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THE SEVILLE CANCIONERO: TRANSCRIPTION AND COMMENTARY

THESIS

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By

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CHAPTER I

THE MANUSCRIPT

The Seville Cancionero is a manuscript collection of songs from late fifteenth-century Spain and is preserved today in the Biblioteca Colombina of Seville with the number 7-1-28. Although the codex appears to have been copied at the end of the century, its contents represent the period from approximately 1470 to approximately 1495, or, in general, the period in which Ockeghem's best known Spanish contemporary, Cornago, was active on the Iberian peninsula.

Establishing a date for the manuscript, or for its contents, is extremely difficult because of a general lack of factual data concerning Spanish music and musicians. What data do exist are generally fragmentary, consisting of brief

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1 This name was suggested and first used by Dragan Plamenac in "A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville", Musical Quarterly, XXXVII (1951), 528.


3 See Chapter IV, "Biographical Notes".
notices of some of the Spanish composers in official records. Only a few such records, however, have been obtainable for examination. 4

The general period covered by the manuscript can, however, be surmised from the following: (1) the few records which mention the names of some of the composers date from the last quarter of the fifteenth century; (2) the texts of many of the compositions are found in literary manuscripts dating from the same period; (3) a comparison with the Cancionero de Palacio, 5 known to date from this period, shows not only a general similarity in content but several of the same compositions; (4) the appearances of several of the compositions from the Seville codex in foreign manuscripts known to date from this period; and, (5) above all, the internal evidence of the manuscript itself.

The earliest extant date that records the existence of the Seville Cancionero is that of 1534, when Ferdinand

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4 See Chapter III, "The Poetico-Musical Style" for a discussion of these records.

5 There are two modern editions of the manuscript, number 2-1-5 in the Biblioteca Real, Madrid. The first is that of Francisco A. Asenjo y Barbiari, Canciones musicales de los siglos XV y XVI (Madrid, 1890) and the second by Higinio Anglés, op. cit., Vols. V and X (Barcelona, 1947 and 1951).
Columbus entered it as an acquisition in his Registram E. While there is no trace of the earlier history of the manuscript it could not have been copied before 1492, since the canción "Olvida tu perdición", number 52 of the collection, refers in its last two lines to King Ferdinand's having regained "that which Roderic lost". Roderic the Goth was the last of the Visigothic rulers of Spain (709-711). During his reign the Moorish invasion began, and its success assured when Roderic was defeated at the battle of Guadalete in July of 711. Thus, Roderic "lost" Spain to the Moors, who remained there until Ferdinand conquered the last Moorish stronghold, Granada, in 1492. The canción seems, then, to have been written in honor of the successful completion of the reconquest.

The manuscript may have been compiled in Seville. In any case, it was purchased there. More important, however, is

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6 The Registram E does not exist in any form of modern edition and the manuscript was not available for consultation at this time. Cf., however, Higinio Anglés, La música española (Barcelona, 1941), p. 30.


8 Simon de la Rosa y López in Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla (Seville, 1904) says on p. 70, "El códice parece comprado en Sevilla por Don Hernando Colón en el año 1534."
the fact that the codex contains all of the known works of Triana, a composer otherwise completely unknown. Further, there are more works by Triana in this anthology than by any other contributor. According to existing records, a Juan de Triana held a prebend in the Cathedral of Seville in 1478; and it is possible that this man is the composer whose works are contained in the Seville Cancionero. Triana is also the name of a well-known section of the city of Seville and it is quite possible that the composer was either born there or else adopted or was given the name because of his residence there. Although these facts are all that research has uncovered concerning the identity of the composer Triana, one is led to infer that he was active in Seville during the latter part of the fifteenth century and that the Seville Cancionero was perhaps also compiled there.

The Seville manuscript is relatively small in format, which is not uncommon for such collections of this epoch.

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9 Two of Triana's compositions, "Por beber, comadre" and "Aquella buena muger" also appear anonymously in the Cancionero de Palacio.

10 See Chapter IV, "Biographical Notes".
According to Anglés, its dimensions are 10.54 x 15 centimeters. These dimensions may have been slightly larger originally, since the codex appears to have been trimmed when it was bound in the eighteenth century.

The initial folio, which is unnumbered, bears on the folio recto the inscription, written in longhand, Cantilenas vulgares puestas en música por varios españoles. In the upper left-hand margin of folio 11 the words cantilenas [sic] vulgares appear. This phrase appears to have been written by the same hand that wrote the title on the first folio. Both Pedrell and Mitjana have suggested that this title is "fictitious",

11 Cf. Anglés, La música española, p. 30. He gives the maximum dimensions, i.e., with the manuscript opened and measured across the width of the two facing pages, as 11.9 x 15 centimeters. He adds that the case in which the manuscript is now stored measures 12 x 18 centimeters, i.e., slightly larger than the dimensions of the manuscript when it is closed; or, to say it in another manner, slightly larger than the dimensions of one of the folios in the codex.

12 The present edition of this codex was prepared from a microfilm copy and the manuscript itself has not been examined by the editor.


i.e., that it is of a later date than that of the manuscript. Neither explains why he has reached that conclusion, and the present editor is unable either to support or to contradict this view.

The codex now contains four different sets of foliation. Set one is written in Roman numerals which appear, faintly, on only a few scattered folios. This set appears to be the oldest, not only because it is less clear but also because it uses the symbol viii for ix. Set two, which now runs from ii to cvii, also uses Roman numerals, in this case clear and well defined. In this set the number is written either in the upper right-hand corner or in the center of the margin at the top of the folio. On some folios, where the numbers of both sets one and two are written in the center of the upper margin, and where both are visible, those of set two appear to be written over those of set one. It is possible that on other folios where only the numerals of set two are visible in the center of the upper margin that they are superimposed on those of set one and, thus, obscure them. Where both sets are visible, however, the numbering is always the same, and the only difference is the style of writing the symbol ix. Set three uses Arabic numbers and appears near the upper corner of the right-hand margin of the folios. It commences with 2 on folio ii.
and runs consecutively to 99 on the last folio. Set four also uses Arabic numbers and is written just above set three. It first becomes visible on folio \textit{xiv}, which it numbers 12 (set three numbers this folio 13), and runs consecutively to 98 on the last folio. Since the numberings of sets three and four show no breaks in continuity, while those of sets one and two have several omissions in the places where the musical and literary contents of the manuscript indicate that folios are wanting, one may infer that sets three and four were written sometime after those folios were lost. Therefore, it appears that the numberings of sets one and two are the oldest and the original numeration.

Further references to foliation will follow the numbering of set two. For convenience, however, the symbols will be expressed in Arabic numbers rather than Roman numerals.\footnote{A prime after a folio number herein indicates the folio verso.}

The foliation originally ran to 107. Today, however, the folio between f. 29 and f. 31 fails to show the number "30", although it was doubtless there at one time. Five actual errors were made in the numbering of the folios. Although the contents of the manuscript show the present sequence of the folios to be correct, the numbers 74, 82, and 92 were not...
used in the foliation, the numbers skipping from 73 to 75, 81 to 83, and 91 to 93. In addition, there are two unnumbered folios between f. 86 and f. 87. Since these irregularities in numbering in no way alter the contents of the manuscript there appear to have been 106 folios in the complete codex. Of these there remain ninety-eight; folios 1, 6, 10, 13, 23, 57, 59, and 66 are wanting.

With the exceptions of the initial folio, which bears only the title, and folios 87 and 88, each of which has an extra staff added across the bottom of the page, there are six staves on each page. Every folio has been utilized except f. 64 recto and f. 78 recto, each of which shows only empty staves.

There appear to have been eight different scribes who took part in copying the Seville Cancionero. The first half of the codex is equally divided between the first two scribes, each copying his portion in consecutive order. Two other scribes appear to have copied only sacred compositions, which

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16Higini Angles in, "Die spanische Liedkunst im 15. und am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts", Theodor Kroger-Festschrift (Regensburg, 1933), says, on p. 67, that these two folios were added when the manuscript was bound. However, the handwriting on these folios appears to be the same as that of one of the scribes who copied other nearby folios in the manuscript, and the present writer feels that these folios are a part of the original compilation.
are inserted at irregular intervals throughout the latter half of the collection. While these two did not copy all of the sacred compositions, they appear to have had no part in the copying of secular works. The remainder of the manuscript was copied by the combined efforts of the other four scribes. The handwriting changes every few folios, with no one scribe copying more than three or four consecutive songs, but with the same handwriting appearing in several small groups of songs at scattered intervals. Statistics were compiled concerning which compositions each scribe copied but this information appeared not to be significant and is not reproduced here.

The second half of the manuscript appears to have been copied in haste. Although the first half of the codex is not very neat, the text is generally legible, the voices are more consistently labeled, and the initial letter of the text is usually slightly ornamented or at least made larger and more carefully than the others. The second half of the manuscript, however, shows a considerable number of errors, ink blots, illegible words and abbreviations, and the initial letter of the text is never ornamented, rarely formed any differently from the others, and often omitted. In addition to the more careless work of the scribes, the second half of
the codex also bears many obvious emendations made by another hand, possibly at a later date.

Following the general custom of the times, the highest voice, called the *tiple*, ordinarily occupies the upper portion of the folio verso. The complete text of the refrain and one full stanza are generally underlaid in this voice, while the lower voices have only an *incipit*. 17

In the longer compositions the tenor may begin at the foot of the folio verso and finish at the bottom of the facing folio recto. In four-part compositions, however, this voice is generally confined to the lower part of the folio verso only.

In three-part compositions the *contra* occupies the upper portion of the folio recto, and in four-part works this position is occupied by the *alto*, with the *contrabajo* written in the space remaining on the lower portion of the page.

Very short compositions generally have all voices on the same page, usually (in order from top to bottom) tiple, alto

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17 An *incipit* is the first word, or the first few words, of the text. In most cases the incipits of both refrain and stanza are given for the lower voices.
(when present), tenor, and contra.

Long compositions ordinarily occupy four pages. The first section of the music (the estribillo) is written on one pair of facing pages (e.g., f. 1'-2) and the second section (the copla) on the following pair (e.g., f. 2'-3). Additional text, when included, is generally written wherever there was the most space, and no account was taken of which section of the music was to be set to the various parts of the text. In most cases the number of lines of text or the rhyme-scheme would indicate, by comparison with the text which had been underlaid, the section of music for which each portion was intended. This cannot be determined in all cases, however, and the practice of indiscriminately placing additional text appears to indicate that the added lines were considered relatively unimportant and were, perhaps, rarely performed.

Altogether, the Seville Cancionero contains ninety-three compositions. Of these, fifty-five are villancicos, sixteen are sacred compositions with Latin texts, seven are canciones, two are chansons, one is a "romance,"¹ eight are instrumental.

¹This song, number 6 in the collection, has a romance text set to a musical villancico. In the Tabulum of the Cancionero de Palacio, however, this song is designated a romance.
and eleven lack either sufficient text or sufficient music to make their forms identifiable. Eleven of the songs are incomplete because folios are wanting from the manuscript; four of them, however, have been reconstructed from their appearances in other manuscripts.

On the basis of ascriptions found in the Seville codex or in other manuscripts, twenty of the compositions were composed by Triana (one jointly with Cornago), six by Cornago (one jointly with Triana and another jointly with Ockeghem), three by Urrede, two each by Enrique, Xeres, and Ockeghem (one jointly with Cornago), and one each by Rodriguez (Barote), Leon, Madrid, Belmonte, Mozica, Lagarto, Gijon, Torre, Juanes, and Encina. Thus, forty-three of the compositions may be attributed to specific composers while the other fifty songs remain anonymous.

Sixty-nine of the compositions are for three parts, nineteen are for four parts, three for two parts, and one for five. This preponderance of three-part texture, with a significantly large percentage of four-part writing included, supports the stylistic evidence that the collection represents a part of the musical life of Spain in the last half of the fifteenth century, and that music in Spain, in technical matters, was developing similarly to that in France and Italy.
The Seville Cancionero appears to be a smaller companion to the Cancionero de Palacio. Its contents prove that the Palacio codex is not unique: that there was an important and relatively independent school of native composers active in Spain during the period in which the Franco-Flemish school was so active and influential throughout Europe.
The notation in the Seville Cancionero is the white mensural notation which was commonly used in Europe in the late fifteenth century. Since the rules concerning this notation are so well known they need no further comment here.¹

The note values used in the codex include those from the maxima \( \overbrace{\text{ to the fusa } \overbrace{\text{. The greatest percentage are, however, breves and semibreves. Notes of shorter values generally appear only in melismatic passages which are usually found at the ends of phrases, but almost half of the compositions in this collection employ no melismas and, consequently, make little or no use of notes shorter than minims.}²

In the Seville manuscript, the highest voice is not generally designated, perhaps because it almost always occupies the same position on the page and customarily has a full


²See Chapter III "The Poetico-Musical Style," for further comments on these pieces.
text, while the lower voices usually bear only incipits. When the highest voice is named it is called the *tiple*. The alto is generally called either *contra prima* or *contra alta*, the tenor *tenor*, and the lowest voice *contra*, *contra segunda*, *contrabajo*, or *contra bassus*.

There are, however, several exceptions. In SC30$^3$ and SC71, the altos are called simply *contra*. The bass in SC30 is labeled *contrabajo*; and it is called *contrabassus* in SC71. SC72 apparently has two tenors, one marked correctly *tenor* and the other "tiple"; the three remaining voices are unnamed. In SC85 the alto is designated *contra segunda*; and in SC13$^4$ the contra is labeled *contra prima*. Hereafter, for clarity, the voices of three-part works will be referred to as soprano, tenor, and bass; and those of four-part works will be called soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. The melodic incipits given with the transcriptions bear the names of the voices as they appear in the manuscript.

The C clef, the F clef, and, in one instance only (SC92), the G clef are used in thirty-nine different combinations in

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$^3$The letters SC stand for the *Seville Cancionero* and the number which follows indicates the number of the composition from that collection.

$^4$Found in the "Appendix to the Transcriptions."
the codex. In no case is the clef changed during the course of a composition, and changes in the position of a clef occur in only ten works.

Generally, the soprano hears a C clef placed either on the first or the second line of the staff. The alto employs a C clef on the third, the fourth, or the fifth line of the staff, or an F clef on the third. The tenor commonly bears a C clef on the third or the fourth line, occasionally on the fifth, or an F clef on the third or fourth. Finally, the bass usually has an F clef on the third or fourth line, but it may use a C clef on the third, fourth, or, rarely, the fifth. The choice of a particular clef and its position on the staff appears to have been made only for the purpose of avoiding the use of leger lines which, in turn, depends upon the range of each part.

5 These are SC10, 14, 20, 34, 46, 50, 52, 54, 74, and the incomplete piece from f.97'-98 which appears in the "Appendix to the Transcriptions". Only the last three deserve further mention as there appear to be errors in these not encountered in the others. The remarks concerning these three are in Chapter IX, "Notes on the Transcriptions."

6 The contents of the Seville Cancionero do not appear to support the theory concerning the connection between clef combinations and mode. This theory is postulated by Richard Ehrmann, "Die Schlüsselkombinationen in 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, II (1924), 59-74.
A comparison of compositions in the Seville Cancionero with the same compositions found in other manuscripts shows the same combination of clefs in all the copies of a particular work. This may indicate that the composer himself chose the clef combinations, probably, as already suggested, to avoid lager lines. The original clefs are included in the musical incipits given with the transcriptions. The transcriptions, however, employ the $, $, and $ (bass) clefs.

Mensuration signs are frequently omitted from one or more voices of a composition. However, when the second section of a composition (the copla) appears on a different page from the first (the estribillo), the mensuration sign is frequently omitted from one voice or another. When the mensuration is changed during the course of a composition, the manuscript indicates the change with a sign in each voice.

The musical incipits given with the transcriptions indicate the mensuration signs given in the manuscript at the beginnings of the compositions. Changes in mensuration during the course of a song are indicated by footnotes and by changes of the metric signatures in the transcriptions.

Only SC 46 and 79 fail to indicate the mensuration of any of the voices.

Metric signatures have also been changed for other reasons as well. Such changes are explained elsewhere in this chapter.
In modern music the symbol which most frequently represents the pulse of the tempo is the quarter-note. In order that the quarter-note may represent the pulse or tactus of the songs in the Seville Cancionero, they have been transcribed at a ratio of 1:4. Thus, compositions in integer valor, those with mensuration signs of tempus perfectum, C, tempus imperfectum, C, and tempus imperfectum cum prolaciones perfectae, C, are transcribed at this ratio directly - i.e., semibreves are transcribed as quarter-notes. In compositions with the mensuration proportio triple, C3, the tactus is represented by three semibreves so that the breve is transcribed as a dotted quarter-note.

The mensuration sign \( \& \) has been interpreted here as meaning proportio dupla or tempus imperfectum diminutum, in which the tactus is represented by a binary breve, and the breve is transcribed as a quarter-note. In the cases of proportio the reduction appears to be 1:8, but since the mensurations already represent a change in relationship

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9For other interpretations of this sign, \( \& \), see Apel, op. cit., pp. 191-195 and Curt Sachs, Rhythm and Tempo (New York, 1953), pp. 222-223.

10This interpretation of the sign \( \& \) appears to be supported by the uniformity of the note values in the transcriptions.
between the notation and the tactus, the reduction is still 1:4 and the tactus is still represented by the modern quarter-note.

For a performance of any of the songs as they have been transcribed, a tempo of $\frac{3}{4}$-MM72 should be satisfactory. 11

One exception seems to have been made in the ratio of reduction used in transcribing this cancionero. SC 67 has apparently been reduced at a ratio of 1:2. The manuscript has a mensuration sign $\text{\#}$, but in this instance the sign has been judged to be spurious. Thus, the reduction is actually made at a ratio of 1:4 on the basis of an original mensuration of tempus imperfectum, C.

Modern metric signatures have been chosen on the basis of the rhythmical groupings of the notes in the transcriptions rather than by interpreting the mensuration signs as having a necessary metrical significance. 12 It is interesting to note, however, that in the compositions with triple mensuration the rhythmical groups are always triple. On the other hand,

11 Cf., Apel, op. cit., pp. 188-195. However, the tempo recommended above differs slightly from that suggested by Apel, who recommends what would be a tempo of $\frac{3}{4}$-48 for songs in integer valor and of $\frac{3}{4}$-64 for proportio dupla. He gives a scale of tempos for mensurations in proportio triple.

the rhythmical groups in SC 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 26, 28, 33, 38, the coplas of 43, 50, 79, 80, and 85, compositions which have mensurations of proportio dupla, all appeared to be triple and have been transcribed in triple meter.

Rather than bar-lines, Mensurstriche\textsuperscript{13} have been used in the transcriptions. This device is used to indicate that the music is not to be divided into short rhythmic groups by dynamic accents every two to four beats, but rather that each musical phrase is continuous. There might be a slight accent on a note which bears a change of syllable but the continuity of the phrase is not disrupted. Ties have been used across the Mensurstriche, but they have been employed in order to illustrate syncopation better.

The regular measure of the transcriptions has often been lengthened, and the metric sign momentarily changed for the penultimate bar of a final or an intermediate cadence in order that the cadential formula may be incorporated as a unit within one bar. Conversely, in order to avoid the necessity of using such extensions for the early phrases of some of the compositions, some songs have been transcribed so that they begin in the middle of a bar.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13} Lines drawn between the staves but not crossing them.

\textsuperscript{14} The original notation of SC 14, 32, and 76 shows rests at the beginning of each voice.
Twenty of the compositions appear in the manuscript with key signatures, indicating, in most cases, that the mode has been transposed. Of these, eighteen have conflicting signatures, and five from this group have different signatures for the estribillo and copla sections. The conflicting signatures found in the Seville Cancionero correspond with those found in contemporary manuscripts—i.e., one more flat in one or more of the lower voices than in the soprano.

15. The signatures are not applied consistently throughout a given voice. In many cases this appeared to be an error on the part of the scribe. See the "Notes on the Transcriptions" for these occurrences.

16. It has here been considered possible that a work in un-transposed Dorian might employ one flat in the signature.

17. These are SC 1, 2, 7, 12, 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, 31, 32, 34, 35, 40, 41, 42, 49, and 73.

18. These are SC 7, 12, 20, 22, and 32.

19. These changes are as follows: SC 7, $b, b, b$ changed to $b, b, b$. The bass of the estribillo is after another manuscript which does not make this change. SC 12, $b, b, b$, changed to $b, b, b$; SC 20, $b, b, b$ changed to $b, b, b$; SC 22 $b, b, b$ changed to $b, b, b$; and SC 32, $b, b, b$ (a only) changed to $b, b, b$. 
Of the recent theories concerning conflicting signatures, offered by Apel,²⁰ Lowinsky,²¹ and Hoppin,²² none appears to provide an explanation consistent with the practice found in the Seville Cancionero, nor to furnish convincing solutions of problems of musica ficta. The use of conflicting signatures is analogous to the application of modern key signatures only to the extent that each voice was given a signature which would help the performer identify the mode (or "tone") in which his part was written. In this respect, the following passage from Tinctoris seems pertinent:

When some mass or chanson or any other composition you please is made up of various parts, belonging to different tones, if you ask without qualification to what tone such a composition belongs, the person asked ought to reply without qualification according to the quality of the tenor, for in every composition this is the principal part and the basis of the whole.


relationship. But if it be asked specifically to what tone some single part of such a composition belongs, the person asked will reply specifically, "to such and such a tone". 

In the light of this interpretation of conflicting signatures, it would appear that it was the composer's responsibility to identify the mode of each individual voice. Occasionally he may have added a few of the accidentals which appeared to be needed in the course of a composition; or these may have been added by performers or scribes. A comparison of different manuscripts indicates that the scribes apparently changed some of the signatures as well, since differences occur. Generally, however, it


"Unde quando missa aliqua vel cantilena vel quaevis alia composita fuerit ex diversis partibus diversorum tonorum effecta, si quis pateret absolute cujus toni talis compositio esset, interrogatus, debet absolute respondere secundum qualitatem tenoris eo quod omnis compositionis sit pars principalis et fundamentum totius relationis, et si particulariter de qualibet parte hujusmodi compositionis cujus toni sit petatur, particulariter talis seu talis respondebit."
seems to have been left to the performer to add any accidentals which he felt necessary either to improve the melodic line\textsuperscript{24} or to adjust the vertical relationships.

In the determination of the mode\textsuperscript{25} of each composition, it was found that the instructions of Tinctoris\textsuperscript{26} were generally applicable to three-part compositions in which the tenor ended as the lowest voice.\textsuperscript{27} However, the tenor of several works in this manuscript closed on the third or the fifth of the triad while the bass ended on the root below.\textsuperscript{28} Consequently, the mode of each song has been determined from the final note of the lowest voice. On this basis, of the eighty-seven complete compositions\textsuperscript{29} thirty-two are in Dorian, 


\textsuperscript{25}Since the range of the individual voices is so great there appears to be no practical significance in attempting to differentiate between authentic and plagal forms of the modes.

\textsuperscript{26}Tinctoris, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{27}It should be noted that most of these compositions are villancicos and the final cadence is that which closes the estribillo, i.e. the first section of the music.

\textsuperscript{28}See Chapter III, "The Poetico-Musical Style" for a discussion of these cadences.

\textsuperscript{29}SCI has been included here as two voices are present in the final cadence and they close in an octave. From this it may be inferred that the final note of the lowest voice is the tonic.
twelve in Dorian once transposed (with one flat), twelve in Mixolydian, eleven in Ionian, seven in Aeolian, six in Phrygian, four in Lydian, and one each in Dorian twice transposed (with two flats), Phrygian once transposed (one flat), and Phrygian twice transposed (two flats).

Accidentals have been inserted in the manuscript in forty-six of the ninety-three compositions. The insertions of flats appear to have been made for the following reasons (in the order of the relative frequency of their occurrence): in accordance with the rule una nota supra la;\(^{30}\) to avoid a melodic tritone; to adjust vertical relationships (usually a diminished octave or a tritone); and to indicate an octave relationship with a note lowered by a flat in the signature of another part.

Sharps are inserted in only sixteen instances. Six of these are to make major the otherwise minor third of a triad at the end of a phrase. Twice a sharp appears to have been used in accordance with the practice "if sol-fa-sol then fa-mi-fa".\(^{31}\) Once a sharp makes major a sixth proceeding to an


\(^{31}\)See Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460, (Leipzig, 1904), I, 117.
octave. In the other seven cases there appears to be no rule or traditional practice which may account for the insertions, other than that the composer or, more probably, a performer desired them. \(^{32}\)

The addition of editorial accidentals was guided principally by the following rules:

1. Diminished octaves and tritones should be avoided.
2. A sixth expanding to an octave or a third expanding to a fifth should be major.
3. A third contracting to a unison should be minor.
4. A subsemitonium (or supersemitonium in the case of Phrygian mode) should be used at cadences. \(^{33}\)
5. The final triad should be major.

These rules are used only as guides, however, and each case was judged separately. A sixth guiding principle was to take account of the mode of the phrase in which the note in question appeared, and, also, to determine if a modulation were

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\(^{32}\) Cf. Charles Warren Fox, "Accidentals in Vihuela Tablatures", Bulletin of the American Musicological Society, No. 4 (1940), pp. 22-23 where he notes that a study of sixteenth-century vihuela transcriptions of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century compositions indicates that the Spanish used more sharps (and fewer flats) in their music than modern editors are prone to insert.

\(^{33}\) This appears to be in keeping with the Spanish preference for sharps of which Fox speaks.
being made or intended. A seventh guide was the appearance of accidentals in the manuscripts used in collating the *Seville Cancionero.* Finally, only those accidentals which were deemed necessary were added editorially. In ambiguous cases the accidental was omitted. Any clashes which remain were judged either legitimate or the result of poor writing on the part of the composer and therefore beyond the scope of editorial emendation.

In the final chords of three-part compositions the combinations used almost exclusively are two roots and a fifth or three roots, with a slight preference shown for the former. Four-part compositions most frequently close on a full triad with the root doubled. The fifth is doubled occasionally, twice in four-part works (two roots and two fifths) and once in the only five-part work in the manuscript (three roots and two fifths). In four of the four-part works

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34 Many of these accidentals have been incorporated as editorial accidentals which are set above the staff in the transcriptions. In cases where the collating manuscripts show accidentals which the *Seville Cancionero* does not show, indications are made in the "Variants in the Musical Readings." In the reverse case, however, no indication is made.
the fifth is tripled. Other combinations are used but so infrequently as to be insignificant. 35

All of the forms of ligatures appear in the Seville Cancionero. The principal reason for the use of ligatures appears to be that of the notational convenience of the scribe. For this edition, however, the ligatures have served as guides to the underlaying of the text. In most cases no more than one syllable is set to a group of notes in ligature. This practice has not been strictly followed, however, and perhaps ligatures did not always have this significance in the fifteenth century, since different manuscripts do not always show the same notes bound in ligature. Since manuscripts of this era are so notoriously unreliable in indicating the proper relationship between words and music, some guide is needed. The ligatures and repeated notes found in the Seville Cancionero appeared to give a much clearer indication of this relationship than did the position of the words on the page.

Although statistics on the frequency of the various ligatures were compiled, these statistics appeared to be

35 In three-part works the combination of two roots and a third is used three times and a full triad once. The combination of three roots and a third is employed once in a four-part song.
meaningless, since, as already pointed out, the primary use of ligatures was for notational convenience. Many compositions show almost no ligatures while others show a considerable number. Their frequency appears to depend either on the notions of the scribe who copied the particular piece into the Seville codex or perhaps the practice in the manuscript from which he copied. It may be noted, however, that in the Seville Cancionero, as in most other manuscripts of the period, the ligature cum opposta proprietate is the one used most frequently.

In the transcriptions, notes which are in ligature in the original notation are indicated by a bracket .

Coloration is used in the manuscript principally to indicate minor color. There are occasional three-note groups in coloration which indicate hemiola (e.g., SC60), and one passage, bars 11-13 of SC6, which indicated sesquialtera. In compositions in tempus perfectum or in prolatio perfecta a single colored note (e.g., a blackened breve) often stands

36 The difference between sesquialtera and hemiola is that sesquialtera results in a triplet pattern - i.e., three notes in the place of two - while hemiola results in a 6/8 meter changing momentarily to 3/4.
alone, apparently to indicate its imperfection. The transcriptions indicate by half-brackets \( \frac{3}{2} \) those groups of notes which are colored in the manuscript.

Because of coloration, the modern metric signatures have been changed during the course of two compositions, those cited above in which the passages in sesquialtera and hemiola occur. In both cases all voices were affected simultaneously, thus effecting the metric changes.

The symbol "2" is found occasionally above a note, apparently to indicate that it is to be altered. This device is used interchangeably with that of coloration in compositions in prolatio perfecta. In order to indicate an iambic rhythm a passage could be written either with two semibreves, the second of which had the symbol "2" above it (e.g., \( \frac{2}{2} \)), or by a semibreve followed by a colored breve (e.g., \( \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textbullet}} } \)). All passages involving alteration are not so written, however, the normal rules of notation being applicable. Actually, the normal rules of notation would have sufficed for the above

\[\underline{37}\] For some reason the punctus divisionis is rarely used in the Seville manuscript, and the compositions in tempus perfectum were more difficult to transcribe than if it had been used more frequently. Coloration of a single breve appears to have been used for clarification in the absence of the more customary punctus.
situations, but the 2 and the coloration make the composer's intentions clearer.

Both the double and single bar-lines appear in the codex. Although the double bar is used more frequently, there appears to be no difference in their use and both appear as double bars in the transcriptions.

The corona is used only with final notes of musical phrases or sections. In either case it appears to have the same significance as it has today.

The sign of repetition is encountered only three times in the Seville Cancionero. Its significance appears to be the same as that of the same sign today, since in two instances it is used at the end of the copla music, which in the villancico is always repeated. The third use of this sign is in SC86 where it appears at the end of the estribillo. This section of the music is not normally repeated in the villancico, but in this case the section is very short, since there is only one line of text, and either the composer or a performer felt that it should be repeated.

38 See Chapter III, "The Poetico-Musical Style" for remarks concerning a modification of this use.

39 The structure of the villancico is fully explained in Chapter III, "The Poetico-Musical Style."
The infrequent use of the sign of repetition appears to indicate that the performers were familiar with the structure of the villancico and that they would make the proper repetitions without the necessity of a signal to remind them.

In the transcriptions the signs of repetition are not used in songs other than those which have them in the original notation. Instead, the lines of text are numbered so that the proper sequence may be followed.

Since the notation of the *Seville Cancionero* follows the practice common to all fifteenth-century Europe, the only difficulties encountered in transcribing the manuscript were due to scribal errors and omissions. These errors and omissions, as well as any exceptions to the general practices described above, will be mentioned in the "Notes on the Transcriptions".
CHAPTER III

THE POETICO-MUSICAL STYLE

In a recent article Isabel Pope has pointed out that, "A systematic and comparative study of the melodies in these cancionero sources still remains to be made."¹ This study, together with a review of the changes which took place in the poetic texts of the late fifteenth-century Spanish secular songs, will demonstrate: (1) that the three styles which Barbieri noticed, a fugal style, an expressive style, and a simple harmonic style, are actually three phases in the development of a single style; (2) that the simple style which, as Anglés mentions,² had developed at


² Barbieri, Cancionero musical, p. 15.

"En ellas se notan tres estilos principales: el de género fugado, el armónico más sencillo y otro que podemos considerar como expresivo. . . ."

³ Higinio Anglés, Cancionero musical de Palacio, II, 24.

"[The polyphonic song was] típicamente española de fines del mismo siglo, por lo mismo más tardía, aparece ya con una técnica más simple, a fin de que mejor resulte al sentido del texto."
the end of the century was not the culmination but the very foundation upon which a new style could develop; and (3) that the changes which took place in secular songs were another manifestation of the intense spirit of nationalism which pervaded Spain during especially the latter half of the century.

The Seville Cantionero not only reflects the changes which took place in the style of secular song in late fifteenth-century Spain, but the arrangement of its contents is in approximately the same order as the changes which it reflects. This manuscript is, thus, an ideal source for a study of the poetico-musical form of the late fifteenth-century villancico, the principal song-form of the period and the form which most clearly shows the changes which took place. Before these changes are discussed, however, an explanation must be given for the ambiguity which exists in connection with some of the terms used to define the musical and the poetic forms involved.

The terms canción and cantiga appear generally as interchangeable in reference to fifteenth-century Spanish poetry. Usually they refer to a form of lyric poem which is similar
to the French virelai and which will be discussed in another place in this chapter. The word cantiga, however, is also used in reference to thirteenth-century Spanish songs, e.g., the Cantigas of Alfonso the Wise, which were either through-composed, or were of a bi-partite form with a refrain. The bi-partite form is now considered the primitive form of the villancico. For clarity in the following discussion, the term cantar will be used to refer to the fifteenth-century form which resembles the virelai. Cantar, too, was sometimes used in the fifteenth century, and it appears to have been synonymous with cantiga and canción.

Canción may refer: (1) to a fifteenth-century poetic form similar to the virelai; (2) to a fifteenth-century lyric poem which has no refrain and usually only one or two four-line stanzas; or (3) to a simple through-composed song. In the following discussion canción will be restricted to signifying a simple song and the text which it accompanies.

4See Pope, op. cit., p. 207.

5Cf., Isabel Pope, "El villancico polifónico," Cancionero de Uppsala, Rafael Mitjana and Jesus Bal y Gay, editors (Mexico, 1944), pp. 23-26.

When another meaning is used (as in a quotation) it will be given in a footnote.

The simplest and rarest of the two types of secular songs in the Seville Cancionero is the canción. It is generally a short through-composed composition of four musical phrases. Ordinarily the texts of canciones are short poems of one or two four-line stanzas without a refrain, and each line of text is set to a corresponding phrase of music. The epic ballad or romance, which is composed of four-line stanzas and sometimes has a refrain may also be set to the music of a canción. Where the text is longer than one stanza the music is repeated for each, and the refrain is treated as one of the stanzas.

There are only six canciones in the Seville manuscript and since they do not reflect the stylistic changes as do the villancicos they require no further comment here.

The form most often encountered in the secular music of late fifteenth-century Spain is the villancico. The name

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7 Ibid. It may be noted that the only romance text in the Seville Cancionero has a refrain and in this setting is cast as a musical villancico (SC6).

8 The canciones are SC52, 69, 77, 84, 88, and 93. Of these SC84 and 88 are unusual and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter VII, "Commentaries."
comes from the Galician-Portuguese villano which in turn stems from the Latin villanus meaning "of the people" or "rustic." Anglès⁹ and Spanke¹⁰ have shown that the villancico had its inception in the Latin conductus of St. Martial and Notre Dame; that it was transformed by the Troubadours into the virelai, and crossed into the Iberian peninsula in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries where it first became known as the cantiga. It was originally a choral form used in connection with the dance, the stanzas being sung by a soloist and the refrain by a group.¹¹ There is little doubt that instrumental accompaniment was also provided.¹²

The cultivated poets and musicians were slow to adopt the villancico. It evidently remained for some years the exclusive property of the peasants, and from this circumstance presumably derived its name.

⁹Higini Anglès, El codex musical de las Huelgas (Barcelona, 1931), I, 54-58.
¹⁰Hans Spanke, "La teoría árabe sobre el origen de la lírica románica a la luz de las últimas investigaciones," Anuario musical, I (1946), 5-18.
Presumably it is only after cultivated artists adopted this form that traces of it are left in the written records, since the peasants did not know how to write. The earliest record of the use of the name is in the Coronaciones of Jerónimo Blancas when he speaks of the coronation of King Martín in 1399:

[At the banquet] very good voices [accompanied by] diverse musical instruments could be heard singing many villancicos and canciones in honor and praise of that festivity.13

The term is rare in the poetry of the early fifteenth century. Clark has noted that it appears twice in the Cancionero of the British Museum:

Lines 31-32 of selection No. 9 say "Comence con gran tristura/Esta cantar que dire," the cantar that follows being called "Villancico" . . . The word cantar is used again in line 73 and is later followed by another villancico . . . and cantar is used with the same meaning in lines 105 and 128. No. 26 of the same collection, a romance, ends with the words: escuc [h] éste este cantar," the following poem being a villancico.14

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"Ofense voces muy buenas, que con diversas instrumentos de música cantaban muchos villancicos y canciones en honra y alabanza de aquella fiesta."

14 Clark, op. cit., p. 115. It appears to have been customary in collections of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish poetry that the editor added prose phrases during the course of a poem. These phrases were inserted between
The Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458) wrote a "Villancico... a unas tres fijas suyas" which is itself not a villancico at all, but in which he cites what are evidently well-known villancicos as the last lines of each stanza:

... . . . . . . . .
esta canción tan honesta:
"Aguardan a mí
nunca tales guardas vi."

. . . . . . . . . .
de decir este cantar
con muy honesta mesura:
"La niña que amores ha,
sola, ¡cómo dormiré?"

. . . . . . . . . .
pues las dos habéis cantado,
a mí conviene que cante:
"Dejadlo al villano pene;
vengamos Dios della."

stanzas of the poem and served as an explanation or a description of the contents of the stanzas which followed. Thus, the term "villancico" to which Clark refers would have been written in the manuscript at the time of its compilation. Although Clark does not identify the manuscript further than as the "Cancionero in the British Museum," she appears to be citing ms add. 10,431 which Pope mentions by that name. See Isabel Pope, "La Musique espagnole a la cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle," _Musique et poésie au XVI^e siècle_ (Paris, 1953), p. 47.
mas cantad, pues que cantamos
"Suspirando iba la niña
e non por mí,
que yo bien se lo entendí."15

Poetry collections from ensuing years of the fifteenth century contain larger numbers of poems called villancicos or villancetes. These are occasionally independent poems, but they are more often poems which are interpolated in, or appended to, longer poems. While they appear to be fairly numerous, they are still relatively infrequent in comparison to the total number of lyric poems which have been preserved from that era. Much more frequent is a type of poem almost identical in form; and which also appears independently or in connection with a longer poem, but which is called a cantiga or a canción.16

The first large-scale use of the term villancico is in the Tabula of the Cancionero Musical de Palacio in which it designates all of the compositions with the general poetic o-


16Cf., Pope, "Musical and Metrical Form," p. 207. In her subsequent discussion Pope refers to this form as the canción. The term cantar will be used here, however, to avoid confusion with the musical canción.
musical structure of a bi-partite form with an initial refrain. Shortly before this collection was made, however, the Spanish poet Juan del Encina in his essay "Arte de poesía castellana" makes what is perhaps the first definition of the villancico to be formally expressed. He says:

And if it [the refrain] has two feet [each foot is generally one line in length] we usually call it mote or villancico or text of invention. If it has three full feet or one which

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18 Juan del Encina, Cancionero de Juan de Encina, 1st edition 1496, facsimile edition, Madrid, 1928. This work is quoted by Pope, Ibid., p. 193.

19 "Mote" means "motto or saying." Thus, this is a poem which embodies a saying, either traditional or one which the poet composed (e.g., Benjamin Franklin's sayings in Poor Richard's Almanac are an American equivalent except they are not incorporated in a poem).

20 This phrase may be interpreted in two ways. Literally, "letra de alguna invención" means a text which has been contrived. Such a poem was one which was deliberately composed and arranged in such an order that it showed that rational thought was its source of composition, rather than a desire on the part of the composer for a means of expressing lyrically an emotion or feeling which he experienced. These poems might have involved a play on words, they might have been enigmatic, or they might in some other way have shown that they were products of rational thought and were deliberately contrived.

The second definition of the phrase is similar to the first, but it is slightly more restricted. In this sense the phrase means "a poem about a contrivance" rather than "a poem which is contrived." Thus, in the second sense, a letra de invención is a poem which explains the motto or device which a knight wears as his personal sign of identification. These devices are usually cryptic and enigmatic and often difficult to interpret without help. Cf., "Invención" in the Enciclopedia universal ilustrada (Barcelona, 1925), pp. 1879 ff.
is broken [i.e., usually with half as many syllables] it will be a villancico or text of invention and then, following the most common usage, the one broken [quebrado] has to remain without consonance. . . . And if it has four feet it may be called a canción.

This definition, although not as complete as one may wish, appears to be the clearest statement which has been made until recently regarding the form of the villancico. It may be noted that the examples of villancicos quoted previously all conform to the form which Encina describes, i.e., the refrain contains either two or three lines. In addition, that the large collection of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Spanish poetry, the Cancionero general, published for the first time in 1503 by Hernando de Castillo, separates cantares from villancicos and apparently determines these categories by the same means as Encina, i.e., by the number of lines in the refrain.

21Encina, Ibid., f. v:
"Y si tiene dos pies llamamos le tan bien mote o villancico o letra de alguna invención por la mayor parte. Si tiene tres pies enteros o el uno quebrado tan bien será villancico o letra de invención y entonces el un pie ha de quedar sin consonante segun mas comun uso. . . .Y si es de cuatro pies puede ser canción. . . ."
Encina's term "canción" refers to the form herein called "cantar."

22Hernando de Castillo, Cancionero general de muchos y diversos autores, facscimile edition of the original edition of 1511, Antonio Rodríguez-Monino, editor (Madrid, 1958). The edition of 1511 is nearly the same as that of 1503. The notes of the modern editor indicate the few differences.
Finally, the sixteenth-century poet Juan Díaz Rengifo said in his *Arte poética española*:

> The villancico is a genre of copla which is composed solely to be sung.23

On the basis of Rengifo's statement and from the examples of villancicos found in literary sources from the fifteenth century (where they are often spoken of as being sung), it appears that the term villancico not only designates a specific form of poetry but also implies that it includes a musical setting: that it is, indeed, originally composed as a song.24 On the other hand, the cantar, which may also be found with a musical setting, appears to have been a literary form with music as an optional addition.

The fundamental structure of the villancico and that of the cantar are almost identical. The poetry consists of an

23 "Villancico es un género de Copla, que solamente se compone para ser cantado."


"It must be borne in mind that the villancico was always both a musical and a poetic form. The melody and the verse were originally composed for each other and often by the same person."
initial refrain of from two to six lines, most commonly
three or four, called the estribillo. The refrain is fol-
lowed by one or more stanzas, called coplas, which comment
on the idea which the estribillo introduces. The copla con-
sists of two sections. The first, the mudanza, consists of
two pies, each generally two lines in length. The rhyme-
scheme of the mudanza is different from that of the
estribillo. The second section of the copla, the vuelta,
is of the same length as the estribillo; and it repeats
all or a part of the estribillo's rhyme-scheme. The
structure may be illustrated by the following cantar:

(SC2)

Pues con sobra de tristura,
distes fin al corazón,
vos le dad la sepultura,
señora, por galardón.

Vos fuistes la vencedora
que crudamente venciér.
Vos quedáis por matadora
de la muerte que él murió.
Y pues le faltó la ventura,
non vos falte compasión,
dándole la sepultura.
señora, por galardón.

Originally the entire refrain was repeated after each stanza
(copla) but before the middle of the fifteenth century the

25Rhyme-scheme will be discussed in more detail below.
form had developed to the stage in which the last line or two of the vuelta repeated the corresponding part of the estribillo so that its full repetition was unnecessary. 26

The musical setting of the villancico consists of the music for the estribillo, A, and the music for one of the pies of the mudanza, B. In performance the second pie of the mudanza is sung to the same music as is its companion, and the vuelta is sung to the music, A, of the estribillo. Thus, the basic musical structure is ABBA. Each musical section is ordinarily composed of the same number of phrases as there are lines of text so that the form in practice is: ab cc ab; abc dd dd abc; etc. The fundamental structure is obviously the same as that of the virelai from which it developed.

There are many variations in the rhyme-schemes employed in the cantares and villancicos. Most of these variations have no significance as far as the musical setting is concerned. Pope, however, has found in these rhyme-schemes one significant difference which appears to distinguish a

villancico from a cantar and which may now be considered as an extension of the definitions which Encina gave.

The first, and according to Pope the earlier form to be used by cultivated poets, the cantar, is constructed "symmetrically" so that the rhyme-scheme of the vuelta is the same as that of the estribillo: 27

SC2, a cantar

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pues con sobra de tristura} & \quad \text{estribillo} \\
\text{distas fin al corazón,} & \\
\text{vos le das la sepultura,} & \\
\text{señora, por galardón.} & \\
\text{Vos fuistes la vencedora} & \quad \text{pie} \\
\text{que crudamente venció.} & \quad \text{mudanza} \\
\text{Vos quedáis por matadora} & \quad \text{pie} \\
\text{de la muerte que él murió.} & \\
\text{Y pues le faltó ventura,} & \\
\text{non vos falte compasión,} & \\
\text{dándole la sepultura,} & \quad \text{vuelta} \\
\text{señora, por galardón.} &
\end{align*}
\]

The villancico, while almost the same, has one significant difference. The first line or the first two lines of the vuelta continue the rhyme-scheme of the mudanza, and the last two repeat the rhyme of their counterparts in the estribillo.

27 Pope, "Musical and Metrical Form," pp. 198-199. She does not, however, say how much earlier this form was adopted, but only that it was used in the Galician-Portuguese verse from which Castilian poetry developed.
Thus, the villancico is an "asymmetrical" form and the vuelta is more closely bound to the mudanza. 28

SC59, a villancico

Nuevas te traigo, carillo estribillo
De tu mal.
Dimelas hora, Pasqual.

Sábete que Bartolilla, mudanza
La hija de Marimingo,
Se desposó di domingo,
Con un garzon de la villa.

He gran cordojo a ancilla vuelta
De tu mal,
Porque eras tan buen zagal.

There is no difference between the musical forms of the cantar and the villancico. It is the cantar, however, which is identical in literary form to the French virelai. 29 It is also the cantar which is the most commonly used form in the Galician-Portuguese poetry which was widely cultivated in the Iberian peninsula during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

28 Pope, "Musical and Metrical Form," pp. 196-198. It may be noted that in view of this difference it is possible for a villancico to have an estribillo of four or more lines.


Although the asymmetrical villancico appears occasionally in early fifteenth-century Spanish poetry, Pope has shown it to be a development more characteristic of the last half of the century; and she finds it a more flexible form which allows the commentary of the mudanza to be extended, weakening, at the same time, the refrain character of the vuelta. 31

With this change the villancico may be said to be divorced from the virelai. The initial section of music is no longer used solely for the estribillo. Its first phrase must now also function as setting of the extension of the mudanza and the entire structure thus becomes more unified. Clearly this suppression of the refrain-stanza-refrain sequence, which is stilted as long as the text is symmetrical, is a significant and important change in the structure and style of Spanish secular song, and may be considered evidence of the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.

The change in form, in which the real creation of the villancico as a Spanish product seems to have taken place, appears to be the contribution of the cultivated and educated poets of the period; and it was not a fully developed

form which they borrowed from the uneducated peasants. The new form, because of its flexibility and greater unity, must be marked as an artistic achievement on the part of the cultivated Spanish poets.

On the other hand, the texts of the late fifteenth-century villancicos also reveal a regression. The earlier poetry, which was written mainly in the form of the canter, appears to be of real literary worth. These poems contain commentaries on love, on sadness, sorrow, death, etc., or they express the religious fervor of the poet. Most of these texts from the Seville Cancionero which are in the form of cantares prove to have been written by leading poets and literary figures of the time. As an illustration of the literary quality of this poetry, this lyric by the Marques de Santillana is delightful even today:

32 It is also noteworthy that not only did the immediate followers of these poets praise them and their works, but also that poets of the following century honored them by borrowing some of their poems to gloss (i.e., to write a continuation or a variation to the poem as, e.g. the glosa to "Siempre crece mi serviros" (SC20) by Gerónimo de Arta on f. 206 of the Cancionero general of 1511). Among modern literary scholars only Ticknor appears to have a poor opinion of this poetry. Cf., George Ticknor, History of Spanish Literature, 4th American edition, 3 Vols. (Boston, 1891), I, 171-172.
Señora, cual soy venido, 
tal me parto; 
de cuidados más que harto 
e dolorido.

My lady, as I arrived  
I shall leave you. 
Cares sufficient I've received  
and sorrows also.

Equally pleasant is the well-known "Nunca fue pena mayor":

Nunca fue pena mayor 
ni tormento tan extraño  
que iguale con el dolor  
que recibo del engaño.

Never was pain so endless,  
so extreme, or so tormenting,  
as is equal with my sadness:  
your deception's my lamenting.

On the other hand, many of the villancico texts have  
the flavor of popular or folk poetry. Although the subjects  
remain the same - love, religion, etc. - the poems are most  
often little more than doggerel. They quote proverbs (SC54)  
or parody familiar sayings, e.g., a Biblical passage in SC66;  
they are drinking songs (SC86); and they even incorporate  
gibberish (SC70). Thus, it appears that these Spanish poets,  
artistic enough to create a significant change in literary  
form, often disregarded literary quality.

Such light-veined lyrics found their way not only into  
the musical settings of aristocratic society - for it is  
evidently this society for whom the musical cancioneros were  
written - but also into the literary cancioneros where they  
may be found alongside other poems of a literary worth equal  
to that of the earlier period.  

Generally, but not always, the popular verse was in  
the form of villancico and the cultivated verse in the older
popular poems may be ascribed to well-known literary figures. Juan del Encina, for instance, wrote a great many such poems. But, as Salazar has cautioned, these poems must not be construed as folk-poems. Rather, they are poems composed by the cultivated poets in the style of folk poetry.

Figueras believes, on the other hand, that in some cases these may have been popular poems which the cultivated artists adopted. He adds that the nobility and the educated upper classes might well have heard these poems and others like them when they came in contact with the lower classes during the military campaigns of the reconquest. These campaigns were frequent during the latter half of the fifteenth century and the Spanish nobility took an active part in them.

forms. It may also be noted that some of the popular villancicos and cantares included in the early editions of the Cancionero general were so obscene that they were omitted from many later editions. Cf., Ticknor, op. cit., p. 469.


36 Cf., William H. Prescott, History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic (Philadelphia, 1872), I, 490-493. King Ferdinand often took personal charge of the army, and Isabel, too, was occasionally in the field with her husband.
On the other hand, this imitation of the popular poetry may be another sign of the coming Renaissance and the approaching breakdown of the old social order. But what is more significant is that this appears also to be one of the indications of the nationalistic movement in Spain. The aristocratic society turned to its own people for a part, at least, of its artistic inspiration. In this sense late fifteenth-century Spain had an artistic atmosphere analogous to that which encompassed all of Europe during the nineteenth century when writers, composers, poets, and other artists turned to the folk traditions of their respective countries in order to create works which had the stamp and flavor of their respective cultures.

Cejedor y Frauca has said:

The hour of triumph for everything that was popular, in narrative [romancero] as well as in lyric [poetry], was struck at the accession of the Catholic Kings [Ferdinand and Isabella] to the throne.  

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37 Cf., Ibid., Chap. VI, "Internal Administration of Castile," I, 274-324.

38 Cejedor y Frauca, op. cit., V, 214:

"Pero la hora del triunfo de todo lo popular, del romancero como de la lírica, sonó al subir al trono los Reyes Católicos."
It was during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella (1474-1516), that Spanish nationalism reached its peak and the movement culminated in the final overthrow of the Moors in 1492. After this, Spain was for all practical purposes a nation united both politically and culturally. Perhaps it was the rulers themselves who were responsible for the intense spirit of nationalism. 39

The authors of many of the texts of the "popular" songs in the musical cancioneros have not been identified. In these cases they may be, as Pope suggested, the same men who wrote the music. 40

In this respect it is interesting to note that 5C22 bears ascriptions to both Cornago and Triana. 41 The composition has only a three-part texture, however, and the ascription to Cornago is on the folio verso where the original composer's name may be expected to appear, while

39 Cf., Prescott, loc. cit.


41 See Chapter IV, "Biographical Notes."
Triana's name is on the folio recto. The three-part texture would seem to indicate that the music was written by only one man, since this was the most frequently employed texture during the latter half of the fifteenth century. In the Seville codex, which is the only manuscript to bear a dual ascription for this song, there are two texts, and the second of these is unique to this collection. It appears that the ascription to Triana refers to the composition of the second text, since the other has been identified as the work of the Marqués de Santillana. One may therefore infer that Triana was a poet, at least on

42 The folio verso is where the composer's name normally appears in a manuscript. In the case of a dual ascription it would probably be either the soprano or the tenor of an earlier composition which a second composer borrowed as a cantus firmus for his song, since it was one or the other of these voices which was considered the principal melody. (In the secular music of late fifteenth-century Spain it was the soprano.) Since both the soprano and tenor are customarily written on the folio verso, and since the first composer ostensibly composed the principal melody, the ascription acknowledging his contribution may be expected to appear on this folio. Similarly, a second composer may have added only a fourth voice, generally an alto, to a pre-existent three-part composition. The alto is usually written on the folio recto and the composer's name may be expected to appear with the music which he contributed. Thus, in compositions with dual ascriptions it may be presumed that the name given on the folio verso will normally be that of the original composer. Cf., Pope, "La musique espagnole," p. 49, for a similar view of this problem.
one occasion, and he may well have written all or most of
the texts of the "popular" songs by which he is represented.

The texts of the poetico-musical settings of the musica-
cal cancioneros and the poetry of the literary cancioneros
indicate that the Spanish artists were deliberately creating
a new style by absorbing the flavor of Spain through borrow-
ing or copying the folk literature. It would be difficult,
if not impossible, to determine just how much the folk liter-
ature actually influenced that of the courtiers, since the
folk literature has a purely oral tradition without written
records which may be used for comparison. A few general
characteristics may be noted. It is certain, for instance,
that the educated poets began to enrich their vocabularies
by borrowing words from the still crude and unpolished
popular speech. It is obvious that the stylistic approach
of the poets changed, under the influence of the folk litera-
ture, from an intellectual approach to that of a more simple
and direct approach, and that it included more humor, ribaldry,
etc.; in short, it became more humanized.

43 Cf., Ticknor, op. cit., I, 410-412.
It is very probable that the folk literature also influenced, to some extent, the formal change which has been noted. Undoubtedly, the poetico-musical structures of the folk were irregular. The Marques of Santillana remarked in a letter to the Condestable of Portugal:

>The lowest are those romances and songs which are made without rules, order or count and by which the low and servile people amuse themselves.⁴⁴

But it is doubtful that this was a "regular" irregularity; that is, that it always exhibited the same irregularities. Such a change as that which takes place in the formal structure of an art form is too subtle to have come directly from the folk literature. It seems instead to have developed through a deliberate intellectual effort on the part of the educated court poets.

Thus, the development of the truly Spanish villancico with its asymmetrical text seems to be the work of the educated poets, who, under the influence of the folk literature

⁴⁴Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marques de Santillana, "Proemio al Condestable de Portugal," printed in Epistolario español, II, 11-14, edited by Eugenio de Ochoa. This is Vol. LXII of the series Biblioteca de autores española.

"Ínfimos son aquellos que sin ningum orden, regla ni cuanto facen estos romances e cantares de que la gente baja e servil se alegra."
of their country, sacrificed the literary quality which a borrowed and foreign Mediaeval style had possessed in order to start anew and to enter the Renaissance with the foundations of a truly national art.

The music of the late fifteenth-century villancico should reflect a parallel change, as indeed it does. However, in order to show this change more clearly it is first necessary to review the state of music in Spain during the first half of the century.

There are relatively few historical documents from fifteenth-century Spain which describe the musical practices of the times. Primary among these, however, are the various chronicles of the courts which, while they record principally the political and social activities of the individuals about whom each was written, occasionally contain a phrase or two which refers to music and musicians.

Angléš has reproduced a large selection of excerpts about music drawn from the most important of these chronicles. Most of these corroborate the fact that music was an important part of the lives of the nobility, that it was performed at

\[\text{45Cf., Angléš, \textit{La musica en la corte}. I, 1-65.}\]
parties, in public processions, and in private or royal chapels; and even that musicians, both instrumentalists and singers, accompanied armies into battle and performed on the battlefields, especially after a victory by the Spanish.

Unfortunately, only a very few of these records yield clues as to the style of music which was performed. Of these some are extremely informative and interesting, especially as they comment on the early part of the century. For instance, the Chronicle of Don Pero Niño (1406-1448), by Alférez Guitierre Diez de Games says that in the households of the nobles:

They make . . . gracious songs, savory desires i.e., poems which incorporate sayings - the same as motes, notable motets and ballades, caccias, rondellos, lais, virolais, complaintes, canciones and sonbays i.e., a type of Provençal song.

46 Alférez Guitierre Diez de Games, El Victorial, crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Bualna, modern edition by Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1940), p. 71:


This passage is quoted by Anglés, La música en la corte, I, 26. The exact date when this passage was written is not given by Anglés, but he does identify the sonbay as a type of Provençal song.
And at another place the same chronicle reports:

Here one can hear sung lais, delays, virelais, and caccias, and rondeaux, and complaintes, and ballades; songs from all the art which the French sing. 47

In reference to the above passages Anglé's comments:

It should not be forgotten that in fourteenth-century Spain the poetico-musical forms of French origin were much practiced, and in the French language, and we have not preserved, with Spanish texts, any of the motets, ballades, caccias, rondeaux, lais, virelais, complaintes, sones, canciones or sonadas of which de Games spoke. . . though we do have examples of motets and caccias in Latin, of virelais and ballades in Catalan and of French ballades. 49

47 de Games, loc. cit.

"Alli oya hombre cantar lays, e delays, e virolays, e chazas, e renondelas, e complayntas, e baladas, chanzones de toda el arte que trovan los franceses."

48 Anglés, La música en la corte, I, 26-27.

"No hay que olvidas que en la Espana del siglo XIV fueron muy practicadas estas formas poetico-musicales de origen frances y con lengua francesa."

(Italicics added).


"No hemos conservado nada de tales motets, baladas, canzas, rondeaux, lais, virolais, complaintes, sones ni sonadas con texto castellano, de los cuales nos habla Diez de Games, pero si ejemplos de motetes y canzas en latin, de virolais y baladas en catalan y de baladas en francesas."

Anglé does not, however, identify the manuscripts in which these compositions are preserved.
De Góes wrote mainly of the early fifteenth century. It seems, however, that the musical practices had changed very little as the century progressed, for the Marqués de Santillana in his very informative letter to the Condestable of Portugal gives his personal views on music, based, unquestionably, on the musical practice and styles that he was accustomed to hearing:

To the French I prefer the Italians, whose works show superior talent only in that they compose and adorn beautiful and wonderful stories; and yet I prefer the French to the Italians in the maintenance of their skill . . . . They put equally good music to their texts and sing them in sweet and diverse manners; they are familiar with music and have facile technique . . . . They can not only pacify men but even the infernal furies with the sonorous melodies and sweet modulations of their songs. And who doubts that . . . . the sweet voices well accompany and improve all rhyme, meter, and verse, be it of whatever art, gravity or measure? 50

50Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, "Proemio al Condestable de Portugal," op. cit., pp. 11 14. "Los itálicos prefiero yo, so enmienda de quien más sabrá, a los franceses solamente; cada sus obras se muestran de más altos ingenios, e adornanlas e compónenlas de fermosas e peregrinas historias; e a los franceses de los itálicos en el guardar del arte . . . . Ponen sones asimismo a las sus obras, e cantoñas por dulces e diversas maneras; e tanto han familiar e por manos la música, . . . . non solamente las iras de los hombres, mas aun a las furias infernales, con las sonorosas melodias e dulces modulaciones de los sus cantos aplacaban. ¿E quién duda que
It appears from this that the music of early fifteenth-century Spain was borrowed from her neighbor to the north and that there was little or no native composition of art songs. Further indication of the absence of a native Spanish music is found in the records of the chapel choirs of the royal and noble households. Both vander Straeten and Anglés have shown that the principal members of those organizations were Frenchmen.

What the early fifteenth-century historical documents do not record, however, are the names of Spanish musicians.

... las dulces voces e fermosas sones no apuestan e acompanen todo rimo, todo metro, todo verso, sea de cualquier arte, peso e medida?" (p.13).

51 Edmond vander Straeten, La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle, 8 Vols. (Brussels, 1888), Vols. VII and VIII, Les Néerlandais en Espagne.

52 Anglés, La música en la corte, I, 13.

53 Further illustrations may be found in the documents published by Francisco de P. Balselló, "La música en la casa de los reyes de Aragón," Anuario musical, XI (1956), pp. 37-51, and José M. Madurell, "Documentos para la historia de los maestros de capilla, cantores, organistas, organos, y organeros (siglos XIV-XVIII)," Anuario musical, Vol. III (1948) through Vol. VI (1951); e.g., on pp. 49-51 Balselló gives a list of musicians who served in the court of Aragón between 1308 and 1449. In it one finds names such as Pere Alibert, Ana Petite, Jaume Brunell, and Joan Verdit.
Probably the most prominent Spaniard known to have been active at mid-century is Bartolomo Ramis de Pareja. Ramis is known today because of his treatise *Musica Practica*,

and it is in this work that he mentions five other Spaniards - Johannes de Monte, Tristano de Silva, and the theorists Juan de Villanova, Osmensis, and Ludovicus Sancii - and one musician, Juan Ureda (Urreda) who may be considered a Spaniard although he may have been Flemish by birth.

Ramis speaks highly of Monte when he cites, "Ockeghem, Busnois, Dufay, and Johannes de Monte, and other men renowned in this skill." Later he acknowledges the instruction of

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55 *Ibid.*, p. 43, where he quotes from a treatise which he ascribes to Villanova.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 41, where he cites some of the theories of "Magister Osmensis Hispanus" but gives no other information about him. Angles in *La música en la corte*, 1, 42, identifies Osmensis as Petrus de Osma who, he believes, lived in Salamanca ca. 1470.

57 *Rami, op. cit.*, p. 56, where he merely mentions a "Ludovico Sancii." Angles in *La música de la corte*, p. 42, suggests that Sancii may be Ludovicus de Barcelona.

58 See Chapter IV, "Biographical Notes."

59 *Rami, op. cit.*, p. 84:

"Ockeghem, Busnois, Dufay, et Johannes de Monte et alii viri in hac facultate famosi."
"Master Johannes de Monte, who was the first who instructed me in the rudiments of music."60

At one time Ramis speaks of "our close friend Tristano de Silva, a Spaniard";61 and later he says:

In fact Tristano de Silva... treats consecutive fifths as those we find in the song Sois emprantis and in others more ancient.62

Of Urrede, Ramis speaks as of a personal friend,

"... Johannes Urrede, our dearest musical director of the chapel of the King of Spain."63 Urrede and Ramis, however, are not among the earlier Spanish musicians (i.e., those who were active during the time that foreigners held the important musical posts); rather they are of the generation which was active during the reign of

60 Ramis, op. cit., p. 88:

"Magister Johannes de Monte, qui fuit primus qui me musices imbuit rudimentis."


62 Ramis, op. cit., p. 65:

"Tristamus vero de Silva... sicut reperimus in cantilena sois emprantis et in aliis antiquioribus."

63 Ibid., p. 85:

"... Johannes Urrede, carissimus noster regis Hispaniae capellae magister."
Ferdinand and Isabella - the period during which most of the compositions in the Seville Cancionero appear to have been written.

When Ferdinand and Isabella assumed their throne, conditions changed. The names of foreigners disappear from the rolls of the chapel choirs and the names of Spaniards take their places. But where had these men received a training and experience sufficient to enable them to replace, in a short period of time, all of the foreign musicians who had staffed the choirs previously? Perhaps these Spaniards had already been members, though unimportant ones, of the choirs. Or, perhaps there was a school of native musicians which had grown up unnoticed even by their own countrymen. The question must, for now, go unanswered because sufficient data concerning the lives of these men and their relationships with other musicians has not yet been recovered.

It appears that the most important inference which may be made from the sudden appearance of these Spanish musicians is that it was brought about by the spirit of nationalism which marked this era in Spain. Perhaps, however, this study of the contents of the Seville Cancionero may suggest some answers to the question posed above.

64 Anglés, La música en la corte, 1, 13.
Possibly the best way to study the music of the Seville codex is to compare and contrast it with that of contemporary Franco-Flemish music, since the French school was so influential at the time, and since it appears that the Spanish music developed from the French. Before making a more direct comparison, however, some of the general characteristics of late fifteenth-century French and Spanish music may be noted, together with what appears to be a fundamental difference in the approach of each national group to the musical art.

The most prominent characteristic of the late fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish chanson is its systematic use of initial imitation. This device is employed so frequently that it may be considered one of the fundamental features of the French technique. Generally, imitation appears in the chansons in the two upper voices at the beginning of each phrase, but towards the end of the century the third voice was also included in the imitative passages. 65

Although the non-imitative portions of each phrase give each voice an opportunity to develop independently, the appearance of the same melodic motive in each voice tends to

lesser whatever independence is achieved. Thus, the con-
sistent use of imitation creates a strong unity, binding the
polyphonic web into a closely-knit whole. The structural
solidity of the compositions is one of the major stylistic
characteristics of the French school.

Other important characteristics may be summarized as
follows:

1. Each line of text is set to a separate melodic phrase.

2. Each melodic phrase begins with relatively long
notes (generally breves and semibreves) to which the first
portion of the text is set syllabically. When the penulti-
mate syllable is reached the melody changes to a flowing
melisma consisting primarily of short notes (minims and
semiminims), and ending with a long note to which the
final syllable is set:

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66Cf., Helen Hewitt, op. cit., Chapter VI, "Analysis of the Musical Texts," where these and other characteristics are discussed.
Occasionally, however, the melismatic passage appears before the penultimate syllable of the text and the remaining syllables must be set to the melisma.

3. The upper voices generally have phrases which are approximately equal and which cadence together, while the lowest voice - more independent melodically and beginning to exhibit the characteristics of a supporting bass - carries through the cadence of the upper voices, maintaining the continuity of the rhythmic flow.

4. Cadences are standardized: the upper voice generally cadences with a melodic pattern which moves supertonic.

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67 See Lowinsky, "The Function of Conflicting Signatures," pp. 235-246 for a discussion and illustrations of these patterns.
tonic, leading-tone, tonic; the tenor moves supertonic, tonic, generally an octave below the soprano. The bass may exhibit one of three different patterns: leaping up an octave from the dominant below the tenor to the dominant between the soprano and tenor (e.g., SC4, m11-12); leaping from the dominant below the tenor to the tonic either in unison with or an octave below the tenor (e.g., SC11, m26-27); or moving step-wise from the sub-dominant to the dominant between the soprano and tenor (e.g., SC38, m17-18).

Less apparent is the attitude of the French school towards the art of music in general. Lang believes that they were interested in realism:

In this case realism appeared in the form of musical illustration of the text. Ockeghem and his school applied it to the smallest details, observing human speech, noting where the natural accents lie, their quality and quantity, and how they are influenced by different moods. They copied all these and transferred them into music, trying to express in their melodies joy and sorrow, pity and hatred, quiescence and ribaldry. It is truly amazing to see with what patience they filed and polished little fragments of melody in their effort to interpret the meaning of the text. If there is anything in the words which gives an opportunity for picturesque imitation they make use

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68 The alto was not considered a part of the normal pattern and its movements varied depending on how it could be fitted into the cadential structure of the other voices.
of it. Motion, the opening of eyes, genuflection, etc., all find graphic expression in music. Whenever the text mentions night or darkness, for example, the composer used black notes only, and the evocation of eternity elicits long-drawn-out notes. . . . Canonic imitation was drawn into the service of text interpretation, but, like the canonic artifices themselves, realism went through a period of evolution, and, as in literature, the painstaking realism of the earlier period disappeared.69

These same observations may, however, be interpreted in a different way. The painstaking care which resulted in near perfection of technique, the devices incorporated, such as imitation or using special notation or unusual notes to represent in sound (or to the eye of the performer) what the text expresses, the evident pleasure which they derived from composing and solving complex canonic structures, and various other similar traits all appear to indicate that the French had an intellectual approach to music. They were more interested in mastering the techniques of composition, in perfecting them, and in making them serve whatever purposes the composer could conceive, than they were in simply writing pleasant and artistic music. This interpretation does not depreciate the

69 Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilisation (New York, 1941), p. 190. The paragraph quoted above is a slightly expanded version of one which the same author wrote in an article, "The So-Called Netherlands Schools," Musical Quarterly, XXV (1939), 55.
realism, nor does it imply that the French were not interested in creating artistic music. On the contrary, the finished product was to be artistic; and the intellectual problems which the composer had to solve were more difficult because of this. It does seem, however, that the technical competence was a deep concern of the French composers and it appears to be a stylistic characteristic of their school.

The most fundamental characteristics of the contemporary Spanish music are similar to those of the French. The melody is always found in the upper voice of the canciones and villancicos. The cadential patterns generally follow the standardized formulae which the French used, though there are exceptions which will be discussed in greater detail below. Vertical relationships and the treatment of dissonances are customarily the same, but the polish and perfection found in French music is frequently lacking in that of the Spanish, and sharp dissonances, such as seconds, major sevenths, etc. (e.g., SC17, m3), parallel fifths (e.g., SC18, m8) and octaves (e.g., SC18, m38), etc., appear more often. Imitation

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70 Possibly a rare exception is the song "Yerra con poco saber" found in Montecassino 871N in which the text is placed beneath the tenor rather than the soprano. This song is cited by Isabel Pope in "La Musique espagnole à la cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du XVème siècle," Musique et poésie au XVIème siècle (Paris, 1954), p. 46.
is employed by the Spanish composers, but less frequently than by their French contemporaries. In short, all of the technical devices of the Franco-Flemish school are employed by the Spanish, but they are used less often. Spanish music reflects a greater simplicity in both form (the villancico is almost the only form used) and technique.

To attribute this general simplicity and lack of polish to a lack of technical facility on the part of the Spaniards would be, in a sense, only a partial explanation of the style. While it may be true that their technical facility was not so great as that of the French, there may be a reason for this - perhaps in the different approach which the Spanish appear to have taken. This approach may, at least for the sake of contrast, be called "emotional." The basis of the emotional approach appears to be that of relegating the music in song to a role of supporting and emphasizing the text, not by illustrating it with musical pictures, but by maintaining a simplicity in the music so as not to interfere with the words; and by accenting important words, phrases, and lines with music that will draw attention to them but not to itself.

This concept of equality of music and text in song - even perhaps of a slight superiority of text - appears to be the
same as that which later led to opera, \textsuperscript{71} \textit{i.e.}, the union of words and music in a way in which the text is expressed dramatically. If this were indeed the attitude, the Spanish composers would not be particularly interested in complete technical mastery. They employed only the techniques \textsuperscript{72} which they needed for dramatic purposes and, at the same time, were not concerned about the polish of their musical settings, since the music was to serve as an unobtrusive carrier of the text. It appears that perhaps Spanish music reflects not a lack of ability on the part of the composers to master the techniques of the French but a lack of interest in doing so. Perhaps they had, in fact, mastered these techniques but deliberately did

\textsuperscript{71} Cf., Anglés, \textit{La música en la corte}, III, 12, Vol. X of the series \textit{Monumentos de la música española}, where he makes the same comment but bases it on a later Spanish musical style, the popular style of the end of the century. He says:

"En este sentido de la simplificación gradual de la técnica como medio de expresión, lírica, emocional y dramática, son interesantes por demás algunas composiciones de Encina. La música de algunas piezas de Encina hacen ya presentir la reforma que a fines del siglo XVI se operará en Italia, como exigencia del texto cantado, en la música dramática y teatral."

\textsuperscript{72} See the discussion below of group two of the songs from the Seville codex.
not exhibit this mastery in their songs. It would be strange, indeed, if this apparent lack of technical facility were not deliberate, that none of the Spanish composers were able to master the techniques which most of the French composers used so easily.

Just as in poetry alone, the song of late fifteenth-century Spain passed into a period in which both the music and the text acquired a popular flavor. In order to examine this phase of the musical style and to study the Spanish dramatic style in greater detail the contents of the **Seville Cancionero** may be examined. To facilitate the study the Spanish songs in the codex have been divided into four groups in which the members of each exhibit similar characteristics. The first group is comprised of songs which appear to reflect a dominant French influence; the second, of songs exhibiting the dramatic style; the third, the

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73 SC1, 3, 5, 13, 36, 37, and 44 are incomplete and are not included in this discussion. SC57 appears to be instrumental and SC85 and 92 are French. These, too, are omitted from the study.

74 SC2, 4, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 30, and 43.

75 SC6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38, 40, 42, and 56.
pseudo-folk or popular songs; and the last, the religious compositions.

Similarities between the songs in the first group and their French counterparts are particularly evident in their long unbroken phrases, their cadential patterns, the combined range of their voices, and their use of imitation. More significant, however, are the differences which are reflected in these pieces and which appear to indicate an emerging independence on the part of the Spaniards.

Perhaps the most pronounced difference is the way imitation is employed. While its use is generally like that of the French composers - i.e., points of imitation in the two upper voices at the beginning of each phrase - imitation is not employed systematically. Most noticeable is the absence of imitation at the beginnings of most of the pieces, in this group, only one of them (SC22) having a point of imitation.

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76 SC33, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, and 93.

77 SC29, 39, 45, 46, 47, 55, 62, 63, 68, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, and 89. SC41 and 82 also appear to belong with this group, but the texts are wanting and the proper category for them is uncertain.
in its first phrase.\textsuperscript{78} Elsewhere, imitation is used for some of the phrases in seven compositions,\textsuperscript{79} and its employment there appears to be for greater structural unity.

Some exceptions to the use of imitation as a structural device should be noted. In SC10, m6-9 and SC18, m2-5, 8-10, the imitative passages appear at the ends of phrases rather than at the beginnings. In SC21, m35-37, imitation appears in the middle of a phrase. In these instances the use of imitation appears to be for a dramatic purpose, \textit{i.e.}, that of drawing attention to an important word or phrase (\textit{e.g.,} the word "Dios" in SC18, m4-5), and is a foreshadowing of the use of imitation as it is incorporated into a later development of the Spanish style. This dramatic use of imitation will be discussed in greater detail in connection with the compositions in group two.

Another striking difference between the French and Spanish music is the greater rhythmic independence of the

\textsuperscript{78}Perhaps SC10 may also be considered as commencing with initial imitation. Although melodic imitation is not employed, the entrances of the voices are staggered and the opening rhythms are quite similar.

\textsuperscript{79}SC2, m21-22; SC10, m18-21; SC14, m26-30; SC18, m24-26, 30-33; SC20, m8-9, 23-26; SC21, m7-9, 14-16, 20-22, 31-32; and SC22, m1-4, 11-13, and 17-19.
voices in the latter. Both Pope and Trend have stressed the importance of this characteristic in the Spanish style, but it must be noted here that this characteristic is absent in those popular songs which are a later development in the style and which are perhaps the most typically Spanish of the songs in the Seville Cancionero. However, in the compositions in both group one and group two, rhythmic independence of the voices is frequent and may be considered a distinguishing characteristic of this phase in the development of Spanish style. Moreover, in connection with the rhythm in these songs, the patterns \(\text{\#\#\#\#}\) and \(\text{\#\#\#\#\#\#}\) are so frequently employed that they, too, seem characteristically Spanish.

The combined range employed in Spanish songs appears, generally, to be the same as that employed by the French — i.e., slightly over two octaves between the lowest note of the bass and the highest note of the soprano. The Spanish,

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80 This is particularly noticeable in SC2, 10, and 20.

81 Pope, "La Musique espagnole," p. 46.

however, appear to exploit the lower regions of the bass (between G and e) more often than do the French.  

Four of the compositions in the first group exhibit, in the final measures of one of their sections (the copla in all but SC10) what appears to be a short coda, and which may have been instrumental. In each case the preceding phrase comes to a full close and the final syllable of text appears to belong with this cadence. In two cases, in fact, SC4 and SC21, the final note before the coda bears a corona which would seem to indicate that the text is to end at this point. While these codas do not appear frequently enough to be considered characteristic of the Spanish style in general, and the practice can probably be interpreted as a fifteenth-century form of the cauda, a coda-like vocalization which was common in the thirteenth-century conductus, the use of imitation in connection with them is a characteristic of the dramatic Spanish style, so that their appearance here without imitation must be noted.

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83 This range is used in seven of the eleven compositions in group one, SC2, 4, 10, 14, 20, 22 and 30, and it is used in approximately the same ratio of the songs in the other groups.

84 SC4, 10, 20, and 21.

Unlike the French, the Spanish do not often employ leaps in their melodic lines. They appear, rather, to prefer scale-wise progressions and generally fill in a wide interval with most or all of the notes which it encompasses – making the intervening scale move rapidly in short note-values. Leaps are found, however, but they are usually restricted to small intervals, thirds, or, rarely, fourths.\textsuperscript{86}

Finally, one other element may be noted: in some compositions the final note of a phrase is repeated by one or by all of the voices, producing, as a result, a feminine cadence. This cadence is not frequent: it occurs in only four of the songs in group one,\textsuperscript{87} and all copies of the same composition do not necessarily show it. Its use, however, may perhaps be attributed to the feeling on the part of some of the performers that the masculine cadence accented too strongly the unstressed final syllables which are characteristic of the Spanish language.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{86}Cf., e.g., Ockeghem's chanson "Ma bouche rit," Od. 54, Hew., pp. 335-336, with any of the Spanish compositions.

\textsuperscript{87}SC2, 18, 21, and 22.

\textsuperscript{88}This cadence is also frequent in the Italian frottola. It is probably used there for the same reason.
Although they exhibit the differences discussed above, the songs in group one are, as has been noted, fundamentally French in style. The differences which appear, though only relatively minor variations in this style, are sufficient to signify the emergence of independent Spanish traits. In the light of later developments in Spanish music - to be discussed below - these traits appear to be the first traces of an independent style.

Not only does the dominant French influence suggest that these songs represent merely the formative stage of a Spanish school, but some of them also appear to be among the oldest compositions in the manuscript. Four \(^{89}\) are by Cornago (c. 1435-1492), the earliest known composer represented in the Seville codex. A fifth \(^{90}\) was originally written by Cornago and was recast by Ockeghem in the form which it has in the Seville Cancionero. Cornago's original composition, Ockeghem's revision, and one of Cornago's other compositions which is also from the Seville codex \(^{91}\) are all found in the Montecassino manuscript 871N; and all three were probably written before Cornago left Italy (1475).

\(^{89}\) SC4, 10, 18, and 22.

\(^{90}\) SC14.

\(^{91}\) SC10.
All of these compositions in group one have symmetrically constructed texts which, as has been shown, represent an early form of fifteenth-century Spanish poetry. In addition, five\textsuperscript{92} of the musical settings have considerable crossing of the lower voices, and three of them\textsuperscript{93} employ the double leading-tone (Burgundian) cadence, both characteristics which are generally associated with the period of Dufay.

It is, of course, possible that not all the songs in group one were written near the middle of the century, i.e., the earlier part of the period represented by the Seville Cancionero. Comago may have written some of his after coming to Spain since not all of his compositions are found in Italian manuscripts. The compositions of Enrique\textsuperscript{94} appear to be products of the later decades of the century since they show a four-part texture which seems to be original and not the result of the later addition of a fourth voice. Unfortunately, however, even approximate dates cannot be assigned

\textsuperscript{92} SC4, 10, 12, 18, and 21.

\textsuperscript{93} SC10, 18, and 21.

\textsuperscript{94} SC2 and 30. Enrique appears to have been a Frenchman, "Henri l'organiste." See Chapter IV, "Biographical Notes."
to these works since there are too few data available other than those provided by the songs themselves. All of these works, however, appear to reflect the early stage of the development of Spanish music, a stage from which the compositions in group two show an important and significant change.

This change is made manifest by several means, but they all appear to be employed for the same end - that of creating dramatic emphasis for the text. It is undoubtedly this dramatic style, or this phase in the development of Spanish style, which Barbieri called "expressive", and it is this development which indicates true independence on the part of the Spanish composers.

While the compositions in group two appear to represent a stage of transition as well as a stage of stylistic development, some songs appearing to be similar to those in group one while others are more like those in group three, the differences which they show appear to have little significance in relation to the dramatic emphasis. Consequently, these differences will not be discussed except where they are closely connected with other means of creating expression of the texts.
The first and perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the dramatic style is the infrequent use of long phrases. On the contrary, the phrase is broken into short segments, or several short complete phrases are used instead. These phrase segments, or short phrases, are not long enough to accommodate more than a few words, so that two or three phrases are necessary in order to set each line of text.

Figure 2. Short Phrases and Phrase Segments Characteristic of Group Two
The construction of these phrases is usually like that in the French or older Spanish style - i.e., the last portion of each consists of a florid melisma.

Several means are employed for separating the phrases or the phrase segments. The most usual device is a rest, generally a semibreve rest, between consecutive melodic groups. Occasionally, however, there is no rest; the separation being implied by a long note either at the end of one phrase or at the beginning of the next, or else by a wide melodic leap, or by repeated notes.

The relative importance of the various parts of the text is shown by the way each is treated musically. Less important word groups or phrases are set to the music in the traditional French manner observed in the first group of songs, i.e., the opening words are set syllabically and the penultimate syllable is set melismatically, the final syllable being set to the final note of the phrase (e.g., the first phrase of SC28, m1-5). Most of the word groups are, of course, set in this manner, and most of the phrases, except for being shorter are little different from those of the earlier style.

95 E.g., SC25, m8.  
96 E.g., SC9, m16.  
97 E.g., SC26, m10.
Dramatic emphasis is, however, given to the important words or word groups. Such stress is accomplished by one or more different means, the most common of which is the melisma. Single words are set by themselves to individual melismatic phrases as, for instance, the word pasiones in measures 18-22 of SC17. In other cases an important word is not set off from the other words but is set to a melisma. When this word is not the last in a group, the usual order of the musical phrase is altered so that the melisma comes at the beginning (e.g., SC24, m10), or in the middle (e.g., SC34, m9).

Perhaps not the most important trait of the dramatic style, but certainly the most interesting, is the way imitation is employed. While it is true that the Spanish composers did not employ this device as frequently as the French, it does not appear to be because they lacked the technique to do so, as its use in some of these compositions shows. Rather it seems that the Spaniards realized what a powerful and emphatic device imitation could be, and they reserved its use for dramatic emphasis. Not only does the immediate repetition of a melodic motive to a different voice add stress to the words; but the repetition of the words themselves, providing, of course, that text is sung
in all of the voices (and this question is not answered by the contents of the Seville Cancionero, since most of the compositions have only text incipits in the lower voices), would unquestionably add force to that portion of the text.

In m15-17 of SC7, for example, the word *ninguna* ("none") is set melismatically. In this case, however, the melisma stands in the position where one would ordinarily occur, so that some other device is necessary in order to emphasize the word. In order to do so, the composer has imitated the melodic motive of the soprano in the tenor. In SC11, m18-24 an entire line is emphasized by use of imitation and in SC28, m10-11 imitation is used to stress a single word. Other similar passages may be found in seven other compositions from this group.*

Three of the compositions in the second group have a total of four short codas like those discussed in connection with several of the songs in group one. In all but one of these, however, the separation between the coda and the remainder of the song is strengthened through the use of

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*SC16, 19, 23, 27, 31, 32, and 35.

**SC8, m30-32; SC11, m38-43; and SC27, m24-31, 46-48.

***SC27, m46-48.
initial imitation. As has been mentioned previously, it is a reasonable hypothesis that these codas were instrumental, and certainly an imitative beginning for an instrumental interlude would heighten its dramatic contrast.

The use of repeated notes also appears to be more frequent in the songs of the second group. While this trait is of relatively minor importance, it appears to be another indication that the text itself was considered the more important factor, since several long repeated notes may hardly be said to be of great musical interest.

Finally, there appears to be a lessening of the rhythmic independence among the voices of many of these songs. This is accompanied by the introduction of homophonic passages, generally of relatively brief duration, but to an exceptional extent in five of the compositions.\textsuperscript{101}

Any one of the devices mentioned, and employed as it has been in this group, would, by itself, have little significance. However, all of them taken together appear to suggest no other reasonable explanation than that which has been given - that the music has been made the servant of the words. It is nevertheless unfortunate that these songs

\textsuperscript{101}Sc6, 15, 23, 32, and 35.
reflect only a primitive stage in the use of music for
dramatic reinforcement, and that dates cannot be assigned
these songs because of the lack of external data. It seems,
however, that the period in which this style was used was
a short one, and that the style had little chance to de-
velop. It appears to have had its inception in the adaptation
of the earlier style, a copy of the French for this purpose,
and to have been discontinued soon after it began, while
still reflecting considerable French influence. Thus the
years it encompasses cannot be determined until a date can
be assigned for the emergence of the Spanish composers as
a separate school, and at this time no date can be inferred.

A date for the termination of the dramatic style, and
for that of French influence, is, however, implied in the
change to the popular style which is displayed in the songs
in group three. It has already been suggested that these
compositions are a product of the feeling of nationalism
which was so strong during the joint reign of Ferdinand and
Isabella. This spirit became strong soon after their reign
commenced so that the change in music may be assumed to have
taken place at the same time. Thus, the dramatic style
appears to have ceased c. 1480 or soon thereafter and to have been replaced by a new, popular, and completely Spanish style.

This new style incorporates few of the characteristics of the earlier music. Extended melismas are no longer employed; short note values are rarely used; rhythmic independence between voices disappears; a new cadence pattern begins to be employed; and many of the songs appear to be crude and primitive. Some of the old traits remain, however. The same standard cadence formulae are still those most frequently used, the combined range of the voices is the same, vertical relationships, dissonances, etc., are still treated in the same manner; and other less important characteristics such as notation, mensuration, and the number of parts are no different.

One of the new characteristics of the songs in the third group is that the texts are set syllabically; the only melismas which occur are very short and appear to be employed only for the purpose of retaining the traditional cadential formulae. Because of the syllabic settings the musical phrases are short and the compositions themselves brief.
Although some of these compositions utilize a simple contrapuntal style, the texture of most examples is homophonie. In either case there is little rhythmic independence among the voices, and the practical effect is that the text may be more clearly understood. Paradoxically, however, the texts of these compositions are not of the same quality as those in the other songs and it seems relatively unimportant that they be heard.

This simplified technique appears to be the result of an attempt by the cultivated composers to capture the flavor of folk music and to incorporate it in polyphonic settings rather than to increase the dramatic emphasis of the texts as was the case in the compositions in group two, above. The melodies of these songs are simple and unpretentious, but they exhibit more lyricism than those of the other groups.

The accompanying counterpoint often appears to

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102 It is noted, additionally, that eight of the eleven asymmetrical texts in the Seville Cancionero are found among these songs. Of the remaining asymmetrical texts, one is a second (and later) text written for SC22, one, SC4, is not properly asymmetrical but has an unrhymed line, and one, SC1, is incomplete, but appears to be asymmetrical.

103 Marius Schneider in an article entitled, "¿Existen elementos de música popular en el 'Cancionero Musical de Palacio'?", Anuario musical, VIII (1953), 177-192, compares a few selected melodies from the Palacio collection with some modern Spanish folk songs (which presumably are traditional
be crude and primitive and sometimes to be badly written (e.g., SC65). This, too, may be an intentional attempt to increase the folk flavor of the compositions; an attempt to create the impression that the composer is unschooled.

That such primitivism is artificial is shown in the works of Triana. His compositions in the Seville Cancionero may be found in all three stylistic groups, and those in groups one and two show him to be an artistic composer. Some of his compositions in group three also show his technical skill. In SC69, 70, 86, and 87 he has employed imitation for the "dramatic" purpose discussed in connection with group two above. SC84 reflects his skill in that he has here united three separate songs (in this case they may be traditional folk songs) into a single composition. Certainly such skill would be completely beyond the abilities and are only slightly changed from the same songs as they would have existed in the fifteenth century). Although there are some striking similarities between the folk songs and the cancionero melodies the author presents no real proof that the melodies used for polyphonic settings were indeed borrowed popular songs (and the interrogative nature of the title of his article suggests that he is aware of this lack of proof). This appears to have been only a pilot study, however, and a more detailed investigation might yield more positive results.

104 This appears to have been a development which parallels that which took place in the poetry of the era.
of an untutored composer of genuine folk music. A sort of clumsiness obtains in others, particularly at cadences (see e.g., SC88, m7-8), which at first appears to be the result of the composer's incompetence in arranging several parts simultaneously. Again, and particularly in the case of Triana, this must be viewed as deliberate and not due to a lack of technical competence.

Eighteen of the compositions in the Seville manuscript exhibit a new pattern in their final cadences, which differs from the standard patterns only in that the tenor approaches its last tone stepwise from below rather than from above. Moreover, the final note of the tenor is occasionally the third or the fifth rather than the root. The pattern is, however, not completely new but can be found in other compositions in the manuscript, even in some from the first group. Its use as a final cadence is, except for one instance, found only in compositions from groups three

105 SC24, 33, 45, 52, 53, 57, 59, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 80, 83, 90, and 93.

106 SC59, 72, 73, and 83.

107 SC24.
and four. In other cases it is employed in intermediate cadences.

The only reason that can be offered here for the use of this cadential pattern is that of variety. Its use reflects no regularity or uniformity either in the positions where it is employed in the songs or in the movements of the voices before the cadence. Its use, however, would add a little variety to the sequence of cadences as its slightly different flavor would relieve the monotony of the recurrence of the same two or three traditional cadences, especially since the movement of the upper voices in the standard cadences is unvaried from one to another.

It is interesting to note that proportio tripla is used in only eight songs in the manuscript, and these eight

108 The compositions of group four are the religious songs from the manuscript and reflect all of the styles. The ones which employ this cadence also reflect other characteristics similar to those of the songs in group three.

109 This pattern appears so frequently in intermediate cadences that the exact number of occurrences (58) appears to be unimportant. It is significant, however, that the pattern appears more often in the popular songs than in the others as it shows that tradition was not strictly observed.

It may be added, however, that the pattern is not restricted to Spanish music as it is also found once in each of the two French chansons (SC85 and SC92) in the codex.

110 SC58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 74, and 84.
are all in the popular style. The resulting rhythms, in 6/8 meter in the transcriptions, increase their resemblances to folk music and makes them sound like merry country-dance tunes.

One may suppose that religious compositions, a part of the traditional and generally more conservative service, would not reflect the stylistic changes which Spanish secular songs underwent in just a few years. Indeed, Anglés has found that masses composed during the time of Ferdinand and Isabella often employ a technique which appears to be a close imitation of that of the Franco-Flemish composers. Of the compositions in group four from the *Seville Cancionero*, however, only five appear to reflect the French style, while one exhibits dramatic characteristics, and

111 Anglés. *La música en la corte*, I, 52:

"Algunos de las misas conservadas demuestran que los compositores españoles de fines del siglo XV, antes de llegar a crear un repertorio típicamente nacional, habían pagado en cierta medida un tributo a la técnica de los flamencos de su época. El contrapunto más o menos florido, imitado de los nearlandéssis, lo usan las españoles principalmente en los Kyrie, Sanctus y Angus, el Gloria y Credo, en cambio, son tratados siguiendo más de cerca el estilo español de aquella época . . ."

112 SC62, 76, 79, 80, and 81.

113 SC89.
eight are in the popular style. Two others are, in a sense, style-less - while their textures are homophonic, they are only musical settings of psalm tones and such settings may be expected to exhibit a simple homophonic texture.

Taken as a whole, the contents of the Seville codex illustrate how the development of song took place in Spain during the last half of the fifteenth century. They show how the Spanish composers appear to have become active probably sometime after mid-century and how they began by imitating, in most of the elements of their technique, the style of the Franco-Flemish composers; how the dramatic style appears to have developed through modification of the earlier style under French influence; and how the "popular" style appears to be one truly popular, i.e., one that would appeal to the masses. The fact that this last style was also incorporated into religious music is another indication that popularity was the reason for its adoption and development, and Luther's popularization of religious music, which took place in the following century, appears to have had a foreshadowing in Spain.

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114 SC29, 39, 46, 47, 55, 73, 78, and 83.

115 SC63 and 68.

116 The syllabic-homophonic texture, and maybe even a truly popular style, was employed in the earlier Latin conductus and
The Spanish appear, then, to have been innovators with regard to music. They made it dramatic, they made it popular, and they seem to have introduced the syllabic-homophonic texture.

The union of a syllabically set text and a homophonic musical setting is also found in some Italian song-forms of the late fifteenth century. Of these the most important are the canti carnascialeschi (carnival songs), of which the most famous composer is Heinrich Isaac, and, more especially, the frottola, of which the most important composers are Marco Cara and Bartolome Tromboncino. Here, the main importance of these forms is that they signify a popular style in Italy parallel to that which had developed in Spain.

Rubsamen has already observed that:

Many of the circumstances relating to contemporary musical interchange between Spain and Italy remain to be determined, but it can no longer be disputed that a deep-seated relationship existed between the tonal arts of both lands.117

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117 Walter Howard Rubsamen, Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (c. 1500) (Los Angeles, 1943), p.17.
Pope, meanwhile, has demonstrated that one of the paths of cultural interchange between the two countries was between the Spanish court at Naples and the Iberian peninsula. 118

The question of whether the development of a popular style in one country influenced its development in the other, or, on the other hand, whether the development in each was independent, must remain unanswered until more data concerning both the Italian and Spanish composers are recovered.

It has been suggested above that Spanish nationalism influenced the development of a popular style in that country soon after the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella commenced (i.e., somewhere around 1480). Another indication of its early development there is that Juan del Encina says that he wrote his villancicos between his fourteenth and twenty-fifth years (i.e., 1483-1494), 119 and all of his songs (most of which are in the Cancionero de Palacio) show the popular style. 120

The works of Triana, too, suggest the early use of a popular style in Spain. Although his works reflect all

118 See Pope, "La Musique espagnole," pp. 52-58.
119 See Salazar, op. cit., p. 98.
120 There are at least sixty-two of Encina's compositions in that collection.
three styles shown in the Seville Cancionero, most of them are popular. If, as has been suggested, Triana the composer and Juan de Triana the prebendary of the Cathedral of Seville are the same he was probably active during the 1480's, since his presence at the Cathedral is recorded at the beginning of that decade. 121

In Italy there appear to be only isolated examples of the use of this style before 1492. Disertori finds traces of this style throughout the fifteenth century, 122 Ghisi finds the first canti carnascialeschi to have been written between 1475 and 1480 by Lorenzo the Magnificent 123 (but these, too, are isolated examples since there were only a relatively few such songs composed before 1490), and Einstein finds only a few songs from the years 1470-1492 which have many of the traits of the frottola. 124

121 See Chapter IV, "Biographical Notes."


123 Federico Ghisi, I Canti carnascialeschi (Florence, 1937), p. 47.

Einstein adds that the frottolists were active from the time Cara and Tromboncino came to the court of Isabel d'Este at Mantua (c. 1492) to 1530. He says further:

We are evidently dealing with a single generation of composers, virtually all of them born in the 'seventies and 'eighties of the quattrocento, and virtually all of them disappearing after 1530.

Thus, it appears that the popular style first found frequent use in the secular music of Spain. The exact dates of its use there, together with facts concerning its influence, must remain unknown until more data concerning the composers involved can be recovered.

125 Ibid., pp. 42-53.
126 Ibid., p. 39.
CHAPTER IV

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following brief notes are included only so that rapid identification may be made of the approximate dates and places of activity of the known poets and composers whose works appear in the Seville Cancionero. All of these notes are drawn from easily available sources which, together with others which contain detailed biographical sketches, are listed in footnotes.

Unfortunately many of these men are known only through one or more ascriptions which appear in conjunction with the contents of the literary and musical collections of the period. In several cases, however, the name of a man is recorded in one or more official documents, and these records serve further to identify him. Only rarely can a man be traced through most of his life, but it is these instances which offer encouragement that the biographies of others will soon be recovered.
ALVAREZ de Toledo, García
First Duke of Alba

Virtually nothing is known of Alvarez' life. His name appears in the Chronical of King Henry IV of Castile\(^1\) where he is called the Count of Alba, and in several other instances reference is made to a Count of Alba, but his name is not given. Unfortunately, these references are not of much help since they are not exactly dated. They do show, however, that Alvarez was living (and presumably an adult) during the reign of Henry IV (1454-1474). In a list which records the activities of Ferdinand and Isabella from 1468 until the time of their deaths,\(^3\) the death of Alvarez is recorded in the chapter headed "Año 1488":


\(^2\)Ibid., Capitolo LXXI, "Como Don Garci-Alvarez de Toledo, Conde de Alva, envió a suplicar al Rey quisiiese ir por aquella su villa, a recebhir fiestas; a donde el Rey fue, y el Conde por suyo," p. 142.

\(^3\)Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal, Memorial y registro breve de los lugares donde el Rey y Reina Católicos, nuestros Señores, estuvieron cada año desde el de 1468 hasta que Dios los llevó para sí...", printed in Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, Vol. III.
And D[on] García Alvarez, duke of Alba, died during the same month of May, and his son D[on] Fadrique succeeded [him]. 4

A footnote by the modern editor corrects the date of Alvarez' death to June 20. 5

BELMONTE (Unknown)

CORNAGO, Juan

Although his place and date of birth are unknown, Anglés believes him to be French. He served many years in the court of Alfonso I of Naples, and was pensioned by that monarch and sent to Rome in 1455. From 1466 to, presumably, 1475 he is again in the service of the King of Naples, but the king is now Ferdinand I (1458-1494). 6 In the government records of Barcelona the name J. Cornago appears among those of the singers in the court of Ferdinand V (the Catholic) in 1475 and he may have spent the

4Ibid., p. 545

"Y falleció D. García Alvarez, duque de Alva por el mismo mes de mayo, y sucedió su hijo D. Fadrique."

5Loc. cit., note (4).

6Ferdinand I is not to be confused with Ferdinand V of Aragon and Castile, the husband of Isabella. While they both are from the same family, Ferdinand I represents a different branch of it.
remainder of his life in this position. There are no other records of his activities and the date of his death is unknown.  

CASTILLA, Diego de  

Diego was a protégé of Alfonso I of Naples and is one of the poets who contributed to the literary Cancionero de Stuñiga which was prepared for Alfonso. He was still living there during the reign of Ferdinand I, and he solicited that king's protection in a poem, "Vision sobre la muerte del rey D. Alfonso." 

ENCINA, Juan del (Juan de Fermoselle)  

Encina was born in Salamanca in 1469. His real name was Juan de Fermoselle and his eldest brother, Diego de Fermoselle, was professor of music at the University of Salamanca from c. 1503 until 1522. In 1484 Juan is found listed among 

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7 Cf., "Cornago," Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel, 1952). 

8 Pope, "La musique espagnole," p. 47. She cites the modern edition of the Cancionero de Stuñiga (Madrid, 1872), p. 80, as the source of this information. 

9 See Ricardo Maeso Espinosa, "Nuevos datos biográficos de Juan del Encina," Boletín de la Real Academia española, VIII (1921), 640-656.
the choristers of the Cathedral of Salamanca, and in 1490 he is listed - now by the name Juan del Encina 10 - as a chaplain. During these years he also attended the university where he studied law and, more important, became acquainted with the chancellor, Don Gutierre de Toledo, who was instrumental in securing a place for Encina in the service of the second Duke of Alba, Don Fadrique de Toledo.

In 1498, Encina left the house of Alba and tried unsuccessfully to obtain the position of musical director of the Cathedral of Salamanca. Failing to be engaged for this position he went to Rome, returning to Spain in 1502 as archdeacon of Málaga, where he remained until 1510. During the years 1510-1519 he traveled between Spain and Rome, never settling long in one place. In 1519 Encina went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He went back to Rome in 1521 and remained there until 1526 when he returned to Spain as Prior of León, a post which he held until his death late in 1529 or early in 1530. 11

10Cf., E. Giménez Caballero, "Hipótesis a un problema de Juan del Encina," Revista de Filología española, XIV (1927), 59-69.

11Other than in Espinosa (see note 9 above), fairly detailed biographical sketches may be found in Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo's Historia de la poesía castellana en la edad media, 3 Vols. (Madrid, 1911-1916), III, 226-243, in
ENRIQUE

Barbieri suggests that Enrique may be the Fleming, Henri Bredemers (Henri l'organiste) who was born in 1472 and who, in the service of Philip the Fair (1478-1506), first came to Spain in 1501. On the other hand, Barbieri also lists the names of several Spaniards - Alonso Enríquez, Diego Enríquez, Juan Enrique or Enríquez, and Enrique Enríquez - whose names appear in various cancioneros unidentified by Barbieri. 12

Although nothing is known of the lives of the Spaniards whom Barbieri mentions, it appears likely that it was one of them who wrote the songs in the Seville codex (SC2 and 30), since Bredemers appears to be more recent than the other contributors to the collection and especially since he was not in Spain until after the turn of the century.

GIJON (Unknown)

JUANES (Unknown)

LAGARDO, Pedro

The name Pedro Lagarto appears in the archives of the Cathedral of Toledo where he is listed in 1490 as a chaplain.

"Enzina," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada (Barcelona, 1925), and in "Encina" Diccionario de la música Labor (Barcelona, 1954).

12 Barbieri, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
In 1493 he is recorded as master of the choristers, and in 1495 he is awarded a prebend of the Cathedral. He was succeeded in 1507 by Tomás de Morales.  

LEÓN, Jorge de

Jorge de León is known to have been a chaplain and singer in the service of Isabel the Catholic in 1504. He should not be confused with Diego de León who was in the service of Ferdinand in 1477.  

MADRID

Barbieri believed this composer to have been a rebec player in the service of Prince John (the son of Ferdinand and Isabella). His name was recorded as "Un Madrid, natural de Carabanchel, aldea de Madrid."  

In the Diccionario Labor, however, the composer is said to have been Juan Fernández Madrid, a singer in the chapel of Ferdinand since 1479. Barbieri's hypothesis is discounted, since the rebec was not the instrument of the finer musicians of the late fifteenth century; and, similarly, a rebec player

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14"León, Jorge de," Diccionario Labor.
would hardly be expected to be proficient at writing counterpoint in the style of the French.16

MENA, Juan de

Mena was born in Córdoba in 1411. Nothing of his early life is known other than that he did not begin his education until he was twenty-three years old. He pursued his studies first at Salamanca, then in Córdoba, and finally in Rome. Sometime before 1445 he became Latin secretary and royal chronicler to John II of Castile, and he was also the king's favorite poet. Mena was killed in Torrelaguna in 1456 by a fall from his mule.17

MENDOZA, Diego Hurtado de

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Grand Admiral of Castile, was born in 1364. He was an important and influential noble and at his death possessed more land and titles than anyone except the king. He died in Guadelajara in 1404.18

16 "Madrid, Juan Fernández," Diccionario Labor.
18 Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Generaciones y semblanzas, modern edition by J. Domínguez Bordona (Madrid, 1941), pp. 43-45. See also "Hurtado de Mendoza," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada.
MENDOZA, Inigo Lopez de Marqués de Santillana

Born in Carrión de los Condes in 1398 he was left orphaned by the death of his father, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, in 1404. From 1420 until 1455 he was active and influential at court, being at times out of favor, but only for short periods. He was an able diplomat and was sent on many missions for the king. He was likewise an able soldier, and because of his abilities in both military and diplomatic affairs he was made Marqués in 1445 - the only man in Spain to hold such a high rank at that time. Although he was active in letters during all of his life, he retired from the court in 1455, after the death of his wife, and devoted the remainder of his life exclusively to his writing. He died in Guadalajara, his place of retirement, in 1458.19

Moxica

Barbieri reports a Fernan Moxica who was among the contributors to the literary Cancionero de Stuñiga and

19Vicente García de Diego, Marqués de Santillana: canciones y decires (Madrid, 1942). A less detailed but still comprehensive biography is found in Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia, II, 91-107.
another Monza who was on the council of Prince John of Spain in 1496. There is not enough evidence to connect either of these men with the musical life of Spain, and the composer whose work is represented in the Seville and Palacio manuscripts must remain unknown.

OCKEGHEM, Johannes

Ockeghem was born apparently in Hainaut c. 1420. Nothing is known of his early life and training, but in 1443 and 1444 he is one of the choristers at Antwerp. From 1446 to 1448 he served in the chapel of Duke Charles of Bourbon and in 1453 he is similarly employed in the Royal Chapel. From 1454 on he lived in Tours where he served as chaplain and composer for Charles VII, Louis XI, and Charles VII, successive kings of France. In 1469-1470 Ockeghem traveled in Spain, and he toured Flanders in 1484. Most of his life, however, was spent at Tours where he died in 1495.

20 Barbieri, op. cit., p. 40.

This composer is unknown today. There is even some doubt as to his name. With the copy of "Doncella por cuyo amor" which appears in the Palacio codex the name of the composer is given as "C. J. Rodriguez borote," but the "c" and "borote" are much fainter than the rest of the name and appear to have been added by a second hand.

PADRÓN, Juan Rodríguez del

The biography of Padrón is practically unknown. Although there are a few data on his life they are contradictory and confusing. To add to the confusion there are several apparently mythical tales in which he figures prominently (e.g., that he had a love affair with the Queen of France). All that has been established with certainty is that Padrón was in the service of Pedro de Cervantes, Cardinal and Archbishop of Seville in 1442 (and perhaps as early as 1434); and that he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem sometime before 1445, since the editorial preface to his poem, "Vive leda si podrás" in the Cancionero de Baena (compiled in 1445) refers to this trip. 22

22 The reason for the confusion in Padrón's biography is that what few references are extant are contained as cryptic lines in poems from the middle of the fifteenth century.
TORRE, Francisco de la

Torre appears to have been a native of Seville and to have served in the chapel of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1483.

Contrary to most of the modern references, however, Torre does not appear to have been musical director (maestro de capilla) of the Cathedral of Seville in 1503. He appears, rather, to have been assisting the musical director, Alonso de Alba, by training the cathedral's choir boys. The document which records this action reads as follows:

Act of the chapter for Friday, February 10, [1503]

This day their graces [the chapter] ordered that Francisco de la Torre, their cobeneficiary, shall be assisted by a share of the allowance that they ordered their musical director to give [him], allotting it until the day that he [Torre] shall deliver

Interpreting these without the help of any concrete evidence causes modern biographers to reach different conclusions. For instance, three conflicting biographies may be found in Pedro José Pidal, Estudios literarios (Madrid, 1890), II, 7-37, Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia, II, 199-211, and "Rodríguez de la Cámara o del Padrón," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada.

The reference to Padrón's pilgrimage is in CB, p. 506:

"Esta cantiga fizo Juan Rodríguez de Padrón, quando se fue meter fraile a Jerusalén, en despedimiento de su señora."

The lady and her connection with Padrón remain unknown.

23"Torre, Francisco de la," Diccionario Labor.
the choir boys which he has in his charge [to] Alonso de Alba their musical director. 24

Torre's name appears in the same records again the following year. The entry is quite brief:

September 30, 1504

Francisco de la Torre, colleague. 25 34 canons, 18 prebendaries. 14 colleagues. 26

This entry is nevertheless significant for if Torre were the musical director he would have been given that title rather than having been designated merely as a colleague.


"Viernes X de febrero [1503]

"Este día mandaron sus mercedes que se la acuda a Francisco de la torre su combeneficiado con la carta de la ración que por su maestro de capilla le mandaron dar contándogela fasta el día que entregue los moços de coro ha tenydo a su cargo alonso dalva su maestro de capilla."

25 This word may mean "boarder" or "guest." The original meaning of the word was "one who shares bread," and even today it may mean "one who shares a bottle"—hence, the word may have been intended in the document to have its archaic (even in the early sixteenth century) meaning.

26 Autos capitulares, f. 102.

"30 de septiembre de 1504

"Francisco de la torre compañero 34 canonigos, 18 racioneros, 14 compañeros."
Triana was a prebendary of the Cathedral of Seville in 1478, and for at least the year before, as the following record shows:

Acts of the chapter for the year 1478 and the beginning of 1479. Tuesday, February 9, 1478.

On this said day the Dean and chapter [were in] the Holy Church of Seville... [the meeting] being first called ahead of time by Diego de Mendoza its Verger. The distrito Juan de Triana, gentleman and prebendary of this church appeared before it and presented to the council some bulls from Pope Sixtus IV, to wit, the executorship of the decree made to him of said prebend that he holds in this church... and a proceeding regarding them [was presented, which] was decreed by the venerable gentleman Don Lope de Sandoval, Dean of Córdoba and the city of Córdoba within the cathedral church of the city of Córdoba, on the eleventh judicial session [held] on Friday, the ninth day of June of the seventh year of the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV [i.e., June 9, 1477] subscribed by the hand and sign of the distrito Martin Rodriguez de Aguanevada, cleric of the diocese of Toledo and notary, [and] published with the seal of said Dean to be appended.

Next, Juan de Triana said that by virtue of the said bulls and executorship he continued his possession of [the] prebend which was vacated by the death of Ruy Gonzales de Segovia its last possessor, and, if necessary, that they order it given to him officially.

The Dean and chapter responded that he always had been in possession of the prebend and [that] he had never been stripped of it, even for one more bountiful. But they ordered that as soon as by right it was

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27 This word appears to be used here as some sort of a title. While its exact meaning here is unclear, it probably is intended to mean "a local person."
necessary to again take possession of his prebend, it was to be given to Fernand Gomes, a canon.

And then Fernand Gomes went before said Juan de Triana to the choir and seated him in his chair where he was accustomed to sitting, and he gave into his hands certain moneys of the coin of the realm as a sign of the reception of benefit; and he scattered these for the people who were in the said choir saying the hours. And Juan de Triana requested testimony to the procedure. Witnesses present were the said Diego de Mendoza and the cleric Juan de Quebedo.

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28 The word choir (coro, or in this document choro) here appears to mean "the place where the Office is said." Its use a few lines later appears to be in reference to the group which is taking part in the ceremony.

29 Autos capitulares, Libro I, f. 7'.

"Lunes nueue días del mes de febrero de 1478.
"En este dicho día estando los señores dean e cabildo de la santa yglesia de sevilla. . . ayendo primeramente llamados de anter día por diago de mendoza su pertiguero peresceo en el personalmente el distrito varon juan de triana racionero de la dicha yglesia e presento a los dicho señores vnas bullas de nuestro señor el papa syxto quarto conviene a saber a saber [sic] graciaosa e executoria sobre la prouisyon a el fecha de la dicha racion quel posee en esta santa yglesia. . . e vn proceso sobre ellas fulminado por el venerable señor don lopa de sandoval dean de cordoua e la cibdad de cordoua dentro de la yglesia catedral de la dicha cibdad de cordoua en la judicion vndecima viernes nueue días del mes de junio del pontificado del dicho nuestro señor el papa syxto papa quarto [sic] año septimo del su pontificado e soscripto de la mano e sygno del distrito martín rodrigues de aguaneuada clerigo de la diocesis de toledo notario publicado splito con el sello del dicho dean splito pendiente. e luego el dicho juan de triana dixo quel por virtud de las dichas bullas e proceso continuaua su possayon de la dicha su racion que vaco por muerte de ruy gonsales de sevoua ultimo poseedor desta. e que ay necesario era que la mandasen dar de oficio. e luego los dichos
Triana's name appears in another entry in the same Acts of the Chapter - this time in 1480. The body of the entry is unimportant - it deals with the arrangements for building a sepulcher for the royal chronicler - but the final sentence reads, "witnesses that were present were Juan de Triana and Diego de Capilla, prebendaries.30

These records do not, of course, prove that the Juan de Triana who was a prebendary is the same Triana who was a composer, but they do show that a Triana did live in Seville at the end of the fifteenth century. It was not uncommon, however, for composers of the time to be granted prebends, so that this may well be the composer whose works appear in the Seville Cancionero.

señores dean e cabildo respondieron quel ayenpre auya estado en posesyon de la dicha razón e nunca auya aydo despojado della para ay mayor abondamiento en quanto de derecho era menester de nuevo de tomar la dicha posesyon de la dicha su razón que ello se la mandauan dar a fernand gomes canonigo. e luego el dicho fernand gomes fue antel dicho juan de triana al choro e sentolo en su sylla donde se solia asentar e diole ciertos maravedises de la moneda deste reyno en sus manos en señal de recepción de fructo, los quales derramó para las personas que estauan con el dicho choro disiendo las horas. e luego el dicho juan de triana lo demando por testimonio. testigos que fueron presentes el dicho diego de mendoza e juan de quebedo clerigo."

URREDE, Juan

Juan Urrede entered the service of the Duke of Alba in 1476 but soon left to become musical director of the Royal Chapel of Ferdinand the Catholic at Medina del Campo in January of 1477 and his name appears in the records of this organization in 1478 at Seville, in 1479 at Zaragoza and Valencia, in 1480 at Toledo, and in 1481 again at Zaragoza. The court traveled during these years as it followed the king in his battles of the reconquest. Urrede's name appears variously as Johannes Urede, Urrede, Ureda, Urreda, and even Dureda.

Barbieri³¹ and vander Straeten³² both believed Urrede to have been a Fleming, Johannes Wrede (Vrede) or Juan de Vrede, Wrede, or Urrede. In the Diccionario Labor, however, there is a long discussion which refutes their contention on the grounds that if Urrede were Flemish he was the only Fleming to have served in the chapel of Ferdinand, who had deliberately ousted all of the foreign musicians who had served in the chapel of the previous ruler. The author of the biography in the Labor Dictionary believes, instead, that Urrede was a Spaniard yet to be identified.³³

³¹ Barbieri, op. cit., p. 47.
³² vander Straeten, Les musiciens néerlandais, VI, 464, note 2, and VIII, 455.
³³ "Urreda," Diccionario Labor.
It must be noted, however, that the document which records Urrede's joining the Royal Chapel\textsuperscript{34} calls him "Johannes," "Johannes Ureda, escrito por maestro de la capilla de dicho S. Rey." If the composer were of Spanish origin it would seem that his name would have been Juan and not Johannes, especially in a Spanish document. Moreover, it is not improbable that a musician who was as skilled and as renowned as Urrede would have been employed by the King even if he had been Flemish.

At this time it seems that the contention of Barbieri and van der Straeten is supported by extant evidence; and although nothing else is known of this Fleming, it appears more probable that he is the composer in question rather than some purely hypothetical Spaniard.

XERES, Hurtado de (unknown)

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., where it is quoted.
CHAPTER V

COLLATION

Preface

The collation has been divided into three sections. The first is a list of sources which includes all of the materials used in collating the Seville Cancionero. Each entry in the list begins with an abbreviation which will be used throughout to represent that source. The list is arranged alphabetically according to the abbreviations. Following the name of each source, the numbers of the compositions from the Seville Cancionero contained therein are given in parentheses.

The second section is the concordance. Each entry is arranged as follows: 1. The first line gives the number of the composition in the Seville codex; its incipit with the original spelling retained (if there is a multiple text the incipit of each is given, separated by a slant, /); its composer; the number of parts; the key signatures of each voice, in order, soprano, alto (if used), tenor, and bass (a ‡ indicates no signature); the underlaying of text in each voice, in order, soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, with
with the symbol "t" indicating a full text, "i" indicating an
incipit, and "-" indicating no text; and, finally, the folio
on which the composition appears in the Seville Cancionero.
2. The next line or lines give the sources in which this
composition appears. The order of arrangement is the same as
that of the first line except that the folio number is given
first. 3. Modern editions are given last. Each entry lists
the page cited and the source, when known, from which the ma-
terial is drawn.

The third section gives the musical variants found in
the primary sources. 1 The first line of each entry gives
the folio on which the composition appears in that manu-
script, the ascription, if any, given in that source, the
number of parts if there is a difference between that source
and the Seville codex, and the key signatures if they differ
from those in the Seville Cancionero. Other variants are
identified as follows: a small "m" followed by a number
indicates the measure of the transcription given here;
following a colon, the next number indicates on which
beat the variant begins; a third number, again separ-
ated by a colon, indicates the part of a beat on which
the variant begins, and if further subdivision is neces-
sary, a fourth number is given; the symbols "f" and

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1 Text variants are given in Chapter VI, "Texts."
"ff" indicate that the variant carries through "the beat following" or "the beats following," respectively; following a comma, the notes which differ from those in the Seville manuscript are given. Capital letters L, B, S, M, Sm, and F represent the note values longa, breve, etc., and small letters represent pitches.

Sources

**Manuscripts**

<p>| Bar  | Barcelona, Biblioteca Central (formerly Biblioteca de Catalunya), cod. 454. (SC62) |
| Bas  | Firenze, Istituto Musicale, ms 2439 (ms Basevi). (SC85) |
| Brx  | Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms 11239. (SC85) |
| Dij  | Dijon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms 517. (SC85) |
| Elv  | Elvas, Biblioteca Municipal, ms 11973 (Cancionero de Manuel Joaquim). (SC32) |
| Lon  | London, British Museum, Add. ms 35087. (SC85) |
| Mad  | Madrid, Biblioteca Real, ms sign. 2-1-5 (Cancionero de Palacio). (SC2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 30, 32, 38, 51, 59, 77, 86, and 87) |</p>
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<td>New Haven, Yale University, The Mellon Chansonnier.</td>
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<td>München, Bayerische Stadtsbibliothek, Mus. ms 1516.</td>
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<td>Niv</td>
<td>Nivelle de la Chaussée Chansonnier.</td>
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<td>Oxford, Oxford University, Bodleian College Library, Ashmole 831.</td>
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<td>Cambridge, Cambridge University, Magdalen College Library, ms Pepys 1760.</td>
<td>(SC85)</td>
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<td>Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, ms 431 (G.20).</td>
<td>(SC9)</td>
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<td>Ric</td>
<td>Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms 2356.</td>
<td>(SC9)</td>
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<td>Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Cappella Giulia, ms XIII, 27.</td>
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Seg Segovia, Catedral, Archivo, Manuscrito musical
s. a. (SC9, 12, 33, 38, and 81)

SG Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 463
(Tschudi Liederbuch). (SC9)

Ver Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. DCCLVII.
(SC9)

Wlf Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, ms extr.
287. (SC85)

107 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms
Magl. XIX, 107. (SC9)

176 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms
Magl. XIX, 176. (SC9)

178 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms
Magl. XIX, 178. (SC9)

871N Monte-Cassino, Archivio della Badia, ms 871N.
(SC7, 10, and 14)

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CC Petrucci, Ottaviano dei, Canti C (Venice, 1504)
(SC9 and 25)

CG Castillo, Hernando de, Cancionero general de
mucho y diversos Autores (Valencia, 1511),
facsimile edition, Madrid, 1958. (SC10, 12,
20, 25, and 33)
Cha  Saint-Gelais, Octavien de, and Blaise d'Auriol,  
*La Chasse et le départ d'amours* (Paris, 1509),  
(SC85)

Od  Petrucci, Ottaviano dei, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (Venice, 1501), facsimile edition,  
Milan, 1932. (SC9)

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**AB**  Byrns, Aquinas, *The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary* (St. Louis, 1943). (SC55)

**AG**  del Rio, Angel, and Amelia A. de del Rio,  
*Antología general de la literatura española*,  

**AM**  *Antiphonale Monasticum* (Tournai, 1934). (SC55)

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**Ang 2**  Anglès, Higni, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona, 1935). (SC89)
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<td><em>Antiphonale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae</em> (Tournai, 1949). (SC83)</td>
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<td>Asenjo y Barbieri, Francisco A.</td>
<td><em>Canciones musical de los siglos XV y XVI</em> (Madrid, 1890). (SC2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 30, 32, 33, 38, 51, 59, 77, 86, and 87)</td>
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<td><em>Floresta de rimas antiguas castellana</em>, 3 Vols. (Hamburgo, 1821). (SC10)</td>
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<td>Bur</td>
<td>Burbure de Wesembeek, Léon Philippe Marie</td>
<td><em>Étude sur un manuscrit du XVIe siècle</em> (the ms Basevi) Bruxelles, 1882). (SC85)</td>
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<td>Cejedor y Frauca, Julio</td>
<td><em>La verdadera poesía castellana</em>, 5 Vols. (Madrid, 1921-1925). (SC2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 32, 33, 38, 50, 74, 77, and 87)</td>
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<td><em>Cancionero musical popular español</em>, 4 Vols., 2nd edition (Barcelona, 1936). (SC6)</td>
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Col Collet, Henri, _Le Mysticisme musical espagnol au XVIe siècle_ (Paris, 1913). (SC55, 75, 77)

Cor Corbin, Solange, _Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au moyen âge_ (Paris, 1952). (SC39)

CF Tiersot, Julien, _Histoire de la chanson populaire en France_ (Paris, 1889). (SC85)

DP Díaz-Plaja, Fernando, _La historia de España en la poesía_ (Barcelona, 1946). (SC6)


Gac Gachet, Emile, _Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche_ (Bruxelles, 1849). (SC85)

GD García de Diego, Vicente, editor, _Marqués de Santillana: Canciones y Decires_ (Madrid, 1942). (SC22)

Gom Gombosi, Otto Johannes, _Jacob Obrecht: eine stilkritische Studie_ (Leipzig, 1925). (SC85)

GR Graduale Romanum (Tournai, 1957). (SC46 and 62)


Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa, *Juan de Mena: Poeta del prerenacimiento español* (Napoles, 1950). (SCL2)

Liber Usualis (Tournai, 1952). (SC29, 46, 62, 78, and 80)


MGG Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel und Basel, 1952). (SC4)


Pope Pope, Isabel, "La Musique espagnole a la cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du 15e siècle,"


RL Rosa y López, Simón de la, *Los señores de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, 1904). (SC52, 60, 61, and 64)


TG Gerold, Théodore, *Chansons populaires des XV° et XVI° siècles* (Strassburg, undated). (SC85)


Concordance

2. Pues con sobra de tristura; Anon.; 4v; b, q, b, b; t, i, i, i; f. 3'-5.

   Mad: f. 10'-11; Enrique; Pues con sobra de tristura; 3v (less alto); q, b, b; t, i, i.

   Ang 1: No. 16, II, 19-20; after Mad.

   Barb: No. 10; after Mad.

   CF: III, 233; text after Barb.

4. Gentil dama non se gana; Anon.; 3v; q, q, q; t, i, i; f. 7'-9.

   Mad: f. 27'-28; Cornago; Gentil dama non se gana; 4v (plus alto); q, q, q, q; t, i, i, i.

   Ang 1: No. 38, II, 51-52; after Mad.
Barb: No. 28; after Mad.

MGG: II, 1681-1682; after Mad.

CF: III, 156-157; text after Barb.

6. Muy crueldes bozes dan; Anon.; 3v; ¾, ¾, ¾, t,i,i; f.11'–12.2

Mad: f.63'–64; Anon.: Muy crueldes bozes dan; 3v; ¾, ¾, ¾, t,i,i.

Ang 1: No. 103; II, 127-129; after Mad.

Barb: No. 319; after Mad.


DP: pp. 44-45; text. This reading appears to follow Mad but no source has been cited.

7. Señora non me culpeys; (Bass and tenor of copla only); 1; f.14.

Par: f.100'–101; Anon.; Don, ella non me culpeys; 3v; ¾,b,b; t,i,i.

Rom: f.53'–54; Pétrequin; Donzella non men culpeys, 4v; t,–,–,–.4

871N: f.152'–153, Anon.; Donzella non est colpeys; 3v.

Pope: p. 50; text after Par.

8. Donzella por cuyo amor; Anon; 3v; ¾, ¾, ¾; t,i,i; f.14'–16.

2 SC lacks the bass for the copla because f.13 is wanting.

3 Bass has only an incipit for the copla.

4 The music is that of "Mais que ce fust" of which a 3v setting by Compere may be found as No. 87 on f.93 of Od. Cf. Hew. p. 40 and p. 165.
Had: f.6* (Soprano and part of tenor only); (C.)
J. Rodríguez (barote); Dousella por cuyo amor;
¾, ¾, t, i, i.

Ang 1: No. 10, II, 13-14; after Mad.

Barb: No. 8; after Mad.

CF: I, 270; text of estribillo after Barb.

9. Nunca fue pena mayor; J. Urrede; 3v; ¾, ¾, ¾; t, i, i.

Mad: f.0'-1; J. Urrede; Nunca fue pena mayor; 3v;
¾, ¾, ¾; t, i, i.

Oxf: f.261' (Soprano and last of tenor only); Anon.;
Nunca fuit pena maior; t.

Par: f.99'-100; Anon.; Nunquam fuere pena maior; 3v;
¾, ¾, ¾; t, i, i.

Par: f.77'-78; Jo. Urrede; Nunque fue pena maior;
3v; ¾, ¾, ¾; t, i, i.

Q16: f.119'-120; Anon; Nunquam fuit pena maior; 4v
plus alto); ¾, ¾, ¾; i, i, i, i.

Q17: f.11 (Tenor and bass only); Anon.; Nunqua fuit
pena maior; ¾, ¾; 1, i.

Q18: f.46' (Soprano and estribillo of tenor only);
Anon.; Nunquam fuit pena maior; ¾, ¾; 1, -.

Q18: f.89'-90; Anon.; Nunch a fue pena maior; 3v;
¾, ¾, ¾; 1, i, i.

Ric: f.30'-31; Anon.; Nunquam fue pena mayor; 3v;
¾, ¾, ¾; t, i, -.

Rom: f.28'-29; Enrique; Nunca fue pena mayor; 3v;
¾, ¾, ¾; 1, -.

Seg: f.109; Anon.; Nunca fue pena mayor; 3v; ¾, ¾, ¾;
t, i, i.
SG: No. 161 (Soprano and alto part books only); Anon.; Nunqua fue pena maior; 3v; 1,1,1.

Ver: f.57'-58; Anon.; 4v (plus alto); 3v; 1,1,1.

176: f.91'-92; Anon.; Nunquam; 3v; 1,1,1.

178: f.37'-38; Anon.; Nunquam fuit pena maior; 3v; 1,1,1.

CC: f.21'-23; Anon.; Nunqua fue pena maior; 4v (plus alto); 1,1,1. Only the tenor has the same music.

Od: f.6'-7; Anon.; Nunqua fue pena maior; 4v (plus alto); 1,1,1.

107: Index lists Nunquam fuit pena, f.41 but the folio is wanting from the ms.

Ang 1: No. 1; II, 1-2; after Mad.

Barb: No. 1; after Mad.

New: No. 4, pp. 226-227; after Od.

CF: I, 167; first three lines of estribillo text.

CF: III, 209; text after Barb.

10. Donde estass que non te veo; Anon.; 3v; 1,1,1,1.

871W: f.9'-10; Cortes; Donde estass que non te veo; 3v; 1,1,1,1.

BF: I, 267; text.

5The parts agree with Od.

6The source is given as Gil Vicente's poem, "Cortes de Jupiter" in which the first two lines are quoted.
11. Muy triste sera mi vida; Anon.; 3v; η,η,η; t,-,-; f.19'-21.

Mad: f.14'-15; J. Urrede; Muy triste sera mi vida; 4v. (plus alto); η,b,b,η; t,1,1,i.

Ang 1: No. 23, II, 26-28; after Mad.

Barb: No. 16; after Mad.

12. Oya tu merced y crea; Anon.; 3v; η,η,η; t,i,i; f.21'-22.

Mad: f.18'-19; Anon.; Oya tu merced y crea; 3v; η,b,η; t,i,i.

Seg: f.217; Anon.; Oyga merced y crea; 3v; b,b,b; t,i,i.

Ang 1: No. 28; I, 36-37; after Mad.

Barb: No. 280; after Mad.

CF: III, 218-219; text.

CG: f.20; Anon.; text, with glosa by the Duque de Medina.

7 Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino in his notes for the facsimile edition of CG reports on pp. 96-97 that the text appears in another early Spanish printed collection, the Espacio de enamorados: cancionero gótico.

8 The bass of the copla is lacking because f.23 is wanting from the ms.
FD: I, 216; Juan de Mena; text.

LM: p. 95; Juan de Mena; estribillo of text.

14. Ques mi vida preguntays; Anon.; 4v; ³, ³, ³, ³; t,i,i,i; f.24'-26.

871N: f.5'-6; Cornago-Oquegan; Ques mi vida preguntays; 4v; ³, ³, ³, ³; t,i,i,i.

871N: f.151'; Cornago; Preguntais non vos la quiero negar; 3v; t,t,t.

CF: III, 236-237; Pues mi vida preguntais; text after a Cancionero in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, fonds espagnol 226, f.35'.

Pope: pp. 49-50; text after 871N, f.5'-6.

17. Ay que non se remediarme; J. de Leon; 3v; ³, ³, ³; t,i,i; f.28'-29.

Mad: f.26'-27; J. de Leon; Ay que non se remediarme; 3v; ³,b,b; t,i,i.

Q16: f.123'-124; Anon.; Ay que non se remediarme; 3v; ³, ³, ³; i,i,i.

Ang 1: No. 37, II, 50; after Mad.

Barb: No. 27; after Mad.

CF: III, 87-88; text after Barb.

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9 The editor has not seen a copy of this setting. However, cf. Pope, p. 49 where it is reported as being essentially the same as SC14 but without the bass. Pope states that while the soprano and tenor of the three-part setting are merely transferred to the four-part version, the alto of the latter is a revised version of the third part of the former and is situated an octave lower.
18. Pues que dios te fizo tal; Cornago; 3v; ¾, b, b; t, i, i; f.291-31.

Mad: f.1'-3; Cornago; Pues que dios te fizo tal; 3v; ¾, b, ¾; 10 t, i, i.

Mad: f.3'-4; Madrid; Pues que dios te fizo tal; 3v; ¾, b, b; t, i, i. Only the text and the soprano are the same as Cornago's setting.

Ang 1: No. 2; II, 2-5; after Mad.

Barb: No. 2; after Mad.

CF: III, 237-238; text after Barb.

20. Sienpre creže mi serviros; Madrid; 3v; b, b, b; t, i, i; f.32'-34.

Mad: f.8'-9'; Madrid; Sienpre creže mi serviros; 3v; ¾, b, b; 11 t, i, i.

Ang 1: No. 13, II, 16-17; after Mad.

Barb: No. 9; after Mad.

CF: I, 296; text after CG.

CF: III, 296; text after Barb.

CG: f.206; Anon.; text, with glosa by Gerónimo de Artes.

22. Señora qual soy venido/Infante nos es nascido; Cornago-Triana; 3v; ¾, ¾, b; t, i, i; f.36'-38.

Mad: f.38'-39; Anon.; Señora qual soy venido; 3v; ¾, b, b; t, i, i.

Ang 1: No. 52, II, 172-174; after Mad.

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10 The signature changes to b, b, ¾ for the copla.

11 The flat in the signature of the bass is an e.
Barb: No. 42; after Mad.

CF: V, 206; estribillo of text.

FD: I, 565; Marqués de Santillana; text.

GD: pp. 190-191; Marqués de Santillana; text after ms M-59 (actual 3.677) of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

25. Biveleda si podrás; Anon.; 3v; bb,bb,bb; t,i,i; f.41*-43.

AG: I, 134-135; Juan Rodriguez del Padrón; Vive leda si podrás; text after CG.

CB: p. 506; Juan Rodrigues del Padrón; text of estribillo and first three coplas.

CG: (ed. of 1557) f.395†; Juan Rodriguez del Padrón; Vive leda si podras; text.

PL: p. 55; Juan Rodriguez del Padrón; first line of estribillo and copla of text; after CB.

PP: II, 9-10; text after CG.

26. Dama mi grand querer; Anon.; 3v; b,b,bb; t,i,i; f.43*-44.

Mad: f.5*-6; Muxica; Dama mi grand querer; 3v; η,b,b; t,i,i.

Ang l: No. 8; II, 11-12; after Mad.

Barb: No. 7; after Mad.

CF: III, 110-111; text after Barb.

27. Porque mas sin duda creas; Cornago; 3v; η,η,η; t,i,i; f.44*-46.

FD: I, 217; Juan de Mena; text.
29. Laudate eum omnes angeli eius; Anon.; 2v; Ὠ, Ὠ; τ,ι; f.48.
   BS: Psalm 148, verse 2; text.
   LU: p.486; text.

30. Mi querer tanto vos quiere; Anon.; 4v; Ὠ, Ὠ, Ὠ, Ὠ; 
    ι,ι,ι,ι; 12 f.48'-49.
   Mad: f.19'-20'; Enrique; Mi querer tanto vos quiere; 
    4v; Ὠ, Ὠ, Ὠ, Ὠ; τ,τ,τ,τ.
   Ang 1: No. 29, II, 38-40; after Mad.
   Barb: No. 21; after Mad.

32. De vos y de mi quexoso; Anon.; 3v; b,b,b; 13 t,ι,ι;
    f.51'-52'.
   Mad: f.11'-12'; J. Urrede; De vos i de mi quexoso; 
    3v; b,b,ι; 14 t,ι,ι.
   Q16: f.127'-128'; Anon.; De vos de mi chicose; 3v; 
    b,b,b; ι,ι,ι. 15
   Elv: f.43'-44'; Anon.; De vos y de mi quexoso; 3v. 
   This is a different musical setting.
   Ang 1: No. 17, II, 21-22; after Mad.
   Barb: No. 11; after Mad.
   CF: I, 198. Estribillo of text after ms3806 of the 
   Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

12 Copla of soprano has full text.
13 The signature of bass has e-flat only.
14 The copla has b,b,b (e-flat only).
15 The copla is omitted in this ms.
CF: III, 124; text.

33. Andad pasiones andad; Anon.; 3v; ኛ,ertoire; t,i,i; f.53.

Mad: f.199'-200; Lagarto; Andad pasiones andad; 3v; 蛞,ertoire; t,t,t.
Seg: f.220; Anon.; Andad pasiones andad; 3v; 蛞,ertoire; t,i,i.
Ang I: No. 279, III, 50; after Mad.
Barb: No. 181; after Mad.
CF: IV, 139-140; text after Barb.
CG: f.119; Anon.; text.

38. Al dolor de mi cuidado; Gijon; Incomplete (Soprano and first part of tenor only); adiens, t,i; f.58'.

Mad: f.29-30; Al dolor de mi cuidado; Gijon; 3v; 蛞,ertoire; t,i,i.
Seg: f.209'; Al dolor de mi cuidado; Anon.; 3v; 蛞,ertoire; t,i,i.
Ang I: No. 40; II, 55-56; after Mad.
Barb: No. 30; after Mad.
CF: III, 62; text after Barb.

39. Omnipotentem semper adorant; Anon.; 2v; ertoire; t,t; f.60.

Cor: p. 384; Anon.; text.

LH: I, 72-73; Strabo; text.

46. Agnus; Anon.; 4v; 🍄,ertoire,🍄; t,i,i,i; f.67'-68.

GR: p. 58'; Chant from which SC46 is taken.
LU: p. 63; Chant from which SC46 is taken.
47. Sanctus; Anon.; 4v;  ,  ,  ; t,1,1,1; f.68'-69.

GR: p.91*, text.

48. Dime triste corazón; Francisco de la torre; 4v;  ,  ,  ; t,t,t,t; f.69'.

Mad: Tabula lists Dime triste corazón f. cljx; this folio is now wanting from the manuscript.

50. Mortales son los dolores; Anon.; 3v;  ,  ,  ; t,1,t; 16

f.70'.

Mad: Tabula lists Mortales con los dolores, f. clxj; this folio is now wanting from the manuscript.

Mad: Tabula lists Mortales son los dolores, f. clxj; this folio is now wanting from the manuscript.

CF: I, 165-166; text of estribillo after CG (ed. of 1527).

CF: III, 297-298; Garci Sanchez de Badajoz; text of a poem with the same estribillo but with a different copla.

RG: II, 640; Garci Sanchez de Badajoz; text of a villancico with the same estribillo but with a different copla. This villancico is a part of a larger poem, a romance, which begins: "Caminando por mis males."

51. Pensamiento ve do vas; Anon.; 4v;  ,  ,  ; t,1,1,1; f.71.

Mad: f.85'; Anon.; Pensamiento ve do vas; 4v;  ,  ,  ; t,1,i,1.

Ang 1: No. 145, II, 171; after Mad.

16The text in the bass is incomplete.
Barb: No. 99; after Mad.

52. Olvida tu perdición; Anon.; 3v; η,η,η; t,i,i; f.71.

RL: pp. 71-73; corrupt reading of text, after SC.

54. Niña y viña peral y hablar; Anon; 3v; η,η,η; t,-,-; f.72'.

Mad: Tabula lists Nina y vina iha, clxxxvj; this folio is now wanting from the manuscript.

JP2: p.31; text after SC.

55. O gloriosa domina; Anon.; 3v; η,η,η; t,i,i; f.73.

Col: pp. 258-261; Anon.; 4v. This is a different setting of the same melody and text.

AB: pp. 268-271; Fortunatus; text.

AM: p. 709 and p. 864; text set to a different melody.

MB: pp. 321-322; Fortunatus; text.

58. Aquello trate domingo; Anon.; 3v; η,η,η; t,1,-; f.76'.

Mad: Tabula lists Aquello trate domingo, f.cxxxiiiij; this folio is now wanting from the manuscript.

59. Nuevas te traygo; Anon.; 3v; η,η,η; 1,-,-; f.77.

Mad: f.200'-201; J. del Enzina; 4v; t,1,1,1. Only the soprano is the same as SC59.

Ang l: No. 281, III, 51-52; after Mad.

Barb: No. 372; after Mad.

MP: IV, 161-164; text.

60. Los hombres con gran plazer; Anon.; 3v; η,η,η; t,i,i. f.78'-79.
RL: pp. 71-73; corrupt reading of text, after SC.

61. *Merced marcêd le pidamos*; Anon.; 3v; h, h, h; t, t, t; f.79'-80.

RL: pp. 71-73; corrupt reading of text, after SC.

62. *Salve sancta parens*; Anon.; 4v; h, h, h, h; t, t, t, t; f.80'-81.

Bar: f.37'-38; Anon.; *Salve sancta parens*; 4v.
This is a different setting of the same chant used for SC62.

Mar: p.61, text.

GR: p.[75]; chant upon which SC62 is based.

LU: p. 1263; chant upon which SC62 is based.

63. *Virgo and Gloria*, Anon.; 4v; h, h, h, h; t, t, t, t; f.81-83.

GR: p. [76] *Virgo text*.

LU: p. 840; *Gloria text*.

64. *Rayna muy esclarecida*; Anon.; 3v; h, h, h; t, t, t; f.83'-84.

RL: pp 71-73; corrupt reading of text, after SC.

68. *In exitu israel*; Anon.; 4v; h, h, h, h; t, t, t, -; f.86bis.

BS: Ps. CXIII.

70. *Pingueulê rrespinguente*; Triana; 3v; h, h, h; t, t, t; f.86ter'.

JFL: No. XXVI, p. 69; text after SC.

71. *La moça que las cabras cris*; Triana; 4v; h, h, h, h; t, t, t, t; f.87.

JFL: No. XXI, p. 67; text after SC.
74. Vyrge dina de honor; Anon.; 4v; ߪ,ߪ,ߪ,ߪ; t,i,i,i; f.88'-89.

CF: V, 172; text (no source given).

75. Que bonito niño chiquito; Anon.; 4v; ߪ,ߪ,ߪ,ߪ; t,i,i,i; f.89'-90.

Col: pp. 139-140; after SC.

77. Ay Santa María; Anon.; 3v; ߪ,ߪ,ߪ; t,t,t; f.91'-93. 17

Mad: f.272'; Anon.; Ay santa maria; 3v; ߪ,ߪ,ߪ; t,i,i.
This is a different setting but based upon the same melody as SC77.

Ang 1: No. 415; III, 167; after Mad.

Barb: No. 304; after Mad.

Col: pp. 138-139; after SC.

OH: p. 349; after Barb.

CF: III, 89; text after Barb.

78. Dic nobis Maria; Anon.; 4v; ߪ,ߪ,ߪ,ߪ; t,t,t,t; f.93.

LU: p. 780. The fourth phrase of the chant "Victimae paschali laudes" contains the source for the setting in SC.

80. Benedicamus domino; Triana; 3v; ߪ,ߪ,ߪ; t,t,t; f.94'-95.

LU: p. 28. The "Benedicamus" after "Ite missa est" is the source of the setting in SC.

81. Juste judex Ihesu Xpriste; Triana; 3v; ߪ,ߪ,ߪ; t,t,t; 95'-97.

Seg: f.102'; Anon.; Iuste judex Ihesu Xpriste; 4v.
The music for this setting is completely different. There appears to be no melody which is common to this and SC81.

17The text in Mad. has a copla which is not included in SC.
83. Quia [Magnificat]; Anon.; 3v; ἡ,ἡ,ἡ; t,i,i; f.99'-100.
LU: p. 209; the chant which is the source of SC83.18

84. Non puedo derrar/ Que non së filar/ Querer vieja yo;
Triana; 3v; ἡ,ἡ,ἡ; t,t,t; f.100'-101.
JFl: No. XLII, p. 80; text - first six lines of "Que non së."
JFl: No. XLIII, p. 81; text - first six lines of "Querer vieja yo."
JFl: No. XLIV, p. 81; text - remaining seven lines of "Querer vieja yo."
JFl: No. XII, pp. 63-64; text - lines seven through fifteen of "Que non së." These lines are the first nine lines of a longer poem, "Perdi la mi ruca," which is set musically in Mad. f. 146-147.
JF2: No. XIa, pp. 37-38; text - lines seven through fifteen of "Que non së." See comments immediately above.

85. De la momera je ne stay/ Petit la camusette; Anon.; 4v;
ἡ,ἡ,ἡ,ἡ; t,i,i,i; f.101'-102.
Bas: f.31'-32; Ockeghem; Petite camusette; ἡ,ἡ,ἡ,ἡ;
t, -, -, -.
Brx: f.20' (incomplete, soprano and tenor only);
Petite camusette; b,b; t,t.
Dij: f.161'-162; Anon; Elle mamera/E petite camusete;
4v; ἡ,ἡ,ἡ,ἡ; t,t,t,t.
Lon: f.87'-88; Anon.; Petite; 3v; ἡ,ἡ,ἡ. This setting is different from SC85 although it incorporates the same eight note motive.

18SC83 only sets two verses of the text. The outline of the melody of the Gregorian chant in the first tone may be traced in the soprano of SC83.
Mel: f.41'-5; Ockeghem; Petite camusette; 4v;  \( \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}; t,t,t, t \).

Mun: No. 11; Anon.; Petite camusette; 4v;  \( \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}; i,i,i,i \).

No. 134; Anon.; Petite camusette; 3v;  \( \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}; i,i,i,i \). This is a different setting although it incorporates the same eight-note motive.

No. 154; Anon.; Petite camusette; 3v;  \( \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}; i,i,i,i \). This setting is the same as that in Lon.

NIV: f.55'-56; Ockeghem; 'elle mamer; Petite camusette; 4v;  \( \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}; t,t,t,t \).

Pep: f.57'-58; Anth. de Fevin; Petite camusette; 3v. This setting is the same as that in Lon.

WIL: f.61'-62; Anon.; Selle mamer; Petite camusette; 4v;  \( \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}; t,t,t,t \).

CC: f.124'-125; Ockeghem; Petite camusette; 4v;  \( \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}, \hat{q}; i,i,i,i \).

GF: pp. 81-82; a monophonic song, "Petite camusette" which begins with the same eight notes as the polyphonic settings above. No source is given for this melody.

GOM: Notenanhang, pp. 8-9; after CC.

HW: p. 195; after Gom.

TG: p. xlvii; melodic motive and text incipit of "Petite camusette."

WC: I, 156-157; after Gom.

Bur: p. 19; text - after Bas.
Chat: f. Piv; Selle maymara text.¹⁹

Gac: p. 66; text after Brx.

86. Por bever comadre; Triana; 3v; η, η, η; t, i, i; f. 102 ¹

Mad: f. 136 ¹; Anon.; Por bever comadre; 3v; η, η, η; t, i, i.

Ang 1: No. 220; II, 9-10; after Mad.

Barb: No. 423; after Mad.

JF1: No. X, p. 63; text after Mad.

JF2: No. XIII, p. 39; text after Mad.

87. Aquella buena muger; Triana; 3v; η, η, η; t, i, i; f. 103.

Mad: f. 140 ¹-141; Anon.; Aquella buena muger; η, η, η; t, i, i.

Ang 1: No. 243; II, 16-17; after Mad.

Barb: No. 426; after Mad.

CF: II, 249; text after Barb.

JF1: No. XIII; p. 64; text after Mad.

89. Juysio fuerte sera dado; Triana; 4v; η, η, η, η; t, t, t, i; f. 104 ¹-105.

Ang 2: Insert facing p. 298; after SC.

SA: p. 629; English translation of the acrostic part of the "Song of the Sibyl" (the source of the text of SC89).

¹⁹ Schwob, Marcel, in Le Parnasse satyrique de quinzième siècle (Paris, 1905), reports on p. 36 that "Se elle m'a yméra je ne seay" appears on f. 87 of a manuscript in Paris-Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. franç. 1719.
Musical Variants

2. Pues con sobra de tristura

Mad: f. 10'-11; Enrique; 3v (less alto); b, b.

Soprano: m2:1, f sharp; m6:3, B c; m7:1, L d;
m8:3, B f; m9:3, b flat. B g, Bm f, Bm e;
m17:1, L d; m20:1:1, S b; m23:1:1, M b.

Tenor: m17:1, L b; m20:1f, B g, B g.

Bass: m2:1, L d; m8:1:1, M rest, dotted M g;
m8:3, B d; m10:3, B g; m11:1f, L d
(third line); m17:1, L g (fourth space);
m22:2, M rest, M d.

4. Gentil dama non se gana

Mad: f. 27'-28; Cornago; 4v (plus alto).

Bass: m7:2:2, M d, M c; m10:1:1, dotted S e;
m13:3, b flat; m16:1, dotted B d.

6. Muy crueles voces dan

Mad: f. 63'-64

Soprano: m13:2, S a, B a; m14:1, S b, S d, S c.

Tenor: m16:1:2, S d.

7. Señora non me culpéis

Par: f. 100'-101; b, b.

No variants.

Rom: f. 53'-54

This composition is Compere's "Mais que ce fust" but appears here with the incipit "Donzella non men culpays."
871M: f. 152'-153

A copy was not available at this time.

8. Doncella por cuyo amor

Mad: f.6' (incomplete); J. Rodrigues (barote).

Soprano: m10:1, L c; m16:1:2, M b; m16:2, B a, L b (the B a is extraneous); m18:2, dotted S a, M c; m19:2:1, M a; m20:1, L b, (B a omitted. This omission makes up for the B a added in m16); m33:2, M b, dotted M c; Sm a, M b.

Tenor: m11:2, S c.

9. Nunca fue pena mayor

CC: f.21'-23 (only the tenor has the same music); 4v.

Tenor: m1:1ff, B e, S e; m2:2, M d, Sm c, Sm b; m3:1f, S rest, S e; m12:1f, S rest, S rest; m13:2f, S g, M g; m18:1, S c; m24:2f, blk. B g; m26:2f, blk. L c; m28:2f, B b; m29:1, M rest, M b.

Mad: f.0'-1; J. Urrede.

Soprano: m4:3f, dotted S g.

Tenor: m6:2, S d; m27:1f, S c, S c.

Bass: m21:1f, dotted S c; m22:1f, B c; m29:1:1f, F f, F e, M d.

Od: f.6'-7; 4v (plus alto).

Soprano: m10:3:2, M g; m11:1, S f; m19:1:2, S f; m31:2:1:2, Sm g, Sm g.

Tenor: m23:1f, B e; m26:2f, S c, S c.

Bass: m29:1:1f, F f, F e, M d; m32, L g.
Par: f.99'-100.

Soprano: m4:3f, dotted S g; m7:2:2f, S a, M g; m17:3:2, M g; m18:1:1, M rest; m18:3:2, M g; m19:1:2f, M f, M e, M c, dotted M d, F c, F d; m24:1f, dotted S d, M b; m25:3, S b; m28:2ff, S d, S rest, S d.

Tenor: m1:1ff, B e, S e; m2:2, dotted M d, F c, F b; m3:1f, S rest, S e; m13:2f, S g, M g; m18:1, S c; m24:2f, blk. B g; m26:2f, blk. L c; m28:2f, B b; m29:1, M rest, M b.

Bass: m1:lf, B a, S e; m3:1:2, M g; m3:3, dotted M f, F e, F d; m10:3, S c; m11:1, b flat; m11:2f, S c, S rest; m12:1ff, dotted S c, M b, M g; m14:2f, S c, S rest; m19:2:1, omits M b; m24:2f, M rest, M g, S g; m27:3:2, b flat; m29:3, M rest, M g (fourth space).

Per: f.87'-88; Io. Urrede.

Soprano: m4:3f, dotted S g; m9:1f, B c; m19:1:2f, dotted M f, M e, S e, M d.

Tenor: m8:1f, S a, S a; m9:2f, S a, S rest; m23:1f, B e; m23:3, S e; m24:3, omits S b (the g of m24:2 would be changed to a B by the rules of alteration); m26:2ff, S c, B c.

Bass: m11:1, b flat; m21:1f, dotted S c; m26:3:2, Sm f, Sm e, Sm d; m27:3:2, b flat; m29:1:1ff, F f, F e, M d.

Q16: f.119'-120; 4v (plus alto).

Soprano: m10:3:2, M g; m11:1, S f.

Tenor: m23:1f, B e; m24:3, omits S g (the g of m24:2 would be changed to a B by the rules of alteration); m26:2f, L c.

Bass: m8:2, M e, M d; m11:1, b flat; m26:1:2ff, M e, dotted M f, Sm g, M f, Sm e, Sm d; m27:1f, S c, S c; m29:1:1f, F f, F e, M d.
Q17: f.11 (tenor and bass only).

Tenor: ml:1, B e; m3:1, S rest; ml2:1f, S rest, S rest; m18:1, S c; m24:2f, blk. B g; m28:2f, B b; m29:1, M rest, M b.

Bass: ml:1f, B e; m3:1:2, M g; m3:3, M f, S m e, S m d; ml1:2f, S c, S rest; ml2:1ff, dotted S c, M b, M g; m14:2f, S c, S rest; m24:2f, M rest, M g, S g; m29:3, M rest, M g (fourth space); m32, L g.

Q18: f.89'-90.

Soprano: m4:3f, dotted S g; m7:1:2, dotted M b, S m a; m7:2:2f, S a, M g; m10:3:2, M g; ml1:1, S f.

Tenor: m14:2f, S e, S e; m23:1f, B e; m27:1f, S c, S c.

Bass: m5:1:2, S m b, S m a; ml1:1, b flat; m21:1f, dotted S c.

Ric: f.30'-31.

Soprano: m4:3f, dotted S g; m7:2:2f, S a, M g; ml7:3:2, M g; m18:1:1, M rest; m19:1:2f, M f, M a, M e, dotted M d (there is a S m wanting; see Par); m24:1f, dotted S d, M b; m25:3, S b; m28:2ff, S d, S rest, S d; m31:1:2ff, M b, S g, M f, L g.

Tenor: ml:1ff, B e, S e; m2:2, dotted M d, F c, F b; m3:1f, S rest, S e; m12:1f, S rest, S rest; ml3:2f, S g, M g; ml8:1, S c; m24:2f, blk. B g; m26:2f, L c; m28:2f, B b; m29:1, M rest, M b.

Bass: ml:1f, B e, S e; m3:1:2, M g; m10:3, S c; ml1:2f, S c, S rest; ml2:1ff, dotted S c, M b, M g; ml4:2f, S c, S rest; ml7:3:2, M rest; m24:2f, M rest, M g, S g; m27:3:2, b flat; m29:3, M rest, M g (fourth space); m32, L g.
Rom: f.28'-29; Enrique.

Soprano: m4:3f, dotted S g; m7:2:2f, S a, M g; m10:3:2, M g; m11:1, S f; m17:3:2, M g; m18:1:1, M rest; m19:1:2f, M f, M e, M c, dotted M d, Sm c; m24:1f, dotted S d, M b; m25:3, S b; m26:2ff, S d, S rest, S d.

Tenor: m1:1ff, B e, S e; m2:2, dotted M d, F c, F b; m3:1f, S rest, S e; m12:1f, S rest, S rest; m13:2f, S g, M g; m18:1, S c; m24:2f, b1k. B g; m26:2f, L c; m28:2f, B b; m29:1, M rest, M b.

Bass: m1:1f, B e; m3:1:2, M g; m10:3, S c; M11:1, b flat; m11:2ff, S c, S rest; m12:1ff, dotted S c, M b, M g; m14:2f, S c, S rest; m21:1f, dotted S c; m24:2f, M rest, M g, S g; m29:3, M rest, M g (fourth space).

Seg: f. 209.

Soprano: m2:3, S c; m3:1:1, M c; m4:3f, dotted S g; m7:2:2f, S a, M g; m9:1f, B c; m21:1f, B e; m27:1f, B e.

Tenor: m1:1ff, (dotted) B e; m10:1ff, (dotted) B c; m15:2f, B g; m23:1ff, (dotted) B e; m24:3, omits S g (the S g of m24:2 would be changed to a B by the rules of alteration); m26:2ff, L c; m28:3, M rest (it should be an S rest); m29:1, M b (it should be an S b).

Bass: m1:1ff, (dotted) B e; m11:1, b flat; m21:1f, dotted S c; m23:2:2f, M a, M b, M g; m24:1ff, S g, M rest, M g, dotted M d, Sm c; m25:1ff, M a, M d, S g, S e; m28:2, dotted Sm g (incorrectly blackened - it should be a

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20In m23-25 most of the notes agree with SC but they have been moved over one beat earlier because of the variant in m23.
dotted M), F f (should be Sm); m28:3:2f, dotted Sm g (should be dotted M); m29:1:2f, F f, F e, F d (all should be Sm); m31:1:2f, S g, M e.

SG: Soprano and alto identical with CC.

Ver: f.57'-58.

A copy was not available at this time.

176: f.91'-92.

Soprano:  m5:1:1, M rest; m7:2:2f, S a, M g; m13:2f, B g, S rest; m17:3:2, M g; m18:1:1, M rest; m19:1:2f, M f, M e; M c, dotted M d, F c, F d; m24:1f, dotted S d, M c; m25:3, S b; m28:2ff, S d, S rest, S d.

Tenor:  m2:2, dotted M d, F c, F b; m3:1f, S rest, S e; m4:1f, S c, S rest; m12:1f, S rest, S rest; m13:2f, S g, M g; m18:1, S c; m24:2f, blk. B g; m26:2f, blk. L c; m28:2f, B b; m29:1, M rest, M b.

Bass:  m3:1:2, M g; m3:3, dotted M f, F e, F d; m10:3, S c; m11:1, b flat; m11:2f, S c, S rest; m12:1ff, dotted S c, M b, M g; m14:2f, S c, S rest; m19:2:1, omits M b; m21:1f, dotted S c; m24:2f, M rest, M g, S g; m27:3:2, b flat; m29:3, M rest, M g (fourth space).

178: f.37'-38.

Soprano:  m4:3f, dotted S g; m7:1:2, dotted M b, Sm a; m7:2:2f, S a, M g; m9:1f, B c; m10:3:2, M g; m11:1, S f; m13:2f, B g, S rest; m17:3:2, M g; m18:1:1, M rest; m19:1:2f, M f, M e, M c, dotted M d, Sm c; m24:1f, dotted S d, M b; m25:3, S b; m27:1f, B e; m28:2ff, S d, S rest, S d; m31:1:2ff, dotted M b, Sm a, dotted M g, Sm f, M f.
10. ¿Dónde estás que no te veo?

871N: f.9'-10; Cornago.

Soprano: m5:2:2ff, dotted S g, M g, M g, M f; m11:1:2ff, dotted S f, M e, M e, M d; m13:2, S a; m14:1, S a; m16:2:2, M c, M b; m21:2:2ff, dotted S a, M g, M g, M f; m26:1:2f, dotted M f, Sm e; m30:2:2, M e, M c; m40:1:2f, B g, B a; m44:2:2, M e; m47:1:2ff, dotted M f, Sm e, M d, S c.

Tenor: m7:2, B f; m8:1, B f; m10:1, S f, S f; m10:2, e flat; m13:1f, B f, B f; m15:1, S d, S d; m36:1, S g, S g; m47:1, omits e.

Bass: m10:2, dotted S e, M d; m11:1:2ff, dotted S c, M b, M b, M a; m12:2f, B f; m13:2f, dotted B c; m14:1:2f, S d, B d; m15:1, B a; m24:1, b flat; m32:2:1, dotted M a, Sm f.

11. Muy triste será mi vida

Mad: f.14'-15'; J. Urrede; 4v (plus alto); #, b, b, #.

Soprano: m1:3f, dotted B d; m6:2f, blk. B g; m7:1f, S a, S rest; m13:2, b flat;
m17:1, f sharp; m24:2:2f, S a, M f; m43:1f, B g, L g.

Tenor: m10:2f, blk. S a, blk. M b; m14:1, dotted S b; m43:1f, B g, L g.

Bass: m3:3:1, b flat; m14:1, b flat, e flat; m21:1, e flat; m21:3, b flat; m27:1, L d'; m31:3, b flat; m32:1, b flat; m41:2, S g, S f; m43:1, L g (first line).

12. Oya tu merced y crea

Mad: f.18'-19; h, b, h.

Soprano: m3:1, B d; m3:2, dotted S d, Sm c, Sm d; m5:3:2, dotted M e, Sm d; m13:1f, B a, S g, S a; m15:1f, dotted M a, Sm g, dotted M f, Sm e, S d.

Tenor: m1:1ff, L f, L f.

Seg: f. 217.

Soprano: m3:1f, dotted S d, M c, B d; m5:2:1:2, M f; m7:1:2, S g; m9:3f, L c; m13:1f, B a, S g, S a; m14:1f, dotted B c; m15:2f, dotted M a, Sm g, dotted M f, Sm e, S d; m21:3:1:2, M f; m22:1, L f.

Tenor: m15:2:2f, B f, S a; m22:1, L f.

Bass: m3:2, B d; m10:2:1f, dotted S a, M g; m15:1:1, S f; m16:1, L c; m19:2f, L c (this is incorrectly a half-beat too long); m21:2:2f, dotted S c, M b, M b, M a; m22:1, L c.

14. ¿Qué es mi vida? preguntaís

871N: f.5'-6: Cornago-Oquegan.

Soprano: m12:2-m25, erroneously reads a third high. The following variants are given
as if the pitch were correct; m21:1:2f, dotted M e, Sm d; m22:3:2f, dotted M a, Sm g; m24:3:2, M c.

Alto: m6:1f, B a, S a; m13:3:2f, dotted S f; m17:3:2, omits M g; m33:2:2, M e; m34:3:1, M a; m35:3, S a; m36:2:2f, M g, S e; m39:1:1:2, Sm d.

Tenor: m13:3:2, M c; m17:3, b flat; m35:1f, S d, B d.

Bass: m7:2:1, b flat; m11:2:2, M a; m19:1, b flat; m32:1, b flat; m35:2:1, b flat.

871N: f.151'; Cormago; Preguntáis non vos quero negar; 3v.
A copy was not available at this time. See the comments in the Concordance concerning this setting.

17. ¡Ay, que non sé remediarne!

Mad: f.26'-27; J. de Leon; h, b, b.

Soprano: m2:2:1, b flat; m17:1f, dotted S a, M a.

Tenor: m8:1:1, M rest; m8:2:2, Sm g, Sm g; m17:1f, dotted S c, M c; m18:2:2f, dotted S c, M c.

Bass: m8:3, M d, M d; m15:3:2ff, dotted M a, Sm b, dotted Sm g, F f; m18:3, dotted M d, Sm e; m23:2:1, e flat.

Q16: f.123'-124.

Soprano: m7:3:2f, M f, M f; m17:1f, dotted S a, M a; m22:2, S g; m23:2:2, S g.

Tenor: m1:1f, B d, S d; m3:1f, S c, S c; m6:3f, B b, S b; m8:1:1, M rest; m17:1f, dotted S c, M c; m18:2f, dotted S c, M c; m24:3f, B c, S c.
Bass: ml:1f, B d, S d; m8:3, M d, M d; m18:3, M d, Sm e, Sm f.

18. Pues que Dios te fizo tal

Mad: f.1'-3; Cornago; η, η, η.

Soprano: ml1:2:2, S f; ml6:2:1ff, M d, B d, S c; m24:1, b flat; m30:1f, dotted B f; m33:1, dotted B e, M d; m45:3:2, dotted M e, Sm f; m47:1f, L d; m50:1:1, S g; m54:2:2, M f, M e; m55:1f, L g; m58:1f, B f, with corona.

Tenor: ml2:2f, dotted B d; m26:2, B c; ml1:2f, dotted B f; m38:1:2, M g; m51:1f, dotted B c.

Bass: ml-39, many variants - see transcription below; m41:2, S g, S g; m47:1f, L a; m57:1:2, S b.

Mad: f.3'-4; Madrid; (only the soprano is the same as SC18).

Soprano: agrees exactly with Mad f.1'-3.

Mad: f.1'-3; Bass: ml-39.
20. Siempre crece mi serviros

Mad: f.8'-9'; Madrid; b, (e flat only).

Soprano: m32:2f, dotted B g; m38:2, B f natural; m39:1, S f, S f; m45:3, dotted S f, M e.

Tenor: m9:1f, S d, S d; m16:1, e flat; m35:2, B d; m36:1, S d, S d; m45:2, M d, M b, dotted M c, S b; m45:3, S b, S a.

Bass: ml:1f, B g, S g; m3:1:2, dotted M c, S b; m16:2, B g; m17:1, dotted S f, M e; m19:1, B d; m29:2:1:2f, S d; m38:2, B d; m39:1, S d, S d; m44:1, S d, S d.

22. Señora cual soy venido/Infante nos es nacido

Mad: f.38'-39; b, b.

Soprano: m4:2, f sharp; m6:1, B a; m8:1, dotted S e, S m d, S m c; m10:1f, L d; m16:1f,
26. Dama mi grande querer

Mad: f.5'-6; Moxica; 4,b,b.

Tenor: m2:2, dotted S b, M a; m2:3, B f; m15:1f, L b, B b.

Bass: m1:2f, L b; m2:1, B b; m10:3, B e; m11:1f, B e, L e; m12:4, 8 a (first space);
     m16:2f, L e flat; m17:1, B e; m18:3:2f, B a.

30. Mi querer tanto vos quieres

Mad: f.19'-20; Enrique.

Soprano: m5:1f, L c; m11:2f, dotted B c; m18:2, B d; m19:1:1, 8 rest; m24:1, B d; m24:2, S d; m27:1f, L d; m30:2, L c.

Alto: m6:1:2f, S d; m12:2, S b, S b; m13:1f, B b, B c; m24:2, S b, S b; m28:1:2f, dotted B d.

Tenor: m2:2f, L e; m3:2, S d; m15:2f, dotted L a; m24:2, S g, S g; m25:1, B g; m28:1f, L a; m29:1, B a.

Bass: m2:1f, L a; m3:1, S a, S a; m3:2, S a, S a (first space); m7:1, B d; m7:2, S d; S d; m12:2f, L g; m14:2, B a; m23:1f, L a;
     m28:1f, L d.
32. De vos y de mí quejoso

Mad: f.11'-12' J. Urreche.

Soprano: m19:2:2f, dotted M f, F e, F d; m20:2ff, dotted B d; m25:2:2f, S g, M f; m36:1f, f sharp.

Tenor: m5:3:2, a flat; m30:1, dotted M c, S m d.

Bass: m3:3f, e flat; m11:2:1:2, e flat; m12:3:1, e flat; m17:1:1, e flat.

Q16: f.127', b,b,b (this ms omits the copla).

Soprano: m8:3:2, S m e; m19:1, S d; m20:2ff, dotted B d; m25:2:2f, S g, M f.

Tenor: m22:3, M b, M b.

Bass: m3:3f, e flat; m17:1, dotted M e, F d, F c; m23:1, dotted M c, S m d.

Elv: f43'-44.

This is a different setting of the same text.

33. Andad, pasiones, andad

Mad: f.199'-200, Lagarto.

Soprano: m11:2:2:1, M d.

Tenor: m11:2:2:1, M b.

Bass: m6:2:1, B d; m10:3:2, S e; m11:2:1f, S c, M g.

Seg: f.220.

Soprano: m11:2:1 dotted M e, S m f.

Bass: m10:3, B e; m11:2:1ff S c, dotted M c, S m d, M e, M f.
38. Al dolor de mi cuidado

Mad: f.29'-30; Gijon.

Soprano: m7:1:2:2, M c; m9:3:2f, M c, M b; m11:3:2f, M c, M c; m16:2:2, M f, M e.

Tenor: m2:2ff, B a, S a, S a.

Seg: f.209'.

Soprano: m7:1:2:2, M c; m11:3:2f, S c, S c; m16:3:2, M f, M e; m21:1, B c.

Tenor: m2:2ff, B a, S a, S a; m19:3, dotted S d, M e.21

Bass: m5:1:1, M g; m10:3f; B f, S f; m15:2f, dotted B c; m22:2:2, S d; m27:4:2, M g.

51. Pensamiento va do vas

Mad: f.85'.

Alto: called "tenor."

Tenor: called "contra primo" (alto); m6:1, B e; m6:2, B f.

Bass: m6:1:2f, B d.

59. Nuevas te traigo, carillo

Mad: f.200'-201; J. del Enzina; 4v. (only the soprano is similar to SC59).

21SC is incomplete having only the soprano and the first twelve and a half bars of the tenor. The other variants given compare Seg with Mad from which the remainder of the transcription in this edition comes.
Soprano: m2:1:1f, S d, B e; m2:2:1f, B f, S e; m4:1:1f, dotted S e, M b; m4:2:2f, dotted S f, M e; m6-10, see transcription below:

Figure 4. Copla (m6-10) of "Nuevas te traigo," after Mad.

85. Petite camusette (De la somera)

Bass: f.31'-32; Ockeghem.

A copy was not available at this time. The melodic incipits show this to be the same as SC85.

Bux: f.20' (soprano and tenor only); b,b.

Soprano: m4:2f, M c, S c, M g; m6:2ff, blk. S b, blk. M a, M c, S b, S a, M g; m10:1:1, S f; m17:1f, S g, B g; m21:2:1, M f, S f; m22:2:1:2, M d.

Tenor: m6:1:2:2, M e; m8:2:1, S f; m13:2, B a.

Dij: f. 161'-162.

Soprano: m1:1, S e, S e; m6:2:1, dotted M b, Sm a; m10:1:1f, M f, M e; m11:1:2:2 M d.

Alto: m2:2f, dotted S f, M e; m8:1:2:2, M c; m15:1, dotted S g, M e; m19:2, S e, S e; m22:3f, B a, L a.

Tenor: m8:2:1, S f; m13:2, B a.

Bass: m3:2, incorrectly omits B rest; m14:1:2f, B a, S a; m23:1f, L d.
Lon: f.87'-88, 3v.

This is a different setting but it uses the same eight note motive that is used in SC85.

Mol: f.4'-5; Ockeghem.

A copy was not available at this time. The melodic incipits show it to be the same as SC85.

Mün: No. 11.

A copy was not available at this time. The melodic incipits indicate that this is the same setting as SC85.

No. 134; 3v.

A copy was not available at this time. The melodic incipits show this to be a different setting from SC85 and also different from Lon, but the same eight note motive is used.

No. 154; 3v.

A copy was not available at this time. The melodic incipits show this to be the same as Lon.

Niv: f.55'-56; Ockeghem.

A copy was not available at this time. The melodic incipits show this to be the same as SC85.

Pap: f.57'-58; Anth. de Fevin; 3v.

A copy was not available at this time. From the melodic incipits this setting appears to be the same as that in Lon.
Wlf: f.61'-62.

A copy was not available at this time. The melodic incipits show this to be the same as SC85.

CC: f.124'-125, Okanheim.

Soprano: m4:1;2f, M b, Sm a, Sm b; m6:2;1;2ff, Sm a, Sm b, M c, S b; m11:1;2, M d; m14:2, B c; m19:1ff, M g, dotted M b, Sm a, M a; m22:1ff, M rest, M a, M f, S d, S c, Sm b, Sm c.

Alto: m9:1f, B rest, B d; m10:1f, S c, S c, B d; m19:2, S e, S e; m22:1ff, M g, M a, M b, Sm a, Sm b; m22:3f, B a, L a.

Tenor: m8:2;1, S f; m12:1f, B rest, B a; m13:2, B a.

Bass: m10:2, dotted S g, Sm f, Sm e; m12:2;2f, dotted B a; m14:1;2f, B a, S a; m23:1f, L d.

86. For beber comadre

Mad: f.136'.

Soprano: m3:2;1, omits S c; m4:1, S g, with corona; m11:2;1, S a.

Tenor: m5:1, B c; m8:1, B rest.

Bass: m5:2;2, M a, M a.

87. Aquella buena mujer

Mad: f.140'-141.

Soprano: m10:1;1, S c; m12:2, omits B a.

Tenor: m16:2;1, S d.
CHAPTER VI

THE TEXTS

The following poems are the full texts to the songs in the Seville Cancionero. Included here are not only the stanzas which this cancionero contains, but all of the extant stanzas to these poems which the editor has found in other musical or literary anthologies. The sources of the additional stanzas together with variants in the readings are given in footnotes.

When the poet is known his name is given with each of his compositions. Biographical data on the poets are included in Chapter IV, "Biographical Notes." In addition, there are a few less important remarks concerning some of these poems which are given in Chapter VII, "Commentaries."

It has already been noted (in Chapter III) that it was not uncommon in fifteenth-century Spanish poetry for a poet to interpolate a villancico into another poem - often referring to the villancico as being sung. An example of this is found in a poem by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz which
begins "Caminando por mis males"¹ which has interpolated not one but several villancicos. The third of these is a villancico which has an estribillo "Mortales son los dolores" which is identical with SC50. The copla of this villancico is different, however, from that in the song in the Seville codex, and its appearance in Badajoz' poem does not help to identify its author. The poem may have been written by Badajoz originally and the copla found in the musical setting may have been added by a second poet; or Badajoz may have quoted only the estribillo and one copla of an existing villancico - the copla found in the Seville Cancionero being another from the poem.

Equally frequent was the practice of quoting one or more lines (usually the first line or so) of an existing "cantar" (often a villancico) as the last lines of a copla in a poem. For example, another poem by Badajoz called "Infierno de Amor"² has such quotations in twenty-nine of its thirty-five stanzas. A few of these stanzas will be given here not only to illustrate the practice but also because the songs from which lines are quoted are found in the Seville codex.

¹RC, No. 1876, pp. 640ff.
²FD, No. 1048, II, 631ff.
(Stanza 6)

Vi tambien a Juan Rodriguez
del Padron dezir penado:
Amor, por que me persigues?
no basta ser desterrado,
sun all alcance me sigues?
Este esta un poco atras.
pero no mucho compas
de Maçias padesciendo,
su misma canción diziendo:
blue leda si podras,
y no penes atendiendo. (Quoted is SC25)

(Stanza 19)

Vi luego que vn gran harpon
a Don Diego de Mendoza
le passaua el corazon
por la mano de vna moça,
tirando con afection,
y diziendo: Pues sin verte
blue mi vida en la muerte,
muera yo por que no pene.
Y luego cantando viene:
Pues no mejora mi suerte,
cado morir me conviene. (Quoted is SC37)

(Stanza 28)

Y tambien vi a Don Diego
de Castilla desaseando,
muy vascoso y sin sosiego,
con la muerte andar lidiando
en lo mas bluo del fuego:
verdaderamente creo
que nunca fue tal desseo
qual mostraua que tenia,
diziendo sin alegria:
Donde estas que no te veo?
Que os de ti, esperanza mia? (Quoted is SC10)
It is not often that the lines quoted are used in reference to their author. Often they refer to no one but are merely quotations. Another poem which uses the lines of songs as descriptions of specific people is a poem by Florencia Pinar in the Cancionero general (of 1511) entitled:

Juego trobado que fizo a la Reina Doña Isabel, con el qual se puede jugar como con dados o naypes, y con el se puede ganar o perder y echar encuentro o azar, y hacer pares, los coplas son los naipes, y las cuatro cosas que van en cada una de ellas han de ser las suertes.  

This poem has forty-six stanzas each of which is meant to characterize a member of the royal family or one of the courtiers. In each stanza appears the refrain of what is presumably a well-known song; and it is incorporated in the poem in the same manner as those illustrated above. Among the songs quoted are six which are in the Seville Cancionero: "Doncella por cuyo amor"; "Nunca fue pena mayor"; "Pues con sobra de tristura"; "Pues que Dios te fizo tal"; "Al dolor de mi cuidado"; and "De vos y de mi quejoso."

Again, some of these songs appear as quotations in dramas. In Gil Vicente's play, "Cortes de Jupiter," "Al

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3 This poem is listed and discussed in Barb., p. 13.

dolor de mi cuidado," "Doncella por cuyo amor," "de vos y de
mi quejoso," and "Nunca fue pena mayor" are among those
quoted. For example, "Nunca fue pena" is quoted by the
character, "Venus":

Sobre tres graces reais
erá outra linda dama
com graces especiais,
e nem desejando mais
senão de cruel ter fama.
Cantará com mal tamanho
o triste seu servidor:
"Nunca fue pena mayor
ni tormento tan estranho."  

"Nunca fue pena," and "¿Dónde estás que non te veo?" are
quoted in another of Vicente's dramas, "Fragoa d'Amor."  

One may infer from these quotations that some of the songs
in the Seville collection, together with others like them,
were quite popular and were widely known. It is interesting
to note, however, that of the songs from the Seville Cancionero
it is those which have music in either the French or the dra-
matic style that are quoted in poems and plays. Probably it
is because these songs have both texts and music which are
of more artistic worth, while the popular songs in the Seville

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5Vicente, op. cit., IV, 249.
6Ibid., p. 102.
codex and similar collections were not considered to be of a quality worthy of employment elsewhere, although they appear to have been well-liked as songs.  

The texts in this edition have been given modern orthography in all cases where the sound would not be changed from that it would have had in the fifteenth century. Most of these changes involved only such changes as: changing "se" to "ce"; changing "c" to "ce," "a," or "e"; changing "q" to "cu"; interchanging "b" and "v" (e.g., beber for bever or vive for bive); changing "y" to "i," changing "u" to "v" etc.

In the case of "x" in such words as "dexar" and "quexoso," the "x" is changed to "j" to agree with modern spelling. In this case the sound of the word is changed, but this could not be avoided since the sound which "x" had in the fifteenth century was changed to agree with modern spelling.

Juan del Encina generally closed each scene of his dramas with a villancico sung by the characters who appeared in the scene. Presumably many of his songs which are now in the Palacio collection were written for such occasions. These songs, however, do not appear to be treated as an integral part of the drama, in that while a musical finale to each scene was called for, a specific song was not designated. Cf., Gilbert Chase, "Origins of the Lyric Theater in Spain," Musical Quarterly, XXV (1939), 296-298.

All orthographic changes and guides to pronunciation follow the directions of R. Menéndez Pidal, Manual de gramática histórica español (Madrid, 1925).
century no longer exists in the language. 9

Many words, such as hizo, hermosa, etc., were spelled sometimes with an "f" for the initial letter and sometimes with an "h." The spelling with "f" was the older form and it was during the late fifteenth century that the transition to the modern form (i.e., with "h") was being made.

There is a slight difference in pronunciation, however: the "h" was silent, as it is today, but the "f" (in these words) was pronounced as an "h" in English. For this reason the spelling with "f" has been retained in all places where it appeared in the manuscript.

Finally, these words should not be pronounced as they would be in modern Castilian. Rather, the Mexican or South American pronunciation is a closer approximation to the sound that they had in the fifteenth century.

1. Amor de pensada gloria
   (three lines wanting)

   Con tanta fe te servi
   sin errarte
   que a mi cativo perdí
   por ganarte.
   Do pensé ganar victoria
   me diste quejas dobladas

9 This sound was approximately that of "sh" in English and is found today in some of the Aztec names, such as "zochital," in Mexico and Central America.
que me dejan lastimadas
corazón, seso y memoria.

No debo dar culpa a vos
sino a mí que no miré
en quien puse tan gran fe.

A mí me debo [yo] culpar.
y a mi mal conocimiento
pues que tanto os quise amar
yo busqué mi perdimiento.
De mi tengo sentimiento
que primero no miré
en quien puse tan gran fe.

Más razón era olvidaros
que [con] tanta fe serviros.
Fuera mejor desamaros
que mis ... remitirnos.
Bien se me emplean suspiros
pues de mirar [yo] dejé
en quien puse tan gran fe.

Visto vuestro desconcierto
de quejar y padecer,11
no tengo razón por cierto
más de mi mal conocer.
De esto debo yo tener
sentimiento pues erré
en poner en vos mi fe.

Bien sé que no me queréis
conozco que me olvidáis
si poca fe me tenéis,
siento que no me engañáis.

10SC omits the word "yo" which is inserted following the reading in Mad.

11SC reads "de quejar mi padecer."
Si no soy de vos querido
menos vos de mí querida,
si me ponéis en olvido
ni deis amor . . .
Las obras que me hacéis,
con vos mis esperáis
si poco fe me tenéis,
siento que no me engañáis.

2. Pues con sobra de tristeza,
distas fin al corazón,
vos le dad la sepultura,
señora, por galardón.

Vos fuisteis la vencedora
que crudamente venció.
Vos quedáis por matadora
de la muerte que él murió.
Y pues le faltó la ventura,
non vos falte compasión,
dándole la sepultura,
señora, por galardón.

Pues con sobra de alegría
cantamos tu nacimiento,
buen Jesús, por este día
guárdenos de perdimiento.

Por intercesión de aquella
que te parió sin dolor,
quedando madre y doncella,
tú Dios, hombre y señor.
Haznos tú clara la vía
de vuestro conocimiento.
Por aquesta santo día
guárdenos de perdimiento.

3. Canten todos vos en grito
que nacido es Jesucristo.

12Mad. omits "y."
Hagen todos alegría
(remainder wanting)

Los infiernos quebrantados,
los demonios destrozados,
los ángeles esperados,
són de este niño bendito.

4. Gentil dama, non se gana
otro bien de vos mirar,
sino ver y desear.

El deleite que se face
mirando vuestra beldad
se destruye y se desface
notando vuestra bondad;
[así que mi fin temprano
non lo tiene de causar
sino ver y desear.] 14

Pues que vuestra piedad
para mí es tan oscura,
tornad mi libertad
con que busque mi ventura.

El vos hizo...
da gentil persona cara
y su mando sin contienda
cual... non vos pintara.

Pues no sois cual presumía
ni yo soy quien ser solía,
yo vos guardé lealtad
cuando en vos sentí verdad.
Mas ahora perdonad
y sabed de parte mía.

13 Mad. reads, "otro bien en vos mirar."

14 The last three lines are wanting in SC. They have been added after Mad.
Yo solo sea culpado
vos queriendo mi querer
y pensad mayor pecado
ser matar que ofender.

Dudando quiero morir
gasta lo contrario ver
no dejando de escríbir
mi mente ver y creer.

Pláceme pues sé que sigo
lo que virtud me requiere.
Despláceme que fatigo
mi querer que no lo quiere.

En el servicio de vos
toda mi vida me fundo
por lo cual no hiero al mundo
ni mucho menos a dios.

Siempre dije bien de vos
desde que me conocistes.
Tal parezca yo ante Dios
cual siempre me parecistes.

... aqual siento amor
y de como sé que duele
no siento pena mayor
ni que más fino desconcielo.

Vuestros ojos que miraran
con tan discreto mirar
... . . . . . . . . . . dejaran
en mi nada por . . . . . .

Y aun ellos no contentos
de mi persona vencida
danme tan grandes tormentos
que me atormenta la vida.

Tan . . . de sufrir
son mis angustias y tales
que de mis esquivos males
es el remedio morir.
Si non ved por sus . . .
según su beber contino
si . . . quitame el vino
pues que yo . . . vino.

Bien sé cierto por maneras
aunque soy mal adivino
que no diga el busé al vino
no te quiero ni me quieras.

5. O pena que me combatas,
pues fuerza de amor te envía,
esfuerzas por que me mates
que en morir descansaría.

Que en sufrir aqueste engaño
(remainder wanting)

6. Muy crueldes voces dan
catalanes blasfemando,
¡fuera, fuera duque Juan,
que es casado el rey Fernando!

Torna, torna Barcelona
e tu señor natural.
15
Francia juega dados mal;
¡Sus e mate por la dona!
Correos vienen correos van
por todo el mundo gritando;
¡fuera, fuera duque Juan,
que es casado el rey Fernando!

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15 The literal meaning of this line makes little sense. According to J. Corominas in the Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana (Barcelona, 1954), p. 102, at one time the word "dados" referred to the "mover un peon," "the move of a chessman." Perhaps the poem should read "Francia juega dados mal," "France plays chess badly" and is "checkmated by the lady."
Rey Enrique de Castilla,  
porque es así profetizado,  
toma por fijo e cuñado  
al nuestro rey de Cicilia.  

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
la obediencia con el mando  
¡fuera, fuera duque Juan,  
que es casado el rey Fernando!  

Fueguen fueguen los arneses  
por todo el Reyno de España;  
imortal gloria tamaña  
reciben aragoneses;  
los cuales diciendo van,  
la muerte poco estimando;  
¡fuera, fuera duque Juan,  
que es casado el rey Fernando!  

(four lines wanting)  
Si deseas que no muera  
tu gente desesperando,  
Señor duque, ¡fuera, fuera,  
que es casado el rey Fernando!  

7.  
Señora, non me culpéis  
(si fago mudanza alguna  
por non tenéis fe ninguna.  

Yo sé quién me prometió  

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
[si bien amar se defensió]  

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
Mas cuando vuestro me veis,  
contrafacéis la fortuna,  
pues non tenéis fe ninguna.16  

16 The lines which have been bracketed are wanting from SC. The only other reading of the full text which has been found is a very corrupt one in Par., which reads:  

Doncella non me culpéis  
si fago mudanza alguna  
pore non teners fe neguna.
8. Doncella por cuyo amor
sin vergüenza nin temor
he pensado y siempre pego,
pues soy vuestro amador,
no me fagáis ser ajeno.

Con vida fuerte y penada
vos serví tan sin medida,
que me sois más obligada
que a persona de esta vida.
Por ende mi buen debedor
vos fagáis ni grande amor,
dalde pago puesto y bueno,
[pues soy vuestro amador
no me fagaís ser ajeno.] 18

9. by García Álvarez de Toledo,
First Duke of Alba

Nunca fue pena mayor
ni tormento tan extraño,
que iguale con el dolor
que recibo del engaño.

Y este conocimiento
face mis vidas tristes
en pensar el pensamiento
que por amores me distes.
Y me face por mejor
la muerte y por menor daño

Lo he empromettio
en consentiron los ojos.
Si bien amasse defenecer
mis et nois.

This text may also be found printed in Pope, p. 50.

17Mad. reads, "pues soy vuestro servidor."

18SC omits line thirteen and reads, "señor es de haber
ejeno" for the last line. This has been changed to agree
with Mad.
que el tormento y el dolor\textsuperscript{19}
que recibo del engaño.

10. by Diego de Castilla

¿Dónde estás que non te veo?
¿Qué es de ti, esperanza mía?
Que a mí, que verte deseo,
mil años se me face un día.

Mas tal es tu feromosura
en tu tierna juventud,
que con tu gentil figura
me fiere y dando salud.
Convigo mismo guerreo
si te desamar podría;
a la fin, cativo creo
de quedar de tu señoría.\textsuperscript{20}

11. by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón

Muy triste será mi vida
los días que non vos viere
mi persona vencida
del dolor de la partida
morirá cuando muriere.

Vivirán los tormentos
dados sin merecimientos

\textsuperscript{19}Lines ten and eleven read, "la muerte. Es menor daño/
que iguale con el dolor," in SC. They have been changed to
agree with Mad.

\textsuperscript{20}By, I, 267, prints this poem after a reading in a
manuscript collection from Seville (Codex Sevilla 1535,
f. 68). This reading has minor variations but is not re-
produced here because the version in the Seville Cancionero
agrees with both the version in Mad. and that in CG.
no morirán los pensamientos
que con vos siempre he tenido.
Pues sea conocida
mi vida cuanto os quiere
y mi persona vencida
[del dolor de la partida] 21
morirá cuando muieres.

12. by Juan de Mena

Oys tu merced y crea,
¡ay de quien nunca te vido!

21 SC omits this line. It is added after Mad.

22 In Barb, p. 62, this poem is attributed to Juan Rodríguez del Padrón but no other source for the text is given. The text which Barb. prints appears to be a better reading, but it differs from both the reading in SC and that in Mad. In the text in Barb. the third line reads, "Y mi persona vencida," and the copla reads as follows:

Vivirán los pensamientos
que con vos siempre he tenido;
no morirán los tormentos
dados sin merecimientos
que de vos he recibido.
Y así será conocido
mi vida cuanto vos quiere;
y mi persona vencida
del dolor de la partida
morirá cuando muieres.

The reading in Mad. has the same third line as that in Barb. The copla of Mad. reads as follows:

Vivirán los pensamientos
que con vos siempre he tenido;
que de vos he recibido.
No morirán los tormentos
dados sin merecimientos
que de vos he recibido
Hombre que tu gesto vea
nunca pueda ser perdido.

Pues tu vista me salvó
cese tu seña tan fuerte,
pues que, Señora, de muerte
tu figura me libró;
[bien dirá cualquier que sea
sin temor de ser vencido;
hombre que tu gesto vea
nunca puede ser perdido.]

Y a la tu sola virtud,
fermosura sin medida,
es mi todo bien e vida
con esfuerzo de salud.
Quien tu vista ver desea
fablerá no en fingido;
hombre que tu gesto vea
nunca puede ser perdido.

13. Tanto cuanto me desplace
(remainder wanting)

14. ¿Qué es mi vida?, preguntáis,
non vos la puedo negar
bien amar y lamentar
es la vida que me das.

Pues sea ya conocida
mi vida cuanto vos quiere;
y mi persona vencida
del dolor de la partida
morirá cuanto vos viere.

23 SC omits the last four lines of this copla. They are added after CG, f. xx.

24 This copla added after the collected works of Juan de Mena, printed in Seville in 1528, and quoted in Barb, pp. 143-144.

25 871N reads, "non vos la quiero negar."
¿Quién vos pudiese servir
tan bien [como] yo he servido?26
Mi trabajado vivir.
Mi quién pudiera haber sufrido.
¿Para qué me preguntáis
la pena que he de pasar?
Pues amar y lamentar
es la vida que me daís.] 27

15. Non puedo sino querer
con la fe de bien amar,
pues mi vida sin vos ver
non puede mucho durar.

Que dolores lastimeros
me dan la muerte forzado
(remainder wanting)

16. Mis tristes tristes suspiros
da dolor deben doleros,
pues tanto deseo serviros
cuanto me apartan de veros.

(remainder wanting)

17. ¡Ay, que non sé remediarme,
cativo, ni defendarme,
si tú, que puedes valerme,
ya delibras de matarme;

¡O, mis secretas pasiones!
¡O, pública desventura!

26 SC omits the word "como" which is added following 871N. 871N in turn omits the word "yo" and lines seven and eight.

27 SC omits the last four lines which have been recovered from 871N.
¡O, clave de mis prisiones!  
¡O, cabo de ferosura!  
¿A quién iré a quejarme?  
¡O, [a] quién iré socorrerme?  
si tú, que puedes valerme,  
ya delibras de matarme?  

18. Pues que Dios te fizo tal,  
graciosa, dulce, ferosa,  
y más honesta,  
él te amo desigual,  
gentil dama valerosa,  
haya respuesta.

Respuesta de mi servicio,  
que vivo vida muriendo,  
trasportado en tu figura,  
te demando;  
esperando el beneficio  
que me desees dar, doliendo-  
te de mi mal y tristura  
en que ando.  
Pues que así naciste tal  
en extremo virtuosa,  
di, ¡qué te cuesta  
librarme de tanto mal;  
tú, señora tan ferosa,  
con tu respuesta?  

19. Con temor vivo, ojos tristes,  
a la dicha que teméis,

28Mad. reads, "¡O, llave de mis prisiones!"

29Mad. reads, "¿A quién iré yo quejarme?"

30Mad. reads, "O, dónde iré socorrerme." SC reads,  
"O, de quién iré socorrerme."

31Mad. reads, "que me debes dar, doliendo-"

32Mad. reads, "tú, señora tan graciosa."
que nunca más os veréis,
tan lejos como vos visteis.

(remainder wanting)

20. Siempre crece mi serviros,
y mi triste desearos, 34
mas con temor de enojaros,
non oso merced pediros.

Y de tal temor vencido

callando pena y sufriendo

quiero pediros sirviendo

las mercedes que vos pido.
Comportando con sospiros

un secreto desearos,
y morir mas no enojaros, 36
pues es victoria serviros.

21. Cuanto mi vida viviere

quiero fermosa doncella

que sola seas aquella

a quien de grado sirviere.

Por vos fallar virtuosa

vuestro servicio deseo

pues cabo de tan fermosa

jamás he visto nin veo.
Dama si vos pluiere

mi servicio sin querella,

vos sola seas aquella

a quien de grado sirviere.

33 Only the word "con" appears in the middle of the soprano of the copla.

34 Mad. reads, "con temor de enojaros."

35 Mad. reads, "las mercedes que no pido."

36 CG, f. ccvi, reads, "morir y nunca enojaros."
22. by Miguel López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana

Señora, cual soy venido, tal me parto; de cuidados más que farto, y dolorido.  

¡Quién non se farta de males, y de vida desplaciente a las penas desiguales sufre, callando paciente, sino yo, que sin sentido me dirán los que mis males sabrán, o perdido?  

Habed ya de mi dolor; que los dolores de muerte me carcan en derrador, y me facen guerra fuerte. Tomadme en vuestro partido como quiera, porque, viviendo, no muera aborrido.  

Pero al fin fazed, señora, como querades; que yo no seré punto ni ora sino vuestro, cuyo só.  

37 SC reads "de trabajos." This is changed to agree with GD, pp. 190-191.  

38 SC omits "y."  

39 SC reads, "sufre, callando y paciente."  

40 SC reads, "los que mis daños sabrán."  

41 GD, pp. 190-191, reads, "y perdido."
Sin favor o favorido
me tenades
muerto, sí, tal me queredes,
o guarido.

by Juan de Triana (?)

Infante nos es nacido
con toda sabiduría
da nosotros ofrecido
para darnos aliento.

Con amor y caridad
este niño tan grácil
vino a ser y gozoso
con perfecta humildad.
A tomar humanidad
y nació en esta día,
sin perder virginidad
su madre Santa María.

23. De mi perdida esperanza,
que es un mal que mal fatiga,
fue causa vuestra mudanza,
por do sola la membranza
me queda por enemiga.

Ya la pasada porfía
es traje que no se vista
cuidados que ser solía
me toman y dejan triste.
Es perdida mi esperanza,
en doblada mi fatiga
por ser cierta la mudanza
de quien sola la membranza
me queda por enemiga.

42. The last two stanzas are added following the reading
in GD, pp. 190-191.
24. Pues mi dicha non consiente
que esté do os pueda servir
no cumple sino morir.

Dame tal vida y tristura
el desvío y triste ausencia
que ni basta paciencia
ni me aprovecha cordura.
Mas pues de vos ausente
tengo triste de vivir,
no cumple sino morir.

25. by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón

Vive leda, si podrás,
y non pues atendiendo,
que según peno partiendo
non esperes que jamás

te veré nin me verás.

¡O dolorosa partida!
¡O triste amador! Te pido
con licencia me despido
de tu vista y de mi vida.

El trabajo perderás
en haber de mi más cura;
que según mi gran tristura,
non entiendo que jamás

te veré nin me verás.

Pues que fuiste la primera
de quien yo me cautivé,
desde aquí vos doy mi fe
vos seréis la postrimera.

---

43 CB, p. 506, reads, "non esperas atendiendo."

44 CB, p. 506, reads, "non entiendo que jamás."

45 SC contains only the first two stanzas.

46 The third and fourth stanzas follow CB, p. 506 (which contains only the first four stanzas).
Fuego del divino rayo,
dulce llama sin ardor,
esfuerzo contra desmayo,
consuelo contra dolor,
alumbra tu servidor.

La falsa gloria del mundo
y vana prosperidad
contemplé,
con pensamiento profundo
el centro de su maldad
penetré;
el canto de la sirena
oiga quien es sabidor,
la cual temiendo la pena
de la fortuna mayor
planea en el tiempo mejor.

Así yo, preso de espanto,
que la divina virtud
ofendí,
comienzo mi triste planto
facer en mi juventud
desde aquí;
los desiertos penetrando,
do con esquivo clamor
pueda, mis culpas llorando,
despedirme sin temor
de falso placer e honor.

Adiós, real esplendor
que yo serví y loé
con lealtad;
adiós, que todo el favor
y cuanto de amor fablé
es vanidad;
adiós, los que bien amé,
adiós, mundo engañador,
adiós, donas que ensalcé,
famosas dignas de loor,
orad por mi pecador.

Bien amar, leal servir,
gritar et decir mis penas,
es sembrar en las arenas
o en las ondas escribir.
Si tanto cuanto serví
sembrara en la ribera,
tango que reverdeciera
et diera fruto de sí;
e aun, por verdad decir,
si yo tanto escribiera
en la mar yo bien pudiera
todas las ondas teñir.

Cuidado nuevo venido
me da de nueva manera,
pensa la más verdadera
que jamás he padecido.

Yo ardo sin ser quemado
en vivas llamas de amor;
peno sin haber dolor,
muerdo sin ser visitado
da quien con beldad vencido
me tiene en su bandera.
¡Oh mi pena postremar,
sacrome fuego encendido! 47

26. Dama, mi gran querer
en tanto grado me toca,
que non me puedo valer.
Mi vivir por vos se apoca.

47 The last eight stanzas have been recovered from the Cancionero de Stúñiga (stanzas 5-10) and the Cancionero general of 1557 (stanzas 11-12) as printed in AG, I, 134-135.

48 Barb., p. 60, reports that there is a poem with this beginning line in ms 7820 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and that it is attributed to the "Gran Cardenal Mendoza (muerto en 1495)," adding that he had not confirmed that the entire poem was identical with this text.
Apócase [él] mi vivir
por amar demasiado.
Non me aprovecha el servir,
non me aprovecha el cuidado.
Vóme del todo a perder.50
Mi vivir por vos se apoca.
Causalo vuestro valer51
que en tanto grado me toca.

27. by Juan de Mena

Porque más sin duda creas
mi gran pena dolorida.
Déte Dios tan triste vida
que ames y nunca seas
amada ni bien querida.

Y con esta vida tal
pienso bien que creerás
el tormento desigual
que sin merecer me das.
Pues que muerte me deseas
sin tenerla merecida,
déte Dios tan triste vida
que ames y siempre seas
desamada y mal querida.

28. No puedes quejar, amor,
que te fuí desconocido
ni menos merecedor
de mi pena y de tu olvido.

Que jamás mi pensamiento
pensó errarte,
i ni me dio contentamiento

49 SC omits the word "el" which is supplied after the reading in Mad.

50 Mad. reads,"Vóyme del todo a perder."

51 Lines ten and eleven read, "la vida mía se apoca,/ causalo mucho querer" in Mad.
sino amarte.
Sufriendo tu desfavor
sin quejarme te [he] servido
no siendo merecedor
de mi pena y de tu olvido.

29. Laudate [D] eum omnes Angeli eius,
laudate eum omnes Virtutes eius.

30. Mi querer tanto vos quiere,
[muy graciosa doncella,
que por vos mi vida muere
y de vos no tiene querella] 52

Tanto sois de mi querida
con amor y lealtad
que de vos nos sé qué pida 53
viendo vuestra honestidad.
Si mi querer tanto vos quiere,
cáusalo que sois tan bella,
que por vos mi vida muere
y de vos no tiene querella.

31. Mirando dama fermosa
lo que mirar no debía,
o cuitado,
mi vida es trabajosa,
la muerte non la querría
y esforzado.

Según el dolor que siento
de vos, señora, causado,
bien sería
la muerte; mas non consiento
que vivir por vos penado

52 Sections in brackets are wanting from SC. They have been recovered from Mad.
53 In Mad. lines six and seven read, "da con amor de lealtad/ que de vos non sé que diga."
es alegría.
Mas veros tanto graciosa
como os veo cada día,
mi cuidado.
Face mi vida penosa
la muerte non la querría,
y esforzado.

32. De vos y de mí quejoso
de vos porque sois esquiva
y de mí que nunca viva
si mi mal deciros oso.

Cuando soy de vos ausente
fálome gran corazón
y pienso que soy presente
en deciros mi pasión.
Mas vuestro gesto sañoso
y presunción tan esquiva
me hace que nunca viva
si mi mal deciros oso.

33. Andad, pasiones, andad
acaba quien comenzó
que nunca os dirá de no.

¿Que mal me podéis hacer
sino que pierda la vida?
Yo la tengo tan perdida
que no la puedo más perder.

Entrad en vuestro placer,

54 SC reads, "si decir mi mal os oso."

55 There are a number of variant readings to this poem.
The present editor has not seen any two readings which are
alike, although all the variants are minor. Only those in
Mad. will be reproduced here. Line three reads, "de mi por-
que nunca viva," line eight reads, "a deciros mi pasión,"
line ten reads, "y presunción muy esquiva," and line eleven
reads, "me hazen que nunca viva."

56 Mad. reads, "que no puedo más perder."
tomad cuanto tengo yo, 
que nunca os diré de no. 57

Vengan, lleguen a porfía 
pasiones que son mi gloria, 
pues será cierta vitoria 
acabar por esta vía. 
¡O mundo! quien en ti fía 
sé que oirá lo que yo, 
que nunca os diré de no.

Podéis sin temor entrar 
de mi mal recibimiento, 
pues sabéis que soy contento 
si venís para acabar. 
La prisa será tardar 
pues el remedio tardó, 58 
que nunca os diré de no. 59

Dése fin en mi vivir, 
de cualquier suerte que sea, 
porque ya yo no posea 
el tormento del sentir. 
Que lo tengo de sofrir, 
pues que ventura lo dio, 
que nunca os diré de no.

Hallareis mi corazón 
sin portero a puerta abierta, 
esperando nueva cierta 
de muerte por galardon. 
Cierta sale su intención 
de quien tal seguro dío, 
que nunca os diré de no.

57 GC contains only the estribillo and the first copla. The remainder of the poem is recovered from Mad.

58 GC, reads "pues ventura me faltó."

59 GC contains the estribillo, first, and third coplas on f. cxlix.
34. ¿Quién vos dio tal señorío
    que sólo que vos mire
    mi libertad cative
    que sea vuestro y no mío?

    Esto causó ferosura
    que quiso que vuestro fuese.
    Eso mismo la mesura
    dio favor que me prendiese.

35. Ya de amor era partido
    por me ser así cruel
    y mas un gesto muy polido
    me mandó tornar a él.

    Vista tanta gentileza
    ocasión de mi morir,
    el mando de su belleza
    me fue forzado complir.

36. De vida que tanto enoja,
    de muerte que tanto duela,
    no sé si Dios me consuele
    cual estoja.

    No hallo cual sea más fuerte
    de estas dos extremidades,
    el vivir con ansiedades,
    o la dolorosa muerte.

37. by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

    Pues no mejora hay fuerte
    cedo morir me conviene
    (two lines wanting)

    Sospiros . . . . .
    (three lines wanting)

---

60 This line recovered from the poem "Infierno de Amor" by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, printed in FD, p. 633.
Hacen mi vida tan fuerte
que al morir más me conviene
por ver si tiene la muerte
lo que la vida no tiene.

38. Al dolor de mi cuidado
siempre le crece tristura
mas nunca será mudado
por mal que diga venutra.

[El esperanza perdida
y el pensamiento dudoso
con un vivir congojoso
me da muerte conocida.
Esfuérza con la cordura,
que mueres desesperado,
mas no por eso mudado,
por mal que diga venutra.]

39. by Berenger of Tours (11th century)

Omnipotentem
semper adorant
et benedicunt
omne per aevum.

Arva polorum
 cuncta chorique,
solque sororque,
lumina caeli.

Ignis et aestus
causa geluque,
frigus et ardor
atque pruina.

Sic quoque lympheae
quasque supernae,
ros pulviasque
spiritus omnis.

Omnia viva,
quae vehit sequor,
quae vehit aer,
terraque nutrit.

---

61SC reads, "mas nunca eso mudado." The line has been changed following the reading in Mad.

62The copla is wanting in SC and has been recovered from Mad.

63The higher voice in SC reads "Cunctipotentem" and the lower reads, "Omnipotentem."
Mix glaciesque, lux tenabreaque, nubes. Arlda, montes, germina, collas, flumina, fontes, pontus et undae. Rite camini ignei flammas, iussa tyranni temera prompti.

40. No tenga nadie esperanza en hallarse muy dichoso, que de amor y su mudanza es lo más cierto dudoso.

Antes mire con gran tiento quien vive favorecido que el estar mucho contento es estar [mucho] perdido. Tema siempre su mudanza, no presuma de dichoso, que en su gloria y esperanza es lo más cierto dudoso.

41. No text.

42. Con temor de la mudanza que de amor siempre se espera, me da congoja esperanza por que no muriendo muer.

64 SC has only the first stanza. Stanzas 2-10 are after LH, I, 72-73.

65 The last stanza added after Cor, p. 384.
No tengo hora segura
el temor siempre más . . .
gran combate de tristura
hora ni punto . . . . . .
Esta muy flaca esperanza
congoja muy lastimera
crece el temor de mudanza
por que no muriendo muera.

43. No consiento ni me place
que florezca ni que viva
el mal amador que hace
de su, señora cautiva.

Sino cuando más se hallaencendido por servilla
con sus manos adoralla,
pero nunca recibilla.
Por que al concluir deshace
lo que el desear aviva
en tal manera que hace
de su, señora cautiva.

otro

Vo buscando, so vencido
el nombre y valer de quien
hace mi mal tan . . .
cuanto se acorta mi bien.

44. Cuanta gloria me dio vero
senta pena mi vivir
. . . . . . . . . . . . .
recelando de perderos.

Pero ved si quien
(remainder wanting)

45. No text.

46. Agnus Dei
qui tollis peccata mundi:
miserere nobis: doxa nobis pacem. 66

47. Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.
Hosanna in excelsis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.
Hosanna in excelsis. 67

48. Dime, triste corazón
¿por qué... tu pasión?
Cativo non sé qué diga.
A quien sirvo es mi enemiga.
Plácela con mi fatiga.
Desespero galardón.

49. Amar es servir,
llorar y gemir.

Amar su excelencia,
tomar su servir,
pedir su clemencia,
da vicios fuir.

50. by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz (?)

Mortales son los dolores
que se siguen del amor,
mas ausencia es el mayor.

66 SC has only the first and last lines. The second and third lines are recovered from the GR, p. 58. In performance the first three lines are repeated, after which the first two lines are repeated again and the last line follows.

67 SC has only the words "Sanctus" and "Pleni." The remainder is after the reading in the GR, p. 91.
¿Porqué el triste que padecer?  
aunque grande pena sienta,  
si presente se presenta  
que por amor non sé.  
Mas el ausencia que tiene  
de la mudanza y temor,  
¿cuál vida será peor?

Y el mayor daño que tiene  
ausencia con todos ellos  
que muy pocos son aquellos  
que la ausencia no condene.  
Por que este amor engañoso  
cuyo soy por mi dolor  
es mudable engañador.

51. Pensamiento, ve do vas  
pues sabes dónde te envío,  
y dirás cómo eres mío.

Dile más que le suplico  
que de aquí la certifico.  
Sin remedio va perdida  
haya dolor de mi vida.  
No tardando volverás  
sin hacer otro desvío  
y dirás cómo eres mío.  

A la ausencia temerosa  
del olvido su sentencia,  
por qué amor . . . en ausencia  
y esperanza está dudosa.  
Y de todas las sospechas  
quien tiene . . . amor  
siempre teme lo peor.

68 Mad. has only the first four lines of this copla and  
they are arranged in different order: four, seven, five, and  
six, as compared with the reading in SC. The last three  
lines are found in the last stanzas in Mad.

69 SC has only the estribillo and the first two coplas  
as given here. Mad., however, does not have the second copla  
but does have three more which are reproduced above.
Véete ya sin más tardar
a do pide mí deseo,
y procura remediar
dos mil males que poseo.
Mi vida publicarás,
pues por tu fuerza me guío,
y dirás cómo eres mío.

Harás apostemamiento
en poder de la señora
que me da tan gran tormento
sin descansar una hora;
y de mí te dolerás
pues mi vida te confío,
y dirás cómo eres mío.

Si dijeran dónde vas
quien eres, o quien te envía;
de mí parte le dirás
que buscas el alegria;
y entonces comenzarás
la razón con que te envío;
no tardando volverás
sin hacer otro desvío,
y dirás cómo eres mío.

52. Olvida tu perdición,
España ya consolidada,
dea don Rodrigo perdida,
dea don Fernando ganada.

53. Quien tiene vida y esperanza
comiencéis a despedir,
pues así venimos morir.

Que la muerte, muy traidera,
que se apresura a desora

---

70 SC reads, "Cesas apostemamiento." The reading above follows that of Barb, p. 87.
y no da momento de hora
de espacio de arrepentir.

Y quien mil suspiros da
por liviandades ...
con uno solo ...
cuando el alma ha de partir.

54. Niña y viña
peral y habar
malo es da guardar. 71

Levantéme, o madre,
meñanica frida.
Fui cortar la rosa
la rosa florida. 72
Malo es da guardar.

Levantéme, o madre,
meñanica clara.
Fui cortar la rosa
la rosa granada.
Malo es da guardar.

Viñadero malo
prenda me pedía.
Dile yo un cordóne, 73
dile me un ... .
Malo es da guardar.

Viñadero malo
prenda me demandó. 74

71 This line should read, "malo son de guardar" as it does in Gonzalo Correas, Vocabulario de Refranes y Frases (Madrid, 1924), p. 339. The singular verb may have been used intentionally here, however, in order to make the text appears more un-cultured and folk-like.

72 JF2, p. 31 reads, "Fui cortar la hoja/la hoja florida."

73 JF2, p. 31 reads, "dile yo mi cinta."

74 JF2, p. 31 reads, "prenda me demanda."
55. by Venantius Fortunatus (530-609)

O gloriosa domina,  
excelsa supra sidera,  
qui te creavit, provide  
lactasti sacro ubere.  

Quod Heva tristis abstulit,  
tu reddis almo germine;  
intrent ut astra fiabiles,  
caeli fenestra facta es.

Tu Regis alti janua,  
et porta lucis fulgida:  
vitam datam per Virginem  
gentes redemptae plaudite.

Maria, Mater gratiae,  
Mater misericordiae,  
Tu nos ab hoste protege,  
et hora mortis suscipe.

Gloria tibi Domine,  
qui natus es de Virgine,  
cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu  
in sempiterne saecula.

56. Es la vida que cobré  
con el mal que despedí  
tal cual no la merecí.

75 SC contains only the first stanza. The word "provide" was omitted and is added here after the reading in AB, pp. 268-271.

76 The last four stanzas follow AB, pp. 268-271. The poem is also in MB, pp. 321-322 where it has minor variations. The variant reading which MB prints is the modern text for the hymn "O gloriosa Virginem" which may be found in LU, p. 1314.
Fue la vida darme gloria
para quitar la memoria
do no esperaba vitoria
aparte pesar de mí.

Cobré todo cumplimiento
de una gloria sin tormento
cual la pensó el pensamiento
de esto . . . pasó.

57. Próxima de mejor (instrumental)

58. Aquello trate domingo
toma agasajo y placer
quapas . . . la vida ayer.

Vila tan fermosa y bella
tan garrida y tan galana
que te juro por Santa Ana
que quedé muerto de vella.
Traigote encomiendas de ella
por que me pueda querer
quapas . . . la vida ayer.

59. by Juan del Encina

Nuevas te traigo, carillo
[de tu mal.
Dímelas hora, Pascual.

Sábete que Bartolilla,
là hija de Marimingo,
se desposó di domingo,
con un garzon de la villa.78
Ha gran cordojo e mancilla

77 SC. has only the first line. The remainder follows the reading in MP, IV, 161-164.

78 Mad. reads, "con un zagal de la villa." Barbieri changes his text to agree with the reading above.
de tu mal,
porque eres tan buen sagal.

Dí si burlas o departes,
o si lo dices de vero,
porque en mal tan lastimero
no es razon que tu me enartes.
Yo hablé con ella el martes
so en portal;
mas nunca me dijo tal.

Yo te juro a San Rodrigo
que no te burlo ni miento,
porque a su desposamiento
me llamaron por testigo:
créame lo que te digo,
que este mal
te será muy desigual.

¡Pese a Díez con el cariño
que yo con ella tenia,
porque con su galanía
me ha burlado como a niño!
Tal descuerdo y desaliño,
por tu mal,
me será más que mortal.79

Si te tuviera amorío
sábeta cierto y notorio
que aburriera el desposorio
con todo su poderío.
Su querer es muy crudío,
que en lo tal
no hizo de tí caudal.

¡Oh lazerado y aborrido!80
No hay dolor que así me duela,
que en perder esta mozuela

79Mad. reads, "si por él con ella niño, /serme a mal;/
quierolo dejar pasar." Barbieri changes this to agree with
the reading above.

80Mad. reads, "Lazerado y aborrido."
el gasajo he ya perdido.
Estoy tan amodorrado,
que muy mal
te conozco ya, Pascual.

Tu cordojo y tu llanto
me pone gran acedia,
que toda tu mancaba
has gestado en devaneo.
Muda, muda tu deseo,
pues tu mal
es un mal muy principal.

No puedo mostrar mudanza,
no vivir sin su presencia,
que no traje mi herencia
sino tras su semejanza.
Sufrir con desesperanza
tanto mal
es cost a descomunal.

Apatiente tu ganado,
procura buscar conorte,
las fiestas date a deporte,
los jueves vete al mercado.
No cuides en tal cuidado,
de lo cual
te puede vivir más mal.

Yo no quiero el caramillo,
ni las vacas ni corderos,
ni los sayos domingueros,
ni el capote de pardillo,
ni quiero ya surrocillo
ni cotral,
ni yesca ni pedernal.

Ora, Carillo, descrucia
de seguir esta sagala;
ni te quelotre su gala,
ni tengas en ella lucía,
dígote que era muy lucía;
de lo al
no te sabré dar señal.
Aunque pese a quien pesare,
juro a mí de siempre amalla,
de seguilla y remiralla
do quiera que la hallare.
A quien esto me estorbare,
si me val,
yo le daré mal final.)

60. Los hombres con gran placer
no saben qué se hacer.

Ángeles de alto vicio
cada cual de su oficio
faced al niño servicio,
que nos quiso hoy nacer.

Celestiales cortesanos
industria con vuestras manos
algunos juegos humanos
con que lo vamos a ver.

Y tales juegos le vemos
con que todos le alabemos
y a una voz le ofrecemos
ser de infinito poder.

E porque más le obliguemos,
a la madre alábaremos.
Grandes leores le daremos,
pues tal fue su merecer.

Reina que tal pariste,
de la virgen remaneciste.
Singular placer sentiste
al tiempo de su nacer.

Pues de todos eras señora,
por nos al tu fijo exora,
que en el logar donde mora,
el nos faga renacer.

61. Merced, merced le pidamos
aquel infante que cobramos.
Busquemos algo que dalle.
Osamos ir a mirarle,
que resante el primer valle
cortaremos algo que dalle.

Desque lleguemos cerquilla,
hincaremos la rodilla.
Dalle hemos una botilla
de leche que aquí llenamos.

Dalle hemos una almarada
y una cohara labrada
y mi puerta la labrada
que el otro día compramos.

A su madre le daremos
en llegando que lleguemos
una mesa que haremos
del espino que cortamos.

Pidámosle por mesura
como a humana criatura
que nos dé buena ventura
en el siglo que esperamos.

62. by Sedulius (5th century)

Salve, sancta parens,
enixa puerpera Regem, 81
qui coelum terramque regit
in saecula saeculorum. Amen. 82

Nunem et aeterno
complectens omnia gyro
imperium sine fine
manet; quae ventre beato.
Gaudia matris habens

81 SC reads, "et nixit." The reading is changed to agree with that in GR, p. [75].

82 Mar, p. 61 has, "per saecula, cuius" for this line. The remainder of the poem is after his reading.
cum virginitatis honore,  
 nec primam similem visa est,  
 nec habere sequentem;  
sola sine exemplo  
placuisti femina Christo!  
Christe, fave votis,  
qui mundum in morte iacentem  
vivificare volens  
quondam terrena petisti!

63. Virgo Dei Genitrix,  
quem totua non capit orbis,  
in tua se clausit  
viscera factus homo.  
Gloria Patri, et Filio,  
et Spiritui Sancto.  
Sicut erat in principio,  
et nunc, et semper,  
et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

64. Reina muy esclarecida,  
y madre de Jesucristo  
Dios y hombre todo mixto,  
virgen después de parida.  

Con singular alegría  
los ángeles decendieron,  
alabanzas te ofrecieron,  
Sagrada Virgen María.

65. Buenas nuevas de alegría  
gozas [d] vos gente cristiana.

83 The words in brackets are omitted in Bev. and are added after the reading in the GR, p. [76].

84 SC reads, "viscera fatus homo."

85 The sections of the Gloria which are in brackets are after LU, p. 840.
Un niño tiene Santa Ana
que parió Santa María.

Quedando virgen entera
nació de ella...
Dios y hombre poderoso
sin compañía de partera.
El que el mundo salvaría.

66. Deus in adjutorium
adveni ad renuntium.

Fija, ¿quieres casar?
Madre, non lo he por al.
Adveni ad renuntium.

Fija, ¿quieres labrador?
Madre, non le quiero non.

Fija, ¿quieres escudero?
Madre, non tiene dinero.

Fija, ¿quieres el abad?
Madre, aqueste me dad.

¿Porque quieres el abad?
Porque non siembra y coge pan.

67. Tu valer me da gran querra.
Tu merced ya me destierra.

Vite de tan gran valer
y sobrado merecer.

68. In exitu Israel de Aegypto,
domus Jacob de populo barbaro,
facta est Judaea sanctificatio ejus,
Israel potestas ejus.

86 SC contains only the first two lines. The remainder
follows the Biblia Sacra.
Mare vidit, et fugit;
Jordania conversus est retrorsum. Montes excultaverunt ut arietes, et colles sicut agni ovium.

Quid est tibi, mare, quod fugasti?
et tu, Jordanis, quia conversus es retrorsum? Montes, exultestis sicut arietes?
et, colles, sicut agni ovium?

A facie Domini mota est tertia, a facie Dei Jacob; qui convertit petram in stagna aquarum, et rupem in fontes aquarum.

69. Maravillome
del santiguome
del que el diablo le
fizo [su] moler.

(remainder wanting)

70. Pinguæle respingüete,87
¡qué buen San Juan es éste!

Fuese mi marido, a ser del arzobispo.88
Dejarme un fijo y falléme cinco.
¡Qué buen San Juan es éste!

Dos [t] uve en el carmen y dos en San Francisco89 (two lines wanting)
¡Qué buen San Juan es éste!

---

87 JFL, p. 69 reads, "Pinguæle respingüete."

88 JFL, p. 69 adds, "Qué buen San Juan es éste" as a third line.

89 JFL, p. 69 reads, "y tres en San Francisco."
71. La moza que las cabras cría, de las rodillas arriba.  

Digas, moza de los calzones si quieres guardar cabrones.  

De amores son mis ojuelos... de amores...  

... que fuerte pena tiene amiga y que non la vea.

72. A los mañinos era en antes era del alba que la Virgen... ella virgo fincara.  

Nueve meses había que la virgen sagrada al su fijo traía en el seno encerrada.  

Desque fue llegada la hora de la esperanza al que al mundo ficiera.

73. Juicio fuerte será dado y muy cruel de muerte.

74. Virgen di[g]na de honor de ti nació el Salvador.  

El día de navidad en toda la cristianidad facen gran [solemnidad]

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90 JF1, p. 67, reads, "de las rodillas arriba dirías:"

91 JF1, p. 67, reads, "moza de los calzones."

92 SC reads, "facen grand [solemnidad]."
al tu fijo con gran loor
virgen digna de honor
de ti nació el Salvador. 93

De ti, Virgen, este día
nació el nuestro Mesías,
que el mundo salvar venía
por el nuestro muy gran error.
Virgen digna de honor,
de ti nació el Salvador.

En Belén te acaeció,
cuando en tu hijo nació,
el lucero apareció,
a los tres reyes fue guía.
Virgen digna de honor,
de ti nació el Salvador.

Por estrella se guiaron
cuando a tu hijo hallaron,
todos tres le adoraron
presentes de gran valor.
Virgen digna de honor,
de ti nació el Salvador.

Mirra ofreció Gaspar,
Melchor encienso le fue dar,
orofreció Baltasar,
adorando al buen señor.
Virgen digna de honor,
de ti nació el Salvador.

Yo que hice este ditado
al Dios tengo mucho errado;
por ti sea perdonado
el día del muy gran temor.
Virgen digna de honor,
de ti nació el Salvador.

93 SC contains only the estribillo and the first copla. The remainder is found in CF, V, 172. CF does not include the copla which is in Sev.
75. ¡Qué bonito niño chiquito!

Pariendo la virgen,
dos buenas mujeres
servían al parto
y hacíanle placeres al niño.

Después lo hubo parido,
la virgen con prudencia,
luego lo adoraron
dándole reverencia al niño.

Y los pañizuelos
que non son de sirgo
en un pesebrejo
envuélvelo la virgo al niño.

La virgen María
como era merecida
niño lo crudamente
con una fajuela al niño.

Ángeles del cielo
muy dulce cantaban,
"gloria in excelsis deo"
 así lo acallaban al niño.

76. Qui facid celum et terram. Amen.

77. ¡Ay, Santa María!
Valedma, señora,
esperanza mía.

Vos sois la que amo,
vos sois la que quiero,
vos sois la que llamo,
vos sois la que espero,
vos sois el lucero

94 SC contains only the estribillo. The remainder of the poem is found in Mad.
cuya luz nos guía,
esperanza mía.

78. Dic nobis Maria,
quid vidisti in via?

79. Benedicamus domino.

80. Benedicamus domino.

81. by Walahfridus Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau
(9th century)

Juste judex, Jesu Christe,
regunt, rex, et domine, 95
qui cum patre regnas semper
et cum sancto flamme,
munc digneris preces postras 96
clementer suscipere. 97

Tu de caelis descendisti
virginis in uterum,
unde sumans veram carnem
visitasti saeculum
tuum plasma redimendo
sanguinem per proprium.

Tua, quaeo, Deus meus,
gloriosa passio
me defendat incessanter
ab omni periculo,

95 LH, I, 176 reads, "regum rex et domine."

96 LH, I, 176 reads, "munc digneris preces meas."

97 SC contains only the first stanza. The remainder is
found in LH which reads, "dignater suscipere" for the last
line of the first stanza.
ut valeam permanere
in tuo servitio.

Assit mihi tua virtus
semper et defensio,
mentem meam ne perturbet
hostium incursio,
ne damnetur corpus meum
fraudulentis laqueo.

Dextra fortis, qua fregisti
Acherontis iamaus,
frange meos inimicos
nec non et insidias,
quibus volunt occupare
cordis mei semitas.

Tu protector et defensor,
tu sis mihi clipeus,
ut resistam te rectore
mihi detrahentibus
et iisdem superatis
gaudeam diutius.

Sanctae crucis tuae signum
sensus meos muniat
et vexillo triumphali
me victorem faciat,
ut devictus inimicus
viribus deficiat.

Mitte sanctum de supernis
sedibus paraclitum,
suo meum qui illustrat
splendore consilium,
odientes me repellat
et eorum odium.

Miserere mei, Jesu,
vivi Dei gevite,
miserere deprecanti,
angelorum domine,
esto semper memor mei,
dator indulgentiae.
Deus pater, Deus fili,
Deus alme spiritus,
qui semper es unus Deus
dicerisque Dominus,
tibi virtus sit perennis
honorque perpetus.

82. No text.

83. Magnificat anima mea Dominum.
Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari
meo.
Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae:
ecce anima huc beatam me dicent omnes
generationes.
Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est: et
sanctum nomen ejus.
Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies
timentibus eum.
Facit potentiam in brachio suo: dispersit
superbos mente cordis sui.
Deposit potentes de sede, et exaltavit
humiles.
Esurientes implevit bonis: et devites
dimisit inaves.
Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus
misericordias suae.
Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros,
Abraham et semini ejus in saecula.
Gloria Patre, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto
Sicut era t in principio, et nunc, et sem-
per, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen. 98

84. Querer vieja yo, 99
no quiera Dios no.

98 This text may be found in LU, p. 209. Its source is
Luke 1: 46-55. SC83 however has only the words "Quia" and
"Et mis."

99 JFl, p. 81 reads, "Que ser vieja yo, no quiere Dios no."
Una vieja como sarría?
los gargueros de guitarra
ya me daba una zamarría
porque la quisieras yo.
Querer vieja yo,
no quiera Dios no. 100

Allá irás, doña vieja,
con tu pelleja.
Sospira como musual,
dice que amor la desuela,
non tiene diente ni muela.
Rumia al comer como oveja.
Allá irás, doña vieja.

Non puedo dejar
querer y bien amar.

Aunque el marido celoso
me da vida sin reposo,
todo lo torna gozoso
el cumplir mi desear.
Non puedo dejar
querer y bien amar.

Cúlpanme, mezquina,
porque vos amé.
Pues, aunque más digan,
non lo dejaré.

Si vos me quisistés
de un amor sin par,
yo non vos podría
con menos pagar.
Pues, aunque más digan,
non lo dejaré.

100 JFl, p. 81 reads, "porque la quisiese yo querer vieja
yo/ no quiera Dios no."
Que non sé filar,  
ni aspar, ni devanar.

Y mercóme mi marido  
una arroba de lino
que los perros y los gatos  
en ello facían nido.
Que non sé filar,  
ni aspar, ni devanar.

Perdí la mi rueca,  
non fallo el fuso.  
Si vistes acá  
el tortero andar.101

Perdí la mi rueca  
llena de lino.  
Halleme una bota102  
llena de vino.  
Si vistes allá  
el tortero andar.

85. Si elle m'aime, je ne sais  
Mais je ne metrai en essai  
D'acquérir quelque peu se grâce;  
Force m'est que par la je passe  
Cette fois j'en ferai l'essai.

L'autre jour tant m'aventais  
Que presque tout mon coeur laissais.103  
Aller sans que [je] lui demandasse.  
Si elle m'aime, je ne sais.

Puis après le coup me pensais  
Que longtemps amène d'essais

101 SC reads "el tordero andar." Correction is made after Mad.

102 JF1, pp. 63-64 and JF2, pp. 37-38 read "hallé una bota."

103 Cha reads, "Ses façons, si je les sais/ Quoi peu que  
tout mon coeur l'essai/ Verselle aller, ains que trespasse."
N’en fut [ce] que je ne l’aimasse, \textsuperscript{104}
Mais c’est un jeu de passe - passe;
j’en suis comme je commençais.

Petite camusette
À la mort m’avez mis;
Robin et Marion
[S’en vont au bois joli] \textsuperscript{105}
Ils en vont bras à bras,
Ils se sont endormis;
Petite camusette
À la mort m’avez mis. \textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{104} Cha reads, "Que longtemps a que me cessais/ De l’aima sans que la trompasse." Dij reads, "Que longtemps a que me cessais/ Ne ne fût que je ne gemasse."

\textsuperscript{105} This line appears only in the alto of Dij.

\textsuperscript{106} There are many variants to this text, as many, in fact, as there are readings. The reading here follows as closely as possible, that in Dij. Lines six-eight follow Niv, and line nine is added following Cha. Lines eleven and twelve are after Niv. The reading in SC is the most incomplete and most corrupt of any. It reads as follows:

De la momara, je ne stay
Maye je me tray enessay
Daquerer quelque peu de grate
Fortamente que plage y ase
E costa soys je faeray le say.

The text of "Si elle m’aime" is in the soprano of SC. The lower voices have incipits of "Petite camusette." The incipits of the alto and tenor are several words in length and are reproduced below:

Alto: Petite le camisete
À la mort mavez mis
Robbinete

Tenor: Petite le camiset
À la mort maves mis
Orbi robi
86. Por beber, comadre, por beber.

Por mal vi, comadre,
tu vino pardillo,
que allá me tenías
mi saya y mantillo,
por beber.

Que allá me tenías
mi saya y mantillo.
Relampagueáme el ojo,
láteme el colodrillo
por beber.

87. ¡Aquella buena mujer
¿cómo lo rastea tan bien!

Una dueña muy ufana
que otros tiempos fue galana
ni deja lino ni lana.
Todo lo empeña por beber.\(^{107}\)

Desque el jarro está vacio,\(^{108}\)
cición le toma con frío
tomaño le toma el brío\(^{109}\)
que se quiere amortecer.

Donde ella sabe el buen vino
abierto tiene el camino.
¡Guay de aquel viejo mestitino
que la había de mantener!

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\(^{107}\) Mad. reads, "Una mujer muy ufana" for the first line and, "que no empeña por beber" for the last. JF1, p. 64 follows Mad.

\(^{108}\) Mad. reads, "Desque el jarro ve vacío." JF1, p. 64 follows Mad.

\(^{109}\) Mad. reads for this and the next line, "traime esta casta colmada/ de ajos, para bever." JF1, p. 64, follows Mad.
Ella bebió dos bancales, una docena de costales, pluma de dos cabezales, que no pudo más haber.\textsuperscript{110}

De su casa a la taberna tiene hecha una tal senda que ni deja nacer yerba, y ella quiere nacer.

"Ven acá tú, mi criada, pues estás de mi mostrada, traime esta cesta colmada de ajas para beber."

Quebrósele el su puchero en que allegaba el dinero: "Anda acá, señor mortero, que con vos quiero beber."

Bebióse tres cubriles y tres pares de manteles, así fizo a las sartenes en que guisa de comer.

88. Dinos, madre del doncel, ¿qué te dijo Gabriel?

Dinos, doncella, tú que pariste ¿cómo al hijo de Dios concebiste?

\textsuperscript{110}SC contains only the first four stanzas. Mad., which does not contain stanzas three and four does have the last four stanzas which are reproduced above. The order of the stanzas in Mad. is different from that in Sev. in that the second stanza in SC is the fourth stanza in Mad. Otherwise, the last four stanzas are reproduced above in the order which they appear in Mad., beginning with the second stanza since the first is the same in both manuscripts.
Cuando del ángel que vino
cré el mensaje divino,
luego el hijo de Dios trino
en mis entrañas se envistió.

89. Juicio fuerte será dado
y muy cruel de muerte.

90. ¿Cómo no le andaré yo,
mezquina, tan desmayada?

Dijo la niña al pastor,
"mira, pastor, que . . . .
Dijo el pastor a la niña,
"más me querría de . . . ."

Mi enrenica madre,
mi cayada y mi almarida,
y mi yesca [y] mi eslabón.

91. Pues que non tengo
de jamás veros vencida,
por aquí quiere la vida.
¡Por Dios, non fagáis
morir la vida!

92. Le povre amant qui est
(remainder wanting)

93. No tenga con vos amor
quien quisiere tener vida,
pues la fe tenéis perdida,
pues la fe tenéis perdida.
CHAPTER VII

COMMENTARY

1. There are three separate texts for this song: The first, "Amor de penada," appears to have had a four-line estribillo and an eight-line copla, since the vuelta is of four lines and it is generally of the same length as the estribillo. The second and fourth lines of the copla are broken [quebrado]. The second (and alternate) text, "No debo dar," has a three line estribillo and coplas of seven lines each. This poem has no broken lines. The third text, (also alternate), "Bien sé que yo," has a four-line estribillo and an eight-line copla, but no broken lines.

The appearance of these three texts, each of which is constructed differently from the others, leads one to infer that with some of these songs the text was not considered important, nor was the way that the text fit the music a matter of concern.

In addition, the estribillo and first copla of the second text, "No debo dar," together with a copla which does not appear in SC, are found in a different musical setting by Escobar on f. 130 of Mad.
2. There are two separate texts for this song. The first is secular while the second, "Fues con sobra de alegría" is sacred.

4. There are two different texts for this song. (See the comments for SC1 regarding the significance of differently constructed texts.) The fifth copla, "En el servicio de vos," of the second text is also found as the text of the estribillo of an anonymous song on f. 25'-26 of Mad.

6. This song appears to have been written in 1469 soon after the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, and it voices the feeling of the populace concerning the politics of the time. It implies, at the same time, the people's desire for unity in Spain.

The people of Aragon, and especially in Catalonia, had been in open revolt against their monarch Juan II (the father of Ferdinand the Catholic) ever since 1458 when his illegitimate nephew Ferdinand I assumed the throne of Naples. The people were evidently afraid that Juan would pass on his throne to Ferdinand I when he died, in spite of the fact that Juan's son, Ferdinand the Catholic (later Ferdinand V of Spain) had inherited the throne of the little kingdom of Sicily from Alfonso II at the same time that his cousin Ferdinand I inherited Naples.
Although the revolt started in 1458 soon after the death of Alfonso II, it did not assume serious proportions until ten years later. In 1468 and 1469 Juan II appealed to King Enrique IV of Castile (Isabel's brother) and to Pedro, Condestable of Portugal, for aid. These monarchs were of little help, but Louis XI of France agreed to aid Juan—hoping thereby to gain control of a part of Juan's kingdom in return. Jean (Juan), duke of Lorraine, the son of René of Anjou, brought troops into Aragon to quell the revolt.

It was at this time that the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel took place (Oct. 19, 1469). Immediately the populace of Aragon became satisfied, since they were assured by Ferdinand's marriage that Aragon would be joined with Castile rather than with Naples; and the song, "Muy crueles voces" calls for "Duque Juan" (of Lorraine) to leave, since Ferdinand is now married.¹

A further item of interest connected with this song is that the second and fifth phrases appear to be instrumental (or vocalized) consequents to their preceding vocal (texted) phrases.

¹Cf. Fernando Díaz-Plaja, La historia de España en la poesía, (Barcelona, 1946), pp. 43-45.
14. Pope reports that a three-part, and presumably the original, version of this composition is found attributed to Cornago in Montecassino 871N; and that the four-part setting, also found in that manuscript with attribution to both Cornago and to Ockeghem,\(^2\) appears to have been a complete re-working of the original. The tenor and the soprano of the original remained unchanged in the four-part composition. The alto of the four-part version, however, was a revision of the third voice of the original composition. This completely re-worked part now occupied a region situated an octave lower than in the three-part version. Finally, contrary to the usual practice of the time, it is the bass which was added to the three parts - not the alto.\(^3\) Thus, the original song was so altered that the four-part version may be considered almost a new composition.

22. There are two texts for this song. The first, by the Marqués de Santillana, is secular, while the second, "Infante nos es nacido," presumably by Triana,\(^4\) is sacred.

\(^2\)The name appears as "Oquegen" in the manuscript. Also, see Chapter III for remarks concerning compositions with dual ascriptions.

\(^3\)Pope, "La musique espagnole," p. 49.

\(^4\)See Chapter III for remarks concerning the ascription of this song to Triana.
29. The text of this setting is the second verse of Psalm 148.

33. In the upper left-hand corner of f. 53 of the manuscript the word "villancico" appears. It seems to have been written by a different hand than that which copied the song.

39. Corbin states that this text is a paraphrase of "The Song of the Three Children" in the fiery furnace.\(^5\)

51. The text of this composition is a villancico, but there is only enough music for its estribillo. The song may have been sung as a villancico, however, by using the music once for the estribillo, repeating it for the first three lines of the copla, and again for the next three, and repeating the last phrase of the music for the last line of the copla, since this line repeats the last line of the estribillo text and functions as a refrain.

On the other hand, the song may have been performed as a canción, i.e., sung from beginning to end, setting one line of text to each musical phrase (repeating the music as necessary) and ignoring the refrain.

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\(^5\)Cor, p. 383. "The Song of the Three Children" may be found in BS, Daniel 3:57-88 and in LU, p. 222. This part of the Book of Daniel is not included in the Protestant Bible, but it is given in the Apocrypha where it is designated as verses which belong between 23-24 of the third chapter of Daniel.
Although there appears to be a section of music wanting, the song also appears in Mad with the same number of measures as here. The differences between the musical readings in the two manuscripts\(^6\) indicate that Mad was copied from a different source from that used for SC51. Thus, it may be inferred that the song was performed in the setting which appears in these two manuscripts, although it may be incomplete in both.

52. This canción appears to have been written in honor of the Spanish victory at Granada in 1492. This victory ended the reconquest.\(^7\)

53. The text of this composition appears to be a villancico, but there appears to be only enough music for the estribillo. (See the remarks concerning SC51).

55. The source of this melody has not been located by the editor. The same melody, however, is found in another setting from Seville\(^8\) and again in two different settings in the collection *Libro de cifra nueva, para tecla, harpa y*

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\(^6\) See "Musical Variants."

\(^7\) See Chapter I for a brief discussion of the reconquest and of this song.

\(^8\) Printed in Col, pp. 258-261.
vihuela (1557)\(^9\) where it appears as the soprano of no. 88 and as the tenor of no. 99.\(^{10}\) Anglés, who edited this collection, also failed to locate the source of the melody, but he adds that it is no longer used in the church.\(^{11}\)

63. The source of the melody (soprano) for this setting of the Virgo Dei Genitrix is the chant for the Magnificent in the eighth mode.\(^{12}\)

66. The first line of the estribillo "Deus in adjutorium" is the first line of Psalm 69 (Psalm 70 in the Protestant Bible) but it is used here only in parody, since the text of the copla represents a dialogue between a mother and her daughter and concerns the fact that the daughter is not yet married. In the song the soprano of the copla (singing the words of the daughter) does not enter until after the first half of the music (the mother's words) have been sung. Thus, the music reflects the dramatic quality of the dialogue.

73. This composition is a setting of the first line of the Song of the Sibyl which has been known in Spain since at

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\(^{10}\)Ibid., "parte musical," pp. 133 and 145 respectively.

\(^{11}\)Ibid., p. 176.

\(^{12}\)See AR, p. 26*.
least the tenth century, and which has also been known in France and Italy from the eleventh century. The text, originally in Greek, is a twenty-seven line acrostic stanza with the first letters of the lines spelling out "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior." The poem has been known from at least the fifth century when St. Augustine quoted it in his book The City of God.

The Song of the Sibyl was employed in a simple dramatic presentation which was performed on Christmas Eve. This custom appears to have commenced in the tenth century at Ripoll in Catalonia, and to have spread from there throughout Spain, France, and Italy. At first sung in Latin, the text was translated into the vernacular in the thirteenth century and

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13 Cf., Regin Angles, La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII (Barcelona, 1933), p. 288. A transcription of the tenth-century setting is given opposite p. 294 while the original, in neumes, appears on p. 290. Angles' transcription is also reproduced in Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1940), p. 199.

14 Ibid.

15 St. Augustine, The City of God, translated by Marcus Dods (New York, 1950), p. 629. Augustine explains another interesting element of this acrostic and that is, that the first letters of the Greek words for "Jesus Christ Son of God, Savior" spell "fish" in Greek, and this is the symbol which early Christians used as a means of identification among themselves.

16 Angles, La música a Catalunya, p. 288.
was used either in Latin or in the language of the locality after that time. Latin ceased to be used after the sixteenth century.¹⁷

The musical form of the Song of the Sibyl is that of a song with an initial refrain. In performance the poem is divided into thirteen strophes of two lines each. Between strophes the refrain (the first line of the poem) is sung.¹⁸ In the polyphonic settings, however, only the refrain is set, and the strophes are presumably sung monophonically. Polyphonic settings are rather recent, however, since none appeared before the fifteenth century.¹⁹

The dramas which were performed in conjunction with this song varied from place to place.²⁰ Generally, however, one character representing the Sibyl sang or chanted the strophes, and a chorus consisting of the choir-boys of the church sang

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¹⁷Ibid., p. 294. Several monophonic settings with vulgar texts are reproduced facing p. 296.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 294. Cor, opposite p. 288 prints several monophonic versions of the song, one of which has an extra line at the beginning, "Audite quod dixerit Sibylla."

¹⁹Anglès, Le música a Catalunya, p. 294.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 300-302 where several of the ceremonies which were used in Catalan churches are described. Cf. also Felipe Pedrell, Cancionero musical popular, I, 89-90 where a ceremony from Toledo is described, and Cor, pp. 288-290 for the practice in Portugal.
the refrain, often accompanying it with a dance. It seems significant that Rosa y Lópaz did not find any record of a performance of this ceremony in the Cathedral of Seville, especially since it appears to have been widely practiced in Spain, and the presence of this music in the Seville codex seems to indicate that the ceremony was at least known there.  

77. This composition appears to be incomplete in this manuscript. In Mad there is a different setting of the same song. It uses the same text and the same melody in the soprano. In Mad, however, there is a copla which makes the composition a villancico.

The setting in SC may have been intended to include only the estribillo, making a canción out of the original text, or else it may for some other reason have been left incomplete. On the other hand, the setting in SC may be older than that in Mad: it may have been originally a canción to which a copla was added transforming it into a villancico.

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21 Simón de la Rosa y Lópaz, *Los géneros de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, 1904), p. 231. He reports, e.g., that on Christmas Eve in 1497 there were fifteen representations of the Christmas story (not counting entr’actes) in spite of the fact that the chapter of the cathedral had forbidden such things during the Christmas celebration. No mention of the Song of the Sibyl is made, however, in the discussion of the dances of 1497 or of any other year.
78. The melody found in the tenor of this composition is the fourth phrase of the sequence "Victimae paschali laudes." Perhaps in performance the remainder of the chant was sung monophonically and only the fourth phrase sung polyphonically. On the other hand, this phrase may have been used alone as a musical response after a prayer or some other part of a religious ceremony.

83. The melody of the chant for the Magnificat in the first tone may be traced in the soprano of this setting. For some reason only two verses of the text appear to have been set in SC83--verse three (Quia resperxit humilitatem) or verse four (Quia fecit mihi magna), and verse five. The source of the text is Luke 1:46-55.

84. This composition appears to be a triple canción with the text of each voice composed of two different poems, giving it the characteristics of a quodlibit.

The text of the soprano is composed of a cantar "Querer viaja yo," which has a two-line estribillo and a six-line copla, and a seven-line poem "Allá irás." The text of the alto is two cantares: the first, "Non puedo dejar," with a two-line estribillo and an eight-line copla; and the second,

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22LU, p. 780.  23LU, p. 209.
"Culpanme mesquina," with a four-line estribillo and a six-line copla. The text of the bass is also two cantares; the first, "Que non sé filar," has a two-line estribillo and a six-line copla; and the second, "Perdí la mi rueca," has a four-line estribillo and a six-line copla. This last poem, "Perdí la mi rueca," is found, together with five additional coplas, in an anonymous musical setting on f. 146'–147 in Mad.

The music of the lowest voice is composed of two phrases: the first comprises ml-5:1, and the second m5:2-11:1. These are then repeated in reverse order. The melody for the second half of the song (m21:2-34, in proportio tripla) is based entirely on the first phrase repeated three times, but with the second of these repetitions (m26:2-29:2) truncated.

The upper voice appears to be a through-composed song comprising ml-21:1. The entire song is repeated in proportio tripla in m21:2-34.

The middle voice appears to be built on only one phrase which appears in ml-5:1, 13-17:1, 18-21:1, 24-26:1, and 31-34, usually with considerable variation. The remainder of the part seems to have been freely-composed to fit with the others.
Finally, the two upper voices have been interchanged from the way they appear in the manuscript. The upper voice of the transcription is found on f. 101 in the codex - the position in which the alto or contra usually appears. The middle voice of the transcription is found on f. 100', but as it is actually in the alto range it has been here placed beneath the other.

In addition, it may be noted that there appears to be no connection between any of the melodies of SC85 and that of the music of "Perdí la mi ruesca" in Mad.

While fundamentally a bi-textual chanson (i.e., a song with two simultaneous texts), this composition bears the characteristic of the double chanson (i.e., a song with two separate melodies, usually cantus firmi). All four voices take part in the opening imitative passage, but after stating the theme (m1-2) the soprano goes its own way. It joins in the imitation at the beginning of the second phrase (m8-9), but once again departs to make its own melody. Thus, the soprano appears to be a melody of its own which has been joined to an existing three-part chanson composed of the lower voices of this setting.\footnote{Cf., Dragan Plamanac, "A Postscript to Volume II of the Collected Works of Johannes Ockeghem," \textit{Journal of the American Musicological Society}, III, 36.}
The three lower voices are bound tightly together by the imitation which, except for m15-16 and m22-23, is always present in one or more voices. Each phrase begins with imitation in these voices; and on the basis of the monophonic setting of "Petite camusette" which Tiersot prints,25 (which may be presumed to be the source of this setting) the entire melody is included in the imitative passages, but is shortened by omitting the repetitions of phrases and parts of phrases which are a part of the monophonic version.

This four-part polyphonic version of "Petite camusette" is, then, a simple and concise statement of the original melody, imitated in a tonic-dominant relationship by the three lower voices, and accompanied by a florid and decorative soprano which takes part in the imitation just enough so as to appear an integral part of the composite structure.

Finally, it is noted that the three-part setting of the "Petite camusette" melody which is found in Lon and several other manuscripts26 is not the same as the three lower voices of Ockeghem's setting; and it appears to bear no connection

---

25GP, pp. 81-82. The author does not identify the source of this song.

26See the "Concordance" for these manuscripts.
with the four-part song except for the use of the same melody as the foundation on which it is built.

88. This song is another outstanding illustration of the dramatic quality in late fifteenth-century Spanish secular song. It is also a rare, if not unique, example of a solo part in conjunction with a fifteenth-century polyphonic song. In the polyphonic sections of the song two questions are asked of the Virgin Mary. The solo voice, representing the Virgin, makes a reply to both questions. Thus, the dialogue is implicitly incorporated in the musical setting carrying with it an undeniably dramatic quality.

89. This is another setting of the "Song of the Sibyl." In this setting, however, the cantus firmus is in the alto.

92. The high range of the voices of this song, especially the soprano which soars to b'' flat in m25, suggests that it was composed either for women or boy-sopranos.

Aside from its high range, one which is not generally encountered in songs of the fifteenth century, this song exhibits several unusual features. There is a strong tonic-dominant relationship between consecutive cadences, and during the course of the song there are cadences in Bb, F, d, and g.

---

27 See the remarks about SC73.
In m7 and m8 are consecutive cadences which employ the first inversion of a diminished triad built on the leading-tone.

The cadences, together with the short note values employed and the almost continuous movement of the voices, make this an extraordinary composition and it is regrettable that it offers no clue to its composer.
CHAPTER VIII

THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

Preface

The transcriptions are given here in the order that they appear in the original manuscript. In the main body of the transcriptions, however, only those songs are included which are complete. (SC1, however, has been retained as the initial composition although it now lacks a part of its estribillo.) The compositions which are now incomplete, either because some folios are now wanting from the manuscript, or else they were left incomplete when the codex was compiled, are found in the "Appendix to the Transcriptions" which follows immediately after SC93.

The text is underlaid so that only those voices which bore full texts in the original do so here. Additional stanzas for some of the songs and alternate texts for a few others may be found in Chapter VI, "Texts."

Finally, the composer's name, when it is known, is given in the upper right hand corner of the transcription. If the name is in parentheses, the ascription comes from one of the manuscripts used in collating this one.
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XERES

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1. Amor de penada gloria
2. Pues con sobra de tristura

Dans la page 245, il y a une illustration musicale avec des notes et des lettres. La musique est écrite en espagnol et se réfère à la tristesse avec des indications de contrepoint et de tessiture.
4. Gentil dama, non se gana

Gentil dama, non se gana

Gentil dama, non se gana

El deleite se destruye

Miren de nuestro balcón
6. Muy crueles voces dan
7. Señora, non me culpéis

Senora, non me culpéis

Señora non me culpéis

Yo sé quién
8. Doncella por cuyo amor

Doncella por cuyo amor

Psrsds

Doncella por cuyo amor

Pues soy vuestro mejor, no me fal- gás sar a jus- no
9. Nunca fue pena mayor
11. Muy triste será mi vida

4. Muy triste será mi vida de los míos.

Tenor

Cortesía
12. Oya tu merced y crea
14. ¿Qué es mi vida?, preguntas

¿Qué es mi vida?

¿Qué es mi vida?

¿Qué es mi vida?
15. Non puedo sino querer

No puedo sino querer con la fe de bien amar,

Tan solo pienso cuando veo,

Contra esto no puedo sino llorar.
16. Mis tristes tristes sospiros

Mislises mislises sospiros

1. Mis tristes tristes sospiros de do-

Tenor: Mis tristes tristes

Coro: Mis tristes tristes
17. ¡Ay, que non sé remediar me!

[Music notation with text below]
18. Pues que Dios te fizo tal
19. Con temor vivo, ojos tristes

Con temor vivo, ojos tristes, a la dicha que te

neños, que nunca más os ve

neños, tan lejos como vos vis

téis.
20. Siempre crece mi serviros

Madrid

Contra. Siempre crece

[Music notation]
21. Cuanto mi vida viviere
22. Señora, cual soy venido

Por vos fallar

Por vos fallar

Se en sus brazos mi amor

Senora, cual soy venido

Señora, cual soy venido
23. De mi perdida esperanza

Triana

Tenor

De mi perdida

Contralto

De mi perdida
24. Pues mi dicha non consiente
26. Dama, mi grande querer

(Mozart)

Dama, mi grande querer

C[onte]

Dama, mi grande querer

C[he]

que no sabía
que estás valer
que en tan to gran
dos se a
27. Porque más sin duda creas
Y con esta vida
28. No puedes quejar, amor

Tenor

Contra

No puedes quejar, amor que

No puedes quejar, desfa-...
29. Laudate

Laudate et unum omnes Angeli et ius, laudate eum omnes Virtutes eius.
30. Mi querer tanto vos quiere

Mi querer tanto vos quiere

Enrique

Cénteno

Mi querer tanto vos

Tenor

Mi querer tanto vos

Cénteno bajo

Mi querer tanto vos

y de vos no tiene querer

Tánto de sois de vos non

Tánto de sois de mi non se
31. Mirando dama fermosa
Por el cielo de los pueblos
que vemos el alma de los muertos

Según el dolor
la muertes más

...
32. De vos y de mí quejoso
33. Andad, pasiones, andad

Andad, pasiones, andad

Andad, pasiones, andad
34. ¿Quién vos dio tal señorío?

Triana

¿Quién vos dio tal señorío o que soñé?

[Contrá] 1º

¿Quién vos dio tal

[Contrá] 2º

¿Quién vos dio tal que vos miré mi libertad cautiva que
35. Ya de amor era partido
38. Al dolor de mi cuidado

Tenor

(After Mad.)
39. Omnipotentem semper adorant
No tenga nadie esperanza

Tenor

Hurtado de Xares

40. No tenga nadie esperanza
41. No text
42. Con temor de la mudanza

Hurtado de Xeres

Con temor de la mudanza

Tenor

Con temor de

Contra
No tengo hora.
43. No consiento ni me place
El texto no está legible en la imagen proporcionada.
45. No Text

46. Agnus
47. Sanctus and Benedictus

Sanctus

Contra alta

Tenor

Contra bassus
Hos-an-na in ex-cal-sis.
Bene-di-cus, qui ve-nit in nomi-ne Do-mi-ni. Hos-an-na in ex-cal-sis.
48. Dime, triste corazón

Contra alta
Dime, triste corazón ¿por qué ... tu pe-

Contra bajo
Dime, triste corazón ¿por qué ... tu pa-

49. Amar es servir

Amar es servir,

Contra
Amar es servir,
50. Mortales son los dolores

1. Mortales son los dolores que se suceden del

Amar su excelencia

4. [Amar es servir, llorar y
guir.

Tenor

Mortales son los dolores

Contra

Mortales son los dolores que se siguen del

amar, [mas ausencia es el mayor] ¿Por qué el
51. Pensamiento, ve do vas

Pensamiento, ve do vas pues sabes donde te en-

Contra alta. Pensamiento ve do vas

Tenor Pensamiento ve do vas

[Contra] bajo Pensamiento ve do vas

vío y dirás como eres mi-
52. Olvida tu perdición

Olvida tu perdición, España ya con-

Olvida tu perdición

Olvida, de don Rodrigo perdición de don Fernan-

53. Quien tiene vida y esperanza

Quien tiene vida y esperanza comience a
54. Niña y viña

Nina y viña peral y harbar ma-lo es de gua-
der. Le-ven
time.

Ma-lo es de gua-
der.
55. O gloriosa domina

Tenor

56. Es la vida que cobró

Canto
57. Próxima de mejor

58. Aquello trate domingo
59. Nuevas te traigo, carillo

(Juan del Encina)

60. Los hombres con gran placer

(Angelas)
61. Merced, merced le pidamos

Merced, merced
62. Salve sancta parens

Salve sancta parens

Contra:

Sancta parens

Tenor:

Sancta parens

Anon.
63. Virgo dei and Gloria

Virgo Dei in tua se clausit visceras

Sicut erat, in principio

Sicut erat, et nunc, et semper.
64. Reina muy esclarecida
65. Buenas nuevas de alegría
68. In exitu Israel

In exitu Israel de Ae-gy-

69. Maravíllome

Maravíllome del san-

Triona
70. Pingüe le respinguete

Triana

Pingüe le respingue te, ¡qué buen San Juan es

Tenor

Pingüe le respingue te, ¡qué buen San Juan es

Contra

Pingüe le respinguete
71. La moza que las cabras cría

La moza que las cabras cría, de las ro-

Triana

La moza
72. A los maïtines era

A los maïtines era

A los maïtines era

de la es-pé-ranza.

A los maïtines era

que la Vir-gen al que el mun-
dó fi-

Nueva mes-

es al su-fio.
73. Juicio fuerte será dado

Juicio fuerte será dado y muy crue...
75. ¡Qué bonito niño chiquito! Anon.

1. ¡Qué bonito niño chiquito! Piedad bendita la virgen santísima

Tenor: Qué bonito niño

Qué bonito niño
76. Qui fecid celum

Qui fecid celum et terram. Anon.

Tenor

Qui fecid celum et terram. Anon.

Contra

Qui fecid celum et terram. Anon.

Men.
77. ¡Ay, Santa María!

78. Dic nobis Maria
79. Benedicamus domino
80. Benedicamus domino

\begin{equation*}
\text{Benedicamus domino}
\end{equation*}
81. Juste judex, Jesu Christe

Contrabassus Juste judex, Jesu Christe

Juste judex, Jesu Christe

Juste judex, Jesu Christe

Juste judex, Jesu Christe

Regunt rex, et domine

Regunt rex, et domine

Regunt rex, et domine

Regunt rex, et domine
83. Magnificat

Qui ex speratione... huic militat... Anon.

Et misericordi...
84. Non puedo dejar querer

Non puedo dejar querer y bien a

Que non sé fílar, ni as- pa- ni deva-

na vie- ja como es ar- rra los geo-ros de guí-

mer. Aun-que el meri- do ce-

bo- so me da ví- da sin

mar. Y mer- có- me mi meri- do una erro-

ba de

ria ya me da- ba una za-

ma- rra porque

respo-

mato- do lo tor- na go-

so el

no que los pe- rros y los ge-

to- en e-

a quis- és-se yo- Que-

r vie-

cum- plir mi de-

Non puedo dejar que-

llo fa-

ri- no. Que non sé fi-

lar, nies-
Alégres, doña vieja,
con tu pa
er y bien amar,
Cúpannos, mezquinas,
porque vos amé.

Pues, aunque más di-
gan, no lo de-
jaré. Si vos me qui-
sistes de un

Si vistas acá el tor-
terro andar. Perdí la mi rueca

Suele, no tiene diante ni muele. 
Rúmio al comer como a-
marín pas, yo non vos podré-
a con menos pasan.

Hé
ma de li-
o. Ha-
me una bota llena de vi-

Si vistas acá el tor-
terro andar.
Petite camusette

"Si elle m'aimait, je ne sais ma foi je me mettrais..."

Petite camusette à la mort

"Petite camusette, en espoir d'acquérir quelque misez mix; Robin et Marion..."

Paume grace; force n'est que par la je passe

Ils en vont bras à bras; Ils se sont en-

(Deheghem)
86. Por beber, comadre
Aquella buena mujer

Comadre, tu vino perlín, que allí me tenías mi ser.

¿Aquella buena mujer cómo lo rascaba tan bien?

Una dueña, muy ufana que otros tiempos fue ga-
88. Dinos, madre del doncel

Triana

Dinos, madre del doncel, qué te dijo

Dinos, madre del doncel, qué te dijiste

Dinos, madre del doncel, qué te dijiste

¿Cómo al hijo de Dios concebiste?

¿Cómo al hijo de Dios concebiste?
89. Juicio fuerte será dado
90. ¿Cómo no le andaré yo?

Anón.

1. ¿Cómo no le andaré yo, mezquina, tan

Comino le
desmayada? Andójo el pastor a la pastor, miréme al pastor, más me pasaron

que... 4. Mi enreduc ma-dre, mi ca-yá-de y mi al-mari-da y

mi yesc a mi es-la-bón.
91. Pues que non tengo

92. Le povre amant qui est
Appendix to the Transcriptions

On the following pages are the transcriptions of the incomplete compositions from the Seville Cancionero together with an incorrect tenor and an alternate bass for SC82. These fragments are presented here in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.
3. Canten todos voz en grito

Tenor

Canten todos

que naci

do es Je

su

Cris

Hagan todos alegría
5. O pena que me combates

Triana

T[enor] O pena que me

fuer-

z

a de a-mo-

r
t
e-

t

t

a, es-

fuer-

z

a por

d

que

m-

a-

tes

que

en

m-

o-

rir
d-

c-

s-

a-vi-

-
13. Tanto cuanto me desplace
36. De vida que tanto enoja

1. De vida que tanto enoja

muerte que tanto duele, no sé si Dios me

Anon.
37. Pues no mejora hay fuerte

Pues no mejora hay fuerte
44. Cuanta gloria me dio veros
F.99-100 Incorrect Tenor to #82

F.100 A second bass voice for #82
CHAPTER IX

NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

In this chapter are listed the changes which have been made in the music as it was transcribed, together with editorial comments on these changes. Each entry begins with the number of the composition and its title. A number in parenthesis refers the reader to a footnote given in connection with the transcription. The symbols used to designate the location of the music to which the remarks apply are arranged as are those used for the Musical Variants. The symbols indicating note values and pitches also follow the system used for the Musical Variants. These symbols are explained in the introduction to Chapter V, "Collation."
1 Amor de penada gloria

(1) Bass: m36:2ff, these notes obliterated in ms. Those given are an editorial addition.

8 Doncella por cuyo amor

(1) Bass: m15:2:2, ms reads d.
(2) Bass: m26:2:2, ms reads d.
(3) Bass: m28:1:1, ms reads c.

11 Muy triste será mi vida

(1) Bass: m35:1:1, ms reads f.
(2) Bass: m43, ms reads c.

14 ¿Qué es mi vida?, preguntai.

(1) Bass: m11:2:2, ms reads a.
(2) Alto: m24:2:2ff, ms reads one tone higher. It is corrected according to 871N.

15 Non puedo sino querer

(1) Tenor: m6:1:2, ms reads g.
(2) Tenor: m11:2:2, at this point the scribe appears to have erroneously copied the fifth through seventh pitches of this voice (i.e., m3) again. These have been deleted.
(3) Bass: m11:1, ms reads semibreve rest.
(4) Bass: m21:2, ms reads dotted B d.
(5) Bass: m22:1:1, ms reads e.
(6) Bass: m26:1:1, ms reads e.

16 Mis tristes tristes suspiros

(1) Bass: m3:2:2, ms reads M e.
(2) Soprano: m4:1, ms reads G flat. Perhaps the flat was added so that the note would not be sung G sharp which may have been possible in this passage (since it ascends again almost immediately), except for the B flat in the next bar.

(3) Bass: m15:2 -- m17:2:1, the editor adds these notes. An omission seems to have been made at this point.

(4) Tenor: m30:1, ms reads M d. The M d has been changed in order to compensate for an omission.

(5) Tenor: m32:1:1, ms reads B.

17 ¡Ay, que non sé remediarne!

(1) Bass: m5:3ff. These notes and all others in brackets were omitted in SC. They have been added following Mad.

(2) Bass: m15:3:2:1, ms reads dotted M a.

(3) Bass: m24:1:2, ms reads S e.

(4) Bass: m25:1:2, ms reads F f, F e.

18 Pues que Dios te fizo tal

(1) Soprano: m45:3:2, ms reads S e, M f. This has been changed to agree with Mad.

(2) Soprano: m46:2:1:2f, ms reads Sm d, M c. This has been changed to agree with Mad.

(3) Tenor: m49. There is a flat on the "e" line of the staff between the C and the D of this measure. This point is at the end of a stave and the following staff has no e.

(4) Bass: m51:2, ms reads a tone lower. This has been corrected after Mad.
20 Siempre crece mi serviros

(1) Soprano: m17:1.1:2 ms reads c flat. The flat is probably meant for the b in the bar preceding, in which case it repeats the flat of the signature.

21 Cuanto mi vida viviere

(1) Bass: m37:1, ms reads S a.

23 De mi perdida esperanza

(1) Tenor: m43:2, ms reads S c.
(2) Tenor: m44:1, ms reads S d.

24 Pues mi dicha non consiente

(1) Bass: m7:3, ms reads M a.

25 Vive leda, si podrás

(1) Soprano: melodic incipit; this signature is consistent on all of the staves of this voice. The editor can offer no explanation for it, but has interpreted it as indicating two flats as do the signatures of the other voices.

(2) Bass: m14:1, there is a S g immediately below the d. The g appears as though a careless attempt had been made to erase it.

26 Dama, mi grande querer

(1) m2:3, a B f appears to have been crossed out directly beneath the c. The f would have caused octaves with the bass.
27 Porque más sin duda creas

(1) Soprano: melodic incipit, the first and last staves of the estribillo have no signature, and the others have a signature of one flat. Since there is no signature for the lower voices, no signature for the soprano of the copla, and since this voice appears to require no flats in either section, the flats in the signature have been judged spurious.

(2) Bass: m4:2:2, ms reads d.

(3) Bass: ml8:2, this ligature was incorrectly written, and an attempt was made to correct it, so that it appears: \( \text{\textcircled{F}} \). It has been interpreted as: \( \text{\textcircled{P}} \).

(4) Bass: m33:1, this ligature, too, was written incorrectly and corrected. It appears, \( \text{\textcircled{F}} \), and has been read as \( \text{\textcircled{P}} \).

(5) Soprano: m45:2, the ms is a B short here. The c is an editorial addition.

(6) Bass: m45:2, ms reads B c, B g.

(7) Bass: m46:2, ms reads B d, B b.

29 Laudate

(1) All notes so indicated: ms reads L. The stems appear to be later additions to breves.

(2) All notes so indicated: ms reads M. The stems appear to be later additions to semibreves.

30 Mi querer tanto vos quiere

(1) Soprano: ml:1, the text of the estribillo is after Mad.
31 Mirando dama feroz

(1) Bass: m13:1, ms shows the entire ligature blackened but the d must be read white.

33 Andad, pasiones, andad

(1) Tenor: m6:1, ms gives no double bar at the end of the estribillo, and the e is omitted. The correction is made after Mad.

34 ¿Quién vos dio tal señorío?

(1) Soprano: m10:1, ms reads M g.

(2) Soprano: m19, ms gives both notes. Perhaps, if performance is intended with only one singer to a part, a choice is given for the final note; perhaps one of the notes is intended for an instrument which may have accompanied the voice; or, if there were more than one singer to a part, perhaps the group was to divide so that the final chord would be voiced more fully (the doubled fifth would make the sound more like the more traditional ending which used only the root and the fifth).

35 Ya de amor era partido

(1) Soprano: m32, ms reads B d.

38 Al dolor de mi cuidado

(1) Bass: m8:2:1, Mad. reads g.

(2) Soprano: m12:3, ms reads f. The correction follows Mad.

(3) Tenor: m12:3, remainder of this voice follows Mad.

39 Omnipotentem semper adorant

(1) Soprano: melodic incipit, the position of the voices has been inverted.
(2) Soprano: m3:1:2, this note is an editorial addition.

(3) Soprano: m5:2:2, ms reads M b.

(4) Soprano: m6:1, ms reads dotted M d¹. ¹

(5) Tenor: m6:1:2, ms reads M a.

(6) Soprano: m6:2:1, ms reads Sm g, Sm f.

(7) Tenor: m10:2, ms reads Sm d, Sm e.

(8) Tenor: m11:1:2, ms reads dotted S e.

(9) Tenor: m11:2:1, ms reads Sm c, Sm d.

No tenga nadie esperanza

(1) Bass: m21:3:2, this note is an editorial addition.

(2) Soprano: m24:2:2, ms reads M b.

No Text

(1) Each note so marked: ms reads L.

(2) Each note so marked: ms reads M.

No consiento ni me place

(1) Soprano: m23:3:2, ms reads M b.

(2) Tenor: m27; and Bass: m27. At the points indicated ms shows some extraneous notes which have been crossed out.

No Text

(1) Each note so marked: ms reads L.

(2) Each note so marked: ms reads M.

(3) Alto: m8:2:1, ms reads B rest.
46 Agnus
(1) Soprano: melodic incipit. A c clef appears also on the fourth line, but it is fainter than the one on line two.

(2) Each note so marked: ms reads L.

47 Sanctus and Benedictus
(1) Each note so marked: ms reads L.

(2) Tenor: m6:2:1, ms reads dotted M c.

(3) Soprano: m1:4; and Tenor: m2:3. At these points the voice indicated has a double bar in the ms.

(4) Soprano: m1:5:2:2; ms has a S b directly over the g.

(5) Tenor: m2:6:2, ms reads L a with corona. This is the final note of the tenor.

48 Dime, triste corazón
(1) Bass: m5:2:2, ms reads c.

(2) Final note in all parts is an L in ms.

49 Amar es servir
(1) Soprano: m1:0:3:1:2, ms reads Sm e.

51 Pensamiento, ve do vas
(1) Tenor: m2:3, ms reads L c.

(2) Alto: m7, the a is blackened in the ms. In Mad both notes are given but the f is blackened. Cf., note (2) to SC34 for further remarks about two final notes in a single part.

52 Olvida tu perdición
(1) Soprano: m1:2ff, L d and B e blackened in ms.
(2) Tenor: m5. The second phrase of this voice was omitted when the song was first copied in the ms. It is added after the double bar with a caret and a custos, indicating the first pitch, showing where the added phrase is to be inserted. Following the last note of the phrase a custos indicates the first pitch of the third phrase.

54 Niña y viña

(1) Soprano: m5. At this point the clef is moved from the second to the first line. The change appears to be incorrect as the remainder of the part would be a third too high. The transcription is made as if the sign had not been moved.

(2) Bass: m7:2ff, ms omits this phrase.

55 O gloriosa domina

(1) Each note so marked: ms reads L (many of the tails are obvious emendations).

(2) Each note so marked: ms reads M (many obvious emendations).

(3) Bass: m5. The two notes appear as follows: which appears to indicate a choice for the singer (or one note for an instrument and another for a singer) rather than consecutive notes.

(4) Soprano: m5, ms reads S a.

(5) Bass: m18:3, ms reads S a.

56 Es la vida que cobré

(1) Soprano: m2:1, ms reads dotted M, Sm.

(2) Soprano: m3:1, ms reads blk S g, blk S f.
(3) **Soprano:** ml4:1:1:2, ms reads M a.

59 **Nuevas te traigo, carillo**

(1) **Melodic incipits:** The mensuration signs do not agree in the ms and both appear incorrect. Because of the alternation of B and S it seems that the mensuration should be C3 and the song has been transcribed as if it were. The setting in Mad, although different, uses the same melody for the soprano of the estribillo and gives the signature C3 in all voices.

(2) **Tenor and bass:** m9:2:3f, ms reads B with corona for the final notes in these voices.

60 **Los hombres con gran placer**

(1) **Soprano:** m8:2:3, ms reads f.

(2) **Bass:** ml1:1:1, ms reads blk S instead of blk B.

61 **Merced, merced le pidamos**

(1) **Tenor:** ml0, mensuration sign changed to $.$

(2) **Soprano:** ml2, ms omits this bar, and the notes are added by the editor.

62 **Salve sancta parens**

(1) **Alto:** m21:1:2, ms reads $g$.

63 **Virgo dei and Gloria**

(1) **Tenor:** m3, this measure omitted in ms. It has been added following a similar passage in the Gloria.

(2) **Alto:** ml0:2f, ms reads B a. It is changed following the corresponding passage in the Gloria.
(3) Soprano: ml6:2f, these notes obliterated in ms. They are added after the corresponding passage in the Virgo.

(4) Bass: ml6:2, this note omitted from ms.

64 Reina muy esclarecida

(1) Bass: m2:1:3, ms reads e. The correction is made following the corresponding passage in ml5.

65 Buenas nuevas de alegría

(1) Tenor: ml:1, ms omits this note.

(2) Soprano: m3:2:2, ms omits e.

66 Deus in adjutorium

(1) m5, the mensuration sign changes to $ in soprano and tenor (the bass has no sign).

(2) ml2, the proportion 3 appears in all parts.

67 Tu valer me

(1) Soprano: melodic incipit. The mensuration sign $ is judged spurious, and the transcription made as if it were C.

(2) Bass: m5:2, ms reads M c.

68 In exitu Israel

(1) Bass: m9:1, ms reads L d.

69 Maravíllome

(1) Bass: m7:1, omitted in ms. The editor adds these notes since this voice is otherwise short a B.
(2) Soprano: m22; this note appears erased in ms. It looks to have been a $g$.

72 A los mañines era

(1) Soprano 1: melodic incipit; this voice appears across the bottom of the pages in the ms. It seems to be a later addition but to have been written by the same hand.

(2) Tenor (tiple): m3:1:1, ms reads f.

(3) Soprano: m18, ms reads g.

74 Virgen digna de honor

(1) Bass: melodic incipit. The flat in the signature appears only on the first stave in the ms, but there are no low b's in the part.

(2) Bass: m9ff. The first five notes in this section appear at the end of the second staff in the ms. For the third staff and those following in the ms the clef is moved from the third to the fourth line. It appears that the change should have been made right after the double bar, as the first five notes (at the end of staff two) seem to be a third too high otherwise. They have been transposed a third lower in the transcription.

(3) All parts: m13. The proportion 3 is given for this section.

76 Dic nobis Maria

(1) Bass: m7, ms reads a (fifth line).

79 Benedictamus domino

(1) Soprano: melodic incipit. There is no mensuration sign in any part. The note values, however, suggest that it should be $g$. 
(2) Each note so marked: ms reads L. Many of the stems are obvious additions to B's.

(3) Tenor: m11:1:1, ms reads a.

(4) Tenor: m12 after beat 2. At this point (the end of the second staff in the ms) a second hand has inserted the following:

![Image of musical notation]

(The ligature is the original notation)

This actually changes only m12. Perhaps a performer felt that the parallel descending lines in the two upper voices were objectionable, or that the original went too high.

80 Benedicamus domino

(1) Tenor: m1:2, ms reads dotted M c, Sm b.

(2) Each note so marked: ms reads L.

(3) Tenor: m8, ms reads M for the two notes indicated.

81 Juste judex, Jesu Christe

(1) Each note so marked: ms reads L (most of the tails are obvious later additions).

(2) Each note so marked: ms reads M.

(3) Bass: m4:1, ms reads dotted M a, Sm e.

(4) Tenor: m22f, the sharps appear to be later additions to the ms.

(5) Bass: m37:1ff, ms reads blk B f, S g, S a, dotted S b, M a, and L f.

82 No Text
(1) **Bass:** melodic incipit. See the "Appendix to the Transcriptions" for an incorrect bass which appears on f. 100 in the ms.

(2) **Tenor:** ml6:2, rest omitted in ms.

(3) **Alto:** ml7:1, ms reads B c.

(4) **Soprano:** ml7:1:2f, ms reads M g.

(5) **Alto:** ml8:3, ms reads M g (The tail appears to be a later addition).

83 **Magnificat**

(1) **Bass:** ml0:3, ms reads d.

(2) **Bass:** ml3ff. This entire section is crossed out in the ms.

(3) **Tenor:** ml3:1:2f, ms reads S c, S d.

(4) **Tenor:** ml7:1:1, ms reads c.

(5) **Tenor:** ml8. This section was much too long as given in the ms. Only a part of it has been incorporated in the transcription. See the "Appendix to the Transcriptions," for the full section as it appears in the ms.

84 **Non puedo dejar querer**

(1) **Soprano:** ml. The two upper voices are in inverted position in the transcription. The middle voice of the transcription appears on the upper part of f. 100', the upper voice in the transcription on the upper part of f. 101, and the lower voice appears across the bottom of the two pages.

(2) **Soprano:** ml1:2f, the ms gives the proportion 3 at the points where the meter signatures are changed in the transcription.
Petite camisette

(1) Tenor: m6:1:2, ms reads F e, F f.

(2) Bass: m23. See note (2) to SC34 for remarks concerning two final notes in a given voice.

Por beber, comadre

(1) Tenor: m6:2:2, ms reads B f (in ligature). This is changed to agree with the corresponding passage in m3.

Dinos, madre del doncel

(1) Bass: m3:1:2, ms reads blk B g.

Juicio fuerte será dado

(1) Each note so marked: ms reads L (most tails are obvious additions).

¿Cómo no le andará yo?

(1) Soprano: m2:2, ms reads blk B a.

(2) Tenor: m9:2, ms reads blk B d.

(3) All voices, m17, ms gives the proportion 3.

(4) Soprano: m20:2f, ms reads blk B g, blk S g, blk B g, blk S g. The coloration of these notes appears to be spurious and has not been observed in the transcription.

Pues que non tengo

(1) Soprano: m6:2, ms gives an extra B a following the second one in this bar.

(2) Soprano: m8:2ff. The cadence at the end of the estribillo was omitted when the song was first copied in the ms. Its normal place would have been at the beginning of the second staff. An X placed at the end of
the first staff and again following
the double bar at the end of the voice
where a second hand has added the miss-
ing notes indicates where the omission
took place. In addition, an X and the
words "se paza" written under the notes
which comprise bars 2 and 3 of the
transcription suggest that this passage
was substituted for the missing cadence
before the other was added in the ms.

(3) Tenor: ml4;1:2, ms reads B a.

(4) Bass: ml5:2, ms reads L a. (The L is, however, the
note value customarily used for the final
note and does not indicate a specific dura-
tion when so employed.)

92 Le povere amanti qui est

(1) Soprano: m24:2, ms reads M d, S c, M b.

(2) Soprano: m25:2, ms reads M b, S c, M b.

(3) Tenor: m26;2:2:1, ms reads M g.

93 No tenga con vos amor

(1) Tenor: ml. The text of the two lower voices is
underlaid in the manuscript. The full
text, however, is too long for these parts
so that some of the words had to be omitted
in the transcription.

(2) Bass: m3:1, the two notes are vertically aligned
in the ms and the d is black. Perhaps the
d was meant to be crossed out or perhaps
the singer is given a choice of pitches.
The vertical harmony would, of course, differ
depending upon which of these notes is used.

(3) Tenor: ml2, the c is blackened in the ms and the
corona appears over it rather than over
the g. The g is an L, but since the L is
the customary note value for a final note
its duration need not be strictly observed.
3 Canten todos voz en grito

(1) Bass: m21, ms gives the proportion 3 at this point.

(2) Bass: m26, ms gives the mensuration \( \frac{6}{7} \) at this point.

36 De vida que tanto enoja

(1) Tenor: m5:2, ms shows a dotted S e directly above this c.

(2) Tenor: m6:1, the dotted S c appears to have been added in the ms and the b appears to have been changed from an S to an M.

44 Cuanta gloria me dio veros

(1) Bass: m23:1, this part of the ligature appears to be incomplete in the ms. The ligature is written as follows:

\[ \text{[Musical notation image]} \]

(2) Bass: m26:1, ms reads S rest.

(3) Tenor: m31, ms omits this rest (or the notes which comprised this bar).

Fragment from f.90'-91

(1) Bass: m6:1;1, ms reads blk S d.

Fragment from f.97'-98

(1) Soprano: m1:2;2, ms reads M a.

(2) Both voices: m6, mensuration changes to \( \frac{6}{7} \) at this point.

(3) Soprano: m6:2. The clef was moved from the second to the first line at the beginning of this section. The custos at the end of the first section, however, indicates that
the first pitch of the second section should be a d. If the pitch is to be d the clef should remain on the second line. Also, if the clef is moved to the first line the resulting intervals between the voices are poor. Thus, the change of clef appears incorrect, and the transcription has been made as if it were not moved.

Tenor from f99'-100

1. m3:3:2, ms reads B b.
2. m4:3, ms reads Bk B d.
3. m9:2f, ms reads M c, Bk B d.
4. m10:3, ms reads M g.
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