

THE MID-SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCO-FLEMISH
CHANSON IN SPAIN

The Evidence of Ms. 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library

In recent years there have been various publications dealing with the reception of the Franco-Flemish repertory in the Iberian peninsula.¹ The discovery of Ms. 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library in Granada, a musical anthology for minstrels ('ministriles') containing a section devoted to Franco-Flemish chansons, provides the basis for a more detailed examination of this topic. The present article explores some of the routes through which this genre of composition may have arrived in Granada, the city in which the manuscript was copied, and suggests some of the contexts in which such chansons were performed. The identification of Ms. 975's unattributed works, false attributions, and concordances also throws light on its kinship with other Hispanic sources containing similar repertories. In conclusion we speculate on the original sources for the Iberian transmission of the Franco-Flemish chansons contained in this manuscript.

Considering that several composers of the post-Josquin generation belonged to Charles V's important Flemish Chapel (*capilla flamenca*), we might expect to find their music widely diffused in the surviving sources. It is rather surprising, therefore, that so few Franco-Flemish chansons are preserved in Spain. This state of affairs seems even more inexplicable when we consider that, so far from shrinking, the number of Flemish musicians in the service of the royal house increased after Charles's death. The Flemish Chapel kept its independence until 1637 under the leadership of Pierre de Manchicourt (1559-1564), Jean Bonmarché (1565-1570), Gérard Turnhout (1572-1580), George de la Hèle (1582-1586), Philippe Rogier (1586-1596), Géry de Ghersem (assistant chapel-master, 1598-1604) and Matthieu Rosmarin (1598-1633), in the service of Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV.² As reasons for the above-mentioned scarcity of musical sources we must accept the factors which have been identified by Higinio Anglés: the absence of a flourishing music-printing trade, the lack of concern for preservation of a musical heritage, wars, revolutions, fires.

The late sixteenth-century inventories of polyphonic books in the Madrid royal chapel, as collected by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, contain a considerable number of prints and manuscripts of sacred music by Franco-Flemish composers then in the service of the court. Among these a small number of books 'de canciones en francés' (of songs in French) is mentioned, but without composers' names.³ The catalogue of books belonging to the Infanta Juana, founder of the monastery of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, also includes a number of volumes containing 'canciones en francés'.⁴

A few inventories of books belonging to booksellers, merchants and private individuals also have a bearing on the transmission of this repertory and give some indication of

the much larger number which have not survived. Two inventories discovered by John Griffiths among the notarial records in Valladolid are relevant examples. The earlier, dated 1571, concerns the bookseller Jerónimo Rouillé, and includes fifteen volumes of French 'chansons'. The second, from 1596, contains a list of the private library of María de Zuñiga, in which we find five volumes of Franco-Flemish songs.⁵ No less important is the inventory of the Barcelona-born Juan Guardiola, compiled after his death in 1561 and published by José Maria Madurell. Here we find a large number of volumes of sacred and secular music, mostly printed in Lyon and Venice (see Appendix I).⁶ Furthermore, it should be remembered that when the bookseller Jean Poelman settled in Salamanca, in 1586, after some fifteen years in the service of Christopher Plantin, he entered into a partnership with Jean Moretus to sell books in Spain.⁷

A few prints and manuscripts relating to this repertory survive in Spanish musical archives (Biblioteca de Cataluña, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Archivo de la catedral de Valladolid, Archivo de la catedral de Zaragoza, Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid, Biblioteca Bartolomé March Servera, Biblioteca Ducal de Medinaceli,⁸ etc.). Among the manuscripts, Ms. 17 of the cathedral of Valladolid (a single tenor part) is of exceptional interest: it is the only Spanish source to include the original texts of its repertory. It contains four- and five-part chansons by Orlando, Crecquillon, Willaert, Bracquet, Pevernage, Turnhout and Claudius Salmier [sic].⁹ Another rather exceptional example is Ms. 769 of the archive of the monastery of Montserrat, which comes from the splendid library of Mary of Hungary. Some of the Magnificats which it contains parody various chansons: No. 2 = *Dulce mémoire en plaisir consommée*; No. 18 = *Je prens en gré*; No. 25 = *C'est une dure départie, Pour ung plaisir* and *C'est à grand tort*.¹⁰

However, our two most important categories of source for the diffusion of the chanson repertory are the printed tablatures by various Spanish composers and the surviving manuscript books for the use of minstrels. The prints by Venegas de Henestrosa (Brown 1557₂) and Hernando de Cabezón (Brown 1578₃),¹¹ and to a lesser degree those of Luis de Narváez (Brown 1538₁), Enriquez de Valderrábano (Brown 1547₃), Diego Pisador (Brown 1552₇) and Esteban Daza (Brown 1576₁), contain chansons by composers of the post-Josquin era – above all by Crecquillon, Gombert and Clemens non Papa.¹² John Griffiths' observation regarding the function of these prints is perceptive: 'As I have argued elsewhere, the simplicity of vihuela tablature, the fact that it permitted sophisticated music to be played without requiring extensive prior musical training, and the size of the editions in which it was printed, all suggest that it was probably one of the principal ways in which the musically untrained bourgeoisie was able to enrich its musical experience within the domestic environment'.¹³ Works by great composers such as Crecquillon and Lassus, some of which achieved immense popularity (*Susanne ung jour, Douce mémoire, Je prens en gré, Ung gay bergier*, etc.), were probably included to enhance the commercial profitability of these prints.

Two very important surviving minstrel books are those from the collegiate church of San Pedro, Lerma (in Burgos). We may include with these Polyphonic Book XIX of the cathedral of Puebla (Mexico). This now consists of 129 folios (the first 25, containing

psalms by Francisco Guerrero and others, are lost). The volume was copied in the first half of the seventeenth century by one main scribe with a few additions in two other apparently contemporary hands, and contains works by Guerrero, Felipe Rogier, Pedro Ruimonte, Lassus, Ceballos, Crecquillon, etc., none of them with a full text and only some with a textual incipit.¹⁴

The two manuscripts from Lerma have been studied by Douglas Kirk in his doctoral thesis as well as in various articles.¹⁵ They appear in the 1609 inventory of the collegiate church of San Pedro in Lerma, two years after the foundation of its musical chapel. The first of them, the so-called 'Lerma Codex', was purchased from the church of San Pedro by the University of Utrecht in the 1950s. In the inventory of 1615 it is described as a large book of 'canciones' for minstrels, in poor condition, in a red binding that appears more black than red. Its 165 large folios (550 x 415 mm) contain untexted chansons, madrigals and motets in 4, 5, 6 and 7 parts by Lassus, Striggio, Crecquillon, Clemens, Gombert, Monte and others, together with dances, *fabordones*, and a number of unidentified pieces. It was copied by two careful though not professional scribes. According to Kirk this manuscript was probably copied in Palencia, and from there taken to León and later Lerma. Kirk dates this manuscript c. 1590 or even earlier.¹⁶

Most of the second Lerma manuscript is still at the church of San Pedro; its first leaf was purchased together with other manuscripts from the same church in 1911, and now belongs to the Hispanic Society of America in New York. According to the San Pedro inventory of 1615 it too consisted of 'canciones para ministriles' and bore the title 'Felipe Rogier'. It consists of 130 folios, and seems to have been written by a professional copyist, probably in the early 1590s. It contains a great many pieces by Felipe Rogier, as well as others by Lasso, Francisco Guerrero, Crecquillon, Lobo, etc..¹⁷

These witnesses to the circulation of the Franco-Flemish repertory in Spain have been augmented by the discovery of the manuscript numbered 975 in the private library of the composer Manuel de Falla.¹⁸ This book may have belonged to one of the musical chapels operating during the second half of the sixteenth century in Granada, where it seems to have been copied.¹⁹ Its contents include twenty-seven chansons, all of them untexted and some of them without even a textual incipit.²⁰ It is a complicated matter to determine the ecclesiastical function of this secular repertory.²¹ However, there is documentary evidence of its use in two different cathedrals. In 1590 the cathedral chapter of Toledo paid Alonso Gascón for copying a book of 'Canciones y motetes que están sacados para ministriles para las cornetas de a cinco y de a seis voces son setenta y tres ojas escritas y acabadas' (songs and motets selected for minstrels for the cornetts in five and six voices, comprising seventy-three pages fully written).²² Our only specific reference to the performance of chansons within the sacred office comes from the cathedral of Plasencia. Its rules and regulations for the minstrels dated 7 July 1615 include the following: 'Que los días solemnes y de apóstoles bajen todos a ayudar a los cantores al facistol, y en acabando la Gloria suban a tañer a la epístola, y tañan canciones de a seis...' (that on solemn feasts and those of the apostles they shall all come down and

assist the singers in the choir, and when the Gloria is finished they shall return to their gallery to play songs in six parts during the Epistle). This may reflect a practice already observed for some years.²³ The same repertory could presumably be performed on other occasions (processions, entrances, and during the offertory of the mass) as well as in non-liturgical circumstances, where compositions could be freely chosen. It seems obvious that this is the repertory which the minstrels would have chosen on the secular occasions at which they were invited to take part.²⁴ But apart from the above documentary references, there are also the surviving minstrel books themselves. All of these books include works of this kind, as do the probably multi-functional mss. 48 and 242 of the Biblioteca Geral of Coimbra University.²⁵

From the account given by the singer Francisco de Moya we know that during the time of Ambrosio de Cotes – who was chapel master in the Royal Chapel at Granada from 1581 until 1596 – a secular vocal repertory was also performed in the Capilla Real at Granada: ‘nunca se han cantado cosas deshonestas, sino motetes y madrigales de letras divinas que se pueden cantar delante del Sanctísimo Sacramento’ (lewd pieces were never sung, but only motets and madrigals with sacred texts, such as may be sung in the presence of the Most Holy Sacrament), which immediately recalls those works of Guerrero’s which have alternative ‘divine’ texts.²⁶ Confirmation comes from Seville. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the regulations mandated by the cathedral chapter for examining prospective chapelmasters indicate that as his third exercise the candidate had to write ‘vna canción a cinco al modo de las del maestro Guerrero, dentro de 24 oras’ (a song in five parts in the style of Guerrero within 24 hours).²⁷

The majority of the secular works in Ms. 975 are ‘chansons’. The composer most frequently represented is Thomas Crecquillon, a member of Charles V’s Flemish Chapel.²⁸ Other composers who feature in this source include Clemens non Papa (4 pieces), Orlando di Lasso (2), Lupus (1), Robert Godart (1), Pierre Sandrin (1), Eustacius Barbion (1), Adrian Tubal (1) and Joannes Gallus (1).

Some conclusions can be drawn from this repertory. We have already mentioned the frequency of such pieces in the printed Spanish tablatures, in reference to the role of these sources in the transmission and reception of the chanson genre. Falla Ms. 975 has seven concordances with the tablature of Hernando de Cabezón, six with that of Venegas de Henestrosa and one each with the collections of Luis de Narváez and Esteban Daza. Among Iberian manuscript sources the largest number of concordances is found in the other extant minstrel books. There are nine in the Utrecht ‘Lerma Codex’ and two in Ms. Mus. 1 of the archive of San Pedro de Lerma. There are also five concordances with Coimbra, Biblioteca General, Ms. 242. The identified concordances with Spanish sources are collated in Appendix II. However, as Griffiths’ current work suggests, this repertory was almost certainly more widely transmitted than the sources so far examined actually show, and future research in the archives of noble households may well reveal more.

Of the twenty-seven chansons in Ms. 975 two appear to be so far unknown: No. 70,

Ung moine, attributed to Lupus, and No. 78, *Nes gra voi*, attributed to Clemens. If the copyist drew on only a single source for his entire compilation, it follows that this source must have been lost. For some other pieces Ms. 975 is the only known Spanish source: No. 80, Gombert's *Jamais je neuz tant desoulas*, and No. 83, *Le doulx baisir* by Crecquillon.²⁹ Crecquillon's *Pane me ami duche* (No. 84) should also be noted; its only known concordance is with Choirbook XIX of Puebla Cathedral, where it is attributed to the same composer but without a textual incipit. The fact that some of the pieces and composers in Ms. 975 appear in no other Spanish source, either printed or manuscript, suggests a wider catchment area for the transmission of the chanson repertory into that country.

The task of establishing the routes of this transmission to Granada is rather complex. The city's symbolic importance ever since its conquest by the Catholic Kings ensured a close relationship with the royal power throughout the sixteenth century. During this period it enjoyed great economic and cultural vitality, though this suffered a setback with the uprising of the Moorish population in the neighbouring region of Alpujarra in the years 1568–1570. The ambitious project of transforming Granada into a Castilian city was initiated by the Catholic Kings; it was pursued under Charles V and to a lesser extent under the following monarch, Philip II. These changes involved the establishment in the city of such important institutions as the Archbishopric, the Royal Chapel, and even the Chancellery, whose jurisdiction extended as far as the river Tajo. The fact that at various times the Spanish monarchs chose Granada as their residence also brought their musicians into contact with those of the local chapels.³⁰ The Royal Chapel of Granada, founded by Isabella the Catholic as a royal mausoleum and increasingly celebrated during the sixteenth century, played a central role in these contacts.³¹

The musicians of these successive Royal Chapels, connected for various reasons with the city since the early sixteenth century, constitute the most likely channel for the transmission of Ms. 975's Franco-Flemish repertory.³² Two points of connection between Granada and this repertory stand out. The first is the presence of the royal chaplain Francisco Fernandez Palero as the organist of the Royal Chapel of Granada. Palero's extensive knowledge of this repertory is confirmed both by his own works published in Venegas (1557) and from the other similar compositions in that print, with which he must obviously have been familiar.³³ The second point of contact is Juan Saravia's group of minstrels. The Granada cathedral chapter's intention to employ Saravia's minstrels in 1543 remained unfulfilled, for economic reasons.³⁴ However, a few years later, in 1562, the Royal Chapel of Granada hired, perhaps on a permanent basis, the same group, comprising Juan Saravia, Antonio de Flandes, Juan de Flandes, Francisco de Flandes and Pedro del Castillo, joined two months later by Vega.³⁵ The surname 'de Flandes' of three of its members probably indicates that they were related to one another, but it is frequently found in these groups. In any case it leaves no doubt as

to their origins in the Low Countries, and suggests a possible connection with Ms. 975, copied for the use of minstrels at this very time.³⁶

Another route by which the chanson repertory could have been introduced into Granada is through the oligarchic families living in the city, many of them connected with the immense bureaucracy which developed there. Prominent among these were the marquises of Mondéjar and of Cenete, members of the house of Mendoza.³⁷ Throughout the sixteenth century the Mendoza family held the posts of Alcaide of the Alhambra and Captain General of the kingdom of Granada by inheritance. Other possible channels for the transmission of this repertory were a number of Genoese merchant families in Granada, and also the French, Flemish and Italian artists who came to work there on the city's ambitious building projects.³⁸

As has been mentioned, it seems that the copyist of Ms. 975 made use of secondary manuscript sources rather than printed ones. So much can be deduced from its corrupt textual incipits, false attributions and anonymous pieces, as well as from the wide range of prints from which Ms. 975's repertory is originally derived and the minor but numerous differences from the printed versions which it presents: different clefs, changes of time signature (*tempus imperfectum* for *tempus imperfectum diminutum*), omitted repetitions of final phrases, correction of small errors,³⁹ rearrangement of rests,⁴⁰ conflation of repeated notes, minor rhythmic discrepancies (division of dotted semibreves into semibreve plus minim, semibreves replaced by minims or by dotted minims plus semiminims, etc.), and small melodic changes such as the removal of ornaments or the substitution of one note for another. Since these differences occur even in works for which only a single printed source is known, they must have been introduced either by the copyists of earlier manuscripts, or by that of Ms. 975, or both.⁴¹

Another, less probable, hypothesis is that the repertory was imported into Spain in manuscript copies. It is well known that some of these chansons were immensely popular, and were printed many times by the same or different printers. It seems that the prints which circulated most abundantly in Spain came from Italy and Flanders and, to a lesser extent, from France; many prints from Lyon may have reached Catalonia (see Appendix I), although there is little documentary evidence.⁴² An initial analysis of some of the pieces found in Ms. 975 suggests the identity of some of the prints from which they ultimately derive, and which may therefore have circulated in Spain.

A significant number appeared in print only once, and there is thus no doubt as to their origin. Gombert's *Jay congé pris* (No. 88), anonymous in the manuscript and without textual incipit, was printed by Attaingnant in *Trente et vne chansons musicales a quatre parties* (Paris, 1534). *Ung jour passé bien escoutoye* (No. 69) by Adrian Tubal, likewise anonymous and without textual incipit in Ms. 975, was printed by Waelrant and Laet in their *Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons à quatre parties* (Antwerp, c. 1556). Clemens's *Or il ne m'est possible* (No. 104) was printed by Phalèse in Louvain in 1553 and again in 1556. The title of this last print authorises instrumental performance for this chanson, at least: *Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties, nouvellement composez et mises en musicque, conuenable tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix.*

Nineteen of the twenty-seven chansons found in Ms. 975, were printed in Antwerp by Tylman Susato between 1543 and 1550. Thirteen works appear in *Le premier* (1543), *Le tiers* (1544) and *Le huitiesme livre des chansons* (1545), five in the first book and four in each of the others. The remaining works were published in *Vingt et six chansons* (1543), *Le quatriesme* (1544), *Le cinquiesme* (1544), *Le sixiesme* (1545) and *Le douzieseme livre des chansons* (1550), two works from the first of these prints and one in each of the others. The complete titles of these books again refer to possible instrumental use of the works included: [...] *convenables tant a la voix comme aux instrumentz or convenables et propices a jouer de tous instrumentz*.

It seems that the Susato prints were the original source for most, perhaps all, of these chansons; for a significant number they constitute the only printed source, and where there are others these date from after the 1560s, the decade in which Ms. 975 was written.

This is the case with the Crecquillon chansons *Alix avoit aux dens* (No. 71), here attributed to Tubal Susato, and *Demandez vous qui me fait sy joyeux?* (No. 85), which is anonymous and without textual incipit in the manuscript. With those works which appear in more than one printed source, it is the Susato version which seems to have been used. *Je prens en gré la dure mort* (No. 1) was first published, with a questionable attribution to Clemens non Papa, by Pierre Attaignant in 1539. The following year Jacques Moderne published it again at Lyon, attributing it to Jannequin. When Susato printed it in Antwerp in 1543, he presented it as an anonymous piece, although he was the principal publisher of Clemens's music during the composer's lifetime, and was presumably very familiar with it. Ms. 975 also presents this as an anonymous piece, and may therefore have been copied from Susato. Clemens's chanson *Frais et gaillard* (No. 74) was printed by Attaignant, Nicolas du Chemin and Susato (1545); the first two give the title as *Frisque et gaillard*, but in Susato and Ms. 975 the first word is *Frais*. Gombert's chanson *Jamais je neuz tant desoulas* appears in two printed collections: in 1534 Attaignant attributed it to Gombert in his *Vingt et huyt chansons*; in 1543 (*Le premier livre de chansons*, fol. 10^v) Susato presents it anonymously between works attributed to Crecquillon on fols. 9^v and 11^r. As Stanley Boorman has shown, copyists and printers frequently and incorrectly assumed that an attribution made on a verso applied to all compositions on that opening. In this case, since the attributions appear on consecutive openings, it seems likely that the copyist thought the two intervening pieces were also by Crecquillon. If so, this was probably the print that served as a copy for Ms. 975.⁴³

It is quite likely that the primary source for *Susanne ung jour* (No. 42) was the *Tiers livre des chansons* [...] *composez par Orlando di Laissus* [...] *convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix* printed at Louvain by Pierre Phalèse in 1560, and again in 1562, 1566, 1570 and 1573. That this print must have circulated in Spain can be deduced from Ms. 17 of Valladolid Cathedral, which includes no less than ten chansons originating from it.

Finally, Phalèse's *Septiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties* (Louvain, 1560) merits

particular attention. As it contains five anonymous chansons with concordances in Ms. 975, where only one is attributed correctly,⁴⁴ this may possibly be another print from which items in Ms. 975 were copied.

Table 1. Prints from which the intermediate manuscript sources of the chanson repertory of Ms. 975 probably derive.⁴⁵

French editions

- Attaignant, RISM 1534¹⁴

Netherlandish editions

- Susato, RISM 1543¹⁵, 1543¹⁶, 1544¹¹, 1544¹³, 1545¹⁴, 1545¹⁶, 1550¹³
 - Phalèse, RISM 1553²⁴, 1560⁶, RISM-A/I/5 L764
 - Waelrant & Laet, RISM 1556¹⁹
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In conclusion I would like to summarise those aspects of the Biblioteca de Manuel de Falla's Ms. 975 which give it its peculiar musical importance. It is, first, an addition to the very small number of surviving Spanish manuscripts for the use of minstrels, and one of the earliest. It enlarges our knowledge of the repertory performed by instrumental ensembles both within the church services and outside them. Moreover it provides us with some unknown works by leading Spanish and Franco-Flemish composers, or at least allows us to identify the composers of some which have hitherto remained anonymous. Last but not least, it brings us closer to the transmission and reception of the mid-sixteenth century international repertory in Spain, of which so little is still known.

- 1 The following list is not intended to be exhaustive. I have selected the most significant studies, specially the most recent, in which references to other works can be found. H. Anglés, *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos* (Barcelona, 2nd ed. 1960); C.W. Chapman, 'Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus', in *JAMS* 21 (1968), 34-84; R. Stevenson, 'Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal', in *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, ed. E.E. Lowinsky in collaboration with B.J. Blackburn (Oxford 1976), 217-246; N. Baker, *An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia* (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland 1978), 2 vols.; T. Knighton, *Music and Musicians at the Court of Fernando of Aragón, 1474-1516* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge 1983), 2 vols.; J. López Calo, 'Música flamenca y música española en España, 1450-1550', in *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens. Musique espagnole ancienne* (± 1450 – ± 1650), edd. P. Becquart and H. Vanhulst (Leuven 1988), Colloquia Europalia III, 1-18; E. Casares, 'Las relaciones musicales entre los Países Bajos y España vistas a través de los investigadores del siglo XIX', *ibid.*, 19-68; M.C. de Brito, 'Problems Encountered in the Study of Portuguese Musical Relations with Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands during the Renaissance', in *Current Musicology* 37-38 (1984), 113-125; T. Knighton, 'Northern Influence on Cultural Developments in the Iberian Peninsula

- during the Fifteenth century', in *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987), 221-237; E. Ros Fábregas, *The Manuscript Barcelona*, Biblioteca de Catalunya M. 454 (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York 1992), 2 vols.; O. Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530-c. 1620. Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz*, Coimbra (New York & London 1995); T. Knighton, 'A Newly Discovered Keyboard Source (Gonzalo de Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger*, Lisbon, 1540). A Preliminary Report', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 5 (1996), 81-112.
- 2 E. vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, vols. VII and VIII (Bruxelles 1885-1888); H. Anglés, *La Música en la Corte de Carlos V* (Barcelona 1944), Monumentos de la Musica Española 2; L. Robledo Estaire, 'La música en la corte madrileña de los Austrias. Antecedentes: Las Casas Reales hasta 1556', in *Revista de musicología* 10 (1987), 753-796; L.J. Wagner, 'Music Composers from the Low Countries at the Spanish Court of Philip II', in *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens*, 193-214; P. Becquaert, 'Permanence de la musique des Pays-Bas anciens dans la musique espagnole du XVIe siècle', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional 'España en la música de Occidente' (Salamanca, 29 de octubre - 5 de noviembre de 1985)*, ed. E. Casares Rodicio et al. (Madrid 1987), 309-314; L. Robledo Estaire et al., *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la corte de Felipe II* (Madrid 2000).
 - 3 F.A. Barbieri, *Documentos sobre música española y epistolario (Legado Barbieri)*, vol. 2, ed. E. Casares (Madrid 1986), 62-68, 70, 75-81.
 - 4 The catalogue was published in 1914 by Cristóbal Pérez Pastor. It includes volumes dedicated to the works of Carpentras, Pierre Colin and Josquin. It also includes Spanish and Italian repertory, both religious and secular; cf. R. Stevenson, *La música en las catedrales españolas del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid 1993), 536. Emilio Ros Fábregas has collected and analysed the music books that were found in eight previously published inventories (1499-1591). The contents of these books, which belonged to the royal family and the nobility and some of which are directly linked with the city of Granada, is probably not related to the repertory studied here; see Ros Fábregas, *The Manuscript Barcelona*, 374-390.
 - 5 J. Griffiths, 'The Transmission of Secular Polyphony in Renaissance Spain, Esteban Daza, and Rodrigo de Ceballos', in *Encomium musicae. Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, ed. D. Crawford (in press).
 - 6 J.M. Madurell, J.M. Llorens Cisteró, 'Documentos de archivo. Libros de canto (siglos XIV-XVI)', in *Anuario musical* 11 (1956), 229-231.
 - 7 Details about Christopher Plantin's activities in Spain can be found in J.A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes* (Bruxelles 1949); H. Vanhulst, 'Plantin et le commerce international des éditions de musique polyphonique, 1566-1578', in *Revista de musicología* 16 (1993), 2630-2640; *idem.*, 'Suppliers and Clients of Christopher Plantin, Distributor of Polyphonic Music in Antwerp (1566-1578)', in *Musicology and Archival Research*, edd. B. Haggh et al. (Bruxelles 1994), 558-604.
 - 8 This library contains the only surviving copy of the 1562 edition of the *Septiesme livre de chansons a quatre parties* (RISM 1562³) by Pierre Phalèse; see H. Vanhulst, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578* (Bruxelles 1984), 95-97.
 - 9 H. Anglés, 'El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid', in *Anuario musical* 3 (1948), 83-86.
 - 10 R. Stevenson, 'The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks and some other lost or little known Flemish Sources', in *Fontes artes musicae* 20 (1973), 89. For the description of this manuscript and its concordances, see G.G. Thompson, 'Spanish-Netherlandish Musi-

- cal Relationships in the Sixteenth Century. Mary of Hungary's Manuscripts at Montserrat', in *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens*, 87, 100-102.
- 11 At the same time, these prints may have been of use to minstrels for both repertorial and improvisational directions. This may possibly be concluded, as Higinio Anglés suggested, from the prologue of the edition of Hernando de Cabezón from 1578: 'También se podrán aprovechar del libro los curiosos ministriles, en ver invenciones de glosas tratadas con verdad sobre lo compuesto, y ver la licencia que tiene cada voz, sin perjuyzio de las otras partes, y esto toparán en muchos motetes, canciones y fabordones que ellos tañen, que con poca dificultad podrán sacar desta cifra en canto de órgano' (This book can also prove useful to those curious minstrels who will find glossed inventions that faithfully respect the written composition and can observe the licence given to each voice without prejudice of the others. This they will come across in many motets, chansons and fabordons which they play and which they will be able to copy from this tablature into mensural notation without great difficulty); cf. Anglés, *La música en la Corte de Carlos V*, vol. I, p. xii.
 - 12 C. Jacobs, 'Sixteenth-Century Instrumental Music. Interrelationships between Spain and the Low Countries', in *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens*, 115-138. For a description of their contents, see: H.M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600. A Bibliography* (Cambridge Mass. 1965).
 - 13 J. Griffiths, 'The Transmission of Secular Polyphony'. See also, J. Griffiths, 'At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de Mano. Current Perspectives on the Instrument, its Music, and its World', in *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 22 (1989), 1-27.
 - 14 I would like to thank the late Professor Snow for providing me with a copy of this manuscript for the present study.
 - 15 D. Kirk, *Churching the Shawms in Renaissance Spain* (Ph.D. diss., McGill University 1993); D. Kirk, 'Instrumental Music in Lerma, c. 1608', in *Early Music* 23 (1995), 394-395; D. Kirk, 'The Lerma Codex. The Earliest Wind Band Manuscript from Renaissance Spain', *Proceedings of the International Early Double-Reed Symposium (Utrecht, 1994)*, ed. D. Lasocky (in press).
 - 16 Kirk, 'Instrumental Music in Lerma', 394-395.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, 394-396. In his dissertation, Kirk mentions the royal chapel in Madrid as a possible place of copying, and suggests that they were commissioned from Madrid by a member of the Hurtado de Mendoza family, sent to León, and then taken to the collegiate church of San Pedro de Lerma in 1607 by the minstrel Andrés de Alamillos (*Churching the Shawms*, 111).
 - 18 For a description of this source, with musical incipits as well as an examination of its date and the possible identity of its copyist, see M. Christoforidis and J. Ruiz Jiménez, 'Manuscrito 975 de la Biblioteca de Manuel de Falla. Una nueva fuente polifónica del siglo XVI', in *Revista de musicología* 17 (1994), 205-236. A more detailed study of the manuscript, and especially of its repertory of Guerrero pieces, suggests that it was copied as early as the 1560s; it would thus be the earliest source of music for minstrels so far encountered in Spain.
 - 19 On these musical chapels, see J. López Calo, *La música en la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada 1963), 2 vols.; J. Ruiz Jiménez, *La colegiata del Salvador en el contexto musical de Granada* (Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Granada 1995), 2 vols.; *idem*, 'Patronazgo musical en la Capilla Real de Granada durante el siglo XVI Los músicos prebendados', in *Encomium musicae* (in press).

- 20 I do not include among these *Lauda Sion*, attributed to Josquin, since I consider it to be of the previous generation. This composition, however, deserves special comment. Apparently it is a *contrafactum* of the chanson *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer* by Josquin. Two Spanish sources attribute this work to Gombert. The first, Fuenllana, uses the text *Lauda Syon*; the second, Mudarra, uses the text *Respice in me Deus*. For sources, a stemma and transcription of this work, see B.J. Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons. Ignored and Lost Sources', in *JAMS* 29 (1976), 30–76. I do not know from what source the copyist may have cited the title *Lauda Sion* – probably not Fuenllana, since he attributes this work to Gombert.
- 21 Kirk indicates that this repertory could have been performed at various points in Vespers and the Mass; see his 'Instrumental Music in Lerma', 404–406.
- 22 F.A. Barbieri, *Biografías y Documentos sobre Música y Músicos Españoles (Legado Barbieri)*, vol. I, ed. E. Casares (Madrid 1986), 231.
- 23 J. López Calo, *La música en la catedral de Plasencia* (Trujillo 1995), 61.
- 24 J. Ruiz Jiménez, 'Ministril', in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana* 7 (Madrid 2000), 593–597.
- 25 See: S. Kastner, 'Los manuscritos musicales n° 48 y 242 de la Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Coimbra', in *Anuario musical* 5 (1950), 78–96, and Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal*, 342–360.
- 26 J.M. Soler García, *El polifonista villenense Ambrosio de Cotes* (Alicante 1979), 49.
- 27 The other two exercises were: in twenty-four hours, to write a motet 'a seis de dos tiples y dos contraltos, y que los tiples se bayan siguiendo en vna fuga en segunda, a de ser de quinto tono' (in 6 voices including 2 sopranos and 2 altos, with the sopranos in canon at the second, using the fifth mode), and also in twenty-four hours 'se le a de pedir que haga vna chançoneta a cuatro de dos tiples y tenor y contralto, con vna responsión a cinco de dos tiples' (he will be asked to write a 'chançoneta' in 4 parts made up of 2 sopranos, alto and tenor with a réponse in 5 parts made up of 2 sopranos). We can therefore see a clear separation between the three genres with a distinction between 'chançoneta' and 'canción'; Archivo de la catedral de Sevilla, Sección IX, Leg. 125, pieza 15.
- 28 I would like to thank professor Barton Hudson for kindly providing information on the musical sources for the Crecquillon pieces in Ms. 975, as well as for his suggestions as to the identity of the original prints.
- 29 For a few other works, Ms. 975 is one of two known, and apparently unrelated, sources.
- 30 The Catholic Kings lived in the city in 1500. Charles V also lived here for a few months until 1526. This residence was of vital importance for the development of a number of institutions in the city. The Flemish chapel, at this time directed by Adrien Thibault and with Nicolas Gombert as one of its members, must have caused a great impact on the local musicians and could have been one of the factors in the spread of the Franco-Flemish repertory in the city of Granada.
- 31 See J. Ruiz Jiménez, 'Patronazgo musical en la Capilla Real de Granada'.
- 32 Various musicians who belonged to the royal chapels enjoyed privileges in the new diocese of Granada as a reward for their services. Thus Juan de Anchieta (c. 1499) received a sinecure from the cathedral of Granada; see Barbieri, *Biografía y Documentos*, 18–19. Among the members of the royal chapel of Aragon who also obtained sinecures or benefices in Granada we find Alfonso Hernández de Tordesillas (1507), Francisco Fernández de Rascón (1516), Miguel Hinestrosa (1516) and Juan de Céspedes (1516); see T. Knighton, 'Cantores reales y catedrales durante la época de los Reyes Católicos', in *Revista de musicología* 16 (1993), 91.

With regard to the repertory that is the focus of our study, the most relevant figure was the soprano singer Juan del Rincón, who served Cardinal Tavera, the empress Isabel and prince Philip. In 1548, he took possession of a sinecure from the collegiate church of S. Salvador which he apparently held until 1554; see J. Ruiz Jiménez, 'La colegiata del Salvador', 39-40. Among the figures who worked in areas strictly linked with the musical chapels of Granada and who could have been involved in the further transmission of this repertory we can mention Bernardino de Figueroa, chapel master of the Royal Chapel in Granada (c. 1524-c. 1556), and Gregorio Silvestre, organist of the cathedral of Granada (1541-1569). The first lived in Naples in 1550. The second, Lisbon-borne, was the son of the doctor of Isabel of Portugal, who would become the wife of Charles V. He was in the service of the counts of Feria and Zafra; see López, *La música en la catedral de Granada*, vol. I, 200-205; Ruiz Jiménez, 'Patronazgo musical en la Capilla Real de Granada'.

- 33 Two episodes in the life of the organist Palero are worth mentioning for their relevance to this secular repertory. In 1566 he was reprimanded because he had 'consentido entrar mugeres en la capilla y subídoles al choro y tañido el órgano para que ellas bailen y dádoles de merendar y vsado de otras profanidades yndeçentes contra la orden que tenemos dado y prouenido' (consented to admit women in the chapel and take them to the choir so that while he played the organ they could dance; and having given to us...). In 1569 he made a trip to the court to meet with the organists Diego del Castillo, Soto 'y otros músicos de órgano para comunicar cosas con ellos de su arte y estudios' (and other organists in order to discuss with them things related to their art and studies). Regarding the figure of Francisco Fernández Palero and his impact on the musical life of Granada, see J. Ruiz Jiménez, 'Perfil biografico y entorno del organista Francisco Fernández Palero', in *Francisco Fernández Palero (ca. 1533-1597). Obras para tecla*, ed. A. Cea Galán (in press).
- 34 López Calo, *La música en la catedral de Granada*, vol. I, 216.
- 35 Archivo de la Capilla Real de Granada. Libro 2039.
- 36 I cannot prove the identity of this Juan Saravia and the minstrel of the same name who was in the service of Charles V, but it is possible that the latter stayed on in Granada, since it was precisely during the Emperor's visit to the city in 1526 that this name was deleted from the list of his employees. So far as we know, Juan Saravia was already in the service of the house of Castile in 1518; cf. Anglés, *La música en la Corte de Carlos V*, vol. I, 7, 24-25. As for Francisco de Flandes, he may be the same person whom we find in the cathedral of Seville (soprano shawm, 1533) and later in the cathedral of Jaén (1540); cf. R. Stevenson, *La música en la catedral de Sevilla (1476-1606). Documentos para su estudio* (Madrid 1985), 29, 89. The Andalusian dioceses were the first to incorporate groups of paid minstrels in the service of ecclesiastical institutions (permanently and in a more general way), and this is where the earliest references to books for minstrels are to be found: Seville (1528, 1549, 1555, 1560), Jaén (1565), Granada (1566, 1569); cf. Stevenson, *La música en la catedral de Sevilla*, 46; P. Jiménez Cavallé, *La música en Jaén* (Jaén 1991), 51; M.C. Álvarez Márquez, *El mundo del libro en la iglesia catedral de Sevilla en el siglo XVI* (Sevilla 1992), 331-32; Ruiz Jiménez, 'La colegiata del Salvador', 257.
- 37 The castles of Don Nuño belonged to the Marquis of Cenete. Rodrigo de Vivar y Mendoza, first marquis of Cenete, son of cardinal Mendoza and a cultured man sponsored the construction of the fortified palace of Calahorra (Granada), for which he imported Italian craftsmen and sent for material manufactured in Genoa. This building, designed in the style of the Italian Renaissance, seems intended to represent an allegorical encomium of

Don Rodrigo's virtues; cf. V. Nieto *et al.*, *Arquitectura del Renacimiento en España, 1488-1599* (Madrid 1989), 45-51. Regarding Rodrigo de Vivar y Mendoza and his musical interests, see Ros Fábregas, *The Manuscript Barcelona*, 219-21, 381. A particularly interesting member of this family was his daughter Mencía de Mendoza (1508-1554), who played an important role as a patron. She received music and dance lessons from the Valencians Miguel Ortiz and Miguel Celma. She was married to Henry, Count of Nassau, *camarero mayor* of the emperor and Captain General in Flanders. She travelled to Germany (1525) and lived in Flanders (at least in 1538), where she bought books and other art objects. In 1540 she was married again, this time to the Duke of Calabria, and together with him played a fruitful role among the musical patrons of the mid-sixteenth century; cf. M. Lasso de la Vega y López de Tejada, *Doña Mencía de Mendoza, marquesa del Cenete (1508-1554). Discurso de recepción en la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid 1942); J. Moll, 'Notas para la historia musical de la corte del Duque de Calabria', in *Anuario musical* 18 (1963), 123-35.

- 38 Among the former, the earliest is Esteban Lomelino, Genoese, a man of substantial fortune who married Catalina Granada Venegas, thus establishing family ties with one of the most prestigious families of converted Moors. Concerning various aspects of the city's history see A.L. Cortés Peña, B. Vincent, *Historia de Granada III. La época moderna. Siglo XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Granada 1986), 147-50, 169-174, 188-190, 198-199.
- 39 Most commonly, undotted minims followed by semiminims in which the missing dots have been added by the scribe. I do not know if these errors are found only in the prints I consulted for these works.
- 40 One of the most significant examples occurs in the chanson *Adieu celle que iay seruy* by Eustacius Barbion. In Susato's version the soprano part contains a sequence of rests for the durations of semibreve, breve, semibreve and minim; in Ms. 975 these are replaced, for the same total duration, by a longa and a minim.
- 41 In the chanson *Se dire ie losoye* by Gombert, attributed in the manuscript to Crecquillon, the bass part is printed in Susato's *Le cinquiesme livre* (RISM 1544¹³) in a F4 clef, while the manuscript uses a F3 clef. At the same time, there are few rhythmic variants like the ones described.
- 42 The collections of prints preserved in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio de Madrid and in the archives of the cathedrals of Valladolid and Tarazona, among others, are good examples of this; see Vanhulst, *Catalogue des Éditions*, 347-49. In the inventories of the royal household, we also find an important number of prints originating from Paris (see note 4).
- 43 According to U. Meissner, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato* (Berlin 1967), vol. II, 22-23, the tenor part of *Jamais je neuz tant desoulas* is attributed to Gombert in this print. As this is not the case in the facsimile edition which I consulted, this attribution may appear only in some of the copies of this edition.
- 44 Vanhulst, *Catalogue des Éditions*, 82-84.
- 45 Later reprints have not been included in this list.

APPENDIX I

INVENTORY OF THE SURVIVING MUSIC BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF JOAN GUARDIOLA IN BARCELONA (JANUARY 1, 1562)*

- 26 Ball musical, a 4 veus, 4° Lió.
- 2 Lecaquet de dames, 4° Lió.
- 19 Llibres de cançons Italianes y franceses, 4° Lió.
- 39 Llibres de cançons en francès, a 4 veus, 4° Lió.
- 1 Modulacions de cant de orga, 4°
- 1 Llibre de pràtiga de música, 4° ligat.
- 1 Madrigali de Cipriano, a 5.
- 3 Musica Algebi, 4° París.
- 1 Madrigali de Arioçi, a 4 veus.
- 1 Música de Matio Rampolino.
- 1 Madrigali de Animuçia.
- 1 Madrigali de Lupachino
- 1 Madrigal de Francisco Biserto
- 1 Musica de Agustino Luciano
- 1 Cantus diversorum autorum
- 34 Pesetas de música Lió
- 8 Pesetas de música
- 250 Cançons italianas 4°

* Archivo de Protocolos de Barcelona, Luis Rufet, leg. 26, loose bifolio of inventories, years 1553-1580. Inventory of the belongings of the book seller Juan Guardiola, fols. 44^v-45. I have extracted from this inventory only those items that seem to contain secular repertory; see Madurell and Llorens Cisteró, 'Documentos de archivo', 229-231.

APPENDIX II

INVENTORY OF CHANSONS IN MANUEL DE FALLA LIBRARY, MS. 975 WITH THEIR SPANISH CONCORDANCES*

No. 1, fols. 1^v-2^r, *Yepres engrey* [= *Je prens en gre*], 4vv, Anonymous [Clemens non Papa]

- CoimU 242, fols. 32^r-32^v, Anonymous
- UtreR 3.L.16, fol. 39^v (incomplete), Joan Baston**
- B1557₂, fols. 68^v-69^r, Anonymous
- B1576₁, fols. 112^r-114^r, Anonymous
- B1578₃, fols. 70^v-72^v, 72^v-74^r, Criquillon [Glosado de Cabezón / glosado de Hernando de Cabezón]

No. 33, fols. 55^v-56^r, *Pis ne me* [= *Pis ne me peult venir*], 5vv, Crequillon

- VallaC 17, fols. 75^v-76^r (incomplete), Crecquillon
- VallaC s.s., fols. 91^v (incomplete and without text), Anonymous
- UtreR 3.L.16, fols. 75^v-76^r, Tho. Crecquillon
- B1578₃, fols. 137^r-138^r, 151^v-152^v, Criquillon [Glosado de Cabezón / Glosado de Hernando de Cabezón]

No. 42, fols. 73^v-74^r, *Susana vn yiur* [= *Susanne ung jour*], 5vv, Orlando [Orlando di Lasso]

- VallaC 17, fols. 76^v-77^r (incomplete), Orlando
- ValenP 20, (No. 28), Anonymous
- MadBM 13230, fols. 201^v-202^r, Anonymous
- UtreR 3.L.16, fols. 76^v-77^r, Orlando
- B1578₃, fols. 148^r-149^v, 149^v-151^r, Orlando [Glosado de Hernando de Cabezón / glosado de Cabezón]

No. 44, fols. 77^v-78^r, *Se dire selos oie* [= *Se dire ie losoye*], 5vv, Crequillon [Nicolas Gombert]

No. 68, fols. 135^v-136^r, *Por vn plaiçer* [= *Pour ung plaisir*], 4vv, Anonymous [Thomas Crecquillon]

- B1557₂, fols. 71^r-71^v, Anonymous***

* The numbering of the compositions relates to their positions in Ms. 975. Other manuscript sources are identified by the sigla used in the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (Neuhaussen-Stuttgart 1979-1988), 5 vols. For the printed instrumental sources I have used the numbering from Brown's *Instrumental Music*.

** RISM 1544¹³ transmits a six-voice arrangement of this chanson attributed to Joan Baston.

*** In the 'Tabla de lo que se contiene en este primer libro' (Table of contents of this first book)

- B1578₃, fols. 79^r-80^r, Criquillon [Glosado de Cabezón]

No. 69, fols. 136^v-137^r, (textless) [= *Ung jour passé bien escoutoye*], 4vv, Anonymous [Adrian Tubal]

- UtreR 3.L.16, fols. 55^v-56^r, *Sapia*, Anonymous

No. 70, fols. 137^v-138^r, *Ung moine*, 4vv, Lupus [Lupus Hellinck?]

No. 71, fols. 138^v-139^r, *Alix voix* [= *Alix avoit aux dens*], 4vv, Tubal Susato [Thomas Crecquillon]

- CoimU 242, fols. 146^v-147^r (textless), Anonymous
- UtreR 3.L.16, fols. 35^v-36^r, Thomas Crecquillon
- B1557₂, fol. 68^r, Anonymous

No. 72, fols. 139^v-140^r, *Prenes pitie* [= *Prenez pitie du grant mal*], 4vv, Crecquillon

- CoimU 242, fol. 151^v (textless; incomplete), Tomás
- B1578₃, fols. 69^r-70^v, Criquillon [Glosado de Cabezón]

No. 73, fols. 140^v-141^r, *Vn gai berger* [= *Ung gay bergier*], 4vv, Crecquillon

- VallaC 17, fols. 41^v-42^r (incomplete), Crecquillon
- UtreR 3.L.16, fols. 50^v-51^r, Crecquillon
- B1557₂, fols. 69^r-69^v, Anonymous
- B1578₃, fols. 80^r-82^r, Criquillon [Glosado de Cabezón]

No. 74, fols. 141^v-142^r, *Frais gallardes* [= *Frais et gaillard*], 4vv, Clemens [Clemens non Papa]

- B1557₂, fols. 71^v-72^r, Anonymous

No. 75, fols. 143^v-144^r, *Partus moi* [= *Partous moyens*], 4vv, Crecquillon

- CoimU 242, fols. 155^v-156^r (incomplete), Anonymous
- Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro Ms. Mus. 1, fols. 46^v 47^r (textless), Anonymous
- UtreR 3.L.16, fols. 43^v-44^r, Crecquillon

No. 78, fols. 145^v-146^r, *Nes gra voi*, 4vv, Clemens [Clemens non Papa]

of the print by Venegas de Henestrosa this work does not appear, but is replaced by Iamais, 'Crecquillon'. It is worth noting that this may be the chanson which appears in Ms. 975 (No. 80) with an attribution to Crecquillon, and whose authorship has been discussed above. The substitution is not easily explained, but in fact there are numerous differences between the texts given in the index and those which accompany the compositions. It is therefore possible that the table of contents and the musical works were printed at different times.

No. 79, fols. 146^v-147^r, *Vous aves* [= *Vous aves tort*], 4vv, Crequillon

No. 80, fols. 147^v-148^r, *Jenais* [= *Jamais je neuz tant desoulas*], 4vv, Crequillon [Nicolas Gombert]

- B1538₁, fols. 46^v-47^r (textless), Niculas Gombert

No. 81, fols. 148^v-149^r, *Cueur pris* [= *Cueur prisonnir*], 4vv, Corcanis [Cornelius Canis]

No. 82, fols. 149^v-150^r, *Jon gentil* [= *Ton gentil corps*], 4vv, Crequillon

No. 83, fols. 150^v-151^r, *Le doulx* [= *Le doulx baisir*], 4vv, Crequillon

- Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro Ms. Mus. 1, fols. 42^v-43^r (textless), Anonymous

No. 84, fols. 151^v-152^r, *Pane me ami duche*, 4vv, Crequillon

- PueblaC 19, fols. 90^v-92^r (textless), Tomas Criquillon

No. 85, fols. 152^v-153^r, (textless) [= *Demandez vous qui me faict*], 4vv, Anonymous [Thomas Crecquillon]

- UtreR 3.L.16, fols. 38^v-39^r, Thomas Crecquillon
- B1557₂, fols. 70^r-70^v, Anonymous

No. 86, fols. 153^v-154^r, (textless) [= *Ce moys de may*], 4vv, Anonymous [Robert Godart]

- UtreR, 3.L.16, fols. 37^v-38^r, Goddard

No. 87, fols. 154^v-155^r, *Dulçe memoria* [= *Doulce memoire*], 4vv, Anonymous [Pierre Sandrin]

- CoimU 242, fols. 179^v (incomplete), Anonymous [embellished by Diego Ortiz]
- B1553₃, fols. 86^r-106^v, Anonymous [embellished by Diego Ortiz]
- B1578₃, fols. 82^r-83^v, Sandrin [embellished by Hernando de Cabezón]

No. 88, fols. 155^v-156^r, (textless) [= *Jay conge pris*], 4vv, Anonymous [Nicolas Gombert]

No. 101, fols. 173^v-174^r, *Liber quiere* [= *Le bergier et la bergiere*], 5vv, Anonymous [Joannes Gallus]

No. 102, fols. 174^v-175^r, *Semon destedel* [= *Le monde est tel*], 5vv, Anonymous [Thomas Crecquillon]

No. 103, fols. 175^v-176^r, *Oadincelle* [= *Adieu celle que j'ay servy*], 5vv, Clemens [Eustacius Barbion]

No. 104, fols. 176^v-177^r, *Or il nemest pussible* [= *Or il ne m'est possible*], 5vv, Clemens [Clemens non Papa]