmic sections including an internal triple meter section. This triple section interestingly spans two notational styles, an implicit triple followed by a mensurally indicated one (as discussed further in chapter three). The use of implied triple groupings and “crooked” groupings that mix groups of twos and threes is also a feature throughout the piece. The crookedness distinguishes this homorhythm from that of dances, whose rhythms tend to be straightforwardly in the prevailing meter, the occasional hemiola notwithstanding. A homorhythmic passage from the end of the work (ex. 2-10) mixes groupings of twos and threes, particularly in measure 35.

Example 2-10. Blankes *Phancy*, mm. 33-38

Two other early polyphonic fantasias survive incompletely: the one by Partyne already mentioned and one by Ferrabosco I in Add. MS 32377. Both pieces alternate between duple and triple as does Blankes's *Phancy*. The Partyne fantasy sits directly next to two In Nomine settings in Folger 408, neither of which, unfortunately, survives in other sources. The Anonymous In Nomine a6 found in Add. MS 31390 is similar in content to these fantasias. It is large in scope, one of only a few In Nomines that set the chant in dotted breves, and is comprised of many contrasting sections, some of which (excepting the cantus firmus) resemble passages from Blankes's *Phancy*. After a chanson-like dactylic opening there is a homorhythmic moment, like the Blankes, although here the rhythmic activity comes from syncopations rather than mixing groups of twos and threes (see ex. 2-11).

**Example 2-11. Anonymous In Nomine a6, mm. 8-11**

Several homorhythmic passages appear in this Anonymous In Nomine a6, including in a section with antiphonal trios. Two of these passages are best understood harmonically rather than contrapuntally—they consist entirely of rhythms on a single triad that changes with the cantus firmus. The rhythmic simplicity of the non-cantus firmus voices may make these homophonic moments seem dance-like but the piece

maintains a constant tension between the implied mensuration of the cantus firmus, which subdivides the dotted breve into two dotted semibreves, and the rest of the parts which usually proceed in undotted semibreves. Two homorhythmic passages (exx. 2-12 and 2-13) bring these conflicting sub-divisions to the fore.

**Example 2-12. Anonymous In Nomine a6, mm. 17-21**



**Example 2-13. Anonymous In Nomine a6, mm. 32-36**



While homophony is not a particularly instrumental characteristic, the Anonymous In Nomine a6 ends with two sections of more instrumental character. The first (ex. 2-14) is comprised of running notes in duets and trios, in the style of

instrumental divisions.<sup>43</sup> This texture would be at home in a lute improvisation and can be seen in the published fantasias of Francesco da Milano, as well as in the Robert White fantasias discussed above.

**Example 2-14. Anonymous In Nomine a6, mm. 41-43**

Similarly instrumental in character is the ending which makes use of fanfare-like gestures and those typical disjunct fragments (see ex. 2-15). We have already seen that this is not an uncommon ending strategy in the In Nomine repertoire.

**Example 2-15. Anonymous In Nomine a6, mm. 55-58**

<sup>43</sup> Divisions were a style of ornamentation and improvisation in which larger note values were “divided” into many smaller ones.

Returning to what makes a fantasia a fantasia, we must consider Thomas Morley. Morley's definition of fantasia emphasizes the freedom of the composition. In the same breath as he condemns monothematic compositions generally, Morley praises just that when it appears in fantasias, though he says this is rare. Commending the Italians and other foreigners who move from point to point, the English, he says,

are so tedious, that of one point we will make as much as may serve for a whole song: which though it shew great Art in varietie, yet is it more than needeth, except one would take upon them to make a whole fancie of one point. And in that also, you shall finde excellent fantasies both of Maister Alfonso, Horatio Vecci, and others. But such they seldome compose, except it either bee to shewe their varietie at some odde time, to see what may be done upon a point without a Dittie; or at the request of some friend, to shew the diversitie of sundry mens veines upon one subject.<sup>44</sup>

While some fantasias are on a single point, many are not. Morley tell us that in a fantasia, "a musician taketh a point at his pleasure, and wresteth and turneth it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seem best in his own conceit."<sup>45</sup> This, Morley says, allows the composer to show his artfulness most brilliantly because he is not tied to any form or preexisting material like text. He may use "discordes, quick motions, slow motions, proportions, and what you list."<sup>46</sup> The hallmark of the fantasia for Morley is freedom, freedom to explore a single idea or to move between many, experimenting with what is possible. This definition of the fantasia gives us a new lens through which to view the more unusual In Nomines as experiments in freedom. Some In Nomines, including many by Tye, are monothematic, exploring the combinative possibilities of a single point of imitation. Others move quickly from point to point as continental fantasias often do, exploring longer and shorter phrases, faster and slower

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<sup>44</sup> Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 184.

<sup>45</sup> Morley, 206.

<sup>46</sup> Morley, 206.

material. Some In Nomines shift mensuration or explore unusual proportional groupings as Morley mentions, and these will be explored in chapter three. Still others embed strong dissonances into their framework. It is clear (to the extent that clarity is possible in the face of such nebulous and incomplete evidence) that the English fantasia, still nascent in the sixteenth century, was not appreciably stylistically different from the In Nomine (save for the latter's use of a cantus firmus). One would not be mistaken in thinking of the sixteenth-century In Nomine as a fantasia on a plainsong.

### **The Influence of Chansons on In Nomines**

An important and under-discussed source of musical style in the In Nomine is the chanson, particularly the instrumentalized chanson. Of course, the chanson in the sixteenth century was not a monolithic or homogenous entity and neither was its influence on the In Nomine single stranded. There were many musical styles of chanson from the more homorhythmic (often termed "Parisian") to the fully imitative (often termed "Franco-Flemish"), even some that incorporated a cantus firmus.<sup>47</sup> As the name suggests, chansons were vocal pieces, but stripped of their texts they also became an important part of the growing instrumental repertory, as discussed above. These instrumentalized chansons informed the composition of dedicated instrumental music, and many of their musical features made their way into other types of untexted music such as the In Nomine. Chansons were transmitted in England in various guises, often untexted, in manuscripts associated with the court and in manuscript miscellanies,

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<sup>47</sup> This terminological binary is far too simplistic and has been resisted by scholars. Actual pieces exist across the entire spectrum from practically homophonic to densely imitative. See Bernstein, "The 'Parisian Chanson'"; Perkins, "Toward a Typology of the 'Renaissance' Chanson"; Bernstein, "The Cantus-Firmus Chansons of Tylman Susato."

throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Continental chansons and those written in England by Henry VIII's lutenist, Philip van Wilder, show up in several key manuscripts containing In Nomines, most prominently Add. MS 31390, as discussed in chapter one. In fact, the unusual table-book format of Add. MS 31390 is an expansion of the notational innovation first found in a 1538 chanson publication of Jacques Moderne.<sup>49</sup>

The influence of chansons on the In Nomine was two-fold. On the one hand, chansons influenced English musical style generally, particularly the mid-century partsongs described by John Milsom, which then filtered into the In Nomine.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, instrumental traditions of augmenting chansons by adding an extra part made their way directly into the In Nomine tradition without first showing up elsewhere in English music. While there are, no doubt, many stylistic elements of In Nomines imported from the chanson, this section will focus on just three: the use of dactylic opening motives, the use of frequent and un-elided cadences, and the addition of new *si placet* lines to existing works.

### **Dactylic Openings**

Derived from the rhythm of the French poetry they set, sixteenth-century chansons almost always begin with a characteristic dactylic rhythm: long-short-short. Very often, that archetypical rhythm is expressed on a single pitch, although rising or falling fifths are also common both within the dactyl and following it. This opening is both instantly recognizable and always associated with the chanson. It is the usual

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<sup>48</sup> For documentation of chansons in England, see Bernstein, "The Chanson in England 1530-1640."

<sup>49</sup> Moderne's "Le Parangon des Chansons" publication (1538) is the earliest extant source to use the table-book format in which two of the four musical parts are inverted on the page to allow musicians to sit across a table from each other and read from the same book. Add. MS 31390 expands on this format by having staves facing in all four cardinal directions and allowing 5-12 people to read from a single opening while arranged around the book.

<sup>50</sup> Milsom, "English Polyphonic Style in Transition," chap. 4.

beginning for the canzona, an independent instrumental genre that emerged from the chanson at the end of the sixteenth century (earlier canzonas were transcriptions and elaborations for instruments of existing chansons) and because English motets of the period don't tend to begin this way, the gesture remains associated with the chanson repertory and its instrumental descendants. Thus, when an In Nomine begins with such a gesture, it should be understood as a clear reference to the chanson. About a dozen In Nomines begin with the dactylic rhythm; the following examples (exx. 2-16 to 2-18) are just a few.

**Example 2-16. Tallis In Nomine a4 #2, mm. 1-8**

**Example 2-17. Byrd In Nomine a5 #1, mm. 1-11 (part II)**

**Example 2-18. Parsley In Nomine a5 #3, mm. 1-9**

This can lead to openings that are strikingly similar (even if unintentionally) to actual chansons. Compare, for example, the opening of the top line of Richard Allison’s *In Nomine a5* (ex. 2-19) with that of the Philip van Wilder chanson *Si de beaucoup* (ex. 2-20). This kind of unconscious intertextuality that arises from stylistic norms is discussed in chapter four.

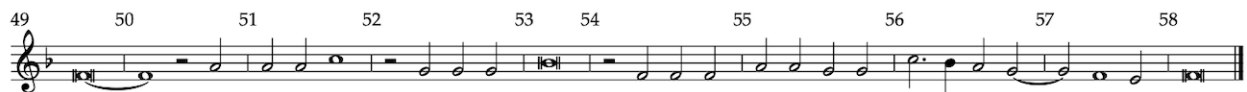
**Example 2-19. Allison *In Nomine a5*, mm. 1-8**

**Example 2-20. van Wilder *Si de beaucoup*, mm. 1-7**

In addition to the chanson’s classic dactylic opening, the common musical variant of the dactyl, three equal anacrusis notes on the same pitch, occurs very often within the *In Nomine* tradition. In chansons, this variant is commonly introduced even for later entries of the opening point, as is visible in the entries of the fourth and fifth voices in example 2-18. In *In Nomines*, this gesture is common as a later point of imitation even if the opening is not a dactyl. Although this three repeated-note

anacrusic point is widespread within the In Nomine tradition, it is not found in Taverner's mass excerpt, the original In Nomine. Oliver Neighbour attributes the inclusion of this figure to Tye: "His points of imitation are often only four minims long, beginning on the weak beat . . . . In several pieces he increases the tedium by confining the first three minims to the same pitch."<sup>51</sup> Robert Weidner attributes this gesture to Tye as well, arguing that Tye's usage gave rise to its common deployment across the corpus.<sup>52</sup> However, Tye's In Nomines were neither widely disseminated, nor widely imitated, and the prevalence of this three-note gesture within the chanson tradition seems a much more likely origin for its use in In Nomines. The following two examples (exx. 2-21 and 2-22) are from Philip van Wilder chansons found in Add. MS 31390 alongside many In Nomines.

**Example 2-21. van Wilder *D'ung nouveau dart*, mm. 49-58 (part I)**



**Example 2-22. van Wilder *Amour me vaye*, mm. 5-10**

<sup>51</sup> Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 30.

<sup>52</sup> Weidner, "New Insights on the Early 'In Nomine,'" 36.

As mentioned in chapter one, Add. MS 31390 is by far the most extensive source of In Nomines copied in the sixteenth century. In addition to its many continental chansons, it is also the source for the greatest number of van Wilder's chansons, all transmitted without texts. The similarities between In Nomines and chansons found in the dactylic openings and the use of the three-note anacrusic figure on a single pitch, as well as the ubiquity of these gestures in the chanson repertoire suggest a relationship in which In Nomines were borrowing stylistic traits from the chanson, a repertory that was likely being played on instruments in England and by the same circles of musicians, if the contents of Add. MS 31390 are an indication.

### **Cadences**

As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, although there are normative cadential practices, there is great variability in how cadences appear in actual sixteenth-century music. Some of these variables change the perception of a cadence's strength, such as whether it is preceded by a suspended dissonance in the *cantisans* part, its temporal duration (an extended preparation or a sudden close), and what part of the metrical grid it resolves on. Other variables, such as what final it resolves to or whether the cantus firmus is one of the two cadential voices, can determine how the cadence affects the structure of the piece. The frequency of cadences and whether they are elided or evaded are other important factors in cadential grammar. All these variables allow for considerable stylistic variation in cadential usage across genres, which also means that we can track possible external influences on the ways In Nomines use cadences. Morley articulates the generic implications of cadences when he writes about cadential length. Sudden closes, he writes, "belong properlie to light musicke, as *Madrigals*, *Canzonets*, *Pavins* and *Galliards*, wherein a semibriefe will be enough to *Cadence* upon."

On the other hand, motets and other “grave” music require more extended cadences: one “must in them come with more deliberation in bindings and long notes to the close.”<sup>53</sup> In *Nomines* display both “sudden” and extended cadences, and tracking their appearance can help us identify how these pieces reference other musical genres. Frequency and type of cadences can point to generic influences as well. Although the repertory of sixteenth-century chansons was more diverse and not as regionally defined as scholars had originally thought, homorhythmic chansons tends to observe caesuras in the text with clear, punctuating (i.e., non-elided) cadences.<sup>54</sup> While cadences are used to demarcate structure in all polyphony, this particularly well-defined and separated cadential style seems to have made its way to England through the importation of chansons and can be found in English partsongs of the period.<sup>55</sup> Jane Bernstein observes that English composers recognized that “the clear-cut sections and repetitions of the chanson could give coherence to their musical works.”<sup>56</sup> The examples that follow consider specific types of cadential practice, which seem to have come from the chanson, and how they manifest themselves within the *In Nomine* repertory. These include: clear, punctuating cadences; very frequent cadences; two structural voices that make all the cadences; and non-dissonant cadences. This last may come not from the chanson but from other instrumental repertories.

The use of clear, punctuating cadences, as well as a fairly homorhythmic texture, is visible in the *Mallorie In Nomine* a5 #1 (see ex. 2-23). This excerpt also shows the piece’s high frequency of cadences, and although the rhythmic motion continues

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<sup>53</sup> Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 132.

<sup>54</sup> Bernstein, “The ‘Parisian Chanson’”; Perkins, “Toward a Typology of the ‘Renaissance’ Chanson.”

<sup>55</sup> Milsom, “English Polyphonic Style in Transition,” chap. 4.

<sup>56</sup> Bernstein, “Philip Van Wilder and the Netherlandish Chanson in England,” 67.

directly after each cadence, there is no interruption or elision of the cadence by imitative entrances.

**Example 2-23. Mallorie In Nomine a5 #1, mm. 18-22**

A similarly punctuated kind of cadential usage, though in a different prevailing rhythmic texture, can be seen in White's *In Nomine a4 #3*. Here, there is even a pause after the cadences in measures 43 and 50 to allow the cadence to settle before moving on.

**Example 2-24. White In Nomine a4 #3, mm. 43-51**

In addition to high cadential frequency, note in example 2-23 as well that two of the cadences in that example occur on weaker moments in the metrical hierarchy (i.e., not aligned with the semibreve tactus). This use of metrically weaker moments for quick cadences also seems to come from vocal music but perhaps from the madrigal rather than the chanson. The cadential structure of syllabic vocal music is largely dictated by the rhythms of the text, which in French, generally seem to align with

stronger metrical moments. The following examples (exx. 2-25 and 2-26) show two chansons found in Add. MS 31390. In the van Wilder chanson (ex. 2-25), the frequent cadences (including the evaded cadence in measure 8, marked in red) all resolve on the semibreve pulse. In the Crequillon (ex. 2-26), there are two cadences which resolve on the minim rather than the semibreve, but these are isolated examples and not the norm.

**Example 2-25. van Wilder *C'est vostre beauté*, mm. 1-9**

The musical score for Example 2-25 shows measures 1 through 9. The vocal line (top staff) has notes circled in blue at measures 5, 8, and 9, and in red at measure 8. The lute parts (second and third staves) and bass parts (fourth and fifth staves) also have corresponding circled notes. Measure 8 features a red circle around a note, indicating an evaded cadence.

**Example 2-26. Crequillon *Un Gay Berger*, mm. 7-12**

The musical score for Example 2-26 shows measures 7 through 12. The vocal line (top staff) has notes circled in blue at measures 10 and 11. The lute parts (second and third staves) and bass parts (fourth and fifth staves) also have corresponding circled notes. Measures 10 and 11 feature blue circles around notes, indicating cadences that resolve on the minim.

This use of quick cadences at weak metrical moments may come from other secular genres such as those Morley suggests. Of his list, Italian madrigals seem most likely as they are also originally texted, and the metrical structure of the poetry would guide where the cadences fall. The In Nomine that shows these cadences most readily is the Mallorie In Nomine a5 #1, seen in example 2-23. In a different excerpt from the same

piece (ex. 2-27), it is apparent both how many cadences there are and on what unusual beats they fall.

**Example 2-27. Mallorie In Nomine a5 #1, mm. 10-17**

Another characteristic cadential practice in chansons is the use of two structural voices within a four-voice texture. Many chansons, particularly those of the more homorhythmic type, have two voices (almost always the first and third) that fulfill all the contrapuntal/cadential requirements for the piece, leaving the other two voices to simply fill in the gaps without providing a structural role. This is not the case for most In Nomines which instead tend to distribute these structural functions more equally between the voices. There are, however, two In Nomines that stand out for having this same structural scheme: Stonings's In Nomine a4 and Tallis's In Nomine a4 #2. Both these pieces begin with the typical dactylic opening of a chanson and all the structural cadences take place between the first and third voices.

A final type of cadential usage that may act as a generic marker is the non-dissonant cadence. These cadences don't have the syncopated dissonance one expects and often happen very quickly just like the sudden closes Morley describes as characteristic of lighter music. These cadences turn up with greatest frequency in the sections of In Nomines that have a more "instrumental" texture, the rhythmically active and motivically fragmented sections that are found at the end of many In Nomines. They also turn up in the dance-like triple-meter sections that end many others. These two textures are rhythmically active and saturated, full of quick notes. They can include extremely short disjunct imitative motives or completely non-imitative material. Example 2-28 shows an excerpt from a section of the Stonings In Nomine a5 which includes several of these kinds of cadences.

**Example 2-28. Stonings In Nomine a5, mm. 35-40**

Another good example of these fleeting, non-dissonant cadences comes from the triple section at the end of Tye's *Crye*.

### Example 2-29. Tye In Nomine a5 *Crye*, mm. 36-43

How cadential variations were associated with different musical genres and styles is something that has not yet been fully explored; while my focus here has been on the kinds of cadences found in In Nomines and their connections to similar cadential practice in chansons, I have included these brief examples of non-dissonant cadences to suggest that this approach could uncover connections to other genres as well.

### Chanson Reworkings

A third way in which the chanson repertory influenced the In Nomine is through the technique of adding extra voices (*si placet* parts) to preexisting pieces of music. The *si placet* tradition is, like the In Nomine, one that connects older music to present musical practices by elaborating on and responding to preexisting works. The *si placet*

parts added to In Nomines have been derided by scholars as detracting from the original composition, the assumption often being that they were written by inept students.<sup>57</sup> However, the very procedure of adding a new line to an existing piece has not been examined for its significance. In his dissertation on the *si placet* tradition, Stephen Self divides the repertory into three distinct chronological phases based on what kind of pieces receive *si placet* additions.<sup>58</sup> It is the third period, 1510–65, that concerns us here in which Burgundian chansons become the singular focus of the *si placet* tradition. While *si placet* techniques were commonly applied to vocal compositions, Self posits that one reason for the addition of new voices “must surely have been the possible performance of at least a portion of this literature by instruments.”<sup>59</sup> As discussed above, Louise Litterick and others have argued for the emergence of instrumental ensemble music in Italy in the 1480s, which Self notes is exactly when the *si placet* voice emerged as a popular technique.<sup>60</sup>

Because he ends his study at 1565, Self does not consider the compositions in Add. MS 31390 that exhibit this same procedure. The bulk of the pieces in Add. MS 31390 are for five voices, so all but one of the pieces with *si placet* voices were originally in four parts. There are two chansons and a madrigal in Add. MS 31390 that we know have a *si placet* voice added but given that there are also anonymous chansons transmitted uniquely by this manuscript we cannot rule out the possibility that some were originally in four voices. There are also at least three In Nomines in Add. MS 31390 to which an additional voice has been added and the In Nomines that receive this

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<sup>57</sup> Neighbour remarks that these pieces were “provided with an intrusive extra part.” Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 40.

<sup>58</sup> Self, “The ‘si Placet’ Voice.”

<sup>59</sup> Self, 188.

<sup>60</sup> Self, 190; Litterick, “Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century,” 480.

treatment are mostly those by the oldest generation of composers. Self builds on Howard Mayer Brown's assertion that the use of borrowed material can be an act of emulation to argue that the addition of *si placet* voices is likewise an emulation of the original composer and composition. This seems evident in the *si placet* voices found in Add. MS 31390—the chansons given fifth parts are by older and revered composers, Clemens and Janequin, while the In Nomines treated in the same manner include those by Taverner, Tallis, and Johnson. The addition of voices to these respected exemplars acts as both homage and a way to practice compositional technique since writing a *si placet* part involves weaving in additional entrances for preexisting points of imitation. John Milsom writes of the *si placet* parts in Add. MS 31390, "This is, in other words, a 'living corpus.' A body of music reworked or enriched by other musicians."<sup>61</sup> The large group of pieces in Add. MS 31390 given this treatment is a bit of an anomaly and the high incidence of *si placet* additions found within this manuscript, in which nearly a third of the pieces are In Nomines, supports the evidence in chapters one and four that In Nomine was a preferred medium for musical response and discourse.

In addition to looking backwards to earlier repertoire, the *si placet* procedure itself is an older one, uncommon by the second half of the sixteenth century—but as Self notes, so too is the *si placet* procedure a way updating pieces from the older four-part style to the current vogue for five-part pieces. The foreign music found in Add. MS 31390 (and the similar manuscript York 91S, discussed in chapter one) is from the 1540s, 30 to 40 years before either of these manuscripts was copied. Milsom writes that these two manuscripts "belong to part of an active line of transmission, one in which a body of foreign music has been desired, admired, presumably heard and therefore well

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<sup>61</sup> Milsom, "English Polyphonic Style in Transition," 66.



additional voice also crosses below the bass in three instances. Its rhythmic movement is also consistently faster than the original parts by Taverner. In these respects it somewhat resembles the *viola bastarda* tradition in which a single instrument (some variety of bass viol) improvises divisions on all the voices of a madrigal rather than a single voice. Contrary to scholarly consensus, this *si placet* voice for the Taverner is a well-crafted and beautiful addition to the original piece.<sup>63</sup>

There are some common features to these added *si placet* voices. They all have a tendency to “pre-imitate” new points of imitation. This happens frequently at the opening of a piece where it is not particularly surprising; it is easier to weave in an additional voice before the texture gets too thick. It also happens at points where a cadence precedes a new point of imitation: the new voice will often overlap the cadence rather than following it. Again, this brief thinning of the texture makes the addition of a new voice less contrapuntally complicated. Extra voices are never structural and do not participate in any of the original cadential dyads. The added voice to the Taverner, for example, is fully ornamental at cadences, often making a so-called “English cadence” by creating a cross-relation with one of the cadential voices.

In addition to the three clear-cut cases of *si placet* parts being added to In Nomines in Add. MS 31390, scholars have suggested several other pieces that may have received additional lines. One of these pieces is the Brewster In Nomine a5. The piece is extant in five sources all of which transmit the piece in five voices. Two of these sources, however, include variations in the inner parts, perhaps evidence of later reworking. Paul Doe believes that part four was originally a *si placet* part and suggests that the exchange of material between parts three and four found in the Dow Partbooks is a

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<sup>63</sup> As far as I know, my ensemble is the only group to have recorded the piece with this fifth voice. LeStrange Viols, *Æternum*.

possible attempt to make part four more convincing.<sup>64</sup> Since no four-voice version is extant, it is tempting to assume all five voices are original. However, Doe is correct in noting that the fourth voice differs from the others and shows many of the hallmarks of an extra voice. It pre-imitates the other voices, including at the very beginning; it contains motivic material much less often than the other voices; it often moves in parallel with other parts rather than as a fully independent voice; and it plays a part in none of the cadences in the piece.

In a more speculative vein, Oliver Neighbour has suggested that one of the tenor lines in Byrd's *In Nomine* a5 #1 may not be original as the piece is "the least distinguished setting in the Byrd canon" and appears uniquely in Add. MS 31390.<sup>65</sup> He suggests further that the composer of the new voice also made several adjustments and changes in the other four to accommodate it, implying that Byrd himself may have penned the additional voice. When examined next to the other *si placet* voices in Add. MS 31390, however, this upper tenor part is not consistent with the traits noted above. While the lower tenor voice is more structural, carrying the weight of most of the cadences, the upper tenor voice is never the first to present a point of imitation and its entries are always evenly spaced with the others suggesting to me that it is original to the piece. Nor do I find, as Neighbour does, that this voice has more fast notes than do the other voices. While the piece may work satisfactorily in four voices, this is not conclusive evidence that a fifth part was added later.

The *si placet* parts found in Add. MS 31390 show English composers taking a technique from the chanson repertory and experimenting with using it across several genres: chansons, madrigals, *In Nomines*, and even a motet. The technique is easily at

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<sup>64</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I*, XLIV:184.

<sup>65</sup> Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 39.

home within the In Nomine tradition, one which, as we'll see in chapter four, included frequent borrowing from other In Nomines. Like the stylistic influence of the chanson, this technical influence comes from the use of originally texted chansons as an instrumental repertory. The adoption of elements from an instrumental repertory into the In Nomine highlights the In Nomine's own instrumentalisms.

### Experiments in Structure

The experimental attitude taken by In Nomine composers towards trying out unusual techniques and textures shows up across many of the chapters of this dissertation. Here I focus on several innovative ways that In Nomines create structure through the use of minimalism, stasis, and monothematicism. These techniques, particularly monothematicism, have sometimes been derided by scholars as evidence of a lack of musical invention on the part of the composer, resulting in boring and repetitive music—however, a similar interest in combinative techniques (termed “motivicity” by Joshua Rifkin) has been praised in Josquin studies.<sup>66</sup> I will demonstrate that the thematic and harmonic flattening that often results from these techniques can not only focus the ear toward other elements of the music (rhythm or stretto, for example) but also create structure and climax through their skillful manipulation. Rather than showing the In Nomine to be a backwater of subpar compositions, the presence of these techniques in In Nomines is a sign of the form's use by composers to try out new ideas or push common ideas about imitation to their logical extremes.

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<sup>66</sup> Compare Milsom, “Josquin Des Prez and the Combinative Impulse”; and Rifkin, “Miracles, Motivicity, and Mannerism: Adrian Willaert's *Videns Dominus Flentes Sorores Lazari* and Some Aspects of Motet Composition in the 1520s”; to Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 30.

Consider one of the most unusual pieces from sixteenth-century England, an In Nomine by “Picforth.” Besides the ascription in Add. MS 31390, the unique source for this piece, nothing is known about a composer/ musician named Picforth. The entire composition is built around a curious conceit: for the entirety of the piece, each part plays a single rhythmic note value and this value is different for each of the parts (see ex. 2-31).

**Example 2-31. Picforth In Nomine a5, mm. 1-9**



While the rhythmic technique found in the Picforth In Nomine will be examined in greater detail in chapter three, it is its completely static texture that interests me here. Loren Ludwig describes this piece as one of a number of compositions that are unusual not in their content but in the repetitiveness of that content. He suggests they are “extreme examples of the orthodox language of sixteenth century counterpoint, and they reveal, in their almost vanishing point extremity, a latent ‘minimalist aesthetics’ that lies within the normative language of [sixteenth-century] counterpoint.”<sup>67</sup> This minimalist aesthetic is found in other In Nomines besides the Picforth, some in their rhythmic components, as will be explored in chapter three, others in their thematic ones. Ludwig argues that Zarlino’s praise of variety as a musical aesthetic can only exist

<sup>67</sup> Ludwig, “‘Maintaining a Point’: [m]inimalist Strategies in Sixteenth-Century Polyphony,” 1.

in contrast to techniques of repetition.<sup>68</sup> Zarlino himself gives examples in which one may slightly vary a repetition in order to give it a veneer of *varietas*.<sup>69</sup> He forbids exact repetitions but allows for the repetition of a motive in a single voice under three conditions: a change in pitch level, a change in intervallic relationship to the *cantus firmus*, or a change in rhythm.<sup>70</sup> In England, the direct repetition discouraged by Zarlino was looked upon more favorably. This type of repetition is referred to as “maintaining a point” in treatises by Elway Bevin, William Bathe, and Thomas Morley.<sup>71</sup> Morley addresses maintaining a point in several sections of his treatise, but his most extensive treatment of the topic occurs in the discussion of descanting over a plainsong. Morley especially praises the maintaining of long points in the context of motets and grave music.<sup>72</sup> As a way of adding variety while maintaining a point, Morley suggests “reverting” a point, by which he means inverting its melodic contour.<sup>73</sup> Bevin merely gives four examples of “The manner of maintaining a point,” all of which are given over the same plainsong melody and demonstrate different proportional relationships as well.<sup>74</sup>

In addition to the three kinds of variation Zarlino suggests and Morley’s recommendation to revert the point, there is yet another way to temper repetition with variety. The same point, even at the same pitch level, can be combined at various time intervals to create denser and looser textures of imitation. This combinative variety in

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<sup>68</sup> Ludwig, 5.

<sup>69</sup> Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, part III, chap. 55.

<sup>70</sup> Zarlino, part III, chap. 55.

<sup>71</sup> See Ludwig, “‘Maintaining a Point’: [m]inimalist Strategies in Sixteenth-Century Polyphony.”

<sup>72</sup> “Peruse [this example] for these maintaining of long pointes, either foreright or reuert are verie good in Motets, and all other kinds of graue musicke.” Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 169.

<sup>73</sup> “The reuerting of a point (which also we terme a reuert) is, when a point is made rising or falling, and then turned to go the contrarie waie, as manie notes as it did ye first.” Morley, 85.

<sup>74</sup> Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke by Elway Bevin*, 72.

texture is not discussed by the theorists but is visible in examples from the In Nomine repertoire. Christopher Tye's many monothematic In Nomines, rather than demonstrating a lack of melodic inventiveness, are tour-de-forces of compositional skill which show great combinative inventiveness. John Milsom has noted that the mid-century was a time of research and experiment in which imitation became an "object of research in itself, and a fundamental building-block of musical substance."<sup>75</sup> What could be a more thorough experimental investigation of imitation than a fully monothematic work? Tye's In Nomine "Farwell my good 1. for ever" does just that, alternating extremely dense stretto with more loosely packed imitation. In another of Tye's monothematic In Nomines, "Follow me," the disjunct opening point acquires different continuations while retaining its distinctive opening (ex. 2-32). This is yet another technique of variation. Three versions of the same point are presented immediately at the opening of the piece although the beginning of the point is completely unvaried. In this way, Tye manages, again, to balance *varietas* with maintaining a point.

**Example 2-32. Tye In Nomine a5 *Follow me*, mm. 1-11 (part I)**



For a third example of variety within a single point, take Tye's In Nomine "My deathe bedde" in which the monothematic point (beginning on B $\flat$ ) is imitated at the interval of a second rather than a fourth or a fifth (ex. 2-33). When the point is later imitated at the fifth, that pitch is then imitated at the second as well. This does not follow Zarlino's dictum exactly (the top line repeats its entrances on F in measures 7

<sup>75</sup> Milsom, "English Polyphonic Style in Transition," 128.

and 9 in the same intervallic relationship to the cantus firmus, unlike the repetition of the entrances on C in measures 2 and 6) but does maintain its sense of variety.

**Example 2-33. Tye In Nomine a5 *My deathe bedde*, mm. 1-9**

The musical score for Example 2-33 shows four staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom three are instrumental. Measures 1-9 are shown. Blue boxes highlight the following entries: in measure 2, the vocal line has a four-note entry (Bb, C, F, G); in measure 3, the vocal line has a four-note entry (Bb, C, F, G); in measure 7, the vocal line has a four-note entry (Bb, C, F, G); and in measure 8, the vocal line has a four-note entry (Bb, C, F, G). The instrumental parts also feature similar entries in various staves.

The constellation of pitches (B $\flat$ , C, F, G) created in this opening is maintained throughout the composition. Despite being originally presented as pairs of seconds, the four pitches can be rearranged as a series of fifths. This same harmonic relationship of entries is present in another monothematic In Nomine, Parsons's In Nomine a4 #1, in which the first three iterations of the point enter as stacked fifths (ex. 2-34).

**Example 2-34. Parsons In Nomine a4 #1, mm. 1-8**

The musical score for Example 2-34 shows four staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom three are instrumental. Measures 1-8 are shown. Blue boxes highlight the following entries: in measure 2, the vocal line has a four-note entry (Bb, C, F, G); in measure 4, the vocal line has a four-note entry (Bb, C, F, G); and in measure 7, the vocal line has a four-note entry (Bb, C, F, G). The instrumental parts also feature similar entries in various staves.

Demonstrating the same combinative interest as Tye, the relatively slow pacing of entrances here allows Parsons to create momentum and climax by moving the entries right on top of each other later in the piece. There are also three passages in which the

point occurs as a duet between the middle two voices, adding further variety. Example 2-35 illustrates both of these techniques in measures 43-44 and 49.

**Example 2-35. Parsons In Nomine a4 # 1, mm. 43-51**

Another ingenious example of variety and structure achieved through monothematicism is found in Robert White's In Nomine a4 #3 (exx. 2-36 and 2-37). The opening point of the piece begins with an upward leap of a third which White uses to create beautiful unprepared dissonances. Note as well that the F# in the bass in measure 2 creates a sharp dissonance against the F $\natural$  in the cantus firmus.

**Example 2-36. White In Nomine a4 #3, mm. 1-7**

In bar 14, White expands the initial leap of a third to that of a fourth and that version of the point continues until measure 27, when that leap becomes a fifth. The motivic entrance in the top voice in measure 23 begins on a C $\sharp$  that interrupts an expected cadence to D.

### Example 2-37. White In Nomine a4 #3, mm. 22-28

After a cadence in bar 35, the point slowly contracts back to a fourth and in measure 52 back to the opening third with the top voice having a direct quotation of the opening of the piece. The motive is always recognizable and yet the waxing and waning of the initial intervallic leap creates a climax at the mid-point.

Beyond monothematicism, maintaining a point is also found in internal sections creating contrast between moments of movement and stasis. This most often happens at moments where the harmonic motion implied by the chant slows to a near halt. After CF30, the repetitions in the chant and lack of variety of pitches provides abundant potential for stasis (the In Nomine cantus firmus is reprinted in ex. 2-38 for convenience).

### Example 2-38. In Nomine cantus firmus

One of the most beautiful and extreme examples of this static texture can be found in the first In Nomine a7 by Robert Parsons (ex. 2-39). The point that is

maintained is itself comprised of two notes, the first of which is repeated four times in a gentle triple rhythm. The repetition of this point is particularly prominent in the second voice where the motive occurs on the same pitch four times in a row. Even the harmony is static, sitting mostly on F before rocking occasionally to C when dictated by the Gs in the cantus firmus.

**Example 2-39. Parsons In Nomine a7 #1, mm. 31-39**

Another example of this technique is found in Nicholas Strogers's In Nomine a5 #2 (ex. 2-40). This In Nomine sets the cantus firmus in groups of five minims, just like Tye's more famous In Nomine "Trust," both considered in chapter three. After an opening imitative section, the piece breaks into lively rhythms that dissolve into arpeggiating fragments. These fragments might continue to the end as these do in many other In Nomines, however, coinciding with a cadence at CF43, a new point of imitation emerges. This point is tightly imitated and leverages the four cantus firmus Fs (CF43-47) to put imitative entrances at mostly the same pitch level. This is most prominent in the top but among all the voices, the point is repeated nine times beginning on F in the span of only four cantus firmus notes (with three entries on B $\flat$  as well). This thematically

packed texture persists to the end though it becomes harmonically “unstuck” as the point begins to appear starting on many different pitches as the cantus firmus has more melodic movement.<sup>76</sup>

**Example 2-40. Stogers In Nomine a5 #2, mm. 54-59**

The variety near the end of the piece comes from the divergent pitches of the point, not from the point itself, and this variety is highlighted by the lack of pitch variety that precedes it. Counterintuitively, these techniques of stasis can create climaxes by intensifying the change or movement that follow them.

Another way in which In Nomines regularly create climax is through a gradual shortening of note values as the piece progresses. Opening points usually use longer note values than do subsequent points, and short fragmentary motives show up no earlier than the twenty-first note of the cantus firmus. Triple-time sections commonly occur at the very end of the piece. These methods of acceleration and rhythmic impetus can bring about moments of climax separate from the thematic ones already discussed. Despite the constraints of the unchanging cantus firmus, In Nomines can and do create climaxes through the manipulation of movement and stasis.

<sup>76</sup> The passage is so thematically packed that the bottom two voices create barely disguised parallel fifths in measure 57.

Climaxes create a sense of architecture within the piece, but structure can be created in other ways as well. In the introduction, repetitions and sequences were discussed within the context of the cantus firmus but these can occur independently of the cantus firmus as well. Poynt's *In Nomine a5* has a particular cadential scheme that occurs six times throughout the composition, encompassing all but two of the cadences in the entire work. This scheme involves a cadence with the *cantisans* in the top voice that is echoed two breves later by one of the two tenor voices. Example 2-41 contains two such cadential pairs. This cadential echo effect provides a sense of predictability and unity to a piece which moves through seven different points of imitation in just fifty-eight breves.

**Example 2-41. Poynt *In Nomine a5 mm.* 29-37**

In monothematic pieces, comprising about a quarter of the repertory, monotony can be avoided through the exploration of how the point can combine with itself, as discussed above. Looking at monothematicism through the lens of structural unity in fact highlights the variety that often exists within monothematic pieces, even when they are extremely repetitive. Moments of tight stretto alternate with longer stretches without thematic entrances. Changing continuations, such as those found in Tye's *Follow me*, or changing countermelodies act like new points of imitation to give movement to the piece. The four-part *In Nomine* by John Thorne, which is relentlessly

monothematic to the point of monotony, leverages that monotony to create a bipartite structure through the pitch of imitative entrances. After one initial statement of the point beginning on D, every subsequent entrance up to a cadence at CF29 begins on A. After that cadence, every thematic entry begins on F. The extraordinary repetition of this point makes the change from A to F an audible event and structural fulcrum.

### Conclusion

In this chapter I have broadened the conversation about the musical style of In Nomine and where it may have come from. I have suggested that rather than having a single describable “style,” what defines the style of In Nomines is their engagement with other genres, ideas, and with each other. In Nomines insatiably absorb elements from the musical culture around them, picking up more old-fashioned techniques such as *si placet* additions and metrical proportions, current musical trends such as dactylic openings from chansons and markers of instrumental style from several textless genres, as well as forward looking attitudes towards experimental procedures. Neither fully antiquarian nor completely innovative, the In Nomine tradition delicately balances past, present, and future to give it a unique temporal positioning.

In examining the diversity of musical style found within the In Nomine tradition, it is apparent that the In Nomine does not exhibit a single-stranded evolutionary development from mass excerpt to instrumental chamber music. Rather, we have seen that instrumental style enters the In Nomine tradition from multiple sources. The ostinato piece, the nascent fantasia/ricercar, and the instrumentalized chanson all contributed to the stylistic smorgasbord of the In Nomine. This close juxtaposition of elements from multiple genres—those that had been circulating in England for

generations and those that were newly arrived from the continent—is what sets the In Nomine tradition apart from other musical traditions in Elizabethan England.

### III

#### Rhythmic and Metrical Complexity in the Early In Nomine

This chapter broadens its focus beyond the immediate repertoire of the In Nomine to consider the tradition of *musica speculativa* that was cultivated within the English university system.<sup>1</sup> Music theory's divide between the ideal or cosmological aspects of music and its audible/performable aspects (referred to as "speculative" and "practical" in England) is both a useful and messy framework.<sup>2</sup> While the categories of speculative and practical music provide a convenient vocabulary to distinguish works whose primary functions were either musical demonstrations of quadrivial principles or music intended for performance, they are not a true binary, in reality. Additionally, in England there was a tradition of not just studying *musica speculativa* but composing so-called "speculative music."<sup>3</sup> As Roger Bray points out,

if speculative music was totally separated from, and opposed to, composed music, we would not expect composers to have taken such pains to qualify themselves in it. But this is what they did, at least in England, where the link between speculative and practical music . . . is much clearer than in other countries because it is here that we find the most thoroughly developed triangular connection between music, education and the Church.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the broader division between *musica speculativa* and *musica practica* see Blasius, "Mapping the Terrain." On the incorporation of earlier speculative traditions into the scientific revolution, see Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*; Gouk, "Transforming Matter, Refining the Spirit"; Gouk, "The Role of Harmonics in the Scientific Revolution." For the importance of the study of speculative music in English universities, see Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England"; Carpenter, "The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Renaissance (1450-1600)"; Heminger, "Music Theory at Work: The Eton Choirbook, Rhythmic Proportions and Musical Networks in Sixteenth-Century England"; Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory*.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Morley writes of this distinction, "Musicke is either *speculatiue* or *practicall*. *Speculatiue* is that kinde of musicke which by Mathematical helpes, seeketh out the causes, properties, and natures of soundes by themselues, and compared with others proceeding no further, but content with the onlie contemplation of the Art. *Practicall* is that which teacheth al that may be knowne in songs, eyther for the understanding of other mens, or making of ones owne." Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, unpaginated annotation to pg. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England."; and Bray "Editing and Performing *Musica Speculativa*" in Morehen, *English Choral Practice 1400-1650*.

<sup>4</sup> Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England," 1.

Bray has shown how the unique approach of England's universities in awarding academic degrees in music blended the speculative and practical traditions of music "by requiring the candidate to compose a piece of actual music to show his academic ability." "It was only in England," he continues, "that the awarding of degrees provided an opportunity for the reconciliation of Boethius's supposedly incompatible three kinds of musician—performer, composer and academic—and of *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*."<sup>5</sup> In England, speculative and practical music were often written by the same people, and there is substantial overlap in techniques and repertoires. Of particular focus in this chapter are the ways in which speculative music explores complexity within the domains of meter and rhythm and also in its notation—as well as how these elements of speculative music made their way into the In Nomine and other textless musical repertoires.

Like the In Nomine, speculative music was practiced among highly educated musicians and seems to have been intended primarily for intellectual engagement (and possibly amusement) among such musicians rather than public performance. The musical spheres of speculative music and the In Nomine were not that far apart. Both Christopher Tye and John Bull received doctoral degrees in music, and many more In Nomine composers held positions at collegiate chapels. Bray has also asserted that speculative music pervaded musical practice beyond the bounds of academic institutions.<sup>6</sup> The possible link between Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass and the speculative tradition that Bray has described (summarized in the introduction) provides an additional connection between the world of academic music study and the In Nomine. And speculative musical traditions were closely tied to broader humanistic

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<sup>5</sup> Bray, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Bray, 2.

ideals within Early Modern culture. At the same time that composers were exploring mathematical proportions in speculative music, the Elizabethan poets were preoccupied with proportion as a foundational metaphor for balance in the world.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the cultural fascination with riddles is reflected in music through cryptic textual instructions for canons and hexachordal puzzle pieces.<sup>8</sup> The relative (sometimes even complete) disregard for listeners or outside observers is also a theme in speculative intellectual traditions, present too in the pieces of rhythmic and metrical complexity explored here. Rather than speaking to an uninitiated listener (who is neither composer nor performer), these works highlight communication from writer (composer) to reader (performer)—and other composers were often the performers themselves. This emphasis on discourse through music for musicians is, I have argued, at the core of the In Nomine's popularity (within the small and rarified circle in which it was cultivated).

“Rhythmic and metrical complexity” here encapsulates a broad array of techniques that composers employ within the domains of rhythm (local note values) and meter (hierarchical organization of note values) to cultivate interest and for the sake of added difficulty. This chapter will look closely at five of these techniques: (1) the use of mensural proportions, (2) changes in metrical groupings, (3) metrical syncopation/displacements, (4) “serial” rhythmic textures, and (5) setting the cantus firmus in non-standard note values (particularly in five). While some of these techniques overlap—and sometimes more than one are combined to create layers of complexity—they each act differently upon the music and produce quite varied results. Lastly, this chapter will address the question of for whom this music is complex. Not all

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<sup>7</sup> Bernhart, “‘Proportion’ in Elizabethan Poetry and Music [1996].”

<sup>8</sup> Discussed broadly in Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance*; Zazulia, “Verbal Canons and Notational Complexity in Fifteenth-Century Music”; the use of textual canons and puzzles in speculative music in England is documented in Bray, “Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England.”

these techniques result in music that is aurally complex (however complex it may be to perform); conversely, audible complexity may not be difficult to perform. Some of the complexity in these pieces is found primarily in the notation, which, once deciphered, is relatively simple to execute and sounds equally uncomplex to a listener not privy to the notational puzzles. Other pieces include techniques that sound complex but are, in fact, not particularly difficult for a performer to execute. Complexity in this chapter, encompasses all these types, both audible and inaudible.

Mensural proportions are the most-theorized of these techniques of complexity (both in the Early Modern era and now), and they were an important part of the music-theoretical curriculum and musical landscape in sixteenth-century England. The use of complex proportions has a long history within the realm of practical music, but by the sixteenth century interest on the continent had faded somewhat.<sup>9</sup> This chapter examines the continued fascination with proportion in Elizabethan music through three different lenses: the centrality of proportions to academic music study and the tradition of speculative music, the importance of proportions as an organizational metaphor in Elizabethan poetic and intellectual culture, and the use of proportions within the practical musical tradition, including *In Nomines*.

The other four techniques of complexity (groupings, displacements, serial rhythm, and the *cantus firmus* in five) are not well described in the historical music-theoretical literature or the secondary literature on this period. Nevertheless, they are all prevalent within mid-sixteenth century English music in ways that have not yet been fully recognized and are deliberately employed by composers to create different effects. Until these topics are taken up more thoroughly by scholars, musicians who regularly

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<sup>9</sup> See Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England"; Fallows, "The End of the *Ars Subtilior*."

confront these aspects of the music in performance are likely to have the deepest experience with these rhythmic and metrical manipulations. It has, in fact, been my own experiences as a performer of these pieces that have most guided my analyses here. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to explore these topics fully, my hope is that in attempting to categorize and name these techniques and by looking at their artful application within the In Nomine repertory I may spark more interest from historians of music theory. I argue that the pieces discussed here, such as the Picforth In Nomine, prove that these types of rhythmic manipulation were *topoi* as important for these composers as the skillful use of melody—the interweaving of quotations and borrowings into their counterpoint, a topic that has received considerable scholarly attention (including in my own chapter four).

The word “complexity” is ambiguous, so I will begin with a concrete example of how such complexity manifests on the page. Figure 3-1 and Example 3-1 provide an excerpt from Christopher Tye’s *Sit Fast*. Like many of the subtitles of Tye’s In Nomines, the title *Sit Fast* is probably a reference to the musical content of the piece—advice to the performer to hold their metrical ground amidst all the proportions and syncopations. At the end of *Sit Fast* is a rhyming couplet that offers the performer a similar reassurance about the accuracy of the text: “Sing ye trew & care not / for I am trew feare not.” In the facsimile of the top voice (fig. 3-1), there are six notated proportional changes in just this short excerpt.

Figure 3-1. Tye *Sit Fast* in Baldwin Commonplace Book, f. 114v



The full scope of the complexity of this passage cannot be comprehended by looking only at a single part because the metrical relationship between the voices isn't visible.

The modern score below (ex. 3-1) begins at the "3.1.tripla:" on the second line of figure 3-1 above and continues slightly beyond the end of the facsimile example.<sup>10</sup>

Example 3-1. Tye *Sit Fast*, mm. 101-114



<sup>10</sup> In the modern edition, some of the proportions are notated with note value shifts instead of meter changes.

In addition to the proportions executed by the top voice, including the tricky shift in measure 101–102 from 3:1 to 9:2, this excerpt shows the complex proportional relationships between the voices. In measures 107–112, for example, there is a static relationship of 9:8:6 expressed between the three voices before their sudden realignment at measure 113. Earlier, in measure 105, the top voice is not only maintaining a 9:4 proportion against the other voices but those other voices include syncopations that disguise where those four beats are. This music is incredibly difficult to play accurately, even with the aid of a metronome, as my ensemble Science Ficta discovered when we spent an entire week rehearsing and recording it.

*Sit Fast* and a number of similarly complex pieces can all be found in one manuscript source which is the single greatest repository of pieces exploring rhythmic and metrical complexity during this period. This source is the commonplace book of John Baldwin (b. before 1560–1615), a singer, composer, and scribe. Baldwin is known to us today primarily as a copyist. Both *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (an important collection of Byrd's keyboard works) and the Baldwin Partbooks which are bound together with a copy of Byrd and Tallis's 1575 *Cantiones Sacrae* are in his very elegant and readable hand. He also recopied a damaged section of the bassus partbook from the Forrest-Heather Partbooks (the earliest source of Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass). Born before 1560, he spent nearly two decades as a tenor lay clerk at St. George's Chapel in Windsor before joining the Chapel Royal in 1594 (though he did not receive a full position until a vacancy opened in 1598) where he remained until his death in 1615. The commonplace book was likely compiled between 1580–1606 and thus bridges his time at Windsor and the Chapel Royal.

Alan Brown has argued that Baldwin's copying of *Lady Nevell* was closely supervised by Byrd and the two may have been well acquainted.<sup>11</sup> Baldwin was well-connected, and the pieces he copied into his commonplace book and also the Baldwin Partbooks reflect the colleagues he was surrounded by at Windsor and the Chapel Royal. Certainly Nathaniel Giles, his colleague at both institutions, was a collaborator with Baldwin on the proportion pieces found in the Baldwin Commonplace Book. Baldwin copied several In Nomines into his commonplace book, including examples by John Mundy, his contemporary colleague at Windsor, and also an older one by Robert Goldar who had worked at Windsor in the early 1560s. Baldwin was likely within the same professional circle as the London-based compiler(s) of the In Nomine anthology partbooks, Bodleian d.212-216, even if he doesn't seem to have directly participated in their construction. Bodleian d.212-216 contain a mix of In Nomines from the 1560s to 70s from composers active in the greater London area (largely those at the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's, and St. George's) and those of London area composers of the 1590s and early 1600s. Though Baldwin's two In Nomines are not included, those of many of his colleagues at the Chapel Royal are. Perhaps, having written them into his commonplace book, copies of Baldwin's In Nomines were not circulating for inclusion.

As a commonplace book, Baldwin's manuscript serves several purposes and is divided into three distinct sections for different uses. The first is a collection of pieces written out in score that span a broad timeframe and many styles, including a large number of recent madrigals by Marenzio as well as older Latin works by Taverner and Sheppard, and a few In Nomines. Here Baldwin is collecting pieces perhaps for study or as a repository from which to later make parts for performance. The third section

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<sup>11</sup> Brown, "My Lady Nevell's Book' as a Source of Byrd's Keyboard Music."

collects pieces for three voices in choirbook format, many of which are extracts from larger works (motets or anthems). These would seem to be useful for practicing singing in a small group. The second section, which is most pertinent to this chapter, consists mostly of works for two or three voices, many anonymous. Parts of this section also appear to be pedagogical: in addition to many of the pieces being *bicinia* (a format long used for musical instruction), some have schoolboy-type lyrics while others introduce the hexachord or musical proportions (or both). However, there are also a number of pieces in three (or even four) voices that explore proportions in ways that appear less singularly pedagogical—proportions so complex they aren't found anywhere else outside of theoretical treatises. The proportion pieces include examples by Baldwin himself, his colleague Nathaniel Giles, composers of the previous generation such as Christopher Tye, and even much earlier composers such as Johannes Bedingham.<sup>12</sup>

The In Nomines that use such proportions and other techniques of metrical and rhythmic complexity represent an important intersection between speculative and practical music. Though some of the pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book verge on being entirely speculative—privileging theoretical or mathematical ideas over musical playability—In Nomines always lean more heavily towards the practical, even at their most complex. The obligatory cantus firmus often constrains the complexity from getting out of hand, so the introduction of speculative techniques never takes the pieces beyond the realm of playability by skilled musicians. Perhaps we might better adopt the term “learned” to capture the way in which some In Nomines integrate the inherited theoretical tradition of speculative music into the practical. Christopher Tye, a

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<sup>12</sup> While it is possible that the John Bedyngham to whom the pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book are ascribed is not Johannes Bedyngham, the 15th-century composer, the styles are consistent, and it is generally accepted that they are the same person. See Owens, *London, British Library, R.M. 24. d. 2*, vi and footnote 7.

very learned musician indeed with his bachelor's and doctorate from Cambridge, seemed particularly interested in exploring the possibilities for complexity within the In Nomine form, experimenting with setting the cantus firmus in groups of five or using multiple simultaneous mensurations.

This chapter looks closely at the five techniques of metrical and rhythmic complexity introduced above and how they are used within the In Nomine repertory. The first section is focused on proportion, primarily the pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book as well as Tye's In Nomines, which are contextualized within broader Elizabethan cultural values as well as its specific usage within the history of music theory in England. In the second section the techniques of metrical grouping changes, metrical displacement, serial rhythm, and setting the cantus firmus in unusual note lengths are all examined within the context of In Nomines and the other textless pieces that surround them in manuscripts such as Add. MS 31390. Finally, a concluding section considers the implications of these techniques of complexity for performers and listeners.

## **Proportions**

### **Proportions in Elizabethan Culture**

The complex proportions found within the Baldwin Commonplace Book are part of a long music-theoretical and music-educational tradition in England, but they also fit comfortably within a broader and contemporary Elizabethan intellectual tradition in which the concept of proportion was particularly powerful. In an essay on "Proportion' in Elizabethan Poetry and Music," Walter Bernhart makes the case for the importance of proportion and symmetry as organizing concepts in Elizabethan thought. Evidence for the potency of the concept of proportion (and symmetry) is widespread in poetry, as

Bernhart documents in the poems of Thomas Campion (“the world is made by Symmetry and proportion”) and George Herbert (“Man is all symmetric, full of proportions”).<sup>13</sup> Bernhart characterizes the Elizabethan poetic concept of proportion as the idea of the harmonious (or unharmonious) correspondences between all things in the universe. This same idea permeates the medieval university curriculum of speculative music (still in use in the sixteenth century) in which the study of harmonics demonstrated the connections between mathematical principles and consonant musical intervals.<sup>14</sup> Bernhart notes a particular affinity between music and poetry: “the common denominator of the two disciplines was held to be the fact that they both constitute the language, as it were, in which God created the universe.”<sup>15</sup> God was compared both to a composer and an author of the world-as-poem.<sup>16</sup> But as close as these disciplines may be, their ability to express the mathematical principles that underpin the universe differs.

Poetry expresses these ideas through language, but music, especially speculative music, actually demonstrates proportional equivalences. Granted, Early Modern English poets achieve incredible feats of metrical expression that are analogous to shifts in proportion—indeed, all the more concretely, since, unlike in untexted music, they can marry such metrical substitutions to verbal meanings. To give an example: when Shakespeare declares in Sonnet 116 (“Let me not to the marriage of true minds”) that “Love’s not Time’s fool” (line 9), he alters the basic iambic meter with four stressed

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<sup>13</sup> Bernhart, “‘Proportion’ in Elizabethan Poetry and Music [1996],” 157.

<sup>14</sup> Hicks, *Composing the World*; As this curriculum was used in England, see Bray, “Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England”; Heminger, “Music Theory at Work: The Eton Choirbook, Rhythmic Proportions and Musical Networks in Sixteenth-Century England”; Carpenter, “The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Renaissance (1450-1600)”; Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory*.

<sup>15</sup> Bernhart, “‘Proportion’ in Elizabethan Poetry and Music [1996],” 159–60.

<sup>16</sup> Bernhart, 160.

syllables in a row to mirror the claim that love, unlike time, is unchanging.<sup>17</sup> The iamb, a metrical foot made up of an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed one, acts in the poem as the conceptual figure for time, while the use of two spondees (stressed-stressed) express Love's unchangeable nature. Like the poetic pattern of iambic pentameter, musical mensuration (the nested hierarchies of how note values are divided) governs the prevailing groupings of smaller note values (analogous to syllables).<sup>18</sup> Later in this chapter, we'll encounter a musical technique that results in a similar effect to the Shakespeare example. Just as Shakespeare breaks or stops time by inserting two spondaic feet, composers use metrical displacement to create so many strong beats that any sense of metrical hierarchy is dissolved.

Verse, however, like all language, is essentially monophonic, it can only express sequential patterns, not simultaneous ones. This is where music has an advantage: it is able to have two, or indeed many, voices at once to demonstrate both metrical and pitch relationships. What could be a clearer illustration of how different numbers fit together than the *In Nomine* by Picforth in which all five voices express a single (and different) note value. For every three breves of the cantus firmus, Picforth demonstrates the equivalency of four in the bass, six in the tenor, eight in the alto, and twelve in the treble.

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<sup>17</sup> I am indebted to David Weiss for introducing me to this example. Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 1770.

<sup>18</sup> Iambic pentameter does not correspond to a single musical mensuration. Iambs, a weak syllable followed by a strong one, can be set musically in both imperfect (duple) or perfect (triple) mensurations. Nevertheless, the set of metrical expectations resulting from a particular mensuration (however malleable they may be) correlates to the equally malleable metrical potentialities of iambic pentameter.

### Example 3-2. Picforth In Nomine a5, mm. 1-9

The image shows a musical score for 'Picforth In Nomine a5, mm. 1-9'. The score is written for five staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom three staves are in bass clef. The music is in common time (C) and has a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into measures 2 through 9, with measure numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 written above the first staff. The music consists of a series of rhythmic patterns and intervals that are mathematically proportioned. The first staff has a series of notes that are mathematically related to the golden ratio. The second staff has a series of notes that are mathematically related to the golden ratio. The third staff has a series of notes that are mathematically related to the golden ratio. The fourth staff has a series of notes that are mathematically related to the golden ratio. The fifth staff has a series of notes that are mathematically related to the golden ratio.

Because the piece is completely unchanging rhythmically, and because the entirely consonant counterpoint requires many more leaps than steps in the faster moving voices, the music is stripped bare of much of its usual melodic grace and ornament and instead focuses all its energy on its demonstration of the cosmic principles of proportion. While the Picforth In Nomine is sublimely beautiful music, it also acts as a musical manifestation of these mathematical proportions, and perhaps offers the listener the chance to listen to the organization of the universe and the deep correspondences between all things.

Bernhart, who was not a specialist in Renaissance music, seems not to have been aware of this piece, or of the Baldwin Commonplace Book and its proportion pieces. He argues that the Elizabethan transition from more humanist ways of approaching symmetry and proportion (that of cosmological correspondences) to a “more realist and rational” approach is reflected in the discourse about rhyming versus quantitative poetry, with quantitative verse reflecting “true” or realistic proportion (and importantly, drawing on classical precedents).<sup>19</sup> In examining Thomas Campion’s

<sup>19</sup> Bernhart, “‘Proportion’ in Elizabethan Poetry and Music [1996],” 155.

attempts to set quantitative poetry to quantitative music (which are similar both in scope and lack of musical success to contemporary French experiments in *musique mesurée*) he opines that “this is the kind of music that most Elizabethans would have accepted as observing ‘proportion.’” “The basic principle governing such a view,” he continues, “is that there should be, in a ‘proportionable’ use of music and poetry, a clear structuring of time, based on its durational aspect; i.e., the underlying idea was that time should be filled out in an orderly pattern.”<sup>20</sup>

I must disagree with Bernhart on this point: while by no means simple and including proportional relationships beyond what the mind can consciously comprehend (61:3, for example), pieces such as the Picforth In Nomine and the Baldwin proportion pieces are both “clear” and “orderly” in their structuring of time. In fact, they completely privilege the ordering of time, even to the detriment of their musical interest (to modern scholars in the case of most of the Baldwin proportion pieces who have dismissed them entirely as exercises). However, while the extreme Baldwin pieces blend the speculative and the practical sides of music (indeed, they may be more the former than the latter), the technique of proportion itself was not extreme at all or even unusual. Some proportions, particularly *sesquialtera*, were common in much decidedly practical Elizabethan music. Similarly, while some In Nomines, such as the Picforth, may be more speculative in their conceits (i.e., the intellectual decisions are prior to the musical ones), none is that difficult for musicians to execute, and all are clearly well within the sphere of practical music. To sum up, a fascination with proportion is visible in Elizabethan musical culture at both a broad scale (in the regularly performed music that includes *sesquialtera*) and at a more experimental level in edge-cases like the

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<sup>20</sup> Bernhart, 166.

Baldwin Commonplace Book's proportion pieces. Far from restricted to Campion's quantitative works, proportion pervaded Elizabethan music as much as it did their ideas and poetry.

### **Proportions in Music Theory and Speculative Music**

The use of proportions has a long history in the music-theoretical tradition. While the peak of theoretical interest in proportions on the continent was probably Gaffurius's publication of *Practica musice* in 1496, the educational system in England continued to focus on the more speculative aspects of music throughout the whole of the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, in England especially, the speculative musical tradition bled into practical music, visible in the use of proportions and other metrically and notationally complex maneuvers in compositions. In looking specifically at the use of proportions like *sesquialtera* in the Eton Choirbook, which collects repertoire from the late-fifteenth and turn-of-the-sixteenth century, Anne Heminger connects their use to the theoretical activities of a network of musicians at "scholarly hubs" across a number of colleges and universities.<sup>22</sup> Roger Bray, documenting the quadrivial underpinnings of the musical curricula at Cambridge and Oxford in the sixteenth century, also argues for a connection between speculative and practical musical traditions in England, writing, "it is reassuring to find that at the time *musica speculativa* was not some alien concept but was music composed, performed and analysed."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Carpenter, "The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Renaissance (1450-1600)"; Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England"; Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory*.

<sup>22</sup> Heminger, "Music Theory at Work: The Eton Choirbook, Rhythmic Proportions and Musical Networks in Sixteenth-Century England."

<sup>23</sup> Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England," 14.

Bray examines the academic masses that constituted the final exams for would-be degree-holders in music. Often what made the music learned (and therefore appropriate to a final examination) was the mastery of obscure notations, the use of cryptic textual notations of canons, or multiple simultaneous mensurations. This may explain an anecdote told by Thomas Whythorne on a scrap of paper from the 1570s or 80s, which he tucked into the manuscript of his autobiography: "There was in King Henry the Eighth's days a doctor of music named Doctor Newton. It is reported that he was both a Master of Art, a Bachelor of Divinity, and also a Doctor of Music. But the music which he made, was by speculation, and not by practice, for when he had made a song, he could not sing a part of it when he had made it."<sup>24</sup> As Bray dryly notes, "It is unlikely that this remark refers simply to Dr Newton's inability to sing . . . the implication being that the music is in fact too difficult to perform."<sup>25</sup> Sometimes these academic masses were later "transcribed" from their original notation into more familiar notation from which they could actually be sung by musicians.<sup>26</sup> Bray even suggests that Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass (from which the In Nomine was excerpted) shows evidence of partial re-notation in the final passages of each movement.<sup>27</sup>

The tradition of studying basic arithmetical proportions in the context of music runs deep in English music-theoretical treatises, beginning with the treatises now collected in GB-Lbl Lansdowne MS 763 from the mid-fifteenth century. The final

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<sup>24</sup> In addition to writing the first sustained autobiography in English, Whythorne experimented with using a new kind of English orthography that was entirely phonetic. The above quotation is my modernization of Whythorne's spelling in the "musical scrap" which is included in the appendix of Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne: Modern Spelling Edition*, 300.

<sup>25</sup> Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England," 10.

<sup>26</sup> For more on the practice of "resolving" difficult notation (or not), see Rodin, "Unresolved."

<sup>27</sup> Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England," 14.

treatise in the manuscript, ascribed to “Chilston” bears the incipit, “Her beginneth tretises diverse of musical proporcions and of their naturis and denominacions, ferst in Englissh and than in Latyne.”<sup>28</sup> The treatise deals extensively with proportions, treating them primarily mathematically and expanding well beyond those with any practical musical applications.<sup>29</sup> Music, as we know it, is barely mentioned. Another important music-theoretical source is the notebook kept by John Tucke which records (in part) his musical studies at Oxford from 1495 to 1507.<sup>30</sup> The notebook even includes a copy of a treatise by John Hothby on proportions. John Hothby was an English music theorist who spent time in Ferrara where David Fallows argues he would have encountered the music of Ugolino of Orvieto, whose treatise Hothby used for teaching. Ugolino was interested in Ars subtilior traditions and married outdated notations and rhythmic complexity with a more contemporary musical style—a tradition that Fallows argues is continued in the pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book.<sup>31</sup> Tucke’s notes also provide fascinating insights not found in any extant treatise including a system of using multiple colors to indicate proportional changes, far beyond the usual usage of red and black solid and void coloration. However, there is little evidence of the use of such a color system in practice, with the possible exception of the use of blue ink in the Old Hall Manuscript.<sup>32</sup> Finally, John Dygon’s treatises on proportions from the early-sixteenth century (both paraphrases of a section of Gaffurius’s 1496 *Practica Musica*) offer an extensive enumeration of various proportions as well as musical examples

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<sup>28</sup> GB-Lbl Lansdowne MS 763, f. 116.

<sup>29</sup> See Meech, “Three Musical Treatises in English from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript.”

<sup>30</sup> See Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory*.

<sup>31</sup> Fallows, “The End of the Ars Subtilior,” 25–26.

<sup>32</sup> Bent, “The Old Hall Manuscript”; Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory*.

(newly composed by Dygon) illustrating what such proportions would look like in practice.<sup>33</sup>

Examining the pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book, David Fallows sees a through line in the use of proportions and notational complexity that he traces all the way back to the *Ars subtilior*.<sup>34</sup> As far as I am aware, the proportion pieces found in the Baldwin Commonplace Book are the only compositions outside of a theoretical treatise to include proportions as far beyond standard musical practice as 15:4, 20:3, or even 61:3. Many of these pieces are so arcane in their notations that they have not yet been transcribed by modern scholars. Some of the most complex examples are by Baldwin himself or Nathaniel Giles. Fallows suggests a friendly rivalry between the two over who could write the most complicated proportions.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Dygon, *John Dygon's Proportiones Practicabiles Secundum Gaffurium*.

<sup>34</sup> Fallows, "The End of the *Ars Subtilior*."

<sup>35</sup> Fallows, 32.

Figure 3-2. Giles *A duo* in Baldwin Commonplace Book, f. 102v



Maintaining consonances and observing the rules of counterpoint while negotiating such complicated proportional relationships between the voices requires extreme skill, and Fallows’s emphasis on the art of their composition, rather than any theoretical performance, strikes me as correct. These proportion pieces, including

Christopher Tye's *Sit Fast* (discussed at the beginning of this chapter), have often been musically dismissed as pedagogical exercises. Robert Weidner calls *Sit Fast* an "involved and complex exercise in notation," suggesting that it was a preparatory exercise through which Tye taught himself to manipulate proportions in three voices.<sup>36</sup> Jessie Ann Owens agrees, writing, "a number of pieces are exercises for teaching proportions, while others provide practice with the hexachord."<sup>37</sup> Fallows, however, distinguishes the proportion pieces from some of the other educational pieces in the second section of the book, arguing that, "given their difficulty these are less likely to be teaching pieces than ways in which one musician would amuse another."<sup>38</sup>

The proportion pieces mirror the *In Nomine* in their duality of purpose: possible use within pedagogical contexts but also, importantly, their role as a forum for mutual entertainment of professional musicians. Like the *In Nomine*, the proportion pieces are also connected to past musical practices. Alongside the newly composed proportion works of Baldwin and Giles appear others credited to a "Mr. John Bedyngheam," likely the fifteenth-century composer Johannes Bedyngheam. Owens has suggested that the three Bedyngheam pieces and four (anonymous) others that sit next to them might, in fact, all be from the fifteenth century.<sup>39</sup> It is not an unreasonable suggestion, for Baldwin was clearly a musical antiquarian interested in complexity and musical puzzles. Baldwin's interests in older music also led him to copy into his commonplace book pieces by Robert Fayrfax, John Dygon, Robert Cowper, and King Henry VIII. Fittingly,

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<sup>36</sup> Weidner, "The Instrumental Music of Christopher Tye," 363.

<sup>37</sup> Owens, *London, British Library, R.M. 24. d. 2*, vi.

<sup>38</sup> Fallows, "The End of the *Ars Subtilior*," 39.

<sup>39</sup> Owens, *London, British Library, R.M. 24. d. 2*, vi.

the final piece of the commonplace book is the 13-voice canon by Robert Wilkinson that appears in the Eton Choirbook.

Fallows's comparison of the Baldwin proportion pieces to music from the *Ars subtilior* tradition is particularly astute in the way it identifies the importance of notational complexity. While most of the proportion pieces are indeed musically complex (Christopher Tye's *Sit Fast* first among them), many also include notational games that are more complex visually than metrically. For example, a number of the pieces use proportions to notate diminutions that could just as easily have been notated using standard mensural note values. The game is that large sections of the pieces are simply notated in semibreves, but the value of the semibreve continuously shifts because of the application of proportions. This is visible in an excerpt of Thomas Woodson's *Vt, re, mee, fa* (fig. 3-3), where successive diminution by half is notated in semibreves moving from 2:3 to 4:3 to 8:3. The notation conceals the relative simplicity of the music, a trick that only becomes apparent upon attempting to perform it (or transcribe it into modern notation).

**Figure 3-3. Woodson *Vt, re, mee, fa* in Baldwin Commonplace Book, f. 101v**



While Baldwin's *Commonplace Book* remains the largest repository of this late-sixteenth century interest in complex proportions, it is not the sole source. Thomas Morley himself included a proportion piece in his 1597 *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to*

*Practicall Musicke*. Not only does he include such a piece, Morley devotes considerable space to it, printing the entire piece twice over (at a cost of 18 pages) to demonstrate two different systems of notating proportions: one he ascribes to the Italians and Germans, and the other to the English. Morley's inclusion of this kind of "speculative practice" (as we might call it) within his explicitly "practicall" treatise may imply a broader audience for this kind of complexity than has been considered previously. When examined closely, however, the piece differs from the proportion pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book in important ways that make it both easier to read and easier to play. Morley's piece, entitled *Christes Crosse*, is built around a hornbook alphabet song, which immediately calls to mind a pedagogical context. The song acts as a cantus firmus and is repeated four times over while the two free voices execute tricky subdivisions and diminutions. Unlike many of the proportion pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book, which include proportions that alter the tactus (even when a cantus firmus is present), here the semibreve pulse remains steady in all the voices, and all the proportions happen at the subdivision level. While the two free voices create proportions just as rhythmically dissonant as Tye's *Sit Fast*, the constant tactus in all the voices makes the piece much easier to execute for the musicians who, in focusing on their subdivision of the tactus can ignore each other and do not have to accurately feel the cross-rhythms. For example, in measures 109 and 110 of *Christes Crosse* (ex. 3-3), the two free voices execute an 8:7 proportion. But to create the correct rhythmic pattern, each musician must only successfully execute, individually, the proportions 7:1 and 8:1, neither of which is particularly difficult (though the mixed note-values and syncopations within the subdivisions do add some difficulty).

**Example 3-3. Morley *Christes Crosse*, mm. 108-110**

In *Sit Fast*, also in three voices, there is no cantus firmus and the tactus itself shifts throughout the piece. As seen earlier, in measures 107–112, a rhythmic matrix is created of 9:8:6 in which the resulting dyadic relationships are 9:8, 4:3, and 3:2 (ex. 3-4).

**Example 3-4. Tye *Sit Fast*, mm. 107-114**

Many of the duos in the Baldwin Commonplace Book fall somewhere between *Christes Crosse* and *Sit Fast* in terms of complexity. While the semibreve may stay constant through large sections of the pieces, both voices will execute complicated proportions against that imagined constant (since there is no cantus firmus voice reinforcing it, as in *Christes Crosse*), creating complexity that would be very difficult to perform with mathematical accuracy before the era of the metronome. Some of the duos, however, go well beyond the complexity of *Sit Fast* and accurate performance borders on the inconceivable (e.g., 21:4 or 61:3 as seen in figure 3-4).

Figure 3-4. Baldwin *Vpon vt, re, mi, fa* in Baldwin Commonplace Book, f. 101



This brief summary shows the ways in which the speculative musical tradition left a stamp on the music of the late-sixteenth century in England. Several important composers in the In Nomine tradition were closely connected to the English university music curriculum, perhaps none more so than Christopher Tye, himself a Doctor of Music with both a BMus and DMus degrees from Cambridge. While John Baldwin was not formally educated at a university, his colleague (and composer of many of the proportion pieces found in Baldwin's commonplace book) Nathaniel Giles was, receiving both a BMus and eventually a DMus from Oxford. The In Nomines that employ proportions do so on a simpler scale than any of the pieces mentioned above, and the cantus firmus always provides firm footing during even the most complicated cross-rhythms. However, because of the similar conditions under which the proportion pieces and In Nomines were cultivated, this chapter considers them as part of a continuum on which pieces like those in the Baldwin Commonplace Book fall at the furthest extreme. While Baldwin himself falls near the chronological boundary of this study, someone like Christopher Tye—who leaves us both the mind-boggling complexity of *Sit Fast* and the more moderate rhythmic and mensural playfulness of his In Nomines *Trust*, *Seldom Sene*, and *Howld Fast*—sits squarely at its center.

## Proportions in the In Nomines of Christopher Tye

A scrap of manuscript that includes the cantus firmus parts to a handful of In Nomines (some of which illustrate notational quirks or unusual treatments of the chant) is bound in a copy of Ernest David and Mathis Lussy's *Histoire de la notation musicale* that is held by the library at Case Western Reserve University.<sup>40</sup> The pages containing In Nomines are two of dozens of different pieces of manuscript that were bound into this particular copy of the book.<sup>41</sup> It is possible that at least some of the manuscript scraps bound into the book came from the library of the renowned collector Edward Rimbault, which was sold at Sotheby's in 1877.<sup>42</sup> While two of the In Nomines found in these manuscript scraps (Tye's *Seldom Sene* and Brewster's In Nomine a5) are known from other sources, five others are not. These unica In Nomines are given subtitles in the style of the Tye In Nomines and it is entirely possible that they were copied from manuscripts now lost.<sup>43</sup> Not only do these In Nomines have Tye-like titles, they also omit and elide many of the same cantus firmus notes as Tye does in his attributed In

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<sup>40</sup> *Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses origines, par MM. Ernest David et Mathis Lussy* (ML431.D24), Kelvin Smith Library Special Collections, Case Western Reserve University. The manuscript pages of In Nomine cantus firmi are bound into the volume following page 114. I am grateful to Ross Duffin for bringing this source to my attention.

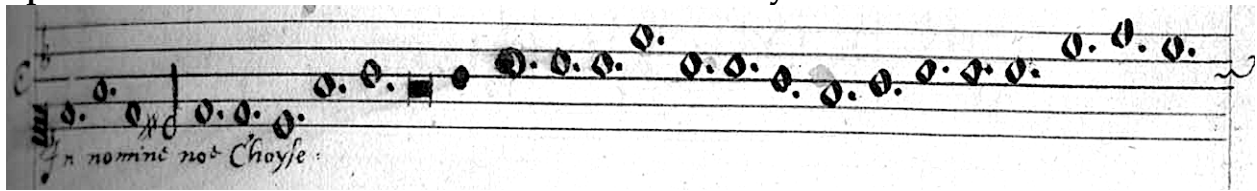
<sup>41</sup> Manfred Bukofzer described it in 1940 thusly: "This book, which was awarded a prize by the Institut de France, was the first to present a somewhat ordered account of the history of musical notation. Although later research has developed the material beyond the state in which it was in 1882, this copy of the book deserves careful examination because of the great number of musical manuscripts which are bound into it. Altogether the book contains thirty-seven different pieces of manuscript written between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries." Bukofzer, "A Notable Book on Music," 1. On each manuscript sheet, the compiler has noted in pencil the order in which the manuscript pages were to be inserted into the book by specifying the printed page number it is to follow, followed by a letter to indicate the order of the manuscript pages in that interpolation. Penciled-in dates on several manuscript pages in the same hand appear to indicate the date the compiler thought the manuscript page was from. In the case of the pages with In Nomines, the date "1580" has been written in pencil.

<sup>42</sup> Ward, "Joan qd John and Other Fragments at Western Reserve University," 833.r

<sup>43</sup> Gordon Dodd writes of this source that "several canto fermo parts, belonging to In Nomines . . . have been preserved complete. One by Brewster (q.v.) is recognised. 'Seldom Seene' is by Tye, and the other In Nomines have Tye-like titles. Whether or not Tye wrote 'not Choyse'. 'hastye (Tye?) bee not', 'Daliance', 'Wanton' and 'Toy' (Tye?) remains to be proved, but the suggestion cannot be totally far-fetched." Dodd and Ashbee, *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, Tye-4.

Nomines. Several of these In Nomine cantus firmus lines illustrate notational and proportional complexity, including one entitled “not Choise” (see figure 3-5), which features both blackened and half-blackened note values. Perhaps Tye wrote more In Nomines with complex proportions than those that have survived.

**Figure 3-5.** In Nomine *not Choise* in *Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses origines, par MM. Ernest David et Mathis Lussy* (ML431.D24), Kelvin Smith Library Special Collections. Case Western Reserve University.



Christopher Tye was both the most prolific composer of In Nomines (twenty-four survive, including three incompletely surviving) and the composer who most often used proportions within them. Moreover, Tye’s use of proportions is remarkably diverse. This subsection examines four of Tye’s In Nomines that showcase these different uses of proportions: *Saye so*, *Beleve me*, *Reporte*, and *Seldom sene*. Some use proportions that are only notational, that is, they are aurally undetectable, while others use more usual proportions that have audible results. An important caveat about proportional notation in Tye’s In Nomines is that the unique source for most of these works is Add. MS 31390, which, copied c. 1578, may significantly postdate Tye’s compositions. Tye himself died in 1572, and it is unclear when he composed his In Nomines. Paul Doe posits that both the chansons by Philip van Wilder and the Tye In Nomines in Add. MS 31390 may have originated in Edward VI’s court before 1553, although he acknowledges that there are reasons to think that Tye’s In Nomines may have been composed later as well.<sup>44</sup> Despite this ambiguity, it is important to be

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<sup>44</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music II*, xviii.

skeptical that the notation of the In Nomines as passed down to us in Add. MS 31390 accurately reflects the notation that Tye himself used for these pieces. While I can only document the use of proportional symbols in the manuscripts I have access to, these should not be considered the definitive or authoritative notation for these works.

Two of Tye's In Nomines, *Saye so* and *Beleve me*, use proportions only within the cantus firmus part. In *Saye so*, these proportions are particularly playful because they don't result in any audible rhythmic changes in the line (see fig. 3-6). They are, in fact, so inconsequential to the musical text that in Musica Britannica's modern edition, the editor, Paul Doe, doesn't even signal in the score where they happen, as he does in all other instances of proportion changes, and instead relegates notice of them to the editorial comments at the back of the volume.<sup>45</sup>

**Figure 3-6. Tye In Nomine a5 *Saye so* in Add. MS 31390, f. 64v**



In figure 3-6, Tye uses three different notations to indicate the same note value, the perfect (or dotted) semibreve. At the opening, he uses the standard white

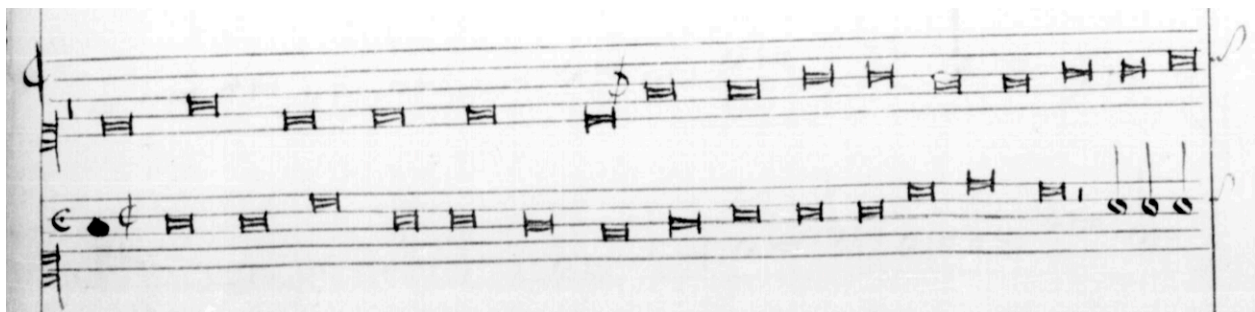
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<sup>45</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music II*.

semibreves in  $\text{C}$  mensuration before switching to  $\text{D}$  and white breves (perfect breves which are diminished by half by the mensural symbol). Tye returns to white semibreves in  $\text{C}$  before introducing a number of black semibreves (imperfect) but often with a dot to re-perfect them before a return to perfect white semibreves. The black semibreves allow for the clearest notation of the two minim rests included in this section and are thus ultimately notationally helpful. The three imperfect black semibreves at the end create a hemiola. A gratuitous and unnecessary clef change for four notes at the beginning of the fourth line may also be part of the notational puzzle, or perhaps just a copyist's mistake as the cantus firmus lines of *In Nomines* are most usually presented in mezzo-soprano clef.

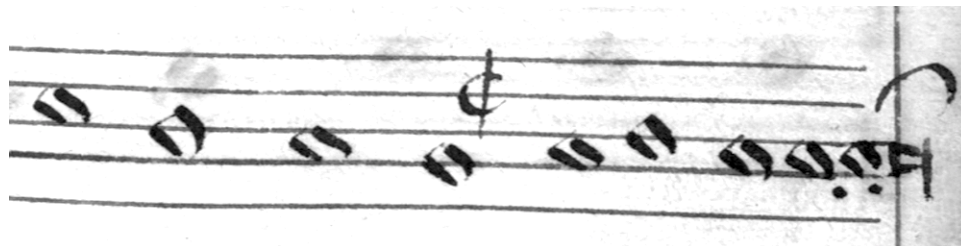
In *Beleve me*, Tye also relegates the proportional change to the cantus firmus line, but this time the proportion actually results in a rhythmic change. Figure 3-7 features a diminution (switching from  $\text{C}$  to  $\text{D}$ ) that alters the rhythm of the cantus firmus from breves to semibreves. A one-note-long switch to  $\text{C}$  would suggest a perfect semibreve, but the note has been blackened to imperfect it, creating a note of identical length to those that preceded it. (It would be difficult to find a better example of a musical joke than this.) The cantus firmus then returns to  $\text{C}$  and resumes its original breves for the rest of the piece.

**Figure 3-7.** Tye *In Nomine* a5 *Beleve me* in Add. MS 31390, f. 63v



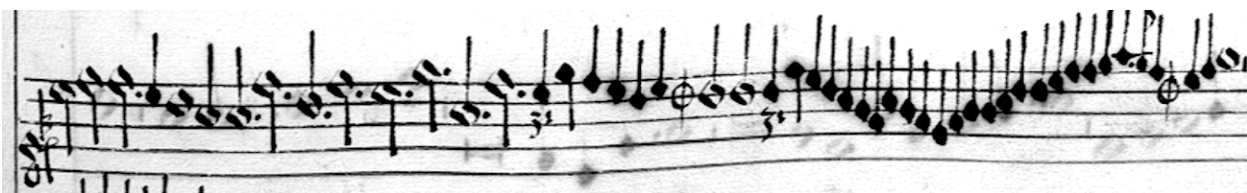
The cantus firmus part in the In Nomine *Reporte* also has a brief use of proportion at the end (see fig. 3-8). Instead of blackening the semibreves to create a hemiola as in *Saye so* (the prevailing mensuration is  $\Phi$ ), the mensuration switches to  $\Phi$  and then uses dotted semibreves to return to the previous note values.

**Figure 3-8.** Tye In Nomine a5 *Reporte* in Add. MS 31390, f. 73



However, the cantus firmus isn't the only part in *Reporte* that uses proportions. The lower three voices are surprisingly notated in  $\Phi$  while both the cantus firmus and the top voice are notated in  $\Phi$  (rather than the  $\text{C}$  used for Tye's other In Nomines in triple meter). The top voice also has a few proportional shifts near the end of the piece, shown in figure 3-9.

**Figure 3-9.** Tye In Nomine a5 *Reporte* in Add. MS 31390, f. 72v



The dotted minims seen above are really a proportional switch that could have been notated with a proportion. The tripla that follows represents a very difficult metrical switch from two notes per cantus firmus pitch (perfect semibreve) to nine. In addition to having to execute what is functionally a 9:2 proportion, the top voice must also contend with the fourth voice which continues in twos (dotted minims) while it switches to nines (ex. 3-5). While the two interrupting minims in  $\Phi$  look complicated,

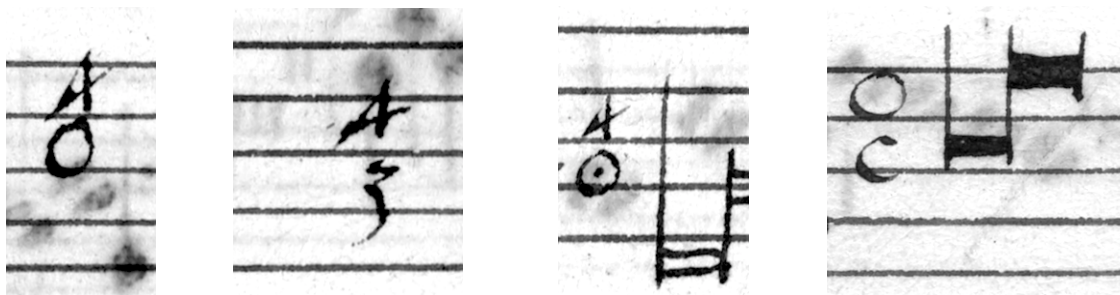
they are actually equivalent to a dotted black semibreve in the tripla and could have just as easily been notated that way. Given the prevailing groupings in three (except for the dotted minims just discussed), the use of  $\Phi$  for the three bottom voices is confusing here and perhaps a mistake.<sup>46</sup>

**Example 3-5. Tye In Nomine a5 *Reporte*, mm. 39-47**

Tye's most extensive and complex use of proportions in an In Nomine is in the aptly titled *Seldom sene*. Unlike in the previous examples, the cantus firmus does not participate in any of the notational shenanigans. Three voices (the first, fourth, and fifth) include proportions that go beyond the relatively common (like *sesquialtera* and tripla) to include *sesquitertia* proportions. Not only do the three voices execute 4:3 proportions, but four different notations are used in Add. MS 31390 to designate this proportional change from  $\Phi$ : 4/O, 4/3, 4/⊙, and O/C with blackened notation (fig. 3-10).

<sup>46</sup> Doe writes, "The scribe clearly intended the lower voices to be read in minor prolation." He also surmises that "Tye's original notation probably used proportions that have been suppressed in this sole source. For example, uncoloured semibreves are imperfect in voice I but perfect in voice II." Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music II*, XLV:149.

Figure 3-10. Tye's In Nomine a5 *Seldom sene* in Add. MS 31390, f. 71v-72



Tye's use of proportional symbols in his In Nomines illustrates the full range of possibilities found in proportional notation: from silent notational in-jokes to difficult-to-perform proportional shifts. His evident interest in this kind of notational and proportional complexity extends from *Sit fast*, found in the Baldwin Commonplace Book among the other proportion pieces, to his In Nomines.

### Other Techniques of Rhythmic and Metrical Complexity

So far, we have examined the ways in which the Baldwin Commonplace Book proportion pieces and some In Nomines add complexity both through difficult proportional relationships and by using notation that is more complicated than necessary to impart the musical information. In this section, I explore other techniques for creating rhythmic and metrical complexity, some of which are hardly apparent from the notation at all. Looking at the repertoire of In Nomines and other textless pieces found in the same manuscripts, I see this complexity as arising from four main types of manipulation: temporarily altered metrical groupings, syncopation or metrical displacement, "serial" rhythmic textures, and setting the cantus firmus in five (or another unusual note-value). The first of these occurs when composers change the way subdivisions group into metrical units within one or more voices without notating a

change in mensuration. The second involves offsetting or syncopating one voice against another or against the metrical grid, a technique I call “displacement.” The third, what I term “serial” rhythm, is created by assigning each part a single rhythmic note value for the entirety of the composition. Finally, the last refers to the use of non-standard note lengths for pitches in a cantus firmus (usually five minims), a technique that can create unusual metrical groupings and cross rhythms between voices. While some of these techniques overlap, they each act differently upon the music and produce quite different results. Furthermore, multiple techniques (especially re-grouping and displacement) are often combined to create layers of complexity. The effect that the use of these techniques has on counterpoint (often pushing it towards a higher saturation of consonance) is also important to note.

My goal in this analysis is not merely to persuade others to use these particular terms; rather, I want to stress that categorization is an important way to reify an observed phenomenon and make it more tangible for discussion and collective analysis. Likewise, many of my observations about rhythmic complexity come from my own experience grappling with these pieces as a performer, especially while my ensemble LeStrange Viols was preparing and recording our album of works from Add. MS 31390, *Æternum*.<sup>47</sup> Unlike in scholarly writing, performance (particularly the work of recording) forces one to make choices and take sides. On the page, for example, notated rhythms can often be interpreted in multiple ways. In writing this chapter I can present the reader with all the options, but in the recording studio, hard choices must be made, which have further ramifications for the phrasing of the other voices. While it was within that environment of cascading and related musical choices necessitated by

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<sup>47</sup> LeStrange Viols, *Æternum*.

recording that my awareness of some of these techniques was awakened, they are, nonetheless broadly prevalent in Elizabethan textless music generally and *In Nomines* in particular (even though the sixteenth-century performance context was certainly quite different). This section looks at each of these four techniques in turn, beginning with a broad explanation and consideration of their use within Elizabethan textless music and followed by a close look at how the techniques are used in *In Nomines* in particular.

### **Grouping Changes**

I use the term “grouping change” or “re-grouping” to describe a temporary and un-notated shift in the metrical groupings of the music. In practice, this happens frequently in imperfect mensurations in which one voice (or several) begins to group in threes rather than the twos implied by the mensuration. When reading barless music, even without text, a grouping change happens easily and naturally as longer note values are perceived as weightier and more important. Alternating semibreves and minims, for example, quickly gives way to hearing groups of threes rather than stodgy syncopations (the latter only being a tempting musical choice when confronted with barlines). Even more obvious are the unmistakable groups of three formed by repetitions of the rhythmic pattern: dotted minim, semiminim, minim (♩. ♪ ♩). These transient grouping changes happen frequently in sixteenth-century music and can be fleeting or pervasive, subtle or obvious; they can happen in a single voice, several, or even all the voices. The following examples will show the breadth of how the re-grouping technique is used in textless polyphony and in *In Nomines*.

A striking moment in the Anonymous *In Nomine* a6 illustrates a rare homophonic episode in which all five free voices undergo a grouping change (ex. 3-6).

Starting on the second half-note of measure 50, the lower two voices start grouping in three, and three semiminims later, two more voices join. By the third grouping of three, five voices are moving in rhythmic unison for several groups. The episode dissipates as quickly and organically as it appeared.

**Example 3-6. Anonymous In Nomine a6, mm. 49-51**



A more complicated example of the same homophonic triple effect comes from the same manuscript (Add. MS 31390) in a *Phancy* by Edward Blankes in which an unnotated grouping change leads to a notated mensural change (fig. 3-11 and ex. 3-7). In figure 3-11, below, the top voice (in soprano clef) is clearly grouping in threes before the notated mensuration shift.

**Figure 3-11. Blankes *A Phancy* in Add. MS 31390, f. 31**



In fact, all the voices are moving homorhythmically in threes here, but the passage creates difficult performance questions about the proportional relationship between the two notated mensurations. One would ordinarily expect the notated triple to have a *sesquialtera* relationship to the original imperfect mensuration, but this would cause the triple groups to speed up at the mensuration change (unusual but potentially plausible). However, the mensuration change is notated in slightly different places in the different parts in the manuscript, thus suggesting that the mensural shift may not change the speed of the notes and that the mensurally notated triple section proceeds at the same rate as the previous unnotated one.

**Example 3-7. Blankes *A Phancy*, mm. 14-19**

Both the Blankes *Phancy* and the Anonymous *In Nomine a6* are unusual for their homophony, which renders the grouping changes obvious. Many other pieces are far more subtle in this effect or it is more localized. In William Mundy's *In Nomine a5 #1* (ex. 3-8), for example, the top voice goes into very clear triple groupings for three and a half breves while the bottom voice does so simultaneously for a breve and a half. Meanwhile, the other two free voices stay strongly in groups of two.

**Example 3-8. Mundy In Nomine a5 #1, mm. 47-51**

A more ambiguous moment of re-grouping happens in Robert Parsons's In Nomine a7 #1 where a moment of harmonic and thematic stasis emerges from measures 31–38 (ex. 3-9). A point of imitation played by all the free voices, but most insistently by the second voice, alternates breves and semibreves. While the texture as a whole remains strongly in two (especially reinforced by the bottom two voices, which take turns playing the very duple bass line), the rhythmic alternation creates a gentle feeling of triple groupings atop the bottom voices.

**Example 3-9. Parsons In Nomine a7 #1, mm. 31-39**

As will become apparent in the following discussion of displacement and serial rhythmic techniques, grouping changes are often combined with these other techniques to create composite special rhythmic effects.

### **Syncopation/Displacement**

One of the many difficulties of writing about what I here call “displacement” is a lack of appropriate terminology. The term “syncopation” has a specific and narrow modern meaning, but it also has a specific and narrow, albeit slightly different, historical meaning—and neither of these fully encompass the techniques found in late-sixteenth century English compositions. In her book *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music*, Ruth DeFord devotes only three pages to the topic of syncopation. She notes that Renaissance theorists used the word syncopation in two ways: to mean “complete time units that are interrupted by other complete time units on the same mensural level,” and also in a more modern sense “in which only the displaced notes are called ‘syncopated.’”<sup>48</sup> Though DeFord does not include Morley in her survey, he mentions syncopation several times. He does so, however, most often in the context of a suspension before a cadence, a suspension which for Morley is requisite to the identity of a cadence. “For a Cadence must alwaies bee bound or then odde, driuing a small note through a greater, which the Latines and those who haue of late daies written the Art of musicke, call *Sincopation*: for all binding and hanging vpon notes, is called *Sincopation*.”<sup>49</sup> He even suggests that the two terms are nearly synonymous, referring to “Sincopation (which wee abusively call a Cadence).”<sup>50</sup> Morley’s non-cadential examples

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<sup>48</sup> DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music*, 42–43.

<sup>49</sup> Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 171.

<sup>50</sup> Morley, 161.

of syncopation or “driving” show long strings of simple off-set duple values, nothing like the murky complexity found in the In Nomines at hand (fig. 3-12).

Figure 3-12. Morley *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, p. 152



The type of complex syncopation that I observe in Elizabethan textless polyphony does not usually occur in simple duple situations such as that shown in figure 3-12, above. Rather, it happens often in triple mensurations or even during regrouping episodes in which there are transient triple groupings within a duple mensuration. These complicated syncopations are, to my mind, conceptually different than what early modern theorists mean when they talk about syncopation. DeFord hints at this distinction when she notes that “syncopation is meaningless as a rhythmic technique unless performers and listeners perceive the distinction between rhythms that conform to the mensural structure and rhythms that conflict with it.”<sup>51</sup> In other words, there is a structure implied by the mensuration, a mensural grid, which surface rhythms can either fit within or push against. A simple duple syncopation such as in Morley’s examples above push against that grid, but never actually threaten the grid’s

<sup>51</sup> DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music*, 98.

stability or audibility. These simple syncopations actually *reinforce* the sense of a shared mensural grid by briefly pulling against it and then satisfyingly snapping back into place. In contrast, the rhythmic complexity encountered in *In Nomines* and related pieces often does not reinforce the mensural grid through momentary dissonance with it but instead *dissipates* the grid into a competing set of mensural realities before eventually reconvening on a shared mensural grid.

This is a meaningful distinction and a useful one. True syncopation creates metrical clarity by ultimately reinforcing metrical hierarchies; the phenomenon I discuss here does the opposite. Therefore, I have chosen to term this kind of complexity “displacement” rather than syncopation (I use syncopation to refer only to simple duple displacements like Morley’s examples). While syncopation describes a voice’s temporary displacement from the mensural grid, what I hope to capture in using the term displacement is not just a voice’s displacement from the grid but, more importantly, its displacement from the other voices. Take, for example, an episode in which, in an imperfect mensuration, several voices are re-grouped in threes—none of these re-grouped voices is on the true mensural grid which is in duple. Now imagine that these re-grouped voices are displaced from each other as well, each asserting a *different* pattern of emphasis in three. Such a situation creates more confusion than reinforcement and may temporarily suspend the sense that there is a single grid within which all voices are operating. Add to this that in many of these examples the displacement vis-à-vis the original mensural grid actually shifts during the episode rather than remaining static. Therefore, it is the displaced relationship between the voices themselves that creates the character of this effect rather than each individual voice’s “syncopation” against the original mensural grid.

The fact that these displacements tend to happen within re-groupings that already negate the prevailing mensuration is important too. If the clear sense of a single tactus is already disrupted, each voice's further displacement becomes equally plausible. Recalling the imagined example above, if there are three voices grouping in threes within a duple mensuration and all three are displaced from each other, who is to say which of those voices in three is "on the grid" and which two are "syncopated"? Has the grid itself switched to three (even if a fourth or fifth voice are still grouping in twos)? The interest of Elizabethan composers in this double disruption is illustrated in Tye's use of the displacement effect within his *In Nomines* in triple mensurations. In a triple mensuration, two displacements are already possible within the prevailing mensural grid. Tye, however, never introduces displacement at the primary mensural level. Instead, the displacement effect is only used at the level of the imperfect (duple) subdivision in which a triple re-grouping is possible. Tye does exactly this in two of his four *In Nomines* in triple mensuration.

In *Howld Fast* (ex. 3-10), the prevailing mensural grid is three minims to the dotted semibreve with the cantus firmus in dotted semibreves. Tye regroups these subdivisions, the imperfect minims, into perfect (i.e., dotted) minims in the top voice and the fourth voice and then displaces these two voices from each other.

**Example 3-10. Tye In Nomine a5 *Howld fast*, mm. 35-45**

In *Re la re* (ex. 3-11), Tye does the same, except in this case three (briefly) of the voices re-group and are then displaced.

**Example 3-11. Tye In Nomine a5 *Re la re*, mm. 32-38**

The only example in an In Nomine of displacement being used without a re-grouping is in Baldwin's In Nomine a4 (ex. 3-12). The result is unusual because the top voice is privileged as being more "correct" in its emphasis than the others since it lines up with the prevailing mensural grid. In this instance, the term syncopation could be considered.

**Example 3-12. Baldwin In Nomine a4, mm. 1-8**

This example also illustrates a special effect that is possible through displacement. When three voices are displaced from each other in triple groupings, such that each of the three subdivisions is emphasized by one of the voices, it results in what I term “fully saturated” displacement. That is to say, all possible mensural organizations are proposed by at least one of the voices. The fully saturated texture maximally undermines any sense that there is a single mensural grid or single tactus and creates a sense of timelessness.

One of my favorite examples of the combination of grouping changes and displacements, as well as fully saturated texture, comes from Osbert Parsley’s *Spes nostra* (found in Add. MS 31390) in which the cantus firmus is presented in groups of five (a technique discussed below) (ex. 3-13). At the same time as the cantus firmus groups in fives, the top voice clearly groups in fours, as is suggested by the imperfect mensuration. The second, fourth, and fifth voices group in threes but are all displaced from each other created the fully saturated texture.

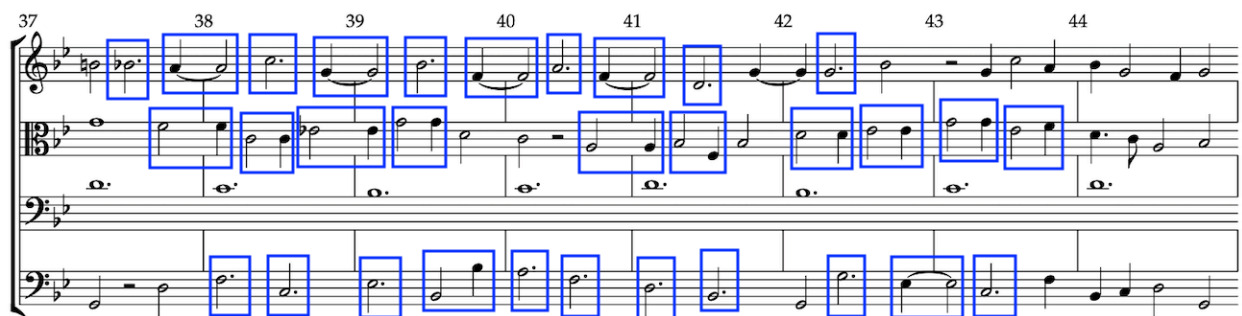
Example 3-13. Parsley *Spes nostra*, mm. 71-80

In this example, various voices momentarily coincide with each other but without extreme effort on the part of the players, there is no way to identify a “correct” mensural grid against which the other voices are syncopated. Even amongst the three voices in three, there is no way to say which placement is true and which “displaced.” The musical effect is of a vast space opening up where time drops away and the performers (and listeners) float unmoored until the final cadence arrives, almost without warning. This effect is similar to that of the example of the Shakespeare line (“Love’s not Time’s fool”) mentioned earlier in this chapter. Where Shakespeare uses two spondees (four stressed syllables in a row) to break apart the prevailing iambic pentameter and illustrate time’s inconstancy by stopping the sense of time, the fully saturated texture also offers too-frequent stresses (albeit coming from different voices) to break open the prevailing mensural grid and create a sense of timelessness.

Fully saturated rhythmic textures are more common in Elizabethan music than one might at first imagine and are an aurally distinct “effect” that composers draw upon. Another example of fully saturated rhythmic texture in an In Nomine can be found in Brewster’s In Nomine a4 (ex. 3-14). As in the Tye examples above, the displacement effect is not used at the level of the prevailing perfect mensuration (three

minims to the perfect semibreve) but rather, a re-grouping at a lower mensural level occurs before the displacement is layered in. Brewster reimagines the mensuration as two perfect minims per perfect semibreve, creating groups of three semiminims rather than the groups of three minims already called for by the notated mensuration. These dotted minims are then quickly displaced from each other to create a static, fully saturated texture that continues for several measures. Note in measures 41-2 the single minims in all three parts that redistribute the emphases.

**Example 3-14. Brewster In Nomine a4, mm. 37-44**



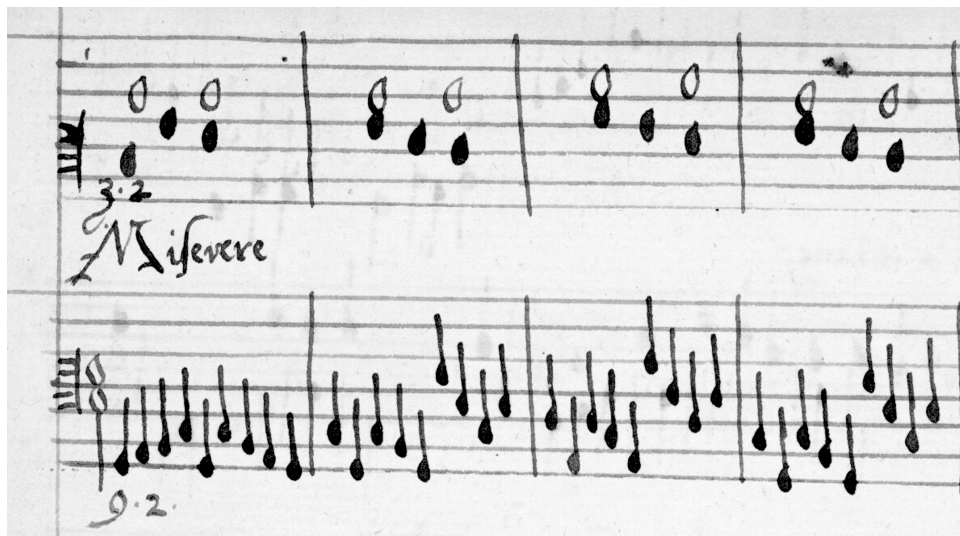
Displacement, and the fully saturated textures it can create, was an important part of Elizabethan rhythmic vocabulary and is found at moments throughout the repertoire. While it is the most common, it is not, however, the only such rhythmic special effect. The next section explores a related rhythmic effect, one I call “serial” rhythm.

**Serial Rhythm**

A special and rare rhythmic effect that is related to the minimalist techniques of maintaining a point (discussed in chapter two) is one that I call “serial” rhythm. A serial rhythmic scheme is one in which every part contains only a single note value throughout the entirety of the piece and each of the parts has a different note value. Serial rhythm is most often found in cantus firmus pieces and is present in one In

Nomine, the In Nomine a5 by Picforth. (This singular In Nomine might as well be anonymous for nothing of “Picforth” is known other than this name to which the piece is ascribed in its unique source, Add. MS 31390.) While it is an anomaly among In Nomines, it belongs to a small category of other cantus firmus pieces that use serial rhythmic schemes, several from Italy and a handful from England that have been recently uncovered by Loren Ludwig.<sup>52</sup> Of these few instances, there is a notable difference between the Italian examples by Festa, Infantas, and Briccio and the English examples by Shelbye, Picforth, and Morley. The Italians tend to use note values that are all duple subdivisions of each other: the four voices might be comprised of, for example, breves, semibreves, minims, and semiminims to create the rhythmic matrix 8:4:2:1. The English, on the other hand, prefer to create more complex rhythmic composites. Shelbye’s *Miserere mihi* in the Mulliner Book, for instance, forms a rhythmic matrix of 9:3:2, as seen in figure 3-13.

**Figure 3-13.** Shelbye *Miserere* in the Mulliner Book, f. 47v



<sup>52</sup> Ludwig, “Maintaining a Point’: [m]inimalist Strategies in Sixteenth-Century Polyphony.”

Shelbye sets the *Miserere* chant in semibreves and places it in the highest voice, which lends extra audibility to it and balances the other voices whose note values are 3:2 and 9:2 against the chant. The Picforth In Nomine (ex. 3-15, repeated for convenience) uses this same serial procedure but is even more complex because it is in five parts whose note values form a 12:8:6:4:3 rhythmic matrix over a three breve period.

**Example 3-15. Picforth In Nomine a5, mm. 1-9**

This serial rhythmic scheme is continued throughout the entirety of the piece. Aside from the rising fourth that opens the top three voices and a short quotation of the opening of the chant in the third voice in measure 7, there is no sense of imitation among the voices. Nor is there much sense of melody since the lines are highly disjunct. The writing is completely consonant, outlining intervals allowed by the cantus firmus pitches. While the proportions between the voices never change, the composite rhythm creates a sparkling pattern.

The serial rhythm in the Picforth In Nomine intersects with several of the techniques of complexity already examined in this chapter. The second voice, for example, is in a different mensuration than the other four, which makes explicit its proportional relationship to, say, the top voice. Other proportions between voices are

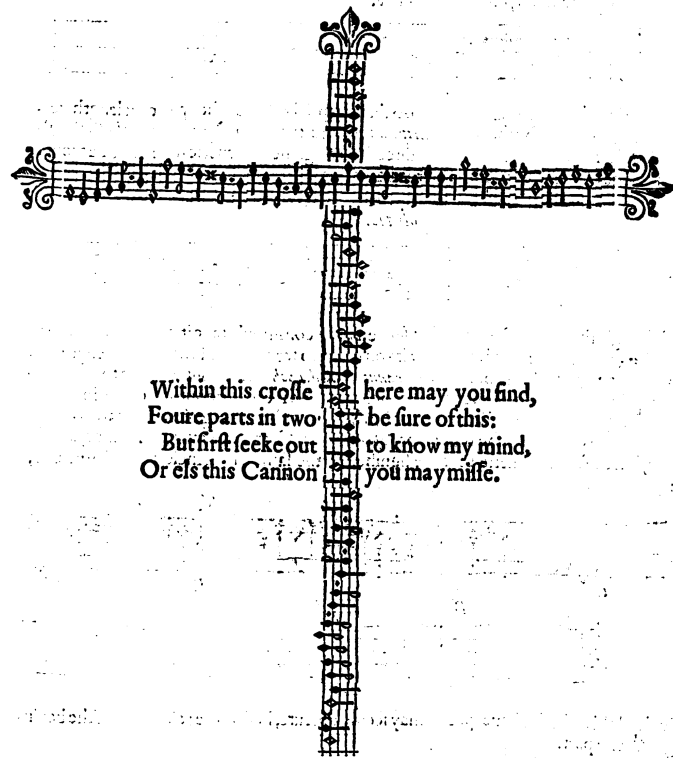
not explicitly notated but emerge from the combination of different note values. Because the bottom voice's rhythm is expressed through note values rather than mensural symbols, it can be thought of as a type of re-grouping, moving in units of three minims rather than two or four. Finally, the different note values result in the dispersion of metrical accents across the three-breve period, forming a texture that is similar to that achieved by (fully saturated) displacement. Of course, in displaced textures there is never a cyclical coinciding of accents as there is here in the serial rhythmic texture.

In addition to the examples already mentioned, an entire category of canons is based on the premise of serial rhythm.<sup>53</sup> Morley's "cross" canon, printed in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, provides two voices in varied rhythm arranged in the shape of a cross (fig. 3-14).

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<sup>53</sup> See Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance*, 301–3.

Figure 3-14. Morley *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, p. 174



The instructions for realizing the canon are incredibly cryptic, so luckily for us Morley explains the conceit and provides a notated solution to the four voices of the canon on the next page. If one performs both of the notated parts as if they were written in single note values (one in straight semibreves and the other in straight dotted minims—creating the proportion 4:3) in addition to two parts as they are notated (i.e., rhythmically diverse), a four-voice canon is created. One must also, of course, pick the correct clefs for all four voices in order to make the music work.

A rarity, serial rhythm provides yet another example of Elizabethan composers' interest in creating rhythmic complexity and special rhythmic textures. Unlike the other techniques discussed here, which are often fleeting or sectional, serial rhythm tends to be a conceit that governs the entirety of a composition. Complicated fully saturated textures like that found at the end of Parsley's *Spes nostra* (ex. 3-13, above), however, come close to serial rhythm in their combination of different note values. In that final

section, the Parsley is fairly consistent in having a voice whose notes are five minims long, a voice whose notes are four minims long, and three voices whose notes are three minims long. Minus the displacement of the voices whose notes are three minims, the concept is not far off from the construction of the Picforth or Shelby examples.

### **Unusual Cantus Firmus Note Values**

A final technique for cultivating metrical complexity that seems to have been of interest to the Elizabethan composers of In Nomines was setting the cantus firmus in unusual note values. This is most commonly achieved through cantus firmus notes that are five minims long (notated as a breve plus a minim) rather than the traditional breve (four minims), or dotted breve or dotted semibreve (six or three minims). Other unusual note lengths for the cantus firmus are also possible. Bull has a keyboard In Nomine setting (#9) which sets the cantus firmus in lengths of eleven semiminims, and Mallorie has a *Miserere* setting in the Dow Parbooks that does the same. Setting the cantus firmus in unusual lengths is not generally reflected in the mensuration symbols themselves, which tend to use the most common mensuration of this period, imperfect, or  $\text{C}$ . When the length is five minims, the cantus firmus is notated as a breve followed by a minim and though no symbol that would “tie” the notes together is used, modern performance practice usually treats them as a single note-value five minims in length. The use of a cantus firmus in five strikes me as playful rather than symbolic. While five can, of course, symbolize the five wounds of Christ, an important symbol to English Catholics in this period, it is also the lowest number not divisible by two or three and thus the smallest number of beats resulting in a “mixed-meter” grouping (i.e., half the perfection is a group of three, the other half a group of two). Copying one of these pieces in score (and thus with bar lines) in the seventeenth century, Francis Tregian chose to alternate measures of three and two minims rather than use measures of five minims.

These pieces feel akin to the other kinds of rhythmic conceits and games that musicians were playing at the time, such as the use of proportions and canonic puzzles. It is not a coincidence, I think, that Baldwin includes two pieces that set the cantus firmus in five among the proportion pieces in his commonplace book. The use of a cantus firmus in five is a bold challenge for a composer and results in one of two approaches to the game: one in which the challenge is audible and one in which it is inaudible. Another game-like aspect is the way in which these pieces are signaled with text, similar to textual canons. Tye titles his *In Nomine* that sets the cantus firmus in five, "Trust," giving a cryptic clue to the musicians. Less cryptic is Osbert Parsley's *In Nomine a5 #3*, found in the single bass part book Tenbury 1464. This non-cantus firmus part is titled as an *In Nomine* in five parts "uppon v minoms." Other pieces with the cantus firmus in five, such as Strogers's *In Nomine a5 #2* or Parsley's *Spes Nostra* make no mention of the unusual cantus firmus length and only the musician playing or singing that part would necessarily be privy to the knowledge before beginning to play the piece. While these pieces are never barred in their original sixteenth-century notation (modern editions bar them in both four and five), the interplay between the cantus firmus groupings and the broader musical structure varies wildly. Some pieces essentially ignore the groupings in five, treating the cantus firmus as merely a necessary consonant pitch while the rest of the voices continue with normal rhythms and groupings. This approach buries the game, leaving the "five-ness" of the composition relatively inaudible to the listener. Indeed, the cantus firmus in five might be initially invisible to most of the musicians whose partbooks contain no indication of the unusual length of the cantus firmus notes but who would surely quickly notice that the cantus firmus's changes of pitch do not coincide with the general mensuration. Other pieces highlight the groupings in five, using imitative points "in five" and cadences aligning

with the cantus firmus to make audible the unusual note lengths. Still others use the cantus firmus length to set up wildly complex layers of grouping, juxtaposing groupings in five, four, and three all at the same time (as seen in the Parsley).

John Baldwin includes two four-part textless pieces in his commonplace book that use the same cantus firmus in five. One called “p[ro]porcions to the minu[m],” is based on a plainsong-like melody notated in breves under which is written “five minu[m]s.” The other, called simply “3 voc vpo[n] the plainsong” uses the same cantus firmus which is labeled “vppon five minu[m]s.” Unlike all other examples, the mensuration for these two parts is specifically given in two symbols,  $\text{C}$  followed by  $\text{C}$ , an elegant nod to five being composed of three plus two. In both pieces the other parts have their own (or no) mensuration signs and execute a series of proportions against the cantus firmus, as complicated as 10:3 and 16:3. There are at least three early In Nomines that use groupings of five, of which only two, Tye’s *Trust* and Strogers’s In Nomine a5 #2, survive completely. A comparison of these two pieces shows two very different approaches to the conceit of having the cantus firmus notes be five minims long.

### **Strogers In Nomine a5 #2**

In general, Strogers treats the cantus firmus as a series of chord tones rather than as the mensural structure for the piece. These two functions are not entirely separable, of course, and in the sections of the chant where there are fewer repetitions of pitches (such as CF25–30), the allowed consonances audibly shift enough to give each note change in the cantus firmus a rhythmic center of gravity. This is easy to see if one compares the first section of the piece (ex. 3-16), where the chant moves less often and more by leap and the surrounding polyphony feels very much “in four,” to the second

section, where the chant moves more by step and the surrounding polyphony (though highly rhythmically active) sounds like groups of fives because of the harmonic shifts.

**Example 3-16. Strogers In Nomine a5 #2, mm. 1-14**

In the example 3-16 above, the opening proves to be quite regular in its groupings of four, with the point of imitation always beginning on the second or fourth minim of each breve grouping. I have barred it in four so as not to obscure this. The first cadence, between the top two voices on the downbeat of measure 11, conveniently lands at a moment of convergence between the breve groupings of the free voices and the five-minim groupings of the cantus firmus. Starting at measure 31, in example 3-17 below, both the character of the free voices and their groupings have changed. Quick syncopations and alternations between duple and triple groupings end up aligning into arpeggiated patterns and *cantisans* cadential formulas that last five minims, allowing the free voices to coalesce around harmonic shifts with the cantus firmus. Some of these

shifts are jarring, such as between the E $\flat$ s that accentuate the B $\flat$  sonority in the cantus firmus in measure 36, followed immediately by the E $\flat$ s and C $\sharp$ s that harmonize the next cantus firmus pitch, A.

**Example 3-17. Stogers In Nomine a5 #2, mm. 30-41**

The image shows a musical score for measures 30-41. The top staff (Soprano) contains the cantus firmus. Measures 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, and 40 are highlighted with blue boxes. The score includes staves for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is 3/4. The music features various rhythmic patterns, including syncopations and triple groupings.

The use of coordinated syncopations (semiminim-minim-semiminim) between several voices, such as those in measure 32 at the start of the D sonority in the cantus firmus, add rhythmic emphasis to the arrival of the new cantus firmus pitch. This same gesture is repeated in the top voice for the next two cantus firmus pitches as well (in measures 33 and 34) and then in the bass for the pitch change in measure 36. Two of these syncopated gestures (each taking a total of two minims) often sandwich a single minim (for a total of five) as the top voice does twice in a row in measures 32-4 and the bass does in measures 36-37. Other voices throw in several triple groupings (minim-semiminim), for example, the bass has a long string of these between measures 37-39.

The contrast between the unaccented semiminims in the triple gesture and the accented semiminim at the beginning of the syncopated gesture adds much rhythmic vitality and aural complexity to this section.

If the first section of the Stogers groups strongly in four and the second weakly in five, the third and final large section of the piece hardly groups at all. Stogers takes a technique used often at the ends of *In Nomines*, disjunct fragments beginning off the beat (in this case descending), and extends it (with some melodic elaboration) to fill the entire section from measure 44 to the end (ex. 3-18). The effect of the very close entries of this point between the voices is that while the offbeat entrances reinforce each minim, there is no distinct grouping of the minims.

**Example 3-18. Stogers In Nomine a5 #2, mm. 42-47**

The musical score for Example 3-18 consists of five staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains measures 42 and 43. The second staff (treble clef) contains measures 44, 45, 46, and 47. The third staff (bass clef) contains measures 44, 45, 46, and 47. The fourth staff (bass clef) contains measures 44, 45, 46, and 47. The fifth staff (bass clef) contains measures 44, 45, 46, and 47. Blue boxes highlight specific rhythmic patterns in measures 44, 45, 46, and 47, showing the close entries of the voices.

Stogers skillfully changes chord tones within cantus firmus notes and holds over common chord tones between cantus firmus notes so that the harmonies shift gradually, and the arrival of each cantus firmus note does not register as a moment of harmonic change, as had been the case in the second section.

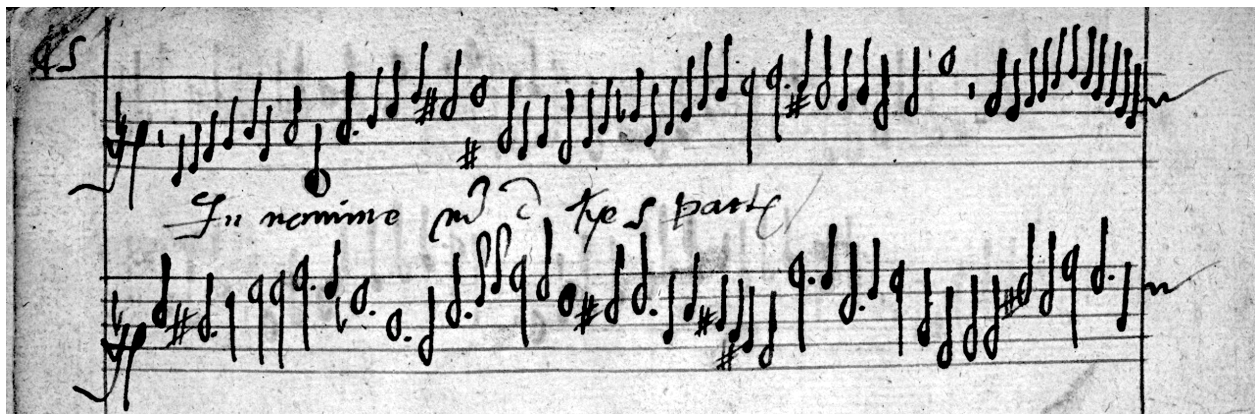
Overall, while there are moments in which the groupings of the cantus firmus affect the global sense of metrical grouping, these occur through the action of the cantus firmus's sway over the consonant tones available to the other voices. Said another way,

the cantus firmus supplies the harmonic, not mensural, backbone to the piece, although occasionally that harmonic influence does give a weak mensural impression. This is certainly one way to handle a cantus firmus grouped in fives and even appears to be the “normative” approach (as difficult as it is to assess norms with such a small sample size).

### Tye In Nomine a5 *Trust*

Standing in stark contrast, Christopher Tye’s *Trust* is unusual among pieces in five for its dogged interest in having the polyphony match the cantus firmus’s groupings. This piece survives completely only in Add. MS 31390, where it gives no indication of its unusual groupings except for its cryptic title. The top voice alone also survives in Add. MS 32377 where the title is not included (fig. 3-15).

Figure 3-15. Tye In Nomine a5 *Trust* in Add. MS 32377, f. 16v (top voice)



In figure 3-15 above, from Add. MS 32377, it is tempting to conclude that the “♯5” in the upper left-hand corner refers to the mensural groupings in five, the number, however, actually refers to the fact that the piece is in five voices. Other pages in the manuscript show “♯6” or “♯7” for six and seven-part works in imperfect mensuration. However, the half-colored note-head found on the eighth note is intriguing: it

corresponds to the beginning of the second grouping of five (i.e., the moment when the cantus firmus changes to its second pitch). This seems a clear notational direction to the musician of this note bears some importance in indicating the prevailing groupings.<sup>54</sup>

Notation aside, Tye sets up a strong feeling of “five-ness” from the very start and only relaxes its insistence a third of the way through the piece. There are two primary ways in which he emphasizes and reinforces these groupings of five. First, Tye constructs the opening imitative point in such a way that it points out the unusual groupings to the ear. The point itself is five minims long, and each imitative entry begins five minims after the previous one, giving a regular pattern of entries and emphasis. In example 3-19 below, the point bounces off the first beat of each five-grouping and drops the interval of a fifth at the start of the next grouping, both elements that bring out the start of each grouping and force the ear to hear the grouping correctly in five rather than slipping back into a more comfortable four. I have barred the example below in five to make this easily visible.

**Example 3-19. Tye In Nomine a5 *Trust*, mm. 1-6**

<sup>54</sup> In the middle of the second line there is a semibreve D that also appears to also be deliberately half-shaded (top to bottom), but I can uncover no significance to this note so perhaps the shading is in error. It does not correspond to a change in cantus firmus pitch, nor to a cadential moment of alignment between other voices.

Secondly, Tye very deliberately marks the beginnings of the groups at CF3, 4, 5, and 6 with cadences. Three of these four cadences involve the cantus firmus itself which in two instances require pitch alterations to the cantus firmus (which Tye does on the final minim of each group). These cadences create a strong sense of arrival at the beginning of each group of five. Combined with the characteristics of the point and its entries, these cadences lock the groupings into place, cementing the sense of five in the ear of the listener and musicians. Tye continues to reinforce these groupings with more cadences arriving at the beginnings of CF9, 11, 13, and 15 as well. This frequency of cadential arrival is unusual for sixteenth-century In Nomines; I know of none other that has quite so many in so short a span. The obvious conclusion is that these cadences are required to support the correct aural interpretation of the groupings, and that Tye includes them for just such a purpose. Only in the grouping at CF17 does Tye introduce a cadence that arrives out of sync with the cantus firmus, resolving instead on the fifth minim which makes that grouping feel like one of four rather than five. As the piece continues, Tye reduces the frequency of cadences and is more flexible about when they occur. He also allows the points to enter at closer intervals and the original rigidity of the groupings of five is relaxed. However, the strong sense of five returns at the end of the piece with two cadences in a row, resolving at the beginnings of CF43 and 44 (measures 43 and 44 in example 3-20 below) and involving the structurally important cantus firmus and the audibly important top voice.

Example 3-20. Tye In Nomine a5 *Trust*, mm. 41-47

The final extraordinary gesture in the top voice, a scalar descent from its highest note A all the way to F# more than an octave below confirms one last grouping of five before the arrival of the final note.

These pieces offer a perfect example of two radically different ways of treating the same premise, that of setting the cantus firmus in groups of five minims. Strogers treats the cantus firmus primarily as a pitch constraint around which he composes polyphony of relatively standard metrical organization. Tye, on the other hand, treats the cantus firmus groupings as an opportunity for metrical experimentation, composing polyphony that truly groups in five. If a modern editor were to be given these two pieces, each without the cantus firmus part, I can imagine no editor who would choose to bar the Strogers in five. However, it seems quite likely that they might choose to do so for the Tye, at least for the first third of the piece.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> This is exactly what Paul Doe has done in *Musica Britannica* where the Strogers is barred in four and the Tye mostly in five, except for CF11-18 which is inexplicably (to me) barred in four.

## Aurality and Performativity in Metrical and Rhythmic Complexity

The complexity discussed in this chapter can play out on several different levels along the journey from page to musician to listener. Although in the sixteenth century, listener and player were likely the same person, it remains important to parse out for whom is this music complex. In the case of the proportion pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book, many times the proportions executed are simply multiples like 2:1 and 4:1 (or 5:2 and 10:2). These proportions could, of course, be written out using the different standard mensural note values. A composer can create a 2:1 proportion by switching from semibreves to minims. But in the Baldwin Commonplace Book proportion pieces, this is usually done by notating a 2:1 proportion and continuing to notate in semibreves, each semibreve now worth half the value of the previous. A subsequent 4:1 proportion might lead to a string of breves which are now the same mensural value as the preceding semibreves and could have easily been written as minims in the original mensuration with no proportions at all. This kind of use of proportions is therefore complex only on a notational level and is usually inaudible, unless it causes the musician to make an audible error. In transcribing such proportions into modern notation, the complexity becomes invisible as well as inaudible, simplified into hierarchical note values. This purely notational “proportional” complexity is not written for a listener; it speaks only from composer to performer/reader. Along these lines are also the extra-musical so-called “doggerel rhymes” that often accompany the pieces in the Baldwin Commonplace Book such as the inscription that ends Tye’s *Sit Fast* “Singe ye trew & care not / for I am trew feare not.”<sup>56</sup> These mirror (and also include) the riddles whose solutions explicate a textual canon or other such puzzle

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<sup>56</sup> Baldwin Commonplace Book, f. 115

piece. The Baldwin Commonplace Book includes one of these puzzle pieces as well, the anonymous trio *Holde faste*, which includes a tenor based on the hexachord and a *ficta* spiral in which flats accumulate as a succession of fourths and fifths that must be flatted to avoid leaping by tritone. For a long time no solution to this piece could be found, and in 1996 David Fallows famously offered the prize of a year's subscription to *Early Music* to whomever could crack it; he ultimately offered his own proposed transcription in 2014 in *Musica Britannica's* volume 97.<sup>57</sup>

Other types of complexity map differently. Non-multiple proportions such as 3:2 or 4:3 are quite audible to a listener and sometimes result in a greater sounding complexity than their performative complexity for the skilled musician. The *sesquialtera* proportion, for example, is not difficult to sing or play with a little training and given its prevalence in sixteenth-century English music (often as a switch to triple time at the end of a piece), it seems fair to assume it was something that choristers mastered early in their education. Morley introduces proportions early in his text, directly after explaining the different mensurations and mensural signs.<sup>58</sup> In the case of *sesquialtera*, the shift itself is not difficult to execute or to hear, if all the voices make the shift together. However, if one or more voices perform a *sesquialtera* proportion while one or more voices do not, the resulting polymetric texture can quickly become complex to hear and sometimes difficult to perform as well. In the case of the Picforth In Nomine, while there are no proportional shifts within the piece, a *sesquialtera* proportion plays out between the second and third voices, which are notated in different mensurations.

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<sup>57</sup> As a side note, such *ficta* spiral pieces offer another form of inaudible complexity in which the musicians must grapple with the invisibly accumulating chromatic alterations and shift of key. Much easier done singing than on an instrument which enforces a sense of pitch standard and stability. See Fallows, "The End of the Ars Subtilior," 31; Fallows, *Secular Polyphony, 1380-1480*.

<sup>58</sup> Beginning with augmentation and diminution and culminating with his table of all "the usuall proportions." Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 24–33.

Because the Picforth is so steady in its single rhythmic values, as a performer, the piece develops a groove that is initially difficult to set up but afterwards easy to maintain while the effect for the listener remains sparkling and complex throughout. The ear is drawn sequentially to different lines where it can focus on how each note value fits into the matrix of the whole.

Even easier to perform are grouping changes. These emerge naturally from the phrasing of individual lines when read from partbooks, and in texted music they are usually reinforced by the text emphasis. Grouping changes are notationally silent and performatively simple. But the aural complexity they create when they don't occur uniformly across the texture can give the music a floating and timeless quality.

Depending upon how long the episodes last, they can even destabilize the sense of a single tactus for the listener. This destabilization is more common when displacement is also present, and displacement can introduce an additional level of complexity for the performer that a simple grouping change does not. A fully saturated rhythmic texture is difficult to perform and also to parse as a listener. I say parse because this particular effect is not difficult to listen to if one is not looking for a strong tactus and accepts the expansiveness of the absence of metrical hierarchy. Displacements, however, can be extremely tricky to perform as they require the musicians to have complete rhythmic independence from each other without drifting apart in time.

One final way in which rhythmic and metrical complexity affects the sound of the music is the way in which these techniques end up privileging consonance over the elegant alternations of consonance and dissonance found in most polyphonic counterpoint in this period. Perhaps because of the difficulty of knowing exactly which notes are overlapping with which others when creating such complex relationships, composers using these techniques tend to write lines that leap between consonances

rather than step through dissonances. This tendency is probably also related to the sheer number of notes that must be fit against a single other pitch when higher order proportions are used. Obviously, this “leaning towards consonance” effect is least pronounced in two-part writing but becomes much more so in three, four, or five voice pieces. The Picforth In Nomine, for example, contains no dissonances at all. It strikes me as well, that the “game” being played with these metrical and rhythmic complexities is an entirely different one than the games that are played with dissonance. If the point of a piece or passage is the intricate rhythmic interplay between voices or the instability of the tactus or ambiguousness of the groupings, then introducing further “interest” through dissonance may only add confusion, undermining the musician or listener’s ability to focus on and follow the main story. In other words, complexity across multiple domains can lead to muddiness and incomprehensibility. By limiting complexity to the metrical/ rhythmic domain and quieting the usual melodic and intervallic complexities, composers were able to keep the music just within grasp while also pushing the boundaries of the possible.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has argued for the influence of academic speculative musical traditions on the In Nomine. In doing so, I have examined five different techniques that are used to create rhythmic and metrical complexity. While the origins of these techniques differ—the use of mensural proportions are deeply connected to the long history of music-theoretical pedagogy in England while grouping changes and displacement seem to arise more organically from text setting practices (the former) and untexted experiments in cultivating special rhythmic effects (the latter)—they were all cultivated beyond the bounds of standard practice by composers interested in exploring

the more extreme possibilities of complexity. These techniques show up both within the In Nomine repertory and the second section of the Baldwin Commonplace Book, identifying them as techniques of interest within the insular world of professional musicians active in sixteenth-century English sacred institutions.

These techniques of rhythmic and metrical complexity also represent yet another domain in which experimentation and playfulness were expressed within the In Nomine tradition, in addition to the generic and stylistic borrowing or the structural experiments discussed in chapter two. There is much more work to be done in connecting the techniques of metrical and rhythmic complexity I have described here in the In Nomine repertory to broader trends in English musical composition. To give but one example, the English fascination around the beginning of the seventeenth century with plainsong canons seems to be another instantiation of rule-based playfulness and creativity with connections to religious and academic (even alchemical) discourses.<sup>59</sup> Chapter two discussed the In Nomine's propensity for borrowing stylistic mannerisms from other genres and in chapter three we have seen that this propensity extended to include borrowing the techniques of speculative music as well. In chapter four, this very same impulse will be explored within the realm of borrowing from preexisting In Nomines.

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<sup>59</sup> See Ludwig, "John Farmer's Sundry Waies (1591), the English Origin of Michael Maier's 'Alchemical' Fugues"; Collins, "'Sufficient to Quench the Thirst of the Most Insaciate Scholler Whatsoever': George Waterhouse's 1.163 Canons on the Plainsong Miserere."

## IV

### Intertextuality in the Early In Nomine

Borrowing from, imitating, and emulating existing pieces was standard for Elizabethan composers.<sup>1</sup> It was common practice and accepted as a method for composers to both improve their own compositional skills and respond to or converse with their predecessors or colleagues. Such borrowing came highly recommended. William Byrd's debt to Taverner and Tallis, for example, has been extensively documented (and we'll explore below his similar use of Ferrabosco and Parsons).<sup>2</sup> Thomas Morley dedicated his treatise *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* to Byrd, his teacher, boasting that its contents imitated Byrd's own pedagogy. Within the treatise, Morley frequently gives musical examples for his students to "imitate" and recommends works by Byrd and others for the same. Asking, "For how can a workeman worke, who hath had no patterne to instruct him?" Morley answers that the best patterns come from the works of excellent men.<sup>3</sup> This advice describes a certain type of engagement with prior musical works, one in which learners or less-accomplished musicians can gain experience and mastery by patterning their compositions on those of the best composers.

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<sup>1</sup> On borrowing in England generally see, Blezzard, *Borrowings in English Church Music, 1550-1950*; Berard, "Modeling and Adaptation in Elizabethan Keyboard Music"; Edahl, "The Use of Pre-Existing Material in the Early Tudor Mass Cycle"; Evans, "Thomas Tomkins: Borrowings, Self-Borrowings, and Homage"; Payne, "Ward and Weelkes"; Payne, "John Ward and the London Set." Also see items in f.n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Brett, "Homage to Taverner in Byrd's Masses"; Monson, "Authenticity and Chronology in Byrd's Church Anthems"; Monson, "Throughout All Generations': Intimations of Influence in the Short Service Styles of Tallis, Byrd and Morley"; Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*; Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*.

<sup>3</sup> Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 167.

Morley also describes and recommends a second type of engagement with pre-existing compositions. He illustrates this with a story about Byrd and Alfonso Ferrabosco I.

I would counsel you diligently to peruse those waies which my loving master . . . M. Bird, and M. Alphonso in a vertuous contention in love betwixt themselves made upon the plainsong of Miserere, but a contention, as I said, in love . . . which contention of theirs (specifically without envy) caused them both become excellent in that kind. . . . Therefore, there is no way readier to cause you become perfect, then to contend with some one or other. . . .<sup>4</sup>

The relationship described here is one based on equality and collegiality, and the engagement is thus of a very different kind from pedagogical imitation. Henry Peacham later referred to the competition between Byrd and Ferrabosco as “friendly emulation.”<sup>5</sup> These two models for musical imitation provide a framework for exploring the relationships between pieces and extrapolating possible relationships between composers.

In chapter one, I argued that the popularity of the *In Nomine* was due in large part to the way it enabled composers to claim and perform their membership in a broad mobile network of fellow church musicians. This chapter looks specifically at borrowing and imitation among *In Nomines* as the musical instantiation of the social relationships within that network. Practices of imitation and modeling in music have been extensively connected to humanistic pedagogical ideas, sometimes to the exclusion of other kinds of borrowing.<sup>6</sup> But as Morley’s examples show, self-education was only one possible motivation for musical borrowing. As in his story of the *Miserere*-setting

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<sup>4</sup> Morley, 115.

<sup>5</sup> “[Ferrabosco I’s] the Nightingale (vpon which Dittie Master Bird and he in a friendly aemulation, exercised their inuention) cannot be bettered for sweetnesse of Aire, or depth of iudgement.” Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 101–2.

<sup>6</sup> See debate over the term “imitatio.” Brown, “Emulation, Competition, and Homage”; Meconi, “Does Imitatio Exist?”; Wegman, “Another ‘Imitation’ of Busnoys’s ‘Missa L’Homme Armé’ - And Some Observations on ‘Imitatio’ in Renaissance Music.”

competition between Byrd and Ferrabosco I, the *In Nomine* provided a common template by which to compare composers' individual efforts. Furthermore, the use of broad categories like "borrowing" or "imitation" disguises the granular differences in meaning among the many types of usage of preexisting material.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter documents the breadth of use of preexisting material and techniques within the *In Nomine* repertory and argues that their social meanings are equally varied. Structural modeling certainly resembles humanistic pedagogical practices, while some quotations or allusions appear reverential, and other correspondences appear to be the result of coincidental similarities of interest. The term that best encompasses the breadth of such practices is intertextuality. I use it here intending its full range of meanings, from the necessarily communal nature of musical language to intentional and extensive use of material from a preexisting work. What I hope to emphasize in this chapter is intertextuality's inherent sociality, i.e., the intersubjective space it presupposes. Even in its broadest (and perhaps most banal) sense, a shared musical language defines a community of "speakers" and "writers" of that language. As we move towards narrower kinds of intertextuality, that community becomes smaller and more specific until we arrive at dyadic relationships between one musician and another—recorded, in part, on paper through an act of quotation.

Along this intertextual/interrelational spectrum fall intermediary stations related to the constraints of genre and form which funnel musical works (and their composers) into closer connection. It is often within musical genres, such as the *chanson*, that we see composers making intentional reference to each other's works, generating clusters

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<sup>7</sup> For a breakdown of variables that captures some of this granularity, see Burkholder, "The Uses of Existing Music."

of related works.<sup>8</sup> In light of this, it is perhaps not surprising to find an abundance (and an abundance of types) of intertextuality within the In Nomine. After all, it is at root a corpus of works built around the same cantus firmus. But that cannot be the only reason for such abundant intertextuality, for apart from Morley's anecdote, I am aware of no documented purposeful intertextuality within the *Miserere* tradition, likewise built around a shared cantus firmus.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, the In Nomine tradition demonstrates more correspondences between works—particularly intentional correspondences—than one would normally expect for a relatively small corpus (this study contains 121 works, 17 of which survive incompletely), even within a specific work-type. This prevalence of intentional borrowing has been documented by several scholars and is usually attributed to youth or inexperience on the part of the composer who does the borrowing.<sup>10</sup> I demonstrate that the intertextuality of the In Nomine includes but extends beyond such youthful borrowings and reflects more diverse relationships between creators than the pedagogical relationships that have been previously considered.

I begin with a short exploration of the concept of intertextuality followed by an overview of different kinds of non-intentional similarities between In Nomines. These non-intentional similarities arise from the basic “grammar” of the In Nomine and how composers respond to its constraints and opportunities. The chapter then looks at several types of intentional uses of preexisting material, including melodic paraphrasing and structural emulation, as well as how these techniques manifest the

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<sup>8</sup> For an example, see Davison, “Continental Cousins of the In Nomine Family.”

<sup>9</sup> Danner doesn't mention any in his dissertation on the *Miserere*. Danner, “The ‘Miserere Mihi’ and the English Reformation.”

<sup>10</sup> See Baker, “The Instrumental Consort Music of Robert Parsons (d. 1570)”; Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*; Edwards, “In Nomine.” Neighbour takes great pains both to imply Byrd's youth at the time of composing his In Nomines (especially those that borrow from other works) and to point out how, in his estimation, Byrd's musical results exceed those of his model.

mobile network of musicians described in chapter one. Finally, I consider individual relationships between composers by looking at a small family of In Nomines that all emulate, compete with, and pay homage to one specific work, Robert Parsons's In Nomine a5.

### **Intertextuality**

First coined in the late 1960s by the literary critic Julia Kristeva as a way to discuss the interrelatedness and interdependence of texts, and the intersubjectivity of their authors and readers, the term "intertextuality" has gotten a lot of play in music scholarship.<sup>11</sup> Part of the appeal of the term (though also a source of critique) is its breadth.<sup>12</sup> It can include everything from direct quotation and paraphrase to allusion or even shared style, genre, and conventions. In his cogent assessment of intertextuality's quick and uncritical adoption within early music scholarship, John Milsom highlights several conflicts between the term's original meaning and its use within music. Music scholars, he argues, are rarely interested in the whole scope of relatednesses that the term embraces; rather, they use it as a catchall for "the array of finely nuanced word-concepts that specifically define forms of directional, intentional, and meaningful transfer between musical works."<sup>13</sup> Milsom goes on to list sixty-two such specific words or phrases that offer much more precision and granularity to the writer who wants to describe these kinds of relationships between works. But Milsom's critique here is deeper than a desire for linguistic specificity. His most important point is that "the

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<sup>11</sup> Kristeva writes, "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least *double*." Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, and Novel," 66.

<sup>12</sup> In his history of the concept, Graham Allen notes that "intertextuality seems such a useful term because it foregrounds notions of relationality, interconnectedness and interdependence in modern cultural life." Allen, *Intertextuality*, 5.

<sup>13</sup> Milsom, "'Imitatio', 'Intertextuality', and Early Music," 144.

other end of the spectrum," i.e., relatedness that is not directional or intentional, is just as important a part of the concept of intertextuality and is something to which early music scholars should be paying more attention.<sup>14</sup>

This side of intertextuality has much in common with Margaret Bent's concept of a fundamental "grammar" of contrapuntal musical works, and Milsom embraces the use of the term to get at this idea.<sup>15</sup> He writes,

perhaps no word other than "intertextuality" adequately conveys the interrelationship that exists between (1) an individual utterance, (2) the "grammar" within which that utterance is made, and (3) any or every other utterance that has been or might be made within that "grammar," by composers who are broadly familiar with one another's works.<sup>16</sup>

This is an articulation of the intertextuality concept that comes about as close to the literary world's usage as music scholarship is likely to get. Ultimately, however, Milsom's goals are at odds with those of the literary theorists who first described intertextuality. As Kevin Brownlee explains, Kristeva and Roland Barthes originally used the term "in conjunction with the 'death of the author' and the 'free play of signifiers'"—a stance which privileges the totality of all utterances over the individuality of a single work.<sup>17</sup> Milsom, on the other hand, concludes: "Armed, then, with a suitable lexicon, and the ability to read any musical work against the 'deep models' of its 'grammar' and attendant procedures—instead of (or as well as) against the 'surface model' of any specific antecedent—the analyst will be well equipped to evaluate not only a work's intertextuality, but also its individuality."<sup>18</sup> Milsom's analytical goals are thus (consciously, I expect) quite contrary to Kristeva's. Rather than

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<sup>14</sup> Milsom, 145.

<sup>15</sup> Bent, "The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis."

<sup>16</sup> Milsom, "'Imitatio', 'Intertextuality', and Early Music," 146.

<sup>17</sup> Brownlee, "Literary Intertextualities in 14th-Century French Song," 295.

<sup>18</sup> Milsom, "'Imitatio', 'Intertextuality', and Early Music," 151.

erase the author by highlighting the intersubjective and communal nature of language, Milsom wants to use the idea of intertextuality to parse out that which is shared and that which remains unique to an individual composer or work.

My interest in using the concept of intertextuality to look at the In Nomine repertoire falls somewhere in the middle. While there are many instances in which reading a piece for its author's relationship to another author is useful and interesting (and there will be much of this in this chapter), I am also interested in how the In Nomine functioned as a communal form of music making within the networks described in chapter one. The many In Nomines that are anonymous or near anonymous provide an opening to resist the over-valorization of individual composers by seeing the pieces as products of a loose musical collective. Focusing on the specific "grammar" of the In Nomine highlights their shared ownership and the co-creation of the repertoire. My goals in this chapter are thus two: I aim to trace how In Nomines relate to each other as works within a shared cultural/musical environment that inevitably share bits of content, and to show how they relate as individual works that comment on and interact with each other and that shared environment.

The intentional/non-intentional binary is useful (and I will use it to structure this chapter) but ultimately artificial—it is not always possible to separate the non-intentional similarities that result from the constraints and affordances of the In Nomine form from strands of intentional emulation within the tradition, including its emergence from a single point of origin. This Gordian Knot of correspondences is precisely why the concept of intertextuality is useful here: it allows us to embrace simultaneously the results of unconscious communal grammar *and* the results of conscious imitation without sorting every instance into one bucket or the other. Therefore, my use of intertextuality embraces the concept's entirety from what Milsom terms the "thick end

of the wedge”—the communal grammar and shared musical background of composers that result in commonalities—to the “thin end” where conscious borrowing, imitation, and citation occur, as well as examples that don’t map neatly onto a linear model.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to “intertextuality,” I use other broad terms like “borrowing,” “imitation,” and “paraphrase” to refer generally to conscious practices of using material from preexisting works. I avoid other terms that have in the past been widely used in musicology (like *imitatio* or parody) but have become mired in controversy, not because the terms aren’t potentially useful in specific instances, but because their semiotic baggage may prove distracting.<sup>20</sup> Instead, I attempt to be as specific as possible in each example of relatedness, using a variety of terms to capture the ways in which these relationships are intentional or unintentional, directional or general, fleeting or recurring.

### Unintentional Intertextuality

#### “Grammar”

Grammar is perhaps the broadest and most diffuse type of intertextuality. At its most fundamental level, Margaret Bent’s concept of musical grammar in early music relies on a deep understanding of historical music-theoretical texts and from them a historically situated view of how music works.<sup>21</sup> This kind of fundamental grammar, the rules of counterpoint themselves, is one that I will leave a little to the side here, as it is broader than the In Nomine. Instead, I want to think about a more specific kind of grammar that belongs to the In Nomine itself: the specific affordances of the *Gloria tibi*

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<sup>19</sup> Milsom, 149.

<sup>20</sup> See for starters Meconi, “Does *Imitatio* Exist?”; Wegman, “Another ‘Imitation’ of Busnoys’s ‘Missa L’Homme Armé’ - And Some Observations on ‘Imitatio’ in Renaissance Music.”

<sup>21</sup> Bent, “The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis.”

*Trinitas* chant as well as the accumulated norms and freedoms of the In Nomine tradition itself.

Without using the language of intertextuality, chapter two used intertextual similarities between In Nomines and other genres to argue for a broad range of stylistic influences on the In Nomine. Evidence of techniques from instrumental music and tropes from the continental chanson were identified as ways that the In Nomine repertoire resists the definition of any specific “In Nomine style.” And yet, the In Nomine form itself does enact its own grammar upon pieces, as it conforms with the basic rules and conventions of sixteenth-century English contrapuntal writing. The exploration of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant found in my introduction gave examples of the influence this particular chant can exert on the surrounding polyphony. This influence can be as seemingly mundane as the constraints on the pitches available at any given moment—a mechanical result of the possibilities dictated by the *cantus firmus*.

In addition to constraining pitch choice, the chant also offers opportunities for creating cadences. The single most common site for a cadence across the entire corpus of early In Nomines is a cadence to F at CF30. This surely reflects both the convenient location (falling approximately halfway through, at the transition between the highest phrase of the chant and a more static phrase) and the special nature of the only B $\flat$  in the whole piece. The common cadence at this location, present in more than 60% of In Nomines, is an intertextual feature that seems to result from the grammar of the chant. The sections of the chant that have more movement and those that are more static can also affect the resulting polyphony. For example, the tendency in In Nomines for the surface rhythms to accelerate and use fragmented and repetitious disjunct motives between CF30-47 may well be a result of the chant’s reduced pitch scope during this

section (it has only three pitches). However, these features are also common in the final sections of untexted pieces that do not have a cantus firmus (as discussed in chapter two). So while these tendencies may reflect a broader stylistic feature of untexted music of this era, their presence at this point in the In Nomine may also reflect the opportunities and constraints of the architecture of the chant itself.

This broadest kind of intertextuality, the musical environment and grammar of the In Nomine form, reflects the shared cultural environment and musical training of the musicians who composed In Nomines. While it can't tell us much about their social connections, the diffuse musical similarities found across the In Nomine repertoire nevertheless encompass these connections and are the musical residue of the mobile networks of engagement and belonging discussed in chapter one.

### **Resisting Grammar**

Another angle from which to look at how grammar creates similarities in pieces is to see the means by which composers break with the norms and expectations of the form itself. There are many ways to resist normative compositional procedures. It can happen on a very small scale, for example adding a single pitch to the cantus firmus, or on a grander scale, for instance, seriously undermining the mode of the cantus firmus. This last, a radical break with the grammar of the chant, provides a good example of resistance creating unintentional correspondences between works.

There are two In Nomines that actively undermine the mode of the chant throughout the entirety of the piece (several others do this in more fleeting ways). The first of these is by Robert Goldar, a member of the oldest generation of In Nomine composers—he died in 1563. The In Nomine a4 is the only extant piece of music attributed to him, although he had a long career in London which he ended as an

organist at Windsor. The *In Nomine* is uniquely preserved in the Baldwin Commonplace Book. John Baldwin also worked at St. George's Chapel in Windsor when he began copying pieces into his commonplace book and it seems likely that he had access to manuscripts by earlier colleagues that are now lost (including the *In Nomine* by Goldar). Baldwin transmits the piece with an F# in the key signature of the three non-cantus firmus voices, which seems extremely unlikely to have been original. (Baldwin almost always adds redundant sharps on the Fs, perhaps still copying the notated accidental sharps from his source despite his key signature). Nevertheless, the piece juxtaposes the F's of the D-mode chant (and its B $\flat$ ) with the abundant use of F's and many C's. The effect is unsettling. Sections of seeming G-major with occasional D-minor triads, or D-major sections with a single B $\flat$  are confusing to the ear, especially since the polyphony is so smooth and consonant otherwise. Paul Doe, in editing the piece for *Musica Britannica*, writes that the style is consistent with music of Goldar's generation "if one assumes that it was originally composed in the normal minor mode throughout."<sup>22</sup> Doe seems to want to pin the mode-mixture on changes made by Baldwin but is forced to admit that although the piece as it is preserved is awkward, it does not "readily convert back to a minor mode."<sup>23</sup>

The other *In Nomine* that employs consistent mode-mixture throughout is Nicholas Strogers's *In Nomine* a5 #1. This piece is extant in five different sources, three of which are complete. Again, Doe is dubious, noting that "the mixture of accidentals at the opening seems odd, but there is broad agreement among the sources."<sup>24</sup> None of the sources include an F# in the key signature, and Strogers treats the mode-mixture much

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<sup>22</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music II*, XLV:145.

<sup>23</sup> Doe, XLV:145.

<sup>24</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I*, XLIV:192.

more smoothly than Goldar does, allowing the free voices to switch between F<sup>♮</sup>s and F<sup>♯</sup>s more often rather than juxtaposing the F<sup>♮</sup>s of the cantus firmus quite so starkly against the other voices. Interestingly, the source with the largest number of sharps is Add. MS 29246, an early-seventeenth century collection of lute intabulations from the Paston collection, which intabulates the lower four voices of the piece. No doubt, this is in part because cadential sharps are explicitly captured in intabulation while they may be assumed but un-notated in staff notation. Unlike Goldar, who opens his *In Nomine* with a motive that points towards a G-mode tonality despite an early F<sup>♮</sup> in the cantus firmus, Strogers delays the entrance of the cantus firmus by an unusual five breves to give himself more time to establish a sense of D-major before the F<sup>♮</sup> in the chant. Strogers's *In Nomine* is likely a bit later than Goldar's and he feels free to make many alterations to the chant. In several places, he gives the cantus firmus a measure or two of motivic material, particularly near the end, and most of these motivic moments involve altering (sharpening) the pitch of the chant, e.g., an F<sup>♯</sup> rather than F<sup>♮</sup> at CF40 as well as a C<sup>♯</sup> at CF52 (CF50, an E, is also decorated with a C<sup>♯</sup> here). A long triple section that ends the piece features antiphonal exchanges between duets and trios, and Strogers effectively uses these textures to highlight the modal instability caused by the five (nearly static) F<sup>♮</sup>s in the cantus firmus between CF44-49. Answering an exchange that had cadenced to G at CF43, he pushes a new exchange to the flat side and uses B<sup>♭</sup>s above the F<sup>♮</sup>s, shifting the tonal center from G to F, before pivoting back to B<sup>♮</sup>s, F<sup>♯</sup>s, and C<sup>♯</sup>s beginning at CF50.

These two *In Nomines* by Goldar and Strogers are a prime example of unintentional intertextuality (which a more restricted focus on “borrowing” cannot account for). They are clearly related by their use of mode-mixture as a technique for

subverting the influence of the cantus firmus on the surrounding polyphony, and yet they approach its application with different strategies (Goldar simply juxtaposing the modes and Strogers working out a compromise between them). It would be rash to argue that mode-mixing procedures were such a common part of their shared musical culture that the connection is inevitable and yet it also seems unlikely to me that one (Strogers, likely later) is consciously responding to the other (Goldar, likely earlier). So we are left in an interesting middle ground. There are only so many ways to push back against grammatical norms, and in a tradition like the In Nomine where such experimentation and resistance is prevalent, it is quite believable that these composers simply picked the same technique to try. And yet, because there are only two such full-fledged examples of this, these two pieces become linked to each other, and this very linkage can pull other In Nomines into the same interrelational web. There are, in fact, many other In Nomines that use brief moments of mode-mixture: a prominent use of F# at the very opening juxtaposed against the cantus firmus's F# is one of the key characteristics of the group of In Nomines that emulate Parsons's In Nomine a5, discussed later in this chapter.

The resistance of musical grammar sheds light on the utility of the In Nomine for Elizabethan composers. The experimental approaches to imitation, such as maintaining a point (explored in chapter two) and the use of serial rhythm or other techniques of complexity borrowed from the speculative musical tradition (discussed in chapter three) can be understood as resisting normative composition by taking elements of these norms to their logical (and sometimes illogical) extremes. That these choices lead to intertextuality among works is evidence of the shared interest of In Nomine composers in pushing back against the compositional norms they were well steeped in.

This tendency speaks to their extensive education and facility with standard musical practices such that they could playfully undermine them. These qualities can be corroborated by the biographical details of their lives, but we can see them reflected in the music here as well.

### **Style and Technique**

As discussed in chapter two, the In Nomine's extensive stylistic engagement with other repertoires is a hallmark of the tradition, and most of the connections traced there can also be understood as examples of this broad kind of unconscious intertextuality. For example, the ten In Nomines that open with a dactylic rhythm reminiscent of the opening of a chanson (or its instrumental cousin, the canzona) are connected through this distinctive gesture. Likewise, the many In Nomines that have the disjunct fragmented motives or tripla endings, which I have argued are part of an emerging instrumental style, are linked through their use of these tropes.

A more specific example of intertextuality that seems to arise from style's influence on structure emerges from a careful examination of less-common finals for cadences. For example, a tendency to use lots of cadences to C appears to correlate with stylistic elements of the chanson such as dactylic openings, fast-moving surface rhythms, homorhythm, and frequent cadences. This relationship is not bidirectional—not all chanson-inflected In Nomines have large numbers of cadences to C—however, two In Nomines stand out as particularly interested in cultivating cadences to C and both of these exhibit the stylistic markers I have documented as tied to the chanson. Cadences to C happen at only seventeen locations in the chant, and in four of these

locations a cadence happens only once within the entire corpus.<sup>25</sup> In most In Nomines, these cadences to C are a novelty, occurring only once or twice. Stonings's In Nomine a4 has three cadences to C and Tye's *I comme* has four, but the Mallorie In Nomine a5 #1 and the Anonymous In Nomine a6 each have six such cadences.

Despite this strong similarity, there is no reason to suppose that the two pieces are structurally related since the cadences to C happen at different points. In the Anonymous In Nomine, they are stacked close to the beginning (with three such cadences happening by CF10), and the final one resolves at CF38. In the Mallorie, however, CF10 is only the first of the six and four happen on or after CF34. These pieces are also similar in their extensive borrowing of stylistic tropes from the chanson repertoire. The Anonymous In Nomine opens with the dactylic rhythm on a single pitch so associated with the chanson, while the Mallorie begins with an imitative point that is quickly abandoned after each voice enters (another common chanson technique). The Mallorie also resembles vocal genres in having two short internal triple sections rather than ending with a longer triple section as is more common for In Nomines. Cadences to C don't appear to be tied simply to cadential frequency. The Mallorie, for example, has 6 cadences to C out of 21 cadences, but Tye's *Trust* has only two C cadences out of 22 total cadences.<sup>26</sup> While it is unclear to me how chanson-like stylistic grammar and the grammar of cadences to C are connected within the In Nomine repertory (an intertextual code I haven't been able to crack), the Mallorie and the six-part Anonymous In Nomine have clearly converged on this grammatical intersection.

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<sup>25</sup> The most common locations are the eleven instances of G in the cantus firmus. The five instances of C are most commonly used to support Phrygian cadences to A (with the exception is CF52 at the end of the chant where three In Nomines cadence to C). The single instance of E in the chant (CF50) is another moment where cadences to C happen in six examples.

<sup>26</sup> Other In Nomines with high numbers of total cadences are: Tye's *I comme* (21 of which 4 are to C), Tye's *Rachells Weeping* (21 of which none are to C), Tye's *Blamless* (20 of which 1 is to C). The Anonymous In Nomine a6 has only 16 total cadences.

Like stylistic allusions, the use of particular compositional techniques can generate similarities that don't flow with intention from one piece to another. The three In Nomines to which a *si placet* line has been added (as discussed in chapter two) are good examples of a kind of intertextuality that results from the use of a common technique. Another technique that produces similarities is the use of canon. While the *Miserere* tradition came to be dominated by the use of canon, and English theorists wrote extensively on composing canons above plainsongs, there are only two early In Nomines that feature canons: John Baldwin's In Nomine a5 and William Randall's In Nomine a5.<sup>27</sup> Probably due to the contours of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* melody, both canons are at the octave with the lower voice following by a semibreve, but they involve different voices. While Randall has the first voice lead and the third voice follow, Baldwin has the third voice lead and the fifth voice follow. The two canons don't appear to be intentionally related, and the intertextual relationship between them is a result of their being generated through the same specific compositional technique.

The intertextuality that results from the use of stylistic markers from different genres or the use of specific techniques like canon speaks to both the breadth and particularity of the knowledge base of musicians who composed In Nomines. All of the types of unintentional intertextuality explored here give us a more specific idea of what this community of musicians knew and what their attitudes were towards that knowledge. Their skillful allusions to continental genres like the chanson (explored at length in chapter two) tells us that they had wide exposure to examples of continental

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<sup>27</sup> See Ludwig, "John Farmer's Sundry Waies (1591), the English Origin of Michael Maier's 'Alchemical' Fugues"; Ludwig, "'Marketh It Well': William Bathe's Table (1596) and Experimental Practice"; Collins, "'Sufficient to Quench the Thirst of the Most Insaciate Scholler Whatsoever': George Waterhouse's 1.163 Canons on the Plainsong Miserere." For primary sources, see Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*; Farmer, [*Diuers & Sundry Waies of Two Parts in One, to the Number of Fortie, Vppon One Playnsonng*]; Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*; Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke by Elway Bevin*.

music and were interested in what could be learned and/or taken from it. Their interest in resisting the grammatical conventions of imitative polyphony through experimentation demonstrates a playful intellectualism and desire to speak through music to other highly educated musicians. These social values implied by the intertextuality documented here are consistent with the musical communities explored in chapter one, communities centered around a sense of belonging, participation in a shared tradition, and privileged, elite discourse through music.

### **Intentional Intertextuality**

Just as there are many means through which unintentional intertextuality can arise, intentional intertextuality also comes in many forms. This section looks at different procedures through which In Nomine composers consciously used preexisting In Nomines as sources of musical material. I begin with motivic borrowing and the paraphrase of melodies, focusing on the use of material from Taverner's mass excerpt and what that says about the relationship of later composers to Taverner and the tradition of writing In Nomines more generally. Next, I consider structural modeling: the use of the cadential structure of an existing work as a starting point for a new piece. This kind of modeling does not necessarily leave much residue on the surface of the music; the two pieces may sound completely different and have no audible connection to each other, yet one clearly intentionally derives its structure from the other. Structural modeling is exactly what Morley recommends to the student of composition—that he find a “pattern” to imitate in the work of an excellent composer. Lastly, I look at a cluster of pieces related to a single work, Robert Parsons's In Nomine a5, to untangle the threads of emulation, competition, and homage.

There are seemingly endless examples of In Nomine composers borrowing tunes from each other, a phenomenon Neighbour humorously characterizes as “inbreeding.”<sup>28</sup> I will not mention or cite most of these quotations and borrowings as many of these relationships have already been documented by others (Neighbour has been particularly astute in identifying them in the In Nomines of Byrd and his circle).<sup>29</sup> More of these examples will surely emerge as the repertoire is looked at by more scholars and as we learn more about sixteenth-century compositional practices. My work here focuses on the different ways intentional intertextuality manifests itself in the music and what that says about the relationships between the musicians who composed it and the larger musical community to which they belonged. My examples will also highlight new correspondences uncovered by my own research.

### **Motivic Borrowing**

Motivic similarity is one arena in which the intentional/non-intentional binary is not always useful. While the In Nomine repertoire contains many instances of citation, quotation, and paraphrase, motivic similarities within a common polyphonic language and around an identical cantus firmus are bound to happen and don't necessarily entail conscious borrowing. Here, I have limited my discussion to opening melodies as an example of how this type of intertextuality works within the In Nomine community.

Many In Nomines paraphrase the opening of the Taverner In Nomine, presumably an easily recognizable citation. However, as seen in example 4-1, Taverner's melody shares its opening contour with the first two intervals of the *Gloria*

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<sup>28</sup> Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 33.

<sup>29</sup> For many examples of intentional borrowing and citation, particularly among Byrd and his circle see Neighbour, particularly 32-38.

*tibi Trinitas* chant, which makes for considerable ambiguity about whether a subsequent composer is imitating Taverner and/or the chant.

**Example 4-1. Taverner In Nomine a4, mm. 1-8 (parts I & II)**



Writing an opening point that imitated the melodic contours of the cantus firmus was a widespread compositional procedure that would be expected to lead to non-intentional intertextuality among pieces using the same cantus firmus, and this is the case for In Nomines whose opening melodies are derived from the cantus firmus and not the Taverner. In attempting to distinguish whether a motive originates through paraphrase of the cantus firmus or of Taverner’s melody, my guide has been the B $\flat$  (in m. 4 above), a moment where the Taverner diverges unequivocally from the chant. When a later composer uses the B $\flat$  or any of the following pitches from the Taverner, it is likely that the piece is imitating Taverner, not the chant.

In creating the following list of related motivic openings (figure 4-1), I have omitted openings that, though they do seem to move from D to F to D as the chant does, are primarily an arpeggiation that quickly moves up a fifth, as seen in example 4-2.

**Example 4-2. Cocke In Nomine a4, mm. 1-5 (part III)**



I’ve also included but segregated examples that, although, like Taverner’s opening, begin with an upward leap followed by a stepwise descent, feature the leap of a fourth or a fifth (instead of Taverner’s, and the chant’s, third). Most of these instances

are probably intentional imitations of Taverner, but I find them substantially different than the others for two reasons: first, I hear the opening interval of a third as integral to the identity of the tune (especially since it mirrors the opening interval of the chant); second, it seems important that the motive begins on the final of the mode. In these instances where the initial leap is a fourth or fifth, the first pitch is not the mode's final.

This leaves us with twenty-five examples (plus a keyboard example)—fully 20% of the In Nomines included in this study—whose opening point imitates either the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant or the opening of the Taverner (fig. 4-1).

**Figure 4-1. In Nomines whose openings paraphrase the cantus firmus or Taverner**

<u>In Nomine</u>	<u>Opening Melody Reference</u>
Anonymous In Nomine a5 (Add. MS 31390)	Cantus firmus
Byrd In Nomine a5 #3	Cantus firmus (based on Ferrabosco a5 #3)
Eglestone In Nomine a5 #2	Cantus firmus
Ferrabosco I In Nomine a5 #3	Cantus firmus
E. Gibbons In Nomine a5	Cantus firmus
Mallorie In Nomine a5	Cantus firmus
Mudd In Nomine a4	Cantus firmus
Parsons In Nomine a4 #2	Cantus firmus
White In Nomine a4 #3	Ambiguous
Bevin In Nomine a5 #1	Taverner
Bull In Nomine #2 (keyboard)	Taverner
Byrd In Nomine a4 #2	Taverner
Hake In Nomine a5	Taverner
W. Mundy In Nomine a5 #1	Taverner
W. Mundy In Nomine a5 #2	Taverner
Poynt In Nomine a5	Taverner
Strogers In Nomine a5 #2	Taverner
Tye In Nomine a5 <i>Reporte</i>	Taverner
Tye In Nomine a5 <i>Rounde</i>	Taverner
Whitbrooke In Nomine a4	Taverner
Byrd In Nomine a4 #1	Taverner (4th/5th)
Goldar In Nomine a4	Taverner (4th/5th)
Johnson In Nomine a4 (or 5)	Taverner (4th/5th)
Poynt In Nomine a4	Taverner (4th/5th)
Mericocke In Nomine a5	Taverner (4th/5th)
Parsley In Nomine a5 #2	Taverner (4th/5th)

One trend readily apparent from this table is that older composers (those writing in the 1550s or 60s) are more likely to imitate Taverner, while younger and later composers (writing in the 1570s to 90s) more often imitate the cantus firmus. This difference supports chapter one's argument that the first generation of In Nomine composers were concerned with actively forging a connection to Taverner and the pre-Reformation musical past in developing this new tradition, while later composers were perhaps less invested in its origins even as they enthusiastically participated in the already established tradition.

The pieces that use the cantus firmus as a model for the opening also reveal the difficulties of binaries like "intentional" or "unintentional" intertextuality and linear metaphors such as spectrums and continuums. In practice, a single musical act can have multiple simultaneous intertextual meanings. As a standard procedure of cantus firmus polyphony, paraphrasing the opening of the chant would seem to fall closer to the grammar side of the spectrum. It is an (optional) compositional rule that when followed yields results of noticeable but not-necessarily intentional similarity. However, because it's one possibility among many, the *choice* to paraphrase the chant opens the door to intentional intertextuality—especially when it's a common choice within a repertory that shares a cantus firmus. Rather than borrowing from a specific prior piece, a composer may be "borrowing" from the tradition as a whole, explicitly making their composition similar to others in the tradition by using the contours of the cantus firmus to construct the opening point. An additional layer of intertextual complexity can be seen in the opening of Byrd's In Nomine a5 #3, which paraphrases the opening of the cantus firmus but probably does so because it is an intentional imitation of Ferrabosco I's In Nomine a5 #3, which also paraphrases the chant. Byrd's single opening melody is thus intertextual in three different ways: broadly related to all cantus firmus pieces that

paraphrase their cantus firmus, narrowly related to other In Nomines that deliberately paraphrase the cantus firmus, and specifically related to a single piece which it imitates.

The intertextuality of pieces that paraphrase Taverner's opening melody is more straightforward. These In Nomines are not necessarily built entirely around the Taverner; rather, they take the original In Nomine more as a prompt than a model—start here, use this cantus firmus. But because so many pieces do this, it can also be seen as a tradition and shared quality in its own right. Does Taverner's opening melody belong exclusively to Taverner anymore, or has it also become part of the communal In Nomine tradition?

### **Structural Modeling**

When Morley advises young musicians that, like a workman, they must find a “pattern” from a master to imitate, he doesn't just mean to copy the melodies from another piece of music. Using a prior piece as a model involves understanding its underlying structure as articulated through cadences and then using that structure as a skeleton around which to build new musical ideas—assimilating musical skills in the process. We can see exactly this process in Clement Woodcock's In Nomine a5 #2, which is modeled on Parsons's In Nomine a7 #2. As we'll see later in this chapter, Woodcock's In Nomine a5 #1 is also related to a piece by Parsons.

At first glance, there is very little to tie Woodcock's In Nomine a5 #2 to the Parsons In Nomine a7 #2. While they both transpose the chant to G, Parsons places the cantus firmus in the top of his seven voices and Woodcock places it in the third of five. The cantus firmus in the Woodcock begins at the very start of the piece (as it commonly does in In Nomines), while Parsons waits an extraordinary and unequalled sixteen breves before the cantus firmus enters. And yet, most of the cadences in these two

pieces happen at the same place in the cantus firmus and resolve to the same finals. Some of the shared cadential locations are popular choices, but many are not. Furthermore, since several of these finals are, in fact, unusual for the location, these correspondences are unlikely to be coincidental. Woodcock also borrows a single imitative motive from Parsons, which further proves that the structural modeling was intentional. Figure 4-2 shows the locations and finals of all the cadences in the two pieces.<sup>30</sup>

**Figure 4-2. Cadence locations and finals for Woodcock In Nomine a5 #2 and Parsons In Nomine a7 #2**

Cantus Firmus Note	Woodcock In Nomine a5 #2	Parsons In Nomine a7 #2
		D
CF1		G/G
CF9	G/Bb	G/Bb
CF11	G/D	G/D
CF12		G/D
CF13	G/D	
CF14		G/D
CF19	G/Bb	G/Bb
CF27	Phrygian D/F	F/F
CF30	Bb/D	Bb/D
CF35	G/D	
CF37	G/Bb	G/Bb
CF40	G/Bb	G/Bb
CF42	Bb/D	Bb/D
CF44	G/Bb	G/Bb
CF49	G/Bb	G/Bb
CF51	G/G	
CF52	F/F	
CF53	C/G	G/G

There are only four discrepancies in the cadences between the pieces, and even in those instances there are compelling explanations for why the discrepancy might have

<sup>30</sup> My convention is to give the final of the cadence followed by the pitch of the cantus firmus (in its transposition to G) at this location. Hence, G/Bb means a cadence to G while the cantus firmus has a Bb.

happened. There are also two cadences in the Parsons before the Woodcock begins because Parsons waits so long to bring in the cantus firmus.

- There is no cadence in the Parsons at CF35, but this is, in fact, because Parsons omits pitches 35 and 36 of the cantus firmus entirely, proceeding directly from CF34 to CF37 where he lands on a cadence. Woodcock, on the other hand, chose not to make any alterations to the cantus firmus and includes these two notes.<sup>31</sup> Thus, to mimic the pacing of the Parsons in which CF34 is followed by a cadence, he adds a cadence at CF35 and simply repeats it at CF37 to rejoin the model.
- Another apparent discrepancy happens earlier where the Parsons has two cadences at CF12 and CF14 while the Woodcock has just a single cadence at CF13. One possible reason is that Parsons's cadence in CF12 is actually not aligned with the cantus firmus but happens halfway through a breve making the two cadences only a breve-and-a-half apart, quite close together. Perhaps Woodcock thought, after having already written cadences in CF9 and CF11, that these two were too many and decided to combine them.
- A third discrepancy occurs at CF27 where both pieces have a weak cadence. However, Parsons's cadence is to F and includes the cantus firmus (also F) while Woodcock's is a Phrygian cadence to D that does not involve the cantus firmus.
- The final discrepancy between the two pieces happens at the end where Parsons has his last cadence coordinate with the arrival of the final

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<sup>31</sup> He does change the pitch of CF20 from C to B $\flat$  though this doesn't affect the cadential structure.

note of the chant at CF53, resolving to G with the cantus firmus. Rather than Parsons's single emphatic structural cadence, Woodcock opts to have three final cadences, two of which (at CF51 and CF52) involve the cantus firmus.

Of the nine cadences that are identical in location and final, some are more popular locations and finals than others. I have mentioned that more than 60% of In Nomines have a cadence at CF30, and that that cadence overwhelmingly resolves to a third below the cantus firmus pitch, as it does in both these pieces. CF11 is only a moderately popular cadence location, but there is only one other In Nomine that cadences to a final a fifth below the cantus firmus at this point. So while many In Nomines may share a few of these cadences, some even to the same cadential finals, none come close to corresponding with all nine. Nor are there any other pairs of In Nomines that share such a high percentage of their cadences. Woodcock has clearly imported the basic structural model of the Parsons to use as a backbone on which to affix his own points of imitation rather than borrowing the piece's surface motives (as we'll see him do in his imitation of Parsons's In Nomine a5).

This structural modeling is not usually audible or easily visible on the page and requires analysis of a work's cadential structure to uncover. It is also the sort of modeling that is most connected to musical pedagogy; thus, it is significant that my cadential analysis of all the In Nomines in this study turned up only this one In Nomine that is unequivocally constructed around the cadential model of another. If the writing of an In Nomine were a common "assignment" given to young composers, one would expect to see more instances of this sort of structural modeling.<sup>32</sup> That this silent

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<sup>32</sup> Bernstein claims that, "We know from various studies of techniques of musical borrowing in the 16th century that composers frequently retained the cadential structure of their models; that is, the original

intertextuality is so much less common than motivic paraphrase and quotation implies that In Nomine composers engaging in intentional intertextuality *wanted their borrowing to be audible*. Moreover, it means they expected those who played, sang, or even listened to their works to recognize the origins of those references and appreciate the musical conversation that was being enacted. Here is clear musical evidence of exactly the sociality and communal tradition discussed in chapter one.

### **Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Parsons's In Nomine a5**

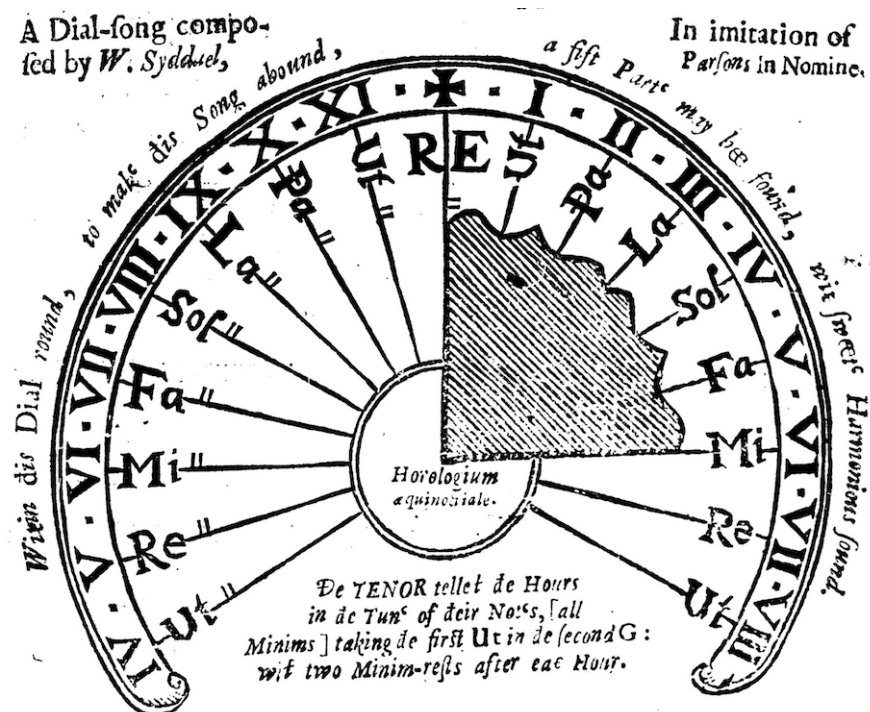
When Charles Butler published *The Principles of Musik* in 1636, he included a five-voice "Dial-song" ascribed to W. Syddael. Only four of the five parts are printed in the book, however, and the tenor line must be generated through a puzzle—solved by translating into minims the hours of a sundial depicted below (fig. 4-3). It has been suggested that the piece is by Butler himself as no record of a W. Syddael exists and the name, a combination of "sidus" for star and "dael" for dial, is far too clever to be coincidental.<sup>33</sup> Just above the image of the sundial appear the words "In imitation of *Parsons In Nomine*."

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cadences of the model served, when they occurred in the new piece, as landmarks to remind the listener, periodically, of the original shape of the model." Yet this does not appear to be broadly true within the In Nomine tradition. Bernstein, "The Cantus-Firmus Chansons of Tylman Susato," 222.

<sup>33</sup> Baker and Baker, "A 17th-Century Dial-Song," 592–93.

Figure 4-3. Charles Butler *The Principles of Musik*, p. 43



As common as imitation and borrowing are in this era, they are rarely announced. Butler does not print the Parsons In Nomine of which the *Dial-song* is in imitation but that would not have been necessary. Robert Parsons's In Nomine a5 was more widely disseminated than any other In Nomine, appearing in more than twenty sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts. In addition to its original five-part version, it appears in various transcriptions for lute, lute and voice/melody instrument, cittern, and keyboard (including a keyboard transcription by Byrd). Although many of these extant sources are incomplete, they provide a picture of how popular and widely known this particular In Nomine was. In the eighteenth century, Charles Burney would copy this piece into one of his manuscripts of extracts for his own study and praises it specifically in his *General History of Music*, writing, "There are some excellent compositions by Parsons in the MSS of Christ Church College, Oxford, particularly an

Ave Maria, and an In Nomine(y)."<sup>34</sup> While Butler's treatise is unique in making the homage to Parsons explicit, Syddael's *Dial-song* is not alone in imitating Parsons's iconic In Nomine a5.

Scholars have already established several pieces that seem related to the Parsons. Warwick Edwards suggested that both Clement Woodcock's In Nomine a5 #1 and the incomplete In Nomine by Alcock (probably a5, of which only the top line survives) show a relationship to the Parsons.<sup>35</sup> William Byrd's In Nomine a5 #5 too has been identified as related although there is some disagreement about how related.<sup>36</sup> I will detail here the extensive connections among these pieces and add a new member to this Parsons family: Nicholas Strogers's In Nomine a5 #3.<sup>37</sup> I will also suggest a few other likely connections and possible references to Parsons found throughout the early In Nomine repertoire.

The four pieces considered in detail here illustrate different types of musical engagement with the original, likely reflecting the professional positions of their composers and the different relationships each had with Robert Parsons himself. There are important distinctions between imitation as a form of aspirational emulation (say, a young man imitating a master) and imitation as a form of friendly competition or homage between colleagues who are social or professional equals—as Morley's recommendations at the opening of this chapter illustrated. The Alcock and Woodcock pieces exemplify the former type of imitation while the Strogers and Byrd exemplify the

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<sup>34</sup> Burney's manuscript of extracts is Add. MS 11586. Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Volume 2:567.

<sup>35</sup> Edwards, "The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music," 5–6.

<sup>36</sup> Edwards, 6 says "influenced by"; Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 46 says "inspired by"; but Baker, "The Instrumental Consort Music of Robert Parsons (d. 1570)," 12–13 is more doubtful, writing "if emulation had been deliberate, one would have expected the similarities to be in the first part of the two pieces, as is the case with the various references to the Taverner model."

<sup>37</sup> I am grateful to Loren Ludwig for first pointing out to me the similarities in these pieces as we prepared to record the Strogers for LeStrange Viols's album *Æternum*.

latter. These qualities of imitation are captured both in the music itself and in their patterns of transmission. The Strogers and Byrd use the original piece as fodder for originality—in the case of the Strogers “one-upping” Parsons at his own game in a friendly competitive spirit. The Woodcock and Alcock, however, follow the Parsons much more literally while only giving their pieces a thin veneer of original content. Nor do the Alcock and Woodcock pieces seem to have traveled very far: the former survives incompletely in a single partbook while the latter is preserved in two sources. By contrast, the Strogers *In Nomine* a5 #3 is extant in five manuscripts and the Byrd *In Nomine* a5 #5 in fourteen (it is Byrd’s most widely copied *In Nomine*).<sup>38</sup>

No biographical information about Alcock is known, but the other four men are of a similar generation, active in the 1560s (though Byrd is a little younger than the others). It is likely that Parsons and Strogers were known to each other and to Byrd as well. Parsons was appointed a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1563 and served there until his accidental drowning in 1571/2 at which point his position was given to Byrd. Nicholas Strogers worked as a parish clerk in London from 1563–75, and one of his services was likely performed at the Chapel Royal.<sup>39</sup> Strogers’s music is often found side by side with that of Parsons and Byrd, so it seems likely that they were associated with each other in the 1560s. Certainly all three are well represented within the table-book Add. MS 31390. While Strogers, Byrd, and Parsons existed in the same collegial sphere, Clement Woodcock (and presumably Alcock) did not. Woodcock seems to have never lived in London. He spent the 1560s working at King’s College, Cambridge and at

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<sup>38</sup> Here and following I count Tenbury 389 and the McGhie Manuscript as a single source since they are two partbooks from a single set.

<sup>39</sup> Strogers’s *Short Service* was included in Benjamin Cosyn’s collection (GB-Lbl R.M.23.1.4) where it is found in “the six Services for the kings Royall chappell.” Quoted in Caldwell, Jeans, and Brown, “Strogers [Strowger, Strowgers], Nicholas.”

Canterbury Cathedral before moving to Chichester around 1570 where he stayed until his death in 1590. Woodcock was thus present in Chichester during the time when Add. MS 31390 was likely compiled there. Though Robert Ford has found handwriting evidence which proves Woodcock was not the copyist of Add. MS 31390, he hastens to add, “This is not to deny the possibility that [Woodcock] was known to the compiler (probably a man named Worm or Wormall), who certainly had Chichester connections.”<sup>40</sup> Four out of Woodcock’s five surviving works (all untexted) appear in Add. MS 31390 which is the unique source for three of them. However, the *In Nomine* a5 #1 that concerns us here is the outlier. While this piece isn’t included in Add. MS 31390, three other pieces by Woodcock sit adjacent to the Parsons *In Nomine* a5 in the manuscript. It is exciting to imagine that Add. MS 31390 might have been the vehicle through which Woodcock encountered the Parsons, inspiring him to write his own work in emulation as well as his *In Nomine* a5 #2, which we’ve seen is modeled on Parsons’s *In Nomine* a7 #2.

### **Parsons’s *In Nomine* a5**

The Parsons *In Nomine* a5 is unusual within the *In Nomine* tradition both musically and in the exceptional breadth of its dissemination (and presumably appeal)—and this distinctiveness equally invites and illuminates imitation. The piece has several distinctive elements that are recognizable in the imitations. For starters, much of the work abandons the typical procedures of imitative polyphony in favor of a call-and-response texture. The effect is striking, particularly at the beginning. The entry of the first voice alone with the cantus firmus sounds standard, and performers (or

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<sup>40</sup> Ford, “Clement Woodcock’s Appointment at Canterbury Cathedral,” 41.

listeners) would reasonably expect a second voice to enter in imitation. When instead all three other parts homorhythmically answer the first, a new sonic world is created, one which Parsons continues to inhabit well past the opening. Within the In Nomine tradition, snippets of homorhythm are not unheard of—for example, the Anonymous In Nomine a6 utilizes several homorhythmic phrases. Neither is it unprecedented to have duets or trios that answer each other in a more polychoral texture. But both these techniques are rare and are episodic rather than pervasive. In his In Nomine a5, Parsons makes use of the call-and-response texture throughout the entire composition, pointedly reintroducing it at moments where the texture threatens to break down into more typical general imitation. While these techniques are scarce in In Nomines, call-and-response and homorhythm are common in the chanson repertory where textual clarity often trumps artful polyphony. Both call-and-response and homorhythm also show up in Parson's *The songe called trumpetts*, which also contains polychoral textures (made explicitly antiphonal by the prescribed seating arrangement of the parts in the table-book 31390).<sup>41</sup>

A second distinctive feature which appears at the opening of the Parsons is the use of F#s and D-major sonorities in direct proximity to the F $\natural$  in the cantus firmus. Unlike the Goldar and Stogers In Nomines discussed above that use mode-mixture throughout, the Parsons features only this single instance at the beginning. The stunning opening statement even overlaps the F# and the F $\natural$ , creating an unprepared and non-contrapuntally motivated *mi-contrafa* (ex. 4-3). Some copies and transcription of the piece omit these F#s (perhaps because they were too piquant for the copyist), but they are clearly indicated in most sources. A final feature of the opening worth noting is

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<sup>41</sup> For more on this, see Rastall, "Spatial Effects in English Instrumental Consort Music, c.1560-1605."

the particular usage of the three-repeated-note anacrusis figure found in many In Nomines and discussed in chapter two. Parsons extends this gesture to four repetitions of the same note. While the sense of three-note anacrusis is preserved, the character becomes more fanfare than canzona/ chanson, and the arresting dissonance at the end of bar 2 only enhances this affect. All three of these features are clearly apparent within the first few bars of the piece.

**Example 4-3. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 1-9**

One of the moments where the call-and-response texture returns occurs in measure 24 after a cadence to D where the top voice leads a new point of imitation (ex. 4-4). “Point” is almost too strong a word here, the motive is simply an upward leap, short-long, beginning on an anacrusis.

**Example 4-4. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 22-30**

In measure 36, the same figure is repeated but at twice the speed and then grows, leading to tiny imitative cells made up of arpeggios (both falling and rising) which continue until the end of the piece (ex. 4-5).

**Example 4-5. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 35-41**

The image shows a musical score for Example 4-5, measures 35-41. The score is in 5/4 time and features a fragmented micro-motive in the upper voice. Measures 36-39 show this motif at double speed, highlighted with blue boxes. The lower voices provide a steady accompaniment.

Always short and disjunct with a rhythmic impulse that begins off the beat and in small note values, this type of fragmented micro-motive shows up throughout the In Nomine repertory as well as other instrumental music contained within Add. MS 31390. Parsons uses these fragments often in his non-In Nomine untexted works such as *The songe called trumpetts* and *De la Court*. In the In Nomine a5, Parsons uses this fragmented section to loosen the strict call-and-response texture; allowing the voices to overlap until measure 43 when the one-versus-three texture returns (ex. 4-6).

**Example 4-6. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 42-47**

The image shows a musical score for Example 4-6, measures 42-47. The score is in 5/4 time and features a fragmented micro-motive in the upper voice. Measures 43-44 show this motif at double speed, highlighted with blue boxes. The lower voices provide a steady accompaniment.

This moment at bar 43 is particularly fanfare-like and is a final distinctive moment that is imitated by the other composers.

Notably, one component of the Parsons that is not imitated in the compositions modeled on it is its cadential structure. These pieces announce their borrowing proudly and overtly, quoting and paraphrasing the most recognizable aspects of the Parsons without drawing on its deeper structure. There are several alterations to the *cantus firmus* that Parsons makes which are likewise not found in any of the modeled pieces. As argued above, this suggests that these responses to Parsons were intended to be recognizable as such to other musicians who would have known Parsons's piece. The focus is less on learning by assimilating the technique of a better composer, and more on a conversational response to a particularly exciting statement. Even Woodcock's and the Alcock's contributions, the least original of these responses, nonetheless seem to proclaim, "look what I can do with these ideas."

### **Woodcock and Alcock**

Let's begin with the two *In Nomines* that are most obviously straightforward imitations of the Parsons: the Woodcock *In Nomine* a5 #1 and the Alcock *In Nomine*. Woodcock's *In Nomine* is transparently related to the Parsons. While the opening rising figure in the first statement by the top voice initially obscures the connection, the second statement comes directly from Parsons as does the call-and-response texture in which the top voice initiates and the lower ones respond. Woodcock has the top voice enter a semibreve earlier than Parsons does and omits the cross-relation in measure 2 (ex. 4-7). In a less audacious way, however, Woodcock creates a similar dissonance at the end of measure 3 and in measure 8, imitating the rhetoric of the Parsons *In Nomine*

a5 without mirroring the gambit exactly: in measure 3 the top voice enters on an E $\flat$  while a B $\sharp$  is still sounding and in measure 8 the E $\flat$  enters just following an E $\sharp$ .<sup>42</sup>

**Example 4-7. Woodcock In Nomine a5 #1, mm. 1-8**

Woodcock, however, does not just emulate the opening: his piece follows the content of the Parsons all the way through. Parsons's second motive from measure 24 (which also shows up in bar 36 in halved note values) appears in its faster version as a call-and-response in measure 33.

**Example 4-8. Woodcock In Nomine a5 #1, mm. 31-37**

Woodcock, like Parsons, grows these cells into the arpeggiated micro-motives. The fanfare episode from the Parsons is found in measure 40 of the Woodcock as well

<sup>42</sup> Measure 7 also includes a rather striking dissonance between the top voice and the cantus firmus (simultaneous B $\sharp$  over B $\flat$ ). Musica Britannica omits the B $\sharp$  in the top voice which is indicated in both extant sources noting, "The two versions are almost identical, both having the same apparent errors." However, one of these sources is the Dow Partbooks which are beautifully written and generally error-free. My inclination is to believe the sources—if accepted, the B $\sharp$  would apply to both Bs in measure 7 leading to a cadence to C in measure 8. It looks impossibly dissonant on the page but is not improbable in the sound-world of Elizabethan polyphony in which cadential cross-relations are usual (though it is unusual that the "fa" in the cantus firmus does not move downwards). Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I*, XLIV:193.

though it's less fully antiphonal. Throughout, Woodcock takes the recognizable motives and textures of the Parsons and uses them as a framework for small forays into original material.

The Alcock In Nomine survives only in a discantus part book copied c. 1590 now in the Folger Shakespeare Library collection (Folger 408). This part book contains a number of unica, works whose full scope can only be guessed at, including the (presumably) five-part In Nomine by Alcock. Despite surviving only as a single part, it is not hard to fit the In Nomine cantus firmus against it—at exactly fifty-five breves long, the chant can begin in the very first bar and finish in the final bar. While no evidence of an opening cross-relation exists, the surviving scaffolding allows for the possibility of F#s in measures three, four, and the beginning of five, which would certainly mimic the opening of the Parsons. Likewise, a call-and-response texture is both possible and likely here, though we cannot know for certain. The opening point is clearly taken from Parsons, as it is an inversion of the same A-D interval, although the initial pitch is only repeated three times and not the four of the Parsons and Woodcock. In fact, Alcock inverts the contours of three of the four motives taken from Parsons: the opening, the fanfare in bar 46, and the fragmented thirds from the end which all leap upwards rather than downwards. The fourth motive, the short-long rising gesture is less clearly present here though bars 33-35 look similar to Parsons's faster version of that theme. Example 4-9 gives the entirety of the piece since it is unavailable in modern edition.

### Example 4-9. Alcock In Nomine (a5?) with cantus firmus

The image displays a musical score for 'Alcock In Nomine (a5?) with cantus firmus'. The score is written in a single system with two staves: a treble clef staff for the vocal line and a bass clef staff for the lute accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The piece consists of 55 measures, numbered 1 through 55 above the treble staff. The vocal line features a cantus firmus, which is a pre-composed melody that the composer uses as a structural aid. The lute accompaniment provides harmonic support, often using rhythmic patterns that complement the vocal line. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, and the numbers 1-55 are placed above the treble staff to indicate the measure number.

While Alcock appears to stay very close to his model, his engagement is a more creative form of emulation than Woodcock's, one in which he explores the possibilities of a particular manipulation of the model, melodic inversion. Neither of these less-accomplished composers likely knew Parsons personally, and the way they use his piece as a model mirrors the hierarchy of that relationship. Both draw ideas and inspiration from Parsons, not as a structural aid to composition, but as an imaginative

aid. These pieces are as much responses as they are imitations, offering manipulations and reconfigurations of the main ideas from the original.

## **Byrd**

In Byrd's contribution to this family we see a completely different paradigm of imitation, one based on equality and collegiality rather than ambition or improvement. I read Byrd's *In Nomine a5 #5* as a deeply felt homage to Parsons, whom Byrd surely knew and whose position at the Chapel Royal he inherited upon Parsons's unexpected death. The first half of the piece appears to be completely unrelated to the Parsons, yet it ends with an unmistakable quotation. Rather than providing a single opening reference to the Parsons, Byrd has cleverly created a crescendo of allusions, each one more explicit than the last, which culminates in the quotation. Even before the allusions begin, it's possible to read backwards and see some of Byrd's choices as responses to Parsons. For instance, one of the striking things about the opening of the Byrd is that the first motivic entrance is a duet, rather than a single voice. In the Parsons, the textural surprise at the opening is that the second imitative entry is made up of three voices instead of one. In the Byrd, it is the opening entry of two voices rather than one that makes a similar surprise. Though slightly fanciful, one can also read this opening duet in the Byrd as a statement of solidarity with Parsons, whose lonely top voice spends the entire piece pitted against the rest of the voices. In contrast, Byrd's opening duet offers this top voice a partner and friend.

The specific allusions to Parsons begin in measure 24 (exx. 4-10 and 4-11). Byrd takes a prominent descending scalar cadential gesture that happens twice in the Parsons (including at that same measure) and moves it from the third voice to the top voice.

Byrd's top voice then follows the Parsons by leaping an imperfect octave from F# to F♭,

as the Parsons does in bars 14 and 24 (and possibly alluding to Parsons's opening F#/b clash).

**Example 4-10. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 12-14 and mm. 22-24**

**Example 4-11. Byrd In Nomine a5 #5, mm. 23-24**

Both the scale and the sequential cross-relation are generic and thus individually (and without the hindsight provided by the concluding quotation) are not recognizable as having come from the Parsons. Byrd's allusions, however, become increasingly intense, each more specific to the Parsons than the last. As a listener who knows the repertory, the connection dawns on one slowly: at first one hears resemblances and only by the end of the piece does one realize the entire work has been about Parsons.

In the next allusion, at measure 37, Byrd introduces a short-long rising leap that is very similar to the faster version of that motive from the Parsons (ex. 4-12). In the

Byrd, rather than being fully antiphonal, it appears as a conversation between the top and bottom voices (ex. 4-13).

**Example 4-12. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 35-41**

**Example 4-13. Byrd In Nomine a5 #5, mm. 37-42**

Finally, at measure 45, the similarities and allusions give way to a full quotation and the relationship between the two pieces becomes unmistakable (exx. 4-14 and 4-15). Byrd quotes the fanfare gesture nearly verbatim and with the original fully antiphonal texture. All Byrd does is shorten the figure by one note—the pitches and voicing are otherwise identical to the Parsons. The differing rhythmic impulse, however, does slightly change the sense of the music, and even in a direct quotation, Byrd leaves his own fingerprints.

Example 4-14. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 42-47

Example 4-15. Byrd In Nomine a5 #5, mm. 45-50

This fanfare is followed in the Byrd by the same familiar motivic fragments, though like Alcock, Byrd is inclined to make them rise rather than fall as they do more often in the Parsons. Though the references are mostly compressed into the second half of the piece, by the end, Byrd has packed most of the motivic elements of the Parsons into his piece. This is a masterpiece of homage, all the more so since it is so cleverly disguised and hidden behind an opening that appears unrelated. The oblique references in the middle can only be recognized in retrospect. Heard multiple times, these references become more and more audible and the understanding of the homage deepens. I can't help but wonder if this piece was composed upon Byrd's appointment to the position in the Chapel Royal made vacant by Parsons's death. If Parsons wasn't

around to appreciate it, certainly many others were familiar enough with this popular piece to enjoy and admire Byrd's clever tribute.

### Strogers

Strogers's *In Nomine a5 #3* illustrates another type of engagement with the model, that of competition. This is the kind of relationship that Morley describes between Byrd and Ferrabosco I, one which implies both a personal connection and a sense of back and forth. The conversation between Strogers's and Parsons's *In Nomines* is not nearly as obvious as that between Parsons's and Woodcock's or as clearly unidirectional as Parsons's and Byrd's. While I suspect the Parsons came first, the internal evidence could just as easily be used to argue the opposite. The similarities between the Parsons and Strogers are less about specific motives and more about specific ideas. Take, for example, the opening of the Strogers (ex. 4-16). There is no repeated-note motive here but there is a pervasive use of the call-and-response texture and an obsession with juxtaposing F# and F $\flat$ .

#### Example 4-16. Strogers *In Nomine a5 #3*, mm. 1-7

As you can see, despite these deep similarities, the pieces are quite different on the surface. Strogers's call-and-response texture highlights the fourth voice rather than the top voice as Parsons does. Likewise, rather than the Parsons's single simultaneous

cross-relation, the Strogers alternates back and forth between  $F\flat$  and  $F\sharp$  creating more small moments of hexachordal friction. So instead of a single jarring clash, the opening of the Strogers becomes a disorienting wash of alternation with the third voice insisting on  $F\sharp$  while the other voices insist on  $F\flat$ . This is a rather wild effect, and it is easy to imagine the two composers egging each other on to create more and more dissonance. Nor, as we have seen, is this the only Strogers In Nomine that explores the possibilities of  $F\sharp$ s within the D-mode world of the In Nomine cantus firmus. Perhaps this musical conversation was longer than just the two pieces explored here (and might even include Strogers's In Nomine a5 #1 discussed earlier in the chapter).

While the opening motive of the Strogers does not share a contour with the opening of the Parsons, there is a structural relationship to the points. Both span and describe the fifth between D and A and then elaborate on that fifth by adding the  $B\flat$  above the A. The similarities between the motives as they develop only grows. Compare the top voice of the Parsons in measures 12-13 with the top voice of the Strogers in measures 10-11 (exx. 4-17 and 4-18). Or look at the third voice in measure 12-13 of the Parsons and compare that to measures 3-4 of the Strogers in example 4-16 above. Is Parsons imitating Strogers's opening motive here or has Strogers taken this moment from Parsons and used it to construct his opening?

**Example 4-17. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 12-14**

Musical score for Example 4-17, measures 12-14. The top staff shows a melodic line with a blue box highlighting measures 12-14. The bottom staff shows a bass line with a blue box highlighting measure 14.

**Example 4-18. Stogers In Nomine a5 #3, mm. 8-11**

Musical score for Example 4-18, measures 8-11. The top staff shows a melodic line with a blue box highlighting measures 10-11. The bottom staff shows a bass line with a blue box highlighting measure 11.

There are later motivic similarities too. A couple moments in the Stogers resemble the fast version of the rising leap gesture as it appears in measures 36-38 of the Parsons (ex. 4-19), for example, the bottom voice in measures 17-19 and the top voice in measures 27-29 (ex. 4-20).

**Example 4-19. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 35-41**

Musical score for Example 4-19, measures 35-41. The top staff shows a melodic line with blue boxes highlighting measures 36, 37, 38, and 39. The bottom staff shows a bass line with a blue box highlighting measure 38.

**Example 4-20. Strogers In Nomine a5 #3, mm. 17-19 and mm. 27-29**

The image shows a musical score for Example 4-20, consisting of two systems of music. The first system covers measures 17, 18, and 19. The second system covers measures 27, 28, and 29. The score is written for a four-part ensemble: two staves of Treble Clef (Soprano and Alto) and two staves of Bass Clef (Tenor and Bass). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. In both systems, the bass line (Tenor and Bass staves) features a repeated pattern of semiminims (half notes) in the right hand and a similar pattern in the left hand. These patterns are highlighted with blue boxes. In the first system, the patterns are in the right hand of the bass line. In the second system, they are in the left hand of the bass line. The upper staves contain various melodic and harmonic lines, including rests and notes.

Likewise, the gesture in the Strogers at measure 41 (CF44) and Parsons's fanfare at measure 43 (also CF44) are remarkably similar in their repeated semiminims and pitch content, even if the contours are different (exx. 4-21 and 4-22).

**Example 4-21. Parsons In Nomine a5, mm. 42-47**

The image shows a musical score for Example 4-21, covering measures 42 through 47. The score is written for a four-part ensemble: two staves of Treble Clef (Soprano and Alto) and two staves of Bass Clef (Tenor and Bass). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The bass line (Tenor and Bass staves) features a repeated pattern of semiminims (half notes) in the right hand and a similar pattern in the left hand. These patterns are highlighted with blue boxes. The upper staves contain various melodic and harmonic lines, including rests and notes.

**Example 4-22. Strogers In Nomine a5 #3, mm. 39-45**

The image shows a musical score for Example 4-22, covering measures 39 through 45. The score is written for a four-part ensemble: two staves of Treble Clef (Soprano and Alto) and two staves of Bass Clef (Tenor and Bass). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The bass line (Tenor and Bass staves) features a repeated pattern of semiminims (half notes) in the right hand and a similar pattern in the left hand. These patterns are highlighted with blue boxes. The upper staves contain various melodic and harmonic lines, including rests and notes.

Strogers is not as dogmatic about the call-and-response texture throughout the piece. Sometimes the fourth voice and the top voice respond to each other antiphonally without the other voices being in lockstep with one or the other. Sometimes the antiphonal texture dissolves into generalized fragments. But the call-and-response format returns at key moments—moments homologous to important moments in the Parsons. Both pieces end with disjunct fragmented motives, although Strogers’s fragments are longer, four or five pitches rather than three as in the Parsons. Perhaps these connections seem quite subtle. They are certainly not apparent unless you are familiar with both pieces. But seen as the residue of a “virtuous contention” based in love not envy, the resonances hum audibly.

I contend that musicians were indeed deeply familiar with these pieces and recognized their relationships. There is evidence that the connections between the pieces explored in the final section above were recognized and appreciated by contemporary copyists. In addition to being independently popular, these pieces seem to have been recognized as related and were copied as a group—there are four different manuscripts in which the Byrd, Parsons, and Strogers all appear.<sup>43</sup> Robert Dow in particular clearly connected them—the Dow Partbooks contain the Parsons, Byrd, Strogers, and Woodcock in a manuscript that only contains ten *In Nomines* (plus the three *In Nomine* consort songs). Not only do they all appear in the Dow Partbooks, the Byrd and Parsons are in fact adjacent and the Strogers and Woodcock are just a few pages later. The Byrd and Parsons seem to have been particularly connected by contemporary compilers. The two are both present in twelve sources and of those

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<sup>43</sup> The Dow Partbooks, the large *In Nomine* compilations of Add. MS 31390 and Bodleian d.212-216, and Tenbury 389/McGhie MS, an incomplete source with eleven *In Nomines*.

twelve, in six they are placed directly next to each other.<sup>44</sup> Among these sources in which the pieces are adjacent, they don't always appear in the same order, so it is unlikely to be a coincidence caused by being copied from the same source.

If we use this model of manuscript proximity to look for more pieces that might be related to the Parsons, we find two more candidates. Better known for his keyboard *In Nomines*, John Bull also wrote a polyphonic *In Nomine a5* that appears in the Dow Partbooks nestled among the *In Nomines* discussed above. As seen in example 4-23, measure 36 of the Bull contains an unmistakable reference to the Parsons: the short-long leaping figure presented in a call-and-response texture. Bull inverts the leap, moving down by fourth rather than up but he then repeats the gesture more times than Parsons does just to make sure the allusion is perfectly clear.

**Example 4-23. Bull *In Nomine a5*, mm. 35-41**

The image shows a musical score for five voices (a5) in a single system. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into measures 35 through 41. In measure 36, the upper staff has a quarter note G4 followed by a half note F#4, and the lower staff has a quarter note G3 followed by a half note F3. In measure 37, the upper staff has a quarter note G4 followed by a half note E4, and the lower staff has a quarter note G3 followed by a half note E3. Blue boxes highlight these short-long leaping figures in both staves for measures 36 and 37. The rest of the score shows various rhythmic patterns and rests for the other voices.

One final possibly related piece is William Mundy's *In Nomine a5* #1. This piece is preserved only in the Tregian Manuscript. Copied in the second decade of the seventeenth century by Francis Tregian the Younger while he was imprisoned, this massive manuscript collects music in score for preservation rather than performance.

<sup>44</sup> These are: the Dow Partbooks, Add. MS 29996, Add. MS 22597, Bodleian e. 423, the Merro Partbooks, and the Tregian Manuscript.

The Tregian Manuscript contains a grouping of four In Nomines, all of which Paul Doe surmises are from the 1560s.<sup>45</sup> Mundy's In Nomine is part of this grouping and sits directly adjacent to the Parsons. Disjunct fragmented cells are a major part of the material of Mundy's In Nomine a5 #1, which is not on its own an uncommon technique. However, on the same prolonged F sonority in the cantus firmus that Parsons uses for his final fanfare, the staggered imitative arpeggios in the Mundy crystallize into a call-and-response texture, led by the top voice, as in the Parsons (ex. 4-24).

**Example 4-24. Mundy In Nomine a5 #1, mm. 44-49**

The image shows a musical score for Mundy's In Nomine a5 #1, measures 44-49. The score is in G minor, 5/4 time, and features a cantus firmus in the bass. Measures 46, 47, and 48 are highlighted with blue boxes, showing staggered imitative arpeggios in the upper voices. The score is written for five staves: two treble clefs, two bass clefs, and a fifth staff with a bass clef. The cantus firmus is in the bottom-most staff. The upper voices are in the top four staves. The blue boxes highlight the staggered imitative arpeggios in the upper voices, which crystallize into a call-and-response texture.

The family of pieces related to the Parsons In Nomine a5 explored here highlights different practices of intertextual modeling among composers of In Nomines. As we've seen, composers such as Woodcock and Alcock used the Parsons as a compositional model, responding to it point by point and making only minor alterations to the content of the piece. On the other hand, Byrd used a series of increasingly apparent allusions to craft a finely wrought homage to Parsons, and Strogers seems to be engaged in a game of one-upmanship with Parsons over who can add a more shocking cross-relation at the outset. Though the dyadic personal relationships embedded in these responses to Parsons are clustered on Milsom's "thin

<sup>45</sup> Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I*, XLIV:191.

end of the wedge,” thinking of them as the extremity of a spectrum and seeing the intertextuality exclusively dyadically ignores the broader intersubjective audience these responses perform towards. The multiplicity of intertextual meanings contained in each one of these works is precisely what makes them meaningful.

### Conclusion

This chapter has served as a summation of the previous three and particularly as a companion to chapter one by connecting social networks to the intertextual resonances found within the In Nomine. Jonathan Culler characterizes intertextuality by saying that a “discussion is intelligible only in terms of a prior body of discourse” and that “the act of writing or speaking . . . inevitably postulates an intersubjective body of knowledge.”<sup>46</sup> I have used the concept of intertextuality to encompass the breadth of musical relatedness that can be present between individual In Nomines: from the inevitable but unintentional similarities that result from the use of a shared musical language or the same cantus firmus to the intentional practices of quotation and emulation. These musical correspondences among works map onto the social structures and interrelationships of the communities that produced them. Moreover, the meaning of these pieces can *only* be understood through knowledge of their relation to prior works. But as Culler notes, this is not the only implication of intertextuality:

“Intertextuality” thus has a double focus. On the one hand, it calls our attention to the importance of prior texts, insisting that the autonomy of texts is a misleading notion and that a work has the meaning it does only because certain things have previously been written. Yet in so far as it focuses on intelligibility, on meaning, “intertextuality” leads us to consider prior texts as contributions to a code which makes possible the various effects of signification.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs*, 112.

<sup>47</sup> Culler, 114.

Much like the discussion of speculative music and its hidden riddles and games, practices of quotation, borrowing, and emulation are another kind of insider's code that composers leveraged to make meaning. As I have documented above, composers of In Nomines largely eschewed the silent references of structural modeling in favor of references that would be recognizable to others "in the know." In Nomine composers' preferences for speaking intertextuality out loud in their works is congruent with Culler's claim that "intertextuality . . . becomes less a name for a work's relation to particular prior texts than a designation of its participation in the discursive space of a culture."<sup>48</sup> The In Nomine, more than other mid-sixteenth century English music, makes explicit its participation in this discursive space.

One of the difficulties in dealing with intertextuality is our ability to capture the double focus Culler describes: simultaneously acknowledging the influence of all prior discourse yet still wishing to delineate specific referents and predecessors to a text. Keeping in mind the immense web of previous musical utterances that are, at least distantly, connected to all new ones, the *most* audible connections must be to the music that composers themselves heard and experienced up to the moment of their own creative acts. Thus, a composer's musical life—their musical upbringing, education, exposures, and networks—represents an intertextual "inner circle"—a privileged intersubjective space within the infinity of intertextuality.

Hence, the linear metaphors for intertextuality (e.g., spectrum and continuum) introduced at the outset of this chapter are insufficient to capture the simultaneous and multiple meanings of individual musical acts described above. Perhaps the four-dimensional metaphor of a planet in space-time is more illuminating. In the vastness of

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<sup>48</sup> Culler, 114.

the universe, there are galaxies made up of stars, some of which have solar systems with planets, even planets that have their own moons—structures of relationships between objects, each exerting different levels of gravitational force upon each other. So, too, can the overlapping hierarchies of social structures create complex layers of musical exposure and influence. In a way, this entire dissertation has been about the gravitational forces among these different levels of social structures within a small corpus of pieces that gravitate towards similar structures more self-consciously than other musical works of their time.

At the level of nations and traditions, the story of Tudor music has historically been one of insularity and isolation, and yet newer scholarship has expanded our awareness of its manifold interrelationships.<sup>49</sup> At the level of social circles and personal relationships, chapter one traced the mobile networks that In Nomine composers inhabited in their day-to-day lives as professional church musicians: whom they knew personally, whose music they might have encountered, what instruments and institutional resources they had available to them. Chapter two broadened those networks by showing the influence exerted upon (or recruited by) In Nomine composers from continental traditions, both generic (the chanson, the fantasia) and technical (instrumental style, motivicity in imitation). At the level of English musical education and theoretical traditions, chapter three explored influences that were less geographical than chronological—the engagement of In Nomine composers with a quadrivial orientation towards music and the cultivation of speculative music that followed from it.

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<sup>49</sup> Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations*; Bernstein, “The Chanson in England 1530-1640”; Milsom, “English Polyphonic Style in Transition.”

Chapter four, in addressing these gravitational orbits explicitly through the lens of intertextuality, ties together these three different levels of social organization through the semiotic residue they leave in the music of the In Nomine. Sifting through and parsing these musical fragments of meaning is murky business, and the artificial binaries employed throughout this chapter (intentional/unintentional, thick end/thin end, grammar/borrowing) have served only the purpose of illuminating specific aspects of the In Nomine's intertextuality. But at this final juncture, we must now let go of scholarly artifice and gawk at the wild, non-linear complexity of interrelated influences that run through the In Nomine—influences that are inextricable from the overlapping concentric rings of the social, geographic, and temporal relationships that produced them. In Nomines are only one tiny part of this vast musical universe, but as this dissertation has tried to show, they were a lens through which Elizabethan composers actively magnified and refracted their own musical cosmos.

## APPENDIX A

### Sixteenth-Century Polyphonic In Nomines and Concordances

This list contains all the In Nomines included in this study. Criteria for inclusion are discussed in the introduction. Titles given here are standardized and do not necessarily reflect what is found in the manuscript sources. Following these standardized titles, textual incipits for texted In Nomines are given in quotation marks and descriptive titles from the sources are given in italics. I have not included vocal or texted concordances for Taverner's In Nomine in this list. There is no significance to the order in which manuscripts are listed. Likewise, the numbering of works by the same composer does not indicate chronology and I have followed the numbering conventions of Dodd and Ashbee's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*. The "Arr." column indicates an arrangement (often for keyboard or lute) for the source with which it aligns horizontally. Partbook numbers are given in roman numerals and can be found in the "Folio" and "Arr." columns. The modern edition column uses the abbreviation "MB" for Musica Britannica and "BE" for Byrd Edition. In this column, "incomplete" means that not all the parts survive and the piece has not been published in a modern edition. All In Nomines that survive completely appear in modern editions. All manuscripts listed here can be found in the Manuscript List in the frontmatter to this dissertation.

Composer	Title	MSS	Folio	Arr.	Modern Editions
Philip(?) Alcock	In Nomine a[5?]	US-Ws MS Va 408	f. 15v		incomplete
Philip(?) Alcock	In Nomine a7	GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	f. 17		incomplete
Richard Allison	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 61		MB XLV / #150
Anonymous	In Nomine a4	GB-Lbl Add. Ms 30480-4	I/f. 73		MB XLIV / #13
Anonymous	In Nomine a5 "Come, Holy Ghost"	GB-Och MS Mus. 984-8 GB-Lbl Add. MS 17797	I/no. 100 I/f. 6v		MB XXII / #38
Anonymous	In Nomine a5 "O Lord of whom I do depend"	GB-Och MS Mus. 984-8 GB-Lbl Add. MS 17797	I/no. 101 I/f. 6v		MB XXII / #39
Anonymous	In Nomine a5 "O Lord, turn not away thy face"	GB-Och MS Mus. 984-8 GB-Lbl Add. MS 17797	I/no. 102 I/f. 7		MB XXII / #40
Anonymous	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 91v-92		MB XLIV / #47
Anonymous	In Nomine a5	US-Ws MS Va408	f. 23		incomplete
Anonymous	In Nomine <i>not Choyse</i>	US-CL Case Western Reserve University ML431.D24	following pg. 114		incomplete
Anonymous	In Nomine <i>to hastye bee not</i>	US-CL Case Western Reserve University ML431.D24	following pg. 114		incomplete
Anonymous	In Nomine <i>Daliance</i>	US-CL Case Western Reserve University ML431.D24	following pg. 114		incomplete
Anonymous	In Nomine <i>Wanton</i>	US-CL Case Western Reserve University ML431.D24	following pg. 114		incomplete
Anonymous	In Nomine <i>toy</i>	US-CL Case Western Reserve University ML431.D24	following pg. 114		incomplete
Anonymous	In Nomine a6	Gb-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 8v-9		MB XLIV / #72
John Baldwin	In Nomine a4	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2	ff. 123v-124		MB XLV / #131
John Baldwin	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2	f. 84v		MB XLV / #152

Elway Bevin	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 34		MB XLV/#153
Elway Bevin	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 66		MB XLV/#154
Edward Blankes	In Nomine a6 "With wayling voice"	GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-DORmcghie Mcghie MS	p. 194 p. 182		incomplete
Brewster	In Nomine a4	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 108v-109		MB XLV/#132
Brewster	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Och MS Mus. 984-8 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-DORmcghie Mcghie MS US-NYp Mus. Res. Drexel 4180-4 D-Kl 4 <sup>o</sup> Ms. Mus. 125/1-5 US-CL Case Western Reserve University ML431.D24	I/f. 55 f. 12 I/no. 98 p. 205 p. 196 I/f. 58 I/p. 72 following pg. 114		MB XLIV/#14
John Bucke	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 24		MB XLV/#133
John Bull	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 11586 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29401-5 GB-Lbl Add. MS 34049 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 354-8	f. 30v f. 53v f. 45v I/f. 46 I/no. 89 I/f. 41v		MB IX/#50
William Byrd	In Nomine a4 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 354-8	I/f. 14 I/f. 17v		BE XVII/#16
William Byrd	In Nomine a4 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 17		BE XVII/#17
William Byrd	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 43v-44		BE XVII/#18
William Byrd	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	I/f. 32 f. 9v p. 72 f. 8		BE XVII/#19
William Byrd	In Nomine a5 #3	GB-Lbl Add. MS 39550-4 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29996	f. 28v I/f. 36 f. 68v	keyboard	BE XVII/#20
William Byrd	In Nomine a5 #4	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lbl Add. MS 39550-4 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	ff. 58v-59 f. 29v I/f. 40		BE XVII/#21
William Byrd	In Nomine a5 #5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29401-5 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29996 GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Add. MS 34049 GB-Lbl Egerton 3665 GB-Lcm MS 2049 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 423 GB-Och MS 984-8 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 354-8 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 US-NYp Mus. Res. Drexel 4180-4	f. 35v f. 55v f. 68v ff. 120v-121 f. 8v f. 47v f. 156 III/f. 12v I/f. 53 p. 182 I/no. 85 I/f. 44v p. 71 f. 75		BE XVII/#22
Arthur Cocke	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 50		MB XLV/#155
John Eglestone	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 29		MB XLV/#156
John Eglestone	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 68		MB XLV/#157

Alfonso Ferrabosco I	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 US-NYp Mus. Res. Drexel 4180-4 IRL-Dm MSS Z 3.4.1-6 GB-Lbl Egerton 3665 US-NH Misc. MS 179, Filmer 1/a-e GB-Och MS Mus. 423-8 GB-Och MS Mus. 463-7 GB-Lbl Add. MS 39550-4 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29427 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-DORmcghie Mcghie MS GB-Lcm MS 2049 US-Ws MS Va408	I/f. 35 I/f. 71 I/f. 58 no. 37 f. 61v no. 23 no. 14 no. 24 no. 3 f. 7v f. 55v p. 200 p. 188 f. 14 f. 2		MB XLIV / #48
Alfonso Ferrabosco I	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Och MS Mus. 463-7 GB-Lbl Add. MS 39550-4 GB-Lbl Egerton 3665 US-NH Misc. MS 179, Filmer 1/a-e GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1018	I/f. 37 I/f. 71 no. 25 no. 2 f. 59v no. 24 f. 25v		MB XLIV / #49
Alfonso Ferrabosco I	In Nomine a5 #3	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl Add. MS 39550-4 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29427 GB-Lbl Egerton 3665 US-NH Misc. MS 179, Filmer 1/a-e	I/f. 39 no. 1 f. 7 f. 55 f. 67 no. 22		MB XLIV / #50
Edward Gibbons	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 38		MB XLV / #158
John Gibbs	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 44		MB XLV / #159
Robert(?) Goldar	In Nomine a4	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2	f. 24		MB XLV / #134
Edward Hake	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389	I/f. 57 p. 76		MB XLV / #160
Matthew Jeffries	In Nomine a[5?]	US-Ws MS Va408	ff. 18v-19		incomplete
Matthew Jeffries	In Nomine <i>Cranck</i>	US-Ws MS Va408	ff. 25-26v		incomplete
Robert Johnson	In Nomine a4	GB-Lbl Harley 7578 GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513 GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 (a5) GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 354-8 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 (a5)	f. 115 f. 51v ff. 52v-53 I/f. 22 I/f. 16 no. 74	keyboard	MB XV / #75
Robert(?) Mallorie	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 US-Ws MS Va408	ff. 109v-110 f. 16v		MB XLIV / #51
Robert(?) Mallorie	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ckc Rowe 316	f. 33v		incomplete
Thomas Mericocke	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 41		MB XLV / #161
John Milton the Elder	In Nomine a6 "If that a sinner's sighes"	GB-Och MS Mus. 423-8	f. 43v		Complete works of John Milton the Elder / #15
Henry Mudd	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 13		MB XLIV / #15
Henry Mudd	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 116v-117		MB XLIV / #52
Henry Mudd	In Nomine <i>de profundis</i>	GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389	p. 78		incomplete
John Mundy	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 32		MB XLV / #163
John Mundy	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2	f. 63v		MB XLV / #151 (as Anonymous)
John Mundy	In Nomine a5 #3	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2	f. 65v		MB XLV / #162

John Mundy	In Nomine a6 #1	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2	f. 63		MB XLV/#193
John Mundy	In Nomine a6 #2	GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.2	f. 64v		MB XLV/#194
William Mundy	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Lbl Egerton 3665	f. 158		MB XLIV/#53
William Mundy	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 60		MB XLIV/#54
Nayler	In Nomine a[5?]	GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	ff. 15-15v		incomplete
Osbert Parsley	In Nomine a4 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 19		MB XLIV/#16
Osbert Parsley	In Nomine a4 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 26		MB XLIV/#17
Osbert Parsley	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 65		MB XLIV/#55
Osbert Parsley	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	ff. 20v-21		incomplete
Osbert Parsley	In Nomine a5 #3 <i>Upon v minims</i>	GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	f. 11		incomplete
Robert Parsons	In Nomine a4 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 6		MB XLIV/#18
Robert Parsons	In Nomine a4 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 23		MB XLIV/#19
Robert Parsons	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8 US-NYp Mus. Res. Drexel 4180-4 GB-Lbl Egerton 3665 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 354-8 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29401-5 D-Kl 4° Ms. Mus. 125/1-5 GB-Ckc Rowe 316 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 423 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246 GB-Cfm MS 32 G.29 GB-Cu MSS Dd 2.11 GB-Cu MSS Dd 4.23 GB-Lbl MS RM 24.d.3 GB-Lbl Add. MS 11586 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29996 IRL-Dtc Press D.3.30 IRL-Dtc MS Z3.2 13	ff. 96v-97 I/f. 47 I/no. 84 I/f. 75v f. 156 I/f. 42v I/f. 52v I/p. 70 f. 30v p. 183 p. 7 f. 14v f. 36v f. 55 f. 30v f. 73v f. 23v p. 272 f. 8v f. 68v p. 130 p. 136, 274	II-V lute keyboard lute cittern keyboard  keyboard lute lute	MB XLIV/#56
Robert Parsons	In Nomine a7 #1	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Royal App. 74	ff. 23v-24 f. 10 ff. 33v-34		MB XLIV/#74
Robert Parsons	In Nomine a7 #2	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	ff. 24v-25 f. 13		MB XLIV/#75
Picforth	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 78v-79		MB XLIV/#57
Poynt	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl Royal App. 76	I/f. 21 f. 45		MB XLIV/#20
Poynt	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lcm MS 2049 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 423 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Ckc Rowe 316 GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597	ff. 47v-48 f. 15v p. 180 f. 15v f. 30v f. 34v		MB XLIV/#58
Thomas Preston	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f.15		MB XLIV/#21
William Randall	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 45		MB XLV/#164
John Sadler	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. e. 1-5	I/f. 8		MB XLV/#165
William Stannar	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 48		MB XLV/#166
Henry Stonings	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 9		MB XLIV/#22

Henry Stonings	In Nomine a5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	ff. 56v-57 I/f. 42		MB XLIV / #59
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246	ff. 55v-56 I/f. 30 I/no. 86 f. 19v f. 55v	II-V lute	MB XLIV / #60
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8 GB-Lbl Egerton 3665	I/f. 43 I/no. 88 f. 159		MB XLIV / #61
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine a5 #3	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-CF MS D/DP Z6/1	ff. 54v-55 I/f. 62 I/no. 87 p. 13 f. 61		MB XLIV / #62
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine a5 #4	GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	f. 20		incomplete
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine a5 #5	GB-CF MS D/DP Z6/1	f. 27v		incomplete
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine a6	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Add. MS 47844	ff. 9v-10 I/f. 59 f. 18v-19 f. 2v		MB XLIV / #73
Thomas Tallis	In Nomine a4 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 354-8 GB-Eu MS La III. 483 (a-c) IRL-Dtc MS 412 GB-Lbl Add. MS 33933 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246 GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597	I/f. 5 I/f. 19v T/p. 163, B/p. 168 Q/f. 17, Q/f. 63 A/f. 73 f. 53v f. 54	II-IV lute	MB XLIV / #23
Thomas Tallis	In Nomine a4 #2	Gb-Lbl Add. MS 31390 (a5) GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Eu MS La III. 483 (a-c) (a5) IRL-Dtc MS 412 (a5) GB-Lbl Add. MS 33933 (a5) GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597	f. 92v-93 I/f. 20 T/p. 163, B/p. 169 Q/f. 17 A/f. 73 p. 75 f. 56		MB XLIV / #24
John Taverner	In Nomine a4 (non-vocal sources only)	Gb-Lbl Add. MS 31390 (a5) GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl R.M. 24.d.2 GB-Lbl MS. Tenbury 354-8 D-Kl 4° Ms. Mus. 125/1-5 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389 GB-Cu MSS Dd 2.11 GB-Cu MSS Dd 9.33 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246 GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513 IRL-Dtc MS Z3.2 13 GB-Lam MS 601 GB-Och Mus. 371	f. 100v-101 I/f. 4 f. 22v I/f. 21 I/p. 68 p. 73 f. 19v f. 61 f. 54v f. 41v p. 426 f. 10v f. 6v	lute lute II-IV lute keyboard  keyboard keyboard	MB XLIV / #25
John Thorne	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216 GB-Lbl MS. Tenbury 354-8	I/f. 10 I/f. 20v		MB XLIV / #26
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d. 212-216	I/f. 3		MB XLV / #135
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Rachells weeping</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 77v-78		MB XLV / #167
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Weepe no more Rachell</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 76v-77		MB XLV / #168
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Howld fast</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	ff. 73v-74 f. 10		MB XLV / #169
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Reporte</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 72v-73		MB XLV / #170

Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Seldom sene</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 US-CL Case Western Reserve University ML431.D24	ff. 71v-72 following pg. 114		MB XLV / #171
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Surrexit non est hicc</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 69v-70		MB XLV / #172
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Rounde</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 66v-67		MB XLV / #173
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Re la re</i>	Gb-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 389	ff. 65v-66 p. 70		MB XLV / #174
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Saye so</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 64v-65		MB XLV / #175
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Farwell my good 1. for ever</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 64v-65		MB XLV / #176
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Beleve me</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 63v-64		MB XLV / #177
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Trust</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	ff. 62v-63 f. 16v		MB XLV / #178
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Follow me</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 423	ff. 60v-61 I/f. 49 I/no. 91 p. 181		MB XLV / #179
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>My deathe bedde</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Ckc Rowe 316 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	ff. 60v-61 f. 31 f. 9		MB XLV / #180
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Blamles</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 46v-47		MB XLV / #181
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 [untitled]	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	ff. 45v-46 f. 11		MB XLV / #182
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>I comme</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 28v-29		MB XLV / #183
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Crye</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 27v-28		MB XLV / #184
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a5 <i>Free from all</i>	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 26v-27		MB XLV / #185
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a[5?]	GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	f. 8v		incomplete
Christopher Tye	In Nomine [a5?] <i>The flatte</i>	GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	f. 10v		incomplete
Christopher Tye	In Nomine [a5?] <i>My farewell</i>	GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	f. 9v		incomplete
Christopher Tye	In Nomine a6	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	ff. 20v-21 ff. 13v-14		MB XLV / #195
Robert White	In Nomine a4 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216 GB-Lbl MS. Tenbury 354-8 GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246 GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597	I/f. 8 I/f. 18v f. 85v f. 53 f. 54v	keyboard II-IV lute	MB XLIV / #27
Robert White	In Nomine a4 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216 GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216 GB-Lbl Add. MS 22597	I/f. 11 I/f. 16 f. 55v		MB XLIV / #28
Robert White	In Nomine a4 #3	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216	I/f. 18		MB XLIV / #29
Robert White	In Nomine a4 #4	GB-Lbl MS. Tenbury 354-8 GB-CF MS D/DP Z6/2 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246	I/f. 16v f. 1 f. 54	II-IV lute	MB XLIV / #30

Robert White	In Nomine a5	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8 GB-Ob MS Tenbury 354-8 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29401-5 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246 GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464 GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377 GB-Lbl Add. MS 34049 GB-CF MS D/DP Z6/1	I/f. 52 I/no. 90 f. 43v f. 54v f. 56 f. 12 f. 11v f. 46v f. 60v	II-V lute	MB XLIV / #63
Robert White	In Nomine a7	GB-Lbl Add. MS 32377	f. 10v		incomplete
William Whitbrooke	In Nomine a4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216	I/f. 25		MB XLIV / #31
Clement Woodcock	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216 GB-Och MS 984-8	I/f. 64 I/no. 92		MB XLIV / #64
Clement Woodcock	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 98v-99		MB XLIV / #65
Clement Woodcock	In Nomine a5 #3	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	ff. 99v-100		MB XLIV / #66
Leonard Woodson	In Nomine a5 #1	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216 US-NH Misc. MS 179, Filmer 1/a-e	I/f. 31 I/f. 60		MB XLV / #187
Leonard Woodson	In Nomine a5 #2	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216	I/f. 54		MB XLV / #188
Leonard Woodson	In Nomine a5 #3	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216	I/f. 56		MB XLV / #189
Leonard Woodson	In Nomine a5 #4	GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. d.212-216	I/f. 58		MB XLV / #190

## APPENDIX B

### Sixteenth-Century Keyboard In Nomines and Concordances

Keyboard arrangements of polyphonic In Nomines are not included on this list; they may be found in Appendix A. There is no significance to the order in which manuscripts are listed. Likewise, the numbering of works by the same composer does not indicate chronology and I have followed the numbering conventions of the *Musica Britannica* volumes. The title column in this table transmits how the piece is titled in the extant source with which it aligns horizontally. The “*Musica Britannica*” column gives references to modern editions of all pieces. All manuscripts listed here can be found in the Manuscript List in the frontmatter to this dissertation.

Composer	Title		MSS	Folio	Musica Britannica
Anonymous (possibly Blitheman)	In Nomine		GB-Och Mus. 1142a	f. 18v	LXVI/#12
Richard Alwood	In Nomine		GB-Lbl Add. MS 30485	f. 48v	LXVI/#10
Richard Alwood	In Nomine		GB-Lbl Add. MS 30485	f. 55v	LXVI/#11
John Blitheman	Gloria tibi Trinitas [untitled]	#1	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513 GB-Och Mus. 1142a	f. 88v f. 20	I/#91
John Blitheman	Gloria tibi Trinitas In Nomine In Nomine	#2	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513 GB-Lbl Add. MS 30485 GB-Lbl Add. MS 31403	f. 90 f. 58v f. 8v	I/#92
John Blitheman	Gloria tibi Trinitas In Nomine In Nomine	#3	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513 GB-Cfm MS 32 G.29 US-NYp Mus. Res. Drexel 5612	f. 91v p. 91 p. 168	I/#93
John Blitheman	[untitled]	#4	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513	f. 93	I/#94
John Blitheman	[untitled]	#5	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513	f. 94	I/#95
John Blitheman	[untitled]	#6	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513	f. 96	I/#96
John Bull	In Nomine In Nomine In Nomine In Nomine	#1	F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1122 GB-Och Mus. 1113	p. 134 p. 166 p. 50 p. 173	XIV/#20
John Bull	“The second way” [untitled] In Nomine	#2	F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1122 GB-Och Mus. 1113	p. 139 p. 53 pg. 176	XIV/#21
John Bull	[untitled] In Nomine [untitled] In Nomine	#3	F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1122 GB-Och Mus. 1113	p. 143 p. 175 p. 55 p. 179	XIV/#22
John Bull	In Nomine In Nomine In Nomine	#4	F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1122 GB-Och Mus. 1113	p. 146 p. 60 p. 165	XIV/#23

John Bull	In Nomine [untitled] In Nomine	#5	F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1122 GB-Och Mus. 1113	p. 151 p. 62 p. 167	XIV / #24
John Bull	In Nomine [untitled] In Nomine	#6	F-Pn Rés. 1185 F-Pn Rés. 1122 GB-Och Mus. 1113	p. 156 p. 66 p. 171	XIV / #25
John Bull	In Nomine	#7	F-Pn Rés. 1122	p. 43	XIV / #26
John Bull	In Nomine	#8	F-Pn Rés. 1122	p. 45	XIV / #27
John Bull	In Nomine In Nomine In Nomine	#9	F-Pn Rés. 1185 GB-Cfm MS 32 G.29 GB-Och Mus. 1113	p. 159 p. 219 p. 181	XIV / #28
John Bull	[untitled]	#10	F-Pn Rés. 1122	p. 48	XIV / #29
John Bull	[untitled] [untitled]	#11	GB-Cfm MS 32 G.29 F-Pn Rés. 1122	p. 81 p. 68	XIV / #30
John Bull	In Nomine [untitled]	#12	GB-Cfm MS 32 G.29 F-Pn Rés. 1122	p. 69 p. 41	XIV / #31
William Byrd	Two pts. gloria Tibi trinitas		F-Pn Rés. 1122	p. 36	XXVIII / #50
attr. Carleton (probably someone else)	[untitled]	#1	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513	f. 6v	I / #3
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine	#1	GB-Och Mus. 371	f. 22v	LXVI / #8
Nicholas Strogers	In Nomine	#2	GB-Och Mus. 371	f. 23v	LXVI / #9
possibly Nicholas Strogers	[untitled] (incomplete)		GB-Och Mus. 371	f. 25	LXVI / Appendix #6
Thomas Tallis	“ij parts on a rownd tyme”		GB-Och Mus. 371	f. 14	LXVI / #7

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