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The manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454: Study and edition in the context of the Iberian and continental manuscript traditions. (Volumes I and II)

Ros-Fábregas, Emilio, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1992

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A

THE MANUSCRIPT BARCELONA, BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA, M. 454: STUDY AND EDITION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IBERIAN AND CONTINENTAL MANUSCRIPT TRADITIONS

by

EMILIO ROS-FÁBREGAS

VOLUME I: STUDY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

1992

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

THE MANUSCRIPT BARCELONA, BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA, M.454: STUDY AND EDITION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IBERIAN AND CONTINENTAL MANUSCRIPT TRADITIONS

ADVISOR: PROFESSOR ALLAN W. ATLAS

This thesis presents a study and edition of one of the most important Iberian manuscripts of polyphony from the early sixteenth century with repertory of sacred and secular vocal music by the most eminent Spanish and Franco-Flemish composers of the time.

The examination of the compilation process—in Chapters I and II—offers radically new hypotheses about the composite character and the date and place of origin of Barcelona M.454; Chapter III is a detailed inventory of the manuscript. Chapters IV and V attempt to establish the place of Barcelona M.454 within the context of concordant Iberian manuscripts, first through a critical review of the diverse and often contradictory hypotheses about their origins (Chapter IV), and then through a comparison of the readings that they transmit for the pieces that they share with Barcelona M.454 (Chapter V). Among the Iberian manuscripts, the following receive particular attention: Barcelona, Orfeó Català 5; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 681; Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS 1335, "Cancionero Musical de Palacio;" Segovia, Archivo de la Catedral, s.s.; Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 5-5-20; and Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, MSS 2 and 3. Chapter VI analyzes stemmatic relationships between Barcelona M.454 and a number of Continental manuscripts; this chapter also reassesses the often-questioned reliability of Barcelona M.454.

The present study suggests that Barcelona M.454, which stands with Segovia as the richest Iberian sources of Franco-Flemish repertoire from the early

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sixteenth century, reflects the diverse musical influences that flowed through Barcelona. Circumstantial evidence connects the manuscript with the noble Cardona family of that city, a family that occupied the highest ecclesiastical and military positions in the Crown of Aragón, and may have served as important music patrons in Barcelona at that time.

Volume II presents a modern edition of about hundred works (Masses, motets, Magnificats, hymns, psalms, a passion, and a group of Spanish secular works) most of them unique to this manuscript. The composers represented are: Aldomar, Anchieta, Baena, Benito? (possibly Brumel), Cubells, Encina, Févin, Flecha, Gabriel, Mondéjar, Mouton, Martini, Morales, Pastrana, Peñalosa, Quexada, Ribaflecha, Torre, Weerbecke, and Ylario.

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TO MY PARENTS

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falacies sunt rerum species
Seneca

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My interest in Renaissance manuscripts originated in the seminars of Prof. Allan W. Atlas at the Graduate School of the City University of New York. I am very grateful to him for encouraging the present study, as well as for his clear guidance, generosity, and patience as my advisor; his help and support have been invaluable, and it is with deep gratitude that I look back at his careful examination of many drafts. I owe him more than I can ever repay.

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Gonzálvez, Cathedral Archivist. In Madrid: the Director of the Biblioteca del Palacio Real; Mr. José Manuel Calderón, at the Archivo y Biblioteca del Palacio de Liria; and Mr. Jesús Gaite Pastor, Subdirector of the Archivo Histórico Nacional. In Segovia: Father Hilario Sanz, Cathedral Archivist. In Tarazona: Father Julián Ruiz.

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THE MUSIC 1

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INTRODUCTION

The manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya M.454 (formerly Biblioteca Central),[1] stands as the most important manuscript of sacred and secular polyphony compiled within the Catalan territory of the Crown of Aragón in the early sixteenth century.[2] Known as the "Cançoner de Barcelona,"[3] the manuscript was acquired by the Biblioteca de Catalunya in 1892, as part of the music library and instrument collection of Joan Carreras y Dagas (1828-1900), organist, composer, and book collector.[4] Since an inventory of Carreras's library and instrument collection published in 1870 does not list the Barcelona manuscript among the items in the section headed "Colección de códices ó

---

[1]The original name of the library, Biblioteca de Catalunya, has been restored recently (from 1939 to 1974 it was called the Biblioteca Central). The siglum of the manuscript is M.454, not MS.454, as it is erroneously found in the literature. The letter M. stands for the music section ("Música") of the library and is not the abbreviation for the word manuscript; there is another item in the library with the siglum MS.454. Throughout this study I will refer to the entire manuscript as Barcelona M.454, though I will drop the "M." when referring to the various sections of this composite manuscript: 454/A, 454/B, 454/C, and 454/D (see Chapter I).

[2]At that time, the Crown of Aragón comprised, in the Iberian peninsula, the Kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia, the Principality of Catalonia, and the Balearics, as well as, outside the peninsula, various territories in present-day Italy and France (see map). The second volume of J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976-1978), is the best reference source in English for the historical background of this period; see also, Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragón: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). The most recent and comprehensive history of Catalonia of that period is that by Ricardo García Cárcel, *Historia de Cataluña Siglos XVI-XVII*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Ariel, 1985), which contains a most informative introductory review of Catalan historiography.

[3]Although the manuscript contains a substantial group of secular works, most of its contents consists of sacred polyphony, and therefore the term "Cançoner" is somewhat of a misnomer.

[4]Carreras held the position of *maestro de capilla* at the Cathedral of Girona (1851-60), and was later a member of the Orchestra of the Liceo in Barcelona. In 1872 he went back to Girona and founded an academy of music, establishing his residence in La Bisbal. His opera *Rosamunda in Ravenna* was first performed in Girona in 1848; his *Il Rinnegato* and the oratory *Los Pastorcillos* were performed in Madrid.

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vitelas," he probably acquired it after this date.[5] In any event, the Biblioteca de Catalunya has no records about the manuscript's provenance or ownership prior to Carreras; the manuscript, along with Carreras's entire collection, was first catalogued by Felip Pedrell.[6]

The rich musicological literature about Iberian music and musicians of the time—on which the present study stands gratefully if not always uncritically—has enabled me to concentrate my efforts on those aspects of Barcelona M.454 that either have not been studied or, if they have been, have not been examined adequately. Although several scholars have inventoried and described Barcelona M.454 with different degrees of detail and accuracy, there is no comprehensive study of the manuscript. There have been three inventories: the first, by Pedrell, consisted of a "rough" list of composers and incipits;[7] the second, by Higini Anglés, was more complete, but did not include concordances; and though useful for many years, is now out of date;[8] the third, in Tess Knighton's dissertation, while far superior to those by Pedrell and Anglés, is still somewhat incomplete.[9] In addition, abbreviated inventories and descriptions appear in the studies by Carolyn Lee and Jane Hardie, as well as in the *Census-Catalogue*.[10] Knighton's

---

[5]*Catálogo de la Biblioteca Musical y Museo Instrumental propiedad de D. Juan Carreras y Dagas, Director de orquesta y profesor de música de la escuela de Ciegos y Sordo-mudos de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Miró y Marsá, 1870).

[6]Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Palau de la Diputació, 1908-09). In 1917 Pedrell donated his own important music collection to the Biblioteca de Catalunya in order to create the music section; at the same time Higini Anglés was named its first curator.

[7]Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 155-59. He included a partial transcription of some Spanish texts.

[8]Anglés, *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, I-III. Monumentos de la Música Española, I, V, and X (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1941, 1947, 1951), I, 112-15.

[9] Knighton, "Music and Musicians at the Court of Fernando of Aragón, 1474-1516," 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge (1983), II, 175-88. My own inventory of the manuscript differs from all of the previous ones; see Chapter III.

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impressive research in Iberian archives yielded a wealth of information about the personnel of the royal chapels of Isabel and Fernando; her definitive study includes a comprehensive examination of sacred polyphony and its possible association with the liturgical services of the royal chapels, and thus provides an ideal background for the sacred repertoire in Barcelona M.454. Lee presented a comprehensive study of genres and sources of Spanish secular polyphony, compiled an annotated catalogue of first lines of songs from ca. 1460 to 1535, and transcribed the Spanish secular works in Barcelona M.454 and the Segovia manuscript (Segovia, Archivo de la Catedral, s.s.).[11] The most extensive codicological description of Barcelona M.454 has been that by Hardie, which includes information about the gathering structure and free-hand drawings of two watermarks. Yet her study, as part of a description of all sources for Peñalosa's motets, could not devote to "this fascinating manuscript" the attention that it deserves.[12]

My own study of Barcelona M.454 has aimed at being exhaustive, and it deals with questions of codicology, provenance, repertory, and relationships with other manuscripts of the period, especially those of Iberian origin. During the past six years, I have been able to consult the original manuscript frequently, every year for periods of several weeks at a time. (In addition, the microfilm of the manuscript and especially its

---

[10]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song c. 1460 to 1535," 2 vols. Ph. D. diss., University of London (1980), 79-92; Jane Hardie, "The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa and their Manuscript Sources," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan (1983), 85-86; *Census - Catalogue of Manuscripts Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, compiled by the University of Illinois Musicological Archives (Stuttgart-Neuhausen: Hänssler-Verlag, American Institute of Musicology, 1979-1988), I, 17-18, and IV, 229.

[11]An important complementary study, completed without knowledge of Lee's dissertation, is that by Jineen Krogstad, "*Cancionero* Poetry and Its Musical Sources," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois (1988). Krogstad was responsible for the music section in the comprehensive reference work by Brian Dutton, *Catálogo-Indice de la Poesía Cancioneril del Siglo XV* (Madison: Hispanic Seminar of Medieval Studies, 1982), which includes the first lines of secular works in Barcelona 454, as well as their concordances.

[12]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 75-84, and 87-99.

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reproduction on paper have allowed me to scrutinize the complicated paleography of Barcelona M.454.) This close contact with the manuscript has proved to be crucial, since I believe that previous scholars have been deceived by its present structure. My examination of the compilation process—in Chapters I and II—offers radically new hypotheses about the composite character, date, and place of origin of Barcelona M.454. Chapter III is a detailed inventory of the manuscript. Chapters IV and V attempt to establish the place of Barcelona M.454 within the context of concordant Iberian manuscripts, first through a critical review of the diverse and often contradictory hypotheses about their origins (Chapter IV), and then through a comparison of the readings that they transmit for the pieces that they share with Barcelona M.454 (Chapter V). The comparison of readings shows, among other things, that the ideas about the Iberian manuscript tradition advanced by Hardie cannot be sustained. Chapter VI analyzes filiatory relationships between Barcelona M.454 and a number of Continental manuscripts to determine the possible sources of the international repertoire in Barcelona M.454. That chapter also reassesses the often-questioned reliability of the manuscript, especially in connection with its conflicting attributions and, if to a lesser extent, its transmission of Busnoys's *L'homme armé* Mass and a number of other works. In order to provide a sense of autonomy to the various chapters or even pairs of chapters, I have freely repeated some fine points of paleographical detail. Faced with the choice of repetition or frequent cross-referencing, I have usually erred on the side of loquaciousness.

Since, as we shall see, and contrary to previous hypotheses, most of the manuscript was copied at Barcelona, and since the manuscript attained its final composite structure there, we should take note of the recent dissertations by Kenneth Kreitner and Josep Mª Gregori, which provide valuable insights into the historical and musical

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background of the city.[13] I believe, however, that it will be necessary to reexamine the picture of decline that Gregori draws in his conclusions concerning the musical life of Barcelona in the early sixteenth century.

> The musical decline began with the socio-economic disaster of Catalonia during the second half of the fifteenth century; and when the musical chapels of Castile and Aragón were unified after the death of Isabel of Castile (1504), the ambience of the court was erased for good, and with it the existence of a competitive artistic patronage.
>
> The ecclesiatical seats of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lleida, and Girona offered the only alternative to the dissolution of the centers of musical creativity associated with civil function. The Catalan nobility of the Rocabertí, Pallars, Cardona, Pinós, et al. were not able to undertake a subsidiary activity of patronage similar to that of the Valencian court of the Dukes of Calabria.
>
> . . .the old musical splendor. . .gave way to a period of musical slumber, and a high musical level was not attained again until the second third of the sixteenth century.[14]

Since Barcelona M.454 was compiled precisely during the period—first quarter of the sixteenth century—labeled by Gregori as one of musical slumber, and since his conclusion echoes received opinion, it is appropriate to cite the historian Jaume Vicens

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[13]Kreitner, "Music and Civic Ceremony in Late-Fifteenth Century Barcelona," Ph.D. diss., Duke University (1990); Josep Mª Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament a la Catedral de Barcelona, 1450-1580," 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (1986).

[14]Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament ," II, 695-96: "El declinament musical però, s'havía iniciat amb la desfeta socio-econòmica que visqué Catalunya durant la segona meitat del segle XV, i quan amb la mort d'Isabel de Castella (1504) van ser unificades les capelles musicals de Castella i de la Cort Catalano-aragonesa, es va esborrar definitivament l'ambient de la Cort i amb ell, l'existència d'un mecenatge artístic i competitiu. Les mitres de Barcelona, Tarragona, Girona, Lleida oferíen la única alternativa a la desaparició dels nuclis de creació musical vinculats a la funció civil. Per altra banda la noblesa catalana—els Rocabertí, Pallars, Cardona, Pinós, etc.—no van poder assumir una actitud subsidiaria de mecenatge com ho va poder realitzar la cort valenciana dels Ducs de Calabria... l'antic esplendor musical... va cedir el pas a un període discret, que no va recobrar un alt nivell musical fins a partir del segon terç del segle XVI."

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Vives, who many years ago denounced the victimist idea of decline as a product of Romantic Catalan historiography:

> It has been said over and over that Ferdinand the Catholic's policy brought about the economic ruin of Catalonia. This statement, made by the romantic school of Catalan historians, has gone over into Castilian and foreign works. But the truth is exactly the opposite: during Ferdinand and Isabella's reign there was economic recovery in Catalonia. . .
>
> The last stage, from 1503 to 1516, was one of clear prosperity: the cities' population grew, Barcelona recovered, sea trade with the Atlantic countries was renewed, Catalonian ships traded with Flanders and England, the insurance companies did excellent business, and finally, the Crown of Aragón's great traditional market in North Africa was reopened.
>
> To sum up. . . it is proved that during the reign of the Catholic King, either because of the monarch's favorable attitude or because of the country's vital recovery, Catalonia progressively regained the stature she had lost in the middle of the 15th century.[15]

Contrary to Gregori's assertion, the unification of the chapels of Isabel and Fernando after Isabel's death probably had little or no impact on musical patronage in Barcelona, since royal absenteeism from the city was the norm throughout Fernando's reign.[16] As James Amelang has pointed out, the royal reforms of 1490-1510 conferred noble privileges—with few restrictions—to certain families named as *ciutadans honrats*, and "left the citizens in unambiguous if not exclusive control over the governance of

---

[15]Vicens, *An Economic History of Spain*, transl. by Frances M. López Morillas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 299-301.

[16]According to Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, II, 515: "In Ferdinand's reign of thirty seven years (eleven of which passed after Isabel died in 1504) he spent less than three years in all in Aragón proper, just over three years in Catalonia, and some six months in the kingdom of Valencia. He spent if anything, less time in his own Crown after than before Isabel's death." See also Vicens, *Ferran II i la ciutat de Barcelona*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Tipografía Emporium, 1936).

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Barcelona," a rather unusual status for a city in the Iberian peninsula, and for which precedents may be found only among city-states in northern Italy and Germany.[17]

The picture of a Barcelona in decline led Gregori to point to the Dukes of Calabria at Valencia as the only alternative for musical patronage outside church walls or the royal courts; indeed, both Lee and Knighton suggested that Barcelona M.454 itself could have been compiled at Valencia. I believe that the important role of Valencia in the patronage of music, justified to a certain extent by the prosperity of the city, has been overemphasized, and it has been so to the detriment of other possible foci of musical patronage in the Iberian peninsula.[18]

While it is obvious that we can draw only limited conclusions about the musical life of a city based on the compilation of a single manuscript, the present study suggests that Barcelona M.454—which stands together with Segovia as the richest Iberian sources of Franco-Flemish repertoire from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries—reflects the diverse musical influences that flowed through Barcelona.[19] There is circumstantial evidence that connects the manuscript with a member of the noble Cardona family of that city, a family that, at the time, occupied the highest ecclesiatical and military positions in

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[17]Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490-1714* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 31, 222. According to Amelang, the edict of 1510 contained a list of approximately 100 people "specifically named citizens, along with provisions for the future admission of new members to the group."

[18]The book *El Cortesano* (Valencia, 1561) by the vihuelist Luis Milán (ca. 1500-ca. 1561), a Spanish replica of Castiglione's homonymous work, describes the ambience at the court of the Duke of Calabria. This book has certainly been influential in modern scholarship, and has led to an exaggerated emphasis on music patronage at Valencia, this to the extent that a publication of secular songs (Scotto 1556[30], "Cancionero de Uppsala") published as far from Valencia—a major publication city—as Venice is also referred to as the "Cancionero del Duque de Calabria," even though the duke had died six years prior to the publication.

[19]For references to many music books found in documents from several Barcelona Archives, see José Mª. Madurell, "Documentos de Archivo. Manuscritos e impresos musicales (Siglos XIV-XVIII)," *Anuario Musical* 23 (1968), 199-221.

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the Crown of Aragón, and that may well have played a key role in the musical patronage at Barcelona in the early sixteenth century.

Finally, that Barcelona was a thriving city is attested by the favorable impressions that it made on a number of sensitive and articulate visitors, among whom was the Florentine historian and statesman Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), who visited Barcelona in 1512 and found

> a lovely city, large and well populated. While there do not seem to be any particularly notable or excellent private buildings, houses throughout the entire city are generally quite beautiful. For, as its inhabitants say, it is a city for everyone. This, in my judgement, is its most striking feature, one in which it overshadows even Florence.[20]

Thus Barcelona seems to have been a propitious "city for everyone." And just as this is clearly reflected in the rich, international repertory of Barcelona M.454, so the manuscript stands as a unique witness to the thriving and diverse musical-cultural life of Renaissance Barcelona.

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[20]Guicciardini, *Diario del Viaggio in Spagna*, ed. P. Guicciardini (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1932), 51. Cited and translated in Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona*, 3.

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Map of the Iberian peninsula with cities and towns mentioned in the present study.

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CHAPTER I

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.454, contains 127 sacred and secular vocal works by many of the most eminent Iberian and Franco-Flemish composers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[1] Its 190 paper folios, distributed in twenty-three gatherings, are bound in the original covers, which measure 30.7 cm. x 22.4 cm. The volume was copied by some thirty scribes, possibly over a period as long as three decades.

Barcelona M.454 did not originate as a single, homogeneous manuscript. Rather, it is a composite manuscript that consists of two distinct and independent (yet somewhat related) collections of music, to which still a third group of pieces was added in such a fashion as to surround and at times break up the earlier layers. In chronological order, the three distinct sections of the manuscript will be referred to as 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C. To these three major sections of the manuscript, another group of secular pieces was eventually added. The final group of pieces will be called "later additions," or 454/D. The present order of the manuscript—using only the set of sixteenth-century folio numbers that runs through Barcelona M.454—is represented in Figure 1, in which // indicates a clear separation between layers, and ⌐¬ shows sections that for reasons of repertory and scribal concordance can be seen as intermingled:

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[1] I am numbering the 127 works in Barcelona M.454 from 0 to 126. This count is different from that of previous inventories; see Chapter III. The recto of a single folio where the first piece (No. 0) appears was originally glued to the inside front cover, and thus this piece was not originally intended as the opening work of Barcelona M.454. This folio was detached from the cover in 1958 when the manuscript was restored; most of the folios are now protected with gauze. Since the same piece is found elsewhere in the manuscript, this folio was most likely used as an extra piece of paper on which to write the *tabla* on the verso side.

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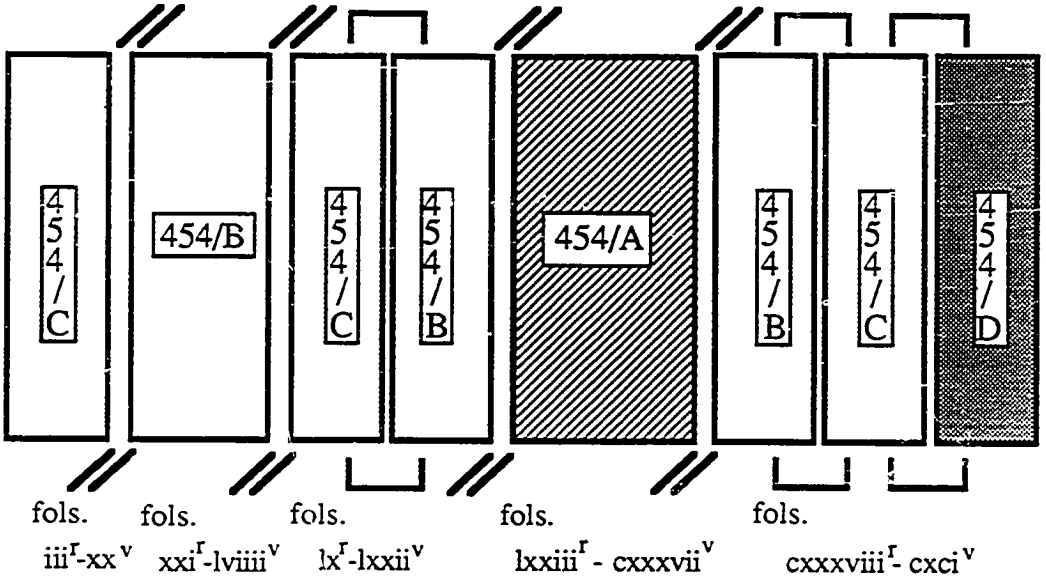
Fig. 1. Sections of Barcelona M.454



The diagrams on the next six pages show the gathering structure of the entire manuscript, indicating folio,[2] watermark, scribe, the different sections A, B, C, D, the titles of pieces, and the composers.[3] I shall then describe the component sections of Barcelona M.454 in the order in which they were compiled.[4]

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[2]In addition to three sixteenth-century foliations, Barcelona M.454 carries two modern foliations in pencil which I have not included in Fig. 2. One, in the lower right corner, is a continuous foliation 1-190; the other, on the left margin, three quarters of the page down, is very irregular. The modern foliations are shown in Appendix 1.

[3]Scribes are designated with the letter of the section in which they copied music (A1-18; B1-6; C; D1-2). In addition, the letter "S" is used in connection with six scribes (S1-6) who each copied only one piece in the manuscript, but outside the boundaries of each section; minor scribes K1-2 freely inserted more than one piece. The symbols used for watermarks are: WM1 and WM2 (454/A), WM3 (454/B and 454/C), and WM4 for the one in the last folio; see description below.

[4]For the complete inventory of Barcelona M.454, see Chapter III.

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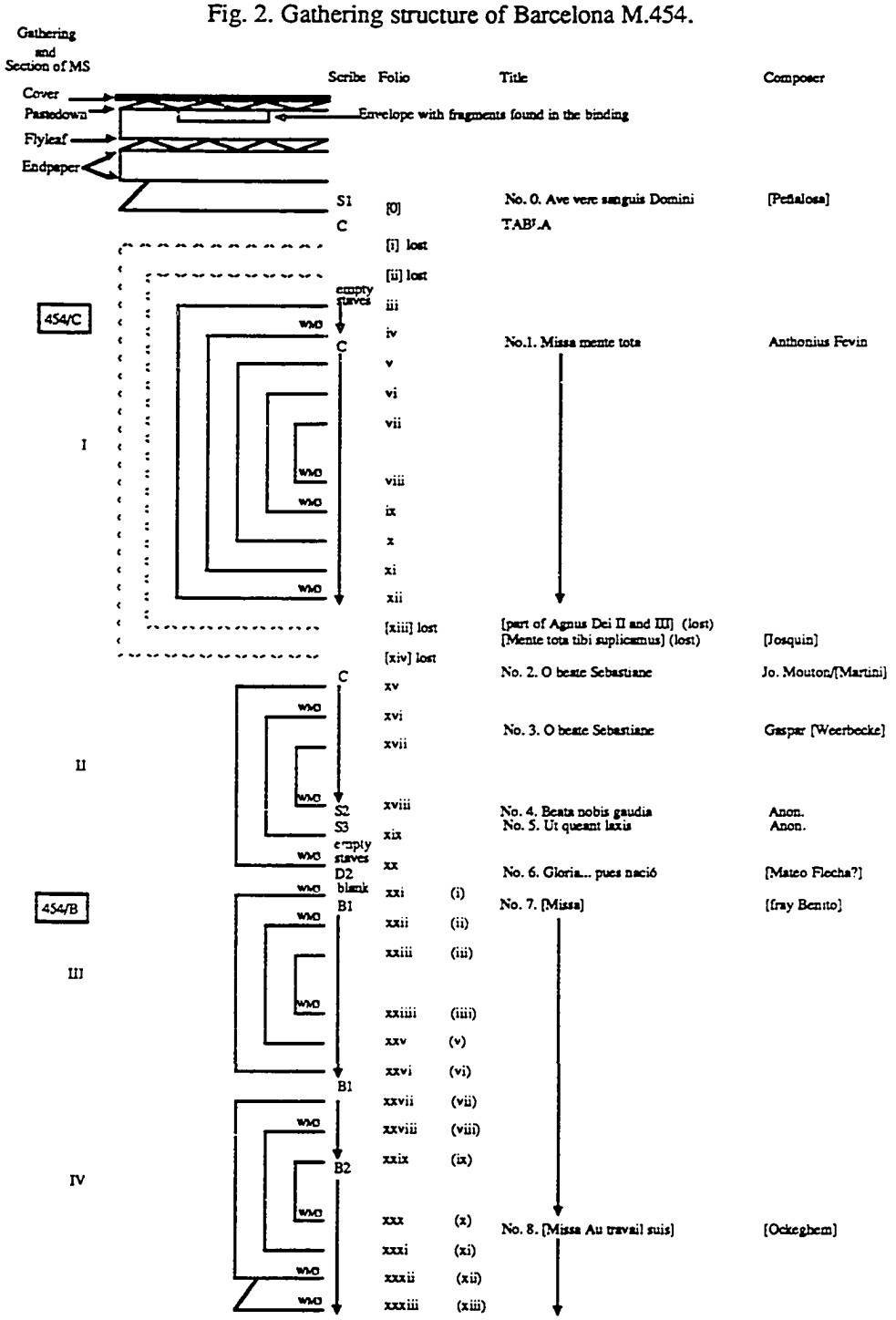
Fig. 2. Gathering structure of Barcelona M.454.



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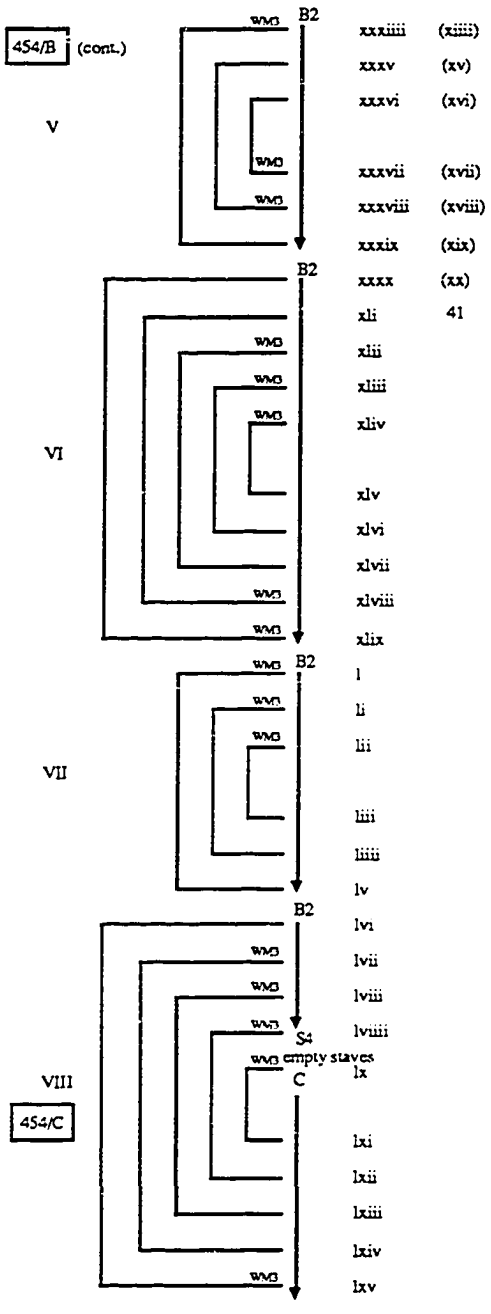

No. 9. Missa de nostra dona [Anchieta]

No. 10. [Missa L'homme armé] [Busnoys]

No. 11. Et in terra (incomplete S only) Anon.

No. 12. [Salve Regina] Johannes Anxeta

No. 13. O pulcherrima mulierum Jo. Mouton/[Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin/Josquin]

No. 14. Sancta mater Iusquin/[Peñalosa]

No. 15. Ave vere sanguis Domini Peñalosa

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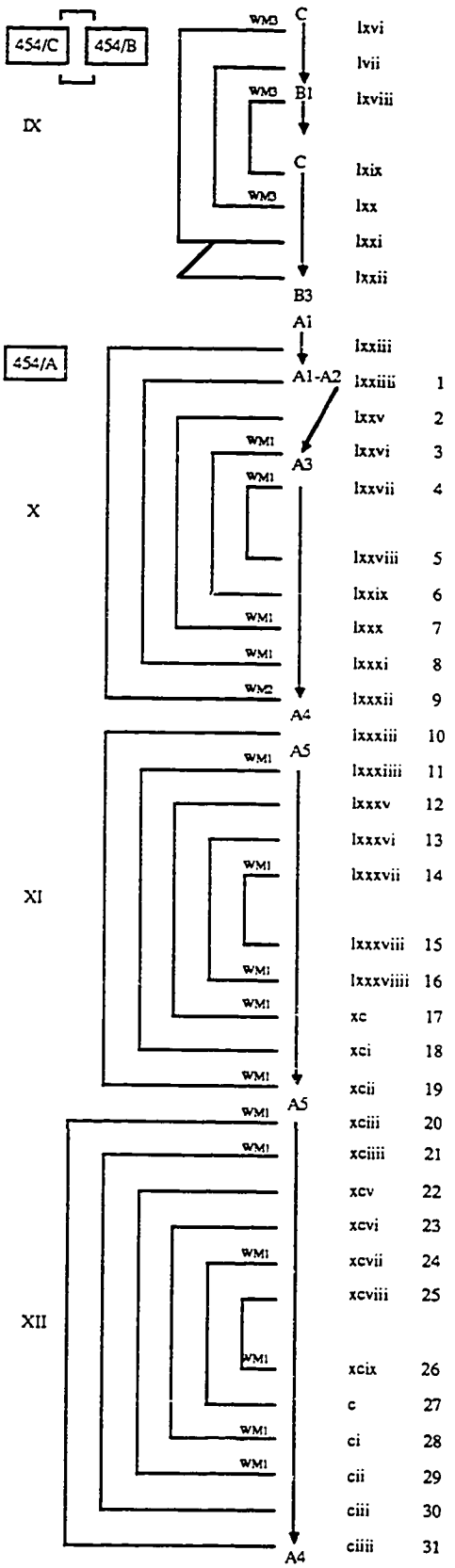

No. 16. Precor te domine — Penyal[ver]a

No. 17. Ne recorderis — [Francisco de la Torre]
No. 18. Aleluya dies sactificatus — Anon.
No. 19. Benedicamus domino — Anon.

No. 20. Benedicamus [domino] — Petrus de Monte/Cubells
No. 21. [Magnificat] de primo tono — Cubells

No. 22. Dixit dominus — Anon.

No. 23. Donec ponam — Anon.
No. 24. Ne recorderis — [Francisco de la Torre]
Nos. 25-26 Aleluya [and] Benedicamus — Anon.
No. 27. [Missa] — [Aulenus/Agricola]

No. 28. Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum — A° de Mondéjar/[Díaz]

No. 29. Magnificat [primi toni] — Fray benito/de riaça [or] de [F]rança

No. 30. [Magnificat] primi toni — Anc...

No. 31. [Magnificat secundi toni] — Fr. Benito/[Brumel]

No. 32. [Magnificat] sexti toni — Brumel

No. 33. [Magnificat octavi toni] — Fr. Benios [=Benito]

No. 34. O admirabile comercium — Ylario

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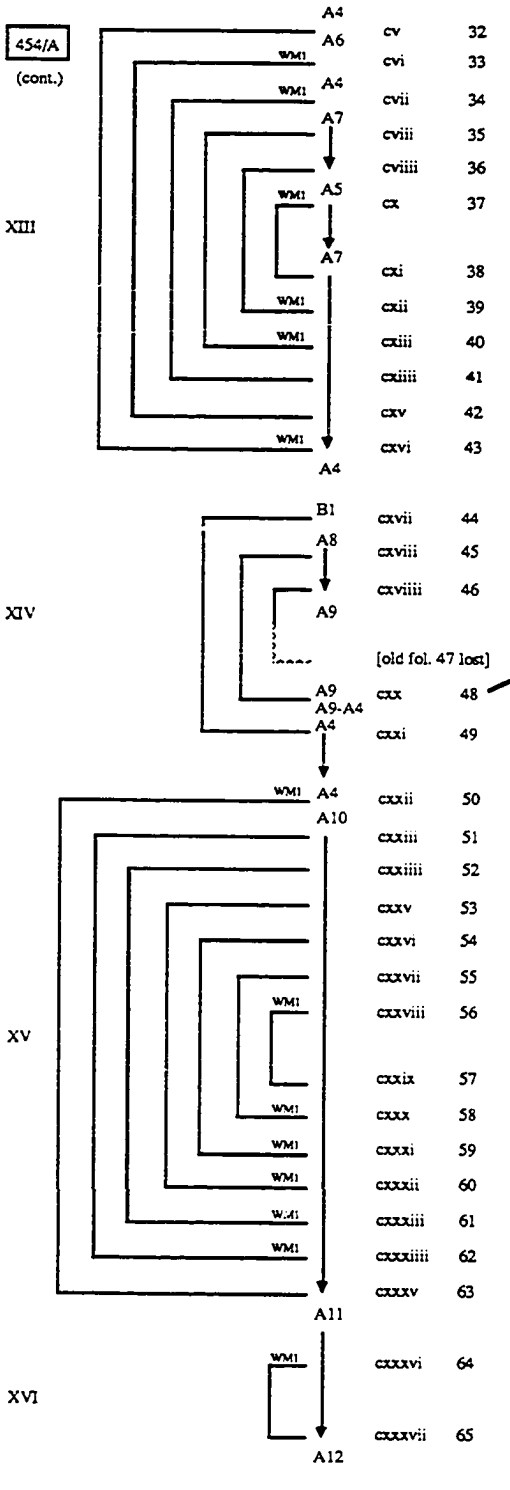

No. 35. In illo tempore — Anon.

No. 36. Sy dedero — [Agricola/Isaac/Obrecht/Verbonet]

No. 37. Salve regina — Anon.

No. 38. [Magnificat] octavi toni — Anon.

No. 39. [Textless] — Anon.

No. 40. Ave santissima Maria — Anon.

No. 41. Veni creator spiritus — Anon.

No. 42. Veni creator spiritus — Anon.

No. 43. Virgen Reyna gloriosa — Lope de Vaena [=Baena]

No. 44. Dy pastorcico pues vienes — Aldomar

No. 45. Pues bivo en perder la vida — [Peñalosa]

No. 46. Aquel pastorçico madre (A9) — Grauiel [=Gabriel]

No. 47. [Magnificat octavi toni] (A4) — A° de Mondéjar

No. 48. [Textless] — A° de Mondéjar

No. 49. Ave Maria tu individur trinitatis — Anon.

No. 50. Ave Maria gratia plena — [Josquin]

No. 51. Ave Maria gratia plena — [Compère]

No. 52. Intemerata [and] O Maria nullam — [Josquin]

No. 53. Anima mea liquefacta est — [Weerbecke]

No. 54. Sile fragor — [Compère]

No. 55. Propter gravamen — [Compère]

No. 56. O bone Jesu — Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]

No. 57. Mater patris et filia — [Brumel]

No. 58. [Missa] (Superius of the Kyrie) (=No. 7) — Fray Benito

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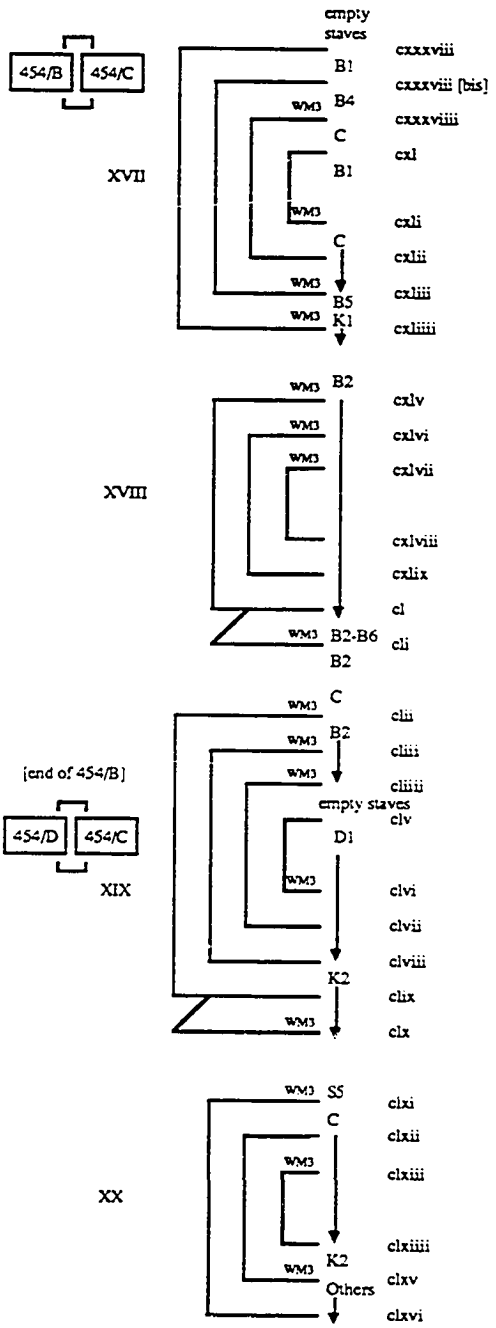

No. 59. Mater patris nacti nacta — Anon.

No. 60. Tribularer si nescirem — Peñalosa

No. 61. In passione positus — Penyalosa

No. 62. Ave santissima Maria — Anon.

No. 63. Abit Jhesus trans mare galiee — Anon.

No. 64. Amor pues tú nos das plazer — Lope de Vaena [=Baena]
No. 65. Los braços trayo — Peñalosa
No. 66. [Falsobordone] primus tonus — Anon.
No. 67. [Falsobordone primus tonus] — Anon.

No. 68. [Falsobordone] ii Secundus tonus — Anon.
No. 69. [Falsobordone] Tertius tonus 3 — Anon.
Nos. 70-71. [Falsobordones] 4 [and] V^us — Anon.
No. 72. [Falsobordone] Sextus tonus vi — Anon.
No. 73. [Falsobordone] Septimus tonus vii — Anon.

No. 74. [Falsobordone] Hoctavus tonus viii — Anon.

No. 75. Pange lingua — [Wreede]

No. 76. Ut queant laxis — Anon.

No. 77. Exultet celum laudibus — Anon.
No. 78. Si [la noche es ternerosa] (S only) — Anon.
No. 79. Sacris solemnis — Anon.

No. 80. Sacris solemnis — Anon.
No. 81. [Magnificat sexti toni] — Quexada

No. 82. Orsus orsus bus dromes (L'alouette) [Janequin]

No. 83. Dadnos señora aguinaldo — Anon.
No. 84. [A la caça] — [Gabriel/Lucas]
No. 85. [Magnificat octavi toni] — Anon.

No. 86. Verbum patris hodie — Anon.

No. 87. Dixit [dominus] 8^us tonus — Anon.
No. 88. Clamabat autem mulier — Scobar [=Escobar]
No. 89. Memorare piissima — Peñalosa/[Escobar]

No. 90. [St. John Passion] — Anon.

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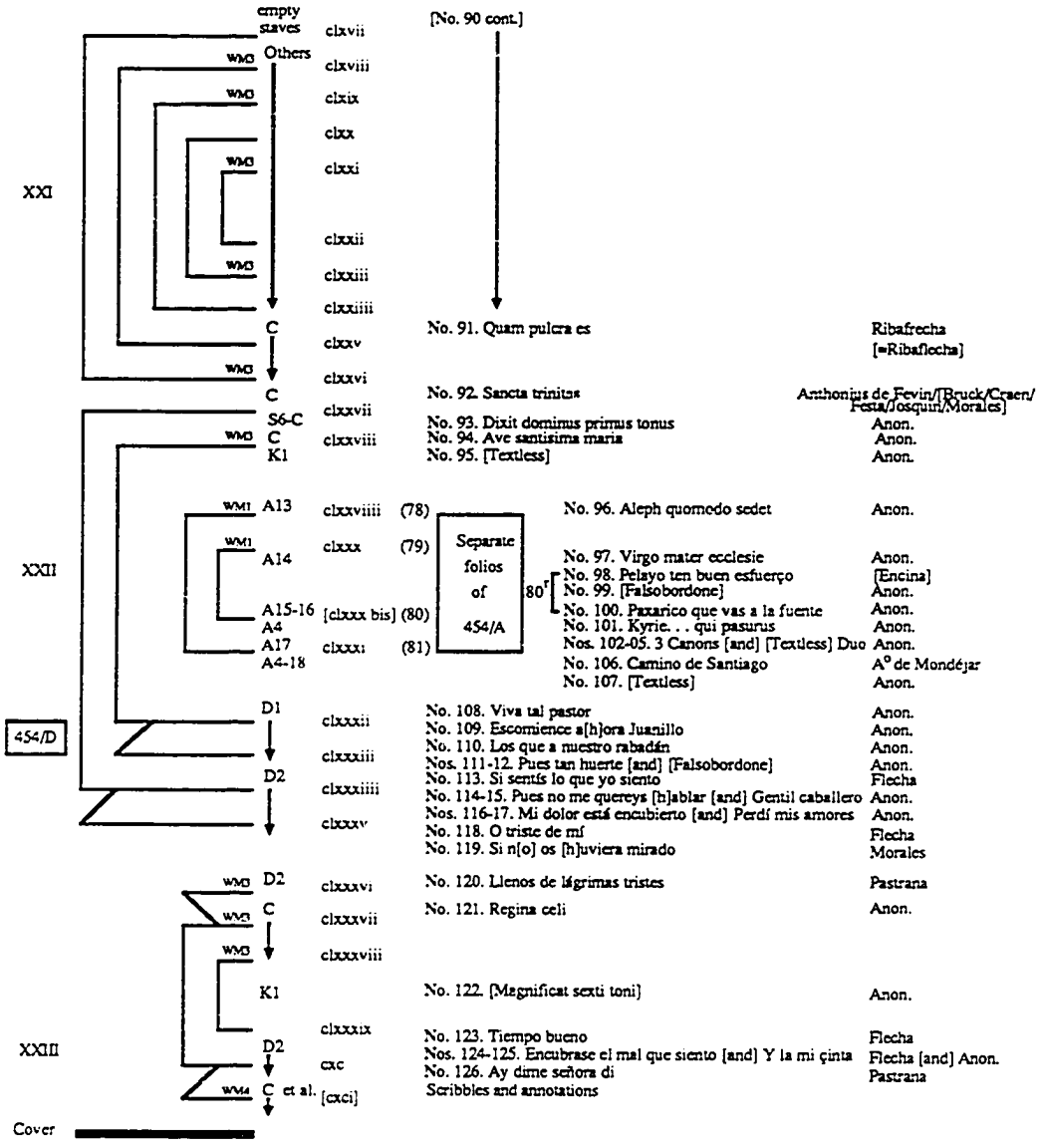

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BARCELONA 454/A

FOLIATION 454/A, now comprising gatherings X-XVI and part of gathering XXII of Barcelona M.454, was once a distinct and independent collection, the earliest of the four (see Chapter II). This independence is evident from an original foliation (1-65) that begins on fol. lxxiiii^{r}, in an ink that does not match any other in the manuscript. Though folio 47 of 454/A is missing, the Roman foliation suffers no interruption, indicating that the leaf was missing when the later foliation was added.

Two nested bifolios now found towards the end of Barcelona M.454 in gathering XXII, bearing the folio numbers clxxviiii, clxxx, [clxxxbis], and clxxxi, also carry the foliation 78, 79, 80, 81, in the same hand that copied the foliation 1-65 in 454/A. Most likely, these pages originally belonged to 454/A; they will be referred to as the "separate folios" of 454/A.

GATHERING STRUCTURE[5] Barcelona 454/A consists of seven gatherings (X-XVI) and the separate folios in gathering XXII. The size of each gathering varies: quinternion in the first and second gatherings, sexternion in the third and fourth, ternion in the fifth, septernion in the sixth, and a bifolio in the last gathering. The distribution of scribes in 454/A suggests that this section is a composite manuscript made out of independent gatherings that were bound together and foliated.[6]

The pages of 454/A measure 29.6 cm x 19.5 cm; exceptions are the two slightly smaller guard pages of the first gathering, which measure 28.8 cm x 20 cm. The

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[5]The binding is tight in some sections of Barcelona M.454, and it is sometimes difficult to determine the gathering structure precisely. A different description of the gathering structure of Barcelona M.454 appears in Hardie, "The Motets," I, 87-99. She, however, does not take into account that fol. 47 of 454/A is missing, and that the last folio of this section is 65 not 63.

[6]It is interesting to note in this respect that Scribe A4, probably a Spaniard, copied three pieces by Spanish composers, each time on the last verso and the first recto of two consecutive gatherings with non-Spanish music; see Fig. 2 above.

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manuscript is in folio format, with full sheets that originally measured approximately 30 cm x 40 cm folded in half.[7] Most pages contain ten or eleven staves, though fol. cxvi^{r} (43^{r}) has twelve and fols. cxxxvi^{v}-cxxxvii^{v} (64^{v}-65^{v}) have nine; the two gatherings that contain ten staves (X and XV) surround gatherings XI-XIV with eleven staves.

WATERMARKS[8] There are two types of watermarks in 454/A. The first (see Fig. 3) appears in all but one of the gatherings of 454/A, and measures 1.7 cm x 1.2 cm; the distance between the chain lines at the mark is 2.2 cm. Hardie describes this watermark as a "helmet,"[9] but its shape is not clear; perhaps it is an unidentified letter N or M, as suggested by watermark No. 8437 in Briquet (Fig. 4).[10]

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[7]I am using the term folio format as defined by Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, *Glaister's Glossary of the Book* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 181.

[8]I have not taken into account the occurrence of twin watermarks in Barcelona M.454; of four watermarks in the entire manuscript, however, two appear only once. For a study on this aspect of watermarks, see Allan Stevenson, "Watermarks are Twins," *Studies in Bibliography*, 4 (1951), 57-91. Stevenson, "Paper as Bibliographical Evidence," *The Library*, Ser. 5, vol. XVII (1962), 199, stated that: ". . .unless we can be sure of the identity of two marks, beyond any peradventure, we have little chance of solving, convincingly, through paper evidence, such problems as the date of an incunable." Indeed, none of the four watermarks in Barcelona M.454 can be identified with any of the tracings published in the standard literature, and therefore watermarks cannot be used to establish even approximately either the places or the dates of origin of the different sections of Barcelona M.454. After an examination of the watermarks in Barcelona M.454, I was not able to distinguish sewing dots, and thus they are not shown in my tracings.

[9]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 76-77.

[10]Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907), II, 454, found No. 8437 in French documents dating from the period 1484-1499. I was attracted to this description by a similarly shaped watermark (ornamental M) in the choirbook London, Royal College of Music, MS 1070, reproduced photographically in Lowinsky, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn," *Florilegium Historiale, Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, eds. J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with University of Western Ontario, 1971), 161-235 (Plate 6A). Barcelona M.454 and London 1070 share two widely-circulated pieces: Josquin's *Ave maria* in 454/A and Févin's *Sancta trinitas* in 454/C.

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Fig. 3. Watermark (WM1) in 454/A, fol. cxxxvi^{r} (64^{r}).

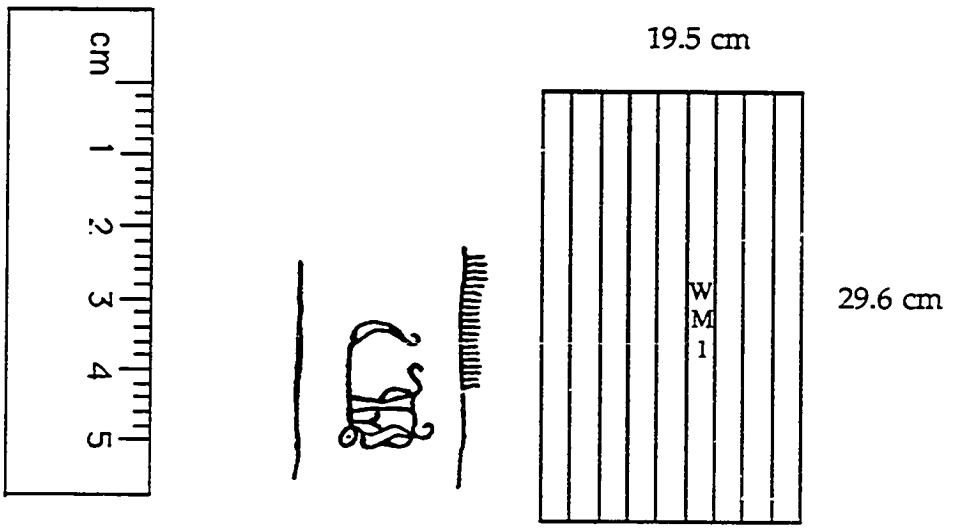

Fig. 4. Letter N (No. 8437) in Briquet.

The second type of watermark in 454/A appears only once, on the last folio of the first gathering (fol. lxxxii^{r} [9^{r}]) as part of the leaf that serves as guard sheet to the gathering. It has the shape of a crosier[11] (see Fig. 5), and measures 4 cm x 0.9 cm; the distance between the chain lines at the mark is 2.2 cm.[12]

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[11]The "freehand drawing" of this unique watermark in Hardie, "The Motets," I, 76, is quite different, and she describes it as a "sword."

[12]None of the crosiers in Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, or Oriol Valls, *Historia del Papel en España* (Madrid: Empresa Nacional de Celulosa, 1980), and *Paper and Watermarks in*

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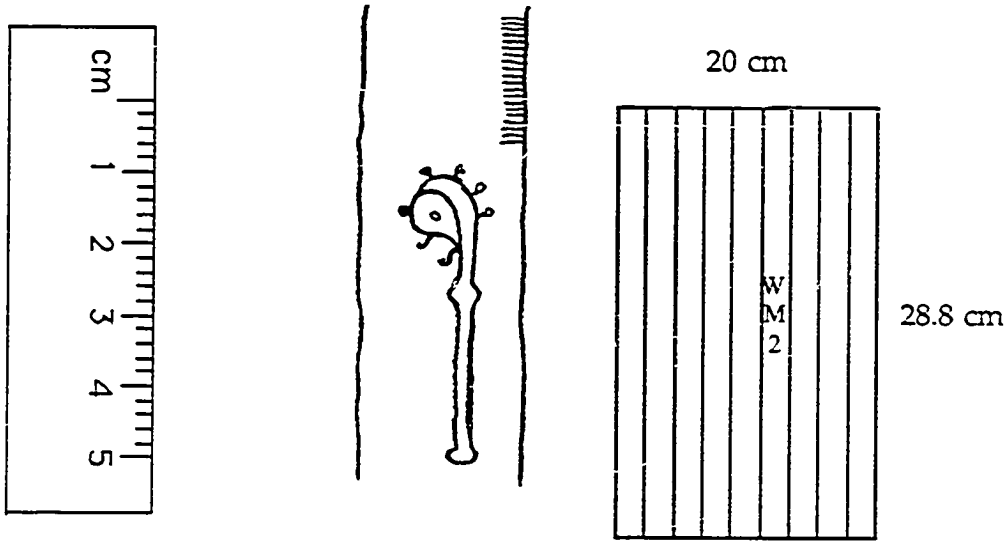
Fig. 5. Watermark (WM2) in 454/A, fol. lxxxiiᵀ (9ᵀ).



SCRIBES Barcelona 454/A was written by as many as eighteen scribes (A1-18), the major portion by scribes A2 and A3 (fols. 1ᵀ-9ᵀ), A5 (fols. 10ᵛ-31ᵀ, 36ᵛ-38ᵀ), A7 (fols. 34ᵛ-36ᵀ, 38ᵛ-43ᵀ), and A10 (fols. 50ᵛ-63ᵀ). These five scribes copied only non-Iberian music, and their handwriting recalls an elegant northern style that contrasts with the rest of 454/A. Another scribe who should be singled out is A4, who copied seven pieces and was responsible for all four works by Mondéjar, three of them *unica*. This scribe might have enjoyed a special relationship with the composer, or might have worked from a fascicle of his music.

None of the scribes in 454/A appears in the rest of the manuscript. Yet, one anonymous composition, *Ave sanctissima Maria*, was copied in 454/A, fol. cxviiᵀ (44ᵀ), by Scribe B1, and it will be considered as part of 454/B.[13]

Catalonia (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1970), resembles this one.

[13]This scribe copied the same piece with an "*at placitum*" contra in 454/B on fols. cxlᵛ-cxliᵀ.

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INITIALS 454/A contains most of the decorated initials in the Barcelona manuscript.[14] These appear most prominently in the music copied by scribes A2, A3, A5, A10, and A12, who were responsible for the non-Iberian repertoire. The decoration consists of plain, black calligraphic initials and stylized voice designations that were common to manuscripts throughout the period.[15] The initials associated with the work of scribes A2-A3 and A10 underscore the Franco-Flemish appearance of their respective sections in 454/A.

Fig. 6. Initial (reduced size) of Scribe A5 on fol. xciʳ (18ʳ).

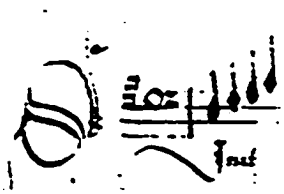
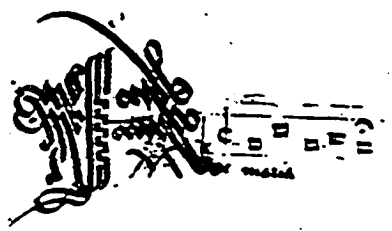


Fig. 7. Initial (reduced size) of Scribe A10 on fol. cxxiiᵛ (50ᵛ).



[14]Only three decorated initials appear in 454/C, and none in the other sections.

[15]Only the scribe who entered the initials in the folios copied by A2 used red in some of his initials.

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COMPOSERS AND ATTRIBUTIONS One of the singular features of Barcelona 454/A is that, with the exception of the ascription to Brumel of the *Magnificat sexti toni* on fols. 21^{v}-25^{r},[16] its only attributions are to Spanish composers. There are twenty-one anonymous works. Table 1 lists the composers represented in 454/A.

Table 1. Composers represented in 454/A.

Iberian Composers
*Aldomar-1
*Baena-1
*Benito?-3[18]
Benito?/[Brumel]-1
[Encina]-1
*Gabriel-1
*Mondéjar-3
Mondéjar/[Díaz]-1
Peñalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]-1[20]
[Peñalosa]-1
[Torre]-1
Ylario-1

Franco-Flemish Composers[17]
[Aulenus/Agricola]-1
[Agricola]-1
Brumel-1
[Brumel]-2 (perhaps 3 more)[19]
[Compère]-3 (possibly 4)
[Josquin]-2
[Weerbecke]-1

*The asterisk in front of a composer designates that all the works attributed to him are *unica*. Names in brackets are the attributions in concordant manuscripts.

---

[16]Of the five extant manuscripts that transmit this *Magnificat*, Barcelona M.454 is the only one that identifies the composer (see the Inventory, No. 32, and Chapter V for a discussion about the possible attribution of four other *Magnificat* to Brumel).

[17]Gathering XV of 454/A, copied by a northern scribe and containing a Josquin/Compère/Weerbecke complex (Nos. 49-55), begins with the anonymous motet *Ave maria tu individur trinitatis* (No. 49); most likely, this piece is also by a Franco-Flemish composer.

[18]The ascriptions to Benito are barely legible: Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, read them as "Benalt" or "Venalt;" Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, and I read them as "Benito." For a discussion of Benito's identity, see Chapter V.

[19]One of these two is the Benito/[Brumel] conflicting attribution.

[20]The attribution to "Penyalosa" is most likely a later addition. For a discussion of conflicting attributions, see Chapter V.

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There are three instances of "phantom" ascriptions.[21] The first one, above the psalm verse *Donec ponam* on the recto of the guard sheet of 454/A, was read as "Puig" by Lee, but the inscription reads Primus.[22] The second one, on fol. 1^{r}, has been read as "Cuvenor" or "Suvenor," and occurs in connection with a Mass otherwise attributed both to Aulenus and to Agricola.[23] I believe the best reading of the word is "Superior," and that it must refer to a voice part, not a composer's name. The third, on fol. 10^{v}, has been read variously as "Taerraça" (by Pedrell), "Prederiaça" (by Anglés and Knighton), "Pedraça" (by Anglés), and "Terraça" (by Gregori and Kreitner); Knighton, following Anglés, indicates that another inscription in the margin reads: "Francisci Benalt."[24] I suggest that these inscriptions should be read as "Frai benito/de riaça" (or perhaps "de (F)ra[n]ça") We shall return to these—as well as to the Benito ascription and other conflicting attributions—in Chapter V.

REPERTORY Barcelona 454/A contains forty-seven works (thirty-five plus twelve in the "separate folios"). Of these, thirty (nineteen plus eleven in the "separate folios") are *unica*.

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[21]I use the term "phantom" to designate ascriptions caused by misreadings of previous scholars.

[22]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 88, suggested that perhaps this name might refer to the theorist Guillermo Despuig (De Podio).

[23]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, read: "Cuvenor" or "Suvenor." *Census-Catalogue*, I, 17, and Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 179, used the spelling "Cuvenor." Hardie, "The Motets," I, 86, read: "Souvenir."

[24]Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 156; Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, and "La Polyphonie réligieuse péninsulaire antérieure à la venue des musiciens flamands en Espagne," *Scripta Musicologica*, ed. José López-Calo (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1975-76), III, 1175; Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 179; Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 606-7; Kreitner, "Music and Civic Ceremony," 257. Pedrell, Gregori, and Kreitner believed that the ascription refers to Gabriel Terrassa, organist at Barcelona Cathedral from 1472 to 1514, who, however, otherwise has no extant compositions attributed to him.

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Table 2. Distribution of the repertory in 454/A by genre.

Genres		*Unica*[25]
Alleluia	1	1 (No. 25)
Canons	3	3 (Nos. 102-4)
Cantio[26] (monophonic chant)	1	1 (No. 97)
Falsobordone (textless)	1	1 (No. 99)
Hymns	2	2 (Nos. 41-42)
Lamentation (monophonic)	1	1 (No. 96)
Magnificats	7	5 (Nos. 29, 30, 33, 38, 47)
Marian antiphon	1	1 (No. 37)
Mass	1	
Mass fragments (Kyries)	2	2 (No. 58, 101)
Motets	12	2 (No. 35, 49)
Motet fragment (2 *partes*)	1	
Psalm	1	1 (No. 23)
Responsory	1	
Secular works in Spanish	7	5 (Nos. 43, 44, 46, 100, 106)
Textless	4	4 (Nos. 39, 48, 105, 107)
Versicle (*Benedicamus*)	1	1 (No. 26)

[25]I am including among the *unica* three works (an *Alleluia* [No. 25], a *Kyrie* fragment [No. 58], and the versicle *Benedicamus* [No. 26]) that appear also in 454/B, but in no other source outside Barcelona M.454.

[26]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 114, referred to the monophonic *Virgo mater ecclesie* as a *cantio gregoriana*.

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SHORT INVENTORY OF 454/A[27]

Number Folio	Title	Composer	Scribe
GATHERING X: fols. lxxiii^{r}-lxxxii^{v} (lxxiii^{r}-9^{v})			
No. 23. fol. lxxiii^{r}	*Donec ponam*	Anon.	A1
No. 24. fol. lxxiii^{r}	*Ne recorderis*	[Torre]	
No. 25. fol. lxxiii^{v}	*Aleluya*	Anon.	
No. 26. fol. lxxiii^{v}-lxxiiii^{r} (=1^{r})	*Benedicamus*	Anon.	
	* * *		
No. 27. fols. 1^{r}-9^{r}	[Mass]	[Aulenus/Agricola]	A2-3
	* * *		
GATHERING XI: fols. lxxxiii^{r}-xcii^{v} (10^{r}-19^{v})			
No. 28. fols. 9^{v}-10^{r}	*Ave Sanctissimum/ Ave verum*	Mondéjar/[Díaz]	A4
	* * *		
No. 29. fols. 10^{v}-14^{r}	*Magnificat*	Benito/de riaça	A5
No. 30. fols. 14^{v}-18^{r}	[*Magnificat*]	Anon.	
GATHERING XII: fols. xciii^{r}-civ^{v} (20^{r}-31^{v})			
No. 31. fols. 18^{v}-21^{r}	[*Magnificat*]	Benito/[Brumel]	
No. 32. fols. 21^{v}-25^{r}	[*Magnificat*]	Brumel	
No. 33. fols. 25^{v}-31^{r}	[*Magnificat*]	Benios [=Benito]	
	* * *		
No. 34. fols. 31^{v}-32^{r}	*O admirabile*	Ylario	A4
	* * *		
GATHERING XIII: fols. cv^{r}-cxvi^{v} (32^{r}-43^{v})			
No. 35. fols. 32^{v}-33^{r}	*In illo tempore*	Anon.	A6
	* * *		
No. 36. fols. 33^{v}-34^{r}	*Sy dedero*	[Agricola]	A4
	* * *		

[27]The repertory copied by each scribe is separated by asterisks. The gathering designations refer to the position of the gathering in Barcelona M.454 in its entirety.

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No. 37. fols. 34^{v}-40^{r}	*Salve regina*	Anon.	A7-5-7
No. 38. fols. 40^{v}-43^{r}	[*Magnificat*]	Anon.	A7

* * *

No. 39. fol. 43^{v}	[Textless]	Anon.	A4

GATHERING XIV: fols. cxvii^{r}-cxxi^{v} (44^{r}-49^{v})

MS 454/B

No. 40. fol. 44^{r}	*Ave sanctissima*	Anon.	B1

No. 41. fols. 44^{v}-45^{r}	*Veni creator*	Anon.	A8
No. 42. fols. 45^{v}-46^{r}	*Veni creator*	Anon.	

* * *

No. 43. fol. 46^{v}	*Virgen Reyna*	Baena	A9
No. 44. fol. 48^{r}	*Dy pastorcico*	Aldomar	
No. 45. fol. 48^{r}	*Pues bivo*	[Peñalosa]	
No. 46. fol. 48^{v}	*Aquel pastoçico*	Gabriel	

* * *

No. 47. fols. 48^{v}-50^{r}	[*Magnificat*]	Mondéjar	A4

GATHERING XV: fols. cxxii^{r}-cxxxv^{v} (50^{r}-63^{v})

No. 48. fol. 50^{r}	[Textless]	Mondéjar	

* * *

No. 49. fols. 50^{v}-52^{r}	*Ave Maria*	Anon.	A10
No. 50. fols. 52^{v}-54^{r}	*Ave Maria*	[Josquin]	
No. 51. fols. 54^{v}-56^{r}	*Ave Maria*	[Compère]	
No. 52. fols. 56^{v}-58^{r}	*Intemerata O Maria nullam*	[Josquin]	
No. 53. fols. 58^{v}-59^{r}	*Anima mea*	[Weerbecke]	
No. 54. fols. 59^{v}-61^{r}	*Sile fragor*	[Compère]	
No. 55. fols. 61^{v}-63^{r}	*Propter gravamen*	[Compère]	

* * *

GATHERING XVI: fols. cxxxvi^{r}-cxxxvii^{v} (64^{r}-65^{v})

No. 56. fols. 63^{v}-64^{r}	*O bone Jhesu*	Penyalosa/ [Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	A11
No. 57. fols. 64^{v}-65^{r}	*Mater patris*	[Brumel]	

* * *

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No. 58. fol. 65^{v}	[Missa] [only S of the *Kyrie*]	Benito	A12

Separate folios of 454/A in GATHERING XXI

fols. clxxviiii^{r}-clxxxi^{v} (78^{r}-81^{v})

No. 96. fols. 78^{r}-79^{r}	*Aleph Quomodo sedet*	Anon.	A13
	* * *		
No. 97. fol. 79^{v}	*Virgo mater ecclesie*	Anon.	A14
	* * *		
No. 98. fol. 80^{r}	*Pelayo tẽñ buen esfuerço*	[Encina]	A15
	* * *		
No. 99. fol. 80^{r}	[Falsobordone]	Anon.	A16
No. 100. fol. 80^{r}	*Paxarico que vas a la fuente*	Anon.	
	* * *		
No. 101. fol. 80^{v}	*Kyrie...Qui pasurus*	Anon.	A4
	* * *		
No. 102-04. fol. 81^{r}	*Canons*	Anon.	A17
No. 105. fol. 81^{r}	[Textless] *Duo*	Anon.	
	* * *		
No. 106. fol. 81^{v}	*Camino de Santiago*	Mondéjar	A4
	* * *		
No. 107. fol. 81^{v}	[Textless] Incomplete (S and unfinished T only)	Anon.	A18

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BARCELONA 454/B

Although 454/A long has been recognized as an independent manuscript, previous descriptions have considered the remainder of Barcelona M.454 as a second, homogeneous collection compiled much later. However, this second collection can itself be broken up into what were originally two independent manuscripts. This further division is evident because what I shall call 454/B once started with a new foliation system that has previously gone unnoticed (see below). On the other hand, 454/B begins by transmitting in its entirety the same piece that appears incomplete at the end of 454/A. Thus while the foliation of 454/B shows it to have been an independently conceived manuscript, that it begins with the very piece that appears incomplete at the end of 454/A—a Mass not known in any other source—suggests a closer connection between those two collections than previously thought.

454/B no longer appears in its original arrangement. I believe that 454/B was probably divided into the two parts that surround 454/A in order to separate the first four Masses from the rest of the music, so that they would precede the opening Mass of 454/A. At present, the original foliation for only the first twenty folios of 454/B is clearly recognizable, but the rest of 454/B includes music copied by the two main scribes of both parts, and shows clear signs of having had its original foliation erased or altered. Since it is not possible to reconstruct the original foliation in its entirety, we cannot determine whether 454/B constituted only one collection prior to its division into two, but there is no doubt that it represents a different layer from both 454/A and 454/C.

Another feature of 454/B is that its pieces are intermingled at times with music copied by scribes from later stages.[28] These added compositions were inserted wherever the later scribes could find empty space, and perhaps this explains why the independent status of 454/B has gone unnoticed in the past.

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[28]See below comments about scribes K1-2 and the scribe of 454/C.

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FOLIATION The first part of 454/B starts on fol. xxi^{r} of Barcelona M.454, on a blank page that also carries the folio number "i." On the leaves that follow, the original foliation of 454/B was changed by adding "xx" to the left of the original Roman numerals. This change is most noticeable on the present fol. xxx, where it is extremely easy to distinguish "xx" in one hand and "x" in another. The earlier foliation is not noticeable after what is now fol. xxxx, formerly fol. xx, but the continuity of 454/B up to the present fol. lviiii^{r} is clear from the uninterrupted work of its scribe. On folio xxxxi there is also an Arabic 41 above the Roman numeral.

The second part of 454/B begins immediately after 454/A, and comprises what are now fols. cxxxviii^{r}-cliiii^{r}. There are some irregularities in this part of 454/B: (1) the foliation shows clear signs of having been changed, (2) the first two folios bear the folio number cxxxviii,[29] and (3) the first folio of gathering XVIII probably was missing when the manuscript was refoliated; this gathering begins with a series of *falsobordones* in all eight tones starting with the *secundus tonus*.[30]

GATHERING STRUCTURE The two parts of 454/B consist of gatherings III-VIII and XVII-XIX, respectively; they surround 454/A (gatherings X-XVI). In the first part of 454/B, gatherings III, IV, V, and VII are ternions, and gatherings VI and VIII quinternions. The second part of 454/B consists of two quaternions (gatherings XVII and XIX) and a ternion (gathering XVIII).

The first part of 454/B ends in the middle of gathering VIII, which then was completed by Scribe C (see below). The second part ends in the middle of gathering

---

[29]The first folio of the gathering (fol. cxxxviii^{r})is a blank page with staves; the second one will be referred to as fol. cxxxviii [bis].

[30]The two *falsobordones primus tonus* found in the last verso of the previous gathering were copied by a different scribe, probably to suply the missing items.

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XIX.[31] The pages of Barcelona 454/B measure 29.1 x 21.3 cm. The disposition of the watermarks indicates that this section is also in folio format; the full sheets are slightly larger than the ones in 454/A. Each folio carries ten staves, as do all of the folios outside 454/A.

WATERMARK There is only one type of watermark in 454/B; it also appears in 454/C. It has the shape of a serpent (Fig. 8) that measures 6.5 cm x 2.3 cm; the distance between the chain lines at the mark is 3.2 cm. Although this serpent resembles Briquet No. 13758 (Fig. 9), which appears in paper used at Angoulême in 1510, the distance between the chain lines (2.5 cm) in the latter clearly indicates that the papermoulds are different.[32]

---

[31]Scribe B2 copied Quexada's *Magnificat*, the piece that I consider to be the final entry in 454/B.

[32]Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, II, 681. This serpent is also different from those dated between 1500 and 1587 in Francisco de Bofarull, *Animals in Watermarks* (Hilversum: The Paper Publication Society, 1959, a translation of the original in Spanish published in 1910). Likewise, the watermark does not resemble those dated between 1406 and 1453 in Valls, *Paper and watermarks in Catalonia.* Interestingly, a 1538 inventory compiled after the death of a bookdealer in Barcelona includes a certain amount of paper with the mark of a serpent; this document is cited by José Mª Madurell and Jorge Rubió y Balaguer, *Documentos para la Historia de la Imprenta y Librería en Barcelona (1474-1553)* (Barcelona: Gremio de Editores, 1955), 787-97, item 151bis: *Item mija rayma de paper prim del senyal de la serp.*

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Fig. 8. Watermark in 454/B and 454/C, drawn from fol. iiii[r].

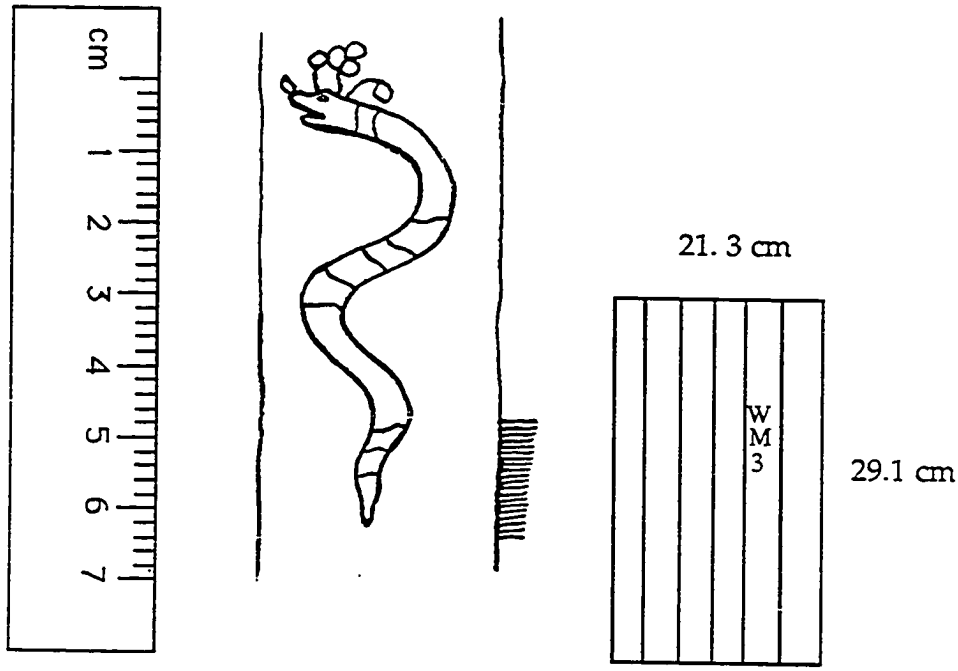
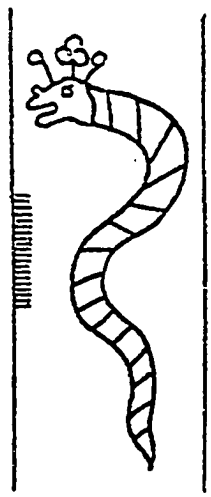


Fig. 9. Watermark No. 13758 in Briquet.



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SCRIBES Most of the music of 454/B was copied by two scribes: B1 and B2. In the first part of 454/B, gatherings III-VIII, Scribe B1 copied a Mass (except for the *Agnus dei*), which was finished by Scribe B2,[33] who then copied three other complete Masses.[34] The remaining half of gathering VIII, which I consider part of 454/C, was filled with music copied by Scribe C.[35] The following gathering, IX, which immediately precedes 454/A, is a ternion mostly copied by Scribe C, but it contains one sheet of paper partially written by Scribe B1, and a work on the last verso of the gathering copied by a scribe (B3) who does not reappear.

The second part of 454/B, gatherings XVII-XIX, is less homogeneous than the first part because the pieces copied by the two main scribes of 454/B are intermingled with a few works inserted by five other copyists. Two of these scribes, B4 and B5, copied only one piece each (a motet by Peñalosa and an *unicum* by Baena, respectively); Scribe B6 added an incomplete fragment; Scribe C was responsible for two motets and a hymn. The fifth scribe, designated as K1, copied three pieces[36] in 454/B and two other works scattered elsewhere in Barcelona M.454; another scribe of similar handwriting who copied three scattered works will be referred to as Scribe K2.[37]

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[33]All the movements of this Mass except the *Agnus Dei* start with the same headmotive. Thus it is likely that this movement, added by Scribe B2, does not belong to the same cycle.

[34]At the end of the *Agnus Dei* in the first Mass there is an inscription that reads: *Laus deo et finis* ; at the end of the last Mass: *laudetur xps* (B2).

[35]See the description of 454/C, below.

[36]*Los braços trayo*, attributed to Peñalosa on fol. cxliiii^{r}, and two textless fabordones *primus tonus* on the verso side, the last of gathering XVII. Gathering XVIII follows with the series of *falsobordones* copied by Scribe B2, starting with the *secundus tonus*.

[37]I include the compositions copied by Scribes K1-2 in 454/B even though five of them fall outside the boundaries of this section established by the work of the main two scribes (B1-2). The work of Scribes K1-2 probably represents an intermediate stage between 454/B and 454/C. It seems as if these two scribes started to do what Scribe C did later on a larger scale, that is, to insert music into space left by others.

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All the scribes in 454/B seem to be Spanish. Scribe B1 starts gathering XVII by writing the word "motetes" in the upper margin, a term that implies that he was a Spaniard. Scribe B2 used the Spanish term "tiple" instead of superius on fol. xxxi^{v}, as well as the expression "duo con el tenor" on fol. xxxvi^{v}; he also spelled tenor with the Catalan-sounding "tanor" on fol. cxlvii^{v}. The only ascription in his hand, that for an *unicum* by Quexada, reinforces our supposition that Scribe B2 was a Spaniard, perhaps a Catalan. His nationality is of particular importance since he was responsible for copying the music by Ockeghem and Busnoys in the manuscript. The Spanish repertoire copied by Scribes B3-6 and K1-2 suggests that they may also be Spaniards.

INITIALS Although space has been provided for decorated initials, manuscript 454/B has none, and most of the pieces lack voice designations.

COMPOSERS AND ATTRIBUTIONS With the exception of the last work copied by Scribe B2, the unique *Magnificat* that he attributed to Quexada, the music entered by the two main scribes of 454/B lacks ascriptions. This *unicum*, therefore, could play a significant role in identifying the milieu in which the repertory of 454/B was copied and performed, but the identity and whereabouts of this composer remain obscure.[38] There are twenty-five anonymous works in 454/B; the composers represented are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Composers represented in 454/B.

Iberian Composers	**Franco-Flemish Composers**
*[Anchieta]-1	[Busnoys]-1
*Baena-1	[Ockeghem]-1
*[Benito]-1	[Wreede]-1
*Quexada-1	
*Peñalosa-2 (1 *unicum*)	*The asterisk in front of a composer designates that
[Torre]-1	all the works attributed to him are *unica*.

[38]There are no documents concerning Quexada. His name is known only through the attributions of this *Magnificat* in 454/B and a three-voice Mass in Tarazona 2/3.

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REPERTORY 454/B contains thirty-five works, thirty of which are *unica* (see Table 4).

Table 4. Distribution of the repertory in 454/B by genre.

Genres		Unica
Alleluia	1	1 (No. 18)
Falsobordones (textless)	9	9 (Nos. 66-74)
Hymns	4	3 (Nos. 76, 77, 79)
Magnificats	3	3 (Nos. 81, 85, 122)
Masses	4	2 (No. 7, 9)
Mass fragment (S of a *Gloria*)	1	1 (No. 11)
Motets	4	3 (Nos. 40, 59, 62)
Passion	1	1 (No. 90)
Psalm	1	1 (No. 22)
Responsory	1	(none)
Secular works in Spanish	2	2 (Nos. 64-65)
Secular (fragment)	1	1 (No. 78)
Textless	1	1 (No. 95)
Trope of *Benedicamus*[39]	1	1 (No. 86)
Versicle (*Benedicamus*)	1	1 (No. 19)

Only the following works, listed in the order in which they appear in 454/B, are found in other sources: *Missa Au travail suis* by Ockeghem (No. 8), *Missa L'homme armé* by Busnoys (No. 10), the responsory *Ne recorderis* by Torre (No. 17), the motet *Tribularer si nescirem* by Peñalosa (No. 60), and the hymn *Pange lingua* by Wreede (No. 75). I have listed the *Missa de nostra dona* (No. 9), without an ascription in 454/B among the *unica*, because the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* are attributed to Anchieta in other manuscripts; the other anonymous sections of this Mass are *unica* but they may not be by him (see Chapter V).

I am including among the *unica* four anonymous works that are duplicated elsewhere in the manuscript, but in no other source outside Barcelona M.454. These works are: *Aleluya* (No. 18), the versicle *Benedicamus* (No. 19), the hymn *Ut queant laxis* (No. 76), and the motet *Ave sanctissima Maria* (Nos. 40 and 62); the latter work is listed twice among the *unica* in 454/B since it was copied on both occasions by Scribe B1, the second time with an *ad*

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[39]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 114, pointed out that *Verbum patris hodie* is a trope of *Benedicamus*.

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placitum contra.[40] The duplication of pieces confirms the hypothesis that Barcelona M.454 consists of independently conceived, yet somewhat related, manuscript collections that came to be bound together.

SHORT INVENTORY OF 454/B

Number	Folio	Title	Composer	Scribe
[No. 0 copied by Scribe S1]				
MS 454/C				
[Nos. 1-3 copied by Scribe C]				
[Nos. 4-5 copied by Scribes S2-3]				
MS 454/D				
[No. 6 copied by Scribe D2; last piece entered in Barcelona M.454]				
FIRST PART OF 454/B				
		GATHERING III: fols. xxi^{r}-xxvi^{v} (i^{r}-vi^{v})		
No. 7.	fol. xxi^{v}-xxx^{r}	[*Missa*]	[Benito]	B1-B2
		GATHERING IV: fols. xxvii^{r}-xxxiii^{v} (vii^{r}-xiii^{v})		
No. 8.	fol. xxx^{v}-xxxvii^{r}	[*Missa Au travail suis*]	[Ockeghem]	B2
		GATHERING V: fols. xxxiiii^{r}-xxxix^{v} (xiiii^{r}-xix^{v})		
No. 9.	fol. xxxvii^{v}-xlix^{r}	*Missa Nostra dona*	[Anchieta]	
		GATHERING VI: fols. xxxx^{r}-xlix^{v} (xx-)		
		GATHERING VII: fols. l^{r}-lv^{v}		
No. 10.	fol. xlix^{v}-lviiii^{r}	[*Missa L'homme armé*]	[Busnoys]	
		GATHERING VIII: fols. lvi^{r}-lxv^{v}		
		* * *		
No. 11.	fol. lviiii^{v}	*Et in terra* (Fragment of superius only)	Anon.	S4
[Nos. 12-14 copied by Scribe C]				

[40]Nos. 18 and 19 were also copied in the same order by a different scribe in 454/A (Nos. 25-26); they are preceded, in both instances, by the responsory *Ne recorderis* (Nos. 17 and 24 respectively). These three works seem to have some scribal or liturgical connection; see the discussion of *Ne recorderis* in Chapter V. The hymn *Ut queant laxis*, copied by Scribe B2, appears also outside the boundaries of 454/B in the hand of Scribe S3; the latter does not reappear, but his handwriting is very similar to that of Scribe B1.

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GATHERING IX: fols. lxvi^{r}-lxxii^{v}

[Nos. 15-16 copied by Scribe C]

No. 17. fol. lxviii^{r}	*Ne recorderis*	[la Torre]	B1
No. 18. fol. lxviii^{v}	*Aleluya*	Anon.	
No. 19. fol. lxviii^{v}-lxix^{r}	*Benedicamus*	Anon.	

[Nos. 20-21 copied by Scribe C]

No. 22. fol. lxxii^{v}	*Dixit dominus*	Anon.	B3

==========

MS 454/A

[Nos. 23-58 constitute 454/A]

No. 40. fol. cxvii^{r} (44^{r})	*Ave Sanctissima maria*	Anon.	B1

==========

SECOND PART OF 454/B

GATHERING XVII: fols. cxxxviii^{r}-cxliiii^{v}

— fol. cxxxviii^{r} EMPTY STAVES

No. 59. fols. cxxxviii^{v}-cxxxviii [bis]^{r}	*Mater patris nacti nacta*	Anon.	B1

* * *

No. 60. fols. cxxxviii [bis]^{v} cxxxviiii^{r}	*Tribularer si nescirem*	Peñalosa	B4

[No. 61. copied by Scribe C: "20 faber Penyalosa 1525"]

No. 62. fols. cxl^{v}-cxli^{r}	*Ave santisima maria*	Anon.	B1

[No. 63. copied by Scribe C]

No. 64. fol. cxliii^{v}	*Amor pues tú nos das plazer*	Baena	B5

* * *

No. 65. fol. cxliiii^{r}	*Los braços trayo*	Peñalosa	K1
No. 66. fol. cxliiii^{v}	[*Falsobordone*] *primus tonus*	Anon.	
No. 67. fol. cxliiii^{v}	[*Falsobordone*] *primus tonus*	Anon.	

* * *

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GATHERING XVIII: fols. cxlv^{r}-cli^{v}

No. 68. fol. cxlv^{r}	[*Falsobordone*] ii *Secundus tonus*	Anon.	B2
No. 69. fol. cxlv^{v}	[*Falsobordone*] *Tercius tonus 3*	Anon.	
No. 70. fol. cxlvi^{r}	[*Falsobordone*] *Quartus tonus 4*	Anon.	
No. 71. fol. cxlvi^{r}	[*Falsobordone*] *V^{us} tonus*	Anon.	
No. 72. fol. cxlvi^{v}	[*Falsobordone*] *Sestus tonus vi*	Anon.	
No. 73. fol. cxlvii^{r}	[*Falsobordone*] *Septimus tonus vii*	Anon.	
No. 74. fol. cxlvii^{v}-cxlviii^{r}	[*Falsobordone*] *Hoctavus tonus viii*	Anon.	
No. 75. fols. cxlviii^{v}-cxlix^{r}	*Pange lingua*	[Wreede]	
No. 76. fols. cxlix^{v}-cl^{r}	*Ut queant laxis*	Anon.	
No. 77. fols. cl^{v}-cli^{r}	*Exultet celum laudibus*	Anon.	

* * *

No. 78. fol. cli^{r}	*Si* [*la noche es temerosa*] (superius only)	Anon.	B6

* * *

No. 79. fol. cli^{v}	*Sacris solemnis*	Anon.	B2

GATHERING XIX: fols. clii^{r}-clx^{v}

[No. 80. fol. clii^{r} *Sacris solemnis* **copied by Scribe C]**

No. 81. fols. clii^{v}-cliiii^{r}	*Magnificat*	Quexada	B2

(End of 454/B)

* * *

No. 85. fols. clviii^{v}-clx^{r}	*Magnificat*	Anon.	K2
No. 86. fol. clx^{v}	*Verbum patris hodie*	Anon.	

GATHERING XX: fols. clxi^{r}-clxvi^{v}

GATHERING XXI: fols. clxvii^{r}-clxxvi^{v}

No. 90. fols. clxiiii^{v}-clxxiiii^{r}	*St. John Passion*	Anon.	K2 *et al.*[41]

* * *

GATHERING XXII: fols. clxxvii^{r}-clxxxv^{v}

No. 95. fol. clxxviii^{v}	*Textless*	Anon.	K1

GATHERING XXIII: fols. clxxxvi^{r}-(cxci^{v})

No. 122. fols. clxxxviii^{v}-clxxxix^{r}	*Magnificat*	Anon.	

[41]This *Passion* was copied by at least two scribes other than K2. Their work is very sloppy and they do not reappear anywhere else in the manuscript; see gatherings XX and XXI in 454/C.

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BARCELONA 454/C

The reason for treating 454/C as an independent collection is the existence of a *tabla* (on fol. [0^{v}];[42] Fig. 10) which is devoted almost exclusively to this section.[43] This *tabla* occupies the verso of the first folio of Barcelona M.454; the opening recto transmits Peñalosa's motet *Ave vere sanguis Domini*.[44] Anglés stated in 1940 that when he consulted the manuscript, he was unable to identify the piece because the side of the folio on which the music is written was attached to the cover.[45] The folio was detached from the cover when the manuscript was restored in 1958. Since the same work by Peñalosa is found elsewhere in the collection, this single folio most likely came to be used as an extra piece of paper on which to write the *tabla* on the verso.[46]

The *tabla* is not a list of pieces for the entire manuscript, but only a table of contents for that portion of the manuscript that I am calling 454/C. It lists all the works by the single scribe who, ultimately, was responsible for the present structure of Barcelona M.454.[47] While the calligraphic style of the music copied by Scribe C remains practically

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[42]Fols. [i] and [ii] are lost; thus I am using fol. [0] to designate the unnumbered folio that precedes fol. iii (see Fig. 2).

[43]An earlier and shorter version of the *tabla* appears in a fragment found inside the binding of the manuscript; see "Fragments and Binding," below.

[44]This piece was copied by a scribe (S1) who does not reappear.

[45]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 112.

[46]Thus, the intended first piece of the manuscript in its final form was Févin's *Missa mente tota.*

[47]The motet *Mente tota* listed in the *tabla* is missing owing to the loss of fols. xiii-xiv; for a reproduction of the *tabla*, see Fig. 10. The last item in the *tabla*, "Ave Maria de Jusquin," was intended for the opening of fol. clv, but was never copied; the staves were left empty with only the names of two voice designations and an ascription to "Jusquin" in the upper margin of fol. cliiii^{v}. Scribe C may have realized that Josquin's *Ave Maria* had already been copied in the manuscript (see 454/A). Of the 23 pieces listed, only two were not copied by Scribe C: Anchieta's *Missa de nostra dona* and Wreede's *Pange lingua*; see below for a justification of their inclusion in the *tabla*. All nineteen extant pieces copied by Scribe C in Barcelona M.454 are listed in the *tabla*.

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the same, his hand undergoes a slight change in his text underlay, this being particularly noticeable in the last seven entries in the *tabla*. This change as well as the existence of a previous *tabla* found inside the binding of Barcelona M.454, suggests that his copying took place over an extended period of time.[48]

FOLIATION Unlike 454/A and part of 454/B, 454/C does not have an independent foliation.

GATHERING STRUCTURE Only gatherings I and II (fols. iii^{r}-xx^{v}) were originally the exclusive work of Scribe C; two hymns (Nos. 4-5)[49] and a villancico (No. 6)[50] were added at the end of gathering II. These two gatherings may have had an independent life before being bound to the rest of the manuscript.[51] The remainder of what I consider 454/C was copied intermittently by Scribe C on the empty folios he found: lx^{v}-lxvii^{v}; lxix^{r}-lxxii^{r}; cxxxviiii^{v}-cxl^{r}; cxli^{v}-cxliii^{r}; cliii^{r}; clxi^{v}-clxiiii^{r}; clxxiiii^{v}-clxxviii^{r}; clxxxvi^{v}-clxxxviii^{r}. In sum he was active in gatherings I, II, VIII, IX, XVII, and XIX-XXIII (see Fig. 2, above).

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[48]For a discussion of the date of 454/C based on a comparison of the two *tablas*, see Chapter II.

[49]The anonymous *Beata nobis gaudia* and *Ut queant laxis* were copied by scribes (S2 and S3) whose work does not reappear.

[50]The villancico *Gloria... pues nació*, in the same hand of the last scribe in Barcelona M.454 (Scribe D2), could very well have been the last piece copied in the entire manuscript; see Barcelona 454/D, below.

[51]The first gathering contains Févin's *Missa Mente tota*; fols. xiii-xiiii are missing. According to the *tabla*, these missing folios would have contained the conclusion of Févin's Mass, the motet *Mente tota* by Josquin, and on fol. xiiii^{v} the superius and tenor of the *prima pars* of *O beate Sebastiane* by Mouton/[Martini]. The second gathering (fols. xv^{r}-xx^{v}) then transmits the rest of the latter motet and another setting of *O beate Sebastiane* by Weerbecke.

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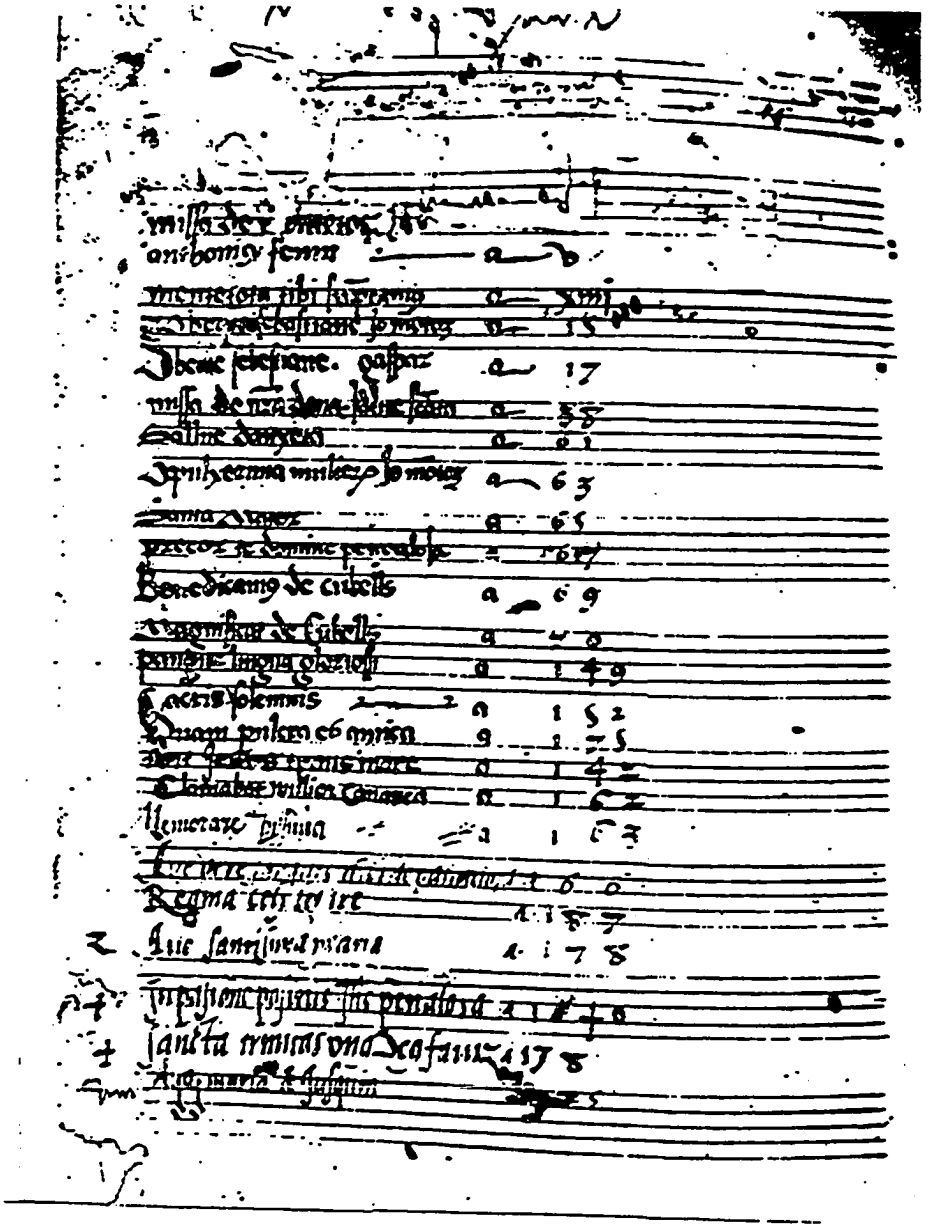
Fig. 10. *Tabla* of Barcelona M.454 (reduced size).



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WATERMARK The paper used in this section of the manuscript has the same watermark as 454/B; see description above.

INITIALS Most of the music copied in 454/C lacks decorated initials,even though space has been provided for them in many cases.[52] Scribe C copied voice designations in the left margin, and of the nineteen occurrences of the word tenor, he spelled it eleven times with the Catalan-sounding "tanor," thus providing a clue to Scribe C's national origins.

SCRIBE Scribe C is the most important scribe of Barcelona M.454. He probably organized section 454/A and the two parts of section 454/B in their present order, and he added the twenty pieces (one of them now lost) that constitute 454/C. The importance of his role can be ascertained from the fact that he copied more pieces than any other scribe, and that, as we will see, his association with the manuscript spans a long period. He copied music intermittently throughout Barcelona M.454,[53] and by the time he finished, 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C were already a single volume with the set of folio numbers running from beginning to end. Since 454/B and 454/C share paper with identical watermark and ruling of staves, it seems likely that Scribe C had contact with the scribes of 454/B, but that his work represents a distinctive layer from theirs.

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[52]Exceptions are the initials "V" for *Vita dulcedo* in Anchieta's *Salve regina* (fol. lx^{v}), a "P" in Peñalosa's *Precor te domine* (fol. lxvi^{v}), and a "Q" in Ribaflecha's *Quam pulchra es* (fol. clxxv^{r}).

[53]The last folio with music in Barcelona M.454 is fol. cxc^{v}, with Scribe C's last piece in the manuscript, an anonymous *Regina caeli*, being copied on fols. clxxxvi^{v}-clxxxviii^{r}. However, this piece was not the last one he copied; see the discussion of the *tabla*, in Chapter II.

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Among the works in the *tabla* we find two *unica* by the obscure Catalan composer Pero Cubells [=Petrus de Monte]. Of the five *unica* copied by Scribe C these are the only ones with an attribution, which suggest that perhaps Scribe C had a close connection with this composer.[54] As mentioned above, we find another Catalan tie in the frequent use of the word "tanor" instead of "tenor," the former spelling reflecting the pronunciation of the word in Catalan.

There is one particularly important piece of evidence for the identification of Scribe C: within an extended Catalan inscription, hitherto unnoticed, dated December 7, 1520, on the last folio of Barcelona M.454, the writer of the inscription identifies himself as "jo, Anthoni Johan" (see Fig. 11)[55] Since this inscription matches the handwriting of Scribe C, especially in the earlier and shorter version of the *tabla* found in Fragment 1a/b^{r} (Fig. 12), there is little doubt that Anthoni Johan was responsible for 454/C, and that he played a crucial role in the compilation of Barcelona M.454.

---

[54]Although the *tabla* attributes a *Benedicamus domino* and a *Magnificat* to Cubells, the *Benedicamus* appears beneath the name Petrus de Monte, in a different hand, in the body of the manuscript. They are probably one and the same person, Cubells [=Cubelles], a town 47 km south of Barcelona, being his birthplace.

[55]I would like to thank Sr. Jaume Riera, at the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón in Barcelona, who very kindly helped me transcribe this inscription.

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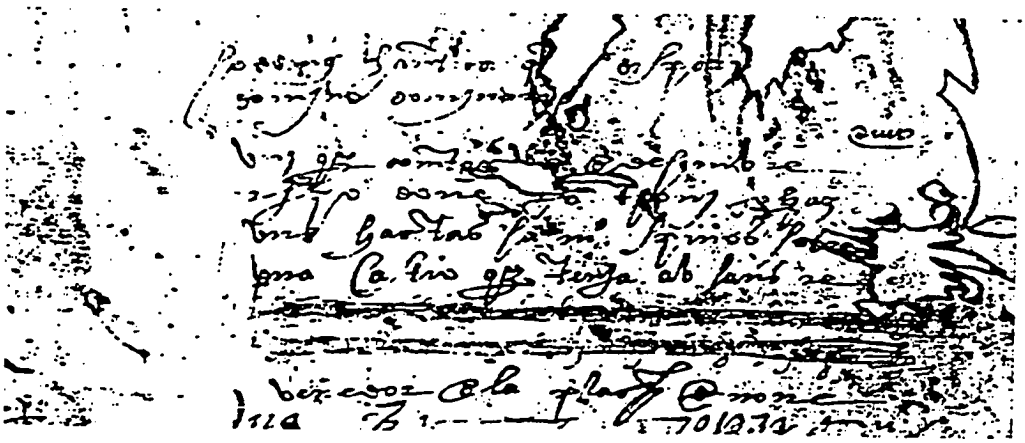
Fig. 11. Inscription on the last folio of Barcelona 454.



Transcription:

.....
.....
[A]vui qz compta v[...] de desembre
1520 done jo [An]thoni Johan
uns hactas ha mossen Spinos sobre
una castio qz tenia ab Sans re-
[————————————————
————————————————]
venedor de la plaça nova de [Barci]none

Translation:

[Today, December [7], 1520, I Antoni Johan, give some documents to father Spinos concerning [Señor] Sans, salesman at the "Plaça Nova" [square near the Cathedral] in Barcelona]

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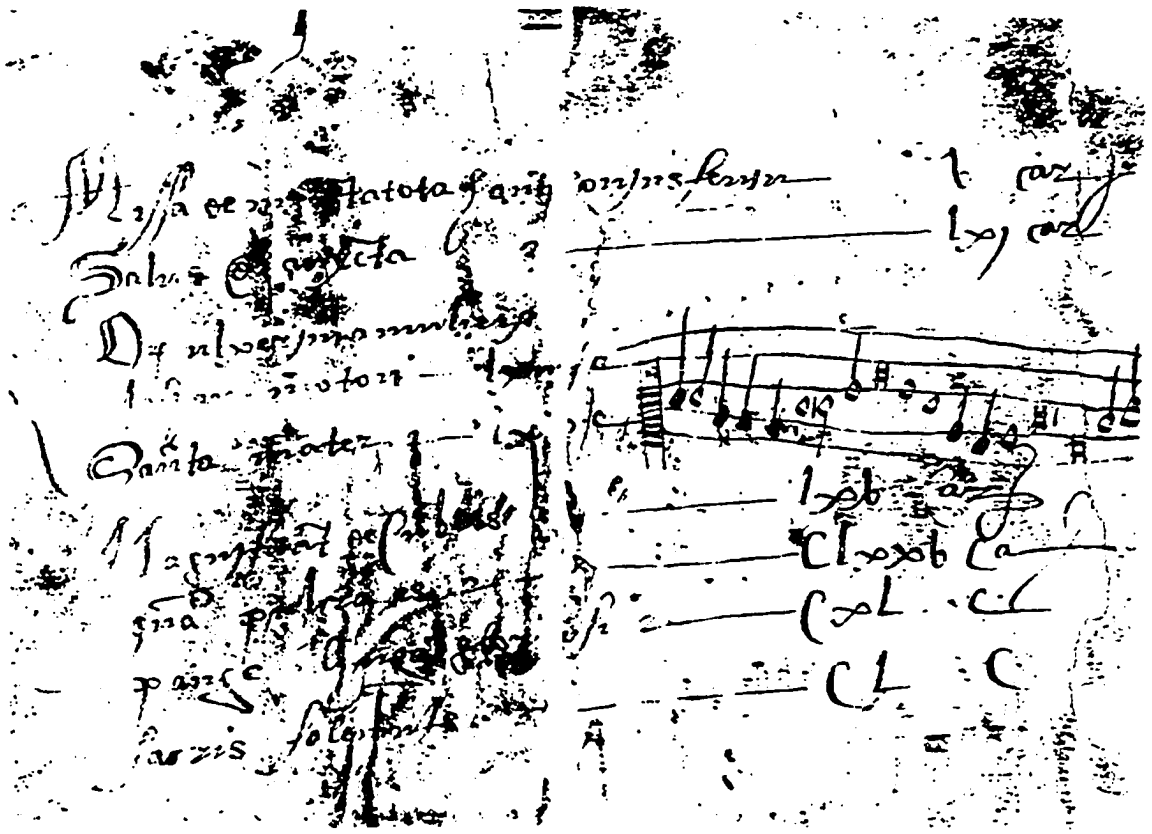
Fig. 12. Earlier and shorter version of the *tabla* in Fragment 1a/b^{r} (reduced size).



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The identity of Anthoni Johan and of other people who may be related to the compilation of Barcelona M.454 will be discussed in Chapter II in connection with four other pieces of evidence: (1) on fol. lxx^{r}, Scribe C entered the name "Román" (perhaps "Romanus") half way down the page, and below this name a series of somewhat illegible characters: "121101" (?) (Fig. 13); (2) after the last piece in Barcelona M.454, at the bottom of fol. cxc^{v}, there is a monogram "MR" and the name "moreta," perhaps written by Scribe C (Fig. 14); (3) on the last folio another inscription ends "...cum Tort" (Fig. 15); and (4) Fragment 2 a/b^{r} mentions one Johan Anthoni Moret. All of these will be discussed more fully in Chapter II.

Fig. 13. Inscription on fol. lxx^{r}

Fig. 14. Inscription on fol. cxc^{v}

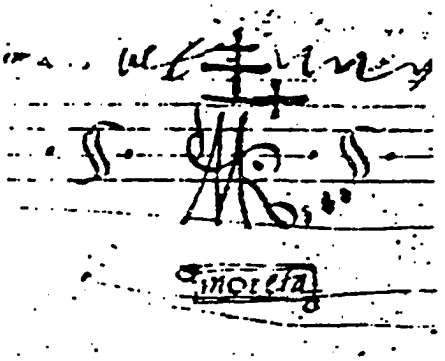

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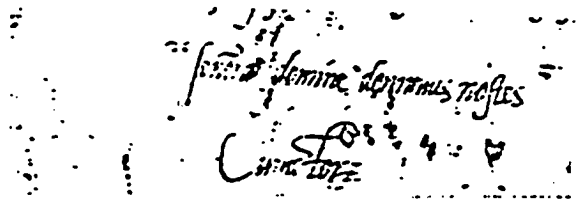
Fig. 15. Inscription on fol. [cxci^{v}]



DATES The five dates found in the music of Barcelona M.454 all appear in conjunction with pieces copied by Scribe C.[56] In the order in which they appear, these inscriptions are: "f. 25 1530" on fol. xii^{r}; "Gaspar 20 1532 faber" on fol. xvi^{v}; "20 faber Penyalosa 1525" on fol. cxl^{r}; "1532 Scobar" on fol. clxii^{r}; and "1534" on fol. clxxxviii^{r}.[57]

Previous descriptions of the Barcelona manuscript have failed, I believe, to explain these inscriptions in a satisfactory manner. Scholars have assumed that some or all the dates correspond to dates of copying of the music.[58] My contention is that only one of these inscriptions, "20 faber Penyalosa 1525," was written at the same time as the music that appears beneath it; the other dates are later additions. This hypothesis is based on two observations: (1) the *tabla* shows the approximate order in which the pieces were copied;

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[56]Two more dates, "v[...] de desembre 1520" and "xxii Janer 1535," are found among the scribbles and annotations on the last folio of the manuscript; see "Fragments and Binding," below.

[57]The word "faber" in two inscriptions has been interpreted by previous scholars as meaning February (from *febrero* in Spanish or *febrer* in Catalan). This interpretation is not entirely convincing for two reasons: (1) the spelling is quite different in both instances, and (2) it is very striking to see that two pieces would be copied on the same day, February 20, but seven years apart, in 1525 and 1532 respectively, with no festivity in the church calendar to justify it. I suggest that perhaps "faber" should be read in Latin as meaning maker or composer; this interpretation is plausible at least in the case of "20 faber Penyalosa 1525," where "20" could be read as "Lo."

[58]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo, la corte literariomusical del duque de Calabria y el cancionero llamado de Upsala," *Anuario Musical*, 13 (1958), 35; Hardie, "The Motets," I, 80; Knighton, "Music and musicians," I, 144.

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and (2) only the inscription containing the date 1525 was written with ink that matches that in the text and music that appear beneath it.[59]

The differences in handwriting do not rule out the possibility that Scribe C himself was responsible for these additions, especially if a number of years had passed since the original copying.

COMPOSERS AND ATTRIBUTIONS One feature that distinguishes 454/C from the other sections of the manuscript is the high number of ascriptions that it contains: fifteen works (out of nineteen) are attributed.[60] The other four are anonymous works. I believe that only the attributions that appear in the *tabla* (repeated in the music) are original, the others are later additions.

Table 5. Composers represented in 454/C.

Iberian Composers	**Franco-Flemish Composers**
Anchieta-1	Fevin-1
*Cubells-1	Fevin/[Bruck/Craen/Festa/Josquin/ Morales]-1
*Cubells/Petrus de Monte-1	Josquin/[Peñalosa]-1
Escobar-1	Mouton/[Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin]-1
Peñalosa-3	Mouton/[Martini]-1
Peñalosa/[Escobar]-1	Weerbecke-1
Ribaflecha-1	

*The asterisk in front of a composer designates that all the works attributed to him are *unica*. Underlined names appear above the music but not in the tabla; the other ascriptions, except those in brackets, appear both in the *tabla* and above the music

---

[59]See Chapter II for a discussion of a *terminus ante quem* based on the combined evidence of these inscriptions with dates and the *tabla*.

[60]I am not including Josquin's *Ave Maria*, which was listed in the *tabla* but not copied. One piece, a *Benedicamus domino*, has two ascriptions: Cubells in the *tabla* and Petrus de Monte above the music, on top of a previous attribution to Cubells; see Chapter V for a discussion of conflicting attributions. Not all the attributions in 454/C are in the hand of Scribe C.

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REPERTORY Barcelona 454/C contains nineteen works, five of which are *unica*:

Table 6. Distribution of the repertory in 454/C by genre.

Genres		***Unica***
Hymn	1	1 (No. 80)
Magnificat	1	1 (No. 21)
Marian antiphons	2	
Mass	1	
Motets	13	2 (Nos. 63, 94)
Versicle (*Benedicamus*)	1	1 (No. 20)

In addition, the *tabla* lists two more motets that are missing: *Mente tota* by Josquin (fols. xiii-xiv on which it had been copied are missing), and the *Ave Maria* attributed to Josquin both in the *tabla* and on fol. cliiii^{v}, the music of which was never copied.[61] The latter piece is found in 454/A.

SHORT INVENTORY OF 454/C

The *tabla* on f. [0^{v}] serves as a short inventory of 454/C. As mentioned above, only two pieces listed in the *tabla*, signaled below with an asterisk, were not copied by Scribe C. The presence of Anchieta's *Missa de nostra dona* (copied by Scribe B2) could be explained by the fact that the Mass and the piece that follows, a *Salve Regina* by the same composer, are liturgically related; the *Salve Regina* in the Iberian peninsula was traditionally performed after the Marian Mass.[62] The other piece in the *tabla* not copied by Scribe C is Wreede's *Pange*

---

[61]The ascription in the upper margin of fol. cliiii^{v} reads: "Jusquin." In the left margin, in the middle of the page: "Tenor." On fol. clv^{r}, in the left margin, half way down the page: "Inferius." The staves of this opening are empty.

[62]Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 181, pointed out that by 1362 the Salve was sung in the Iberian peninsula every Saturday after the *De beata Virgine* Mass, and he stated: "The singing of the Salve in substitution for the last gospel (*In principio*) not only at the close of *De beata Virgine* Masses but also of other Masses had indeed become everywhere in

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lingua (also copied by Scribe B2). This inclusion could be justified by the presence of the only hymn copied by Scribe C, *Sacris solemnis*, listed in the *tabla* immediately afterwards; again, the two pieces are litugically related, as they belong to the Feast of Corpus Christi.

Most of the items in the *tabla* were entered as the corresponding piece was being copied. This can be ascertained from the fact that the foliation, after the fourteenth entry in the *tabla*, no longer continues in a straightforward sequence. Rather, the foliation skips back and forth, no doubt reflecting the chronological order in which the pieces were inserted in the manuscript. That the *tabla* proceeds chronologically is also suggested by the last seven entries, which were written in a slightly but noticeably different style of handwriting.[63]

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sixteenth-century Spain so entrenched a custom that the reform decrees of the Council of Trent were scarcely strong enough to break its hold."

[63]See the discussion of the *tablas* in Chapter II.

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TABLA

Missa Mente tota		Anthonius Fevin	v
Mente tota tibi suplicamus[64]			xiiii
O beate Sebastiane		Jo. Mouton/[Martini]	15
O beate Sebastiane		Gaspar	17
**Missa de nostra dona salve sancta*	[Scribe B2]		38
Salve		dAnxeta	61
O pulcherima mulierum		Jo. Mouton[65]	63
Santa mater[66]			65
Precor te domine		Penyalosa	67
Benedicamus[67]		de Cubells	69
Magnificat[68]		de Cubells	70
**Pangue lingua gloriossi*	[Scribe B2]	[Wreede]	149
Sacris solemnis			152
Quam pulcra es amica[69]			175
Abit Jesus trans mare			142
Clamabat mulier cananea[70]			162
Memorare pissima[71]			163
Ave vere sanguis dni		de Panyalosa	66
Regina celi letare			187
Ave santisima maria			178
In pasione positus Jhs		Penalosa	140
Sancta trinitas unus Deus		Favin	178
Ave Maria		de Jusquin	[15]5[72]

*The asterisk indicates the two pieces that were not copied by Scribe C.

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[64]This piece by Josquin is missing, owing to the loss of fols. xiii and xiv.

[65]*O pulcherrima* is variously attributed to Bauldeweyn, Festa, and Févin; see Chapter V.

[66]This motet, ascribed to Peñalosa in three other Iberian sources, has an ascription to "iusquin" on fol. lxiv^{v} in a different hand.

[67]The music attributes this piece to Petrus de Monte; the ascription was written on top of a previous attribution to Cubells.

[68]The attribution to Cubells on fol. lxx^{r} is barely legible.

[69]The attribution on fol. clxxiiii^{v} to "Ribrafrecha," in different ink, is a later addition.

[70]This motet bears an ascription to Escobar on fol. clxii^{r}.

[71]The music bears an attribution to Peñalosa, but three other Iberian sources attribute *Memorare piissima* to Escobar.

[72]The first two digits of this folio number are illegible. Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, and Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 83, mistakenly assumed that this entry referred to the same motet copied on fols. cxxiiii^{v}-cxxvi^{r} (52^{v}-54^{r}); see the Inventory No. 50.

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BARCELONA 454/D

In addition to the three major sections, 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C, there is a distinctive group of Spanish secular pieces that constitutes the last layer of Barcelona M.454; most of them were copied at the end of the manuscript.[73] These pieces were inserted on pages with empty staves; and after the last of these pieces, on fol. cxc^{v}, a different scribe entered the monogram "MR" and the name "moreta" (Fig. 14, above).[74]

GATHERINGS AND WATERMARK The music of 454/D is found in gatherings II, XIX, XXII, and XXIII (see Fig. 2, above); the watermark is the same as that of 454/B and 454/C. However, the last folio of the manuscript, containing scribbles and annotations only, has a different watermark (WM4); for a description, see Fragment 1a/b, below.

SCRIBES Two scribes (D1 and D2) are responsible for these additions to the manuscript. Scribe D1 copied eight pieces and Scribe D2 copied thirteen. Scribe D2 was the last one in the manuscript, and since he attributed four *unica* to Flecha, he might have had a close relationship with the composer.

COMPOSERS AND ATTRIBUTIONS The composers represented in 454/D are listed in Table 7.

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[73]The villancico *Gloria... pues nació* was inserted near the beginning of the manuscript (fol. xx^{v}) by Scribe D2, who copied the last secular pieces in Barcelona M.454. This piece may well have been the last piece copied into the manuscript, after the scribe ran out of space at the end of Barcelona M.454.

[74]For a discussion of the monogram "MR" and the name Moreta, see Chapter II

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Table 7. Composers represented in 454/D.

Iberian Composers	**Non-Iberian Composer**
[Gabriel/Luchas]-1	[Janequin]-1
*Flecha-4	
Morales-1	
*Pastrana-2 (1 *unicum*)	

There are twelve anonymous compositions, but some of them could be attributed to Flecha on stylistic grounds.[75] The conflicting attribution Gabriel/Luchas will be discussed in Chapter V. Like 454/D, none of the sources for Janequin's three-voice version of the *Chant de l'alouette* bears an attribution, and his authorship is attested only in Attaingnant's printed version for four voices.[76] The attribution to Morales of the villancico *Si n[o] os [h]uviera mirado* has been questioned by Querol Rosso.[77]

REPERTORY The repertory of 454/D consists of twenty-one secular pieces, sixteen of which are *unica*.

---

[75]It should be pointed out, for instance, that the text of the anonymous villancico *Gloria... pues nació* mentions the name "Mateo," which is also Flecha's given name. Mateo, however, is traditionally used as a shepherd's name, and in this case rhymes with "deo."

[76]For a brief discussion of the transmission of Janequin's chanson, see Appendix III under "Barcelona M.454 and Florence 117."

[77]Leopoldo Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Uppsala* (Madrid: Instituto de España, 1980), 34 and 95.

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SHORT INVENTORY OF 454/D

Number	Folio	Title	Composer	Scribe
GATHERING II: fols. xv^{r}-xx^{v}				
No. 6.	fol. xx^{v}	*Gloria... pues nació*	[Flecha?]	D2
		* * *		
GATHERING XIX: fols. cliii^{r}-clx^{v}				
No. 82.	fols. clv^{v}-clvii^{r}	*Orsus orsus bus dromes*	[Janequin]	D1
No. 83.	fol. clvii^{v}	*Dadnos señora aguinaldo*	Anon.	
No. 84.	fol. clviii^{r}	[*A la caça*]	[Gabriel/Lucas]	
GATHERING XXII: fols. clxxvii^{r}-clxxxv^{v}				
No. 108.	fol. clxxxii^{r}	*Viva tal pastor*	Anon.	
No. 109.	fol. clxxxii^{v}	*Escomience a[h]ora Juanillo*	Anon.	
No. 110.	fol. clxxxiii^{r}	*Los que a nuestro rabadán*	Anon.	
No. 111.	fol. clxxxiii^{v}	*Pues tan huerte nos festeja*	Anon.	
No. 112.	fol. clxxxiii^{v}	[Textless]	Anon.	
		* * *		
No. 113.	fol. clxxxiiii^{r}	*Si sentís lo que yo siento*	Flecha	D2
No. 114.	fol. clxxxiiii^{v}	*Pues no me quereys [h]ablar*	Anon.	
No. 115.	fol. clxxxiiii^{v}	*Gentil caballero, deisme*	Anon.	
No. 116.	fol. clxxxv^{r}	*Mi dolor está encubierto*	Anon.	
No. 117.	fol. clxxxv^{r}	*Perdí mis amores*	Anon.	
No. 118.	fol. clxxxv^{v}	*O triste de mí*	Flecha	
GATHERING XXIII: fols. clxxxvi^{r}-[cxci]^{v}				
No. 119.	fols. clxxxv^{v}-clxxxvi^{r}	*Si n[o] os [h]uviera mirado*	Morales	
No. 120.	fol. clxxxvi^{r}	*Llenos de lágrimas tristes*	Pastrana	
No. 123.	fol. clxxxix^{v}	*Tiempo bueno*	Flecha	
No. 124.	fol. cxc^{r}	*Encúbrase el mal que siento*	Flecha	
No. 125.	fol. cxc^{r}	*Y la mi çinta dorada*	Anon.	
No. 126.	fol. cxc^{v}	*Ay dime señora di*	Pastrana	

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THE LAST FOLIO OF BARCELONA M.454

The last folio of the manuscript contains the following scribbles and annotations:

fol. [cxci^{r}].
(1) "Al muy prepoten/te Don Johan el/Segundo"

[To the most powerful Don Johan the Second]

Comments:
These are the first lines of the poem *Laberinto de Fortuna* (1444), also known as *Las trescientas*, by Juan de Mena (1411-1456), and they refer to Juan II of Castile (1403-1454).

(2) "Suma la carn que ha presa Johan... y yo iii lliures xiii sous i diner fet ha xxii de Janer 1535."

[The sum of the meat that Johan has taken. . .[illegible] and I amounts to 3 lliures 12 sous 1 diner. January 22, 1535]

(3) "Deus qui inmaculata Virgine Maria et digna fili tui mater existeret / ab omni labe peccata in conseptione sua preservasti [illegible]. qs ut/qui eis ... vera ... er redimus npam pro nobis apud te seny [?]/ intersedere sentia ...."

Comments:
This unidentified prayer is probably connected to the feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8th).

(4) "Deus qui beatum petrum a vinculis/ab solutum illesum abire fesisti fam-/uli tui Episcopi nostri in cap-/sione positi vincula ab solve et/eum ipsius meritis illesum abire/concede per Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum"

Comments:
This prayer, written by Scribe C, is similar to those for the absolution of the deceased (in this case a bishop). It uses part of the text for the Collect at Mass for the day of St. Peter's Chains (August 1st): "Deus, qui beatum Petrum Apostolorum, a vinculis absolutum, illaesum abire fecisti: nostrorum, quaesumus, absolve vincula peccatorum; et omnia mala a nobis propitiatus exclude. Per Dominum" (*Liber Usualis*, 1575).
This absolution formula in Barcelona M.454 should have included the first name of the deceased person after "famuli tui," right before "Episcopi nostri." It is possible to assume that the first name of the bishop in question was also Peter. The highest ecclesiastical position in the Crown of Aragón during the long process of compilation of the manuscript was occupied by the bishop Pedro de Cardona, who died in 1530. See Chapter II.

(5) "Deo gracias misere . . . tui omnipoten. . ./et trinitas [or Divinitas?] omnia peccata tua liberet (?)/te ab omni malo salvet et confirmet/in omni opere [sua?] et perdurat te/dominus nostrum Jesus Christus in vitam eternam"

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fol. [cxci^{v}]
(6) "Señora después que os vi" [Lady, after I saw you]

Comments:
A piece by Millán with this title was copied twice in Madrid 1335; see Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, III, Nos. 339 and 450.

(7) "Circundederunt me dolores de amor y fe ay circundederunt me/ Venite los que os doleis de mi pena desigual/ para que sepais mi mal yo os ruego que..."

[Afflictions of love and faith surround me. Come those of you who suffer because of my unjust affliction so that you know my sorrow I beg you...]. And immediately below, in the same hand:

"Señora domine dominus nostes./ Cum Tort" (See Fig. 15 above)

[Lady, lord of our lord./With Tort]

Comments:
This fragment is the beginning of the *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta*, included in Encina's *Égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*, believed to have been performed in Rome in 1514.[78] The refrain is a parody of the versicle "Circumdederunt me doloris mortis et pericula inferni invenerunt me" (Psalm CXIV, 3, sung at Vespers). This irreverent parody most likely contributed to the Inquisition's having included this *Égloga* in the *Index* of forbidden books.
The inscription with the name "Tort" probably refers to Anthoni Joan Fiella alias Tort, canon at Barcelona Cathedral (ca. 1509-1532). See Chapter II.

(8) "[A]vui qz compta v[...] de desembre/1520 done jo [An]thoni Johan/uns hactas ha mossen Spinos sobre/ una castio qz tenia ab Sans re-/venedor de la plaça nova de [Barci]none."

[Today, December (7), 1520, I, Anthoni Johan, give some documents to father Spinos concerning (Mr.) Sans, salesman at the "Plaça Nova" in Barcelona (square near the Cathedral)]

Comments:
This inscription was written by Scribe C, the compiler of the manuscript, who identifies himself as Anthoni Johan.[79] A 1509 document at the church archive of Nuestra Señora del Pino in Barcelona mentions one

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[78]See Chapter IV for a discussion of the date assigned by Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 20, to Layer 6 of Madrid 1335 on the basis of Encina's villancico *Si a todos tratas, Amor* found in this *égloga*.

[79]See Chapter II for a discussion about the identity of the inscription's Anthoni Johan.

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"Matheus Sanç, reventidor cives Barcinone," in connection with the creation of a library in that church;[80] I am inclined to believe that this is the same "revenedor" Sans mentioned in the inscription of Barcelona M.454.

(9) primo hobra de tera	x sous	4 di
mes cortines	x sous	
mes marfegua	x sous	
mes ferementa	4 sous	
mes escambels i posts dues		xv di
mes cofre esguenut pintat	4 sous	iii [di]
mes dos taules	iii sous	xi [di]
mes	4 sous	ii [di]
mes bresol	i sous	viii [di]

Comments:
The items listed are: earthenware, curtains, a straw mattress, things made of iron, footstools, a broken trunk, two tables, and a cradle.

The last folio carries half a watermark, which completes the partial watermark that appears on Fragment 1a/b found inside the binding (see below). This bunch of grapes (Fig. 16) measures 9 cm. x 6.5 cm, and the distance between the chain lines at the mark is 2.5 cm.[81]

---

[80]Madurell and Rubió, *Documentos*, 460-65. They also include in the index (p. 769) one Joan Spinos, scriptor, who perhaps is the same Mossen Spinos mentioned in the inscription of Barcelona M.454. Among the extant records at Santa María del Pino, though, I have not found beneficiaries related to Barcelona M.454. I would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of Mossén Joan Miralles, archivist at Santa María del Pino.

[81]None of the grape watermarks in Briquet, *Les Filigranes* or, Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Frucht* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983), resembles this watermark.

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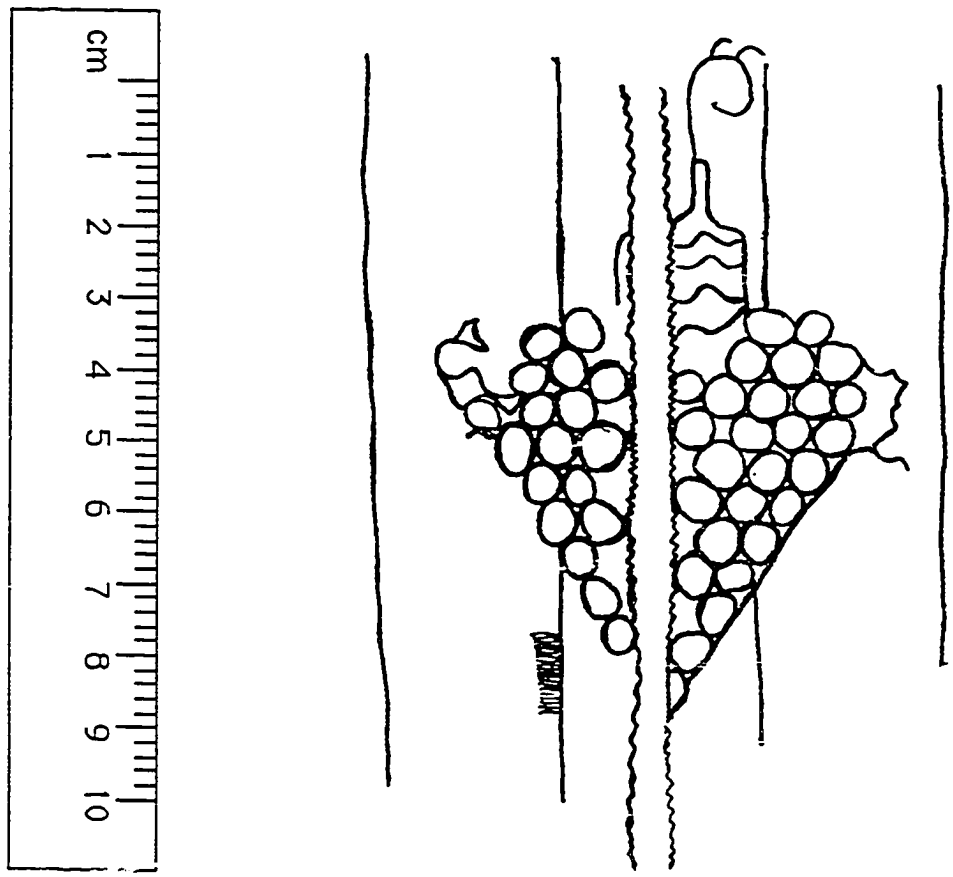
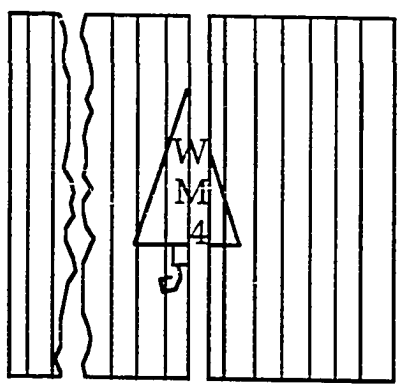
Fig. 16. Watermark in the last folio of Barcelona 454.



21.2 cm

29.7 cm



Fragment 1a/b^{v} Fol. [cxci^{r}]

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FRAGMENTS AND BINDING[82]

When Barcelona M.454 was restored in 1958, some related fragments were found inside the binding. They are now in an envelope attached to the inside front cover of the manuscript.[83] A description follows.

FRAGMENT 1a/b Fragment 1a/b consists of two halves of the same folio, cut vertically, measuring 29.7 cm x 21.2 cm. Its partial watermark fits the half mark in the last folio of the manuscript (see Fig. 16 above). The recto contains an earlier and shorter version of the *tabla* found on fol. [0^{v}].[84] As it appears on fragment 1a/b^{r} (see Fig. 12, above) the *tabla* reads:

Missa de mente tota anthonius fevin	v
Salve de anxeta	lxi
O pulxerima mulieris	
Johan moton	lxiii
Santa mater	lx[v]
Magnificat de Cubells	lxx
quam pulcra es	clxxv
pange linga gloriosi	cxl
Sacris solemnis	cl

There is also a fragment of what must be the superius part of a multi-voice composition, the identity of which remains unknown.

On the verso of Fragment 1a/b (Fig. 17), the scribe, besides testing his pen with scribbles both musical and non-musical, entered three monophonic excerpts. Between the first two there appears the name "dominis Johannes de Camargo [de mi Sabatus (?)]."

---

[82]I would like to thank Sr. Jaume Riera, at the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, who helped me to transcribe some of the texts in these fragments.

[83]The envelope reads: "Fragmentos de códice hallados en la lomera de este ms. al restaurarlo [en total 7] [29-V-58]." (Fragments found inside the binding of this manuscript when it was restored, seven altogether. May 29, 1958.)

[84]For a discussion of the two *tablas* of Barcelona M.454, see Chapter II.

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Below the second, the incipit reads: "nimis honora" (Gradual, *Liber Usualis*, 1225). At the bottom of the folio, upside down, an inscription in Catalan reads: "Al molt amat" [To the much loved].

FRAGMENT 2a/b Figs. 18 and 19 show both sides of a fragment that measures 15.9 cm x 10.7 cm and that contains inscriptions in Catalan on the recto and others in Latin with Catalan translations on the verso.

The most significant name is that of Johan Anthoni Moret, but no further information about him can be extracted from this fragment. He may very well be the compiler Anthoni Johan who wrote the inscription on the last folio of Barcelona M.454 and the monogram "MR moreta" after the last piece copied in the manuscript (see Chapter II). The towns of Cadaqués and Castelló [de Ampúries], mentioned in connection with Johan Mares and Antoni Roura, are in the province of Girona. There are no extant records about Cadaqués for this period, and the documentation at the Church of Santa María de Castelló and at the Municipal Archive of that city has not yielded information about Moret.[85] The following is a transcription and translation of this fragment.

[Fragment 2 a/b^{r}]
Recor sia a vos Johan anthoni moret [end of sentence lost]/
Johan mares de la villa y castel de Cadaques tres realts/
dergent los quals vos he prestats per bon amor si/
axi dieume me los tornareu lo mes prest que/
poreu testimoni antoni Roura de Castello/

Item me deu antoni Roura de Castello	iii s
... en Refer Garau (?)	ii s
Item Pere Johan	i s

[85]I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Mossén Angel, at Santa María de Castelló, who put at my disposal all the extant records of the Church. The local historian, Albert Compte, kindly pointed me to the oldest item at the Municipal Archive, a *Llibre d'Actes 1535-1550*, where I found one Anthoni Roure among the members of the City Council in 1535 (fol. [ii^{v}]), but his identification with the one mentioned in Fragment 2 a/b is not certain.

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Translation: This is to remind you Johan Anthoni Moret.../
Johan Mares from the town and castle of Cadaqués three
"realts"/ of silver that I have lent you in good faith if/
you say that you will return them to me as soon as/
you can, witness Antoni Roura from Castello/

Item owes me Antoni Roura from Castello	iii sous
... en Refer Garau (?)	ii sous
Item Pere Johan	i sous

[Fragment 2 a/b^{v}]
....se tingueren en ilusions i vostra/
apartament de tots los linages dells verbs y viu que lo/
disputava contra l'altra castionetas no pocas utills/
de grammatica que era cosa de [veura] merevellosa/
de veura i delitable de oir en les quals/
disputas se desperten en gran manera los antani-/
ments dells fadrins rovallats i aximateix la un/
sen va mes docta dells altres.

De sabbato proximo preterito de omnis.../
...nostro consi[...] alliunque cum allio castiunculas
gramati-/
que nec parum utilles quod erat miraville visu adque
auditu delectabille/
disputantem vidi in quibus disputacionibus rubiginosa
puerorum in-/
genia suscitantur magnopere et quoque altera ab altero
doccior/
abiit.

Combined translation:
Last Saturday. . . (in our meeting?). . . all the declensions
of the verbs. . . and one discussed against the other
not a few useful questions of grammar which was a marvellous
thing to see and delectable to hear. These discussions awaken the
untutored intellect of the youngsters, and in this way one becomes
more learned than the others.

Comments:
For a discussion of the possible relationship of this inscription with the Latin teacher Martí Ibarra, see Chapter II.

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Fig. 17. Fragment 1 a/b^{v} (reduced size).

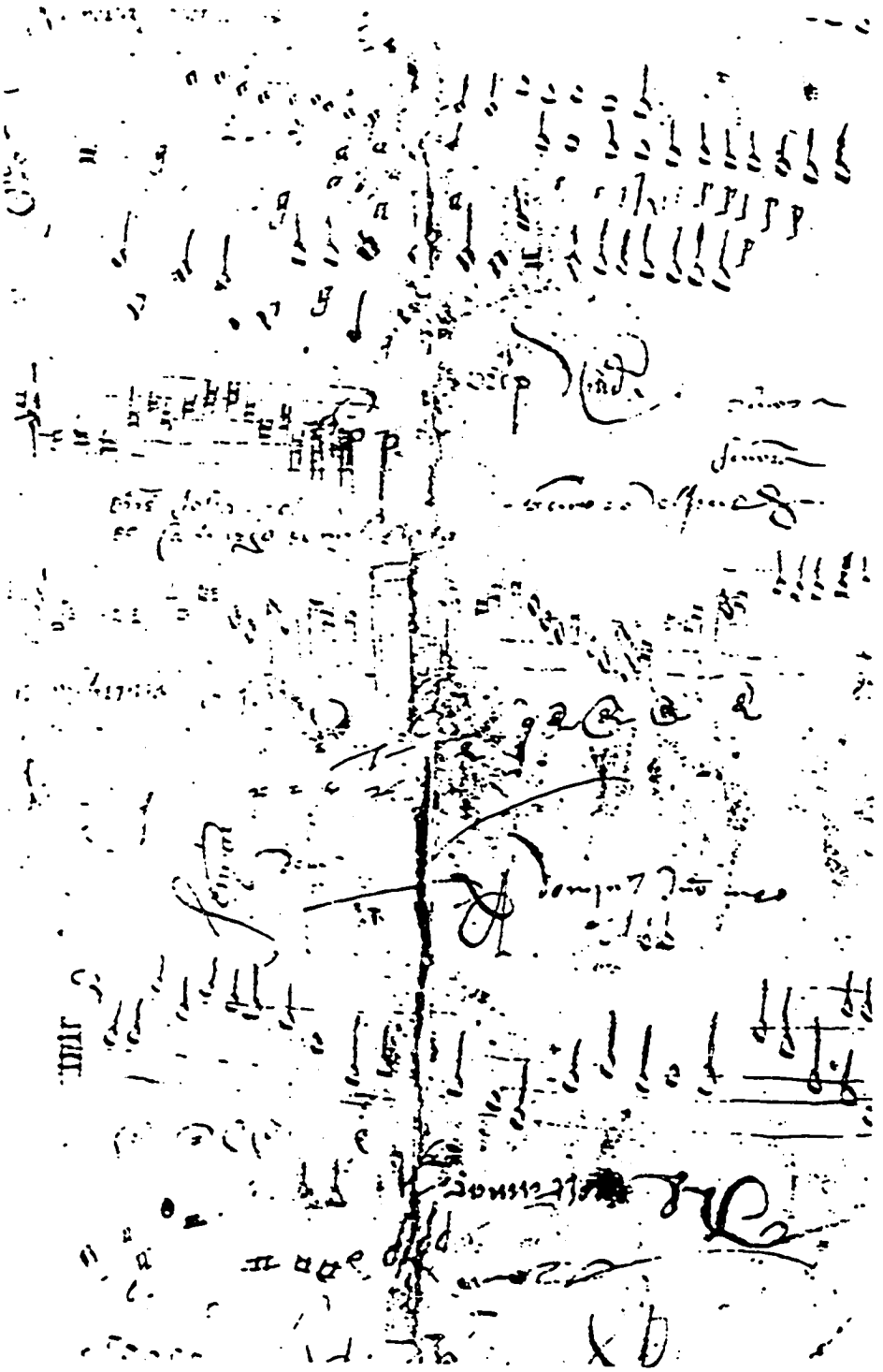

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Fig. 18. Fragment 2 a/b^{r} (reduced size).

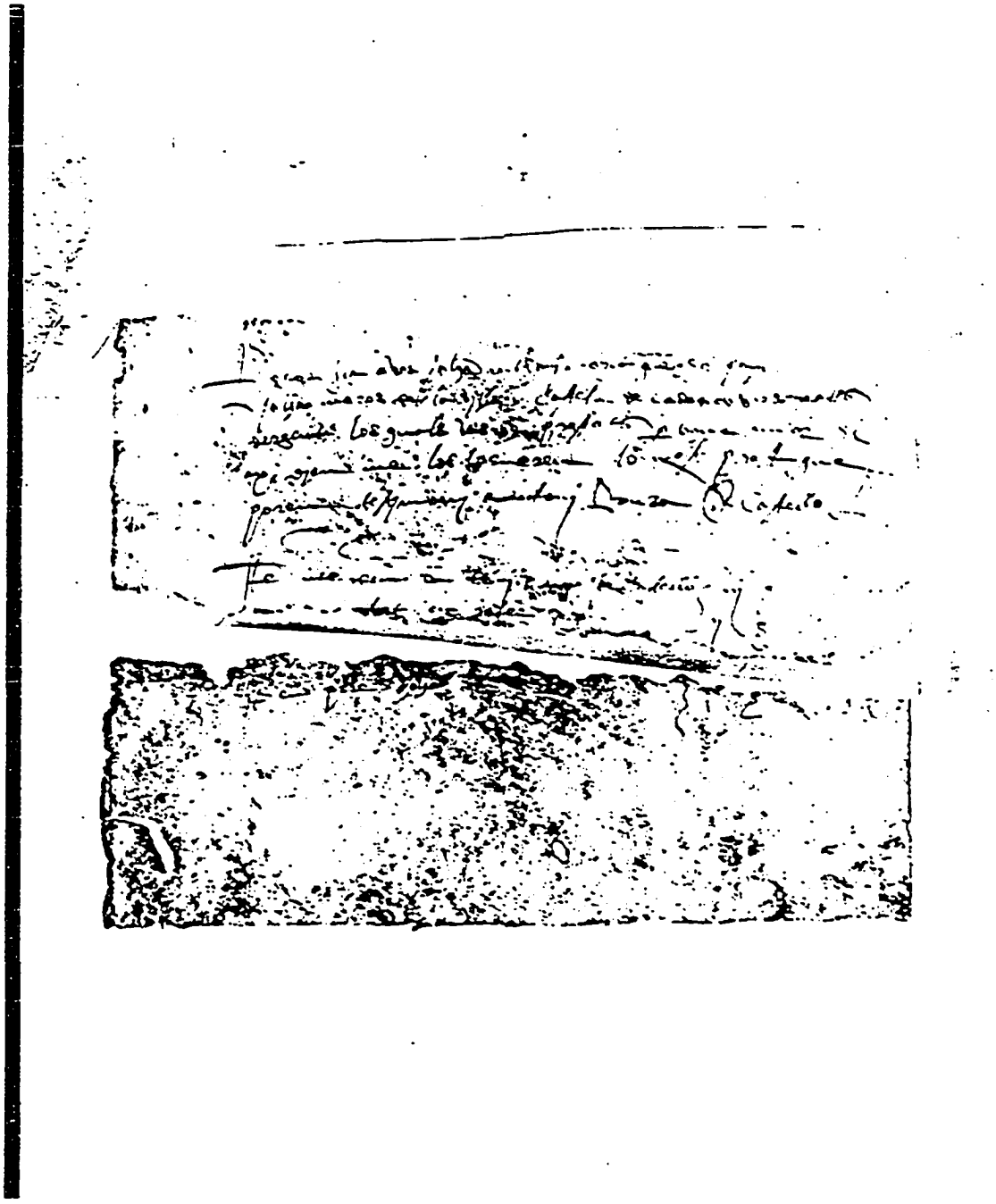

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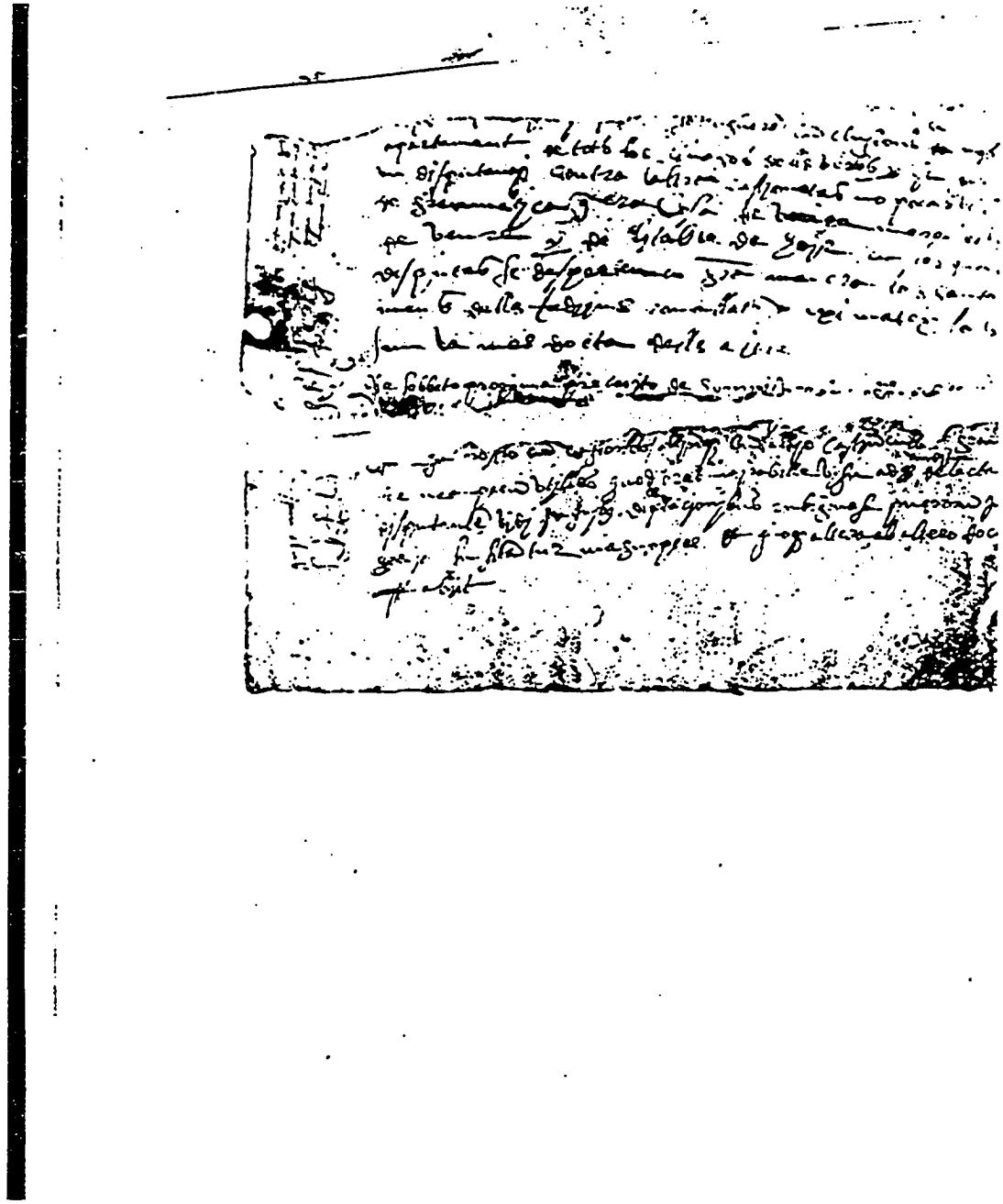
Fig. 19. Fragment 2 a/b^{v} (reduced size).



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FRAGMENT 3a/b The only significant features of this two-piece fragment in Catalan (Fig. 20) are the last three incomplete lines. They refer to: (1) the town of Cadaqués (Province of Gerona); (2) possibly a "mestre prest en cant" (?); and (3) the name "Antoni Moret" that had already appeared in fragment 2a/b. The following is a transcription of this fragment.

Transcription:

...es lo senyer en bertomeu
...bo he ple pagat
...per este no dic res mes
...la senyore he los
...tots de Cadaques
..[mes-?]-tre prest en cant (?)
...naren entoni moret

FRAGMENT 4 Fragment 4 consists of a third of a printed folio, measuring 29 cm x 7.5 cm and bearing an Indulgence in Catalan (Fig. 21; reduced size).[86] At the bottom of the folio there is the following handwritten inscription: "diocesis barchinone constitute" [Diocesis of Barcelona]. The printed characters resemble those used by Joan Luschner (fl. 1494-1512), a German printer who worked at Montserrat and Barcelona and issued more than 180,000 copies of indulgences in 1499-1500.[87] However, after 1507 and well into the second decade of the sixteenth century, the printer Carles Amorós used typographical material from Luschner's atelier and this fragment, therefore, cannot be dated with precision.[88]

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[86]Indulgences in Catalan were also printed outside the area of linguistic influence, as attested by the exemplars BU.2.V and BU.2.VIII at the Biblioteca de Catalunya issued at Toledo by Vázquez (1484) and Téllez (1495).

[87]Konrad Häbler, *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923), 169, and F. J. Norton, *Printing in Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 108. The printed characters in Fragment 4 cannot be identified with any of the examples of indulgences in F. J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501-1520* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1978). I would like to thank the Librarian at the abbey of Montserrat, Xavier Poch, who very kindly informed me that this indulgence was not issued at Montserrat.

[88]I would like to acknowledge Sr. Amadeu Soberanas, Curator of Manuscripts at the

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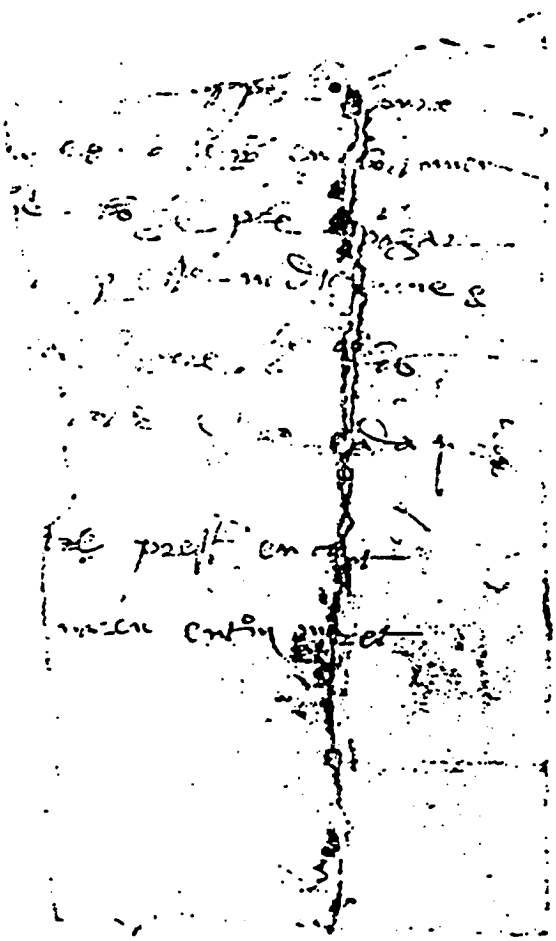
Fig.20. Fragment 3a/b (reduced size).



Biblioteca de Catalunya, who confirmed that this indulgence cannot be dated with precision; thus a *terminus post quem* for the binding of Barcelona M.454 could not be established on the basis of this fragment.

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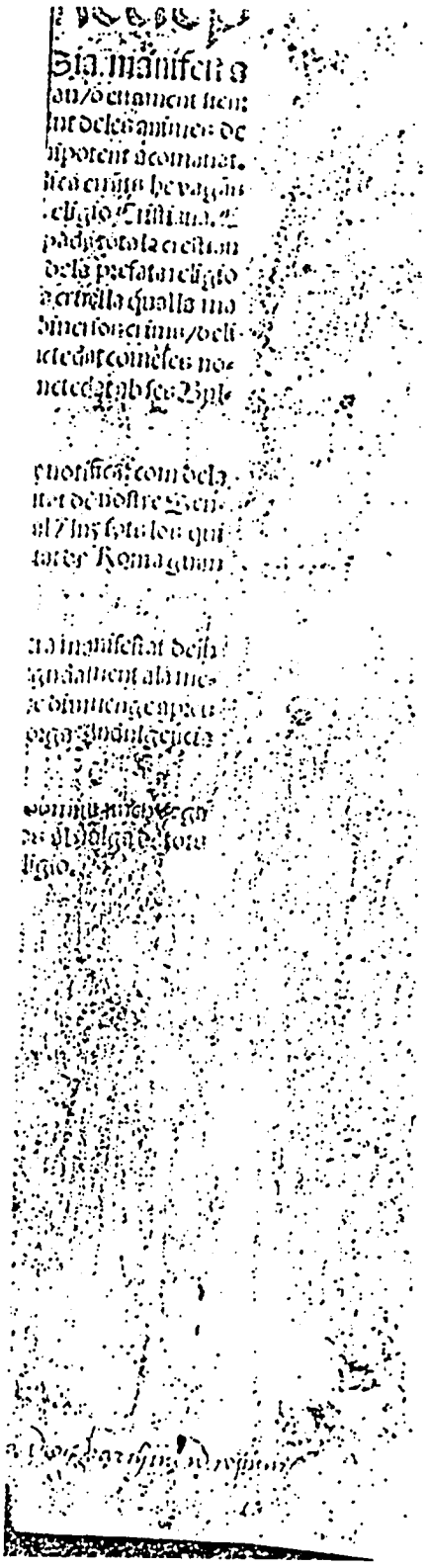
Fig. 21. Fragment 4.
(reduced size)



diocesis barchinone constitute

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BINDING Barcelona M.454 has a sixteenth-century binding of dark-brown leather over wooden boards; one of the leather clasps is missing, and the other is broken.[89] Two knotwork tools alternate, working into a central panel. The designs are characteristic of a Catalan variety of binding known as *mudéjar* style.[90] One of the tooling patterns consists of the typical *mudéjar* cablework tool in the shape of linked, addorsed C's. An example of this design is found on the binding of an *Horae ad usum sarum* once owned by Maria López de Gurrea, wife of Juan of Aragón, a nephew of King Fernando. The manuscript is now housed at The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.249[91]. The second tooling on the binding of the Barcelona manuscript is also found on that of another book now at the Morgan Library, a Latin theological treatise that displays the arms of Aragón and that probably can be associated with a member of that royal house at some point after 1477.[92] Thus there can be little doubt about the Spanish—particularly Catalan-Aragonese—origin of the binding of our manuscript.

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[89]That the binding is the original one is suggested by the contemporary fragments found inside, which include the first *tabla* of the manuscript.

[90]The binding is too dark to be reproduced satisfactorily.

[91]For a description and plate of this binding, see No. 34 in Paul Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400-1600* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, Oxford University Press, 1979) 121-22; examples of this border stamp also appear in Sir Henry Thomas, *Early Spanish Bookbindings XI-XV Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), plates 69, 77, and 86.

[92]The treatise, by Antoninus Florentinus and entitled *Summa theologica, tertia pars*, was published at Venice by Nicolas Jenson in 1477. The Pierpont Morgan Library, 50218-19. See No. 27 in Needham, *Twelve centuries of bookbindings, 400-1600*, 99-101, for a description and illustration.

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SUMMARY OF THE STRUCTURE OF BARCELONA M.454

Barcelona M.454 has 190 paper folios in twenty-three gatherings, and contains 127 works by Franco-Flemish and Iberian composers from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is a composite manuscript that, on the grounds of independent foliations, scribal distribution, and repertory, can be divided into four distinct sections: 454/A, 454/B, 454/C, and 454/D.

454/A, now comprising gatherings X-XVI of the manuscript, was an independent collection, the earliest of the four, and still carries its own foliation 1-65; the internal binion of gathering XXII belonged to this same collection and is referred to as the "separate folios" of 454/A.

454/B once started with a new foliation system that has previously gone unnoticed. This collection now appears divided into two parts (gatherings III-VIII and XVII-XIX) that surround 454/A. The first part of 454/B begins on fol. xxi^{r} of Barcelona M.454, on a completely blank page that also carries the folio number "i." On the leaves that follow, the original foliation of 454/B was changed by adding "xx" to the left of the original Roman numerals. The earlier foliation is not noticeable after what is now fol. xxxx, but the continuity of the first part of 454/B up to the present fol. lviiii^{r} is clear from the uninterrupted work of its scribe. The second part of 454/B starts immediately after 454/A, and the foliation shows clear signs of having been renumbered.

The reason for treating 454/C as an independent collection is the existence of a *tabla* that is not a table of contents for the entire Barcelona M.454, but a list of all the works copied by a single scribe throughout the manuscript. This Scribe C is the most important scribe in the manuscript, and the one responsible for its present structure.

Finally, 454/D consists of a distinct group of Spanish secular pieces, most of them added at the end of the manuscript.

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CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Having described the physical characteristics and composite character of Barcelona M.454, we can turn to the question of the origins of the manuscript, beginning with a review of previous hypotheses.

The earliest discussion concerning the possible origins of Barcelona M.454 was that by Romeu.[1] He pointed out that the spelling "ny" (in place of ñ), as well as the occasional use of "a" instead of "e" and "o" instead of "u," implied that the manuscript had been written in Barcelona or at least somewhere in Catalonia.[2] Although Romeu did not give examples of words with such spellings, he was probably referring to the spelling "Penyalosa" instead of the more customary Peñalosa, or the term "tanor" instead of "tenor." In addition, Romeu stated that the compilers had incorporated an earlier collection into the manuscript, one that contains an earlier foliation. He did not specify the provenance of this collection, and referred to it merely as the "old section" of the manuscript.[3] Romeu considered the rest of Barcelona M.454 to be the "new section," with a period of compilation that ran from 1520 to 1534.

Of the five dates appearing at different places in the manuscript, Romeu believed that the only one that matches the ink of both the music and the text written

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[1]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 35. Neither Pedrell nor Anglés discussed the provenance of Barcelona M.454.

[2]Romeu presented no further evidence for the geographical provenance of the manuscript.

[3]Romeu's "old section" of the manuscript corresponds to what I call 454/A.

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beneath it is the entry "1534" on fol. clxxxviii^{r}.[4] This date would have been entered by the scribe who copied two sacred compositions on fols. clxxxvi^{v}-clxxxix^{r}.[5] According to Romeu, the secular pieces that precede and follow them—*villancicos* by Mateo Flecha (1481-1553) and Pedro de Pastrana (ca. 1480-after 1559)—would also have been copied at that time.[6] Finally, Romeu concluded that these secular works were copied into the Barcelona manuscript from versions that had originated in Valencia, where, he believed, both composers were active around 1534.[7]

Twenty-two years after Romeu's discussion, there appeared in 1980 one by Carolyn Lee, who also described Barcelona M.454 as consisting of two layers.[8] According to Lee, Layer I, which corresponds to Romeu's "old section" (and to my section "A"), might have been copied for the court of Isabel and Fernando. After Fernando's death in 1516, this layer might have passed to Fernando's second wife, Germaine de Foix, who in 1526 married the Duke of Calabria and established their famous court at Valencia.[9] There, Lee contended, Layer I could have been combined with Layer II (the rest of Barcelona M.454) during the period 1525-1534, as suggested by the dates in the manuscript. Lee stated that only the dates 1532 and 1534 (fols.

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[4]See below for a discussion of the inscriptions with dates: "f. 25 1530" on fol. xiir; "Gaspar 20 1532 faber" on fol. xvi^{v}; "20 faber Penyalosa 1525" on fol. cxl^{r}; "1532 Scobar" on fol. clxii^{r}; and "1534" on fol. clxxxviii^{r}.

[5]These two anonymous pieces are a *Regina celi* (No. 121) and a setting of the first verse of the *Magnificat* (No. 122). However, not one scribe, but two (Scribes C and K1 respectively) were responsible for copying this music. Romeu took "1534" as a date of copying.

[6]However, these secular pieces are in the hand of a different scribe.

[7]There is no documentary support for the presence of Mateo Flecha in Valencia.

[8]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song, c. 1460 to 1535," I, 81-82.

[9]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 92. After Fernando's death (1516), Germaine de Foix married the Marquis of Brandenburg in 1519; he died in 1525. Thus the Duke of Calabria was her third husband.

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clxiii^{r} and clxxxviii^{r}, respectively) were entered at the same time as the music beneath them, whereas the other three dates would have been added only after the completion of the manuscript.[10] Lee offered other reasons for associating Barcelona M.454 with Valencia: (1) Valencia was the most important musical center in Spain between 1526 and 1535, and all the dates in the manuscript except 1525 fall within this period; (2) the Duke of Calabria was well known as a patron of musicians; (3) Pastrana became *maestro de capilla* at the court in 1533,[11] and (4) Lee assumed that Flecha was also active in that city.[12]

In her 1983 discussion of the provenance of the manuscript, Tess Knighton indicated that the different dates in the manuscript "mark a lengthy period of compilation."[13] Knighton believed that the music was copied after Fernando's death, except for the insertion of what she refers to as "an earlier manuscript."[14] Knighton suggested that Barcelona M.454 could have been compiled at or for the Valencian court of Germaine de Foix, adding that Flecha is also represented in the *Cancionero de*

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[10]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 89, puzzled over the scribble "Al muy prepotente Don Johan el segundo" on the last folio of the manuscript. Hardie, "The Motets," 80, found that the inscription refers to the first line of the widely circulated poem *Laberinto de Fortuna* (also known as *Las Trescientas*) by the fifteenth-century poet Juan de Mena; it refers to Juan II of Castile (1403-1454). Lee stated that the scribble could not be a dedication, and believed that this last folio was added after the completion of the manuscript, since another scribble on the same page bears the date 1535.

[11]Pastrana also appears as a chaplain on the rolls of Charles V from 1527 to 1547, when he entered the service of Prince Philip. Even though Pastrana had been named abbot of the Cistercian monastery of S. Bernardo, near Valencia, in 1529, he was noted for his frequent absences.

[12]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 89-90. See below, for a discussion of Flecha's whereabouts

[13]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 144.

[14]Knighton's "earlier manuscript" coincides with Romeu's "old section," Lee's Layer I, and my 454/A.

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Upsala,[15] a collection that Romeu had associated with the Dukes of Calabria.[16] This provenance, Knighton argued, would explain the presence of Aragonese, French, and Valencian repertories in the manuscript.[17]

The most recent discussion of the origins of Barcelona M.454 is that by Kenneth Kreitner. He reviewed Knighton's hypothesis, and stated that the spelling "ny" in the attribution of *O bone Jesu* to "Penyalosa" in the oldest section of the manuscript suggests that 454/A ". . .was copied somewhere in the Catalan-speaking lands, and the presence of *unica* by Terrassa and Aldomar [in the same section] points to Barcelona itself."[18] It should be pointed out, however, that (1) this attribution to Peñalosa, in a different ink from the music beneath it, is most likely a later addition, and (2) Kreitner's attribution of a Magnificat to the organist Gabriel Terrassa,

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[15]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 144, refers to this *cancionero* as a "manuscript," but this collection is a 1556 print published by Scotto in Venice: *Villancicos de diversos autores*. It has been edited by Jesús Bal y Gay, *Cancionero de Upsala* (México: Ed. Colegio de México, 1944); the earlier transcriptions of the music done by Mitjana, which were thought to be lost, appear in facsimile in Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Upsala*, No. 13.

[16]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 80-101. It is necessary to point out, however, that the Duke of Calabria died in 1550, six years prior to the publication of this Venetian print, and that the hypothetical presence of Flecha in Valencia, to support this provenance, is not documented. See the discussion of this print in Chapter IV.

[17]As Knighton also points out, Germaine, niece of Louis XII, could have inherited music from the court of her first husband Fernando V.

[18]Kreitner, "Music and Civic Ceremony," 265. According to Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," I, 79, Gabriel Terrassa was the organist at Barcelona Cathedral from 1472 to 1514. Gregori, "Els Mestres de cant de la Seu de Barcelona en el Renaixament," *Recerca Musicològica*, IV (1984), 23, indicated that Pere Joan Aldomar occupied the position of *mestre de cant* at Barcelona Cathedral during the first three months of 1506 only; even though a payment dated January 23 of that year suggests that perhaps he had served for a few months prior to that date, Aldomar's tenure at the Cathedral was very brief.

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following Gregori, is incorrect since it is based on a misreading of the inscription "Fray benito/de riaça" (perhaps "de (F)rança) on fol. lxxxiii^{v}.[19]

Lee's and Knighton's proposition that Barcelona M.454 (excluding 454/A) was written at Valencia rests on very flimsy evidence. Indeed, one of the grounds on which its Valencian origins is proposed—the presence of works by Flecha in the manuscript—stands in need of serious review.

Mateo Flecha "el Viejo" and Barcelona M.454

Romeu's reconstruction of Flecha's biography for the period between 1525 and 1543, the last ten years of which were supposedly spent in Valencia, is based partly on the composer's references to patrons in his *ensalada La Viuda* (The Widow).[20] Here music is referred to as a widow whose husband, "Good Taste," has passed away. The text praises famous patrons already dead (Pope Leo X, Fernando V, the Duke of the Infantado, and the Archbishop of Toledo) and mentions, in the present tense, the Duke of Calabria and the *cabildo* (cathedral chapter) of Valencia.

Romeu suggests that Flecha could have spent some time in Rome during the pontificate of Leo X (d. 1521), prior to his documented residence at Lérida in 1523-1525. Romeu, following the text of the *ensalada*, places the composer subsequently in the service of both Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Duke of the Infantado, and Alonso IV de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, until their respective deaths in 1531 and 1534. Romeu postulates that upon the death of the archbishop Flecha could have moved to

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[19]For a discussion of this inscription, see Chapter V.

[20]This and other *ensaladas* were collected and published by Flecha's nephew under the title *Las ensaladas de Flecha, maestro de capilla que fue de las sereníssimas Infantas de Castilla, recopiladas por F. Matheo Flecha, su sobrino...* Prague, 1581. The complete text of *La Viuda* is printed in Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 28-9. See Anglés, *Las Ensaladas de Mateo Flecha* (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1955).

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Valencia and come into contact with the famous court of the Duke of Calabria and the *cabildo* of Valencia.[21]

Unfortunately, no documents confirm Romeu's hypothesis regarding Flecha's patrons or his presence at Valencia. The only reference known by Romeu about the composer's whereabouts between 1525 and 1544 is the *Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Sigüenza*[22] of 1533, published a year later, in which Flecha appears as a signatory.[23] A newly found document states that Mateo Flecha was paid in 1539 for his service as *maestro de capilla* at Sigüenza.[24] Although it is not known how long he served at Sigüenza, Flecha's association with that city, albeit intermittent, may have been more substantial than previously thought.[25] The *maestro de capilla* documented after Flecha is Mathia Chacón, who occupied the position from 1543 to 1563. As suggested by Avila and Buendía, Chacón's arrival at Sigüenza seems to coincide with Flecha's nomination in 1544 as *maestro de capilla* of the Infantas Doña María and Doña Juana at Arévalo, near Segovia.[26]

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[21]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 33.

[22]Sigüenza is in the province of Guadalajara, ca. 120 km northeast of Madrid.

[23]This information was first presented by Luis Villalba, "Las *Ensaladas* de Flecha," *La Ciudad de Dios*, LXII (1903), 120-21. See also Anglés, *Las Ensaladas*.

[24]Ana Avila and Rogelio Buendía, "Datos sobre la música del renacimiento en la catedral de Sigüenza," *Recerca Musicològica*, I (1981), 199: *Resçiben se le e[n] cuenta quatro mill y / trezientos y setenta y cinco m[a]r[avedi]s q[ue] pago a / Mateo Flecha d[e] lo q[ue] servio de ma[estr]o de ca/pilla* (Actas Capitulares, fol. 256, n.p.). [Received four thousand, three-hundred and seventy five *maravedis* that were payed to Mateo Flecha in partial payment for the time he served as *maestro de capilla*]

[25]Avila and Buendía, "Datos sobre la música del renacimiento," 199-200, indicate that in 1534 the *maestro de capilla* was one Johannes de Arentana (or Aremana), but that the post was vacant in 1536.

[26]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 27, points out that the payment to Flecha in Arévalo reflects an unusual status, since he was payed only as singer, even though he seems to have had the position of *maestro de capilla.*

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The presence in Flecha's *La Viuda* of so many traditional literary elements[27] and codified motives, such as the *Ubi sunt*,[28] applied to well-known patrons makes it very difficult to interpret the text as autobiography. For instance, Romeu states that Flecha names Leo X before King Fernando, even though the latter had died five years earlier, because the composer, in a hypothetical stay at Rome, would have been more directly affected by the Pope's death.[29] But Pope Leo X is mentioned before King Fernando because of the rhetorical tradition of citing in order of importance; this order cannot be associated with any episode in Flecha's life. After the references to the Duke of the Infantado and the Archbishop of Toledo, patrons who would have been widely known, Flecha favorably compares the Duke of Calabria, a friend of music, to someone who—in contrast—has deceived music with empty words and promises.[30] In the next lines he expresses his desire, or rather the necessity, to go "from church to church."[31]

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[27]As Romeu points out, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 31-33, these traditional elements include popular sayings and lines from *romances* (*Conde Dirlos* and *Lanzarote* among others).

[28]The theme or literary topos of the *Ubi sunt* was used by poets, philosophers, and fathers of the Church throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in connection with the inexorable passing of time. The rhetorical question "Where are [those who have preceded us]" became a standard formula employed on many occasions for the most diverse purposes. According to Italo Siciliano, the most popular source of this formula in the Middle Ages was Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*: "Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii jacent? —Quid Brutus aut rigidus Cato?" (Metrum VII, col. 715). During the fifteenth century many variants were introduced, as in Jorge Manrique's *coplas* on the death of his father. For further bibliography, see Siciliano, *François Villon et les thèmes poétiques du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin: 1934), 256-61.

[29]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 30. There is no document to substantiate Romeu's hypothesis regarding Flecha's journey to Rome.

[30]It is difficult to reconcile Romeu's hypothesis about Flecha's famous patrons with his commentary: "Como sus compañeros, Flecha tendría una larga y penosa experiencia de estas cosas." ("Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 33.)

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El duque de Calabria es
con quien no á ovido revés:
es su amiga muy amada.
Biuda enamorada,
gentil amigo tenéis:
¡por Dios, no le maltratéis!
(Pues alguno la burló
con palabras que le dio
y promesas de fruslera,
que no diré yo quien es
ni quien era,
que no diré yo quien es
ni quien no.)
De yglesia en yglesia
me quiero yo andar
por no mal maridar.

The Duke of Calabria is [someone]
with whom [Music] did not have regrets:
he is her beloved friend.
Widow in love [Music],
you have a gentle friend:
My God, don't mistreat him!
(because there was someone who deceived her
with words
and empty promises,
but I won't say who he is
or who he was,
I won't say who he is
or who he wasn't.)
From church to church
I want to go
to avoid a bad marriage.

If we read this passage literally, we could posit that Flecha, in refusing to give the name of the person who has deceived music, is hiding his employer's identity: thus, he is willing to look for another church position. If so, Flecha's text is not that of a man who has enjoyed the favor of important patrons for an extended period of time, but that of a musician who has experienced precisely the opposite and is trying to win someone's favor.

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[31]Margit Frenk Alatorre, *Estudios sobre lírica antigua* (Madrid: Castalia, 1978), 135, believes this passage ("De iglesia en iglesia me quiero yo andar / por no malmaridar") is related to the song "Monjica en religión me quiero entrar / por no mal maridar" mentioned by Salinas in *De musica libri septem* (1577).

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Flecha, perhaps in search of a new job, addresses the *cabildo* of Valencia, asking it to be the judge in his "criminal dispute" against the bad taste of "common people in general."[32]

Ante el juez singular,
el cabildo de Valencia,
adonde por excelencia
lo siente,
yo, la Música presente,
doy querella criminal.
Y del vulgo en general
me querello,
porque tiende más el cuello
al tin-tin de guitarrilla
que a lo qu'es por maravilla
delicado.

Before the honorable judge,
the cathedral chapter of Valencia,
where this case can be best heard,
I, Music, being present,
accuse common people in general
because they turn their heads to
the "tin-tin" of a little guitar
rather than to what is marvelously
delicate.

The reference to Valencia, ". . .where this case can be best heard. . .," is presented as an epitome, and does not necessarily imply the physical presence of the composer in that city.[33] That Flecha was seeking a position at Valencia cathedral, and perhaps at the Duke's court as well, seems plausible, but whether he obtained it cannot be documented.[34]

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[32]The dispute concerns popular taste, secular versus sacred music.

[33]The precise meaning of the expression "...por excelencia lo siente..." is ambiguous. Joan Corominas, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), V, 208, gives several possible uses of the verb *sentir* including the equivalent of: to perceive by the senses, and to hear. Although the latter meaning is less common, it seems more appropriate in this instance.

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A strictly literal interpretation of the text, however, is misleading because of the humorous tone and the complexity of the poem, with its frequent onomatopoeic interjections such as "Tu, turutú, turutú," or "Frequelé, frequelé." Moreover, Romeu's interpretation of *La Viuda* as a biting satire against the bad taste of common people is not altogether convincing, since the piece itself is an example of the witty secular style that the composer is supposedly condemning.[35] The end of the piece would have provoked a hilarious effect, since it combines the theme of the Nativity, the popular reference to "guárdame las vacas," and the exclamation of the singers in Latin.

Asomó por este exido,
hecho pastor el Mexía
y Humanidad le dezía,
viéndose de fuerças flacas:
Guárdame las vacas
carillo, y besar t'é.
Custodi nos, Domine,
ut pupillam occuli!
Sub umbra alarum tuarum
protege nos!

To this world came
the Messiah as a shepherd,
and Mankind,
realizing its weakness, told Him:
keep my cows
and I will kiss you.
Guard us, O Lord,
like the apple of the eye!
Under the shadow of your wings
Protect us!

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[34]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 54, dated *La Viuda* from 1539, but his chronology of Flecha's *ensaladas* is based on stylistic grounds and on the undemonstrable premise that Flecha composed roughly one *ensalada* every Christmas after his hypothetical arrival at Valencia in 1534.

[35]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 29, divides the poem into three major sections: (1) the helpless situation of Music and musicians (lines 1-60); (2) the satire against the bad taste of people (lines 61-80); and (3) the reference to the Nativity and further satire against common people who celebrate this festivity with songs that provoke the consternation of church singers.

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Thus the text of *La Viuda* does no more than suggest that Flecha might, at some point, have been in Valencia, but we do not know when or for how long. Neither the presence of *villancicos* by Flecha in Barcelona M.454 nor the date "1534" on a nearby folio can be taken as evidence for either the Valencian provenance of the manuscript or its date of compilation. First, the date itself, appearing above a sacred composition copied by a scribe other than the one responsible for Flecha's works, is a later addition to the manuscript. And second, these short *villancicos* contrast with the much larger and elaborate *ensaladas* like *La Viuda*, and could have been composed or copied elsewhere.

The many contradictions and gaps in our knowledge of Flecha's biography do not permit us to arrive at any conclusions concerning the provenance of his compositions in Barcelona M.454. Isabel Pope pointed out that Flecha's *Tyempo bueno* in Barcelona M.454 paraphrased the *superius* of an Italian piece, *O tempo bono*, in Montecassino 871,[36] and Romeu himself associated this piece with a hypothetical journey to Italy which Flecha would have taken prior to 1523.[37] Fétis stated that Flecha had studied in Barcelona with an otherwise unknown Jean Castelló, but since Fétis did not cite his source, this piece of information cannot be confirmed.[38]

Finally, Lee's and Knighton's suggestion that Barcelona M.454—again 454/A excluded—was compiled at or for the Valencian court of Germaine de Foix

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[36]Pope, "La Musique espagnole à la cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle," *Musique et poésie au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), 52, 57. Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: a Neapolitan repertory of sacred and secular music of the late fifteenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 421.

[37]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 30.

[38]François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1883-84), III, 270. Flecha's connection with Barcelona is through his most famous and prolific pupil, the Catalan P. Alberch Vila (1517-82), organist at Barcelona Cathedral from 1538 until his death.

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must be questioned, not only because of the shaky ground on which it stands, but also because evidence points in a different direction. Moreover, as we shall see, the bulk of Barcelona M.454 was probably compiled years before the possible arrival of Flecha and Pastrana at Valencia.

Terminus ante quem of 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C

It has been difficult to establish a precise date of compilation for Barcelona M.454 because of the complexity of the manuscript—in effect, it comprises three distinct collections with later additions—and because of the presence of different dates that do not follow one another in linear order.[39] And although these dates have usually been interpreted as indicating chronological stages in the compilation of the manuscript, I believe that the only inscription copied at the same time as the music and text beneath it is "20 faber Penyalosa 1525;" all the other dates represent later additions of text underlay and/or attributions.[40] This detail, combined with other aspects of the compilation process, is of crucial importance in determining the *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript. Although a date in a manuscript could conceivably refer to the date of composition, performance, or of any related event, the following discussion is based on the premise that the inscription with the 1525 date in Barcelona M.454 indicates the copying date of the piece beneath it.[41]

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[39]As stated in Chapter I, the watermarks in Barcelona M.454 cannot be used to establish either the places or origin of the different sections of the manuscript; the binding, however, is of Aragonese origin.

[40]Romeu, who considered "1534" as the only one that matched text and music beneath it, did not give any explanation concerning the other dates in the manuscript. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 82, suggested that only the dates "1532" on fol. clxii^{r} and "1534" on fol. clxxxviii^{r} were written at the same time as the music on those folios, while the other dates would have been "inserted retrospectively after Layer II or even the whole manuscript was complete." Hardie, "The Motets" I, 80, and Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 144, interpreted the dates as copying dates.

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As described in Chapter I, all five dates were written above pieces copied in section 454/C. Scribe C joined the other two sections of the manuscript (454/A and 454/B), and was responsible for the opening *tabla* that lists the compositions he copied.[42] After the fourteenth entry in the *tabla*, however, the foliation does not continue in a straightforward sequence, and it seems obvious that Scribe C now entered a piece in the *tabla* as he was about to copy it in the manuscript. Thus the *tabla* shows the approximate chronological order in which its entries were copied into the manuscript; this order is confirmed by the last seven entries in the *tabla*, written by the same scribe but with ink and calligraphic style that differs slightly from the preceding entries.[43]

The following list of the five pieces with dates, in the order in which they appear in the *tabla*, will clarify the problem caused by the later addition of those dates.

Order and Title in the *tabla*	**Inscription above the Music**
[1] *Missa Mente tota* Anthonius Fevin [fol.]v	"f. 25 1530" [fol. xii^{r}]
[4] *O beate Sebastiane* Gaspar [fol.]17	"Gaspar 20 1532 faber" [fol. xvi^{v}]
[16] *Clamabat mulier cananea* [fol.] 162	"1532 Scobar" [fol. clxii^{r}]
[19] *Regina celi letare* [fol.] 187	"1534" [fol. clxxxviii^{r}]
[21] *In passione positus Jhs* Peñalosa [fol.]140	"20 faber Penyalosa 1525" [fol. cxl^{r}]

[41]None of the Iberian manuscripts I have consulted in Barcelona, Madrid, Segovia, Seville, Tarazona, and Toledo contains dates of composition or performance of a particular piece; only some Toledo manuscripts contain dates, and they are unanimously interpreted as copying dates.

[42]See Chapter I for a reproduction and transcription of this *tabla*.

[43]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 82, stated that two scribes were responsible for the *tabla*, after the manuscript had been compiled; she did not realize the connection between the *tabla* and the works copied by Scribe C. As stated in Chapter I, while the calligraphic style of the music copied by Scribe C remains practically the same, his handwriting of the text undergoes a change.

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The order in the complete *tabla* reveals three things: (1) the *Regina celi* dated "1534" was not the last piece copied by Scribe C in the manuscript, even though it carries the highest folio number and the most recent date; (2) four items (*Ave sanctissima Maria*, *In passione positus*, *Sancta trinitas*, and *Ave Maria*) were entered in the *tabla* after the *Regina celi*, and one of them is the motet *In passione positus*, the piece beneath the inscription dated 1525 and the one instance in which there is a perfect match between the ink of the inscribed date and that of both music and text; (3) paradoxically, the four pieces with the dates 1530, 1532, and 1534 were copied before the one dated 1525, the latter being, according to the *tabla*, the next to last piece to be copied by Scribe C.

A comparison of the text underlay in the last six pieces copied by Scribe C, those pieces with a different calligraphic style in the *tabla*, confirms that the text of *Regina celi* does not match that of the other five, and that the date "1534" most likely indicates when the text was added.[44] The other inscriptions with the dates 1530 and 1532 are also distinctively later additions. The first one, "f. 25 1530," appears in the *Benedictus* of Févin's *Missa mente tota* (fols. iv^{v}-xii^{v}). The light brown color of the ink in this inscription corresponds to that in the addition of text noticeable after fol. ix^{v}, on which only the incipit *Et in Spiritum Sanctum* had originally been written.[45] The inscriptions "Gaspar 20 1532 faber" and "1532 Scobar" are also in a markedly different ink from the one used for the music above which they appear; and they must certainly refer only to the dates that the ascriptions were entered.[46]

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[44]Only the incipit "Regina" in the tenor matches the ink used for the music; the rest of the text has the same color ink as the date "1534." Perhaps the remainder of the text was originally omitted because it is short and well-known.

[45]Scribe C had originally copied all the music for this Mass, the complete text up to fol. ix^{r}, and the incipits for the remaining sections.

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Since my contention is that the penultimate piece entered by Scribe C was copied in 1525, all the previous pieces in the *tabla* must have been copied before that date, and we can therefore place the *terminus ante quem* of section 454/C around 1525, by which time most of the Barcelona manuscript (454/A, 454/B, and 454/C) had acquired its present structure. 454/D, with works attributed to Flecha and Pastrana, were later additions.

Terminus post quem of 454/C

It is important to note at the outset that 454/C itself consists of as many as five layers, which may account for an extended period of compilation. This process of compilation may be ascertained by comparing the two *tablas* copied by Scribe C (see Fig. 1):[47]

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[46]The motet bearing the inscription "Gaspar 20 1532 faber" (fol. xvi^{v}) in light brown ink, already had an original (dark ink) ascription to "Gaspar" on fol. xvii^{r}.

[47]As described in Chapter I, the original version of the *tabla* was found among the fragments inside the binding of the manuscript. These *tablas* are presented here in an homogenized way, with Arabic folio numbers, brief titles, and a reference number to facilitate the comparison; dotted lines separate the different stages in the compilation of the *tablas*. For a diplomatic transcription, see Chapter I.

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Fig. 1. The two *tablas* of Barcelona M.454.

Tabla (Fragment 1a/b)

[1] Missa mente tota Fevin	5
[2] Salve de Anxeta	61
[3] O pulcherrima Mouton	63
[4] Sancta mater	65
[5] Magnificat de Cubells	70
[6] Quam pulchra es	175
[7] Pange lingua	149
[8] Sacris solemnis	152

Tabla (final version; fol. [0v])

[1] Missa mente tota Fevin	5
[2] Mente tota [lost motet]	14
[3] O beate Sebas. Mouton	15
[4] O beate Sebas. Gaspar	17
[5] Missa nostra dona	38
[6] Salve de Anxeta	61
[7] O pulcherrima Mouton	63
[8] Sancta mater	65
[9] Precor te Penyalosa	67
[10] Benedicamus de Cubells	69
[11] Magnificat de Cubells	70
[12] Pangue lingua	149
[13] Sacris solemnis	152
[14] Quam pulchra es	175
[15] Abit Jesus trans mare	142
[16] Clamabat mulier	162
[17] Memorare piisima	163
[18] Ave vere Penyalosa	66
[19] Regina celi	187
[20] Ave santisima maria	178
[21] In passione Peñalosa	140
[22] Sancta trinitas Fevin	178
[23] Ave Maria de Jusquin	[15]5
[not copied; opening left with blank staves]	

The original *tabla* in Fragment 1 a/b contains eight entries, but the foliation of the last three items does not follow a straightforward sequence; the piece that carries the highest folio number, *Quam pulcra es* (fol. 175), appears in the sixth place, rather than last. When the items in this original *tabla* were incorporated, together with six new entries, into the first stage of the final *tabla*, the two items that were out of order were rearranged according to their folio numbers, so that *Quam pulcra es* appears at the bottom of the list as entry [14].[48]

[48]This rearrangement does not affect those pieces with the dates on which I have based the *terminus ante quem*.

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It is precisely after *Quam pulcra es* that the foliation of all nine remaining items in the final *tabla* once again fails to follow a straightforward sequence. Two of these last nine entries could have been added shortly after *Quam pulcra es*, but the different calligraphic style of the next seven clearly shows the distinct final layer of 454/C.

Although we could consider all the works listed in the original *tabla* in Fragment 1 a/b to constitute the first layer, that the last two items are out of order probably implies that only the first five or six items constituted the original layer of 454/C. This is suggested by the fifth item, the *Magnificat* by Cubells, the piece that carries the inscription "Román" (perhaps Romanus) and the partly illegible characters "121101" (?), inscriptions that might signal the moment when the earliest layer of 454/C was completed.[49]

We can deduce from the original *tabla* that sections 454/A and 454/B had already been incorporated when that first *tabla* was written. The second item in the first *tabla*, *Salve de Anxeta*, carries the folio number "lxi"; this implies that section 454/B, which begins at fol. xxi^{r}, was already part of the manuscript. Item six, *Quam pulcra es*, in the same *tabla*, was copied on fol. clxxv, which also indicates that section 454/A, encompassing fol. lxxiii^{r}-cxxxvii^{v}, had been incorporated. Thus Scribe C's compilation of the original *tabla* (Fragment 1 a/b) signals approximately the moment by which the three main sections of the manuscript were brought together.[50]

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[49]For a reproduction of this inscription, see Chapter I. The possible identity of "Román" will be discussed below; the illegible characters, though now meaningless, could have been a date.

[50]The second, third, and fourth items in the original *tabla* (*Salve* by Anchieta, *O pulcherrima* by Mouton, and *Sancta mater* by Peñalosa) were consecutively copied after the last Mass in 454/B, using the second half of the gathering left blank by Scribe B2; the fifth item, a *Magnificat* by Cubells, is found in the following gathering. Févin's *Missa mente tota*, the first item in both *tablas*, occupies one entire gathering at the beginning of the manuscript, right before the other masses copied by his predecessor.

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A hitherto unnoticed inscription, written in Catalan on the last folio of Barcelona M.454 in the hand of Scribe C, provides a clue not only to the compiler's identity, which will be discussed later on, but to the approximate date when the original *tabla* was compiled:

> [A]vui quez compta v[. . .] de desembre/ 1520 done jo [An]thoni Johan/ uns hactas ha mossen Spinos sobre/ una castio ques tenia ab Sans re-/ venedor de la plaça n[ova] [Barci]none.[51]
>
> [Today, December 7, 1520, I, Anthoni Johan, give some documents to father Spinos concerning [Mr.] Sans, salesman at the plaça nova Barcelona]

As explained in Chapter I, while the calligraphic style of the music copied by Scribe C remains practically the same, his text underlay shows changes that suggest that his copying took place over an extended period of time. The handwriting of this inscription dated 1520, however, matches that of the first version of the *tabla* of Barcelona M.454 found in the fragment inside the binding.[52] Moreover, the folio containing the inscription carries half a watermark that fits perfectly with the other half of the watermark that appears in the fragment.[53] Given the similarity of handwriting and the paleographical connection between the folio with the inscription dated 1520 and the fragment containing the first version of the *tabla*, the latter probably was not written much earlier than 1520. Since, as stated above, the penultimate piece in the

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[51]For a reproduction of this inscription on (fol.[cxci^{v}]), see Chapter I. The plaça Nova is a square near the cathedral. As mentioned in Chapter I, a Matheus Sanç "reventidor cives Barcinone" is mentioned in a 1509 document at the church archive of Nuestra Señora del Pino in Barcelona, and I believe that he is the same as the Sans mentioned in this inscription.

[52]See Figs. 11 and 12 in Chapter I.

[53]See Fig. 16 in Chapter I. This watermark, a bunch of grapes, appears only once.

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final *tabia* was copied in 1525, the compilation of 454/C would have taken place from approximately 1520 to 1525.

The origins of 454/C:

The main scribe and compiler of the manuscript

Three inscriptions and a monogram in Barcelona M.454 offer some clues about the identification of Scribe C and the milieu in which the compilation might have taken place. These pieces of evidence suggest: (1) the possible association of a Spanish musician with the manuscript, (2) that the compiler was one Anthoni Johan, for whom I shall present the most likely candidate among several people with this same name, and (3) the possible connection of the manuscript with a distinguished canon at Barcelona Cathedral who had been in the service of the noble Cardona family of that city.

The first of these inscriptions appears in connection with the *Magnificat* by Cubells, half-way down fol. lxx^{r}, and reads: "Román" (perhaps "Romanus"), with a series of partly illegible characters below the name: "121101" (?).[54] This inscription was written in the same ink as the music and text copied by Scribe C. The name "Román" could refer to Juan Román, who served as a singer in the employ of Queen Isabel from 1495 until her death in 1504; other documents show that he had previously sung for the Cardinal of Spain.[55] In 1498 Román was named *reçebtor* (treasurer) of

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[54]See Chapter I, p. 46, for a reproduction of this inscription.

[55]The documentation concerning Juan Román is taken from Knighton, "Music and Musicians" I, 294. She does not mention the name of the Cardinal, but she probably refers to Don Pedro González de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain from 1483 to 1495. Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical de los Siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Huérfanos, 1890), 43-44, suggested that the composer of one piece attributed to "Roma[n]" in Madrid 1335 (fol. ccxliv^{r}) could be either the poet "el comendador Román" or Isabel's singer Juan

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Isabel's chapel, and after her death he became *precentor* at Guadix cathedral.[56] No further documentation is known about him except for a letter dated 1506 from Lucio Marineo Siculo (ca. 1460-1533) addressing him as "Ioanni Romano Guadixiensis ecclesiae cantori." In this letter, the Sicilian humanist and chronicler of the House of Aragón laments the death of Queen Isabel and the consequences that it may have for the arts in general; he renews his loyalty to King Fernando, even if it means accompanying him to Italy, as he eventually did, and he regrets the separation from his friend:[57]

> . . . But among all the losses which I suffer from the death of the queen there is nothing which so bereaves me as our separation. I can scarce endure the loss of your companionship. . .[58]

Although Román's presence in Isabel's chapel and the important role that he played therein might account for the inclusion of both Spanish and international repertory in 454/C, as well as for the incorporation of 454/A and 454/B, we should note that (1) the name Román is not uncommon; and (2) since the inscription "Román" appears on a piece by Cubells, a composer and *maestro de capilla* who worked in Barcelona, the different milieu of both musicians makes it at least somewhat problematic to identify the Román of the inscription with the Juan Román who served Queen Isabel. In the end, though the identification is certainly possible, it is difficult to say what role if any Isabel's singer Juan Román might have had in the compilation of Barcelona M.454.

Román. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 10-12, also documents one Fernando Roman, "minyon cantor," in Fernando's chapel from late 1479 through mid-1481.

[56]Guadix, one of the oldest episcopal sees in Spain, belongs to the province of Granada.

[57]The Latin original was published together with Marineo's correspondence under the title *Ad Illustrissimum principem Alfonsum Aragoneum Fernandoi regis filium...epistolarum familiarum libri decem et septem*, Valladolid, 1514, fol. 76. An English translation of the letter to Román is in Caro Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 172-73.

[58]Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance*, 173.

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In the second inscription—cited and transcribed above (p. 87)—found on the last folio of the manuscript and dated 1520, the Catalan Scribe C identifies himself as "jo Anthoni Johan" Obviously, we should try to establish his identity. Beginning with the least likely candidate, I shall discuss the possible identification of several people with the scribe Anthoni Johan.

An Anthoni Johan is documented as a *mestre de cant* at Barcelona Cathedral in 1511.[59] However, a document at the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos in Barcelona, regarding a public auction of books "relictos" [left at one's death] by Antoni Joan, beneficiary at Barcelona Cathedral, unequivocally shows that this Antoni Joan had died in 1516.[60] A second candidate who must be rejected is Joan Ferrer, who succeeded Anthoni Johan in 1513[61] and whom Josep Mas identified with Anthoni Johan.[62] Yet as Gregori

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[59]The document, Arxiu de la Catedral, *Albarans Sacristía* 1509-11, fol. 54, has been transcribed by Gregori, "Els Mestres de cant," 28, and reads as follows: *Jo Anthoni Johan mestre de cant de la/ insicne Seu de Barcelona atorc aver/ rebut de vosaltres mossèn Gerònim/ Segur e Francí Pallisser regents la/ Secrestia de dita Seu sinquanta e dos/ sous e son XX s. per mon salari e XXII/ per las completas de la coresma e los/ deu per lo portar de la stella de maitines, e perque sta en veritat fas lo/ present de ma mia a VI de maig/ any D e XI.* [I, Anthoni Johan, *mestre de cant* of Barcelona Cathedral, have received from father Gerònim Segur and Francí Pallisser, regents of the Sacristía of the said cathedral, fifty-two sous: twenty as my salary, twenty-two for the *completas* of Lent, and ten for carrying the cross at Matins; because this is true, I make the present (document) of my own hand on May 6, 1511]

[60]This entry regarding a music book—acquired by the bookdealer Sr. García—was published by José Mª. Madurell, "Documentos de Archivo. Manuscritos e Impresos Musicales (Siglos XIV-XVIII)," *Anuario Musical*, 23 (1968), 207:

28 de Agosto de 1516

32. Subasta pública de los libros relictos por Antoni Joan, beneficiado de la seo de Barcelona.
"Item, hun *libre de cant* de ploma estampe ab uns cuerns... a n'an García, librater, .i.sou."
(AHPB. Jaume Sastre (mayor), leg. 7, lib. Iº invent. años 1507-1535)

[61]According to Gregori, "Els Mestres de Cant," 30-31, Joan Ferrer signed a receipt as "mestre de cant" in April of 1514, and Gregori suggests that Ferrer could have been acting as such since May of the previous year. From 1515 to 1517, he held the positions of both *mestre de cant* and *sonador* (organist), after which time he continued

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points out, neither the receipts written by Ferrer himself, nor any other documents concerning him contain the name "Anthoni."[63] Since Gregori was not aware of the documented death of Antoni Joan, he ultimately left the question open, but now it is clear that Anthoni Johan and Joan Ferrer were two different people.[64] A third candidate who should be discounted is Anthoni Johan Fiella alias Tort, canon at Barcelona Cathedral from at least 1509 through 1532; his handwriting in a 1521 receipt also fails to match that of the scribe Anthoni Johan in the inscription dated 1520.[65] However, the prestigious canon Anthoni Johan Fiella alias Tort and his possible relationship with Barcelona M.454 will be discussed below in connection with another inscription on the last folio of the manuscript.

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only as organist until 1536. A *Domine non secundum* attributed to Johannes Ffarer is found in the Segovia manuscript.

[62]Mas, "Taula dels mestres del cant o de capella de la Seu de Barcelona." *Noticies històriques* (Typescript for consultation at the Archive of Barcelona Cathedral.)

[63]See Gregori, "Els Mestres de cant," 28.

[64]After examining the handwriting and monogram of the notary Antonio Benito Joan, active in Barcelona between 1490 and 1535, I would discard this candidate; I consulted his records at the *Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona* (*Repertorium* 1520-21 [fol. 2^{v}]). Another notary named Joan Antonio had died in 1494.

[65]Arxiu de la Catedral, *Albarans Aniversaris* 1521, fol. cxxiiii^{r}: *Jo antoni Joan Fiella tort canonge de bar / celona confes aver rebut de vos venerable / mossen Steve Ferrer prevere beneficiat / procurador mayor dels aniversaris de dita / Seu de Barcelona que m aveu dona/des vuit lliures dos sous dich viii Ll. ii s. e son per les antorxes que yo com asindich e despeses en les Corts dar/rerament celebrades en lo monestir de framenors per la C. S. Magestat del Rey n. s. easso per la part toquant a dit aniversaris e per manament del / Rm Capitol e per que es la veritat fas / lo present de ma mia vui q tenim / a xiiii de abril mil D XXI.* [I, Antoni Joan Fiella Tort canon at Barcelona Cathedral, acknowledge having received from you, most venerable mossen Steve Ferrer, beneficiary and procurator of the *aniversaris* of the said Cathedral of Barcelona, eight *lliures* two *sous*, i.e. 8 Ll. / 2 S. They are for the torches that I have used, as representative [of the Cathedral chapter], at the *corts* celebrated at the monastery of Framenors under his Majesty the King our lord, and thus regarding the *aniversaris* and by order of the most reverend chapter and because this is true, I write the present with my own hand today, April 14, 1521].

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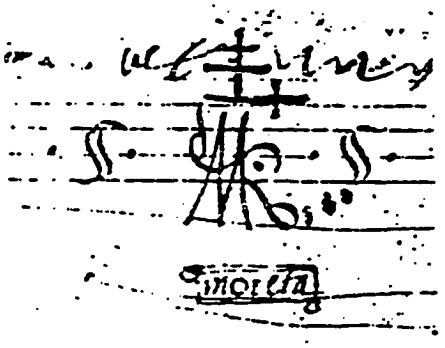
The probable identity of the person responsible for the compilation of Barcelona M.454 is hinted at by the monogram "MR," surmounted by a cross of four arms, and standing above the name "moreta" (Fig. 2) after the last piece on fol. cxc^{v}.[66]

Fig. 2. Inscription at the bottom of fol. cxc^{v}.



The scribe who entered the monogram is not the same as the one who wrote the music above it, a composition that belongs to 454/D and that stands as the final piece in Barcelona M.454. And at first, the handwriting of the monogram also seems different from that of Scribe C. However, a careful comparison of the words "moreta" and "Memorare" (Fig. 3) in entry [17] of the *tabla* reveals that both words could have been written in the same hand. Of the approximately 34 scribes in Barcelona M.454, Scribe C is the best candidate for the authorship of the "moreta" inscription. And if the hands are the same, we may—by combining the "Anthoni Johan" and "moreta" inscriptions—identify Scribe C as Anthoni Johan Moreta.

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[66]The cross of four arms in a monogram was widely used. For illustrations of sixteenth-century monograms with the cross of four arms, see Ferran de Sagarra, *Sigillografía Catalana* (Barcelona: Estampa Arts Gràfiques, 1932), Nos. 1856, 1890, 1967, 1984, 2098, 2194, 2409, 2529, 2569, 2664. For illustrations of sixteenth-century devices with the cross of four arms used by Spanish printers and bookdealers, see Francisco Vindel, *Escudos y Marcas de Impresores y Libreros en España durante los siglos XV a XIX* (Barcelona: Orbis, 1942), 39, 65, 139, 172, 212. The patriarcal cross of four arms is also associated with archbishops; coincidentally, the logo of the Arxiu Diocesà in Barcelona is a cross of four arms. See below for a hypothesis about the ownership of Barcelona M.454 based on its possible association with an archbishop.

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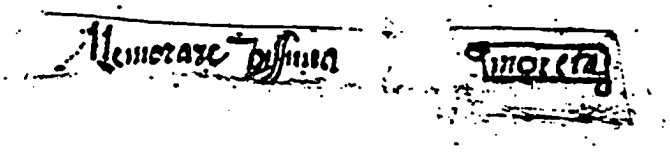
Fig. 3. Two inscriptions, probably in the hand of Scribe C.



We should consider three names close to "Moreta" that could conceivably be identified with the compiler of Barcelona M.454. The first one is "Juanes Moneta," who is listed with the Flemish singers paid between 1506 and 1514 by Juana, daughter of Isabel and Fernando.[67] Although the Moreta-Moneta identification cannot be confirmed, it would help to account for both the Franco-Flemish repertory and the compilation process of Barcelona M.454.

The second candidate is Juan de Mora documented as chaplain and illuminator under King Fernando in 1509,[68] and listed as *escribidor de libros* (copyist) at the chapel of Charles V in 1528.[69] Since Moreta is a diminutive of Mora and the latter

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[67]Knighton, "Music and Musicians" II, 54. Edmond vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siecle*, 8 vols. (Brussels: G.A. van Tright, 1867-88), VII, 162-63, 165, 167, 170, 275-76, listed Moneta among the Flemish singers in the *grande chapelle* of Philip the Fair since 1505; he continued to be payed at least until 1514.

[68]The following document from the Archivo de la Catedral at Toledo states that on March 3, 1509, the chaplain of the Kings, Juan de Mora, was payed 2,296 *maravedíes* for illuminating a music book. *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Vol. 55, 523:

> "(*Juan de Mora, iluminador.*)
> En tres días de março (1509) pagó a juan de mora, capellan de los Reyes, dos mill e dozientos e noventa e seys mrs. por illuminar en el *santural* de canturia lo syguiente: una letra de principio, CCCLXXV mrs.; una letra quadrada syn salida, LI mrs.; dos letras quadradas con salidas a quatro reales y medio, CCCVI mrs.; por noventa y dos letras comunes de a medio rreal MDLXIIII mrs.; asy que montó los dichos dos mill e dozientos e noventa seys mrs." (Archivo, Toledo Cathedral. *Libro de gastos del año 1509*, f. 90)

[69]Anglés, *Carlos V*, 34, cites: Simancas, Casa Real, leg. 17, as follows:

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seems to have been active as a scribe during the period of compilation of the manuscript, it is extremely inviting to consider that Anthoni Johan Moreta could be none other than the scribe Juan de Mora who was in the service of both Fernando and Charles V. Furthermore, it is most striking to find the name of Pedro de Pastrana immediately preceding that of Mora in the same list of personnel, since the monogram "MR moreta" appears at the bottom of the last piece in Barcelona M.454, an *unicum* that bears an attribution to Pastrana.[70] The Moreta-Mora identification would certainly clarify the overall process of compilation of our manuscript, and would explain the presence of Franco-Flemish and Spanish repertoire, thus establishing the closest possible link between Barcelona M.454 and the chapels of Fernando and Charles V.[71]

The last and most likely candidate, however, is the unknown "Johan Anthoni Moret" mentioned in Fragment 2 a/b[r] found inside the binding of the manuscript.[72] The similarity between the relatively uncommon last names Moret and Moreta seems more than just a coincidence, and the reversal of the names Anthoni Johan–Johan Anthoni is probably insignificant. Indeed, in Fragment 3 a/b —also transcribed in Chapter I—the name appears only as Antoni Moret; it is likely that the compound first

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Capilla:
Al arçobispo de Santiago don Juan Tavera, nuestro capellán mayor.
Pedro de Pastrana
A Juan de Mora, escribidor de libros.....II mil DCLXVI

Menestriles:
Antonio de Cáçeres de la Sala.....x mill
etc.

[70]Anglés, *Carlos V*, 26, published the document dated July 12, 1527, in which Pastrana was first paid as chaplain in the chapel of Charles V.

[71]Among the beneficiaries attached to Barcelona Cathedral there was one Anthoni Mora listed in the *Llibre Adsministració Aniversari* starting in 1523. I consulted a receipt he signed in 1525 (*Albarans Sacristia* 1525-27, fol. viii[r]), but his handwriting does not match that of Anthoni Johan Moreta.

[72]For a transcription of fragments, see Chapter I.

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name may have been confused.[73] I have adopted the version Anthoni Johan Moreta on the grounds that, if I am correct, this is the form he himself wrote—"Anthoni Johan"— in the inscription on fol. [cxci^{v}], and in the "moreta" monogram on fol. cxc^{v}.

Four pieces of evidence point to the milieu in which the compilation of 454/C might have taken place: (1) one of the fragments found inside the binding of the manuscript contains the handwritten inscription "diocesis barchinone constitute," which implies that Barcelona M.454 was bound in the diocese of Barcelona;[74] (2) Anthoni Johan mentions the "plaça Nova"—square near Barcelona Cathedral—in the inscription he wrote on the last folio of the manuscript; (3) the same inscription mentions the salesman Señor Sans, who is also named in a contemporary document in connection with the creation of a library at the church of Nuestra Señora del Pino in Barcelona;[75] (4) another inscription on the last folio of the manuscript, "señora domine dominus nostes/cum Tort," most likely refers to Anthoni Joan Fiella alias Tort, canon at Barcelona Cathedral. His name appears every year from at least 1509 through 1532 at the top of the long lists of beneficiaries attached to the cathedral.[76] The list for

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[73]Fragment 3 a/b suggests that Moret could have been a priest and a singing-master: "[mes]tre prest en cant."

[74]This fragment consists of one third of a printed folio of an Indulgence; see Chapter I, Fragment 4. It is relevant to 454/C, since, as stated above, among the other fragments found inside the binding of Barcelona M.454, there is the first version of the *tabla* of the manuscript in the hand of Scribe C.

[75]Madurell and Rubió, *Documentos*, 460-65. They also include in the index (p. 769) one Joan Spinos, scriptor, who perhaps is the same Mossen Spinos mentioned in the inscription copied by Anthoni Johan.

[76]Arxiu de la Catedral, *Llibre Administració Aniversari*. I have not been able to consult all the volumes concerning the first decade of the sixteenth century, but Anthoni Joan Fiella is referred to as a cathedral canon in a 1509 document at the Arxiu Diocesà, *Comune*,Vol. 61 (1505-16), 156^{v}-157^{r}. He disappears from the cathedral books after 1532.

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1517 refers to him as "abbat" (abbot),[77] and in 1521 he was payed for some expenses as "asindic" (representative) of the cathedral chapter at the *corts* celebrated in Barcelona under Charles V.[78] Another document at the Arxiu Diocesà dated January 17, 1531, and signed by Anthoni Joan Fiella i Tort, informs us that he had the title of Abbot of Sant Steve in Montsó [=Monzón] and that he was vicar general to the Bishop of Barcelona, Lluis de Cardona.[79] From these documents we can deduce that the canon Anthoni Joan Fiella enjoyed a prestigious position not only at Barcelona Cathedral, but among the clergy of the city, and that his career coincides with the period of compilation of Barcelona M.454.

Although it is not possible to determine the exact relationship between the canon Anthoni Joan Fiella and the scribe Anthoni Johan Moreta, the evidence provided by Fragment 4 and by the folio on which the scribe mentions the salesman Sans of the Plaça Nova near the cathedral strongly suggest that the scribe was active in Barcelona. Since the name Anthoni Joan Moreta does not appear among the lists of beneficiaries attached to Barcelona Cathedral, however, it is most likely that he served a different institution in the city. That Anthoni Johan copied a *Magnificat* and a *Benedicamus*

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[77]Arxiu de la Catedral, *Llibre Administració Aniversari*, 1517-19, fol. 66.

[78]Arxiu de la Catedral, *Llibre Administració Aniversaris*, 1521-23, fol. 45v. The document reads: *Mes pos en data he pagat mossen Anthoni Joan Fiella canonge per manament del reverendissim capitol per les antorxes ha despeses com asindic de dit capitol en les corst darrerament celebrades en lo monestir de framenors per la cesarea magestat per la part tocant a los dits aniversaris.* (Today I have payed mossen Anthoni Joan Fiella canon, as ordered by the cathedral chapter, for the torches he has used as representative of the chapter at the *corts* celebrated, under his majesty, at the monastery of Framenors.) See above the transcription of the receipt writen in the canon's hand and dated April 14, 1521.

[79]Arxiu Diocesà, *Litterae Visoriae* (1514-1568), fol. [114 bis]^{v}. This document, addressed to the Cathedral Chapter of Tarragona, is cited by Sagarra, *Sigillografía Catalana*, No. 3071, to describe the coat of arms in the seal of the bishop Lluis de Cardona. I would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of Mossen Fèlix Miquel and Sister Remei Valls, at the Arxiu Diocesà of Barcelona.

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domino by Pero Cubells,[80] *maestro de capilla* of Santa María del Mar in Barcelona in 1532,[81] suggests that perhaps Anthoni Johan Moreta himself was associated with this important basilica, though there is no documentation at Santa María del Mar to confirm this hypothesis. Finally, the reference on the last folio to Anthoni Johan Fiella alias Tort, a prestigious canon and vicar general to the Bishop of Barcelona, Lluis de Cardona, suggests that perhaps the scribe Anthoni Johan Moreta may have been connected to the noble Cardona family, some of whose members occupied the highest political and ecclesiatical positions in the Crown of Aragón during time at which Barcelona M.454 was being compiled.[82]

The Origins of 454/A[83]

Section 454/A can best be described as a once-independent manuscript copied by Flemish scribes, in or outside Spain, but with distinctive Spanish additions. Paleographic evidence suggests that these separate gatherings of Franco-Netherlandish

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[80]Scribe C attributed the *Benedicamus domino* to Cubells in the *tabla*, but a different hand entered an ascription to the otherwise unknown Petrus de Monte in the body of the manuscript, seemingly on top of a previous attribution to Cubells; for a brief discussion of this conflicting attribution, see Chapter V. Some fragments of a Requiem Mass by Cubells are found in a manuscript of which only a photographic reproduction is available: Biblioteca, Orfeó Català 12-VII-28 "Miscelànea del segle XVI." According to Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 94, the original manuscript was sold in London. For an inventory, see Sergi Casademunt, "Un manuscrit català inèdit del segle XVI," *Recerca Musicològica* III (1983), 41-44. The other two composers represented in this collection are Pujol and Cots. Casademunt recorded the dates found in the manuscript from 1539 to 1546; however, he missed the earliest date, 1527, found twice on fol. 37^{v} of the manuscript (38^{r} in Casademunt's inventory).

[81]Baldelló, "La Música en la Basílica Parroquial de Santa María del Mar, de Barcelona," *Anuario Musical* 17 (1962), 221. There is no documentation about either Cubells or any of his predecessors prior to this year; most of the records were destroyed during the Spanish Civil War.

[82]For a discussion of the Cardona family, see below.

[83]See Chapter I for a paleographic and repertorial description of this section of the manuscript.

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repertory[84] reached the Iberian peninsula, where Spanish scribes foliated them after the addition of local repertoire.[85] That these gatherings were used at Barcelona is suggested both by the substitution of local saints in the *secunda pars* of Compère's *Ave Maria* [86] and by the presence, among the Spanish additions, of a work by the local composer Pere Joan Aldomar, who became *mestre de cant* at Barcelona cathedral on January 19, 1506 and a member of Fernando's chapel in 1508.[87] 454/A is the kernel of what would eventually become the Barcelona manuscript; its independent foliation 1-65[88] is one of the reasons for considering 454/A the earliest (ca. 1500-1510) and once independent portion of Barcelona M.454.

The repertoire in 454/A, especially the opening three-voice *Missa Auleni*,[89] supports the early date for this section; this Mass can be dated from the last third of the

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[84]It is important to make the distinction between the international repertory copied by Flemish scribes in 454/A and that copied by the Spaniard B2, who, however, could also have used Flemish exemplars.

[85]Particularly significant with regard to chronology are the Spanish pieces that use the last verso and first recto of consecutive gatherings; see Chapter I.

[86]Knighton, "Music and Musicians" I, 139-40, identifies the different saints mentioned in four sources of Compère's *Ave María* (Barcelona M.454, Chigi, Segovia, and Tarazona 2/3), but she dismisses this evidence, suggesting that the saints in Barcelona M.454 could apply to the city of Valencia.

[87]Gregori, "Els Mestres de cant," 25-26, indicates that the terminology used in Aldomar's nomination suggests that he could have been acting as *mestre de cant* since the summer of 1505. Even though he was frequently absent, being replaced on certain occasions by his predecessor Bertomeu Rovira and by his successor Joan Gallard, Aldomar apparently kept the titularity of his position until 1508. Although Gregori suggests that Aldomar could have come from Girona, Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 247, states that Aldomar was listed in Fernando's chapel as being a native of Barcelona, and that his brief stay at Fernando's court would account for the presence of three of his songs in Madrid 1335 and one in 454/A.

[88]Since what I call the "separate folios" of 454/A (see Chapter I, 454/A) carry the old folio numbers 78 to 81, and 454/A now ends its old foliation on fol. 65, this section was originally larger, and could have had an independent life before it was incorporated into the rest of Barcelona M.454.

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fifteenth century.[90] The compositions by Brumel, Compère, Josquin, and Weerbecke in 454/A do not contradict an early date for this section. The works of the Spanish composers represented in 454/A can be placed in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Aldomar, Baena, Encina, Gabriel, and Mondéjar also appear in the fifth layer of Madrid 1335, dated after 1506;[91] however, works by all of these composers except Aldomar and Mondéjar are also included in previous layers of Madrid 1335. What these Spanish composers have in common is their service in Fernando's chapel, or, in the case of Encina, a close relationship with the House of Aragón. Particularly significant is the presence in 454/A of four *unica* by Mondéjar, who first served Queen Isabel from 1502 until her death in 1504,[92] and then sang in the Aragonese chapel until Fernando's death in 1516.[93] Although this repertory could have also been copied or performed during the second decade of the sixteenth century, the paleographic features

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[89]As I noted in Chapter I, in their inventories of Barcelona M.454, previous scholars read the word in the upper margin of fol. lxxiiii^{r} (1^{r}) as "Cuvenor" or "Suvenor" and believed that it represented the name of the composer to whom the work was being ascribed in the manuscript. However, the most convincing reading of the word is "Superior," and it must refer to a voice part, not a composer's name; a voice designation in similar calligraphic style appears on fol. ccxxxxii^{r} of the Chigi Codex. For a discussion of this Mass, see Chapter V.

[90]For the relevant literature on the work, see Martin Just, *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021 der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, 2 vols.* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975), I, 285. According to Thomas Noblitt, "Die Datierung der Handschrift Mus. ms. 3154 der Staatsbibliothek Müunchen," *Die Musikforschung*, 27 (1974), 48, the *Missa Auleni* was copied in Munich 3154 around 1488-1490.

[91]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-I, 20, dated that layer between 1506 and 1515. The latter date, however, was suggested (1) by the presence of other later composers, such as Salcedo and Ponce, who do not appear in Barcelona M.454, and (2) by one of Encina's works in Madrid 1335 belonging to the *égloga Plácida y Vitoriano*, presumably performed in 1513. For a discussion of Romeu's chronology of Madrid 1335, see Chapter IV.

[92]It is interesting to note that Lope de Baena, Alonso de Mondéjar, and Johannes Román were amongst the singers who accompanied her body to Granada.

[93]Knighton, "Music and Musicians" I, 285, cites the document and the references to Stevenson and Pope.

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of the Spanish additions in 454/A indicate that this section most likely became a separate manuscript during the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The Origins of 454/B[94]

The once-independent foliation of 454/B shows that this section of the manuscript, like 454/A, was also conceived separately from the rest of Barcelona M.454. It is difficult to determine whether the period of compilation of 454/B is closer to that of 454/A (ca.1500-1510) or to that of 454/C (ca. 1520-1525), owing to its ties with both 454/A and 454/C. On the one hand, that 454/B starts with a unique three-voice Mass of which the superius of the *Kyrie* appears on the last verso of 454/A indicates a close connection, or continuity, between these two sections.[95] The Masses that follow by Busnoys, Ockeghem, and Anchieta in the first part of 454/B are also clearly connected with the Flemish repertory transmitted by 454/A.[96] Thus, the music in both 454/A and 454/B permits both sections to be dated from the first decade of the sixteenth century.

On the other hand, the continuity between 454/A and 454/B may be illusory. We could hypothesize that 454/A remained independent for an extended period of time, and that perhaps ca. 1519 (shortly before the compilation of 454/C), Scribe B1

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[94]See Chapter I for a paleographic and repertorial description of this section of the manuscript.

[95]It is most likely that the rest of the Mass in 454/A continued on the missing folios between fol. 65 (the last of 454/A) and fol. 78 of the "separate folios" of 454/A found in gathering XXII. Indeed the reason why these folios of 454/A are missing may be owing to the compiler's desire to discard a duplicated work when 454/A and 454/B were joined. This Mass is unique to Barcelona M.454; the *Kyrie* in 454/A carries a faint attribution to Fray Benito in a later hand. For a discussion of the Benito attributions in Barcelona M.454, see Chapter V.

[96]After the death of Queen Isabel in 1504, Anchieta served her daughter Juana, wife of Philip the Fair (1478-1506). The *Missa L'homme armé* by Busnoys and the *Missa Au travail suis* by Ockeghem are not found in any other Iberian manuscript, and only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* of Anchieta's *Missa de nostra dona* appear in other sources.

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recopied the first Mass from the now-missing folios at the end of 454/A in order to start the new series of Masses which he could eventually place before the Mass that opens 454/A.[97] Thus he would have all the Masses at the beginning of the manuscript, and could discard his model at the end of 454/A.

The most obvious connection between 454/B and 454/C is the use of paper with the same watermark. Another connection between Scribe C and the two major scribes of 454/B, B1 and B2, is that all three are Spaniards; B2 is probably Catalan.[98] Nothing argues against compilation of 454/B in Barcelona, and, as we will see later, there is one feature of 454/B that points to that city as the place of compilation.[99] Nevertheless, Scribe C most likely copied his section independently from 454/B, using space left empty by his predecessors. Section 454/B, like 454/C, transmits a combination of international and local repertory not found in any other Iberian manuscript. It is significant that Scribe B2 not only copied Masses by Ockeghem, Anchieta, and Busnoys, but also an *unicum* by the obscure Quexada, the only composition copied by either B1 or B2 that bears an attribution.[100] 454/B and 454/C

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[97]It should be pointed out that Scribe B1 copied the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, and *Sanctus* of the first Mass in 454/B; Scribe B2 added the *Agnus Dei* (probably from a different setting, owing to its different head motif), and then proceeded to copy the following three Masses. These four Masses constitute the first part of 454/B (gatherings III-VIII) and appear before 454/A (gatherings X-XVI). The second part of 454/B (gatherings XVII-XIX) is less homogeneous; see Chapter I.

[98]Scribe B1 uses the term "motetes," and B2 expressions such as "tiple," "duo con el tenor," and "tanor;" see Chapter I.

[99]See below for a discussion of the visit of Charles V to Barcelona in 1519.

[100]This work, a *Magnificat*, is the last piece in the second part of 454/B. That Scribe B2 would choose to end section 454/B in such a fashion, and that this is the only work for which he entered an attribution, speaks for a possible relation between the composer and the copyist which could perhaps offer some evidence for the provenance of this section. However, nothing has come down to us concerning Quexada, perhaps a key figure in 454/B; the only other extant composition by him is a Mass for three voices in Tarazona 2/3, fols. lxxiii^{v}-lxxx.

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have two concordances each with the Chigi Codex,[101] but only one of those four works (No. 92 in 454/C) displays close readings.[102]

A late date for 454/B (ca. 1519-1520), soon before the compilation of 454/C, favors the conception of previous scholars who considered Barcelona M.454 as two independent collections of music: 454/A, on the one hand, and the rest of the manuscript on the other, with their periods of compilation separated by a considerable chronological gap. I believe, however, that even though it is difficult to determine when 454/B was copied, the three main sections 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C seem to reflect an ongoing process of accretion initiated during the first decade of the sixteenth century. Although the period of compilation of 454/C can be dated ca. 1520-1525, the copying of the two previous sections of the manuscript may have taken place gradually during the period ca. 1500-1520. The visits to Barcelona of the Flemish ducal/royal chapel, first that of Philip the Fair in 1503, and then that of Charles V in 1519, serve as points of reference.[103] The first visit may signal the beginning of the compilation process, the second could have served as a catalyst for the integration of the three main sections of the manuscript into a single volume ca. 1520.

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[101]The two concordances between 454/B and Chigi are: the Masses *L'homme armé* by Busnoys and *Au travail suis* by Ockeghem. The two concordances between 454/C and Chigi are: Févin's *Sancta trinitas* and the anonymous *Regina celi* found only in Chigi and Barcelona M.454; the *Regina celi* in 454/C that adds a fourth voice to the three-voice version in Chigi. Both pieces were later additions to the Chigi Codex and were also copied in the last layer of 454/C. According to the *tabla*, Févin's motet was the last piece copied by Scribe C, right after the Peñalosa motet dated 1525.

[102]See Chapter VI.

[103]See below, however, for a possible connection between the repertory in 454/B and the visit of Charles V.

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Philip the Fair in Barcelona[104]

The two trips of Philip the Fair to Spain in 1502-03 and 1506 have been cited to account for the presence of Franco-Flemish repertory in Iberian sources.[105] Thus it is possible to think that Barcelona M.454 could have originated as the result of that encounter in a Catalan milieu; none of the evidence contradicts this hypothesis.[106]

On his way back to the Low Countries in 1503, Philip spent six days in Barcelona, from January 18 to 23. A local chronicler described the entry into the city as follows:

> Janer del any MDIII.
> Dimarts a xvii fon festa del beneventurat Sant Antoni, en lo qual die lo illustrissimo senyor [Phelip, fill de] Maximia, princep jurat en Castella e en Arago, duch de Burgunya, compte de Flandes, etc., casat ab la illustrissima senyora dona Juana de Castella e de Arago, princessa nostra, venint de la cort dels serenissimos senyors rey e reyna nostres senyors hon dexa la dita illustrissima senyora princessa, muller sua, prenyada, fon reebut ab gran cerimonia com si fos la persona del senyor rey, exint fora la ciutat los deputats, consellers, bisbe e tota altra cavalleria e lo illustre senyor loctinent general ab lo reyal consell. Pero fon vist que no devia portar masses perque no les hagues a baxar, attes que la sua jurisdiccio e poder no cessava per la

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[104]Philip the Fair, son of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, married Juana, daughter of Fernando and Isabel, in 1496.

[105]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 223; Knighton, "Northern influence on cultural developments in the Iberian Peninsula during the fifteenth century," *Renaissance Studies*, I (1987), 221-37. For two informative articles about the historiography of the musical relationship between Spain and the Low Countries, see José López-Calo, "Música Flamenca y Música Española en España. 1450-1550," 1-18, and Emilio Casares, "Las Relaciones Musicales entre los Países Bajos y España vistas a través de los Investigadores del Siglo XIX," 19-68, *Colloquia Europalia, III. Actes du Colloque Musicologique International* (Brussels, October 28-29, 1985), ed. by Paul Becquart and Henry Vanhulst (Louvain: Aedibus Peeters, 1985).

[106]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 233, provides a map of Philip's Spanish itinerary according to Antoine de Lalaing, Compte de Hoogetraten (1480-1540), *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4 vols., ed. M. Gachard (Brussels: F. Hayes, 1874-82), I, 123-385. However, while the only Catalan location indicated on Baker's map is Montserrat, Lalaing's chronicle reported the presence of Philip in Barcelona and other Catalan cities.

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presencia del dit illustrissimo senyor princep. E aquella nit fon aposentat en lo monestir de Valldonzella e foren fetes grans alimares e tant grans com sie memoria dels vivents fossen stades fetes per lo passat.
E lo die seguent fon rebut en la ciutat ab pali de brocat e ab los cordons, e entra per lo portal de sant Antoni, tirant per lo carrer del Carme a la Cucurella, plaça Nova e entra en la seu hon fon reebut ab professo e la seu molt abillada de totes coses e les alimares per la part alta de la yglesia...[107]

[January of 1503
Tuesday the 17th, feast of Saint Anthony, Philip, son of Maximilian, sworn Prince of Castile and Aragón, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, etc., who is married to the illustrious Juana of Castile and Aragón, our princess, returned from the court of the King and Queen our Lords, where he left the said illustrious princess, his wife, pregnant, and was received with great ceremony as if he were the king himself. The deputies and counselors, the bishop, all other lords, the illustrious viceroy with the royal council came out of the city to receive him, but they did not bring the maces, since their jurisdiction and power were not affected by the presence of the illustrious prince. That evening, he remained at the monastery of Valldonzella, and the display of fireworks that took place was such, that nobody could remember a similar thing in the past.
And the following day, he was received under a pallium, and he entered the city through the portal of Sant Anthoni, followed the streets of Carme and Cucurella, the plaça Nova, and entered the cathedral, where he was received in procession; the church was ornamented very well and lighted in the highest places...]

On the basis of this description, it is reasonable to assume that the ceremony at the Barcelona cathedral was similar in its lavishness to that which the Girona Cathedral celebrated the following week. A document from the Arxiu Històric de Girona, dated January 25, 1503, recounts the ceremony honoring Philip at the cathedral of that city, and describes the performance of music as follows:

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[107]*Dietari de la Deputació del General de Cathalunya*, 2 vols. Ed. by Federico Udina Martorell. Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Arxiu de la Corona de Aragón, segunda época (Barcelona: Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó), vol. 49, 302-3.

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> ...dit S[enyor] entra dins la dita Iglesia de la Seu on fou rebut ab gran [solemnitat?] cantant lo dit clero molt be e ab gran concert e sonoritat de veu[?]/ lo psalm de te deum laudamus ab lo orgue maior qui era sonat/ ab gran melodia...[108]
>
> [. . .and the said Lord entered the cathedral, where he was received with great ceremony, and the said clergy sang very well in concert and sonority of voice the *Te Deum laudamus*, accompanied with the large organ played with great melody...]

The presence of Philip the Fair in Barcelona was not uneventful. The whole city feasted during those days, and parades of the different guilds and displays of fireworks took place notwithstanding the rain of the second day.

> Dijous a xviiii staven preparades de passar devant la sua posada les confraries ab llurs penons e certs castells que havie la ciutat preparats, pero plogue e la festa fon porrogada per al dissapte e foren e continuades les matexes alimares per dues nits.[109]
>
> [On Thursday the 19th, the guilds, with their standards, and some floats that the city had prepared were ready for a parade in front of his house, but owing to rain, the feast was postponed to Saturday, and the same fireworks continued for two nights.]

It is interesting to note that the third day of Philip's visit to Barcelona coincided with the feast of Saint Sebastian, traditionally celebrated with processions and music.[110]

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[108]*Liber seu manuale negotiorum honorabilium Juratores consili civitatis Gerunde*, fols. 12-14. The Spanish heirs to the throne, as Philip was at that time, receive, among others, the honorary title of Prince of Girona, and Philip was received as such on January 25, 1503.

[109]*Dietari de la Deputació*, vol. 49, 303.

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> Divendres a xx que ere la festa de Sant Sabistia, fon manat que tots los botiguers e menestrals parassen lo millor que poguessen, e en lo Born pararen lo vidre com lo die de Ninou se acostume parar e lo dit illustrissimo senyor princep cavalca per tota la ciutat e arriba a la dressana hon fon feta gran gala de bombardaria e sa altesa mira les galeres que lo senyor rey fa fer.[111]
>
> [Friday the 20th, feast of Saint Sebastian, the city ordered that all the shopkeepers and workers should show the best they had, and they displayed the glasswork at the Born (central market) as they usually do the day of the Ninou (January 1).[112] And the illustrious prince went throughout the city on horseback and arrived at the shipyard, where he was saluted with canons, and his highness saw the galleys commissioned by the king].

Even though the *Dietari* does not mention any religious ceremony during Philip's visit, or, for that matter, any performance of music, it is virtually certain that he would have attended religious services. Another Catalan chronicler, referring to Saint Sebastian's day in 1507 and the placing of the cornerstone of a church devoted to this saint, described the outdoor ceremony in detail and mentioned the performance of polyphony.[113]

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[110]See below for a connection between two consecutive motets by Mouton/[Martini] and Weerbecke devoted to Saint Sebastian in 454/C and the visit of Charles V to Barcelona in 1519-20. 454/C is the only Iberian manuscript that contains these two works. They are otherwise found only in Petrucci 1505^2 (Nos. 32-33) For a discussion of conflicting attributions, see Chapter V.

[111]*Dietari de la Deputació*, vol. 49, 303.

[112]An *Ordinarium* published in Barcelona (1501), fol. [125^v], identifies the day of the Ninou with the feast of the Circumcision: *Ninou. Tal día santa mare esglesia fa festa e solemnitat de la Circumsicio del redemptor nostre iesuchrist: la qual vulgarment es apellada ninou.* [Ninou. On such day the Holy Mother Church celebrates the feast and solemnity of the Circumcision of the Redeemer our Jesus Christ, which is usually called Ninou.]

[113]The same chronicler referred to the procession of Saint Sebastian in 1509, mentioning "...solemne offici ab xandres."

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...E a la fi de dita processo ere mestre Joan Torres Canonge e domer e vicari, e official del R.d S.or bisbe de Barcelona ab sos acistents aportant un reliquiari una reliquia ço es sageta de Sanct Sabestia, e feu lo offici. En apres venien los honorables Consellers ab llurs verguers e fonch fet lo offici a cant de orga solemne, sermo en tanta devocio hon hague grandissima generatio que alsant lo corpus domini fonch tant gran lo crit e ab los trons de les bombardes que paria lo mon hagues a finir... lo dit mossen Torres qui havia celebrat lo dit offici stant tot hom ab gran silenci dix tres vegades,—"a honor gloria e lahor de nostre S.or Deu Jesuchrist e...,"—e responia tot hom ab grans veus, "Amen" e sonaven les trompetes e desperaven bombardes. E axi a la derrera vegada sonaran les dites trompetes. E lo dit mossen Guillem Sanctcliment empengue la dita pedra... posada a lahor honor e gloria com dit es cantant tedeum laudamus...[114]

[. . .And at the end of the said procession there was master Joan Torres, canon, *domer*, vicar, and official of the Bishop of Barcelona, with his assistants carrying a reliquary with a relic, i.e., an arrow of Saint Sebastian, and he officiated at the service. And after them came the honorable Counselors with their *veguers*;[115] and the solemn office, in polyphony, and the sermon were done with great devotion, attended by so many people that during the elevation the shouting and the thunder of the canons was such that it seemed as if the world was coming to an end . . . and the said mossen Torres, who had celebrated the office (Mass), repeated three times—"to the honor and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. . ."—and everybody answered in a very loud voice "Amen," at the sound of trumpets and the shooting of canons. And the last time the trumpets were played. . . .And the said mossen Guillem Sanctcliment [chief counselor of the city] pushed the stone... placed in honor and glory, as has been said, singing the *Te deum laudamus*. . . .]

The chronicler of the *Dietari* was interested only in the public secular events that took place during Philip's visit. His description of events for that Saturday and

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[114]*Manual de Novells Ardits: vulgarment apellat Dietari del antich Consell Barceloní*, 3 vols. Ed. by Frederich Schwartz i Luna and Francesch Carreras i Candi. Colecció de Documents Históríchs inédits del Arxiu Municipal de la ciutat de Barcelona, III, 202-3.

[115]According to Joan Reglà, *Els Virreis de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Ediciones Vicens-Vives, 1987; first edited in 1956), 44, the *veguer* was the head of an administrative division of the territory; there were sixteen *vegueries* in Catalonia and four in the counties of Rousillon and Sardinia. Under the jurisdiction of the *veguer* we find the *batlle*, responsible for a municipality.

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Sunday include many activities, including jousts, but he failed to mention any religious service, not even the Sunday Mass.

> Dissapte a xxi fon feta la festa que era preparada en lo diluns [sic] ab molt gran compliment, e lo dit senyor, perque li havia plagut les alimares de la dressana, hi volgue tornar en la nit e vehe cosa de voladors e fochs grechs de gran bullicia, e li plague molt.
>
> Diumenge a xxii lo dit senyor vench a la piaça del Born, hon vehe les dames de Barchinona e la cavalleria molt ataviada de cadenes d'or, brocats e sedes de maravella, e mira les justes en les quals foren mantenidors mossen Micalot Çarriera, balle general de Cathalunya, e mossen Galceran Oliver, donzell.[116]
>
> [Saturday the 21st, the feast prepared for the previous Monday (sic) was celebrated with great success, and the said lord, since he had so enjoyed the illuminations at the shipyard, went back in the evening, and saw flying objects and very noisy fireworks, which he loved.]
>
> [Sunday the 22nd, the said lord went to the Born (central market) where he saw the ladies of Barcelona and cavaliers with gold chains, marvellous embroideries, and silk. And he watched the jousts judged by mossen Micalot Çarriera, governor of Catalonia, and mossen Galceran Oliver, "donzell."]

Lalaing's chronicle of Philip's visit to Barcelona depicts a prosperous and charming city;[117] he also mentions some religious services that the local chronicler had omitted.[118] Felicitous impressions were mutual, as the following passage from the local chronicle attests:

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[116]*Dietari de la Deputació*, vol. 49, 303.

[117]Lalaing, *Collection des voyages*, I.

[118]For instance, a Mass at the cathedral before Philip's departure on Monday.

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> Diluns a xxiii lo dit illustrissimo senyor princep parti de la present ciutat la via de França per tornar en sa terra. Portava la sua anada gran admiració a tot lo mon, attenent que los serenissimos senyors rey e reyna nostres senyors son en guerra ab lo rey de França, que lo dit senyor princep se'n sie volgut tornar en sa terra e que passas per França e que volgues fiar.se ab los enemichs del senyor rey. Nostre Senyor Deu lo guie ab be e salut de sa persona e lo torne a la presencia de la illustrissima senyora princessa, qui es restada en Castella ab bona amor dels rey e reyna nostres senyors. E lo que fins assi havem conegut de sa senyoria es gentil senyor, huma e de bona disposicio e liberal.
>
> [Monday the 23rd, the said most illustrious lord prince left this city to return to his country through France. Since our lords the king and queen are at war with the King of France, his journey through France, trusting the enemies of our king, caused admiration to everyone. Let God our Lord, guide him well with health to his person, and bring him back to the presence of the most illustrious lady princess, who remained in Castile with the love of our lords the king and queen. And for what we have known of his lordship (Philip) until now, he is a gentle lord, kind and of good disposition and generosity.]

The friendly atmosphere described in the chronicles would have been propitious for local singers to collect some gatherings of Franco-Flemish repertoire from the visiting chapel. Part of 454/A could have arrived at Barcelona with the chapel of Philip the Fair.

An aspect of the repertory in 454/B that may be relevant to its origin and date is the sequence of four Masses that constitute Part I of this section. These four Masses are: a three-voice Mass attributed to Benito, the *Missa Au travail suis* by Ockeghem, the *Missa L'homme armé* by Busnoys, and the *Missa de nostra dona* by Anchieta. Barcelona M.454 is the only Iberian source that transmits these works,[119] and since the copyist was a Spaniard, one may wonder about his criteria for selection. Did he just copy what he had at hand, or was he guided by a specific purpose? Moreover, the

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[119]Tarazona 2/3 transmits only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* of Anchieta's work with a *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* attributed to Escobar; Segovia has only the *Kyrie*.

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combination of Franco-Flemish repertory and Spanish scribes once again points to an occasion on which the Flemish chapel may have been in Spain.[120] We have seen that these considerations about the occasion for which these pieces were copied could apply to Philip's visit early in the century, but the presence of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé* might suggest a different occasion.

Charles V in Barcelona:

The Order of the Golden Fleece

Both Leeman Perkins and William Prizer pointed out the possible connection between the ceremonies accompanying the meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece and *L'homme armé* Masses.[121] Their suggestion becomes even more attractive when we discover that the only Iberian manuscript that transmits Busnoys's *L'homme armé* Mass is 454/B, and that the only meeting of the Order in Spanish territory took place in Barcelona in 1519. This striking feature suggests that 454/B, as 454/C, was also compiled in Barcelona.[122]

Charles made his entry into the city on February 15, 1519, and remained in Barcelona with his Flemish chapel for over a year.[123] The Catalan *corts* and the

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[120]Both Masses by Ockeghem and Busnoys are found in the Chigi Codex (in Vatican 63, Ockeghem's Mass follows Busnoys's), a manuscript known to have been in Spain. For a discussion of the special relationship between Barcelona M.454 and Chigi, see Chapter VI.

[121]Perkins, "The L'Homme Armé Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: A Comparison," *The Journal of Musicology*, III/4 (1984), 390; Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Contries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece," *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 113-153.

[122]As pointed out earlier, 454/B and 454/C share paper with identical watermark and similar ruling of staves.

[123]For a description of Charles's entry into Barcelona, see *Llibre de Solemnitats* (1424-1546), 2 vols., ed. by A. Durán and J. Sanabre (Barcelona: Institució Patxot, 1930-

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second marriage of Germaine de Foix, to the Marquis of Brandenburg, are among the important events that took place during the visit of Charles V to Barcelona.[124] On March 1, 1519, there was a funeral service for Maximilian, and a description of the event tells us the specific position of a raised platform, built for that occasion at the cathedral, from which the Flemish chapel sang.[125]

> ...foren començades les vespres de morts al altar maior, e foren cantades per los xandres de la capella del dit senyor, qui staven en un cadafall fet per ells al costat de la porta del altar maior, devant les capelles dels Innocents e de sancta Barbara.
>
> [...the Vespers for the dead began at the main altar, being sung by the singers of the chapel of the said lord (Charles V). They stayed on a raised platform made for them on the side of the main altar in front of the chapels of the Innocents and Saint Barbara (today's chapel of the "Almas" (Souls) on the left side)].

The ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Barcelona Cathedral got under way four days later, on March 5, and continued through the 8th of the month.

1947). The *Manual de Novells Ardits*, III, 300, states that Charles left Barcelona in May of the following year: "Diumenge xx.- Embarcada del S. Rey per a Flandes" [Sunday 20 [1520].- The King embarked for Flanders]. On July 6, 1519, Charles received in Barcelona the news of his election as Emperor; he had been elected on June 28. Owing to an outburst of pestilence in Barcelona, Charles and his chapel left for about three months at the end of 1519 and stayed in the nearby village of Molins de Rey. Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, VII, 299, reports that on the trip from Barcelona to Molins de Rey, the organs, in the care of Henry Bredemers (ca. 1472-1522), were "desrompues," and had to be repaired.

[124]Although Charles inaugurated the *corts* on 19 February, the city of Barcelona refused to continue accepting those deliberations as *corts* because they had been convened the previous year outside Aragonese territory, without Charles's formal acceptance of Catalan laws, and especially because the Catalans at first did not want to recognize him as king while his mother, Queen Juana, was still alive. On March 17 those *corts* were declared unconstitutional; on April 16, Charles accepted the Catalan Constitution and convened *corts* for May 12.

[125]A document at the Arxiu de la Catedral, *Sagristía*, vols.1517-19, fol. 111, states that the royal chapel was placed at the altar. During a previous procession the chaplains of the chapel sang psalms for the dead, and the "ministrers amb sacabutxos" did not play their instruments.

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The coats of arms of the Order's members, painted above the back seats in the cathedral's choir, are still extant.[126] It seems reasonable to assume that during the ceremonies of the Order, the chapel sang from that same position to the side of the main altar, since the members of the Order were seated in the cathedral choir. The liturgy performed at the cathedral was the following:[127]

Saturday, March 5: Office of St. Andrew (Vespers and Compline)[128]

Sunday, March 6: Mass of St. Andrew and Office of the Dead (Vespers and Compline)

Monday, March 7: Requiem Mass and Office of the Virgin (Vespers and Compline)

Tuesday, March 8: Office of the Virgin and Mass of the Virgin

Even though not all the members of the Order were present, the processions and ceremonies were spectacular, attracting the curiosity and admiration of the public.[129] At least two of the four Masses in 454/B (*L'Homme armé* by Busnoys and

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[126]Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial," 118, mistakenly indicates that the meeting of the Order took place in the church of San Pablo; he was probably refering to a preliminary ceremony of the Order that had taken place in Valladolid in a church of the same name. A detailed description is found in Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, *El Toisó d'or a Barcelona* (Barcelona: Aymà, 1949), and Ramón de Vilanova de Roselló, Conde de Vilanova, *Capítulo del Toisón de Oro Celebrado en Barcelona el Año 1519* (Barcelona: Librería Verdaguer, 1930). An inscription in the choir of Barcelona cathedral indicates the year "1518," because the Flemish protocol followed the calendar of Cambrai, which starts on March 25, the day of the Annunciation.

[127]This information is taken from Ainaud de Lasarte, *El toisó d'or a Barcelona*, 91-119. Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial," 120, indicates that the services at the time of Philip the Fair lasted five days; in Barcelona, however, the services lasted only four days.

[128]Ainaud, *El Toisó d'Or a Barcelona*, 94, following an anonymous local chronicler, states that in a previous procession the "ministrers" and "sacabutxos" announced very loudly the presence of the Order's members, and that the Emperor's chapel sang with organ accompaniment at the presbitery of the cathedral. The banquets that followed after most events took place at the Salón del Tinell.

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Missa de nostra dona salve by Anchieta) could conceivably have been performed during the ceremony. The *Missa Au travail suis* by Ockeghem is apparently not related to the Order,[130] but this work bears the title "Laus Ma[ria]" in 454/B, which suggests a Marian feast for its performance, and thus it would also be appropriate for the occasion. The liturgical function of the three-voice Mass that opens the sequence of four Masses in 454/B is not known;[131] the fragment of this piece at the end of 454/A is attributed to "Benito."[132] Concerning other music that could have been performed for the ceremonies of the Order, Prizer indicates that Magnificats and motets on Marian texts such as those in Brussels 9126 would have been appropriate, as would the repertory in the Chigi Codex.[133] Section 454/A of the Barcelona manuscript contains,

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[129]According to Ainaud de Lasarte, *El Toisó d'Or a Barcelona*, 15, 129, the explanations given by the local chroniclers about the meaning of those ceremonies reveals that they did not understand much of what was happening.

[130]Perhaps the chivalrous theme of the chanson on which it is based would not be entirely inappropriate.

[131]A Requiem Mass for the deceased members of the Order was usually sung in the four-day ceremony, but, as Prizer indicates, none has survived among the Flemish sources. Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial," 133, quotes the description of a performance in a letter from Niccolò Frigio to Francesco II Gonzaga, Brussels, January 24, 1501:

> The Office of the Dead was sung in the following manner. A canon of Cambrai being the most renowned musician to be found in that area, and having composed this Office of the Dead and a mass for three voices, mournful, sad and very exquisite, he did not let it [i.e. the mass and office] out during his lifetime, but left testament that they should be sung after his death for his soul, but the order took them for its own use...

Prizer indicates that this description fits Dufay's lost Requiem Mass. The text of the letter, though, only says that the Office was for the Dead, not the Mass. It is an interesting coincidence that the anonymous piece that starts the sequence of four Masses in the Barcelona manuscript is for three voices and that the Agnus Dei has an extended passage of "black coloration" towards the end, which would be a very appropiate visual depiction for a Mass for that occasion. However, it is very unlikely that this Mass would have been used as a Requiem Mass because it does not have the usual movements of a Requiem, even for the period before that type of Mass became "standardized."

[132]The inscription is very faint, and could have been a later addition. For a discussion of the possible identification of Benito with Brumel, see Chapter V.

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after the initial three-voice *Missa Auleni*, seven *Magnificats* (five of them consecutive), a *Salve regina*, and three consecutive settings of *Ave Maria*[134] (followed by *O intemerata Virgo* and *O Maria nullam*); this repertory certainly fits Prizer's description of appropriate music for the ceremonies of the Order.

The prolonged stay of the Flemish chapel in Barcelona, and the important events that took place there, could account for the presence of Flemish repertory in 454/B. Perhaps the inclusion in 454/C of the two motets devoted to Saint Sebastian, a patron invoked during periods of pestilence, could be related to the plague that occurred during Charles V's visit.[135] In any event, the presence in Barcelona of the Emperor's Flemish chapel may well have played a crucial role in the coming together of the three main sections of Barcelona M.454 shortly thereafter.[136]

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[133]Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial," 128.

[134]The first one is anonymous; the other two are by Josquin and Compère.

[135]The *Manual de Novells Ardits*, III, 248-49, 301-06, 318, 429, reported in detail the mortality caused by pestilence during the years 1515, 1520, 1521, and 1530. These reports, in which the specific number of daily deaths is recorded, are usually accompanied by a reference to daily processions invoking Saint Sebastian and the performance of music.

[136]Charles V also visited Barcelona for a few days in June of 1533. The *Manual de Novells Ardits*, III, 465, reported on Sunday, June 8, 1533, that since the Emperor wanted to depart the following Tuesday, the city would prepare "...los castells de la Ciutat davant palacio y en tot lo carrer Ample per sos trasts y foren los seguents, infern y peradis, Adam y Eva, los tres reys ques diu betlem, sanct Joan degollaci, los sancts pares, la Ascencio, sancta Clara, sancta Catherina, lo juy." [...display of the following floats of the city in front of the palace and along the avenue Ample: hell and paradise, Adam and Eve, the one with the three kings, called Bethlehem, Saint John beheaded, the Holy Fathers, the Ascension, Saint Claire, Saint Catherine, the Jew (?).]

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The origins of 454/D[137]

There is no way of knowing how much time elapsed between the completion of 454/C around 1525 and the addition of works by Flecha and Pastrana in 454/D. The date 1534 on fol. clxxxviii^{r} is itself a later addition, and the pieces that surround it could have been copied earlier.

Although the final monogram "MR" is probably an abbreviation of the name "moreta" that appears beneath it, the last composition, on the same folio, is attributed to Pastrana, abbot of the Valencian monastery of San Bernardo, which, perhaps significantly, was renamed San Miguel de los Reyes. Given the contention of previous scholars that Barcelona M.454 (except 454/A) was compiled at Valencia, we must at least discuss the possibility of a connection between the manuscript (by virtue of its monogram "MR") and that institution later in the sixteenth century.[138]

The Duke of Calabria donated his famous library to the monastery, and among the music books mentioned in an inventory there were: "Dos libros de canto de órgano, de missas, hechos en Barcelona, encuadernados en cartones cubiertos de cuero leonado." [Two books of polyphony, of masses, made in Barcelona, bound in cardboard covered with brown leather.][139] The instruments and music books included in the inventory disappeared, but the rest of the library is now housed at the Biblioteca General of the Universitat de València. None of the books and manuscripts from San Miguel de los Reyes bears a monogram similar to that of Barcelona

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[137]See Chapter I for a paleographic and repertorial description of this section of the manuscript.

[138]Though the monastery of San Bernardo was under the rule of the Cistercian Order, the Duke of Calabria wanted to transfer it to the Hieronymites, a wish that was finally realized in 1544, after a long process and against the objections of Pastrana, who nevertheless retained the title of abbot until the end of his life.

[139]This inventory was published by Jaime Moll, "Notas para la historia musical de la corte del Duque de Calabria," *Anuario Musical*, 18 (1963), 133-35. He does not cite the date of the inventory.

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M.454,[140] so it is not possible to confirm that the Barcelona manuscript corresponds to either of the two volumes in the library of the Duke of Calabria. If Barcelona M.454 was in fact one of those two volumes, however, the manuscript had already been compiled in its entirety. A piece of evidence indicates that the works by Flecha and Pastrana were added in Barcelona. The scribe who copied the music of Flecha's *Tiempo bueno, tiempo bueno* placed the text only in the *tiple*, and a different hand inserted the text in the tenor; the latter hand is the same that wrote, on the last folio of the manuscript, the inscription that ends "cum Tort," which most likely refers to Anthoni Johan Fiella Tort, canon at Barcelona Cathedral. Thus I believe that 454/D was copied in Barcelona after 1525, following the compilation of 454/C. Whether Barcelona M.454, at a later date in the sixteenth century, was acquired by the Duke of Calabria for his library cannot be ascertained.

A hypothesis about the "ownership" of Barcelona M.454

Barcelona M.454 does not carry any coat of arms or written statement claiming the ownership or possession of the manuscript. However, the interpretation of two pieces of evidence, within the historical and geographical context of the compilation, points to a specific person under whose jurisdiction or patronage the manuscript may have been compiled. The first piece of evidence is the monogram on folio cxc^{v} with the name "moreta" and the initials "MR" surmounted by the patriarchal cross of four arms. As stated above in the discussion of Scribe C, the cross of four arms was widely used with initials as a personal monogram and as a printer's or bookdealer's device. But in the ecclesiastical milieu of Barcelona M.454 its most likely association is with an archbishop.[141] If so, the monogram of the scribe

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[140]I would like to thank Ms. Mª Cruz Cabeza, Director of the Biblioteca General de València, who very kindly answered my query.

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Anthoni Johan Moreta could well indicate his dependence on the jurisdiction of an archbishop.

The prelate who could claim responsibility for Moreta's work most convincingly is Pere Folch de Cardona (d. 1530), Bishop of Urgell from 1472 to 1515, and Archbishop of Tarragona thereafter. The latter position was the highest ecclesiatical title in the Crown of Aragón and it was accompanied by the honorary distinction of chancellor of the king's entire administrative organization (chancellery) in the territory.[142] Pere Folch de Cardona, of royal blood, resided in Barcelona, and he was the first to hold simultaneously, at one point, the positions of Archbishop of Tarragona, viceroy (1521-1523), and captain general of Catalonia.[143]

A piece of evidence on the last folio of Barcelona M.454 pointing to this particular prelate is a prayer that refers to a bishop, and uses part of the text for the Collect at Mass the day of St. Peter's Chains (August 1).[144] The formulaic text, which begins with the words "Deus qui beatum Petrum. . .," should have included the first name of the bishop in question after the words "famuli tui," right before "Episcopi nostri." Thus it is possible to assume that the omitted first name of the bishop was also Peter, and most likely referred to Pere Folch de Cardona.[145]

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[141]The entry "Arzobispo" in *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. 6 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), 559, includes among the privileges of an archbishop the use of the patriarcal cross of four arms.

[142]Francisco Sevillano, "La Cancillería de Fernando el Católico," *V Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Estudios* I (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1955), 222-24, states that during Fernando's reign the title of chancellor became an honorary title, sometimes shared by the Archbishops of Tarragona, Urgell, and Girona, as was the case in 1480. Later, the title of chancellor of the Crown of Aragón seems to have been conferred upon the Archbishop of Tarragona, much in the same way as the chancellorship of the Crown of Castile was conferred upon the Archbishop of Toledo.

[143]Joan Reglà, *Els Virreis de Catalunya*, 74-75.

[144]For a complete transcription of this prayer, see Chapter I.

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The Cardona family (see Fig. 4) was one of the most illustrious of the Catalan nobility, and at the time of compilation of Barcelona M.454 most of its members held leading ecclesiatical and military positions in the Crown of Aragón; in the Catalan *corts*, the Duke of Cardona presided over the other delegates of the nobility. A brief survey of the most distinguished among the Cardona gives an idea of their influential position, and helps us to understand the milieu in which Barcelona M.454 was compiled.[146]

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[145]According to Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Ævi*, 3 vols. (Regensburg: Monasterii, Sumptius et typis librariae Regensbegianae, 1898-1923), III, 344, the only other bishop named Peter in the Crown of Aragón during the first half of the sixteenth century was one "Petrus (Jordanus) de Urries, abbas. mon. Montisarag", bishop of Urgell from only Mai 15, 1532 to June 8, 1534.

[146]This family tree of the Cardonas has been compiled with the information provided by Alberto and Arturo García Carrafa, *Enciclopedia Heráldica y Genealógica Hispano-Americana*, 78 vols. (Madrid: A. de Marzo, 1920-56), vol. 23, 178-79; first names are given here in Catalan. It should be noted that Garcia Carrafa states that the last count of Cardona, Joan [Ramon] Folch, had only one son, by name also Joan, who became the first Duke of Cardona; contemporary references, however, indicate that the archbishop Pere de Cardona was also a son of the last Count of Cardona, and therefore the brother of the first duke. The references are cited by Villanueva, *Viaje Literario a las Iglesias de España*, XI, 137-38.

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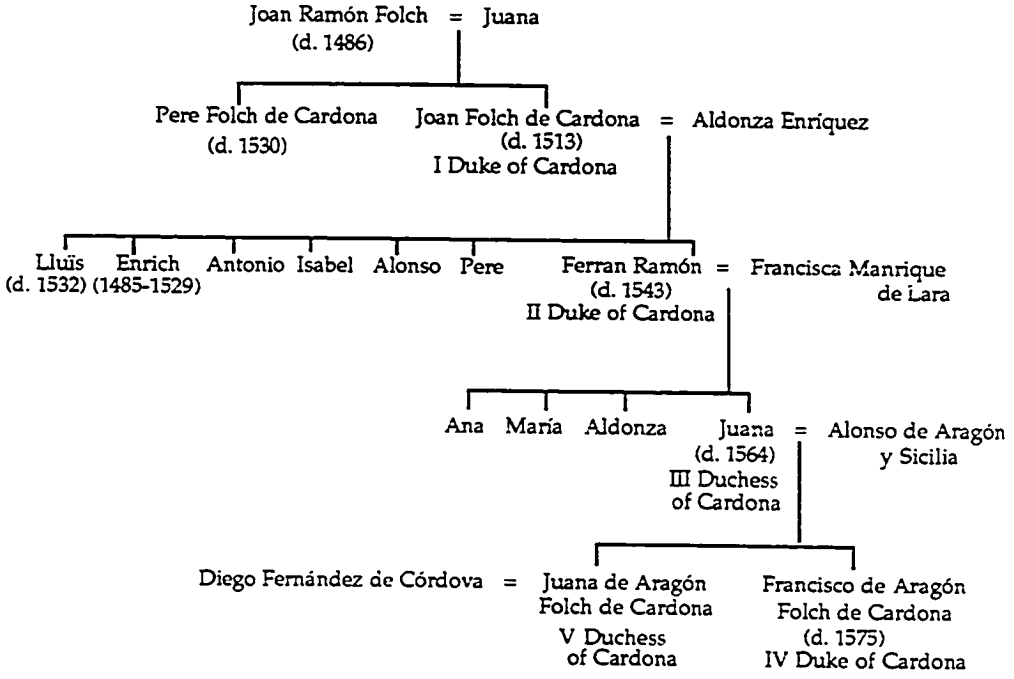
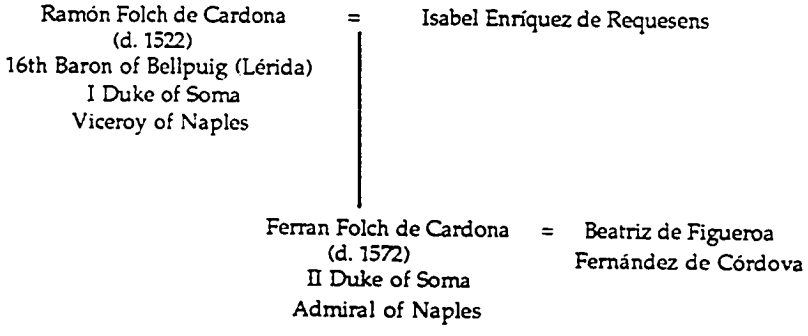
Fig. 4. Partial family tree of the Cardona



Separate branch of the Cardona family



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The older brother of the archbishop, Joan Folch (d. 1513), was the first Duke of Cardona, a title he received, together with that of the "grandee" of Spain, from the Catholic Monarchs in 1491. His marriage to Aldonza Enríquez produced seven offspring:[147] (1) Ferran Ramón (d. 1543), second Duke of Cardona after the death of his father, and a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1519; (2) Pere, Governor of Catalonia; (3) Alonso; (4) Isabel; (5) Antoni, Viceroy of Sardinia and *mayordomo* to Empress Doña Maria; (6) Enric (1483-1529, Rome), Bishop of Barcelona (1505), Archbishop of Monreal in Sicily (1512), and cardinal (1527); (7) Lluis (d.1532), Bishop of Urgell and Barcelona, and Archbishop of Tarragona after the death of his uncle in 1530.[148]

That the members of the Cardona family were active as patrons of the arts and letters is reflected in numerous literary references and in a number of works dedicated to them.[149] The *Libro de música práctica* by Francisco Tovar (d. 1522?),[150]

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[147]Aldonza Enríquez was the maternal aunt of King Fernando.

[148]Ramón Folch de Cardona (d. 1522), first Duke of Soma and Viceroy of Naples, belongs to a different branch of the family. He commanded King Fernando's armies in Italy, and became a chevalier of the Order of the Golden Fleece under Charles V; his sepulcher in Bellpuig (Lérida) is one of the most notable examples of Italian art in the Iberian peninsula. Interestingly, the anonymous author of the historical novel *Questión de amor* (ca.1513) describes his brilliant military retenue which included ". . .su capilla con doze cantores muy complidos. . ." [his chapel of twelve very accomplished singers]. This quote is cited by Jorge Rubió y Balaguer, "Els Cardona i les lletres," *Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Academia de Buenas Letras, 1957), 39. For a discussion of *Questión de amor*, see Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1961), II, 48-54. The son of Ramon Folch, Ferran Folch (d. 1571), second Duke of Soma and admiral in Naples, sponsored the compilation of the works (copied in 1541-1542 by Pere de Vilasaló) of the illustrious Valencian poet Ausias March, and their subsequent publication in Barcelona in 1543, 1545, and 1560.

[149]See Rubió, "Els Cardona i les Lletres," 15-42. For instance, a compilation of works in prose and verse by Pere Moner published in 1529 was dedicated to Ferran Folch, second Duke of Cardona. According to Rubió, "Els Cardona," 35-36, Moner, a Catalan from the now-French region of Rousillon, had already died when this 1529 publication appeared; the compiler, his cousin Miquel Berenguer, dedicated it to the second Duke of Cardona, but the poet had been in the circle of the first Duke Joan Folch de Cardona. Another of his works (*La Noche*), of dubious quality according to Rubió, was dedicated

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published in Barcelona in 1510, was dedicated to the twenty-seven-year old Enric Folch de Cardona, bishop of the city, who in 1522 left for Rome and later became a cardinal. As Herbert Kellman has pointed out, the coat of arms of an unidentified member of the Cardona family was added to the precious Chigi Codex (fol. 284v), a manuscript known to have been in Spain at least after 1515, before its acquisition by Fabio Chigi (Pope Alexander VII) in 1655.[151] Kellman suggests that the transfer of the Chigi Codex to the Cardona family occurred after the death of its first owner, Philippe Bouton, in 1515. Owing to the manuscript's connections with the Order of the Golden Fleece, it is possible that the Chigi Codex was in Barcelona during the celebration of the chapter of the Order in 1519.[152]

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to Joana Cardona. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos* (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1916-24), X, 383, refers to Moner as a prolific bilingual poet from the late-fifteenth century, imitator of Encina but of a lesser category.

[150]Francisco León Tello, "Tovar, Francisco," *The New Grove*, vol. 19, 102, states that Tovar, an Andalusian theorist active in Catalonia, was attached to Barcelona Cathedral in 1510, and that he became *maestro de capilla* at Tarragona Cathedral, where he remained until 1516. Tovar also had appointments in Seville (1518) and Granada (1521). His book is influenced by Guillermo de Podio's *Ars musicorum* (1495), a work printed in Valencia but dedicated to the Bishop of Tortosa in the province of Tarragona; see Anglés, "La Notación musical española de la segunda mitad del siglo XV: un tratado desconocido de Guillermus de Podio," *Scripta Musicologica*, III, 1143-70.

[151]Kellman, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*. Renaissance Music in Facsimile. General eds. Howard Mayer Brown, Frank A. D'Accone, Jessie Ann Owens (New York & London: Garland, 1987), ix. The manuscript bears an inscription in Italian indicating that the manuscript was used in Spain "circa il 1490," but the accuracy of this date has been dismissed by Kellman. The additions to the manuscript by a Spanish scribe, which included the *Tabla de Missas y motetes*, took place after 1514, since among the works he inserted we find Mouton's *Quis dabit oculis nostris*, the funeral motet for Anne of Brittany (d. 1514).

[152]For a description of the iconography in the Chigi Codex related to the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Kellman, *Vatican City*, viii-ix. Although Ferran Ramon Folch (d. 1543), second Duke of Cardona, became a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1519, and consequently could have been the second owner of the manuscript, his coat of arms is different from that found in Chigi; see the reproduction of his coat of arms in Ainaud de Lasarte, *El Toisó d'Or a Barcelona*, 115. Ramón Folch de Cardona (d. 1522), first Duke of Soma and Viceroy of Naples, also received the Golden Fleece from Charles V, but I have not been able to see his coat of arms. The Chigi Codex also carries the coat of arms of the Fernández de Córdova family, and there are at least two

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The archbishop's library and garden were praised in epigrams by Martí Ibarra, an influential Latin teacher in Barcelona.[153] Indeed his palace served as residence of illustrious visitors to the city.[154] Menéndez y Pelayo, following Henry Harrisse, stated that the now-lost 1511 volume of Ibarra's epigrams and sapphic odes mentioned a sort of literary Academy in Barcelona which had weekly meetings.[155] In

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marriages between the Cardona and Fernández de Córdova families that could perhaps account for the presence of these coats of arms in the manuscript: (1) the son of the Viceroy of Naples, Ferran Folch de Cardona (d. 1571), second Duke of Soma and admiral in Naples, married Beatriz de Figueroa Fernández de Córdova, granddaughter of the "Gran Capitán" Gonzalo Fernández de Córdova; and (2) after the death of the fourth Duke of Cardona in 1575, his sister Juana de Aragón Folch de Cardona inherited the title; her husband was one Diego Fernández de Cordova (see Fig. 4). For a discussion of the relationship between Chigi and Barcelona M.454, see Chapter VI.

[153]Martí Ibarra contributed to the 1522 edition of the Catalan adaptation of the Latin dictionary by Antonio de Nebrija (1444?-1522). The first one to refer to Ibarra's epigrams was Villanueva, *Viaje Literario a las Iglesias de España*, XI, 141-42; he consulted this now-lost volume in the nineteenth century, and according to him the epigrams were annotated by Juan Rollano Tamaritense and published in Barcelona by Carlos Amorós in 1512. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, X, 29, did not see the volume, and stated that it was stolen from the Biblioteca Colombina and sold in Paris in 1885 and later in Rome. He gives the title as follows: *Martini Iuarrae Cantabrici Orationes quae Crustula iscributur. Et ad Reges Epigrammata at Saphica ad Marq... Impressum ex nouello ptotypo Barcinone per Carolum Amorosium impressorem solertissimu tertio idus Augusti. Anno M. D.XI* [1511]. Since Villanueva stated that the exemplar he consulted had been published in 1512, he probably saw a different publication of Ibarra's works. Villanueva cited one of the epigrams in which Ibarra praises the archbishop's library and garden above those of Numa and Cesar, mentioning Numa's *Sylva Capena* in Rome dedicated to the Muses.

[154]Ainaud de Lasarte, *El Toisó d'Or a Barcelona*, 82, 91-93, indicated that during Charles V visit to Barcelona, the archbishop's palace served as imperial residence. Regarding the palaces of the archbishop see, X. de Salas, "La documentación del Palacio de Sessa o Larrard en la calle Ancha de Barcelona," *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Junta de Museos, 1945).

[155]Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, X, 29. Henry Harrisse, *Excerpta Colombiniana* (Paris: Welter, 1887), 249-50. It should be pointed out that, although Fragment 2 a/b^{v} found inside the binding of Barcelona M.454 may not be related to these private sessions in Barcelona, it does refer to discussions about grammar and other "useful questions" which had taken place on a Saturday. This is described by someone (in Catalan with its Latin translation) who finds it ". . . a marvellous thing to see and hear. . .;" Harrisse does not mention which day of the week the meetings of the Academy took place. For a transcription of Fragment 2 a/b^{v}, see Chapter I. According to Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, X, 28, Ibarra was responsible for the dissemination in Catalonia of the new Italian method

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a city whose consistory had traditionally opposed the creation of an university, the Archbishop Pere Folch de Cardona seems to have been at the center of the cultural and aristocratic life in Barcelona.[156]

Although no documents regarding a musical establishment attached to the archbishop have come to light, it is difficult to imagine that a person of his rank and artistic interests would not have had one. That competent singers were available in Barcelona and able to help those at the Cathedral on certain occasions has been documented as a common practice at least after 1481, when for the feast of Saint Agustin fourteen singers ". . .aiudaren a cantar la missa" [helped to sing the Mass].[157] The documents do not say where the singers came from, and Gregori states that they probably belonged to the other parishes of the city. However, the only document, albeit from the late sixteenth century, presented by Gregori and explicit about this matter states that the outside singers who helped on a particular occasion in 1577 were those of the Duke of Cardona.

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of teaching Latin grammar which had been recently introduced in Spain by Nebrija. Since Fragment 2 a/b^{v} seems to be describing something unusual, perhaps this particular discussion in Latin could be associated with the circle of Martí Ibarra, the most prominent Latin teacher in Barcelona at the time.

[156]For an informative overview of the universities in Catalonia at the time, see Ricardo García Cárcel, *Historia de Cataluña*, 433-51. He cites Eulàlia Durán, "Els Origens de la Universitat a Barcelona," *L'Aportació de la Universitat catalana a la ciència i a la cultura. L'Avenç, Estudis*, 1981, 12, who points to Martí Ibarra as the inspiring figure, influential teacher, and defender of the nascent University of Barcelona. Durán states that Ibarra owed the prestige to his connections with the local aristocracy and the Erasmist circle associated with Miquel Mai, vice-chancellor of the Crown of Aragon. Although an "Estudi de Medecina" had been created in Barcelona in 1402, the elderly Ibarra inaugurated the lectures of grammar in 1536; the official date for the foundation of the University of Barcelona is 1533.

[157]Gregori, "Els Cantors de la Capella Musical de la Seu de Barcelona al segle XVI," *Recerca Musicològica*, VI-VII (1986-87), 44. He cites the reference: Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona, *Llibre de Comptes de la Sagristía*, 1481-1483, f. 47.

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> Dissapte de pasqua donàrem als cantòs y organista per / las completas tretze sous, manarem donar dobla, y no és / pràctica sinò per què s.i trobaren los cantòs del duch / de Cardona.[158]
>
> [On Easter Saturday we gave to the singers and organist thirteen *sous* for the *completas* (Compline?), and we ordered to give them the double, and this was done only because the singers of the Duke of Cardona were there.]

Perhaps further research into the city's archives may yield more evidence about musical patronage of the Cardona family earlier in the century. The evidence brought to light with the study of Barcelona M.454 points to a possible association of the manuscript with a musical establishment attached to the archbishop Pere Folch de Cardona.

Conclusions

Previous scholars who have written about Barcelona M.454 distinguished two separate collections of music: (1) 454/A, which they called the earlier collection by virtue of its repertoire and independent foliation, and (2) the rest of the manuscript, considered as a much later collection, compiled at Valencia (Lee and Knighton) from 1525 to 1535, according to the dates entered at different places in Barcelona M.454.

My study of the manuscript reveals that Barcelona M.454, with three different sixteenth-century foliations, consists of four distinct sections: 454/A, 454/B, 454/C, and 454/D, most likely compiled in a process of accretion over a shorter period than previously thought. The *terminus ante quem* for the greater part of the manuscript

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[158]Gregori, "Els Cantors," 44, cites the *Llibres de Comptes de la Sagristía*, 1575-1577, fol. 87.

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(454/A-C) can be placed at ca. 1525, with the earliest section, 454/A, probably having originated during the first decade of the sixteenth century. Scribe C was responsible for bringing together the once-independent sections 454/A and 454/B around 1520; the comparison of a previously unnoticed inscription dated 1520 with the two extant *tablas* containing the repertoire added by Scribe C shows that he copied 454/C from ca. 1520 to 1525. It is not possible to determine with precision when 454/B was compiled, since it has connections with both 454/A and 454/C. A late date for 454/B (ca. 1519) would favor the conception of previous scholars who divided Barcelona M.454 into two main sections, 454/A and the rest of the manuscript, with their period of compilation separated by a long chronological gap. The presence of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé* in 454/B and the hypothetical connection of this work with the ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece celebrated in Barcelona in 1519 would support this idea. This hypothesis cannot be confirmed; 454/B may have originated prior to the arrival of Charles V's chapel to Barcelona in 1519.

The visits to Barcelona of the Flemish ducal/royal chapel, first that of Philip the Fair in 1503, and then that of Charles V in 1519, serve as possible points of reference for the compilation of Barcelona M.454. Philip's visit may signal the beginning of the compilation process, and Charles's long stay may have served as a catalyst for the integration of the three main sections of the manuscript into a single volume circa 1520; 454/D, with works by Flecha and Pastrana, could have been copied sometime after 1525. The dates 1530, 1532, and 1534, found in the works copied by Scribe C before 1525, are later additions and show only that the manuscript continued to be used during the third decade of the sixteenth century.

I have shown that the hypotheses about the Valencian origins for Barcelona M.454 suggested by Lee and Knighton do not rest on firm evidence; however, an item in an inventory of the library at the court of the Duke of Calabria in Valencia could be taken to suggest that, after its compilation, the manuscript may have been in the

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Duke's library. All the musical and paleographical evidence indicates that, with the possible exception of the original portions of section 454/A (though I am inclined to think that it is not an exception), Barcelona M.454 was compiled in Barcelona. This evidence can be summarized as follows: (1) the printed indulgence found inside the binding of the manuscript, which contains the handwritten inscription: "diocesis barchinone constitute;" (2) the mention of the salesman Señor Sans—documented in Barcelona—and of the "plaça nova," the square next to Barcelona Cathedral, in an inscription written by Scribe C; (3) the reference, on the last folio of the manuscript, to "Tort," alias of the canon Anthoni Joan Fiella at Barcelona Cathedral; (4) the presence of two *Kleinmeister*, Aldomar in 454/A and Cubells in 454/C, both of whom are known to have been active at Barcelona; (5) the substitution of the local Saint Justin and Saint Firminus in the *secunda pars* of Compère *Ave Maria* in 454/A; (6) the Catalan linguistic peculiarities of the scribes responsible for 454/B and 454/C; and (7) the possibility that Barcelona M.454 is the book of music acquired by the Valencian court whose inventory states that it comes from Barcelona.

An inscription and a monogram on the last folios of the manuscript indicate that Scribe C, the compiler of the manuscript, might have been named Anthoni Johan Moreta. He is not documented among the beneficiaries attached to Barcelona Cathedral, but he probably was a member of another establishment in the city. Since he copied two *unica* by Pero Cubells, a *maestro de capilla* at Santa María del Mar, perhaps Moreta himself may have been attached to this important church. However, that Moreta included in his monogram the patriarcal cross of four arms suggests that he could have been employed by the Archbishop Pere Folch de Cardona, who played a leading cultural role in the city at the time of the compilation; a prayer for a bishop probably named Peter on the last folio of the manuscript may very well refer to him.

In sum, with the possible exception of 454/A, which could have been partly copied outside Spain before being brought to Barcelona, the manuscript was probably

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copied at Barcelona. Contrary to the conception that the early sixteenth century in Barcelona was musically poor, the international and local repertory in Barcelona M.454 suggests that the city, along with an economic recovery, may have enjoyed a prosperous musical life. Archival research regarding the Cardona family is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but such a study could reveal the extent to which the Cardonas may have been at the center of musical patronage in Barcelona in the early sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER III

THE CONTENTS OF BARCELONA, BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA, M.454: AN ANNOTATED INVENTORY

This inventory differs from previous inventories in the numbering of pieces, owing mainly to my considering Févin's *Missa mente tota* as the intended first piece of the manuscript, and Anchieta's *Missa de nostra dona salve sancta* as a single plenary Mass, starting with the Introit *Salve sancta parens*.[1] In both instances, I am following the manuscript's *tabla*.

Text incipits and the names of composers have been listed as they appear in the manuscript. If the spelling is substantially different from the commonly accepted form, I include the "correct" form in brackets. Abbreviated names have been written in full, with the resolution underscored. Attributions found in concordant sources are in brackets. Gatherings and foliation for every movement of a Mass or *pars* of a motet are specified, as is the presence of full text (t), incipit (x), or absence of text (-) in every voice. In addition, I have indicated the beginning of the major sections of the manuscript: 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C (see Chapter I).

Besides the concordances and modern editions, the inventory presents two different kinds of commentaries: 1) the **Remarks about MS** are reserved exclusively for notes about the paleography of the manuscript; 2) **Comments** contain other information related to that particular piece.

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[1]See the Introduction for citations of previous inventories of Barcelona M.454.

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INVENTORY

When Barcelona M.454 was restored in 1958, some fragments were found inside the binding. They are now in an envelope attached to the inside front cover of the manuscript; for a description, see Chapter I.

No. 0. fol. [0^{r}] *Ave uere sanguis Domini* [Peñalosa] t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin: "menorare pisima." A motet by Peñalosa entitled *Memorare piissima* appears on fols. clxii^{v}-clxiii^{r}; see No. 89.

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
This manuscript, No. 15, fols. lxv^{v}-lxvi^{r}, Peñalosa
Bloomington 8, pp. 90-91, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxviii^{v}-cclxix^{r}, Peñalosa

Modern editions:
Hardie, "The Motets," II, 336-40 (after Tarazona 2/3)
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, I, 225-30 (after Tarazona 2/3)

Comments:
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 112, states that when he consulted the manuscript, this side of the folio was attached to the cover; thus he was unable to identify the piece. The folio was detached from the cover when the manuscript was restored in 1958. Since the same piece by Peñalosa is found elsewhere in the collection, it is likely that this folio came to be used as an extra piece of paper on which to write the *tabla* on the verso side; thus the intended first piece of the manuscript in its final form was Févin's *Missa mente tota*. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 84, mistakenly indicates that this opening piece is Peñalosa's *Sancta Maria Succurre*.

— fol. [0^{v}] *Tabla*

Comments:
The *tabla* is an inventory of the pieces copied by the scribe responsible for the final compilation of the manuscript. It is not a table of contents. All the pieces he copied throughout Barcelona M.454 are in the *tabla*. I have referred to his sections of the manuscript as 454/C; see Chapter I. An earlier version of this *tabla* is among the fragments found inside the envelope referred to above.

GATHERING I: fols. [i^{r}]-[xiv^{v}] [=**454/C** (through GATHERING II)]

— Missing fols. [i-ii]

— fols. iii^{r}-iv^{r} EMPTY STAVES

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No. 1. fols. iv^{v}-xii^{v} *Missa mente tota* 4vv. Anthonius Fevin

iv^{v}-v^{r} *Kyrie* t;t;t;t
v^{v}-vi^{r} [*E*]*t in terra pax* t;t;t;t
vi^{v}-vii^{r} *qui tollis* t;t;t;t
vii^{v}-viii^{r} *patrem omnipotentem* t;t;t;t
viii^{v}-ix^{r} *Cruxifixus*
ix^{v}-x^{r} *Et in Spiritum Sanctum* t;t;t;t
x^{v}-xi^{r} *Santus* t;t;t;t
xi^{v} *Benedictus* (*Duo*)
xi^{v}-xii^{v} [*A*]*gnus Dei* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
The altus of *Agnus Dei* II and the altus and bassus of *Agnus Dei* III are lacking owing to the loss of fol. xiii (see below).
Top margin of fol. xii^{r} contains the following entry in a different hand and ink: "f. 25 1530;" the same person entered the arabic folio number "12." The light brown color of the ink in the 1530 inscription corresponds to that in the addition of text noticeable after fol. ix^{v}, on which only the incipit *Et in Spiritum Sanctum* had originally been written.

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Jena 3, fols. 43^{v}-58^{r}, Anthonius de feuin
Munich 260, Nos. 57-58, Anon. (*Benedictus* and *Pleni sunt caeli* only)
Vatican CG XII,2, fols. clxxv^{v}-clxxxxi^{r}, feuin
Vatican 16, fols. xlvii^{v}-lx^{r}, Ant. de feuin
Vienna 15495, fols. 19^{v}-33^{r}, Anthonius de fevin
Vienna 18832, No. 18, Anon. (*Benedictus*); and No. 20, (*Pleni sunt caeli*)

Prints:
Antico 1516[1], xlvi^{v}-liiiii^{r}, Feuim
Petrucci 1515[1], No. 2, Fevin
Rhaw 1545[7], No. lvi, *Pleni sunt caeli* (*Beatus homo*)

Modern editions:
Clinkscale, "The Works of Antoine de Févin," II, 122-56.
Expert, *Les Maîtres Musiciens*, IX, 62-123.

Comments:
This Mass is based on Josquin's *Mente tota*, the *quinta pars* of his motet *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*. See Chapter II for a discussion of the inscription "f. 25 1530" and other dates that appear in this manuscript.

— Missing fols. [xiii and xiv]. *Tabla* reads: "mentetota tibi suplicamus [fol.]xiiii." Fol. xiii^{r} would have had the conclusion of the Mass, and fols. xiii^{v}-xiv^{r}, Josquin's *Mente tota*.

GATHERING II: fols. xv^{r}-xx^{v}

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No. 2. fols. [xiv^{v}]-xvi^{r} [*O*] *beate Sebastiane* 4vv. Jo. Mouton (*tabla*)/ [Jo. Martini]

xv^{r} [*O*] *beate Sebastiane* t;t (altus and bassus only; superius, tenor and ascription were on lost fol. xiv^{v})
xv^{v}-xvi^{r} [*L*]*ibera nos* (*secunda pars*), t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Both 454/C and Petrucci 1505^{2} transmit Nos. 2-3 consecutively, and they are the only sources for these two homonymous motets. I believe that Scribe C used Petrucci 1505^{2} as his model, and that confusion at the time of copying the ascription "Jo Martini" from the table of contents of Petrucci 1505^{2} may have caused the attribution of No. 2 to "Jo. Moton" in 454/C; see Chapter V.

Concordance:
Print:
Petrucci 1505^{2}, No. 32, Jo. Martini

Modern edition:
Brawley,"The Magnificats, Hymns, Motets," II, 133-39 (after Petrucci 1505^{2})

Comments:
Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," mistakenly stated that this piece is the *secunda pars* of Mouton's motet *Sancte Sebastiane*, which also begins with the words "O beate Sebastiane." However, that motet, transcribed by Shine after Antico 1521^{5}, is a completely different piece from this *O beate Sebastiane* in Barcelona M.454. The text of this motet, an invocation to St. Sebastian for the cessation of the plague, is the same for Nos. 2-3; Brawly, "The Magnificats, Hymns, Motets," I, 69-72, pointed out the similarity between the tenors of both pieces.

No. 3. fols. xvi^{v}-xviii^{r} [*O*] *beate Sebastiane* 4vv. Gaspar [van Weerbecke]

xvi^{v}-xvii^{r} [*O*] *beate Sebastiane* t;t;t;t
xvii^{v}-xviii^{r} [*L*]*ibera nos* (*secunda pars*), t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
In the top margin of fol. xvi^{v} a later hand has entered: "Gaspar 20 1532 faber." The original attribution to "Gaspar" is on fol. xvii^{r}.

Concordance:
Print:
Petrucci 1505^{2}, No. 33, Gaspar

Comments:
See comments for No. 2.

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No. 4. fol. xviii^{v} [*B*]*eata nobis gaudia* Anon. t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
This piece, No. 5, and No. 6 are later additions.

Comments:
Beata nobis gaudia is a hymn for the feast of Pentecost (*Liber Usualis*, 759-60). The *cantus firmus* of this work, however, has not been identified.

No. 5. fol. xviiii^{r} *Ut queant laxis* Anon. t;t;t;t

Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 76, fols. cxlix^{v}-cl^{r}, Anon. (in a different hand)

Comments:
Ut queant laxis is a hymn for the feast of St. John the Baptist (*Liber Usualis*, 1342-43). The *cantus firmus* in the superius differs from the chant in the *Liber Usualis*.

— fols. xix^{v}-xx^{r} EMPTY STAVES

No. 6. fol. xx^{v} *Gloria... pues nacio* [Mateo Flecha?] t;t;x;t

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 342
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 404
Pedrell, *Catàlech II*, 155

Modern editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 370-74
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 477-79

Comments:
The piece is a villancico, which, after the Latin opening, continues in Spanish. The text mentions the name Mateo, which is also Flecha's given name. Since the same scribe copied several *unica* by Flecha at the end of the manuscript, perhaps this villancico—probably the last work added to the manuscript—also is by him. The homophonic style of this villancico, with the incorporation of dialogue, indeed recalls some of Flecha's *ensaladas*.

GATHERING III: fols. xxi^{r}-xxvi^{v} (i^{r}-vi^{v}) **[=First Part of 454/B** (through fol. lviiii^{r})]

— fol. xxi^{r} (i^{r}) BLANK (at the bottom reads: "seny")

Remarks about MS:
Beginning with the first recto of gathering III, an earlier foliation i-xx was changed into the present folio numbers xxi-xxxx by simply adding "xx" in

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front of the earlier Roman numerals. Even though it is not possible to reconstruct the entire foliation of this collection (454/B), scribal evidence suggests that its repertory included the music through the present fol. lviiii^{r} (No. 10). Other pieces from 454/B appear later in the manuscript, but it is not possible to distinguish a previous foliation; see Chapter I.

No. 7. fols. xxi^{v}-xxx^{r} (i^{v}-x^{r}) [*Missa*] 3vv. [fray Benito]

xxi^{v}-xxii^{r} (i^{v}-ii^{r}) *Kirie* t;t;t
xxii^{v}-xxiii^{r} (ii^{v}-iii^{r}) *Xpe* t;t;t
xxiii^{v}-xxiiii^{r} (iii^{v}-iiii^{r}) *et in terra pax* x;x;x
xxiiii^{v}-xxv^{r} (iiii^{v}-v^{r}) *Qui tollis* x;x;x
xxv^{v}-xxvi^{r} (v^{v}-vi^{r}) *Patrem omnipotentem* x;-;-

GATHERING IV: fols. xxvii^{r}-xxxiii^{v} (vii^{r}-xiii^{v})

xxvi^{v}-xxvii^{r} (vi^{v}-vii^{r}) *Crucifixus* x;-;x
xxvii^{v}-xxviii^{r} (vii^{v}-viii^{r}) *Santus* x;x;x
xxviii^{v}-xxix^{r} (viii^{v}-ix^{r}) *benedictus* x;x;-
xxix^{v}-xxx^{r} (ix^{v}-x^{r}) *Agnus dei* t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
The *Agnus Dei* was copied by a different scribe, who entered "Laus deo et finis" on fol. xxx^{r}; he copied the following three Masses as well.

Concordance:
The superius of the *Kyrie* appears again on fol. cxxxvii^{v} (65^{v}), with an almost illegible attribution to "fray benito." See No. 58.

Comments:
Since the *Agnus Dei* has a different head-motive from the other movements of this Mass, which were copied by a different scribe, it probably does not belong to the same cycle. It is interesting to notice that section 454/B of the manuscript begins with precisely the same Mass that appears incomplete at the end of section 454/A; see Chapter I. For a discussion of the "Benito" ascription (found also in Nos. 29, 31, 33, and 58), and its possible interpretation as an attribution to Brumel, see Chapter V.

No. 8. fols. xxx^{v}-xxxvii^{r} (x^{v}-xvii^{r}) [*Missa Au travail suis*] 4vv. [Ockeghem]

xxx^{v}-xxxi^{r} (x^{v}-xi^{r}) *Kyrie, Xpe, Kirie* t;t;t;t
xxxi^{v}-xxxii^{r} (xi^{v}-xii^{r}) *Et in terra pax* t;t;-;- (incomplete text)
xxxii^{v}-xxxiii^{r} (xxii^{v}-xiii^{r})*qui [tollis]* x;-;-;-

[GATHERING V: fols. xxxiiii^{r}-xxxix^{v} (xiiii^{r}-xix^{v})]

xxxiii^{v}-xxxiiii^{r} (xiii^{v}-xiiii^{r}) *Patrem [omnipotentem]* x;-;x;-
xxxiiii^{v}-xxxv^{r} (xiiii^{v}-xv^{r}) *Et resurexit* x;x;-;-

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xxxv^{v}-xxxvi^{r} (xv^{v}-xvi^{r}) *Sanctus* x;-;-;-
xxxvi^{v}-xxxvii^{r} (xvi^{v}-xvii^{r}) *Agnus [Dei]* x;-;-;-

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. xxx^{v}: "Laus ma" [=Maria]. Upper margin of foi. xxxi^{v} has the initial "P" where one would normally find an attribution.

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. 89^{v}-96^{r}, Ockeghem
Vatican 41, fols. 104^{v}-113^{r}, Ockeghem
Vatican 63, fols. 14^{v}-20^{r}, Ockeghem

Modern edition:
Plamenac, *Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works*, I, 30-41

No. 9. fols. xxxvii^{v}-xlix^{r} (xvii^{v}-) *Missa de nostra dona (tabla)* 4vv. [Anchieta]

xxxvii^{v}-xxxviii^{r} (xvii^{v}-xviii^{r}) *Salve sancta parens* (Introit) t;t;t;t
(superius begins with monophonic chant for the word *Salve*; polyphony begins at *sancta parens*.)
xxxviii^{v}-xxxix^{r} (xviii^{v}-xix^{r}) *Rex virginum...eleyson* (Kyrie) t;t;t;t

GATHERING VI: fols. xxxx^{r}-xlix^{v} (xx-)

xxxix^{v}-xxxx^{r} (xix^{v}-xx^{r}) *[E]t in terra pax* t;t;t;t (altus begins with monophonic chant *Et in terra pax hominibus*; polyphony begins at *[b]one voluntatis*.)
xxxx^{v}-xxxxi^{r} (xx^{v}-) *qui tolis* t;t;t;t
xli^{v}-xlii^{r} *[B]enedicta et venerabilis* (Gradual) t;t;t;t
xlii^{v}-xliii^{r} *[V]irgo dey genitris* t;t;t;t (tenor sings only at the end *factus homo*.)
xliii^{v}-xliv^{r} *[A]lleluya dulcis mater* t;t;t;t
xliv^{v}-xlv^{r} *[F]elix namque es* (Offertory) t;t;t;t (begins with chant in superius; polyphony begins at *Sacra Virgo*.)
xlv^{v}-xlvi^{r} *[S]anctus* t;t;t;t
xlvi^{v}-xlvii^{r} *oSana* t;t;t;t.
xlvii^{v}-xlviii^{r} *agnus dei* t;t;t;t
xlviii^{v}-xlix^{r} *Beata viscera* (Communion) t;t;t;t (begins with chant in superius; polyphony starts at *marie virginis*.)

Remarks about MS:
The original foliation of 454/B runs out after fol. xxxx (xx), during the course of this piece. Upper margin of fol. xxxviii^{v}: "[Johannes Anchieta]" added in pencil by Anglés. Upper right margin of fol. xxxxi^{r} also has an arabic number "41" in ink, added by the same hand that foliated the manuscript. At the end of the altus part on fol. xlix^{r}: *Comunio.*

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Concordances:

Manuscripts:

Segovia, fols. 65^{v}-67^{r}, *Gloria* only, preceded by a *Credo*, forming a two-movement *Missa de Beata Virgine*, "Jo. Ancheta," t;t;t;t

Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccix^{v}-ccxvii^{r}, "Jo. Ancheta" in the table of contents (*Kyrie* and *Gloria* only, followed by the same *Credo* transmitted in Segovia, and a different *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* ascribed to Escobar).

Modern editions:

Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 35-46, *Kyrie*, and *Gloria* only, as part of a *Misa de nuestra Señora* after Tarazona 2/3, with an attribution to Anchieta in the table of contents, but with attributions to Escobar for the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*

Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera omnia*, 46-77 (*Kyrie*, and *Gloria* after Tarazona 2/3); introit *Salve sancta parens*, after Barcelona M.454, is published separatedly, 186-88)

Comments:

The *Gloria* contains the interpolated Marian trope: *Spiritus et alme orphanorum paraclite*. The *Osana* contains the following trope in the altus: *pater per omnia qui continens polum eterva*, in breves. What I am listing as No.9, with the title taken from the *tabla*, Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 112, and Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 176-77 list as eight separate pieces Nos.10-17. Anglés attributes to Anchieta only the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria*, which he considers part of an incomplete *Missa Rex virginum*; Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 175, states that on stylistic grounds the other movements could also be by Anchieta. Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera omnia*, 36, follows Anglés. It seems plausible to consider the piece as a whole cycle with Proper and Ordinary of the Mass starting with the Introit *Salve sancta parens*. The entry in the *tabla*—"Missa de nostra dona salve sancta [fol.] 38"—and the fact that this Mass is preceded by two others and followed by another one also favors this hypothesis. There are motivic connections among some movements, but the entire Mass may not be by Anchieta.

GATHERING VII: fols. l^{r}-lv^{v}

No. 10. fols. xlix^{v}-lviiii^{r} [*Missa L'homme armé*] 4vv. [Busnoys]

xlix^{v}-l^{r} *quirie* t;t;t;t
Xpe a 3.
l^{v}-li^{r} [*E*]*t in terra pax* t;t;-;t
li^{v}-lii^{r} *qui tolis* t;t;-;t
lii^{v}-liii^{r} *tu solus dominus* t;t;t;t
liii^{v}-liiii^{r} [*P*]*atrem omnipotentem* t;t;-;t
liiii^{v}-lv^{r} *Et incarnatus* t;t;t;t

GATHERING VIII: fols. lvi^{r}-lxv^{v}

lv^{v}-lvi^{r} *confiteor unum babtisma* t;t;t;t
lvi^{v}-lvii^{r} [*S*]*anctus* t;t;x;t

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lvii^{v}-lviii^{r} [*O*]*Sana* t;t;t;t
lviii^{v}-lviiii^{r} [*A*]*gnus Dey* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Agnus I and II missing. Tenor incipit on fol. lvi^{v} reads: *leomar me.* Upper right margin of fol. lvii^{r} has illegible characters. Bottom margin of fol. lviiii^{r} has the following inscription: *laudetur Xps*

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Modena s.s., fol. 1^{r}-1^{v} (fragment of *Agnus Dei* only)
Vatican 14, fols. 106^{v}-117^{r}, Busnois
Vatican 63, fols. 2^{v}-13^{r}, Anon.
Vatican C.VIII.234 (Chigi), fols. 213^{v}-227^{r}, Busnois
Vatican SMM 26, fols. 154^{v}-172^{r}, Anon.
Verona 761, fols. 101^{v}-112^{r}, Anon.

Modern editions:
Taruskin, *Antoine Busnoys: Collected Works*, 1-48 (after Chigi)
Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae, Ser. I, Tom. I, Fasc. II

Comments:
For a comprehensive study of this work, see Taruskin's critical commentary.

No. 11 fol. lviiii^{v} *Et in terra.* Two lines of an incomplete cantus.

— fol. lx^{r} EMPTY STAVES [=454/C (through GATHERING IX)]

No. 12. fols. lx^{v}-lxii^{r} [*Salve Regina*] 4vv. Johannes Anxeta

lx^{v}-lxi^{r} *Vita dulcedo* t;t;t;t
lxi^{v}-lxii^{r} *Et Jesum* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Barcelona 681, fols. 77^{v}-79^{r}, Anxeta (incomplete)
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 7^{v}-10^{r}, Juan Anchieta
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccxxxii^{v}-ccxxxiii^{r}, Jo. ancheta

Modern editions:
Elustiza-Castrillo, *Antología Musical*, No. 3 (after Seville 5-5-20)
Imrie, *Mapa Mundi: Spanish church music*, No. 4 (after Seville 5-5-20)
Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera omnia*, 134-151 (after Tarazona 2/3)

Comments:
Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera omnia*, 47, mistakenly states that the version in Barcelona M.454 is incomplete.

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No. 13. fols. lxii^{v}-lxiv^{r} [O] *pulcherima mulierum* 4vv. Jo. Mouton/ [Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin/]

lxii^{v}-lxiii^{r} [*O*]*pulcherima mulierum* t;t;t;t
lxiii^{v}-lxiiii^{r} *Decende in ortum* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. lxiii^{v}: "S[ecund]a pars." Upper margin of fol. lxiiii^{r}: "Secu[n]da pars;" and on the right corner reads: "domina composta."

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Bologna Q27 II^{o}, fol. 8^{v}, Anon.
Bologna R142, fols. 3^{v}-4^{r}, Festa
Padua A17, fols. 176^{v}-177^{r}, Anon.
Verona 760, fols. 9^{v}-10^{r}, Anon.
Vienna 15941, fols. 82^{v}-83^{r}, Févin

Intabulation:
St. Gall 530, No. 41, Mouton

Prints:
Dorico 1526[4], Anon./Bauldeweyn
Kriesstein 1540[7], No. 28, Févin
Petrucci 1519[3], No. 14, Anon.

Modern editions:
Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, V, 209-11 (ed. by O. Kade after Kriesstein 1540[7])
Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," 644-46 (after Barcelona M.454, but only the *prima pars* was edited)

Comments:
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 155, listed this work and the following one as two motets by Mouton: "*O pulcherima Mater* and *Sancta Mater*." He also listed *Sancta Mater istud agas* separately, and read the attribution to Josquin as "Nisqms." For a discussion of this conflicting attribution, see Chapter V; there is a consensus among scholars for ascribing *O pulcherrima* to Mouton.

No. 14. fols. lxiv^{v}-lxv^{r} [*S*]*ancta mater* iusquin/[Peñalosa] t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
The attribution to Josquin is a later addition, in a different ink and calligraphic style. Scribe C, after copying the altus using the first five staves of fol. lxv^{r}, mistakenly entered the first line of the bassus of Mouton's *O pulcherrima*, which he had copied on the previous opening. After realizing his error, he erased it with a thin line connecting the headnotes, and wrote "vacat" in the left margin of this staff. He then copied the bassus of *Sancta mater* on the remaining four staves.

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Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 12^{v}-13^{r}, Peñalosa
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccliiii^{v}-cclv^{r}, p.losa
Toledo 21, fols. 62^{v}-64^{r}, Peñalosa

Modern editions:
Elústiza, *Antología Musical*, 16-19
Eslava, *Lira Sacro-hispana*, I, 29-33
Imrie, *Mapa Mundi: Spanish Church Music*, No. 2 (after Seville 5-5-20)
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 123-29 (after Tarazona 2/3)
Smijers, *Josquin Werken*, Supplement, 41-44

Comments:
Stevenson, "Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal," 219-20, pointed out the conflicting attribution of this work, and concluded that three ascriptions to Peñalosa outweigh the one to Josquin in Barcelona M.454. This misattribution unjustly questioned the reliability of the entire manuscript (see Chapter V). Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 39, omitted Barcelona M.454 as a source for this motet, but he later discussed this and other Peñalosa conflicts in "Francisco Peñalosa *versus* Josquin Despres," 423-30; Hardie, "The Motets," I, 133, lists this work as anonymous in Toledo 21 and Barcelona M.454.

GATHERING IX: fols. lxvi^{r}-lxxii^{v}

No. 15. fols. lxv^{v}-lxvi^{r} [*A*]*ve vere sanguis Domini* Peñalosa t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
This manuscript, No. 0, fol. [0^{r}], Anon.
Bloomington 8, pp. 90-91, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxviii^{v}-cclxix^{r}, P.losa

Modern edition:
Hardie, "The Motets," II, 336-40 (after Tarazona 2/3)
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 225-30 (after Tarazona 2/3)

No. 16. fols. lxvi^{v}-lxvii^{v} *Precor te domine* Penyalosa t;t;t;t

lxvi^{v}-lxvii^{r} *Precor te Domine* t;t;t;t
lxvii^{v} *Cum inclinato capite* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Coimbra 12, fols. 34^{v}-35^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 32^{v}-34^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxi^{v}-cclxii^{r}, p.losa
Toledo 21, fol. 87^{v}-90^{r}, Peñalosa

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Modern editions:
Eslava, *Lira Sacro-hispana*, I, 53-60
Hardie, "The Motets," II, 419-27
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 159-69 (after Tarazona 2/3), and 171-79 (after Coimbra 12)

Comments:
According to Hardie, "The Motets," 134, only the version in Coimbra 32 contains the *prima* and *secunda pars* of this motet; in Coimbra 12 the last ten measures of the *prima pars* differ from the corresponding measures in the other sources.

No. 17. fol. lxviii^{r} *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre] t;-;-;-

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
This manuscript, No. 24, fol. lxxiii^{r}, Anon.
Segovia, fol. 228^{v} (superius only)
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccxxvii^{v}-ccxxviii^{r}, F. la Torre
Tarazona 5, fols. 87^{v}-88^{r}
Toledo 1, 83^{v}-87^{r}, Franco de la Torre
Toledo 21, 121^{v}-122^{r}, Francisco de la Torre

Comments:
That *Ne recorderis* and the following *Alleluya* and *Benedicamus* appear together again elsewhere in the manuscript could imply a possible scribal connection. The pairs of pieces seem to be copied one from the other, even though the latter one has only text incipits. *Ne recorderis* is the verse for the response *pro defunctis* (*Liber Usualis*, 1792). This piece, No. 18, and No. 19 belong to 454/B (see Chapter I).

No. 18. fol. lxviii^{v} *Aleluya dies sanctificatus* Anon. t;t;t

Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 25, fol. lxxiii^{v} Anon. (see comments for No. 17)

Comments:
This *Alleluia* setting is for Christmas.

No. 19. fols. lxviii^{v}-lxix^{r} *Benedicamus* [*domino*] Anon. x;x;-;-

Remarks about MS:
Bassus written at the bottom of fol. lxix^{r}, as in the other version copied on fol. lxxiii^{v}-lxxiiii^{r} (1^{r}).
Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 26, fols. lxxiii^{v}-lxxiiii^{r} (1^{r}); see comments for No. 17.

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No. 20. fol. lxix^{r} *Benedicamus domino* Petrus de Monte/Cubells (*tabla*) t;t;t;t

Comments:
Cubells [=Cubelles] is also the name of a small town on the Mediterranean coast, 47 km south of Barcelona. The attribution to Cubells appears in the *tabla*; a later hand wrote Petrus de Monte on top of the ascription to Cubells above the music. Petrus de Monte may come from Cubelles.

No. 21. fols. lxix^{v}-lxxii^{r} [*Magnificat*] *de primo tono* 4vv. Cubells (*tabla*)

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. lxx^{r}, barely legible: "Cubells." Half way down the same page, after the alto part, there is the inscription: "Román," and below this name other illegible characters: "121101" (?) (see Fig. 13 in Chapter I).

lxix^{v}-lxx^{r} [*Et*] *exultavit* t;t;t;t
lxx^{v}-lxxi^{r} [*F*]*ecit potentiam* t;t;t;t
lxxi^{v}-lxxii^{r} *Sicut locutus*, *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t

No. 22. fol. lxxii^{v} *Dixit dominus* Anon. t;t;-;-

Comments:
First line of Psalm 109. This piece was probably inserted here because the following one, *Donec ponam*, is the second line of the same Psalm. The music for both pieces is very similar.

GATHERING X: fols. lxxiii^{r}-lxxxii^{v} (**-9^{v}**) **[=454/A** through GATHERING XV)]

No. 23. fol. lxxiii^{r} *Donec ponam* Anon. t;x;x;-

Remarks about MS:
This folio, of smaller size, is from a different stock of paper, and originally served as a guard sheet for the Mass (see No. 27) that initiates what is the oldest section of the manuscript, 454/A (see Chapter I). At the top: "Primus." Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 88, mistakenly read this inscription as an ascription to "Puig." On the upper right margin, the modern folio number lxxiii was written on top of a previous inscription "g.1g" (...*primus*), and below it we find "g.2g" (...*secundus*).

Comments:
Donec ponam is the second line of Psalm 109; see No. 22. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 82, read "99" underneath the modern folio number, and believed it was an older folio number; she suggested that the other characters could be a shelf mark. Although the meaning of the inscriptions *primus* and *secundus* is not entirely clear, the inscriptions are probably related to this piece, the second verse of Psalm 109; interestingly, a later hand copied, on the facing fol. lxxii^{v}, the missing first verse, *Dixit dominus*, with very similar music.

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No. 24. fol. lxxiii^{r} *Ne recorderis* 4vv. [Francisco de la Torre] t;t;t;t

Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 17, fol. lxviii^{r}

Comments:
Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 178, incorrectly lists the last section of this piece, *Kyrie*, as a separate number before *Ne recorderis*.

No. 25. fol. lxxiii^{v} *Aleluya* 3vv. Anon. x;-;-

Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 18, fol. lxviii^{v}

No. 26. fol. lxxiii^{v}-lxxiiii^{r} (1^{r}) *Benedicamus domino* 4vv. Anon. t;-;-t

Remarks about MS:
The bassus was copied on the last staff of fol. lxxiiii^{r}, in the same way as No. 19; see comments for No. 17.

Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 19, fol. lxviii^{v}

No. 27. fols. lxxiiii^{r}-lxxxii^{r} (1^{r}-9^{r}) [*Missa*] 3vv. [Aulenus/Agricola] see below regarding attribution

lxxiiii^{r} (1^{r}) *Kyrie, Kpriste* t;t;t
lxxiiii^{v} (1^{v}) *Kyrie* t;t;t
lxxiiii^{v} (1^{v}) *Et in terra pax* (S only) t
lxxv^{r} (2^{r}) *Et in terra pax* (T and B), t;t
lxxv^{v}-lxxvi^{r} (2^{v}-3^{r}) *Qui tollis* t;t;t
lxxvi^{v}-lxxvii^{r} (3^{v}-4^{r}) [*P*]*atrem omnipotentem* t;t;t
lxxvii^{v}-lxxviii^{r} (4^{v}-5^{r}) *Et incarnatus* t;t;t
lxxviii^{v}-lxxix^{r} (5^{v}-6^{r}) *Et in Spiritum* t;t;t
lxxix^{v}-lxxx^{r} *Sanctus* (6^{v}-7^{r}) t;t;t
lxxx^{v}-lxxxi^{r} (7^{v}-8^{r}) *Benedictus* and *Osanna* t;t;t
lxxxi^{v}-lxxxii^{r} (8^{v}-9^{r}) *Agnus Dei* t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
At the end of the altus part on fol. lxxxii^{r} (9^{r}): *est finitur*

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Berlin 40021, fols. 41^{v}-46^{r}, Offi[cium] Auleni
Leipzig 1494, fols. 151^{v}-156^{r}, Offi[cium] Auleni
Munich 3154, fols. 400^{r}-407^{v}, Anon. (*Kyrie* and beginning of *Gloria* missing)

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Regensburg B216-219, No. 9, αδηλν
Segovia, fols. 135r-142r, alexander agricola (*Agnus Dei* missing)
Warsaw 2016, fols. 1r-6r, Officium Aule

Modern editions:
Birtner, *Aulen Mass*, Das Chorwerk, 31, 4-20
Gerber, *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*. Das Erbe deutscher Musik, xxxiii, 197-204

Comments:
Previous scholars read the word in the upper margin of fol. lxxiiiir (1r) as "Cuvenor," or "Suvenor", and believed it represented an ascription. There is no doubt that the first letter is "S," but the most convincing reading of the word is "Superior," and it must refer to a voice part, not a composer's name (see Chapter V).

No. 28. fols. lxxxiiv-lxxxiiir (9v-10r) *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*
Alonso de Mondejar/[Díaz] t;x;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Coimbra 12, fols. 192v-193v, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 19v-20r, Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 123r-123v, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxvv-cclxxvi, Diaz

Comments:
The superius starts after the other voices with the words *Ave gloriosum corpus*, which is the incipit given in Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 179.

GATHERING XI: fols. lxxxiiir-xciiv (10r-19v)

No. 29. fols. lxxxiiiv-lxxxviir (10v-14r) *Magnificat* [*primi toni*] 4vv.
Frai benito/de riaça [or] de (F)rança
(see below about attribution)

lxxxiiiv-lxxxiiiir (10v-11r) *Et exultavit* "Duo" t;t and *Quia fecit* t;t;t
lxxxiiiiv-lxxxvr (11v-12r) *Fecit potentiam* t;t;t;t and *E surientes* "Duo" t;t
lxxxvv-lxxxvir (12v-13r) *Sicut locutus* t;t;t
lxxxvir-lxxxviir (13v-14r) *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
In the upper margin of fol. lxxxiiiv (**10v**), below the word "Duo," we find the barely visible attribution to Frai Benito and below it the inscription: "de riaça" ("de (F)rança"?).

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Modern editions:
Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 700-19
Kreitner, "Music and Civic Ceremony," 537-54

Comments:
The inscription "de riaça" could refer to the town of Riaza in the province of Segovia; the reading "de (F)rança" is also plausible. Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, and Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, read the inscription as an attribution to an unknown "Prederiaca" or "Prederiaça" respectively; later Anglés, "La Polyphonie religieuse péninsulaire," 1175, also referrered to this piece as being by "Pedraça." Pedrell, *Catalech II*, 156, read: "Taerraça". Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," following Pedrell, attributed the work to the organist Gabriel Terrassa (ca. 1450-1514); Kreitner, "Music and Civic Ceremonies," followed Gregori. Anglés and Knighton read the barely visible ascription to Benito as "Benalt" or "Venalt." For a discussion of the "Benito" ascription (also found in Nos. 7, 31, 33, and 58), and its possible interpretation as an attribution to Brumel, see Chapter V.

No. 30. fols. lxxxvii^{v}-xci^{r} (14^{v}-18^{r}) [*Magnificat*] *primi toni* 3vv. Anon.

lxxxvii^{v}-lxxxviii^{r} (14^{v}-15^{r}) *Et exultavit* "Duo" t;t and *Quia fecit* t;t;t
lxxxviii^{v}-lxxxviiii^{r} (15^{v}-16^{r}) *Fecit potentiam* t;t;t and *Esurientes* t;t
lxxxiiii^{v}-xc^{r} (16^{v}-17^{r}) *Sicut locutus* t;t;t
xc^{v}-xci^{r} (17^{v}-18^{r}) *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t *a 4*

No. 31. fols. xci^{v}-xciiii^{r} (18^{v}-21^{r}) [*Magnificat secundi toni*] 4vv. Fr. benito/ [Brumel]

xci^{v}-xcii^{r} (18^{v}-19^{r}) *Et exultavit* t;t;t;t

GATHERING XII: fols. xciii^{r}-ciiii^{v} (20^{r}-31^{v})

xcii^{v}-xciii^{r} (19^{v}-20^{r}) *Fecit potentiam* t;t;t;t
xciii^{v}-xciiii^{r} (20^{v}-21^{r}) *Sicut locutus* t;t;t;t and *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Copenhagen 1848 2^{o}, pp. 324-29, Anon.
Kassel 9, No. 12, Anon.
Vatican 44, fols. 17^{v}-23^{r}, "*Secundi Toni* Brumel"
Vienna 18832, No. 49, Anon.; incipits only (*Esurientes*).

Modern edition:
Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, 7-23 (after Kassel 9)

Comments:
For a discussion of the "Benito" ascription (also found in Nos. 7, 29, 33, and 58), and its possible interpretation as an attribution to Brumel, see Chapter V.

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No. 32. fols. xciiii^{v}-xcviii^{r} (21^{v}-25^{r}) [*Magnificat*] *sexti toni* 4vv. Brumel

xciiii^{v}-xcv^{r} (21^{v}-22^{r}) *Anima mea* t;t;t;t
xcv^{v}-xcvi^{r} (22^{v}-23^{r}) *Quia fecit* t;t;t;t
xcvi^{v}-xcvii^{r} (23^{v}-24^{r}) *Fecit potentiam* "Duo" t;t and *E surientes*. t;t;t;t
xcvii^{v}-xcviii^{r} (24^{v}-25^{r}) *Sicut locutus* and *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
's-Hertogenbosch 73, 156^{v}-161^{r}, "*Sexti toni* Magnificat," Anon.
Kassel 9, No. 13, Anon.
Uppsala 76a, fols. 37^{v}-41^{r}, Anon. (five sections only)
Vatican 15, fols. 127^{v}-133^{r}, Anon.

Modern edition:
Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia* VI, 39-47 (after 's-Hertogenbosch)

No. 33. fols. xcviii^{v}-ciiii^{r} (25^{v}-31^{r}) [*Magnificat octavi toni*] 4vv. Fr. benios

xcviii^{v}-xcix^{r} (25^{v}-26^{r}) *Et exultavit* t;t;t;t
xcix^{v}-c^{r} (26^{v}-27^{r}) *Quia fecit* t;t;t;t
c^{v}-ci^{r} (27^{v}-28^{r}) *Fecit potentiam* t;t;t (*a 3*)
ci^{v}-cii^{r} (28^{v}-29^{r}) *E surientes* t;t;t;t
cii^{v}-ciii^{r} (29^{v}-30^{r}) *Sicut locutus* t;t;t;t
ciii^{v}-ciiii^{r} (30^{v}-31^{r}) *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
The attribution is now virtually illegible, but almost identical to that of Benito. For a discussion of the "Benito" ascription (also found in Nos. 7, 29, 31, and 58), and its possible interpretation as an attribution to Brumel, see Chapter V.

No. 34. fols. ciiii^{v}-cv^{r} (31^{v}-32^{r}) *O admirabile comercium* Ylario x;x;x;x

Remarks about MS:
Music in the lower right corner of fol. cv^{r} (32^{r}) is missing owing to damage of the folio.

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Coimbra 12, fols. 196^{v}-198^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 27^{v}-28^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 36^{v}-37^{v}, Anon.
Coimbra 53, fols. 44^{v}-45^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxiiii^{v}-cclxxv^{r}, Illario

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Comments:
This antiphon for the feast of Circumcision, which appears with a final on C in Barcelona M.454, was copied a fourth higher (ending on F) in the other sources.

GATHERING XIII: fols. cv^{r}-$cxvi^{v}$ (32^{r}-43^{v})

No. 35. fols. cv^{v}-cvi^{r} (32^{v}-33^{r}) ***In illo tempore apprehendit Pilatus Jesum*** **Anon. t;t;t;t**

Remarks about MS:
Music in the lower left corner of fol. cv^{v} (32^{v}) is missing owing to damage to the folio.

No. 36. fols. cvi^{v}-$cvii^{r}$ (33^{v}-34^{r}) ***Sy dedero*** **[Agricola/Isaac/Obrecht/Verbonet] x;-;x;x**

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Bologna Q 16, fols. cxx^{v}-cxxi bis^{r}, Anon.
Bologna Q 17, fols. 34^{v}-35^{r}, A. Agricola
Bologna Q 18, fols. 70^{v}-71^{r}, Alexander
Brussels 11239, fols. 32^{v}-33^{r}, Anon.
Copenhagen 1848 2^{o}, pp. 100-101, Anon.
Florence 27, fols. 57^{v}-58^{r}, Alex. Agrich.
Florence 178, fols. 31^{v}-32^{r}, Alexander
Florence 229, fols. 69^{v}-70^{r}, Alexander Agricola
Florence 2356, fols. 76^{v}-77^{r}, Anon.
Florence 2794, fols. 14^{v}-15^{r}, Anon.
Greifswald, No. 9, Anon. (superius and bassus only)
Heilbronn X/2, No. 11
Paris 676, fols. 30^{v}-31^{r}, *a* 4, Agricola (the added altus is not the same as the one that appears in Barcelona M.454)
Paris 1597, fols. 7^{v}-8^{r}, Anon.
Rome 2856, fols. 100^{v}-102^{r}, Agricola
Segovia, fol. $clxxi^{v}$, Alexander Agricola
St. Gall 462, fols. 35^{v}-36^{r}, Anon.
St. Gall 463, No. 16, Verbonet (superius only)
Vatican XIII.27, fols. 18^{v}-19^{r} (25^{v}-26^{r}), Agricola
Verona 757, fols. 24^{v}-25^{r}, Anon. ("Allexander" has been added in pencil by a later hand)

Prints:
Formschneider 1538^{9}, No. 13, Anon. (in the Jena exemplar: "Si dedero;" in the Berlin exemplar: an attribution to Obrecht)
Petrucci 1501, fols. 61^{v}-62^{r}, Alexander

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Intabulations:
Basel F.IX.22, No. 9, Henricus IZACK Componebat (arranged for solo keyboard).
Brown 1507[2], No. 23, Anon. (arranged for solo lute)
Brown 1536[7], No. 46, Ja. Obrecht (solo lute)
St. Gall 530, No. 19a, Alexander (solo keyboard)
Spinacino 1507[6] *Intabulatura* 2, fol. 29[v], Anon. (solo lute)

Modern editions:
Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*, II, 130-140; see his bibliography for other modern editions.
Lerner, *Agricola: Opera omnia*, VI, 50-51.

Comments:
Only Barcelona M.454 and Paris 676 transmit four-voice versions of this motet. However, the added voice in Barcelona M.454 is different from that in Paris 676.

No. 37. fols. cvii[v]-cxiii[r] (34[v]-40[r]) 4vv. *Salue regina* Anon.

cvii[v]-cviii[r] (34[v]-35[r]) *Salve Regina* t;t;t;t
cviii[r]-cviiii[r] (35[v]-36[r]) *Vita dulcedo* t;t;t;t
cviiii[v]-cx[r] (36[v]-37[r]) *A te suspiramus* t;t;t;t
cx[v]-cxi[r] (37[v]-38[r]) *Eya ergo advocata* t;t;t;t
cxi[v]-cxii[r] (38[v]-39[r]) *Et Jhesum* t;t;t;t
cxii[v]-cxiii[r] (39[v]-40[r]) *O clemens* t;t;t;t

No. 38. fols. cxiii[v]-cxvi[r] (40[v]-43[r]) [*Magnificat*] *octavi toni* 3vv. Anon.

cxiii[v]-cxiiii[r] (40[v]-41[r]) *Et exultavit* t;t;t
cxiiii[v]-cxv[r] (41[v]-42[r]) *Fecit potentiam* t;t;t
cxv[v]-cxvi[r] (42[v]-43[r]) *Sicut locutus* and *Sicut erat* t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. cxiii[v] (40[v]) has an illegible attribution: "y f[—]lad" (?); it was written by the same hand that copied the piece. Upper margin of fol. cxiiii[r] reads: "8[vi] toni."

No. 39. fol. cxvi[v] (43[v]) [*Textless*] Anon. -;-

Remarks about MS:
Only one voice and part of another.

GATHERING XIV: fols. cxvii[r]-cxxi[v] (44[r]-49[v])

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No. 40. fol. cxvii^{r} (44^{r}) *Ave santissima maria* Anon. x;t;t

Concordance:
This manuscript, fols. cxl^{v}-cxli^{r}, with "*at placitum*" contra; see No. 62.

Comments:
This work was added by Scribe B1 and therefore will be considered as part of 454/B.

No. 41. fols. cxvii^{v}-cxviii^{r} (44^{v}-45^{r}) *Veni creator spiritus* Anon. x;-;-

Comments:
This hymn is for the feast of Pentecost.

No. 42. fols. cxviii^{v}-cxviiii^{r} (45^{v}-46^{r}) [*V*]*eni creator spiritus* Anon. x;t;x;

Comments:
This *Veni creator spiritus* is a different setting from the previous one.

No. 43. fol. cxviiii^{v} (46^{v}) *Virgen Reyna gloriosa* Lope de Vaena [=Baena] t;x;x

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 343
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 404-05

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 480-81

— Old fol. (47) was missing when the later foliation was added.

Remarks about MS:
This missing folio most likely contained the "tiple" and first section of the tenor of Peñalosa's *Pues bivo en perder la vida*; the rest of the tenor and the contra appear at the bottom of fol. 48.

No. 44. fol. cxx^{r} (48^{r}) *Dy pastorcico pues vienes* Aldomar t;x;x

Remarks about the MS:
The new foliation has consecutive numbers, but the old fol. 47 is missing.

Text editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 405
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 156

Modern editions:
Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 720-23
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 482-83

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No. 45. fol. cxx^{r} (48^{r}) *Pues bivo en perder la vida* [Peñalosa] x;x

Remarks about MS:
Anglés wrote in pencil at the bottom: "sive no. 90 Canc. Barbieri."

Concordance:
Manuscript:
Madrid 1335, fol. lxxv^{r}, Peñalosa

Text editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 405
Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-2, 307-08

Modern editions:
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*,II, No. 127
Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 90
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 484

Comments:
Our manuscript lacks the "tiple" and the first section of the tenor, which were probably on the missing old fol. 47.

No. 46. fol. cxx^{v} (48^{v}) *Aquel pastorçico madre* Grauiel [=Gabriel] x;t;x

Literary concordances:
Madrid 1579, *Cartapacio Padilla*, fol. 230^{r}, "Aquel pastorcyco madre: que le pene."
Montesino, *Cancionero*, fol. 44^{v}, "Aquel pastorcico madre: que no viene."
Pedraza, *Coplas... para cantar*, fol. 2^{v}, "Aquel cauallero madre: que le duele."
Lope de Rueda, *Coloquio de Timbria* (*Obras*, vol. 2, 109)

Related composition
Madrid 1335, fol. ccxvii^{v}, *Por las sierras de Madrid* by Peñalosa

Sung to the tune of *Aquel pastorçico madre*:
Cancionero de Nuestra Señora, p. 23, "Ya nasció el rey encarnado"
Montesino, *Cancionero*, fols. 44^{v}-48^{r}, "Al sol vences con tu vista: mas volante." Devoted to St. John the Evangelist.
_____, *Cancionero*, fols. 66^{r}-67^{r}, "Reyna por mi bienvenida: verdadera." Devoted to the Nativity of Our Lady.
_____, *Cancionero*, fols. 67^{v}-68^{v}, "Aqueila estrella de norte: de mi vida."
Pedraza, *Coplas... para cantar*, fols. 2^{v}-3^{r}, "O rey muy alto del cielo: y gran reposo."

Text editions:
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 568A
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 405

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 485-86

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Comments:
The popularity of certain melodies such as *Aquel pastorçico madre* was reflected in literary cancioneros with the indication "...y se canta al tono de...," or "al tono de..." to indicate that a newly-composed poem should be sung to a particular melody. Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 94, lists the titles of nine well-known melodies for which the music has survived; see also No. 126 in this manuscript. Peñalosa's composition *Por las sierras de Madrid*, Madrid 1335, fol. ccxvii^{v}, is a sort of *quodlibet* or *ensalada* for six voices, in which he makes free use of well-known tunes such as "Aquel pastorçico madre" in one of the tenor voices. The version of this melody in the tenor of 454/A, however, is different; for further comments, see my edition in Volume II. Literary references to this song are listed in Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 568A.

No. 47. fols. cxx^{v}-cxxii^{r} (48^{v}-50^{r}) [*Magnificat octavi toni*] 3vv. Alonso de Mondéjar

cxx^{v} (48^{v}) *Et exultavit* x;x;x
cxxi^{r} (49^{r}) *Quia fecit* and *Fecit potentiam* x;x;x
cxxi^{v} (49^{v}) *E surientes* and *Sicut locutus* x;x;x
cxxii^{r} (50^{r}) *Sicut erat* x;x;x

GATHERING XV: fols. cxxii^{r}-cxxxv^{v} (50^{r}-63^{v})

No. 48. fol. cxxii^{r} (50^{r}) [Textless] Alonso de Mondéjar -;-;-

No. 49. fols. cxxii^{v}-cxxiiii^{r} (50^{v}-52^{r}) *Ave maria tu indiuidur trinitatis* 4vv. Anon.

cxxii^{v}-cxxiii^{r} (50^{v}-51^{r}) *Ave maria Tu indiuidur trinitatis* t;t;t;t
cxxiii^{v}-cxxiiii^{r} (51^{v}-52^{r}) *Tu confessorum* t;t;t;t

No. 50. fols. cxxiiii^{v}-cxxvi^{r} (52^{v}-54^{r}) 4vv. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]

cxxiiii^{v}-cxxv^{r} (52^{v}-53^{r}) *Ave, Maria* t;t;t;t
cxxv^{v}-cxxvi^{r} (53^{v}-54^{r}) *Ave vera virginitas* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Barcelona 5, fols. 56^{v}-57^{r}, Anon.
Berlin 40013, fols. 170^{v}-173^{r}, Anon. (with substitute text *Ave Maria... ne timeas*)
Berlin 40021, fol. 51^{v}-52^{r}, Anon. (with substitute text *Verbum incarnatum*)
Florence II.I.232, fols. 111^{v}-113^{r}, Iosquin
Florence 164-167, No. LXXVII, Anon.

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Gotha A. 98, fols. 100v-103r, Anon. (with substitute text as in Berlin 40013)
Königgratz S, 64r-67r, Anon.
Leipzig 1494, fol. 202v (fragment) Anon.
London 1070, pp. 62-65, Anon.
Milan 2266, fols. 118v-120r, Anon.
Modena IX, 24v-26r [73v-75r], Josquin
Munich 19, fols. 38v-43r, Josquin
Munich 322-325, No. 1, Jusquinus auctor
Munich 326, fols. 21v-22r, Anon.
Munich 3154, fols. 147v-148r, Josquin
Nuremberg 83795, 166v/124v, Anon., tenor and bassus only
St. Gall 463, No. 148, Josquinus Pratensis, superius and altus only
Segovia, fol. 83v-85r, Josquin dupres
Ulm 237 a-d, No. 2, Anon.
Vatican 42, fols. 22v-24r, Josquini despres
Warsaw 20016, fol.7v-8r, Anon.

Prints:
Petrucci 1502[1], fols. 2v-4r, Josquin
Glareani, *Dodecachordon*, 358-361, Ioducus Prate[n]sis

Intabulation:
St. Gall 530, No. 116, Anon. (transposed down a tone)

Modern edition:
Smijers, *Josquin des Pres: Werken: Motetten*, I, 1-4

Comments:
Anglés wrote that the *tabla* attributes the piece to "Jusquin." However, the folio number in the *tabla* next to the entry "Ave Maria de Jusquin" is partly illegible. The scribe was referring to the piece that was never copied on the empty staves of fols. cliiiiv-clvr, where there is an attribution to "Jusquin" on fol. cliiiiv. Smijers omitted Barcelona M.454 in his concordances.

No. 51. fols. cxxvivr-cxxviiir (54v-56r) *Ave Maria gratia plena* 4vv. [Compère]

cxxvivr-cxxviir (54v-55r) *Ave, Maria* t;t;t;t
cxxviiv-cxxviiir (55v-56r) *Sancte Michael* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Berlin 40021, fols. 206v-208r, Anon.
Bloomington 8, fols. 24v-25r (*prima pars* only)
Milan 2267, fols. 187v-189r, Loyset
Segovia, fol. 110, Anon. *Sancte Michael, ora pro nobis* (contra and bassus only)
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxxv-cclxxxiir, Luiset

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Toledo 21, fol. 58^{v}-62^{r}, Lysset
Vatican 15, 185^{v}-187^{r}, Aloysii Compère
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. 140^{v}-142^{r}, Compère
Verona 758, fols. 2^{v}-4^{r}, Anon.
Warsaw 2016, fols. 93^{v}-95^{r}, Anon.
Wroklaw 428, fols. 206^{v}-208^{r}, Anon.

Prints:
Petrucci 1502[1], fols. 28^{v}-31^{r}, Compère
Petrucci 1503[1], fols. 61^{v}-62^{r}

Intabulation:
St. Gall 530, No. 79, Anon. (*prima pars* only)

Modern edition:
Finscher, *Compère: Opera Omnia* IV, 8-10 (after Vatican C.VIII.234)

Comments:
In her citation for Barcelona M.454 among the sources for this piece, Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 358, cites the folio for the preceding piece, Josquin's *Ave Maria*, and omits Barcelona M.454 altogether in her concordances for the Josquin composition.

No. 52. fols. cxxviii^{v}-cxxx^{r} (56^{v}-58^{r}) *Intemerata Virgo* and *O Maria nullam* 4vv. [Josquin]

cxxviii^{v}-cxxix^{r} (56^{v}-57^{r}) *Intemerata virgo* t;t;t;t
cxxix^{v}-cxxx^{r} (57^{v}-58^{r}) *O Maria nullam* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Padua A17, fols. 4^{v}-5^{r}, Josquin, *Intemerata virgo*
Segovia, 85^{v} *O intemerata*, fol. 86v *O Maria nullam* "Josquin Dupres" t;t;t;t

Prints:
Petrucci 1505[2], Nos. 20 and 39 [only source that includes the *quinta pars Mente tota*]
Montanus & Neuber 1559[2], No. XI

Modern edition:
Smijers, *Josquin des Pres: Werken: Motetten*, I, 120-22 (after Petrucci 1505[2])

Comments:
Stevenson, "Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal," 220, pointed out that these are the third and fourth *partes* of Josquin's *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*, and that Smijers had omitted Barcelona M.454 in his concordances.

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No. 53. fols. cxxx^{v}-cxxxi^{r} (58^{v}-59^{r}) *Anima mea liquefacta est* [Weerbecke] t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Brussels 228, fol. 47^{v}, Anon.
Florence 178, fol. 72^{v}-73^{r}, Gaspar
Florence 229, fols. 161^{v}-162^{r}, Anon.
Milan 2269, fol. 129^{v}, Gaspar (as the fourth in a cycle of eight motets forming the substitute *Missa Ave mundi domina*)
St. Gall 463, No. 102, Anon. superius and contra only,
Warsaw 2016, fol. 10^{v}-11^{r}, Anon.
Washington Wolffheim, fol. 86^{v}, Anon. *Anima mea dominum*, contratenor and bassus are lacking m. 47 to the end.

Modern editions:
Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*, II, 334-37
Picker, *Chanson Albums*, 358
Tintori, *Archivium musices metropolitanum Mediolanense*, XI, 24-27

No. 54. fols. cxxxi^{v}-cxxxiii^{r} (59^{v}-61^{r}) *Sile fragor* 4vv. [Compère]

cxxxi^{v}-cxxxii^{r} (59^{v}-60^{r}) *Sile fragor* t;t;t;t
cxxxii^{v}-cxxxiii^{r} (60^{v}-61^{r}) *Suscipe deitatis mater* t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Hradec 7, fols. 112^{r}-115^{r}, Anon.
Vatican C.VIII.234, 279^{v}-281^{r}, Anon.
Vatican 15, fols. 183^{v}-185^{r}, Anon.
Verona 758, 17^{v}-19^{r}, Anon.

Prints:
Petrucci 1502[1], fols. 26^{v}-28^{r}, Compère

Modern edition:
Finscher, *Compère: Opera Omnia* IV, 49-51 (after Vatican C.VIII.234)

No. 55. fols. cxxxiii^{v}-cxxxv^{r} (61^{v}-63^{r}) *Propter gravamen* 4vv. [Compère]

cxxxiii^{v}-cxxxiiii^{r} (61^{v}-62^{r}) *Propter gravamen* t;t;t;t
cxxxiiii^{v}-cxxxv^{r} (62^{v}-63^{r}) *Quod* [=*quae nunc*] t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Cambrai 125-128, Nos. 71-72, Anon.
Florence 27, fols. 95^{v}-97^{r}, Compère
Vatican 15, 193^{v}-196^{r}, Anon.

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Print:
Petrucci 1502[1], fols. 10[v]-13[r], Compère (after Petrucci 1502[1])

Intabulation:
St. Gall 530, No. 93, Compère

Modern edition:
Finscher, *Compère: Opera Omnia* IV, 45-48

GATHERING XVI: fols. cxxxvi[r]-cxxxvii[v] (64[r]-65[v])

No. 56. fols. cxxxv[v]-cxxxvi[r] (63[v]-64[r]) *O bone Jhesu* Penyalosa/[Anchieta/ Compère/Ribera] t;t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Barcelona 5, fol. 69[r], Anon.
Coimbra 12, fols. 190[v]-191[r], Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 17[v]-18[r], Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 36[r]-36[v], Anon.
Coimbra 53, fols. 131[v]-132[r], anon.
Segovia, fols. 100[v]-101[r], Johannes Ancheta
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxii[v]-cclxxiiii[r], Antonio Ribera

Print:
Petrucci 1519[2], No. 14, Compère.

Modern editions:
Finscher, *Compère: Opera Omnia* IV, 27-28 (after Petrucci 1519[2])
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 267-72
Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera Omnia*, 102-06
Smijers, *Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck*, 116-18

Comments:
For a discussion of the conflicting attribution, see Chapter V.

No. 57. fols. cxxxvi[v]-cxxxvii[r] (64[v]-65[r]) *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel] t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Bologna Q18, fols. 75[v]-76[r], Anon.
Florence 27, fols. 101[v]-102[r], Brumel
Munich 322-325, No. 18, Anon.
Segovia, fols. 156[v]-157[r], Anon.
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 19[v]-20[r], Anon.

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Prints:
Petrucci 1501, fols. 67v-68r, Brumel
Formschneider 1538[9], No. 55, Henricus Brumel

Intabulations:
Petreius 1536[13], No. 5, A. Brumel
Spinacino 1507[6], *Intabulatura II*, fols. 33v-34v, Francesco Spinacino

Modern editions:
Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, 351
Hudson, Brumel: Opera Omnia, V, 63-66; see his bibliography for other modern editions
Smijers, *Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck*, 138

No. 58. fol. cxxxvii[v] (65[v]) [*Missa*] fra benito t [only S of the *Kyrie*]

Remarks about MS:
Capital "F" on the upper margin. The attribution in different ink to "benito" is almost illegible. Folio 65 ends the section 454/A of the manuscript; note that 454/A thus ends with a fragment—superius only—of the same work with which 454/B begins on fol. xxi; see Chapter I.

Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 7, fol. xxi[v] (i[v]), superius of the *Kyrie* only of the three-voice Mass.

Comments:
It is likely that Scribe B1 recopied the Mass (No. 7) from these now missing folios at the end of 454/A and discarded his model thereafter.

GATHERING XVII: fols. cxxxviii[r]-cxliiii[v] **[=Second Part of 454/B and 454/C** interspersed, with still later additions; see Chapter I]

— fol. cxxxviii[r] EMPTY STAVES

No. 59. fols. cxxxviii[v]-cxxxviii [bis][r] *Mater patris, nacti nacta* Anon. x;-;-

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. cxxxviii[v] reads: "motetes."

No. 60. fols. cxxxviii [bis][v]-cxxxviiii[r] *Tribularer si nescirem* Peñalosa t;t;t;t

Concordance:
Manuscript:
Toledo 21, fols. 69v-71r, Peñalosa

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Modern editions:
Eslava, *Lira Sacro-hispana*, I, 33-37 (after Toledo 21)
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 241-47 (after Toledo 21)

No. 61. fols. cxxxviiii^{v}-cxl^{r} *In pasione positus* Penyalosa t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. cxl^{r} reads: "20 faber Penyalosa 1525" (for a discussion of this crucial inscription, see Chapter II)

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Coimbra 32, fols. 40^{v}-41^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxvi^{v}-cclxvii^{r}, p.losa
Toledo 21, fols. 75^{v}-78^{r}, Peñalosa

Modern edition:
Eslava, *Lira Sacro-hispana*, I, 37-42 (after Toledo 21)
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 207-15 (after Tarazona 2/3)

No. 62. fols. cxl^{v}-cxli^{r} *Ave santisima maria* Anon. x;x;x;x

Concordance:
This manuscript, fol. cxvii^{r} (44^{r}), see No. 40, but in this case it has an added contra "*at placitum.*"

No. 63. fols. cxli^{v}-cxliii^{r} *Abit Jhesus trans mare galiee* 4vv. Anon.

cxli^{v}-cxlii^{r} *Abit Jhesus* t;t;t;t
cxlii^{v}-cxliii^{r} *Dixit ergo Jesus* t;t;t;t

No. 64. fol. cxliii^{v} *Amor pues tu nos das plazer* Lope de Vaena [=Baena] t;t;x

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 343
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 405
Pedrell, Catàlech, II, 156

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 487-88

No. 65. fol. cxliiii^{r} *Los braços trayo* Peñalosa -;x;-

Literary Sources:
Cancionero de romances...[1] (Antwerp, n.d. [1547-49]), fol. 188^{r}, *Por la matança va el viejo* (verses 3-6)

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Cancionero de romances...[2] (Antwerp, 1550), fol. 198^{r}, *En los campos de Alventosa* (after verse 16)
Silva de varios romances... (Zaragoza, 1550), fol. 112^{r}, follows *Cancionero* [1]
Cancionero de romances... [3] (Antwerp, 1555), follows *Cancionero* [2]
See also Menéndez Pidal, *Cancionero de romances*, xxxi-xxxii.

Related compositions:
Madrid 1335, fol. ccxci^{r}, Millan
Paris 56, fol. 66^{v}-67^{r}, Anon (monophonic)
Salinas, *De musica libri septem*, 384
Valderrábano, *Silva de Sirenas*, fols. 25^{v}-26^{r} (voice and vihuela after Vásquez)
Vásquez, *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos*, fol. 27^{v}

Text editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 406
Morais, *Vilancetes, Cantigas e Romances*, ccxii (after Paris 56)
Reynaud, "Chanssonier Masson 56," No. 67 (after Paris 56)
Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-2, 487-88

Modern editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 375-77
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 489-91

Comments:
The text belongs to a Carolingian *romance* of the *Muerte de don Beltran*; see Menéndez Pidal, *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, 107. The chansonnier Paris 56, has a different monophonic setting of this poem and provides additional text; it has been edited by Reynaud, "Chanssonier Masson 56," No. 67, and Morais, *Vilancetes, Cantigas e Romances*, 111. Another setting, *a* 4, appears in Vásquez, *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos*, fol. 27^{v}; see Anglés, *Juan Vásquez*, 193-94. There is yet another setting for three voices by Millan in Madrid 1335, fol. ccxci, in which the superius bears some resemblance to our tenor; Valderrábano, *Silva de Sirenas*, fol. 25, transcribed this version for voice and vihuela. For a brief discussion of the two literary versions of this romance and the two melodies associated with it, see Volume II.

No. 66. fol. cxliiii^{v} [*Falsobordone*] *Primus tonus* Anon. -;-;-;-

Remarks about MS:
When the manuscript was compiled there was already a folio that had been removed after fol. cxliiii^{v}.

Comments:
This is the first of a series of nine textless *fabordones*. Most of them indicate the *tonus* twice, with numbers and words. This and the following *falsobordone primus tonus* found in the last verso of the gathering were copied by a different scribe, probably to supply the missing items.

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No. 67. fol. cxliiii^{v} [*Falsobordone primus tonus*] Anon. -;-;-;-

GATHERING XVIII: fols. cxlv^{r}-cli^{v}

No. 68. fol. cxlv^{r} [*Falsobordone*] *ii Secundus tonus* Anon. -;-;-;-

No. 69. fol. cxlv^{v} [*Falsobordone*] *Tercius tonus 3* Anon. -;-;-;-

Remarks about MS:
At the bottom of the folio there is an initial or mark of a scribe that could read "G," "C," or "T."

Modern edition:
Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, 36-37 (final passage not included)

No. 70. fol. cxlvi^{r} [*Falsobordone*] *Quartus tonus 4* Anon. -;-;-;-

Modern edition:
Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, 37

No. 71. fol. cxlvi^{r} [*Falsobordone*] *V^{us} tonus* Anon. -;-;-;-

No. 72. fol. cxlvi^{v} [*Falsobordone*] *Sestus tonus vi* Anon. -;-;-;-

Modern edition:
Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, 21-22

No. 73. fol. cxlvii^{r} [*Falsobordone*] *Septimus tonus vii* Anon. -;-;-;-

No. 74. fol. cxlvii^{v}-cxlviii^{r} [*Falsobordone*] *viii Hoctavus tonus* Anon. -;-;-;-

Remarks about MS:
viii is written on fol. cxlvii^{v}, and *Hoctavus tonus* on fol. cxlviii^{r}.

No. 75. fols. cxlviii^{v}-cxlix^{r} *Pange lingua* [Wreede] t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. cxlviii^{v}: "[Urrede]," added in pencil by Anglés.

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Bloomington 8, fols. 47^{v}-48^{r}, Anon.
Bloomington 9, fols. 13^{v}-14^{r}, Anon.

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Burgos ss, fols. 15v-16r, 151v-152r, Anon.
Granada 3, fols. 6v-8r, Anon.
Granada LE, No. 10, Anon.
Granada CR (5), fol. 32r, Urreda
Guadalupe (1), fols. 84v-86r, Utreda
Plasencia 4, fols. 109v-110r, Urreda
Puebla 19, fol. 60r, de Urrede
Segovia 2, fols. 58v-59r and 59v-60r, with attribution to Hieronimous Urrede the first time.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ixv-x, vrreda
Toledo 25, fol. 64r, Anon.
Tudela (2), fol. 22r, Anon.
Tudela (3), fol. 20r, Anon.
Valencia 173, fols. 45r-53r, Anon.
Valencia 176, fols. 49r-52r, 53r-56r, 141r-144r, 145r-148r, Anon.
Valencia 179, fols. 11r-12r, 13r-14r, Anon.,

Intabulations:
Henestrosa, *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (keyboard arrangement by Cabezón)

Modern editions:
Anglés, *Carlos V*, II, No. 80 (Henestrosa)
Gerber, *Spanisches Hymnar um 1500*. Das Chorwerk, 60, 17-19 (after Tarazona 2/3).

Comments:
Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 557, mistakenly listed Barcelona M.454 as the only concordance for the version of the *Pange lingua* in Segovia s.s.. The setting in the latter, ascribed to "Johannes Vrede," is a different one and is unique; it was published by Anglés, "Pange lingua," 203. López-Calo, *La Música en la Catedral de Granada*, II, 151-53, published a version of *Pange lingua* after Granada 3, which sets the second verse *Nobis datus*; strikingly, López-Calo's transcription is in duple meter, while the manuscripts that served for the previous publications of both versions of this hymn indicate *tempus perfectum*. The text of this popular hymn for the feast of Corpus Christi is printed in *Liber Usualis*, 957; a variant version of the tenor melody appears in *Liber Usualis*, 1852, "Cantus hispanus." At the Biblioteca de Catalunya there are more than 75 keyboard settings of *Pange lingua*, many by the organist and composer Juan Bautista José Cabanilles (1644-1712).

No. 76. fols. cxlixv-clr *Vt queant laxis* Anon. t;x;t;x

Concordance:
This manuscript, No. 5, fol. xviiiir

No. 77. fols. clv-cliir *Exultet celum laudibus* Anon. t;x;x;x

Comments:
This is a hymn for the feast Common of Apostles.

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No. 78. fol. cli^{r} *Si [la noche es temerosa]* Anon. x (superius only)

Concordance:
Madrid 1335, fol. ccx^{r}, Anon.

Text edition:
Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-2, 402

Modern editions:
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, II, No. 300
Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 192

No. 79. fol. cli^{v} [*S*]*acris sole[m]nis* Anon. t;t;t;t

Comments:
This is a hymn for the feast of Corpus Christi. Different settings by Morales and Antonio Soler appear in Henestrosa, *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (see Anglés, *Carlos V*, II, No. 92, 110). Pisador has another setting in his *Libro de música de vihuela*, xv^{v}-xvi^{r}.

[GATHERING XIX: fols. clii^{r}-clx^{v}]

No. 80. fol. clii^{r} [*S*]*acris solemnis* Anon. t;x;-;-

Comments:
This piece, in another hand, is different from the previous one; see No. 79. The superius is the same as the tenor of Peñalosa's *Sacris solemnis* in Tarazona 2/3, fol. v^{v}.

No. 81. fols. clii^{v}-cliii^{r} [*Magnificat sexti toni*] 4vv. Quexada

clii^{v}-cliii^{r} [*Et exultavit*] t;t;t;t
cliii^{v}-cliiii^{r} *E surientes* t;t "Duo;"*Sicut locutus*, and *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t

Comments:
This is the last piece in 454/B; see Chapter I.

— fols. cliiii^{v}-clv^{r} EMPTY STAVES

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. cliiii^{v} reads: "Jusquin." In the left margin, in the middle of the page: "Tenor." On fol. clv^{r}, in the left margin, half way down the page: "Inferius." The composition was never copied and corresponds to the last entry in the *tabla*: "Ave Maria de Jusquin [15]5." Scribe C probably realized that this piece was found elsewhere in this manuscript. See comments for No. 50.

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No. 82. fols. clv^{v}-clvii^{r} [*O*]*rsus orsus bus dromes* (L'alouette) 3vv. [Janequin]

clvv-clvir *Orsus, orsus* t;t;t
clviv-clviir *liri liri* t;t;t

Concordances:
Manuscript:
Copenhagen 1848 2°, 439-40, Anon.
Florence 117, fol. 8^{v}-10^{r}, Anon.
St. Gall 463, No. 36, Anon. (superius and fragment of altus only)

Prints:
Antico 1520^{6}, No. 40, Anon. (*a 3*, but only two part books are extant)
Attaingnant, *Chansons de maistre C. Janequin* (1528), No. 4. This four-voice version was published several times: in 1537 (Attaingnant et Jullet), 1545 (Gardane), 1550 (Scotto), 1551 (Du Chemin), 1555 (idem.), and 1559 (Le Roy-Ballard)
Moderne 1544^{9}, No. 20 (the altus is different)
Guillaud, *Rudiments de musique* (1554) (this chanson is presented by Guillaud as an example of sesquialtera)

Modern editions:
Christoffersen, "'Or sus vous dormez trop,'" 59-61 (three-voice version after Florence 117), 61-65 (four-voice version after Attaignant)
Expert, *Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance française* V-7, 105-19
Merritt and Lesure (eds.). *Clement Janequin: Chansons polyphoniques*, I, 106-15 (*a 4*)

No. 83. fol. clvii^{v} *Dadnos señora aguinaldo* Anon. t;x;x

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 343
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 406

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 492-93

Comments:
Two strophes were added by a different hand at the bottom of the folio. Dutton, *Catálogo-Indice*, 1, considers them as a separate poem without music. I believe, however, that they are intended for this piece (see my edition in Volume II).

No. 84. fol. clviii^{r} [*A la caça*] [Gabriel/Luchas] -;-;-;-

Concordance:
Manuscript:
Madrid 1335, fol. ccxxviii^{r}, Luchas, "A la caça"

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Text edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 406-7

Modern editions:
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, III, No. 330
Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 210
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 494

Comments:
Madrid 1335 bears the inscription "Luchas" at the top of fol. ccxxviii^{r}. Barbieri assigned the work to Gabriel on the grounds that the last strophe of the text appears at the bottom of the previous fol. ccxxvii^{v}; Anglés opted for the attribution to Luchas [=Lucas]. For a discussion of the conflicting attribution and about Lucas's identity, see Chapter V.

No. 85. fols. clviii^{v}-clx^{r} [*Magnificat octavi toni*] 4vv. Anon.

clviii^{v}-clix^{r} *Et exultavit* t;t;t;t
clix^{v}-clx^{r} *Sicut locutus*, and *Sicut erat* t;t;t;t

No. 86. fol. clx^{v} *Verbum patris hodie* Anon. t;-;-;-

Comments:
This is a trope of a *Benedicamus* on the same *cantus firmus* as in *Las Huelgas*, No. 38 (See Anglés, *Las Huelgas* I, 144)

GATHERING XX: fols. clxi^{r}-clxvi^{v}

No. 87. fol. clxi^{r} *Dixit* [*dominus*] *8^{us} tonus* Anon. x;t;-;-

No. 88. fols. clxi^{v}-clxii^{r} *Clamabat* [*autem*] *mulier* Scobar [=Escobar] t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. clxii^{r}, in different ink: "1532 Scobar."

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Bloomington 8, fols. 18^{v}-19^{r}, and 56^{v}-57^{r}, Anon.
Bloomington 9, fols. 5^{v}-6^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 12, fols. 193^{v}-194^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 22^{v}-23^{r}, Anon.
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 17^{v}-18^{r}, Escobar
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxi^{v}-cclxxii^{r}, Escobar

Modern editions:
Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología Musical*, No. 9 (after Seville 5-5-20).
Imrie, *Mapa Mundi: Spanish Church Music*, No. 3 (after Seville 5-5-20)

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Comments:
This motet inspired Gil Vicente's *Auto da Cananea* (1534), for which it served as a closing piece. Mudarra, *Tres libros de música en cifra*, 59r-63v, used the same *cantus firmus* for his "Motete III de la Cananea;" see Pujol, *Alonso de Mudarra*, 79-83. Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 169, discovered that this motet was cited as a work by Pedro do Pôrto in Joao de Barro's *Libro das Antiguidades* (1549); this and other evidence enabled Stevenson to identify Escobar with the Portuguese composer who served in Queen Isabel's chapel and at Seville Cathedral.

No. 89. fols. clxiiv-clxiiiir [*M*]*emorare pissima* 4vv. Peñalosa/[Escobar]

clxiiv-clxiiir [*M*]*emorare pissima* t;t;t;t
clxiiiv-clxiiiir *Et pedes confixi clavis* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
The text incipit of this piece appears in the upper margin of fol. [0r] as "menorare pisima," even though the piece copied there is *Ave vere sanguis domini* by Peñalosa, which also appears on fols. lxvv-lxvir; see No. 15. A scribe started to copy the superius for *Memorare piissiima* on fol. clxiiv using C-clef on the first line, and Scribe C, who copied the entire piece, started again on the second staff, but with the clef on the second line.

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Coimbra 12, fols. 201v-203r, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 25v-26r, Anon.
Seville 1, fols. 31v-33r, Petrus Escobar
Seville 5-5-20, fol. 15v, 17r (incomplete; fol. 16 missing) Escobar
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxxiiiv-cclxxxiiiir, Escobar
Toledo 21, fol. 78v-82r, Peñalosa

Modern editions:
Eslava, *Lira Sacro-hispana*, I, 42-49 (after Toledo 21)
Hardie, "The Motets," II, 386-95 (after Tarazona 2/3)
Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, I, 249-60 (after Toledo 21)

Comments:
In his list of sources, Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, I, 46, omits Coimbra 32 and the three manuscripts that attribute this motet to Escobar.

No. 90. fols. clxiiiiv-clxxiiiir [*St. John Passion*] 4vv. Anon.

clxiiiiv-clxvr *Jesus natzarenum* t;t;t;t
clxvv-clxvir *Sicut respondes pontifici* t;t;t;t
clxvi v *Quam aqusacione* t;t (superius and tenor only)

GATHERING XXI: fols. clxviir-clxxvi v

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clxvii^{r} EMPTY STAVES
clxvii^{v}-clxviii^{r} *Quam acusacione* t;t;t;t (superius and tenor recopied)
clxviii^{v}-clxix^{r} *Tu es rex judeorum* t;t;t;t
clxix^{v}-clxx^{r} *Ego nullam* t;t;t;t
clxx^{v}-clxxi^{r} *Ecce homo* t;t;t;t
clxxi^{v}-clxxii^{r} *Mihi non loqueris* t;t;t;t
clxxii^{v}-clxxiii^{r} *Tolle, tolle cruxifixe* t;t;t;t
clxxiii^{v}-clxxiiii^{r} *Quot scripsi?* t;t;t;t

No. 91. fols. clxxiiii^{v}-clxxvi^{r} [*Q*]*uam pulcra es* 4vv. Ribrafrecha [=Ribaflecha]

clxxiiii^{v}-clxxv^{r} *Quam pulcra es* t;t;t;t
clxxv^{v}-clxxvi^{r} *Aperi mihi* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
The attribution to "Ribrafrecha," in different ink, is a later addition.

Concordance:
Manuscript:
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 20^{v}-22^{r}, Anon. (bassus of *prima pars* missing)

Comments:
Previous inventories of Seville 5-5-20 mistakenly listed the *secunda pars* of this motet as an anonymous textless piece.

GATHERING XXII: fols. clxxvii^{r}-clxxxv^{v}

No. 92. fols. clxxvi^{v}-clxxvii^{r} [*S*]*ancta trinitas* Anthonius de Fevin/[Craen/Festa/Josquin/Morales] t;t;t;t version *a* 6 by Bruck

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
a4
Bologna Q27 II^{o}, fols. 11^{v}-12^{r}, Anon.
Cambrai 125-8, No.118, Anon.
Cambridge 1760, fols. xix^{v}-xxi^{r}, A. de feuin
Cividale 59, fols. 84^{v}-85^{r}, Anon.
Florence 117, fols. 61^{v}-63^{r} (85^{v}-87^{r})
Königsberg 1740, No. 33, Craen (missing since WW II)
London 8Gvii, fols. 12^{v}-14^{r}, Anon.
London 1070, pp. 260-63, Anon.
Modena IX, fols. 39^{v}-40^{r} (88^{v}-89^{r}), A. Feuin
Munich 1536, No. XCIX, Fevin
Padua A 17, fols. 83^{v}-84^{r}, Anon.
St. Gall 462, fols. 110^{v}-111^{r}, Anon.
Toledo 13, fols. xxv^{v}-xxvii^{r}, Antonius Fevin
Treviso 5, fol. 32^{r}, Festa (lost)

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Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. 87^{v}-88^{r}, A. de Feuin
Verona 760, fols. 51^{v}-52^{r}, Ant. Fevin (later addition)
Zaragoza 34, fol. 56^{v}, Morales

a 6
Copenhagen 1872, No. 90, Anon.
Dresden V, No. 153, A. Feuin
Eisenach, Kantorenbuch, fols. 241^{v}-243^{r}, Josquin
Lübeck 203, No. X, Févin
Regensburg 62 (copy of Regensburg 883-886)
Regensburg 65 (copy of Regensburg 883-886)
Regensburg 883-886, No. 12 Antonius Feuin
Regensburg 940-941, No. 234, Feuin
Wroclaw 5, No. 155, Févin ("Fevin. Arn. de Bruck addidit duas voces")

Prints:
Dorico 1526[1], fol. 9, Févin
Montanus & Neuber 1555[11], No. 7, Févin (*a 6*, "Fevin. Arnoldus de Bruck addidit duas voces")
Montanus & Neuber 1558[4], No. 10, Févin (*a 6*)
Petrucci 1514[1], No. 13, Févin

Intabulations:
Attaingnant 1531[5], fol. xcii, Anon.
Chicago, Capirola Lute Tablature, 12^{v}-14^{r}, Anon.
Kohlen 1558[20] (Ochsenkhun) xxxiii^{v}-xxxv^{r}, Antoni Feuin
Wroclaw 3, No. 41, Févin (a 6, "Fevin. Arn. de Bruck addidit duas voces")

Modern editions:
Bruck, *Sämtliche Motetten*, 99 (the six-voice version)
Clinkscale, "The Works of Antoine de Fevin," 382-86
_____. *Les Oeuvres Complètes d'Antoine de Févin* 1980- (in preparation)
Rokseth, *Treize motets*, 28

Comments:
What is listed as Regensburg 70 in Kahmann's bibliography, *Musik Geschichte und Gegenwart*, IV, 143 , and Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, is actually the print Montanus & Neuber 1555[11]. The setting *a 6* is by Bruck, adding two voices to Févin's version.

No. 93. fol. clxxvii^{v} *Dixit dominus Primus tonus i*^{us}, Anon. -;x;-;-

Remarks about MS:
The first staff contained music, probably from a different piece, which was erased.

Comments:
This is the first line of Psalm 109.

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No. 94. fols. clxxvii^{v}-clxxviii^{r} *Ave santisima maria* Anon. t;t;t

No. 95. fol. clxxviii^{v} [Textless] Anon. -;-;-;-

No. 96. fols. clxxviii^{r}-clxxx^{r} (78^{r}-79^{r}) *Aleph Quomodo sedet* Anon. t

Remarks about MS:
This piece is in black square notation. The lower half of fol. clxxx (79) was torn and restored with different paper. Two sheets in this gathering carry, in addition to the Roman folio numbers, the foliation 78, 79, 80, 81, in the same hand that copied the foliation 1-65 in 454/A. Most likely, these pages originally belonged to 454/A; I refer to them as the "separate folios" of 454/A.

Comments:
Gregorian chant lamentation in black square notation.

No. 97. fol. clxxx^{v} (79^{v}) *Virgo mater ecclesie* Anon. t

Comments:
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 114, calls this a "cantio gregoriana."

No. 98. fol. [clxxx bis^{r}] (80^{r}) *Pelayo, ten buen esfuerço* [Encina] t;-;-

Remarks about MS:
The folio numbers "clxxx bis" and "180" in pencil are modern additions. The only original folio number is 80.

Concordance:
Manuscript:
Madrid 1335, fols. cclxxx^{v}-cclxxxi^{r}, Jo. del Ensina

Text editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 408
Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-2, 478

Modern editions:
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, III, No. 428
Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 387
Jones and Lee, *Juan del Encina*, 355
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 495
Terni, *Juan del Encina*, 143

Comments:
Romeu states that the text of this composition is foreign to Encina's literary style.

No. 99. fol. [clxxx bis^{r}] (80^{r}) [Textless] Anon. -;-;-;-

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No. 100. fol. [clxxx bis^{r}] (80^{r}) *Paxarico que vas a la fuente* Anon. t;x;t

Literary sources:
Medina, *Flor de varios romances, Novena parte*, fol. 17^{v}, romance "Mirava dos sirguerillos (gilguerillos)"
Romancero general, f. 317 (No. 705)
Madrid 17557, fol.96
Romancero de Barcelona, fol. 117 (No. 128)
González de Eslava, Coloquio XVI (*Coloquios*, fol. 117^{v})
Tirso de Molina, "Ligero pensamiento," *La venganza de Tamar* I, ed. Ríos, vol. 3, 368b
_____. *Cigarrales de Toledo IV*, ed. Said Armesto, 335
Correas, *Arte*, 446
_____. *Vocabulario*, 462a
For additional literature, see Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica*, No. 15

Text edition:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 344
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica*, No. 15 (*estribillo* only)

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 496

No. 101. fol. [clxxx bis^{v}] (80^{v}) *Kyrie... Qui pasurus* Anon. t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
This piece is in black square notation.

Comments:
The work is based on the chant for the *Kyrie* litany of Maundy Thursday.

No. 102. fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}) *Canon* (textless) 12vv. Anon.

Comments:
Title reads: *Canon: Undecim apostoli secuti sunt Petrum*

No. 103. fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}) *Canon* (textless) 6vv. Anon.

Comments:
Title reads: *Canon: quinque [v]enatores sequebantur leporem unum*

No. 104. fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}) *Canon* (textless) 4vv. Anon.

Comments
Title reads: *Canon: Fuge in egiptum, usque in desertum.*

No. 105. fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}) [Textless] "Duo" Anon.

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No. 106. fol. clxxxi^{v} (81^{v}) *Camino de Santiago* Alonso de Mondéjar t;-;-

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 344
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 408
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 157

Modern editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 378-79
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 497-98

No. 107. fol. clxxxi^{v} (81^{v}) [Textless] Anon. (superius and part of tenor only)

No. 108. fol. clxxxii^{r} *Viua tal pastor* Anon. t;t;t

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 344
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 409
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 157

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 499

No. 109. fol. clxxxii^{v} *Escomience a[h]ora* Juanillo Anon. t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
On the left margin there is the inscription : "en romance." The last three lines of text appear at the bottom of the folio with the inscription: "uno solo" (only one); perhaps the inscription indicates that only one person should sing it. It is not clear, however, to which section of the music the text should be sung.

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 345
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 409
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 157

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 500

No. 110. clxxxiii^{r} *Los que a nuestro rabadan* Anon. t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
At the end: "fabordon." At the bottom, in different handwriting without music: "oculos habent et non videbunt neque gustabunt in guture suo."

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 345
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 409

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Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Modern editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 380-82
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 501

Comments:
The Latin text belongs to Psalm 113. Dutton, *Catálogo-Indice*, 1, considers the Spanish poem as a Latin-Castilian piece.

No. 111. fol. clxxxiii^{v} *Pues tan huerte nos festeja* Anon. t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Between this piece and the following textless fabordon there is in a different hand: "Filii tui sicut novelle olivarum qui timet dominum."

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 345
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 410
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 503

Comments:
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158, misread the Latin, and Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 115, identified it as part of Psalm 127. Anglés also suggested that this text could belong to the following textless "fabordon" on the same folio. Dutton, *Catálogo-Indice*, 2, considers the Spanish poem as a Latin-Castilian piece, since the three verses end with the words: "convien que oremos." For a brief discussion of this piece, see my edition in Volume II.

No. 112. fol. clxxxiii^{v} [Textless] Anon. -;-;-;-

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 504-05
Comments:
See comments, No. 111

No. 113. fol. clxxxiiii^{r} *Si sentis lo que yo siento* Flecha t;-;-

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 410
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 506-07

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No. 114. fol. clxxxiiii^{v} *Pues no me quereys [h]ablar* Anon. t;-;-

Literary source:
Ensalada "Quitarme podéys la vida" in a *pliego suelto* entitled "Chiste nueuo cō seys Romances... por Francisco de Argüello," at the British Library. It contains a *glosa* different from that of Barcelona M.454.

Text editions:
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 674A (*estribillo* only)
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 410-11
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158
Romeu, "La Colección *Cantares de diversas sonadas*," 104-05

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 508-09

Comments:
A different setting of the tune appears in Henestrosa, *Libro de Cifra Nueva*, fol. 55^{v}; see Anglés, *Carlos V*, II, No. 103. For a study of related literary compositions, see Romeu and Frenk.

No. 115. fol. clxxxiiii^{v} *Gentil cabaliero, deisme* Anon. t;x;-

Text editions:
Alonso, *Poesía de la Edad Media*, 173 (after Mudarra)
Alín, *El Cancionero Español*, 255 (after Mudarra)
Cejador, *La Verdadera Poesía Castellana*, vol. 3, 1744 (after Mudarra)
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 1682 (after Mudarra)
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 411
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 510

Comments:
Different settings of this tune appear in Mudarra, *Tres Libros de Música*, fols. 50^{r}-52^{v} (see Pujol, *Alonso de Mudarra*, No. 72), and Pisador, *Libro de música de vihuela*, 13^{r}-13^{v}; Mudarra provides additional text. Pujol, *Alonso de Mudarra*, 85-86, indicates that the *vuelta* of this villancico resembles a *cantarcillo* from Gil Vicente's *Auto do Velho da Horta*. For other literary references, see Frenk.

No. 116. fol. clxxxv^{r} *Mi dolor esta encubierto* Anon. t;-;-

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346-47
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 411

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Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II. 158

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 511-12

No. 117. fol. clxxxv^{r} *Perdi mis amores* Anon. t;x;-

Text editions:
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 261 (*estribillo* only)
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 347
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 411
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 513

No. 118. fol. clxxxv^{v} *O triste de mi* Flecha t;-;-

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 347
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 412
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 159

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 514-15

No. 119. fols. clxxxv^{v}-clxxxvi^{r} *Si n[o] os [h]ubiera mirado* Morales t;x;x

Concordance:
Print:
Scotto 1556[30], No. 13

Text editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 412
Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, 33

Modern editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 516-17
Mitjana and Bal y Gay, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, 25-27
Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, No. 13 (facsimile of Mitjana's transcription)

[GATHERING XXIII: fols. clxxxvi^{r}-(cxci^{v})]

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No. 120. fol. clxxxvi^{r} ***Llenos de lagrimas tristes*** **Pastrana** ĩ;-;-

Concordances:
Manuscripts:
Elvas 11793, fols. 97^{v}-98^{r}, Anon.
Madrid 1335, fol. cxiv^{r} (iisted in the *tabla* but lost)

Literary sources:
Cancionero de Enamorados (1562), No. 85 (*estribillo* only)
Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, ca.1417. This piece is mentioned in relation to the works of Rodrigo de Reinosa.
Madrid 1579, *Cartapacio de Padilla*, fol. 229^{v}
Madrid 17556, fol. 41
Salvá, *Catálogo*, No. 4. A villancico with the same title appears in the pliego suelto *Chiste nuevo cõ seys Romance...* by Francisco Argüello.
See Romeu, "Joan Timoneda i la *Flor de Enamorados*," 15-16, fn. 23, for further bibliography of "pliegos sueltos"

Text editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 412
Rodríguez-Moñino and D. Devoto, *Cancionero*, No. 85

Modern editions:
Joaquim, *Cancioneiro musical*, No. 59
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 518-19
Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook*, 61-62
Morais, *Cancioneiro musical d'Elvas*, 60-61

Comments:
This piece was on one of the 54 lost pages in Madrid, 1335.

No. 121. fols. clxxxvi^{v}-clxxxviii^{r} ***Regina celi*** **4vv. Anon.**

clxxxvi^{v}-clxxxvii^{r} [*R*]*egina celi* t;t;t;t
clxxxvii^{v}-clxxxviii^{r} [*R*]*esurexit* t;t;t;t

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin of fol. clxxxvii^{r}: "Dixit in sipiens in corde suo;" this is the incipit of Psalm 52. Upper margin of fol. clxxxviii^{r}: "1534." The colors of the ink in these inscriptions differ from each other, and are also different from that of the music. Only the incipit *Regina* in the tenor has the same color ink as the music.

Concordance:
Manuscript:
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. 53^{v}-55^{r}, Anon. (3vv.)

Comment:
See Chapter II for a discussion of the date "1534."

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No. 122. fols. clxxxviii^{v}-clxxxix^{r} [*Magnificat sexti toni*] Anon. t;t;t;t

Comments:
The music sets *Anima mea dominum* only.

No. 123. fol. clxxxix^{v} *Tiempo bueno* Flecha t;-;t;-

Remarks about MS:
Flecha's work was copied starting on the second staff of fol. clxxxix^{v}, but part of the bass of a different piece had been copied on the first staff. The music in this staff was subsequently erased, but it is still possible to transcribe the incipit (see my edition in Volume II). Since Scribe D2 entered two ascriptions to Flecha, one in the upper margin and the other between the first and second staves, perhaps this incipit belongs to an unknown composition by Flecha. The text in the tenor of *Tiempo bueno* was added later by Scribe C.

Literary sources:
Cancionero General de Estéban de Nájera (Zaragoza, 1554), "Glosa al tiempo bueno"
Cancioneiro Geral de García de Resende (Lisboa, 1516), fol. ccxvii, poem with a *glosa* by Resende
Madrid 617, fol. 174^{r}, "Tiempo bueno," followed by the *glosa* "O triste ventura mía" by Burguillos
Madrid 2621, fol. 115^{r}, "Glosa al romance de tiempo bueno hecha a la muerte del príncipe de Portugal por Monte mayor;" another *glosa* on fol. 247
Madrid 5593, fols. 36^{r}-38^{r}, "Glosa de Tiempo Bueno"
Paris 307, fol. 264^{v}
Paris 372, fol. 75^{v}, "Glosa de Burguillos"

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 347-48
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 412-13
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 159
Pope and Kanazawa, *Montecassino 871*, 658-59

Modern editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 520-22
Pope, *Musique et Poésie*, 53-54

Comments:
For a related musical composition, "O tempo bono," see Pope and Kanazawa, *Montecassino 871*, 421.

No. 124. fol. cxc^{r} *Encubrase el mal que siento* Flecha t;-;x

Related literary sources:
Castillo, *Cancionero general*, fol. 148^{r} "Encubraos el mal que siento,"

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by Soria
Madrid 1579, *Cartapacio Padilla*, fol. 236^{v}, "El mal que siento"

Text editions:
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 348
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 413

Modern editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 523-24
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 161-162 (transcription by F. Pujol; facsimile, 160)

No. 125. fol. cxc^{r} *Y la mi çinta dorada* Anon. t;x;x

Remarks about MS:
The piece starts half way down the page; in the place where one would normally find an attribution: "villancico."

Text editions:
Alín, *El Cancionero Español*, 246
Alonso, and Blecua, *Antología de la Poesía Española*, 85
Cejador, *La Verdadera Poesía Castellana*, vol. 7, 2731
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 237
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 348
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 413
Romeu, "El Cosante," 35

Modern editions:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 525
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II,163 (transcription by F. Pujol)

Comments:
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos,* I, 115, and Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 94, attributed the work to Flecha, Romeu on stylistic grounds. This is plausible since the previous piece on the same folio, copied by the same scribe, is attributed to Flecha. A different setting of this tune with additional text and six *diferencias* appear in Narváez, *Los seys libros del Delphin*, 72^{v}-77^{r}; see Pujol, *Luys de Narváez*, 69-76. For further comments, see my edition in Volume II.

No. 126. fol. cxc^{v} *Ay dime señora di* Pastrana t;x;x;x

Remarks about MS:
Upper margin: "per omnia secula seculorum amen" (left), and "Al Reverendisim" (upper right corner). At the bottom of the page: "domine dominus noster," the monogram "MR," and the name "moreta". See Chapter II.

Literary sources:
London, Egerton 939, fol. 26^{v}, "Dime señora" (*al tono de* "Dime señora")
Sá de Miranda, *Obras*, vol. 1, No. 67
_____. *Poesías*, No. 134

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Sung to the tune of *Dime señora di*::
London, Egerton 939, fol. 26^{v}, "En el siglo duradero: tendrá mil quejos de si."
Madrid, RAH MS 9-5535, fol. 66^{v}, Alvarez Gato "Dime señora"
Milan 940, fols. 115^{r}-116^{v}, "Dime señora" (*estribillo* only)

Text editions:
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 562 (*estribillo* only)
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 348-49
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 413-14
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 159

Modern edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 526-27

Comments:
Anglés and Pedrell misread the title as: "Ay de mi señora." Krogstad, "La Música y los Cancioneros: 1480-1520," in Dutton's *Catálogo-Indice*, 281, lists "Dime señora [di]" as one of the twenty unidentified melodies mentioned in literary sources with the indication *al tono de*. The present setting contains the "tono" intended.

—fol. [cxci^{r-v}]

Remarks about MS:
The last folio has a different watermark, and contains scribbles and annotations; for a transcription, see "The Last Folio of Barcelona M.454" in Chapter I.

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CHAPTER IV
THE IBERIAN MANUSCRIPT TRADITION (PART 1)
THE ORIGINS OF SOURCES
CONCORDANT WITH BARCELONA M.454

Chapters IV and V seek to place Barcelona M.454 within the Iberian manuscript tradition by examining it from two different, but related points of view: Chapter IV (Part I) takes up the question of the origins of twelve manuscripts and one mid-sixteenth-century Italian print of Iberian music with which Barcelona M.454 shares one or more pieces; Chapter V (Part 2) then evaluates the concordances and variant readings that Barcelona M.454 shares with those sources.

* * * * *

One problem faced by anyone wishing to deal with Iberian polyphonic music from the late fifteenth through about the middle of the sixteenth century is that there is no single study that brings together and critically reviews the often wildly conflicting claims about the origins of the manuscripts that transmit the repertoire. The first scholar to attempt a comprehensive study of these manuscripts was Anglés; his inventories represented a landmark achievement when they first appeared, but they are now outdated.[1] Subsequent studies by Baker, Lee, Hardie, and Knighton, have included

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[1]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 95-135, compiled inventories for the following manuscripts: Barcelona M.454; Barcelona M.681; Barcelona, Orfeó Català, 5; Coimbra 12; Madrid 1335; Montserrat, s.s.; Segovia; Seville 7-1-28; Seville 5-5-20; Tarazona 2/3; Tarazona 5; Toledo 18; and Toledo 21. In addition, he listed the Spanish works found in the

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new but conflicting information and hypotheses about the origins of the manuscripts.[2] Most of these studies appeared after the publication of *The New Grove* in 1980, and thus they were not taken into account in that work's exemplary article on "sources;"[3] further, only Baker's conclusions and part of Hardie's work have been incorporated into the *Census-Catalogue*.[4] Although the latter is the most comprehensive bibliographic tool for information on the origin of Renaissance manuscripts,[5] its information about Iberian manuscripts could do little more than reflect the often haphazard treatment that they had received in the earlier literature.

This chapter takes a first step to correcting matters concerning the origin of at least those Iberian manuscripts with which Barcelona M.454 shares concordances and which were compiled during the final years of the fifteenth century and first half of the

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following other manuscripts and prints: Bologna Q16 (*olim* 109), Bologna A71 (*olim* 159), Elvas 11793; Madrid, G.126; Paris, s.s.; Paris 4379; Paris 15123; Vatican 14; Vatican C.VIII.234; Seville, Colombina, B B Tab.148 Nr.13; Valladolid, Parroquia de Santiago s.s.; Toledo 1, Zaragoza, Pilar, Archivo Musical, s.s.; Florence 178; Perugia 431; St. Gall 463-464; Rome C.S. 49;

[2]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript." Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 19-23, 36-43, 58-59, 88-92, 96-99, discussed the origins of Seville 7-1-28, Segovia, Madrid 1335, Barcelona M.454, and Elvas 11793. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 36-121, discussed the manuscripts that contain Peñalosa's works, dividing them into "Major sources": Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, Barcelona M.454, Toledo 21, Coimbra 12, Coimbra 32; and "Minor sources": Segovia, Seville 5-5-20, Seville 1, Barcelona M.681, Barcelona 5, and Valladolid 5. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 132-146, discussed the origins of Segovia, Vatican C.VIII.234, Seville 5-5-20, Tarazona 2/3, Barcelona M.454, Seville 7-1-28, Coimbra 12, and Toledo 21. She also compiled inventories for Barcelona M.454, Seville 5-5-20, and Tarazona 2/3.

[3]Jerry Call, "Sources," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 17, 699-701; [and 684-85 not properly credited].

[4]*Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, 5 vols. Compiled by the University of Illinois (American Institute of Musicology, 1979-1988).

[5]The most recent comprehensive source of information on Italian manuscripts is the catalogue by Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscrits de Musique Polyphonique, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1991).

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sixteenth century.[6] I will (1) review the literature about the origin of the concordant manuscripts, (2) add some new evidence and reinterpret old evidence, and (3) draw new conclusions when necessary. The discussion of the origins of each concordant manuscript will be preceded by a table of its concordances with Barcelona M.454. Table 1 lists in alphabetical order the twelve manuscripts and one print that will be discussed, and shows the distribution of their concordances with each section of Barcelona M.454.

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[6]The latest source to be examined is the well-known Venetian print issued by Scotto in 1556 entitled *Villancicos de diversos autores*.... It is known as both the "Cancionero de Upsala" and the "Cancionero del Duque de Calabria." Although the following manuscripts belong to the Iberian tradition of the first half of the sixteenth century, they have been omitted from the discussion because they share no concordances with Barcelona M.454: Barcelona 1166, Barcelona, Orfeó Català 28, Coimbra 2, Granada 12, Toledo 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, Valladolid 15, 16, and Zaragoza 14. (On the provenance of these manuscripts, see the *Census-Catalogue*.) I have not been able to examine the manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Reservados C.I.C. MS 60 which contains at least two concordances with our manuscript.

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Table 1. The Iberian Concordances with Barcelona M.454.

Manuscript/Print	454/A	454/B	454/C	454/D	Total
Barcelona 5	2				2
Barcelona M.681			1		1
Coimbra 12	3		3		6
Coimbra 32	3		4		7
Elvas 11793				1	1
Madrid 1335	2	1		2[7]	5
Segovia	8	2[8]			10
Seville 1			1		1
Seville 5-5-20	1		5		6
Tarazona 2/3	5	3[9]	7		15
Toledo 13			1		1
Toledo 21	2	2	4		8
Scotto 1556[30]				1	1

[7]I am including among the two concordances between Madrid 1335 and 454/D Pastrana's *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, which is listed in the *tabla* of Madrid 1335, but is missing from the manuscript owing to the loss of fol. 114.

[8]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 557, erroneously lists Barcelona M.454 as a concordance for Wreede's *Pange lingua* in Segovia. The anonymous version of this piece in 454/B is completely different; Tarazona 2/3 transmits the same version as 454/B with an attribution to "Vrede." One of the two concordances of 454/B with Segovia is Francisco de la Torre's *Ne recorderis*, a work which also appears in 454/A where I have included it as well.

[9]Among these three concordances I am including the duplicated *Ne recorderis* by de la Torre also listed in 454/A.

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Barcelona 5[10]

Concordances with 454/A	Attribution in Barcelona 5
No. 50. *Ave Maria* [Josquin]	Anon.
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/ Compère/Ribera]	Anon.

According to Anglés, Barcelona 5 was compiled in two stages.[11] The first section (fols. 1^{r}-52^{r}), copied by a single scribe, contains five masses: one each by Josquin and Obrecht, and 3 by Isaac.[12] The second section (fols. 52^{v}-69^{v}), copied by several hands, combines Franco-Flemish repertoire with works by such minor Catalan composers as Cots and Marturia, as well as pieces by the otherwise unknown Spaniards Alonso de la Plaja and Milans; none of these four composers seems ever to have worked for the royal courts of Castile or Aragón.[13] The *Census-Catalogue*, following Anglés,

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[10]For a description and inventory, see Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 115; and the *Census-Catalogue*, I, 19-22. Housed in the library of the *Orfeó Català*, Barcelona 5 transmits a total of 23 works distributed as follows: Anonymous (7), [Anchieta/Compère/Peñalosa/Ribera] (1), Cots (1), Isaac (3), Josquin (4), Marturia (1), Milans (1), Obrecht (1), Peñalosa (1), Plaja (2), and Richafort (1). I would like to thank Ms. Josefina Sastre, librarian of the Orfeó Català, who very kindly made the manuscript available to me while it was in storage during construction work on the building.

[11]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 115.

[12]The masses are: Josquin's *Fortuna desperata*, Obrecht's *Salve diva parens*, and Isaac's *Comme femme*, *Sobre Castile* ("la Spagna"), and *Argentum et aurum*. Only the masses by Isaac bear an ascription, and Barcelona 5 is the only complete source for the last-named one.

[13]A *Conditor alme siderum* by Marturia appears in the Segovia manuscript, implying that his music was known at the Castilian court. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 281, suggested that Marturia may have been the Fray Martin taken into the Aragonese choir when Fernando visited Naples in 1506-1507. The non-Spanish works in Part II are: Josquin's *L'homme armé* Mass (incomplete), which follows right after the five masses of Part I, and his motets *Ave Maria* and *Domine non secundum*; Richafort's *Quem dicunt homines* (superius and tenor only, the other two voices are missing most likely owing to the loss of a folio); and the motet *O bone Jesu* variously attributed to Anchieta, Compère, Peñalosa, and Ribera. Of these, only Josquin's Mass bears an ascription in the manuscript.

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dated Part I from the "late 15th century" and Part II from the "early 16th century," and assigned a "Spanish origin" to Part II only.[14]

If Part II of the manuscript was compiled in Spain, we may ask where in particular. Associations of both Catalan composers represented in this section—Cots and Marturia—with Girona (although they are associated with different institutions and at different times) may point to Girona as a possible place of compilation for Part II.[15] That Girona may have been an important musical center is attested by the fact that when Bartholomei Cots, *maestro de capilla* at Girona Cathedral, died in 1474, the bishop of Girona was Juan Margarit (1421-1484), who occupied the highest administrative position (*cancellarius*) in Fernando's chancellery.[16]

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[14]The *Census-Catalogue*, I, 22, mistakenly indicates that Part I contains six masses instead of five. It refers to Anglés, *La Música Española desde la Edad Media hasta nuestros días: catálogo de la exposición histórica en conmemoración del primer centenario del nacimiento del maestro Felipe Pedrell* (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1941), 30, in connection with the Spanish origin of Part II, but Anglés is not explicit about the geographic origin of either section of the manuscript.

[15]I use the Catalan spelling Girona instead of the Spanish Gerona. According to Anglés, *Diccionario de la Música Labor* (Barcelona: Ed. Labor, 1954), I, 603, Bartholomei Cots (d.1474) was *maestro de capilla* at Girona cathedral, and according to Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 280-81, Marturia, was awarded the abbacy of San Esteban, a Benedictine monastery in the province of Girona. This important city is close to the French border, and was on the main road ("camino real" or royal road) used by travellers on their journey to the Iberian peninsula (García Cárcel, *Historia de Cataluña*, I, 42); see Chapter II for a description of Philip the Fair's entrance to the cathedral of Girona on January 25, 1503.

[16]Sevillano, "La Cancillería de Fernando el Católico," 222-24, states that during Fernando's reign the title of chancellor became an honorary title, sometimes shared by the archbishops of Tarragona, Urgell, and Girona, as was the case in 1480; even so, Juan Margarit seems to have predominated over the other two. According to Sevillano (p. 222), Juan Margarit was by far the most famous of Fernando's chancellors. During the war between Juan II of Aragón (Fernando's father) and the Generalitat (government) of Catalonia (1461-1472), the episcopal palace and Cathedral at Girona became a fortress where the Queen and Prince Fernando took refuge; Margarit attended the ceremony of capitulation of the "Consellers" of Barcelona in 1472. After 1481 he distinguished himself as Fernando's ambassador to Venice, Naples, and Rome, where he died, a cardinal, in 1484. Later on, the title of chancellor of the Crown of Aragón seems to have been conferred upon the archbishop of Tarragona, much the same way as the chancellorship of the Crown of Castile was conferred upon the archbishop of Toledo.

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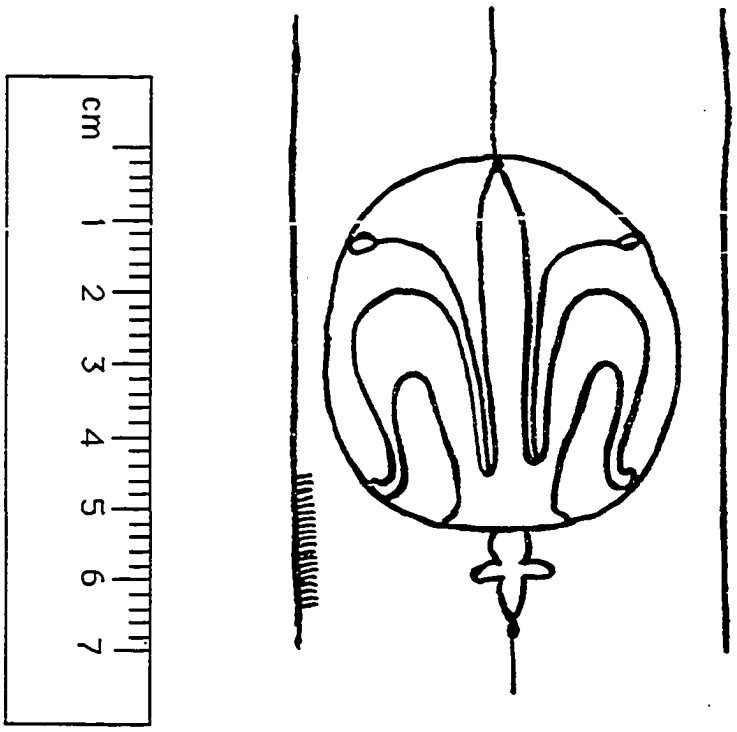
The strict division of the manuscript—implicit in Anglés, explicit in the *Census-Catalogue*—into two unrelated sections and the seemingly unproblematical Spanish/Catalonian place of origin of just Part II must be questioned, however, on the following grounds: (1) one type of paper was used for the entire manuscript; (2) the watermark that runs through the entire manuscript may point to the paper's having been manufactured in Italy; (3) the scribe of Part I of the manuscript may be Italian; and (4) the scribe of Part I also copied Josquin's *Domine non secundum* in Part II (fols. 67r-68r). We should look at each of these aspects of the manuscript in turn.

The watermark on fol. 22 is reproduced in Fig. 1:

Fig. 1. Watermark in Barcelona 5, fol. 22.



Briquet states that the many types of watermarks that consist of a figure enclosed within a circle are of Italian origin; his only exception is dated far outside the period under

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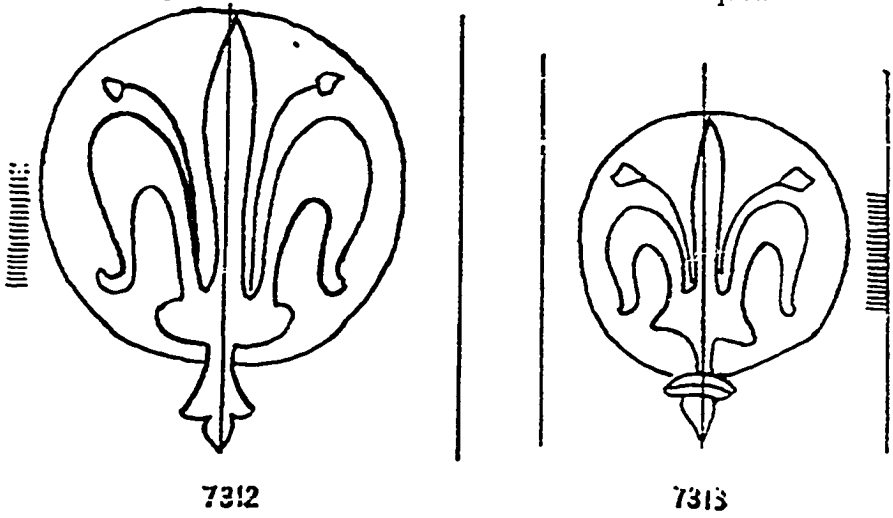
consideration.[17] Two of the "fleur de lis" he catalogued (Nos. 7312 and 7313) are similar to the one in Barcelona 5, especially No. 7312;[18] interestingly, Richard Scherr identified the watermark found in Vatican 49 (fols. 141-148) and Vatican 63 (fols. 2-13) with Briquet's No. 7313 (see Fig. 2).[19]

Fig. 2. Watermarks Nos. 7312 and 7313 in Briquet.



The second piece of evidence that could undermine past conclusions about the Spanish origins of Barcelona 5 is an inscription entered on the last folio (fol. 52r) of Part I: "Scriptum per me Desiderium Johannis/Clericum AEseteñ" (Fig. 3).

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[17]Briquet, *Les Filigranes,* II, 393: "Les filigranes inscrits dans un circle sont habituellement d'origine italienne; toutefois il n'est pas de règle sans exception et les types 7122 à 7124 n'appartiennent pas à la péninsule mais proviennent d'Alsace-Lorraine [1589-1596]. Tous les autres sont italiens. . . ." This watermark is not included in Valls, *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia* or in his *La Historia del Papel en España.*

[18]Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, II, 400, found No. 7312 in a Venician document in 1479 and 1482, and No. 7313 in Palermo (1485), Rome (1492-94), and at Fabriano (1488) but in a larger size.

[19]Sherr, "The Papal chapel ca. 1492-1513 and its Polyphonic Sources," Ph. D. diss., Princeton University (1975), 138, 253, 256. He indicates that Vatican 49 and Vatican 63 were compiled during the period ca. 1492 - ca. 1507 and ca. 1480 - ca. 1507 respectively.

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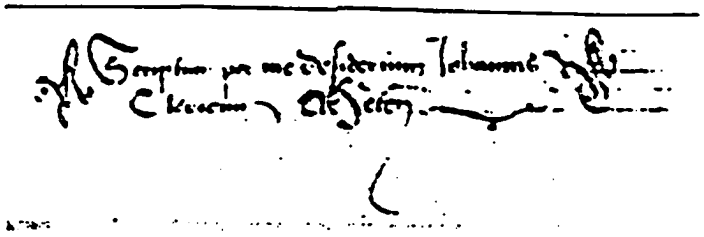
Fig. 3 Inscription on fol. 52r of Barcelona 5



The last word of the inscription—AEseteñ—most likely refers to the scribe's place of origin, and could, therefore, give a clue to his nationality. AEseteñ may refer to Aesernia, the Latin name for Isernia,[20] a small town slightly southeast of the abbey of Montecassino in the Kingdom of Naples.

Finally, as noted above, Desiderius Johannis not only wrote all of Part I of Barcelona 5, but copied Josquin's *Domine non secundum* on fols. 67r-68r of Part II, that is, the part of the manuscript that the *Census-Catalogue* associates specifically with Spain and that, with its works by Cots and Marturia, points more specifically to Catalonia, possibly Girona.

It is difficult to say where this new evidence leaves us. To be sure, my identification of Desiderius Johannis as Italian on the basis of equating "AEseteñ" with Isernia (or either of the other two places cited in note 20) is tenuous. Further, while Italian manufacture of the paper of Barcelona 5 is likely, it is far from certain. Finally, although the evidence that points to an Italian origin of the manuscript is worthy of note, it seems weaker than that which points to Catalonia. More specifically the weight of the

[20] *A Latin Dictionary*, rev. by Charlton Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 61. Prof. Andrew Tomasello suggests the reading "Esetensis"[=Estensi?], which would refer to the Este family at Ferrara. Another possible reading, "DE Seteñ" [=Setia, modern Sezza in the Latium], would also refer to an Italian city.

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evidence suggests Girona for at least Part II of the manuscript: that is, the presence of works in Part II by Cots, Marturia, and by the otherwise unknown Alonso de la Plaja and Milans, both of whom are unquestionably minor composers of Spanish origin.

Perhaps one conclusion that these four new observations provide for the question of the origin of the manuscript is this: since the same kind of paper was used for the entire manuscript and since the scribe of Part I appears again on fols. 67r-68r of Part II, both parts of Barcelona 5 may have been compiled in the same place. This conclusion cannot be dismissed until (1) the Italian origins and the subsequent work there of Desiderius Johannis can be firmly established, and (2) it can be shown that he, or at least Part I of the manuscript, travelled from Italy to Spain. The alternative hypothesis of compilation in two different places is conceivable only if we wish to posit that after the work of the main scribe the manuscript was taken to Catalonia where the blank openings were filled.[21]

As for the date of Barcelona 5, all that can be said is that Part II must be dated from no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century, since it includes the motet *Quent dicunt homines* by Jean Richafort (ca. 1480-1547), the youngest composer in the

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[21]If we allow that the watermark and the putative identification of the scribe of Part I point to an Italian provenance for at least part of the manuscript, would there have been any avenues through which it reached Catalonia? The answer may lie in the activities of the composer Marturia (Marturiano Prats), a native of Barcelona, who, after working in Catalonia (from ca. 1466 to 1490), is documented at the papal chapel from February 1, 1501, through 1503 [Haberl, "Die römische 'schola cantorum'," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft,* III (1888), 247] and to whom a textless *unicum* is attributed in Part II of the manuscript. Though his whereabouts in the period 1504-1513 are uncertain (but see below), he was certainly back in Spain in 1514, when he built an organ for the basilica of Sta. María del Mar in Barcelona, and was referred to as the abbot of San Salvador of Breda. Perhaps, he was already back in Spain by 1504, when Julius II awarded him the abbacy of San Esteban in Girona.

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manuscript. Although this motet seems to be an early work, it is unlikely that it would have been composed before ca. 1500.[22]

Finally, whatever the precise origins of Barcelona 5, the manuscript shows that the Franco-Flemish mass repertoire was known even in those Catalan music circles that had no connections with the royal chapels of either Fernando or Isabel.[23]

Barcelona M.681[24]

Concordance with 454/C	Attribution in Barcelona M.681
No. 12 [*Salve Regina*] Anxeta	Anxeta (incomplete)

According to Pedrell, Barcelona M.681 dates from the first half of the 16th century.[25] It was apparently copied by one main scribe who left blank openings upon which at least seven other scribes added works. A Catalan inscription on the last verso

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[22]According to Howard Mayer Brown, "Richafort, Jean," *The New Grove*, vol. 15, 839-40, many parody masses were based on the motet *Quent dicunt homines*; he goes on to note that "The two earliest of those masses by Divitis and Mouton may have been composed in competition and possibly for performance before François I and Leo X at Bologna in 1516" (p. 840).

[23]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 281, suggests that Marturia could be identified with the singer "fray Martin" who in 1507 entered the service of King Fernando, around the time the latter visited Naples, and remained on the payroll until the King's death in 1516; this identification must remain speculative. Knighton also mentions that according to Sherr, "The Papal chapel," 65, Marturia could have been one of the Pope's *musici segreti*.

[24]For an inventory and description, see Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 134-35; the *Census-Catalogue*, I, 19-20. Hardie, "The Motets" I, 119, described (but did not reproduce) the four watermarks that appear in the manuscript. The forty-one pieces in Barcelona M.681 listed in the *Census-Catalogue*, include works by Josquin (3), La Rue (1), and Lhéritier (1); the Iberian composers in the manuscript are: Anchieta (1), Morales (1), and Peñalosa (1); the remaining thirty-three pieces are anonymous. The manuscript itself contains only three attributions: two to Josquin and one to Anchieta. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 119, listed a work by Bauldeweyn, but she did not mention the title; it is not listed in the *Census-Catalogue* or in Edgar Sparks, *The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1972).

[25]Pedrell, *Catàlech*, I, 246.

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(fol. 101v) reads: "Fet de ma mia. Anticus Andreas en uich" [Done (written) in my own hand. Anticus Andreas in Vich]. The episcopal city of Vic is 64 km from Barcelona; the identity of Anticus Andreas, however, has not been established.[26] The *Census-Catalogue*, following Pedrell, indicates that the manuscript comes from Vic, but Hardie argues that since the manuscript "is the work of several hands, the inscription cannot refer to its copying."[27] The inscription, however, is in the hand of the main scribe, and it seems reasonable to conclude that at least most of the manuscript was copied and used at Vic.

Although the place of origin of Barcelona M.681 appears to be Vic, its date of compilation is less clear cut. I will first examine the evidence provided by the watermarks, and then briefly discuss one work whose presence in the manuscript suggests a compilation after ca. 1545.

Only two of the watermarks in the manuscript are similar to those catalogued by Briquet. The first one (Fig. 4) is a "bunch of grapes" close to one found in French paper from 1515 to 1546 (Fig. 5); it appears in Barcelona M.681 through fol. 46.[28] The other watermark in the manuscript that is similar to one in Briquet is a crescent moon in a circle, with the initials "I" and "M" surmounted by a cross (Fig. 6).[29] A similar watermark is found in French paper, with an example of it dating from 1536 (Fig. 7).[30]

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[26]According to Gregori, "La Nissaga dels Organistes Vila," *Recerca Musicològica*, VI-VII (1986-87), 58-59, the music chapel at Vic cathedral in 1534, the only year he cites, consisted of an organist and seven singers: Pere Vila (organist), García Govantes (*mestre de cant*), Pere Joan Clos, Gabriel Bergadà, Bernat Bussart, Pere Mamble, and whoever was on duty at the chapel.

[27]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 119.

[28]Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, No.13070: Châteauneuf-en-Valromey 1515, Lyon 1518-31, Bourg 1530, Angers 1546. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 119, indicated that this particular watermark is also found on fol. 88 of the manuscript. The "bunch of grapes" on that folio, though, is different; see below.

[29]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 119, described two other watermarks: "a crescent moon surmounted by a cross" and "a crescent moon in a circle." In light of the poor condition of the manuscript, I may have missed the difference. However, perhaps

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Fig. 4. Watermark in Barcelona M.681, fol. 3.

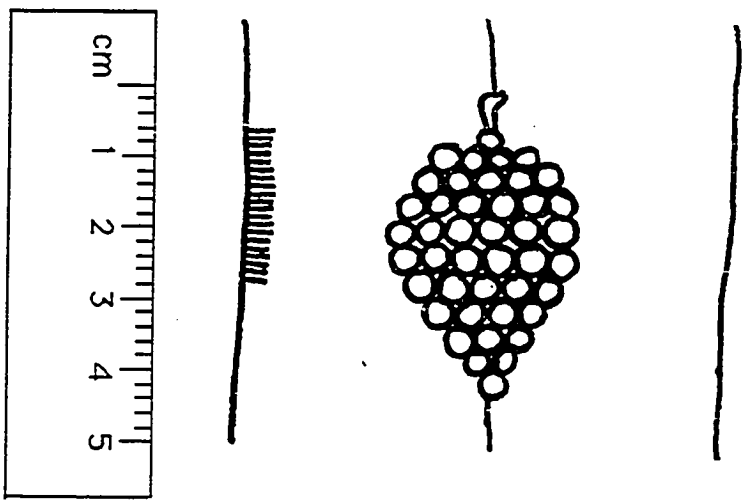
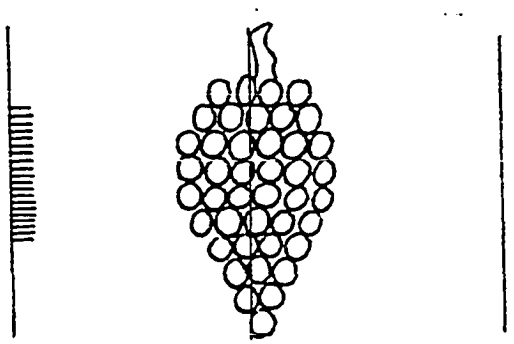


Fig. 5. Watermark No. 13070 in Briquet.



these three watermarks are one, since Hardie did not mention the one I traced, which seems to share characteristics of the two that she described.

[30]Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, No.5263: Gênes 1536.

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Fig. 6. Watermark in Barcelona M.681, fol. 74.

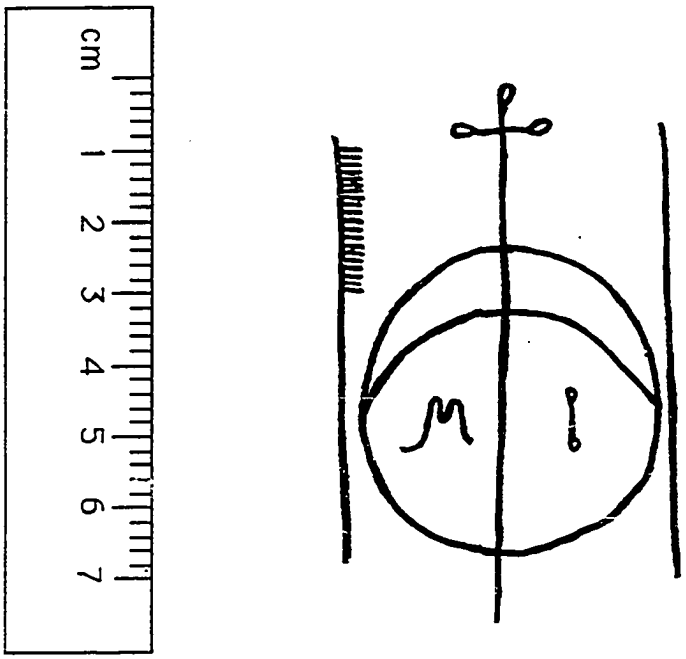
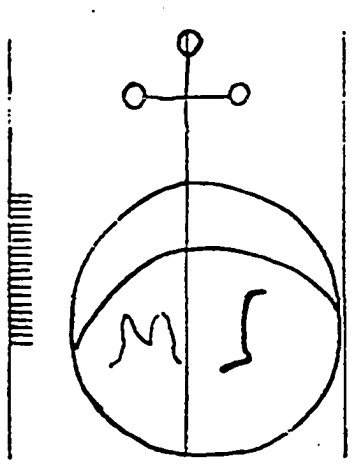


Fig. 7. Watermark No. 5263 in Briquet.



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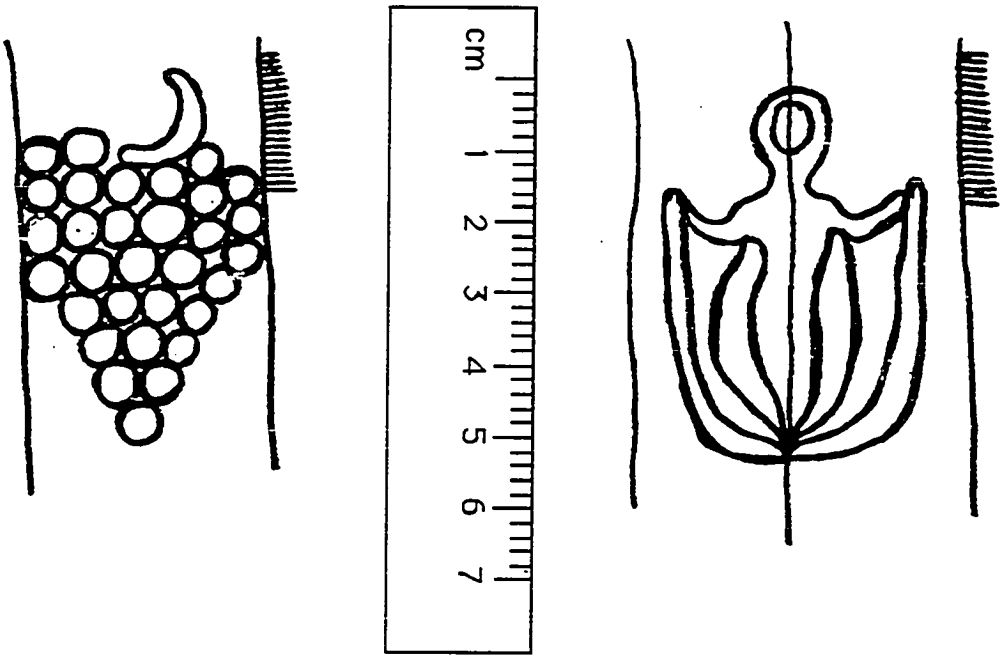
The other two watermarks, a second "bunch of grapes" (fol. 88) and a "mermaid with two tails" (fols. 89, 91), are shown in Fig. 8; as with other marks thus far discussed, these two have not been identified.[31]

Fig. 8. Two other watermarks in Barcelona M.681.



The evidence provided by the watermarks permits us to do little more than to suggest that the manuscript dates from the first half of the sixteenth century.

One work copied by the main scribe of Barcelona M.681 may help us date its earliest layer somewhat more precisely: the Magnificat on fols. 46^{v}-49^{r}, the only

[31]Neither this bunch of grapes nor the one in Fig. 4 is found in the volume exclusively devoted to grapes in Piccard's *Wasserzeichen*. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 119, described the other watermark as a "crescent moon with a tulip (?)." My description "mermaid with two tails" follows Briquet's terminology: "sirène a deux queu." The mermaids catalogued by Bofarull, *Animales*, are also different from the one in Barcelona M.681. The folio of the manuscript where this watermark appears is in very poor condition, and thus the drawing in Fig. 8 is only approximate.

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concordance for which appears in the late-sixteenth-century manuscript Zaragoza 10, where the piece is ascribed to Cristóbal de Morales.[32] Morales did not return to Spain from Rome until 1545, and his works were first copied in Toledo only after 1542, the year in which they were first published at Venice.[33] Although manuscript copies of Magnificats by Morales could have circulated in Spain before they were printed in Italy, it is unlikely that they would have reached a peripheral center such as Vic before they were copied at Toledo. Thus if the attribution in Zaragoza 10 is correct, perhaps the initial date of publication of the other Magnificats by Morales (1542) and the date of his return to Spain from Italy (1545), may serve as the likely earliest dates for the copying of the main section of Barcelona M.681.[34]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that a direct link existed between the cathedrals of Vic and Barcelona, since, as Gregori has shown, several organists and *mestres de cant* worked at both establishments.[35] Barcelona M.681 contains among its anonymous *unica* a five-voice motet devoted to Saint Eulalia, patroness of Barcelona cathedral.[36]

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[32]Winfried Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1966), 121.

[33]*Census-Catalogue*, III, 202-15.

[34]We should note, however, that the Magnificat in Barcelona M.681 and Zaragoza 10 is not among those published at Venice in 1542 or in a second publication devoted to Morales's Magnificats which dates from 1545.

[35]Gregori, "La Nissaga dels organistes Vila," 49-76. Gregori disentangled the genealogy of musicians from Vic named Vila, accounting for five organists who had worked in both cathedrals from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century. Gregori, "Els Mestres de cant," 29, 40-43, also documented two *mestres de cant* employed at both Vic and Barcelona: Joan Ferrer and García Govantes.

[36]*Hostia solemnis*, copied by the main scribe, appears on fols. 62^{v}-64^{r}. According to Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 146, the text appears in a Breviary printed in Barcelona in 1560. As Gregori has noted, "Els Cantors," 45-46, the vigil and feast of Saint Eulalia were traditionally celebrated in Barcelona Cathedral with polyphonic music performed at the saint's crypt, which had a small organ since the fifteenth century.

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Coimbra 12 and Coimbra 32[37]

Concordances with 454/A:	Attribution in Coimbra 12	Coimbra 32
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum*, Mondéjar/[Diaz]	Anon.	Anon.
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario	Anon.	Anon.
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Peñalosa/[Anchieta/ Compère/Ribera]	Anon.	Anon.
Concordances with 454/C:		
No. 16. *Precor te domine*, Peñalosa	Anon.	Anon.
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Peñalosa	—	Anon.
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Anon.	Anon.
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Anon.	Anon.

The *Census-Catalogue*, following Anglés, indicates that Coimbra 12 was compiled at the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra and that it dates from the "late 15th-early 16th century."[38] Hardie suggested that the manuscript was compiled "possibly

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[37]These two manuscripts, now housed at the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade in Coimbra, contain works by Anchieta, Díaz, Illario, Peñalosa, and Ribera, along with works by Portuguese composers, including Escobar. Portuguese manuscripts of sacred music are discussed in: Kastner, *Inventário dos inéditos e impressos musicais* (Coimbra 1937); Sampayo Ribeiro, *A Música em Coimbra* (Coimbra: Coimbra editora limitada, 1939), and his, *Os Manuscritos Musicais nos. 6 e 12 da Biblioteca geral de Coimbra* (Coimbra, 1941). Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 119-22, includes an inventory of Coimbra 12. The *Census-Catalogue*, I, 157-60 (revised in IV, 333-34), includes descriptions and abbreviated inventories of Coimbra 2, 3, 9, 12, 32, and 34. According to the *Census-Catalogue* Coimbra 12 contains sixty-four works: (Anchieta/Compère/Peñalosa/Ribera)-1, (Anchieta/Peñalosa)-1, Bento-1, Escobar-2, (Escobar/Peñalosa)-1, (Illario)-1, Morangam-7, Mouton-1, (Paiva)-2, Peñalosa-3, (Pregador)-1, A. Ribera-1, Vasco Pirez-3, Wreede-1, and thirty-eight anonymous works. Coimbra 32 contains seventy-two works: (Anchieta/Compère/Peñalosa/Ribera)-1, (Anchieta/Peñalosa)-1, (Arcadelt)-2, (Arcadelt/Verdelot)-1, (P.Díaz)-1, (Escobar)-1, (Escobar/Peñalosa)-1, (Gombert)-1, (Hellinck)-2, (Illario)-1, (Lhéritier/Verdelot)-1, Morales-1, Morangam [Luis Moran]-6 + 1?, (Peñalosa)-3, (Vasco Pirez)-1, (Willaert)-1, and forty-five anonymous pieces. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 102-13, describes and discusses Coimbra 12 and Coimbra 32 in detail. Owen Rees has recently completed a dissertation entitled "Sixteenth-Century Polyphony from the Monastery of Santa Cruz," Cambridge University (1991), encompassing the manuscripts Coimbra 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 18, 25, 26, 32, 33, 34, 36, 44, 48, 53, 70, and 217; I would like to thank Prof. Robert Snow who informed me about Mr. Rees's study, and to Mr. Rees who very kindly informed me of some concordances of Coimbra manuscripts with Barcelona M.454, prior to the completion of his dissertation.

[38]*Census-Catalogue*, I, 159; Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 119-22.

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under the direction of Heliodoro de Paiva (d.1552)" during the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[39]

According to the *Census-Catalogue*, Coimbra 32 dates from the late sixteenth century, but Hardie argues that since it displays scribal concordances and otherwise unique repertoire with Coimbra 12, it could also have been compiled at the monastery of Santa Cruz "in the middle of the sixteenth century."[40]

In view of the disagreements described above regarding dating, conclusions about the origins of Coimbra 12 and 32 will have to take into account the recent comprehensive study by Owen Rees, which, however, I have not been able to consult.

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[39]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 102, 104. Heliodoro de Paiva, a foster brother of King Joao III, was a composer and illuminator, as well as a canon at the monastery of Santa Cruz: his compositions are found in Coimbra 12, 32, and 44.

[40]*Census Catalogue*, I, 160; Hardie, "The Motets," I, 110. She also points out that Coimbra 12 and 32 have similar bindings, and that fol. [1r] of Coimbra 32 carries the inscription: "Liuro da Comunidade de Santa ✝" [Book of the Community of Santa Cruz]. The watermarks that she reproduces from the two manuscripts, however, are different.

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Elvas 11793[41]

Concordance with 454/D	Attribution in Elvas 11793
No. 120. *Llenos de lágrimas tristes* Pastrana	Anon.

Joaquim dated Elvas 11793 from 1524-1572 on the basis of the watermark that he identified as being similar to Briquet's Nos. 5926-5927, which themselves date from that period.[42] The *Census-Catalogue* also based the date of the manuscript on that watermark, but narrowed the period of compilation to ca. 1530-1545.[43] Miranda suggested a *terminus post quem* at 1555 for the manuscript on the basis of its transmitting *Aquella voluntad que se á rendido*; this piece uses the first stanza of a poem by Dom Manuel de Portugal (ca. 1520-1606) dedicated to Doña Francisca de Aragao (ca. 1537-

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[41]This manuscript was first edited by Manuel Joaquim, *Cancioneiro Musical e Poético da Biblioteca Públia Hortênsia* (Coimbra: Instituto para a alta cultura, 1940); he had discovered it circa 1928 at the Biblioteca Públia Hortênsia of Elvas. Elvas 11793 contains 65 three-voice secular pieces (49 in Spanish and 16 in Portuguese), as well as a collection of 36 additional Spanish poems (romances, glosas, vilancetes, and cantigas) without music. There are no attributions, and the only composers that have been identified are: (Encina)-4, (Escobar)-2 or possibly 3, and (Pastrana)-1; the revised entry for this manuscript in the *Census-Catalogue*, IV, 365, does not include Pastrana, identified through a concordance in 454/D. Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 127-28, listed fourteen first-line concordances between Madrid 1335 and Elvas 11793; however, three of them have different music. Anglés mistakenly referred to the manuscript as Elvas "11973," an error that has been transmitted in the *The New Grove*, vol. 17, 685, and the *Census-Catalogue*, I, 205. Two other modern editions of the music section have been published by Manuel Morais, *Cancioneiro Musical d'Elvas* (Lisbon: Fundaçao Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977), and by Gil Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook*. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 98. American Institute of Musicology (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hanssler-Verlag, 1987); the latter edition provides a fuller critical apparatus. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 93-101, described Elvas 11793, discussed its provenance, and dismissed Morais's transcriptions on the basis of their confusing irregular barring; the transcriptions in the edition by Gil Miranda are controversial for the same reason.

[42]Joaquim, *O cancioneiro*, 11-12; the cities where the paper is found are, except for Salzburg, all in Italy. It should be noted that the latest date for watermark No. 5926 in Briquet is 1571 not 1572; Briquet documented watermark No. 5927 between 1533 and 1559. Morais, *O cancioneiro*, vi, following Joaquim, reproduced the watermark and stated that the paper was found in Italy in the sixteenth century.

[43]*Census-Catalogue*, I, 205; *The New Grove*, vol. 17, 685, follows the *Census-Catalogue*.

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1615), a lady-in-waiting to Queen Catalina of Portugal. Miranda states that according to the Portuguese historian Queiroz Velloso ". . . Dom Manuel's courtship of Doña Francisca probably occurred while he was still a widower, sometime before 1555."[44] According to Miranda, the *terminus ante quem* should be placed at 1571, following Briquet's last date for a similar watermark.[45] Lee stated that the inclusion of three songs whose "musical style and Italianate verse form" (*terza rima*) cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century confirms the late date suggested by the hand-writing (round note heads) of the single scribe.[46] She goes on to suggest that it could have been compiled during the last years of Joao III's reign (d.1557).[47]

None of the three modern editions of Elvas 11793 (Joaquim, Morais, Miranda) advances a hypothesis about its place of origin; perhaps they simply assume a Portuguese provenance.[48] Both the *Census-Catalogue* and *The New Grove* state that it was copied in Spain but give no further reference.[49] Compilation in Portugal or Spain has become

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[44]Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook*, xviii.

[45]Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook*, xix. He adds: "Doubtless further study and stylistic analysis of the contents will enable us to date the Ms with even greater precision." According to Joaquim the latest date for the watermark is 1572, though Miranda says 1571. The evidence provided by the watermark is practically useless, since the range of dates is too wide to be meaningful.

[46]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 94. Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook*, xviii, had previously referred to these three works, but pointed out that the Italianate meter was introduced into both Portugal and Spain in 1526 with the works of Sá de Miranda and Boscán respectively.

[47]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 99, points out that Joao III married Catalina, a daughter of Juana and Philip the Fair.

[48]Elvas is a Portuguese town on the Spanish border.

[49]*Census-Catalogue*, I, 205; *The New Grove*, vol. 17, 685. Joaquim, *O cancioneiro*, 13, indicated that the initials "J. J. d'A" on the spine of the manuscript referred to one of its late owners, the canon of Elvas, Joao Joaquim de Andrade (1790-1859). Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook*, xviii, established that Elvas 11793 was donated to the Biblioteca Públia Hortênsia by the heirs of Dr. Joao Henriques Tierno (1855-1928), a native of Elvas; he also stated that in a forthcoming study he would present evidence that the manuscript was ". . .in Elvas or its area as far back as the middle of the 18th century."

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an issue of contention. Although Sampayo Ribeiro discusses the possible Portuguese or Spanish character of some works in Elvas 11793, he does not advance a hypothesis about the place of compilation.[50] Stevenson points out that the spellings frequently show Portuguese influence.[51] Lee argues in favor of a Portuguese origin for the manuscript because of "...its group of Portuguese songs, its three concordances with another Portuguese cancionero [*Càncionero Musical de Belém*], and the inclusion of forty-six Castilian songs long out of date in Spain."[52]

Although the compilation of Elvas 11793 in Portugal seems most plausible, that all the texts without music at the end of the manuscript are in Spanish is then surprising. While it is true that Portuguese poets were probably fluent in Spanish, the inclusion of several typically Spanish *romances* at least suggests a strong Spanish influence in the Portuguese milieu in which the manuscript is presumed to have been written. After the death of Joao III of Portugal in 1557, his wife Catalina of Austria (1507-1578), a granddaughter of the Catholic Kings, became regent of Portugal. Perhaps it was at this time, and under her strong influence that the manuscript was compiled.[53] Be that as it

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Sampayo, "A margem do Cancioneiro de Manuel Joaquim," *Brotéria,* xxxiii (1941), 416-17, had already pointed out that the appearance in the manuscript of some names, perhaps of singers, and a date "20 Dezembro 1755" (no mention of a folio) suggest that the manuscript was in Elvas before it came into possession of the canon Andrade.

[50]Sampayo, "A margem do Cancioneiro," 408-11, 416-17. He stated that the presence of Spanish texts in Portugal is not unusual, since Portuguese poets such as Gil Vicente had written in both Spanish and Portuguese.

[51]Stevenson, "Spanish Music," 202, note 5.

[52]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 96, states that Pedro do Porto, known as Escobar in Spain, "...may constitute the link between the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs and the Portuguese courts of Emmanuel (d. 1521) and John III (d. 1557)." She also refers to the activities of the Spanish poet/musician Badajoz and the Portuguese Gil Vicente, both active at the court of Joao III. I am not able to ascertain whether the Castilian songs in Elvas 11793 were "out of date" in Spain, as stated by Lee, at the time of compilation.

[53]Catalina handed over the rule to her grandson Sebastian in 1562, but her influence was present until the end of her life.

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may, what is clearly needed is a thorough study of the literary aspects of Elvas 11793, since this may provide a new insight into the origins of the manuscript. Indeed, given the controversial irregular barring in the transcriptions and the omission of texts without music in the publications of both Morais and Miranda, perhaps a new edition of the entire manuscript would be justified.

Madrid 1335[54]

Concordances with 454/A	Attribution in Madrid 1335
No. 45. *Pues vivo en perder la vida*[55] [Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 98. *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço* [Encina]	Encina
Concordance with 454/B	
No. 78. *Si* [*la noche es temerosa*] (S only) Anon.	Anon.

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[54]Known as the *Cancionero de Palacio*, Madrid 1335 (*olim* Madrid 5-I-20) was found in the library at the Royal Palace in Madrid by Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil in 1870. Madrid 1335 contains 458 works, and was first edited by Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical de los Siglos XV y XVI*, and later by Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, II-III; Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1 and IV-2, was responsible for the two subsequent volumes that discussed paleography, date, and origins; Romeu also included a detailed study of the texts. Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 249-305, described the manuscript and presented extensive biographical and stylistic commentaries about composers. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," discussed the manuscript at length, provided a complete annotated catalogue of first lines of secular songs from 1460 to 1535, and corrected Anglés's transcriptions of Nos. 59, 102, 151, 177, 197, 276, 283, and 437. The following distribution by composer of the 458 works in Madrid 1335, is that of the *Census-Catalogue*, II, 135: Ajofrín-1, Alba-1, Aldomar-3, Almorox-3, Alonso-11, Anchieta-4, Badajoz-8, Borote-1, Brihuega-2, (G. Brocco)-1, A. Contreras-2, Córdoba-2, Comago-3, Encina-63 + 17?, Enrique-2, Enrique/(Morton)-1, Escobar-17 + 1?, Espinosa-2, D. Fermoselle-1, D. Fernández-2, (L. Fernández)-1, P. Fernández [P. F.]-1, (G. Fogliano)-1, Garcimuñoz-3, Gijón-2, Josquin [Jusquin d'Ascanio]-1, Lagarto-4, León-1, Lucas-1, (Lurano)-1, Madrid-3, L. Martínez-1, Medina-2, G. Mena [Gabriel]-18, Milarte-6, F. Millán-23, Mondéjar-11, Moxica-2, Peñalosa-10, Ponce-12, A. Ribera-2, Román-1, Salcedo-1, Sanabria-2, Sant Juan-1, Sedano-1, Tordesillas-1, A. Toro-2, F. Torre-15, (Triana)-2, (Tromboncino)-1, Troya-3, Vaena-7, Valera-1, Vilches-1, Wreede-2, Wrteede/(Enrique)-1, Anon.-150.

[55]454/A lacks the *tiple* and the first section of the tenor, which probably were on the preceding missing folio.

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Concordances with 454/D

No. 84. [*A la caça*] [Gabriel/Luchas] Gabriel/Luchas
No. 120. *Llenos de lágrimas tristes,* Pastrana
(listed in the *tabla* of Madrid 1335,
but missing from the body of the manuscript)

Madrid 1335, the largest extant source of Spanish secular music, has in common with Barcelona M.454 a long process of compilation, which resulted in a similarly multi-layered structure.

There are two hypotheses about the origins of Madrid 1335. The first, advanced by Barbieri, states that the compilation of the manuscript was initiated at the court of Don Fadrique de Toledo, second Duke of Alba, in the last decade of the fifteenth century.[56] Barbieri's conclusion was based on: (1) the best represented composer in the manuscript, Juan del Encina (1468-1529/30), worked at the Duke's court from 1492 through 1498, the most productive period of his career;[57] and (2) the text of Wreede's *Nunca fue pena mayor,* the song which opens the manuscript, was written by the first Duke of Alba, García Alvarez de Toledo (d.1488); Wreede was in the Duke's service before 1477.[58] Stevenson seems to have agreed with Barbieri regarding the origin of Madrid 1335, stating in a different context: "Millán was therefore an outlander to the aristocratic Alba de Tormes circle for which the CMP [*Cancionero Musical de Palacio*]

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[56]The Dukes of Alba resided at Alba de Tormes, near Salamanca.

[57]Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical,* 7, and José Subirá, *La Música en la Casa de Alba* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1927), 7ff. See also, Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die weltlicheVokalmusik in Spanien um 1500* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968), 15. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 55, lists sixty-one works attributed to Encina in Madrid 1335, and points out that Stevenson, *Spanish Music,* 263, includes still another, *Remediad señora mía,* since the text is included in Encina's *Cancionero* (Salamanca, 1496). Millán, with twenty-three works, and Escobar and Gabriel, with eighteen each, follow well behind.

[58]Curiously, *Nunca fue pena mayor* is among the 44 canciones that were not listed in the *tabula* of Madrid 1335; see below for a discussion of the earliest layer of the manuscript. Since *Nunca fue pena mayor* was not included in the *tabula,* perhaps its position as the opening piece in the manuscript provides no evidence that would link Madrid 1335 with the House of Alba.

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nucleus was originally formed."[59] Finally, Barbieri suggested that the manuscript may have come to the library at the Royal Palace in Madrid together with other books from the Colegio Mayor of Salamanca.

The second hypothesis, presented by Anglés and Romeu, argues that Madrid 1335 was compiled for the court of King Fernando.[60] After Isabel's death in 1504, many of her musicians entered Fernando's service, and Romeu states that the fusion of the two chapels coincided with the redaction of the first layer of Madrid 1335.[61] Romeu distinguishes eight scribes and eleven layers in the manuscript, these encompassing a period of compilation from 1505 to 1520. He suggests that, after the death of Fernando in 1516, Madrid 1335 may have been completed at the court of his daughter, Juana at Tordesillas.[62] Lee agrees with the hypothesis offered by Anglés and Romeu, and points out that the canción *Damos gracias a ti, Dios,* which appears in the earliest layer,

> . . .supports the opinion that [Madrid 1335] was not begun until after Isabel's death, because while the [Segovia] version credits Isabel's "castellanos" with the victory of Granada, the version in [Madrid 1335] shows a diplomatic alteration, giving all praise to "Don Fernando."[63]

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[59]Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 272. Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, 40, claimed that Francisco Millán was a chaplain and singer at the Castilian court in 1501-1502, but Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 284, states that "his identity has not been ascertained," since his name does not appear in the Simancas archive and Barbieri did not give a precise reference.

[60]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos,* I, 95; Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 23.

[61]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 23. However, the two composers best represented in Madrid 1335, Encina and Millán, did not serve the Catholic Monarchs.

[62]For a description of the structure, scribes, and chronology of Madrid 1335, see Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 3-24. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 49-79, provides helpful tables that clarify Romeu's study. José Ferrandis, *Datos Documentales para la Historia del Arte Español* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1943), III, 219-375, includes an inventory of Juana's possessions at Tordesillas for the period 1509 to 1555; none of the music books described resembles Madrid 1335 (see Appendix II).

[63]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 58.

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Lee further speculates that since the text of *Françia cuenta tu ganançia* was changed to commemorate a 1521 military victory by Charles V, Madrid 1335 may have later belonged to Isabel of Portugal, the emperor's wife and herself a granddaughter of the Catholic Kings.[64] Lee affirms that the manuscript may never have left royal hands, since even today it is part of the library of the Royal Palace in Madrid.[65] Finally, the *Census-Catalogue* follows the Anglés/Romeu hypothesis, while *The New Grove* sits on the fence and states that the manuscript ". . .may have been copied for the court of King Fernando of Spain, or for the Duke of Alba in the late 15th and early 16th c."[66]

Even though the layers of Madrid 1335 as established by Romeu have not been contested, there is an intriguing problem concerning the relationship between Romeu's first layer of the manuscript and the opening *tabula*. And the nature of this relationship may call into question both Romeu's suggested layers and his earliest date for the manuscript.[67] I will briefly discuss this problem, and then elaborate on Lee's objections regarding the dates assigned to Layers 6 and 8.

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[64]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 58-59. Higini Anglés, *Carlos V*, I, 56, lists three music books from the inventory that was made of Empress Isabel's possessions when she died in 1539, but none resembles Madrid 1335. For a description of these items, see Appendix II.

[65]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 59. We should note, however, that the library at the Royal Palace in Madrid was established by incorporating a number of private libraries in 1714, during the reign of Philip V (1700-1746). Thus the royal origin of the manuscript cannot be ascertained on the basis of its present location. The *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, 70 vols. with 10 appendices and yearly supplements (Barcelona: J. Espasa, 1930-present), XLIX, 1035-36, indicates that the library at the Royal Palace, the "Real Biblioteca," was first called "de Cámara" or "Particular" [private of the king] to distinguish it from the royal library that eventually became the National Library in Madrid. The holdings of the "Real Biblioteca" were originally constituted with the libraries of the Count of Mansilla, the Count of Goldomar, the Dean of Teruel, and the *Oidor* of Seville named Bruna, among others. The manuscript section of the library was created during the reign of Charles III (1759-88).

[66]*Census-Catalogue*, II, 136; *The New Grove*, vol. 17, 685.

[67]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 52, stated that after examining Madrid 1335 she found no reason to question Romeu's distribution of layers and scribes. She did, however, object to Romeu's dates for Layer 6 and Layer 8; see below.

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According to Romeu, the first layer of the manuscript is divided into the following four subsections (Table 4):

Table 4. Subsections of Madrid 1335 that, according to Romeu, constitute its first layer.

First layer	Folios[68]	Contents
Subsection 1	fol. [x^{v}]-49^{r}	44 canciones[69]
Subsection 2	fol. 51^{v}-87^{v}	40 romances[70]
Subsection 3	fol. 99^{v}-258^{v}	158 villancicos[71]
Subsection 4	fol. 260^{v}-274^{v}	15 "villancicos omnium sanctorum"

Yet the *tabula* of Madrid 1335, which lists the works alphabetically under four headings, omits the 44 canciones that according to Romeu constitute the earliest subsection of the manuscript (Table 5).[72]

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[68]Pieces were added on blank folios and other empty spaces later, thus altering the clear distribution of repertoire found in the first layer.

[69]All except No.38 belong to the canción genre.

[70]One of them, No. 461, is now lost.

[71]Most of the works included in this section, by far the largest of the manuscript, are by Encina; forty-two pieces, though, are now lost.

[72]The "Tabula per ordinem alphabeticum," which opens Madrid 1335, occupies—after a blank folio that was added when the manuscript was bound—nine unnumbered folios; these ten unnumbered folios will be designated with Roman numerals i-x. According to Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 10, the original redaction of the *tabula* took place only after a second layer of works had been added to the manuscript; the incipits of works in the remaining layers were added later to the *tabula*. Besides the 44 canciones, the works not listed in the *tabula* were: poetic texts without music; No. 441 in Layer 6; No. 19 in Layer 9; all of the works in Layer 10, which itself constituted a small cancionero that was added to the main corpus of Madrid 1335; and Nos. 292 and 457 in Layer 11.

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Table 5. Headings in the *tabula* of Madrid 1335

Tabula per ordinem alphabeticum (fol. [ii^{r}])

Villançicos (fol. [iii^{r}])
Estranbotes[73] (fol. [viii^{r}])
Romances (fol. [viii^{v}])
Villançicos omnium sanctorum (fol. [x^{r}])

Romeu found the absence of incipits for the canciones puzzling, and his explanations are not convincing.[74] Moreover, whereas the romances are listed after the villancicos in the *tabula,* the subsection with romances appears in the manuscript before the one devoted to villancicos. If Romeu's four earliest subsections constitute a single layer, why would the same scribe have entered a table of contents that (1) omits the earliest subsection, but includes pieces from a later layer, and (2) disregards the order of subsections in the manuscript? Three paleographical details, noted by Romeu himself, which may point to earlier stages in the process of compilation further suggest that Romeu's hypothesis about the earliest date (1505) for Madrid 1335 based on the structure of the first layer of the manuscript may be faulty: (1) the black ink used in the first layer is very intense at the beginning, more pale later on, and dark again after fol. 118^{v};[75] (2) the heading "Tabula per ordinem alphabeticum," in red ink, was squeezed in smaller characters above the larger heading "Villançicos;"[76] and (3) although red ink was also

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[73]According to Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 10, this section is a later addition to the *tabula* and includes all the pieces in Italian copied in Layer 6 of the manuscript.

[74]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 8, conjectured that since the genre of the canción is difficult to classify, perhaps the scribe reserved the canciones for a more general heading that was later abandoned. Romeu also suggested that since the heading "Tabula per ordinem alphabeticum" was written in small characters and squeezed above the larger heading for the "Villançicos," perhaps the original heading for the *tabula* along with the incipits for the canciones were entered on previous folios that are now missing.

[75]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 7: "La redacción primitiva, trazada por la primera mano... usa de una tinta negra bastante intensa al principio, pero que se va haciendo más pálida después, para volver a su antigua intensidad a partir del fol. 118^{v}."

[76]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 8.

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used to indicate folio numbers, both in the *tabula* and in the manuscript, Romeu noticed that on one occasion an incipit (*A repastar mi ganado*) in the *tabula* originally had its folio number in black, while in the item below it (*Dios te salve, Cruz preciosa*), the red folio number had been written over an original black number.[77]

While it is not possible to present a detailed new hypothesis about the compilation of Madrid 1335 here, it seems likely that Romeu's four earliest subsections do not constitute a single layer, even though they were copied by the same scribe. And what appears to be a table of contents for the entire manuscript may have originally been intended only for an independent collection of villancicos now found in the middle of the manuscript.[78] The accretion of other genres would have forced the expansion of the *tabula* to the point where there was no space for a lengthy separate section devoted to canciones, though it was still possible to add or squeeze in incipits under other headings. Finally, at no time in his account does Romeu offer a thorough description of either watermarks and paper types or gathering structure.[79]

Although Romeu's chronology for the layers of Madrid 1335 has generally been accepted, Lee has objected to his dates for Layer 6 (1515) and Layer 8 (1516). Romeu dated Layer 6 from 1515 on the basis of the presence of Encina's villancico *Si a todos tratas, Amor*, which appears in his égloga entitled *Plácida y Vitoriano*, believed to have

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[77]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 11, note 19.

[78]The subsequent process of growth from within (I use "from within" as measured against the present-day make-up of the manuscript) is not unlike that of Barcelona M.454; see Chapter I. Since, according to Romeu, the subsection devoted to villancicos starts on fol. 99^{v}, the opening piece of this hypothetical, independent manuscript within Madrid 1335 would have been Encina's *No tienen vado mis males*.

[79]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 3, does point out that there are two kinds of paper in Madrid 1335: one type for fols. [i-x] and 1-291, and another for fols. 293-304. He described—though vaguely—several watermarks found in the first type of paper: a hand (with and without glove) supporting a flower (sometimes a star) of five (sometimes six) petals, the flower protruding from the middle finger. Romeu stated that the gatherings of the manuscript are usually quaternions.

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been performed at Rome in 1513 and supposedly published there a year later.[80] Although Romeu assumed that the villancico was composed for the occasion of the 1513 Rome performance, Lee contended that this may not necessarily be true.[81]

Lee's questioning can be supported on at least the following grounds: (1) the name of the égloga performed at Rome in 1513 is not mentioned in the contemporary accounts of either of the two parties at which it was supposedly performed;[82] (2) the notion that *Plácida y Vitoriano* was presented at Rome is based entirely on a supposedly lost 1514 Roman edition of the work which is not extant;[83] (3) in at least one instance—

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[80]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 20. The music of *Si a todos tratas, Amor* is lost, but the *tabula* of Madrid 1335 places the piece on the now-missing fols. 83^{v}-84^{r}. According to Ana M. Rambaldo, *Juan del Encina. Obras Completas* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978-1987), 1, Encina's first eight églogas were published with a dedication to the Dukes of Alba in 1496; they were reprinted at Seville (1501), Burgos (1505), and, with the addition of two more, at Salamanca (1507); another edition in 1509 incorporated two other plays. All ten were printed again in 1516. The *Égloga de Cristino y Febea* and *Plácida y Vitoriano*, however, were never included in these collections; they are known only through separate, undated editions. See below for a discussion of the problematic date of publication of *Plácida y Vitoriano*.

[81]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 54. Espinosa, "Ensayo biográfico del Maestro Lucas Fernández," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, X (1923), 403, pointed out that the Portuguese scholar Carolina Michäelis had already questioned the identity of the play performed in Rome in 1513, suggesting Encina's *Representación de Amor* as a plausible alternative. Unfortunately, Espinosa did not give the exact reference in Michäelis's early works, and Michäelis, *Notas Vicentinas* [1949], does not raise the issue, even though she refers to *Plácida y Vitoriano*.

[82]One account appears in a letter written by Stazio Gadio to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, in which he describes the supper given by the Cardinal of Mantua in Rome on August 10, 1513. He says that on the previous Thursday another party had taken place at the home of Jaime Serra, the Valencian Cardinal of Arborea, "donde se había recitado en español una comedia de Juan del Encina, asistiendo a ella *piu puttane spagnuole che uomini italiani*." [. . . where a comedy by Juan del Encina was recited in Spanish, and there were more Spanish prostitutes than Italian men.] See Menénedez Pelayo, *Antología Lírica Castellana*, III, 227. Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 257, refers to another occasion in which *Plácida y Vitoriano* was apparently performed in Rome: January 6, 1513, at the home of Jaime Serra; the guests included Julius II and Federico Gonzaga. However, the work performed on that occasion is also referred to as a *commedia*. See Alessandro Luzio, "Federico Gonzaga, ostaggio alla Corte di Giulio II," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, IX, iii-iv (1886), 550.

[83]Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, III, 228, referred to the dramatist and poet Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760-1828), who, in his *Orígenes del*

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the égloga *Representación de Amor*—the time that elapsed between composition and publication was a decade, as the *Representación* was first performed for Prince Juan (d. 1497), but published only in 1507;[84] and (4) that the *Plácida y Vitoriano* was not included in the earlier editions of Encina's works may point not so much to a late date of composition, but to difficulties that it may have encountered with the censors, something that is further suggested by its inclusion in the 1559 *Index* of works forbidden by the Inquisition.[85]

Thus there are several reasons to question Romeu's use of *Plácida y Vitoriano* to date Layer 6 of Madrid 1335. A more plausible, though less precise, date for Layer 6 would be the one that Romeu himself gives as its *terminus post quem*, that is after 1506, this based on the date of publication of the Italian *frottole* in this layer.[86]

Regarding the date of Layer 8, Lee pointed out that Romeu's dating of that layer from after the death of Fernando (1516) on the basis of the scribe's haste and

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Teatro Español, 181, affirms: "Esta obra, de la cual solo queda la noticia, se imprimió en Roma en el año 1514." (This work [*Farsa de Plácida é Vitoriano*] of which only a notice remains, was printed in Rome in 1514.)

[84]That this work was performed in front of Prince Juan is stated in the title itself: *Representación por Juan del Enzina ante el muy esclarecido y muy illustre príncipe don Juan....*

[85]*Plácida y Vitoriano* includes a "Vigilia de la enamorada muerta" (Vigil for the dead beloved), a parody of the prayers for the dead that had a precedent in both the *Misa de Amor* by Suero de Ribera and the *Liciones de Job appropriadas a sus passiones de amor* by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz (ca. 1460-ca. 1526); the latter poet, as noted by Stevenson, "Pedro Escobar: Earliest Portuguese Composer in New World Colonial Music Manuscripts," *Inter-American Music Review*, XI/1 (1990), 22, fn. 69, was also a renown vihuela player. Curiously enough, among the scribbles and annotations on the last folio of Barcelona M.454, Scribe C wrote the first lines of Encina's "Vigilia:" "Circundederunt me dolores de amor y fe ay circundederunt me/venite los que os doleis de mi pena desigual/para que sepais mi mal yo os ruego que," to which he added "señora domine dominus nostes/Cum Tort." See Chapter II for a discussion of the identity of Scribe C in connection with Anthoni Johan Fiela alias Tort, canon at Barcelona Cathedral.

[86]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-1, 20. Whether Italian *frottole* could have reached the Iberian peninsula before their publication is, of course, open to question.

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carelessness is not convincing.[87] And since Romeu offers no other evidence for his date, one can hardly disagree with Lee's objections.

Whether Madrid 1335 originated at the court of the Duke of Alba in the last decade of the fifteenth century or at the court of King Fernando in 1505 (after the death of Isabel) is, therefore, still open to question. What is clearly needed is a fresh analysis of the physical characteristics of the manuscript (such as paper types, watermarks, gathering structures, etc.), that coordinates the conclusions to be gleaned from such analysis with an investigation of the music itself.

[87]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Music," I, 54.

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Segovia[88]

Concordances with 454/A	Attribution in Segovia
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	Anon. (S only)
No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]	Agricola (*Agnus Dei* missing)
No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]	Agricola
No. 50. *Ave Maria* [Josquin]	Josquin
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	Anon. (C and B of *secunda pars* only)
No. 52. *Intemerata virgo* and *O Maria nullam* [Josquin]	Josquin
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Peñalosa/[Compère/Ribera]	Anchieta
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]	Anon.
Concordances with 454/B	
No. 9. *Missa de nostra dona* [Anchieta]	Anchieta (*Gloria*)
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	Anon. (S only)

[88]This manuscript without signature was discovered by Anglés at the archive of the cathedral in Segovia in 1922. He first published an inventory of its contents in "Un manuscrit inconnu," *Acta Musicologica*, VIII (1936), 8-17, and a corrected version in *Reyes Católicos*, I, 106-12. The most important study of the manuscript to date is that by Norma Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," which includes a detailed inventory and an edition of the unpublished works. A facsimile edition of Segovia—now out of print—was published in 1977 by the Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Segovia, with a preface by Ramón Perales de la Cal, F. Albertos and Hilario Sanz. A description and abbreviated inventory appears in the *Census-Catalogue*, III, 137-38, emended in IV, 475. José López-Calo, "Música Flamenca y Música Española," *Colloquia Europalia, III. Actes du Colloque Musicologique International* (Brussels, October 28-29, 1985), ed. by Paul Becquart and Henry Vanhulst, 16, announced the imminent publication of his edition of the manuscript. The following distribution by composer of the 204 works in Segovia, is that of the *Census-Catalogue;* only the attribution to "Cuvenor" of a work otherwise attributed to A. Agricola/(Aulenus) has been omitted, since it is the result of an erroneous reading of the word "Superior" in Barcelona M.454: Adam II-2, A. Agricola-16, A. Agricola/(Aulenus)-1, A. Agricola/(Brumel)-1, A. Agricola/(Ghiselin)-1, (A. Alba)-1, Anchieta-7, Anchieta/(Compère/Peñalosa/A. Ribera)-1, Anchieta/(Peñalosa)-1, Barbireau/(Isaac/Obrecht)-1, (Binchois-anon)-1, Brumel-4, Brumel/(Isaac)-1, Brumel/(Mouton)-1, Busnois-2, Caron-1, Compère-10, Compère/(A. Agricola)-2, Compère/(Busnois/Mureau)-1, Compère-Martini-1, Compère/(Tinctoris)-1, Compère/(Vaqueras)-1, Eline-3, Eline/(J. Agricola)-1, (Encina)-8, (Enrique/Wreede)-1, Farer-1, Ferdinandus et frater eius/(A. Agricola/Isaac)-1, (Gijón)-1, Hayne van Guizeghem [Scoen Heyne]-4, Hayne van Ghizeghem/(Ockeghem)-1, Isaac-16, Isaac/(Obrecht/Weerbecke)-1, Isaac/(Barle)-2, Isaac/(Martini)-1, Isaac/(Rubinet)-1, Josquin-5, Josquin/(A. Agricola)-1, Josquin/(Busnois)-1, Joye/(Japart/Josquin)-1, (Lagarto)-1, Martini-2, Martini/(Busnois)-1, Marturia-1, Mondéjar-1, Obrecht-28, Obrecht/(Isaac/Japart)-1, Obrecht/(Stolzer)-1, Obrecht/(Virgilius)-1, Pipelare-3, Pipelare/(La Rue)-1, Roellrin-3, Tinctoris-7, (F. Torre)-4, Wreede-1, anon-40.

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The Segovia manuscript has received more scholarly attention than any other Iberian manuscript, probably because of its abundant Franco-Flemish repertoire, which includes numerous *unica*.[89] Though the manuscript was copied by three scribes, most of the music was entered by one copyist in the following genre-organized order: (1) four-voice masses, Salve Regina settings, Magnificats, and motets; (2) four-voice secular pieces; (3) three-voice masses, Magnificats and motets; (4) three-voice secular pieces and motets; (5) proportional duos; and (6) sacred and secular works by Spanish composers.[90]

There are three different hypotheses about the origins of the Segovia manuscript:

Hypothesis I, offered by Anglés, Baker, and Lee, places the compilation of the manuscript at the court of Queen Isabel sometime during the period 1500 and 1504; more specifically, Baker suggested that it was probably copied at Toledo in 1502 during the visit of Philip the Fair.[91]

Hypothesis II, advanced by Richard Taruskin, suggests that Anchieta was responsible for the compilation of Segovia during a hypothetical period of study in Flanders, shortly before he entered the service of Queen Isabel in 1489; Taruskin thus pushes back the compilation of Segovia to the 1480s.[92]

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[89]For a review of references to Segovia in the literature, see Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 6-33.

[90]This distribution is noted in the *Census-Catalogue*, III, 137.

[91]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 192. The *Census-Catalogue*, III, 138, follows Baker. Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 106-7, first pointed out that both the quality and the format of Segovia's paper resemble that of the fifteenth-century registers of the chancellery at the Aragonese court, but he later suggested that, since the manuscript had been kept at the Alcázar and contained many works by Anchieta, it was probably copied for the court of Queen Isabel. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 43, 47, agreed that Segovia was copied in Castile between 1502 and 1504, and stated that the manuscript ". . .is just the kind of musical anthology one might expect from the court of Queen Isabel the Catholic."

[92]Taruskin, *Een vrolic wesen* (Miami, Florida: Ogni Sorte Editions, 1979), 5. The presence of Anchieta in Flanders was first suggested by Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959), 578, who referred to a 1523 codicil added to the composer's will in which Anchieta cited one Acelayn, to whom he

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Hypothesis III, that of Knighton, contends that the manuscript was compiled while Anchieta was in the service of Isabel's daughter Juana.[93] Thus the compilation of Segovia would have taken place either during Juana's residence in Flanders (1504-1506) or shortly thereafter in Castile, before the Flemish singers of Philip the Fair returned home in 1508.[94]

In the discussion that follows, I will: (1) examine the evidence presented by Baker in order to question the *terminus post quem* of 1500 that she offered for Segovia, and suggest a new one, 1495; (2) contend that, on the basis of extant royal inventories, neither Queen Isabel nor her daughter Juana can lay claim to Segovia's having originated at their chapels; (3) discuss Baker's assertion that Segovia was included among the items that appear in an inventory prepared at the treasury of the Alcázar in 1503; and (4) suggest, on the grounds of my newly presented evidence, a different hypothesis about the original ownership of the manuscript.

(1) The *terminus post quem* of Segovia

Baker dated Segovia from after 1500 on the basis of the poetic text of Compère's *Vive le noble roy*, which appears on fol. 180^{r}. She stated that Segovia transmits the piece

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had lent some money in Flanders. Taruskin based his hypothesis on this reference; apparently he was not aware of Anchieta's documented trip to Flanders in 1504-1506.

[93]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 133. She points out as further evidence, albeit circumstantial, for her hypothesis the presence in the manuscript of (1) a *Veni creator spiritus* by Alonso de Alva, who served as head sacristan to Juana "while the Flemish choir was in Spain;" and (2) the *Conditor alme siderum* attributed to Marturia, who, she states, if identified with Fernando's singer Fray Martin, "would have come into contact with Juana's choir in August, 1507." Knighton also argues that Segovia's concordances with the earliest layers of Madrid 1335 dated by Romeu (1505-1510) support her date for Segovia.

[94]For a discussion of Juana's chapel see Mary Kay Duggan, "Queen Joanna and her Musicians," *Musica Disciplina*, XXX (1976), 73-95.

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only with the incipit "Vive el noble rey," but that Florence 117 transmits the complete poem, which contains a passage relevant to the question of its date: "Vive le noble roy de france/Qui a si bien chassé les lombards. . . ."[95] Baker suggested that the king in question was Louis XII, who conquered Milan (Lombardy) in late 1499-early 1500.[96] This is shaky evidence for dating Segovia, since Louis's predecessor, Charles VIII, had invaded Italy in 1494, and had likewise taken a route through Lombardy. Moreover, Compère accompanied Charles VIII on his Italian campaign, but was not with Louis on his expedition.[97] Thus it is far more likely that *Vive le noble roy* refers to Charles, and not to Louis. Indeed Mary Winn has argued persuasively that the text of *Vive le noble roy* can be linked to the battle of Fornovo, where Charles VIII obtained a decisive victory.[98] Since Segovia has no other pieces that can be shown to date from after *Vive le noble roy*, we can push back the *terminus ante quem non* of the manuscript to 1495.

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[95]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 221. This chanson has been edited by Finscher, *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia*, V, 60. The sources for *Vive le noble roy* are: Segovia (fol. 180^{r}), Florence 117 (fols. 13^{v}-14^{r}), and Upsala 76a (fols. 48^{v}-49^{r}); only Segovia transmits the name of the composer.

[96]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 221. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 40, also states that the text refers to Louis XII.

[97]Rifkin, "Compère, Loyset," *The New Grove*, vol. 4, 596. Rifkin states that in a letter dated October 7, 1494, Ferrante d'Este wrote to his father, the Duke of Ferrara, about a meeting with the composer at Casale Monferrato at which Compère is said to have stated that he did not have any new compositions with him. The original text of the letter was first published by Lewis Lockwood, "Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este," *Studi musicali*, I (1972), 129f. As for the time of Louis's campaign, Rifkin indicates that Compère was dean at St. Géry in Cambrai between 1498 and 1500. Even though his obligations at Cambrai, and later at St. Pierre in Douai (1500-1504), would have not prevented his contact with the French royal court, no direct relationship between the composer and Louis XII's conquest of Milan has been documented. We might also note that King Francis I also conquered Milan, in January of 1515, but this late date for the composition of *Vive le noble roy* should be dismissed.

[98]Winn, "Some texts for Chansons by Loyset Compère," *Musica Disciplina*, 33 (1979), 48-50. Lawrence F. Bernstein, "A Florentine Chansonnier of the Early Sixteenth Century: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX 117," *Early Music History*, 6 (1986), 40, 59, discussed *Vive le noble roy*, and supported Winn's hypothesis about the origin of the composition.

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(2) Royal inventories and Segovia

Four royal inventories are relevant to trace the possible origins of Segovia. Table 6 lists them in chronological order:

Table 6. Inventories mentioned in connection with Segovia.

Date	Owner or location	Edition[99]
1501	Queen Isabel	Sánchez 1950
1503 (two copies)	Segovia Alcázar	Clemencín 1821 Clemencín 1821 (Copy 1) Ferrandis 1943 (Copy 2) Sánchez 1950 (Copy 2)
1555	Queen Juana	Ferrandis 1943
1591	Royal Chapel/Granada	Sánchez 1950

Anglés, Baker, and Lee suggested that Segovia should be associated with the Castilian court of Queen Isabel, since it had been kept at the Alcázar before it arrived at Segovia Cathedral.[100] I believe, however, that although Segovia was most likely used by

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[99]In 1950 Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón issued two different publications with the same title, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros que coleccionó Isabel La Católica* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1950). The first of these lists 393 numbered entries, pertaining to books. These are found in four different inventories dated 1499, 1501, 1503, and 1591; he identifies the provenance of the books by the letters A, B, C, and D respectively. The second publication bears the subtitle "Discurso pronunciado por el Excm. Sr. D. Frco. Javier Sánchez Cantón Vocal Consejero del Patronato 'Menéndez Pelayo' en la Sesión de Clausura del X Pleno," which contains only a speech with no inventory, and therefore it is of no use for the present study. José Ferrandis, *Datos Documentales para la Historia del Arte Español III. Inventarios Reales (Juan II a Juana La Loca),* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1943), presents, among other things, a diplomatic transcription of one of the two extant copies of the entire 1503 inventory of the treasury at the Alcázar, including books, as well as a diplomatic transcription of the 1555 inventory of the possessions of Queen Juana at the time of her death. Diego Clemencín, *Elogio de la Reina Católica, Doña Isabel* (Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1821), published a list of books inventoried at the Alcázar in 1503, arranging them roughly by subject. While Sánchez and Ferrandis used the same copy of the 1503 inventory of the Alcázar (here referred to as Copy 2), Clemencín used another copy of the same inventory (Copy 1); see below.

[100]Anglés, "Un manuscrit inconnu," 7, first stated that because the manuscript was found at the Cathedral of Segovia, it had been saved from a fire that destroyed the Alcázar in 1862. Later, in *Reyes Católicos*, I, 107, he referred to Segovia as a manuscript from the Alcázar that had been saved from the fire because it "had been lent to the Cathedral" in earlier times; he did not, however, present any evidence to that

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members of the royal chapels the manuscript did not belong to the Queen. First, none of the seven books of polyphony listed in an inventory of books from ca. 1501 owned by the Queen can be identified with Segovia.[101] Moreover, according to Clemencín, Queen Isabel donated her books, medals, crystal, and other valuables to the *Capilla Real* that she founded in Granada.[102] Her belongings were taken to Granada after her death, and it is known that by 1526 they were kept in a room above the sacristy.[103] Since Isabel's belongings were not well cared for at Granada, Philip II, in 1591, ordered their distribution between El Escorial and Simancas. From the inventory that was made in 1591, which listed the items at Granada, it is obvious that Segovia was not included among the Queen's music manuscripts.[104] Although some books known to have been dedicated to the Queen are not mentioned in the inventories, the lack of reference to anything resembling Segovia speaks against its having been part of her library.[105]

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effect. The *Census-Catalogue*, III, 138, following Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 217, states that the manuscript was transferred from the Alcázar to the Cathedral ca. 1525. It should be pointed out, however, as Baker indicated, that there is no written record of such a transfer; she only presented the testimony of Father Hilario Sanz, the present archivist of the library of Segovia Cathedral: ". . .it is said that the codex was transferred from the Alcázar to the Cathedral in 1525, the year of the dedication of the 'new' Cathedral."

[101]See the description of these seven music books in Appendix II. The heading of this inventory according to Sánchez, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros* , 39, reads as follows: "Cargos de libros propios de la Reina...que se hicieron a su Camarero Sancho de Paredes. (Sin fecha, pero antes de 1501)." [Books owned by the Queen in care of her *camarero* Sancho de Paredes. (Without date, but before 1501).]

[102]Clemencín, "Elogio de la Reina Católica," 434.

[103]Clemencín, "Elogio de la Reina Católica," 434. He refers to a statement by the Ambassador of Venice at the court of Charles V.

[104]Sánchez, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, 39-88. For a description of the music books listed in the 1591 inventory, see Appendix II.

[105]Sánchez, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, included in his publication twenty extant items not found in the royal inventories but which bear a royal dedication: twelve dedicated to the Queen (Nos. 75, 200, 212, 228, 319, 320, 325, 327, 387-90), seven with the monarchs' coat of arms (Nos. 171, 181, 321, 383-86), and one dedicated to Prince Juan (No. 382).

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At first glance, the abundant Franco-Flemish repertoire in Segovia, with its numerous unica bearing Flemish incipits, suggests, as Knighton and Taruskin argue, a compilation in Flanders.[106] A Flemish origin, moreover, combined with my newly proposed *terminus post quem* of 1495 for the manuscript, would at least allow for the compilation of Segovia during Juana's first trip to the Low Countries after 1496. Knighton, working with the *terminus post quem* of 1500, argued that the manuscript was compiled during Juana's second stay there in 1504-1506, or shortly thereafter in Castile, but before Philip's chapel departed Spain in 1508. Even though this is a plausible hypothesis, it does not ring true. Contrary to Knighton's opinion, the presence in Segovia of one unattributed work by Alonso de Alva and of another—this time with an attribution—by Marturia, whom Knighton identifies with Fernando's singer Fray Martin, cannot speak in favor of a compilation of Segovia for Juana's chapel in Flanders (1504-1506) or in Castile (1506-1508) for two reasons. First, Knighton herself states in her biography of Alonso de Alva that ". . .Alva must have entered royal service at least by 1497," and that Barbieri claimed that Alva was appointed chapel singer to Isabel on April 8, 1491.[107] Surely, then, Alva's work could have been copied into Segovia any time after that. Second, the Marturia/Fray Martin identification and its relation to the date of Segovia makes Knighton's argument circular when she states in her biography of the composer:

> There is no firm evidence to identify Marturia Prats with Fray Martin. . . [the singer who entered Fernando's chapel in 1507, while the king was in Naples, and who supposedly came into contact with Juana's choir] but the name Martin, the dates testifying

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[106]My proposed *terminus post quem* of 1495, based on Compère's *Vive le noble roy*, however, negates Taruskin's suggestion that the manuscript had been copied by Anchieta in Flanders in the 1480s.

[107]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 250. She stated that "Barbieri's source of information is not clear." The biography of Alva is controversial since apparently there were two men of this name.

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> his presence in Spain and Italy, and the presence of Marturia's hymn-setting in Segovia would all be compatible.[108]

Furthermore, if the manuscript belonged to Juana and/or her chapel, one would expect that it would have accompanied Juana when in 1509 she went into seclusion to Tordesillas, where she remained until she died in 1555.[109] The absence of Segovia from Juana'a inventory of her possessions, covering the period 1509-1555, suggests that Segovia did not belong to Juana.[110] Thus, Knighton's hypothesis that Segovia was compiled either when Anchieta accompanied Juana to Flanders (1504-06) or in Castille before 1508, cannot be supported.

(3) Segovia and the two copies of the 1503 inventory of the treasury at the Alcázar

I will now address the question of whether the manuscript was ever inventoried at the Segovia Alcázar prior to its having reached its final location at the Archive of the Cathedral. Baker indicated that the presence of Segovia in a 1503

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[108]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 281.

[109]A royal *Cedula* cited by Sánchez, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, 97-98, in connection with tapestries, suggests that even if Juana gave the manuscript to her mother, Segovia would have been returned to Juana after the Queen's death: "la Señora Reyna, mi muy cara e muy amada muger que Santa Gloria aya, dexó mandado por su testamento, que todas las cosas que la dicha Serenísima Reyna, mi hija, dió a Su Señoría, se le volviesen, e no se vendiesen con las otras de sus Cámaras" [the Lady Queen, my very dear and beloved wife who is in Heaven, ordered in her will that all things that the said most Serene Queen, my daughter, gave to Her should be returned and not be sold with the others of her chambers.] Juana was taken to Tordesillas on February 15, 1509.

[110]Ferrandis, *Datos Documentales*, III, 219-375. For a description of the music books in the inventory of Juana's possessions, see Appendix II. The text at the beginning of the inventory reads: "libro de cuenta de Diego y Alonso de rribera su hijo camareros que fueron de la Reina D.a Juana nuestra señora de las joyas y ropas y otras cosas de la recámara de su Alteza que fueron a su cargo desde el año de MDIX hasta el año de DLV que fallesció su Alteza don Juan Manrique de Lara contador mayor de cuentas." [Account book of Diego Ribera and his son Alonso, *camareros* of Queen Juana our lady, of the jewels, cloths, and other things of her Highness which were under their custody from 1509 to 1555 when her Highness passed away. Don Juan Manrique de Lara *contador mayor de cuentas*.]

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inventory of the treasury at the Alcázar provides the evidence to establish both the *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript and its connection with Queen Isabel.[111] Baker quoted the heading of the inventory from the nineteeth-century edition by Clemencín, who used one of the two extant copies of the 1503 inventory (hereafter, Clemencín): "INVENTARIO DE LOS LIBROS PROPIOS DE LA REINA DOÑA ISABEL/ *que estaban en el alcázar de Segóbia á cargo de Rodrigo de Tordesillas, vecino y regidor de dicha ciudad en el año de 1503.*"[112] According to Baker, a description quoted by Anglés of one of the manuscripts cited in this inventory seems to fit Segovia; Baker was not, however, able to locate the item among the descriptions of books in Clemencín.[113] The entry can be found, not in Clemencín, but in the other 1503 copy of the same inventory, now at the Simancas Archive, published by both Sánchez and Ferrandis in 1943.[114]

> otro libro de pliego entero de mano de papel en Romançe françes que se dize cançionario françes con vnas coberturas de pergamino.[115]

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[111]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 211.

[112]Clemencín, "Elogio de la Reina Católica," 434. [Inventory of books at the Segovia Alcázar, owned by Queen Isabel, which were in the care of Rodrigo de Tordesillas, resident and *regidor* of this city in 1503.] See below for a diplomatic transcription of the complete heading in the other copy of the 1503 inventory, in which the expression "owned by Queen Isabel" does not appear. That Clemencín did not quote the beginning of the inventory precisely is suggested by the fact that he did not use italics for the heading "inventario de los libros propios de la Reina Doña Isabel" (which was itself borrowed from the 1501 inventory of her books mentioned above), while he used italics for the rest of the caption. Clemencín's inaccuracy, assigning to Isabel the property of all the books at the Alcázar, enhanced the Queen's intellectual qualities, which was clearly the purpose of the author's "Elogio" [Praise].

[113]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 215.

[114]Although Baker cited the publications by Ferrandis and Sánchez in her bibliography, she obviously missed the entry in Ferrandis, *Datos Documentales*, III, 161, and entry 61-C in Sánchez, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, 47.

[115]Ferrandis, *Datos Documentales*, III, 161.

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[another manuscript book of paper of *pliego entero* (folio) size, in French, called French cancionero with covers of parchment.]

I believe that in this inventory's description, the expression "otro libro... que se dize cançionario françes" is best translated as "a book... that calls itself *cançionario françes,*" i.e., the book carries the said inscription. Segovia has an inscription on the front cover, but reads "Canto de organo," and thus the manuscript does not fit the description. Even if we insist that this item in the inventory could be taken to refer to Segovia, a detailed examination and collation of the two copies of the same 1503 inventory as published by Clemencín and Ferrandis will show that it does not.

Clemencín's edition contains 201 numbered items describing books found in one copy of the 1503 inventory, their order having been rearranged by him according to subject matter.[116] Yet Ferrandis's diplomatic edition of the other copy of the inventory has 198 unnumbered entries under the heading *Libros.*[117] There is also a slight difference in the wording of the descriptions in the two copies. After collating the two publications, it is possible to ascertain that all but one of the 198 items listed in Ferrandis are found in Clemencín; the item missing from Clemencín—but present in Ferrandis—is precisely the one that supposedly describes the Segovia manuscript. One of the four

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[116]Clemencín, "Elogio de la Reina Católica," 433, stated that he had added to the inventory one or more items ["uno u otro artículo" (!)] included in the second but not in the first copy.

[117]The text at the beginning of this copy of the inventory—compiled in November of 1503 by Gaspar de Grizio, who identifies himself as secretary of both King Fernando and Queen Isabel—does not claim ownership of the treasury at the Alcázar for one or the other monarch; it only states that the inventory was done at the request of the Queen: "Libro de las cosas que estan en el tesoro de los alcaçares de la çibdad de Segouia en poder de rrodrigo de tordesillas vesino e rregidor de la dicha çibdad el qual hizo gaspar de grizio secretario del Rey don Fernando e de la Reyna doña Isabel nuestros señores por mandado de la dicha Reyna nuestra señora e vio e puso por ynventario todas las joyas e cosas de oro e plata e tapiçeria e libros e otras cosas que en el dicho thesoro se hallaron en el mes de nouiembre del año del nasçimiento de nuestro saluador ihu xpo de mill e quinientos e tres años e todas las cosas de oro e piedras e aljofar e plata fueron vistas e pesadas e tocada la ley del oro por diego de ayala e geronimo de bruxelas plateros residentes en la corte de sus altezas so cargo del juramento que para ello primero hizieron lo qual todo suso dicho se puso e asento por escrito en este libro en la manera que se sigue"

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descriptions in Clemencín not found in Ferrandis, however, fits this missing item with a slightly different wording:[118]

> 137. Un cancionero escripto en francés, con unas coberturas de cuero pardillo viejo en pargamino, é cinco chapas de la una parte é cuatro de la otra sin cerraduras.[119]
>
> [137. A cancionero written in French with covers of old leather over parchment, and five plates on one side and four on the other without lock]

Baker, following Clemencín, cited this item among the music books at the Alcázar, but dismissed the possibility that it referred to Segovia because she thought that what the entry described was—unlike Segovia—a parchment manuscript.[120] However, a careful reading of all the items in both versions of the 1503 inventory, demonstrates beyond a doubt that the scribe indicated whether a book was of paper or parchment only before the description of the cover. Thus it is clear that in this item the word parchment refers only to the cover, and that this entry refers to the same French *cançionario* with covers of parchment listed in Ferrandis. Another feature that emerges from comparing the two inventories is that the wording of any two descriptions for the same item may differ, one inventory or the other omitting or adding a few words. These differences are crucial in our particular case, since Clemencín describes a manuscript with five metal

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[118]The other three items in Clemencín not found in Ferrandis are those listed under the numbers 13, 97, and 141. However, the first two are most likely duplications of numbers 12 and 98 respectively, since the title and description of those pairs are practically the same. Thus, the only book missing from Ferrandis is item 141 in Clemencín, which reads: "Un libro *Disopo* en papel de mano, con coberteros colorados viejos con una mano blanca." [A manuscript book *Disopo* (Aesop) in paper, with old read covers with a white hand.]

[119]Clemencín, "Elogio de la Reina Católica," 458.

[120]Baker, "Un Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 213, translates this item as follows: "137. A chansonnier written in French, with covers of old grey leather, in parchment, with five escutcheons on the one side and four on the other, without ties."

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plates or knobs on one side and four on the other—a detail missing in the description of the same item in Ferrandis. These plates are of particular importance because the Segovia manuscript has no trace of ever having had them.[121] Thus Segovia, as it stands today, does not fit the description of any book in the Alcázar inventory of 1503, and therefore Isabel's ownership of the manuscript and *a terminus ante quem* of 1503 cannot be established on the basis of the Alcázar inventories made in that year.

Finally, one piece of evidence that has been used to connect Segovia with the Alcázar is the inscription "Don Rodrigo" on the last folio of the manuscript. Baker understands this inscription as a reference to Rodrigo de Tordesillas, *regidor* of the city of Segovia when the Alcázar was inventoried in 1503.[122] However, since the manuscript was not included in the inventory of 1503, perhaps the inscription does not refer to Rodrigo de Tordesillas, the city's *regidor*.[123] This lack of identity with Rodrigo de Tordesillas is also suggested by the title "Don" in the inscription, which at the time

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[121]The description of Segovia in Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 63-64, mentions a strip of leather as part of the manuscript's cover, as the item in Clemencín indicates, but the *chapas* [plates] on both sides are missing: "The manuscript is bound in a simple cover of vellum, which appears to be original. There is neither decoration nor stamping on any part of it. The vellum extends over the front edge of the cover, nearly halfway across it on the upper side, with an envelope-like flap. Several red leather thongs (which are now disintegrating) are attached to the cover by means of a long strip of leather, and the manuscript is laced into its cover with the thongs, over which it is sewn. The original stitching appears to be in place." According to Baker, "it is probable that the vellum originally encased wooden boards, which are no longer in place." I have examined the manuscript, and indeed the covers do not have any trace of ever having had *chapas*; it is doubtful that at one time the vellum would have "encased wooden boards," as Baker suggests.

[122]The *Census-Catalogue*, III, 138, incorrectly refers to Rodrigo de Tordesillas as "Isabel's treasurer." The jurisdiction of *the regidor* (member of the city council in charge of finances) did not extend to the royal household, but was limited to the city of Segovia, and thus to the valuables in the treasury of the Alcázar. The responsibility of royal finances fell upon the *contadores mayores de hacienda*; see Jaime Vicens Vives, *Manual de Historia Económica de España*, 5th edition (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1967), 283-84.

[123]It would have been odd for the *regidor*—a municipal bureaucrat—to have placed his first name on a manuscript that was not his own.

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was seldom used and then only to refer to noblemen of first rank.[124] Indeed, a 1483 chronicle attributed to the historian Alfonso de Palencia (1423-1492), which describes the capture of a Moorish King, attests that the title "Don" was conferred upon the Grandees of Castile; the Catholic Monarchs rewarded the capturer with the title:

> ...A demas de lo dicho mandaron sus Altezas que á Diego Fernandez de Cordoba Alcayde de los Donceles en adelante le llamasen Dn. Diego como se llama, y son llamados los Grandes de Castilla &c.[125]
>
> [. . . In addition to what has been said, their Majesties ordered that Diego Fernandez de Cordoba Alcayde de los Donceles should be called Don Diego, in the same way that the Grandees of Castile are called *et cetera*.]

The 1503 inventory of the Alcázar refers to the *regidor* simply as Rodrigo de Tordesillas, and therefore it is most unlikely that he was entitled to use the title "Don."[126] Consequently, the incription "Don Rodrigo" on the last folio of Segovia probably refers to someone else, and one more supposed link between Segovia and the Alcázar must be disregarded.

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[124]The entry "Don" in *Diccionario de Autoridades. Real Academia Española*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1964), II, 334, reads: "Título honorífico que se daba en España à los Caballeros y constituídos en dignidad y aunque Covarrubias dice se daba à los Nobles, se ve poco usado en nuestras Historias en los hombres desta clase, aun entre los que hacen en ella gran papel." [Honorary title that was given in Spain to Gentlemen and those of elevated rank, and although Covarrubias says that it was given to Nobility, it is seldom used in our histories in connection with men of this class, even among those who are very prominent.]

[125]"RELACION/verdadera de lo acahecido en/la prision del Rey chico/de Granada en el Arro-/yo que llaman de/Martin Gonza-/lez, el dia 21./22 de Abril/del año de/1483/Sacada de la que escribió Alon-/so de Palencia testigo/de vista. The Hispanic Society of America, New York, MS 2586, fol. 9^{v}-10^{r}. This is an eighteenth-century copy of the 1483 chronicle attributed to Palencia. I would like to thank Carme Caselles for this reference; she translates this manuscript in "Alfonso de Palencia (1423-1492) en la historiografía española del siglo XV," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York (1991).

[126]See above the text that precedes the 1503 inventory of the Alcázar; only King Fernando and Queen Isabel are referred to as "don" and "doña" respectively.

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(4) The possible original owners of Segovia

Several pieces of circumstantial evidence point towards two individuals for whom Segovia might have been compiled. The inscription "Don Rodrigo" on the last folio of the manuscript indicates a chance that the manuscript was compiled for Don Rodrigo (1470-1523), the oldest illegitimate son of Don Pedro González de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain from 1483 to 1495.[127] The Catholic monarchs attended Don Rodrigo's wedding in 1492—conferring upon him the title of Marqués del Cenete—and according to a poet's epitaph "he was an Apollo in the art of his music and gallantries. . . ."[128] There is another, albeit tenuous, piece of evidence on the last folio of Segovia that may connect the manuscript to this Don Rodrigo and his father the Cardinal (see Fig. 9).

In addition to the inscription "Don Rodrigo" in the middle of the page, there is another inscription at the bottom which was not mentioned by Baker. Although the handwriting is difficult to read, a partial transcription is still possible: "muy manifyco señor don Pedro..."[129] It is most striking to realize that this Don Pedro may very well

---

[127]Two other candidates—both royal musicians—must be dismissed since they were certainly not entitled to the use of "Don": Fernando's singer Rodrigo de Soto, and, among the king's trumpeters and drummers, Rodrigo de Urso. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 32, 58, documents the first one from 1501 to 1506, and the second one from 1475 to 1516.

[128]Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *La Biblioteca del Marqués del Cenete* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1942), 22. "Era un Apolo en el arte/de sus músicas y galas;...Mecenas, en liberal...." The inventory of books owned by Don Rodrigo when he died in 1523 includes six hundred entries, many of them probably from his father's library, perhaps the best of its time. There are seven music-related items, but none of the descriptions matches Segovia; see Appendix II.

[129]I would like to thank Mr. Jesús Gaite Pastor, Subdirector of the National Archive in Madrid, who very kindly answered my query about this transcription. He also indicated that perhaps the abbreviation of the name Pedro could be read as Rodrigo; his first reading, however, was Pedro. The rest of the inscription cannot be read; he indicated that perhaps it is a last name. I suggest the reading: "...manu propia" [with his own hand].

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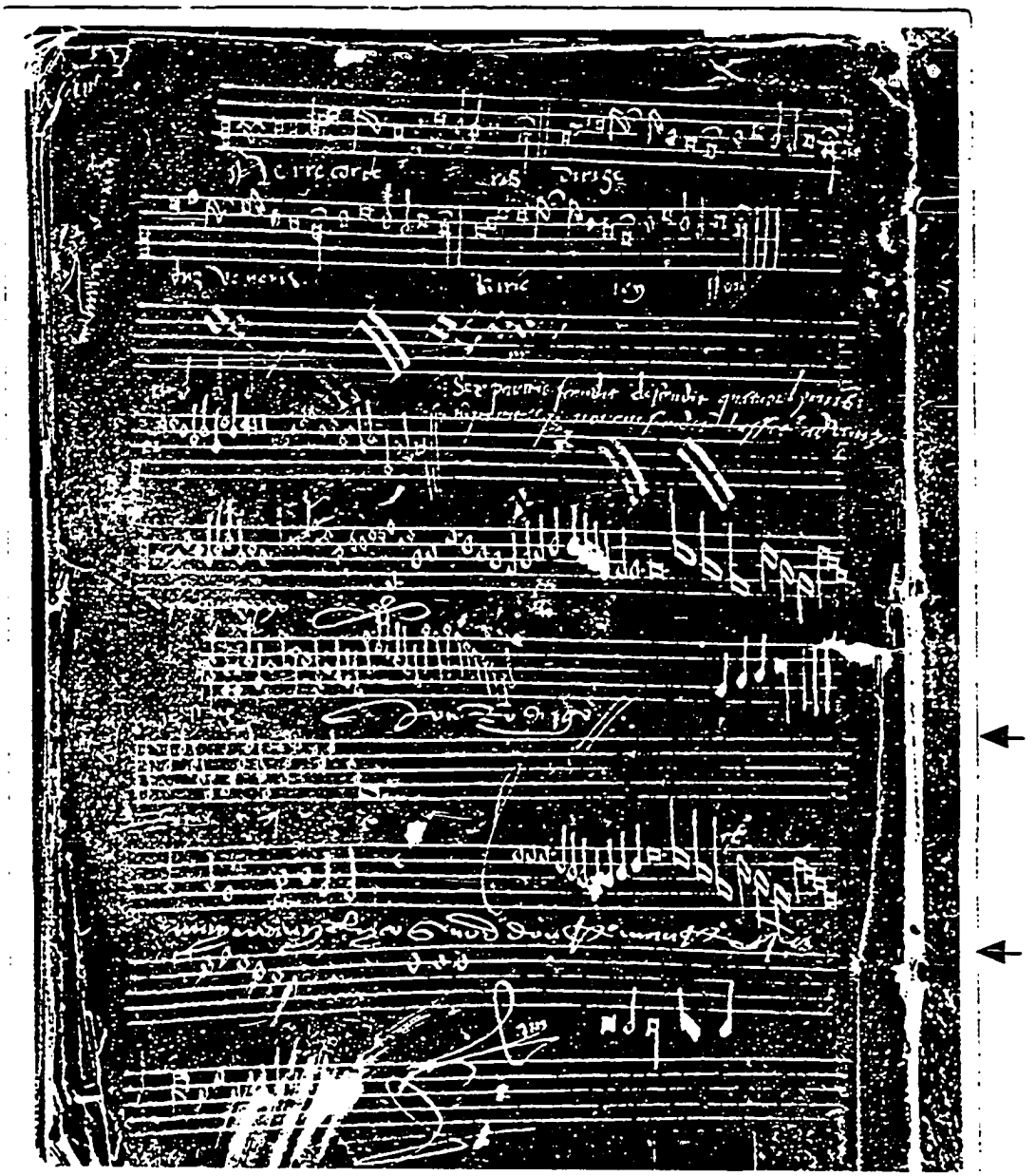
Fig. 9: The last verso (fol. 228) of the Segovia manuscript (reduced size).



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refer to Don Rodrigo's father, the Cardinal Don Pedro González de Mendoza. If so, the slight change of handwriting in the two inscriptions (compare the word "don") may perhaps indicate the transfer of the manuscript from father to son.[130] The subsequent history of the manuscript may have been the result of the vicissitudes of musicians associated with it. That Segovia could have ended up in royal hands is not surprising since, as Knighton pointed out, four singers at the service of the Cardinal passed to the Queen's chapel when he died in 1495.[131]

While I am particularly drawn to the hypothesis of the Mendozas having been the original owners of Segovia, another candidate should be considered: Prince Juan (1478-1497). The main evidence used by previous scholars to support the royal origin of Segovia is the presence of Anchieta in the manuscript. Yet my newly proposed *terminus post quem* of 1495, and the certainty that the manuscript accompanied neither Isabel's possessions to Granada nor Juana's to Tordesillas leaves Prince Juan as the only member of the royal family who may have been closely related to the compilation of Segovia.[132]

Four pieces of circumstantial evidence support this hypothesis: (1) The court composer most closely associated with the manuscript, Juan de Anchieta, was *maestro de*

---

[130]Don Pedro died in 1495, the date of the *terminus post quem* of the manuscript on the basis of Compère's *Vive le noble roy*.

[131]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 109-10. The singers are: Juan de Cespedes, Juan de las Heras, Juan Roman, and Pedro de la Puebla; another of the Cardinal's singer, Juan Ruiz de Madrid, had joined Fernando's chapel in 1493. Knighton mistakenly refers to the Cardinal of Spain who died in 1495 as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

[132]Among the books owned by Queen Isabel in 1501, Sanchez includes one entry identifying some items that had pertained to Prince Juan, but the "cancionero francés" is not mentioned. The music items in the entry 362-B read: "...cinco cartapacios borrados de cuando al Príncipe se mostraba latín e las cubiertas de pergamino, e dos cuadernos de papel de marca mayor de canto de órgano, e otro cuaderno de pergamino de canto llano..." [five (erased?) folders from the time Latin was taught to the Prince, with the covers of parchment, and two paper notebooks of polyphony of the *marca mayor* size, and another notebook of plainchant in parchment...] There is no extant inventory of Prince Juan's household.

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capilla to Prince Juan from 1495 to 1497 and the person responsible for the Prince's music education. (2) Although the compilation of a manuscript in Castile with Flemish texts before the arrival of Philip's chapel in 1502 may seem unlikely, such compilation cannot be ruled out. Since the marriage of Prince Juan to Marguerite of Austria, Philip's sister, and the marriage of Juana to Philip himself were arranged in 1495,[133] a manuscript with a gathering of Franco-Flemish repertoire compiled in Castile in anticipation of the tying together of the Spanish and Burgundian houses would have been perfectly appropriate.[134] (3) The presence in Segovia of eight villancicos by Encina may be seen as a logical outcome of the close cultural and musical connections between Prince Juan and the House of Alba. Encina was employed by the Duke of Alba when he wrote the égloga *Triunfo de Amor* to celebrate Juan's marriage.[135] (4) Prince Juan is said to have loved music; he was able to sing a tenor part and play several instruments.[136]

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[133]Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, II, 587. Under the provisions of the 1495 Treaty of Venice, Prince Juan and his sister Juana were betrothed to Marguerite and Philip, respectively. Philip married Juana on 18 October 1496, and Juan married Marguerite on April 3, 1497. Prince Juan died in Salamanca just a few months later, on October 4, 1497. According to Sanz, *Itinerario de Fernando el Católico*, 144, Marguerite of Austria had arrived at Santander on 8 March 1497. She did not leave Castile until 1499; Isabel gave her the books, tapestries, and paintings listed in the inventory *Libro de las joyas... y otras cosas... de la Cámara de... Doña Margarita. Granada. 29 de setiembre de 1499*, published in Sánchez. The only music related item in the inventory is a book of dances; see Appendix II.

[134]Flemish musical repertoire in Castile would be the logical musical counterpart to the presence there of art works by Juan de Flandes, Roger van der Weyden, Melchior Aleman, Dierick Bouts, and Michel Sythium attested by the royal inventories.

[135]Encina, with nine works, is, after Anchieta, the Iberian composer best represented in Segovia. Encina's most prolific period and his closest contacts with the royal court coincide with his service for the Duke of Alba between 1492 and 1498.

[136]See Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la cámara real del príncipe Don Juan*, quoted by Gilbert Chase, *The Music of Spain*, 36, Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 133, and Baker, "An Unumbered Manuscript," I, 202-3. Taruskin, *Een vrolic wesen*, 5, points out that Segovia contains an ". . .unusually high percentage . . .of 'instructional' pieces," a few by Tinctoris, and that perhaps they were intended for Anchieta in a hypothetical period of study with Obrecht at Cambrai in 1484-85. Perhaps the instructional pieces in Segovia were intended not for Anchieta, but for Prince Juan.

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All scholars agree that Segovia seems to be closely connected with Juan de Anchieta. Perhaps the use of the manuscript by the royal chapels or its association with the composer prevented its being recorded in royal inventories, as could also its presence in a private library such as the one of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza. Although Taruskin's date of compilation for the manuscript in the 1480s is too early, his suggestion that the composer actually owned the manuscript is quite possible, since among the composer's possessions at the time of his death in 1523 there is one music book with covers of parchment whose description is close to Segovia, the only extant Iberian music manuscript of the period to be so bound; perhaps the manuscript ended up in Anchieta's hands:

> . . .Yten, dos libros enquadernados de canto, y otro libro de canto cosido en pergamino. . .[137]
>
> [two bound song-books, and another parchment-bound song-book].

In conclusion, I believe that Segovia reflects the presence of Franco-Flemish repertoire in the Iberian peninsula prior to the arrival of Philip's chapel in 1502.[138] This well-organized manuscript could have been copied in 1495-97 for either the household of the Mendoza family or for the newly-established chapel of Prince Juan, whose *maestro de capilla* was Juan de Anchieta, the Iberian composer best represented, and perhaps the person most directly related to its compilation and eventual ownership.

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[137]Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 132, quotes Anchieta's 1523 will from Biblioteca Nacional, Ms 14020.170, p. 40. If one were to accept that the last description refers to Segovia, it would be necessary to (1) account for the presence of the inscription "Don Rodrigo" on the last page of the manuscript, and (2) explain how it reached Segovia Cathedral after Anchieta's death.

[138]The *unicum Ave rex noster* by Alonso de Mondéjar, who entered the service of Queen Isabel in 1502, does not contradict the early date of compilation for Segovia (1495-97). It is the last piece in the manuscript, and it was copied, together with the preceding *Pange lingua*, by a scribe responsible only for these two added works (Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 106). These two pieces in Latin break the genre-by-genre organization of the manuscript, which had ended with Spanish secular works.

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Seville 5-5-20[140]

Concordances with 454/A	Attribution in Seville 5-5-20
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]	Anon.
Concordances with 454/C	
No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Anchieta
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin	Peñalosa
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Scobar	Escobar
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa	Escobar
No. 91. *Quam pulchra es*, Ribaflecha	Anon. (incomplete)

According to Anglés, the bibliophile Fernando Colón (1488-1539), son of the famous navigator, Cristoforo, acquired Seville 5-5-20 in Seville in 1533.[141] There is, however, no evidence to support this date of acquisition. Stevenson, in referring to a date of acquisition of another manuscript of that library, Seville 7-1-28 (*Cancionero de la Colombina*), warned that the date in question (1534) was a guess by Mr. Simón de la Rosa y López;[142] I believe that the date 1533 for Seville 5-5-20 is the result of similar guessing. The music collection of Seville 5-5-20 is now bound with other items some of them containing inscriptions with the date and place of acquisition as well as the price

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[140]The inventories of Seville 5-5-20 in both Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 129, and the *Census-Catalogue*, III, 141, are not accurate in terms of the number of pieces that they list. Both inventories, though they differ from one another, account for sixteen pieces. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 147-48, corrects several errors and lists fifteen pieces, including a *Salve regina* by Escobar listed in the *tabla* but missing from the previous inventories and from the manuscript itself (the corresponding opening was left blank). This number must be reduced still further: whereas all the inventories list an anonymous textless work on fols. 21^{v}-22^{r}, the music on these folios is the incomplete *secunda pars* of Ribaflecha's *Quam pulchra es*, the *prima pars* of which is found on the preceding opening. Thus the total number of extant works in Seville 5-5-20 is thirteen. The composers represented are: Anchieta-2, Anchieta/(Peñalosa)-1, Brumel-1, Escobar-1, Escobar/(Peñalosa)-1, Medina-1, Peñalosa-1, Ponce-1, and Ribaflecha-3; the manuscript also has one anonymous work.

[141]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, 129. Fernando Colon bequeathed his library to his nephew Luis, and in 1552 the entire collection, known as the "Fernandina" or the "Colombina," passed to the chapter of Seville Cathedral, where the manuscript is now bound together with other items.

[142]Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 196.

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payed by the Fernando Colon; these inscriptions may have set off the guessing about the music collection, even though it has no such inscription.[143] The diverse dates and geographical origins of the items bound with the music collection do not help us in determining its origins; moreover, the absence of the inscription even suggests that the manuscript may have never been bought by Fernando Colón.

The first scholar to study Seville 5-5-20 was Juan B. Elústiza, who claimed that the manuscript was copied in a fifteenth-century handwriting shortly before 1507.[144] He suggested that it had been compiled for the private chapel of one of two noble Sevillian families: Ponce de León or Medina Sidonia.[145] He supported each family's connection to the manuscript by suggesting (1) that the composer Juan Ponce, who is represented by

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[143]The volume in which Seville 5-5-20 is bound opens with a music treatise, *Regule florum musices* (1510) by Pietro Cannuzi, followed by the music manuscript and other unrelated items, two of them written in Catalan. Six of these volumes contain inscriptions stating when and where they were bought by Fernando Colón and the price he payed for them (Milán, February 1521; Genoa, December 1530; Barcelona, June 1536; León, September 1535; Milán, February 4, 1521; Milán, February 1521), but neither Cannuzi's treatise nor the music collection in Seville 5-5-20 bears an inscription stating a date or place of acquisition. A printed note in the inner cover of the volume reads: "Don Fernando Colón, hijo de Don Cristóbal Colón, primer Almirante que descubrió las Indias, dejó este libro para uso é provecho de todos sus próximos; rogad a Dios por él. (Cláusula 49 del Testamento del mismo Don Fernando, cumplida por el Cabildo Metropolitano de Sevilla.)" [Don Fernando Colón, son of Don Cristóbal Colón, first admiral who discovered the Indies, left this book for the use and profit of others; pray to God for him. (Clause 49 of Don Fernando's Will, carried out by the Cathedral Chapter of Seville).]. I would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of the Director of the Colombina Library Father Juan Guillén Torralba.

[144]Juan B. Elústiza and Gonzalo Castrillo, *Antología Musical: Polifonía vocal, siglos XV y XVI* (Barcelona: R. Casulleras, 1933), xxiv, xxvii. Elústiza was organist at Seville Cathedral, and Castrillo *maestro de capilla* at Palencia Cathedral. Their collaborative study of Seville 5-5-20 and the "Diego Sánchez Codex" at Valladolid was finished by 1919. By that time, however, Elústiza had died, and publication was delayed until 1932.

[145]Elústiza and Castrillo, *Antología Musical*, xxv, xxvii, refer to the *Libro de Motetes* by Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599) published in 1555 with a dedication to Don Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León in which it is said that his father "...de tal manera gozaba con los cantos musicales que no sólo escuchaba con frecuencia a los que cantaban con pericia y suavidad, más también cantaba él mismo con precisión y afinación." [. . .(the father of Don Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León) not only enjoyed listening frequently to music sung by those who sing with skill and suavity, but he himself sung with precision and in tune.]

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one piece in the manuscript, may have been a member of the Ponce de León family, and (2) that the prayers to the Holy Virgin, Saint Sebastian, and Saint Rock on fol. i^{v} may have been added to the manuscript when Don Juan de Guzmán, third Duke of Medina Sidonia, died in the plague that struck Seville in 1507.[146] Further, he indicated that Sevillian origin of Seville 5-5-20 is also suggested by the presence in the manuscript of music by composers who lived in Seville. Finally, Elústiza sought confirmation of his 1507 date in the paleographic style of Seville 5-5-20, which he claims was ". . . a most notable example of fifteenth-century handwriting."[147] Elústiza thus concluded that the manuscript was written at Seville in 1507, a hypothesis that has never been contested. Anglés was still less specific and stated only that the manuscript had been copied in the early sixteenth century,[148] while Knighton suggested a period of compilation within the first decade of the sixteenth century.[149] The hitherto unpublished watermark (Fig. 10) found throughout the manuscript does not help to establish a period of compilation; a similar watermark (Fig. 11) in Valls is simply labeled: sixteenth century.[150]

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[146]Elústiza and Castrillo, *Antología Musical,* xxv, xxvii. Elústiza indicated that, although modern processions at Seville Cathedral stop at the stained-glass image of Saint Sebastian near a painting of Saint Rock, these images are later additions to the church, and bear no relation whatsoever to the prayers at the beginning of Seville 5-5-20. He also dismissed as a possible place of origin for the manuscript the church dedicated to Saint Sebastian at Tabladilla, near Seville, since none of the works in Seville 5-5-20 is devoted to that saint.

[147]Elústiza, and Castrillo, *Antología Musical,* xxiv: "Fue escrito en los primeros años del siglo XVI, y es un ejemplar notabilísimo de escritura del siglo XV."

[148]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 129.

[149]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 136. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 115-17, reviewed Elústiza's argument and stated: "If Elústiza's hypothesis is correct, we are presented with a *terminus ante quem* (1507) for the two pieces by Peñalosa that appear in this source. . . ."

[150]Valls, *La Historia del Papel en España*, II, 191.

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Fig. 10. Watermark in Seville 5-5-20.[151]

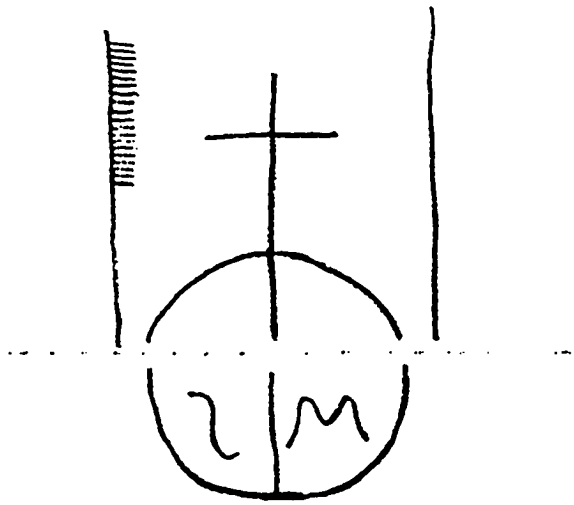
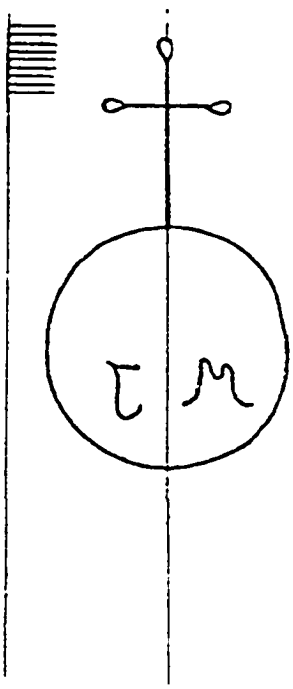


Fig. 11. Similar Watermark in Valls.



58. S. XVI

[151]This watermark is found in the middle of the sheet that constitutes the first bifolio of the first gathering, a quaternion: fols. [0] and vii.

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Elustiza's conclusions about the provenance of Seville 5-5-20 are based on the flimsiest evidence. After all, plagues and devotion to Saint Sebastian and Saint Rock were limited neither to Seville nor to 1507, and the prayers at the beginning of Seville 5-5-20 are not firm evidence for dating the manuscript or associating it with the third Duke of Medina Sidonia. Moreover, as I shall discuss below, there is strong paleographic evidence for dating more than half of Seville 5-5-20 from after the death of King Fernando (1516). Indeed, nothing speaks against dating the entire manuscript as late as ca. 1520-1530. Finally, although there is no evidence that indicates compilation outside Seville, there is little that indicates it was compiled there. Three little-known composers represented in Seville 5-5-20, all of whom were previously thought to be directly, or exclusively, associated with Seville, may now be shown to have been active elsewhere.

In the discussion that follows, I will briefly describe the two layers of Seville 5-5-20 in order to show the similarity of handwriting between (1) Seville 5-5-20/Layer 1 and Tarazona 2/3 and (2) Seville 5-5-20/Layer 2 and Barcelona 454/C. These paleographical similarities suggest a close chronological relationship among the manuscripts and point to a later date of compilation for at least Layer 2 of Seville 5-5-20. In addition, I will present a brief survey of what is known about Juan Ponce, Martín de Ribaflecha, and Fernando Pérez de Medina. This information not only supports the later date of compilation (ca. 1520-1530), but raises further questions about some of the grounds on which the Sevillian provenance of the manuscript has been established.

As shown in Fig. 12, the *tabla* of Seville 5-5-20 is divided into two sections designated as "Sal[ves]" and "Motetes de la Salve," with five and eight items in each section, respectively. The handwriting of the three initial works in the first section as well as the first two entries of the second section contrast with that of the items that follow.

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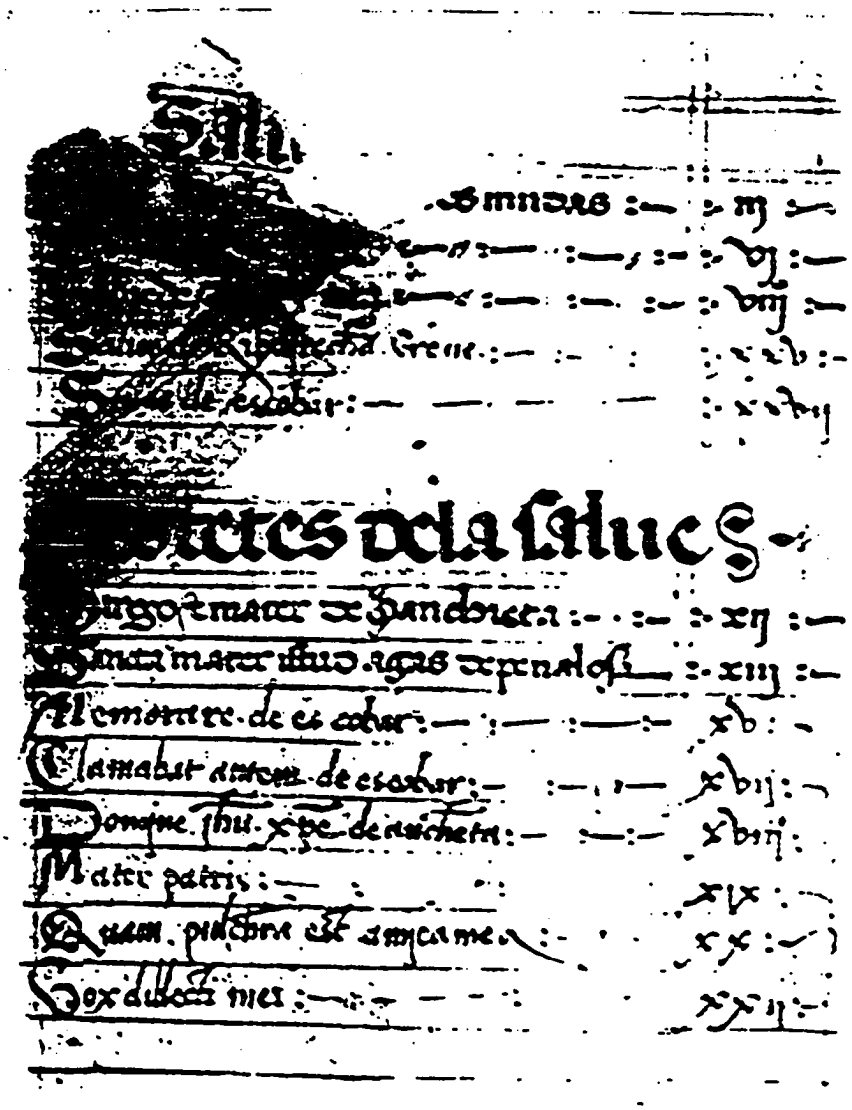
Fig. 12. *Tabla* of Seville 5-5-20 (reduced size).



Scribe 1 of Seville 5-5-20 copied the first layer of the manuscript. This layer includes the prayers on fols. [i^{v}] and the music from fols. ii^{v} to xiii^{r}: three *Salves* and two motets, which he listed separately in the table of contents under the captions *Salves* and *Motetes de la Salve*, leaving space in the table for later additions. Scribe 2 left two blank openings in the manuscript after the work of his predecessor, and copied the music from fols. xv^{v} to xxvii^{r}: six motets and two *Salves*, whose titles he added to the *tabla*.[152] According to the *Census-Catalogue*, the main scribe of Seville 5-5-20 (Scribe 1) also copied Tarazona 2/3,[153] and indeed, as Figs. 13 and 14 show, the ascriptions and musical notation of Anchieta's *Salve* in both manuscripts have a similar layout.[154]

[152]It should be noted that Scribe 2 used black ink for the last two items in the *tabla* which contrasts with the light brown ink used in his previous entries. A third scribe inserted the anonymous *Ecce Maria venit*, on fols. xiii^{v}-xiiii^{r}, the only item in the manuscript not listed in the table of contents.

[153]*Census-Catalogue*, III, 141. The text of Scribe 1 is in the so-called "rounded gothic" style, and it is similar to that found in two Castilian documents dated as far apart as 1523 and 1558, respectively; these documents are reproduced in Millares, *Tratado de Paleografía Española* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1983), III, figs. 391 and 402. Millares uses the term "gótica redondeada" for this style of letter. Since the gothic style, however, can be traced back to earlier times, and it is especially used, as Millares points out (I, 216-17), in liturgical and choral books, Seville 5-5-20 cannot be dated exclusively by the two dated references. Scribes B1 and B2 in 454/B wrote their text underlay in a similar "rounded gothic" style.

[154]The ascriptions of this work in Barcelona M.454 and Barcelona M.681 use the spelling "Anxeta," a sign of the Catalan milieu in which these manuscripts were compiled.

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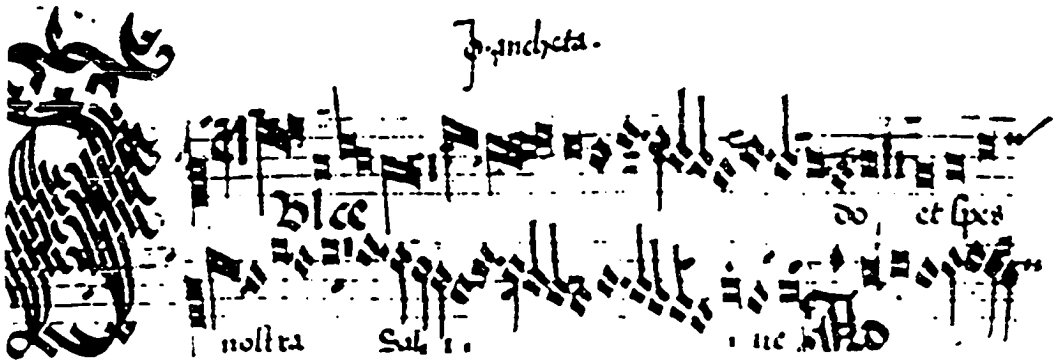
Fig. 13. Ascription to Anchieta of the *Salve Regina* in Seville 5-5-20.

Fig. 14. Ascription to Anchieta of the *Salve Regina* in Tarazona 2/3.



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Unfortunately, the date of compilation for Tarazona 2/3 is itself controversial and thus cannot help date Seville 5-5-20.[155] Yet the similarity of handwriting found in the two manuscripts and the peculiar method of inscribing the abbreviation of Johannes in the upper margin of Anchieta's *Salve* suggest that the copying of both manuscripts may have taken place in geographical and chronological proximity.[156]

The handwriting of Scribe 2 of Seville 5-5-20 differs from that of Scribe 1 with respect to both music and text. He used a style of italic handwriting that, according to Agustín Millares, was first introduced into the Castilian chancellery, as well as in books and private documents, during the reign of Charles V (1516-56).[157] The handwriting closest to that of Scribe 2 is that found in the last works copied by Scribe C in Barcelona M.454. Although the hands are different, the style of 454/C can be compared with that of Seville 5-5-20. The similarity of style is interesting in light of the large number of concordances between both manuscripts.[158]

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[155]See below for a discussion of the different hypotheses about the date of Tarazona 2/3. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 142, suggested a broad period of compilation within the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Hardie, "The Motets," I, 50, stated that the manuscript could not have been copied before 1542. I argue in favor of a date ca. 1521-28.

[156]That Tarazona 2/3 would have been compiled before 1507—the assumed date of Seville 5-5-20—is highly doubtful, however, since it contains, in a well-organized and handsomely written manner, practically the entire Iberian sacred repertoire composed up to Cristóbal de Morales, whose works were first copied in Toledo choirbooks during the 1540s. See below for a discussion about the origins of Tarazona 2/3.

[157]Millares, *Tratado de Paleografía Española*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1983), I, 216.

[158]Seville 5-5-20, with a total of thirteen works, has six concordances with Barcelona M.454; five of them with 454/C, which contains nineteen works. This relative abundance of concordances between 454/C and Seville 5-5-20 contrasts with the absence of a substantial number of concordances between Seville 5-5-20 and such earlier earlier manuscripts as Barcelona 5, 454/A, and Segovia. It is worth mentioning that *Memorare piissima* and *Clamabat autem mulier*, both attributed to Escobar in Seville 5-5-20, appear back-to-back in both Seville 5-5-20 and 454/C (but in reverse order).

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Fig. 15. Italic handwritings in Seville 5-5-20 and 454/C (reduced size)

Barcelona 454/C,
fol. cxl^{r} (Scribe C)

Seville 5-5-20,
fol. xviii^{r} (Scribe 2)

As Fig. 15 shows, Scribe C included an inscription with the date 1525 on fol. cxl^{r} of 454/C. I believe that this date could serve as a reference to date Seville 5-5-20, if we take into account: (1) Millares's remark that, in Castile, this style of italic hand developed during the reign of Charles V, and (2) the substantial number of concordances between Seville 5-5-20 and 454/C. Thus Layer 2 of Seville 5-5-20 may perhaps be dated from ca. 1520-30, and though it is not possible to ascertain precisely how much time elapsed between the copying of the two layers of the manuscript, there is no evidence that argues for Layer 1 having been copied at a significantly earlier time.

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Scholars have suggested that Seville 5-5-20 was compiled at Seville because of the presumed connection with that city of three composers who are represented in the manuscript: Juan Ponce, Martín de Ribaflecha, and Fernando Pérez de Medina.[159] Yet the evidence regarding these three composers must be reconsidered. Elústiza suggested that the manuscript was compiled for the Sevillian family Ponce de León because he believed that the composer Juan Ponce was a member of that family. Knighton, however, has identified Ponce as a Catalan from Arbeca.[160] Ponce served King Fernando from 1506 onwards, and although the composer probably visited Seville with the royal entourage in 1508 and 1511, he did not hold any official position in the city.[161]

Another composer represented in Seville 5-5-20 who has been incorrectly associated with Seville is Martin de Ribaflecha. He took an appointment in 1503 as *maestro de capilla* of Palencia Cathedral and, except for a brief residence at Calahorra (1521-23), remained there until his death in 1528.[162] Knighton has suggested, however, that Martin de Ribaflecha can be identified with the Sevillian chaplain Martin de Navarrete, since Ribaflecha and Navarrete are neighboring villages in the province of

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[159]For instance, Hardie, "The Motets," I, 116, states that the composers in the manuscript ". . .are all known to have been connected with Seville: Medina, Ponce, Anchieta, Peñalosa, Escobar, and Rivafrecha."

[160]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 289. Ponce's *Salve* is an unicum in Seville 5-5-20; his twelve secular compositions in Madrid 1335 appear in the last layers of the manuscript.

[161]Sanz, "Itinerario de Fernando el Católico," 164-65, 168. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 289, states that Ponce's whereabouts after Fernando's death are not known, and that perhaps he went to the Canary Islands, where he had held a benefice since 1512. Stevenson, "Ponce, Juan," *The New Grove*, vol. 15, 74, suggests that he may have entered the household of Charles V. Ponce, together with Peñalosa and Román, is one of the court musicians who exchanged Latin correspondence with the humanist Lucio Marineo Siculo; the letters were published in Valladolid in 1514.

[162]Elústiza and Castrillo. *Antología Musical*, xliv-xlvii. Gonzalo Castrillo was the first to document Ribaflecha's biography. See also, Stevenson, "Rivafrecha, Martín de," *The New Grove*, vol. 16, 62.

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Logroño.[163] Knighton's identification is not convincing, since it is difficult to understand (1) why the composer would have been known as Navarrete in Seville and as Ribaflecha in Palencia, and (2) why the ascriptions in Seville 5-5-20, if compiled in Seville, did not use the name Navarrete, if that name was current—according to Knighton—in that city. I believe that Martín de Navarrete and Martín de Ribaflecha were two people, just as their different cities of origin would indicate.[164]

The opening work in Seville 5-5-20 is a *Salve Regina* by Fernando Pérez de Medina, whose career began in 1477 when he became a singer in Queen Isabel's chapel, and who held appointments at Seville Cathedral in 1487 and 1495.[165] His career ended in 1524 at the Cathedral of Almería, where he probably had moved in 1504 to take possession of a canonry.[166] Thus Medina's association with Seville was brief, and the attempt to place the compilation of this manuscript at Seville on the grounds that it contains works by Ponce, Ribaflecha, and Medina is not convincing. Finally, Medina's *Salve Regina* contains, as Stevenson noted, a section written for five voices, an unexpectedly progressive feature if Layer 1 of the manuscript dates from 1507.[167] On

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[163]According to Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 291, Navarrete served Queen Isabel from at least 1492 to 1497, and he was a chaplain at Seville Cathedral until he renounced (1495) in favor of Fernando Pérez de Medina.

[164]Of Ribaflecha's four extant works, three—two of which are unica—appear in Layer 2 of Seville 5-5-20; the fourth work by Ribaflecha is an unicum in Tarazona 5, a manuscript from the second half of the sixteenth century. The four extant works by Ribaflecha are: *Benedicamus Domino* (Tarazona 5—mistakenly listed as Tarazona 4 in Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 125); *Quam pulchra es* (454/C and Seville 5-5-20); *Salve regina* (Seville 5-5-20); and *Vox dilecti mei* (Seville 5-5-20).

[165]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 282.

[166]Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 180. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 282, states that Medina obtained the canonry at Almería in 1492 and that ". . . he presumably took up the post after the death of Isabel in 1504."

[167]Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 183, points out that Medina's *Salve* in Seville 5-5-20 ". . .breaks fresh ground," and ". . .affords. . .an extremely early instance of five-part writing [at *Et Jesum*]. . . ."

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the other hand, if my date of ca. 1520-30 is correct, Medina's five-part writing falls more comfortably into place.

In conclusion, there is evidence—musical and paleographical—that the compilation of Seville 5-5-20 took place ca. 1520-30; Fernando Colón's purchase of it at Seville in 1533 cannot be supported, and therefore the Sevillian origin of the manuscript must remain doubtful.

Seville 1[168]

Concordance with 454/C	Attribution in Seville 1
No. 89. *Memorare piissima* Peñalosa	Escobar

I have not examined this manuscript. According to the *Census-Catalogue*, it was copied in Seville ca. 1550-1554, for use by the Cathedral choir.[169]

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[168]This parchment manuscript at the Biblioteca del Coro of Seville Cathedral contains thirty motets: Rodrigo Ceballos-5, Escobar/(Peñalosa)-1, P. Fernández-3, Gombert-1, Guerrero-8, Jaquet of Mantua-2, Josquin-6, and Morales-4. The *tabla*, as in the case of Seville 5-5-20, is divided into "Salves" and "Motetes;" a third heading reads: "Deodicamus." For a description and inventory see, Anglés, "La Música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla," *Anuario Musical*, 2 (1947), 1-47; and *Census-Catalogue*, III, 138.

[169]For this date of compilation the *Census-Catalogue*, III, 138, refers to: Robert Toft, "Pitch Content and Modal Procedure in Selected Motets of Josquin Desprez," Ph.D. dissertation, University of London (1983).

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Tarazona 2/3[170]

Concordances with 454/A	Attribution in Tarazona 2/3
No. 24. *Ne recorderis*[171] [Fco. de la Torre]	Anon.
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*, Mondéjar	Díaz
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario	Illario
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	Luiset
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère]	Ribera

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[170]On the "double" signature—2/3—see below. The manuscript has been described and inventoried by Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 122-24; Francisco Sevillano, "Catálogo Musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona," *Anuario Musical*, 16 (1961), 149-76; Hardie, "The Motets," I, 42-52; and the *Census-Catalogue*, III, 194-95, emended in Vol. IV, 477. The most complete description and inventory appears in Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 150-74. There are two discrepancies between the inventories of Knighton and the *Census-Catalogue*: (1) Knighton included a Magnificat by Villa listed in the *tabla* of the manuscript, but since this piece is now missing from the body of the manuscript, it was not included among the ninety-one works listed for Tarazona 2 in the *Census-Catalogue*. The missing fols. lviii-lxi of Tarazona 2/3 are now Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.1167; these two bifolios contain the Magnificat by Villa (the ascription reads "Vila.") surrounded by the ending of the previous Magnificat by Anchieta and the beginning of one by Tordesillas. (2) The *Census-Catalogue* lists only one anonymous work, while Knighton leaves three entries without attribution, one of which, is a lost work. Another, she notes, originally carried an ascription to Peñalosa in the *tabla* which was later crossed out; the *Census-Catalogue* includes this piece, *Ave verum*, on fols. cclv^{v}-cclvi^{r}, among Peñalosa's works. Both inventories agree in counting thirty pieces in Tarazona 3. The following distribution by composer of extant works in Tarazona 2/3 incorporates the work by the unknown Villa (perhaps Willaert; see below), a conflicting attribution to Díaz/(Mondéjar) that is not included in previous inventories, and spells the names of Hernandes, Marleth, and Senabria according to the *tabla* of the manuscript: Alba-21, Alba-Escobar-P. Hernandes-Peñalosa-1, Almorox-1, Anchieta-6, Anchieta/(Peñalosa)-1, Anchieta-Escobar-1, P. Díaz/(Mondéjar)-1, Escobar-25, Escobar/(Peñalosa)-1, P. Hernandes-1, Ylario-2, Marleth-1, R.(?) Morales-1, Quixada-1, Peñalosa-38, Peñalosa/(Josquin)-1, Ribera-2, Ribera/(Anchieta/Compère/Peñalosa)-1, Senabria-2, Segovia-1, Tordesillas-4, Torre-1, Villa/[Willaert?]-1; the only non-Iberian composers represented in the manuscript are: Compère-1, Josquin-1, Wreede-1, and perhaps Pierre de la Rue-1, if the ascription to "Periquin" refers to him; there are two anonymous works, one of which has been previously attributed to Peñalosa. See below for a discussion of the possible identification of the unknown Villa with Willaert.

[171]The two *Ne recorderis* in 454/A and 454/B are very similar; since the first one is more difficult to read, it is most likely that the second one was copied to facilitate the singers' task. Scribe B1 not only copied *Ne recorderis*, but also the *Alleluya* and *Benedicamus* that follow in 454/A which also had been copied by Scribe A1 and are unique to Barcelona M.454. This duplication strengthens the hypothesis that the versions in 454/B were directly copied from 454/A.

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Concordances with 454/B

No. 9. *Missa de nostra dona* [Anchieta]	Ancheta
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	F. la Torre
No. 75. *Pange lingua* [Wreede]	Jo. Vrede

Concordances with 454/C

No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Ancheta
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 15. *Ave vere sanguis domini*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa
No. 16. *Precor te domine*, Penyalosa	Peñalosa
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Penyalosa	Peñalosa
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Scobar	Escobar
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Escobar

Tarazona 2/3 is the largest source of Iberian sacred music from the early sixteenth century. Owing to its large size, the manuscript was divided in two and refoliated in 1591 to make it more manageable at Tarazona cathedral.[172] As the opening *tabla* of the manuscript immediately makes clear, the arrangement of its contents was carefully planned before the copying of the manuscript was begun; this resulted in a systematic arrangement by genres, which appear in the following order: hymns, Magnificats, Asperges, three-voice masses, four-voice masses, Salves, Alleluias, three-voice motets, four-voice motets, Lamentations, and Deo gratias. The precise date and place of compilation of Tarazona 2/3 is not known.[173] After reviewing prior hypotheses

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[172]For a transcription of the 1591 inscription in the manuscript regarding its partition, see Sevillano, "Catálogo Musical," 149-76; Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 151; and Hardie, "The Motets," I, 47. The now-separate manuscripts Tarazona 2 and Tarazona 3 will be referred to as Tarazona 2/3. Previous scholars cite 1591 as the first documentable date for Tarazona 2/3. However, Juan José Carreras, Professor at the University of Zaragoza, has informed me of the existance of a hitherto unmentioned inventory (1550s or 1560s) at Tarazona cathedral which already includes the manuscript Tarazona 2/3; this is an unusually detailed inventory that has the complete table of contents of all the manuscripts listed, so that identification of the manuscript is unequivocal.

[173]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 43-44, reproduces one of the two watermarks (an eagle) in Tarazona 2/3, and refers to the eagles catalogued as Nos. 455 and 457 in Bofarull, *Animals in Watermarks*, 28; none of the eagles reproduced in Bofarull's study, however, allows us to make an identification. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 152, reproduces, in addition to the eagle, another unidentified watermark (an orb), found in the *tabla* of Tarazona 2/3.

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about the origins of Tarazona 2/3, I will propose a different period of compilation than previously suggested, and present a piece of evidence that points to one of the first owners of the manuscript prior to its arrival at Tarazona Cathedral.

Anglés describes Tarazona 2/3 as a manuscript from the first half of the sixteenth century.[174] The *Census-Catalogue* indicates that Tarazona 2/3 was probably copied in Seville by a single scribe early in the sixteenth century.[175] Knighton suggests a period within the first two decades of the sixteenth century "by someone with access to and a knowledge of the sacred polyphony of the Aragonese chapel."[176] She states that Tarazona 2/3 could be the manuscript mentioned by Stevenson as being in the possession of Peñalosa which the cathedral chapter in Seville ordered be appraised on November 8, 1510.[177] Finally, as Knighton points out, that the manuscript was eventually used at Tarazona cathedral seems evident from the manner in which it transmits the text of Compère's *Ave Maria*; the names of Saints Benedict and Nicolas have been erased and replaced by those of two local, Tarazona bishops: Saints Gaudios and Prudentius.[178] Since the contents of Tarazona 2/3 were planned so carefully, the late substitution of the Tarazona saints' names may imply that the manuscript was originally copied somewhere other than Tarazona.

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[174]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 122.

[175]According to the *Census-Catalogue*, 194-95, this scribe was also the main scribe of Seville 5-5-20; see the discussion of Seville 5-5-20, above.

[176]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 142-3. She includes a table that lists the composers in Tarazona 2/3 who are also represented in Madrid 1335, distributed according to the layers of the latter manuscript as dated by Romeu; Knighton's date for Tarazona 2/3 reflects her comparison of these two manuscripts.

[177]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 142; Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 147.

[178]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 139, also mentions the addition of St. Julian, who, she notes, was archbishop of Toledo at the end of the seventh century.

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Hardie based her hypothesis about the date of Tarazona 2/3—she claims that it was copied after 1542—on the incorrect assumption, following Justo Sevillano, that a Magnificat attributed in the *tabla* to "Morales" was by Cristóbal de Morales.[179] Hardie compounded her error by stating that this Magnificat was among those by Cristóbal de Morales that were published in Venice by Scotto in 1542. From this she concluded that since ". . .1542 is the earliest date known for the Morales magnificat, the manuscript [Tarazona 2/3] could not have been copied before that date."[180] Hardie also justified a date after 1542 on the grounds that the manuscript includes two works attributed to "p. hernandes," whom she identified with Pedro Fernández de Castilleja (d. 1574), chapelmaster at Seville after Escobar resigned in 1514.[181] She writes: "Perhaps, then, Fernández was responsible for gathering together the *oeuvre* of his contemporaries and predecessors at Seville."[182]

Hardie's ascription of the Magnificat to Cristóbal de Morales cannot be sustained on codicological grounds. Both Kirsch and the *Census-Catalogue*, following Anglés, listed the work as being by Rodrigo Morales.[183] Knighton did not mention

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[179]Hardie, "The Motets" I, 50. Sevillano, "Catálogo Musical," 151, transcribed the *tabla* of Tarazona 2/3, and, assuming that the ascription to "Morales" in the *tabla* referred to Cristóbal, included the first name in parenthesis.

[180]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 50.

[181]The identification of "p. hernandes" with Pedro Fernández de Castilleja had been suggested by Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 176. The identity of the "p. hernandes" in Tarazona 2/3, however, is unknown. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 297, suggests that he could be Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas, documented between 1499 and 1520. It is not clear whether the compositions attributed to "Tordesillas" in Tarazona 2/3 are by Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas or by his brother, Alonso.

[182]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 52.

[183]Anglés, *Diccionario de la Música*, II, 1565-66, included the entry "Morales, Rodrigo" on the basis of this Magnificat in Tarazona 2/3. Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat*, 549; *Census-Catalogue*, III, 194. Later, Anglés, "Cristóbal de Morales y Francisco Guerrero," *Scripta Musicologica*, 1231, documented one Rodrigo Morales, who was named organist at Seville Cathedral in 1540, sharing this post with the

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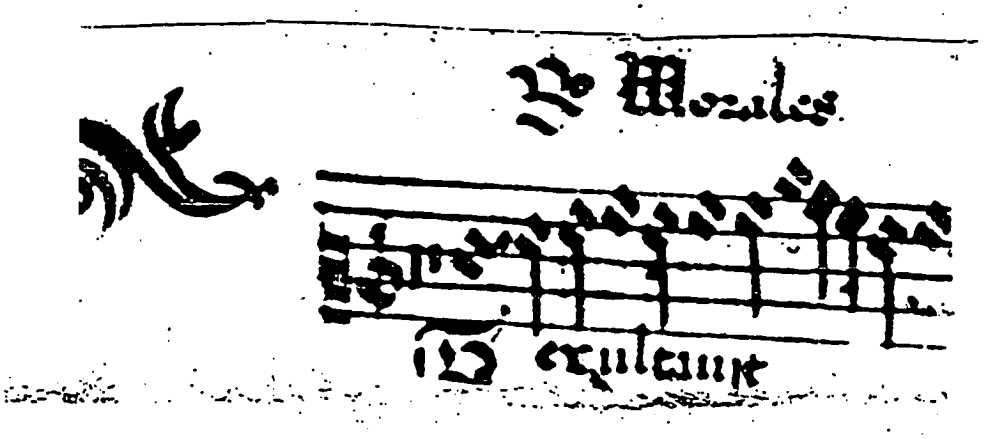
Anglés's attribution, and attributed the work to Francisco de Morales, whom she documented between 1485 and 1500 in Isabel's chapel.[184] The confusion about the Morales attribution stems from the unclear initial that appears in the ascription (Fig. 16)[185] above the music on fol. xlix^{v} (the *tabla* in Tarazona 2/3 indicates only the composer's last name).

Fig. 16. Ascription on fol. xlix^{v} of Tarazona 2/3.



Certainly, the initial in this ascription cannot be read as a "Co" [Cristoforo?], and Knighton's reading of the initial as "Fo" is not convincing.[186] Thus we are left with

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celebrated Pedro de Villena, whose music was recommended by Juan Bermudo in *Arte Tripharia* (1550) and *Declaración de instrumentos* (1555).

[184]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 286. There are no works attributed to Francisco de Morales in any extant Iberian manuscript.

[185]The ascription has been enlarged.

[186]Though the questionable initial appears just before Morales's name, it also appears at a noticeably lower level, and we may even question whether it is an initial. If this piece were indeed an *unicum* by Cristóbal de Morales, its presence in Tarazona 2/3 would imply only that, according to Morales's date of birth, ca. 1500, the manuscript should be dated after 1520.

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a work of doubtful authorship that cannot be used to date the manuscript; perhaps a future comparative stylistic analysis may elucidate whether Cristóbal de Morales could have been the composer of this Magnificat.

The evidence of Tarazona 2/3 used by Hardie and Knighton does not provide a firm clue to its date. Since Tarazona 2/3 contains practically all the works of Francisco de Peñalosa (1470-1528), but seemingly no works by composers of the following generation, it is my contention that Peñalosa and the manuscript are closely related.[187] After King Fernando died in 1516, Peñalosa returned to Seville. In 1517, however, he joined the papal chapel of Leo X, and in 1521 he came back to Seville, where he died in 1528; these last seven years are his longest period of residence in Seville.[188] I suggest that Tarazona 2/3 was copied at that time (1521-28). Another piece of repertorial evidence gives further support to dating the compilation after King Fernando's death in 1516: the presence in Tarazona 2/3 of three motets and a mass ascribed to Antonio de Ribera, the earliest reference to whom dates from 1518, and whose two other sacred works, a mass and a motet, appear in the later manuscripts Coimbra 12 and Coimbra 48.[189]

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[187]According to Hardie, "The Motets," I, 43, ". . .only one hymn, three motets, and four single mass movements [by Peñalosa] are not present in this source." One of the Peñalosa pieces not found in Tarazona 2/3, the motet *Domine Ihesu Christe, qui hora diei*, is attributed to Anchieta in Segovia and Seville 5-5-20, while the ascription to Peñalosa appears in Tarazona 5, a later manuscript.

[188]Stevenson, "Peñalosa, Francisco de," *The New Grove*, vol. 14, 347.

[189]Coincidentally, Ribera's service in the papal chapel from 1520 to 1527 overlaps with that of Peñalosa, who left in 1521. Herman-Walther Frey, "Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X," *Die Musikforschung*, VIII (1955), 62-63, affirmed that Haberl's suggestion that Ribera had entered the papal chapel in 1514 is incorrect. Frey also stated that Ribera was a singer of Fernando Cardinal Ponzetto between 1518 and 1520; this is the earliest documented reference to the composer. José M. Llorens, "Ribera, Antonio de," *The New Grove*, vol. 15, 827, while confirming Haberl's error, documented Ribera at the papal chapel between 1520 and 1527. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 292, cited Llorens, but wrote 1502 instead of 1520.

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One composer who may be represented in Tarazona 2/3, but not mentioned in previous inventories of the manuscript, and whose output may be relevant to the dating of the manuscript is Adrian Willaert (ca. 1490-1562). On the missing fols. lviii^{v}-lxi^{r} of Tarazona 2/3 (now Barcelona 1167), there is a Magnificat attributted to "Vila.," but the name appers as "Villa" in the *tabla* of the manuscript.[190] The hesitant spelling of this name brings to mind the ascription of a *Pater noster* to one unknown "Villar" in Toledo 21 (fols. 53^{v}-56^{r}). Since this *Pater noster* in Toledo 21 is a known work by Willaert, it is extremely inviting to suggest that the ascription of a Magnificat to "Vila" or "Villa" in Tarazona 2/3 also refers to him.[191] In the light of the recently documented early activity of Willaert in Italy,[192] the inclusion of one of his works in Tarazona 2/3 during the period 1521-28 is plausible.

An external piece of documentary evidence may serve to trace the original owner of the manuscript. The last entry in an inventory of music books donated by the Dukes of Calabria to the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes, near Valencia, suggests that the Dukes may have owned Tarazona 2/3 before it was brought to Tarazona Cathedral:[193]

> Un libro de Peñalosa, cubierto de cartón y cuero leonado. Está en casa.[194]

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[190]Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 700-19, transcribed this work believing that the ascription in the music referred to Pere Vila (ca. 1460-1538), organist at Barcelona Cathedral who has no other extant works.

[191]The only Magnificat by Willaert was first published in Venice in 1555; the only exemplar of this publication is at the Library of Congress.

[192]Lewis Lockwood, "Adrien Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy, 1515-21." *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 85-112.

[193]Elústiza and Castrillo, *Antología Musical*, xlii, following Barbieri, had noted this entry in the inventory of the Dukes of Calabria.

[194]Moll, "Notas para la historia musical,"135; he does not indicate the date of the inventory, though it was probably compiled in the 1540s or 1550s. It is most striking to

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[A book of Peñalosa, covered with cardboard and brown leather. It is at home]

Particularly distinctive about Tarazona 2/3 is the large number of works by Peñalosa. Indeed, there is no other extant Iberian manuscript of polyphony that could better fit the inventory's "de Peñalosa" description. I suggest that this entry might refer to Tarazona 2/3.[195]

In conclusion, prior to its arrival at Tarazona Cathedral at some point during the middle of the sixteenth century, Tarazona 2/3 may have been at the library donated by the Dukes of Calabria to the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes, near Valencia. The date of the manuscript is problematic since Tarazona 2/3 could be a retrospective collection from the 1540s-1550s, or could have been copied at Seville during the last years of Peñalosa's residence in that city (1521-28), a time which saw the formation of the chapel of Germaine de Foix, duchess of Calabria, and that of Empress Isabel of Portugal.[196]

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find in this same inventory two other books of polyphony "made in Barcelona," one of which could possibly refer to Barcelona M.454; see Chapter II.

[195]This particular manuscript—Tarazona 2/3, if I am correct—may have reached Tarazona Cathedral because of Pedro de Pastrana (ca.1480-after 1559), a chaplain of Charles V from 1527 on, who became *maestro de capilla* of the Dukes of Calabria in 1533. He was the abbot of the monastery to which the Duke's library was donated, and since other manuscripts with Pastrana's music ended up in Tarazona, the same could have happened to the item described in the inventory of music books as "Un libro de Peñalosa."

[196]Two royal/imperial marriages took place in Seville in 1526: that of Germaine de Foix, former second wife of King Fernando, to the Duke of Calabria, and that of Isabel of Portugal to the Emperor and King of Spain, Charles V. Since the chapel of King Fernando had disbanded after his death in 1516, it is, at first, tempting to suggest that Tarazona 2/3 might have been compiled for the newly-established Spanish chapel of Empress Isabel. Charles V had maintained his own Flemish chapel, but it is in his wife's chapel where we find Spanish and Portuguese singers; coincidentally, the complete sacred output of the Portuguese Pedro de Escobar is found in Tarazona 2/3. This origin for the manuscript, however, cannot be confirmed, since Anglés, *Carlos V*, I, 56, cited three music books from the inventory that listed possessions of Empress Isabel of Portugal when she died in 1539, and none could be identified with Tarazona 2/3. For a description of those three items, see Appendix II.

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Toledo 13 and Toledo 21[197]

Concordances with 454/A	Attribution in Toledo 13	Toledo 21
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	—	Fco. de la Torre
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	—	Lisset
Concordances with 454/B		
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [F. Torre]	—	Fco. de la Torre
No. 60. *Tribularer si nescirem*, Peñalosa	—	Peñalosa
Concordances with 454/C		
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	—	Peñalosa
No. 16. *Precor te domine*, Penyalosa	—	Peñalosa
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Penyalosa	—	Peñalosa
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	—	Peñalosa
No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Févin	Févin	—

According to the dates in Toledo 13 and Toledo 21, these manuscripts were compiled in 1553-1554 and 1542, respectively, for the cathedral choir of that city.

[197]The *Census-Catalogue*, III, 205, states that Toledo 13 contains fifteen motets: Clemens non Papa/(Manchicourt)-1, Conseil-1, (Crecquillon)-1, Escobedo-1, A. Févin/(Craen/C. Festa/Josquin/Morales)-1, Jaquet of Mantua-1 [Iachet], Jhan of Ferrara [Metre Iam]/(Jaquet of Mantua)-1, Josquin-1, Josquin/(Bruck)-1, Josquin/(Mouton)-1, Lhéritier-1, and Morales-4. Toledo 21 contains forty-six works: Boluda-2, Compère-1, Escobar-1, Josquin-2, Morales-10, Pastrana-1, Peñalosa-9, Peñalosa/(Escobar)-1, Peñalosa/(Josquin)-1, F. Torre-3, Torrentes-4, Torrentes/(Morales)-1, Willaert [Villar]/(Obrecht)-1, and nine anonymous compositions. For a description, inventories, and pertinent bibliography about these two parchment manuscripts, see Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 130-31, and *Census-Catalogue*, III, 205, 208-9. I would like to acknowledge Father Ramón Gonzálvez at Toledo Cathedral, who very kindly allowed me to consult these manuscripts at a time when the Archive was closed.

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Scotto 1556[30]

	Attribution in Scotto 1556[30]
Concordance with 454/D	
No. 119. *Si n[o] os [h]uviera mirado*, Morales	Anon.

This Scotto print entitled *Villancicos de diversos autores...* (Venice 1556) was found by Rafael Mitjana at the library of Uppsala University in Sweden.[198] Romeu associated the repertory of this collection with the Valencian court of the Dukes of Calabria, and thus renamed it "Cancionero del Duque de Calabria."[199] It is necessary to point out, however, that the Duke of Calabria died in 1550, six years prior to the publication of this print, and that the hypothetical presence of Flecha in Valencia, to support this provenance, is not documented.[200] Thus, while some poetic texts of the repertory in the *Cancionero de Uppsala* point to a Catalan-Valencian milieu, the origin of the repertoire in Scotto's print remains uncertain.

In the light of the Italian sojourns of some of the composers in the *Cancionero*, Rafael Mitjana suggested that it reflected an Italian milieu.[201] However, only Encina and Morales are known to have lived in Italy, and both died in Spain (in 1530 and 1555,

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[198]The print contains 53 villancicos, only one of which bears an attribution, to Gombert; authorship of seven others is known through concordances: Aldomar (1), Cárceres (1), Encina (2), Flecha (3), and Morales (1). Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Upsala*, 101, on literary grounds, assigns five more works to Flecha, three to Juan Vázquez, and one more to Encina. This collection was first published by Jesús Bal y Gay, *Cancionero de Upsala* (México: Colegio de México,1944); the earlier transcriptions of the music done by Mitjana, which were thought to be lost, appear in facsimile in Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Upsala*. Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 80-101, discusses this collection and renames it "Cancionero del Duque de Calabria."

[199]Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo," 80-101.

[200]See the discussion of Mateo Flecha in Chapter II.

[201]Mitjana, *Cincuenta y cuatro canciones españolas del siglo XVI* (Uppsala, 1909), reprinted in the 1944 edition of the Cancionero, 47.

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respectively), long after their Italian sojourns. The only ascription found in this print is to Gombert, who was in the service of Charles V between 1526 and ca. 1540. We may therefore hypothesize a connection between the *Cancionero de Uppsala* and the Spanish musicians travelling throughout Europe in the retinues of the Emperor and his son Philip II at the time of its publication in 1556.[202] As George Nugent points out, Gombert had composed, during a period in exile for pederasty, some "swan songs" with which he obtained the Emperor's pardon; Nugent suggests that "the 'swan songs' may well be the late Magnificat settings dated 1552."[203] Nonetheless, it is equally possible that the piece attributed to him in the *Cancionero* is one of those "swan songs." The presence of Flecha in the *Cancionero* could be explained by his service in the royal household of the Infantas Doña María and Doña Juana, daughters of Charles V, after 1544.

Finally, the complete title of the print provides some information about its printing history and purpose.

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[202]It is worth noting that among the minstrels who accompanied first the Emperor and then Philip in their travels through Europe in 1553-1556, there was one Gaspar Carrea (or Carreçi), identified as a Venetian. According to Anglés, *Carlos V*, 132-33, 139, he was given one year's leave ending in May of 1554, and was on leave again from January to April 1556. It is at least conceivable then that Gaspar Carrea could have been the agent who took the pieces to Venice for publication.

[203]Nugent, "Gombert, Nicolas," *The New Grove*, vol. 7, 512-16. A further connection between the composer and the *Cancionero* is that the Venetian printers Scotto and Gardane had published Gombert's motets between 1539 and 1552.

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VILLANCICOS

De diuersos Autores, a dos,

Y A TRES, Y A QVATRO,

Y A CINCO BOZES,

AGORA NVEVAMENTE

CORREGIDOS. AY MAS

ocho tonos de Canto llano, y ocho tonos de

Canto de Organo para que puedan,

Aprouechar los que, A can-

tar començaren[204]

From the expression "AGORA NUEVAMENTE CORREGIDOS. AY MAS..." we may possibly assume that the publication was a revised second edition, now containing more pieces—"ocho tonos de Canto llano, y ocho de Canto de Organo"—than did the first edition. Second, the reference to "...para que puedan, Aprovechar los que, A cantar començaren" [to those who begin to sing], together with the inclusion of songs for two, three, four, and five voices, may indicate that the print was intended for some kind of instructional purposes.

[204]Taken from a reproduction of the title page in Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Upsala.*

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CHAPTER V

THE IBERIAN MANUSCRIPT TRADITION (PART II): RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BARCELONA M.454 AND ITS IBERIAN CONCORDANCES

This chapter analyzes variants among the readings in Barcelona M.454 and the concordant Iberian manuscripts and print (the origins of which were discussed in the previous chapter). Although many of the Iberian manuscripts from the first half of the sixteenth century have been studied by various scholars, only Jane Hardie has attempted to present a stemmatic overview of the Iberian tradition as a whole.[1] However, Hardie's conclusions and the methodological premise on which they are based are questionable. While I believe that in the course of this chapter it will become clear that Hardie's hypothesis is untenable, a brief discussion of some of her arguments seems appropriate.

Jane Hardie's Hypothesis

Hardie's study of the Iberian tradition was based on an examination of the dissemination of eleven motets of Francisco de Peñalosa (ca. 1470-1528).[2] Hardie reached the conclusion that the copying of music on the Iberian peninsula was different from the copying of music on the rest of the Continent.[3] She traced a conservative

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[1]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 38-42, 122-49. Carolyn Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 5-117, discusses the sources of secular polyphony ca. 1460 to 1535. In her discussion of Madrid 1335, she included a chart of concordant manuscripts; however, her criteria for the distribution of concordances according to "same," "similar," or "different" readings are too general and, in the case of Barcelona M.454, actually misleading. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 132-179, discusses the Iberian sources of sacred polyphony and their possible liturgical connection with the royal chapels of Isabel and Fernando.

[2]The manuscripts that contain Peñalosa's works are divided by Hardie into "major" and "minor" sources. The "major" sources are: Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, Barcelona M.454, Toledo 21, Coimbra 12, Coimbra 32. The "minor" sources are: Segovia, Seville 5-5-20, Seville 1, Barcelona 681, Barcelona 5, and Valladolid 5.

[3]Hardie, "The Motets" I, 239-40: "Variant analysis of concordances in Peñalosa's motets

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Iberian manuscript tradition to Islamic Spain, where, ". . . for certain kinds of religious material, there must be an exact reproduction of the exemplar, accompanied by a written acknowledgment for the copying."[4] According to Hardie, this Islamic influence is also suggested by the extensive colophons of early Iberian prints and their specificity about "authority for publication."[5] Moreover, she affirms that the conservative attitude in Spanish cathedrals is exemplified in the repertoire performed at Zaragoza, where at the end of the sixteenth century ". . . only the music of Robledo [(c.1520-1587)], Victoria [(1548-1611)], and Palestrina [(1525/26-1594)] was sanctioned."[6] Hardie develops a picture of the Iberian manuscript tradition that sees strict adherence to the model as being the "norm" in the copying of Spanish sacred music. Thus, while citing and accepting in principle the methodology for relating sources advanced by Paul Mass[7] and, among musicologists, Charles Hamm,[8] and Allan Atlas,[9] Hardie maintains that the group of

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supports the thesis that manuscript transmission in Spain differed from that of the rest of Europe in its conservatism with regard to notational changes and in its preoccupation with maintaining a fidelity to the exemplar."

[4]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 39. She refers to this Islamic tradition as *Isnad*, and to support her statement cites Ahmad Shboul, "Oral and Written in Arabic Tradition," an unpublished paper delivered at a conference on Oral and Written Tradition, Humanities Research Centre, The Australian National University (August 24, 1981).

[5]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 40.

[6]Hardie, "The Motets" I, 38-39. She takes out of context a sentence from the entry "Robledo, Melchor" in *Diccionario de la Música Labor*, II, 1894: "En las constituciones del Pilar de Zaragoza solamente se admitían polifonías de Josquin, Morales, Victoria, Palestrina y R[obledo] como dignas de aquel templo." [In the constitution of Zaragoza cathedral only the polyphony of Josquin, Morales, Victoria, Palestrina, and Robledo, was admitted as worthy of that temple.] I believe the purpose of this sentence is to emphasize Robledo's reputation as both a composer and *maestro de capilla* at Zaragoza, not to summarize the entire repertory performed at the cathedral; the original document and its date is not cited.

[7]Mass, *Textual Criticism*, tr. B. Flower (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).

[8]Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962), 166-184.

[9]Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier* vol. I (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music,

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Iberian sources follows different principles and she therefore develops a methodological approach that is also different.[10] In the end, her use of minor variants to establish relationships between manuscripts is misleading.[11]

It is necessary to present an alternative view of the Iberian manuscript tradition, since Hardie's premises are questionable. First, her reference to the Islamic transmission of religious texts in order to justify the idea of a conservative Spanish manuscript tradition is particularly shaky. The exact reproduction of religious material is not an exclusive prerogative of the Islamic tradition, as the Judeo-Christian tradition of sacred texts is also characterized by a faithful transmission of the original.[12] Moreover, exact reproduction of sacred music, as Margaret Bent has pointed out, is also found on the Continent, as in

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1975), 39-48.

[10]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 127-28: "Almost all of the variants noted by Atlas as 'insignificant' hinge upon questions of notational differences and minor variations that can be explained as the result of scribal idiosyncrasies. If the foregoing criteria were to be followed, variant analysis of all those Peñalosa pieces that exist in more than one reading would lead one to conclude that the group of manuscripts versions in which these pieces appear comprises a corpus which has more to suggest its unity than its separation into family groupings. . . We do not expect the scribe to exercise personal discretion in notational matters, nor do we expect him to take even minor liberties with his exemplar . . . We have, therefore, in looking at concordant readings of the Peñalosa pieces, taken account of all variants, notational or otherwise, and suggest that even the most so-called 'minor' variants, may carry some weight in an assessment of relationships in this repertory."

[11]A case in point is the relationship that she draws between Tarazona 2/3 and Toledo 21, which share the greatest number of Peñalosa concordances (nine). According to Hardie, the two manuscripts are not directly related in seven instances, even though five of these seven concordances do not appear in any other manuscript. Although three of these five works are different only in their use of ligatures and coloration, while the difference in a fourth consists only of a text variant of two words, Hardie considers the sources to be unrelated to one another (NR) in each instance, arguing that in other concordances involving the two manuscripts, "These notational variants are usually combined with other more significant variants." (Hardie, "The Motets," I, 131)

[12]See the description of the transmission of the text of the Torah in W. Gunther Plaut's "Introduction" to *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1981), xxiv. In connection with the transmission of the Latin version of the Bible known as the Vulgate, largely produced by St. Jerome (d. 420), see B. M. Peebles, "Bible," *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 17 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967-1979), Vol. 2, 448.

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the manuscript Trent 90, where the scribe "... copied literally and mindlessly [from Trent 93], even to the point of copying corrections signs rather than incorporating the correction...."[13] Therefore, to the extent that an Iberian scribe attempted to reproduce his exemplar faithfully, he behaved no differently from his "Continental" counterpart, and Bent's suggestions regarding "what a scribe may do when he copies a piece," are as applicable to Spanish scribes as they are to others.[14]

Hardie's contention that the extensive colophons in early Iberian non-musical prints are "possibly related to the *Isnad* tradition" also needs comment.[15] First, Hardie's use of the term "colophon" is ambiguous, since her statement that "colophons are often quite specific about 'authority' for the publication" may refer to something other than what is, strictly speaking, a colophon.[16] She seems to confuse the notion of textual authority with the concept of legal authority conveyed by the *privilegio* (royal permit to

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[13]Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 311. In addition, Kellman, "The Origins of the Chigi Codex," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XI (1958), 11-12, pointed to the identical layout in three concordances shared by Chigi and Brussels 9126, the scribe of the latter manuscript having used the Chigi versions as a model.

[14]Bent, "Some Criteria," 307-11.

[15]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 40, does not mention any particular examples. Regarding colophons in manuscripts, I can only refer to the five-volume collection edited by the Benedictines of Bouveret, Saint-Benoit de Port-Valais (Abbey) Bouveret, Switzerland, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle*, 5 vols. (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1964-1979), which shows no significant differences between Spanish and non-Spanish colophons.

[16]The entry "colophon" in *Glaister's Glossary of the Book*, 103 reads: "1. in manuscript books, a concluding statement, not without overtones of pride in achievement, indicating some or all of the following: the title of the work, the name of the copyist, date and place of copying, a blessing for the patron or client who commissioned it, and threats of excommunication to unauthorized copiers. Shorter colophons named only the copyist and date...By the early 16th century the practice of identifying a book and its printer on the title-page, q.v., was accepted and the colophon was abandoned.
2. a publisher's device, q.v., printed on the title-page. This is a misuse of the term. A device may appear on every book the publisher issues: a colophon is particular to one title."

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print a work).[17] Moreover, the preliminary material found in early prints should not be interpreted as a sign of either a conservative or necessarily more accurate tradition in the transmission of texts, but as a quite unrelated by-product of both the independent administrative structure of the Kingdoms of Castile, Aragón, and Navarre, and the rigorous censorship imposed upon all publications.[18] Finally, that the music of Robledo, Victoria, and Palestrina was in the forefront of the repertory at Zaragoza Cathedral in the late sixteenth century is hardly a sign of conservatism, since all three composers were alive and in their artistic maturity during that period. Even if one insists that the repertoire at Zaragoza was retrospective, it was no more so than that of the Cappella Giulia in Rome during the 1560s.[19]

In sum, Hardie's picture of a distinct Iberian tradition, one that differed in its "conservative" methods of copying and emphasis on retrospective repertory from the rest of Europe—a picture that is based only on a collation of eleven Peñalosa motets—is not convincing. In the following pages, the study of concordances and the collation of readings for an entire manuscript such as Barcelona M.454 aims for a more complete and more refined view of the problems connected with the dissemination of polyphony in the Iberian peninsula during the early sixteenth century.

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[17]For a discussion of the transmission and authority of printed works in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Alberto Blecua, *Manual de Crítica Textual*, 171-200.

[18]For a complete discussion see Jaime Moll, "Problemas Bibliográficos del Libro del Siglo de Oro," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 59 (1979), 49-107.

[19]Jeffrey Dean, "The Repertory of the Cappella Giulia in the 1560s," *Journal of the America Musicological Society*, XLI (1988), 485: "The most striking aspect of the conservative slant of the Vatican choirs' repertories in the 1560s is, as [Richard] Sherr observed, the insignificant position of Palestrina. His posthumous fame is so well known and so extraordinary that we tend to assume that he must have been as renowned in his lifetime. . ."

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Relationships between Barcelona M.454 and its Iberian concordances

In the discussion that follows, the four sections of Barcelona M.454—454/A, 454/B, 454/C, and 454/D—are treated separately. Each section is preceded by a table indicating: number of works in the section, *unica*, ascriptions, attributions through concordances, conflicting attributions if any, and the concordant works with Iberian manuscripts. In every section I first discuss the conflicting attributions among those works, and then compare the readings in Barcelona M.454 with their concordances.[20] Each section ends with a discussion of the possible grouping of sources at the level of individual pieces and patterns of relationships among the manuscripts. The chapter ends with a table of all Iberian concordances listed by manuscript.

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[20]The list of sources for each piece contains the concordant manuscripts and prints mentioned in the discussion. When all sources are not listed, there will be a reference to the Inventory in Chapter III.

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I. BARCELONA 454/A

Number of works: 47 (35 + 12 in the "separate folios")
Unica: 30 (19 [3 of them duplicated in 454/B] + 11 in the "separate folios")
Anonymous: 21 (11 + 10 in the "separate folios")
Ascriptions: 14—Benito (4), Mondéjar (4), Aldomar, Baena, Brumel, Gabriel, Peñalosa, and Ylario.
Attributions through concordances: Compère (3, possibly 4), Brumel (2, but perhaps more, see below), Josquin (2), Agricola, Agricola/Aulenus, Encina, Peñalosa, Torre, Weerbecke.

Conflicting attributions:[21]

Genuine conflicting attributions:

No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*, Mondéjar/[Díaz]
No. 31. [Magnificat], Fr Benito/[Brumel]
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Peñalosa/[Anchieta, Compère, Ribera]

"Phantom" attributions:[22]

No. 23. *Donec ponam*, Puig/*Primus*
No. 27. [*Missa*], Cuvenor/[Aulenus/Agricola]
No. 29. *Magnificat*, Frai benito de riaça (or (F)rança?)/Prederiaça?/Terraça?

Concordances with Iberian manuscripts: 14 (13 + 1 in the "separate folios")

No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]
No. 25. *Aleluya*, Anon.
No. 26. *Benedicamus domino*, Anon.
No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*. Mondéjar/[Diaz]
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario
No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]
No. 45. *Pues vivo en perder la vida* [Peñalosa]
No. 50. *Ave Maria* [Josquin]
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]
No. 52. *O intemerata virgo* and *O Maria nullam* [Josquin]
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]
No. 98. *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço* [Encina]

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[21]The discussion of conflicting attributions is separated from the main group of "Concordances with Iberian manuscripts" in order to be comprehensive and to include, among the works of conflicting authorship, Nos. 29 and 31, which do not have Iberian concordances. For ease of reference, pieces with conflicting attributions that have concordances with Iberian manuscripts are found in both lists.

[22]I use the term "phantom" to designate ascriptions resulting from misreadings by previous scholars.

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A. Conflicting attributions in 454/A

Of its forty-seven works, 454/A has fourteen that bear attributions, three of which conflict with attributions in other sources. In addition, there are three instances of what might be called "phantom" attributions.

1. Three conflicting attributions in 454/A

(i) No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum corpus*, Mondéjar/[Díaz][23]

Sources:
454/A, fols. lxxxii^{v}-lxxxiii^{r} (9^{v}-10^{r}), Mondéjar
Coimbra 12, fols. 192^{v}-193^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 19^{v}-20^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 123^{r}-123^{v}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxv^{v}-cclxxvi^{r}, Díaz

Coimbra 12 and Tarazona 2/3 have the *Ave sanctissimum* text in all four voices. In 454/A the superius and tenor follow that text, but the bassus begins "Ave verum corpus in ara crucis," and continues with the other text at "salute mundi;" the altus presents only the incipit "Ave verum corpus in." The musical readings in 454/A, Tarazona 2/3, and Coimbra 12 display some important variants.[24] First, 454/A contains ten additional measures after the point at which the piece concludes in Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra 12.[25] Second, the final eleven measures as they appear in Coimbra 12 (mm. 24-34) transmit different music from the corresponding measures in 454/A and Tarazona 2/3. And finally, Coimbra 12 transmits a number of other variants, especially in the altus. Ex. 1a-b illustrates the most striking.[26]

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[23]I would like to thank Dr. Owen Rees of Cambridge University, who very kindly informed me of this conflicting attribution prior to the completion of his dissertation, "Sixteenth-century polyphony from the monastery of Santa Cruz, in Coimbra," Cambridge University (1991).

[24]I have not been able to collate Coimbra 32 and 48.

[25]The extra measures in 454/A carry the text "et calicem salutis perpetua."

[26]The corrupt reading in Coimbra 12 has parallel fifths between tenor and altus at m. 6.

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Ex. 1a: 454/A and Tarazona 2/3, mm. 6-10.

N.B. Throughout this chapter, only the variants with the upper system are recorded on the lower.

Ex. 1b: Coimbra 12, mm. 6-10.

and between bass and tenor at mm.6-7. For other variants, see the edition of this piece in Part II.

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Patterns among the variants in this piece suggest that the variant readings may be associated with the conflicting attributions.[27] Tarazona 2/3 attributes the work to Díaz, while 454/A attributes the longer version to Mondéjar; the reading in Coimbra 12 bears no ascription. Based on the evidence of the music and the sources, we cannot say which of the two main versions (short or long) is original. Perhaps Tarazona 2/3 contains a version of the work composed by Díaz; the ascription to Mondéjar in 454/A would then refer to the version with ten added measures.

The conflicting attribution may reflect a collaborative effort of Díaz and Mondéjar, whose service with King Fernando overlapped. *Ave sanctissimum* is the only extant composition attributed to Díaz, who is identified by Knighton as Pedro Díaz de Aux [Daux].[28] His service in Fernando's chapel between 1484 and 1506 overlaps with Mondéjar's career at the court between 1504 and 1516. Their appointment in the Aragonese royal chapel, especially when they sang together in the years 1504-1506, accounts for how one of the two musicians, probably Mondéjar, may have come to know and revise the other's work.

(ii) No. 31. [*Magnificat secundi toni*], Benito/[Brumel]

Sources:
454/A, fols. xci^{v}-xciiii^{r} (18^{v}-21^{r}), Fr. Benito
Copenhagen 1848 2^{o}, pp. 324-29, Anon.
Kassel 9, No. 12, Anon.
Vatican 44, fols. 17^{v}-23^{r}, Brumel
Vienna 18832, No. 49, Anon.

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[27]As Atlas has pointed out, "Conflicting Attributions in Italian Sources," *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 277: ". . .it is not only possible but actually quite probable that many—perhaps most—of the conflicting attributions in the Franco-Netherlandish chanson repertory arose not from scribal confusion or carelessness, but from one composer's having revised the work of another."

[28]For information concerning this chapel singer, see Knighton, "Music and musicians," I, 263-64. She further indicates that Diego Díaz, who served in Isabel's chapel from 1493 to 1504, could be the composer of the motet attributed to Díaz in Tarazona 2/3.

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The attribution to Fr[ay] Benito in 454/A, fol. xci^{v} (18^{v}), is very faint,[29] and it was added by a hand other than the one responsible for both the music and text of this Magnificat, which is attributed to Brumel in Vatican 44. 454/A ascribes three other works to Fray Benito as well, all with attributions that are clearly later additions to the manuscript: two other Magnificats (Nos. 29 and 33) and the superius of a *Kyrie* (No. 58) that closes this section of the manuscript. (The entire Mass is the opening work in 454/B, where it was copied by a different scribe.)[30]

This Magnificat is the third in a series of five consecutive Magnificats occupying two complete gatherings (the second and third of 454/A) that were most likely copied by a Franco-Flemish scribe.[31] Strangely enough, although three of these Magnificats are attributed to Benito, there is no Iberian composer known by that name. Moreover, since one of these attributions reads "Benios" (No. 33) rather than "Benito" (and there is also no composer called Benios), it is conceivable that the scribe who added these inscriptions was not sure about the spelling of the name he was writing.

The five consecutive Magnificats, copied by the same Franco-Flemish scribe, offer a clue that could resolve the Benito/Brumel conflict (see Table 1).[32]

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[29]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, read it as "Benalt" or "Venalt;" Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat*, 285, and Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, xvi, followed Anglés's reading of this inscription. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 179, and I independently read this attribution as "Benito."

[30]The attributions to Benito read: "Frai Benito de riaça" [or de (F)rança]—see below No. 29—on fol. lxxxiii^{v} (10^{v}), "Fr Benito" on fol. xci^{v} (18^{v}), "Fr Benios" on fol. xcviii^{v} (25^{v}), and "Fra Benito" on fol. cxxxvii^{v} (65^{v}).

[31]The structure of 454/A and the distribution of scribes suggests that these two gatherings may have circulated independently before they were joined to the rest of 454/A; see Chapter I.

[32]Magnificats Nos. 31 and 32 were also copied in this order in Kassel 9.

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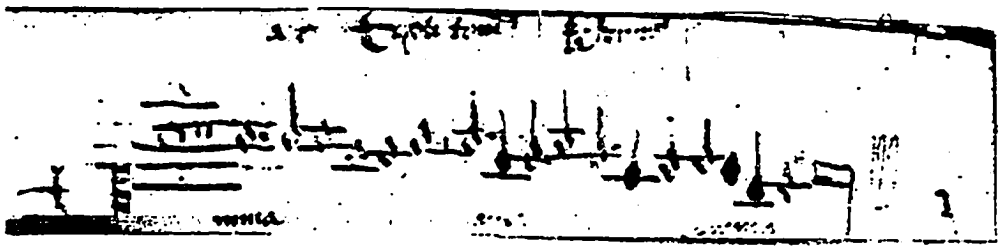
Table 1: Five consecutive *Magnificats* in 454/A.

No. 29. Magnificat [*primi toni*]	Frai Benito/de riaça [de França?]
No. 30. Magnificat *primi toni*	Anon.
No. 31. Magnificat *secundi toni*	Fr Benito/[Brumel]
No. 32. Magnificat *sexti toni*	Brumel [in same hand that copied the music]
No. 33. Magnificat *octavi toni*	Fr Benios [=Benito]

In this series of five Magnificats, of which three are attributed to Benito by a later scribe, one original ascription to Brumel survived the knife of the paper cutter (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Attribution to Brumel in Magnificat, No. 32
454/A, fol. xciiii^{v} (21^{v}).



The survival of this ascription is particularly fortunate, since the authority for its publication among Brumel's complete works rests solely with Barcelona M.454.[33] The authority of the attribution to Brumel contrasts, however, with the conflicting attribution for the preceding Magnificat (No. 31), which, while attributed to Brumel in Vatican 44, bears an ascription to "Fr. Benito" in 454/A, albeit, as we have noted, in a later hand (see Fig. 3).[34]

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[33]The other sources for this Magnificat *sexti toni* are: 's-Hertogenbosch 73, Kassel 9, Uppsala 76a, and Vatican 15; they transmit this piece anonymously For an edition of this Magnificat after 's-Hertogenbosch 73 see, Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, 39-47.

[34]Regarding the transmission of this Magnificat *secundi toni*, Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, xvi-xvii, states that the *alternatim* version in 454/A, Copenhagen 1848 2º, and Kassel 9 is the original one (against the strophic setting in Vatican 44). Copenhagen 1848 2º, though, presents a much more embellished version, while "the readings in 454/A and Kassel 9 are in basic agreement," the latter having been chosen as the main

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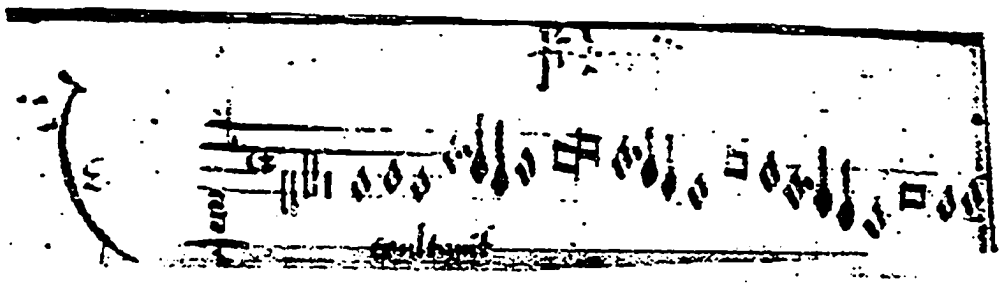
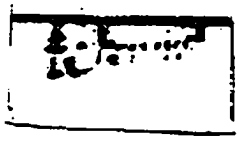
Fig. 2: Attribution to Fr. Benito in Magnificat, No. 31
454/A, fol. xci^{v} (18^{v}).



The upper part of the capital "B" in the 454/A Brumel attribution for No. 32 has been trimmed in such a way that the remaining fragment of the letter is similar in appearance to the "F" of the "late" attribution to Fr. Benito in the preceding Magnificat, No. 31 (see both attributions side by side in Fig. 3).

Fig. 3: Attributions to Brumel and Fr[ay] Benito
on fols. xciiii^{v} and xci^{v} respectively.

No. 32
(Brumel)



No. 31
(Benito)

Although the ascriptions to Benito and Benios in Barcelona M.454 cannot be read as Brumel, the similarity in appearance of the ascriptions to Brumel and Benito in 454/A, the Benito/Brumel conflicting attribution, the appearance of Nos. 31-32 back-to-

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source for the modern edition. As pointed out earlier, in both Kassel 9 and 454/A, the Magnificat *sexti toni* by Brumel was copied back-to-back with the Magnificat *secundi toni*.

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back in both Kassel 9 and 454/A, and the absence of any composer known as Benito, make it extremely inviting to suggest that perhaps the Benito ascriptions were added to works that previously—prior to the pages having been trimmed—carried attributions to Brumel. If so, the series of five consecutive Magnificats in 454/A would comprise as many as four—even five—works by Brumel.[35] One puzzling question, however, prevents us from arriving at a definite conclusion: the conflicting inscription "de riaça" or "de (F)rança" below Benito's name above the first of the five Magnificats. Fig. 4a shows this inscription; the name Benito is barely visible in the manuscript, but cannot be seen in the photocopy. I have provided a diplomatic transcription in Fig. 4b.[36]

Fig. 4a: Inscription on fol. lxxxiii^{v} (10^{v}).

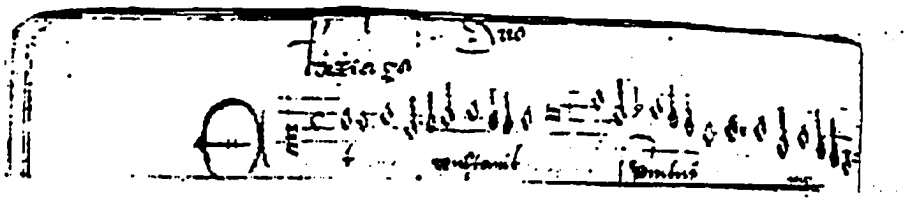

Fig. 4b: Diplomatic transcription.

Fray benito
de riaça

If "riaça" refers to the town of Riaza in the province of Segovia, and if it is intended to refer to Benito's origins then the identification of Benito with Brumel falls

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[35]Although the second Magnificat in the series carries no attribution at all, if we were to assign the other four to Brumel, we would be tempted to ascribe the anonymous work to him as well.

[36]See below, for a brief discussion of the "phantom" attributions connected to this inscription. An attractive reading of the inscription "de riaça" is "de [F]rança," using the "F" from "Fray benito."

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apart; on the other hand, the reading "de (F)rança" is plausible, in which case the attribution to Brumel would gain a definitive support. In the end, however, the meaning of "de riaça" is not clear and may have nothing to do with the barely visible inscription "Fray benito," slightly slanted above it .[37]

The Magnificats attributed to the unknown Benito in 454/A share with those extant by Brumel some stylistic features. Only a comprehesive study of their musical characteristics could help resolve the problems of doubtful authorship.

(iii) No. 56. *O bone Jesu*,[38] Peñalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]

Sources:

454/A, fols. cxxxv^{v}-cxxxvi^{r}, Penyalosa
Barcelona 5, fol. 69^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 12, fols. 190^{v}-191^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 17^{v}-18^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 36^{r}-36^{v}, Anon.
Coimbra 53, fols. 131^{v}-132^{r}, Anon.
Segovia, fols. 100^{v}-101^{r}, Johannes Ancheta
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxii^{v}-cclxxiiii^{r}, Antonio Ribera
Petrucci 1519^{2}, No. 14, Compère

Baker contends that the ascription to Anchieta in Segovia is correct, but Howard Mayer Brown has stated that this motet is more likely by Peñalosa than by Anchieta, although Brown does not discard Ribera's claim.[39] Preciado states that the passage with

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[37]Although the name Benito is identical with that of the singer Benoit [=Benito in Spanish], who according to Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505*, 57, was active at Ferrara as "Benedetto di Giovanni dito Benoit" and in Florence as "Benotto di Giovanni dito Benoit" between 1438 and 1448, and though a hymn and two antiphons are attributed to Benoit in Layer I of Modena, Alpha X.1.11 (Mod B), it seems unlikely that a local Ferrarese composer from the 1430s-1440s would be represented in a manuscript from ca. 1500.

[38]The work is published in Finsher, *Compère: Opera Omnia*, IV, 27-28; Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, I, 267-72; and Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera Omnia*, 102-06.

[39]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 49-51. She points out that Finscher was

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fermatas on "O Messias" is the only such passage used in Peñalosa's motets, and that the ascending major sixth in the bass at mm. 73-74 is another detail foreign to Peñalosa's style.[40]

As is the case with all of the most problematic ascriptions in our manuscript, the attribution to Peñalosa was added by a scribe other than the one responsible for copying the music. *O bone Jesu* was copied in a Franco-Flemish hand immediately after Compère's *Sile fragor* and *Propter gravamen*, works that are not found in any other Iberian manuscript; the attribution to Peñalosa was added later, perhaps by Scribe C. The reason for such an addition is puzzling, since it is hard to imagine why Scribe C, who customarily provided attributions only for those works that he had copied himself, would have gone out of his way to ascribe *O bone Jesu*. Thus, while this attribution may be suspicious, Scribe C may have known a setting of this text attributed to Peñalosa.[41]

The four conflicting attributions may have originated with the four different versions of the ending of *O bone Jesu*. Example 2 shows these endings (mm. 37-40); the boxes in the example highlight the differences between the version in Petrucci 1519[2] and the three sources with conflicting attributions.

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unaware of the concordance in Segovia, and that he was wrong in assigning the piece to Compère's "late period" (after 1515), since Barcelona 5 and Segovia date from before that time. Hudson, "Compère, Loyset," *The New Grove*, vol. 4, 598, includes this motet among the doubtful works, but lists only Peñalosa as a contender. Howard M. Brown, "Música para la pasión de Cristo de Anchieta y otros," *III Semana de Música Española 'El Renacimiento,'* 238 (cited in Preciado, "Francisco de Peñalosa versus Josquin Despres," *Revista de Musicología*, XII/2 [1989], 426). Hardie's dissertation on Peñalosa's motets did not mention *O bone Jesu*.

[40]Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, I, 267.

[41]See Chapter I for a list of the repertory copied by Scribe C, who attributed four works to Peñalosa.

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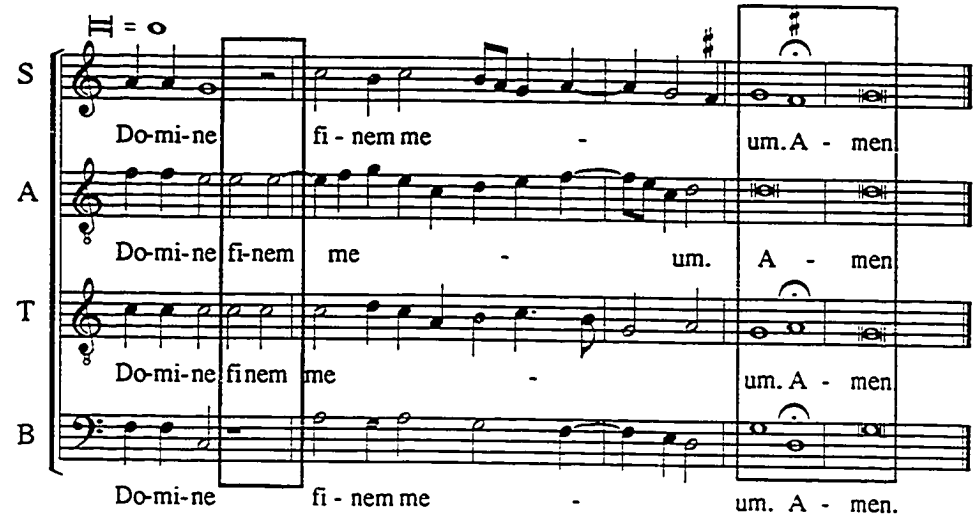
Ex. 2: Different endings of *O bone Jesu*, mm. 37-40.

Petrucci 1519[2]: Compère



Coimbra 12: Anon.
(same as Petrucci 1519[2] except for)

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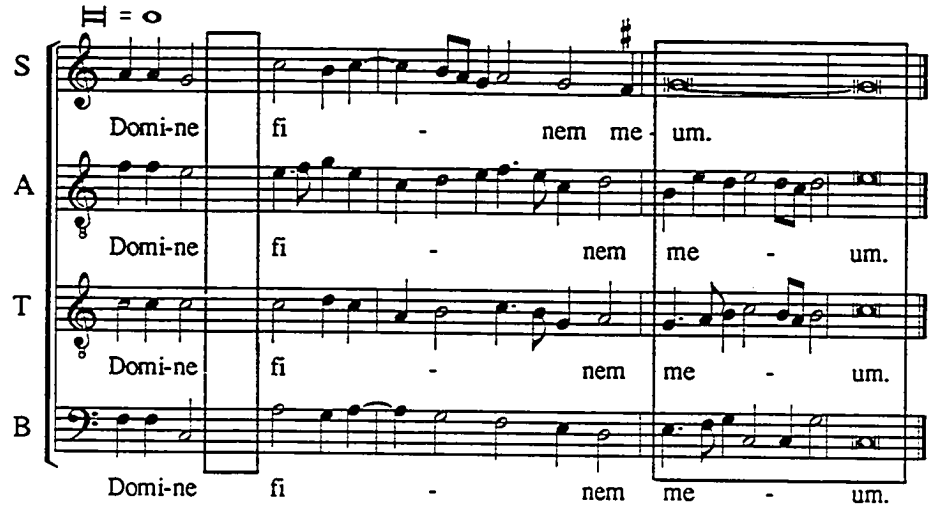
454/A: Peñalosa
Segovia: Anchieta
Tarazona 2/3: Ribera



Barcelona 5: Anon. (same as above except for)

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According to Finscher, the final cadence has been changed from G to C in the Iberian manuscripts "perhaps to conform to a new and more 'modern' ideal of triadic harmony and tonal cadential progressions."[42] I believe, however, that both the endings and the conflicting attributions are the result of a curious case of word painting, since the musical variant occurs precisely at the words "finem meum" [my end] in the phrase "notum fac mihi, Domine finem meum" [let me know, O Lord, my end]. Thus it would have been most inviting for any composer to have added his own ending to this work.[43] The version attributed to Compère in Petrucci 1519[2] is the only one that ends with the word "Amen" after "finem meum."[44] The three Iberian sources that share identical endings transmit three conflicting attributions, and thus direct links between each version and a different composer cannot be established.

Whether Anchieta, Peñalosa, or Ribera was responsible for the ending in C as it appears in Segovia, Barcelona M.454, and Tarazona 2/3 is difficult to determine. However, I am inclined to favor Anchieta on two grounds: (1) *O bone Jesu* is attributed to him in the oldest of the three Iberian manuscripts; and (2) as shown in Example 3, a very

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[42]Finscher, *Compère: Opera Omnia*, IV, iii.

[43]According to Finscher, *Compère: Opera Omnia*, IV, ii, *O bone Jesu* "is a setting of the first part of the nonliturgical *Quinque versus Sancti Bernhardi*." According to Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, the text of *O bone Jesu* consists of a centonization of three fragments: (1) the Offertory of the Mass for the 4th Sunday after Pentecost with the addition of "O bone Jesu" (*O bone Jesu, illumina oculos meos, ne unquam obdormiam in morte; ne quando dicat inimicus meus: Praevalui adversus eum*); (2) the brief responsory for the canonic hour *Ad Completorium* of Sunday changing "redemisti nos" for "redemisti me" (*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum. Redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis*); and (3) an unidentified addition (*O messias, locutus sum in lingua mea, notum fac mihi, Domine finem meum*). The only textual variant is the omission in Barcelona M.454 of the phrase "ne quando dicat inimicus meus" (so that my enemy won't say: I prevailed against him). This omission, though, probably has no connection to the Peñalosa ascription in this manuscript. While Petrucci includes the word "Amen" at the end, none of the Iberian sources does so.

[44]Finscher, *Compère: Opera Omnia*, IV, 28, mistakenly added "Amen" to the ending in Coimbra 12.

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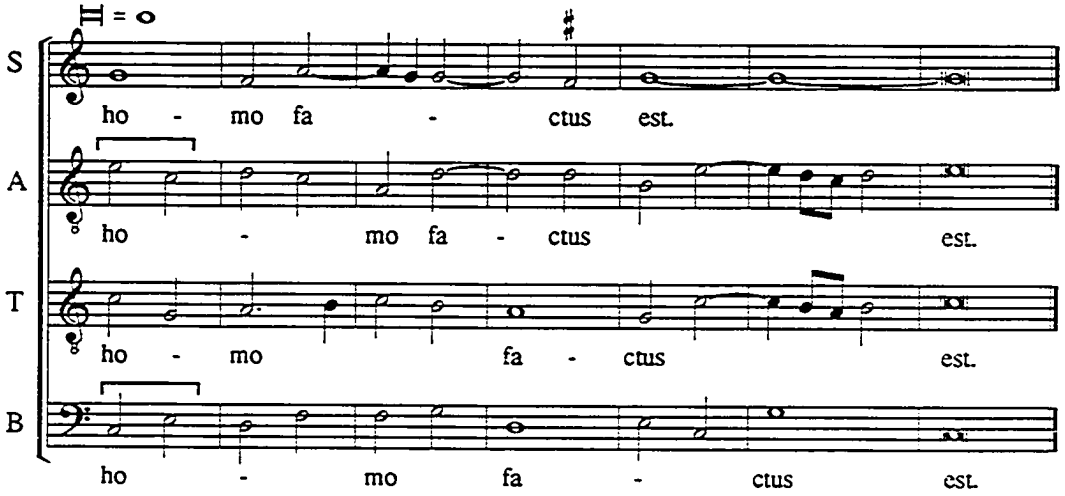
similar passage occurs at the end of the *Qui propter* section in the *Missa sine nomine* by Anchieta.[45]

Ex. 3: *Qui propter* (mm. 159-165) from Anchieta's *Missa sine nomine*, similar to the ending of *O bone Jesu*.



One could speculate that the slightly different versions that end on C transmitted anonymously in Coimbra and Barcelona 5 were written by the other two Iberian composers, and that the attribution was not transmitted with the corresponding version.

It is difficult to determine whether the Iberian version that ends on C or the Compère ending on G of *O bone Jesu* was the original one. I believe that the simpler ending on G attributed to Compère was the original one, and I agree with Finscher in that the endings on C reflect a later treatment of a cadence.[46]

2. Three "phantom" attributions in 454/A

The first "phantom" attribution, above the psalm verse *Donec ponam* on fol. lxxiii^{r},[47] was read as "Puig" by Lee, who suggested that this name might refer to the

[45]The transcription in Ex. 3 follows the edition by Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera Omnia*, 23.

[46]See Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony Described According to the Sources*, trans. Ellen S. Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers Ltd., 1988), 89-122.

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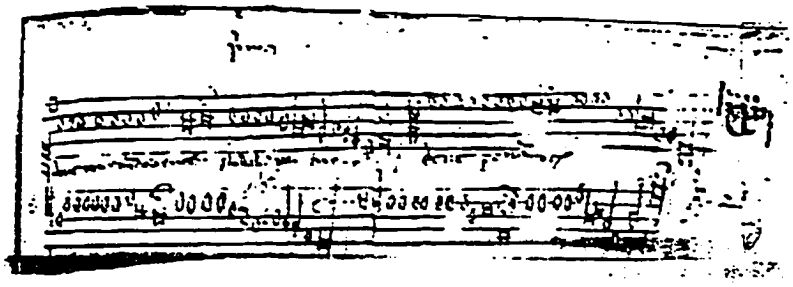
theorist Guillermo Despuig (De Podio).[48] The inscription, however, reads *Primus* (Fig. 5).[49]

Fig. 5: Misread inscription (reduced size) in 454/A, fol. lxxiii^{r}.



The second "phantom" attribution is based on a misreading of a voice designation that occurs in connection with No. 27, a Mass otherwise attributed both to Aulenus and to Agricola.[50] As noted in Chapter I, Anglés and others read the word in the upper margin of fol. lxxiiii^{r} (=454/A, 1^{r}) as "Cuvenor" or "Suvenor," and believed that it was an ascription.[51] There is no doubt that the first letter is "S," but the best reading of the word is "Superior," and it must refer to a voice part, not a composer's name, even though the traditional name for the voice designation is "Superius." Fig. 6 shows the voice designation in 454/A that created the phantom attribution; the downward

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[47]Fol. lxxiii is part of the leaf that serves as guard sheet to the first gathering of 454/A; the original foliation (1-65) of this section begins on fol. lxxiiii^{r}.

[48]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 88.

[49]Hardie, "The Motets," 82, stated erroneously that underneath the folio numbers 1 and lxxiiii, in the upper right corner of the page, there is an even older folio number 99, and perhaps a shelf mark in the right hand margin; she was referring to fol. lxxiii (see Fig. 5). Underneath this folio number, however, the inscription reads: "g.1g" [...*primus*] and slightly below it, in the right margin, "g.2g" [...*secundus*]. Although the meaning of the inscriptions is not entirely clear, they are probably related to this piece. *Donec ponam* is the second verse of Psalm 109, and, interestingly, a later hand copied, on the facing fol. lxxii^{v}, the missing first verse, *Dixit dominus*, with very similar music.

[50]See Inventory, No. 27.

[51]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, read: "Cuvenor" or "Suvenor." *Census Catalogue*, I, 17, and Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 179, used the spelling "Cuvenor." Hardie, "The Motets," I, 86, read: "Souvenir."

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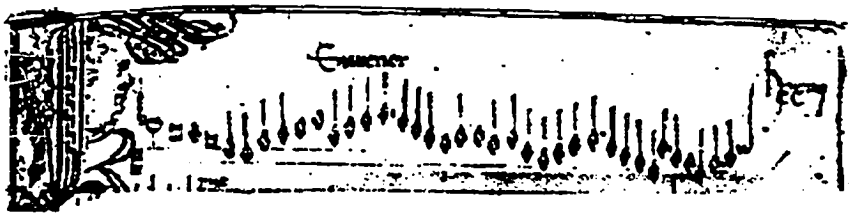
stroke in the "p" of "Superior" is missing, because the scribe probably wanted to avoid the upward stems in the first line of music.

Fig. 6: Misread voice designation (reduced size) in 454/A, fol. lxxiiii^{r} (1^{r}).



Since the decorated initial "K" of "Kyrie" occupied the upper left margin, the scribe had no room to insert the voice designation superius—as it appears in the following verso—and he entered it in the upper margin, a position customarily reserved for ascriptions. The marking "Superior" on the upper margin of this recto may have alerted the performer to a change in the usual practice of placing the upper voice on a verso—just as "Tenor" in the upper margin of the following recto may have signaled a return to it.

The third phantom ascription occurs in conjunction with No. 31, a Magnificat on fol. lxxxiii^{v} (10^{v}). The question arises from a late addition to the manuscript that has been read variously as "Taerraça" (by Pedrell), "Prederiaça" (by Anglés and Knighton), "Pedraça" (by Anglés), or "Terraça" (by Gregori and Kreitner); Knighton, following Anglés, indicates that another inscription in the margin reads: "Francisci Benalt."[52] As mentioned above, I believe that this inscription should be read as "Frai Benito/de riaça" or "de (F)rança". (See above Figs. 4a/b and the discussion about the Benito ascriptions.)

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[52]Pedrell, *Catalech*, II, 156; Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 113, and "La Polyphonie religieuse péninsulaire," 1175; Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 179; Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 606-07; Kreitner, "Music and Civic Ceremony," 257. Pedrell, Gregori, and Kreiner believed that the ascription refers to Gabriel Terrassa, organist at Barcelona Cathedral from 1472 to 1514 who is otherwise without extant compositions; Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 700-19, transcribed this Magnificat. What Anglés and Knighton had read as a "P" in "Prederiaça," I read as the "F" of "Fray benito;" the same "F" could conceivably be used to read "de (F)ra[n]ça" below the name Benito. This is the only instance among the "Benito" ascriptions in which Knighton and I disagree; she reads "Benalt" instead of "Benito."

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B. The fourteen concordances with 454/A in Iberian manuscripts

(i) No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]

Sources:
454/A, fols. lxxiii^{r}, Anon.
454/B, fol. lxviii^{r}, Anon. (No. 17)
Segovia, fol. 228^{v}, Anon. (superius only)
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccxxvii^{v}-ccxxviii^{r}, F. la Torre
Tarazona 5, fols. 83^{v}-84^{r},[53] Anon.
Toledo 1, fols. 83^{v}-87^{r}, Franco de la Torre
Toledo 21, fols. 121^{v}-122^{r}, Francisco de la Torre

Only the superius of *Ne recorderis*, a responsory in the Office for the Dead, by Francisco de la Torre, appears on the last folio of Segovia.[54] The reading is very close to that of 454/A and 454/B, but it was copied a third lower after the second note, and the scribe in Segovia did not correct this mistake until he moved to the next staff for the verse *Dum veneris*.

Comparing the readings of *Ne recorderis* in 454/A, 454/B, and Segovia with the others, one finds a significant musical variant in the opening measure (Ex. 4):[55]

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[53]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 53, states that there are five different foliations in Tarazona 5; the one used here follows Anglés's inventory in *Reyes Católicos*, I, 125.

[54]After the superius of *Ne recorderis* in Segovia, there is an anonymous incomplete piece with a faint inscription, not mentioned by Baker, which could be an instruction for a canon: "Sex pa-. . .descendit quatuor. . ." (see Fig. 9 in Chapter IV). It is worth mentioning that Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, in his *Musica Practica*, referred to the words "Ne recorderis" as an instruction for a canon.

[55]Other variants: at m. 14, the superius of Tarazona 2/3 and Toledo 21 reads a' breve instead of a'-b' blackened breve and semibreve. The first chord of m. 15, which has a fermata, is repeated in these two manuscripts as the first chord of the new phrase. Toledo 21 adds B and E flats. See my edition of this work in Part II.

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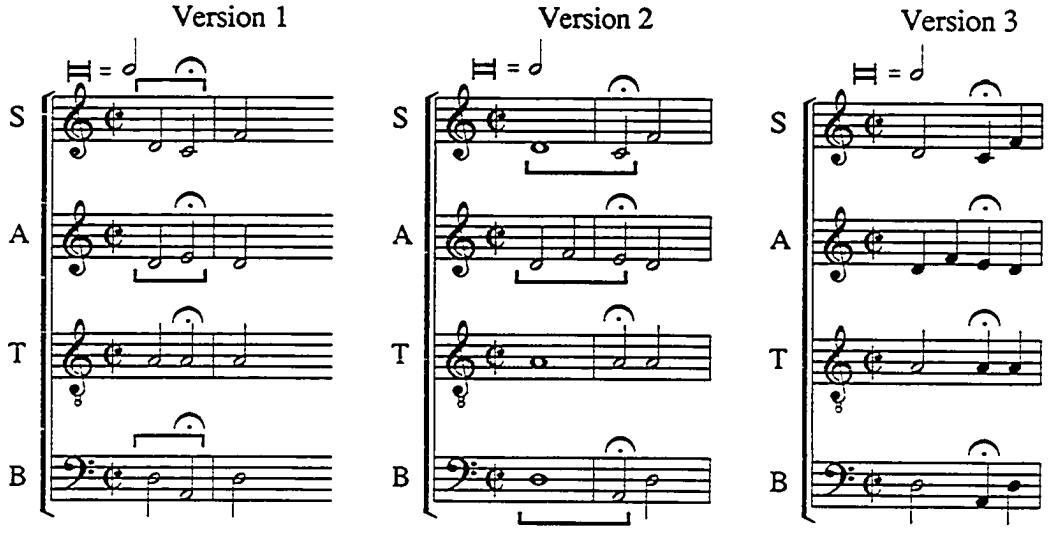
Ex 4: *Ne recorderis*, mm. 1-2.



454/A	Tarazona 2/3	Toledo 1
454/B	Tarazona 5	
Segovia (S only)	Toledo 21	

Version 1 is most likely the earliest of the three owing to the rigorous parallel motion in thirds—except for unisons at the beginning and end of phrases—between superius and altus throughout the piece. After the initial chord, Versions 2 and 3 insert an f' to fill the missing third. This skip in m.1 from d' to f' is the only instance in which the altus moves independently from the superius, and it is extraneous to the rest of the work.[56] As a result, m. 1 in Version 2 has been expanded; Version 3 follows Version 2, but the mensural values have been cut by half throughout the entire piece.

Although Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, and Toledo 21 agree in mm. 1-2 (Version 2), the readings in the two Tarazona manuscripts alter the order of the text and music for the section *Dum veneris* of the responsory, placing it before the first verse *Dirige*, while

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[56]The twenty-six measures of *Ne recorderis* are a patchwork that repeats various combinations of thirteen different measures of music in the following order: 1-11, 5-6, 12-13, 10-13, 7-13. Torre's unusual compositional procedure may be related to the repetitions found in the structure of a responsory.

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Segovia, 454/A, 454/B, and the two Toledo manuscripts have *Dirige* and then *Dum veneris*.[57] This text variant separates the two Tarazona manuscripts from the rest of the sources for this work. Regarding the stemmatic implications of the variant in Example 4, one may conclude that Barcelona M.454 and Segovia transmit the earliest extant reading of *Ne recorderis*, and that the version in the two Tarazona manuscripts and Toledo 21 represent different intermediate steps towards the diminution found in Toledo 1, most likely derived from another Toledan source, perhaps Toledo 21 itself.

(ii) No. 25. *Aleluya*, Anon.

Sources:
454/A, fol. lxxiii^{v}, Anon.
454/B, fol. lxviii^{v}, Anon. (No. 18)

The two readings are very close. This *Aleluya* was either recopied in 454/B from 454/A in order to make it more readable, or both readings were copied independently, but within the same stemmatic tradition.

(iii) No. 26. *Benedicamus domino*, Anon.

Sources:
454/A, fol. lxxiii^{v}-lxxiiii^{r} (1^{r}), Anon.
454/B, fol. lxviii^{v}-lxix^{r}, Anon. (No. 19)

As in the previous work, there are no indicative variants between the two extant readings. There is no apparent reason why Nos. 24-26 in 454/A (*Ne recorderis*,

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[57]In the *Liber Usualis*, 1792, the text of this responsory reads: *Ne recorderis *peccata mea, Domine, *Dum veneris judicare saeculum per ignem. V*[erse]. *Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam. *Dum. V*[erse]. *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis. *Dum veneris.* The text favors the order *Dum veneris-Dirige* found in the two Tarazona manuscripts; the versions in Segovia, Barcelona M.454, and the Toledo manuscript may reflect a different liturgical practice.

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Aleluya, and *Benedicamus*) also appear consecutively in 454/B (Nos. 17-19).[58] Interestingly, the *Benedicamus* was copied, in both instances, at the bottom of a verso and the bassus parts appear at the bottom of the following recto.[59] This similarity of layout and the absence of variants seem to indicate that Nos. 17-19 in 454/B were copied from 454/A.

(iv) No. 27. [*Missa*], [Aulen/Agricola][60]

Sources:
454/A, fols. lxxiiii^{r}-lxxxii^{r} (1^{r}-9^{r}), Anon.
Berlin 40021, fols. 41^{v}-46^{r}, Offi[cium] Auleni
Leipzig 1494, fols. 151^{v}-156^{r}, Offi[cium] Auleni
Munich 3154, fols. 400^{r}-407^{v}, Anon.
Regensburg B216-219, No. 9, Aulen
Segovia, fols. 135^{r}-142^{r}, Agricola
Warsaw 2016, fols. l^{r}-6^{r}, Officium Aule

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[58]A liturgical connection can be discarded, since an *Alleluia* is not appropriate in the context of a funeral service, where the responsory *Ne recorderis* is found.

[59]In both instances, the following recto contained a different piece, but the bottom staff of each was empty and could fit the entire bassus of the *Benedicamus*.

[60]This Mass has been edited by Herbert Birtner, "Aulen Missa," *Das Chorwerk*, Heft 31 (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1934), 4-20, and Rudolf Gerber, *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel* [Leipzig 1494], Das Erbe Deutsche Musik (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1960), Vol. 33, 197-204. Birtner did not list Barcelona M.454 and Segovia among the sources, and Finscher and Dömling, in the critical commentary of Gerber's edition, *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*. Das Erbe Deutsche Musik (Kassel, Basel, Tours, and London: Bärenreiter, 1975), Vol. 34, 407, omitted Barcelona M.454. The Aulen Mass was first discussed by Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, II (Leipzig: Breikopf & Härtel), 184, and later by Fritz Feldmann, *Der Codex Mf. 2016 des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau* [Warsaw 2016] 2 vols. (Breslau: Priebatsh's Buchhandlung, 1932), I, 44-46, Martin Just, *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021 der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1975), I, 83-83, and II, 89-90, and Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 55-56, but none of them included Barcelona M.454 in their list of concordances. Berlin 40021 and Leipzig 1494 lack the sections: *Et Spiritum Sanctum*, *Agnus Dei* I, III, and an added third voice to the *Pleni sunt coeli*; these two manuscripts omit the B-flat signature in most of the movements. Regensburg B 216-219 omits: *Et incarnatus est*, *Et Spiritum Sanctum*, the added third voice to the *Pleni*, and *Agnus Dei* I, III. Munich 3154 lacks the *Kyrie*, beginning of *Gloria*, and *Agnus* I and III. In Segovia the entire *Agnus Dei* and the added third voice of *Pleni sunt coeli* are missing.

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Although this Mass, copied by two non-Iberian scribes in the first gathering of 454/A, is attributed to Agricola in Segovia, four sources of German origin (Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, Regensburg B 216-219, and Warsaw 2016) include the inscription "Off[icium] Auleni," which has been interpreted as an attribution to Aulen.[61] Martin Just concluded that the composer of this Mass must have come from the city of Aalen, known as Aulen at the time.[62] Baker suggested two other interpretations of "Officium Auleni:" (1) in German "aula, aulen" means "great hall," and thus the term could possibly refer to a place of performance; and (2) the Mass could have originated in the town of Aulendorf, not far from Regensburg and Munich.[63] The ascription to Agricola in Segovia has usually been challenged because the manuscript was considered unreliable. However, given the problematic identity of Aulen and the presence of Agricola himself in the Iberian peninsula, Agricola's claim cannot be dismissed entirely.[64]

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[61]Heinrich Besseler, "Aulen," *Die Musik Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 17 vols. (Kassel and Bassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-1951), I, 857-58. The work is anonymously transmitted in the remaining German source, Munich 3154. As stated in the section on conflicting attributions, the voice designation "superius" in Barcelona M.454 has been previously misread as an attribution to an unknown "Cuvenor" or "Suvenor." A *Salve virgo virginum* is attributed to one "Joannes Aulen" in Petrucci 1502[2], but Besseler and Boorman indicated that he is probably not the Aulen of this Mass. Boorman, "Aulen, J." *The New Grove*, vol.1, 697, stated: "The motet is in a later style, more typical of the works of Josquin's generation."

[62]Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, I, 82-83. Although he entertained the idea that Agricola came from Aalen, Just dismissed this hypothesis.

[63]Baker, "Un Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 55-56. She concluded, however: "The obscurity of the composer makes it almost impossible to confirm the attribution, although it must be admitted that the appearance of the work in five German manuscripts, with an attribution to Aulen in four, would seem to support an ascription to this unknown composer."

[64]Agricola twice travelled to Spain in the retinue of Philip the Fair, and, like his master, died of plague at Valladolid in 1506. Edward Lerner, "Agricola, Alexander," *The New Grove*, vol. 1, 163, lists this Mass among Agricola's doubtful works.

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The version of this Mass in 454/A is the most complete redaction of the work, since it includes an *Agnus Dei* III missing from the other extant sources. 454/A, however, does not transmit a third voice in the last nine measures of the *Pleni sunt coeli*; this third voice is found in three other sources. A comparison between the versions in the two Iberian manuscripts, Segovia and 454/A, shows that they are not closely related. Example 5 presents one of many variants. Segovia has a reading similar to that found in the other continental sources; 454/A, however, is the only one to present a correct reading without parallel fifths between superius and tenor at m. 35.

Ex. 5: *Et incarnatus*, Superius, mm. 34-35.
454/A

Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, Segovia, and Warsaw 2016[65]

[65]The first note of the superius at m. 112 in the modern edition of Leipzig 1494, which corresponds to m. 35 in Ex.5, mistakenly reads g' instead of f'; I have not collated the manuscript itself. The notes in parentheses with upward stems are the readings in Berlin 40021 and Leipzig 1494; the variant in Warsaw 2016, shown in brackets, is erroneous, since it reads c minim instead of semibreve.

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One of the significant variants in the transmission of the Aulen Mass concerns the position of the *Benedictus*. While Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, and Munich 3154 follow the order *Osanna-Benedictus*, 454/A, Regensburg B 216-219, and Warsaw 2016 place the *Benedictus* before the *Osanna*.[66] Curiously, the order of these two movements in Segovia is *Osanna-Benedictus* in the superius and tenor, and *Benedictus-Osanna* in the bassus.[67] The confusion about the order of these movements has been transmitted to the two modern editions of this Mass, since both Birtner and Gerber failed to underlay the ending of the *Pleni sunt caeli* section with the words *Osanna in excelsis*.[68] After this short *Osanna,* it is obvious that the *Benedictus* should follow, and that the more elaborate *Osanna* provides the ending for the movement.[69] I believe that the fully-texted versions of this Mass as found in 454/A and Warsaw 2016 are not only the most complete musically, but also the most accurate in the transmission of the correct order for the sections *Pleni*-(ending with *Osanna*)-*Benedictus-Osanna*.[70]

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[66]Birtner, "Aulen Missa," 3. He also indicates that although Warsaw 2016 and Regensburg B 216-219 agree in the order of these two movements the latter source does not have the added third voice in the *Pleni*; Warsaw 2016 has that voice. As stated above, 454/A also lacks this third voice.

[67]Perhaps the scribe of Segovia, after copying the superius and tenor, realized that the order of the movements was incorrect in the source he was using as a model (see below), and changed the order in the bassus. This suggests (as does Ex. 5 above) that the source he used was closer to Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, and Munich 3154 than to 454/A, where the *Osanna-Benedictus-Osanna* appear in the correct order.

[68]That the section *Pleni sunt caeli* should end with the words "Osanna in excelsis" is clear in the fully-texted versions in 454/A and Warsaw 2016. Moreover, the added third voice at the end of the *Pleni* in Warsaw 2016 joins the others precisely with the words "Osanna in excelsis."

[69]Birtner, "Aulen Missa," 17-18, places the elaborate *Osanna* before the *Benedictus*, and indicates that the same *Osanna* should be repeated at the end. Gerber, *Der Mensuralkodex*, 203, has the same order, but does not indicate "Osanna ut supra" after the *Benedictus*.

[70]According to Birtner, "Aulen Missa," 3, Regensburg B216-219 transmits the correct order *Pleni-Benedictus-Osanna*, but it does not underlay the words "Osanna in excelsis" at the end of the *Pleni*. I have not collated this manuscript, but, as indicated above, it is

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Although 454/A and Warsaw 2016 agree on this issue, in a number of other musical variants Warsaw 2016 sides with the German sources against 454/A.[71] Both Just and Finscher illustrated the transmission of this Mass with similar stemmas in which the sources were divided into two main traditions: (1) Berlin 40021 and Leipzig 1494; and (2) Munich 3154, Regensburg B 216-219, Segovia, and Warsaw 2016. Segovia was considered somewhat separated from the other three manuscripts of the second group.[72] 454/A belongs to this second group of sources, but its reading is independent.

(v) No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*, Mondéjar/[Diaz]

(See above for the discussion of this piece among the conflicting attributions.)

(vi) No. 34. *O admirabile comercium*, Ylario

Sources:
454/A, fols. ciiii^{v}-cv^{r} (31^{v}-32^{r}), Ylario
Coimbra 12, fols. 196^{v}-198^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 27^{v}-28^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 36^{v}-37^{v}, Anon.
Coimbra 53, fols. 44^{v}-45^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxiiii^{v}-cclxxv^{r}, Illario

Ylario's work, which appears with a final on C in 454/A, was copied a fourth higher, ending on F, in both Coimbra 12 and Tarazona 2/3.[73] It is not possible to

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less complete than either 454/A or Warsaw 2016. 454/A, Regensburg B 216-219, and Warsaw 2016 agree in having all voices texted, while the other sources have either incipits (Berlin 40021 and Leipzig 1494) or the full text only in the superius of some movements (Munich 3154).

[71]Interestingly, Warsaw 2016, with five works, is the non-Iberian manuscript with which 454/A shares the greatest number of its works. The four additional concordances are: Agricola's *Sy dedero*, Josquin's *Ave Maria*, Compère's *Ave Maria*, and Weerbecke's *Anima mea liquefacta es*. The relationship between Warsaw 2016 and Barcelona M.454 will be studied below.

[72]Just, *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021*, II, 89; Finscher and Dömling, *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, III, 407, stated that Berlin 40021 and Leipzig 1494 share a number of errors that separate these two manuscripts from the others. Birtner, "Aulen Missa," 3, did not draw a stemma, but he also divided the transmission of this work into the same two main groups.

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ascertain whether the original version of *O admirabile comercium* had the final on C or on F, since any of these three readings could be traced back to an archetype that ended on either of those two finals. The tenor in Coimbra 12 at mm. 17-18, however, omits four semibreves, and therefore is unlikely to have served as a parent source for either 454/A or Tarazona 2/3.

(vii) No. 36. *Sy dedero*, [Agricola/Isaac/Obrecht/Verbonet][74]

Iberian Sources:
454/A, fols. cvi^{v}-cvii^{r} (33^{v}-34^{r}), Anon.
Segovia, fols. 170^{v}, Agricola

(See the Inventory for non-Iberian sources.)

On the basis of a variant in the bassus at m. 59, Atlas distinguished two main traditions in the transmission of Agricola's *Sy dedero*, with 454/A belonging to the group that includes Segovia.[75] As Brown points out, there are several sources with B-flat in the key signature, which radically affects the application of *musica ficta*, changing the mode of the motet from the eighth mode to the transposed second mode.[76] While

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[73]Although the readings in these three sources otherwise are very similar, Coimbra 12 agrees with 454/A against Tarazona 2/3 in two instances: 1) the altus in both 454/A and Coimbra 12 ends with the fifth of the final chord, while that in Tarazona 2/3 ends with the third, providing a full triad; and 2) in the superius at m. 80, the melodic contour a'-b'-a'-g' in Tarazona 2/3 differs from a'-g'-a'-b' in Coimbra; the latter has the transposed equivalent of e'-d'-e'-f' in 454/A. I have not collated the other sources for this work.

[74]There is a consensus for ascribing *Sy dedero* to Agricola.

[75]Atlas, *Cappella Giulia*, I, 79. Only 454/A and Paris 676 transmit a fourth voice, which, however, is different in each manuscript. In 454/A there is no indication that the added altus is a *si placet* voice; the other voices have an additional longa rest to accomodate its entrance.

[76]Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*, 140. He also refers to Lerner, *Agricola: Opera Omnia*, IV, xvi, who states that the chant on which the motet is based belongs to the eighth mode, and that Agricola's piece had been assigned to that mode by Pietro Aron and Aegidius Tschudi, compiler of St. Gall 463.

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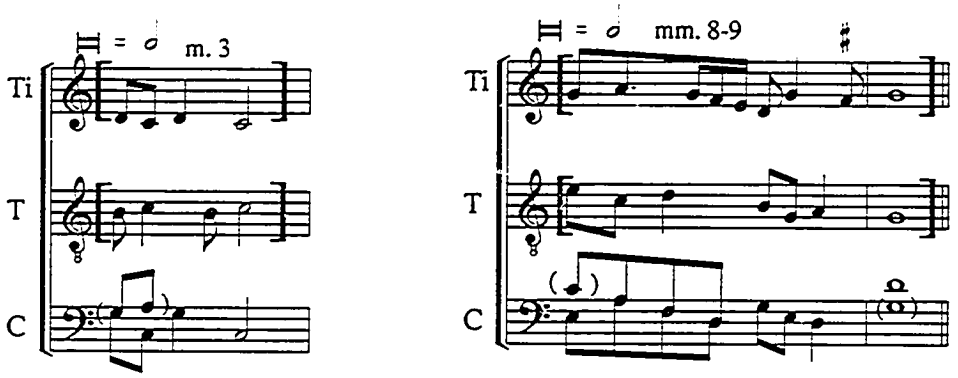
Segovia has no accidentals in the key signature, 454/A has E-flat in the "contra baxa" and B-flat in the added contra.

(viii) No. 45. *Pues vivo en perder la vida,* [Peñalosa]

Sources:
454/A, fol. cxx^{r} (48^{r}), Anon.
Madrid 1335, fol. lxxv^{r}, Peñalosa

Pues vivo en perder la vida lacks the *tiple*[77] and first section of the tenor in 454/A owing to the loss of the previous fol. (47). All five of the variants between the two sources occur in the *contra.* Three of them are shown in Example 6; the readings in Madrid 1335 are in parenthesis.[78]

Ex. 6: Variants in *Pues vivo en perder la vida*
contra, m. 3 and mm. 8-9.



These are minor variants and it is not possible to ascertain which version preceded the other. The different final chord at the end of both the first and second sections does not help, since both types of leap in the contra—either to make a unison with the tenor or to cross it to provide the fifth of the chord, as 454/A does—were common at the time.

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[77]The superius of Spanish secular works is customarily designated with the term *tiple* in contemporary manuscripts.

[78]The brackets indicate the music missing from 454/A.

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(ix) No. 50. *Ave Maria*, [Josquin]

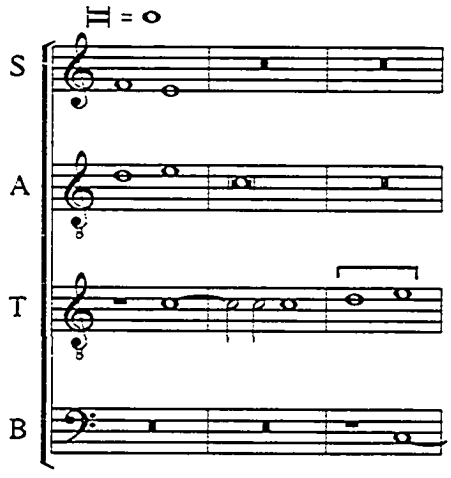
Iberian Sources:
Manuscripts:
454/A, fols. cxxiiii^{v}-cxxvi^{r} (52^{v}-54^{r}), Anon.
Barcelona 5, fols. 56^{v}-57^{r}, Anon.
Segovia, fols. 83^{v}-85^{r}, Josquin dupres

(Non-Iberian sources are listed in the Inventory.)

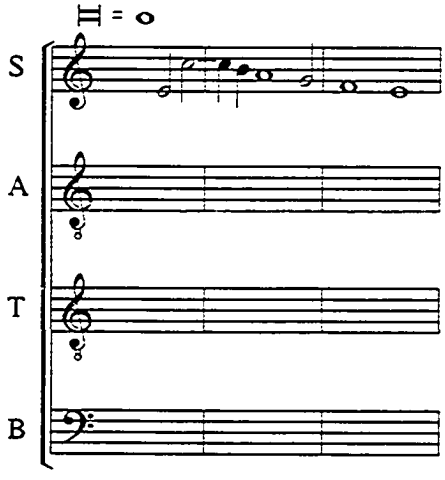
A variant in the superius at mm. 20-22 (Ex. 7) separates 454/A from all other sources for Josquin's *Ave Maria*; the motive omitted in the superius of 454/A is an exact repetition of the previous one.[79]

Ex. 7: Superius, mm. 20-22, Josquin's *Ave Maria*.

454/A



Barcelona 5
Segovia
Petrucci 1502[1]
[all sources]



[79]As we have seen above, the two Barcelona manuscripts also disagree in the case of *O bone Jesu*. Smijers, *Josquin des Pres: Motetten*, I, xiii, does not include Iberian sources for Josquin's *Ave Maria* in his list of concordances, and he does not record this variant among the ones he listed. Another variant unique to 454/A occurs at mm. 14-17 and 28-31, where the bassus sings an octave higher.

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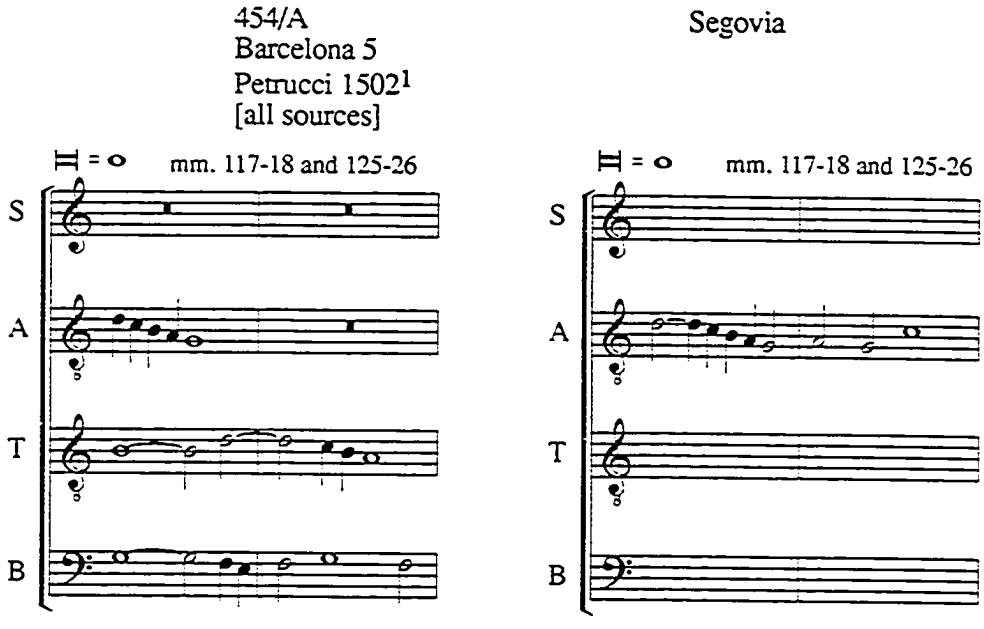
Although in Ex. 7 Barcelona 5 sides with Segovia against 454/A, the agreement of Barcelona 5 and Segovia is not consistent since, as shown in Ex. 8, at mm. 117-18 and 125-26 Barcelona 5 agrees with 454/A against Segovia.[80]

Ex. 8. Altus, mm. 117-18 and mm. 125-26.



The variants in Exx. 7 and 8 show that the three Iberian versions of Josquin's *Ave Maria* differ from one another, and that no pattern of transmission can be discerned among them.[81] There is only one rhythmic variant (Ex. 9) shared by all three Iberian

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[80]Smijers, *Josquin des Pres: Motetten*, I, xiii, does not record any other source with the variant in Segovia. The dissonant clash f-g on the fourth beat of m. 117 (repeated in m. 125) in Segovia is most likely an error. Segovia and Barcelona 5 agree with Munich 19 and Munich 3154 in a variant illustrated by Smijers (superius at mm. 28-29).

[81]In his stemma of sources for Josquin's *Ave Maria*, Thomas Noblitt, "Textual Criticism of Selected Works Published by Petrucci," *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, VI, Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I. Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Munich: Kraus International Publications, 1981), 234-35, did not include Barcelona 5 or Segovia, but he listed them as contaminated; the only Iberian source included in the

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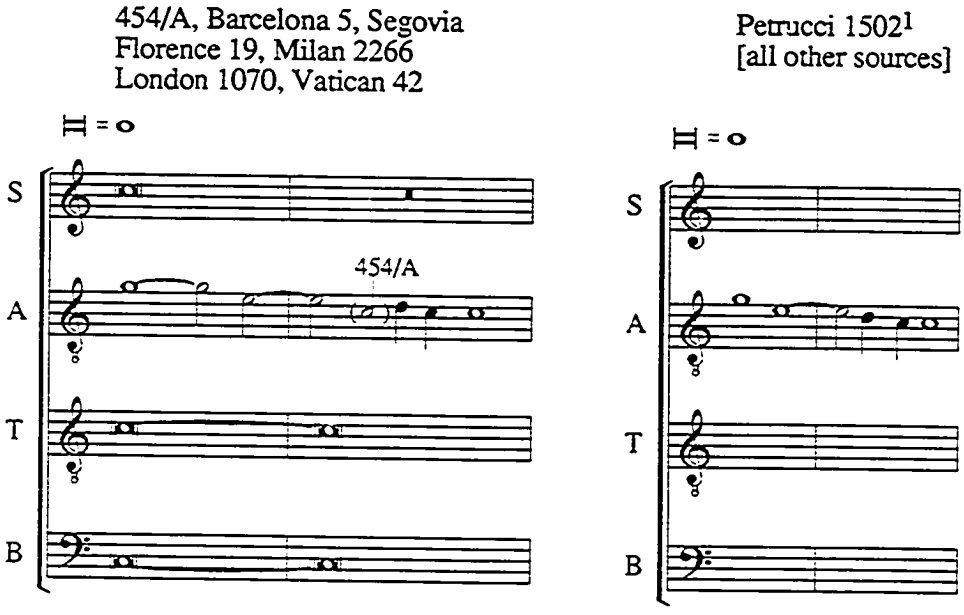
sources in the altus at m. 109, but it is a minor one that is not confined to Iberian sources.[82]

Ex. 9: Altus, mm. 109-10.



Although there is no discernible pattern of transmission of this work among Iberian sources, Barcelona 5 is more consistent in following the Continental tradition, while 454/A and Segovia depart from it with unique variants.

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stemma was Barcelona M.454, separated from the others owing to the variant illustrated in Ex. 7. According to Noblitt, Segovia and Barcelona 5 are contaminated by two rhythmic variants (one of them shown in Ex. 9); in addition, the tenor of Barcelona 5 at m. 94 has a breve rest instead of a semibreve rest, a variant found in Warsaw 2016, but not in Iberian manuscripts.

[82]454/A has a unique reading at m. 110: c' semibreve instead of d'-c' minims.

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(x) No. 51. *Ave Maria*, [Compère]

Sources:
454/A, fols. cxxvi^{v}-cxxviii^{r} (54^{v}-56^{r}), Anon.
Berlin 40021, fols. 206^{v}-208^{r}, Anon.
Segovia, fol. 110, Anon. (*secunda pars* only; A and B only)
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxx^{v}-cclxxxii^{r}, Luiset
Toledo 21, fol. 58^{v}-62^{r}, Lisset
Vatican 15, 185^{v}-187^{r}, Anon.
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. 140^{v}-142^{r}, Compère
Verona 758, fols. 2^{v}-4^{r}, Anon.
Warsaw 20016, fols. 93^{v}-95^{r}, Anon.
Petrucci 1502[1], fols. 28^{v}-31^{r}, Compère

(See the Inventory for other sources)

A comparison of the readings in the four Iberian sources and the Chigi Codex, which was used by Finscher in the Compère edition, shows no pattern of agreement between any two manuscripts.[83] As for the Iberian manuscripts, variants separate each source from the others. Toledo 21, however, agrees with 454/A and Segovia against Tarazona 2/3 on at least two occasions. Toledo 21 sides more often with non-Iberian manuscripts (especially Vatican 15), but it also has variants of its own, as in the tenor at m. 71 (Ex. 10d). Interestingly enough, a rhythmic variant that separates Toledo 21 from all of the other sources provides the reading that best seems to fit the text declamation at *Sancte Michael*, the beginning of the *secunda pars*.[84] Exx. 10a-e illustrate some of the diverse readings within the Iberian manuscripts.

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[83]Finscher, *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia*, IV, 8-10. The altus at m. 63 in Chigi reads f instead of the d founf in the modern edition. This editorial emendation avoids the octaves with the superius; Iberian sources have d. The modern edition, after Chigi, has an error in the altus at m. 58: in Chigi the first two g are two f and the a reads b. As shown by Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 140, the saints invoked in the *secunda pars* of Compère's *Ave Maria* are different in the Iberian manuscripts. 454/A: Michael, Ludovicus, Jerome, Philip, Mark, Justin, Fructuosus, and Firminus; Segovia: Michael, Dominic, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist; and Tarazona 2/3: Michael, Benedict, Ludovicus, Francis, Julian, Gaudios, and Prudentius. In Chigi the saints are: Michael, Nicholas, Anthony, Martin, Benedict, Ludovicus, and Quintinus.

[84]There are other rhythmic variants among the sources, but no pattern of agreement can be established.

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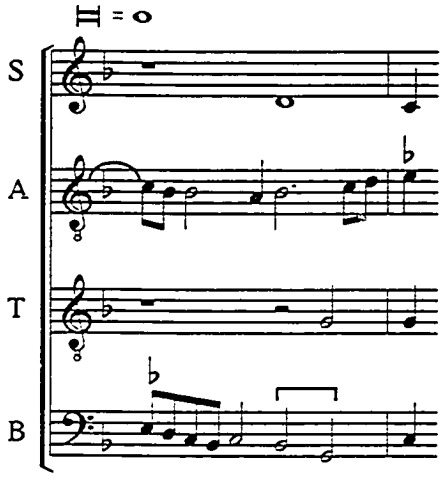
Exx. 10a-e: Variants in Compère's *Ave Maria.*

Ex. 10a: m. 12.

Chigi, Petrucci 1502[1]

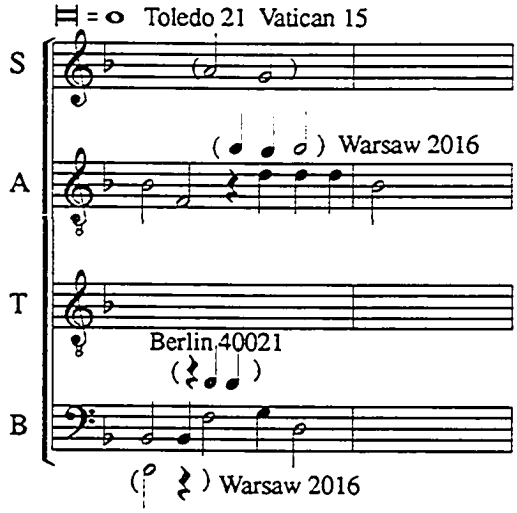


454/A, Berlin 40021, Tarazona 2/3, Toledo 21, Vatican 15, Verona 758, Warsaw 2016

Ex. 10b: mm. 60-61.

454/A

Berlin 40021, Chigi, Petrucci 1502[1], Segovia, Tarazona 2/3, Toledo 21, Vatican 15, Verona 758, Warsaw 2016



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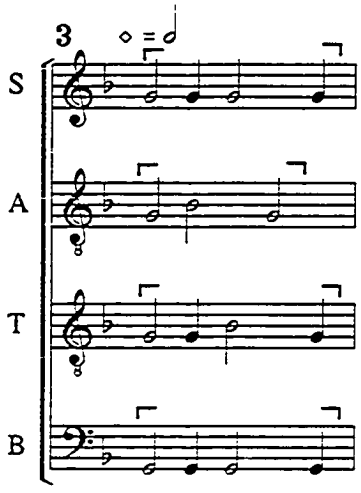
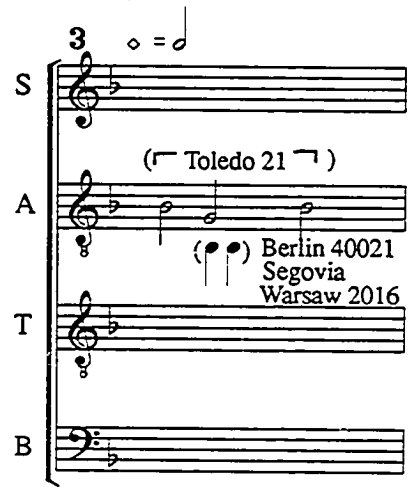
Ex. 10c: Compère's *Ave Maria*, m. 62.

Tarazona 2/3

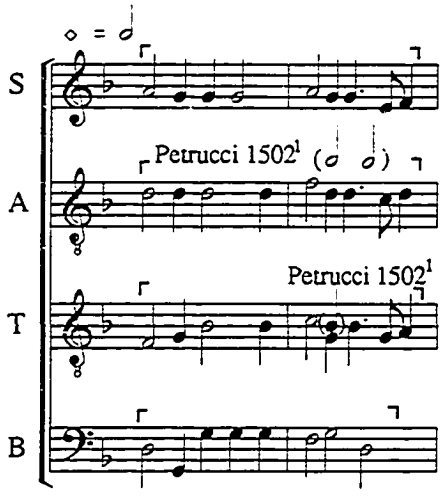


454/A, Berlin 40021, Chigi, Petruci 1502[1], Toledo 21, Vatican 15, Verona 758, Warsaw 2016



Ex. 10d: mm. 70-71.

Tarazona 2/3, Petrucci 1502[1]



454/A, Berlin 40021, Chigi, Segovia (A only),Toledo 21, Vatican 15, Verona 758, Warsaw 2016

*Variants in coloration have not been indicated

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Ex. 10e: Compère's *Ave Maria*, mm. 37-38.

Berlin 40021, Chigi, Petrucci 1502[1], Toledo 21, Vatican 15, Verona 758, Warsaw 2016

(xi) No. 52. *Intemerata virgo* and *O Maria nullam*, [Josquin]

Sources:

454/A, fols. cxxviii^{v}-cxxx^{r} (56^{v}-58^{r}), Anon.
Padua A17, fols. 4^{v}-5^{r}, Josquin (*Intemerata virgo*)
Segovia, 85^{v}-87^{r}, Josquin Dupres
Petrucci 1505[2], Nos. 20 and 39, Josquin[85]
Montanus & Neuber 1559[2], No. XI

These two works constitute the *tertia* and *quarta partes* of Josquin's motet *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*.[86] Segovia disagrees with 454/A, Padua A17, and Petrucci 1505[2] for *Intemerata virgo* at m. 130, where the superius has a rest instead of the g' breve.

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[85]The table of contents of Petrucci 1505[2] lists the works in alphabetical order and separates the different *partes* of the motet to which these two *partes* belong; the attribution to Josquin appears after the incipit of the *prima pars, Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*.

[86]This motet was edited by Smijers, *Werken van Josquin des Près. Motetten. Bundel IV*, x-xi.

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Although these four readings are close, 454/A and Segovia agree against Padua A17 and Petrucci 1505^2 in a minor cadential variant (superius mm. 138^3-139^4); this notational variant occurs precisely where 454/A and Segovia also agree against Padua A17 and Petrucci 1505^2 in a text variant ("Redemptorem Israel" instead of "Redemptorem saeculi"). Perhaps this agreement suggests that, notwithstanding the unique reading of Segovia at m. 130, the two Iberian sources for *Intemerata virgo* are closer to each other than to either Padua A17 or Petrucci 1505^2. The readings of *O Maria nullam* in 454/A and Segovia are very close to Petrucci 1505^2.

(xii) No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]

(See the discussion of this piece under conflicting attributions.)

(xiii) No. 57. *Mater patris et filia*,[87] [Brumel]

Sources:
454/A, fols. cxxxvi^v-cxxxvii^r (64^v-65^r), Anon.
Bologna Q18, fols. 75^v-76^r, Anon.
Florence 27, fols. 101^v-102^r, Brumel
Munich 322-325, No. 18, Anon.
Segovia, fols. 156^v-157^r, Anon.
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 19^v-20^r, Anon.
Formschneider, 1538^9, No. 55, Henricus Brumel
Petrucci 1501, fols. 67^v-68^r, Brumel
Petreius, 1536^{13}, No. 5, A. Brumel
Spinacino 1507^6, *Intabulatura II*, fols. 33v-34 v, Francesco Spinacino

Brumel's *Mater patris et filia* is transmitted in three Iberian manuscripts: 454/A, Segovia, and Seville 5-5-20, which, together with Munich 322-325, stand apart from Bologna Q18, Florence 27, and Petrucci 1501 in three places.[88]

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[87]This work has been edited by Hudson, *Antonii Brumel: Opera Omnia*, V, 63-64 (after Petrucci 1501); Barcelona M.454 was not included among the sources. Hudson cited a few variants in Formschneider and Bologna Q18 that are unique to each source; he used the lute tablatures for questions related to musica ficta.

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Exx. 11a-c: Three variants in Brumel's *Mater patris*.

Ex. 11a: mm. 11-12

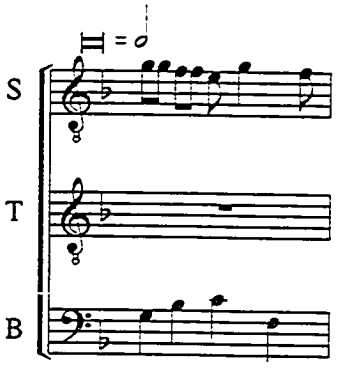
454/A, Munich 322-325
Segovia, Seville 5-5-20

Bologna Q18, Florence 27, Petrucci 1501

Ex. 11b: m. 19

454/A, Munich 322-325
Segovia, Seville 5-5-20

Bologna Q18, Florence 27, Petrucci 1501



[88]I have not collated the other sources. In Hudson, *Antonii Brumel: Opera Omnia*, V, xxxiv, the variant shown here as Ex. 11a has an error: the superius at mm. 11^{5}-12^{1} reads g" not f".

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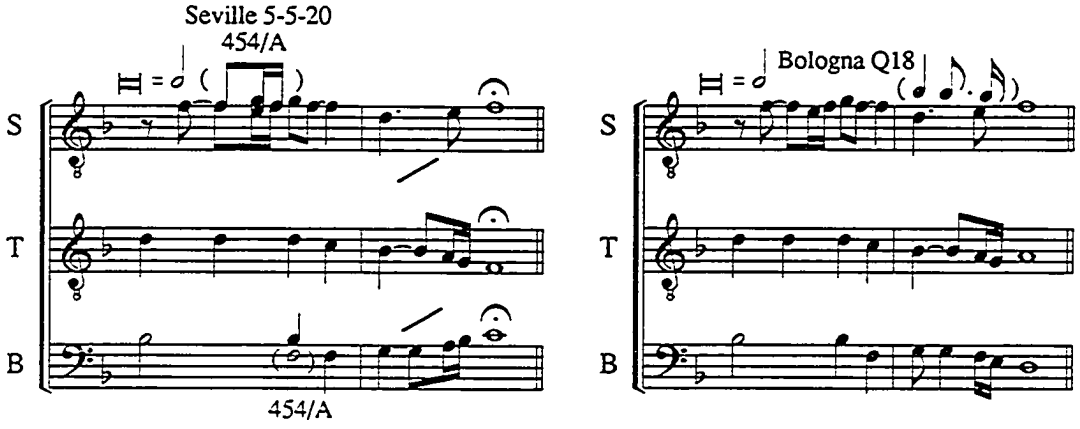
Ex. 11c: Brumel's *Mater patris*, mm. 28-29

454/A
Munich 322-325
Segovia
Seville 5-5-20

Bologna Q18
Florence 27
Petrucci 1501



As Exx. 11a-c show, although 454/A generally agrees with its Iberian concordances, it has variants of its own (as in the bassus at m. 28),[89] and there is no consistency in the agreement of other minor variants, such as anticipations.[90]

In spite of the minor disagrements, however, the agreement in Ex. 11a among 454/A, Segovia, and Seville against the three Italian sources for *Mater patris* illustrates perhaps the clearest instance, among Iberian manuscripts, of a unified tradition in the transmission of a foreign work. We should also point out, however, that in Ex. 11c the Iberian version is incorrect at m. 29, since there are parallel fifths between the superius and the bassus; these fifths are avoided with the descending motion of the bass found in the Italian sources.

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[89]This variant, an error in the bassus of 454/A at m. 28 (Ex. 11c), indicates that our manuscript probably did not serve as a source for the other Iberian manuscripts. Another variant unique to 454/A occurs at m. 18 in the bassus, where two c minims become minim rest and c in our manuscript. In Ex. 11b both readings of the last beat at m. 19 are awkward.

[90]An example of such inconsistency occurs at m.10, where the superius of 454/A has a reading similar to that of Munich 322-325 and Segovia, but the tenor does not include the anticipation found in Munich 322-325, Segovia, and Seville 5-5-20.

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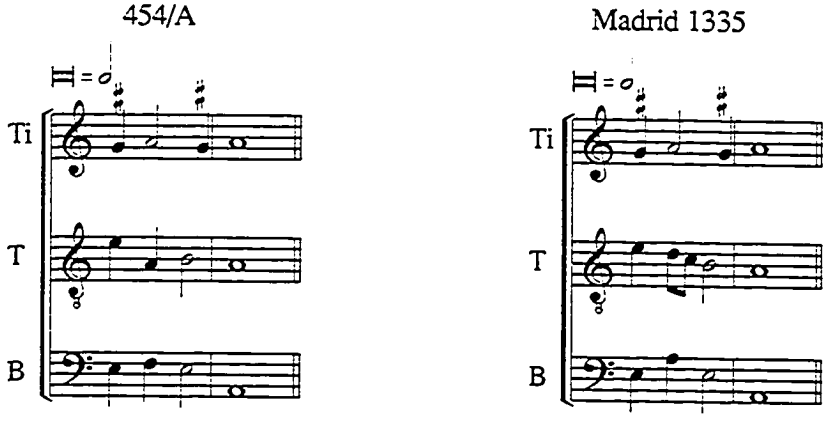
(xiv) No. 98. *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço,* [Encina]

Sources:
454/A, fol. [clxxx bis^{r}] (80^{r}), Anon.
Madrid 1335, fol. cclxxx^{v}-cclxxxi^{r}, Encina

The readings of Encina's *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço* in Madrid 1335 and 454/A are very close. A variant (Ex. 12) occurs in the tenor and bassus at the cadence of both the first and second sections of the piece.[91]

Ex. 12: Cadential variant in *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço.*



Given the scarcity of variants between the two readings, it is difficult to be categorical about their stemmatic relationship, but that the versions belong to different traditions is suggested by the text, since one of the three strophes is unique to each manuscript. Moreover, the order of the strophes differs, and the first line of the second strophe, "No descruçies del bivir," in Madrid 1335 reads "Pon esfuerço en tu bivir" in the third strophe of 454/A.[92]

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[91]An error occurs in the contra of 454/A at m. 4 where it reads f instead of the correct g in Madrid 1335.

[92]Romeu, *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*, IV-2, 478, lists other four variants in the text. He questions Encina's authorship of the poem of *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço*, since according to Romeu its style is foreign to Encina.

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Conclusions regarding 454/A and its Iberian Concordances

The transmission of music in 454/A and its concordant Iberian manuscripts shows that Iberian sources often disagree among themselves, and that they do not represent a unified manuscript tradition.

The diverse readings within the foreign repertoire in Iberian manuscripts suggest that the dissemination of Franco-Flemish music in the Iberian peninsula did not stem from a single, prominent musical establishment—for example, the royal chapels—but that a number of musical establishments may have had independent access to this repertoire. That the readings in Segovia and 454/A are not closely related is shown clearly by their readings for four of the eight works that they share.[93] The disagreements among Iberian manuscripts are particularly evident in the *Ave Maria* settings by Josquin and Compère; each Iberian manuscript displays occasional independent readings from their Continental counterparts. That the readings of foreign compositions in 454/A are reliable is particularly true in the case of the Aulen Mass, where our manuscript transmits the most complete version of the piece, and, together with Warsaw 2016, the most accurate.[94]

The clearest case of a unified tradition in the transmission of a foreign work in both Barcelona M.454 and other Iberian sources is Brumel's *Mater patris*, where 454/A, Segovia, and Seville 5-5-20 agree in three instances with Munich 322-325 against Bologna

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[93]The variants between 454/A and Segovia do not show any consistent pattern in the type of disagreements. The two works in which the readings of 454/A and Segovia agree are Josquin's *O Maria nullam* and de la Torre's *Ne recorderis*, though Segovia transmits only the superius of the latter piece and copies it a third too low after the second note.

[94]As indicated above, the attribution of this Mass to Cuvenor or Suvenor is based on a misreading of the "superius" voice designation in 454/A.

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Q18, Florence 27, and Petrucci 1501. This instance, however, is more an exception than the norm among Iberian manuscripts.

Regarding the transmission of the Spanish works in 454/A that have concordances in Iberian manuscripts, the variants, and especially the conflicting attributions for *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum* and *O bone Jesu*, show that the Iberian repertoire presents filiation problems similar to those encountered elsewhere on the Continent. The three instances of conflicting attributions involving 454/A do not speak against the ascriptions of this manuscript. The Mondéjar/[Díaz] conflict for *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum* may be related to the many significant variants between the two versions. The biographies of the two composers suggest that one musician could have known and revised the other's work either during the period 1504-1506, when they sang together in the Aragonese royal chapel, or afterwards.[95] In the second instance, there is no agreement among scholars regarding the authorship of *O bone Jesu*; while Howard Mayer Brown favors the attribution to Peñalosa in 454/A without dismissing that of Ribera in Tarazona 2/3, Norma Baker and Ludwig Finscher defend Anchieta's and Compère's claims in Segovia and Petrucci 1519[2] respectively. Even though the ascription of *O bone Jesu* in 454/A was not entered by the scribe who copied the music, Peñalosa cannot be disregarded. The text at the end of this motet ("notum fac mihi, Domine finem meum") may have been the cause of the different attempts at ending the piece; the four different endings, in turn, may have provoked the multiple ascriptions. As pointed out, a similar ending for a section of a Mass was written by Anchieta, and perhaps the conflicting ending of *O bone Jesu* should also be attributed to him. It is likely, however, that the version of *O bone Jesu* with a different ending and with an attribution to Compère was the original composition. Finally, the third conflicting attribution in 454/A involves a Brumel Magnificat, ascribed very faintly to

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[95]The attribution to Mondéjar in 454/A is particularly significant, since the same scribe also copied three *unica* by Mondéjar; perhaps composer and scribe knew each other.

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Benito in our manuscript. My contention is that this erroneous ascription was most likely added by a Spanish hand after an original attribution to Brumel had been trimmed away.

Besides the fourteen concordances between 454/A and other Iberian manuscripts, thirty-one of the forty-seven works in 454/A are *unica*, which speaks for the interest and importance of this particular section of Barcelona M.454. A summary of the relationships between 454/A and each Iberian concordant manuscript follows:

454/A and Barcelona 5

Concordances: 2	Attribution in Barcelona 5
No. 50. *Ave Maria* [Josquin]	Anon.
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	Anon.

The two manuscripts disagree in their readings of these two motets. An important variant in No. 50 separates 454/A from all other sources; in another instance Barcelona 5 sides with 454/A against Segovia, but the variant in the latter is unique. These and other variants suggest that the readings in 454/A, Barcelona 5, and Segovia are independent.

Regarding No. 56, the version in Barcelona 5 transmits a different ending from that found in 454/A.

454/A and Coimbra 12

Concordances: 3	Attribution in Coimbra 12
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*, Mondéjar/[Díaz]	Anon.
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario	Anon.
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/(Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	Anon.

All three works have important variants in the anonymous versions of Coimbra 12. 454/A contains ten additional measures after the point at which No. 28 concludes in Coimbra 12 (and Tarazona 2/3); the final eleven measures in Coimbra 12—as well as many others in the alto throughout the piece—differ from the corresponding measures in 454/A and Tarazona 2/3.

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No. 34 was copied a fourth higher in Coimbra 12 (and Tarazona 2/3) than in 454/A, but other than that these three readings are very close; in one variant, however, Coimbra 12 differs from Tarazona 2/3 in having the transposed equivalent of 454/A.

The endings of No. 56 in Coimbra 12 and 454/A are different; Coimbra 12 is closer to Petrucci 1519[2].

454/A and Coimbra 32

Concordances: 3	Attribution in Coimbra 32
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*, Mondéjar/[Díaz]	Anon.
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario	Anon.
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	Anon.

I have not collated the readings in Coimbra 32.

454/A and Madrid 1335

Concordances: 2	Attribution in Madrid 1335
No. 45. *Pues vivo en perder la vida* [Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 98. *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço* [Encina]	Encina

The two readings in 454/A are very close to those in Madrid 1335. There are only five minor variants in No. 45; 454/A lacks the *tiple* and first section of the tenor owing to the loss of a folio.

Although the readings of No. 98 are also close, one of the three strophes is unique to each manuscript, their order is different, and the first line of one of the strophes presents an important variant. These text variants suggest that the versions, at least of the texts, may be independent.

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454/A and Segovia

Concordances: 8	Attribution in Segovia
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]	Anon.
No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]	Agricola
No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola/Isaac/Obrecht/Verbonet]	Agricola
No. 50. *Ave Maria* [Josquin]	Josquin
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	Anon.
No. 52. *Intemerata virgo* and *O Maria nullam* [Josquin]	Josquin
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	Anchieta
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]	Anon.

The readings of Nos. 24, 52, and 56—notwithstanding the conflicting attribution to Peñalosa/Anchieta in the latter—are very close. Although the readings of No. 57 contain many variants, 454/A and Segovia agree—with Seville 5-5-20 and Munich 322-325—in at least two instances against Bologna Q18, Florence 27, and Petrucci 1501.

Segovia and 454/A share a separative variant in No. 36, with 454/A transmitting a unique forth voice.

The many variants in Nos. 27, 50, and 51 indicate that the readings in 454/A and Segovia are independent.

454/A and Seville 5-5-20

Concordances: 1	Attribution in Seville 5-5-20
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]	Anon.

Although the two readings contain many variants, 454/A and Seville 5-5-20 agree—with Segovia and Munich 322-325—in at least two instances against Bologna Q18, Florence 27, and Petrucci 1501.

454/A and Tarazona 2/3

Concordances: 5	Attribution in Tarazona 2/3
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]	F. la Torre
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*, Mondéjar/[Díaz]	Díaz
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario	Ylario
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	Luiset
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	Ribera

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Only the readings of No. 56 in both manuscripts are very close, notwithstanding the conflicting attribution to Peñalosa/Ribera.

The readings of No. 24 in Tarazona 2/3 and Tarazona 5 alter the order of the text and music for one of the sections of this responsory as transmitted by 454/A, 454/B, Segovia, and two Toledo manuscripts; a musical variant separates the readings in 454/A, 454/B, and Segovia from those in the Tarazona and Toledo manuscripts.

The version of No. 28 attributed to Díaz in Tarazona 2/3 presents many variants with respect to the one attributed to Mondéjar in 454/A; these variants suggest that they may be associated with the conflicting attribution.

No. 34 in Tarazona 2/3 was copied—as in Coimbra 12—a fourth higher than the version in 454/A; other than that the readings are very close except for one variant in which Coimbra 12—with a transposed equivalent— sides with 454/A.

The readings of No. 51 in 454/A and Tarazona 2/3 present many variants.

454/A and Tarazona 5

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Tarazona 5
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]	

The two readings are independent. See "454/A and Tarazona 2/3," above.

454/A and Toledo 1

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Toledo 1
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]	F. de la Torre

Toledo 1 is unique in transmitting No. 24 with the mensural values cut in half throughout the entire piece. A variant separates Toledo 1 (Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, and Toledo 21) from 454/A (454/B and Segovia). The reading in Toledo 1, however, sides with 454/A (454/B, Segovia, and Toledo 21) against the two Tarazona manuscripts, in the order of the text and music for one section of the piece. It is most likely that the reading in Toledo 1 is derived from another Toledan source, perhaps Toledo 21.

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454/A and Toledo 21

Concordances: 2	Attribution in Toledo 21
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]	F. de la Torre
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	Lysset

454/A and Toledo 21 agree—with 454/B, Segovia, and Toledo 1—against Tarazona 2/3 and Tarazona 5 in the order of text and music for one of the sections of No. 24; a musical variant, however, separates the readings in 454/A, 454/B, and Segovia from all the others. The readings of No. 51 in 454/A and Toledo 21 have many variants.

Based on the above summaries, and subject to modification and refinement in light of the preceding discussion of specific pieces, the readings in 454/A are closest to Segovia and furthest removed from Barcelona 5 and Coimbra 12. 454/A, however, occupies a special position within the context of the Iberian manuscripts, since its readings are often independent.

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II. BARCELONA 454/B

Number of works: 35
Unica: 30
Ascriptions: Peñalosa (2), Baena, Quexada
Attributions through concordances: Anchieta, Benito, Busnois, Ockeghem, de la Torre, Wreede
Conflicting attributions: none
Concordances with Iberian manuscripts: 5

No. 9. *Missa de nostra dona* [Anchieta]
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]
No. 60. *Tribularer si nescirem*, Peñalosa
No. 75. *Pange lingua* [Wreede]
No. 78. *Si* [*la noche es temerosa*] Anon. (superius only)

A. The five concordances between 454/B and Iberian manuscripts

(i) No. 9. *Missa de nostra dona*, [Anchieta]

Sources:
454/B, fols. xxxvii^{v}-xlix^{r}, Anon.
Segovia, fols. 65^{v}-67^{r}, Anchieta (*Gloria* only, forming a two-movement Mass with a *Credo* not found in 454/B)
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccix^{v}-ccxvii^{r}, Anchieta (*Kyrie* and *Gloria* only; *Credo* as in Segovia, and then a different *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* ascribed to Escobar)

The *Missa de nostra dona* in 454/B, a plenary Mass starting with the Introit *Salve sancta parens*, presents an interesting problem of transmission.[96] The *Kyrie* and *Gloria* are found in Tarazona 2/3 as part of a *Missa de nuestra señora* attributed to Anchieta, but with a *Credo*, missing from 454/B, and with a different *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, both of

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[96]In addition to this unique introit, the Mass in 454/B follows the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* with six unique movements: the polyphonic gradual *Benedicta et verenerabilis*, an *Alleluia dulcis mater*, the offertory *Felix namque*, a *Sanctus*, an *Agnus Dei*, and the Communion *Beata viscera marie*. This Mass in 454/B, which contains the Propers for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, has no *Credo*. It should be pointed out, however, that the Mass *Salve sancta Parens* celebrated throughout the year in honor of the Virgin, and on Saturdays between Pentecost and Advent, has no Credo (see *Liber Usualis*, 1263-72). Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 112, and Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 177, in their respective inventories of Barcelona M.454, listed the movements other than the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* as separate anonymous items. Interestingly, the *tabla* in Barcelona M.454 lists the "Salve d'Anxeta" after the "Missa de nostra dona salve sancta," which points to the Iberian tradition of performing the Salve after a Marian Mass.

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which carry ascriptions to Escobar.[97] Segovia transmits only the *Gloria* of the 454/B Mass, joining it to the *Credo* that appears in Tarazona 2/3 (though in reverse order). In his edition of Anchieta's *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Credo* after Tarazona 2/3, Samuel Rubio did not raise the issue of the possible attribution to Anchieta of the entire Mass in 454/B, but he edited its introit, *Salve sancta parens*, separately as a doubtful work.[98] It seems plausible, however, to consider the Mass in 454/B as an entire cycle *De Beata Virgine* with Proper and Ordinary;[99] both the entry in the *tabla* and the position of the cycle among other complete Masses (two before and one after) also favors this hypothesis.[100] It is also conceivable that the entire Mass cycle *De Beata Virgine* in 454/B may be by Anchieta, even though not all of the separate movements (some of them with different finals) were originally intended as part of the same cycle.[101]

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[97]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos* I, 35-46, published this Mass as it appears in Tarazona 2/3. According to Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera Omnia*, 36, this Mass should be called *Missa Rex virginum*, following the name of the trope in the *Kyrie*. The *tablas* in Tarazona 2/3 and Barcelona M.454, however, read: "Missa de Nuestra Señora" and "Missa de nostra dona salve sancta," respectively.

[98]Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera Omnia*, 46-77, 186-88. I believe the Introit should be attributed to Anchieta, since it shares with this composer's *Kyrie* the same head-motive.

[99]Josephson, "Missa De Beata Virgine of the Sixteenth Century," Ph.D. diss., University of California (1970), 50, lists only the two composite Missae *De Beata Virgine* in Tarazona 2/3 and the concordant two movements in 454/B, but he does not offer any comment about the *Missa de nostra dona Salve Sancta* in our manuscript. Josephson cites Anglés as the source for his concordances with Tarazona 2/3; his discussion of Spanish Masses centers around those by Morales, Guerrero, Bernardino de Ribera, Victoria, and Villanueva.

[100]The cycle follows Masses by Benito and Ockeghem (*Au travail suis*) and comes before Busnoys's *L'homme armé* Mass.

[101]There are motivic connections among some movements. The head-motive (semibreves: d'-d'-c'-d') in the superius of the anonymous introit is used as such in the *Kyrie* attributed to Anchieta and, a third higher, in the anonymous *Benedicta et venerabilis*; it also appears towards the end (m. 320) of the last movement (the communion *Beata viscera*). Anchieta's *Gloria* starts differently, but after eight measures, at *Benedicimus te* and *Adoramus te*, the first three notes of the motive can be heard and the subsequent development recalls the music from the previous two movements. The *Alleluya* seems less motivically related to the other movements, but it is also possible to

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The differences between the Tarazona 2/3 and 454/B readings for the *Kyrie* are not significant; they include four instances in which 454/B fills in skips with passing notes and one case (altus, m. 51) in which 454/B calls for a semibreve rest instead of g in Tarazona 2/3.[102]

The variants in the *Gloria* cannot serve to establish a clear relationship among 454/B, Segovia, and Tarazona 2/3. On the one hand 454/B sides with Segovia in many minor variants,[103] but on the other hand, 454/B sides with Tarazona against Segovia in two more indicative instances (Ex. 13).

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discover the three-note motive at m. 113, and in augmentation in the tenor at mm. 84-86 and 133-34. The movements *Virgo dei genitris*, *Sacra virgo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei* do not contain the head-motive, but they share other motivic designs among themselves which perhaps could be traced to figurations that appear in the other movements.

[102]Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera Omnia*, 47, 49, indicates that in 454/B the final note of the altus in both the first and last *Kyrie* (mm. 25, 65; mm. 31 and 53 in my edition) reads g instead of the correct a; in both cases, though, the notes are blurred, and the first one has clear signs of having been corrected by the later addition of the a.

[103]There are at least 27 other instances of agreement between 454/B and Segovia against Tarazona 2/3, these consisting of minor differences in ligatures, rhythm, and the placement of fermatas above the chords at mm. 96-97, before the final fermata at m. 98.

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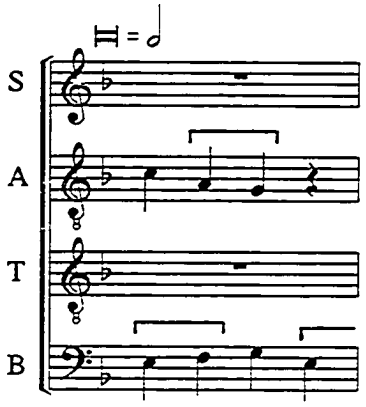
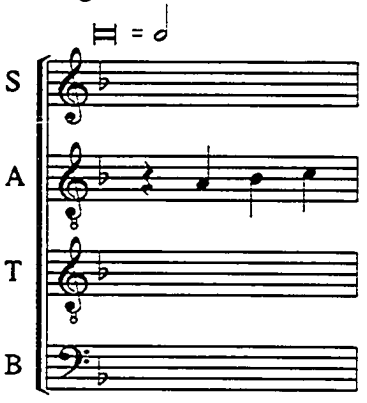
Ex. 13a-b: Agreements between 454/B and Tarazona 2/3 against Segovia.

Ex. 13a: altus m. 77

454/B and Tarazona 2/3

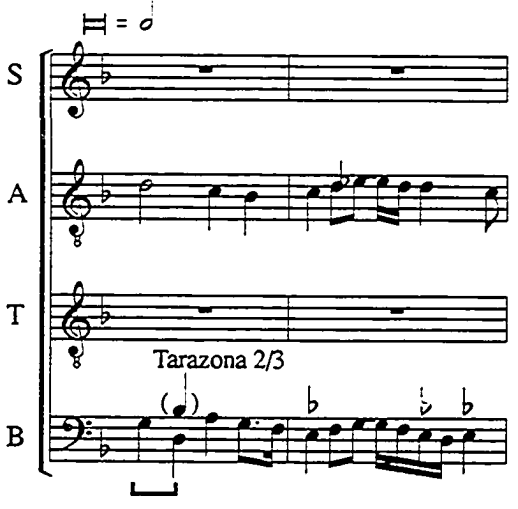


Segovia

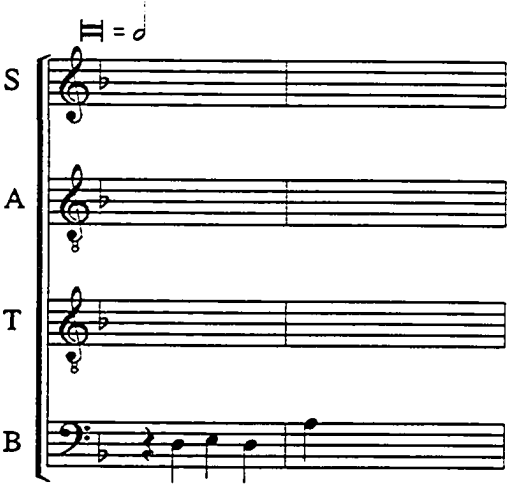


Ex. 13b: bassus mm. 93-94

454/B and Tarazona 2/3



Segovia



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Still other variants and errors in the readings of the *Gloria* as it is transmitted in Segovia and 454/B confuse the issue even more, and point to the conclusion that the Mass was transmitted in a rather open-ended manner, something that was suggested by the different number of movements with which the work was disseminated. Ex. 14 suggests, though, that the reading of the *Gloria* in 454/B is closer to Tarazona 2/3 than to Segovia. The comparison of the readings for Anchieta's *Missa de nostra dona* in 454/B and Segovia shows that even though they share a substantial number of concordances, they fail to transmit readings that stand in close agreement.

(ii) No. 17. *Ne recorderis*, [Francisco de la Torre]

(See the discussion of this piece under 454/A.)

(iii) No. 60. *Tribularer si nescirem*, [Peñalosa]

Sources:
454/B, fols. cxxxviii [bis]^{v}-cxxxviiii^{r}, Peñalosa
Toledo 21, fols. 69^{v}-71^{r}, Peñalosa

Hardie pointed out that both versions represent "separate family traditions" owing to significant differences in text placement and some missing notes in 454/B.[104] Indeed, the tenor of 454/B omits everything from the second beat of m. 71 to the first beat of m. 74 (inclusive), an exact repetition of the three previous measures. The scribal omission would have produced a dissonant clash with a semibreve b' in the superius at m. 74; interestingly, someone corrected the dissonant note in the uppermost voice with a stroke to indicate that a' should be sung instead of b'.[105] This and other scribal errors

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[104]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 143. The text underlay in 454/B is very close to that of Toledo 21, though, only the text at the end of the bassus being slightly displaced. The edition of *Tribularer si nescirem* after Tarazona 2/3 in Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, has an error: the first note of "Tenor I" (altus) should read e' instead of c'.

[105]The piece ends just a few measures later, and it seems that the blur at the end of the superius is the result of further adjustments.

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indicate that 454/B could not have served as a parent source for Toledo 21.[106] Rather than representing a separate family tradition, however, the reading of Peñalosa's *Tribularer si nescirem* in 454/B is corrupt owing to its careless scribe, who, fortunately, was responsible for only this piece.

(iv) No. 75. *Pange lingua*,[107] [Wreede]

Sources:
454/B, fols. cxlviii^{v}-cxlix^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ix^{v}-x^{r}, Vrede

(See inventory for other sources.)

The readings for Wreede's *Pange lingua* in 454/B and Tarazona 2/3 are very close.[108] It is interesting to observe that only 454/B includes the text for the third and fifth verses of *Pange lingua*, which would have also been sung polyphonically. This addition

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[106]The altus in 454/B at mm. 36-37 (in Preciado's edition) mistakenly reads c'-d' instead of b-c'. In another instance, a slightly different reading in the superius of 454/B at m. 35 is also defective.

[107]Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," I, 557, mistakenly listed Barcelona M.454 as the only concordance for the version of the *Pange lingua* in Segovia; the setting in the latter, ascribed to "Johannes Vrede," is a different one and is unique. The version in Segovia was published by Anglés, "El 'Pange Lingua' de Johannes Urreda, maestro de capilla del Rey Fernando el Católico," *Anuario Musical*, VII (1952), 199-200. Gerber, "Spanisches Hymnar um 1500," *Das Chorwerk*, 60 (1957), 17-19, published the other version of this hymn after Tarazona 2/3. López-Calo, *La Música en la Catedral de Granada en el Siglo XVI* (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), II, 151-53, published the *Pange lingua* after Granada 3, which sets the second verse *Nobis datus*. Strikingly, López-Calo's transcription is in duple meter, while the manuscripts that served for the previous publications of both versions of the hymn indicate *tempus perfectum*. The most complete list of concordances for this popular hymn was published by Tom W. Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn 1400-1520: A Descriptive Catalogue*. Renaissance Manuscript Studies 3 (American Institute of Musicology: Hänssler-Verlag, 1980), 223-24. Coimbra 12 was compiled after 1520, and therefore it was not included in Ward's catalogue, but given the number of concordances (6) with Barcelona M.454, it should be pointed out that Coimbra 12 contains an anonymous version of *Pange lingua* (fols. 158v-159r) different from the other two found in Spanish manuscripts. Ward lists two other settings unique two Florentine manuscripts.

[108]The variants in *Pange lingua* between 454/B and Tarazona 2/3 are: at m. 9 in the bassus, 454/B reads e and Tarazona 2/3 d; in six instances, 454/B has perfect breves, while Tarazona 2/3 consistently writes the equivalent breve and semibreve.

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implies, of course, the practice of singing this piece *alternatim*, the polyphony in odd verses and the chant in even verses.[109]

(v) No. 78. *Si [la noche es temerosa]*, Anon.

Sources:
454/B, fol. cli^{r}, Anon. (*tiple* only)
Madrid 1335, fol. ccx^{r}, Anon.

The fragmentary *Si la noche es temerosa* in 454/B provides a hitherto unnoticed concordance for the piece in Madrid 1335; 454/B transmits only the *tiple* with the incipit *Si*. That voice is very close to its counterpart in Madrid 1335.[110]

Conclusions regarding 454/B and its Iberian Concordances

Like 454/A, 454/B transmits a large number of *unica*, thus providing few concordances for pieces in other Iberian manuscripts (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Unica* and concordances with Iberian manuscripts in 454/A and 454/B.

	Works	*Unica*	Pieces with Iberian Concordances
454/A	47	31 (65.9 %)	14 (29.7 %)
454/B	35	28 (80 %)	5 (14.2 %)

---

[109]As indicated above, the version in Granada 3 (from the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century) sets the polyphony to the second verse only. López-Calo, *La Música en la Catedral de Granada*, II, xxi, states that the are many variants among the manuscripts he collated, and that the manuscripts from Castille and Granada seem to have followed separate traditions. Besides Granada 3, the sources he lists are: Granada, Libros Encarnados, num. 10; Granada, Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real, num. 208; Burgos, Libro de Polifonía 1, fol. 15^{v} and 150^{v}; Burgos, Libro de Polifonía 2, fol. 24^{v}; Segovia, Libro de Polifonía 2, fol. 59^{v}; Villagarcía de Campos, Colegiata, MS 2, fol. 36^{v}. I have not collated these late manuscripts.

[110]The only variants are that 454/B has two g' semibreves instead of g' breve in mm. 1 and 9, and an f' breve instead of two f' semibreves in m. 7.

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Five works in 454/B generate nine concordances with other Iberian manuscripts. In five of the nine instances, the reading in 454/B stands in close agreement with its concordances. The summary of the relationship between 454/B and each concordant Iberian manuscript follows:

454/B and Madrid 1335

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Madrid 1335
No. 78. *Si [la noche es temerosa]* Anon.	Anon.

454/B transmits only the *tiple* of No. 78, and it is very close to the reading in Madrid 1335.

454/B and Segovia

Concordances: 2	Attribution in Segovia
No. 9. *Missa de nostra dona* [Anchieta]	Anchieta (*Gloria*)
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	Anon. (S only)

The two manuscripts share only the *Gloria* of No. 9. Although 454/B sides with Segovia against Tarazona 2/3 in many minor variants, 454/B agrees with Tarazona 2/3 in two more notable instances.

The readings of No. 17 in 454/B and Segovia (superius only) are very close. Tarazona 2/3 and Tarazona 5 alter the order for one of the sections of this responsory as transmitted by 454/A, 454/B, Segovia, and two Toledo manuscripts; a musical variant, however, separates the readings in 454/A, 454/B, and Segovia from those in the Tarazona and Toledo manuscripts.

454/B and Tarazona 2/3

Concordances: 3	Attribution in Tarazona 2/3
No. 9. *Missa de nostra dona* [Anchieta]	Anchieta
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]	F. la Torre
No. 75. *Pange lingua* [Wreede]	Jo. Vrede

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454/B and Tarazona share only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* of No. 9. The *Kyrie* has minor variants. In the *Gloria*, although 454/B sides with Segovia against Tarazona 2/3 in many minor variants, 454/B agrees with Tarazona 2/3 in two notable instances.

The readings of No. 17 in 454/B and Tarazona are independent. Tarazona 2/3 and Tarazona 5 alter the order for one of the sections of this responsory as transmitted by 454/A, 454/B, Segovia, and two Toledo manuscripts; a musical variant separates the version in 454/A, 454/B, and Segovia from the one in the Tarazona and Toledo manuscripts. The readings of No. 75 in 454/B and Tarazona 2/3 are very close.

454/B and Toledo 1

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Toledo 1
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	Franco. de la Torre

(See "454/B and Toledo 21," below.)

454/B and Toledo 21

Concordances: 2	Attribution in Toledo 21
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	Francisco de la Torre
No. 60. *Tribularer si nescirem*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa

454/B and Toledo 21 agree—with 454/A, Segovia, and Toledo 1—against Tarazona 2/3 and Tarazona 5 in the order of the different sections of No. 17; a musical variant, however, separates the readings in 454/A, 454/B, and Segovia from all others.

There are few variants between the two extant readings of No. 60; 454/B, however, is defective and thus the reading in Toledo 21 could not have been derived from 454/B.

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III. BARCELONA 454/C

Number of works: 19.[111]
Unica: 5.
Anonymous: 4
Ascriptions: 16 for 15 works.[112] Anchieta (1), Cubells (1), Cubells/Petrus de Monte (1), Escobar (1), Févin (1), Févin/[Bruck/Craen/Josquin/Morales] (1), Josquin/[Peñalosa] (1), Mouton/[Martini] (1), Mouton/[Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin/Josquin] (1), Peñalosa (3), Peñalosa/[Escobar] (1), Ribaflecha (1), Weerbecke (1).

Attributions through concordances: See conflicting attributions.

Conflicting attributions: 6.
No. 2. *O beate Sebastiane,* Mouton/[Martini]
No. 13. *O pulcherrima*, Mouton/[Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin/Josquin]
No. 14. *Sancta mater,* Iusquin/[Peñalosa]
No. 20. *Benedicamus domino,* Cubells/Petrus de Monte
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]
No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Févin/[Bruck/Craen/Festa/Josquin/Morales]

Concordances with Iberian manuscripts: 9.
No. 12. [*Salve Regina*] Anxeta
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[*recte*: Peñalosa]
No. 15. *Ave vere sanguis Domini*, Peñalosa
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Peñalosa
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Peñalosa
No. 88. *Clamabat [autem] mulier*, Escobar
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]
No. 91. *Quam pulchra es*, Ribaflecha
No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Févin

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[111]The incipits of Josquin's motets *Mente tota* and *Ave Maria* were included in the *tabla*, the latter with an ascription to Josquin. Owing to the loss of fols. xiii-xiv, however, *Mente tota* is not extant, and the *Ave Maria* was never entered in the manuscript by Scribe C, though the opening for which it was intended bears an ascription to Josquin in the upper margin of fol. cliv^{v}. Thus, these two items are not included in the count of "Number of works;" the ascription to Josquin's *Ave Maria* is not included in the count of "Ascriptions" either, but will be listed in Fig. 10 along with those appearing in the *tabla.*

[112]One piece, a *Benedicamus domino*, has two ascriptions: Cubells in the *tabla* and Petrus de Monte above the music; see below for a discussion of this conflicting attribution.

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A. The six conflicting attributions in 454/C

The *tabla* of Barcelona M.454, which lists all the pieces copied by Scribe C, carries twelve attributions, eleven of which are duplicated in the body of the manuscript itself.[113] Four other attributed works in 454/C bear no ascription in the *tabla*; three of these ascriptions were entered in the body of the manuscript by Scribe C, two of them in what must be considered a later stage of his work.[114] The fourth unattributed work in the *tabla* with an ascription to "iusquin" in the body of the manuscript—but in a hand other than Scribe C's— is *Sancta mater*, which is ascribed to Peñalosa in three other Iberian manuscripts. Table 3 summarizes the presence and location of attributions for those works copied by Scribe C; they are listed in the same order in which they appear in the *tabla*.

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[113]The attribution of a *Benedicamus domino* to Cubells in the *tabla* was originally duplicated above the music; this ascription, however, was covered up by another to "Petrus de Monte."

[114]The two later ascriptions are for the motets *Clamabat autem mulier* by Escobar and *Memorare piissima* attributed to Peñalosa (but to Escobar in other Iberian manuscripts). The ascription to Ribaflecha of *Quam pulchra es* seems to be contemporary with the copying of the music, but was not included in the *tabla*.

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Table 3: Attributed works in 454/C.

Title	Attributions		Conflicts
	tabla	music	
Missa mente tota	Fevin	Fevin	
O beate Sebastiane	Mouton	[Mouton][115]	[Martini]
O beate Sebastiane	Gaspar	Gaspar	
Salve	Anxeta	Anxeta	
O pulcherrima	Mouton	Mouton	[Bauldeweyne/et al.]
Sancta mater	------	Iusquin	[Peñalosa]
Precor te Domine	Peñalosa	Peñalosa	
Benedicamus	Cubells	Petrus de Monte	Cubells/Monte
Magnificat	Cubells	Cubells	
Quam pulchra es	------	Ribraflecha	
Clamabat mulier	------	Escobar 1532	
Memorare piissima	------	Peñalosa	[Escobar]
Ave vere	Peñalosa	Peñalosa	
In passione positus	Peñalosa	Peñalosa 1525	
Sancta trinitas	Fevin	Févin	[Bruck/et al.]
[*Ave Maria*	Jusquin	Josquin (the piece was not copied)]	

(i) No. 2. *O beate Sebastiane*, Mouton/[Martini][116]

Sources:
454/C, fols. [xiv^{v}]-xvi^{r}, Jo. Mouton
Petrucci 1505^{2}, No. 32, Jo. Martini

This is a hitherto unknown conflicting attribution. Josephine Shine stated that the piece in 454/C is the *secunda pars* of Mouton's motet *Sancte Sebastiane*, which also begins with the words "O beate Sebastiane."[117] However, Mouton's *Sancte Sebastiane*, transcribed by Shine after Antico 1521^{5}, is a different work from this *O beate Sebastiane* in 454/C.

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[115]Owing to the loss of fol. xiv, the superius and tenor of the *prima pars* of this work are missing; since all the ascriptions found in the *tabla* are also duplicated in the body of the manuscript, it is most likely that fol. xiv^{v} would have contained the ascription to Mouton.

[116]Owing to the loss of fol. xiv, 454/C lacks the superius and tenor of the *prima pars*; the ascription to Mouton appears in the *tabla*.

[117]Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," Ph.D. diss., New York University (1953).

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Since 454/C and Petrucci 1505^2 are the only sources for this work, it is not possible to weigh the evidence provided by other sources in order to resolve the conflicting attribution. Moreover, the two readings are so close that they certainly derive from the same parent source, and it is most likely that one of the ascriptions is erroneous. Interestingly, both 454/C and Petrucci 1505^2 transmit, immediately after this conflicting work, another *O beate Sebastiane*, this one by Gaspar Weerbecke, correctly attributed to "Gaspar" in both instances; like the previous work, Weerbecke's homonymous motet is found only in these two sources. The narrow circulation of the two works, the consecutive order in which they are found, and the close readings in both can hardly be a coincidence. We could speculate that these two pieces circulated together and that both Petrucci and Scribe C had access to an exemplar containing them; if so, how did the conflicting attribution emerge? I suggest that Scribe C may have copied directly from Petrucci 1505^2; the index of the print (Fig. 7) may provide a clue as to why Scribe C made the error of ascribing the first *O beate Sebastiane* to "Jo. Moton" instead of to "Jo. Martini."

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Fig. 7: Index of Petrucci 1505[2].

Numero cinquantacinque.

Josquin.

Aue regia: Alma redemptoris 2.
Aue virgo gemma Vultum 7.
Alma redemptoris 16.
Aue Jesu xpe verbum ptio 25.
Aue mr olim Gaspar 29.

Beata es maria Brumel. 9.
Beata es alma Ja.obrecht 23.
Beata gens cuius est. 29.

Cœcepr hodiern Brumel 25.
Christe fili dei mundi 28.
Confirma: hoc deus 30.

Decantemus in hac die 11.
Festivitate. Jero. de clibano 19.
Facta est repente de celo 30.
Gaude virgo Josqn de pres 12.
Gloria laus & ho. Brumel. 17.

Joannes ghiselin.

Inpatientia: Misere A tre 8.
Insolata Jo.ghiselin. 14.
Inviolata Philip.basiron 20.
Intemerata virgo 27.

Laudes xpo Ja.obrecht. 11.
Leuate capita Jo.martini 15.
Loquebant varijs linguis 30.

Maria virgo sp Jo.ghiselin. 3.
Mente tota tibi supplicant 23.
Natiuitas vnde Brumel 17.

Erasmus Lapicide.

Natiuitas tua dei genitrix 31.

O maria virgo Jo.moton 4.
O qs fulges Jo. moton. 7.
O gloriosa Jo.ghiselin 10.
O bone iesu o dicis Minot 13.
O bre sebastiane Jo.martini 16.
O bre sebastiane Gaspar. 20.
O potens magni 21.
O claviger regni celorū 22.
O stelliferi ductor orbis 24.
O sacro te virgo pulcrissima 24.
O bre basili Jaco.obrecht 26.
O maria nullam tā grauez 28.
O ra pro nobis sine termio 28.

Brumel.

Panagiricū Aue virgo gliosa 2.
Pfm pagri Atre Alex. 18.

Quis nūerare Ja obrecht 5.

Regina celi Jo.ghiselin. 18.
Regina celi letare 30.

Salue regia. Petr de la rue 4.
Strabat mater: Turpin 15.
Salue virgo virginū Jo.aulē. 22.

Gaspar I bono: ē scis spūs.

Spiritus dñi replevit orbē 29.
Si bibero: crathere pleno 32.

Ut phebi radijs Josqn. 6.
Virgo salutiferi 14.
Vultus tuus Josqn ds 27.
Veni sancte spiritus 29.

Erasmus Lapicide.

Virgo prudentissima 31.

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The two homonymous motets are listed in the right hand column as the fifth and sixth items. The first thing that catches the eye in that column is the pair of ascriptions to "Jo. Moton" on top, slightly above the ascription to "Jo. Martini." I believe that confusion at the time of copying the ascription from Petrucci 1505[2] may have caused the attribution to Mouton.[118]

(ii) No. 13. *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Mouton/[Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin][119]

Sources:

454/C, fols. lxii^{v}-lxiv^{r}, Mouton
Bologna Q27 II^{o}, fol. 8^{v}, Anon.
Bologna R142, fols. 3^{v}-4^{r}, Festa
Padua A17, fols. 176^{v}-177^{r}, Anon.
St. Gall 530, No. 41, Mouton
Verona 760, fols. 9^{v}-10^{r}, Anon.
Vienna 15941, fols. 82^{v}-83^{r}, Fevin
Dorico 1526[4], Anon./Bauldeweyn
Kriesstein 1540[7], No. 28, Fevin
Petrucci 1519[3], No. 14, Anon.

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[118]It should be pointed out that another item is listed anonymously in the *tablas* of both Petrucci 1505[2] and 454/C: Josquin's *Mente tota tibi suplicamus*, which owing to the loss of fols. xiii-xiv of Barcelona M.454 is no longer extant in our manuscript. In addition, 454/A shares with Petrucci 1505[2] *Intemerata virgo* and *O Maria nullam*, third and fourth *partes* of Josquin's *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*. However, as pointed out above, although the readings in 454/A and Petrucci 1505[2] are close, a minor cadential variant that occurs simultaneously with a text variant in the superius of *Intemerata virgo* at mm. 138[3]-139[4] (in 454/A and Segovia) suggests that the scribe of 454/A did not use Petrucci 1505[2] as a model.

[119]Young-Han Hur, "Conflicting Attributions in the Continental Motet Repertory from ca. 1500 to ca. 1550," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York (1990), II, 301, is wrong in stating that Edgar Sparks, *The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1972), 17-22, noted an additional ascription to Josquin in the index of Petrucci 1519[3].

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A consensus favors Mouton's authorship of *O pulcherrima*; both 454/C and the intabulation in St. Gall 530 attribute the work to him.[120] Edgar Sparks points out that the attribution to Bauldeweyn in Petrucci 1519[3] is a misreading of a headline, and that the one to the same composer in Dorico 1526[4] is a printing mistake.[121] Clinkscale, in his discussion of Févin's *opera dubia*, favors Mouton over Févin on stylistic grounds.[122] Finally, Hans Joachim Marx favors Mouton, and points out that in St. Gall 530 the two intabulations that precede *O pulcherrima* are also works by Mouton.[123]

The version of this motet attributed to Févin in Kriesstein 1540[7] begins with the section *Descendi in hortum meum—secunda pars* of *O pulcherrima* in 454/C—and continues with nineteen additional measures that turn out to be the beginning of *O pulcherrima*.[124]

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[120]Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," 644-46, edited the work after 454/C, but she did not include the section *Descende*. Shine's wrong impression that 454/C did not contain the *secunda pars* of *O pulcherrima* was transmitted to Edward Clinkscale, "The Complete Works of Antoine de Févin," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University (1965), 193, and more recently to Hans Joachim Marx, "Neues zur Tabulatur-Handschrift St. Gallen, Stifsbibliothek, Cod. 530," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 37/4 (1980), 275.

[121]Sparks, *The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn*, 17-22 and fn. 11. Clinkscale, "Antoine de Févin," 194, refers to a personal communication from Alexander Main in which the latter affirms that the piece is not typical of Festa's work. Hur, "Conflicting Attributions," II, 301, mistakenly indicated that Dorico 1526[4] attributes the work to Festa.

[122]Clinkscale, "Antoine de Févin," 195, stated: "We find no solid evidence that would justify ascribing the work to a specific individual—although on the basis of cadence patterns and some of the melodic writing we tend to believe that the work is Mouton's."

[123]Marx, "Neues zur Tabulatur-Handschrift St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 530," 275. He stated, following Shine, that the reading of this motet in Barcelona M.454 was incomplete.

[124]The version of *O pulcherrima* after Kriesstein was first edited by Kade in Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, V, 209-11; for many years it was thought to be a representative work by Févin. Hur, "Conflicting Attributions," I, 134-35, states that the version attributed to Févin in Vienna 15941 is also in two *partes*, as is the one attributed to Mouton, but ". . .with many 'local' variants which might point to further revision by Févin." Clinkscale, "Antoine de Févin," 193-94, points out that the attribution to Févin in Vienna 15941 appears in the catalogue of the

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Hur states that ". . *Descendi* better fits the model [of multi-part motets] when it functions as a *secunda pars* of the motet than it does as the beginning of the piece. . .," and concludes that probably ". . . Févin reworked Mouton's motet."[125] In light of this, 454/C seems to transmit Mouton's motet, with its *prima* and *secunda pars* in the right order; studies by previous scholars support the ascription in 454/C.

(iii) No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Josquin/[Peñalosa]

Sources:
454/C, fols. lxiv^{v}-lxv^{r}, Iusquin
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 12^{v}-13^{r}, Peñalosa
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccliiii^{v}-cclv^{r}, p.losa
Toledo 21, fols. 62^{v}-64^{r}, Peñalosa

This motet, for which there is no attribution in the *tabla* of Barcelona M.454, carries an ascription to "iusquin" above the music in a hand other than that of Scribe C, who copied the piece. All other sources for this work, Seville 5-5-20, Tarazona 2/3, and Toledo 21, attribute it to Peñalosa. Robert Stevenson dismisses the Barcelona M.454 attribution of *Sancta mater* to Josquin, and at the same time casts doubt on the manuscript's attributions as a whole. Stevenson writes:

> With three manuscripts giving the work to... [Peñalosa], not Josquin, and with Barcelona 454 less than infallible in its attributions, Peñalosa's better claim can scarcely be contested.[126]

Nationalbibliothek, and that ". . .presumably the attribution is made in the table of contents [of Vienna 15941], since no attribution appears in the body of the Ms."

[125]It should be noted that Clinkscale, "Antoine de Févin," 193, considers *O pulcherrima* and *Descende* as only sections, not *partes*, of the same work. 454/C, however, bears the inscriptions "Sa pars" (fol. lxiii^{v}) and "Secunda pars" (lxiiii^{r}) above the music of *Descende*, which unequivocally designates it as the *secunda pars* of *O pulcherrima*, copied on the previous opening.

[126]Stevenson, "Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal," 219-20.

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Stevenson infers that the evidence against the Josquin attribution seems overwhelming. However, the evidence should not be based exclusively on the number of sources (3 to 1) that contradict our manuscript.

The *Census-Catalogue* states that Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3 were copied by the same scribe; therefore, their Peñalosa ascriptions could derive from a common source.[127] As for Toledo 21, though it may have inherited an accurate attribution for *Sancta mater*, this manuscript, compiled in the 1540s, has its own share of conflicting attributions, and it does not have more authority with respect to Peñalosa than does Barcelona M.454, which was compiled while the composer was still alive.[128]

Given both that Tarazona 2/3 is the main source of Peñalosa's works and that the ascription to Josquin in Barcelona M.454 is a late entry not included in the original *tabla*, we could conclude that the attribution to Peñalosa in Tarazona 2/3 is correct. We should consider, however, that *Sancta mater* is among the non-Iberian works copied by the Catalan Scribe C in the earliest layer of his section, which most likely antedates the redactions attributed to Peñalosa. This international repertory includes Févin's *Missa Mente tota*, Martini/Mouton's *O beate Sebastiane*, Mouton's *O pulcherrima mulierum*, and Weerbecke's *O beate Sebastiane*. In addition to these pieces, we find listed in the same layer of the *tabla*, Josquin's motet *Mente tota* which, owing to the loss of fols. xiii and xiv, is no longer present in our manuscript. This repertoire is not found in any other Iberian manuscript, and its narrow circulation indicates that Scribe C had unusual access

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[127]*Census-Catalogue*, III, 141. See Chapter iV, under Seville 5-5-20, for a discussion of the possible scribal concordance between Scribe 1 of this manuscript and Tarazona 2/3.

[128]According to the *Census-Catalogue*, III, 209, Toledo 21 has three other conflicting attributions: Torrentes/(Morales), Villar [Willaert]/(Obrecht), and Peñalosa/(Escobar). The latter conflict involves the motet *Memorare piissima* attributed to Peñalosa in both 454/C and Toledo 21, while Seville 1, Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3 attribute it to Escobar; see below.

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to foreign music. Thus on the grounds of codicology and repertoire, the 454/C ascription of *Sancta mater* to Josquin is plausible.

On the other hand, if *Sancta mater* is not by Josquin, we are left with the question of why the attribution to him was entered into Barcelona M.454. A possible source for the attribution could be the entry "Ave Maria de Jusquin," the last item in the *tabla* of Barcelona M.454; the accompanying folio number, with the exception of its last digit "5," is illegible. *Sancta mater* appears on the opening of fol. 65; a later scribe could have added the "iusquin" attribution after misinterpreting the inscription in the *tabla*.[129] Whoever added the attribution to *Sancta mater* could have been under the impression that the last entry in the *tabla* referred to this motet.

In any event, the Josquin/Peñalosa conflict should not be used to question the trustworthiness of the attributions in Barcelona M.454 as a whole. Only the fact that the attribution in 454/C was added by a hand other than Scribe C's favors Peñalosa's claim.

(iv) No. 20. *Benedicamus domino*, Petrus de Monte/Cubells

Source:
454/C, fol. lxix^{r}, Petrus de Monte/Cubells

Scribe C attributed this *Benedicamus domino* to Cubells in the *tabla*, but a different hand entered an ascription to the otherwise unknown Petrus de Monte in the body of the manuscript, seemingly on top of a previous attribution to Cubells. I suggest that since the only document we have concerning Cubells gives his Christian name as Pero, and since Cubells [=Cubelles] may refer to his birthplace, a town 47 km south of

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[129]Scholars have erroneously assumed that this entry in the *tabla* referred to Josquin's *Ave Maria*, copied on the opening of fol. 125 (454/A), when in fact, the intention of Scribe C, the compiler of the *tabla*, was to copy that motet on the opening of fol. 155. After Scribe C entered the attribution to Josquin and two of the voice designations on fol. 155, he realized that the piece had already been copied elsewhere in the manuscript—in 454/A—and left the staves in this opening blank .

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Barcelona, Petrus de Monte and Pero Cubells could be one and the same person.[130] I am inclined to believe that this attribution should not be considered to be in conflict.

(v) No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]

Sources:

454/C, fols. clxii^{v}-clxiiii^{r}, Peñalosa
Coimbra 12, fols. 201^{v}-203^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 25^{v}-26^{r}, Anon.
Seville 1, fols. 31^{v}-33^{r}, Petrus Escobar
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 15^{v}, 17^{r} (fol. 16 missing), Escobar
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxxiii^{v}-cclxxxiiii^{r}, Escobar
Toledo 21, fol. 78^{v}-82^{r}, Peñalosa

There is no consensus regarding the authorship of *Memorare piissima*. Although Hardie considers this motet doubtful with respect to Peñalosa, she believes that "...the text and musical style are consistent with Peñalosas's other devotional motets."[131] However, Dionisio Preciado, unaware of the attributions to Escobar, noticed the following:

> In my opinion, this motet does not flow as well as the others. We hear only three voices in many passages. There are many intermediate cadences with a static and conclusive character. It is the longest motet of this collection—147 measures [breves].[132]

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[130]At the time, it was very common to use one's birthplace as part of the name or as an alias; this was probably the case with composers such as Alonso de Mondéjar, Pedro de Pastrana, et al. Unfortunately, the documentation preserved in the parish books of Cubelles starts only at the end of the sixteenth century. The only document about Pero Cubells lists him as *maestro de capilla* of Santa María del Mar in Barcelona in 1532, but there is no documentation about him or any of his predecessors prior to that year; see, Baldelló, "La Música en la Basílica Parroquial de Santa María del Mar," 221.

[131]Hardie, "The Motets," II, 293.

[132]Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Ommnia*: "Este motete, a mi entender, no fluye tan bien como los otros. En muchos pasajes sólo se oyen tres voces. Por otra parte,

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Finally, Knighton favors the attribution to Escobar on the basis of the similarity between *Memorare piissima* and Escobar's *Clamabat autem mulier*: ". . .both open with strikingly long duets between contra and bass voices. . ."[133]

The ascription to Peñalosa on fol. clxiii^{r} of Barcelona M.454 becomes more doubtful when we observe that of the four works by this composer listed in the *tabla* of 454/C this is the only one without an attribution therein.[134] However, we cannot easily dismiss the attributions to Peñalosa in 454/C and Toledo 21, since, as shown in Ex. 15, both readings may have originated independently of one another.

Hardie pointed out that this widely circulated motet presents significant variants among the different readings (see Ex. 14), and that the conflicting attribution would seem to be unrelated to the variants.[135]

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hay mucha cadencia intermedia con sentido estático y conclusivo. Es el motete más largo de esta colección—147 compases." Preciado lists only Barcelona M.454, Tarazona 2/3, and Coimbra 12 as sources for *Memorare piissima*.

[133]Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 138-39,

[134]It is worth mentioning that the *tabla* lists *Memorare piissima* directly below Escobar's uncontested *Clamabar mulier cananea*, while the table of contents of Seville 5-5-20 also lists these two motets one after the other but in reverse order and with attributions to Escobar.

[135]Hardie, "The Motets" I, 138-41. These variants are reproduced in Hardie. However, there is a wrong note and an error in the captions: Coimbra 32 should read Coimbra 12 and vice-versa.

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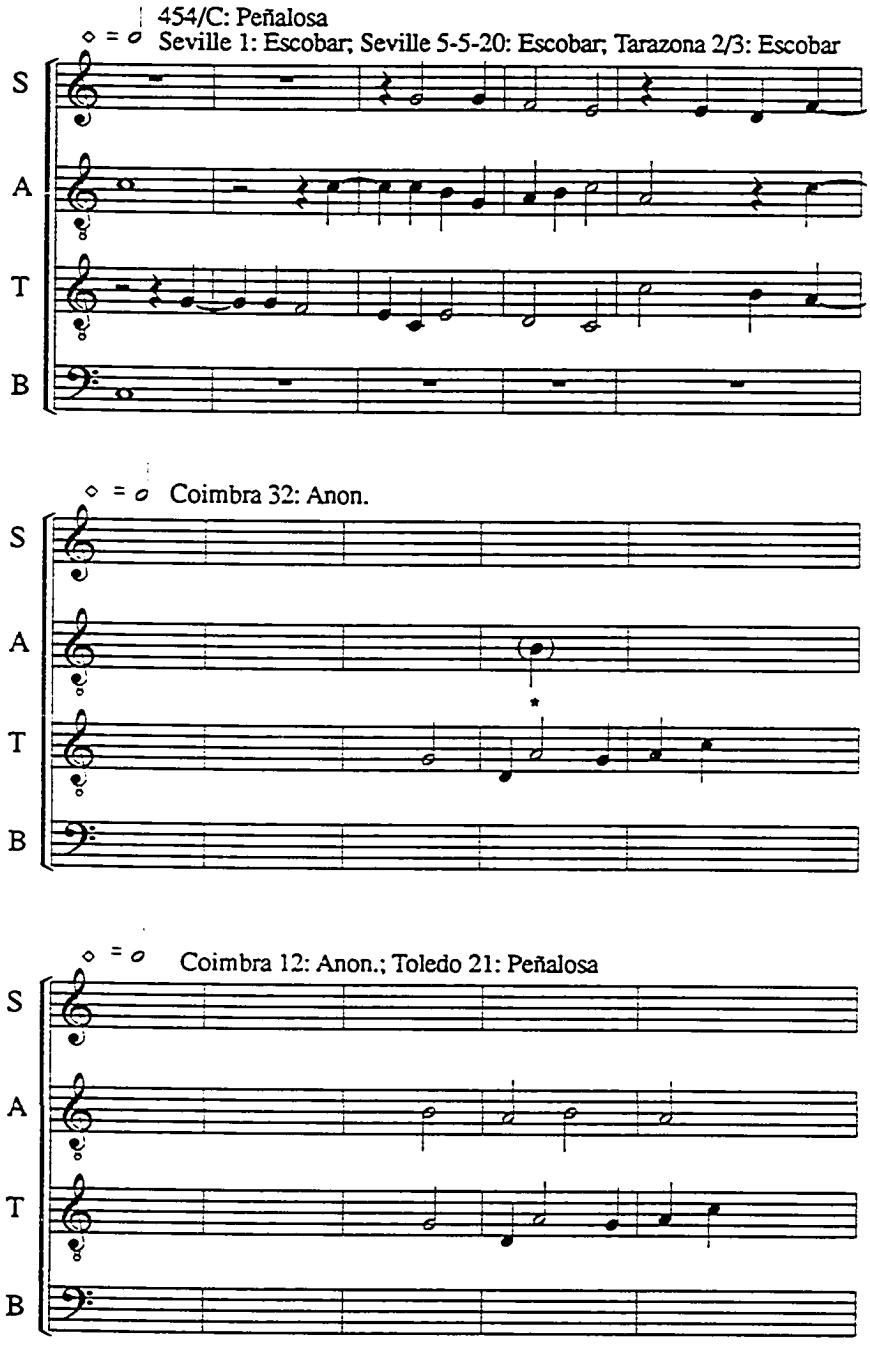
Ex. 14: Variants in *Memorare piissima*, mm. 66-70.



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The problem, of course, is that Barcelona M.454 and Tarazona 2/3 conflict with respect to their attributions but agree in their readings, while Barcelona M.454 and Toledo 21 share their ascription to Peñalosa but transmit readings that stand apart from one another.

We should point out that the reading in Coimbra 32 is corrupt, since at m. 69 the a in the tenor clashes against th b in the altus. The error most likely provoked the emendation of the altus as found in Coimbra 12 and Toledo 21. That the new alto emerged as a result of a corrupted tenor seems certain, since the emended alto would have not been compatible with the other tenor—it would have provoked parallel fifths (e-b, d-a) at mm. 68^{2}-69^{1}. The mutual exclusivity of this variant tells an interesting story about the transmission of this work, but whether the conflicting attribution emerged as a result of such emendation cannot be ascertain.

Finally, the conflicting attributions between Peñalosa and Escobar are not entirely surprising given the long association—first in the royal chapel and then at Seville Cathedral—between the two most prolific Iberian composers of their generation.[136] As such, the combination of crossed attributions/readings between manuscripts and the biographical intersection between the two composers involved fits nicely with what Atlas notes with respect to conflicting attributions in the Franco-Netherlandish chanson.[137]

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[136]On the musical collaboration between both composers in the *Missa Rex virginum* of Tarazona 2/3, see Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 172, 176. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," I, 141, argues that ". . .the differences between each movement in clef combination, vocal ranges and modes might suggest that these mass-settings were not originally conceived as a unity. . ." It should be pointed out that there is no liturgical source for the text of *Memorare piissima*; that one of the two composers may have been the author of the text must remain speculative.

[137]Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions," 255: ". . .it seems that the composers who most often conflict with one another enjoyed some special bond, often in their having been colleagues at the same court or cathedral."

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(vi) No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Fevin/[Bruck/Craen/Festa/Josquin/Morales]

Sources:

454/C, fols. clxxvi^{v}-clxxvii^{r}, Févin
Cambrai 125-128, fol. 118, Anon.
Cambridge 1760, fols. xix^{v}-xxi^{r}, A. de feuin
Eisenach s.s., Josquin (*a* 6)
Königsberg 1740, No. 33, Craen (lost)
London 1070, pp. 260-63, Anon.
Modena IX, fols. 88^{v}-89^{r}, A. de Feuin
Padua A17, fols. 83^{v}-84^{r}, Anon.
St. Gall 462, fols. 110^{v}-111^{r}, Anon.
Toledo 13, xxv^{v}-xxvii^{r}, Antonio Févin
Treviso 5, fol. 32^{r}, Festa (lost)[138]
Zaragoza 34, fol. 56^{v}, Morales
Montanus & Neuber 1555[11] (*a* 6, "Fevin.Arnoldus de Bruck addidit duas voces")
(See the Inventory for other sources.)

Clinkscale states that "*Sancta trinitas* is Févin's most famous piece of music."[139] His list of sources for this motet *a* 4 does not include any with a conflicting attribution, but he lists among the sources for the version *a* 6 the Kantorenbuch at the Stadtarchiv in Eisenach, which carries an ascription to Josquin, and the Montanus & Neuber print 1555[11], which attributes the two added voices to Bruck.[140] Hur's study has the most

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[138]A microfilm copy of *Sancta trinitas*, attributed to Festa, and other pieces in Treviso 5, was made by Knud Jeppesen before an Allied raid destroyed the Biblioteca Capitolare of Treviso on April 7, 1944; the microfilm is now at Århus, Statsbiblioteket, in Denmark. Michele Pozzobon, *Early Music History* 9 (1990), 258, in a review of Bonnie J. Blackburn's *Music for Treviso Cathedral in the Late Sixteenth Century: A reconstruction of the Lost Manuscripts 29 and 30*, London Royal Musical Association (1987), was unaware of concordances for *Sancta trinitas* in Treviso 5. My list of concordances follows Hur, "Conflicting Attributions," 327.

[139]Clinkscale, "Antoine de Févin," I, 148, indicates that more than twenty sources for this motet were copied throughout Europe.

[140]Clinkscale, "Antoine de Févin," I, 227-28. I have not seen the inscription in Eisenach, s. s., and therefore I am not able to ascertain if the ascription to Josquin refers only to the added two voices. Noble, "Josquin Desprez," *The New Grove*, vol. 9, 735, includes *Sancta trinitas* among Josquin's doubtful or misattributed works indicating that the four-voice motet is by Févin.

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complete list of sources for *Sancta trinitas*, but he does not discuss the conflicting attributions in detail.[141] There is a consensus, however, for ascribing *Sancta trinitas* to Févin. For a discussion of some variant readings, see Chapter VI.

B. The concordances between 454/C and Iberian manuscripts

(i) No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta

Sources:
454/C, fols. lx^{v}-lxii^{r}, Anxeta
Barcelona 681, fols. 77^{v}-79^{r}, Anxeta (incomplete)
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 7^{v}-10^{r}, Anchieta
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccxxxii^{v}-ccxxxiii^{r}, Ancheta

The readings of Anchieta's *Salve Regina* in the two Barcelona manuscripts are very close, but the version in Barcelona 681 is incomplete, ending at *ventris tui*, and has an error in the altus at m. 102.[142] The readings in Tarazona 2/3 and 454/C are also very close, while Seville 5-5-20 presents a notable variant at mm. 23-28 in the tenor and bassus (Ex. 15) not found in the other sources.[143]

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[141]Hur, "Conflicting Attributions," 327.

[142]Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera Omnia*, 47, 134-51, mistakenly states that the version in Barcelona 681 ends at *lacrimarum valle* and that Barcelona M.454 is also incomplete. His edition of the *Salve Regina*, after Tarazona 2/3, lists all variants including ligatures, but there is no pattern of agreement. Imrie, *Mapa mundi: Spanish Church Music*, No. 4, edited the work after Seville 5-5-20 transposed a tone higher.

[143]Seville 5-5-20 is the only manuscript that transmits all monophonic chant verses; Tarazona 2/3 has only the first monophonic verse with a variant melody that omits two e before the final d.

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Ex. 15a-b: *Salve* Regina by Anchieta mm. 23-28.

This passage in Seville 5-5-20, avoiding the low B-flat and A in the tenor, is more idiomatic than the variant reading in the other manuscripts, but it is difficult to determine which version was the earliest; I believe, however, that m. 23 in Ex. 15a is more "correct," and this may tip the balance in its favor. The disagreement between Tarazona 2/3 and Seville 5-5-20 is most surprising, since both versions were apparently copied by the same scribe.[144] If indeed the same scribe was responsible for both versions, he certainly had the kind of initiative that Hardie denies to Iberian copyists.

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[144]See the section devoted to Seville 5-5-20 in Chapter IV for a reproduction of the incipit of Anchieta's *Salve* in Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3.

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(ii) No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]

(See the discussion of this piece under conflicting attributions.)

(iii) No. 15. *Ave vere sanguis Domini*, Peñalosa

Sources:
454/C, fols. lxv^{v}-lxvi^{r}, Peñalosa
Bloomington 8, pp. 90-91, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxviii^{v}-cclxix^{r}, p.losa

Peñalosa's *Ave vere sanguis Domini* was copied twice in Barcelona M.454. The first redaction appears on the opening recto of the manuscript, on the folio whose verso contains the opening *tabla*.[145] The second redaction appears in section 454/C; the readings are very close, but Scribe C copied it more neatly and corrected the two missing notes, e-d, in the altus at m. 62.[146] The reading in Tarazona 2/3 is also close to that of 454/C.[147]

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[145]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 112, however, stated that when he consulted the manuscript, the side of the folio with music was attached to the inside cover, and that he was thus unable to identify the piece. This folio was detached from the cover in 1958 when the manuscript was restored. Scribe C used the empty side of this folio to write the *tabla*. He probably discarded the piece since he was going to copy it, or had already done so, in 454/C.

[146]Although the edition of this piece in Hardie, "The Motets," II, 336-40, and Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, use different reduction, the measure numbers coincide; both used Tarazona 2/3 as a source. Hardie has an error in the altus at m. 50, where d'-d' should read c'-c'; Preciado's edition has the following errors: at m. 13 the superius should read f' instead of e'; at m. 32 the altus should read g' instead of a'; and in the same voice at m. 50, g' should read f'.

[147]In the last chord of 454/A, the tenor, after singing the third of the chord moves to the root, while Tarazona 2/3 sustains the final chord with the third.

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(iv) No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Penyalosa

Sources:

454/C, fols. lxvi^{v}-lxvii^{v}, Penyalosa
Coimbra 12, fols. 34^{v}-35^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 32^{v}-34^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxi^{v}-cclxii^{r}, p.losa
Toledo 21, fols. 87^{v}-90^{r}, Peñalosa

According to Hardie, there are three distinct versions of Peñalosa's *Precor te Domine*. The most complete is that of Coimbra 32, which is the only one that includes *partes* I and II of the motet; Hardie states that the *secunda pars* is corrupt, and cannot be transcribed.[148] Tarazona 2/3, Toledo 21, and 454/C transmit *pars* I only. Coimbra 12 reads as the latter three manuscripts through m. 91, and then has a different 10-bar ending.[149] Hardie maintains that the minor notational differences (coloration and ligatures) between Tarazona 2/3 and Toledo 21 suggest that "each was copied from a different parent source." The two versions, though, are very close.[150] The reading in 454/C is also close to that of Tarazona 2/3 and Toledo 21, even though it significantly alters the text underlay especially in the opening phrase. There is at least one instance (Ex. 16), in a duo between superius and tenor, in which 454/C deviates from Coimbra 12, Tarazona 2/3, and Toledo 21. The reading in 454/C contains parallel octaves, and the alternative reading in the other three manuscripts is not entirely correct either.[151]

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[148]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 134-37, and II, 300-4. I have not collated Coimbra 32. Although she also states that the version of *Precor te domine* in 454/C is illegible, the reading can still be ascertained.

[149]Preciado, *Peñalosa: Opera Omnia*, I, 159-69, 171-79, edited the versions in Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra 12; he was not aware of the complete version in Coimbra 32.

[150]The only variant worthy of mention occurs at m. 79 in the altus, where semibreve rest and c' semibreve in Tarazona 2/3 read minim rest and three c' minims in Toledo 21, imitating the rhythm in the tenor of the previous measure.

[151]I have not collated the reading in Coimbra 32.

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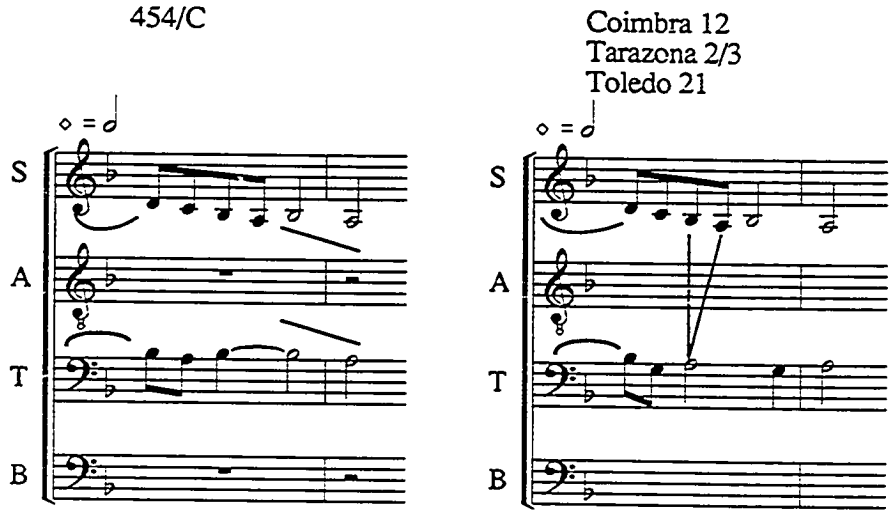
Ex. 16: Peñalosa's *Precor te Domine*, m. 56.



(v) No. 61. *In passione positus*, Penyalosa

Sources:
454/C, fols. cxxxviiii^{v}-cxl^{r}, Penyalosa
Coimbra 32, fols. 40^{v}-41^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxvi^{v}-cclxvii^{r}, p.losa
Toledo 21, fols. 75^{v}-78^{r}, Peñalosa

Of the four works in 454/C that also appear in Portuguese sources, only Peñalosa's *In passione positus* is free of significant variants in all its sources: Coimbra 32, 454/C, Tarazona 2/3, and Toledo 21.[152] The other three works have distinctive Portuguese versions.

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[152]Hardie, "The Motets," I, 132-33, states that the final note in the "cantus" is a' in Tarazona 2/3 and c" in Coimbra 32, but Tarazona 2/3 ends with the octave d-d'; I have not consulted Coimbra 32, but if it ends with c" in the superius it must be an error. Hardie suggests that the version in 454/C belongs to a different family owing to the text underlay, rhythmic differences, the B-flat in the key signature, and the different bass clef.

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(vi) No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar

Sources:

454/C, fols. clxi^{v}-clxii^{r}, Escobar
Bloomington 8, fols. 18^{v}-19^{r}, and 56^{v}-57^{r}, Anon.
Bloomington 9, fols. 5^{v}-6^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 12, fols. 193^{v}-194^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 22^{v}-23^{r}, Anon.
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 17^{v}-18^{r}, Escobar
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxi^{v}-cclxxii^{r}, Escobar

Clamabat autem mulier, Escobar's most widely disseminated work (in terms of the number of manuscripts in which it appears), presents an interesting problem of transmission that groups Coimbra 12 and 454/C against Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3.[153] The separative variant occurs at mm. 91 ff., as Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3 transmit a repetition of a three-bar motive (in brackets in Ex. 17), one that both 454/C and Coimbra 12 state only once. Unfortunately the altus in our manuscript skips the motive altogether (in parenthesis in Ex. 17), and thus the version is defective.

Ex. 17: Separative variant in *Clamabat autem*, mm. 91-96.

[153]*Clamabat autem mulier* has most recently been edited, after Seville 5-5-20, by Imrie, *Mapa Mundi: Spanish Church Music*, No. 3.

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Although in at least one instance the manuscripts in each pair do not agree with each other,[154] the separative variant shown in Ex.18 is more significant, since both scribes would not have included or omitted those three measures independently of one another.

(vii) No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]

(See the discussion of this piece under conflicting attributions.)

(viii) No. 91. *Quam pulchra es*, Ribaflecha

Sources:
454/C, fols. clxxiiii^{v}-clxxvi^{r}, Ribrafrecha
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 20^{v}-22^{r}, Anon. (incomplete)

The incomplete and defective version of Ribaflecha's *Quam pulchra es* in Seville 5-5-20 suggests that its transmission is independent from that in 454/C.[155] In addition to the errors in Seville 5-5-20, a few genuine variants between 454/C and Seville 5-5-20 further indicate that our manuscript could have not been copied from Seville 5-5-20.[156]

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[154]Coimbra 12 has c minim in the bassus at m. 18 instead of d as the other three sources. At m. 20 of the same voice, Tarazona 2/3 has e semibreve instead of the g of the three other concordances; these variants are correct within their polyphonic context.

[155]Seville 5-5-20 lacks the bassus of the *prima pars*. The altus at m. 30 has an extra longa rest, and the superius (mm. 46:4-47:3) omits one bar of music; these errors make a performance of the piece from this manuscript impossible. Only the superius of the *prima pars* is texted; as stated in Chapter IV, previous inventories of Seville 5-5-20 had listed the *secunda pars* of this motet as an anonymous textless work.

[156]The tenor at m. 17 in 454/C has a minim rest instead of c' minim in Seville 5-5-20; the altus at m. 35 has e'-d' semiminims instead of d' minim; the superius at m. 59 has f' semiminim instead of e'. The altus at m. 47 in Seville 5-5-20 has a d' semibreve instead of minim, and this is compensated for in the following measure by the absence of one g' minim; see my edition of this piece in Part II.

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(ix) No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Févin/[Bruck/Craen/Josquin/Festa/Morales]

(See the discussion of this piece under conflicting attributions; see also Chapter VI.)

Conclusions regarding 454/C and its Iberian Concordances

Unlike the situation in the other three sections of Barcelona M.454, the nineteen works that constitute 454/C were copied by only one scribe, and this unique feature should be taken into account when considering the relationship between 454/C and other manuscripts. The scope of the repertoire in 454/C follows in the steps of the earlier composite sections 454/A and 454/B. Scribe C copied international works—by Févin, Josquin (lost), Martini, Mouton, and Weerbecke—not otherwise found in Iberian manuscripts, along with works by Anchieta, Peñalosa, Escobar, Ribaflecha, and the Catalan composer, Cubells.

In relation to the previous sections of the manuscript, 454/C presents a dramatic increase in the percentage of concordances with Iberian manuscripts (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8: Number of pieces that 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C share with other Iberian manuscripts.

	Works	Unica	Iberian Concordances
454/A	47	31 (65.9 %)	14 (29.7 %)
454/B	35	29 (82.8 %)	5 (14.2 %)
454/C	19	6 (31.5 %)	15 (78.9 %)

Two other features become apparent in 454/C: (1) while 454/A has eight concordances with Segovia, 454/C has none, and (2) 454/C transmits a greater number of concordances for Seville 5-5-20, Tarazona 2/3, and Toledo 21 than does 454/A (see Table 9).

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Table 9: Distribution of concordances among the major Iberian manuscripts.

	454/A	454/B	454/C	454/D
Segovia	8 (17 %)	1 (2.8 %)	—	—
Seville 5-5-20	1 (2.1 %)	—	5 (26.3 %)	—
Tarazona 2/3	5 (10.6 %)	3 (8.5 %)	7 (36.8 %)	—
Toledo 21	2 (4.2 %)	2 (5.7 %)	4 (21 %)	—

This pattern may reflect—very roughly—the chronology of the different sections of Barcelona M.454, as 454/A has the greatest number of concordances with the early Segovia, while 454/C contains more concordances with the later Seville 5-5-20, Tarazona 2/3, and Toledo 21.

The significant increase in the percentage of Iberian concordances with 454/C, also seems directly related to the increase in the number of sacred works attributed to Peñalosa (see Table 10).

Table 10: Distribution of sacred works in Barcelona M.454 attributed to Peñalosa.

454/A	454/B	454/C	454/D
1 (2.1 %)	1 (2.8 %)	5 (26.3 %)	—

The one sacred work attributed to Peñalosa in the earliest section of our manuscript—454/A—is the motet *O bone Jesu* that is also ascribed to Anchieta in Segovia, to Compère in Petrucci 1519[2], and to Ribera in Tarazona 2/3; the single Peñalosa motet in 454/B—*Tribularer si nescirem*—is found only in one other source, Toledo 21.[157] On the other hand, all five Peñalosa motets in 454/C, two of them with conflicting attributions, are disseminated in at least three other sources.

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The repertoire in 454/C continues to support the idea that, contrary to Hardie's contention, even for the transmission of the narrow circle of Peñalosa's works there is no unified Iberian manuscript tradition. The different versions of *Precor te Domine*, and the significant variants of *Memorare piissima* (in addition to its conflicting attribution: Peñalosa in 454/C and Toledo 21 against Escobar in Seville 1, Seville 5-5-20, and Tarazona 2/3) indicate that Peñalosa's motets are not without the filiation problems encountered in manuscripts from the rest of Europe. However, we can say that the readings of the pieces that 454/C shares with other Iberian manuscripts agree with those in the other manuscripts to a greater extent than do those of 454/A and 454/B. This is particularly true for the relationship between Barcelona M.454 and Tarazona 2/3 (Table 11).

Table 11: Agreements between the sections of Barcelona M.454 and Tarazona 2/3.

	Tarazona 2/3 Concordances	Works with readings very close to those in Barcelona M.454
454/A	5	1
454/B	3	1
454/C	7	5

To turn to conflicting attributions: of the six ascriptions in 454/C that conflict with those in other manuscripts, two—that of Mouton for Martini's *O beate Sebastiane* and that of Josquin for Peñalosa's *Sancta mater*—can probably be considered outright errors. The "Jo. Moton" / "Jo. Martini" conflict might have been the result of confusion on the part of Scribe C as he derived his attribution for the piece (as I believe he did) from

[157]454/A contains one secular work by Peñalosa, *Pues vivo en perder la vida*, with a concordance in Madrid 1335; 454/B transmits a secular *unicum* by Peñalosa, *Los braços trayo cansados*.

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the index of Petrucci 1505[2]. The "iusquin" ascription was added by a hand other than Scribe C, who copied the music; perhaps this ascription came about as a result of confusing the piece with the item "Ave maria de Jusquin" in the *tabla*. The other four conflicting attributions do not speak against the reliability of 454/C: only one attribution in 454/C is doubtful—but supported by Toledo 21—and the other three are most likely correct.

A summary of the relationships between 454/C and its Iberian concordances follows.

454/C and Barcelona 681

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Barcelona 681
No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Anxeta

The readings attributed to "Anxeta" in both manuscripts are very close, but the later manuscript Barcelona 681 is incomplete and has an error; thus it could not have served as a source for any of the other extant readings. The work is also transmitted in Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3.

454/C and Coimbra 12

Concordances: 3	Attribution in Coimbra 12
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Peñalosa	Anon.
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Anon.
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Anon.

The reading of No. 16 in Coimbra 12 is close to that of 454/C, Tarazona 2/3, and Toledo 21, but it changes for the final ten measures.

A separative variant in No. 88 permits us to group 454/C and Coimbra 12 against Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3; although the agreement of 454/C and Coimbra 12 is not consistent, this is the only work in which Barcelona M.454 sides with a Coimbra manuscripts against other Iberian sources.

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The anonymous version of No. 89 in Coimbra 12 shares with the reading attributed to Peñalosa in Toledo 21 an important variant; the reading attributed to Peñalosa in 454/C, however, sides with the version shared by Seville 1, Seville 5-5-20, and Tarazona 2/3, each of which attributes the work to Escobar.

454/C and Coimbra 32

Concordances: 4	Attribution in Coimbra 32
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Peñalosa	Anon.
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Peñalosa	Anon.
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Anon.
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Anon.

I have not collated Coimbra 32. According to Hardie: (1) Coimbra 32 transmits a *secunda pars* for No. 16 not found in the other sources; (2) the reading of No. 61 in Coimbra 32 is very close to the others, but she points out few minor variants with respect to 454/C; and (3) Coimbra 32 transmits a unique variant in No. 89.

454/C and Seville 1

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Seville 1
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Escobar

(See "454/C and Seville 5-5-20," below.)

454/C and Seville 5-5-20

Concordances: 5	Attribution in Seville 5-5-20
No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Anchieta
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Escobar
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Escobar
No. 91. *Quam pulchra es*, Ribaflecha	Anon.

The readings of No. 12 are very close except for a notable variant that separates Seville 5-5-20 from 454/C and Tarazona 2/3.

Despite the conflicting attribution, all the extant readings of No. 14 are very close.

A separative variant in No. 88 permits us to group 454/C and Coimbra 12 against Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3; in the two instances where the manuscripts in each pair

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do not agree with each other, however, Seville 5-5-20 sides first with 454/C and then with Tarazona 2/3.

Seville 5-5-20 and 454/C agree—with Seville 1 and Tarazona 2/3—regarding a notable variant in No. 89, but 454/C attributes the work to Peñalosa while the other three sources attribute it to Escobar; Toledo 21, with a different reading, supports Peñalosa.

The reading of No. 91 in Seville 5-5-20 is incomplete and defective, and thus its model could have not served as a parent source for 454/C.

454/C and Tarazona 2/3

Concordances: 7	Attribution in Tarazona 2/3
No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Ancheta
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 15. *Ave vere sanguis Domini*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Escobar
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Escobar

The readings of Nos. 12, 14 (despite the conclicting attribution), 15, 61, and 89 (despite the conflicting attribution) are very close. The readings of No. 16 are also very close, but the ligatures in 454/C significantly alter the text underlay, especially in the opening phrase. A separative variant in No. 88 permits us to group 454/C and Coimbra 12 against Seville 5-5-20 and Tarazona 2/3.

454/C and Toledo 13

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Toledo 13
No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Févin	Antonius Févin

The two readings of No. 92 are close, but see the discussion of this piece in Chapter VI.

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454/C and Toledo 21

Concordances: 4	Attribution in Toledo 21
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Peñalosa

The readings of No. 14 (despite the conflicting attribution) and No. 61 are very close. Although the readings of No. 16 are also very close, the ligatures in 454/C significantly alter the text underlay, especially in the opening phrase. 454/C and Toledo 21 agree in attributing No. 89 to Peñalosa, but their readings are independent; a separative variant in Toledo 21—also found in Coimbra 12—seems to have emerged as an emendation to an error found in Coimbra 32.

Based on the above summaries, and subject to modifications and refinements in light of the preceding discussions of specific pieces, the readings in 454/C are closest to Barcelona 681 and Tarazona 2/3. The readings in Coimbra 12—except for No. 88—are furthest removed from 454.

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IV. BARCELONA 454/D

Number of works: 21 secular works
Unica: 17
Ascriptions: Flecha (4), Pastrana (2), Morales
Attributions through concordances: Janequin, Gabriel/Luchas
Conflicting attribution: none
Concordances with Iberian manuscripts: 3

A. The three concordances between 454/D and Iberian manuscripts

(i) No. 84. [*A la caça*], [Gabriel/Luchas]

Sources:
454/D, fol. clviii^{r}, Anon.
Madrid 1335, fol. ccxxviii^{r}, "Luchas" and "Gabriel"

A la caça, an anonymous work in 454/D, bears an attribution to "Luchas" at the top of fol. 228^{r} in Madrid 1335. There is, however, some controversy regarding the authorship of this work. In his edition of Madrid 1335, Barbieri assigned the work to the poet-musician Gabriel, on the ground that the last strophe of the text was added at the bottom of the previous folio—ccxxvii^{v}—with an ascription to that composer.[158] Anglés opted for the attribution to Luchas.[159] Stevenson favored ascribing the whole piece to Gabriel, and interpreted the attribution to "Luchas" literally as the Spanish word for "struggles" (fights); according to him "the struggle between the apparent meter of 4/4 and the felt meter of 3/4 continues throughout the entire *estribillo*. . . ."[160] Lee states that the attribution to Gabriel "presumably indicates that the final strophe if not the rest of the text is by him."[161] Since there was empty space on fol. ccxxviii^{r} for at least two more

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[158]Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 210.

[159]Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, 101.

[160]Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 277. He also argues that ". . .the 'struggle' idea is, moreover appropriate to the text: which urges smitten swains to fly to the chase of their lady loves and to capture them, no matter how energetically they should struggle."

[161]Lee, "Spanish Popular Song," II, 61.

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strophes, though, it is difficult to explain why the last strophe was added on the previous folio rather than on the page where the first seven strophes and the music appear. I am inclined to believe that only the last strophe may have been written by Gabriel, since this attribution, while recognizing his contribution, avoids the conflict of double attribution on the same page (Luchas at the top and Gabriel at the bottom).

The possible identity of "Luchas" is also controversial. Romeu identified him with Antón Lucas, a *ministril* who worked for Fernando and later for Charles V.[162] Lee follows Romeu in assigning *A la caça* to Fernando's *ministril* Antón Lucas. I believe, however, there is another likely candidate: the poet-musician Lucas Fernández (ca. 1474-1541), Encina's rival at Salamanca.[163] Lucas, like Encina, entered the house of the Duke of Alba, probably took part in Encina's plays, and began to compete with Encina circa 1496.[164]

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[162]Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, III-1, 20. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 93-98, 100, documented one Antón Lucas de Borbón from 1498 to 1516, in which period he served Isabel until 1504 and then Fernando. This Antón Lucas might not be the same as the Antonio de Lucas reported by Anglés, *Carlos V*, 33-139, who served Charles V from 1528 to at least 1556. Two other *ministriles* named "Lucas," Gerónimo and Francisco, worked for Charles V as well.

[163]The biographical information about Lucas Fernández was uncovered by Espinosa, "Ensayo biográfico del Maestro Lucas Fernández," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* X (1923), 386-424, 567-603. His complete works have been edited by John Lihani, *Lucas Fernández: farsas y églogas* (New York: Las Americas Pub. Co., 1969), and Maria Josefa Canellada, *Lucas Fernández: farsas y églogas* (Madrid: Castalia, 1976); both include biographical information. Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 269, suggested that a 1513 lawsuit involving Lucas implied his absence from Salamanca, and thus it coud be possible to identify him with Fernando's singer Lucas de Andia; the latter, a native of Agueda (a village in the province of Salamanca), served from 1506 to 1516. It should be noted, however, that the lawsuit was provoked by Lucas's absence from Alaraz, not Salamanca.

[164]Canellada, *Lucas Fernández*, 7-8, 10. Like Juan del Encina, whose real family name was Fermoselle, Lucas changed his name from González to Fernández, an indication of his convert origin. Canellada cites Américo Castro, *De la edad conflictiva*, 41, 207, in relation to the convert aspects of the *representaciones* written by Encina and Lucas: "El teatro a fines del siglo XV fue obra de conversos... En el teatro iniciado a fines del reinado de los Reyes Católicos, los cristianos nuevos se sirvieron de las representaciones de la Natividad y Pasión de

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One anonymous song in Madrid 1335, *Di por qué mueres en Cruz*, is probably by Lucas Fernández, since it is the final *villancico* in his *Auto de la Pasión*. As Lee points out, *A la caça* displays a hunting horn motive, which according to her suggests an instrumental performance.[165]

(ii) No. 119. *Si n[o] os [h]uviera mirado*, Morales

Sources:
454/D, fols. clxxxv^{v}-clxxxvi^{r}, Morales
Scotto 1556[30], No. 13, Anon.

The only concordance between Barcelona M.454 and the so-called *Cancionero de Uppsala* (Scotto 1556[30]) is the *villancico Si n[o] os [h]uviera mirado*, attributed to "Morales" in 454/D.[166] Jaime Moll claims that the ascription to Morales in 454/D refers to Cristóbal de Morales, while Leopoldo Querol Rosso questions the attribution on stylistic grounds. Querol Rosso also suggests that the text may have been written by the poet Juán Boscán (ca. 1495-1542), but Anglés had dismissed such an attribution.[167]

Cristo para reclamar, fundándose en ellas, un derecho a ser tratados como cristianos salvados por el bautismo..." [Theater at the end of the fifteenth century was made by converts. . . The new Christians used the plays of the Nativity and the Passion of Christ to claim the right to be treated as Christians saved by baptism. . .]

[165]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," II, 61. 454/D contains several errors: (1) in the altus at m. 2 the last note reads e' instead of f'; (2) in this same voice, the last two and a half measures were copied a third higher; and (3) the tenor at m.9[4] has b-flat instead of a.

[166]There is only one variant. In the tenor I at m. 10 the fifth note reads b in 454/D and c' in Mitjana's transcription after Scotto 1556[30]; although both notes are possible, 454/D seems to be correct on motivic grounds.

[167]Moll, "Un villancico de Morales y otro de Cárceres en el Cancionero español de Uppsala," *Anuario Musical* (1953), 167-69. Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, 33-34, 95. Querol Rosso points out the similarity between the last two verses of one of Boscán's poems (*Obras* (Anvers, 1597), 52: "Qual quedara/Señor, ni n'os mirara?") and the last two in Scotto 1556[30]: "Qual quedara/Pero tampoco os mirara." Querol Rosso also refers to the 1560 collection *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos* by Juan Vasquez (ca. 1510-ca. 1560) in

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Besides the presence of *villancicos* by Flecha in both collections, there is no other apparent connection between our manuscript and the Venetian print of 1556.

(iii) No. 120. *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, Pastrana

Sources:
454/D, fol. clxxxvi^{r}, Pastrana
Madrid 1335, fol. 114 (lost)
Elvas 11793, fols. 97^{v}-98^{r}, Anon.

Elvas 11793 and Barcelona M.454 share only one piece: Pastrana's *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*.[168] A comparison of the readings in both manuscripts clearly shows that they are independent.[169] The different ending of the first section of this work (Ex. 19) constitutes the most significant variant between the two sources, and illustrates one of the corrupt readings in Elvas 11793 at m. 11. Elvas 11793, however, transmits the "correct" voice designations, while 454/D does not.

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which one of the works, on fol. 17 [recte: 24^{v}], shares the same first verse *Si n'os hubiera mirado*. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," II, 256, states that: "The first musical phrase of the Vásquez composition is similarly based on the first line of Morales' setting, but beyond this point there is no musical or text relationship between the two pieces." Anglés, *Juan Vásquez*, 40, indicated that the text of Vásquez's setting is by Luis de Vivero, dismissing Trend's ascription to Boscán.

[168]Joaquim and Morais, in their editions of Elvas 11793, were not aware of the concordance with Barcelona M.454 which attributes this work to Pastrana. Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 518-19, edited the piece after Barcelona M.454.

[169]Several errors in Elvas 11793 render the version defective; see my edition in Part II.

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Ex. 19: Variant in *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, mm. 10-12.

454/D

Elvas 11793

Further variants, pointed out by Lee, in other concordant works between Madrid 1335 and Elvas 11793 show that the readings in these two sources are also independent of one another.[170]

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[170]Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 94-95, states that the version of *Quién te traxo, cavallero* in Elvas 11793 is more accurate than the one in Madrid 1335 even though it was copied later. Likewise, *No tienen vado mis males*, attributed to Encina in Madrid 1335, has an added fourth voice in that manuscript where a previous one had been erased, while the version for three voices in Elvas 11793 ". . . may actually represent Encina's original song."

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Conclusions regarding 454/D

The most striking feature of 454/D is its number of *unica*, seventeen out of a total of twenty-one works. Of the three concordances among Iberian sources,[171] only one has very close readings.

454/D and Elvas 11793

Concordances: 1	Attribution in Elvas 11793
No. 120. *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, Pastrana	Anon.

The anonymous reading in Elvas 11793 is defective and has a different ending for the first section of the piece.

454/D and Madrid 1335

Concordances: 2	Attribution in Madrid 1335
No. 84. [*A la caça*], [Gabriel/Luchas]	Gabriel/Luchas
No. 120. *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, Pastrana (listed in the *tabla* of Madrid 1335, but missing from the body of the manuscript)	

The anonymous and textless version of No. 84 in 454/D is defective.

454/D and Scotto 1556[30]

Concordance: 1	Attribution in Scotto 1556[30]
No. 119. *Si n[o] os [h]uviera mirado*, Morales	

The two readings are very close.

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[171] The other concordance, not found in Iberian manuscripts, is the three-voice version of *Orsus orsus vous dormez trop* (*L'alouette*) by Janequin which will be discussed briefly in Chapter VI.

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V. Iberian Concordances Listed by Manuscript

BARCELONA 5

454/A	Attribution in Barcelona 5
No. 50. *Ave Maria* [Josquin]	Anon.
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	Anon.

BARCELONA 681

454/C	Attribution in Barcelona 681
No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Anxeta (incomplete)

COIMBRA MANUSCRIPTS

454/A	Attribution in C-12	C-32	C-48	C-53
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum*, Mondéjar/[Diaz]	Anon.	Anon.	Anon.	—
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario	Anon.	Anon.	Anon.	Anon.
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Peñalosa/[Anchieta/ Compère/Ribera]	Anon.	Anon.	Anon.	Anon.
454/C				
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Peñalosa	Anon.	Anon.	—	—
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Peñalosa	—	Anon.	—	—
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Anon.	Anon.	—	—
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Anon.	Anon.	—	—

ELVAS 11793

454/D	Attribution in Elvas 11793
No. 120. *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, Pastrana	Anon.

MADRID 1335

454/A	Attribution in Madrid 1335
No. 45. *Pues vivo en perder la vida* [Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 98. *Pelayo ten buen esfuerço* [Encina]	Encina

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MADRID 1335 (cont.)

454/B

No. 78. *Si* [*la noche es temerosa*], Anon.	Anon.

454/D

No. 84. [*A la caça*] [Gabriel/Luchas]	Gabriel/Luchas
No. 120. *Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, Pastrana	(listed in *tabla* only)

SEGOVIA

454/A

	Attribution in Segovia
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	Anon. (superius only)
No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]	Agricola
No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola/Isaac/Obrecht/Verbonet]	Agricola
No. 50. *Ave Maria* [Josquin]	Josquin
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	Anon. (altus and bassus of *secunda pars* only)
No. 52. *Intemerata virgo* and *O Maria nullam*, Anon.	Josquin
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Peñalosa/[Compère, Ribera]	Anchieta
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]	Anon.

454/B

No. 9. *Missa de nostra dona* [Anchieta]	Anchieta (*Gloria* only and a different *Credo*)
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Francisco de la Torre]	Anon. (Superius only)

SEVILLE 1

454/C

	Attribution in Seville 1
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa	Escobar

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SEVILLE 5-5-20

454/A	Attribution in Seville 5-5-20
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]	Anon.
454/C	
No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Anchieta
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Escobar
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa	Escobar
No. 91. *Quam pulchra es*, Ribaflecha	Anon.

TARAZONA 2/3

454/A	Attribution in Tarazona 2/3
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	F. la Torre
No. 28. *Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum*, Mondéjar	Díaz
No. 34. *O admirabile commercium*, Ylario	Iliario
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	Luiset
No. 56. *O bone Jesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère]	Ribera
454/B	
No. 9. [*Missa de nostra dona*] [Anchieta]	Ancheta (*Kyrie* and *Gloria* only)
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [F. de la Torre]	F. la Torre
No. 75. *Pange lingua* [Wreede]	Jo. Vrede
454/C	
No. 12. *Salve Regina*, Anxeta	Ancheta
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	Peñalosa
No. 15. *Ave vere sanguis Domini*, Peñalosa	Peñalosa
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Penyalosa	Peñalosa
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Penyalosa	Peñalosa
No. 88. *Clamabat autem mulier*, Escobar	Escobar
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/[Escobar]	Escobar

TARAZONA 5

454/A	Attribution in Tarazona 5
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	Anon.
454/B	
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [Fco. de la Torre]	F. la Torre

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TOLEDO MANUSCRIPTS

454/A	Attribution in TOLEDO 1	TOLEDO 13	TOLEDO 21
No. 24. *Ne recorderis* [F. de la Torre].	la Torre	—	de la Torre
No. 51. *Ave Maria* [Compère]	—	—	Lisset
454/B			
No. 17. *Ne recorderis* [F. de la Torre]	—	—	de la Torre
No. 60. *Tribularer si nescirem*, Peñalosa	—	—	Peñalosa
454/C			
No. 14. *Sancta mater*, Iusquin/[Peñalosa]	—	—	Peñalosa
No. 16. *Precor te Domine*, Penyalosa	—	—	Peñalosa
No. 61. *In passione positus*, Penyalosa	—	—	Peñalosa
No. 89. *Memorare piissima*, Peñalosa/ [Escobar]	—	—	Peñalosa
No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Févin	—	Fevin	—

SCOTTO 1556[30]

454/D	Attribution in Scotto 1556[30]
No. 119. *Si n[o] os [h]uviera mirado*, Morales	Anon.

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CHAPTER VI

THE INTERNATIONAL SCOPE OF BARCELONA M.454

Barcelona M.454 and the Segovia manuscript are the two extant Iberian sources of polyphony from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with the most extensive foreign repertoire.[1] Barcelona M.454 contains twenty non-Iberian pieces and displays concordances with more than one hundred Continental sources; our manuscript is the only Iberian source for thirteen of those non-Iberian works.[2] In addition, Barcelona M.454 transmits at least seven other pieces either without attribution or with a conflicting ascription that may have been composed by non-Iberian composers.[3]

In this chapter, I will examine briefly the relationship between Barcelona M.454 and a few non-Iberian concordant sources. The purpose is twofold: (1) to trace possible sources of the international repertoire in Barcelona M.454; and (2) to assess the reliability of our manuscript in the context of its Continental counterparts. We should note at the outset that the foreign repertoire in Barcelona M.454 does not reflect a single stemmatic tradition; this is not surprising in the light of the composite structure of our manuscript.

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[1]Out of twenty-three works, Barcelona 5 contains nine foreign pieces: Isaac (3), Josquin (4), Obrecht (1), and Richafort (1). Among the thirteen extant works in Seville 5-5-20, only one is by a non-Spanish composer (*Mater patris et filia* by Brumel), and it is transmitted anonymously. Tarazona 2/3, with 121 extant works, contains three foreign works, by Compère, Josquin, and Wreede respectively, and possibly two more if the ascriptions to "Periquin" and "Villa" refer to Pierre de la Rue and Willaert (see Chapter IV). As for the Toledo manuscripts: with the possible exception of Toledo 23, which may have been copied during the period 1520-1535 in the Low Countries, they are generally dated from the 1540s-1550s, and thus fall outside of our chronological period.

[2]For a list of printed and manuscript sources concordant with Barcelona M.454, see the "List of Sources" (p. 411).

[3]I consider these seven works as probably Franco-Flemish, since five of them were copied by non-Iberian scribes, and of the other two, one (No. 121) has a concordance in Chigi, and the other (No. 7)—the first work in 454/B—was most likely copied from a Franco-Flemish model of which only a fragment appears on the last verso of 454/A. See Chapter I.

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with some nine to eleven scribes responsible for the foreign works in its four distinct sections. I list these pieces in Table 1 (A and B), and in Table 2 a selected group (see footnote 4) of foreign sources concordant with Barcelona M.454.

Table 1 (A and B): International repertoire in Barcelona M.454.

A. Works in Barcelona M.454 with concordances in Continental sources

*An asterisk indicates pieces for which Barcelona M.454 is the only Iberian source.

	Scribe
454/C:	
*No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin	C
*No. 2. *O beate Sebastiane*, Jo. Mouton/[Jo. Martini]	
*No. 3. *O beate Sebastiane*, Gaspar [van Weerbecke]	
454/B:	
*No. 8. [*Missa Au travail suis*] [Ockeghem]	B2
*No. 10. [*Missa L'homme armé*] [Busnoys]	
454/C	
*No. 13. *O pulcherima mulierum*, Jo. Mouton/ [Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin/Josquin]	C
454/A:	
No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]	A2-3
*No. 31. [*Magnificat secundi toni*], Fr. Benito/[Brumel]	A5
*No. 32. [*Magnificat*] *sexti toni*, Brumel	
No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]	A4
No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]	A10
No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]	
No. 52. *Intemerata Virgo* and *O Maria nullam* [Josquin]	
*No. 53. *Anima mea liquefacta est* [Weerbecke]	
*No. 54. *Sile fragor* [Compère]	
*No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]	
No. 56. *O bone Jhesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]	A11
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]	
454/D:	
*No. 82. *Orsus orsus bus dromes* (*L'alouette*) [Janequin]	D1
454/C:	
No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin	C
*No. 121. *Regina celi*, Anon.	

B. Unica in Barcelona M.454 of dubious or anonymous authorship, perhaps by non-Iberian composers:

454/B	
*No. 7. [*Missa*] [Fray Benito]	B1-2
454/A	
*No. 29. *Magnificat* [*primi toni*] Frai Benito/de riaça [de (F)rança?]	A5
*No. 30. [*Magnificat*] *primi toni*, Anon. [Benito?]	
*No. 33. [*Magnificat octavi toni*] fr. benios [Benito?]	
*No. 37. *Salue regina*, Anon.	A7-5-7

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*No. 38. [*Magnificat*] Octavi toni, Anon.
*No. 49. *Ave maria tu indiuidur trinitatis*, Anon. A10

Table 2. Number of Concordances with the Layers of Barcelona M.454 in a selected group of Continental Manuscripts and Prints.[4]

Manuscripts	454/A	454/B	454/C	454/D	Total
Berlin 40021	3				3
Bologna Q18	2				2
Bologna Q27 II°			2		2
Cambrai 125-128	1		1		2
Copenhagen 1848 2°	2			1	3
Florence 27	3				3
Florence 117			1	1	2
Florence 178	2				2
Florence 229	2				2
Jena 3			1		1
Kassel 9	2				2
Leipzig 1494	2				2
London 1070	1		1		2
Modena IX	1		1		2
Munich 322-325	2				2
Munich 3154	2				2
Padua A17			2		2
St. Gall 462	1		1		2
St. Gall 463	3			1	4
St. Gall 530	3		1		4
Vatican CG XII, 2			1		
Vatican 15	4				4
Vatican 16			1		1
Vatican 63		2			2
Vatican C.VIII.234	2	2	2		6
Verona 758	2				2
Verona 760			2		2
Vienna 15495			1		1
Vienna 18832	1		1		2
Warsaw 2016	4				4
Prints					
Antico 1516[1]			1		1
Petrucci 1502[1]	4				4
Petrucci 1505[2]	1		2		3

[4]I have selected only manuscripts and prints with two or more concordances with Barcelona M.454, but omit sources that share with Barcelona M.454 only one widely-circulated piece, such as Agricola's *Sy dedero*, Févin's *Sancta trinitas*, Janequin's *L'alouette*, or Josquin's *Ave Maria.* I include, however, the concordant sources carrying a complete version of the less widely circulated *Missa mente tota* by Févin even if this is the only work they share with Barcelona M.454.

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Petrucci 1515[1]	1	1

In the section that follows, I will discuss some of the variant readings between Barcelona M.454 and a group of Continental concordances comprising only one print and two manuscripts: Petrucci 1505[2], Vatican 15, and Vatican C.VIII.234 (Chigi). They stand out from the other sources owing to readings that are closely related to those in Barcelona M.454, or, as in Chigi, owing to a special relationship to our manuscript. The conclusions of this chapter are drawn from a comparison of readings in all the concordant sources listed in Table 2, but the brief discussion about the relationship between each one of those sources and Barcelona M.454 is found in Appendix III.

One print and two non-Iberian manuscripts with readings that are closely related to Barcelona M.454

Barcelona M.454 and Petrucci 1505[2] (*Motetti libro quarto*)
Concordances: 3
with 454/A:
No. 52. *Intemerata Virgo* and *O Maria nullam* [Josquin]
with 454/C:
No. 2. *O beate Sebastiane*, Jo. Mouton/[Jo. Martini]
No. 3. *O beate Sebastiane*, Gaspar [van Weerbecke]

The readings of these three pieces in both sources are very close, especially in the two concordances with 454/C, where the agreement extends even to minor details such as ligatures. Both 454/C and Petrucci 1505[2] transmit Nos. 2 and 3 consecutively, and they are the only sources for these two homonymous motets. The narrow circulation of these two pieces, the consecutive order in which they are found in both sources, and the close readings are striking. As pointed out in Chapter V, I believe that Scribe C used Petrucci 1505[2] as his model, and that confusion at the time of copying the ascription "Jo. Martini" from the table of contents of Petrucci 1505[2] may have given rise in 454/C to the attribution of No. 2 to "Jo. Moton." Another item is listed anonymously in the table of contents of Petrucci 1505[2] and in the *tabla* of 454/C: Josquin's *Mente tota tibi suplicamus*, which,

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owing to the loss of fols. xiii-xiv of Barcelona M.454, is no longer extant in our manuscript.

Barcelona M.454 and Vatican 15[5]

Concordances: 4

with 454/A:

No. 32. [*Magnificat*] *sexti toni*, Brumel
No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]
No. 54. *Sile fragor* [Compère]
No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]

Of the readings in the extant Continental sources, those in Vatican 15 are closely related to the ones in the earliest section of Barcelona M.454.

No. 32. [*Magnificat*] *sexti toni*, Brumel[6]

Sources:

454/A, fols. xciiii^{v}-xcviii^{r} (21^{v}-25^{r}), Brumel
's-Hertogenbosch 73, 156^{v}-161^{r}, Anon.
Kassel 9, No. 13, Anon.
Uppsala 76a, fols. 37^{v}-41^{r}, Anon. (five sections only)
Vatican 15, fols. 127^{v}-133^{r}, Anon.

Hudson points out that the reading in Barcelona M.454—the only one that attributes the work to Brumel—and Vatican 15 are in "basic agreement," and that the one in Kassel 9 is "very similar" to that of 's-Hertogenbosch; these four sources, however, "differ in the number of verses provided with music and the particular setting assigned to some verses."[7] While 454/A, 's-Hertogenbosch, and Kassel 9 present the *alternatim* version, Vatican 15

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[5]According to Sherr, "The Papal Chapel," 214-15, Vatican 15 was compiled in Rome between 1492 and 1501 for use by the Capella Sistina; French heraldry suggests that the manuscript may be connected to the visit of Charles VIII to Rome in 1495.

[6]For the comparison of readings of this piece, I have relied on the comments in Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia, VI*, xvii-xviii. He did not collate Barcelona M.454 or Uppsala 76a.

[7]Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, xvii.

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exemplifies the Italian practice of redistributing the music of a Magnificat to provide a strophic setting. Vatican 15 and Barcelona M.454 are the only sources for the *Anima mea* section. Although 454/A and Vatican 15 have close readings, it is clear that the strophic version in Vatican 15 could have not served as a parent source for 454/A.

No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]

As shown in Chapter V (Ex. 10), 454/A has variants of its own, but at least on two occasions Vatican 15 and other sources agree with 454/A against Tarazona 2/3.

No. 54. *Sile fragor* [Compère]

Sources:
454/A, fols. cxxxi^{v}-cxxxiii^{r} (59^{v}-61^{r}), Anon.
Hrad 7, fols. 112^{r}-115^{r}, Anon.
Vatican 15, fols. 183^{v}-185^{r}, Anon.
Vatican C.VIII.234 (Chigi), fols. 279^{v}-281^{r}, Anon.
Verona 758, 17^{v}-19^{r}, Anon.
Petrucci 1502[1], fols. 26^{v}-28^{r}, Compère

The readings in 454/A and Vatican 15 (with those in Chigi Codex, and Petrucci 1502[1]) are very close, but, as noted by Finscher, the *secunda pars* of Petrucci 1502[1] transmits a version of the last lines of the text that is unique.[8] A music variant occurs in the last measure of the *prima pars*;[9] Ex.1 shows the three different readings (Vatican 15 agrees with 454/A) with the incorporation or elimination of a repeated four-note motive in m. 44.

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[8]Finscher, *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia*, IV, iv. According to Finscher, Petrucci 1502[1] reduces the humanistic tendencies of the text, strengthening its sacred character.

[9]454/A has an independent reading: a rhythmic variant in the first beat at m. 6, where in 454/A all four voices have breves instead of semibreve rests and semibreves as in Chigi, Petrucci 1502[1], and Vatican 15. The last source has an error in the alto at m. 43, where it reads g semibreve instead of an a semibreve.

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Ex. 1: Compère's Sile fragor, mm. 43-44.

Chigi Codex

Petrucci 1502[1]

454/A and Vatican 15

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No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]

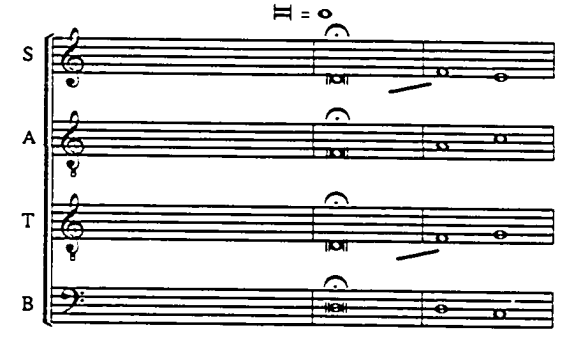
Sources:
Cambrai 125-128,
Florence 27, fols. 95^{v}-97^{r}, Compère
St. Gall 530, 78^{v}-79^{r}, Compère
Vatican 15, 193^{v}-196^{r}, Anon.
Petrucci 1502[1], fols. 10^{v}-13^{r}, Compère

Exx. 2-4 illustrate three ends of phrases in which 454/A consistently sides with Vatican 15 against Florence 27 and Petrucci 1502[1]; the reading in the latter two sources in Ex. 2 is defective, since it transmits parallel octaves between superius and tenor.[10]

Ex. 2: Variant at m. 51 in Compère's *Propter gravamen.*

454/A, Cambrai 125-128, and Vatican 15, mm.50-51

Florence 27, Petrucci 1502[1], mm. 50-52



[10]454/A, Cambrai 125-128, and Vatican 15 also agree against Florence 27 and Petrucci 1502[1] in at least two other instances in the altus: (1) at m. 10[1-2] they read g semibreve instead of a-g minims; and (2) at m. 89[3] they read d' semibreve instead of e'. 454/A agrees more often with Vatican 15 than with Cambrai 125-128 in several minor variants. 454/A has a unique reading at m. 37[1], where the superius has f' instead of e'. The readings in Florence 27 and Petrucci 1502[1] are very close.

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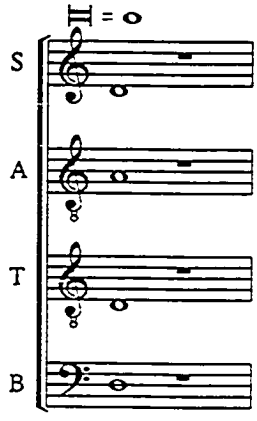
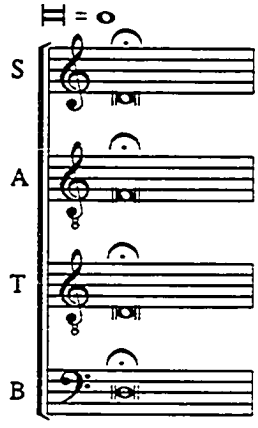
Ex. 3: Variant at m. 32 in Compère's *Propter gravamen.*

454/A, Cambrai 125-128, Vatican 15

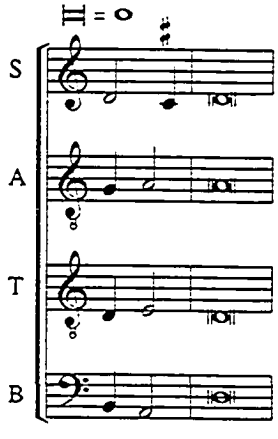


Florence 27, Petrucci 1502[1]

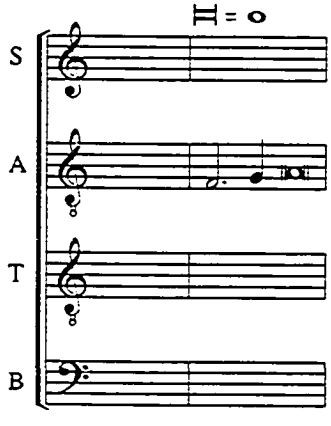


Ex. 4: Variant at m. 65 in Compère's *Propter gravamen.*

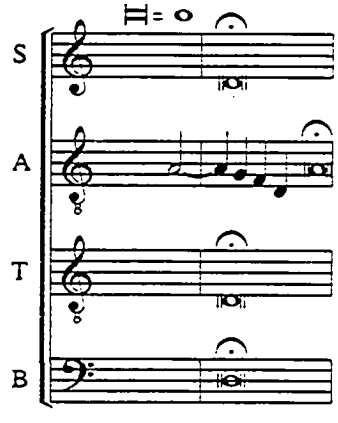
Cambrai 125-128



454/A and Vatican 15



Florence 27, Petrucci 1502[1]



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Barcelona M.454 and Vatican C.VIII.234 (Chigi Codex)[11]

Concordances: 6

with 454/A:

No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]

No. 54. *Sile fragor* [Compère]

with 454/B:

No. 8. [*Missa Au travail suis*] [Ockeghem]

No. 10. [*Missa L'homme armé*] [Busnoys]

with 454/C:

No. 92. [*S*]*ancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

No. 121. *Regina celi*, Anon.

The Chigi Codex is not only the non-Iberian manuscript that shares the most pieces with Barcelona M.454, but also the only one in which the concordances are distributed among all three major sections 454/A, 454/B, and 454/C. The even distribution of concordances among the different sections of Barcelona M.454 is particularly suitable for the study of the stemmatic relationship between the two manuscripts, since it could illustrate the independent status of the different sections of a composite manuscript such as Barcelona M.454.[12] Although the readings of the pieces in 454/A and 454/B that are concordant with Chigi have many variants, one of the readings of the two works shared by 454/C and Chigi is very close. Interestingly, the latter two pieces belong to the group of seven works that was added to the original layer of the Chigi Codex by the scribe who copied the table of contents in Spanish. As pointed out by Kellman, the Spanish language and the decorative initials in the *Tabla de missas y motetes* of Chigi indicate that these

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[11]According to Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources," the Chigi Codex, probably copied between 1498 and 1503 by Martin Bourgeois, belongs to a group of Netherlands Court manuscripts compiled between 1495 and 1508 that includes: Brussels 9126, Florence 2439, and Vienna 1783. Chigi was originally prepared for Philippe Bouton, a courtier with close ties to the royal courts of France and the Netherlands, but it was later brought to Spain, where additional entries were made after 1514. For a description, see Kellman, "The Origins of the Chigi Codex," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IX/1 (1958), 6-19, and his introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. 22, v-xi.

[12]Dennis Slavin, "Questions of Authority in Some Songs by Binchois," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 117/1 (1992) (forthcoming) shows in a composite manuscript from an earlier period (Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, MS V.III.24) how the songs by Binchois reflect different stemmatic traditions in each of the two stages of the compilation, notwithstanding the similar unusual layout of both sections.

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features were added in Spain.[13] Since Mouton's *Quis dabit oculis*, written for the death of Anne of Brittany in 1514, is among the added works, Kellman concluded that these additions to the Chigi Codex were made after that date. As suggested in Chapter II, the Chigi Codex may have been in Barcelona during the celebrations of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1519, when Charles V and his Flemish Chapel spent approximately a year in the city.[14] The pieces shared by 454/C and the Chigi Codex may have been derived from a common parent source. This possibility is enhanced by the closeness of one of the readings and the fact that the pieces in Chigi were copied when the manuscript was in Spain.

454/A and Chigi

Unlike the concordances within 454/B and 454/C, the two works shared by 454/A and Chigi were copied in our manuscript by a non-Iberian scribe. In the light of the many errors committed by Scribe B2 in 454/B, we may note that the work of Scribe A10 and Scribe C is reliable.

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[13]Kellman, "The Origins of the Chigi Codex," 6-7. The heading "Madrid" above the last piece of the manuscript probably refers to a Spanish composer; his identity, however, is controversial since there were two singers in King Fernando's chapel with the same last name: Juan Fernando de Madrid and a Juan Ruiz de Madrid. See Knighton, "Music and Musicians," II, 276-77. That Chigi travelled to Spain is also suggested by the following written note on the fly-leaf of the manuscript: "Libro di musiche di varie messe e di motetti di autori francesi, scritto in Francia, usato in Spagna, che il foglio primo dell' Indice che si trova dà principio è in lingua spagnola siccome ancora i tre ultimi fogli pure scritti in Spagna, circa 1490. La musica è stimata molto buona. . . ." Kellman, "The Origins of the Chigi Codex," 8, dismissed the accuracy of the date ca. 1490 for the Spanish additions, as well as the French origin of the manuscript suggested by the author of the inscription.

[14]For a discussion of the decorations in the Chigi Codex symbolizing the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Kellman, *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. 22, viii-ix; the manuscript contains five *L'homme armé* Masses, and scholars have associated these works, especially Busnoys's Mass, with the ceremonies on the Order. Chigi has the coat of arms—in one of the added works—of an unidentified member of the Catalan family Folch de Cardona, two of whose members eventually became chevaliers of the Order. For a discussion of the possible connection between Pere Folch de Cardona and Barcelona M.454, see Chapter II.

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No. 51. ***Ave Maria gratia plena*** **[Compère]**

As we have seen in Chapter V (Exx. 10a-e), the readings in 454/A and Chigi show no discernible pattern of agreement.

No. 54. ***Sile fragor*** **[Compère]**

Although the readings in 454/A and Chigi are similar, our manuscript is closer to the reading in Vatican 15; see above Ex. 1.

454/B and Chigi

Unfortunately, the Iberian Scribe B2, responsible for copying the two works shared by 454/B and Chigi, made many errors.[15] This is particularly sad since the defective reading, pointed out by Richard Taruskin, of an important work such as Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé* has given the Barcelona manuscript a bad reputation, perpetuating the impression left by Stevenson's negative remark about its attributions.[16] We must emphasize that the work of the other scribes in Barcelona M.454 is far more accurate than the contributions of Scribe B2, and that the accuracy and reliability of the entire manuscript cannot be questioned on the basis of this scribe or the conflicting attributions.[17]

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[15]The errors and omissions in Ockeghem's *Missa Au travail suis* are concentrated in the *Agnus Dei*; outside this movement, 454/B has only one error: the tenor at m. 86^2 of the *Gloria* reads d instead of e.

[16]Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39/2 (1986); and Stevenson, "Josquin in the Music of Spain," 219-20.

[17]Out of 127 works in Barcelona M.454 only five works contain important notational errors: the Masses by Ockeghem and Busnoys copied by Scribe B2, Peñalosa's *Tribularer si nescirem* copied by Scribe B4 (responsible for only this work), Escobar's *Clamabat autem mulier* copied by Scribe C, and Gabriel/Luchas's *A la caça* copied by Scribe D1. For a discussion of conflicting attributions, see the previous chapter.

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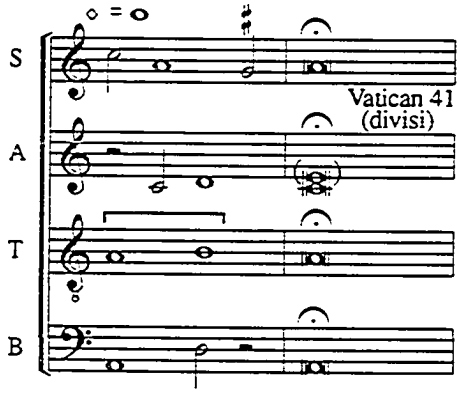
No. 8. [*Missa Au travail suis*] [Ockeghem]

Sources:
454/B, fols. xxx^{v}-xxxviii^{r} (x^{v}-xviii^{r}), Anon.
Vatican 41, fols. 104^{v}-113^{r}, Ockeghem
Vatican 63, fols. 14^{v}-20^{r}, Ockeghem
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. 14^{v}-20^{r}, Ockeghem

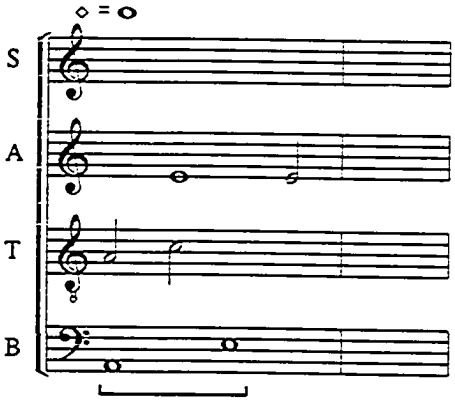
More than a dozen variants between 454/B and the Chigi Codex suggest that the readings are independent; in most instances 454/B consistently sides with Vatican 41 and Vatican 63 against Chigi.[18] Ex. 5 illustrates the most striking variant at the cadence of the first *Kyrie*; since both versions of the cadence are correct, it is difficult to discern which one is the original. However, a passage at the beginning of the *Agnus Dei* I, reminiscent of the first Kyrie, suggests that Chigi probably transmits the most authoritative reading.

Ex. 5: Variant at m.11 in the *Kyrie* of Ockeghem's *Missa Au travail suis*.

454/B, Vatican 41, Vatican 63



Vatican C.VIII.234 (Chigi)



[18]In at least two instances, however, 454/B sides with Chigi against the Vatican manuscripts: (1) *Gloria*: Bassus, m. 88^{2}, 454/B and Chigi read f instead of e (both readings are possible); and (2) *Credo*: Contra, mm. 188^{3}-189, 454/B and Chigi read breve a and semibreve rest instead of semibreve a and longa rest. I have collated the readings in Vatican 41 and Vatican 63 through the detailed critical apparatus for this Mass in Dragan Plamenac, *Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works*, I, xxi-xxiii; Plamenac did not include Barcelona M.454 among the concordances.

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When Vatican 41 and Vatican 63 disagree in minor respects, 454/B does not side consistently or significantly with either. The somewhat independent reading of Ockeghem's Mass in 454/B speaks for a position for the manuscript similar to that in its transmission of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé.*

No. 10. [*Missa L'homme armé*] [Busnoys]

Sources:
454/B, fols. xlix^{v}-lviiii^{r}, Anon.
Modena s.s., fol. 1r-1v (fragment of *Agnus Dei* only)
Vatican 14, fols. 106^{v}-117^{r}
Vatican 63, fols. 2^{v}-13^{r}
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. 213^{v}-227^{r}
Vatican SMM 26 (*olim* J.J.III.4), fols. 154^{v}-172^{r}
Verona 761, fols. 101^{v}-112^{r}

In his critical edition of this Mass, Taruskin, divides the seven sources into Source Group I (Chigi and Vatican SMM 26) and Source Group II (Vatican 14, Vatican 63, and Verona 761), with 454/B "occupying a maverick position in between."[19] According to Taruskin, the readings in Group II are "virtually identical" and contain seven conjunctive errors; 454/B shares many of the readings of this Group, but only two of the conjunctive errors.[20] Interestingly, 454/B, despite its errors and corrupt signatures, is the only source that agrees with Chigi in transmitting the correct mensuration signs for the *Christe* and the *Benedictus* (the seventh conjunctive error in Source Group II, also found in Vatican SMM 26 of Group I, comprises incorrect signs for these two movements); these signatures play a crucial role in the overall structure of the Mass and constitute the fundamental ground for preference of Chigi over all the other sources.[21] According to Taruskin this agreement

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[19]Richard Taruskin, *Antoine Busnoys: Collected Works. The Latin-Texted Works. Masters and Monuments of The Renaissance* Vol. 5 (New York: The Broude Trust, 1990), 8. I would like to thank Prof. Taruskin, who very kindly sent me a copy of his transcription (after Chigi) of Busnoys's Mass prior to its publication.

[20]Taruskin, *Antoine Busnoys: Collected Works*, 11.

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between Chigi and 454/B is "not surprising, since lines of transmission between the Low Countries and Spain were often independent and direct."[22]

Although the reading in 454/B is marred by errors, its scribe, on the grounds that he transmitted the crucial mensuration signs correctly, probably copied from an authoritative source closer to Busnoys's original than to the parent source for the Roman tradition of Source Group II.[23] The "maverick position" of 454/B with respect to its Continental concordances is similar to that of 454/A; in the latter, however, the link between the Low Countries and Spain is much more obvious owing to the presence of Franco-Flemish scribes.[24] This similar stemmatic position of the international repertoire in 454/A and 454/B reflects, I believe, the codicological connection between these two seemingly diverse sections of Barcelona M.454.[25] Paradoxically, the two sections that share the same paper and ruling of staves—454/B and 454/C—may be seen as standing apart (at least regarding one piece) with respect to Chigi.

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[21]For a discussion of the structure of the Mass and its connection to the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Taruskin, *Anthoine Busnoys: Collected Works*, 17-21; see also Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 255-93.

[22]Taruskin, *Antoine Busnoys: Collected Works*, 11, fn. 28.

[23]As stated by Taruskin, *Antoine Busnoys: Collected Works*, 9, fn. 27, the readings in Vatican 63 and Verona 761 are "directly dependent" on Vatican 14. Although the latter is thought to have been copied in Naples (but see below) for the papal choir of Sixtus IV (1471-84), the tradition of this Source Group II is "Roman" since both Verona 761 and Vatican 63 were copied in that city approximately in 1496 and 1503 respectively.

[24]As we have seen in Chapter V, 454/A contains the most complete and accurate reading of the *Missa Aulen*, independent readings of the *Ave Maria* by Josquin and Compère, as well as the only extant attribution of one of Brumel's Magnificats.

[25]As pointed out in Chapter I, we find a connection between 454/A and 454/B, even though these two sections do not share scribes or the same paper type. The sequence of four Masses—copied by two Iberian scribes—which constitutes the first part of 454/B begins on fol. xxi^{v} with an anonymous three-voice Mass, and its only concordance (the superius of the *Kyrie* only) appears on the last verso (fol. cxxxvii^{v} [65^{v}]) of 454/A in a Franco-Flemish hand. It is likely that Scribe B1 recopied this Mass from the now missing folios at the end of 454/A and that he discarded his model thereafter; this would allow placing the new series of Masses before the Mass that opens 454/A.

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454/C and Chigi

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

Sources:

454/C, fols. clxxvi^{v}-clxxvii^{r}, Anthonius de Fevin
Cambrai 125-128, fol. 118, Anon.
Cambridge 1760, fols. xix^{v}-xxi^{r}, A. de feuin
London 1070, pp. 260-63, Anon.
Modena IX, fols. 88^{v}-89^{r}, A. Feuin
Padua A17, fols. 83^{v}-84^{r}, Anon.
St. Gall 462, fols. 110^{v}-111^{r}, Anon.
Toledo 13, fols. xxv^{v}-xxvii^{r}, Antonio Fevin
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. lxxix^{v}-lxxx^{r}, A de Feuin
Verona 760, fols. 51^{v}-52^{r}, Ant. Fevin

(See inventory for other sources)

Of the six concordances between Chigi and Barcelona M.454 only the readings of Févin's *Sancta trinitas* in 454/C and Chigi are very close. Example 6 illustrates how the readings of No. 92 in 454/C and Chigi agree (with a large group of sources: Modena IX, Padua A17, Verona 760, Toledo 13) against Cambrai 125-128 and Cambridge 1760. In Ex. 6, the latter two sources have five additional notes in the altus at mm. 17-18 (in brackets), while the others have a rest; two other sources, London 1070 and St. Gall 462, also have the additional passage, but the last note is an error (e' instead of d').[26] While Cambrai 125-128 and Cambridge 1760 continue to agree with each other in Exx. 7-8, London 1070 joins the other group; St. Gall 462 presents an erroneous hybrid reading in Ex. 7, since the superius follows the reading of the smaller group and the altus follows that of the larger.

[26]Originally, the scribe of St. Gall 462 did not include the five extra notes; they were added in the margin with an indication to replace a rest.

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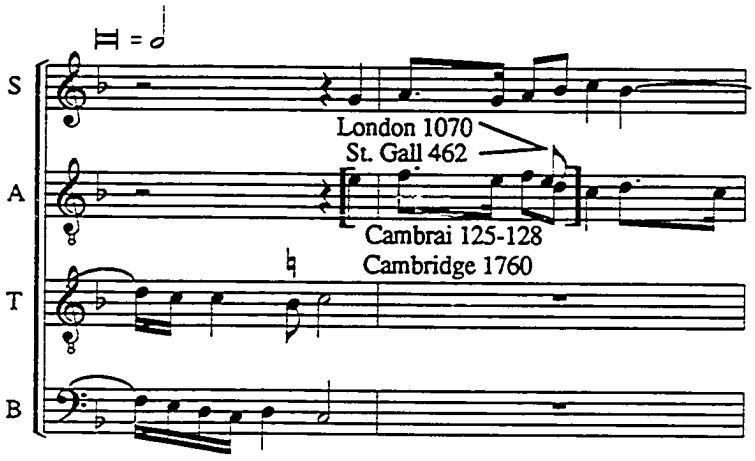
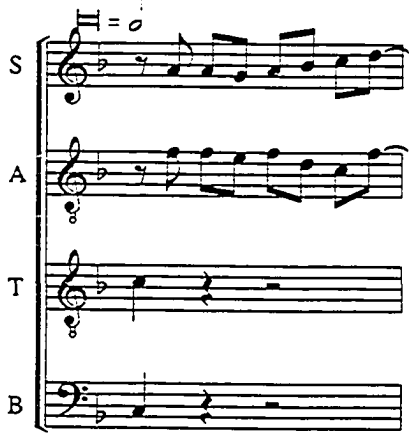
Ex. 6: Variant in mm. 17-18 of Févin's *Sancta trinitas*.

454/C, Chigi, Modena IX, Padua A17, Verona 760, Toledo 13

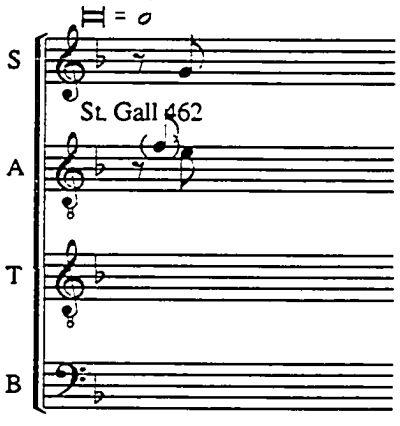


Ex. 7: Variant in m. 32 of Févin's, *Sancta trinitas*.

454/C, Chigi, London 1070,
Modena IX, Padua A17, Verona 760



Cambrai 125-128, Cambridge 1760, Toledo 13



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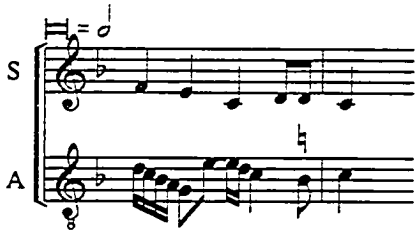
Ex. 8: Variant at m. 37 (duo) in Févin's *Sancta trinitas*.

454/C, Chigi, London 1070, Modena IX, Padua A17, St. Gall 462, Verona 760, Toledo 13



Cambrai 125-128, Cambridge 1760

The variants in Exx. 6-8 are more significant regarding the disagreement of Cambrai 125-128 and Cambridge 1760 with respect to the other sources for No. 92, than regarding the agreement between 454/C and Chigi. However, we should point out that the earlier section 454/A and Cambrai 125-128 agree in their readings for Compère's *Propter gravamen* (see above Exx. 2-3), and thus the disagreement between 454/C and Cambrai 125-128 illustrates the independent status of the different sections of Barcelona M.454.

No. 121. *Regina celi*, Anon.

Sources:
454/C, fols. clxxxvi^{v}-clxxxviii^{r}, Anon.
Vatican C.VIII.234, fols. li^{v}-liii^{r}, Anon.

This concordance between 454/C and Chigi is hitherto unknown. The version in the Chigi Codex is for three voices, while 454/C transmits a fourth voice that is not essential to the counterpoint; while bassus, tenor, and superius enter successively with the same motive, the added altus in 454/C begins, against the bassus, moving at a faster pace and ignoring the head motive. Apart from the fourth voice, the two readings display many variants; the Spanish scribe who added this work to the Chigi Codex made several errors,

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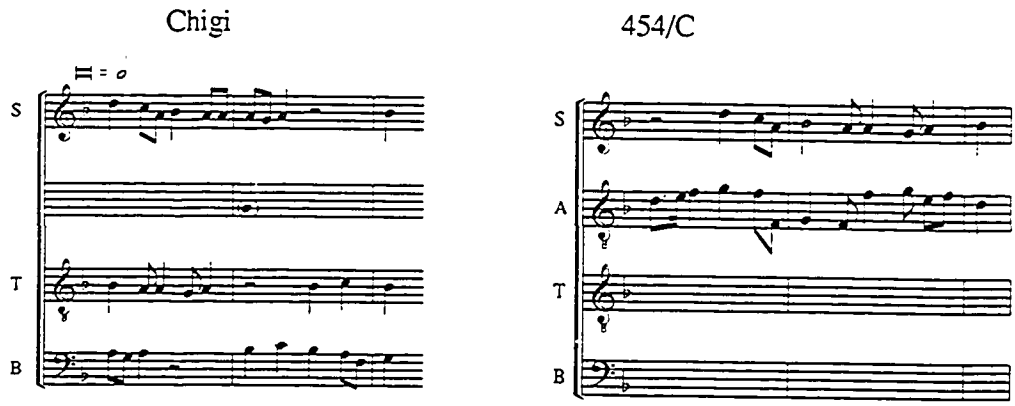
especially of omission.[27] These errors and other variants indicate that the version in 454/C could have not derived from the reading in Chigi; it is interesting to point out that in a few instances the variants in 454/C were introduced in order to avoid dissonant clashes with the additional voice (see Exx. 9 and 10).

Ex. 9: Variant at m. 23 in the anonymous *Regina celi*.

Ex. 10: Variant at mm. 51-52 in the anonymous *Regina celi*.



[27]The version in Chigi omits the equivalent of three breves of music in the tenor at mm. $57^{1\text{-}5}$-58^{3}. The bass at m. $47^{1\text{-}3}$ reads a SB, b M, c M omitting the dot of the SB and c' M after the b M; the same voice at m. 592 reads c SB resulting in one extra minim. The variants are listed in my edition of this piece in Volume II.

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Conclusions

Barcelona M.454 occupies an intriguing position not only among its Iberian counterparts, but also in the context of its relationship to Continental sources. The manuscript as a whole does not reflect a single stemmatic tradition, and the foreign repertoire within each section indicates that the scribes used a variety of now-lost models that in many instances stood closer to central sources than some of the extant concordances. This is particularly evident in the work of the Franco-Flemish scribes of 454/A, whose renditions of the *Missa Aulen*, Brumel's Magnificats, and motets by Josquin, Compère, and Weerbecke stand out among their concordances. The accurate rendition of the foreign repertoire in 454/A and 454/C contrasts with the many errors found in the Masses by Ockeghem and Busnoys copied by a Spaniard in 454/B; and the reputation of the entire manuscript should not be questioned on the basis of the transmission of these two works.

An overview of the variants in Barcelona M.454 reveals that it is often difficult to place the manuscript in a stemma of sources for a particular work. We can, however, single out one print and two manuscripts that bear a special relationship to Barcelona M.454: (1) Petrucci 1505[2], from which Scribe C probably copied two motets; (2) Vatican 15, which agrees in its concordances with 454/A more often than any other manuscript does for those pieces; and (3) the Chigi Codex, which, with the highest number of concordances, disagrees consistently with 454/A and 454/B, but displays close readings with one work in 454/C. This agreement with 454/C—the section of Barcelona M.454 compiled between 1519 and 1525—may reflect the presence of Chigi in the Iberian peninsula, where the two concordant pieces were added sometime after 1514.

As a group, the manuscripts copied in Florence (Florence 117, Florence 178, Florence 229) consistently disagree with Barcelona M.454; Florence 27, copied in either northern Italy (perhaps Mantua) or Tuscany (possibly Florence), also disagrees with Barcelona M.454. The same can be said of the Netherlands Court manuscripts—with the exception of the Chigi Codex—since all the other concordant manuscripts of this complex

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(Brussels 228, Jena 3, Vienna 15495, and Vienna 18832) share only three pieces with Barcelona M.454 (Nos. 1, 31, and 53), and their readings disagree with those in Barcelona M.454; only Vienna 15495 and 454/C share a variant for No. 1 (See Appendix III under "Barcelona M.454 and Jena 3") that separates them from all the other sources for this work. The readings in Barcelona M.454 also differ with many variants from those in a group of four German manuscripts (Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, Munich 3154, and Warsaw 2016). Given the pronounced presence of Spanish musicians in the papal chapel one might have expected to find close readings between Barcelona M.454 and its concordant manuscripts of Roman provenance—Vatican CG XII, 2, Vatican 15, Vatican 16, Vatican 41, Vatican 63, and Verona 761—but only Vatican 15 displays any affinity to Barcelona M.454. Finally, none of the other manuscripts that I have surveyed is consistent in its relationship to Barcelona M.454, with readings now agreeing now disagreeing depending on the section of Barcelona M.454 with which a manuscript is being compared. Certainly, this seems to be the case with Cambrai 125-128, which displays, on the one hand, a reading for No. 55 that is close to 454/A, but on the other hand a reading for No. 92 which contains variants that separate it from its concordance in 454/C (See Exx. 6-8 above). The latter work (No. 92. Févin's *Sancta trinitas*) is perhaps the piece for which Barcelona M.454 shows the greatest degree of overall agreement with a large group of sources (Chigi, London 1070, Modena IX, Padua A17, and Verona 760); these manuscripts—three of which were compiled in northen Italy (Modena IX, Padua A17 and Verona 760)—however, transmit variant readings for other concordances with Barcelona M.454 with no discernible pattern of disagreement.

In sum, the scribes of Barcelona M.454 had access to international repertoire from a variety of sources. This access probably reflects the diverse musical influences that flowed through Barcelona, a city that served as an almost mandatory stopping point for travellers to and from the Iberian peninsula.

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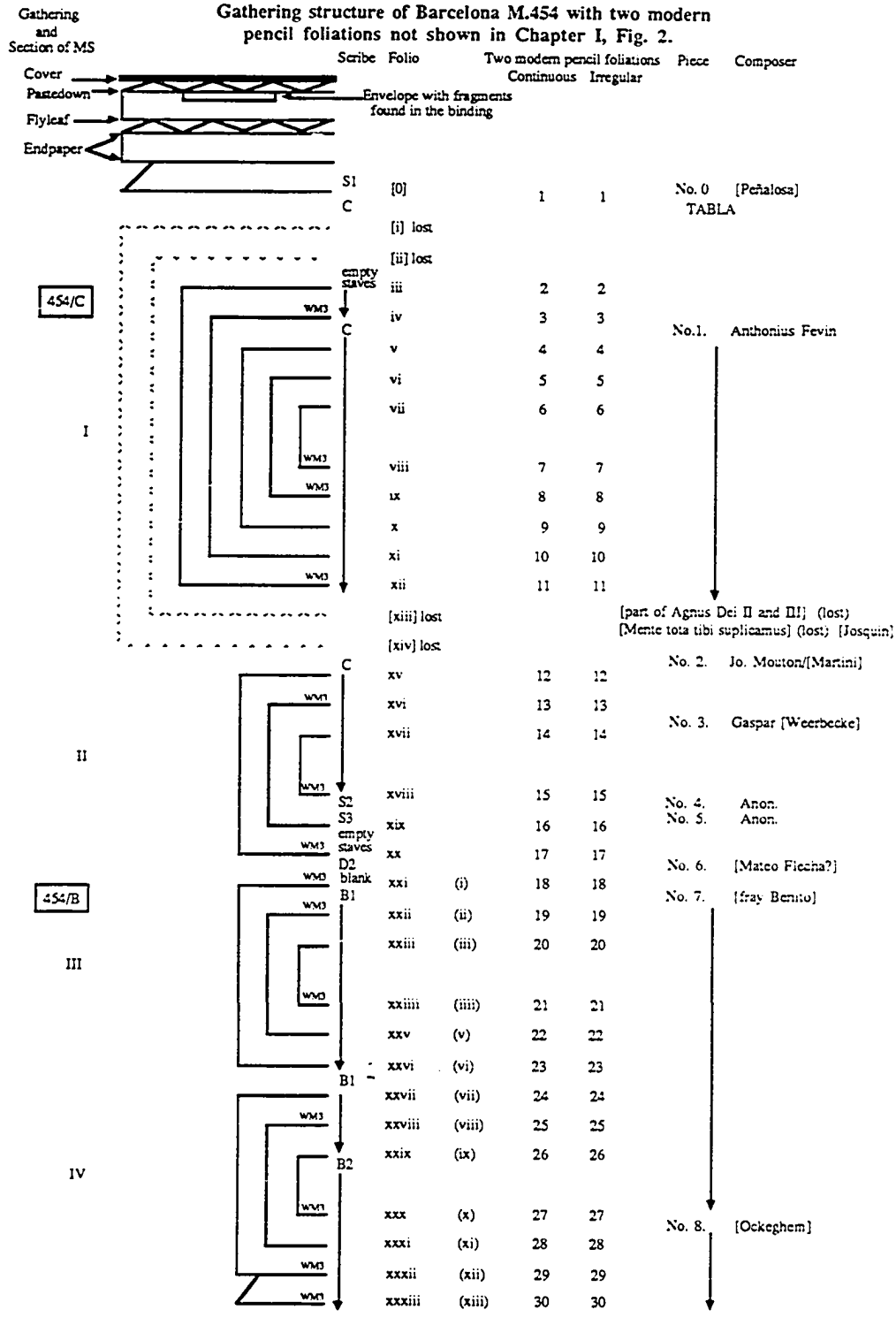
APPENDIX I

Gathering structure of Barcelona M.454 with two modern pencil foliations not shown in Chapter I, Fig. 2.



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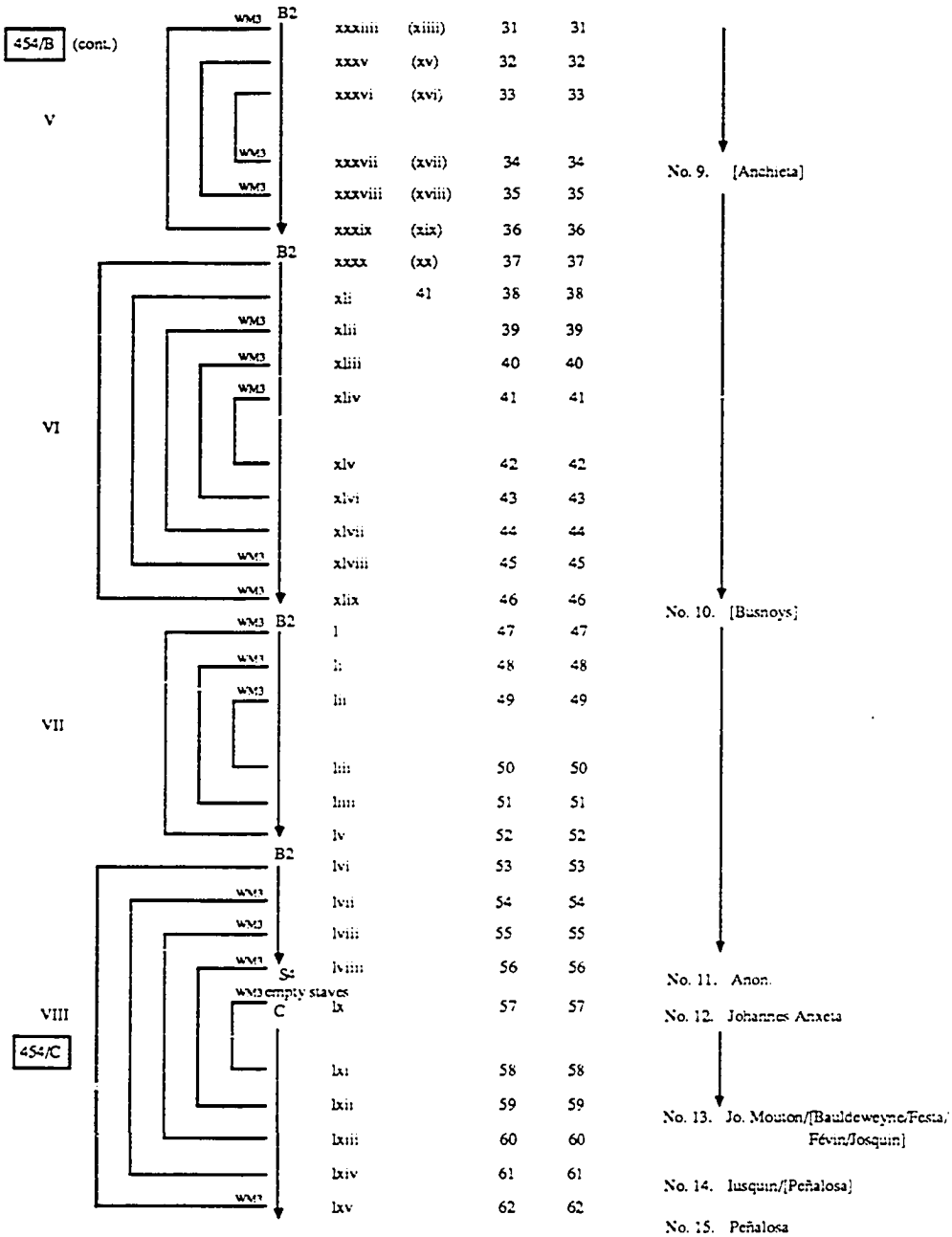

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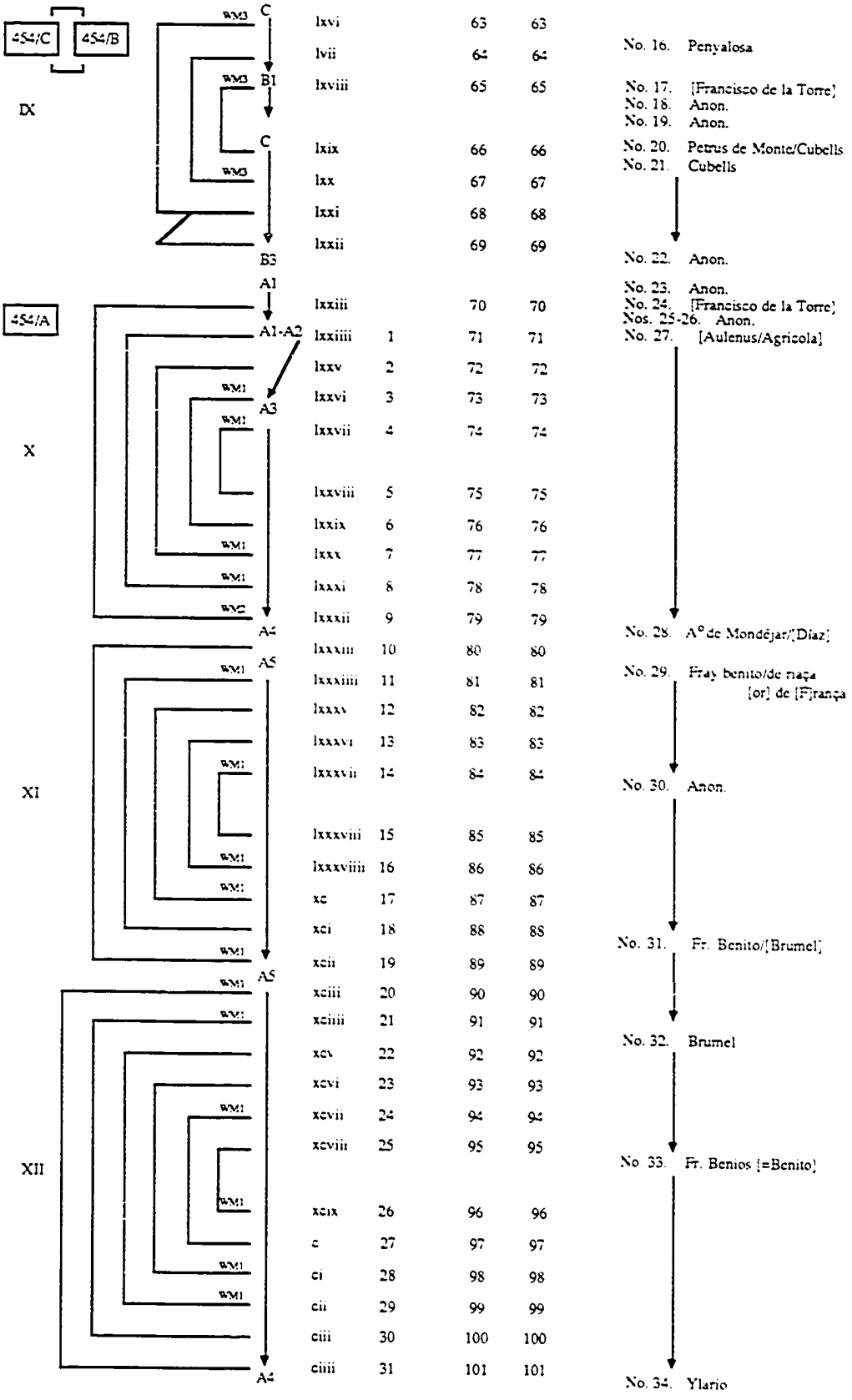

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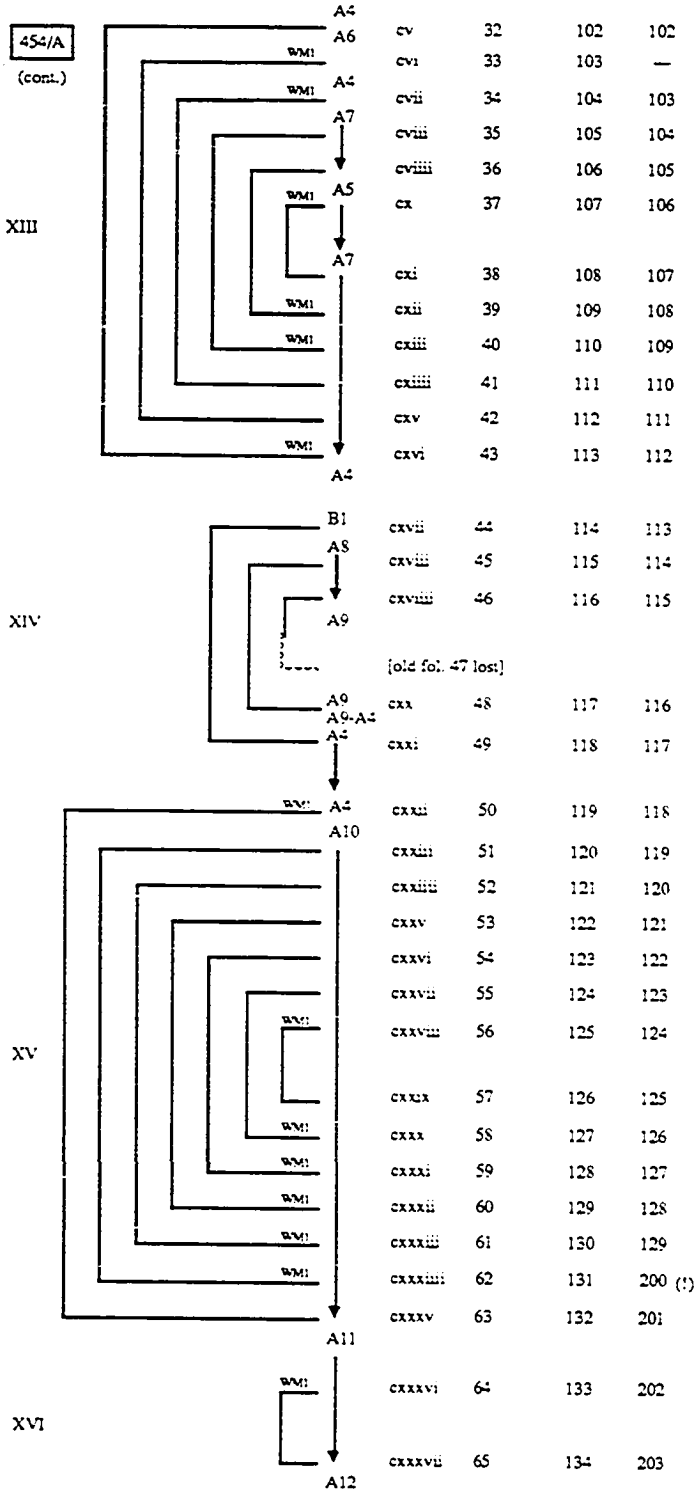

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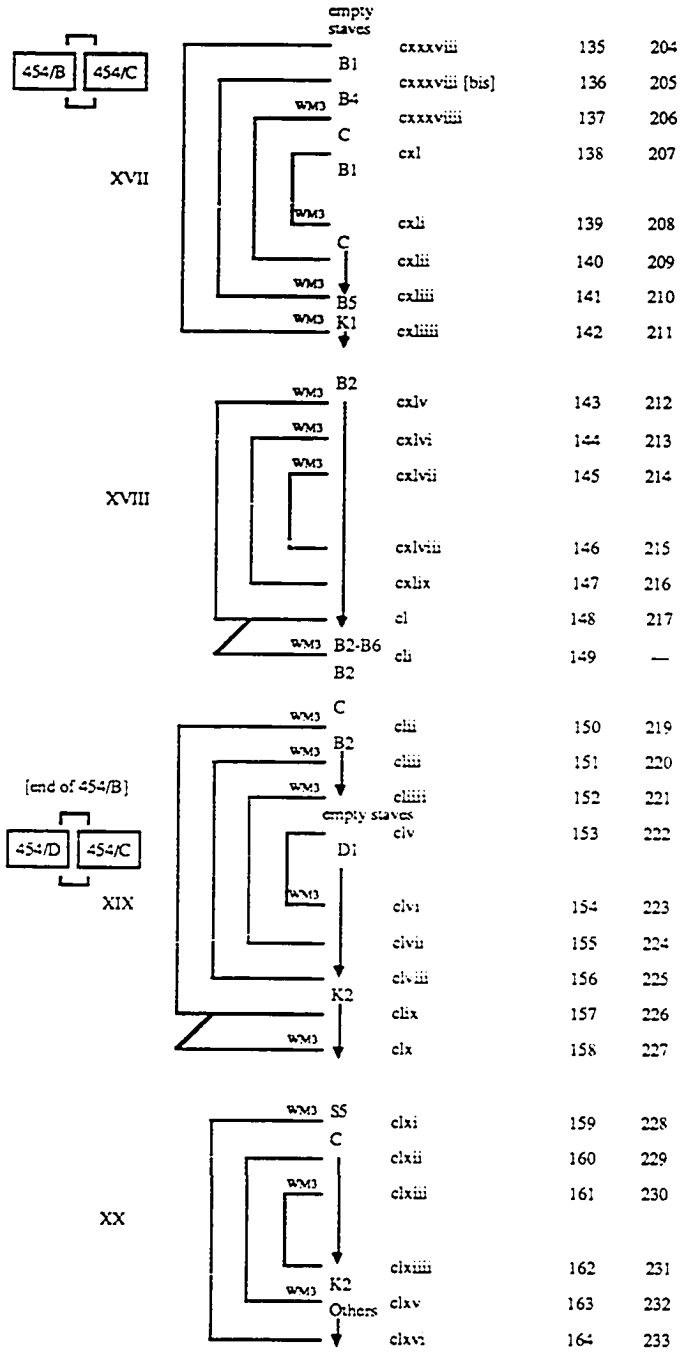

cxxxviii	135	204	No. 59. Anon.
cxxxviii [bis]	136	205	No. 60. Peñalosa
cxxxviiii	137	206	No. 61. Penyalosa
cxl	138	207	No. 62. Anon.
cxli	139	208	No. 63. Anon.
cxlii	140	209	No. 64. Lope de Vaena [=Baena]
cxliii	141	210	No. 65. Peñalosa
cxliiii	142	211	No. 66. Anon. No. 67. Anon.
cxlv	143	212	No. 68. Anon. No. 69. Anon.
cxlvi	144	213	Nos. 70-71. Anon.
cxlvii	145	214	No. 72. Anon. No. 73. Anon.
cxlviii	146	215	No. 74. Anon.
cxlix	147	216	No. 75. [Wreede]
cl	148	217	No. 76. Anon.
cli	149	—	No. 77. Anon. No. 78. Anon. No. 79. Anon.
clii	150	219	No. 80. Anon.
cliii	151	220	No. 81. Quexada
cliiii	152	221	
clv	153	222	No. 82 [Janequin]
clvi	154	223	No. 83. Anon.
clvii	155	224	No. 84. [Gabriel/Lucas]
clviii	156	225	No. 85. Anon.
clix	157	226	No. 86. Anon.
clx	158	227	
clxi	159	228	No. 87. Anon.
clxii	160	229	No. 88. Scobar [=Escobar]
clxiii	161	230	No. 89. Peñalosa/[Escobar]
clxiiii	162	231	No. 90. Anon.
clxv	163	232	
clxvi	164	233	

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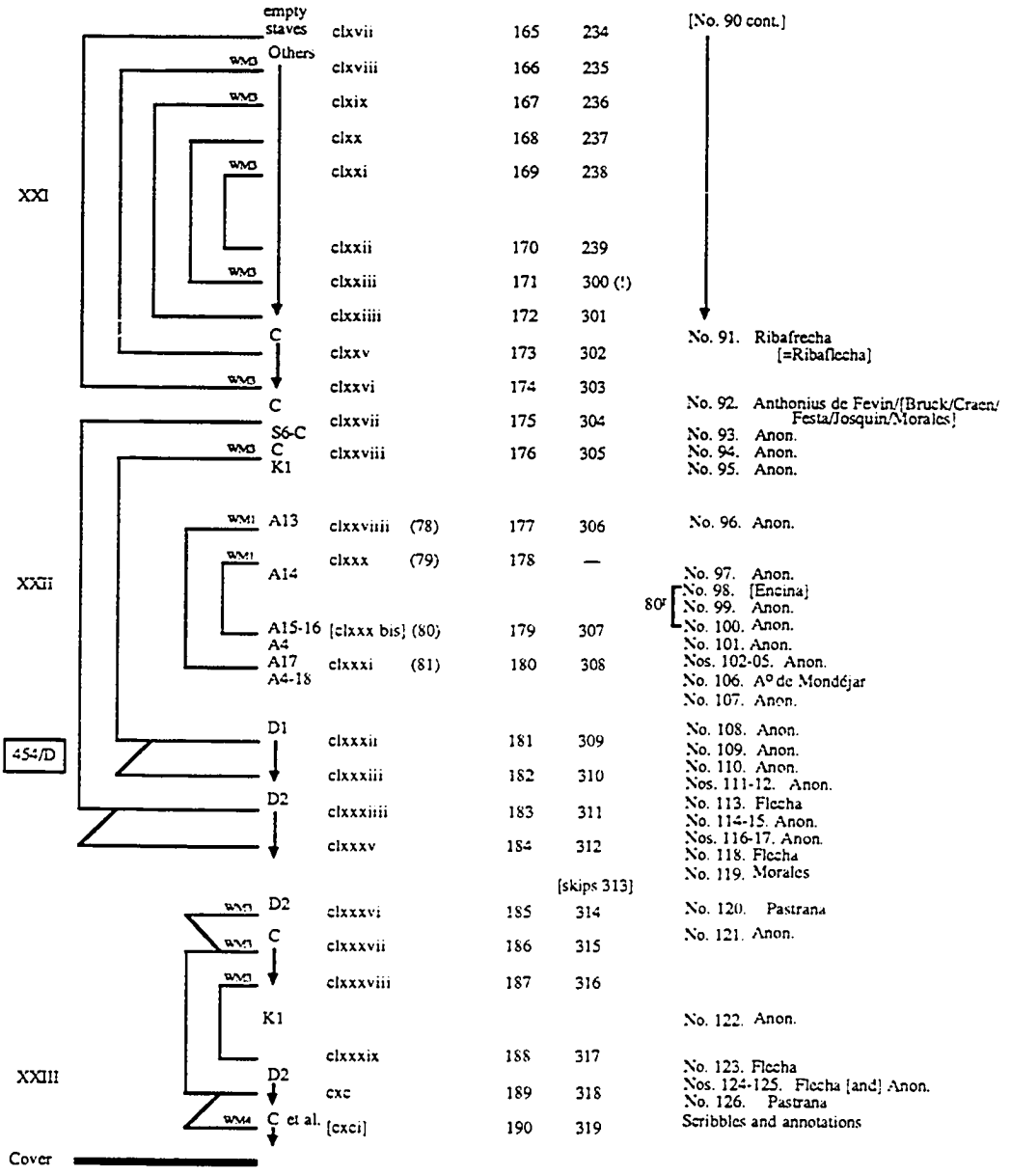

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APPENDIX II

Descriptions of music books found in eight sixteenth-century inventories mentioned in Chapters II and IV

The eight inventories are the following:

(1) Inventory (dated September 29, 1499) of Marguerite of Austria's chamber at Granada before her departure for the Low Countries.

(2) Music books in possession of Queen Isabella according to an inventory of ca. 1501.

(3) Music books described in a 1503 inventory of the treasury at the Alcázar in Segovia.

(4) Music books owned by Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Marqués del Cenete (1470-1523), inventoried at Valencia in 1523 .

(5) Music books listed in an inventory at the time of the deasth of Empress Isabel, wife of Charles V, in 1539.

(6) Music books described in a 1555 inventory of the possessions of Queen Juana at the time of her death at Tordesillas.

(7) Music books donated by Queen Germaine de Foix and her husband the Duke of Calabria to the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes near Valencia.

(8) Music books donated by Queen Isabel to the Royal Chapel at Granada and taken to El Escorial and Simancas in 1591.

The following descriptions are drawn from several publications cited below. The 1950 publication by Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros,* lists 393 numbered entries pertaining to books in four different inventories dated 1499, 1501, 1503, and 1591; he identifies the provenance of the books by the letters A, B, C, and D respectively. When I cite him I include the number and letter he assigns to each item.

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(1) Inventory (dated September 29, 1499) of Marguerite of Austria's chamber at Granada before her departure for the Low Countries [Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, 39 and 84].

Libro de las joyas... y otras cosas... de la Cámara de... Doña Margarita. Granada, 29 de setiembre de 1499.

[Book of jewels... and other things... in Doña Margarita's chamber. Granada, September 29, 1499.]

[i] 351-A—... de molde, en francés, libro de dançes.

[. . .printed, in French, book of dances.]

Comments: This printed book of dances is most likely a copy of *L'art et instruction de bien dancer*, published in 148?/149? by Michel de Toulouse, who probably was the first, before Petrucci, to use movable type to print mensural music.[1] The only extant copy of this incunabulum is at the library of the Royal College of Physicians in London; a facsimile edition with an introduction by Victor Scholderer was published in 1936. According to Daniel Heartz, "The Basse Dance," *Annales Musicologiques*, VI (1958-1963), 296-97, the contents of Toulouse's print is very similar to that of the older and most famous book of *basse dances* Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9085, listed in a 1523 inventory of books owned by Margaret of Austria. Heartz states that one of the most significant contribution of Toulouze's print is the inclusion of the internationally famous tenor *La Spagna*—under the title *Casulle la novelle* (No. 10)—not present in the Brussels manuscript.[2]

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(2) Music books in possession of Queen Isabella according to an inventory of ca. 1501.

Cargos de libros propios de la Reina... que se hicieron a su Camarero Sancho de Paredes. Sin fecha, pero antes de 1501 [Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, 39 and 83-85].

[Books owned by the Queen in care of her *camarero* Sancho de Paredes. (Without date, but before 1501).]

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[1]Boorman, "Michel de Toulouse," *The New Grove*, vol. 12, 265-66, states that the date 1488 added by hand to the only extant exemplar is too early and that the book probably dates from 1496. It is listed with the date 148? in Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 9-10.

[2]For further bibliography, see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 10.

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[i] 342-B—...pequeño de canto de órgano y el *Arte* dél...

[. . .small, of polyphony and its *Arte*. . .]

[ii-vii] 343-348-B y C—[Seis libros de canto de órgano sin especificar]. Los cuatro que se registran en D serán, probablemente, repeticiones.

[Six books of polyphony with no further description. The four books registered in the inventory D (1591), are presumably repetitions.]

Comments: See below, items 1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, in the 1503 inventory of the Segovia Alcázar as published by Ferrandis; they are most likely repetitions of the six books of polyphony listed in this 1501 inventory. Of the five music books listed by Sánchez Cantón from the inventory of 1591, however, only one is described as a book of polyphony; see below.

[viii] 362-B—... cinco cartapacios borrados de cuando al Príncipe se mostraba latín e las cubiertas de pergamino, e dos cuadernos de papel de marca mayor de canto de órgano, e otro cuaderno de pergamino de canto llano, e un cuaderno de papel de marca mediana, escripto de molde, en romance, que comiença el libro primero que declara el nascimiento de Nuestro Señor y cuatro cuadernitos escriptos de molde en papel en latin que comienza el primero *Qui peritus iam niminis* en los cuales hai cuatro pliegos y medio.

[Five erased notebooks with covers of parchment from when the Prince [Juan] was taught Latin; and two notebooks of the large size of polyphony, and another notebook of plainchant in parchment; and a printed notebook of paper of medium size, in Spanish, which begins the first book announcing the birth of our Lord; and four small printed notebooks of paper, in Latin, and the first begins *Qui peritus iam niminis* and there are four and a half *pliegos* altogether.]

Comment: These items in the 1501 inventory of Queen Isabel's possessions most likely belonged to her son, Prince Juan, who had died in 1497.

(3) Music books described in an inventory of the treasury at the Alcázar in Segovia dated November 1503 [There are two slightly different copies of the same 1503 inventory of the treasury at the Alcázar in Segovia. I am following the diplomatic transcription published by Ferrandis, *Datos Documentales*, 69ff., and I include references to the same items published by Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, and by Clemencín, *Elogio*; the latter used the other copy of the inventory.]

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[p. 69]
Fol. I

Ihs

Libro de las cosas que estan en el tesoro de los alcaçares de la çibdad de Segouia en poder de rrodrigo de tordesillas vesino e rregidor de la dicha çibdad el qual hizo gaspar de grizio secretario del Rey don Fernando e de la Reyna doña Isabel nuestros señores por mandado de la dicha Reyna nuestra señora e vio e puso por ynventario todas las joyas e cosas de oro e plata e tapiçeria e libros e otras cosas que en el dicho thesoro se hallaron en el mes de nouiembre del año del nasçimiento de nuestro saluador ihu xpo de mill e quinientos e tres años e todas las cosas de oro e piedras e aljofar e plata fueron vistas e pesadas e tocada la ley del oro por diego de ayala e geronimo de bruxelas plateros residentes en la corte de sus altezas so cargo del juramento que para ello primero hizieron lo qual todo suso dicho se puso e asento por escrito en este libro en la manera que se sigue:

. . .

[Book of the things that are in the treasury of the Alcazar in the city of Segovia in possession of Rodrigo de Tordesillas, resident and *regidor* of the said city. This book was written by Gaspar de Grizio, secretary to King Don Fernando and Queen Doña Isabel our Lords, at the request of the Queen our Lady, and he saw and inventoried all the jewels, objects of gold and silver, tapestries, books, and other things in the said treasury found in the month of November in the year 1503 of the birth of our Saviour. And all the things of gold, precious stone, and silver were seen and weighed and the law of the gold touched by Diego de Ayala and Gerónimo of Brussels, jewelers residents at the court of their Heighnesses under oath which they took before hand; all these things were written down in this book in the following way:]

[under the heading]

Cosas de capilla e ornamentos
[Chapel objects and ornaments]

[p. 93]
[i] Vn pargamino grande de canto dorgano que comiença maria filia.

[A big parchment book of polyphony which starts *maria filia*.]

[p. 148]
Fol. LXIIII
[under the heading]

Libros
[Books]

[p. 149]
[ii] otro libro de pergamino escrito de mano en latin que es de los oficios de Santiago apuntado de canto llano la cubierta de damasco azul tiene tres florezicas e tres charnelas de plata dorada con que se cerraua de pliego entero.

[Another book of parchment written by hand, in Latin, that is the Offices of St. James, notated with plainchant, the cover of blue damask has three little flowers and three hinges of gold with which it is closed, it is in folio format.]

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Comment: This is the same as item No. 41 in Clemencín and item 339-C in Sánchez Cantón.

[p. 151]
[iii] otro libro de pliego entero escripto en pergamino de mano en Romançe françes que es cancionero françes con vnas tablas de cuero colorado sin çerraduras.

[Another book in folio format written in parchment by hand, in French, which is a French chansonnier with boards [covered with] red leather, without fasteners.]

Comments: This is the same as item No. 136 in Clemencín and item 59-C in Sanchez Cantón. The version of the inventory published by Clemencín includes the word "forradas" [covered], referred to the boards, and omits "sin çerraduras" [without fasteners.]

[p. 153]
[iv] otro libro de cuarto de pliego de pargamino de mano que es canto de organo en françés con vnas tablas de papel forradas en cuero colorado.

[Another book in quarto, of parchment handwritten, which is polyphony in French, with boards of paper covered in red leather.]

Comments: This is the same as item No. 192 in Clemencín, and item 349-C in Sánchez Cantón. The version of the inventory published by Clemencín omits the word "de mano" [handwritten].

[v] otro libro de pliego entero de pergamino de mano en latin que es misal con canto llano apuntado con las tablas forradas en cuero blanco.

[Another book in folio format, of parchment handwritten in Latin, which is a Missal, notated with plainchant, with the boards covered with white leather.]

Comments: This is the same as item No. 40 in Clemencín, and item 335-C in Sánchez Cantón. The version of the inventory published by Clemencín omits the word "de mano" [handwritten].

[p. 155]
[vi] otro libro de pergamino de marca mayor de mano que es todo de canto llano apuntado con las tablas de cuero colorado sin çerraduras.

[Another book in parchment of the large format handwritten, which is entirely notated in plainchant, with boards [covered with] red leather without fasteners.]

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Comment: This is the same as item No. 191 in Clemencín and item 334-C in Sánchez Cantón.

[vii] otro libro grande de marca mayor de papel que es todo apuntado de canto de organo con las coberturas de cuero colorado con dos çerraduras de laton.

[Another large book of the large format of paper that is entirely notated in polyphony, with covers of red leather and two fasteners of brass.]

Comment: This is the same as item No. 193 in Clemencín. The description in the version of the inventory he published omits "de papel" [of paper].

[p. 156]
[viii] otro libro de pliego entero de mano apuntado de canto de organo con vnas tablas de papel guarneçidas en cuero colorado.

[Another book in folio format, handwritten, notated with polyphony, with boards of paper protected with red leather.]

Comment: This is the same as item No. 194 in Clemencín.

[p. 157]
[ix] otro libro de marca mayor en Romançe en pergamino en lengua portuguesa que son los milagros de nuestra Señora con vnas coberturas de cuero colorado çinco bollones de laton de cada parte que se cierra con dos correones apartes apuntado de canto llano.

[Another book of large format, in parchment, in Portuguese language, which has the miracles of our Lady, with covers of red leather, five brass nailheads on each side, and which is closed with two large leather straps, and is partly notated with plainchant.]

Comments: This is the same as item No. 132 in Clemencín and item 64-C in Sánchez Cantón. Clemencín, *Elogio*, 457, was the first to suggest that this item may refer to one of the two copies of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso el Sabio, now at El Escorial library (j.b.2 or t.j.1).

[x] otro libro de marca mayor de papel apuntado de canto de organo con vnas tablas cubiertas de cuero azul.

[Another book of the large size of paper, notated in polyphony, with boards covered in blue leather.]

Comment: This is same as item No. 195 in Clemencín.

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[p. 158]
[xi] otro libro de marca mayor de papel apuntado de canto de organo las coberturas de cuero azul.

[Another book of large size, of paper, notated in polyphony, with covers of blue leather.]

Comment: This is the same as item No. 196 in Clemencín.

[xii] otro libro de marca mayor de pergamino apuntado de canto llano e de organo con las tablas de cuero colorado con las çerraduras de laton.

[Another book of large size, of parchment, notated in plainchant and polyphony, with boards (covered with) red leather, with fasteners of brass.]

Comment: This is the same as item No. 197 in Clemencín and item 341-C in Sánchez Cantón.

[xiii] otro libro de marca mayor apuntado de canto de organo las coberturas de cuero colorado con vnos tachones llanos de laton.

[Another book of the large size notated in polyphony, with covers of red leather, with flat nailheads of brass.]

Comment: This is the same item as No. 198 in Clemencín.

[p. 161]
[xiv] otro libro de pliego entero de mano de papel en Romançe françes que se dize cançionario françes con vnas coberturas de pergamino.

[Another manuscript book of paper of *pliego entero* (folio) size, in French, called French cancionero with covers of parchment.].

Comments: This is the same as item 61-C in Sánchez Cantón; it corresponds to No. 137 in Clemencín, but the description in the copy of the 1503 inventory used by Clemencín is slightly different and reads: "Un cancionero escripto en francés, con unas coberturas de cuero pardillo viejo en pargamino, é cinco chapas de la una parte é cuatro de la otra sin cerraduras." For a discussion about this item in connection with the Segovia manuscript, see Chapter IV.]

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(4) Music books owned by Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Marques del Cenete, at the time of his death at Valencia in 1523 [Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *La Biblioteca del Marqués del Cenete*].

[p. 67]
[i] 208. Ytem vn libre apellat de quintze mises de cant de orgue

[...a book called the fifteen masses of polyphony.]

Comment: This is probably a copy of the *Liber quindecim missarum* printed by Antico in 1516. See below item [ii] in the inventory of books left by Empress Isabel, and also item [vi] in the inventory of books donated by the Dukes of Calabria.

[p. 68]
[ii] 215. Ytem regule musicalis

[. . . *regule musicalis*].

[iii] 230. Ytem Musice Franchium Gaforis

[. . .*Musice* Franchinus Gaffurius].

Comments: This is probably a copy of Gaffurius's *Musices practicabilis libellum* (Milan, 1480), which became Book II of his *Practicae musicae*: see next entry.

[iv] 231. Ytem pratica musice Gaforis.

[. . .*Practica musicae* Gaffurius].

Comments: This is a copy of Gaffurius's *Practica musicae*, published at Milan in 1496.

[p. 87]
[v] 407. Ytem hun libre de aristetica musice et alia.

[. . .a book of arithmetic, music, and other things]

Comments: Perhaps this is Boethius's *Haec sunt opera. . . Aritmetica, Geometria, Musica*, published at Venice in 1492. The inventory includes three other items (194, 560, and 587) with Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*: two copies are in Latin and one "en vulgar scrit" (in the

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vernacular), which could refer to a 1489 Catalan edition or to others in Spanish.

(5) Music books owned by Empress Isabel, wife of Charles V, at the time of her death in 1539 [Anglés, *Carlos V*, 55-56, who cites the volume of the *Recámara de la Emperatriz* in Simancas, Contaduría Mayor, 1ª época, leg. 464, fol. 11].

[i] Otro libro de canto de órgano de marca grande casi nuevo, enquadernado en cuero negro [la palabra negro fue borrada] morado, tasado e tres mill mrs.

[Another book of polyphony of large size, almost new, bound in black (the word black was erased) violet leather, appraised at three thousand *maravedíes*.]

[ii] Otro libro de papel de canto de órgano, de molde, viejo, que tiene las quinze misas de Jusquin, enquadernado en cuero vayo, tasado en un ducado.

[Another book printed on paper, old, which has the fifteen masses by Josquin, bound in white leather, appraised at one *ducado*.]

Comment: This is probably a copy of the *Liber quindecim missarum* printed by Antico in 1516, even though only three of the masses are by Josquin. Item [i] in the inventory of books owned by Don Rodrigo de Mendoza (see above), and item [xiii] in the inventory of music books donated by the Dukes of Calabria to the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes (see below) are most likely copies of this same print. The latter item is also described as having fifteen masses by Josquin; the covers of the book are black. The scribe of that inventory stated that another copy had been sold.

[iii] Otro libro de papel de mano, de canto de órgano, viejo, enquadernado en cuero negro, tasado en dos ducados.

[Another book on paper (written) by hand, of polyphony, old, bound in black leather, appraised at two *ducados*.]

(6) Music books described in a 1555 inventory of the possessions of Queen Juana at the time of her death at Tordesillas [José Ferrandis, *Datos Documentales*, 171ff.]

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INVENTARIO DE Dª JUANA LA LOCA
1545 [sic] [1555]

libro de cuenta de Diego y Alonso de rribera su hijo camareros que fueron de la Reina Dª Juana nuestra señora de las joyas y ropas y otras cosas de la recámara de su Alteza que fueron a su cargo desde el año MDIX hasta el año DLV que fallescio su Alteza don Juan Manrique de Lara contador mayor de cuentas

[Account book of Diego and Alonso de Ribera, his son, who were *camareros* of the Queen Doña Juana, our lady, in care of the jewels, garments, and other things of the chamber of her Highness from 1509 to 1555 in which year her Highness passed away, Don Juan Manrique de Lara, treasurer.]

. . .

[under the heading]
Cargo de libros e retablos e cofres e otros engastes que tenían plata que no se pudieron pesar desde el año de MDIX hasta el de MDLV.

[p. 227]
[i]...otro libro de canto de pargamino con cubiertas de terciopelo negro con su mano de plata

[Another book for singing, in parchment with covers of black velvet with its hand of silver.]

Comment: The word *canto* in this and other items could refer to either *canto llano*, plainchant, or *canto de organo*, polyphony.

[p. 229]
[ii] ...vn libro de pargamino de marca mayor de canto

[A book of parchment of large size for singing.]

[iii]...quatro libros de papel cubiertos los dos de negro e de cuero leonado y los otros dos que son de canto con cada dos escudos de plata chiquitos

[Four books of paper, two covered with black leather and the other two with brown leather, they are for singing and each one has two small shields of silver.]

[iv]...otro libro mas pequeño de canto y en françes y heran de cuero leonado las cubiertas

[Another smaller book for singing in French, the covers being of brown leather.]

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[p. 230]
[v]...otro libro de la nobleza y lealtad con otro cuaderno de canto y las cubiertas encarnadas

[Another book about the nobility and loyalty with another notebook for singing with red covers.]

[vi]...otro libro de papel de canto las cubiertas negras con bollones de laton

[Another book of paper for singing, the covers are black and have nailheads of brass.]

[p. 234]
[vii]...dos libros misales que heran para la capilla de su alteza que costo cada vno diez e ocho rreales

[Two missals that were for the chapel of her highness, which cost eighteen *reales* each.]

Comment: These items may not contain music.

[p. 235]
[viii]...tres libros de canto enbueltos en brin en vna atalega

[Three books for singing wrapped with cloth in a bag]

[ix]...tres libros pequeños de canto a manera de fuelles

[Three small books for singing folded as in pleats].

(7) Music books donated by Queen Germaine de Foix and her husband the Duke of Calabria to the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes near Valencia. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códices, 147, fol. 56 [Moll, "Notas para la Historia Musical," 123-35].

Libros de canto llano
[Books of Plainchant]

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[p. 134]
[i] Dos libros de canto llano, de emprenta, de antiphonas, enquadernados en cartones, cubiertos el uno de cuero azul y el otro de cuero verde. Están en el choro.

[Two printed books of plainchant antiphons, bound in cardboard, one covered with blue leather and the other with green leather. They are in the choir.]

[ii] Un libro dominical y otro sanctoral de canto llano, de emprenta, de pergamino. Enquadernados en cartón, de cuero leonado. Están en el choro.

[A book of the *dominical* and another of the *sanctoral* in plainchant, printed, in parchment. Bound in cardboard with brown leather. They are in the choir.]

[iii] Un dominical de canto llano, viejo, encuadernado en cartón cubierto de cuero leonado. Está en el choro.

[A *dominical* in plainchant, old, bound in cardboard covered with brown leather. It is in the choir.]

[iv] Un libro que tiene el oficio de S. Miguel en canto llano y otras cosas de canto de órgano, de mano, en pergamino, enquadernado en cartón y cuero negro. Está en casa con los libros de canto de órgano.

[A book that has the office of Saint Michael in plainchant and other things in polyphony, handwritten, in parchment, bound in cardboard and black leather. It is at home with the other books of polyphony].

[v] Tres libros de passiones valencianos.

[Three Valencian books of passions.]

[vi] Dos libros de lamentaciones toledanos. Están en casa dos pasioneros toledanos y otro çaragoçano en papel y otro valenciano.

[Two Toledan books of lamentations. At home there are two Toledan books of passions and two more, one from Zaragoza, on paper, and the other from Valencia.]

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[vii] Un libro de canto llano, en folio grande, cubierto de cuero leonado. Está en casa.

[A book of plainchant, of large folio size, covered with brown leather. It is at home].

Libros de canto de órgano
[Books of polyphony]

[viii] Dos libros de canto de órgano, cubiertos de terciopelo negro muy viejo. Están en casa.

[Two books of polyphony covered with very old black velvet. They are at home.]

[ix] Un libro de canto de órgano viejo, cubiertas las tablas de cuero leonado. Está en casa.

[An old book of polyphony, the boards covered with brown leather. It is at home.]

[p. 135]
[x] Nueve pieças de libros de diversos motetes en un pliego o atadura. Vinieron a casa según se cree.

[Nine pieces of books of various motets in a folder. It seems that they came home.]

[xi] Una caxa cubierta de cuero negro, por dedentro aforrada de raso carmesí, dentro de la qual estavan quatro libretes pequeños, pintados en pergamino y cubiertos de terciopelo negro con sus cintas, que llevaban quando su Excelencia yva a caça. Están en casa.

[A box covered with black leather (on the outside), and with red raso on the inside, containing four small books painted in parchment and covered with black velvet with their straps, which his Excellency used to take when he went hunting. It is at home.]

[xii] Un libro de canto de órgano, de la capilla, enquadernado en tablas cubiertas de cuero verde, muy viejo, con algunas hojas deshechas. Es de Magnificat e hymnos. Está en casa.

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[A book of polyphony, of the chapel, bound with boards covered with green velvet, very old, with some torn leaves. The book is of Magnificats and hymns. It is at home.]

[xiii] Un libro de las XV missas de Jusquin, de forma grande, enquadernado en tablas cubiertas de cuero negro. Está en casa.

[A book of the fifteen masses by Josquin, in large format, bound in boards covered with black leather. It is at home].

[xiv] Dos libros de canto de órgano, de missas, hechos en Barcelona, enquadernados en cartones cubiertos de cuero leonado. Están en casa.

[Two books of polyphony, of masses, made in Barcelona, bound in cardboards covered with brown leather. They are at home.]

Comment: See Chapter II for a discussion of this item in connection with Barcelona M.454.

[xv] Un libro grande de las completas, enquadernado en cartones negros. Está en casa.

[A big book of the *completas*, bound in black cardboard. It is at home.]

[xvi] Un libro de los tonos, nuevo, enquadernado en tablas cubiertas de cuero leonado. Está en casa.

[A book of the *tonos*, new, bound in boards covered with brown leather. It is at home.]

[xvii] Un libro de motetes, enquadernado en tablas cubiertas de cuero leonado. Está en casa.

[A book of motets, bound in boards covered with brown leather. It is at home.]

[xviii] Otro libro de las salves y motetes, viejo, enquadernado en cartones y en cuero verde. Está en casa.

[Another book of *salves* and *motetes*, old, bound in cardboard and green leather. It is at home.]

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Comment: Note that both Seville 5-5-20 and Seville 1 contain a table of contents divided into "Salves" and "Motetes de la Salve."

[xix] Un libro de missas, enquadernado en tablas, cubierto de cuero verde, con las armas del duque. Está en casa.

[A book of masses, bound in boards covered with green leather, with the coat of arms of the Duke (of Calabria). It is at home.]

[xx] Un libro muy grande de motetes, cubiertas las tapas de cuero verde. Está en casa.

[A very big book of motets, the boards covered with green leather. It is at home].

[xxi] El libro de las XX missas de Jusquin, enquadernado en cartones y cuero leonado. Está en casa.

[The book of the twenty masses by Josquin, bound in cardboard and brown leather. It is at home.]

[xxii] Un libro grande de missas, cubiertas las tablas de cuero bermejo. Está en casa.

[A big book of masses, the boards covered with red leather. It is at home.]

[xxiii] Otro libro grande de missas, enquadernado en tablas cubiertas de cuero bermejo. Está en casa.

[Another big book of masses, bound in boards covered with red leather. It is at home.]

[xxiv] Un libro de Peñalosa, cubierto de cartón y cuero leonado. Está en casa.

[A book of Peñalosa, covered with cardboard and brown leather. It is at home.]

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Comment: I suggest that this entry might refer to Tarazona 2/3. Particularly distinctive about this manuscript is the large number of works by Peñalosa. Indeed, there is no extant Iberian manuscript of polyphony that could better fit the inventory's "de Peñalosa" description.

Todos estos libros vinieron al monasterio y otros más que están aquí...[ilegible]... y no ser vendido sino solo uno, quasi viejo, de las XV missas de Jusquin, por cuatro coronas y media, porque quedava otro.

Esta librería de canto de órgano es muy hermosa, assí en las obras ser exquisitas y buenas como en los libros que son de grandes complimientos y grandes en marcas y enquadernación, ylluminaciones y punto, que cierto parescen ser cosa de rey.

están a cargo de f. Juan de Sant Miguel, relogero, en una arca con llave y por ynventario, dados por mi mano.

[All these books came to the monastery and others that are here. . .[illegible] . . .and only a very old one with the XV Masses by Josquin was sold for four and a half *coronas* because there was another copy.

This library of polyphony is very beautiful. The works are good, the books are big and contain excellent illuminations and notation, so much so that they seem to belonged to a king.

they are in care of Fray Juan of San Miguel, watchmaker, in a locked trunk and inventoried by myself.]

(8) Music books donated by Queen Isabel to the Royal Chapel at Granada which in 1591 were taken to El Escorial and Simancas [Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros*, 83-84].

[p. 39]
D.--*Relación e memoria de los libros que por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor se llevan a El Escorial desde la ciudad de Granada de la Capilla Real de ella.* Ordenó el traslado Felipe II desde San Lorenzo en 31 de agosto de 1591.

[List of books which the King our Lord ordered to be taken from the Royal Chapel at Granada to El Escorial. King Philip II ordered this move from San Lorenzo (El Escorial) on August 31, 1591]

[p. 83]
[i] 336-D.--... muy viejo; contiene las Calendas que se cantan en el coro.

[. . .very old; contains the *Calendas* that are sung in the choir.]

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[ii] 337-D.--... de a folio... en pergamino... Pasionario de canto llano.

[. . . of folio size. . . of parchment. . . Passionary of plainchant.]

[iii] 338-D.--... La fiestas de Nuestra Señora,... de mano, en pergamino, con canto llano, de a folio grande...

[The feasts of Our Lady. . .handwritten, of parchment, with plainchant, in big folio size.]

Comment: Perhaps this is one of the two copies of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso el Sabio now at El Escorial.

[iv] 340-D.--... de canto,... de mano, en pergamino... el Officio de la Toma de Granada.

Comment by Sánchez Cantón: "La Reina en carta a Fray Hernando de Talavera de 4 de diciembre de 1493 le escribía: 'El Oficio de Granada os ruego que me envieis como quiera queste para que yo lo vea, queste otro que he visto es tal que me ha engolosinado más por ver esotro.' Vese, pues, que lo escribía el Santo Arzobispo."

[. . .for singing,. . . handwritten, of parchment. . .the Office of the conquest of Granada.]

The Queen in a letter to Fray Hernando de Talavera (December 4, 1493) wrote: "I ask you to send me the Office of Granada so that I may see it as it is, because the one I have seen is so [beautiful] that I am curious to see that other one." Sánchez Cantón assumes that since the request is addressed to the Archbishop Hernando de Talavera, he was also the copyist of this manuscript.

[p. 84]
[v] 350-D.--... de mano, en papel de a folio pequeño, ...contiene unas canciones de canto de órgano.

[. . .handwritten, in paper of small folio size,. . . contains some polyphonic song.]

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APPENDIX III

Relationship of Barcelona M.454 with a Group of Continental Manuscripts and Prints (See also Chapter VI)

Barcelona M.454 and Berlin 40021[1]

Concordances: 3

with 454/A:

No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]
No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]
No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]

The readings in 454/A are quite different from those in Berlin 40021 (see Chapter V). The version of No. 27 in 454/A is both better and more complete than its concordant reading in Berlin 40021. The version of No. 50 in Berlin 40021 transmits a substitute text, *Verbum incarnatum*, and 454/A contains several variants for both Nos. 50 and 51.

Barcelona M.454 and Bologna Q18[2]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]

Atlas distinguished two traditions in the transmission of No. 36 on the basis of a separative variant in the bassus at m. 58.[3] 454/A and Bologna Q18 belong to the same

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[1]Berlin 40021 was compiled between 1485 and 1500 (see *Census-Catalogue*, I, 51); it has been edited by Just, *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021*, who suggests that the manuscript was compiled at Leipzig.

[2]According to Susan Weiss, "Bologna Q 18: Some Reflections on Content and Context," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XLI/1 (1988), 101, Bologna Q18 was compiled ca. 1502-1506, and at least one of the compositions can be connected to the Bentivoglio family in Bologna; the manuscript may have served as a repository for the music performed by the Bolognese instrumental group known as the *Concerto palatino della signoria.* Among the mixed sacred and secular repertory, there are four incipits in Spanish.

[3]Atlas, *Cappella Giulia*, I, 79. One tradition includes: Bologna Q17, Florence 178, Florence 229, Florence 2356, Florence 2794, Vatican CG.XIII.27, and Verona 757. The other tradition includes: 454/A, Bologna Q16, Bologna Q18, Brussels 11239, Copenhagen 1848 2º, Florence 27, Formschneider 1538[9], Odhecaton, Paris 676, Segovia, St. Gall 462, probably St. Gall 463, and Vatican 2856..

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tradition in the transmission of this piece; our manuscript, however, transmits a unique *si placet* voice.

Several variants in No. 57 (see Chaper V, Exx. 11a-c) separate the two readings; Exx. 11a-c show that 454/A agrees with Munich 322-325, Segovia and Seville 5-5-20 against Bologna Q18 and Odhecaton.

Barcelona M.454 and Bologna Q27 II°

Concordances: 2

with 454/C:

No. 13. *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Jo. Mouton/ [Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin/Josquin]

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

Bologna Q27 consists of five partbooks that are unrelated to each other. According to the *Census-Catalogue*, the second book, Bologna Q27 II°, dates from ca. 1520-30. I have not collated this fragmentary source.[4] For a discussion of the conflicting attribution for No. 13, see the previous chapter.

Barcelona M.454 and Cambrai 125-128[5]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]

with 454/C:

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

As shown in Chapter VI (Exx. 2-3), the readings of No. 55 in 454/A and Cambrai 125-128 tend to agree with Vatican 15 against Petrucci 1502[1]; in at least one instance (Ex. 4), however, Cambrai 125-128 has an independent variant. On the other hand, the

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[4]*Census-Catalogue*, I, 78-79.

[5]The title pages of each partbook of Cambrai 125-128 contain the date 1542 and the name Zeghere van Male; van Male was a Bruges merchant who lived from 1504-1601 (see George Diehl, "The Partbooks of a Renaissance Merchant, Cambrai: Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS 125-128," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsyvania (1974).

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readings of No. 92 in the later section 454/C of our manuscript and its concordance in Cambrai 125-128 disagree. The separative variants illustrated in Chapter VI (Exx. 6-8) show that Cambrai 125-128 consistently agrees with Cambridge 1760 against 454/C, Chigi, Modena IX, Padua A17, and Verona 760.

Barcelona M.454 and Copenhagen 1848 2°[6]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 31. [*Magnificat secundi toni*], Fr. Benito/[Brumel]

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]

with 454/D:

No. 82. *Orsus orsus bus dromes* (*L'alouette*) [Janequin]

According to Hudson, the *alternatim* version of No. 31 in 454/A, Copenhagen 1848 2°, and Kassel 9 is the original one. (The setting in Vatican 44 is strophic.) Copenhagen 1848 2°, however, presents a much more embellished version, while "the readings in 454/A and Kassel 9 are in basic agreement."[7]

Regarding No. 36, on the basis of the separative variant noted under "Barcelona M.454 and Bologna Q18", both readings belong to the same tradition.

No. 82 will be discussed under "Barcelona M.454 and Florence 117" below.

Barcelona M.454 and Florence 27[8]

Concordances: 3

with 454/A:

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]

No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]

No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]

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[6] Copenhagen 1848 2° was compiled by a certain "Charneyron" probably at Lyons ca. 1525 (see *Census Catalogue*, I, 163-64).

[7] Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, xvi-xvii.

[8] Florence 27 is a mixed collection of sacred and secular polyphony compiled in the early sixteenth century either in Tuscany (possibly Florence), according to Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, II, 37-42, or in northern Italy (perhaps Mantua), according to Atlas, *Cappella Giulia*, I, 252.

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In their readings for No. 36, 454/A and Florence 27 belong to the same group of sources on the basis of a separative variant in the bass at m. 58; see above under "Barcelona M.454 and Bologna Q18."[9] Regarding Nos. 55 and 57, Florence 27 consistently agrees with Petrucci 1502[1] against 454/A; see Exx. 2-4 in Chapter VI and Exx. 11a-c in Chapter V.[10]

Barcelona M.454 and Florence 117[11]

Concordances: 2

with 454/C:

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

with 454/D:

No. 82. *Orsus orsus bus dromes* (*L'alouette*) [Janequin]

I have not collated the readings in this manuscript.

454/D, Copenhagen 1848 2°, Florence 117, and Antico 1520[6] transmit an anonymous three-voice version of No. 82, *Or sus vous dormez trop*, while a four-voice version attributed to Clément Janequin (ca. 1485-ca.1558) was first published by Attaingnant in 1528 and subsequently reprinted by him and others.[12] There is extensive literature on this piece, but only Peter Christoffersen has collated all the sources for the

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[9]Atlas, *Cappella Giulia*, I, 79.

[10]That the readings of Nos. 55, 57 in Florence 27 and Petrucci 1502[1] are very close is further suggested by the use of fermatas over the penultimate note, a practice which the scribe of Florence 27 may have picked up from the printer. However, the revised entry for Florence 27 in the *Census-Catalogue*, IV, 375-76, states, regarding the entry in volume I: "Delete sentence: 'Compiled mostly from Petrucci prints of 1501-3.'"

[11]Florence 117 contains mostly French chansons and Italian secular pieces; according to Atlas, *Cappella Giulia*, I, 244-45, it was compiled between 1513 and 1518, but its major French scribe may have started as early as 1505. For a detailed study of the manuscript, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, "A Florentine Chansonnier of the Early Sixteenth Century: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi xix 117," *Early Music History 6* (1986), 1-107. Bernstein concludes that the entire manuscript was copied in Florence ca. 1515.

[12]St. Gall 463 transmits only the superius and a fragment of the altus; only two part books of the set of three printed by Antico in 1520 are extant.

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three and four-voice versions, permitting him to correct previous misconceptions about the various readings.[13] According to Christoffersen, the many variants in the three-voice version found in 454/D, Copenhagen 1818 2°, Florence 117, and Antico 1520[6] ". . .show without any doubt that each scribe or editor has worked from a different, now lost source of music and that accordingly [they] are independent sources."[14] There is some controversy regarding the authorship of the anonymous three-voice version since, if by Janequin, it would be his earliest known composition. Christoffersen suggests that it is not by Janequin, while Bernstein argues convincingly in Janequin's favor.[15]

Barcelona M.454 and Florence 178[16]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]

No. 53. *Anima mea liquefacta est* [Weerbecke]

On the basis of the separative variant in No. 36 (see "Barcelona M.454 and Bologna Q18"), Barcelona M.454 and Florence 178 belong to two distinct traditions in the transmission of this piece.

In his edition of No. 53 after Florence 229, Brown illustrates an extended variant (mm. 54-59) that separates the reading in Florence 178 from that of 454/A.[17] In another

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[13]Christoffersen, "'Or sus vous dormez trop': The Singing of the Lark in French Chansons of the Early Sixteenth Century," *Festskrift Henrik Glahn*, ed. M. Müller (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforkg, 1979), 35-67. Christoffersen cites the previous literature and edites both versions with lists of variants for every source.

[14]Christoffersen, "Or sus vous dormez trop," 38. The musical variants are found especially in the second part of the chanson (mm. 29-102). The text in 454/D is corrupt.

[15]Bernstein, "A Florentine Chansonnier," 63-64, fn. 76.

[16]According to Atlas, *Cappella Giulia*, I, 247, this chansonnier was probably compiled in Florence in the early 1490s.

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instance at mm. 63-65 the two manuscripts agree, but there is an error in Florence 178 that prevents this manuscript from having served as a parent source for any other that does not have the error.[18]

Barcelona M.454 and Florence 229[19]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]

No. 53. *Anima mea liquefacta est* [Weerbecke]

In their transmission of No. 36, Barcelona M.454 and Florence 229 belong to two different traditions on the basis of the separative variant mentioned under "Barcelona M.454 and Bologna Q18."

Several important variants in No. 53, illustrated in Brown's edition, show that the reading in Barcelona M.454 (in agreement with Milan 2269 and Washington Wolffheim in two notable instances at mm. 54-56 and 63-65) is also independent from Florence 229.

Barcelona M.454 and Jena 3[20]

Concordance: 1

with 454/C:

No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

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[17]Howard M. Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo The Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229*, 2 vols. (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), II, 338.

[18]The error consists of an extra d' minim between the e' f' minims in the contratenor at m. 23^{3-4}.

[19]Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*, I, 41, states that the manuscript was most likely presented to Alessandro Braccesi (1445-1503) by a wealthy Florentine patron, possibly of the Medici family, on the occasion of his appointement as ambassador in 1491.

[20]According to Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources," 198, Jena 3 was compiled between 1518 and 1520 as a present from Margaret of Austria to Frederick the Wise of Saxony. Kellman groups Jena 3 along with the following six other manuscripts produced at the Court of the Netherlands between 1508 and 1520: Brussels 215/216 and 228, Jena 7, London 8G, Vatican 160, and Vienna 15495.

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Although the extant readings of Févin's Mass are very similar, there are a few variants and a conjunctive error, which may help to establish some relationships among the sources.[21]

No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

Sources:
454/C, fols. iv^{v}-xii^{v}, Anthonius Fevin
Jena 3, fols. 43^{v}-58^{r}, Anthonius de feuin
Munich 260, Nos. 57-58, *Benedictus* and *Pleni sunt caeli* only
Vatican CG XII, 2, fols. clxxv^{v}-clxxxi^{r}, feuin
Vatican 16, fols. xlvii^{v}-lx^{r}, Ant. de feuin
Vienna 15495, fols. 19^{v}-33^{r}, Anthonius de fevin
Vienna 18832, No. 18, *Benedictus*; No. 20, *Pleni sunt caeli*
Antico 1516[1], fols. xlviv-liiiii^{r}, Feuim
Petrucci 1515[1], No. 2, Antonii de feuin
Rhaw 1545[7], No. lvi, *Pleni sunt caeli* (*Beatus homo*)

Since Scribe C most likely used Petrucci 1505[2] to copy two motets,[22] and he followed his model very closely, it is tempting to hypothesize that he preferred prints as models for the foreign repertoire that he copied or that these were the exemplars most accessible to him, and that therefore he may have also followed very closely one of the two prints that transmits Févin's Mass. Indeed, a conjunctive error and several variants indicate that 454/C is closer to Antico 1516[1] than to any of the other sources. The conjunctive error that separates 454/C and Antico 1516[1] from all the other sources occurs in the superius of the *Kyrie* at m. 34[1], where these two sources read a' instead of b' (see Ex. 1).

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[21]In the following discussion I will not take into account the fragmentary sources Munich 260, Vienna 18832, and Rhaw 1545[7].

[22]See Chapter VI under "Barcelona M.454 and Petrucci 1505[2]."

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Ex. 1: Févin *Missa Mente tota*
Conjunctive error in 454/C and Antico 1516[1] (m. 34).

However, although 454/C is closer to Antico 1516[1] than to any of the other sources, I believe that Scribe C did not copy directly from any extant source; if he did, he certainly did not follow any extant source for Fevin's Mass as closely as he did when he copied two motets from Petrucci 1505[2]. The stemmatic position of 454/C is not clear-cut, since in another instance our manuscript shares with Vienna 15495 a separative variant, perhaps an error (see Ex. 2). [23]

---

[23]One of the minor variants we find throughout the version in 454/C is the conventional melodic cadential design without the typical anticipation found in the other sources. As for example: e' SB, d' SB, c'-sharp M, d' SB, instead of e' dotted M, d' SM, d' SB, c'-sharp M, d' SB; this particular instance is found several times in the *Kyrie*, altus, at mm. 13-14, in the tenor at mm. 23-24, and in the superius at mm. 43-44 (see also Ex. 3). There are other ornamental and rhythmic variants and, in one instance, in the superius at m. 50, Jena 3 and Antico 1516[1] agree with 454/C; Antico 1516[1], though, agrees with 454/C more often .

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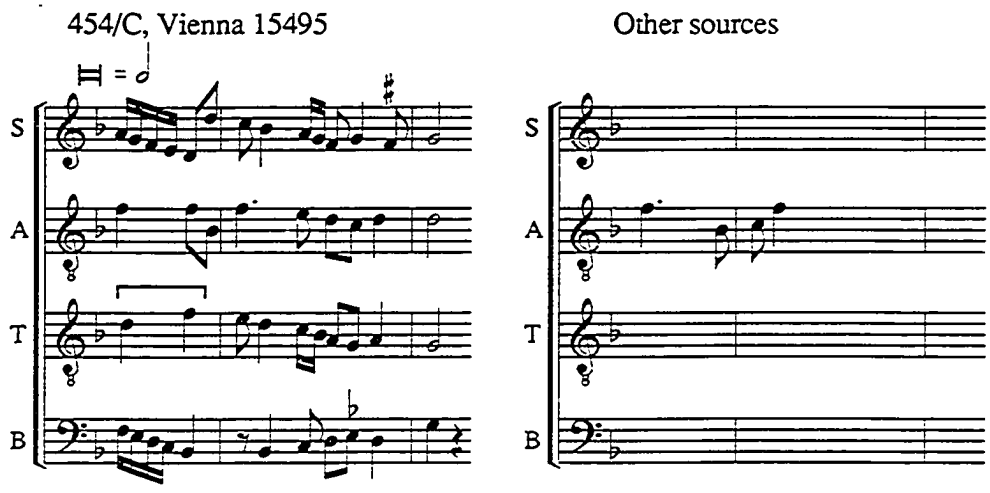
Ex. 2: Févin's *Missa Mente tota*
Variant in the Gloria, altus, m. 70.



Moreover, there are several variants in 454/C not found in any other extant source. The most notable variant unique to 454/C occurs in the tenor of the *Credo* at mm. 241-42 (see Ex. 3); the reading in 454/C is better, since it avoids the dissonant clash on the downbeat of m. 241.[24]

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[24]Another variant unique to 454/C is also found in the altus of the *Credo*, at m. 207, where 454/C reads b instead of d'. 454/C contains four errors: (1) superius of the *Kyrie*, at m. 34^{1}, reads a' instead of b' (this is the conjunctive error shown in Ex.1); (2) the tenor of the *Gloria*, at m. 109^{2}, reads a instead of b; (3) the altus of the *Credo*, at m. 254^{3}, reads a' instead of g'; and (4) the altus of the *Sanctus* at m. 328^{1-3} reads d-c-d minims instead of g dotted minim, f semiminim, and f minim. Clinkscale, "The Works of Antoine de Févin," II, 122-56, in his edition of this Mass after Petrucci 1515^{1} also made four errors, three of them in the *Credo*, and the last one in the *Agnus Dei*: (1)the altus at *per quem omnia facta sunt* (mm. 175^{5}-176^{7}) was copied a fourth too low; (2) the last three notes in the altus at m. 194 should read d-c-b instead of c-b-a; (3) the superius at m. 245^{2} should read a' instead of f'; and (4) the tenor at m. 401^{4} reads c' instead of b.

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Ex. 3: Févin's *Missa mente tota*
Variant at mm. 241-42 in the tenor of the *Credo*.

454/C

Other sources

In sum, a comparison of the readings of Févin's *Missa Mente tota* indicates that 454/C is not dependent on any of the extant sources, including Jena 3, a representative manuscript of the Netherlandish Court complex; Vatican 16 and Petrucci 1515[1] are very close to each other. Vatican CG XII, 2 stands apart containing many variants not found in any other source (see my edition in Volumen II). Although 454/C shares with Antico 1516[1] a conjunctive error and some minor variants, our manuscript occupies a position

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"in between" with at least one better reading than in all the other sources, and a separative variant shared with Vienna 15495.

Barcelona M.454 and Kassel 9[25]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 31. [*Magnificat secundi toni*], Fr. Benito/[Brumel]
No. 32. [*Magnificat*] *sexti toni*, Brumel

I have not collated the Kassel partbooks, but it should be noted that the two Magnificats appear back to back in both sources, and that the authority for the publication of No. 32 as Brumel's rests solely on Barcelona M.454. According to Hudson, the readings of No. 31 in 454/A and Kassel 9 are very close. The *alternatim* version they transmit is probably the original one, since the *alternatim* version in Copenhagen 1848 2° is a much embellished reading, and the version in Vatican 44 presents a strophic setting; the version in Vienna 18832 is incomplete.[26]

Regarding No. 32, Hudson points out that the reading in Kassel 9 is "very similar" to that of 's-Hertogenbosch, and that Barcelona M.454 and Vatican 15 are in basic agreement (see the commentary for this piece under "Barcelona M.454 and Vatican 15"). A number of variants indicated by Hudson show that the reading of this Magnificat in 454/A is closer to Vatican 15 than to Kassel 9.[27]

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[25]Kassel 9 consists of five paper partbooks copied in Kassel for the Count Philip of Hesse around the middle of the sixteenth century or later (see *Census-Catalogue*, II, 5).

[26]Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, xvi-xvii.

[27]Hudson, *Brumel: Opera Omnia*, VI, xvii.

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Barcelona M.454 and Leipzig 1494[28]

Concordances: 2

with 454:

No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]

No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]

These two pieces have been discussed in Chapter V, and the readings of both contain many variants.

Barcelona M.454 and London 1070[29]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A

No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]

with 454/C

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

The readings in these two manuscripts transmit important variants. Regarding No. 50, see Exx. 7-9 in Chapter V; for a separative error in No. 92, see Ex. 6 in Chapter VI.[30]

Barcelona M.454 and Modena IX[31]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]

with 454/C:

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

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[28]According to Gerber, *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, v, the manuscript Leipzig 1494 was bound in Leipzig in 1504 at the request of Nikolaus Apel (ca. 1470-1537).

[29]There are several hypotheses about the origins of London 1070 (see *Census-Catalogue*, II, 119). The manuscript has been variously dated from the periods 1533-36 and 1510-15; it has been suggested that London 1070 was given as a gift to Queen Anne Boleyn, but it is not clear whether it was originally compiled for her and whether the manuscript was copied in England or France.

[30]In addition, London 1070 contains an error (altus, m.20^3 b fusa instead of d'), and in m. 29 the four notes in the superius read a third lower.

[31]Modena IX was copied for the cathedral choir at Modena ca. 1520-30 (see *Census-Catalogue*, II, 159).

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The reading of No. 50 in 454/A transmits variants that separates it from all its concordances (see Exx. 7-9 in Chapter V), while the reading of No. 92 in 454/C is very close to that of a group of manuscripts that includes Modena IX (see Exx. 6-8 in Chapter VI).

Barcelona M.454 and Munich 322-325[32]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]
No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]

The readings of No. 50 in both manuscripts are very different (see Exx. 7-9 in Chapter V). On the other hand, in three separative variants in No. 57, Munich 322-325 sides with all the Iberian sources against Bologna Q18, Florence 27, and Odhecaton (see Exx. 11a-c in Chapter V).

Barcelona M.454 and Munich 3154[33]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]
No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]

There are many variants between the readings in both manuscripts (see Chapter V).

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[32]Munich 322-325 was compiled in Basel under the supervision of Heinrich Glareanus (1488-1563); the date 1527 appears in the Preface (see *Census-Catalogue*, II, 242-43).

[33]Munich 3154 was copied probably in Innsbruck ca. 1466-1511; the manuscript is closely related to Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, and Warsaw 2016 (see *Census-Catalogue*, II, 226).

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Barcelona M.454 and Padua A17[34]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 52. *Intemerata Virgo* [Josquin]

with 454/C:

No. 13. *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Jo. Mouton/ [Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin/Josquin][35]

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

The readings of Nos. 52 and 92 in Padua A17 and Barcelona M.454 are very close. No. 13, however, presents a variant that separates 454/C from all the other sources; it occurs in the superius at m. 10, where 454/C has e' breve instead of rest (see Ex. 4).[36] I believe that this variant in 454/C represents an emendation, which may be connected to the declamation of the text *Vulnerasti cor meum*. The extra note in the superius of 454/C allows singing the accented syllable of *Vulnerasti* on the strongest note of this short phrase. Since the other three voices start with the same motive of an ascending third—and the bassus is identical to the superius an octave lower—it is clear that the variant in 454/C constitutes an addition to the original reading.

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[34]An inscription on fol. 188^{v} of Padua A17 states that one "Frater Jordanus" copied the manuscript in 1522; it was used by the choir at Padua Cathedral (see *Census-Catalogue*, III, 3).

[35]For a discussion of the conflicting attribution, see Chapter V; the version in Padua A17 is anonymous, while 454/C attributes the piece to Mouton. There is a consensus among scholars for ascribing *O pulcherrima* to this composer.

[36]For other variants, see my edition of this piece in Volume II.

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Ex. 4: Mouton's *O pulcherrima mulierum*, mm. 10-12.

Barcelona M.454 and St. Gall 462[37]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]

with 454/C:

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

Atlas distinguished two traditions in the transmission of No. 36 on the basis of a separative variant in the bassus at m. 58 (see "Barcelona M.454 and Bologna Q18"). 454/A and St. Gall 462 belong to the same tradition; our manuscript, however, transmits a unique *si placet* voice.

The stemmatic position of St. Gall 462 with respect to No. 92 is somewhat independent, since of the three variants I have considered, it agrees with 454/C in one instance, disagrees in a second, and contains a hybrid reading in the third (see Exx. 6-8 in Chapter VI).

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[37]St. Gall 462 was compiled between 1510 and 1530 by the Swiss cleric Johannes Heer of Glarus. For a description and modern edition, see Arnold Geering and Hans Trumpy, *Das Liederbuch des Johannes Heer von Glarus. Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler*, Vol. V. (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1967).

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Barcelona M.454 and St. Gall 463

Concordances: 4

with 454/A:

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]
No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]
No. 53. *Anima mea liquefacta est* [Weerbecke]

with 454/D:

No. 82. *Orsus orsus bus dromes* (*L'alouette*) [Janequin]

St. Gall 463 comprises two part books, bound together, compiled around 1540 by the Swiss Aegidius Tschudi (1505-1572).[38] It contains the superius and altus of Nos. 36, 50, 53, as well as the superius and part of the altus of No. 82.

According to Atlas, even though the bassus part-book is missing, it is most likely that St. Gall 463 would have agreed with St. Gall 462, and therefore with 454/A, regarding the the separative variant in No. 82.[39] The incomplete readings of the other three pieces are independent from Barcelona M.454.

Barcelona M.454 and St. Gall 530

Concordances: 5

with 454/A:

No. 36. *Sy dedero* [Agricola]
No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]
No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]
No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]

with 454/C:

No. 13. *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Jo. Mouton/ [Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin]

St. Gall 530 is a keyboard tablature compiled between ca. 1511/12 and 1521 by the Swiss organist Fridolin Sicher (1490-1546).[40] As pointed out by Thomas A.

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[38]For a detailed study of the manuscript and a transcription of the *unica*, see Donald G. Loach, "Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook (St. Gall MS 463): A Humanistic Document from the Circle of Heinrich Glarean," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley (1969).

[39]Atlas, *Cappella Giulia*, 79, fn. 4, states that Tschudi had the earlier St. Gall 462 in his library, and probably used it as a source for St. Gall 463; the readings of their concordances are invariably the same.

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Warburton:

> Sicher's intabulations indeed show many variants of rhythm and pitch when compared with vocal sources of the period. . . The profusion of variants shows the freedom with which organists treated the music.[41]

Barcelona M.454 and Vatican CG XII, 2[42]

Concordance: 1

with 454/C:

No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

There are many variants between the readings in these two manuscripts; see the discussion of this Mass under "Barcelona M.454 and Jena 3."

Barcelona M.454 and Vatican 16

Concordances: 1

with 454/C:

No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

There are many variants between the readings in these two manuscripts; see the discussion of this Mass under "Barcelona M.454 and Jena 3," and my edition of this piece in Volume II.

Barcelona M.454 and Vatican 63[43]

Concordances: 2

with 454/B:

No. 8. [*Missa Au travail suis*] [Ockeghem]

No. 10. [*Missa L'homme armé*] [Busnoys]

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[40]On the dating of the tablature, see Hans Joachim Marx, "Neues zur Tabulatur-Handschrift St. Gallen, Stifsbibliothek, Cod. 530," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 37/4 (1980), 286-89.

[41]Warburton, "Fridolin Sicher's Tablature: A Guide to Keyboard Performance of Vocal Music," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan (1969), 194. For a discussion of sources for Sicher's collection, see Warburton, "Fridolin Sicher's Tablature," 56-65.

[42]Parts I and III of the manuuscript were copied between 1518 and 1521 at Rome for the Cappella Giulia; Part II was added ca. 1569-89 (see *Census-Catalogue*, IV, 14-15).

[43]According to Scherr, "The Papal Chapel," 256, Vatican 63 was copied for the Cappella Sistina at Rome between 1480 and 1507.

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These two works have been discussed in Chapter VI under "Barcelona M.454 and Vatican C.VIII.234 (Chigi)." The reading of No. 8 in 454/B consistently sides with Vatican 63 (and Vatican 41) against Chigi, but the reading in our manuscript is independent.

Barcelona M.454 and Verona 758[44]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]

No. 54. *Sile fragor* [Compère]

The readings of No. 51 in these two manuscripts have many variants (see Exx. 10a-e in Chapter V). I have not collated the Verona 758 reading for No. 54.

Barcelona M.454 and Verona 760[45]

Concordances: 2

with 454/C:

No. 13. *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Jo. Mouton/ [Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin][46]

No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

The two readings of No. 13 have many variants (see above Ex. 4, under "Barcelona M.454 and Padua A17"—where Verona 760 agrees with Padua A17 against 454/C—and my edition in Volume II). In addition, Verona 760, transmits, besides some unique minor ornamental variants, a reading (tenor, m. 375: a instead of c) not found in other sources.

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[44]Verona 758 was copied in Verona ca. 1500 (see *Census-Catalogue*, IV, 79).

[45]Verona 760 was copied between 1520 and 1530 at Verona (see *Census-Catalogue*, IV, 80)

[46]The version in Verona 760 is anonymous. For a discussion of the conflicting attribution, see the previous chapter; most scholars agree in ascribing No. 13 to Mouton.

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The readings of No. 92 in 454/C and Verona 760 consistently agree against Cambrai 125-128 and Cambridge 1760; see Exx. 6-8 in Chapter VI.

Barcelona M.454 and Vienna 15495[47]

Concordance: 1

with 454/C:

No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

The two readings display many variants, but in at least one instance the two manuscripts share a separative variant, possibly a conjunctive error (see Ex. 2 above under "Barcelcna M.454 and Jena 3).

Barcelona M.454 and Vienna 18832[48]

Concordances: 2

with 454/A:

No. 31. [*Magnificat secundi toni*], Fr. Benito/[Brumel]

with 454/C:

No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

This manuscript comprises two paper partbooks, which I have not collated.

Barcelona M.454 and Warsaw 2016[49]

Concordances: 4

with 454/A:

No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]
No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]
No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]
No. 53. *Anima mea liquefacta est* [Weerbecke]

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[47]According to Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France," 211, Vienna 15495 was compiled for Maximilian I and Bianca Maria Sforza between 1508 and 1511. It belongs to the same group of Netherlands Court manuscripts as Jena 3 (see above).

[48]Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France," 214, indicates that Vienna 18832 was compiled ca. 1521-1525 for Raimund Fugger the Elder (1489-1535); it belongs to a group of Netherlands court manuscripts copied between 1521 and 1534.

[49]Warsaw 2016 was copied in Silesia or Bohemia ca. 1500 (see *Census-Catalogue*, V, 122); it has been edited by Feldmann, *Der Codex Mf. 2016*.

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These two manuscripts share a substantial number of concordances, but the readings display many variants. See the discussion in Chapter V of Nos. 27, 50, and 51 (Exx. 5, 7-9, and 10a-e). Brown, in his edition of No. 53 after Florence 229, illustrates several separative variants between the two manuscripts.[50]

Barcelona M.454 and Antico 1516[1]
Concordance: 1
with 454/C:
No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

The readings of No. 1 in 454/C and Antico 1516[1] share a conjunctive error not found in the other sources, and the print agrees with 454/C more often than any other source with respect to a number of minor ornamental and rhythmic variants. However, 454/C shares with Vienna 15495 a separative variant, and our manuscript transmits several independent readings. See the discussion of this piece above, under "Barcelona M.454 and Jena 3."

Barcelona M.454 and Petrucci 1502[1] (*Motetti A. numero trentatre. A*)
Concordances: 4
with 454/A:
No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]
No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]
No. 54. *Sile fragor* [Compère]
No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]

Nos. 50 and 51 have been discussed in Chapter V; the variants in these two pieces indicate that the readings in 454/A and Petrucci 1502[1] are very different. The readings of Nos. 54 and 55 in Petrucci 1502[1] and 454/A also display many variants; see Exx. 1-3 in Chapter VI under "Barcelona M.454 and Vatican 15." The disagreement between these two sources contrasts with the very close readings of three concordances shared by our manuscript and another print, Petrucci 1505[2].

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[50]Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*, II, 338.

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Barcelona M.454 and Petrucci 1515[1] (*Misse Antonii fevin*)
Concordance: 1
with 454/C:
No. 1. *Missa mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin

The two reading in 454/C is closer to Antico 1516[1]. See the discussion of this piece, under "Barcelona M.454 and Jena 3."

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LIST OF SOURCES

Prints

*The asterisk indicates literary sources

Antico 1516[1]
Liber quindecim missarum. Rome: Antico, 1516
454/C: No. 1

Antico 1520[6]
Chansons à troys. Venice: A. Antico and L. A. Giunta, 1520
454/D: No. 82

Attaingnant 1531[5]
Treize motetz musicaulx avec ung prelude le tout reduict en la tabulature. Paris: Attaingnant, 1531.
454/C: No. 92

Attaingnant 1528
Chansons de maistre C. Janequin. Paris: Attaingnant, 1528 [reedited in 1537 (Attaingnant et Jullet), 1545 (Gardane), 1550 (Scotto), 1551 (Du Chemin), 1555 (idem.), and 1559 (Le Roy-Ballard)]
454/D: No. 82

**Cancionero de enamorados*
Cancionero llamamdo Flor de enamorados, sacado de diversos auctores. Agora nuevamente por muy linda orden copilado. Barcelona: Claudi Bornat, 1562.
454/D: No. 120

**Cancionero general de Estéban de Nájera*
Cancionero general de obras nuevas nunca hasta ahora impresas. Zaragoza: Estéban G. de Nájera, 1554.
454/D: No. 123

**Cancioneiro geral de Garcia de Resende*
García de Resende. *Cancioneiro geral.* Lisbon: Hermão de Campos, 1516.
454/D: No. 123

**Cancionero de Nuestra Señora*
Cancionero de Nvestra Señora: en el qual ay muy buenos Romances, Canciones y Villancicos. Barcelona, 1591
454/A: No. 46

**Cancionero de romances* [1]
Cancionero de romances en que están recopilados la mayor parte de los romances castellanos que fasta agora se an compuesto. Antwerp: Martín Nuncio [1547-49]
454/B: No. 65

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Cancionero de romances [2]
Cancionero de romances en que están recopilados la mayor parte de los romances castellanos que fasta agora se an compuesto. Nuevamente corregido, emendado y añadido en muchas partes. Antwerp: Martín Nuncio, 1950.
454/B: No. 65

Cancionero de romances [3]
Cancionero de romances en que están recopilados la mayor parte de los romances castellanos que fasta agora se an compuesto. Nuevamente corregido, emendado y añadido en muchas partes. Antwerp: Martín Nuncio, 1955.
454/B: N0. 65

Castillo, *Cancionero General*
Cancionero General Recopilado por Hernando del Castillo. Valencia, 1511.
454/D: No. 124

Chicago
Capirola Lute Tablature
454/C: No. 92

*Correas, *Arte*
Gonzalo Correas. *Arte de la Lengua Española Castellana* [1625], Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms 18969
454/D: No. 100

*Correas, *Vocabulario*
Gonzalo Correas. *Vocabulario de Refranes y Frases Proverbiales* (1627), Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms 4450
454/D: No. 100

Dorico 1526^{4}
Motetti de la Corona libro quarto. Rome: 1526
454/C: No. 13

*Ensalada "Quitarme podéys la vida"
Chiste nuevo, con seys romances y siete villancicos viejos, agora nuevamente compuestos por Francisco de Argüello, con una canción y tres coplas a ella hechas por el mismo. Pliego Suelto, n.p., n.d.
454/D: No. 114, 120

Formschneider 1538^{9}
Trium vocum carmina a diversis musicis composita. Nurenberg: 1538
454/A: No. 57

Giunta 1526^{1}
Motetti de la Corona. Libro primo. Rome: 1526
454/C: No. 92

Glareani
Dodecachordon. Basel: Petrus, 1547
454/A: No. 50

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*González de Eslava

González de Eslava. *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales y Canciones Diuinas... Recopiladas por el R. P. Fr. Fernando Vello de Bustamante; de la Orden de S. Austin.* Mexico, 1610.

454/D: No. 100

Guillaud, Maximilien

Rudiments de musique. Paris, 1554

454/D: No. 82

Henestrosa

Luis Venegas de Henestrosa. *Libro de Cifra Nueva para tecla, harpa, y vihuela.* Alcalá de Henares: J. de Brocar, 1557

454/B: No. 75

Kohlen 1558[20]

Tabulaturbuch auf die Lauten. Heidelberg: Kohlen, 1558

454/C: No. 92

Kriesstein 1540[7]

Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones. Augsburg: 1540

454/C: No. 13

*Medina, Luis de. *Flor de varios romances. Novena Parte.* Madrid, 1597

454/D: No. 100

Moderne

Difficile des chansons. Paris: Moderne, n. d.

454/D: No. 82

Montanus & Neuber 1555[11]

Tertius tomus Evangeliorum, quatuir, quinque, sex, et plurium vocum. Nuremberg: Montanus & Neuber, 1555

454/C: No. 92

Montanus & Neuber 1558[4]

Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum. Nuremberg: Montanus & Neuber,

454/C: No. 92

*Montesino

Ambrosio Montesino. *Cancionero.* Toledo, 1508

*Pedraza, *Coplas... para cantar*

Cristóbal de Pedraza. *Coplas hechas por Christoual de Pedraza, criado del illustre y muy magnifico señor duque duque de Arcos, para cantar la gloriosissima noche de nauidad a los maytines. Con vna aue Maria al cabo nueuamente trobada sobre cada palabra una copla.* Seville, 1518?

454/D: No. 100

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Petreius 1536[13]
Der ander Theil des Lautenbuchs... durch mich Hansen Newsidler. Nuremberg: Petreius, 1536
454/A: No. 57

Petrucci 1501
Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A . Venice: Petrucci, 1501
454/A: 57

Petrucci 1502[1]
Motetti A. numero trentatre. A. Venice: Petrucci, 1502
454/A: Nos. 50, 51, 54, 55

Petrucci 1503[1]
Motetti De passione De cruce De sacramento de Beata virgine et huius modi. Venice: Petrucci, 1503
454/A: No. 51

Petrucci 1505[2]
Motetti libro quarto. Venice: Petrucci, 1505
454/C: Nos. 2, 3
454/A: No. 52

Petrucci 1514[1]
Motetti de la corona. Libro primo. Venice: Petrucci, 1514
454/C: 92

Petrucci 1515[1]
Misse Antonii de fevin. Venice: Petrucci, 1515
454/C: No. 1

Petrucci 1519[2]
Motetti de la corona. Libro tertio. Venice: Petrucci, 1519
454/A: No. 56

Petrucci 1519[3]
Motetti de la Corona libro quarto. Venice: Petrucci, 1519
454/C: No. 13

Rhaw 1545[7]
Secundus tomus bicinorum. Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1545
454/C: No. 1

**Romancero general en qve se contienen todos los Romances que andan impressos en las nueue partes de Romanceros. Aora nvevamente impresso, añadido, y emendado. Madrid, 1600.*
454/D: No. 100

Salinas, *De musica libri septem*
Francisci Salinae. *De musica libri septem.* Salamanca: Mathias Gastius, 1577
454/D: No.65

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Scotto 1556[30]
Villancicos de diversos autores, a dos, y a tres, y a quatro, y a cinco bozes, agora nuevamente corregidos. Venice: Scotto, 1556
454/D: No. 119

**Silva de varios romances*
Primera parte de la Silva de varios romances, en que están recopilados la mayor parte de los romances castellanos que hasta agora se han compuesto. Hay al fin algunas canciones et coplas graciosas y sentidas. Zaragoza: Esteban G. de Nájera, 1550.
454/B: No. 65

Spinacino 1507[6]
Francesco Spinacino. *Intabulatura de lauto, Libro secondo.* Venice: Petrucci, 1507
454/A: No. 57

Valderrábano, *Silva de Sirenas*
Libro de música de vihuela, intitulado Silva de Sirenas... compuesto por Enríquez de Valderrávano. Valladolid: Francisco de Córdova, 1547
454/B: No. 65

Vásquez, *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos*
Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a quatro y a cinco, de Juan Vásquez. Seville: Juan Gutierrez, 1560
454/B: No. 65

Manuscript Sources

Barcelona M.681
Barcelona. Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.681
454/C: No. 12

Barcelona 5
Barcelona. Biblioteca de L'Orfeó Català, Ms. 5 (shelf mark: 12-VI-12)
454/A: No. 50, 56

Berlin 40013
Berlin. Former Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Ms. Mus. 40013
454/A: No. 50

Berlin 40021
Berlin. Former Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Ms. Mus. 40021 (*olim* Z 21)
454/A: Nos. 27, 50, 51

Bologna Q16
Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. Ms. Q 16 (Cod. 109)
454/A: No. 36

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Bologna Q17
Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. Ms. Q 17 (Cod. 148)
454/A: No. 36

Bologna Q18
Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. Ms. Q 18 (Cod. 143)
454/A: Nos. 36, 57

Bologna Q27 II°
Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. Ms. Q 27 II°
454/C: Nos. 13, 92

Bologna R142
Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale Ms. R142
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Bloomington 8
Bloomington. Lilly Library, Guatemala Music, Ms. 8
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454/C: Nos. 0, 15, 88

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Bloomington. Lilly Library, Guatemala Music, Ms. 9
454/C: No. 88

Brussels 215/216
Brussels. Bibliothèque royale, Mss 215/216

Brussels 228
Brussels. Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 228
454/A: No. 53

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Brussels. Bibliothèque royale, MS. 9126

Brussels 11239
Brussels. Bibliotrhèque royale, Ms. 11239
454/A: No. 36

Cambrai 125-128
Cambrai. Bibliothèque Municipale. Mss 125-128 (*olim* 124)
454/A: No. 55
454/C: No. 92

Cambridge 1760
Cambridge. Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Ms. 1760
454/C: No. 92

Capirola
Chicago. Newberry Library, Capirola Lute Manuscript

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Coimbra 12
Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, Ms. M.2
454/A: Nos. 28, 34, 56
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454/C: Nos. 16, 61, 88, 89

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Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, Ms. M.53
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Copenhagen 1848 2°
Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Ms Ny kongelige Samling 1848, 2°
454/A: Nos. 31, 36
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Copenhagen 1872
Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Ms Gamle kongelige Samling 1872, 4°
454/C: No. 92

Dresden V
Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms Glashütte 5 (1-2)
454/C: No. 92

Eisenach
Eisenach. Stadtarchiv. Ms s.s.
454/C: No. 92

Elvas 11793
Elvas. Biblioteca Municipale (Públia Hortênsia), Ms. 11793

Florence 27
Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Ms. Panciatichi 27
454/A: Nos. 36, 55, 57

Florence 117
Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Ms. Mag. XIX. 117
454/D: No. 82
454/C: No. 92

Florence 164-167
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454/A: No. 50

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Florence 178
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Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Ms. B. R. 229 (Magl. XIX. 59)
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454/A: No. 36

Florence II.I.232
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454/A: No. 50

Florence 2439
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Cividale 59
Florence. Cividale del Friuli. Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Ms. LIX
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Gotha A.98
Gotha. Forschunsbibliothek Gotha, Schloss Friedenstein, Ms Chart. A. 98
454/A: No. 50

Greifswald
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454/A: No. 36

Heilbronn X/2
Heilbronn. Stadtarchiv, Musiksammlung, Hs. X/2.
454/A: No. 36

Hradec 7
Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna, Ms II A 7
454/A: No. 54

Jena 3
Jena. Universitätsbibliothek. Ms. 3
454/C: No. 1

Jena 7
Jena. Universitätsbibliothek, MS 7

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Kassel 9
Kassel. Murhard'sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbiblkiothek. Mss 4º Mus. 9/i-5
454/A: Nos. 31, 32

Königgrätz S
Hradec Kralové (Königgrätz). Knihovna Mestskeho Musea, Codex Speziálnik
454/A: No. 50

Königsberg 1740
Königsberg. Former Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek 1740 (missing since WW II)]
454/C: No. 92

Leipzig 1494
Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. Ms. 1494 ("Apel Codex")
454/A: Nos. 27, 50

*London, Egerton 939
London. British Library, Ms Egerton 939 "Cancionero de Egerton"
454/D: No. 126

London 8GVII
London. British Library, Royal 8 G VII
454/C: No. 92

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454/A: No. 50
454/C: No. 92

Lübeck
Lübeck. Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck, Ms Mus. A 203 (a-d)
454/C: No. 92

*Madrid 617.
Madrid. Biblioteca Real, Ms 617 "Cancionero de Poesías Varia"
454/D: No. 123

Madrid 1335
Madrid. Biblioteca Real, Ms 1335 (*olim* 2-1-5) "Cancionero Musical de Palacio"
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*Madrid 1579
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*Madrid 5593
Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional, Ms 5593
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*Madrid 17556
Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional, Ms 17556
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*Madrid 17557
Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional, Ms 17557
454/D: No. 100

*Milan 940
Milan. Trivulziana, Ms 940
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Milan. Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo. Ms. 2267. Librone 3
454/A: No. 51

Milan 2269
Milan. Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo. Ms. 2269. Librone 1
454/A: No. 53

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Modena. Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca, Frammenti Musicali, Appendice, MS s.s.

Modena IX
Modena. Archivio Capitolare. Ms. IX
454/A: No. 50
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Montecassino 871
Montecassino. Archivio della Badia, Cod. 871 N

Munich 19
Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung, Musica Ms. 19
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Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung, Musica Ms. 141
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Munich 260
Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung, Musica Ms. 260 (=MaiM 202)
454/C: No. 1

Munich 1536
Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung, Musica Ms. 1563
454/C: No. 92

Munich 3154
Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. Musica Ms. 3154 (= MaiM 42) ("Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold")
454/A: Nos. 27, 50

Munich 322-325
Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. Mss. 8° 322-325 (*olim* Cim. 44a)
454/A: Nos. 50, 57

Munich 326
Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. Mss. 8° 326 (*olim* Cim. 44b)
454/A: No. 50

Nuremberg 83795
Nuremberg. Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, Ms 83795
454/A: No. 50

Padua A17
Padua. Biblioteca del Duomo. Ms. A.17
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454/C: No. 13, 92

Paris 56
Paris. École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Bibliothèque, Ms. Jean Masson 56
454/B: No. 65

*Paris 307
Paris. Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Esp. 307
454/D: No. 123

*Paris 372
Paris. Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Esp. 372
454/D: No. 123

Paris 676
Paris. Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Rés. Vm^7 676
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Paris 1597
Paris. Bibliothèque nationale, Ms fonds fr. 1597
454/A: No. 36

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Puebla 19
Puebla (Mexico). Archivo de Música Sacra de la Catedral, Ms XIX
454/B: No. 75

Regensburg B216-219
Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Ms B 216-219
454/A: No. 27

Regensburg 883-6
Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Ms A.R. 883-886
454/C: No. 92

Regensburg 940-1
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454/C: No. 92

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Seville. Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca del Coro, Ms. 1
454/C: No. 89

Seville 5-5-20
Seville. Biblioteca Colombina, sign. 5-5-20: *Opuscula varia*. Mss. Tom 4
454/A: No. 57
454/C: 12, 14, 88, 89, 91

's-Hertogenbosch
's Hertogenbosch. Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Ms 73
454/A: No. 32

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454/A: No. 36
454/C: No. 92

St. Gall 463
St. Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 463
454/A: Nos 36, 50, 53
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454/A: No. 24
454/B: No. 17

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Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms. B 1
454/A: No. 24

Toledo 13
Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms. B 13
454/C: No. 92

Toledo 21
Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms. B 21
454/A: Nos. 24, 51
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Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo, Ms. 5 (lost)
454/C: No. 92

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Ulm. Münster Bibliothek, von Schermar' sche Familienstiftung, Ms 237 a-d
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Vatican City. Biblioteca Vaticana. Archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore. Ms. 26 (*olim* J.J.III.4)
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Vatican C.G.XII,2
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454/C: No. 1

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454/A: Nos. 32, 51, 54, 55

Vatican 16
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454/C: No. 1

Vatican 41
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454/B: No. 8

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454/A: No. 50

Vatican 44
Vatican City. Biblioteca Vaticana. Capella Sistina. Ms. 44
454/A: No. 31

Vatican 63
Vatican City. Biblioteca Vaticana. Capella Sistina. Ms. 63
454/B: Nos. 8, 10

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Vatican City. Biblioteca Vaticana. Chigiana. Ms. C.VIII.234 ("Chigi Codex")
454/B: Nos. 8, 10
454/A: Nos. 51, 54
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Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. Ms. DCCLVIII
454/A: No. 51, 54

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Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung Ms. Mus. 15495 (*olim* Kunsthistorisches Staatsmuseum, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, Ms. 5248; *olim* Series nova 2660)
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454/A: No. 31

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454/A: No. 53

Wroclaw 3
Wroclaw. Former Stadtbibliothek, Ms Mus. 3
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Wroclaw 5
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THE MANUSCRIPT BARCELONA, BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA, M.454: STUDY AND EDITION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IBERIAN AND CONTINENTAL MANUSCRIPT TRADITIONS

by

EMILIO ROS-FÁBREGAS

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No. 123. Tiempo bueno, Mateo Flecha 468
No. 124. Encúbrase el mal que siento, Mateo Flecha 473
No. 125. Y la mi çinta dorada, [Mateo Flecha?] 476
No. 126. Ay dime señora di, Pedro de Pastrana 480

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A NOTE ON EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

This volume presents an edition of the *unica* in Barcelona M.454, as well as editions of a number of other works that are not easily accessible in modern publication. My aim has been to offer transcriptions that are useful to both performers and scholars.

The original values have been reduced by either 4:1 or 2:1, depending upon whether the original mensuration sign calls for *integer valor* or *tempus diminutum*. Changes of mensuration within a composition are accompanied by an indication of the temporal relationship between the two sections.[1] I have kept the voice nomenclatures as they appear in the manuscript: "Tanor," instead of the usual tenor, and "Tiple" to designate the superius of Spanish secular works; when the voice designation is lacking, I have included the standard name in brackets. All voices have been transcribed in treble, transposing treble, or bass clef. Ligatures are indicated by square brackets, and coloration by half brackets.

I have underlayed the text in accordance with the principles outlined in the musicological literature;[2] on rare occasions, however, I have placed more than one syllable under a ligature. Whenever possible, I have taken into account the disposition of the text in the manuscript, since in certain instances the scribe seems to have been quite specific with respect to the music-word relationship. Repeated passages of text

---

[1]For a discussion of the problems and literature related to matters of tempo and proportions, see Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Tempo and Proportions," *Performance Practice. Music before 1600*. The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music, eds. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (New York & London: W.W. Norton, 1989), 126-44.

[2]Edward Lowinsky, "A Treatise on Text Underlay by a German Disciple of Francisco de Salinas," *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961), 231-51, and his edition of *The Medici Codex of 1518*, Monuments of Renaissance Music, vols. 3-5 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968), 90-107; and Don Harrán, "New Light on the Question of Text Underlay Prior to Zarlino," *Acta Musicologica*, 44 (1973), 24-56. For other studies of text underlay see the works cited in chapter XIII of Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*.

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or additions of text from other voice parts or sources appear in italics. For the Spanish pieces I provide the text with the original spelling, though the text beneath the music uses modern accentuation and spelling.

Editorial accidentals have been added above the notes to which they apply, mainly to avoid tritones, augmented or diminished octaves, and to raise the leading tone at cadences.[3] Whenever a passage in the manuscript is illegible or missing, I have inserted a reading in brackets.

Each piece is followed by information about its appearance in Barcelona M.454, musical and/or literary concordances, variants, and comments of a somewhat general nature.

Finally, each piece in the edition retains the number assigned to it in the inventory of the manuscript.

---

[3]In addition to the vast musicological literature on *musica ficta* that serves most editors of music of this period, I have relied on the dissertation of David Stern, "The Use of Accidental Inflections and The Musical System in Josquin's Period, ca. 1480-1520," Ph.D. diss. City University of New York (1991).

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List of Pieces Alphabetically Arranged

[A la caça] [Luchas/Gabriel] (No. 84)
Aleluya, Anon. (No. 18)
Amor pues tú nos das plazer, Lope de Vaena [=Baena] (No. 64)
Aquel pastorçico madre, Grauiel [=Gabriel] (No. 46)
Ave Maria, Anon. (No. 49)
Ave sanctissima Maria, Anon. (No. 62)
Ave sanctissima Maria, Anon. (No. 94)
Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum, Alonso de Mondéjar/ [Díaz] (No. 28)
Ave sanctissimum [Alonso de Mondéjar/Díaz], after Coimbra 12 (No. 28 bis)
Ay dime señora di, Pedro de Pastrana (No. 126)
Beata nobis gaudia, Anon. (No. 4)
Benedicamus Domino, Anon. (No. 19)
Benedicamus Domino, Petrus de Monte (Pero Cubells) (No. 20)
Camino de Santiago, Alonso de Mondéjar (No. 106)
Canon [textless], Anon. (No. 102)
Canon [textless], Anon. (No. 103)
Canon [textless], Anon. (No. 104)
Dadnos señora aguinaldo, Anon. (No. 83)
Dixit Dominus, Anon. (No. 93)
Dixit Dominus, Anon. (No. 22)
Dixit Dominus, Anon. (No. 87)
Donec ponam, Anon. (No. 23)
Dy pastorçico pues vienes [Pere Joan] Aldomar (No. 44)
Encúbrase el mal que siento, Mateo Flecha (No. 124)
Escomience a[h]ora Juanillo, Anon. (No. 109)
Exultet celum laudibus, Anon. (No. 77)
[Falsobordone], Anon. (No. 99)
[Falsobordone] primus tonus, Anon. (No. 66)
[Falsobordone] primus tonus, Anon. (No. 67)
[Falsobordone] secundus tonus, Anon. (No. 68)
[Falsobordone] tercius tonus, Anon. (No. 69)
[Falsobordone] quartus tonus, Anon. (No. 70)
[Falsobordone] V^us^ tonus, Anon. (No. 71)
[Falsobordone] sestus tonus, Anon. (No. 72)
[Falsobordone] septimus tonus, Anon. (No. 73)
[Falsobordone] hoctavus tonus, Anon. (No. 74.)
Gentil caballero, Anon. (No. 115)
Gloria... pues nació [Mateo Flecha?] (No. 6)
Los braços trayo, Francisco de Peñalosa (No. 65)
Los que a nuestro rabadán, Anon. (No. 110)
Llenos de lágrimas tristes, Pedro de Pastrana (No. 120)
Magnificat primi toni, Anon. (No. 30)
Magnificat primi toni, Frai benito/de riaça (No. 29)
Magnificat de primo tono, Pero Cubells (No. 21)
Magnificat sexti toni, Quexada (No. 81)
Magnificat sexti toni, Anon. (No. 122)
Magnificat octavi toni, Anon. (No. 38)
Magnificat octavi toni, Anon. (No. 85)
Magnificat octavi toni, Fray Benios [=Benito] (No. 33)
Magnificat octavi toni, Alonso de Mondéjar (No. 47)

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Mater patris nacti nacta, Anon. (No. 59)
Mi dolor esta encubierto, Anon. (No 116)
Missa [Fray Benito] (No. 7)
Missa de nostra dona [Juan de Anchieta] (No. 9)
Missa mente tota, Anthonius Fevin (No. 1)
Ne recorderis [Francisco de la Torre] (No. 17)
O admirabile comercium, Ylario (No. 34)
O beate Sebastiane, Jo. Mouton/[Jo. Martini] (No. 2)
O beate Sebastiane, Gaspar [van Weerbecke] (No. 3)
O pulcherrima mulierum, Jo. Mouton/[Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin/] (No. 13)
O triste de mí,Flecha (No. 118)
Paxarico que vas a la fuente, Anon. (No 100)
Pelayo ten buen esfuerço [Juan del Encina] (No 98)
Perdí mis amores, Anon. (No 117)
Pues vivo en perder la vida, [Francisco de Peñalosa] (No 45)
Pues no me queréis [h]ablar, Anon. (No. 114)
Pues tan huerte nos festeja, Anon. (No 111)
Quam pulchra es, Martín Ribaflecha (No 91)
Regina celi, Anon. (No 121)
Sacris solemnis, Anon. (No. 79)
Sacris solemnis, Anon. (No. 80)
[St. John Passion], Anon. (No 90)
Salve Regina, Anon. (No 37)
Si [la noche es temerosa] Anon. (No 78)
Si n[o] os [h]ubiera mirado, Morales (No 119)
Si sentís lo que yo siento, Mateo Flecha (No 113)
[Textless] Anon. (No. 39)
[Textless] Anon. (No. 95)
[Textless] "Duo," Anon. (No 105)
[Textless] Anon. (No. 107)
[Textless] Anon. (No. 112)
[Textless] Alonso de Mondéjar (No. 48)
Tiempo bueno, Mateo Flecha (No 123)
Veni creator Spiritus, Anon. (No. 41)
Veni creator Spiritus, Anon. (No. 42)
Verbum patris hodie, Anon. (No 86)
Virgen Reina gloriosa, Lope de Vaena [=Baena] (No 43)
Viva tal pastor, Anon. (No 108)
Ut queant laxis, Anon (No. 5)
Y la mi çinta dorada, [Mateo Flecha?] (No 125)

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Composers Represented

Aldomar, Pere Joan (No. 44)
Anchieta, Juan de (No. 9)
Baena, Lope de (Nos. 43, 64)
Benito, Fray (Nos. 7, 29, 33)
Cubells/Petrus de Monte (Nos. 20, 21)
Encina, Juan del (No. 98)
Févin, Antoine de (No. 1)
Flecha, Mateo (Nos. 6, 113, 118, 123, 124)
Gabriel (No. 46)
[Gabriel/Luchas] (No. 84)
Mondéjar, Alonso de (Nos. 28. 47, 48, 106)
Morales (No. 119)
Mouton, Jo./[Jo. Martini] (Nos. 2)
Mouton, Jo/[Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin] (No. 13)
Pastrana, Pedro de (Nos. 120, 126)
Peñalosa, Francisco de (No. 45)
Quexada (No. 81)
Ribaflecha, Martín de (No. 91)
Torre, Francisco de la (No. 17)
Weerbecke, Gaspar van (No. 3)
Ylario (No. 34)

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No. 1. Missa mente tota

fols. iv'-xii

Kyrie

Anthonius Fevin

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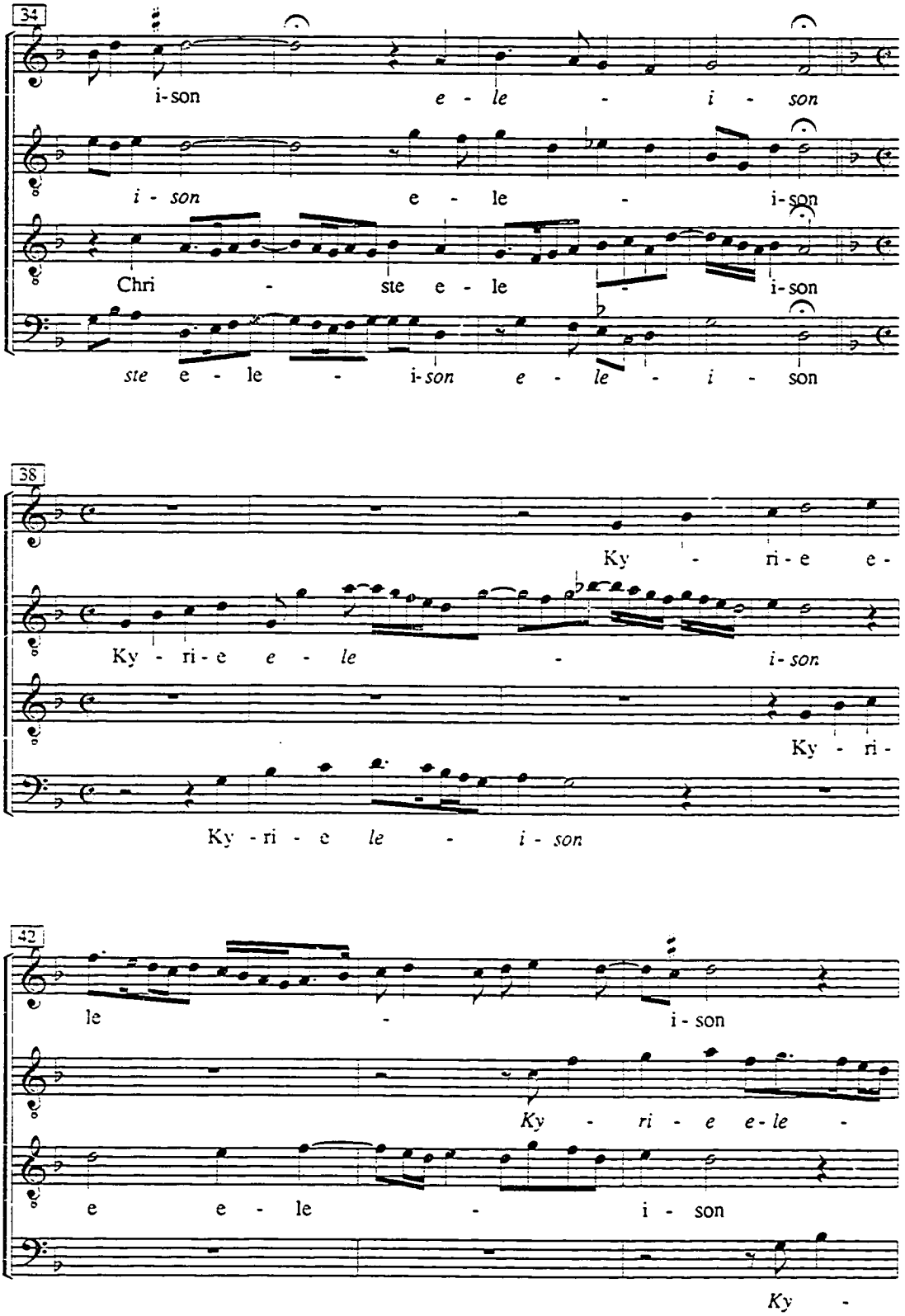

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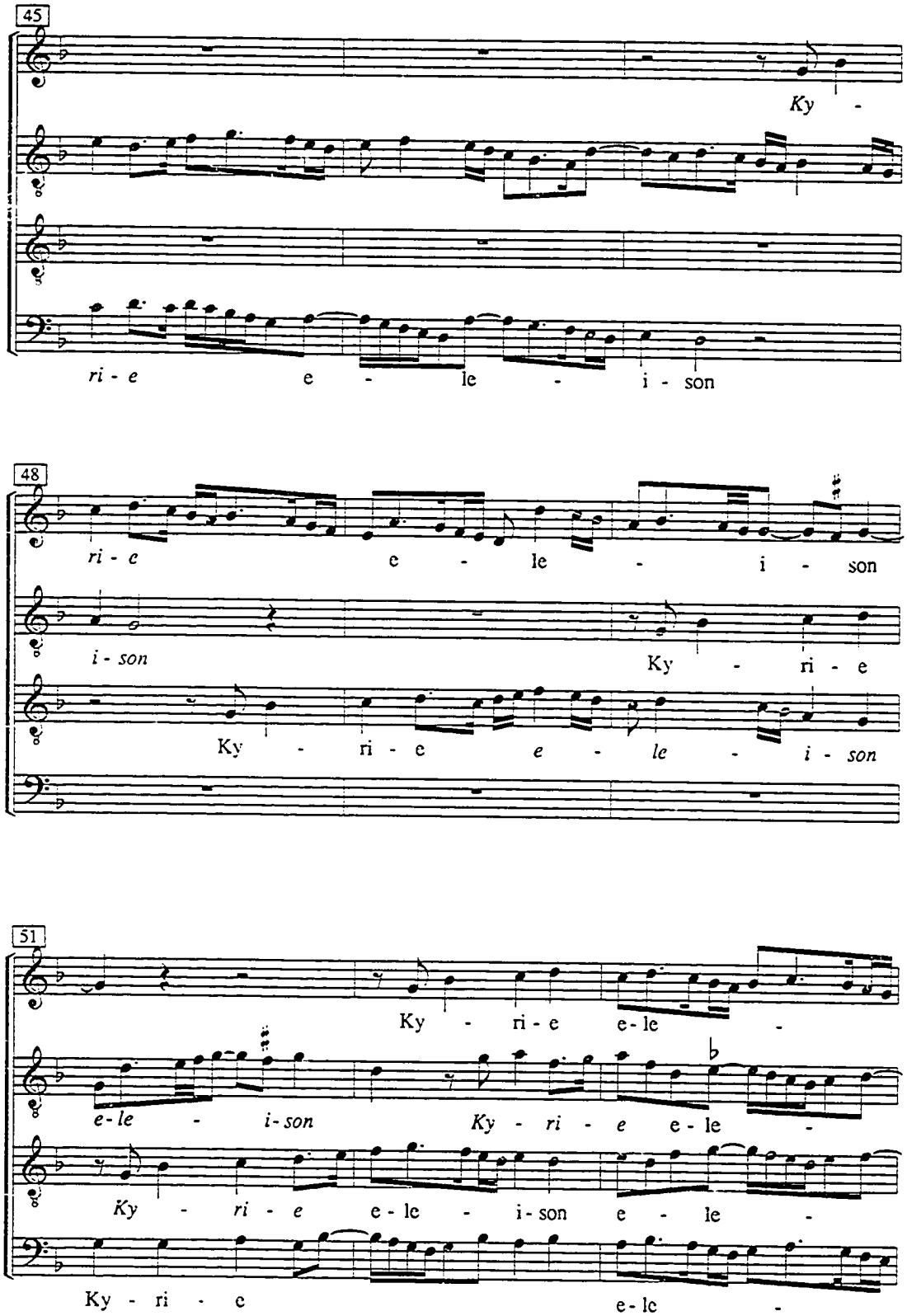

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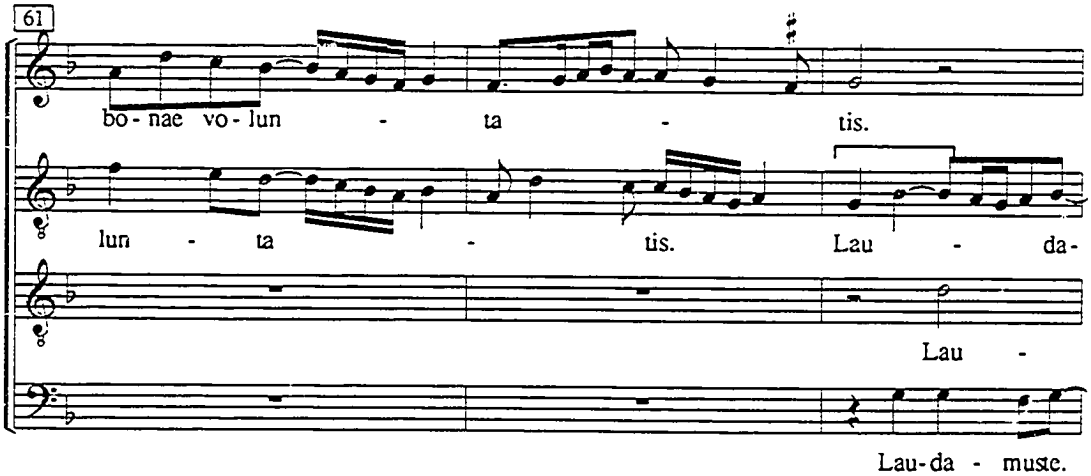
Gloria



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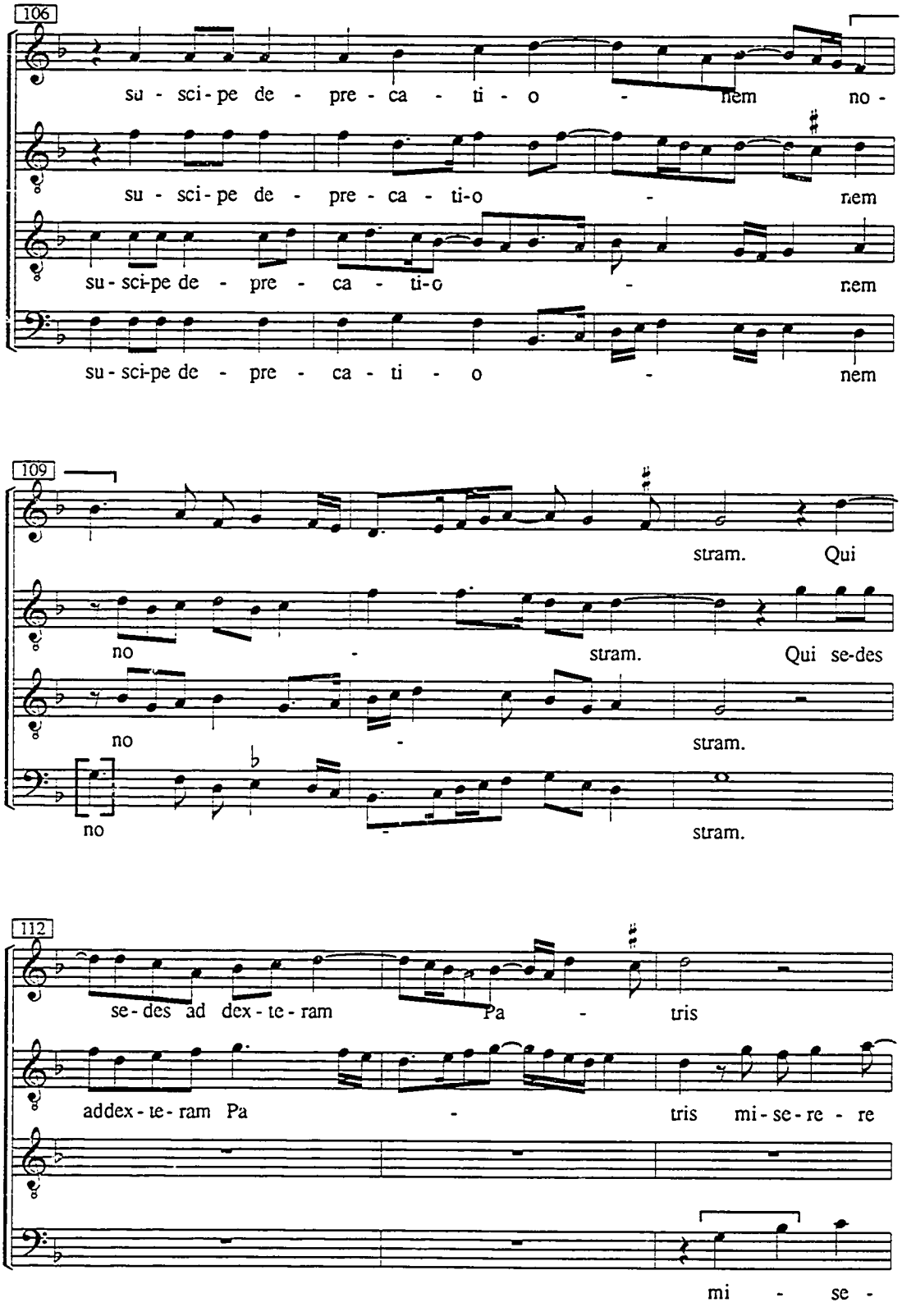

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Credo

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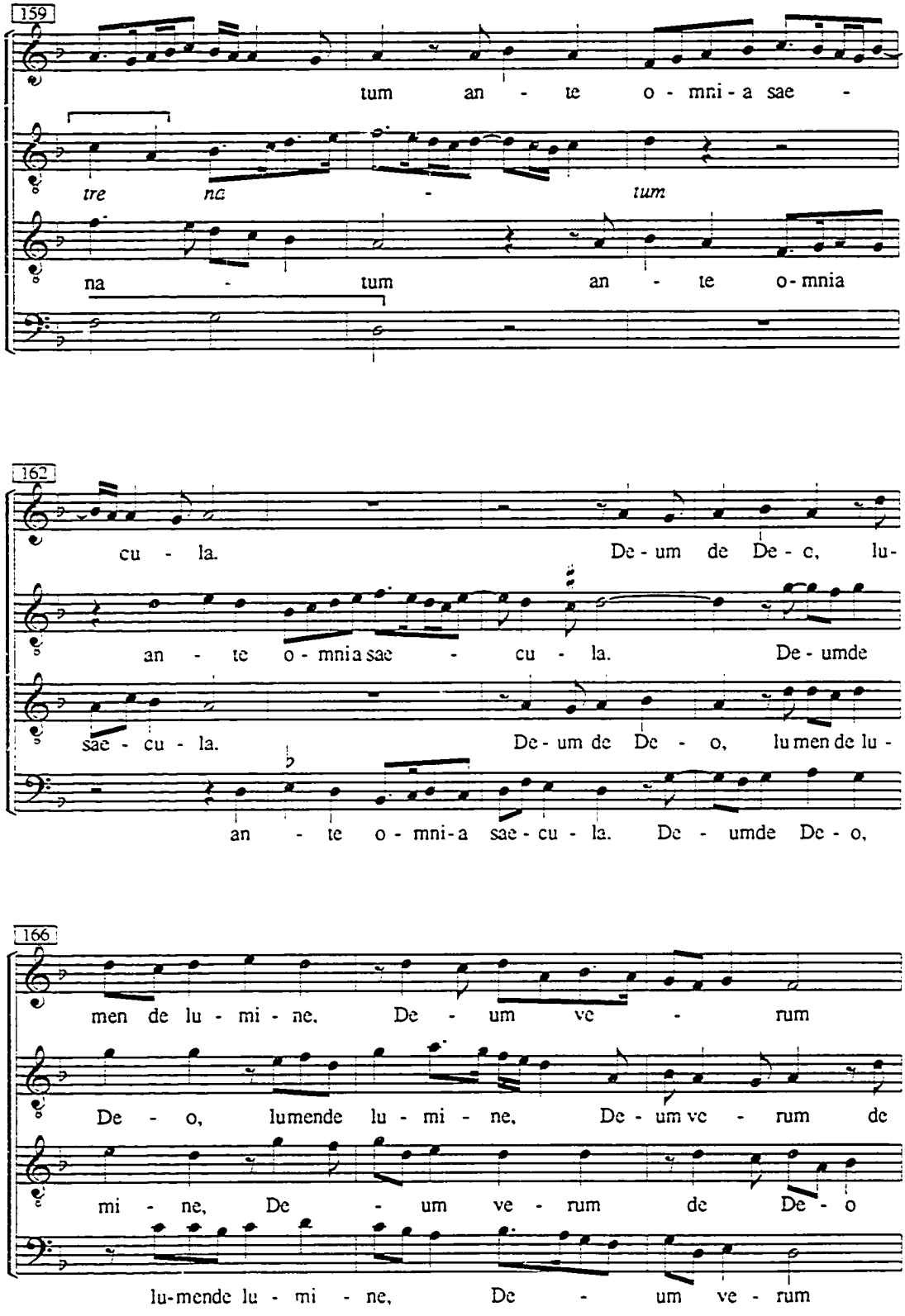

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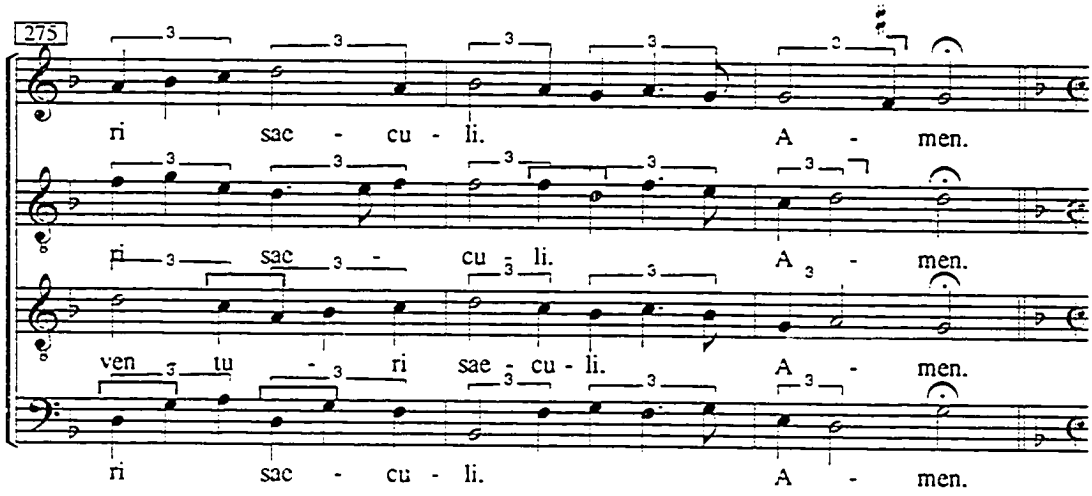

Sanctus

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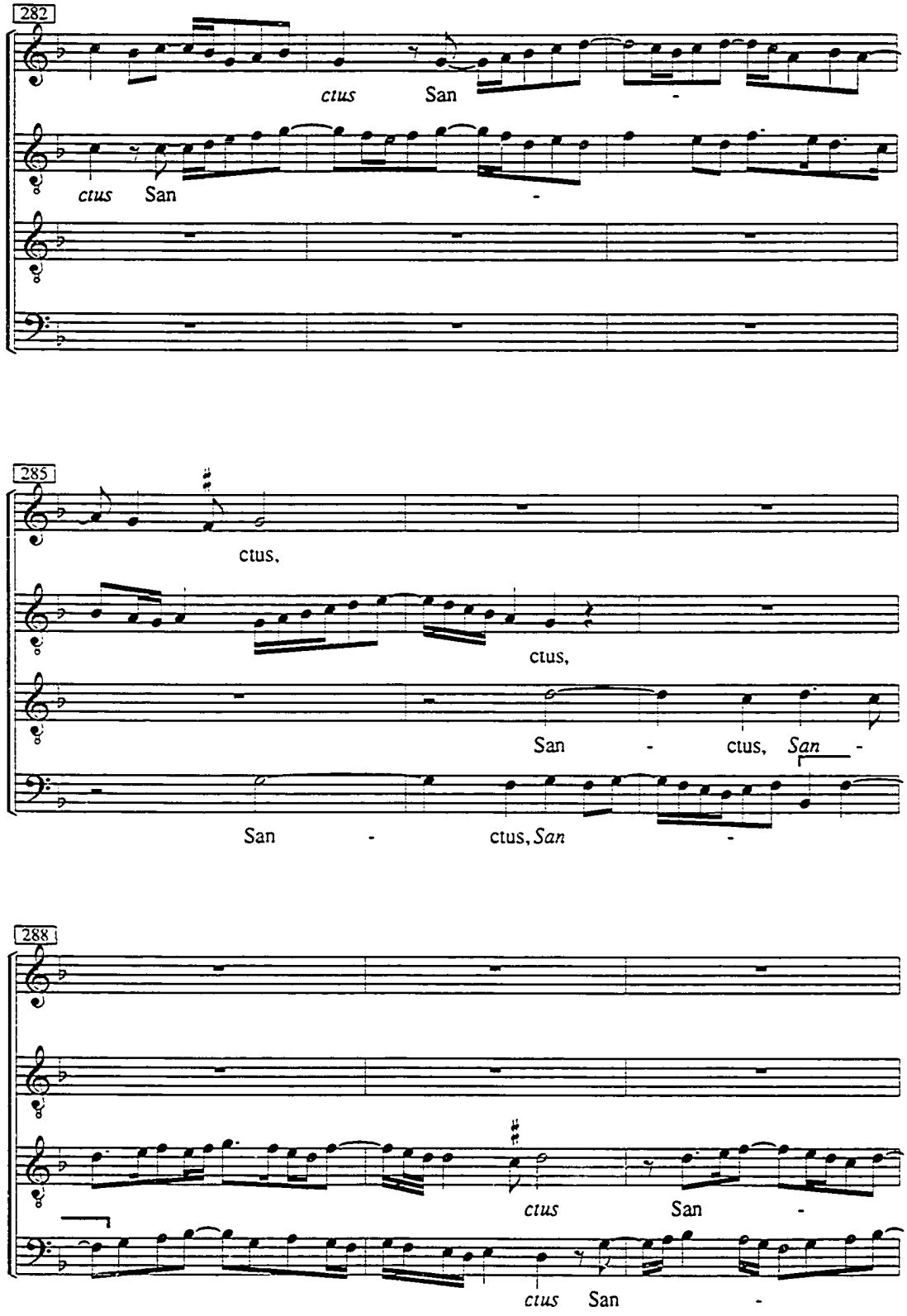

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Agnus Dei

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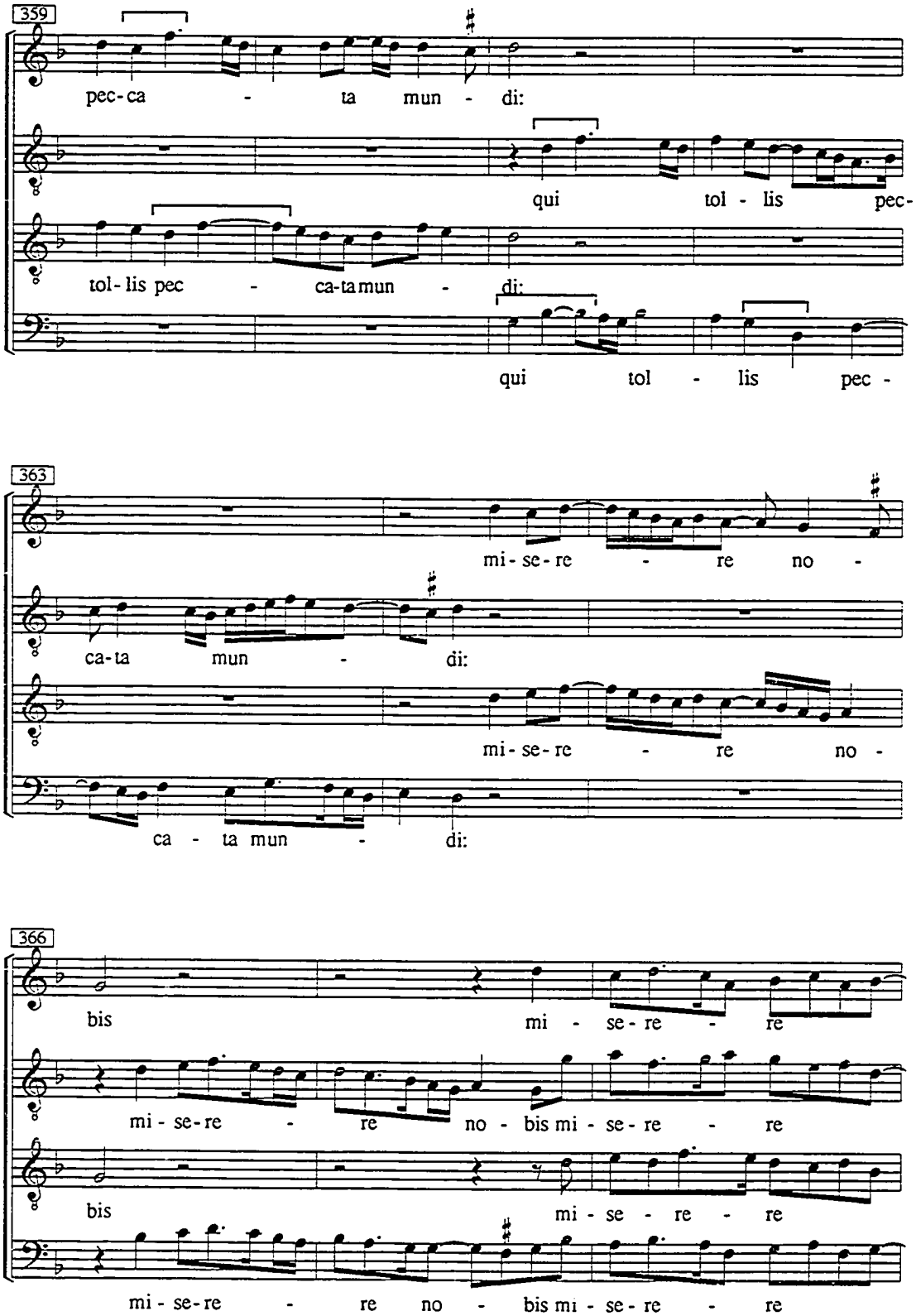

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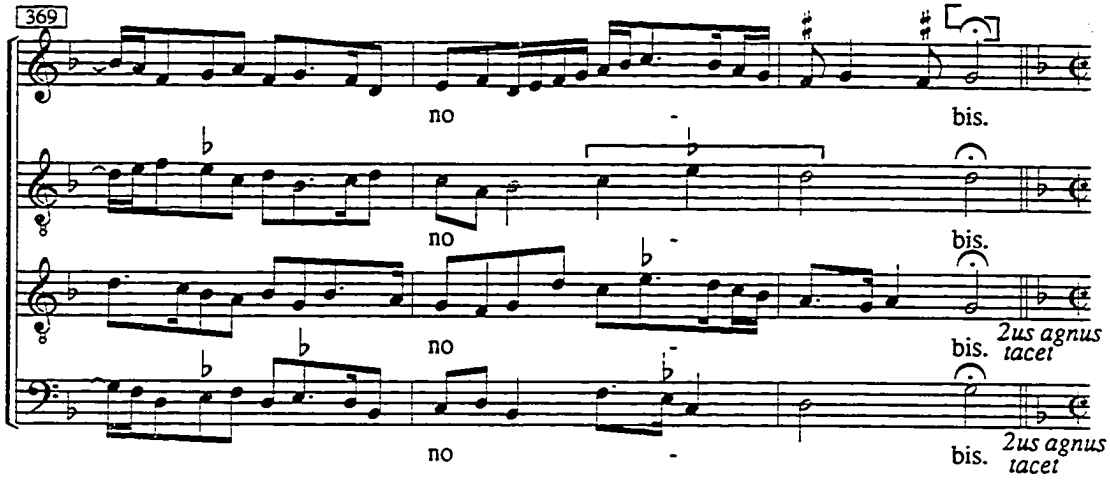

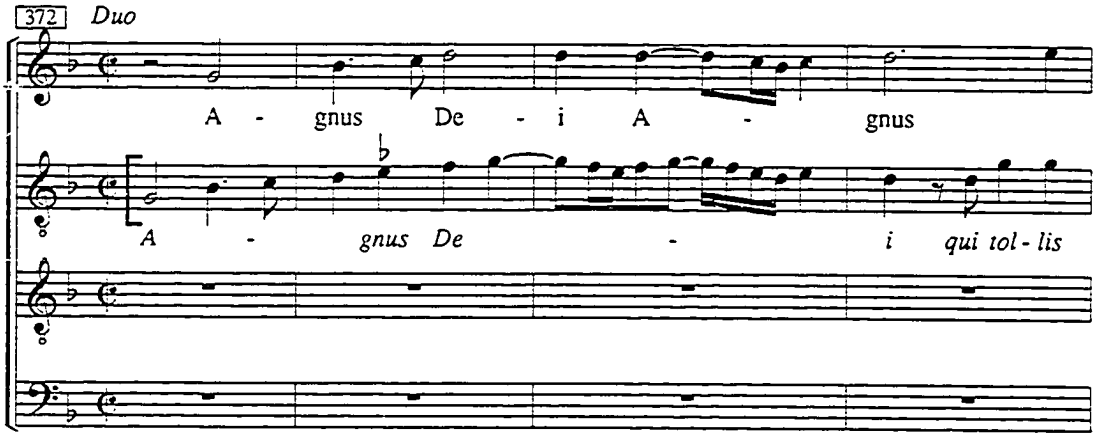

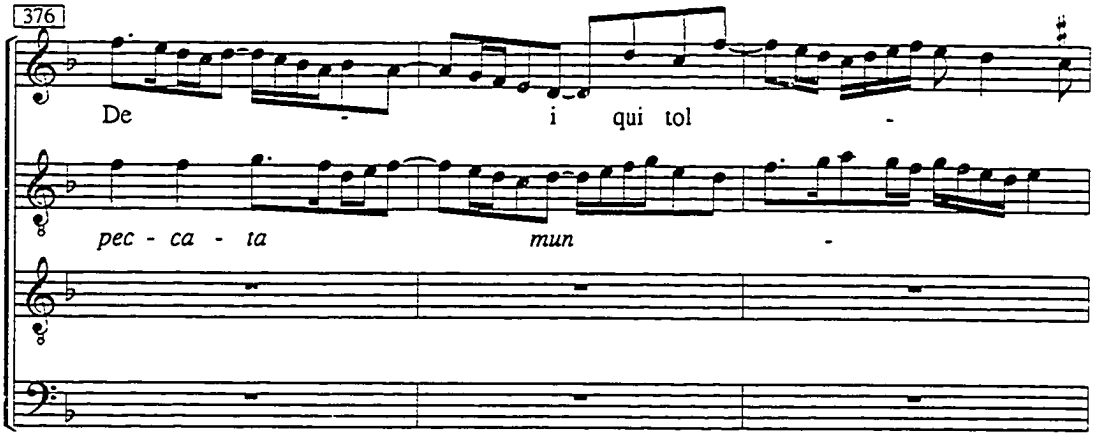

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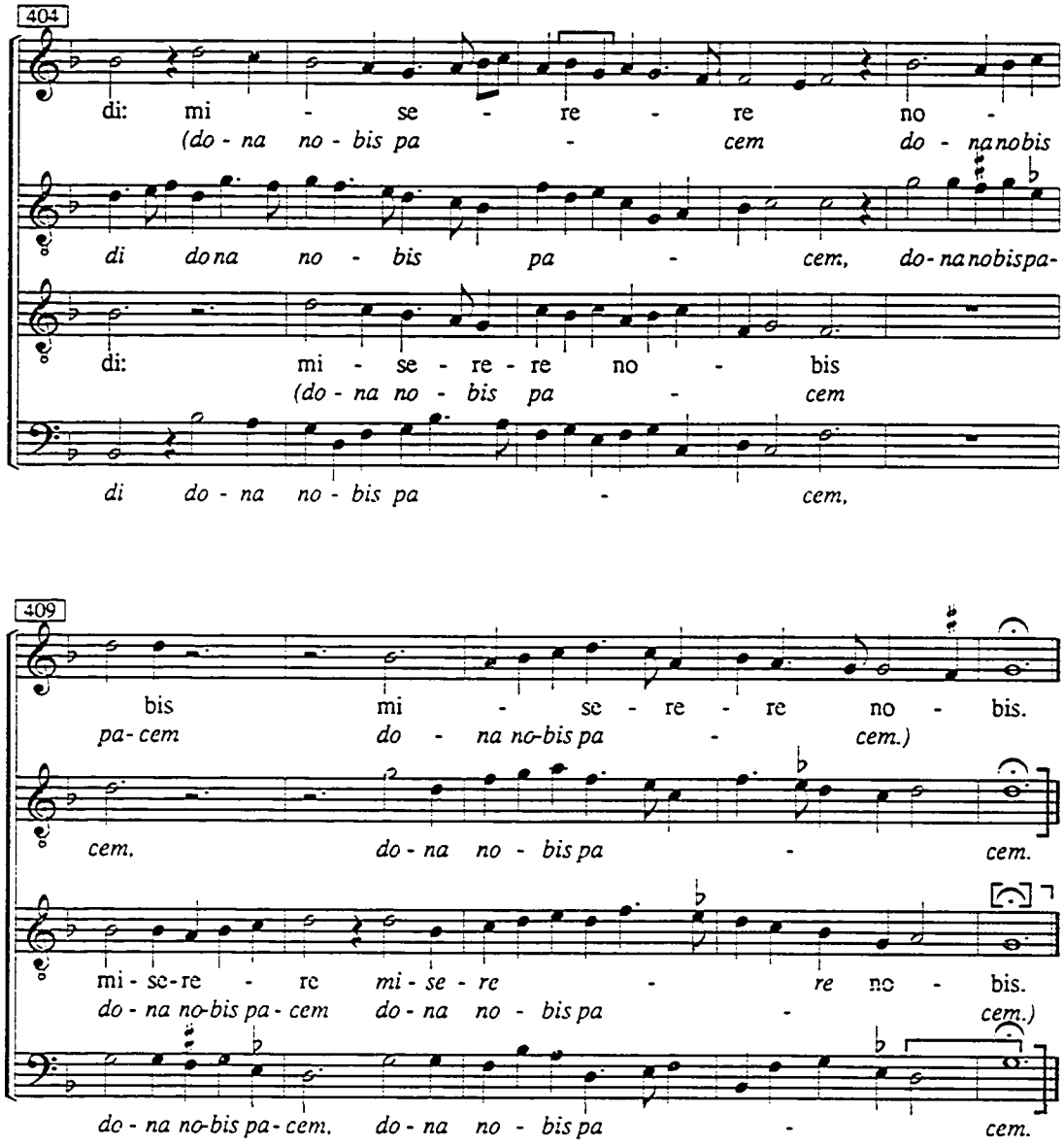

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No. 1. Missa mente tota

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/C, fol.iv^{v}-xii^{v}, Anthonius Fevin
Jena 3, fols. 43^{v}-58^{r}, Anthonius de feuin
Munich 260, Nos. 57-58, Anon. (*Benedictus* and *Pleni sunt caeli* only)
Vatican CG XII, 2, fols. clxxv^{v}-clxxxxi^{r}, feuin
Vatican 16, fols. xlvii^{v}-lx^{r}, Ant. de feuin
Vienna 15495, fols. 19^{v}-33^{r}, Anthonius de fevin
Vienna 18832, No. 18, Anon. (*Benedictus*); and No 20, (*Pleni sunt caeli*)

Prints:

Antico 1516[1], xlvi^{v}-liiiii^{r}, Feuim
Petrucci 1515[1], No.2, Fevin
Rhaw 1545[7], No. lvi, *Pleni sunt caeli* (*Beatus homo*)

Editions:

Clinkscale, "The Works of Antoine de Févin," II, 122-56.
Expert, *Les Maîtres Musiciens*, IX, 62-123.

Notes to the edition:

I have collated the sources that transmit the work in its entirety only: Jena 3 (Jen), Vatican CG XII,2 (Vat 12), Vatican 16 (Vat16), Vienna 15495 (Vie), Antico 1516[1](Ant), and Petrucci 1515[1] (Pet); when no particular source is cited the variant reading is shared by all six sources. Variants in ligatures, colloration, and rhythm are not listed.

Kyrie

1) **A**, m.7[2]: a SM, g SM in Vat 12
2) **S**, m.9[4-5]: a' dotted M, g' SM, g' SM, f' SM, a' M in Vat 12 (last note is an error)
3) **A**, m.13[8]: e' dotted M, d' SM in Vat, Vie, Pet, and Ant.
4) **S**, m.15[1]: e" M, d" SM, e" SM in Vat 12
5) **T**, m.15[6]: e' SM, d' SM in Vat 12
6) **T**, m.16[1-2]: d' dotted SB in Vat 12
7) **A**, m.17[6-8]: f' dotted M, g' SM, a' SM, f' SM
8) **B**, m.17[7]: e SM
9) **A**, m.19[2-5]: lacking in Vat 12
10) **T**, m.22[4-7]: a dotted M, b SM in Vat 12
11) **T**, m.23[4-5]: e' SM, d' SM, e' SM, f' SM in Vat 12
12) **B**, m.23[4-6]: b dotted M, a Fs, g Fs in Jen, Vat 16, Vie, Ant, and Pet.
13) **T**, m.23[8]-24[2]: e' SB, d' SB
14) **A**, m.26[8]-27[3]: a' SB, g' SM, f' SM in Vat 12
15) **A**, m.29[8]: flat in Ant
16) **B**, m.31[5-7]: g dotted M, f SM, e M in Vat 16, Vie, and Pet
17) **S**, m.34[1]: a' M (error) in 454/C and Ant; b' M in all the other sources (see Ex. 1 in Appendix III, p. 398)

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18) **S**, m.36[1-2]: b' dotted M, a' SM, b' SM, a' SM, g' SM, f' SM in Vat 12
19) **B**, m.36[4]: flat in Vat 12, Vien, and Pet
20) **S**, m.37[1]: g' blackened dotted Br, f' SM, e' SM in Vat 12
21) **S**, m.40[4]: flat only on 454/C
22) **S**, m.43[5-6]: e" dotted M, d" SM, d" M
23) **T**, m.43[8]: e' SM, d' SM in Vat 12
24) **A**, m.47[7]: in 454/C a hand different from Scribe C wrongly added a stem to b' SB
25) **S**, m.50[3-4]: a' SM in Pet and Vie
26) **A**, m.53[4]: flat in Ant

Gloria

27) **S**, m.62[5]: a' dotted M, g' SM in Ant and Pet
28) **A**, m.66[2]: e' SM, d' SM in Vat 12
29) **A**, m.69[5]-70[1]: f' SB, f' M, b M, c' M, f' SB in Jen, Vat 12, Vat 16, Ant, and Pet (see Ex. 2 in Appendix III, p. 399)
30) **T**, m.73[3]: e' dotted M, d' SM
31) **S**, m.76[1-2]: d" M in Vie and Pet
32) **S**, m.86[1-2]: d" dotted M, c" SM, d" SM, c" SM, b' SM, a' SM in Vat 12
33) **A**, m.86[4]: e' dotted M, d' SM
34) **A**, m.88[5]: e' dotted M, d' SM
35) **A**, m.90[2]: e' dotted M, d' SM
36) **B**, m.92[1]: 454/C has d M; changed to e M according to all other sources
37) **S**, m.92[1-3]: g' dotted M, f' Fs, e' Fs
38) **S**, m.92[6]: a' dotted M, g' SM
39) **B**, m.93[1]: g instead of G
40) **A**, m.93[2]: d' L
41) **T**, m.95[1-3]: d' dotted M, c' Fs, d' Fs in Vat 12; the last two notes in the other sources are e' Fs, d' Fs
42) **T**, m.97[4-6]: g' dotted M, f' SM, f' SB, e' M
43) **A**, m.103[4-5]: b' dotted M, a' SM, a' SB
44) **T**, m.104[5]-105[3]: d' dotted M, c' SM, b SM, a SM in Vat 12
45) **S**, m.104[9]-105[1]: b' dotted M, a' SM
46) **S**, m.109[2]: a' SM, g' SM in Vat 12
47) **T**, m.109[2]: 454/C reads a M (error)
48) **S**, m.110[5]: a' dotted M, g' SM
49) **S**, m. 125[7]-126[1]: e" dotted M, d" SM
50) **T**, m.127[4]: e' dotted M, d' SM
51) **B**, m.127[4-6]: g dotted M, f Sm, e SM, d SM
52) **S**, m.130[4]: g' SM in all sources except 454/C, Vat 12, and Ant
53) **A**, m.130[5-7]: g' dotted M, g' Fs, f' Fs
54) **S**, m.133[4]: f' SM in Ant

Credo

55) **A**, m.137[3-4]: g' M, f' M in all sources except 454/C and Ant
56) **A**, m.141[4]: c' SB in Vat 12
57) **S**, m.143[1-2]: b' dotted M, c" SM in Vat 12

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58) **S**, m.144^{7}-145^{1}: a' dotted M, g' SM in Ant and Vat
59) **T**, m.148^{7}-149^{3}: f' M, e' SM, d' SM in all but Vat 12 which reads f' M, e' M
60) **T**, m.152$^{7-9}$: g' dotted M, f Fs, e Fs
61) **T**, m.155$^{1-2}$: g Br
62) **A**, m.163^{9}-164^{1}: e' dotted M, d' SM
63) **S**, m.169^{5}: a' dotted M, g' SM
64) **A**, m.169$^{3-6}$: f' dotted M, e' SM, c M
65) **S**, m.171$^{3-4}$: c" dotted M, b' Fs, a' Fs in Vat 12
66) **S**, m.174$^{1-2}$: f" dotted M, e" Fs, f" Fs, e" SM, d" SM in Pet and Ant; Vat 12 reads the same but e" M instead of the last two SM
67) **S**, 183^{6}-184^{1}: a' dotted M, g' SM
68) **A**, 183^{7}-184^{4}: f M, a dotted M, b SM, c' M, d' SB, d' SB in all sources except Ant where the last two notes become d' Br
69) **T**, 197$^{2-3}$: d' SB
70) **A**, 199^{1}: Pet and Ant add flat to e' dotted SB
71) **S**, 200^{5}: a' SM in all sources except Vat 12 which also has g' SM as in 454/C
72) **S**, m.203^{1}: a' dotted M, g' SM, a' SM in Vat 12
73) **A**, 205$^{2-4}$: g' dotted M, f' SM, e' SM, d' SM in Vat 12
74) **A**, 207^{7}: d SB
75) **A**, m.209^{2}: c' SM, b SM in Vat 12
76) **A**, m.212$^{1-3}$: f' dotted M, e' Fs, d' Fs
77) **B**, m.215$^{1-2}$: d M, e M in Vat 12
78) **B**, m.215$^{6-7}$: g SM, f SM, e SM, d SM in Vat 12
79) **S**, m.215^{8}-216^{1}: a' dotted M, g' SM
80) **B**, m.220$^{7-8}$: a M in Vat 12
81) **B**, m.231^{1}: only 454/C adds the flat to e Br
82) **S**, m.231^{6}: an accidental sharp was added to f' in Pet and Vie
83) **S**, 238^{4}: b' dotted M, a' SM
84) **T**, m.239$^{1-2}$: a Br
85) **S**, m.240^{8}-241^{1}: b' dotted M, a' SM
86) **T**, m.240^{5}-242^{1}: g M, a dotted M, b SM, c' SM, a SM, b dotted M, a SM, a SB, g M, a SB, rest SB (see Ex. 3 in Appendix III, p. 400).
87) **A**, m.242^{5}: e' dotted M, d' SM
88) **A**, m.245^{9}: e' dotted M, d' SM
89) **A**, m.247^{4}: a' dotted M, g' SM
90) **A**, m.248$^{3-7}$: f' dotted M, e' Fs, d' Fs, c' SM, d' SM, e' dotted M, d' SM
91) **S**, m.251^{6}-252^{1}: e' dotted M, d' SM
92) **A**, m.254^{3}: 454/C reads a' dotted SB (error); changed to g' according to all other sources.
93) **T**, m.254^{6}: b M
94) **T**, m.254^{3}: Pet adds an accidental flat to the e'
95) **A**, m.255^{3}: Pet adds flat to e' SM (flat also added to the e in the bass)
96) **S**, m.255^{5}: f' SM, e' SM in Vat 12
97) **A**, m.261^{4}: b' dotted M, a' SM
98) **S**, 262^{8}-261^{1}: b' dotted M, a' SM
99) **S**, 270^{8}: g' dotted M, f' SM

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100) **A**, m.270^{5}: flat added to e' M in Pet (flat also added to the e in the bass)

Sanctus

101) **S**, m.280$^{3-5}$: d" dotted M, c" SM, b' SM, a' SM in Vat 12
102) **S**, m.282$^{3-5}$: c" dotted M, b' SM, a' SM, g' SM in Vat 12
103) **S**, m.284^{9}-285^{1}: a' dotted M, g' SM
104) **T**, m.289$^{1-3}$: e' M in Vat 12
105) **S**, m.300$^{2-3}$: e' SM, d' SM, e' SM, f' SM in Vat 12
106) **A**, m.322^{4}: b' dotted M, a' SM
107) **A**, m.323^{2}: g' SM (error) in Vat 12
108) **A**, m.326^{4}: a' dotted M, g SM in Ant
109) **A**, 327^{2}: e' dotted M, d' SM
110) **S**, m.327^{6}-328^{1}: a' dotted M, g' SM
111) **A**, m.328^{7}-329^{3}: 454/C reads d' SB, c' M, d' M; it has been changed according to all the other sources to avoid parallel fifths with the superius.
112) **A**, m.331^{7}: flat added to e' dotted M in Ant
113) **B**, m.331^{1}: G L in Ant.
114) **A**, m.346$^{8-10}$: f' dotted M, e' SM

Agnus Dei

115) 454/C lacks the altus of Agnus Dei II and the altus and bassus of Agnus Dei III owing to the loss of fols. xiii-xiv. The missing music, in brackets in this edition, has been transcribed from Pet.
116) **T**, m.353^{2}: SB rest
117) **B**, 353^{4}-354^{4}: b SB, a M.
118) **S**, m.355$^{3-6}$: b' SB, a' M
119) **S**, m.356^{4}: g' SM in all sources except Ant which has f SM as in 454/C
120) **B**, m.368$^{2-4}$: b dotted M, a SM, g SM, f SM in Vat 12
121) **A**, m.370^{5}: flat added to e' SB in Vie and Pet
122) **S**, m.382^{8}-383^{1}: c" dotted M, b' SM
123) **S**, 389$^{5-7}$: b' M, a' M in Vat 12
124) **A**, m.411$^{3-5}$: a' dotted SB, g' M, f' SB in Vat 12.

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No. 2. O beate Sebastiane

fols. xv-xvi

Jo. Mouton/[Jo. Martini]

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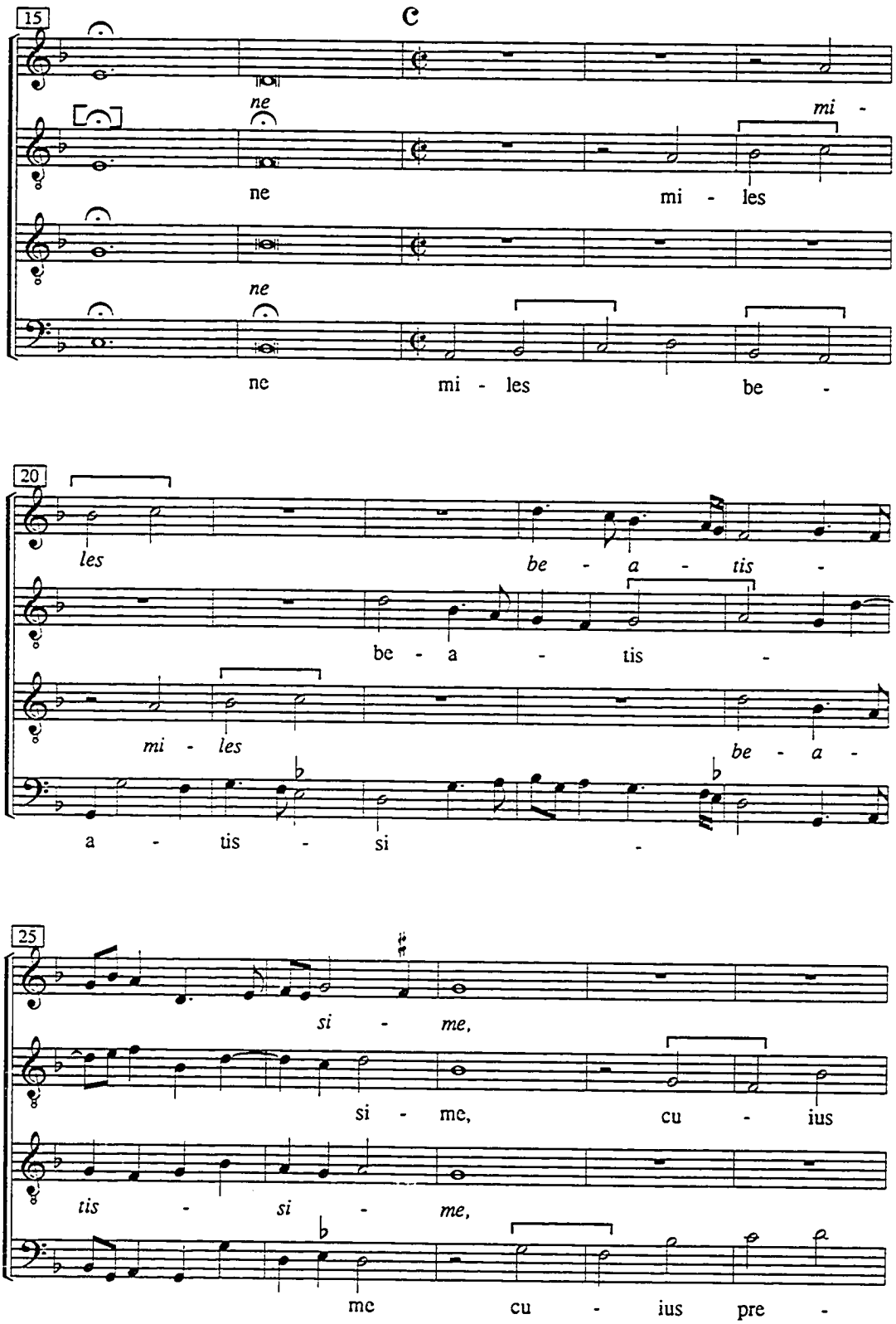

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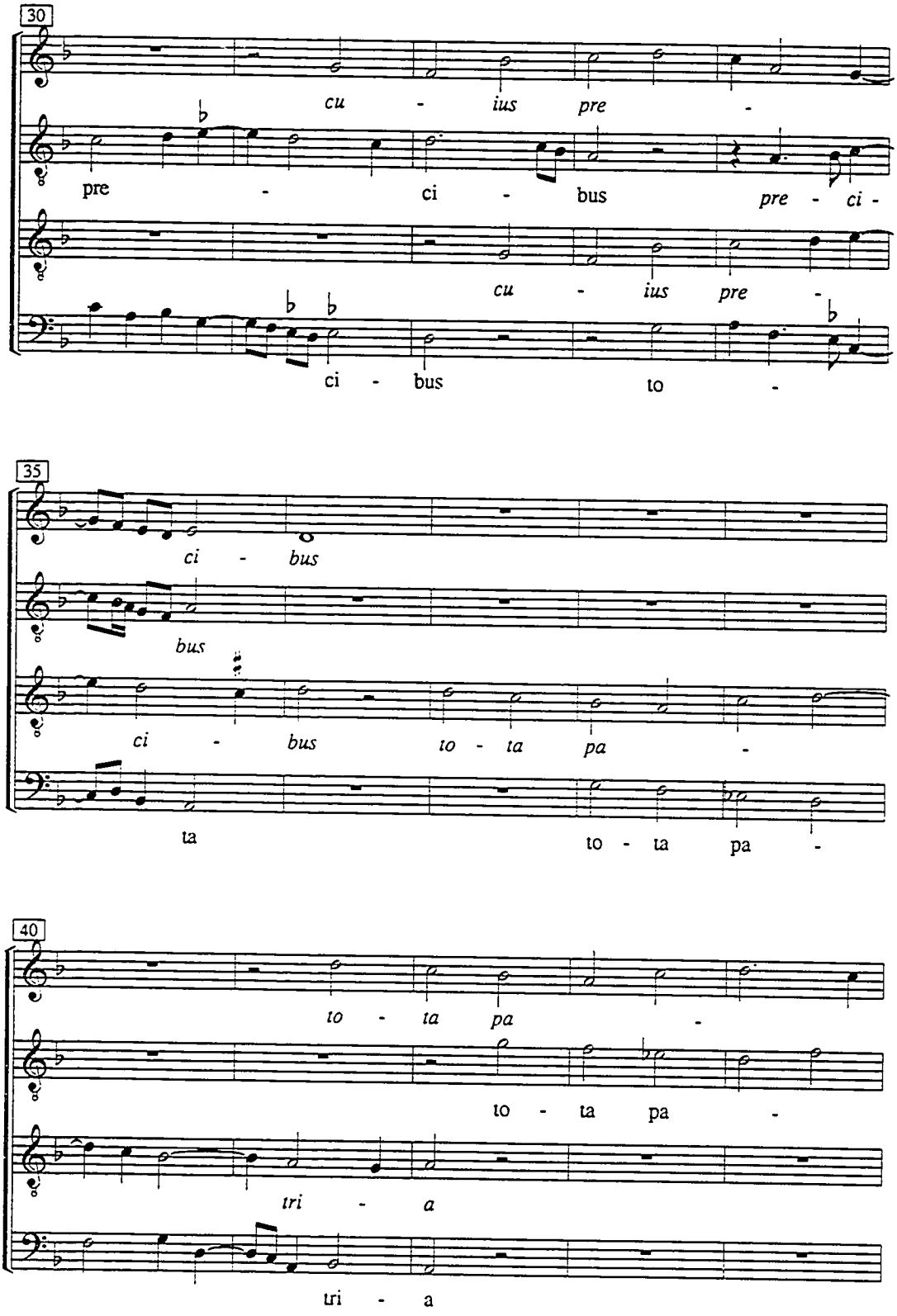

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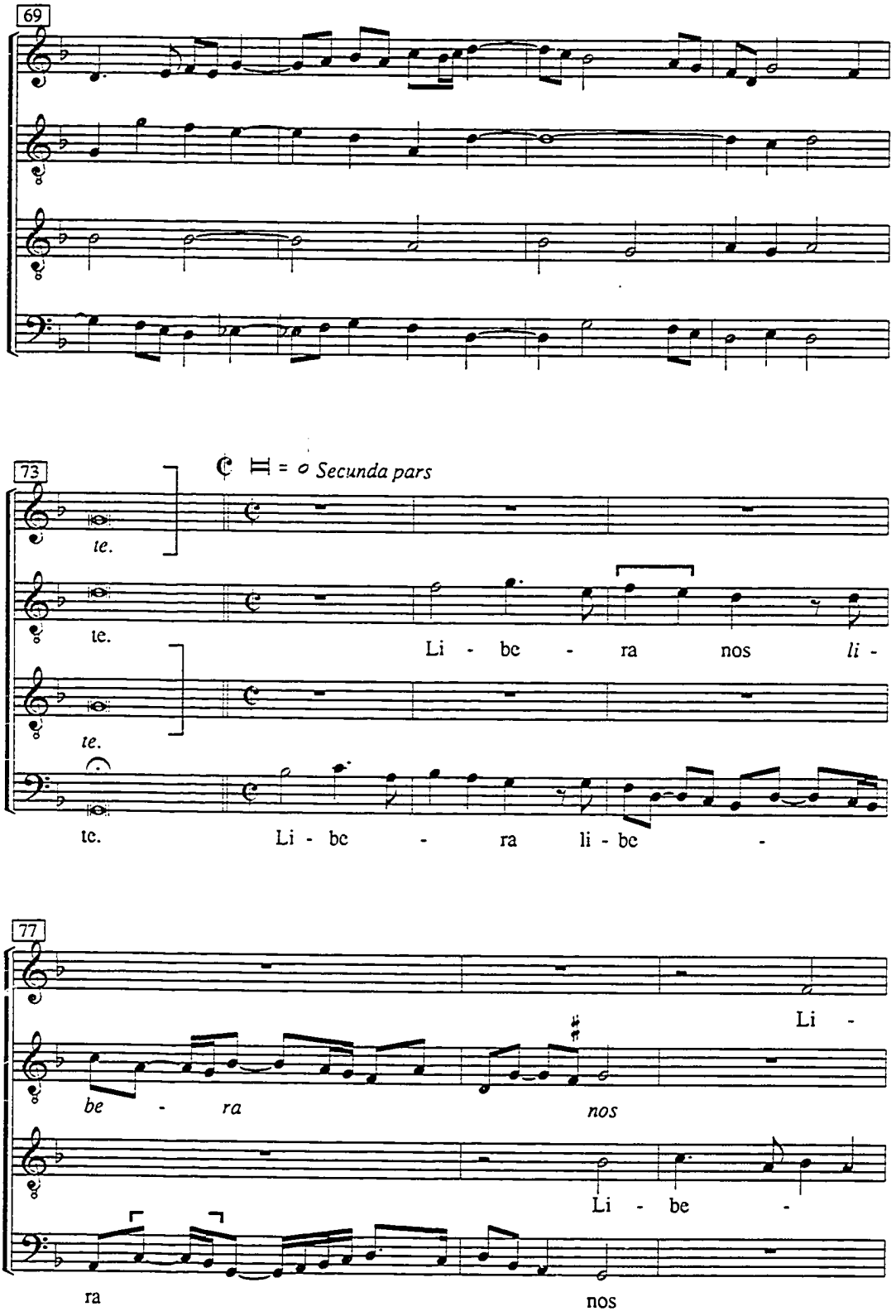

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No. 2. O beate Sebastiane

Sources:

Manuscript:

454/C, fols. [xiv^{v}]-xvi^{r}, Jo. Mouton/[Jo.Martini]

Print:

Petrucci 1505^{2}, No. 32, Jo. Martini

Edition:

Brawley, "The Magnificats, Hymns, Motets," II, 133-39 (after Petrucci 1505^{2})

Notes to the edition:

For a discussion of the conflicting attribution, see Chapter V. I believe that Scribe C used Petrucci 1505^{2} as his model, and that confusion at the time of copying the ascription "Jo. Martini" from the table of contents of Petrucci 1505^{2} may have caused the attribution of No. 2 to "Jo. Moton" in 454/C.

1) 454/C lacks superius and tenor of the *prima pars* owing to the loss of fol. xiv. The missing music (in brackets) has been transcribed from a microfim copy of Petrucci 1505^{2} at Princeton University. This microfilm, however, lacks the tenor partbook, and I would like to acknowledge Prof. Elena Ferrari Barassi who very kindly sent me copies of the tenor parts of Nos. 2 and 3 from the exemplar of this Petrucci print at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio in Milan.
2) **A**, mm.15^{1}-16^{1}: Petrucci has a fermata on m. 15 not on m. 16.
3) **B**, m.16^{1}: Petrucci has no fermata on m. 16.
4) **A**, m.63^{1}: e' flat in Petrucci
5) **B**, m.89^{3}: e flat in Petrucci
6) **B**, m.105^{2}: e flat in Petrucci

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No. 3. O Beate Sebastiane

fol. xvi'-xvii

Gaspar [van Weerbecke]

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No. 3. O beate Sebastiane

Sources:

Manuscript:

454/C, fols. xvi^{v}-xviii^{r}, Gaspar [van Weerbecke]

Print:

Petrucci 1505^{2}, No.33, Gaspar

Notes to the edition:

1) **S**, m.23^{8}-24^{1}: f' M missing in 454/C, and e' M should be SB (error)

2) **B**, m.30^{5}: e flat in Petrucci 1505^{2}

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No. 4. Beata nobis gaudia

fol. xviii'

Anonymous

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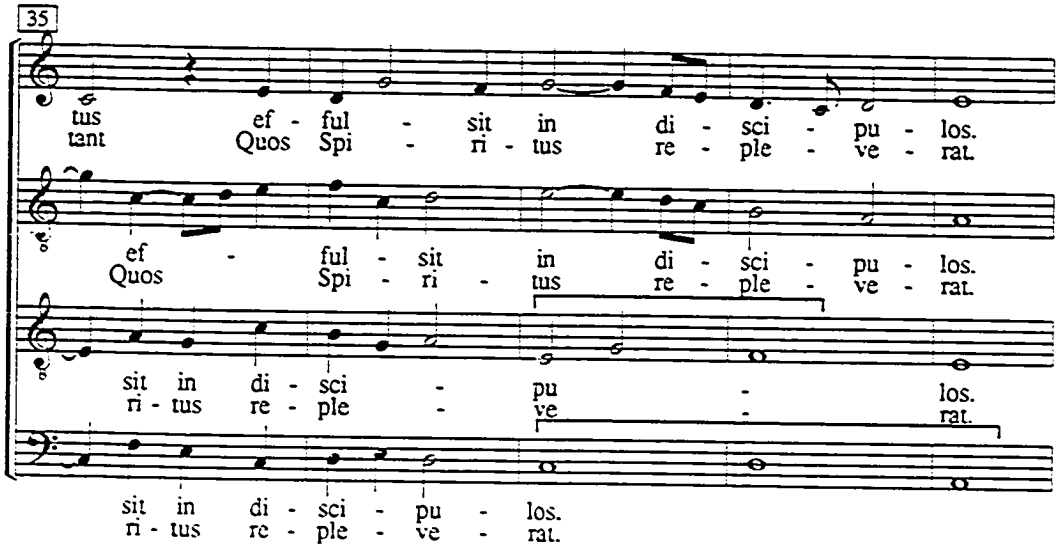

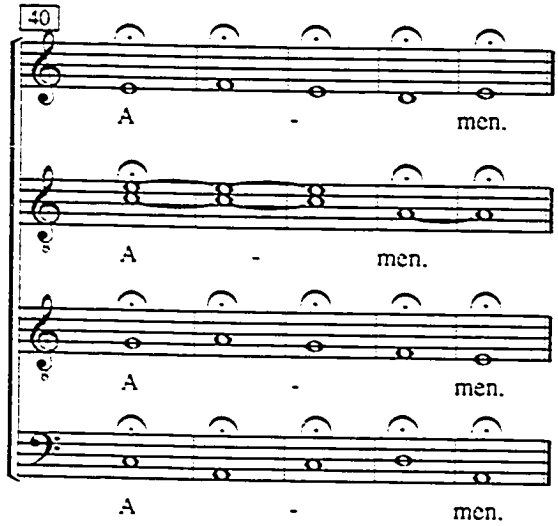

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No. 4. Beata nobis gaudia

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. xviii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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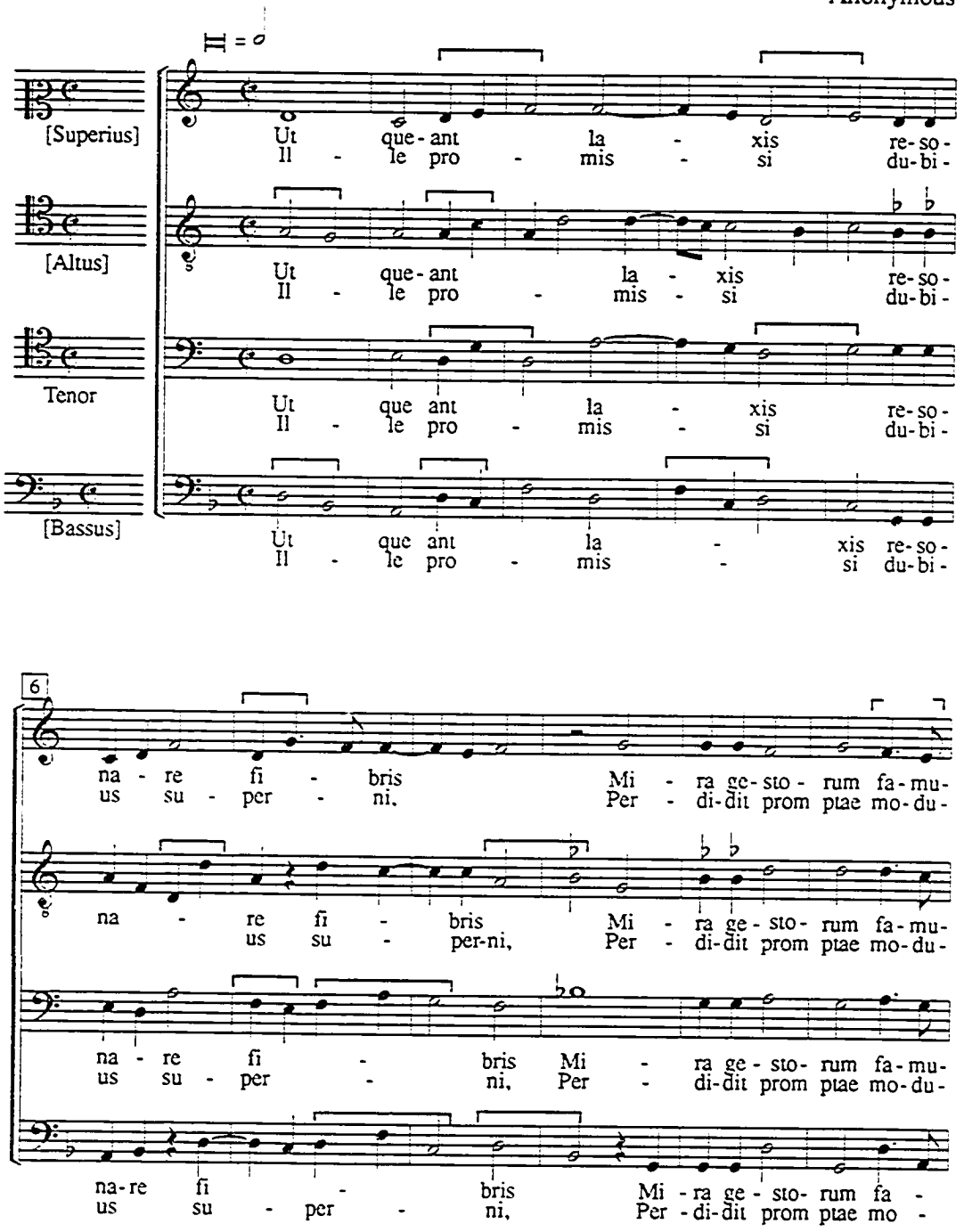
No. 5. Ut queant laxis

fol. xviiii

Anonymous



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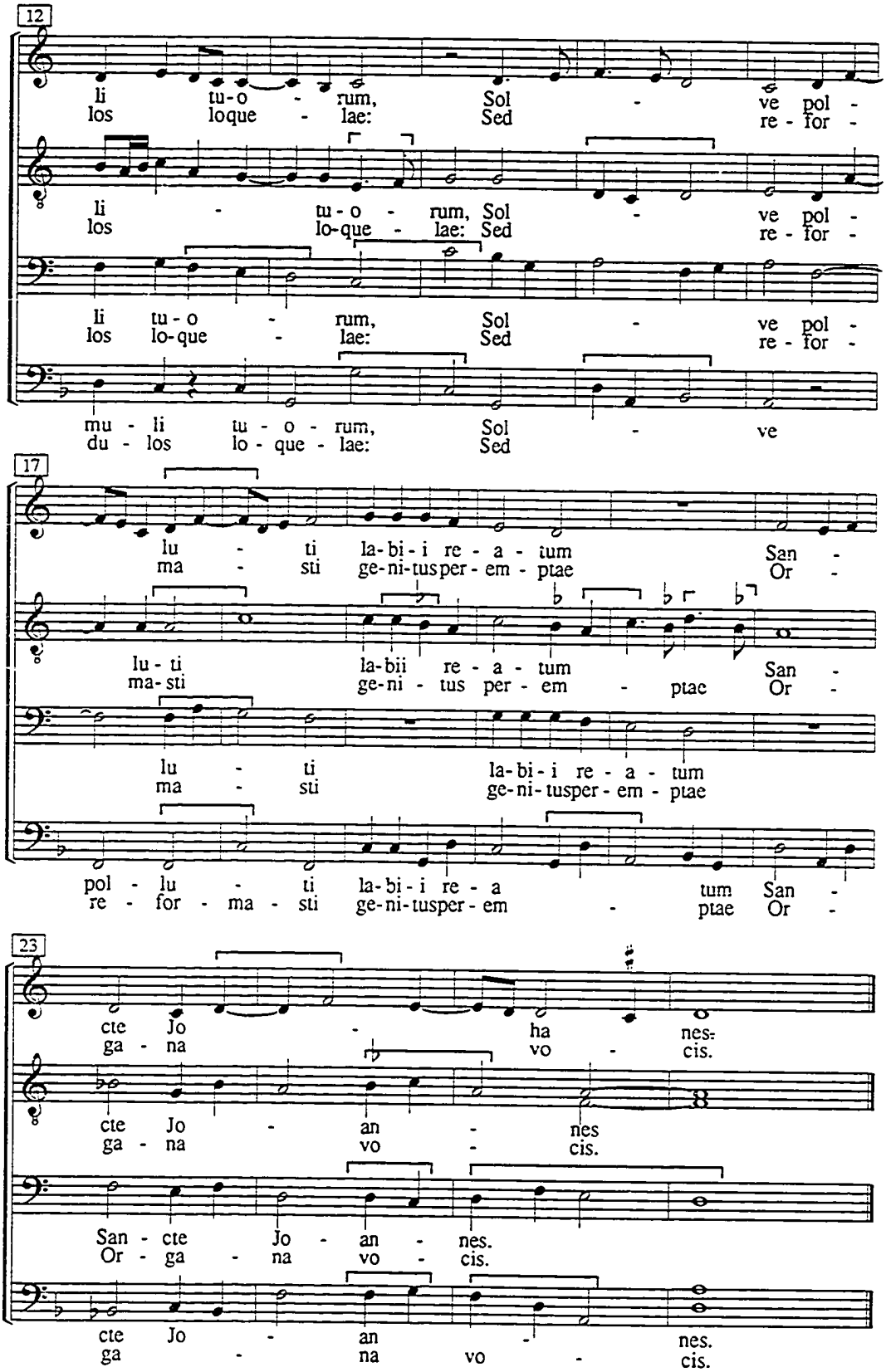

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No. 5. Ut queant laxis

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. xviiii^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
1) **T**, m.9: ms reads b flat Br instead of L

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No. 6. Gloria... pues nació

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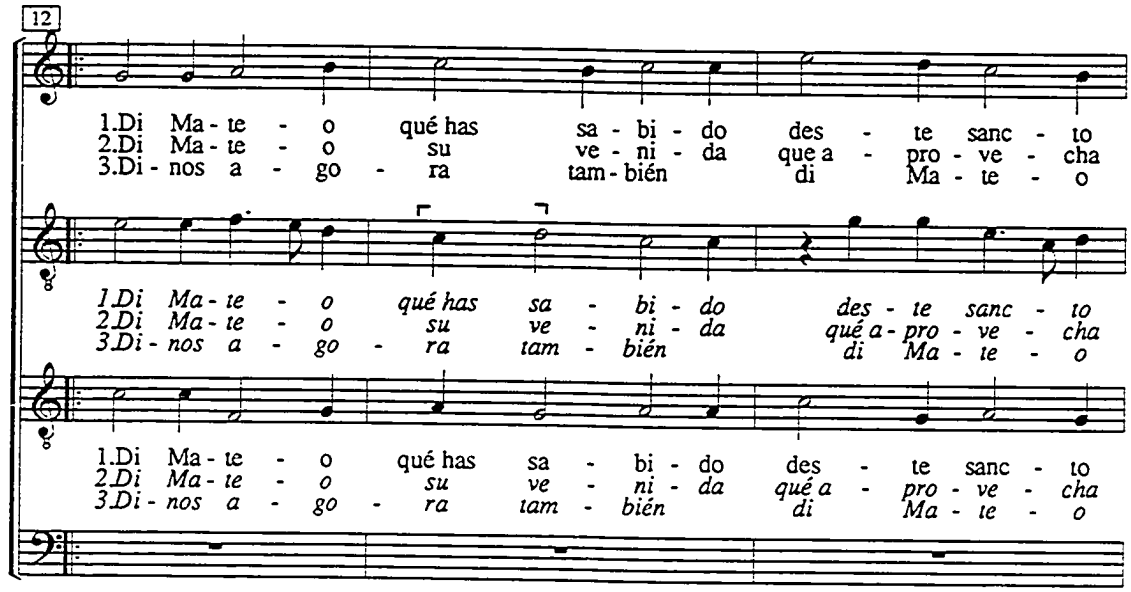

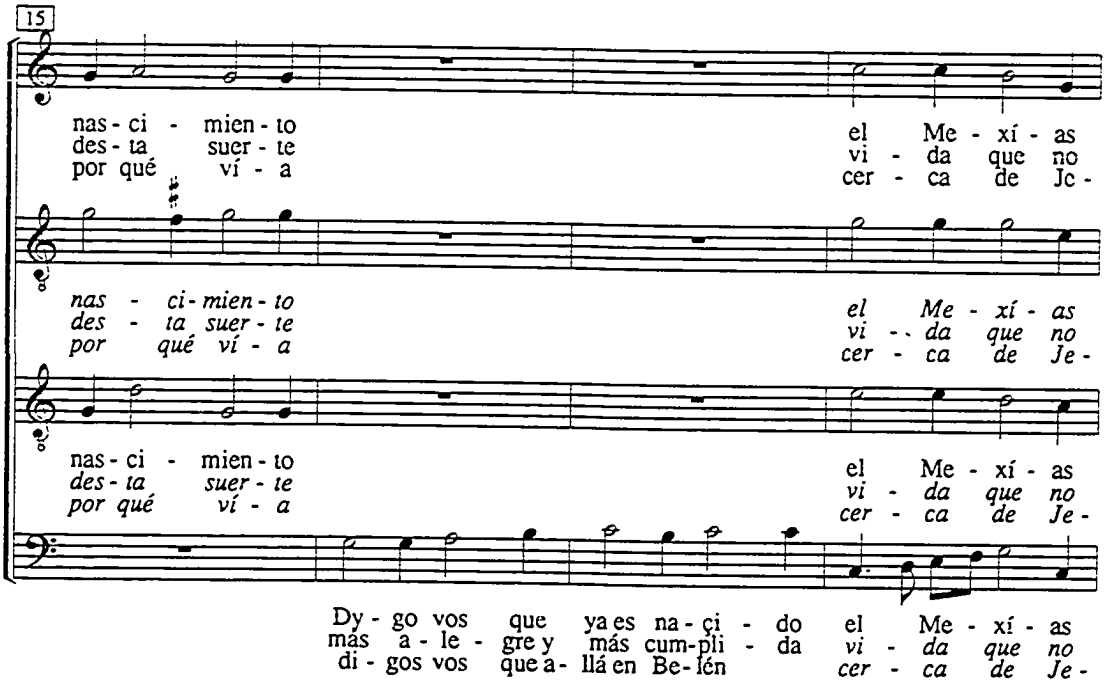

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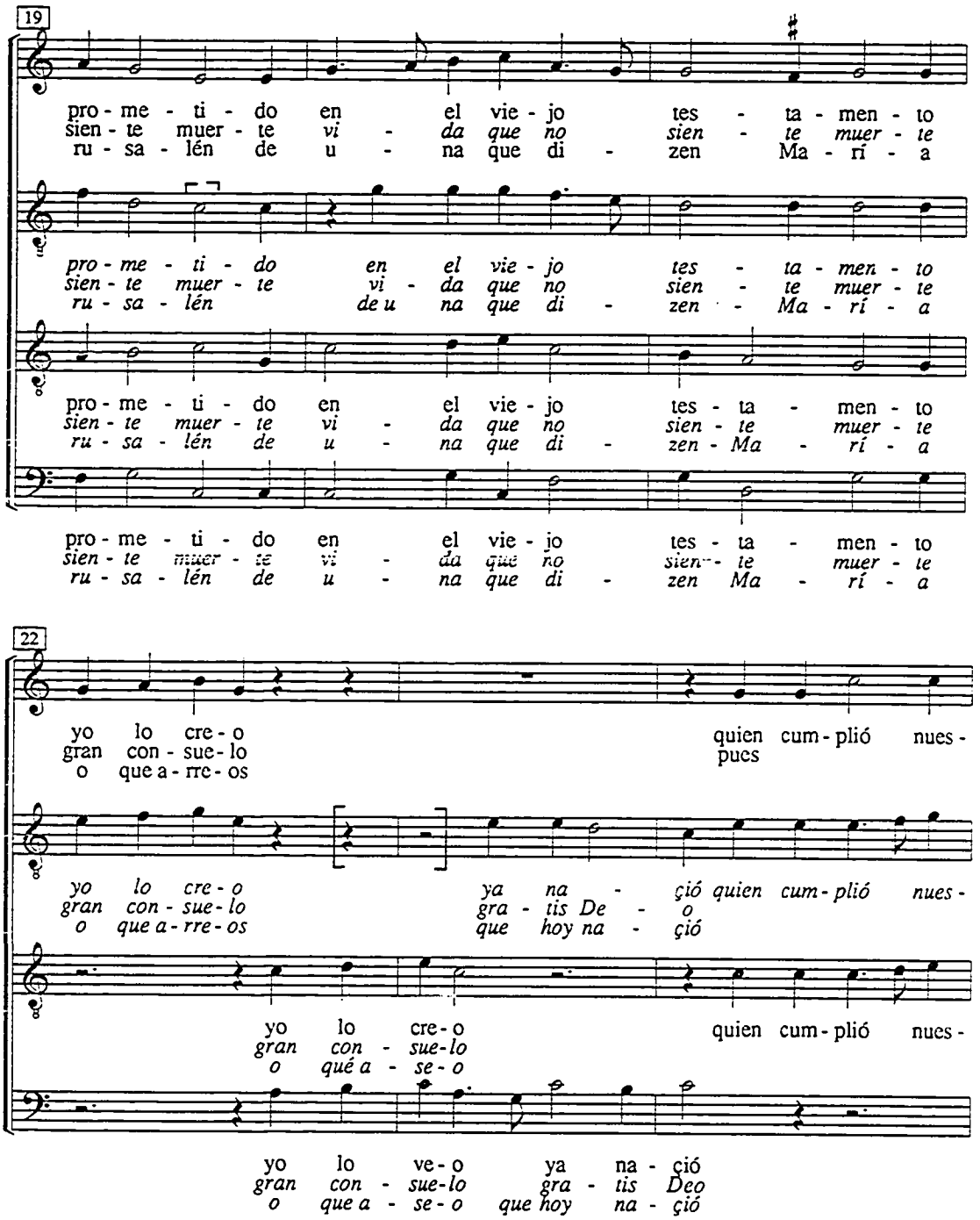

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No. 6. Gloria... pues nació

Source:

454/D, fol. xx^{v}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 370-74
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 477-79

Text

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 342
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 404
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 155

Notes to the edition

1) **A**, mm. 22-23: rests missing. 2) **A**, m. 25: g'-a' repeated in ms.
3) **B**, m.29: c breve instead of semibreve.

Text:

Gloria in excelsis deo	a	
pues naçio	b	
quien cumplio nuestro deseo	A	
quien lo dixo di, Mateo	A	
mi fe yo lo dixe yo.	B	
Di Mateo que as sabido	c	
deste sancto nascimiento.	d	
Dygo vos que ya es naçido	c	
el Mexias prometido	c	
en el viejo testamento	d	
yo lo creo	a	
yo lo veo	a	
ya naçio	b	
quien cumplio nuestro deseo	A	
quien lo dixo di Mateo	A	
mi fe yo lo dixe yo.	B	
		Di Mateo su venida
		que aprovecha desta suerte
		mas alegre y mas cumplida
		vida que no siente muerte
		gran consuelo
		gratis deo
		pues cumplio nuestro deseo
		quien lo dixo di Mateo
		mi fe [yo lo dixe yo].
		Dinos agora tanbien
		di Mateo por que via
		digos vos que alla en Belen
		cerca de Jerusalem
		de una que dizen Maria
		o que arreos
		o que aseo
		que oy nacio
		quien cumplio [nuestro deseo
		quien lo dixo di Mateo
		mi fe yo lo dixe yo].

Comments:

The text of this villancico mentions the name Mateo, which is also Flecha's given name. Since the same scribe copied other villancicos by Flecha at the end of the manuscript, perhaps this one could also be attributed to him. The homophonic style of this work, with its incorporation of dialogue, recalls some of Flecha's *ensaladas*.

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No.7. Missa

fols. xxi'-xxx

Kyrie

[Fray Benito]

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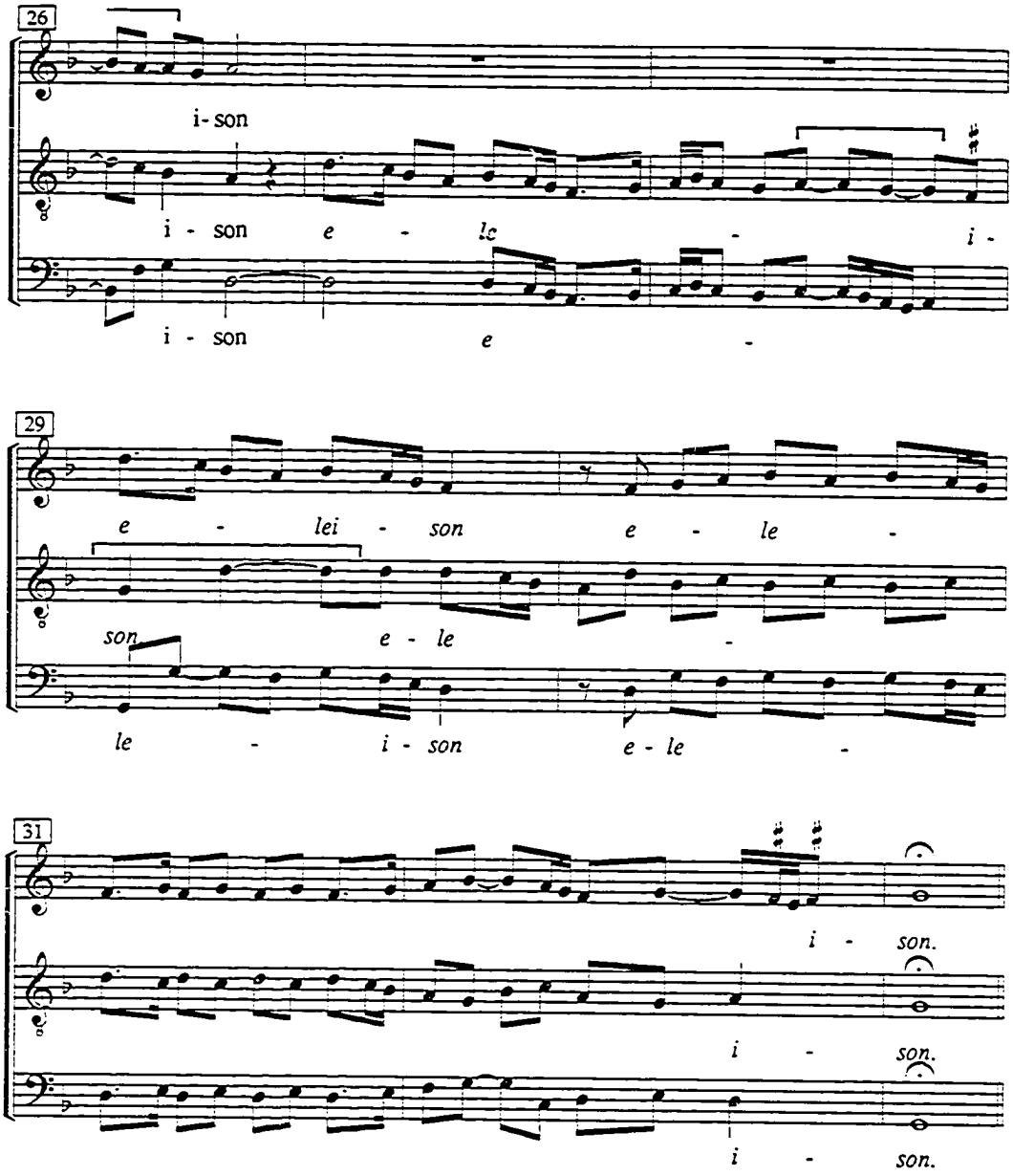

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Gloria

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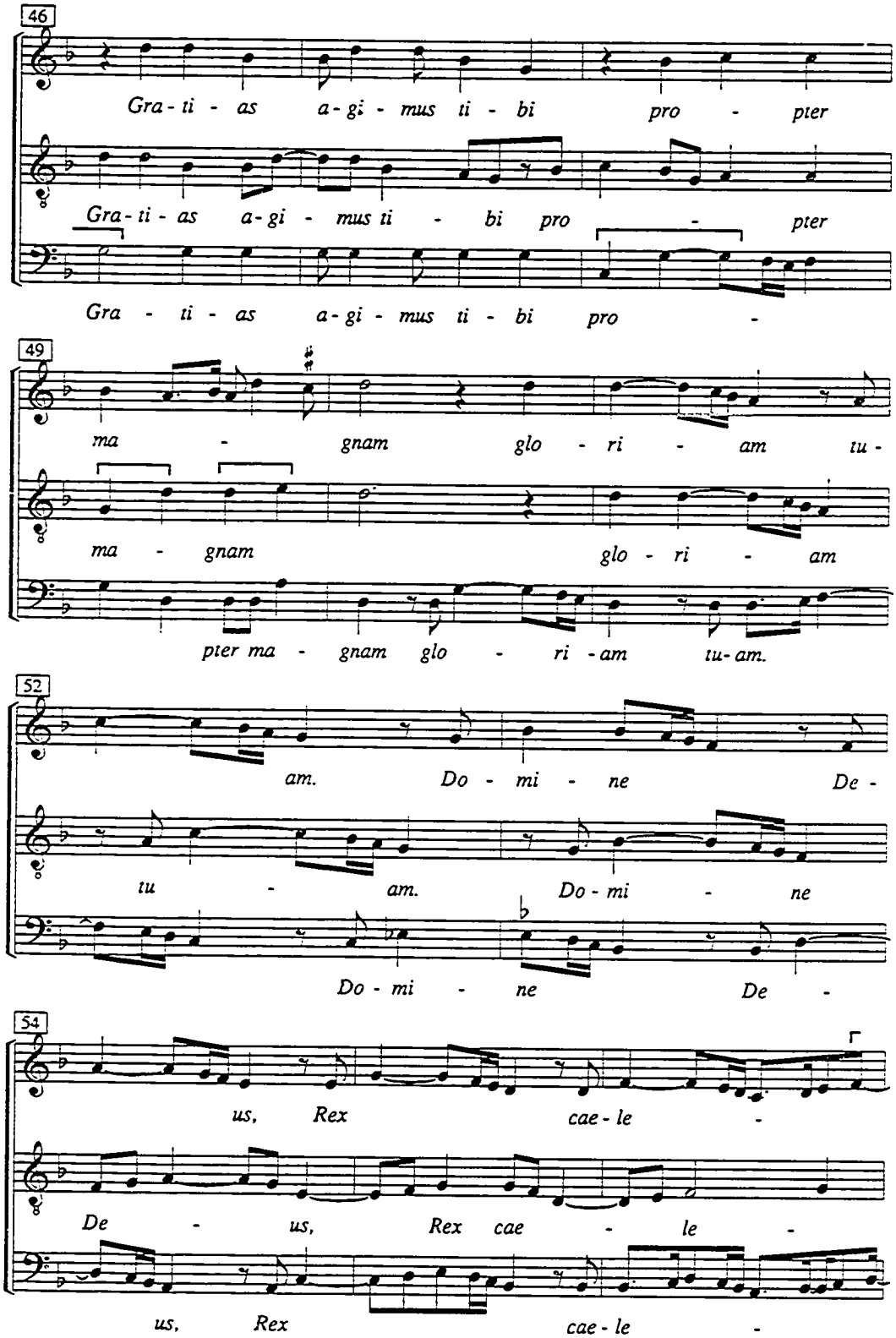

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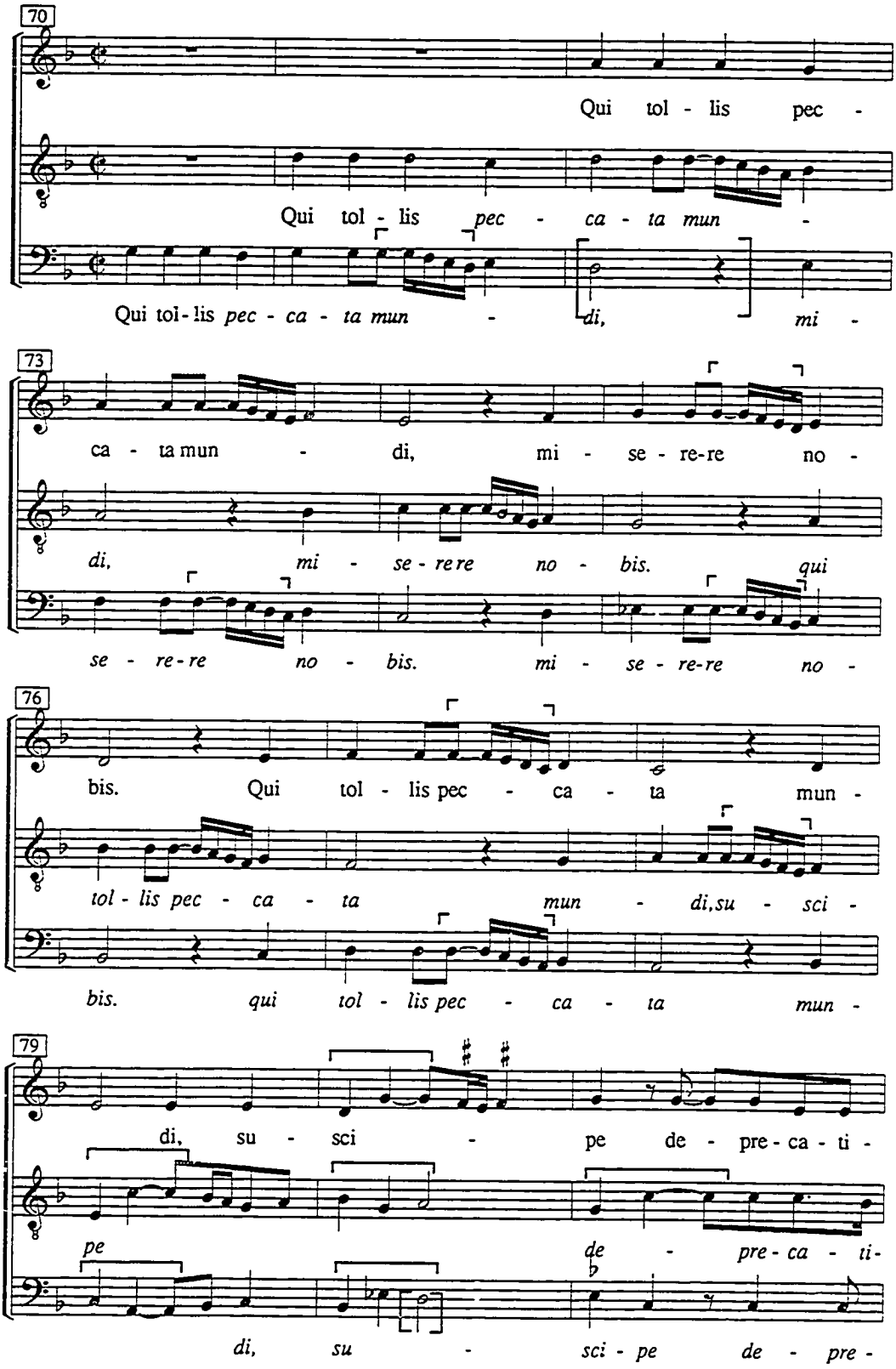

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Credo

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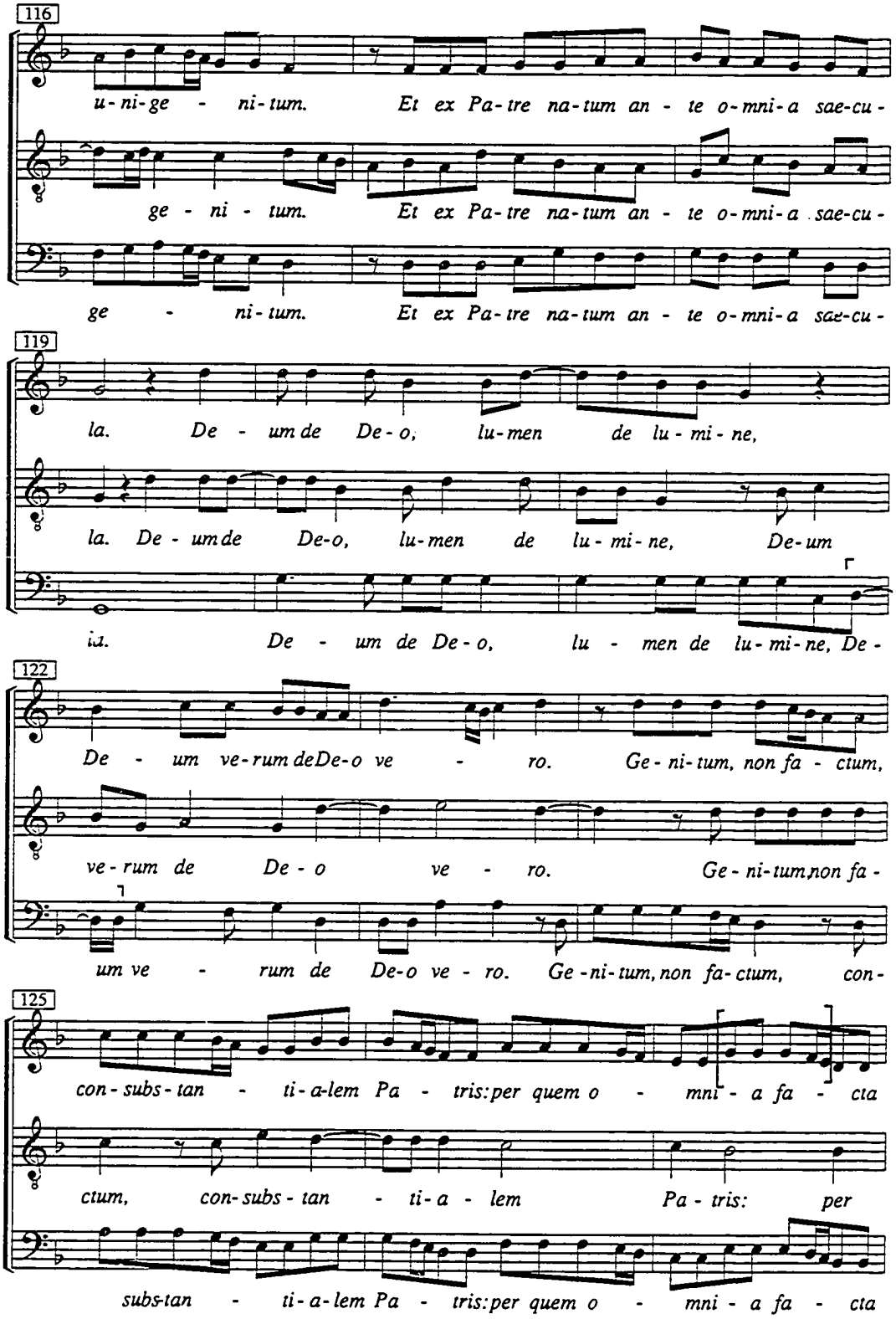

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Sanctus

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Agnus Dei

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No. 7. [Missa]

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fols. xxi^{v}-xxx^{r} (i^{v}-x^{r}), [Fray Benito]

Notes to the edition:
Since the *Agnus Dei* has a different head-motive from the other movements of this Mass, which were copied by a different scribe, it probably does not belong to the same cycle. For a discussion of the "Benito" ascription (found also in Nos. 29, 31, and 58), and its possible interpretation as an attribution to Brumel, see Chapter V, pp. 258-63.

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No. 9. Missa de nostra dona

Salve sancta parens

fols. xxxvii'-xlix (Introit) [Juan de Anchieta]

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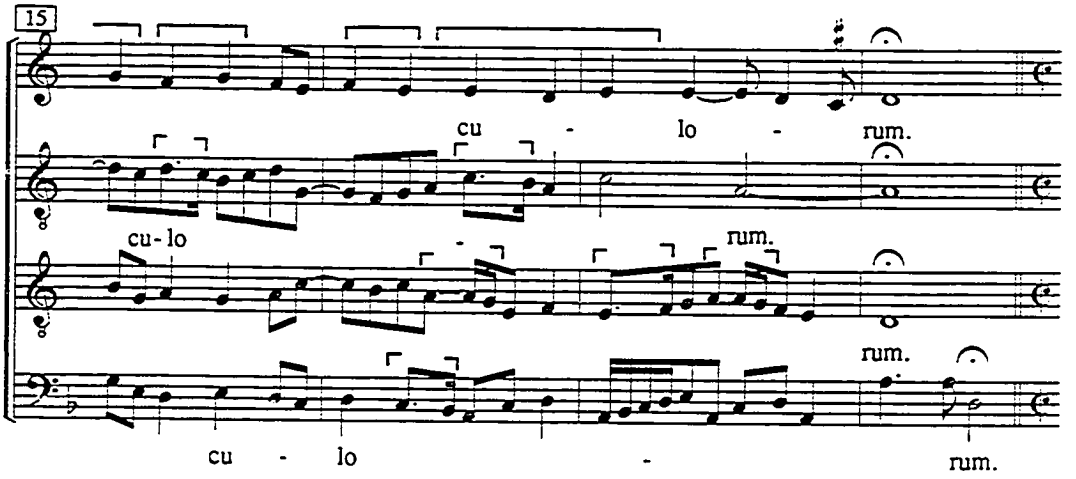

Kyrie

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Gloria

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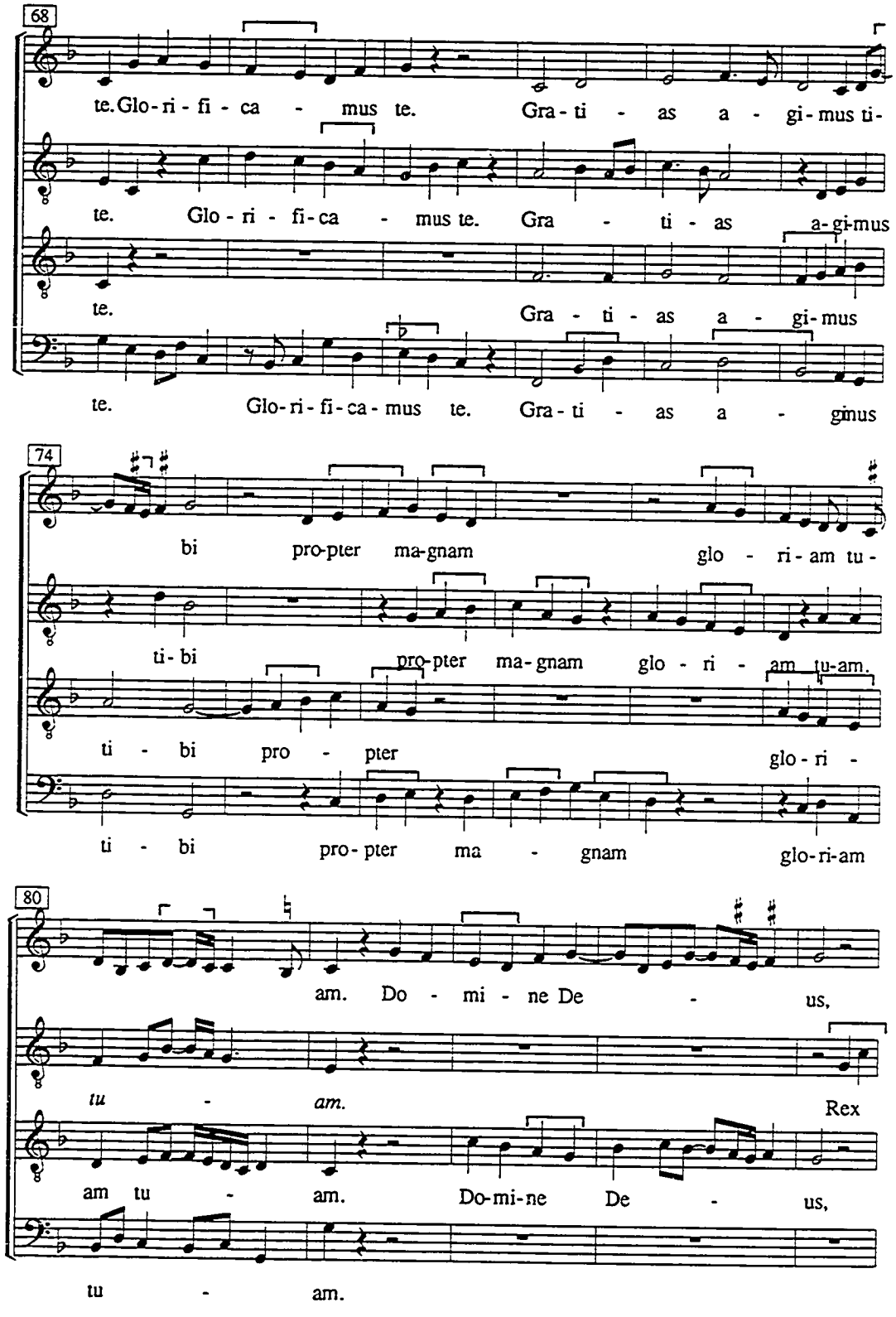

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Benedicta et venerabilis

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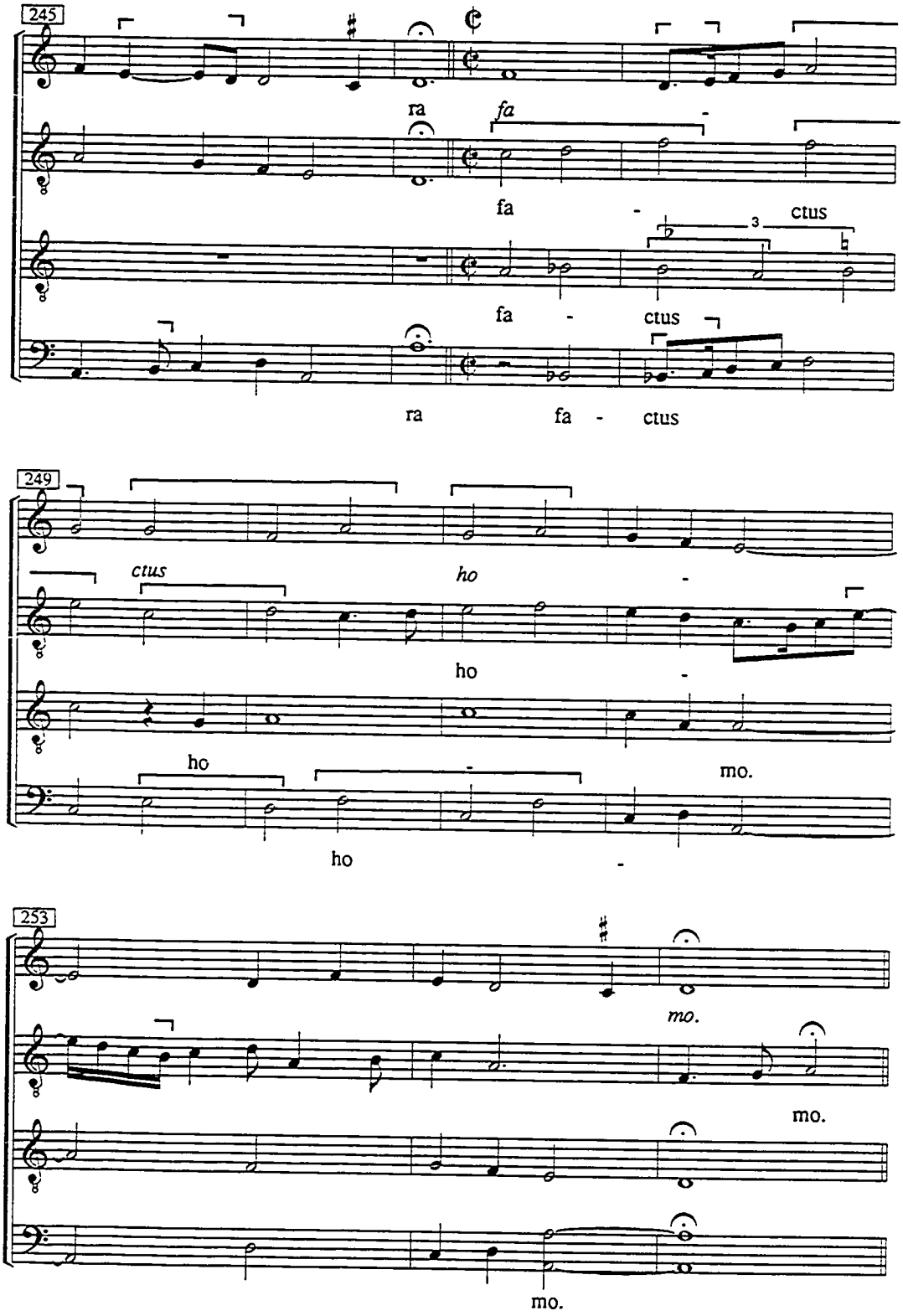

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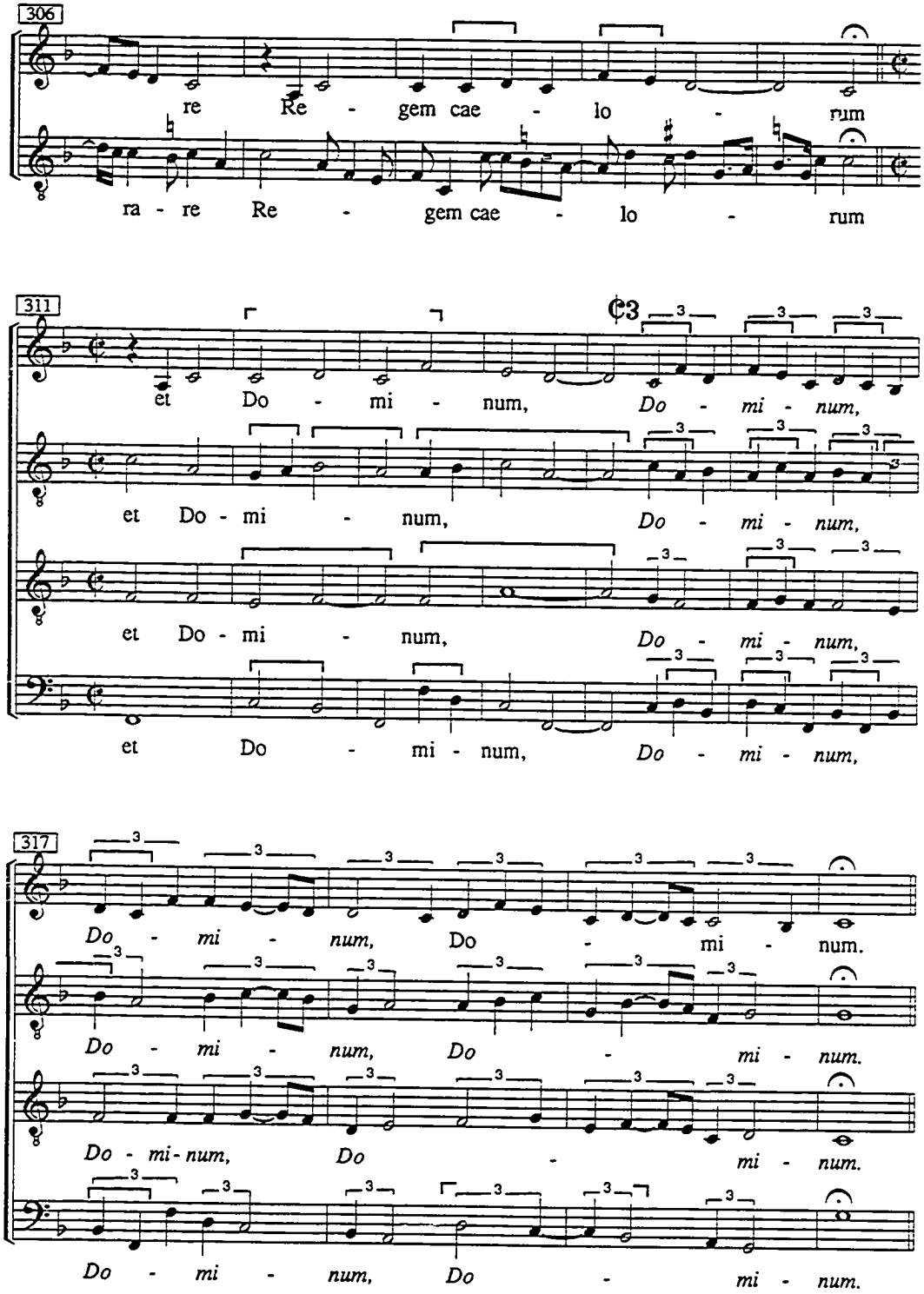

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Sacra virgo

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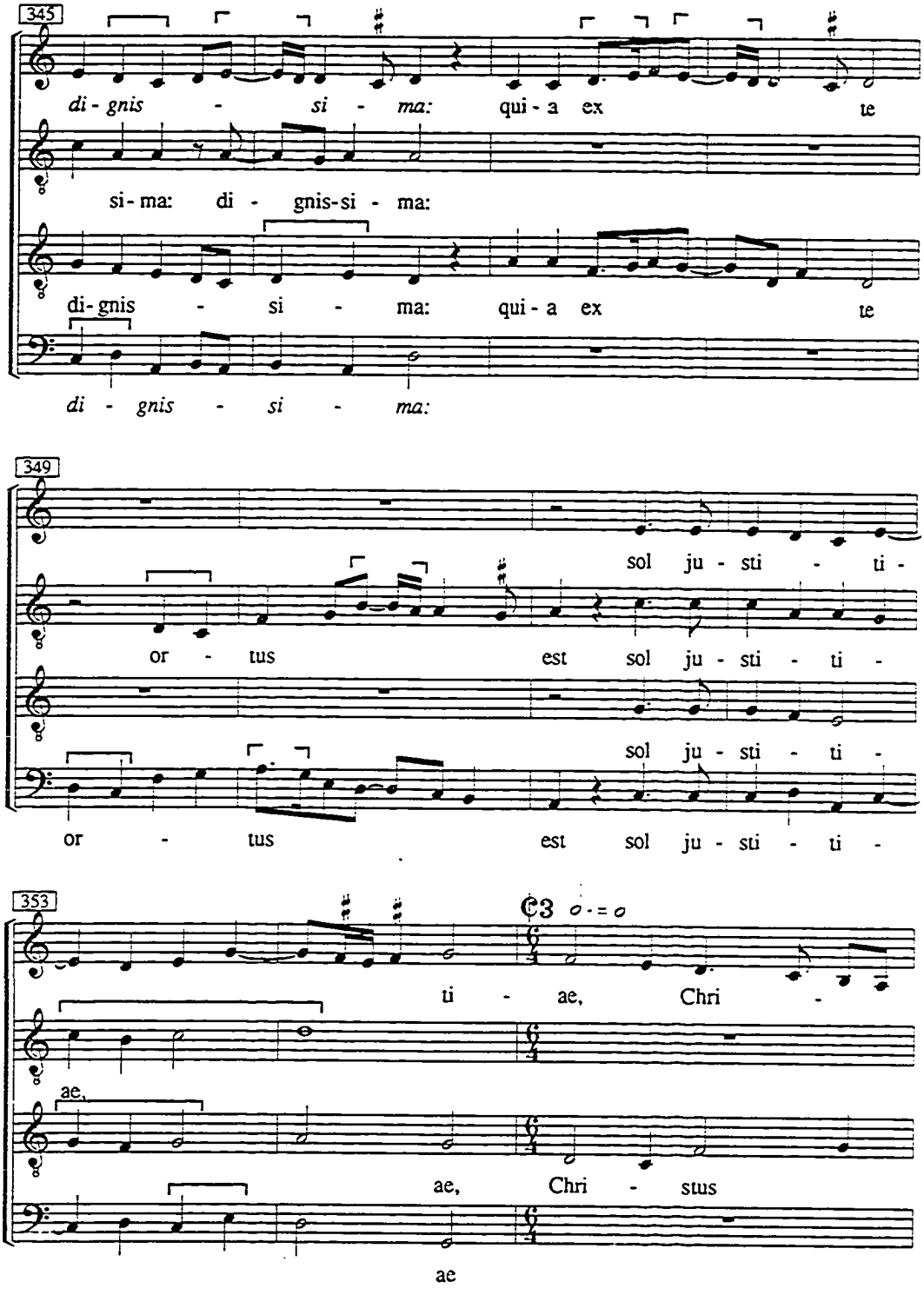

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Sanctus

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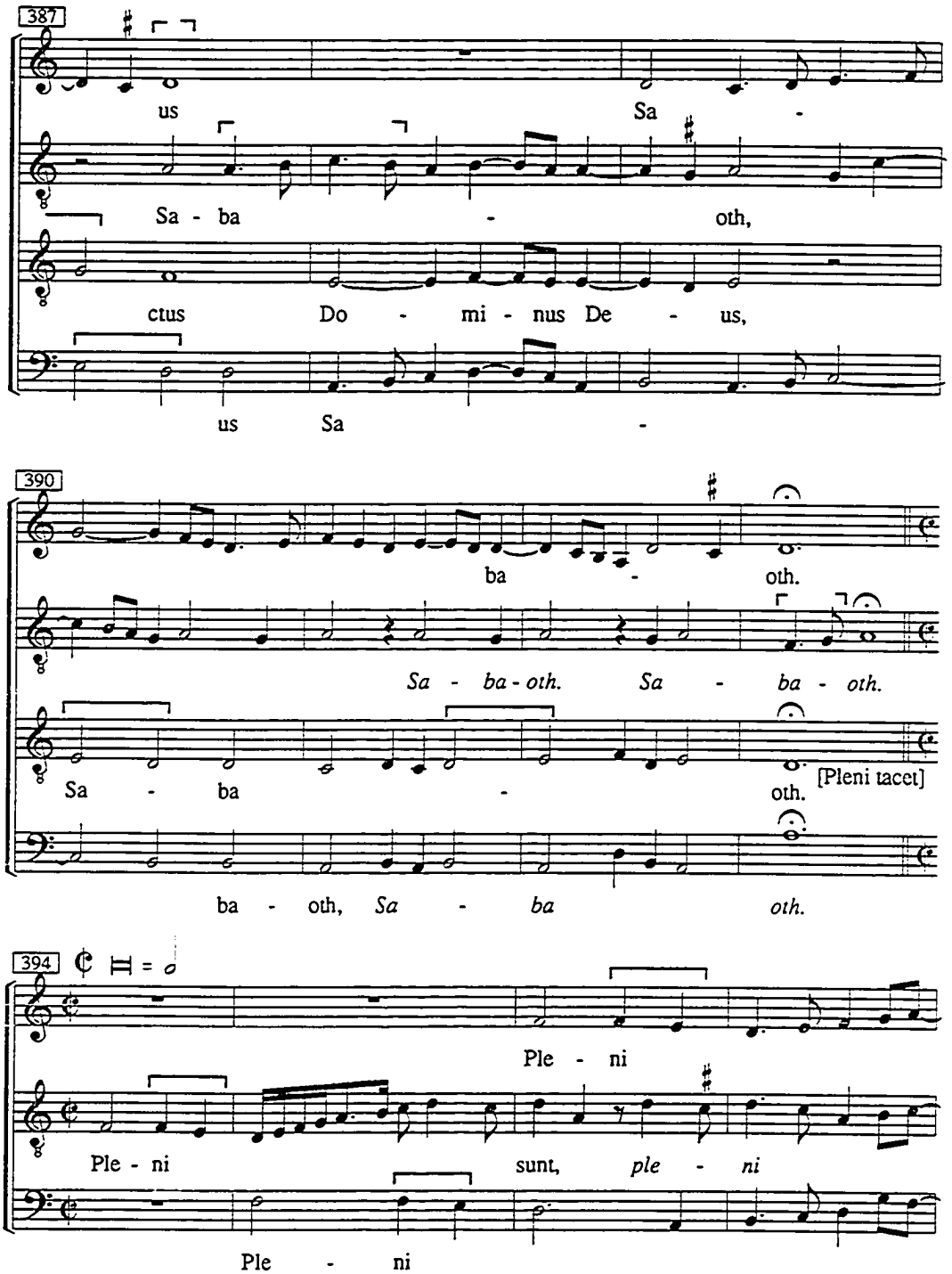

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Agnus Dei

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Beata viscera

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No. 9. Missa de nostra dona

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/B, fols. xxxvii^{v}-xlix^{r} (xvii^{v}-), [Anchieta]

Segovia, fols. 65^{v}-67^{r}, *Gloria* only, preceded by a *Credo*, forming a two-movement *Missa de Beata Virgine*, "Jo. Ancheta,"

Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccix^{v}-ccxvii^{r}, "Jo. Ancheta" in the table of contents (*Kyrie* and *Gloria* only, followed by the same *Credo* transmitted in Segovia, and a different *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* ascribed to Escobar).

Editions:

Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 35-46, *Kyrie*, and *Gloria* only, as part of a *Misa de nuestra Señora* after Tarazona 2/3, with an attribution to Anchieta in the table of contents, but with attributions to Escobar for the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*

Rubio, *Anchieta: Opera omnia*, 46-77 (*Kyrie*, and *Gloria* after Tarazona 2/3); introit *Salve sancta parens*, after Barcelona M.454, is published separatedly, 186-88)

Notes to the edition:

For a commentary about this plenary Mass, see Chapter V (p. 299-303).

Introit (*Salve Sancta Parens*)

1) The note values in the superius are written as breves instead of semibreves, perhaps to point out that this voice carries the *cantus firmus*. The mensuration sign C3 is erroneous; the other voices indicate *tempus perfectum*.

2) **S**, m.14$^{1-2}$: two notes are blurred. Rubio read them as d' SB b SB; my interpretation follows the *cantus firmus* in the *Liber Usualis*, p. 1264.

Kyrie

3) **A**, m.30$^{1-4}$: Tarazona 2/3 reads c' SB, a M

4) **A**, mm.31, 53: Rubio indicates that the final note of the altus in both the first and last *Kyrie* reads g instead of the correct a; in both cases, though, the notes are blurred, and the first one has clear signs of having been corrected by the later addition of the a.

5) **A**, m.33$^{4-5}$: f' SB in Tarazona 2/3

6) **T**, m.39$^{2-5}$: g SB in Tarazona 2/3

7) **T**, m.48$^{3-6}$: f SB in Tarazona 2/3

8) **A**, m.51^{2}: g SB instead of rest SB in Tarazona 2/3

9) **S**, m.52$^{1-2}$: f' dotted M, e' SM in Tarazona 2/3

10) **A**, m.52$^{1-2}$: d' dotted M, c' SM in Tarazona 2/3

11) **T**, m.52$^{1-2}$: a SB in Tarazona 2/3

12) **B**, m.52$^{1-2}$: d M, A M in Tarazona 2/3

13) **T**, m.53: ms has two SB with fermatas

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Gloria

14) **A**, m.62[2]: c' SB in Segovia and Tarazona 2/3
15) **S**, m.62[2]: rest SB instead of g' SB in Segovia
16) **B**, m.76[4]: ms reads c SB (error); changed to d after Tarazona 2/3
17) **A**, m.77[1-4]: rest SB, a SB, b SB, c' SB in Segovia (see Ex. 13a in Chapter V, p. 302)
18) **B**, m.81[1]: Segovia lacks g SB
19) **B**, m.93[1]-94[1]: rest SB, d SB, e SB, d SB, a SB in Segovia (see Ex. 13b, p. 302)
20) **B**, m.93[2]: b SB in Tarazona 2/3
21) **S, A, T, B**, mm.96-98: all voices have fermatas above the breves in Tarazona 2/3
22) **S**, m.98[2]: Segovia has b and d
23) **A**, m.105[2]: b dotted M, a SM in Segovia and Tarazona 2/3
24) **S**, m.110[1]: ms has e' (error); changed to f' after Tarazona 2/3
25) **A**, m.108[4]: flat in Tarazona 2/3
26) **B**, m.135[1]: Segovia does not have the flat
27) **B**, m.140[3]: d SM in Tarazona 2/3
28) **S**, m.145[1]: e' dotted SB d' M in Tarazona 2/3
29) **B**, 145[3]: ms has f SB (error)
30) **B**, 149[1]: Segovia lacks a SB
31) **S**, 160[4-6]: e' dotted M, d' SM, c' SM in Segovia and Tarazona 2/3
32) **A**, m.170[3]: ms has g SB (error)
33) **T**, m.171[5-7]: f SB in Tarazona 2/3
34) **B**, mm.177[4]-178[1]: the last two notes of the bass in Segovia are missing.

Benedicta et venerabilis (Gradual)

35) **S**, m.182[5]: ms has d' M instead of d' SB
36) **S**, m.197[4]: ms reads f' instead of g'
37) **A**, m.239[1]: d' SB shoul be M
38) **S**, m.241[2]: ms reads d'

Alleiuia

39) **S**, m.273[5]: ms reads b M instead of SB
40) **B**, m.274: ms reads d L (error)

Sacra Virgo (Offertory: Felix namque es)

41) **A**, m.331[4]: f M instead of SM

Sanctus and Agnus Dei

None.

Beata viscera (Communion)

42) **B**, m.495[6]: ms reads f instead of g

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No. 11. Et in terra (fragment)

fol. lviiii'

Anonymous

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No. 11. Et in terra (fragment)

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. lviiii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
This is an unidentified incomplete superius.

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No. 13. O pulcherrima mulierum

fols. lxii'-lxiii

Jo. Mouton/[Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin]

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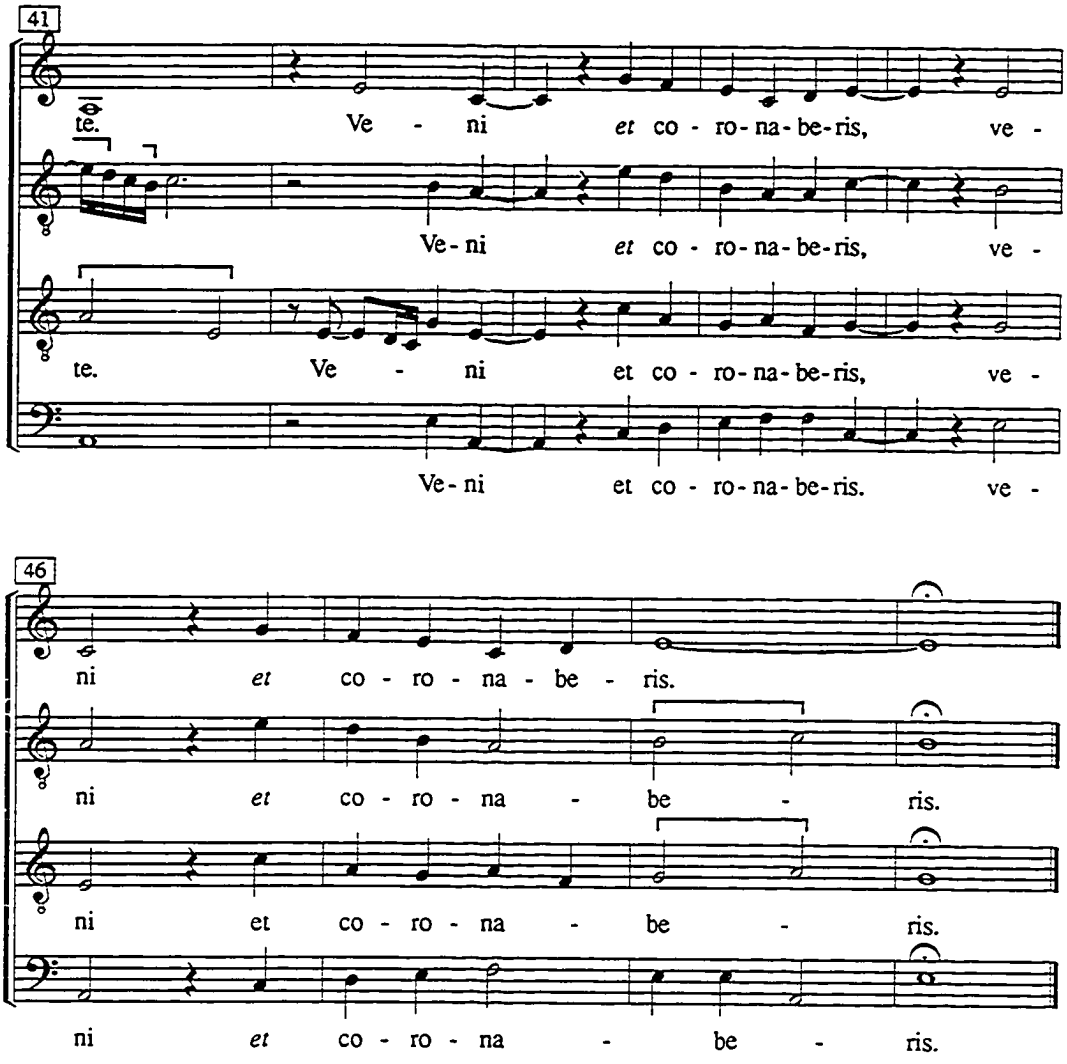

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No. 13. O pulcherima mulierum

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/C, fols. lxii^{v}-lxiv^{r}, Jo. Mouton/[Bauldeweyn/Festa/Févin/]
Bologna Q27 II^{o}, fol.8^{v}, Anon.
Bologna R142, fols.3^{v}-4^{r}, Festa
Padua A17, fols. 176^{v}-177^{r}, Anon.
Verona 760, fols. 9^{v}-10^{r}, Anon.
Vienna 15941, fols 82^{v}-83^{r}, Févin

Intabulation:

St. Gall 530, No.41, Mouton

Prints:

Dorico 1526[4], Anon./Bauldeweyn
Kriesstein 1540[7], No.28, Févin
Petrucci 1519[3], No. 14, Anon.

Editions:

Ambros, Geschichte der Musik, V, 209-11 (ed. O. Kade after Kriesstein 1540[7])
Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," 644-46 (after Barcelona M.454, but only the *prima pars* was edited)

Notes to the edition:

I have collated Padua A17 (Pad), Verona 760 (Ver), and Kade's edition after Kriesstein (Kri) only. For a discussion of the conflicting attribution, see Chapter V (p. 313-15); there is a consensus among scholars for ascribing *O pulcherrima* to Mouton.

1) The version attributed to Févin in Kriesstein begins with the section *Descendi in hortum meum*—secunda pars of *O pulcherrima*—and continues with nineteen measures that turn out to be the beginning of *O pulcherrima* up to m. 9..
2) **A**, m.8[6]: a' SM in Ver
3) **S**, m.10[1]: Br rest instead of e' Br in Pad, Ver, and Kri (see Ex. 4 on p. 405)
4) **T**, m.13[1-3]: d' SM, c' SM in Ver
5) **S**, m.15[6-7]: c' SM in Pad.
6) **A**, m.19[6-7]: d' SM, e' SM in Ver
7) **S**, m.20[7]-21[1-3]: a' SB in Pad
8) **T**, m.25[7-10]: a SB, g M in Pad and Kri; a dotted M, g Fs, f Fs, g M in Ver
9) **T**, m.27[6-8]: e M, d SM, c SM in Pad and Kri
10) **A**, m.32[2-5]: d' Fs, c' Fs, d' M in Pad and Ver
11) **S**, m.33[2-3]: a' SM, g M, f' SM, e' SM in Pad
a' SM, g' dotted M, e' SM in Ver and Kri
12) **S**, m.34[9-12]: a' SB, g' M in Pad
13) **B**, m.35[5]: f M instead of g M in Kri
14) **A**, m.36[2-5]: same as note 10, above
15) **T**, m.37[5]: a M instead of c' M in Ver
16) **S**, m.42[2]: g' Br instead of e' Br in Kri
17) **A**, m.47[2]: c' SB instead of b SB in Krie

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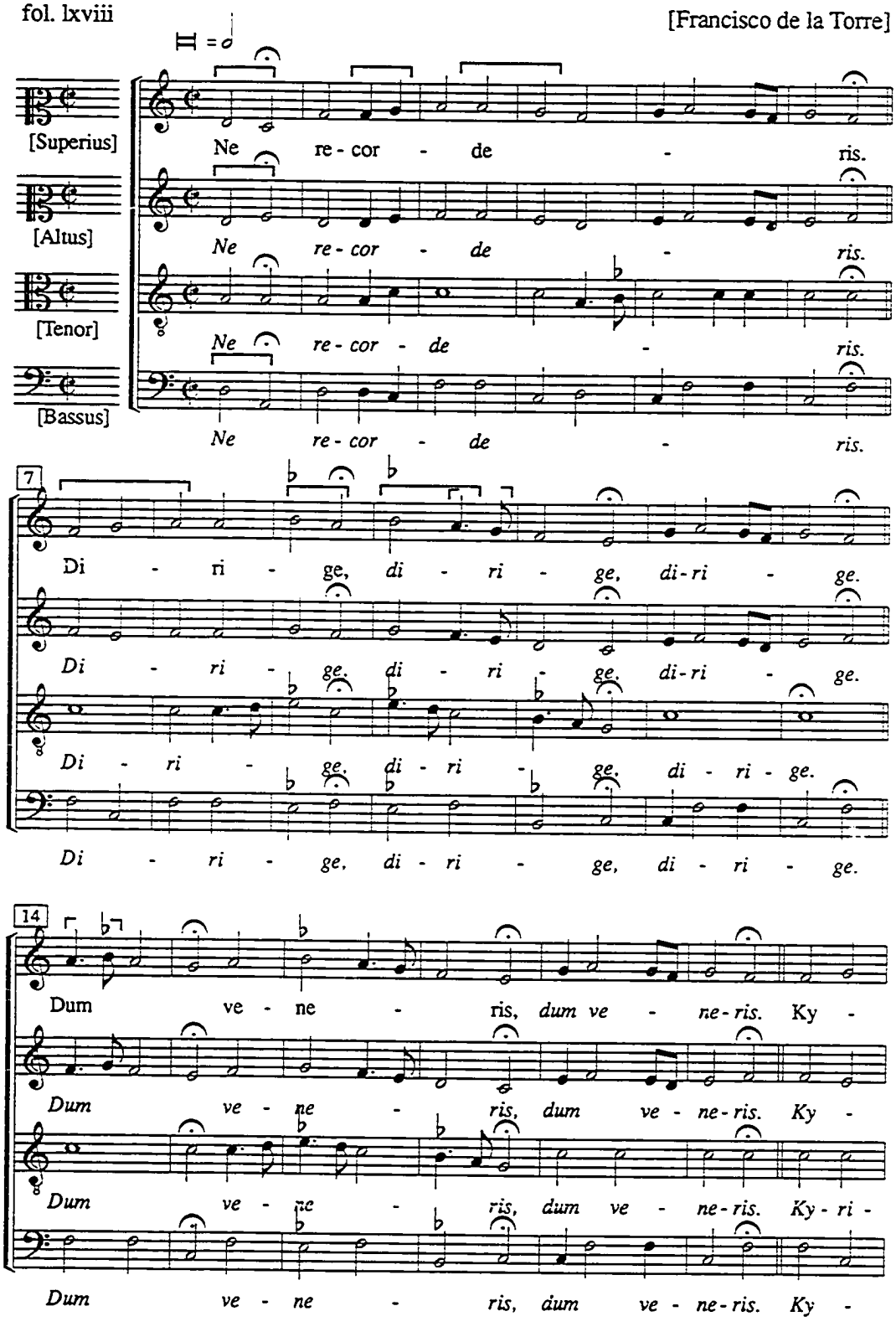
No. 17. Ne recorderis

fol. lxviii

[Francisco de la Torre]



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After the *Kyrie* section of this responsory *pro defunctis*, Toledo 1 transmits the verse *Requiescat in pace* with the following music:

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No. 17. Ne recorderis

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/B, fol. lxviii^{r} [Francisco de la Torre]
454/A, fol. lxxiii^{r}, Anon.
Segovia, fol. 228^{v} (superius only)
Tarazona 2/3, fols. ccxxvii^{v}-ccxxviii^{r}, F. la Torre
Tarazona 5, fols. 87^{v}-88^{r}
Toledo 1, 83^{v}-87^{r}, Franco de la Torre
Toledo 21, 121^{v}-122^{r}, Francisco de la Torre

Notes to the edition:

1) Segovia transmits the superius only, and it was copied a third lower after the second note; the scribe did not correct this mistake until he moved to the next staff for the verse *Dum veneris*.

2) The readings in the two Tarazona manuscripts alter the order of the text and music for the section *Dum veneris* of this responsory , placing it before the first verse *Dirige*, while Segovia, 454/A, 454/B, and the two Toledo manuscripts have *Dirige* and then *Dum veneris*. In Toledo 1 a different hand added the verses *Requiem eternam* under the verse *Dirige*; and *Requiescant in pace*, with new music, after the *Kyrie* section.

3) Regarding the text underlay, I have opted for repeating the words *Dirige*, *Dum veneris* and *Kyrie*; this is suggested in the underlay of Toledo 21. However, the version in Toledo 1—whose scribe accurately placed each syllable under the corresponding note—suggests a different manner of performance without the repetitions of the text. The verse *Dirige* is sung as a melisma on the syllable *Di*, and the other two syllables are sung with the last two notes of the section (m. 13); similarly, after the fermata on *Dum*, a melisma on the syllable *ve* of *veneris* follows up to m. 19, where the remainder of the word is sung with the last two notes of the section; finally, all voices sing the three syllables of *Kyrie* simultaneously using the first three notes in each part, and after the long melisma on the last syllable they sing *lei-son* to the last two notes of the piece. The Tarazona manuscripts include the word *Domine* in the verse *Dirige*; the underlay suggests singing: *Dirige Domine, Domine.*

4) **S, T, B**, m.1^{1}: L instead of Br in order to accomodate an extra f' Br in the altus after the first note in Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, and Toledo 21; Toledo 1 follows these sources, but the mensural values have been cut by half throughout the entire piece (see Ex. 4 in Chapter V, p. 272)

5) **S, T, B**, m.9^{1}: Tarazona 2/3, Toledo 1, and Toledo 21 add flats to the b and e

6) **S**, m.10$^{2-3}$: a' Br in Toledo 21; Toledo 1 has SB

7) **S**, m.14$^{1-2}$: a' Br in the Tarazona and Toledo manuscripts

8) **S, A, T, B**, m.15: the first chord is repeated as the first chord of the new phrase in the Tarazona and Toledo manuscripts

9) **T**, m. 17$^{1-2}$: b flat Br in Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, Toledo 21; Toledo 1 has SB

10) **T**, m.21$^{2-3}$: c' SB, d' SB in Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, Toledo 21

11) **T**, m. 22$^{1-2}$: e' flat Br in Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, Toledo 21; Toledo 1 has SB

12) **T**, m.23$^{1-2}$: e' flat Br in Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, Toledo 21; Toledo 1 has SB

13) **S**, m.23$^{1-3}$: b' flat dotted SB, a' SM, g' SM (=dotted Br and two SB) in Toledo 1

14) **T**, m.24$^{1-2}$: b' flat Br in Tarazona 2/3, Tarazona 5, Toledo 21; Toledo 1 has SB

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No. 18. Aleluya

fol. lxviii'

Anonymous

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No. 18. Aleluya dies sanctificatus

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/B,fol. lxviii^{v}, Anon.
454/A, fol. lxxiii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:

None.

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No. 19. Benedicamus Domino

fol. lxviii'-lxix

Anonymous

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No. 19. Benedicamus Domino

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/B, fols. lxviii^{v}-lxix^{r}, Anon .

454/A, fols. lxxiii^{v}-lxxiiii^{r} (i^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:

The two readings are very close. It is likely that this piece—together with No. 17 and 18—was recopied in 454/B from 454/A; they appear again one after another as Nos. 24-26 in 454/A.

1) **B**, m.12$^{1-2}$: the ligature in 454/B is clearly *cum opposita proprietate* (error); the earlier version in 454/A has a short and thick upward stroke on the left side of the *initialis*, perhaps a correction, which may have been the cause of the error found in 454/B.

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No. 20. Benedicamus Domino

fol. lxix

Petrus de Monte (Pero Cubells)

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No. 20. Benedicamus domino

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. lxix^{r}, Petrus de Monte/Cubells

Notes to the edition:
For a discussion of the conflicting attribution, see Chapter V, 317-18.
1) I have added the Br rests in brackets at mm. 11-12
2) **T**, m.10^{2}: ms reads e Br.

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No. 21. Magnificat de primo tono

fols. lxix'-lxxii

[Pero] Cubells

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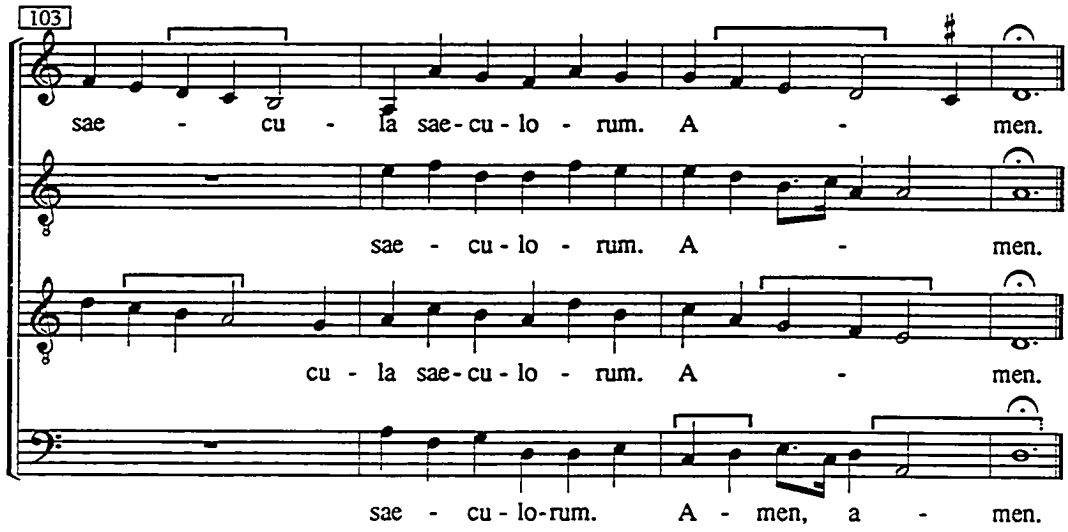

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No. 21. Magnificat de primo tono

Source:
Manuscript:
454/C, fols. lxix^{v}-lxxii^{r}, Cubells

Notes to the edition:
Notes and passages of which I am uncertain are in brackets.

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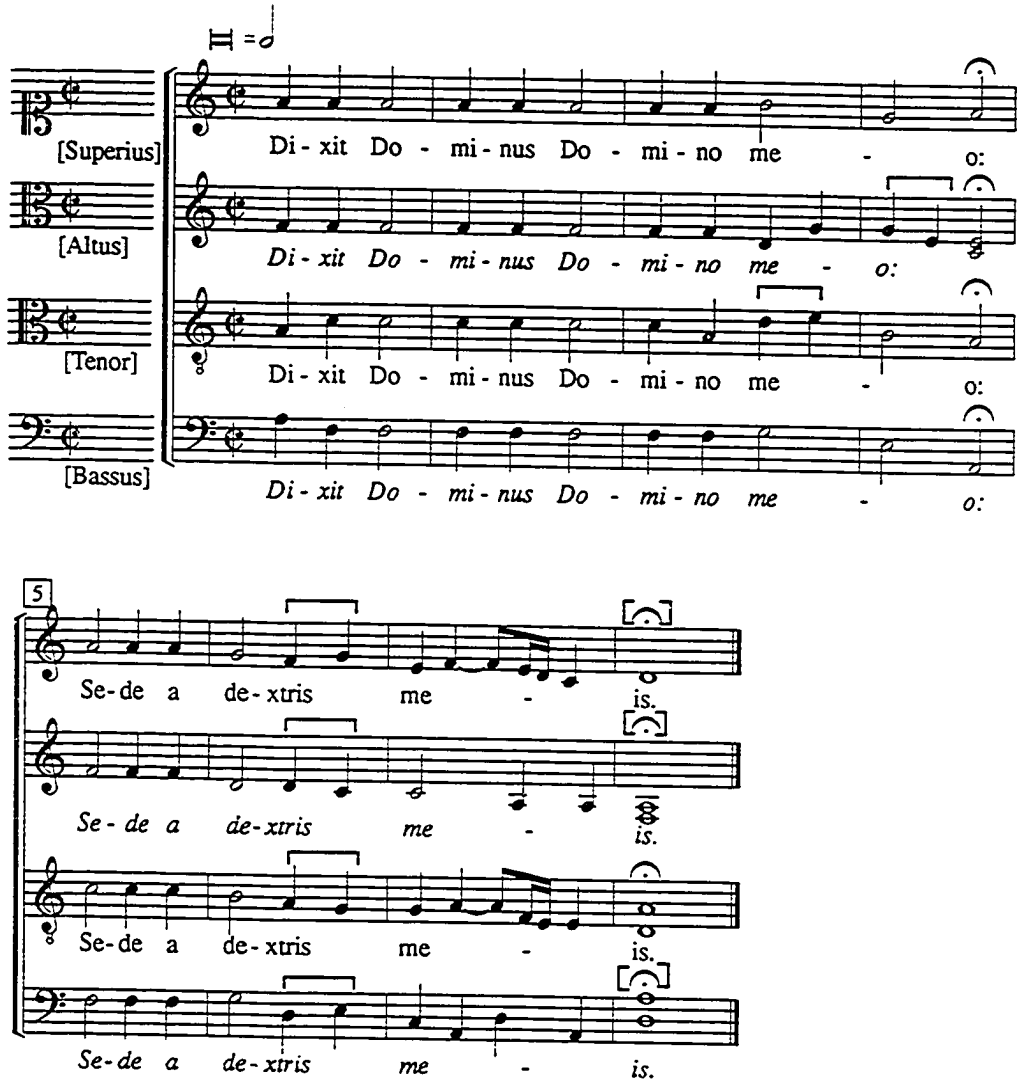
No. 22. Dixit Dominus

fol. lxxii'

Anonymous



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No. 22. Dixit Dominus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. lxxii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 23. Donec ponam

fol. lxxii'

Anonymous

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No. 23. Donec ponam

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fol. lxxiii^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 28. Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum

fols. lxxxii'-lxxxiii

Alonso de Mondéjar/[Díaz]

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No. 28 Ave sanctissimum/Ave verum

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/A, fols. lxxxii^{v}-lxxxiii^{r} (9^{v}-10^{r}), Alonso de Mondejar/[Díaz]
Coimbra 12, fols. 192^{v}-193^{v}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 19^{v}-20^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 123^{r}-123^{v}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxv^{v}-cclxxvi^{r}, Diaz

Notes to the edition:

I have collated Coimbra 12 and Tarazona 2/3 only; for a discussion of the conflicting attribution, see Chapter V, pp. 256-58. Since the version of *Ave sanctissimum* in Coimbra 12 is quite different from that of 454/A, rather than listing the variants, I include a complete transcription in the next three pages to facilitate the comparison.

1) Coimbra 12 and Tarazona 2/3 have the *Ave sanctissimum* text in all voices. In 454/A the superius and tenor follow that text, but the bassus begins "Ave verum corpus in ara crucis," and continues with the other text at "salute mundi;" the altus presents only the incipit "Ave verum corpus."

2) Measures 35-44 are unique to 454/A; the other sources end on m. 34.

3) The final eleven measures as they appear in Coimbra 12 (m. 24-34) transmit different music from the corresponding measures in 454/A and Tarazona 2/3.

4) **A**, m.1^{1}: c' Br in Tarazona 2/3

5) **A**, m.162-3: rest SB, c' M in Tarazona 2/3

6) **S**, m.19^{1}: c' L in Tarazona 2/3

7) **T**, m.38^{3}: ms reads b M

8) **T**, m.41: ms reads c' Br

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No. 28 bis. Ave sanctissimum

(after Coimbra 12, fols. 192'-193)

[Alonso de Mondéjar/Díaz]

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1) g (error) in ms.

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No. 29. Magnificat

fols. lxxxiii'-lxxxvii

Fray Benito/de riaça

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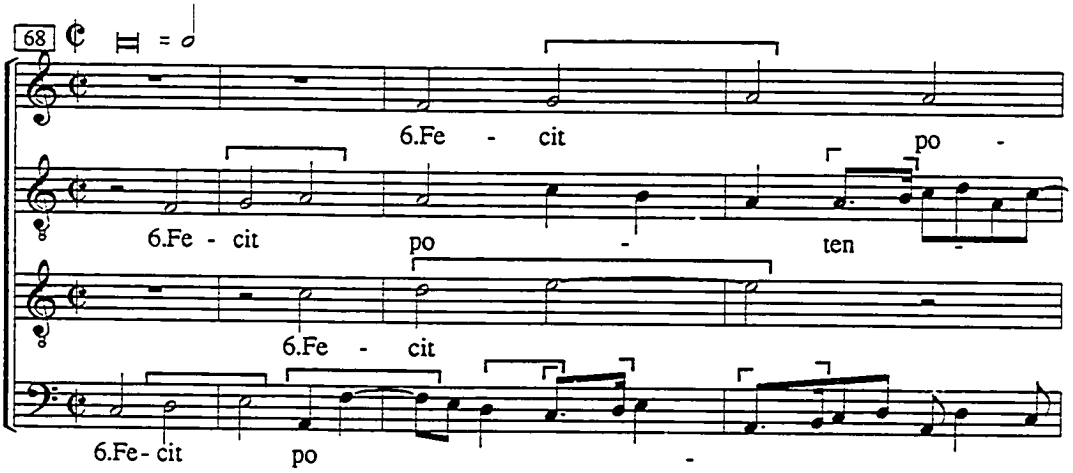

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No. 29. Magnificat primi toni

Source:

Manuscript:

454/A, fols. lxxxiii^{v}-lxxxvii^{r} (10^{v}-14^{r}), Frai benito/de riaça

Editions:

Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 700-19 (attributed to "Terrassa")
Kreitner, "Music and Civic Ceremony, " 537-54 (attributed to "Terrassa")

Notes to the edition:

The inscription "de riaça" below Benito's name has been read variously as "Taerraça" (by Pedrell), "Prederiaça" (by Anglés and Knighton), "Pedraça" (by Anglés), or "Terraça" (by Gregori and Kreitner). Kreiner, following Gregori, believes that the inscription refers to Gabriel Terrassa, organist at Barcelona Cathedral from 1472 to 1514 who is otherwise without extant compositions. For a discussion of the conflicting attribution derived from this controversial inscription and the possible attribution to Brumel, see Chapter V, pp. 258-63, and 270.

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No. 30. Magnificat primi toni

fols. lxxxvii'-xci

Anonymous

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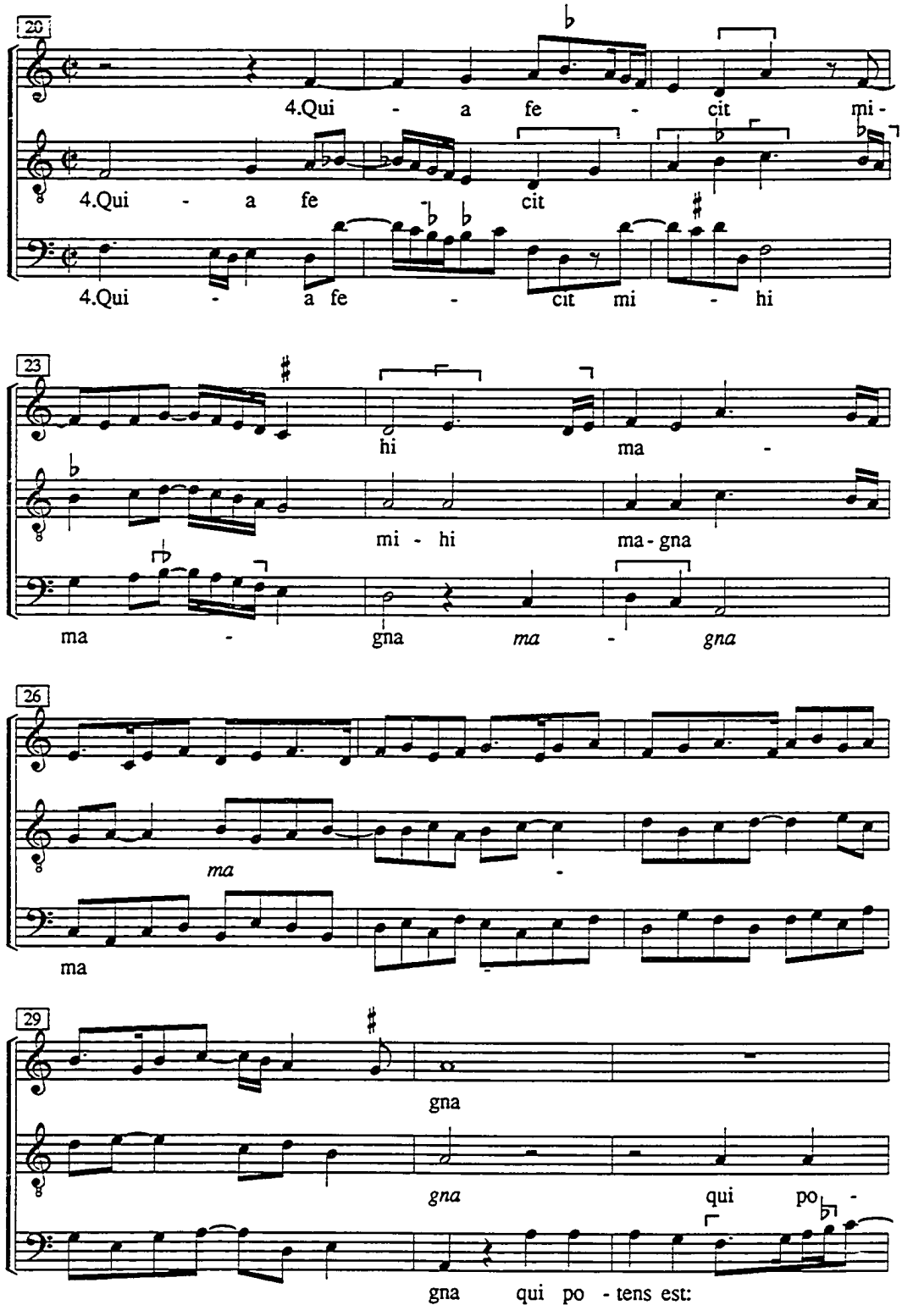

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No. 30. Magnificat primi toni

Source:

Manuscript:

454/A, fols. lxxxvii^{v}-xci^{r} (14^{v}-18^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:

None.

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No. 33. Magnificat octavi toni

fols. xcviii'-ciiii

Fray Benios [=Benito]

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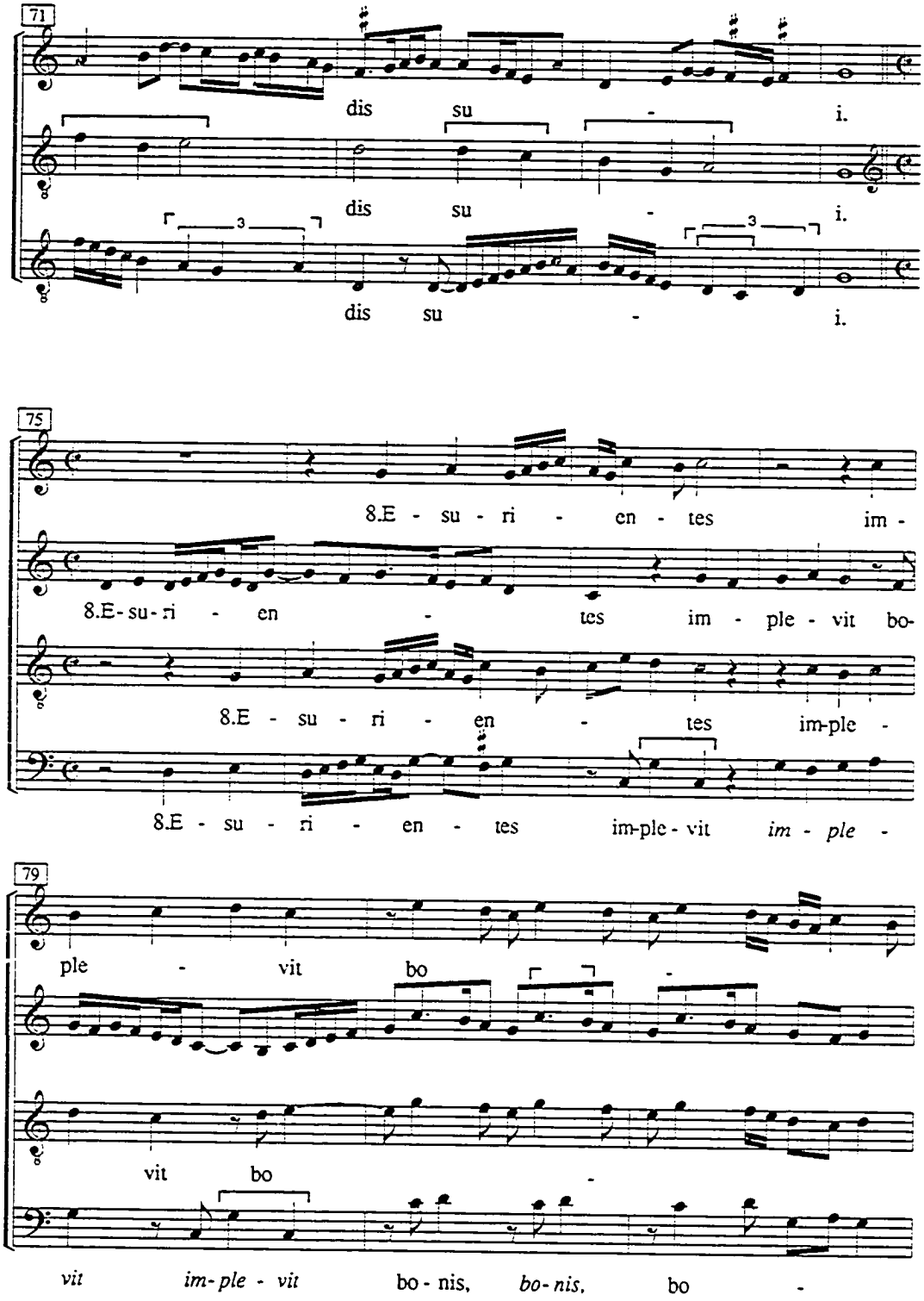

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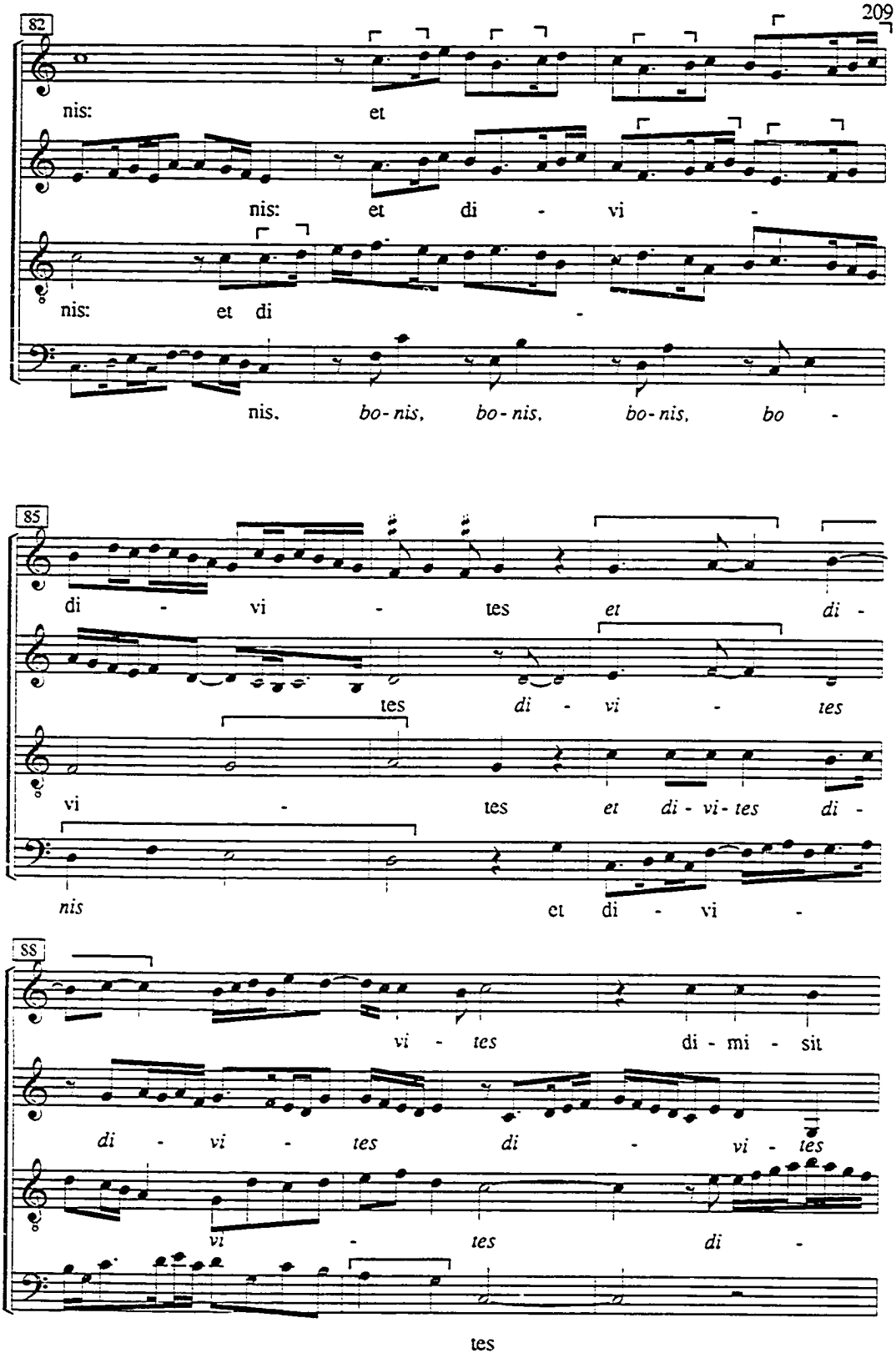

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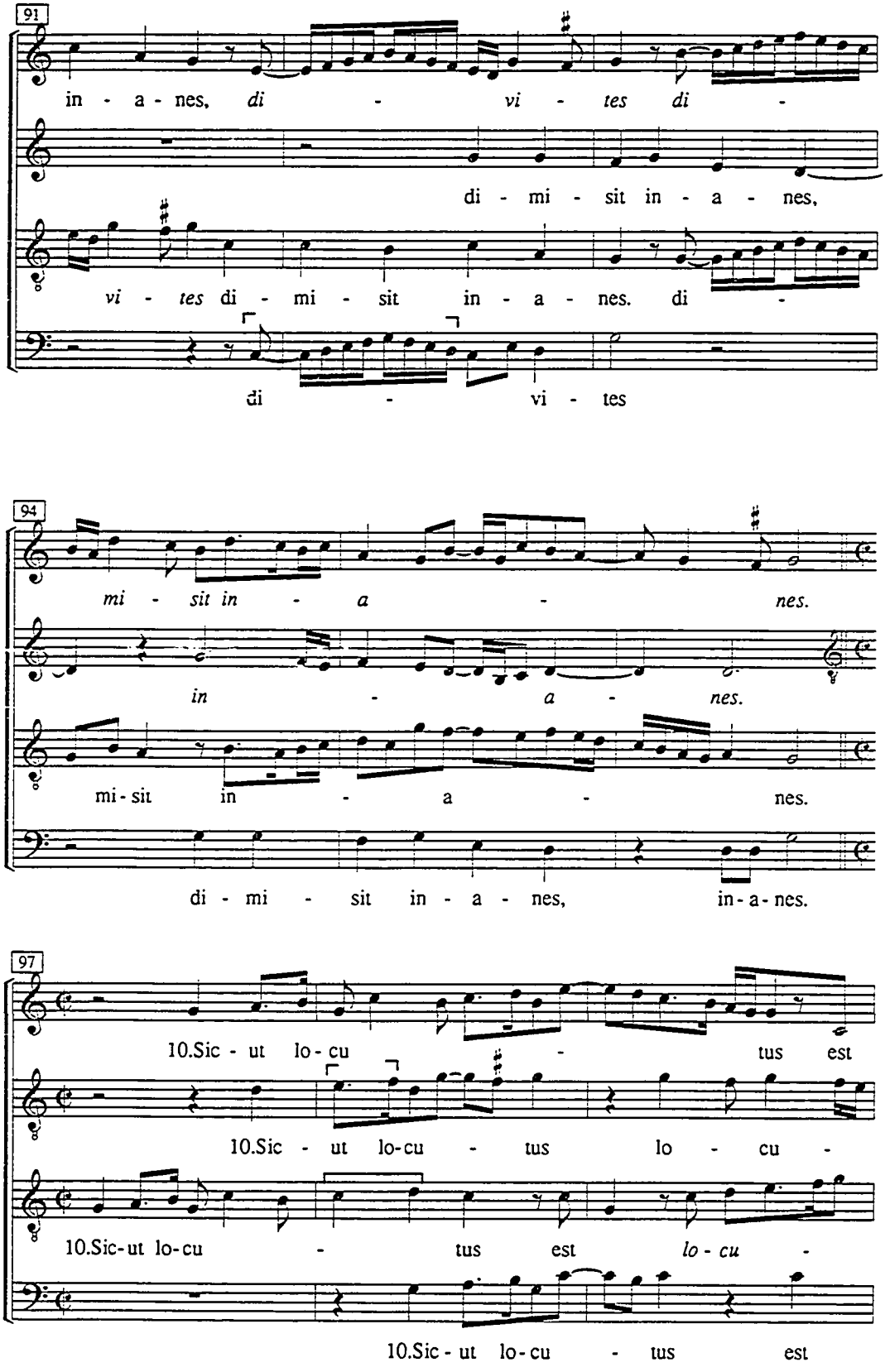

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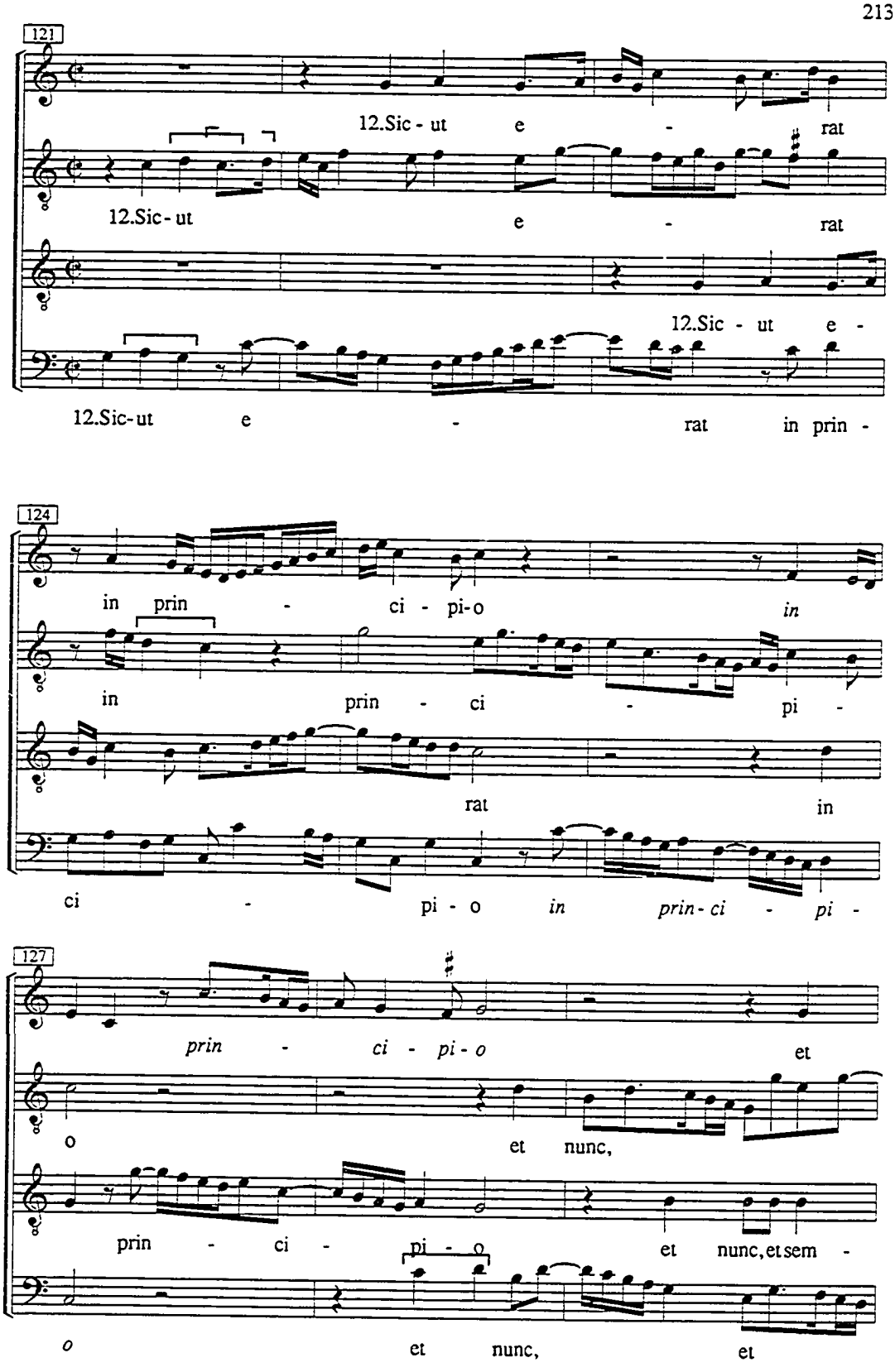

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No. 33. Magnificat octavi toni

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fols. xcviii^{v}-ciiii^{r} (25^{v}-31^{r}), Fr. benios

Notes to the edition:
The attribution to "Benios" is barely legible, but almost identical to that of "Benito." For a discussion of the "Benito" attribution (also found in Nos. 7, 29, 31, and 58), and its possible interpretation as an attribution to Brumel, see Chapter V, pp. 258-63.

1) **A**, m.5^{1}: the dot of the dotted b M is missing.
2) **A**, m.51$^{2-3}$: ms reads d' SM, e' SM instead of d' Fs, e' Fs
3) **A**, m.55^{6}: the dot of the dotted c' M is missing
4) **S**, m.131^{4}-132^{1}: ms reads c" Br instead of c" L

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No. 34. O admirabile comercium

fols. ciiii'-cv

Ylario

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No. 34. O admirabile comercium

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/A, fols. ciiii^{v}-cv^{r} (31^{v}-32^{r}), Ylario
Coimbra 12, fols. 196^{v}-198^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 32, fols. 27^{v}-28^{r}, Anon.
Coimbra 48, fols. 36^{v}-37^{v}, Anon.
Coimbra 53, fols. 44^{v}-45^{r}, Anon.
Tarazona 2/3, fols. cclxxiiii^{v}-cclxxv^{r}, Illario

Notes to the edition:

I have collated Coimbra 12 and Tarazona 2/3 only.
Ylario's work, which appears with a final on C in 454/A, was copied a fourth higher, ending on F in both Coimbra 12 and Tarazona 2/3. To facilitate the comparison with the reading in 454/A, the variants in these two concordant manuscript will be listed a fourth lower.

1) **T**, m.4$^{4-5}$: c M in Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra 12
2) **T**, m.16^{2}: f SB, rest M in Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra 12
3) **A**, m.26^{5}: numeral 2 over semibreve g indicates that it should be Br. in Tarazona 2/3
4) **A**, m.41^{4}: flat in Tarazona 2/3
5) **S**, m.47^{2}: f' SB instead of e' in Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra 12
6) **S**, m.56$^{3-6}$: f' M, e' SB, rest M, d' M in Tarazona 2/3
7) **A**, m.57^{3}: d' M in Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra 12
8) **B**, m.611: a SB instead of c in Tarazona 2/3 and Coimbra

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No. 37. Salve Regina

fols. cvii'-cxiii

Anonymous

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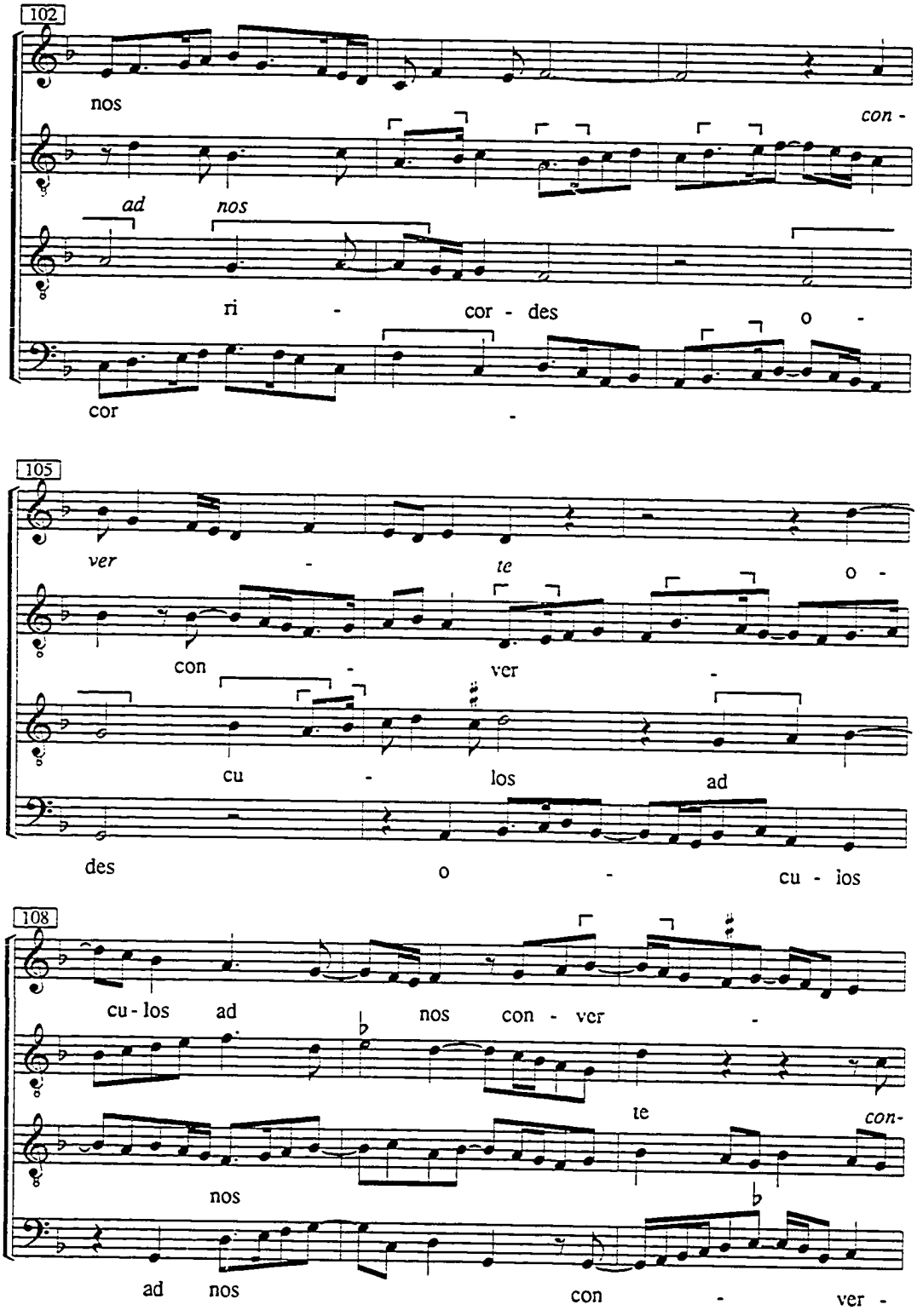

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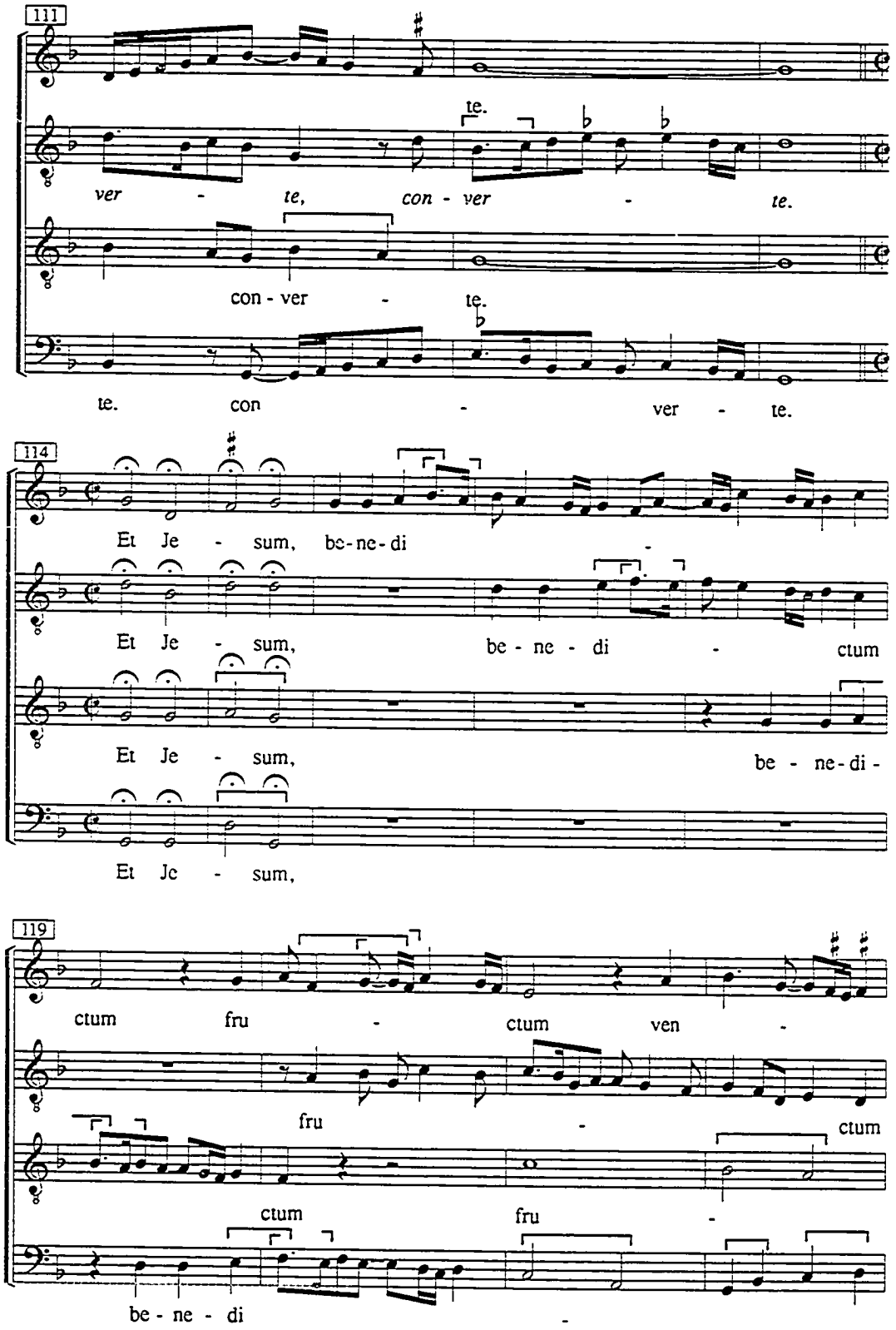

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No. 37. Salve Regina

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fols. cvii^{v}-cxiii^{r} (43^{v}-40^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 38. Magnificat octavi toni

fols. cxiii'-cxvi

Anonymous

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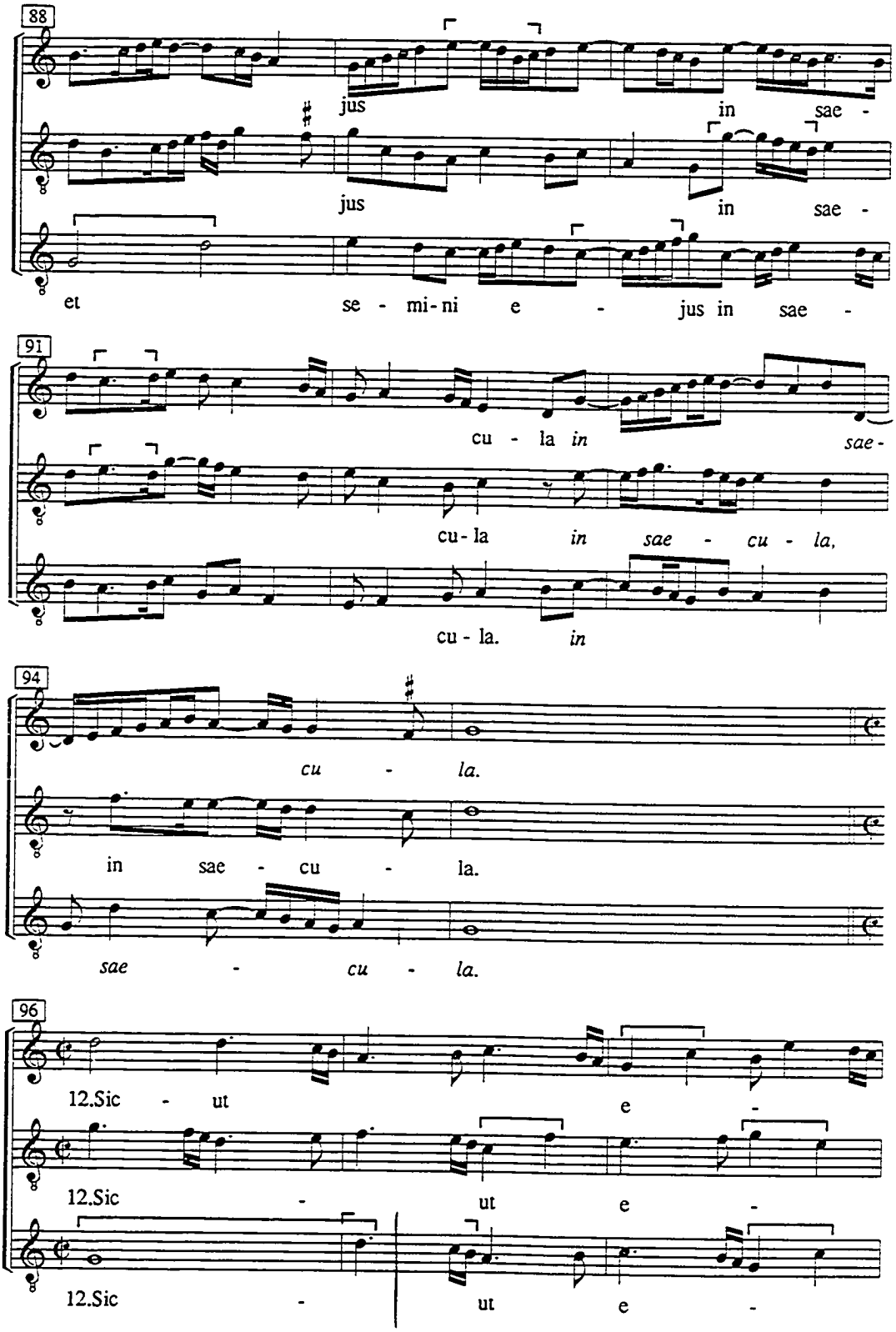

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No. 38. Magnificat octavi toni

Source:

Manuscript:

454/A, fols. cxiii^{v}-cxvi^{r} (40^{v}-43^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:

None.

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No. 39. [Textless]

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No. 39. [Textless]

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fol. cxvi^{v} (43^{v}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 41. Veni creator Spiritus

fols. cxvii'-cxviii

Anonymous

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No. 41. Veni creator Spiritus

Source:

Manuscript:

454/A, fols. cxvii^{v}-cxviii^{r} (44^{v}-45^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:

None.

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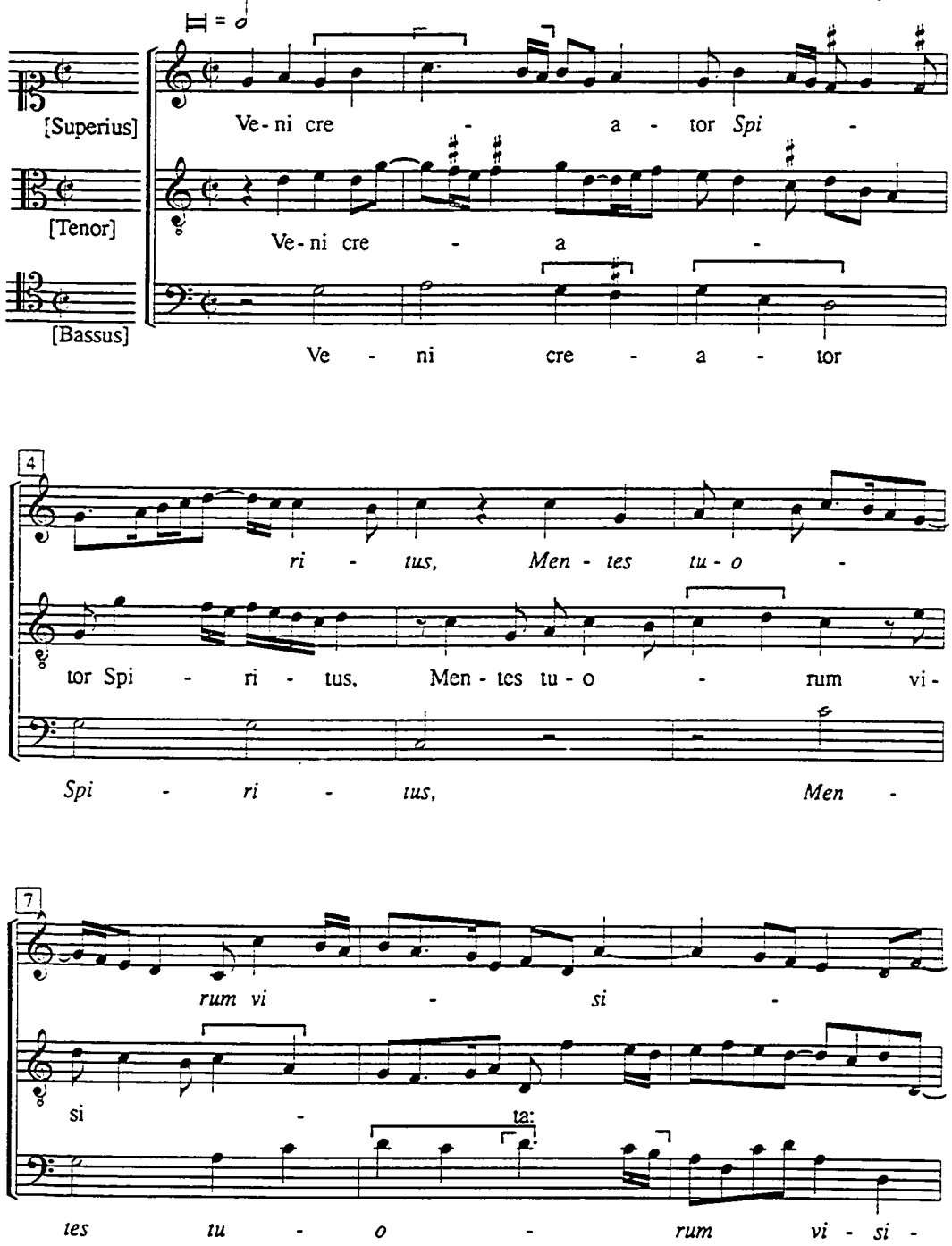
No. 42. Veni creator Spiritus

fols. cxviii'-cxviiii

Anonymous



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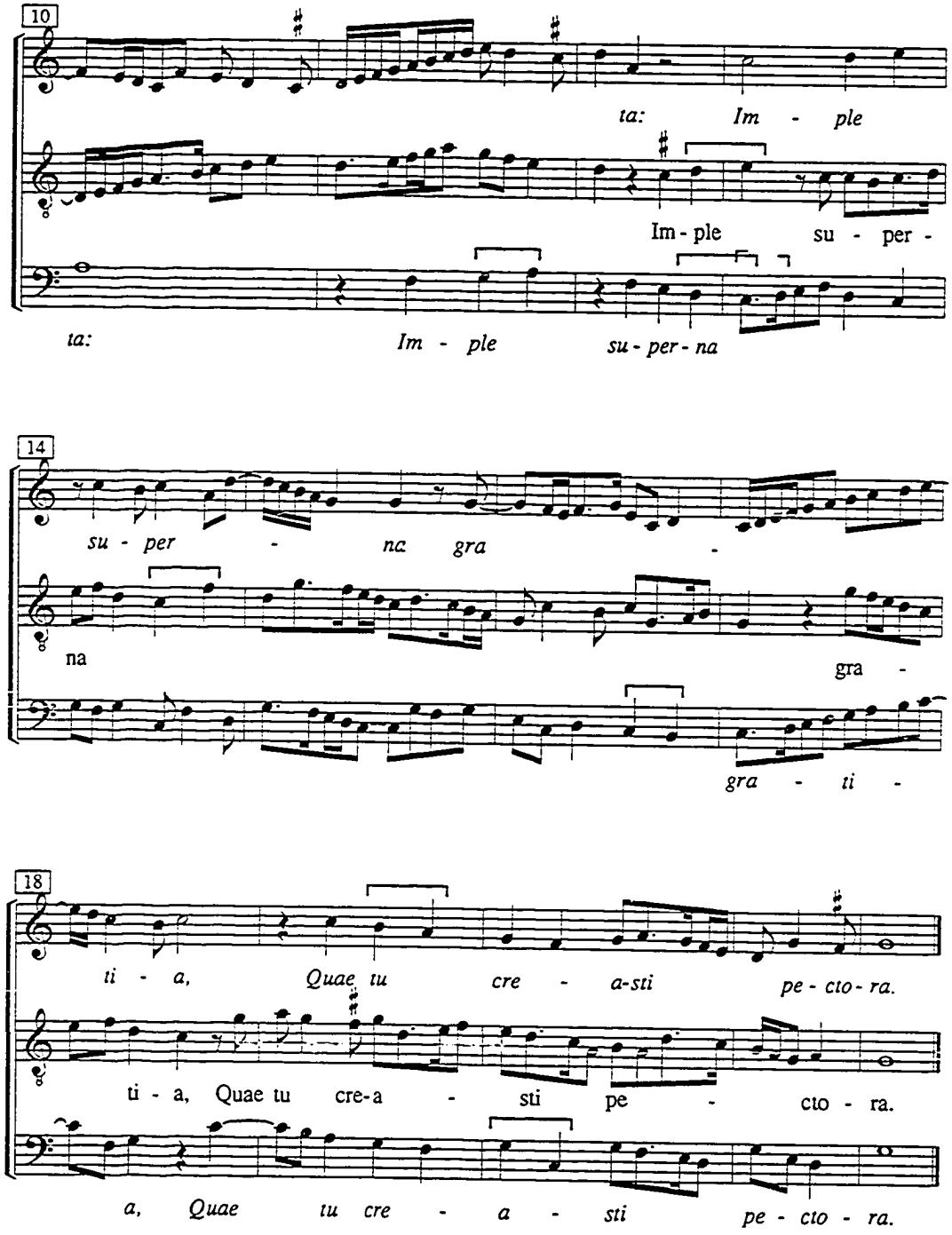

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No. 42. Veni creator Spiritus

Source:

Manuscript:

454/A, fols. cxviii^{v}-cxviiii^{r} (45^{v}-46^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:

None.

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No. 43. Virgen Reina gloriosa

foi. cxviiii' (46')

Lope de Baena

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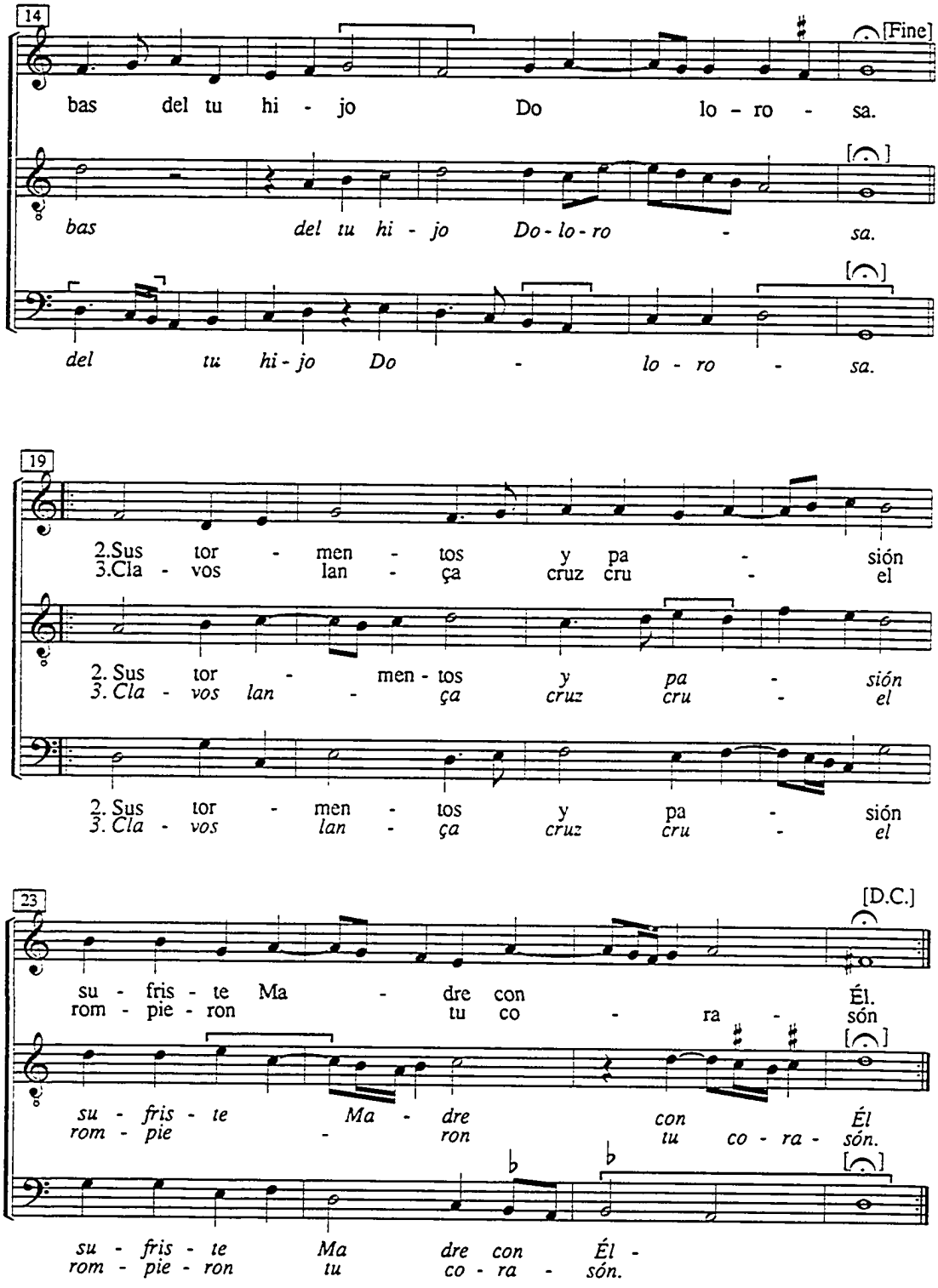

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No. 43. Virgen Reina gloriosa

Source:

454/A, fol. cxviiii^{v} (46^{v}), Lope de Vaena [=Baena]

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 480-81

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 343
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 404-05

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text:

	Virgen Reyna gloriosa	a
	tus sentidos olvidavas	b
	quando la muerte gustavas	b
	del tu hijo dolorosa.	a
5	Sus tormentos y passion	c
	sufriste madre con el	d
	clauos lança cruz cruel	d
	rrompieron tu corason.	c

Comments:

According to Lee, II, 282, the music is complete but the text is not, since it lacks the four lines for the *vuelta*. Perhaps the composer intended the repetition of the first four lines.

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No. 44. Dy pastorcico pues vienes

fol. cxx

[Pere Joan] Aldomar

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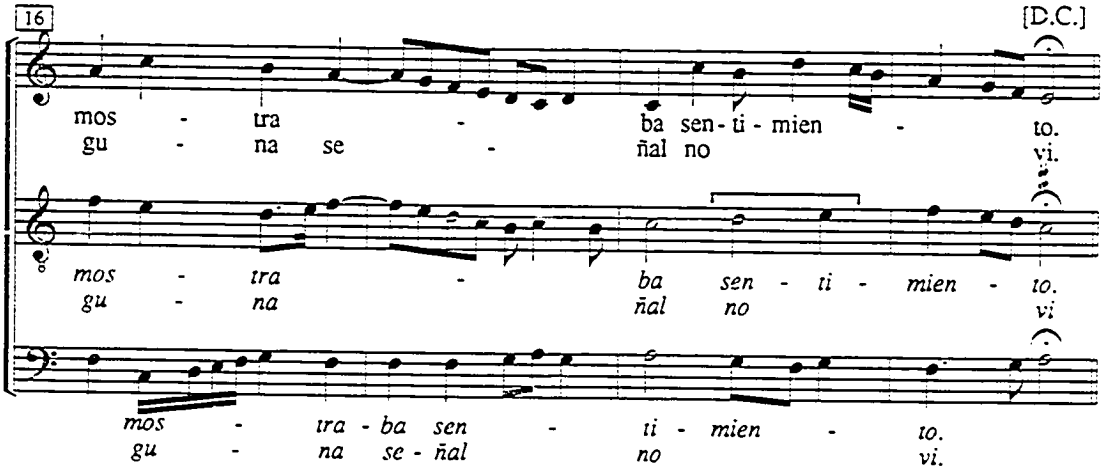

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No. 44. Dy pastorcico pues vienes

Source:

454/A, fol. cxx^{r} (48^{r}), [Pere Joan] Aldomar

Text edition:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 405

Previous editions:

Gregori, "La Música del Renaixament," II, 720-23
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 482-83

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text variants:

Line 7. Lee, I, 483, reads: *n. s. moví*

	Text	
	Dy pastorcico pues vienes	a
	dostá mi bien y cuydado	b
	que tal queda mi ganado	b
	Porque como yo party	
5	bien mostrava sentymiento	d
	mas de hazer movymiento	d
	ninguna señal no vi.	c
	Agora triste de mí	c
	temo sera alborotado	b
10	con lo mucho que [he] tardado	b

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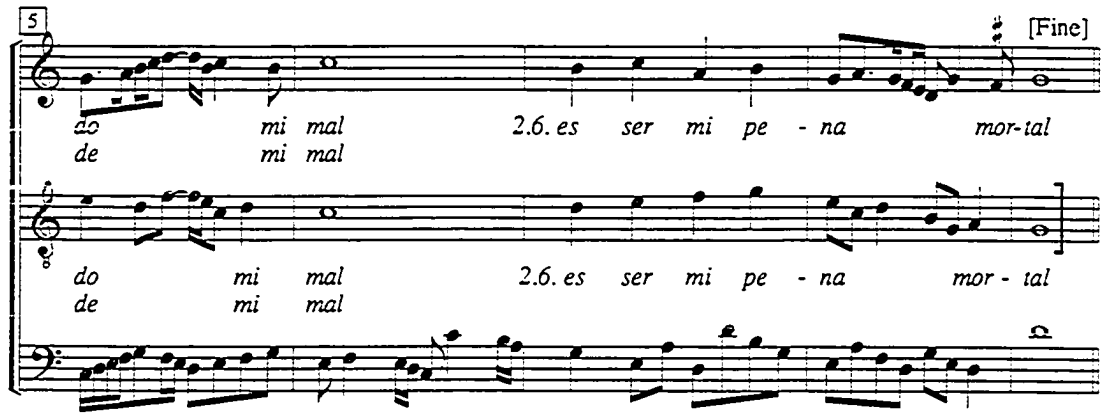
No. 45. Pues vivo en perder la vida

fol. cxx [Francisco de Peñalosa]

Pues vivo en perder la vida



Tanto tarda mi vivir

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No. 45. Pues vivo en perder la vida

Sources:

454/A, fol. cxx^{r} (48^{r}), Anon.
Madrid, 1335, fol. lxxv^{r}, Peñalosa

Editions:

Music:

Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 90
Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, No. 127

Text:

Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV/2, 307-08

Notes to the edition:

1) 454/A lacks **Ti** and first section of **T** owing to the loss of old fol. 47.
2) **C**, m.3^{2}: Madrid 1335 reads a.
3) **C**, m.5$^{6-7}$: Madrid 1335 has f minim instead of f-e semiminims.
4) **C**, m.8^{1}: Madrid 1335 reads c'.
5) **C**, m.9: Madrid 1335 reads g.
6) **C**, m.15: Madrid 1335 ends with the octave G-g.

Text:

	Pues bivo en perder la vida	a
	[el bien de todo mi mal	b
	es ser mi pena mortal.]	B
	Tanto tarda mi bevir	c
5	[quanto se tarda mi muerte	d
	porque mi mal es de suerte	d
	que no se puede çofrir.	c
	Y pues mi vida es morir	c
	el mayor bien de mi mal	b
10	es ser mi pena mortal.]	B

Comments:

Although the old previous fol. 47 is missing, the later roman foliation suffers no interruption, which indicates that the loss of that folio occurred before 454/A was bound to the rest of Barcelona 454. The missing text and music in 454/A have been replaced with the readings in Madrid 1335.

In this text, as Romeu, 308, points out, the suffering of a rejected lover is portrayed as a slow death. We find this theme of courtly love very frequently in the literature.

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No. 46. Aquel pastorçico madre

fol. cxx'

Gabriel

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No. 46. Aquel pastorçico madre

Source:

454/A, fol. cxx^{v} (48^{v}), Grauiel[=Gabriel]

Related composition:

Madrid 1335, fol. ccxvii^{v}, *Por las sierras de Madrid* by Peñalosa

Literary Concordances:

Madrid 1579, *Cartapacio Padilla*, fol. 230^{r}
Montesino, *Cancionero*, fol. 44^{v}, 66^{r}, 67^{v}
Pedraza, *Coplas... para cantar*, fol. 2^{v}
Lope de Rueda, *Coloquio de Timbria* (*Obras*, vol. 2, 109)
For literary references, see Frenk, *Corpus de la Lírica Polular*, 260-61

Sung to the tune of *Aquel pastorçico madre*:

Cancionero de Nuestra Señora, p. 23, "Ya nasció el rey encarnado"
Montesino, *Cancionero*, fols. 44^{v}-48^{r}, "Al sol vences con tu vista"
_____, *Cancionero*, fols. 66^{r}-67^{r}, "Reyna por mi bienvenida"
_____, *Cancionero*, fols. 67^{v}-68^{r}, "Aquella estrella de norte"
Pedraza, *Coplas... para cantar*, fols. 2^{v}-3^{r}, "O rey muy alto del cielo"

Notes to the edition

1) **C**, m.7$^{3-4}$: error g-G.

Text variants:

line 1. Pedraza: *A. cauallero m.*
line 3. Madrid 1335: *a. tiene e. e. c.*
line 4. Madrid 1579: *q. l. pene*
Madrid 1579 contains the following additional strophe:

Recordé, que no dormía
con cuidado,
esperando quien solía,
y no á llegado.
Pues el gallo no á cantado
y no vyene,
algo tenía en el campo
que le pene.

Text

Aquel pastorçico, madre,	a
que no viene,	b'
algo tenía en el campo	c
que le duele.	b'
Segaba la niña.	d
(incomplete)	

Comments:

Peñalosa's *Por las sierras de Madrid,* a sort of *quodlibet* or *ensalada* for six voices, makes free use of well-known tunes, including *Aquel pastorçico madre,* in one of the tenor voices (see below). The version of this melody in the tenor of Gabriel's setting, however, is different, and it seems to be closer to a hypothetical original.

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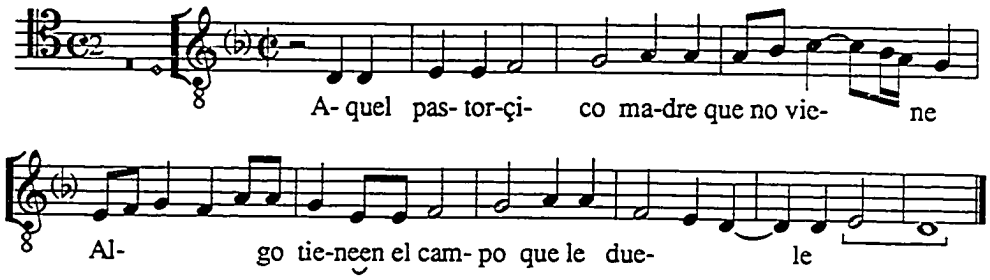
Madrid 1335, fol. ccxvii^{v}, Tenor 2 from *Por las sierras de Madrid* by Peñalosa



454/A, fol. cxx^{v} (48^{v}), Tenor from *Aquel pastorçico madre* by Gabriel

The popularity of *Aquel pastorçico madre* was reflected in literary cancioneros with the indication "...y se canta al tono de" or "al tono de..." to point out that a newly-composed poem should be sung to this particular melody. Fray Ambrosio de Montesino (1444/50–ca.1514), a Franciscan at the court of Fernando and Isabel, wrote three long poems to be sung "al son de Aquel pastorcico madre." They were commissioned by Queen Isabel (*Al sol que venças con tu vista*), the Countess of Osorno, Teresa de Toledo (*Reina por mi bien venida*), and Doña Maria de Guevara (*Aquella estrella de norte*). A modern edition of these texts appears in Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, *Cancionero de Fray Ambrosio Montesino* (Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 1987). Montesino's text fits the tenor in 454/D better than the version of the tune in Madrid 1335. The implications of using popular melodies to sing long poems, of more than 500 lines (!), such as *Al sol que venças con tu vista* (devoted to Saint John the Evangelist), are significant and have been overlooked by previous scholars and performers of Iberian music. That the practice extended beyond the immediate circle of Queen Isabel is attested by the numerous commissions received by Montesino from members of the Castilian nobility, as well as by the dissemination of printed "pliegos sueltos."

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No. 47. Magnificat octavi toni

fols. cxx'-cxx

Alonso de Mondéjar

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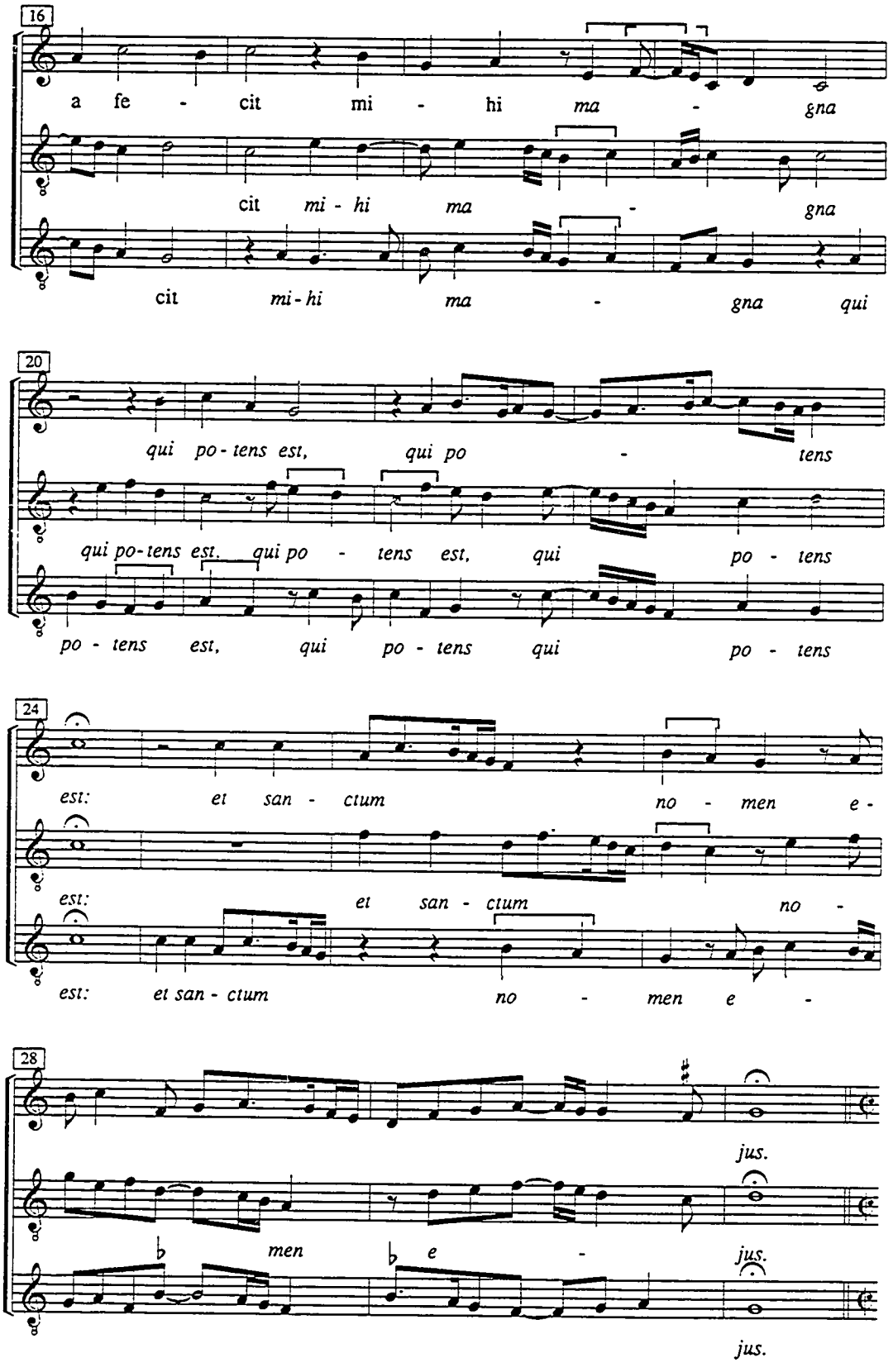

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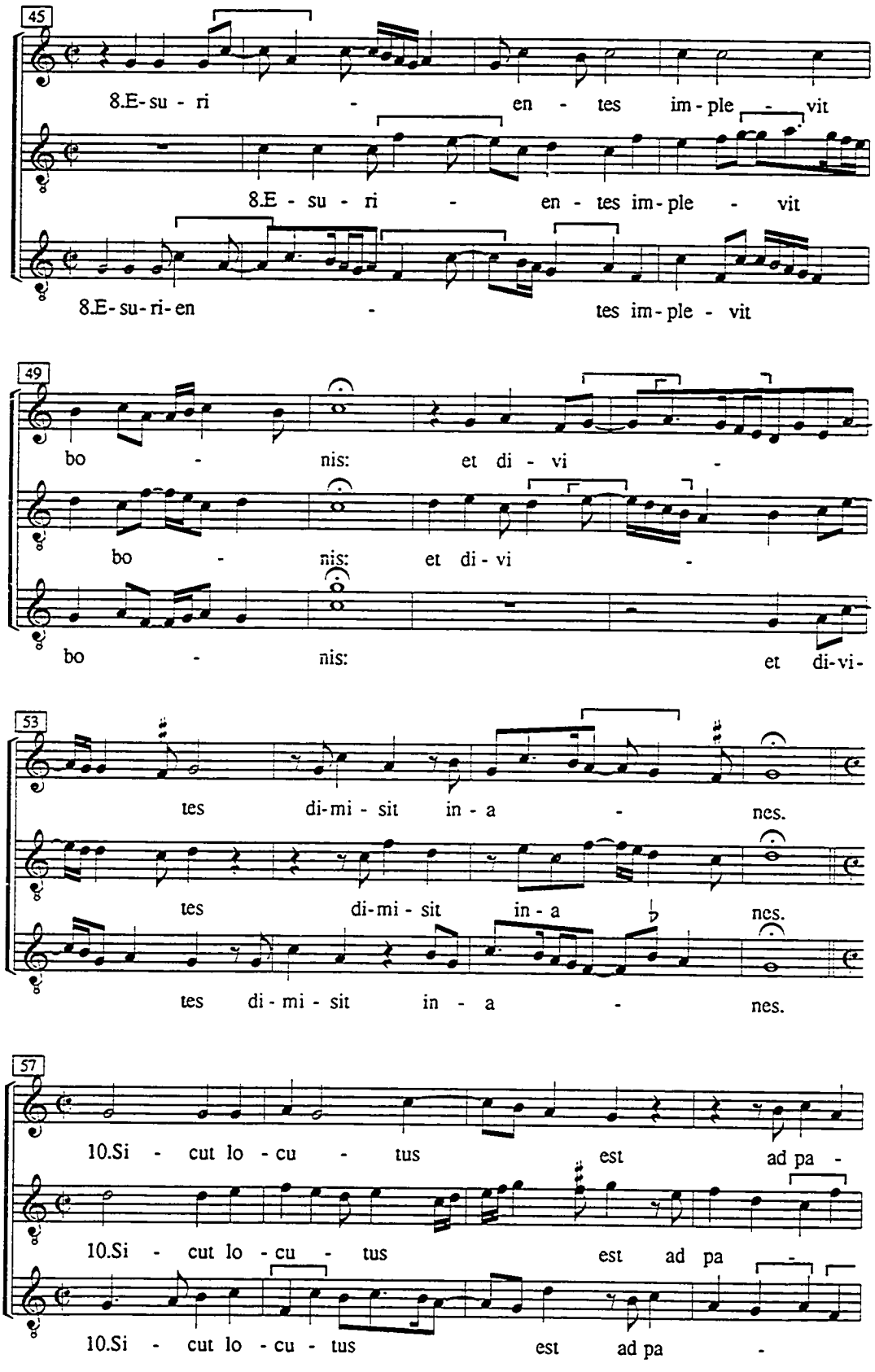

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No. 47. Magnificat octavi toni

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fols. cxx^{v}-cxxii^{r} (48^{v}-50^{r}), Alonso de Mondéjar

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 48. [Textless]

fol. cxxii

Alonso de Mondéjar

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No. 48. [Textless]

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fol. cxxii^{r} (50^{r}), Alonso de Mondéjar

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 49. Ave Maria

fols. cxxii'-cxxiiii

Anonymous

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No. 49. Ave Maria

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fols. cxxii^{v}-cxxiiii^{r} (50^{v}-52^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:
There is no text after m. 79.

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No. 59. Mater patris, nacti nacta

fols. cxxxviii'-cxxxviii [bis]

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No. 59. Mater patris, nacti nacta

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fols. cxxxviii^{v}-cxxxviii [bis]^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
454/B does not transmit the text.

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No. 62. Ave sanctissima Maria

fol. cxl'-cxli

Anonymous

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No. 62. Ave sanctissima Maria

Source:

Manuscript:

454/A, fols. cxl^{v}-cxli^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:

The ms provides text incipits only; I have used the text of the homonymous composition (No. 94) in 454/C.

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No. 63. Abit Jhesus trans mare galiee

fols. cxli'-cxliii

Anonymous

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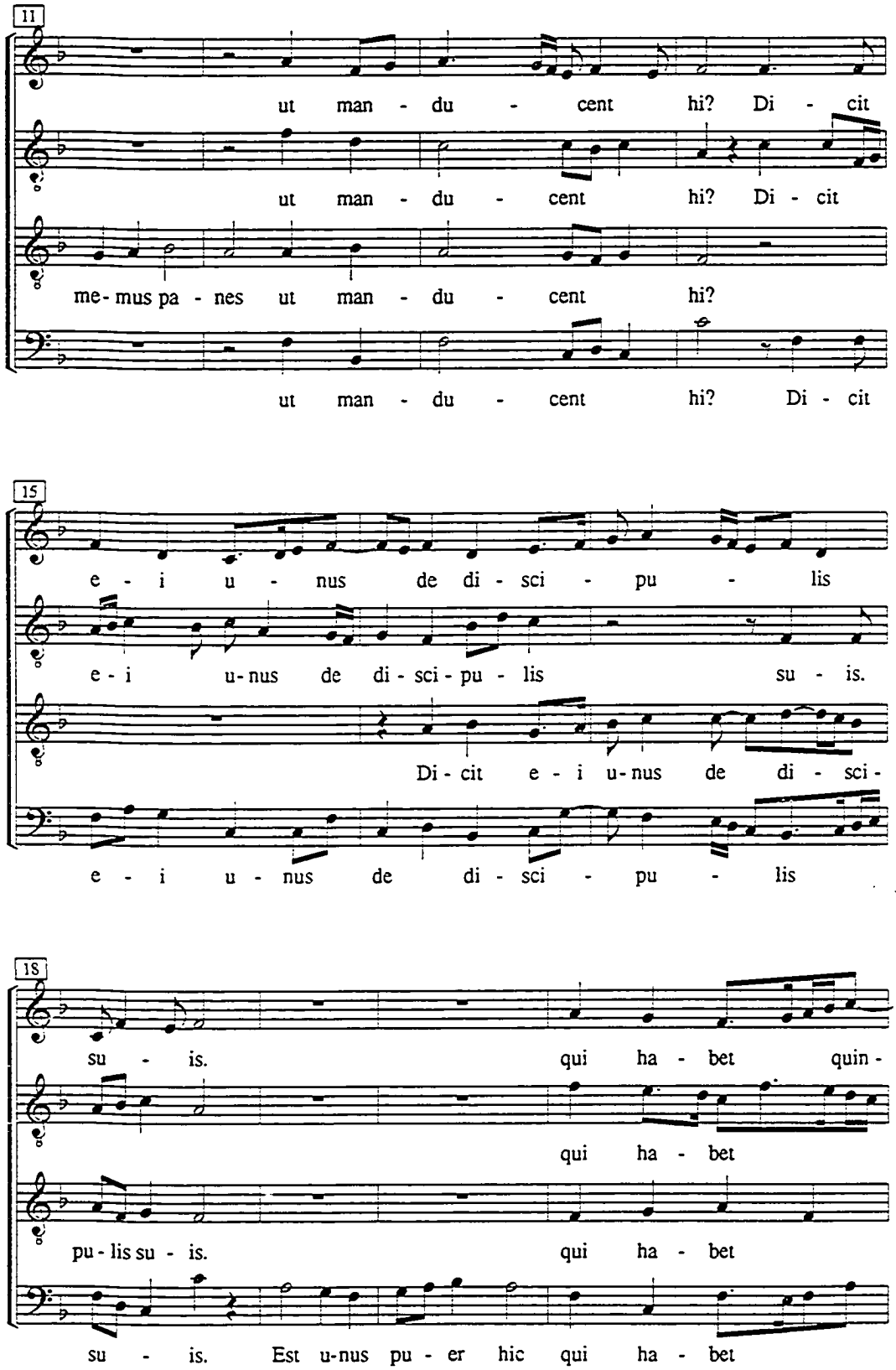

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No. 63. Abit Jhesus trans mare galiee

Source:
Manuscript:
454/D, fol. cxli^{v}-cxliiir, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
The text uses the Gospel according to John (chapter VI, versicles 1-21).

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No. 64. Amor pues tú nos das plazer

fol. cxliii'

Lope de Baena

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No. 64. Amor pues tú nos das plazer

Source:

454/B, fol cxliii^{v}, Lope de Vaena [=Baena] t;t;x

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 487-88

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 343
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 405
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 156

Notes to the edition

1) **C**, m.1: The first two notes are practically illegible.

2) **Ti**, m.2^{2}: semiminim instead of minim.

3) **C**, m.8: Lee, I, 487, indicated that rests or notes were missing, and inserted rests in brackets between the first and second notes of this measure. The value of the rests is equivalent to one of the two C breves that follows but which she omitted. Her reading of this passage is as follows:

4) **C**, m.9^{4}: F in ms.

5) **Ti**, m.13^{1}: b' flat in ms.

6) **Ti**, m.21^{1}: dotted f" illegible.

Text

Amor pues tu nos das plazer
tanbien dolor
dinos cual es lo mejor

Text variant:

Line 1: **T**, incipit omits *tu*

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No. 65. Los braços trayo

fol. cxliiii

Francisco de Peñalosa

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No. 65. Los braços trayo

Source:

454/B, fol. cxliiii^{r}, Peñalosa -;x;-

Related compositions:

Madrid 1335, fol. ccxci^{r}, Millán

Paris 56, fol. 66^{v}-67^{r}, Anon. (monophonic)

Valderrábano, *Silva de Sirenas*, fol. 25^{v}-26^{r} (voice and vihuela after Vásquez)

Vásquez, *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos* (Seville, 1560), fol. 27^{v}

Literary sources:

Cancionero de romances...[1] (Antwerp, n.d. [1547-49]), fol. 188^{r}, *Por la matança va el viejo* (verses 3-6)

Cancionero de romances...[2] (Antwerp, 1550), fol. 198^{r}, *En los campos de Alventosa* (after verse 16)

Silva de varios romances...(Zaragoza, 1550), fol. 112^{r}, follows *Cancionero* [1]

Cancionero de romances...[3] (Antwerp, 1555), follows *Cancionero* [2]

See also Menéndez Pidal, *Cancionero de romances*, xxxi-xxxii)

Editions:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 375-77

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 406 and 489-91

Notes to the edition

1) **Ti**, m.9^{2}: dotted semiminim instead of dotted minim.

Text

Los braços trayo [cansados	a
de los muertos rodear	b
fallo todos los franceses	c
no fallo a don Rreynalte]	d

Text variants:

The text has been completed after Madrid 1335. Romeu, *Cancionero de Palacio*, 488, lists the following text variants: Line 1. Valderrábano and Vásquez: *L. b. traygo c.*; *Cancionero* [1], *Cancionero* [2], *Silva*, and Tortajada: *l. b. lleva c.* Line 3. Valderrábano: *vi a t. l. f.*; Vásquez: *vide a t. l. f.* Line 4. Valderrábano: *y n. h. a d. Beltrán*; Vásquez: *y n. vide a d. Beltrán*; *Cancionero* [1], *Cancionero* [2], *Silva*, and Tortajada: *y n. vido a d. Beltrán.* We should add the variants in the text of Paris 56, the only musical source that contains more than four verses and the only one to transmit a Portuguese reading.

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No. 66. [Falsobordone] primus tonus

fol. cxliiii'

Anonymous

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No. 66. [Falsobordone] primus tonus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. cxliiii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 67. [Falsobordone primus tonus]

fol. cxliiii'

Anonymous

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No. 67. [Falsobordone primus tonus]

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. cxliiii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
1) A, m.13^{2}-14^{1}: the value equivalent to a dotted Br is missing

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No. 68. [Falsobordone] secundus tonus

fol. cxlv

Anonymous

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No. 68. [Falsobordone] secundus tonus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. cxlv^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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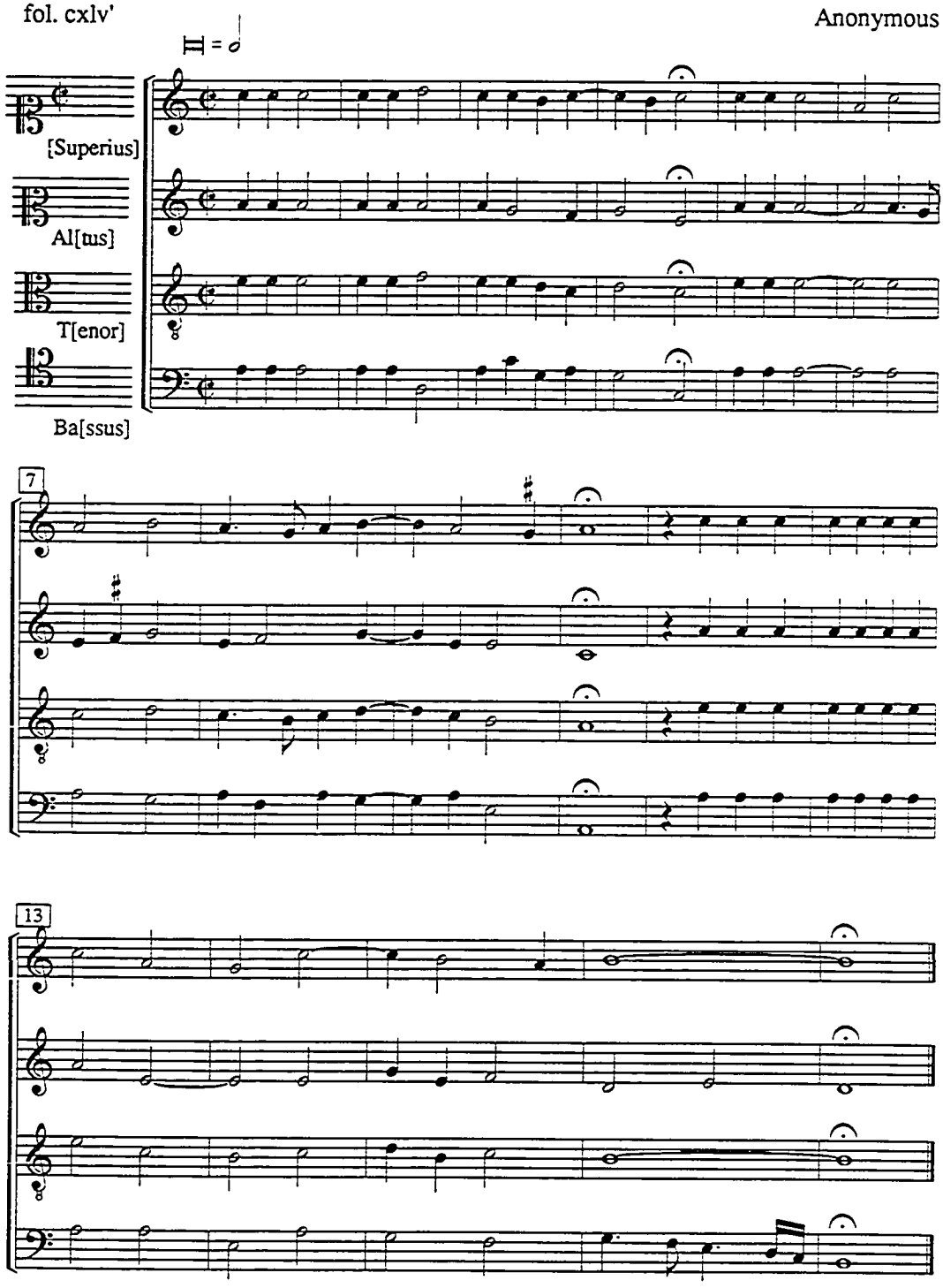
No. 69. [Falsobordone] tercius tonus

fol. cxlv'

Anonymous



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No. 69. [Falsobordone] tercius tonus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fols. cxlv^{v}, Anon.

Edition:
Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, 36-37 (final passage not included)

Notes to the edition:
None.

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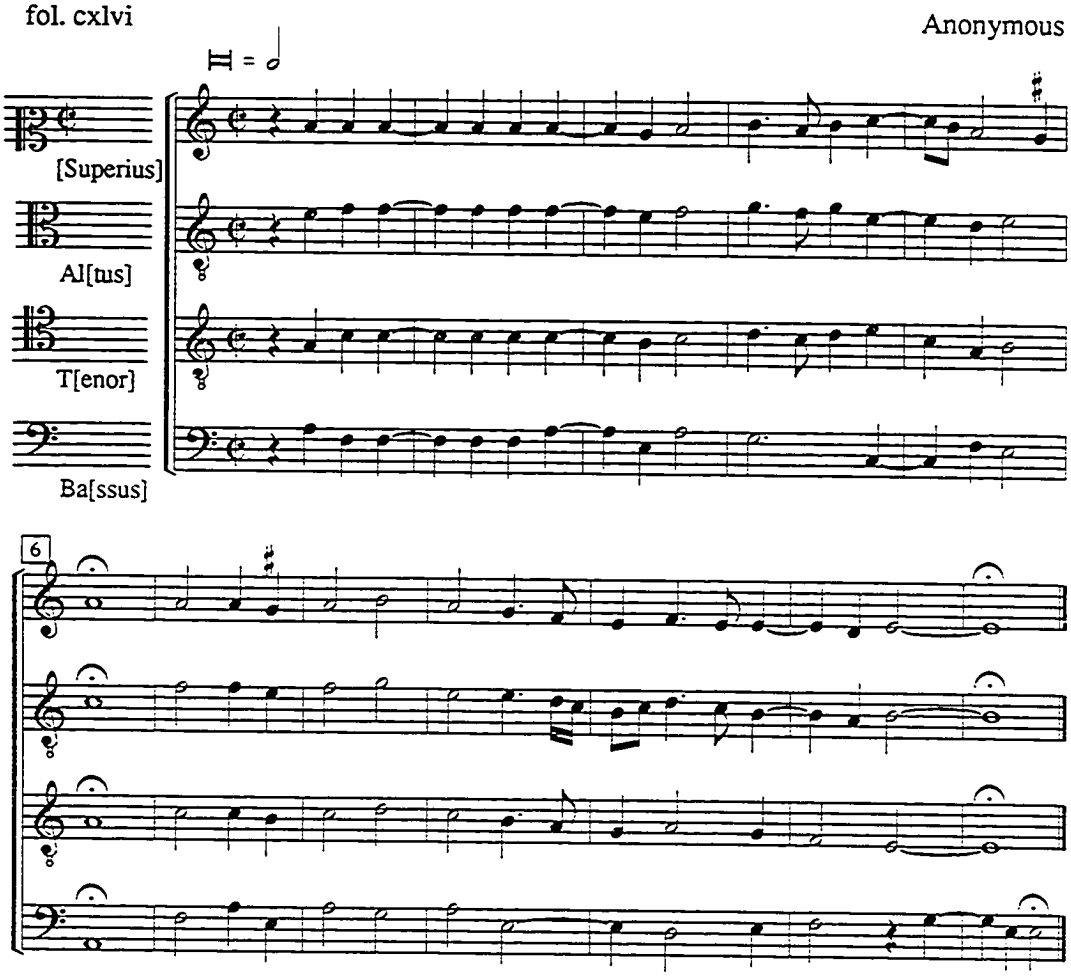
No. 70. [Falsobordone] quartus tonus

fol. cxlvi

Anonymous



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No. 70. [Falsobordone] quartus tonus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. cxlvi^{r}, Anon.

Edition:
Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, 37

Notes to the edition:
None.

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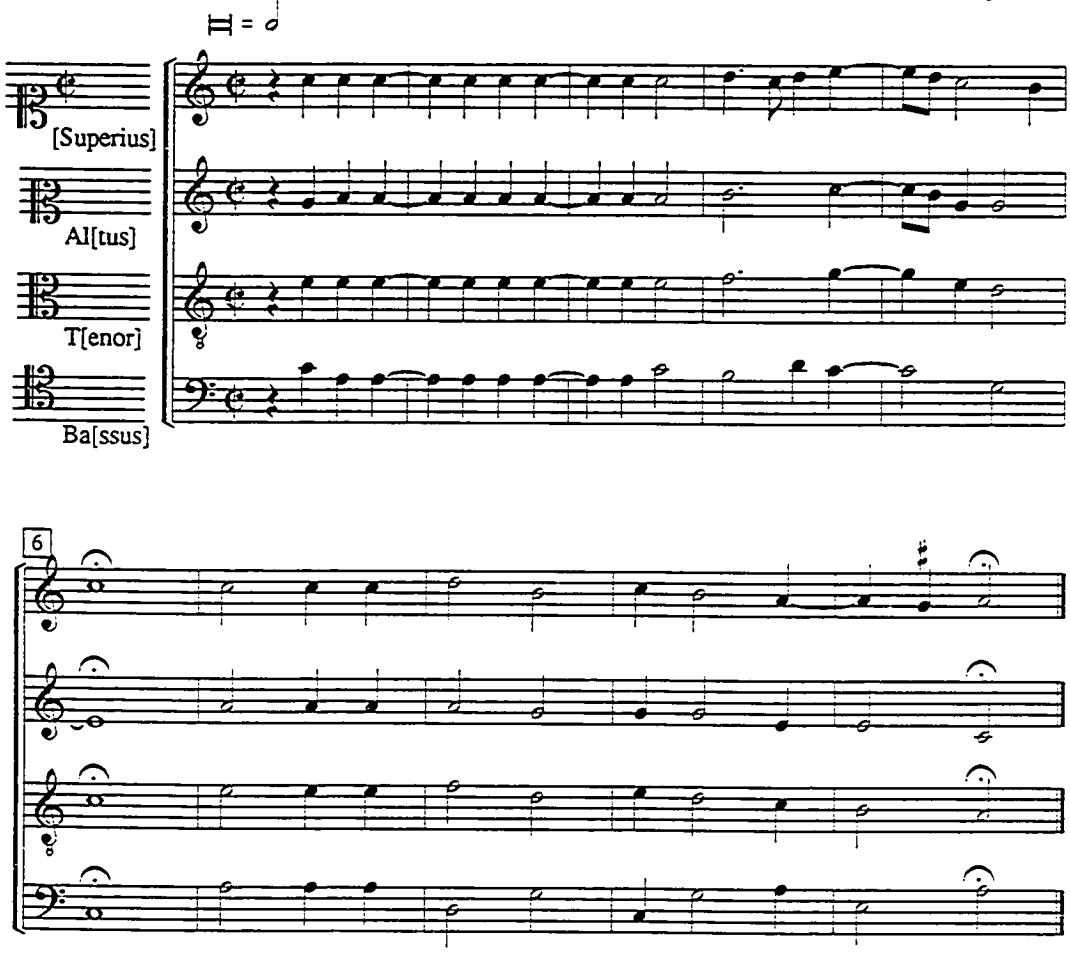
No. 71. [Falsobordone] Vus tonus

fol. cxlvi

Anonymous



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No. 71. [Falsobordone] V^{us} tonus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol.cxlvi^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 72. [Falsobordone] sestus tonus

fol. cxlvi'

Anonymous

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No. 72. [Falsobordone] sestus tonus

Source:

Manuscript:

454/B, fol. cxlvi^{v}, Anon.

Edition:

Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, 21-22

Notes to the edition:

None.

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No. 73. [Falsobordone] septimus tonus

fol. cxlvii

Anonymous

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No. 73. [Falsobordone] septimus tonus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. cxlvii^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 74. [Falsobordone] hoctavus tonus

fols. cxlvii'-cxlviii

Anonymous

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No. 74. [Falsobordone] hoctavus tonus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fols. cxlvii^{v}-cxlviii^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 77. Exultet celum laudibus

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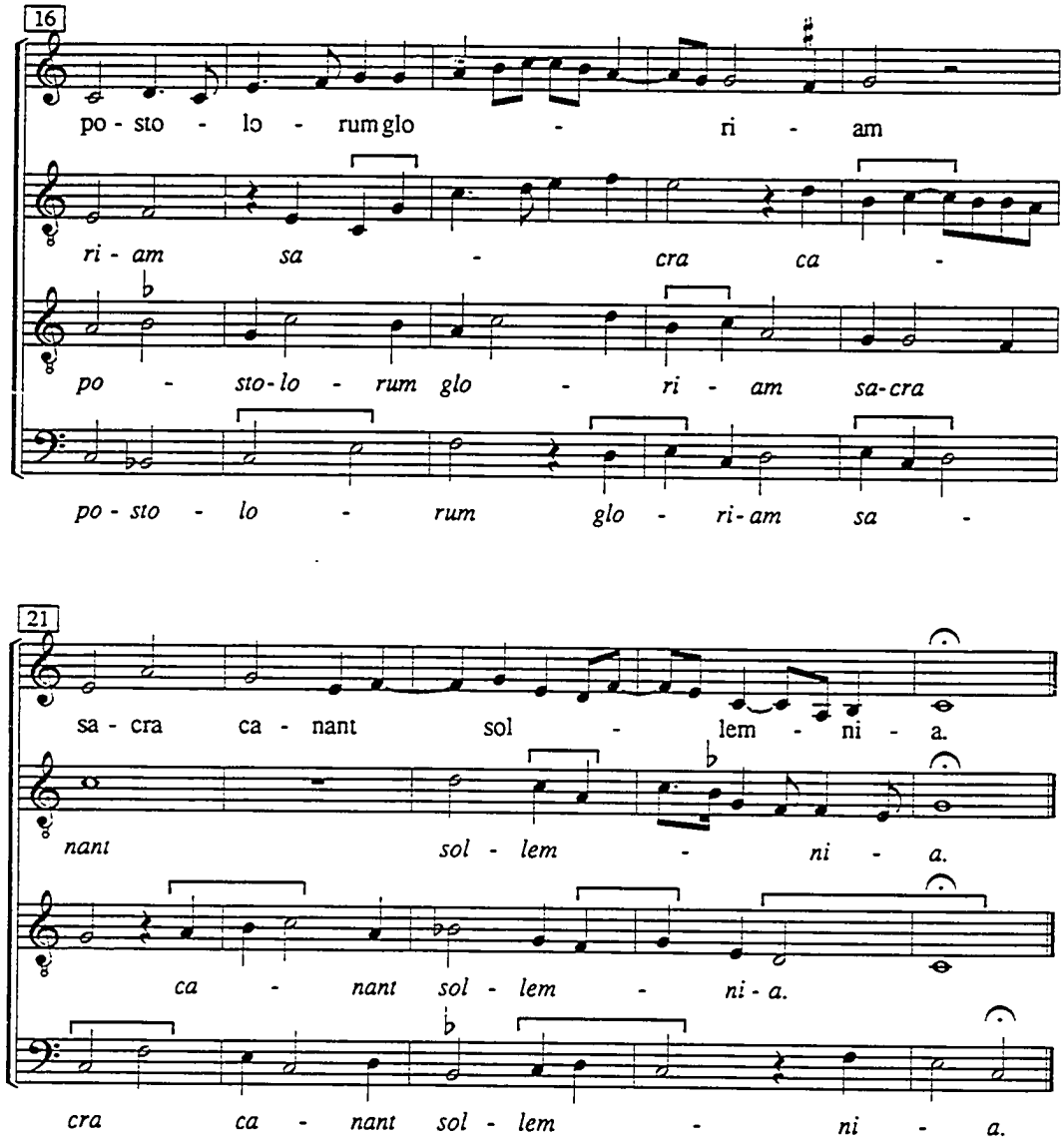

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No. 77. Exultet celum laudibus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fols. cl^{v}-cli^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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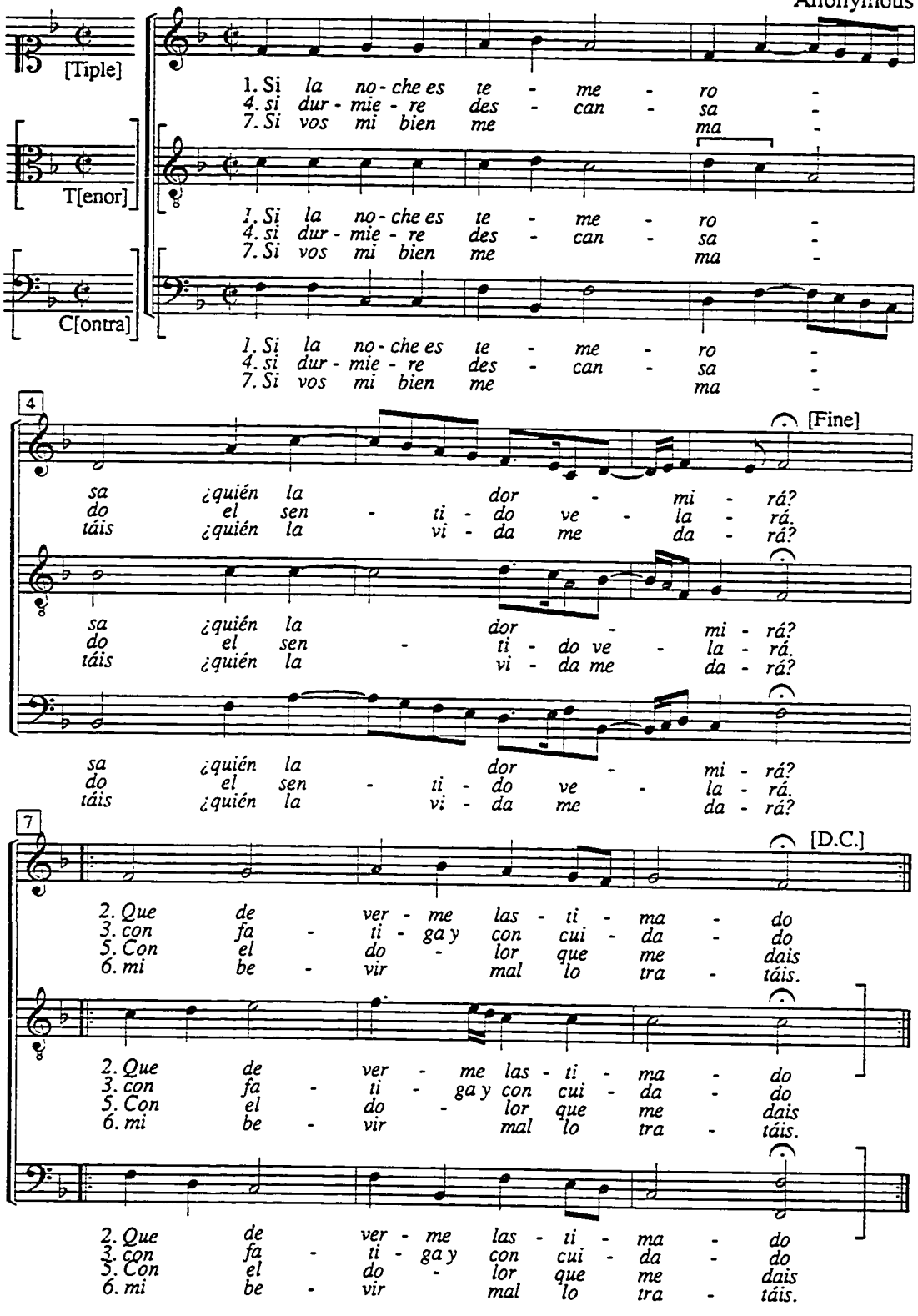
No. 78. Si [la noche es temerosa]

fol. cli

Anonymous



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No. 78. Si [la noche es temerosa]

Sources:

454/B, fol. cli^{r}, Anon.

Madrid 1335, fol. ccx^{r}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, II, No. 300

Barbiei, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 192

Text

Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-2, 402

Notes to the edition:

1) 454/B transmits only the**Ti** with the incipit *Si*. The other two voices and the text have been added after Madrid 1335.

2) **Ti**, m.1$^{3-4}$: Madrid 1335 has Br in all three voices instead of two SB.

3) **Ti**, m.7^{1}: Madrid 1335 has f'-f' (two SB)

4) **Ti**, m.9^{1}: 454/B has two SB.

Text:

Si la noche es temerosa a
quien la dormira b

Que de verme lastimado c
con fatiga i con cuidado c
si durmiere descansado c
el sentido velara. b

Con el dolor que me dais
mi bevir mal lo tratais.
Si bos mi bien me matais
quien la vida me dara.

Comments

According to Romeu, the refrain of this piece is of traditional origin and its theme concerns the insomnia provoked by love; the two strophes, he adds, constitute a *glosa* in a learned style.

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No. 79. Sacris solemnis

fol. cli'

Anonymous

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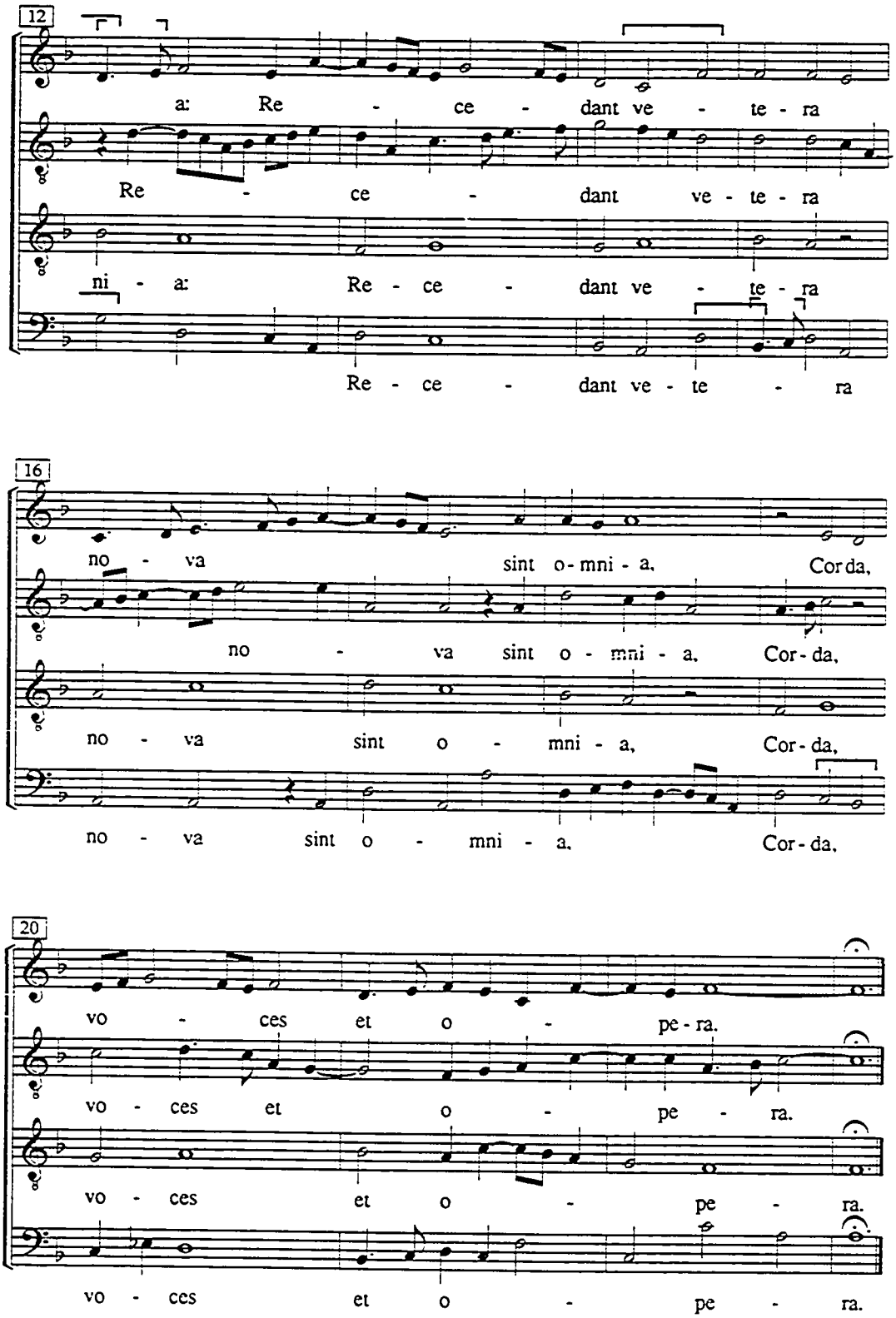

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No. 79. Sacris solemnis

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. cli^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 80. Sacris solemnis

fol. clii

Anonymous

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No. 80. Sacris solemnis

Source:
Manuscript:
454/C, fol. cliii^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
In this hymn the superius is the same as the tenor of Peñalosa's *Sacris solemnis* in Tarazona 2/3, fol. v^{v}.

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No. 81. Magnificat sexti toni

fols. clii'-cliiii

Quexada

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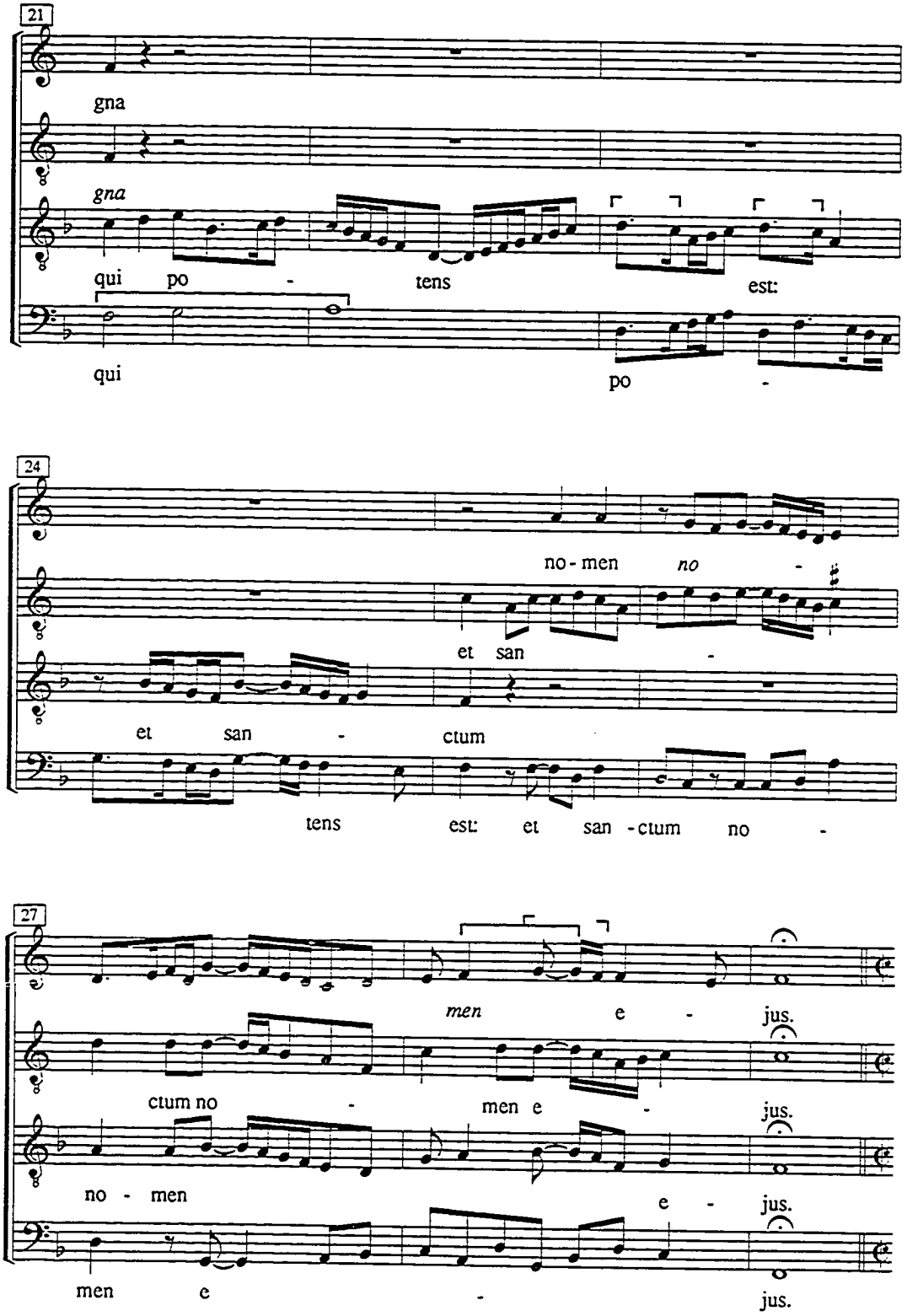

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No. 81. Magnificat sexti toni

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fols. cliiv-cliiir, Quexada

Notes to the edition:
1) **T**, m.13^{6}: ms reads f M instead of f SM
2) **S**, m.25^{2}: ms reads a' Br instead of a SB
1) **B**, m.89: ms reads A insttead of F

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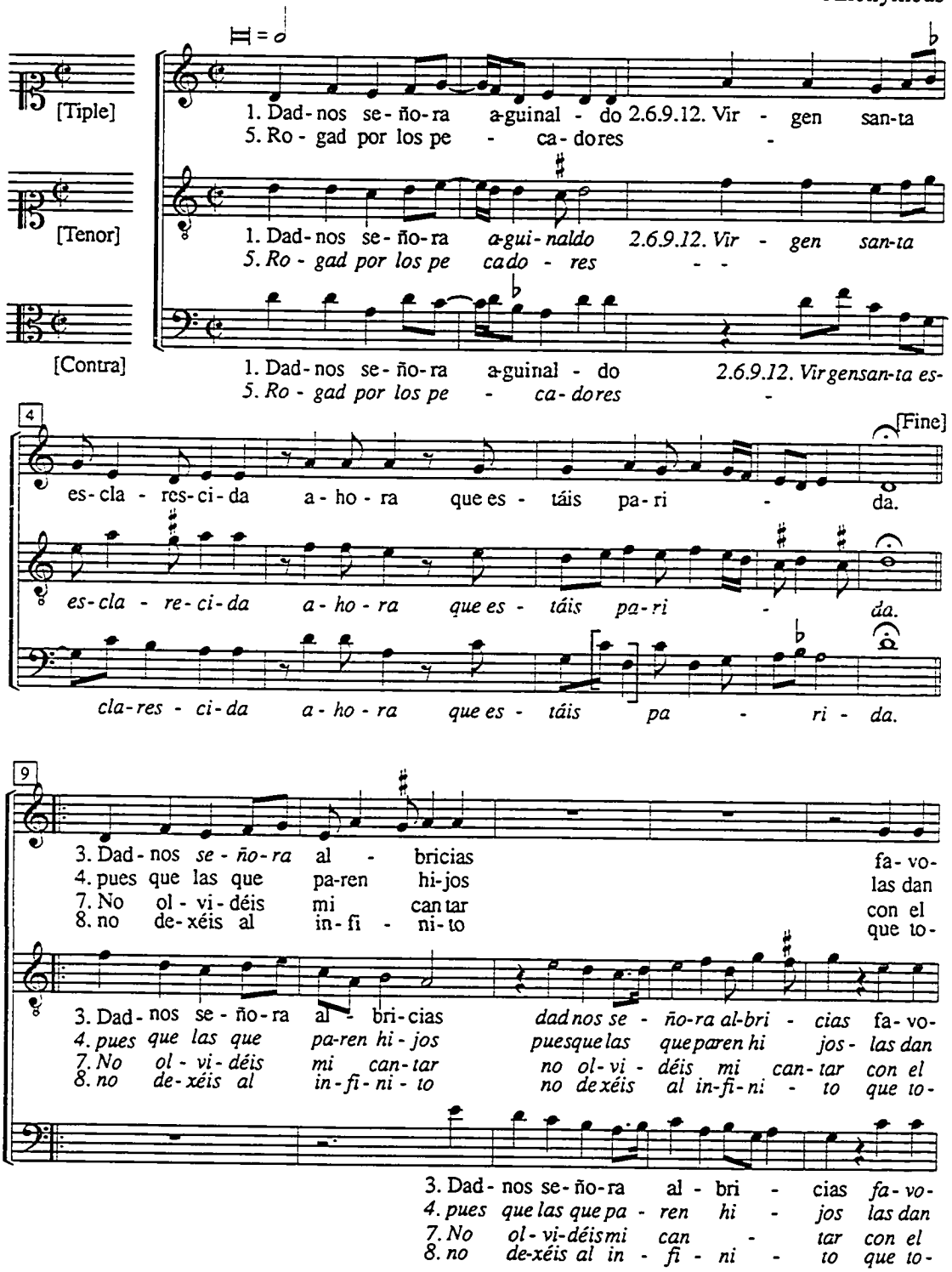
No. 83. Dadnos señora aguinaldo

fol. clvii'

Anonymous



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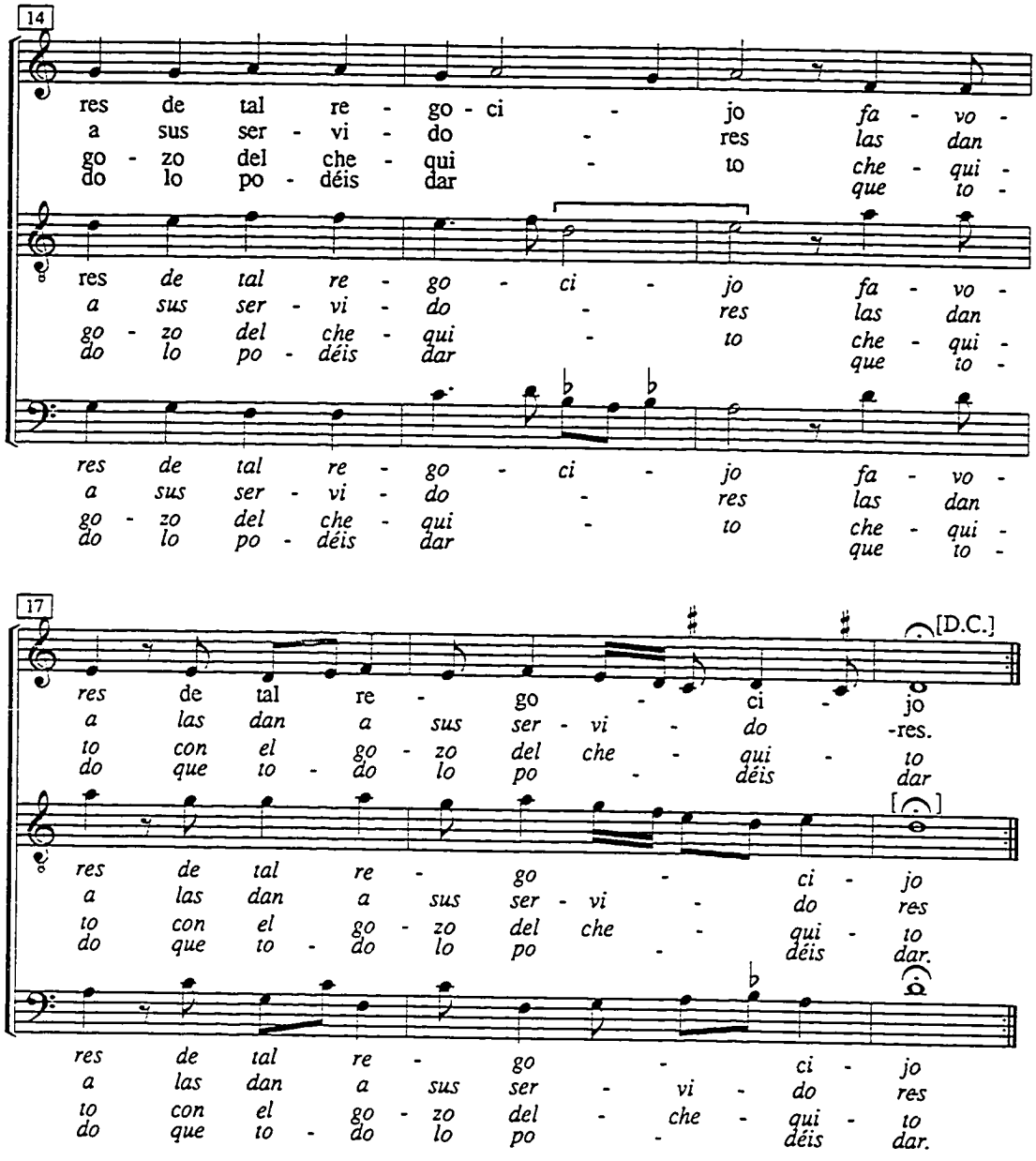

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No. 83. Dadnos señora aguinaldo

Source:

454/D, fol. clvii^{v}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 492-93

Text:

Krogstad, "Cancionero poetry," 343
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 406

Notes to the edition:

1) **Ti**, m.4$^{2-3}$: d'-c' in ms.
2) **T**, m.6^{2}: d' in ms.
3) **C**, m.6$^{2-3}$: c'-f omitted in ms; the same design appears in m. 17
4) **T**, m.14^{3}: e' in ms.
5) **T**, m.16^{1}: f' in ms.
6) **Ti**, m.17^{4}: ms has d' twice.

Text:

	Dadnos señora aguinaldo	a
	Virgen santa esclarescida	B
	haora que estays parida	B.
	Dadnos [señora] albricias	c
5	fabores de tal rregocijo	d
	pues que las que paren yjos	d
	las dan a sus seruidores.	e
	Rogat por los pecadores	e
	Virgen santa esclarescida	B
10	[haora que estays parida]	B

	No holbideis mi cantar		O bos Virgen mater dey
	con el gozo del chequito		madre del rrey de los rreyes
	no dexeys al ynfinito		no holuideys nuestras greys
	que todo lo podeys dar	20	que os siruen con mucha lei
15	Virgen santa [esclarescida		Virgen santa [esclarescida
	haora que estays parida].		haora que estays parida]

Comments:

The last two strophes were added by a different hand at the bottom of the folio. Dutton, *Catálogo-Indice*, 1, considers them to constitute a separate poem without music. I believe, however, that they were intended for this piece, since they include the line "Virgen santa," which most likely indicates that after each of these two strophes the *vuelta* should be sung starting at "Virgen santa," omitting the first phrase. As Lee, II, 100, has pointed out, this abbreviated *vuelta* is musically feasible since both the end of section II and the first phrase of section I cadence on a d' unison.

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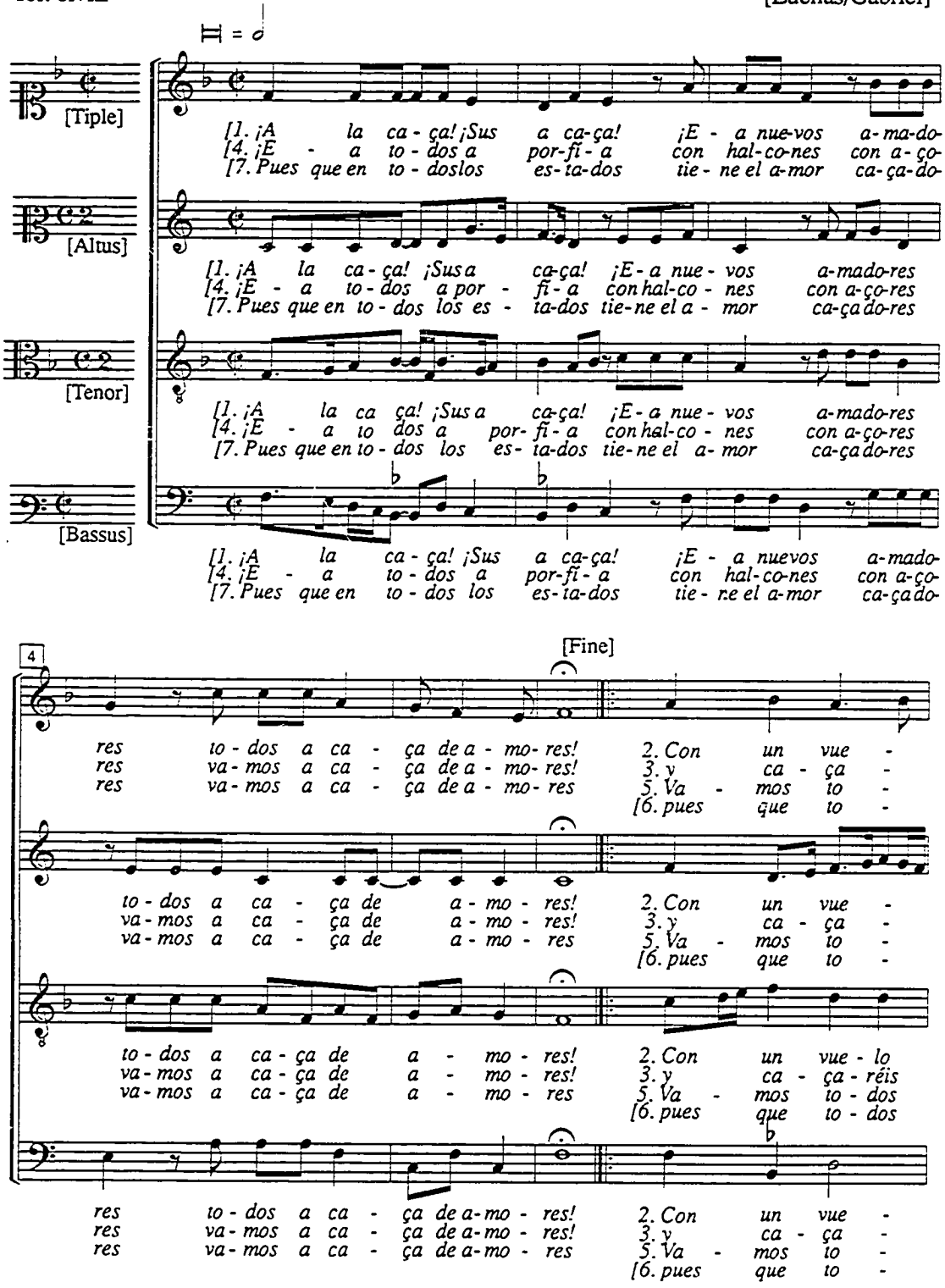
No. 84. [A la caça]

fol. clviii

[Luchas/Gabriel]



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III
Habrá tanto regocijo
en los bosques y montañas
que qualquier temá letijo
de dentro de sus entrañas.
Y ansí, con sus artimañas,
quedarán los caçadores
todos caçados de amores

IV
Ballestas muy furiosas
habrá en esta montería,
y saetas aquexosas
tiradas con gran porfía.
Las cornetas y bozería
de monteros y clamores
dirán: Amores, amores.

V
Los hidalgos gavilanes
son los nobles pensamientos
y los galgos son afanes
que corren tras los tormentos.
Bugíos alharaquientos
y podencos buscadores
son fatigas y dolores.

VI
Son los perros nocharniegos
con que habemos de caçar
los muy centellosos fuegos
con que amor suele abrasar.
Dolores, plazer, pesar,
¿dónd'están, por corredores,
para caçar los amores?

VII
El deseo es el hurón;
lazos, redes son pasiones
do se ase el afición,
enredado con sus prisiones.
Las renzillas, las quistiones
son los perros buscadores.
Todos a caça de amores!

VIII
Los halcones de alto vuelo
son las altas fantasías;
los açores son el zelo,
que matan las alegrías.
Caçaréis noches y días.
con favores, disfavores,
hasta caçar los amores.

IX
Y si garça se hallare
vuele luego el çufrimiento;
y si éste no alcançare,
lançaréis el pensamiento.
Su gracia y merecimiento
serán los remontadores.
Todos a caça de amores!

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No. 84. [A la caça]

Sources:

454/D, fol. clviii^{r}, Anon.

Madrid 1335, fol. ccxxvii^{v}-ccxxviii^{r}, Luchas/Gabriel

Editions:

Music:

Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, III, No. 330

Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 210

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 494

Text:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 406-07

Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-2, 425-26

Notes to the edition:

1) Madrid 1335 has B-flat key signature in all voices.

2) **A**, m.2^{7}: ms has e'; f' after Madrid 1335.

3) **B**, m.7^{3}: Madrid 1335 has two semibreves d.

4) **A**, mm.9$^{2-5}$-11: ms reads notes a third higher.

5) **T**, m.9^{4}: ms reads b-flat.

6) **A**, m.11: Madrid 1335 has an additional blackened longa a.

Text:

[*¡A la caça! ¡Sus, a caça!* a
¡Ea, nuevos amadores b
todos a caça de amores! B

Con un buelo de dulçor c
bolaréis altanería d
y caçaréis al amor c
con tristeza y alegría. d
¡Ea, todos a porfía, d
con halcones, con açores, b
vamos a caça de amores! B

Vamos todos a esta caça
a caçar, siendo caçados,
pues que todos desta rraça
dell amor somos tocados.
Pues qu'en todos los estados
tiene'l amor caçadores,
vamos a caça de amores

Avrá tanto regocijo
en los bosques y montañas,
que qualquier ternâ letijo
de dentro de sus entrañas.
Y ansí, con sus artimañas,
quedarán los caçadores
todos caçados de amores.

Ballestas muy furiosas
abrá en esta montería,
y saetas aquexosas
tiradas con gran porfía.
Las cornetas y bozería
de monteros y clamores
dirán: "¡Amores, amores!"

Los hidalgos gavilanes
son los nobles pensamientos
y los galgos son afanes
que corren tras los tormentos.
Bugíos alharaquientos
y podencos buscadores
son fatigas y dolores.

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Son los perros nocharniegos
con que avemos de caçar,
los muy centellosos fuegos
con que amor suele abrasar.
Dolores, plazer, pesar,
¿dónd'están, por corredores,
para caçar los amores?

Los halcones de alto buelo
son las altas fantasías;
los açores son el zelo,
que matan las alegrías.
Caçaréis noches y días
con favores, disfavores,
hasta caçar los amores.

El deseo es el hurón
lazos, redes son pasiones
do se ase el afición,
enredado con sus prisiones.
Las renzillas, las quistiones
son los perros buscadores.
¡Todos a caça de amores!

Y si garça se hallare,
buele luego el çufrimiento;
y si este no alcançare,
lançaréis el pensamiento.
Su gracia y merecimiento
serán los remontadores.
¡Todos a caça de amores!]

Text variants:

The text is found only in Madrid 1335.
Line 24. Lee reads: *t. caçadores d. a.*
Line 29 has an extra syllable, and Barbieri omits *Las*.
Line 49 also has an extra syllable and Barbieri changes *con* for *en* to provoke the hiatus with the previous word.

Comments:

The "hunting horn" motive in this piece seems very appropriate. Lee, II, 61, suggested that the absence of text in 454/D may indicate an instrumental performance of *A la caça*, but this cannot be supported. For a discussion of the conflicting Luchas/Gabriel attribution, see Chapter V.

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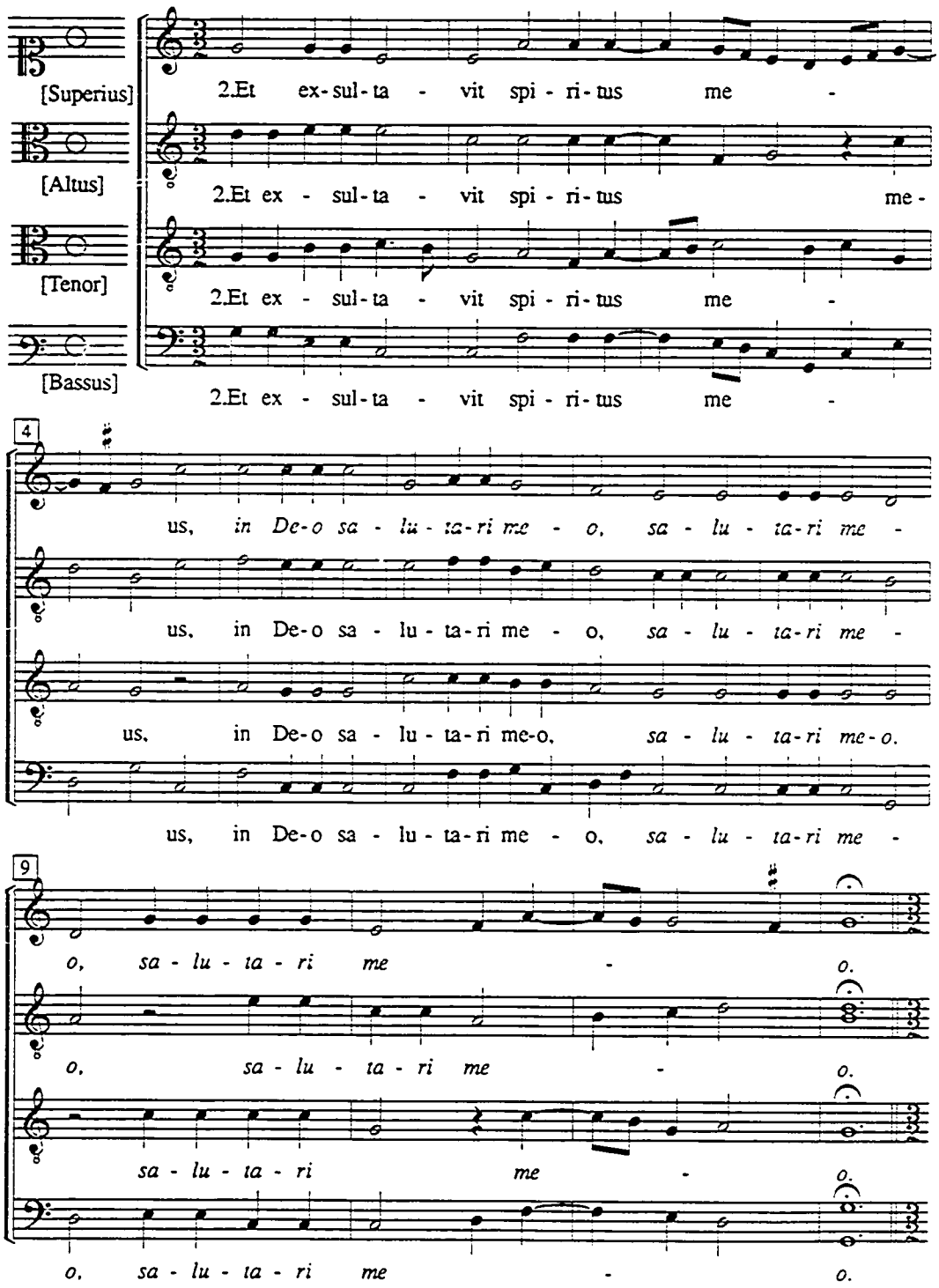
No. 85. Magnificat octavi toni

fols. clviii'-clx

Anonymous



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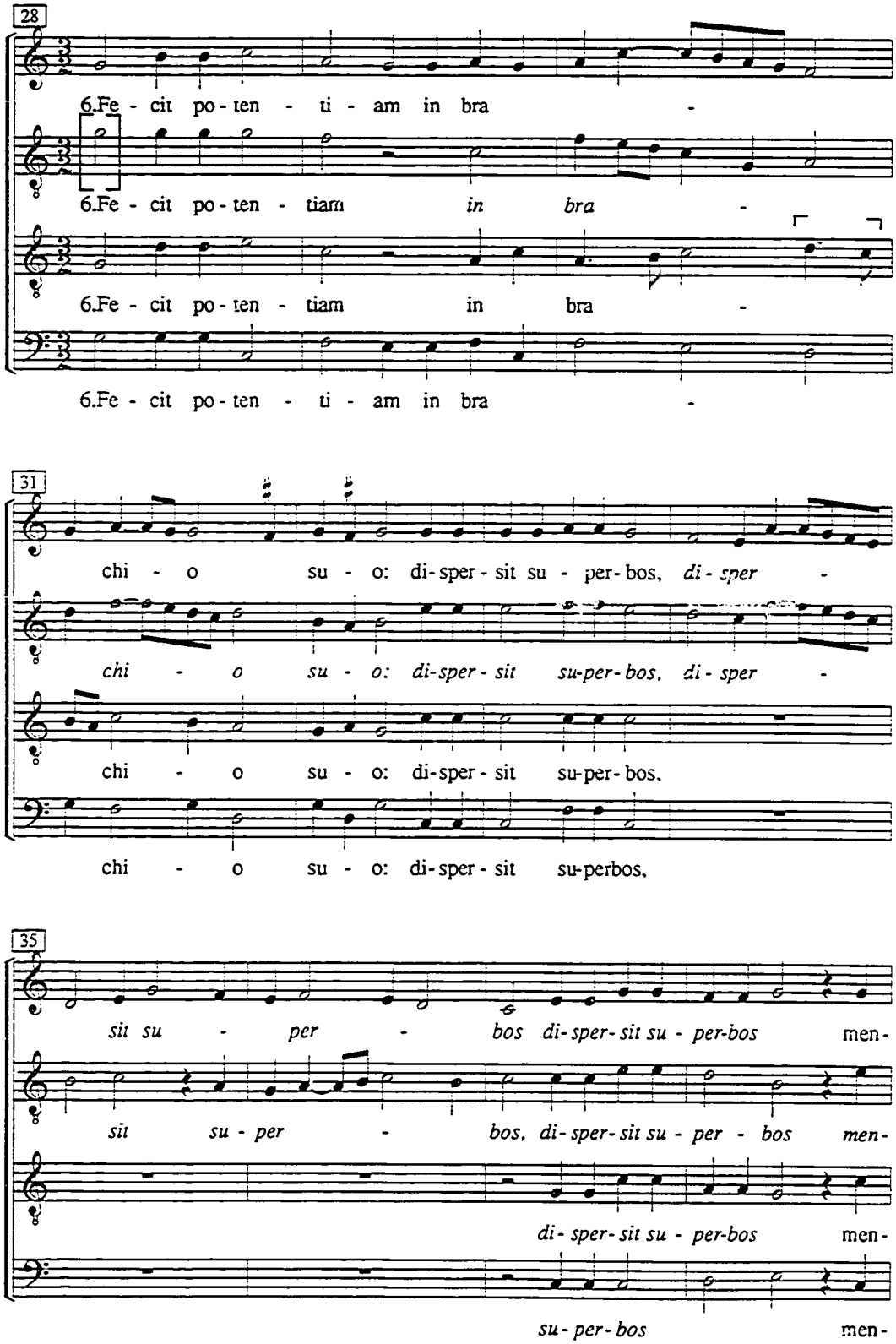

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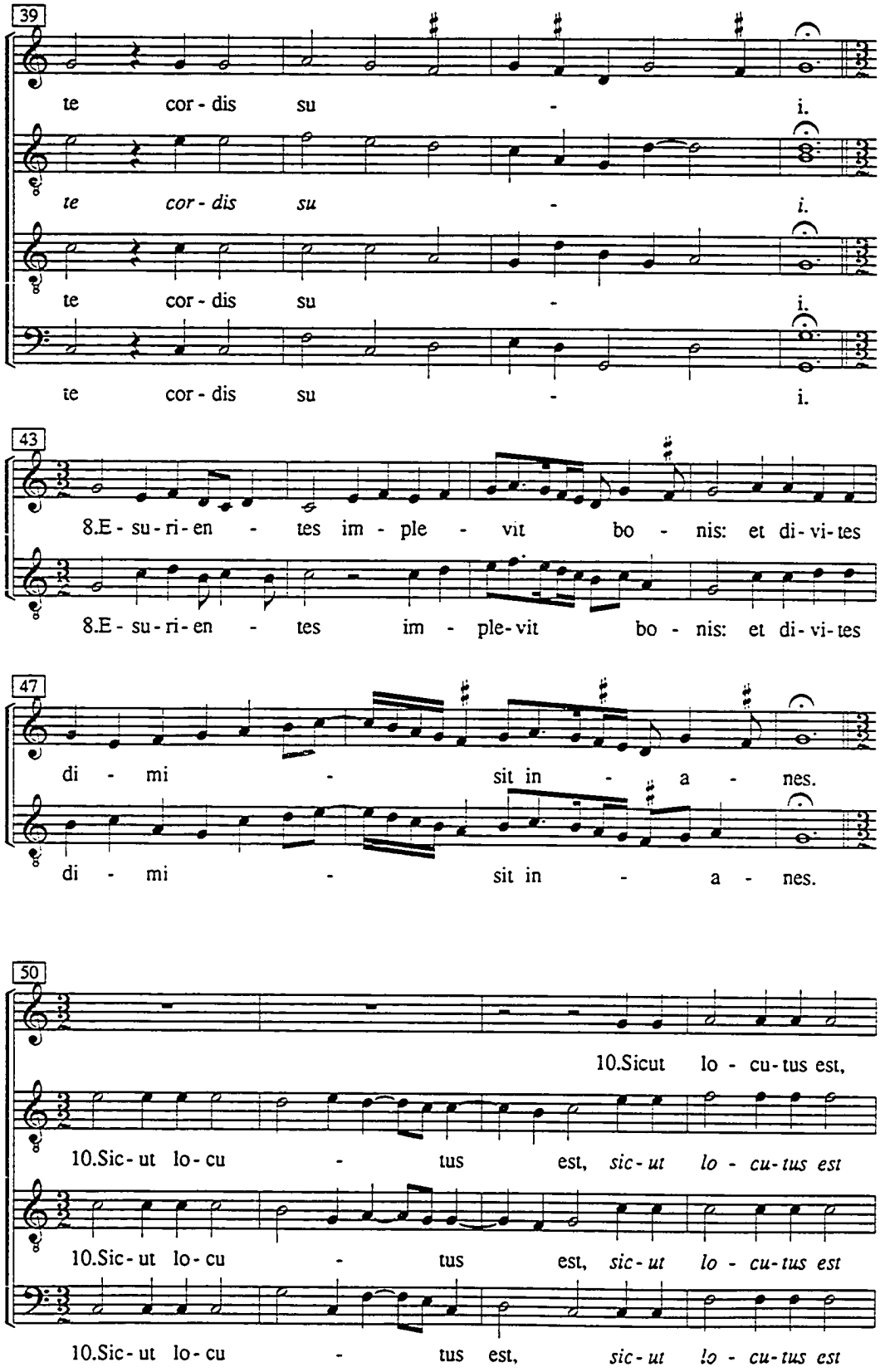

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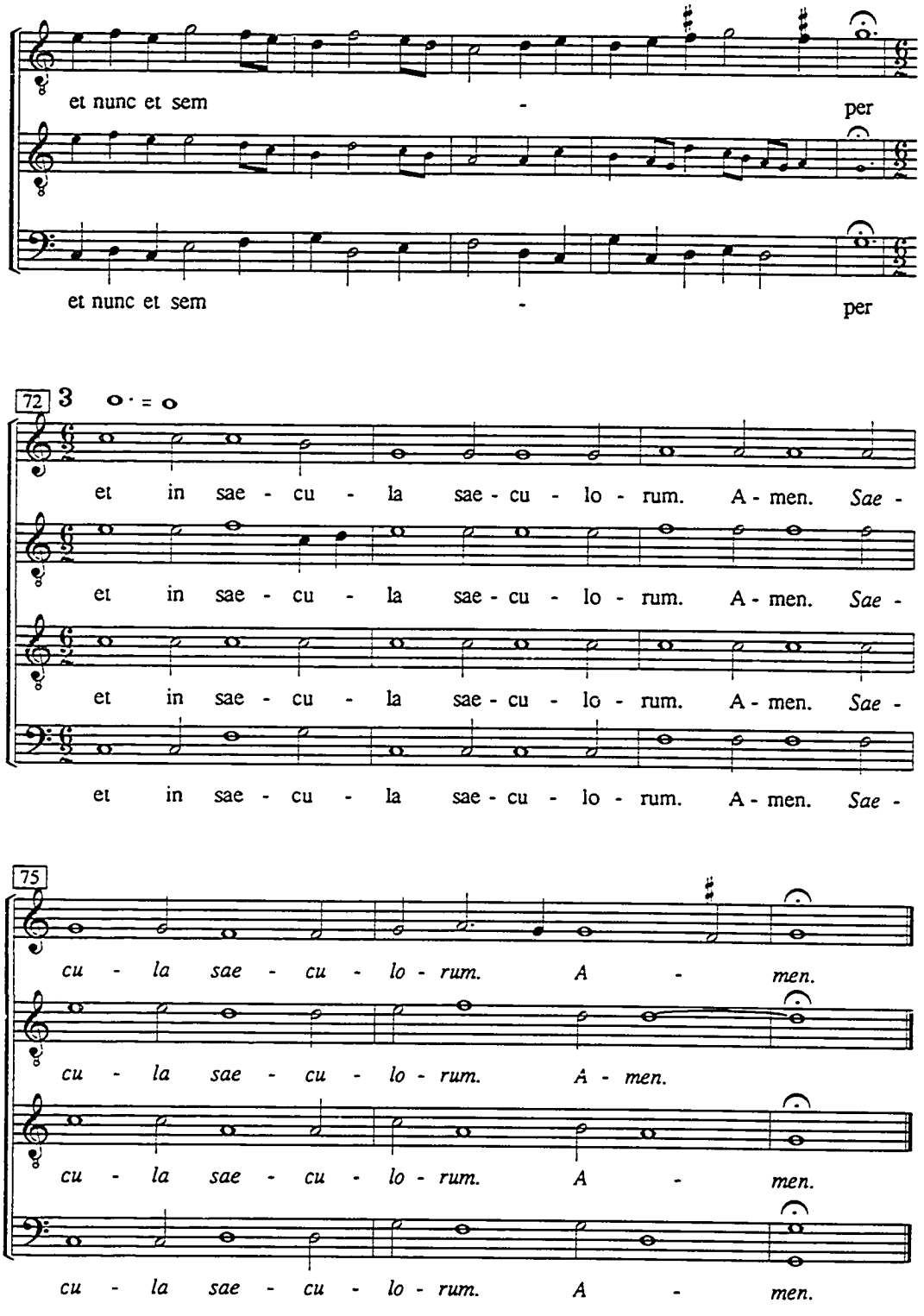

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No. 85. Magnificat octavi toni

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fols. clviii^{v}-vlx^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 86. Verbum patris hodie

fol. clx'

Anonymous

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No. 86. Verbum patris hodie

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. clx^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
This is a trope of a *Benedicamus* on the same *cantus firmus* as in *Las Huelgas*, No. 38 (See Anglés, *Las Huelgas*, I, 144).

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No. 87. Dixit Dominus

fol. clxi

Anonymous

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No. 87 Dixit Dominus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. clxi^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 90. [St. John Passion]

fols. clxiiii'-clxxiiii

Anonymous

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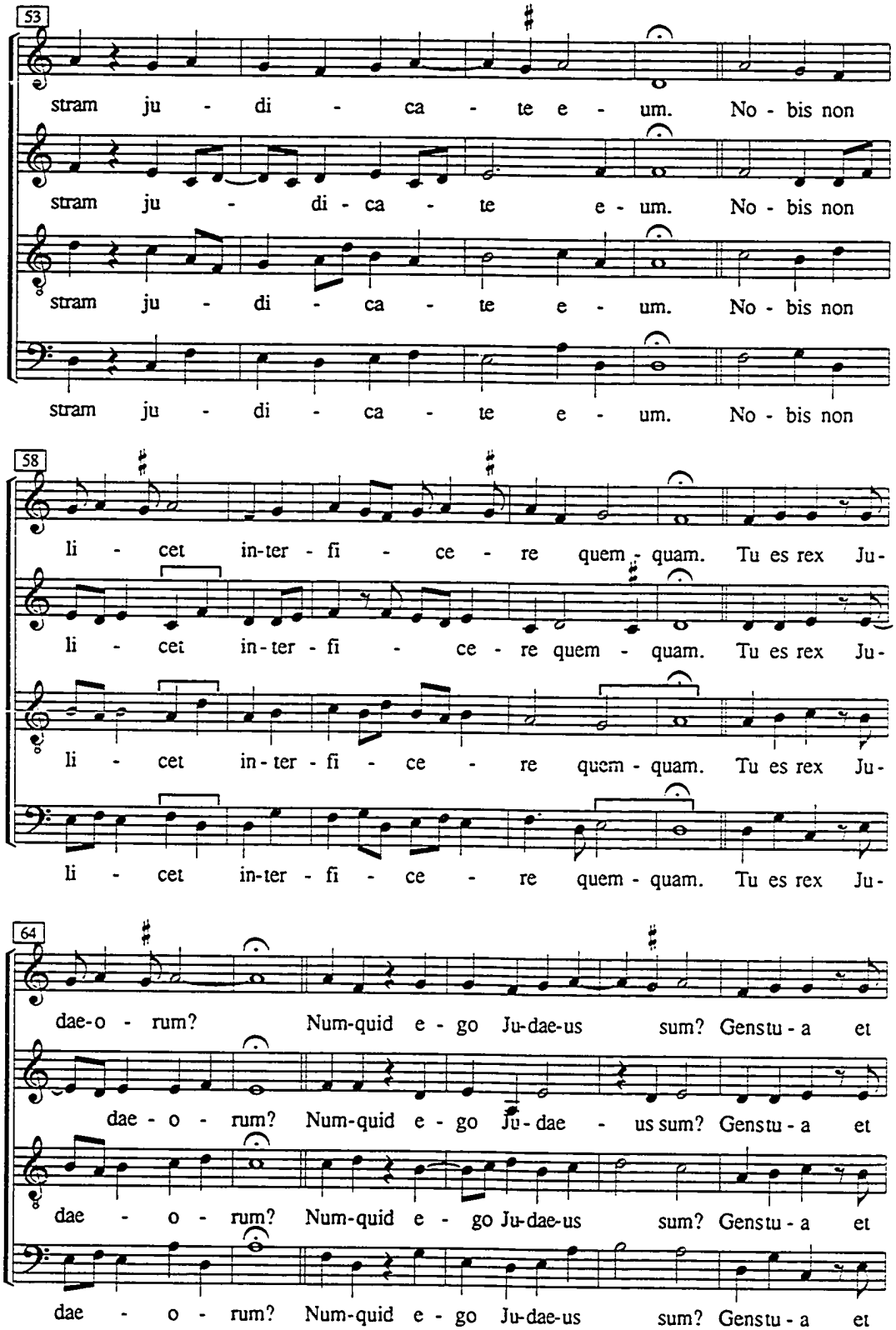

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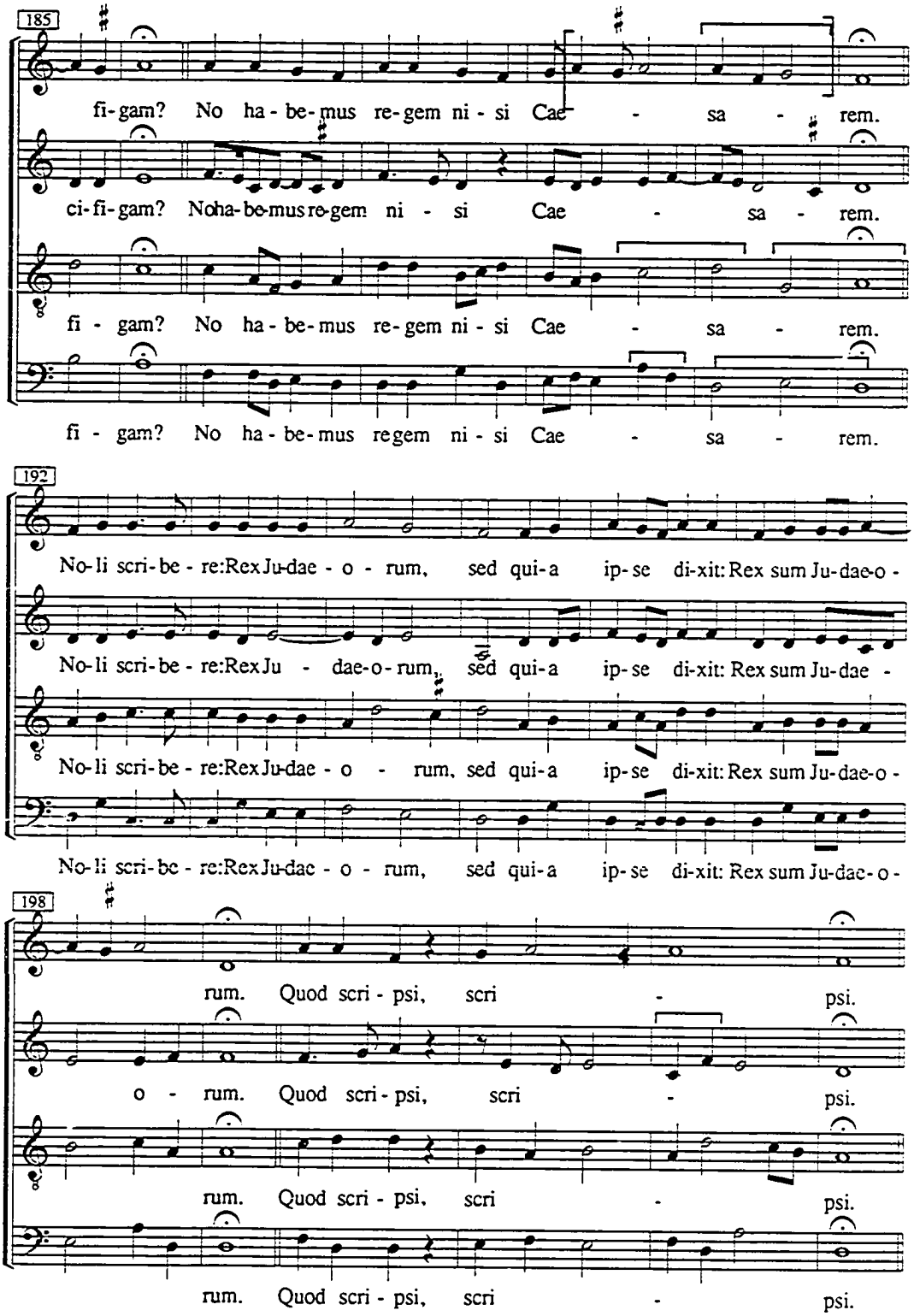

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No. 90 [St. John Passion]

Source:

Manuscript:

454/B, fols. clxiiii^{v}-clxxiiii^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:

The text follows Chapters 18 and 19 of the Gospel according to St. John.

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No. 91. Quam pulchra es

fols. clxxiiii'-clxxvi

Martin de Ribaflecha

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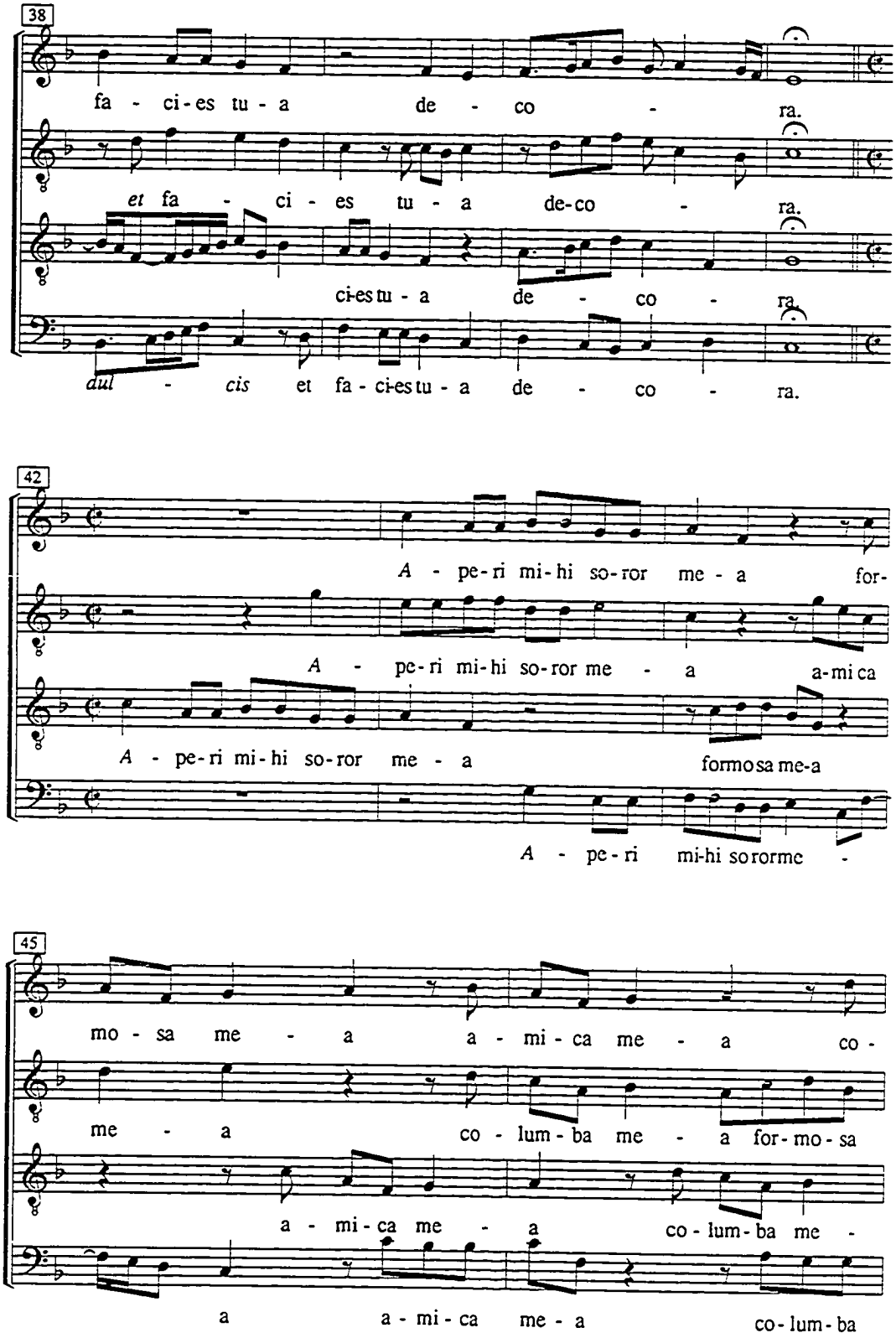

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No. 91. Quam pulchra es

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/C, fols. clxxiiii^{v}-clxxvi^{r}, Ribrafrecha [=Martin de Ribaflecha]
Seville 5-5-20, fols. 20^{v}-22^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:

Seville 5-5-20 lacks the bassus of the *prima pars*; only the superius of the *prima pars* is texted. As stated in Chapter IV, previous inventories of Seville 5-5-20 had listed the *secunda pars* of this motet as an anonymous textless work. All the following variants refer to Seville 5-5-20

1) **A**, m.5^{4}: e' flat
2) **T**, m.14$^{1-2}$: c' Br instead of c' SB, rest SB
3) **T**, m.17^{4}: c' M instead of rest M
4) **A**, m.30: Seville 5-5-20 has an extra longa rest (error)
5) **A**, m. 31^{7}: f M instead of rest M
6) **T**, m.33^{4}: c SB, c M instead of c dotted SB; this rhythmic variant allows a correct text underlay
7) **A**, m.35$^{4-5}$: d' M
8) **S**, m.46^{6}-47^{4}: the scribe omitted the equivalent of a breve of music (error)
9) **A**, m.47^{2}: d' SB instead of M (error)
10) **A**, m.48^{7}: g' M missing (error)
11) **S**, m.58$^{3-4}$: g' M, f' M instead of SM (error)
12) **S**, m.59^{2}: e' SM

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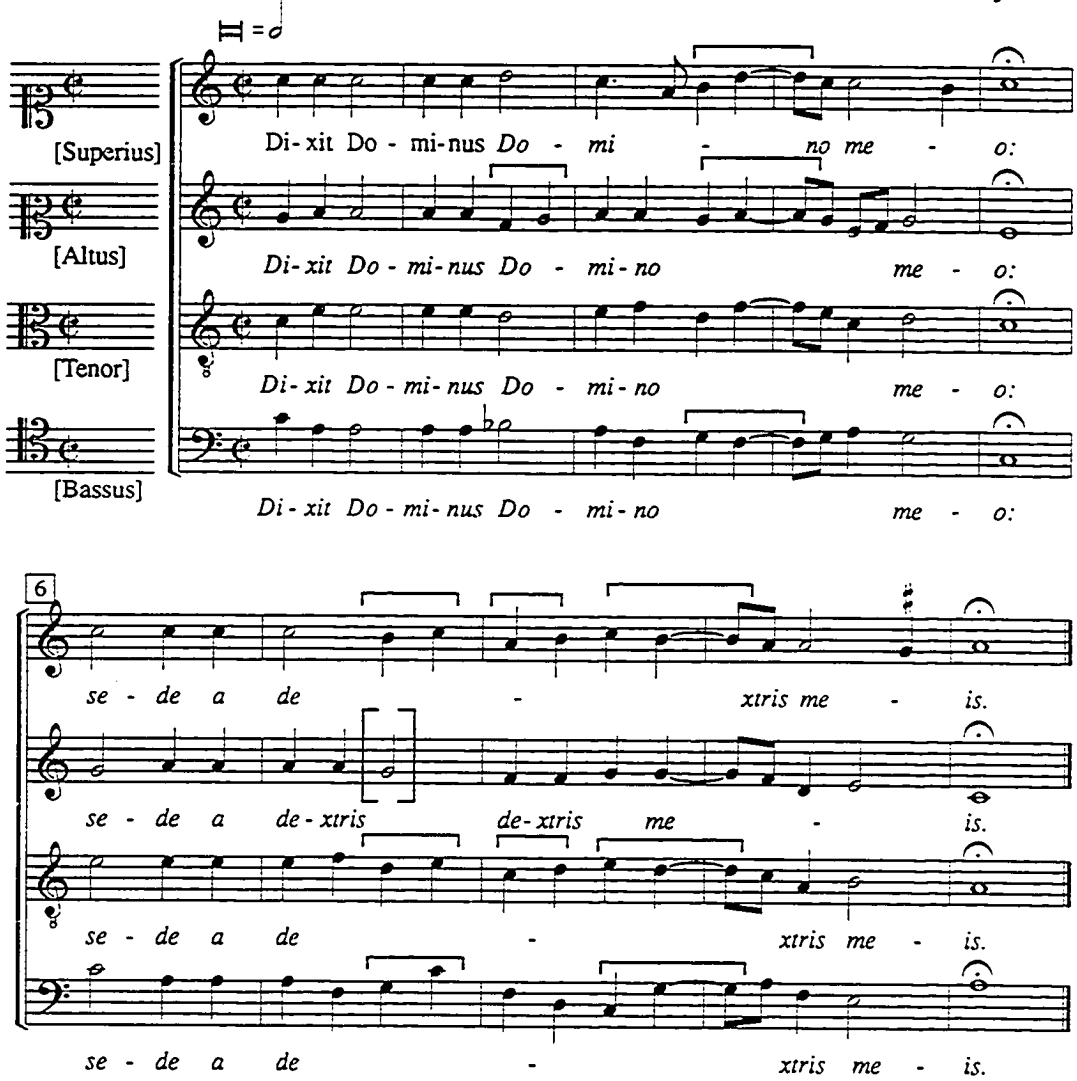
No. 93. Dixit Dominus

fol. clxxvii'

Anonymous



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No. 93. Dixit Dominus

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. clxxvii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 94. Ave sanctissima Maria

fols. clxxvii'-clxxviii

Anonymous

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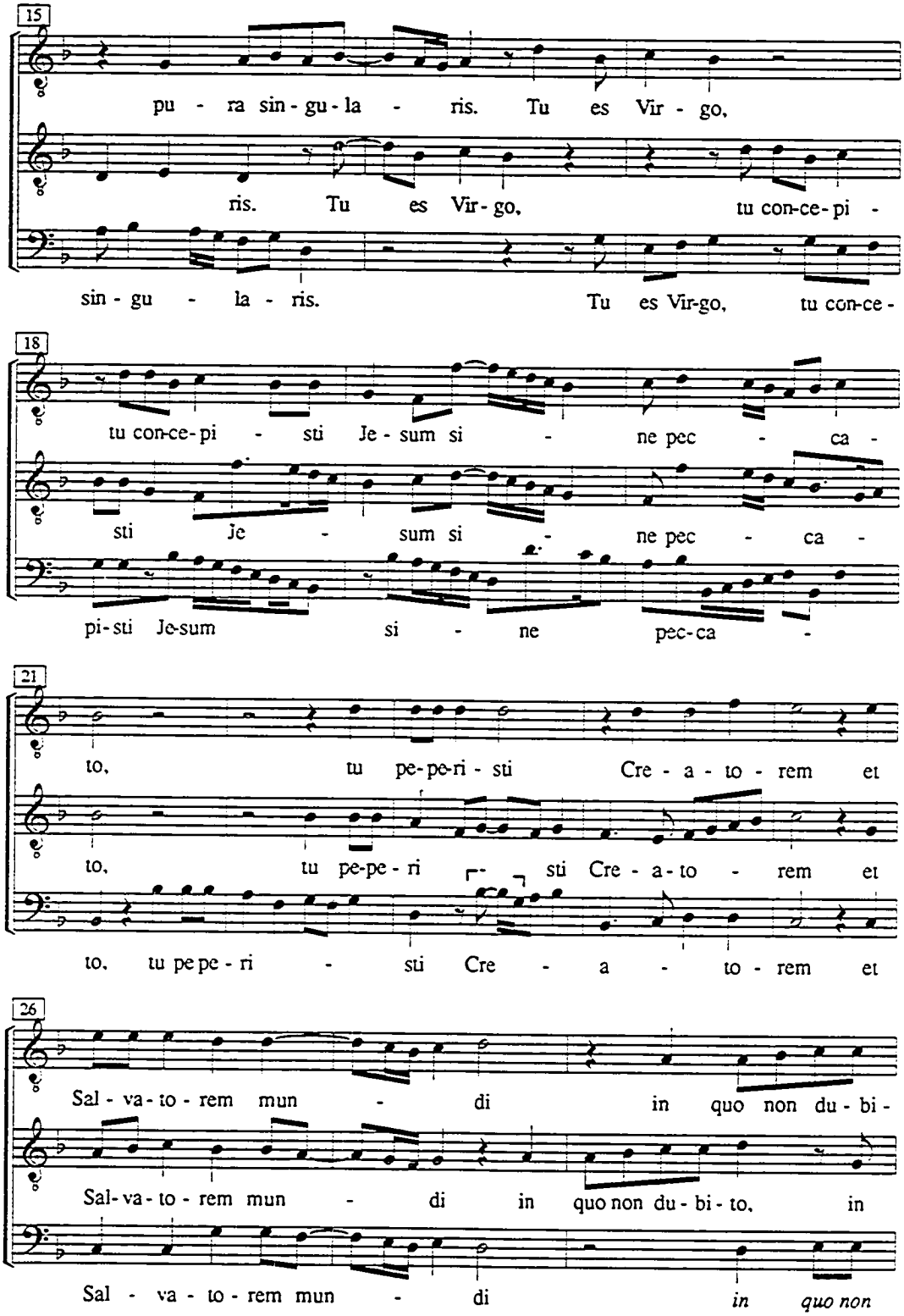

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No. 94. Ave sanctissima Maria

Source:
Manuscript:
454/C, fols. clxxvii^{v}-clxxviii^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 95. [Textless]

fol. clxxviii'

Anonymous

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No. 95. [Textless]

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fol. clxxviii^{v}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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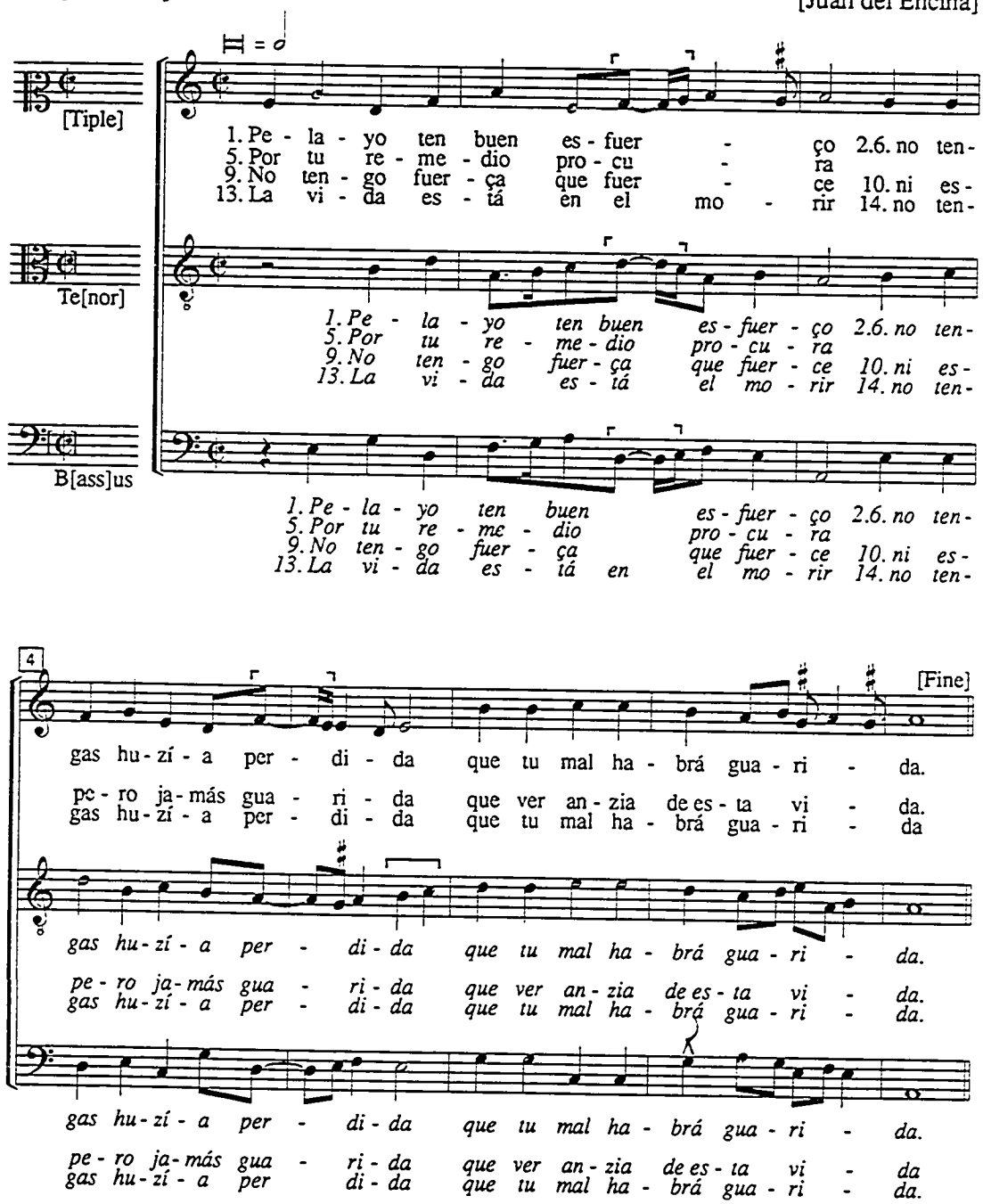
No. 98. Pelayo ten buen esfuerço

fol. [clxxx bis]

[Juan del Encina]



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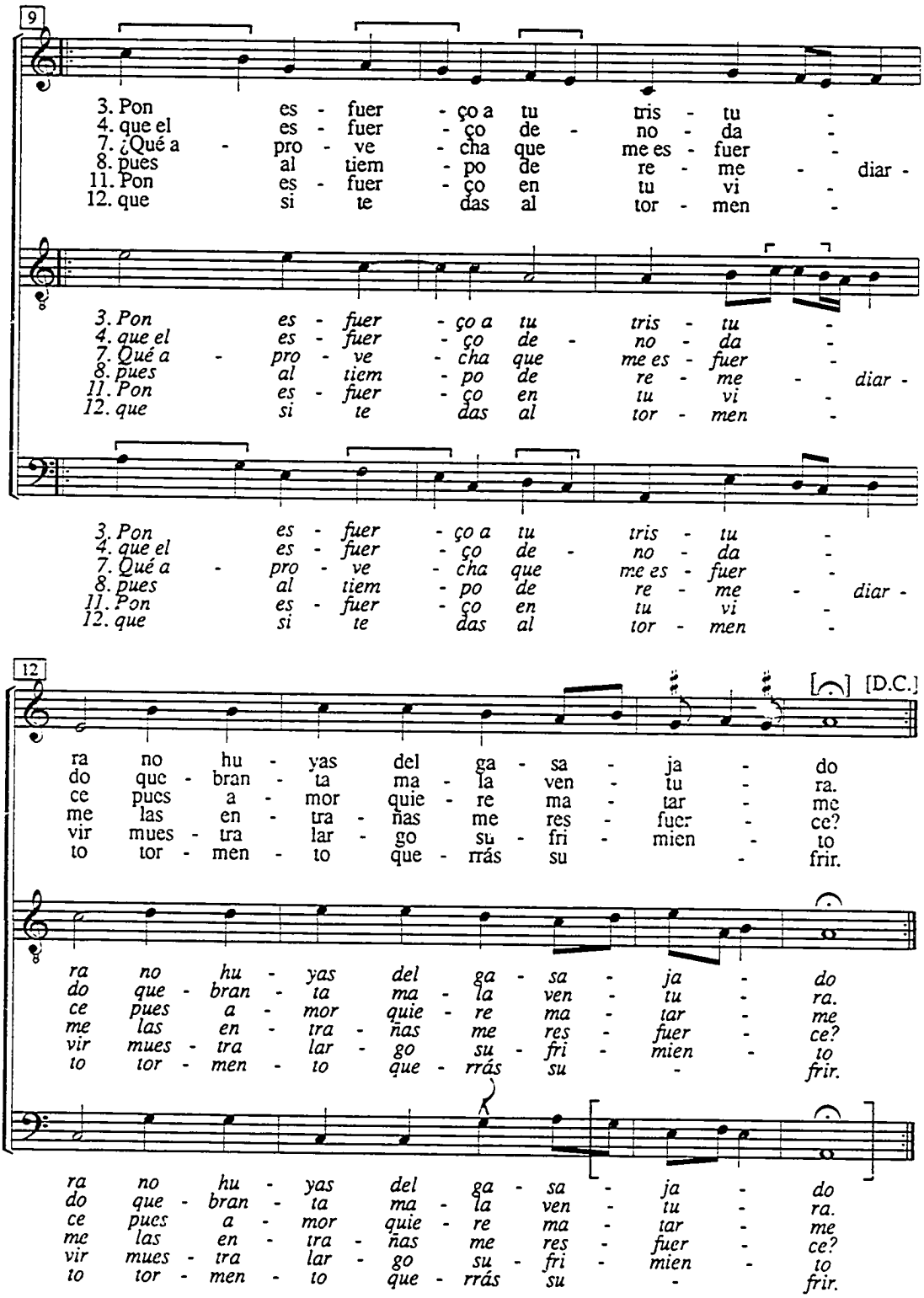

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No. 98. Pelayo ten buen esfuerço

Sources:

454/A, fol. [clxxxbis^{r}] 80^{r}, Anon.

Madrid 1335, fols. cclxxx^{v}-cclxxxi^{r}, Jo. del Ensina

Editions:

Music:

Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, III, No. 428
Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical*, No. 387
Jones and Lee, *Juan del Encina*, 355
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 495
Terni, *Juan del Encina*, 143

Text:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 409
Romeu, *Reyes Católicos*, IV-2, 478

Notes to the edition:

1) **Ti**, m.3$^{2-3}$: Madrid 1335 has breve instead of two semibreves.

2) **B**, m.4^{4}: 454/A reads f.

3) **T**, m. 7^{5} and m.14^{2}: Madrid 1335 has d'-c' semiminims instead of minim a.

4) **B**, m.7^{1}: the *signum congruentia* refers to the same sign at m.13^{3}, and indicates that the missing ending follows that of the first part of the piece.

5) **B**, m.7^{5} and m.14^{2}: Madrid 1335 reads a.

Text variants:

Line 5. Madrid 1335: *n. huigas d. g.*
Line 10. The word *guarida* is missing in 454/A
Line 18. Madrid 1335: *No descruçies del bivir*
Line 20. Madrid 1335: *si te hazes a. t.*
The third strophe in 454/A appears as the second strophe in Madrid 1335. The third strophe in the latter is different from the second in 454/A, and reads as follows:

Derreniego d'esperança
que al mejor tiempo se seca
y de mal que no se trueca
con el tiempo y su mudança.
Toda buena confiança
tengo del todo perdida
que descruçio de la vida.

Text:

Pelayo ten buen esfuerço a
no tengas huzia perdida B
que tu mal abra guarida. B

Pon esfuerço a tu tristura c
no huyas del gasajado d
qu' el esfuerço denodado d
quebranta mala ventura. c
Por tu remedio procura c
no tengas huzia perdida B
que tu mal abra [*guarida*]. B

Que aprovecha que m'esfuerce
pues amor quiere matarme
pues al tiempo de remediarme
las entrañas me resfuerce.
No tengo fuerça que fuerce
ni espero jamás guarida
que ver anzia d'esta vida.

Pon esfuerço en tu bivir
muestra largo sufrimiento
que si te das al tormento
tormento querrás sufrir.
No tengas huzía perdida
que tu mal abra guarida.

Comments:

Romeu states that the text of this composition is foreign to Encina's style.

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No. 99. [Falsobordone]

fol. [clxxx bis]

Anonymous

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No. 99. [Falsobordone]

Source:

454/A, fol. [clxxx bis^{r}] 80^{r}, Anon.

Edition:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 496

Notes to the edition:

None.

Comments:

Lee, I, 496, indicates that the bassus at mm. 4-5 reads g-a, and in her edition she alters these two notes to read a-g; she did not realize that this change provokes three parallel octaves and fifths with the altus and tenor respectively. The two breves in the manuscript seem to have been corrected, and should be sung a step higher.

This falsobordone is followed immediately by a villancico; the tiple of the latter shares the staff used by the bassus of the former. However, the two pieces were written by different scribes and are obviously not related.

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No. 100. Paxarico que vas a la fuente

fol. [clxxx bis]

Anonymous

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No. 100. Paxarico que vas a la fuente

Source:

454/A, fol. [clxxx bis^{r}] 80^{r}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 496

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 344

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text:

	Paxarico que vas a la fuente	A
	bebora y vente vebora y vente.	A
	Yo tenia un paxarico	b
	cuando a [caliente]	
5	enbielo por agua a la fuente	a
	no se [si vino].	b
	No es venido de la fuente	A
	vevora y vente bevora y vente	A

Text variants:

Lines 1 and 3. Lee, I, 408, reads: *paxarilo.*

Line 5. Krogstad, 344, reads: *e. p. lagua a. l. f.*

Line 4. The ending of this line is lost owing to the trimming of the right margin.

Line 6. Krogstad, 344, reads: *no es*; Lee did not transcribed these two barely visible words. The ending of this line is illegible, and I have added the words in brackets as a suggestion for performance.

Comments:

Lee, II, 205, points out the presence in this text of a traditional element: "la fuente" (the spring of water). She finds a reminiscence of "enviélo por agua a la fuente" in Ocaña's *Cancionero para cantar...* (Alcalá, 1603), 52, ". . .where a secular tune labelled 'Enviarme mi madre por agua a la fonte frida' is specified for a sacred villancico text."

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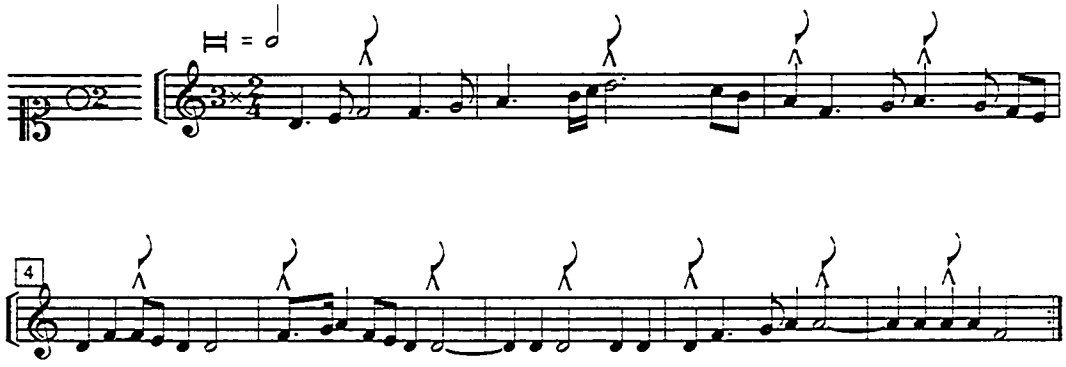
No. 102. Canon

fol. clxxxi

Anonymous

Canon: Undecim apostoli secuti sunt Petrum



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No. 102. Canon

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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No. 103. Canon

fol. clxxxi

Anonymous

Canon: quinque [v]enatores sequebantur leporem unum

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No. 103. Canon

Source:

Manuscript:

454/A, fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:

None.

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No. 104. Canon

fol. clxxxi

Anonymous

Canon: Fuge in egiptum, usque in desertum

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No. 104 Canon [textless]

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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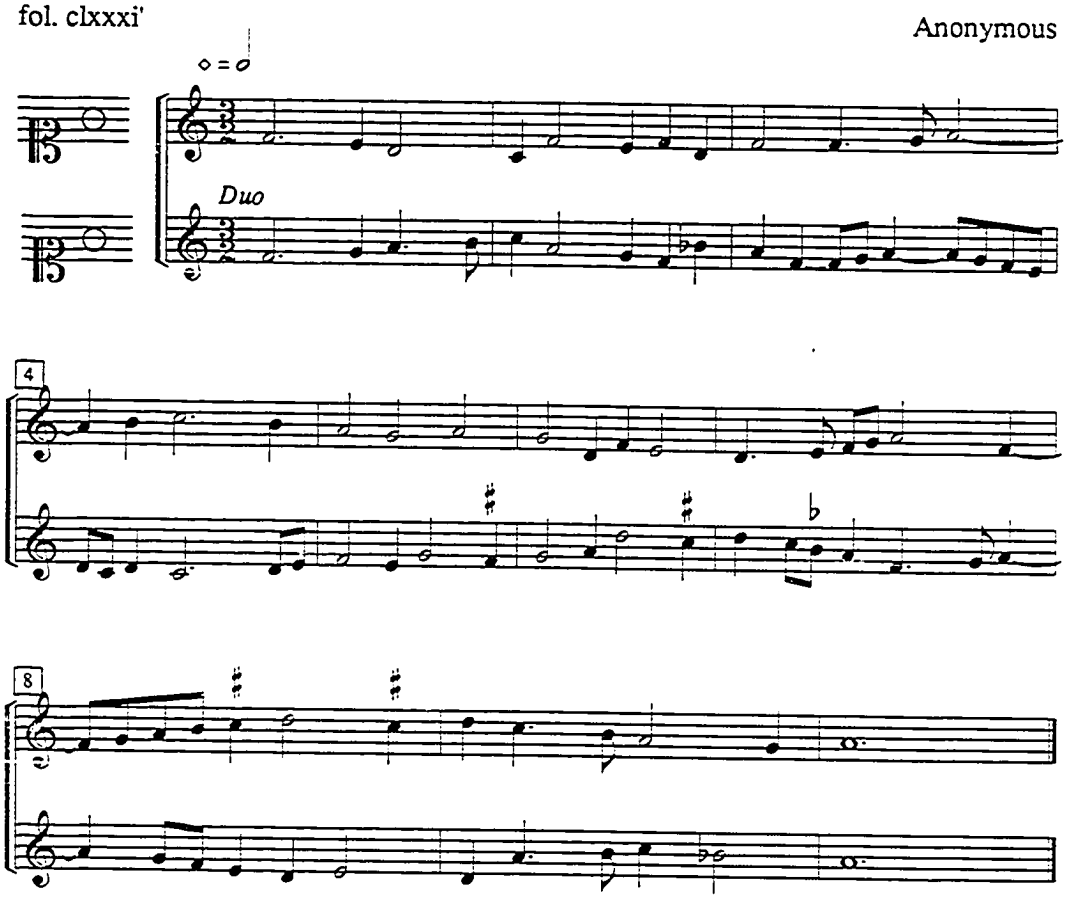
No. 105. [Textless]

fol. clxxxi'

Anonymous



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No. 105. [Textless] "Duo,"

Source:
Manuscript:
454/A, fol. clxxxi^{r} (81^{r}), Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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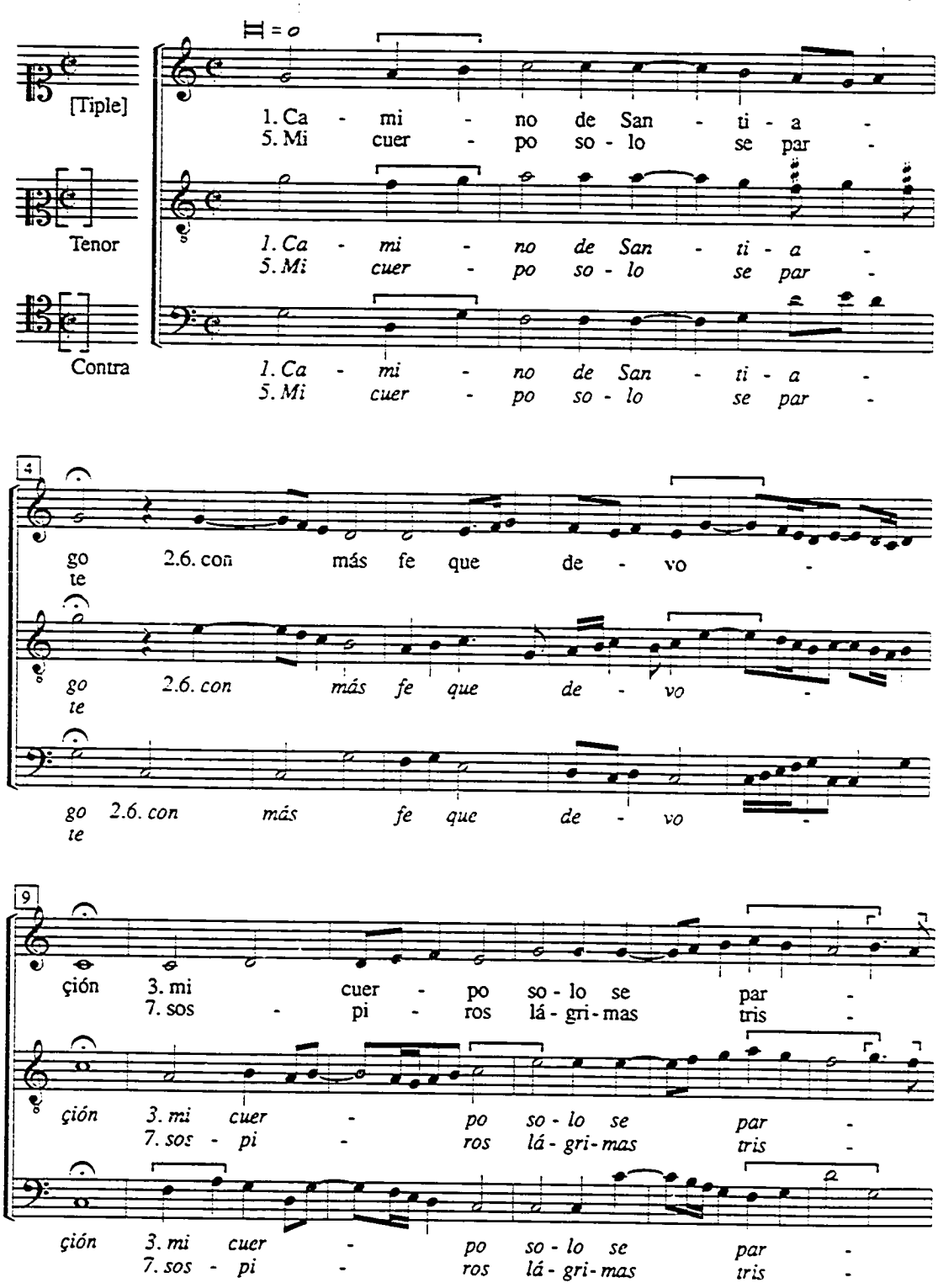
No. 106. Camino de Santiago

fol. clxxxi'

Alonso de Mondéjar



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No. 106. Camino de Santiago

Source:

454/A, fol. clxxxi^{v}, A^{o} de Mondéjar

Editions:

Music:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 378-79
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 497-98

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 344
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 408
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 157

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text:

	Camino de Santiago	a
	con mas fe que devoçion	b
	mi cuerpo solo se parte	c
	dexando su corason	b
5	Mi cuerpo solo se parte	
	[con mas fe que devoçion].	
	Sospiros lagrimas tristes	
	llevo por consolaçion	

Text variants:

Line 6. Krogstad, 344, uses the verse "dexando su corasón" (see comments).
Line 8. Lee, I, 408, reads: *lievo p. c.*, and Krogstad, 344: *tienen p. c.*

Comments:

Lee, II, 89, states that the text of this *romance* is similar in structure to that of "Ayrado va el gentilonbre" by Francisco de la Torre (Madrid 1335, fols. 80^{v}-81^{r}), where ". . .the last two lines of each strophe are repeated as the first two lines of the following strophe." The text variant for line 6 in Krogstad's edition follows this pattern. Lee, however, indicated that this is a feature of *romances* from the second half of the sixteenth century, rarely found in the earlier period to which this piece belongs. In her edition she did not repeat line 4 but line 2. I believe that the disposition of the text underlay in 454/A favors Lee's interpretation.

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No. 107. [Textless/incomplete]

fol. clxxxi'

Anonymous

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No. 107. [Textless/incomplete]

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxi^{v} (81^{v})

Notes to the edition:

Rather than a composition, this fragment seems to be an exercise.

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No. 108. Viva tal pastor

fol. clxxxii

Anonymous

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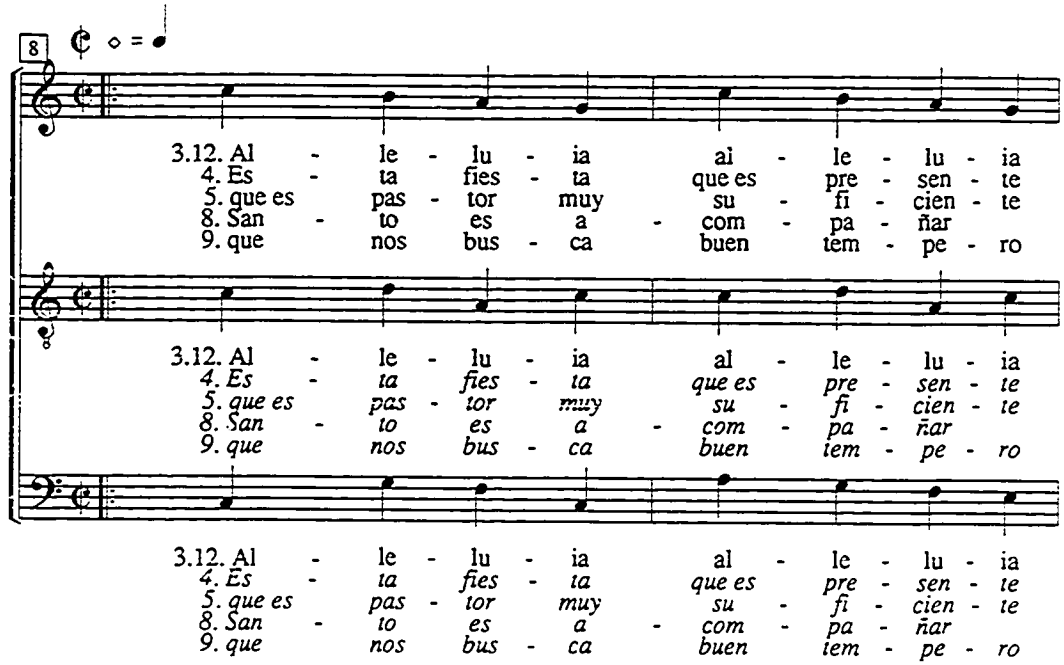

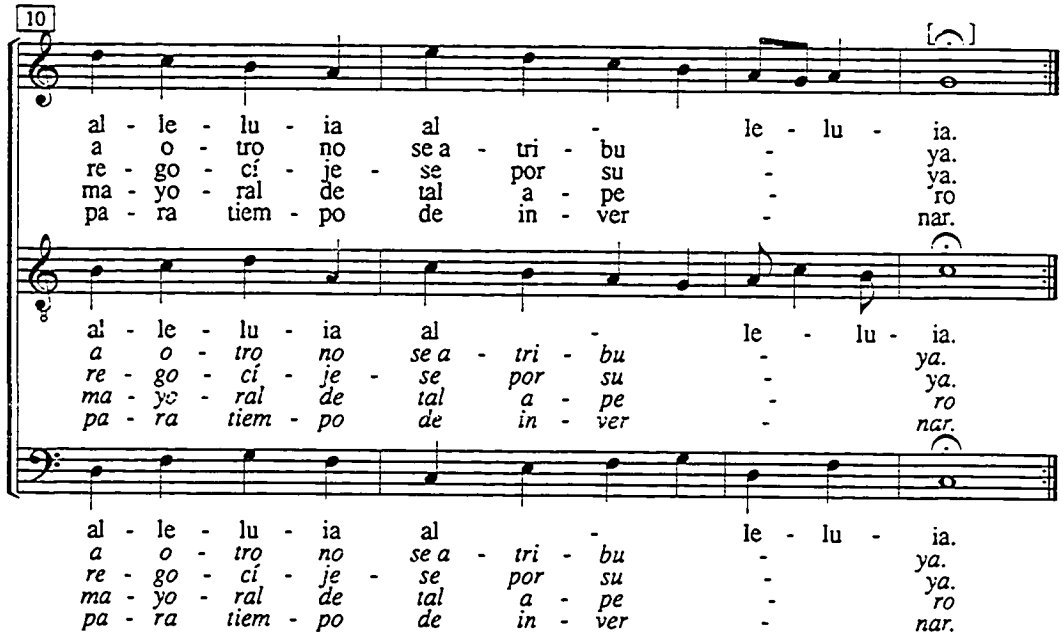

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No. 108. Viva tal pastor

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxii^{r}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 499

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 344

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 409

Notes to the edition:

1) T, m.7: g longa is black.

2) C, m.7: Lee changes e for g.

3) T, m.10^{2}: Lee avoids parallel fifths with the C by changing c' for a.

4) Lee changes the cadence at mm.12-13 as follows:

Text:

	Viua tal pastor	a
	ganado tan placentero	B
	guarde dios tal ovejero.	B
	Allelluya, alleluya	C
5	allelluya, allelluya	
	Esta fiesta ques presente	d
	a otro no se atribuya	e
	ques pastor muy sufficiente	d
	regocijese por suya	e
10	.....	a
	.....	B
	[guarde dios tal ovejero	B
	Allelluya, alleluya	C
	Allelluya, alleluya]	
15	Santo es acompañar	f
	mayoral de tal apero	g
	que nos busca buen tenpero	g
	para tiempo de ynvernar	f
	gran gasajo este pastor	a
20	ganado tan plaçentiero	B
	guarde dios tal ovejero	B
	[Allelluya, alleluya	C
	Allelluya, alleluya]	

Comments:

According to Lee,II, 283: "The music for the refrain and last four lines of strophe (section I) is given, but section II is missing."

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No. 109. Escomience a[h]ora Juanillo

fol. clxxxii'

Anonymous

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No. 109. Escomience a[h]ora Juanillo

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxii^{v}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 500

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 345
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 409
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 157

Notes to the editior.:

1) **B**, m.4^{5}–m.5^{1}: a-b are b-a in ms

Text:

	Escomience aora Juanillo	a
	aguidillo.	a
	Lo que acostuvran cantar	b
	las que se van a variar	b
5	su pasillo.	a
	Barvirrojo venidillo	a
	sus variar	b
	ques fiesta de rremojar	b

Text variants:

Krogstad reads in line 4: *l. q. s. v. a. vañar*, and in line 7: *s. vañar.* Lee reads in line 2: *agudillo*, and in line 4: *los q. s. v. a. v.*

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No. 110. Los que a nuestro rabadán

fol. clxxxiii

Anonymous

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No. 110. Los que a nuestro rabadán

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxiii^{r}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 501-02

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 345
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 409

Notes to the edition:

1) **Ti**, m.5^{6}: Lee changes b' for c"; she does the same correction at m.11^{2}. Since this dissonance occurs twice, I have kept it.

Text:

	Los que a nuestro rabadan	a
	dizen que pierde el ganado	b
	tienen muy poco cuydado.	b
	Tomar por el suyo afan	c
5	cantemos lo que oyram	c
	Oculos habent si non videbunt	x
	neque gustabunt in guture suo	y

Text variants:

Line 4. Lee changes it to: *toman p. e. s. a.* Line 6: Krogstad read: *O. h. et n. v.*

Comments:

The last two lines in Latin (Psalm 113) were added at the bottom of the page, after the inscription "fabordon."

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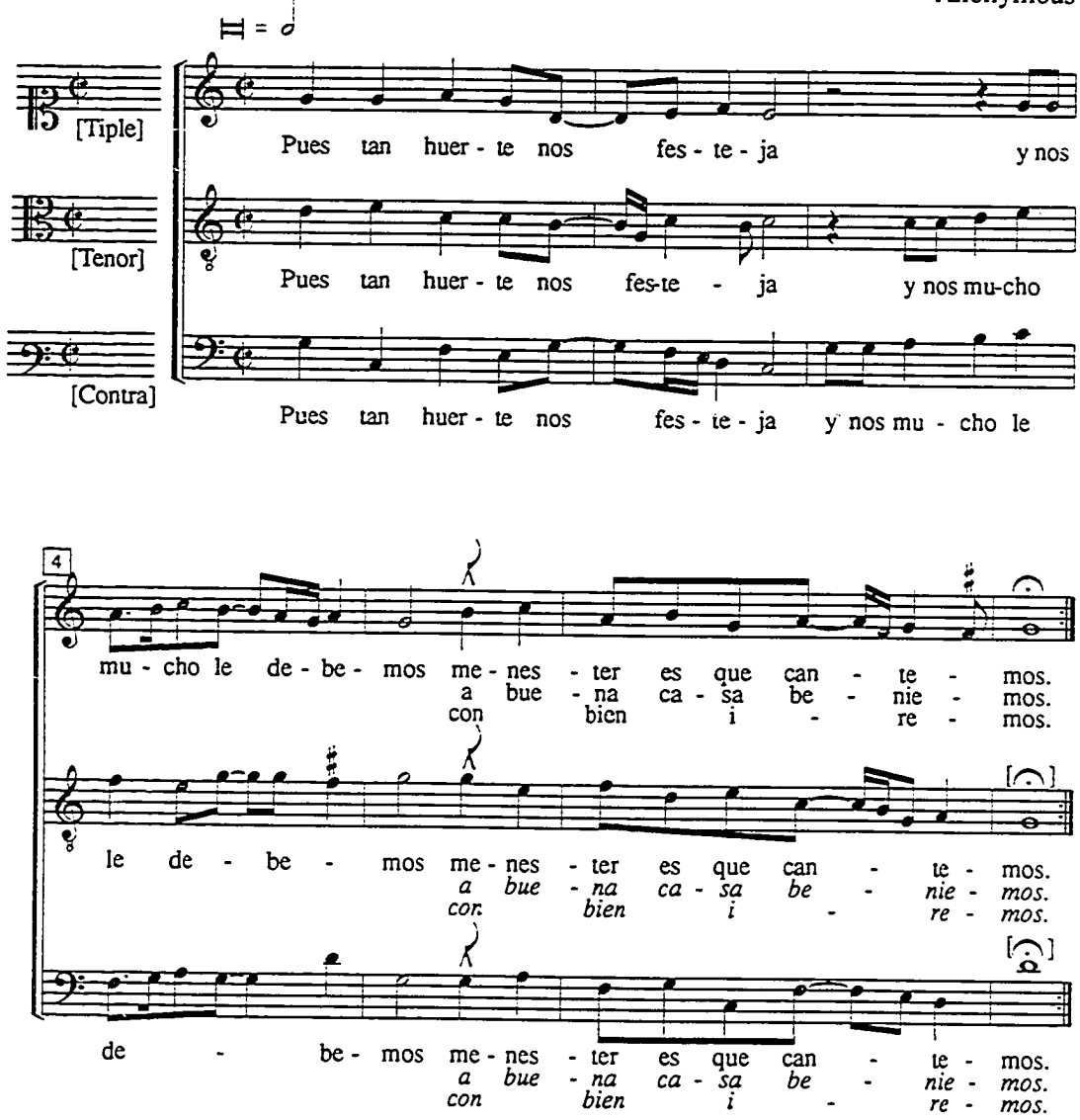
No. 111. Pues tan huerte nos festeja

fol. clxxxiii'

Anonymous



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No. 111. Pues tan huerte nos festeja

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxiii^{v}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 503

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 345
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 410
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text:

Pues tan huerte nos festeja A
y nos mucho le devemos B
menester es que cantemos. b

[Pues tan huerte nos festeja
y nos mucho le devemos]
a buena casa beniemos.

[Pues tan huerte nos festeja
y nos mucho le devemos]
con vien yremos.

Text variants and comments:

Lee reads in line 1: *P. t. fuerte n. f.*, in line 2: *y. no es m. l. d.*, and in line 9: *convien oiremos*; Krogstad in the latter: *convien que oremos*. Since immediately after this piece there is a quotation from Psalm 127, previous scholars have thought that the four lines of Latin belong to this poem, and Lee incorporates them into the text, as follows:

Pues tan fuerte nos festeja
y no es mucho le debemos,
menester es que cantemos:
Filii tui sicut nouelle oliuarum
in circuitu mense tue.

[. . . line missing? . . .]
A buena casa veniemos
convien oiremos:
Ecce sic benedicetur homo
qui timet dominum.

Dutton, *Catálogo-Indice*, 2, considers the poem to be a Latin-Castilian piece, especially since he, like Krogstad, reads the last line of Spanish text as: *convien que*

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oremos, which suggests that the Latin text is the logical continuation. Lee, I, 358-59, indicated that the Latin text should be sung in improvised fabordon since neither the music for *Pues tan huerte nos festeja*, nor the textless fabordon on the same page seem to fit these four lines of Psalm 127. In her transcription of this short villancico, she used only the first three lines of the poem, indicating that the other two lines of Spanish text (copied in the margin) ". . .may or may not have been fitted to the existing music."

My reconstruction of both music and text is influenced by the *signum congruentia* at m. 5 which appears in all three voices at the point where the third line of the poem should be sung. This sign has previously been overlooked, and I believe that it indicates that, in the repeats, each of the two lines of Spanish text in the margin should be inserted at that point.

The four lines from Psalm 127 are in a different hand and their position on the page bears no relationship to the text in Spanish. I believe they are connected to the textless falsobordone that follows, but the underlay is problematic (see below). The possible musical relationship between *Pues tan huerte nos festeja* and the Latin text or the following falsobordone cannot be determined.

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No. 112. [Falsobordone]

fol. clxxxiii'

Anonymous

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No. 112. [Textless]

Source:
Manuscript:
454/D, fol. clxxxiii^{v}, Anon.

Edition:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 504-05

Notes to the edition:
Lee edited this *falsobordone* as a textless work. Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 115, indicated that perhaps the text above it—which he identified as part of Psalm 127—could fit the music; I have followed his suggestion.

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No. 113. Si sentís lo que yo siento

fol. clxxxiiii

Mateo Flecha

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No. 113. Si sentís lo que yo siento

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxiiii^{r}, Flecha

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 506-07

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 410
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Notes to the edition:

1) **B**, m.25^{5}: the e in the ms. is a longa

Text:

	Si sentis lo que yo siento	a
	en mi partida	B
	morireys teniendo vida.	B
	Partirme donde estays	c
5	nunca de vos me partiendo	d
	voy do viuire muriendo	d
	si de mi no os acordays	c
	mas si qual yo voy quedays	c
	en mi partida	B
	[morireys teniendo vida]	B

Text variant:

Line 7. Krogstad reads: *s. d. m. n. vos a.*

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No. 114. Pues no me queréis [h]ablar

fol. clxxxiiii'

Anonymous

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No. 114. Pues no me queréis [h]ablar

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxiiii^{v}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 508-09

Text:

Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 674 B
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 410-11
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158
Romeu, "La Colección *Cantares de diversas sonadas*," 104-05

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text:

Pues no me quereys ablar
como soleys
si de otra menamorare
no me culpeys.

Y sabeis quanto soy vuestro
cada dia mas
no dygays amor no puedo
que me matays.
Y pues tanto lo alongays
mal me quereis.
[si de otra menamorare
no me culpeys].

Text variant:

Line 7. Lee reads: *n. d. amar n. p.*

Comments:

A different setting of the tune appears in Henestrosa, *Libro de Cifra Nueva*, fol. 55^{v}.
For a study of related literary compositions, see Romeu and Frenk.

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No. 115. Gentil caballero

fol. clxxxiiii'

Anonymous

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No. 115. Gentil caballero

Source:
Manuscript:
454/D, fol. clxxxiiii^{v}, Anon.

Related compositions:
Mudarra, *Tres Libros deMúsica* (1546), fol. 50^{r}-52^{v}
Pisador, *Libro de Música de Vihuela* (1552), 13^{r}-13^{v}

Editions:
Music:
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 510

Text:
Alonso, *Poesía de la Edad Media*, 173 (after Mudarra)
Alín, *El Cancionero Español*, 255 (after Mudarra)
Cejador, *La Verdadera Poesía Castellana*, vol. 3, 1744 (after Mudarra)
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 1682 (after Mudarra)
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 411
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Text variants:
Line 2. Mudarra: *dedesme hora u. b.*;
Pisador: *dadme agora u. b.*
Line 3. Mudarra and Pisador: *s. p. e. daño*
Line 4. Mudarra and Pisador: *q. m. aveys hecho*
Line 5. Mudarra and Pisador: *Venia e. c.*
Line 6. Mudarra: *venia d. S.*
Pisador: *de Cordova a Sevilla*

Notes to the edition:
I have incorporated the missing Lines 7-10 of the text which are found in Mudarra only.

Text:

Gentil cavallero	a
deisme ahora un beso	a'
siquiera por el mal	b
que me aves echo	a'
Vase el cavallero	a
vase de Sevilla	c
[en huerta de monjas	d
limones cogia	c'
y la prioresa	
prenda le pedia]	
siquiera por el mal	
que me aves echo	

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No. 116. Mi dolor está encubierto

fol. clxxxv

Anonymous

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No. 116. Mi dolor está encubierto

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxv^{r}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 511-12

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 346-47
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 411
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Notes to the edition:

1) **B**, mm.16^{3}-17: the last note in the ms. is e longa.

Text:

	Mi dolor esta encubierto	a
	porque si descubro el mal	b
	no ay quien no quede mortal	b
	de inuidia de verme muerto.	A
5	Que si alguna ira siento	c
	deçiende de mi pasion	d
	no es en mas mi perdiçion	d
	de acabarse mi tormento	c
	pues quede con tal conçierto	c'
10	que nadi sepa mi mal	b
	porque no quede mortall	b
	de inuidia de verme muerto.	A

Text variants:

Line 5. Krogstad: *Q. s. a. gloria s.*, and Lee: *Q. s. a. angustia s.* Line 6. Lee: *Desciende d. m. p.* Line 10. Lee: *q. nadie s. m. m.* Line 11. Lee: *p. n. q. mortal.*

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No. 117. Perdí mis amores

fol. clxxxv

Anonymous

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No. 117. Perdí mis amores

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxv^{r}, Anon.

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 513

Text:

Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 261 (*estribillo* only)
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 347
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 411
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 158

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text:

	Perdi mis amores	a
	allasteslos tu	b
	volvedmelos haora	c
	por un solo dios.	B
5	Perdi de quererme	d
	ganome en quereros	e
	y pienso perderme	d
	pensando perderos.	e
	Mis bienes en veros	e
10	llevastes con vos	b
	[volvedmelos haora	C
	por un solo dios]	B

Text variant:

Line 6. Lee reads: *ganarme e. q.*

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No. 118. O triste de mí

fol. clxxxv'

Mateo Flecha

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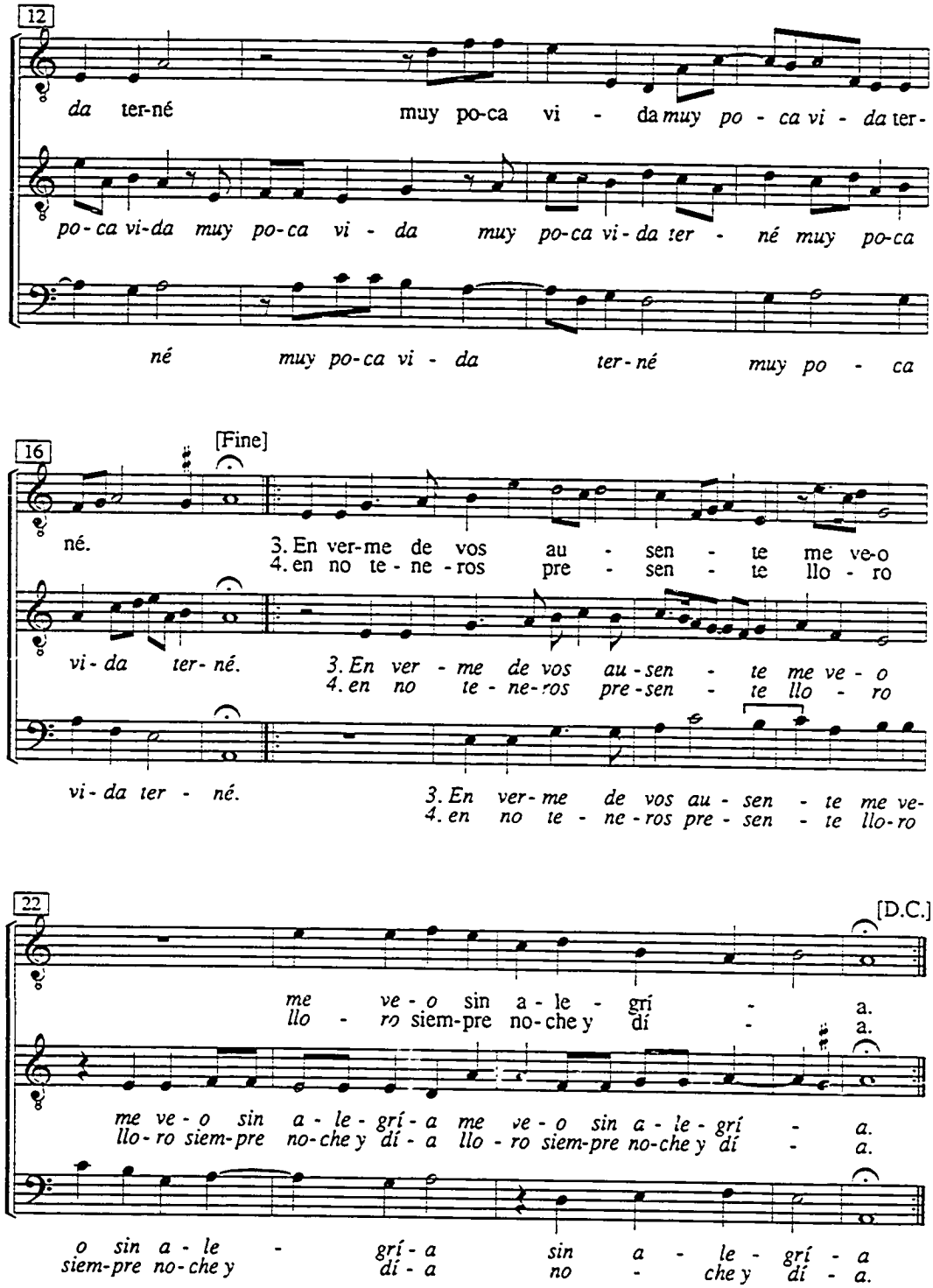

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No. 118. O triste de mí

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxv^{v}, Flecha

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 514-15

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 347
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 412
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 159

Notes to the edition:

1) **B**, mm.10^{3} and 14^{2}: Lee changes f for a.

2) **T**, m.11^{3}: ms. has b instead of a as in similar passage at m.14; Lee changes b for c'.

Text:

	O triste de mi que hare	a
	que segun el mal que siento	b
	muy poca vida terne	A
	muy poca vida terne.	A
5	En verme de vos ausente	c
	me veo sin alegria	d
	en no teneros presente	c
	lloro siempre noche y dia	d
	o muerte quan bien vernias	d'
10	por siempre te llamare	a
	[muy poca vida terne	A
	muy poca vida terne].	A

Comments:

The forms "terné," in lines 3-4 and "vernías" in line 9 are a metathesis of "tendré" and "vendría," respectively.

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No. 119. Si n[o] os [h]ubiera mirado

fol. cixxxv'

Morales

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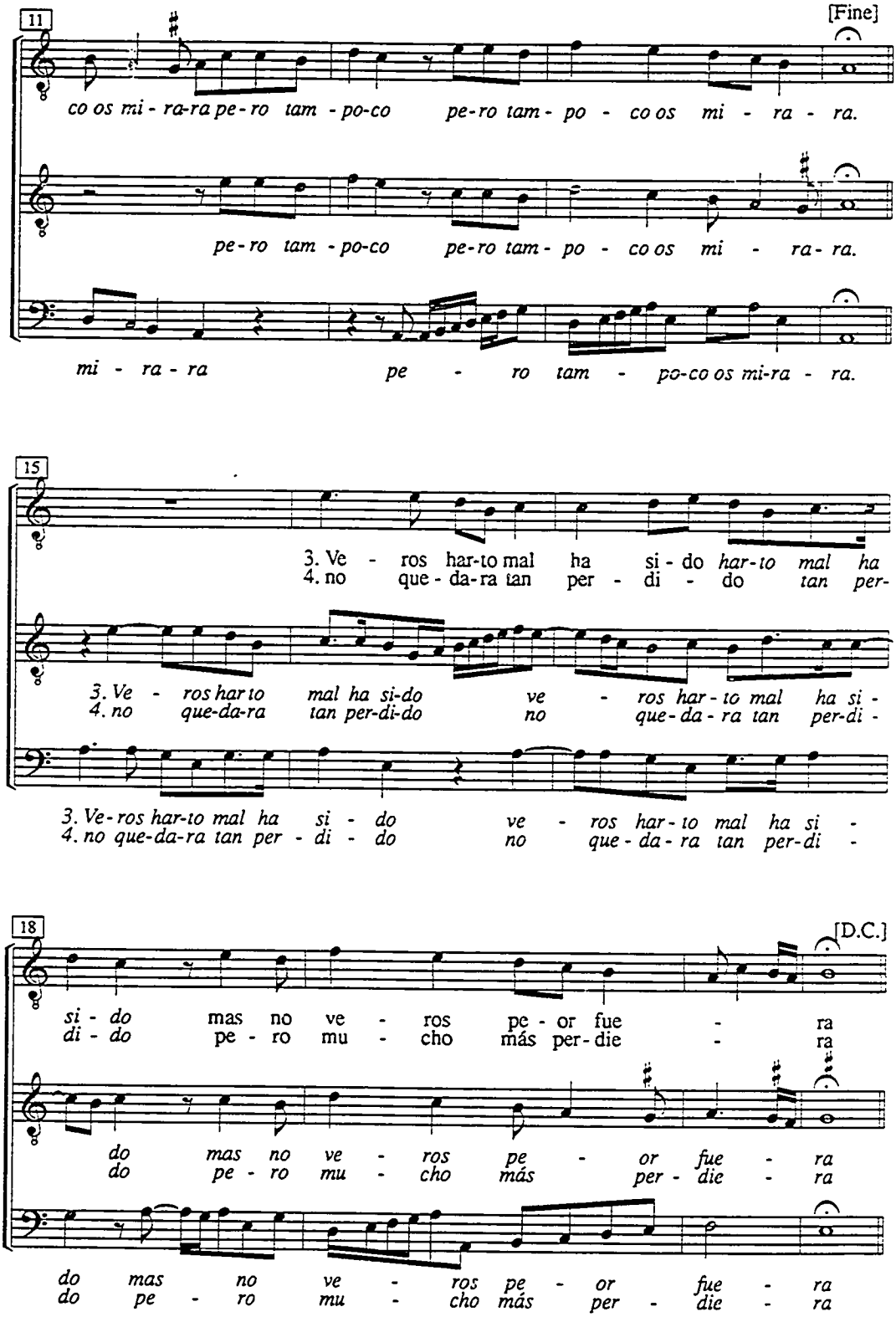

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No. 119. Si n[o] os [h]ubiera mirado

Sources:

454/D, fol. clxxxv^{v}-clxxxi^{r}, Morales
Scotto 155630, No. 13, Anon.

Editions:

Music

Bal y Gay, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, 25-27
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 516-17
Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, No. 13 (transcription by R. Mitjana)

Text:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 412
Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, 33-34

Notes to the edition:

1) **Ti**, m.10^{5}, Scotto reads c' instead of b.
2) **T**, m.19^{2}, Scotto has two M instead of SB.

Text:

	Si n' os ubiera mirado,	a
	no penara,	b
	pero tanpoco os mirara	B
	Veros harto mal a sido	c
5	mas no veros peor fuera	d
	no quedara tan perdido	c
	pero mucho mas perdiera	d
	que viera aquel que nos viera	d
	qual quedara	b
10	pero tanpoco no os mirara	B

Text variants:

Line 8. *q. muera a q. n. v.*
Line 10: *p. t. o. m.*

Comments:

Querol Rosso, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, 34, attributes the poem to Juan Boscán, but this is uncertain. Moreover, the attribution to the composer Morales may not refer to Cristóbal de Morales.

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No. 120. Llenos de lágrimas tristes

fol. clxxxvi

Pedro de Pastrana

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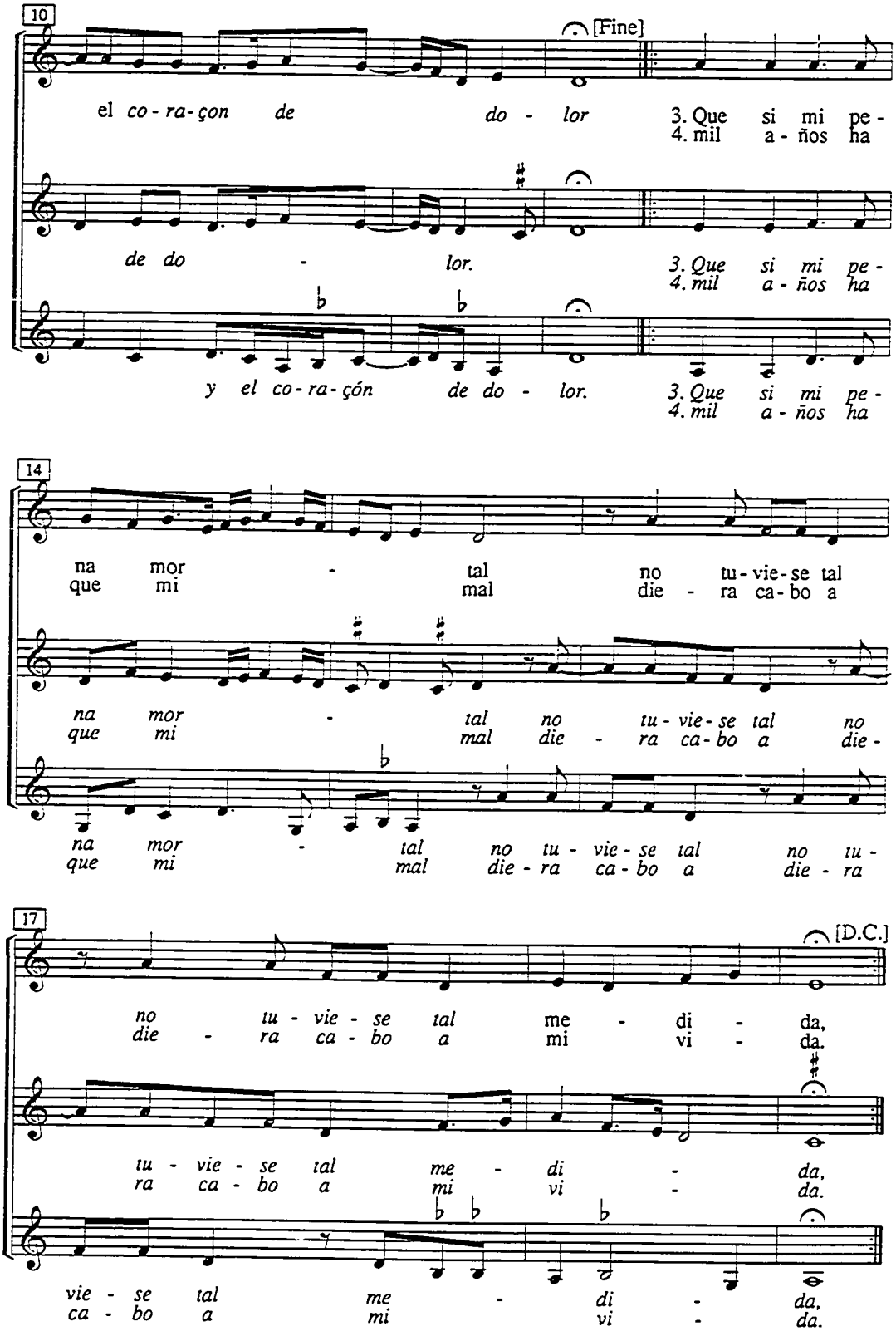

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No. 120. Llenos de lágrimas tristes

Sources:

454/D, fol. clxxxvi^{r}, Pastrana

Elvas 11793, fols. 97^{v}-98^{r}, Anon.

Madrid 1335, fol. cxiv^{r} (listed in the *tabla* but lost)

Literary concordances:

Cancionero de Enamorados (1562), No. 85 (*estribillo* only)

Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, ca. 1417. This piece is mentioned in the relation to the works of Rodrigo de Reinosa

Madrid 1579, Cartapacio de Padilla, fol. 229^{v}

Madrid 17556, fol. 41

Salvá, *Catálogo*, No. 4. A villancico with the same title appears in the pliego suelto *Chiste nuevo con seys Romances...* by Francisco Argüello

See Romeu, "Joan Timoneda i la *Flor de Enamorados*," 15-16 fn.23, for further bibliography concerning five "pliegos sueltos."

Editions:

Music:

Joaquim, *Cancioneiro musical*, No. 59

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 518-19

Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook*, 61-62

Morais, *Cancioneiro musical*, 60-61

Text:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 412

Rodríguez-Moñino and D. Devoto, *Cancionero*, No. 85

Notes to the edition:

1) **T**, m.2^{2}: Elvas has SB-M instead of dotted SB.

2) **B**, m.3^{4}: a missing in Elvas.

3) **T**, m.4$^{3-4}$: Elvas reads SB-M instead of M-SB.

4) **T**, mm.6-8^{1}: Elvas mistakenly repeats three times this motif instead of twice as in 454/D.

5) **B**, m.6$^{1-2}$: Elvas has e' dotted Br.

6) **Ti**, m.9^{2}: 454/D has e'; f' after Elvas.

7) **T**, m.14^{4}: Elvas reads d' SB and d' M.

8) **T**, mm.16^{4}-17^{3}: Elvas lacks this motif.

9) **T**, m.17^{6}: Elvas has a instead of b.

10) Elvas transmits the following different ending for the first section (mm. 10-12) of the piece:

Text:

	Llenos de lagrimas tristes	a
	tienen mis ojos amor	b
	y el corazon de dolor	B
	y el [corazon de dolor]	
5	Que si mi pena mortal	c
	no tuviese tal medida	d
	mil años a que mi mal	c
	diera cabo a mi vida.	d
	Mas esta porque quiere	e
10	mostrar su poder amor	b
	[y el corazon de dolor	B
	y el corazon de dolor]	

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Elvas 11793, mm. 10-12.

Text variants:

Elvas contains only the refrain, of which line 2 reads: *tiene m. o. a.* The incorrect text underlay in Miranda, lines 9-12, reads: "Mas asi lagrimas tristes [lagrimas tristes] porque quiere mi Azar supo dar[me el] amor."

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No.121. Regina celi

fols. clxxxvi'-clxxxviii

Anonymous

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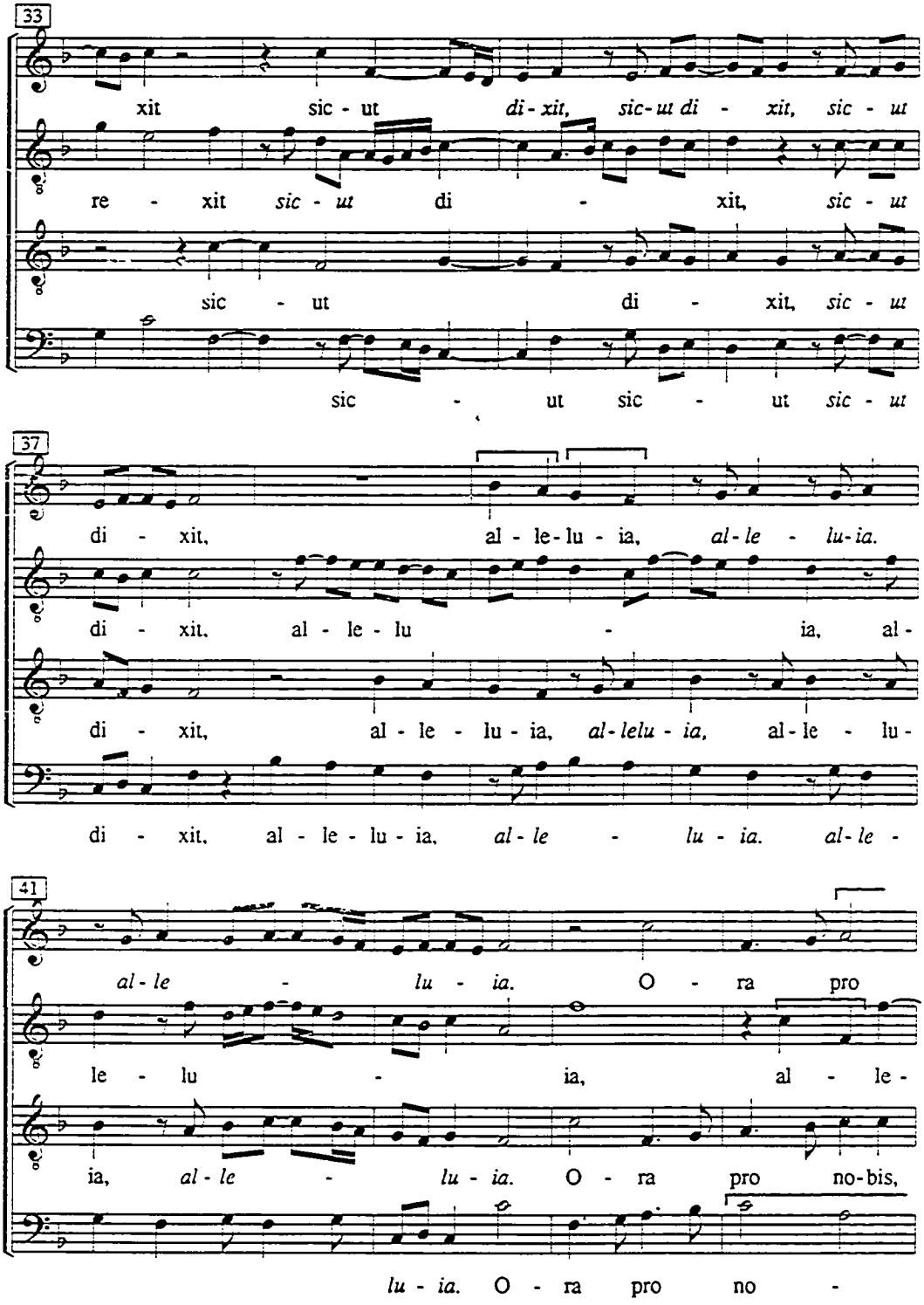

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No. 121 Regina celi

Sources:

Manuscripts:

454/C, fols. clxxxvi^{v}-vlxxxviii^{r}, Anon.
Vatican C. VIII.234 (Chigi Codex), fols. 53^{v}-55^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:

The version of this piece in the Chigi Codex is for three voices, while 454/C transmits a fourth voice that is not essential to the counterpoint. All the following variants refer to the Chigi Codex. For a discussion of the relationship between these two manuscripts, see Chapter VI, pp. 356-65.

1) **B**, m.9^{4}-10^{1}: f dotted M, e SM, d SM, c SM, B SB
2) **B**, m.19^{2}: B M
3) **B**, m.19^{5}: B M
4) **B**, m.23^{6}: f M (see Ex. 9 in Chapter VI, p. 365)
5) **B**, m.28$^{2-3}$: d SB
6) **S**, m.45^{2}: g M
7) **B**, m.45$^{2-3}$: rest M, f SB
8) **B**, m.47$^{1-3}$: a SB (error: dot missing), b M (error: missing c M)
9) **T**, m.48^{4}-50^{3}: d' SB, rest M, c' dotted minim. b SM, a SM, g SM, f black dotted breve, g SM, a SM, b SB, rest M.
10) **S**, m.51$^{1-2}$: rest Br appears in m.52$^{2-3}$ (see Ex. 10 in Chapter VI, p. 365)
11) **B**, m.54^{4}-55^{1}: f SB, M rest, d M
12) **S**, m.55^{6}-56^{2}: e' SB, f' SB, e' M
13) **S**, m.56^{5}-57^{2}: e' SB, f' SB, e' M
14) **T**, m.57$^{1-5}$-58^{3}: the equivalent of three breves of music is missing (error)
15) **B**, m.59^{2}: c SB (error)
16) **B**, m.60: c Br with fermata and f L

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No. 122. Magnificat sexti toni

fols. clxxxviii'-clxxxix

Anonymous

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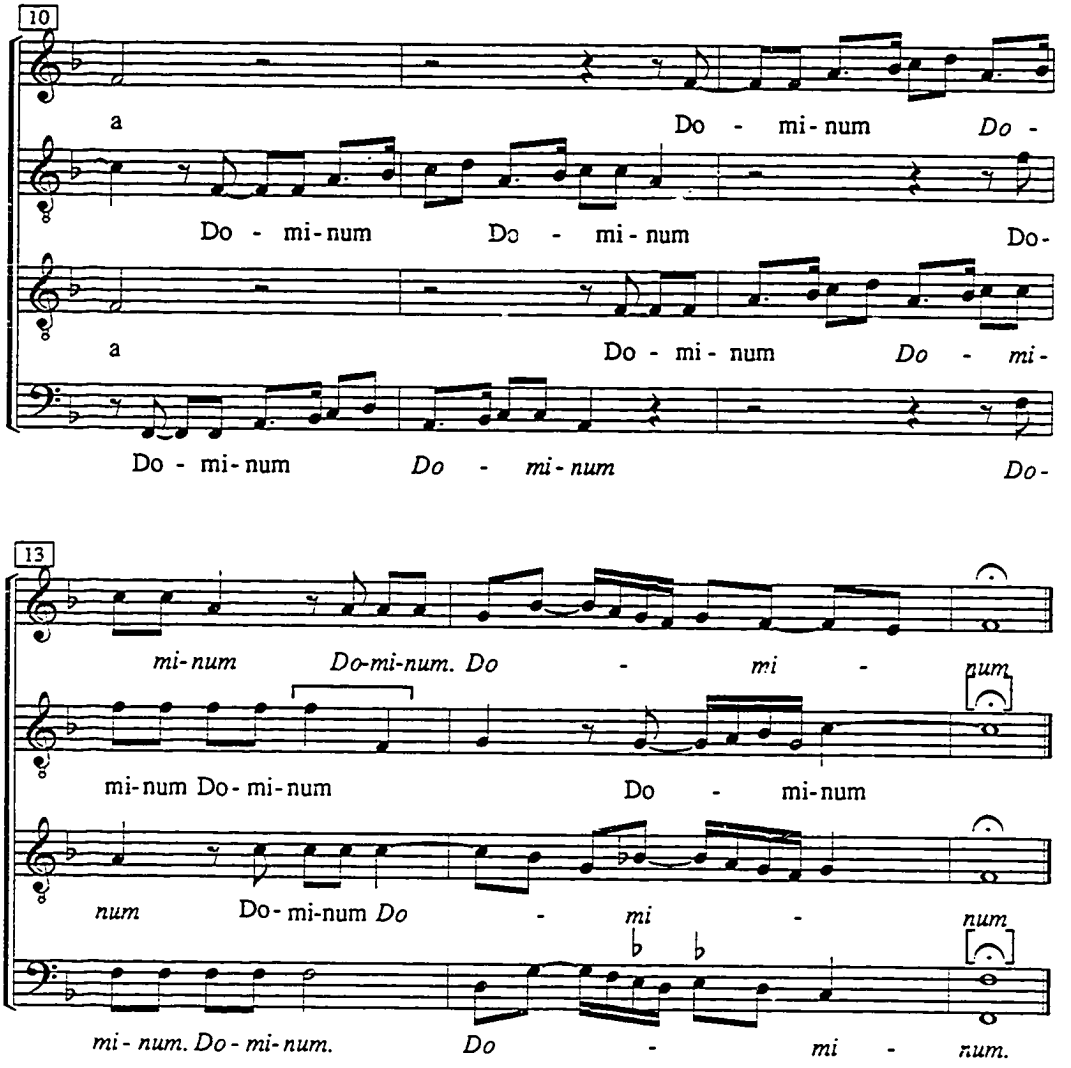

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No. 122. Magnificat sexti toni

Source:
Manuscript:
454/B, fols. clxxxviii^{v}-clxxxix^{r}, Anon.

Notes to the edition:
None.

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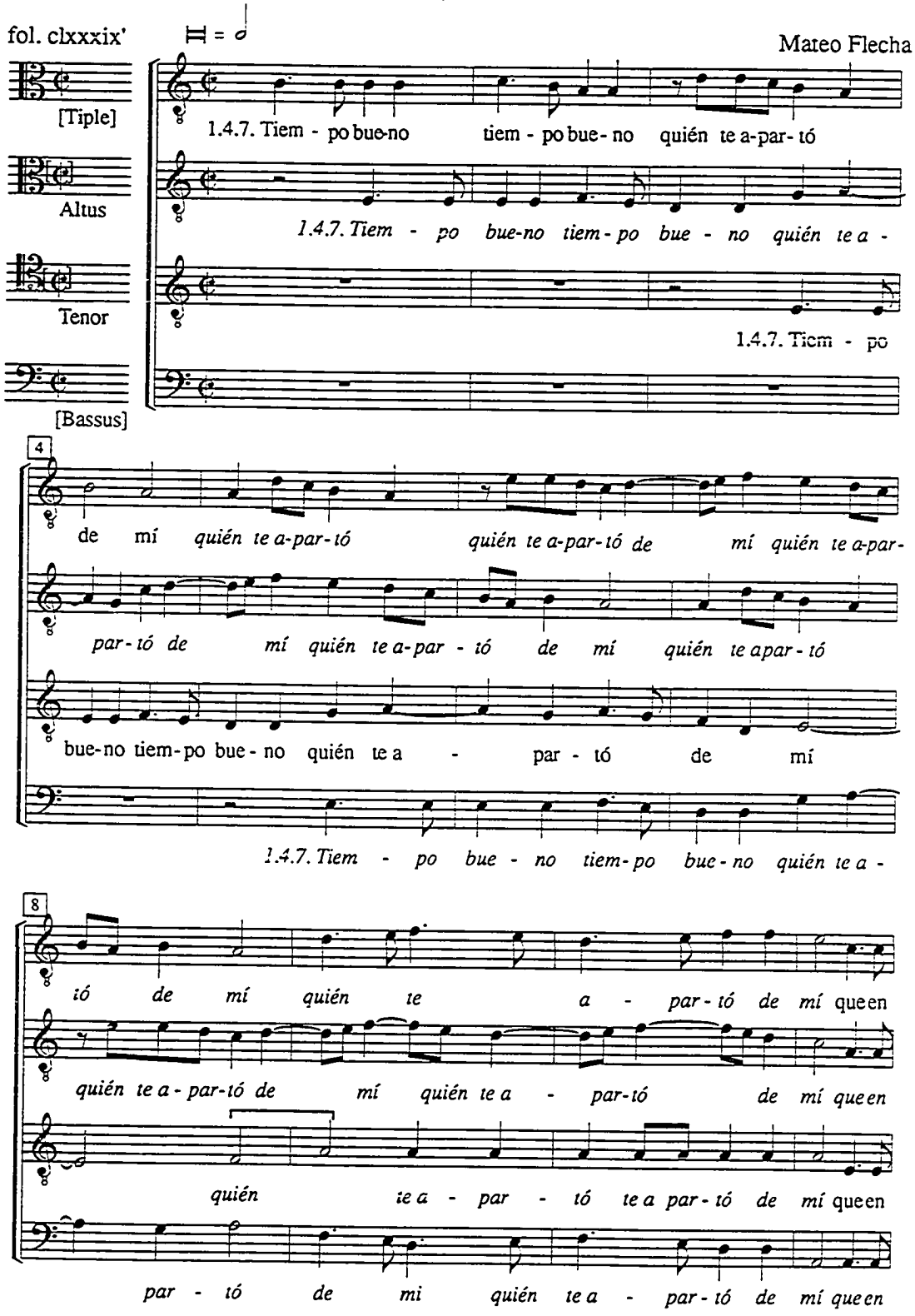
No. 123. Tiempo bueno



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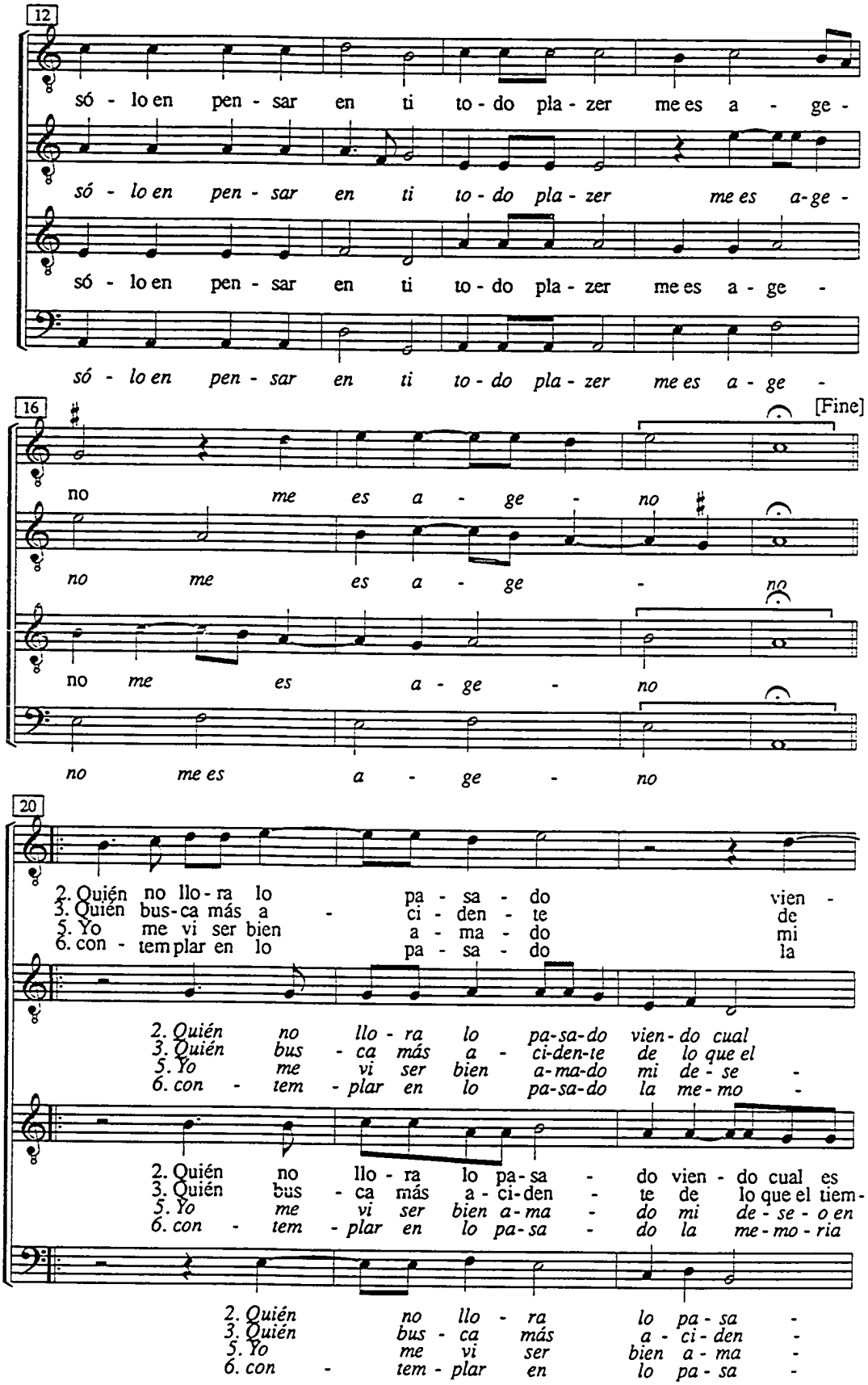

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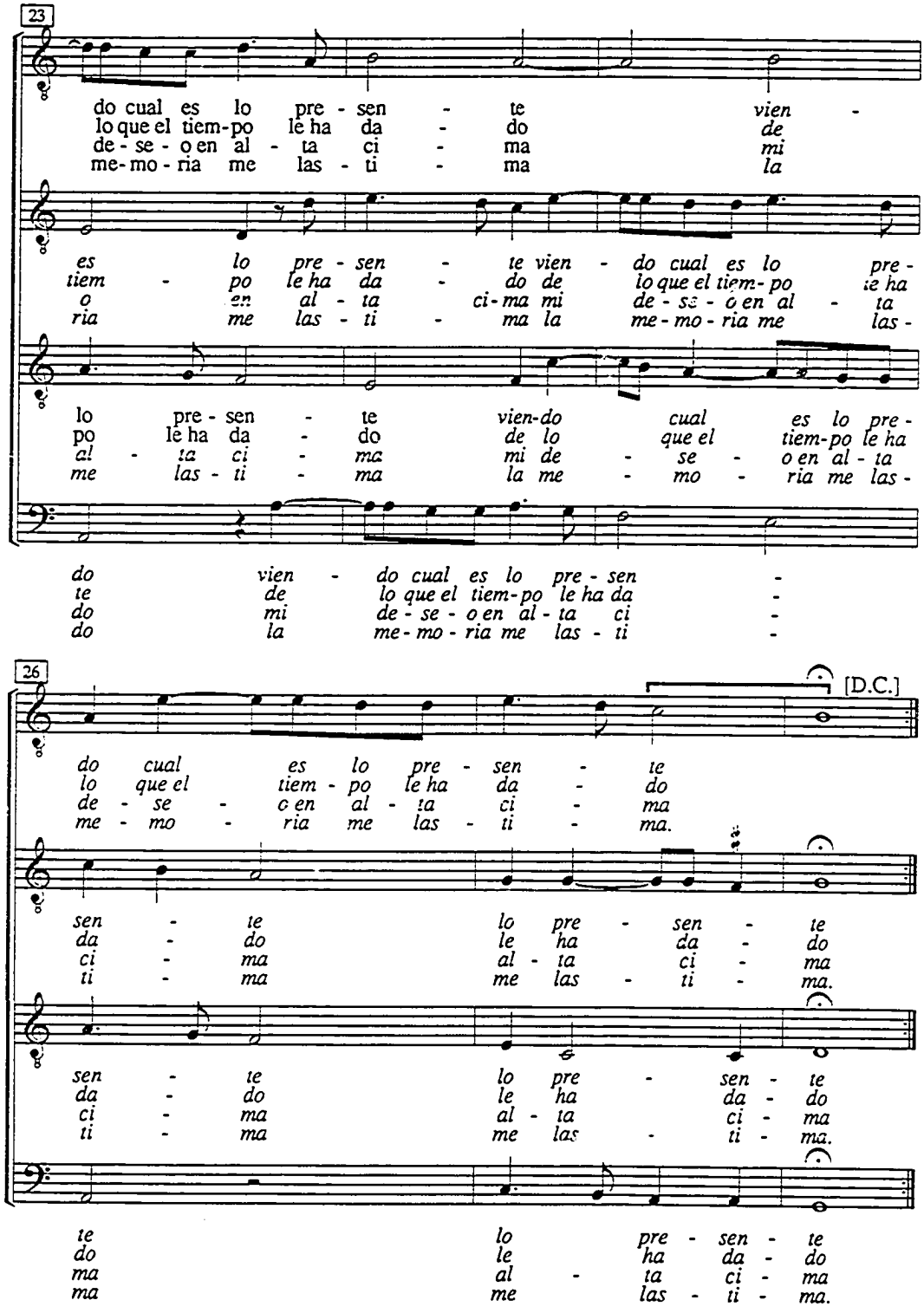

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No. 123. Tiempo bueno

Source:

454/D, fol. clxxxix^{v}, Flecha

Related composition:

Montecassino 871, p. 421, "O tempo bono," Anon. t;x;x

Literary concordances:

Cancionero General de Estéban de Nájera (Zaragoza, 1554), "Glosa al tiempo bueno"

Cancioneiro *Geral de García de Resende* (Lisboa, 1516), fol. ccxvii, poem wit a glosa by Resende

Madrid 617, fol. 174^{r}, "Tiempo bueno," followed by the *glosa* "¡O triste ventura mía!" by Burguillos

Madrid 2621, fol. 115^{r}, "Glosa al romance de tiempo bueno hecha a la muerte del príncipe de Portugal por Monte mayor;" another *glosa* on fol. 247

Madrid 5593, fols. 36^{r}-38^{r}, "Glosa de Tiempo Bueno"

Paris 307, fol. 264^{v}

Paris 372, fol. 75^{v}, "Glosa de Burguillos"

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 520-22

Pope, *Musique et Poésie*, 53-54

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 347

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 412-13

Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 159

Pope, *Montecassino 871*, 658-59

Notes to the edition:

None.

Text:

Tiempo bueno, tiempo bueno, a
¿quién te apartó de mí, b
que en sólo en pensar en ti b
todo plazer me es ageno? a

¿Quién no llora lo pasado c
viendo qual es lo presente? d
¿Quién busca más açidente d
de lo que el tiempo le a dado? c

Yo me vi ser bien amado
mi deseo en alta çima
contenplar en lo pasado
la memoria me lastima.

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Text variants:

Lines 7 and 10: Lee and Pope have *acidente* and *cima*. Line10: Pedrell reads: *m. d. e. a. mar*.

Lee stated that the text in 454/D lacks the *vuelta* in both strophes, and in her edition she added four lines of dots after lines 8 and 12. The version of this poem in *Cancionero de Poesías Varias, Manuscrito No. 617 de la Biblioteca Real de Madrid,* ed. by Labrador, Zorita, and DiFranco (Madrid: El Crotalón, 1986), 229, provides the missing portions of the poem, but its structure is different from the one envisioned by Lee (the verses found in 454/D are underlined)

Tienpo bueno, tienpo bueno,
¿quién te me lleuó de mí,
que en acordarme de ti
todo plaçer me es ageno?

Vi tienpo y oras ufanas
en que mis días goçaron,
aunque en ellas se sembraron
la simiente de mis canas.
¿Quién no llora lo pasado
viendo qual va lo presente?
¿Quál es aquel que no siente
lo que el tiempo le ha quitado?

¡Yo me ui ser bien amado
mi deseo en alta çima!
Contemplar en lo pasado
la memoria me lastima,
pues que todo me es ausente.
Bien y mal, todo me enoja;
no sé quál escoja.
¡Cuytado de quien lo siente!

I have not incorporated the additional text into Flecha's composition, since doing so would have substantially altered the distribution of the text underlay. This *canción* seems to have been conceived with only the portion of the poem found in 454/D.

Comments:

Pope, *Musique et Poésie*, 57, and *Montecassino 871*, 659, suggested that the melody of the anonymous "O tempo bono" becomes, in modified form, the tenor of the first section of Flecha's "Tiempo bueno." I believe, however, that the works are very different and that the only thing they have in common is the "title."

Flecha's work was copied starting on the second staff of fol. clxxxix^{v}, but part of the bass of a different piece had been copied on the first staff. The music on this staff was subsequently erased, but it is still possible to transcribe the incipit.

Since Scribe D2 entered two ascriptions to Flecha, one in the upper margin and the other between the first and second staves, perhaps this incipit belongs to an unknown composition by Flecha.

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No. 124. Encúbrase el mal que siento

fol. cxc

Mateo Flecha

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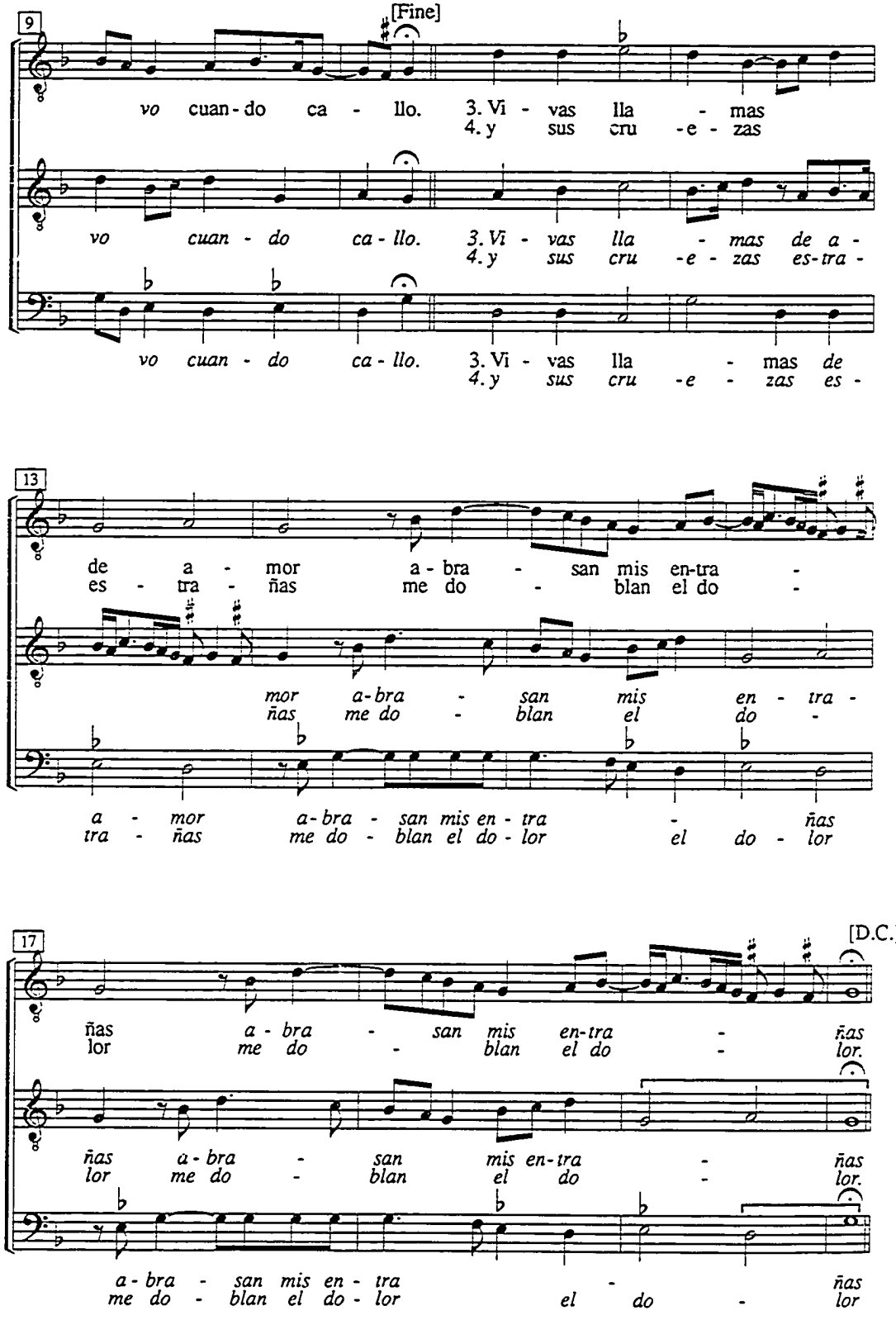

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No. 124. Encúbrase el mal que siento

Source:

454/D, fol. cxc^{r}, Anon.

Related literary sources:

Castillo, Cancionero general, fol. 148^{r}, "Encubraos el mal que siento," by Soria

Madrid 1579, Cartapacio Padilla, fol. 236^{v}, "El mal que siento"

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song,"I, 523-24

Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 161-621 (transcription by F. Pujol; facsimile, 160)

Text:

Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 348

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 413

Notes to the edition:

1) **B**, m.3^{1}: Lee changes a to g
2) **T**, m.10^{2}: ms has g minim
3) Ti, m.19$^{8-9}$: g-f repeated in ms

Text:

	Encubrase el mal que sineto	a
	porque allo que mas sirvo	B
	quando callo quando callo.	C
	Viuas llamas de amor	c
5	abrasan mis entrañas	d
	y sus cruezas estrañas	d
	me doblan el dolor	c
	y con tanto disfauor	c
	a mi cuenta	—
10	[porque allo que mas sirvo	B
	quando callo quando callo].	C

Text variants:

Pujol reads in line 2: p. hallo q. mal sufro, and for line 9, which seems to be incomplete or corrupt, he invents: Asáltanme crueles sañas. It should be noted, that Pujol's transcription is defective, since his underlay after line 6 is incorrect.

Krogstad distributes the text for the first three verse as follows:

Encubrase el mal que siento
porque allo
que mas sirvo cuando callo

Lee states that the text of the strophe is corrupt, and that line 9, with only four syllables, is redundant.

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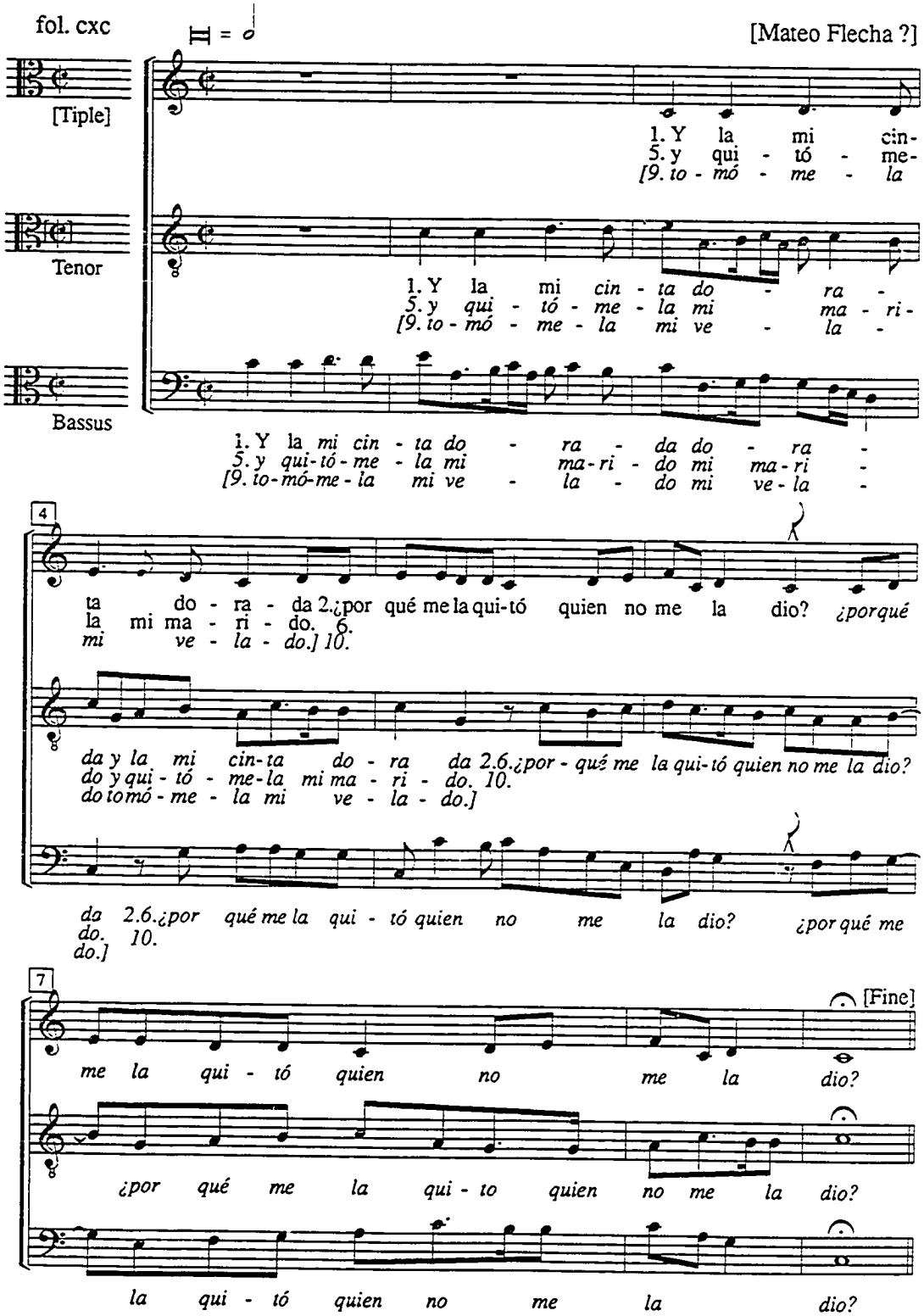
No. 125. Y la mi çinta dorada



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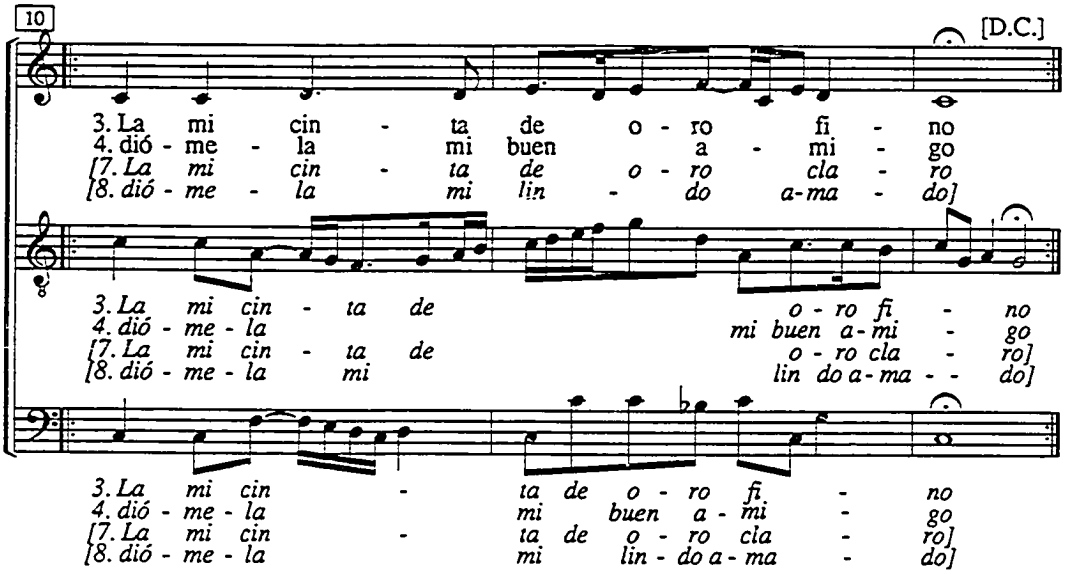

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No. 125. Y la mi çinta dorada

Source:

454/D, fol. cxc^{r}, Anon.

Related compositions:

Narváez, *Los seys libros del Delphin* (1538), seis *differencias* based on the tune of *Y la mi cinta dorada.*

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 525
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 163 (transcription by F. Pujol)

Text:

Alín, *El Cancionero Español*, 246
Alonso, and Blecua, *Antología de la Poesía Española*, 85
Cejador, *La Verdadera Poesía Castellana*, vol. 7, 2731
Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 237
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 348
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 413
Romeu, "El Cosante," 34

Notes to the edition:

1) **T**, m.12^{4}: ms has g longa.

Text variants:

Lines 1 and 4. Krogstad reads *çinta.*
Line 2. Narváez has: *p. q. m. l. tomo.*
Line 5. Narváez: *d. m. lindo a.*
Line 6. Narváez: *tomomela m. m.*
Narváez's fourth *diferencia*, contanins a new strophe which I have incorporated, in brackets, to the polyphonic version; it reads as follows:

La mi cinta de oro claro
diomela mi lindo amado
tomomela mi velado
por que me la tomo
quien no me la dio.

Text:

Y la mi çinta dorada		a
por que me la quito		B
quien no me la dio		B
La mi çinta de oro fino		c
diomela mi buen amigo	5	c
y quitomela mi marido.		c
[*por que me la quito*		B
quien no me la dio].		B

Comments:

Anglés, *Reyes Católicos*, I, 115, and Romeu, "Mateo Flecha el Viejo,"36, attributed the work to Flecha, Romeu on stylistic grounds. This is plausible since the previous piece on the same folio, copied by the same scribe, is attributed to Flecha. *Y*

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la mi cinta dorada in 454/D bears the inscription *villancico*. Romeu, "El cosante," 34-35, however, pointed out that the poetic structure of *Y la mi cinta dorada* is a disguised version of a *cosante* (also known as *bailada encadenada* or *paralelística*). The origins of this form can be traced back to traditional "canciones de danza" (songs to accompany dancing) from Portugal and Galicia in which a distich, each line sung by a different soloist, would alternate with a refrain sung by the chorus. In the fifteenth century, however, the form had been adopted for singing after dancing, as suggested by several references to *cosantes* in the chronicle *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*. For instance, in the description of a wedding in 1470, the chronicler (cited by Romeu) states: "...después de dançar, cantaron un grant rato en cosante..." (after dancing they sung in *cosante* for a long time). According to Romeu, this kind of singing would involve alternation between two singers and the intervention of the chorus to repeat the refrain. He points out that the *villancico* and *cosante* have similar structures, and he argues that, since both are strophic forms with an initial refrain, it is understandable that compilers of *cancioneros* would have confuse them and labelled *cosantes* as *villancicos*. Two works in Madrid 1335, *Tres morillas* and *En Avila mis ojos* are, according to Romeu, deteriorated *cosantes*.

Romeu, combining the text in 454/D and Narváez, reconstructs what he thinks might have been the ancient *cosante* of *Y la mi cinta dorada*:

Y la mi cinta dorada,
¿por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dio?

I La mi cinta de oro fino
diómela mi lindo amigo
¿por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dio?

II La mi cinta de oro claro
diómela mi lindo amado
¿por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dio?

III Diómela mi lindo amigo
tomómela mi marido
¿por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dio?

IV Diómela mi lindo amado
tomómela mi velado
¿por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dio?

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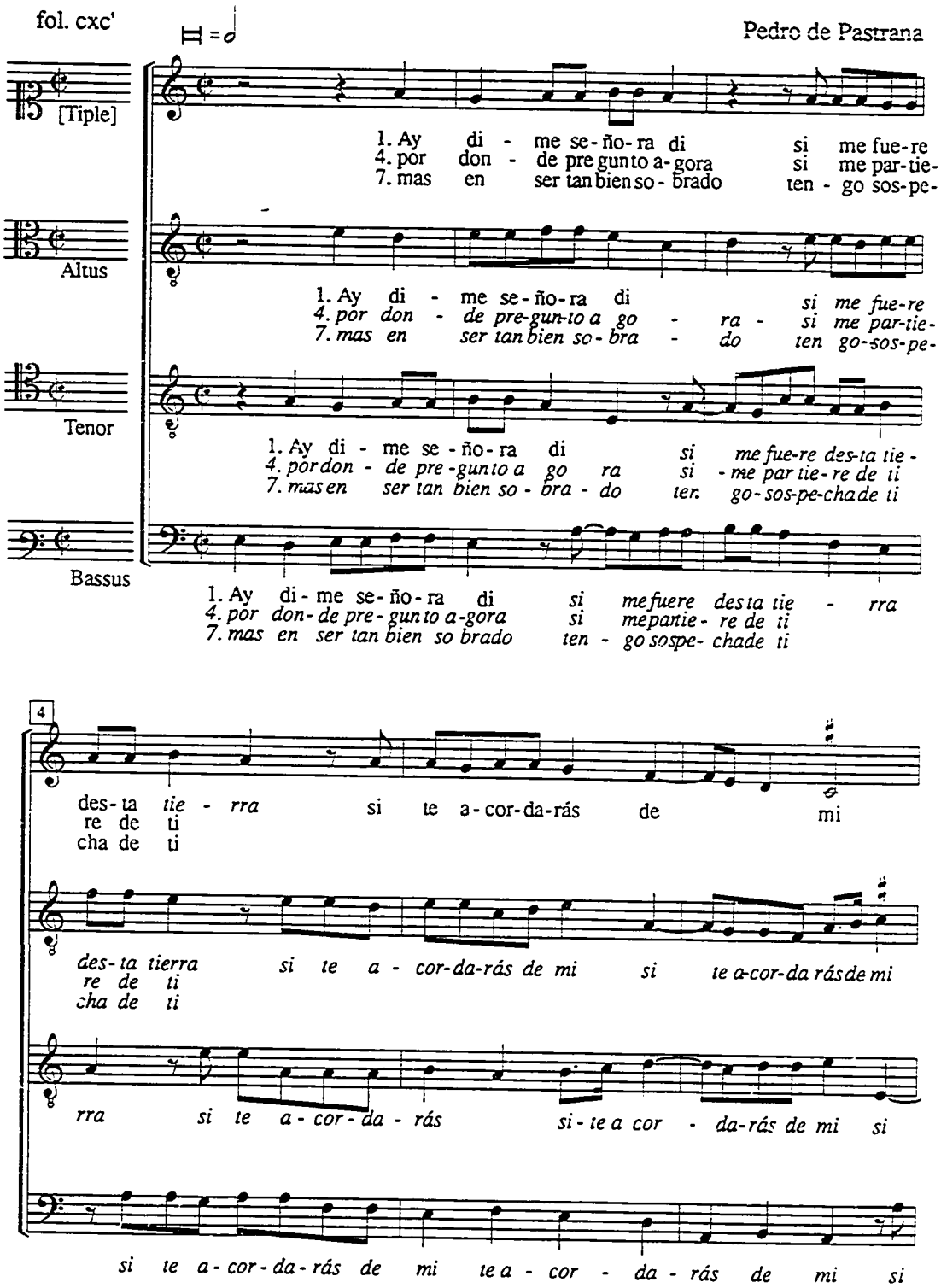
No. 126. Ay dime señora

fol. cxc'

Pedro de Pastrana



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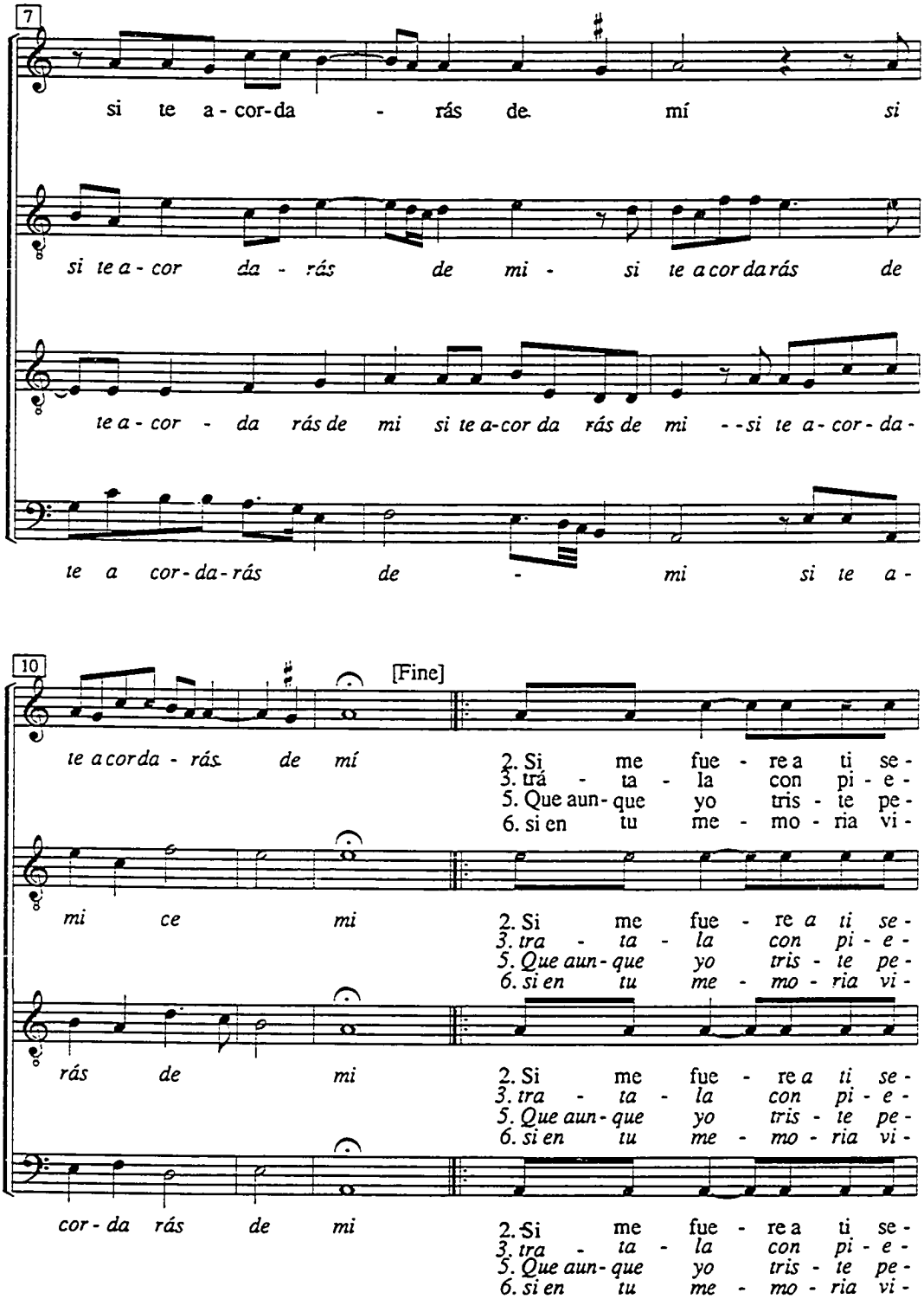

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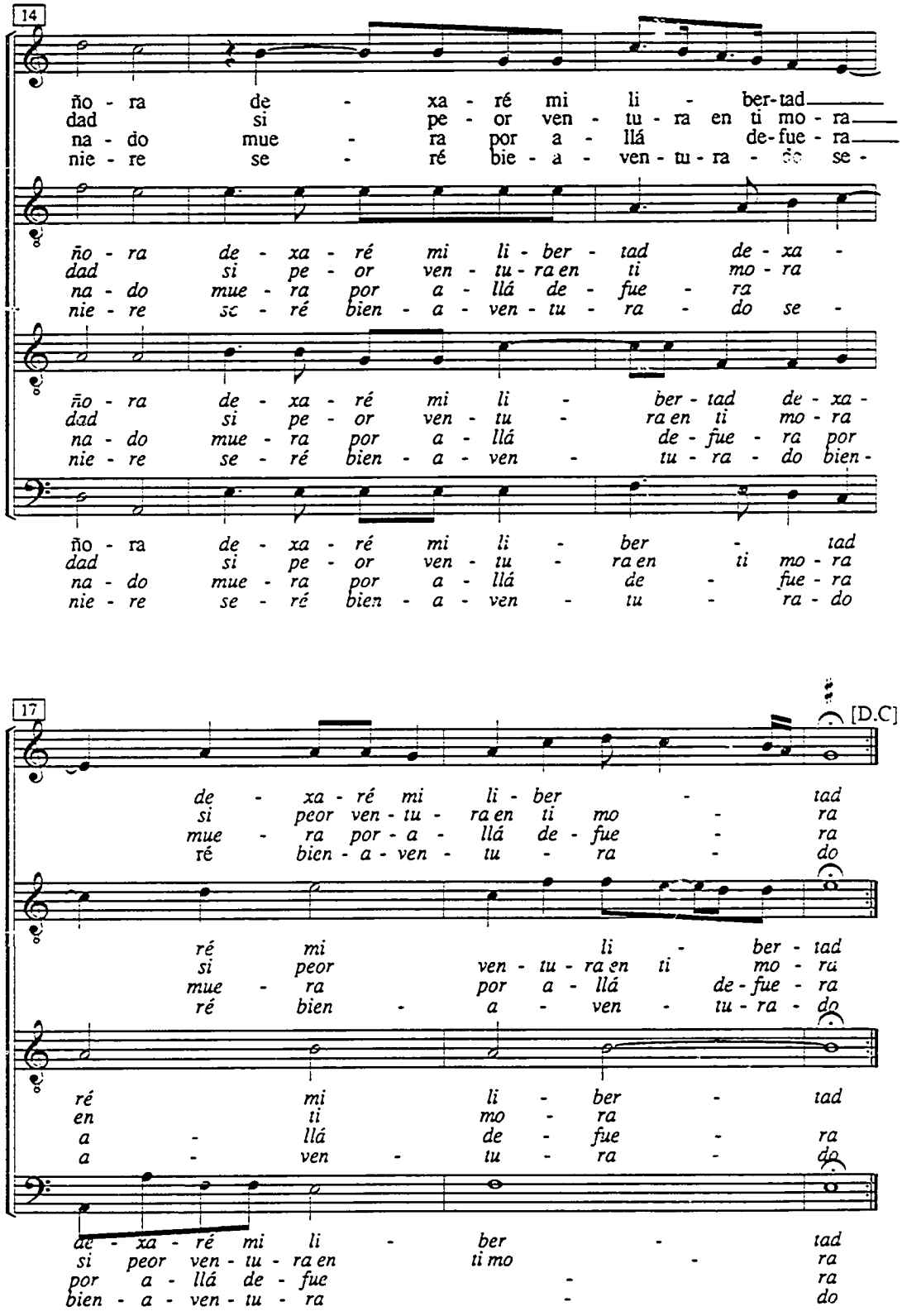

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No. 126. Ay dime señora

Source:

454/D, fol. cxc^{v}, Pastrana

Literary concordances:

London, Egerton 939, fol. 26^{v}, "Dime señora" *(al tono de* "Dime señora")
Milan 940, fols. 115r-116v, "Dime señora" (*estribillo* only)
Sâ de Miranda, *Obras*, vol. 1, No. 67
_____, *Poesías*, No. 134

Sung to the tune of *Dime señora*:

London, Egerton 939, fol. 26^{v}, "En el siglo duradero"
Madrid, RAH, MS 9-5535, fol. 66^{v}, Alvarez Gato "Dime señora"

Editions:

Music:

Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 526-27

Text:

Frenk, *Corpus de la Antigua Lírica Popular*, No. 562 (*estribillo* only)
Krogstad, "*Cancionero* poetry," 348-49
Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," I, 413-14
Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II, 159

Notes to the edition:

1) **A**, m.18^{7}: ms. has semibreve instead of a minim.

Text variants:

line 2. *tierra* added after Egerton 939.
line 12. Krogstad reads: *m. p. a. do f.*
line 13. Krogstad reads: *s. e. t. m. viuiere.*
line 14. Lee reads: *ser bien aventurado*

Text:

Ay dime señora di a
si me fuere desta [tierra] b
si te acordaras de mi. a

Si me fuere a ti señora c
dexare mi libertad d
tratala con pyedad d
si peor ventura en ti mora c
por donde pregunto agora c
si me partiere de ti a
si te acordaras de mi. a

Que aunque yo triste penado
muera por alla de fuera
si en tu memoria viniere/a
sere vienaventurado
mas en ser tan bien sobrado
tengo sospecha de ti
si te acordaras de mi.

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