

The Dating of the *Cancioneiro de Paris* and a Proposed Timeline for its Compilation

Nuno de Mendonça Raimundo

CESEM
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas
Universidade NOVA de Lisboa
nunoraimundo@fesh.unl.pt

Resumo

O *Cancioneiro de Paris* (manuscrito *F-Peb* Masson 56) é a coleção portuguesa de música profana mais extensa que se conhece; como tal, constitui uma fonte de grande importância na história da música em Portugal. Contudo, o problema da datação tem sido bastante descurado, com exceção das breves contribuições de Eugenio Asensio (1989) e Manuel Pedro Ferreira (2008).

Na minha tese de mestrado (2017) apresentei uma primeira proposta para a datação do *cancioneiro* fundamentada através de um estudo aprofundado dos aspectos físicos do manuscrito e do repertório. Neste artigo pretendo retomar alguns desses aspectos, no sentido de apresentar uma revisão.

Inicialmente, analiso as características codicológicas e paleográficas do *cancioneiro* através do estudo das marcas de água e das caligrafias, o que permitirá compreender as camadas sucessivas de compilação e as intervenções das diversas mãos. De seguida, abordo o problema da datação do repertório – sobretudo a partir dos dados biográficos dos poucos autores identificados no *cancioneiro*, mas também a partir do contexto histórico dos géneros e formas musicais – que permitirá definir o *terminus a quo* aproximado para cada camada do manuscrito. Finalmente, com base nesta análise, proponho uma cronologia para a compilação do *cancioneiro*, resumindo, para cada uma das suas etapas, as intervenções dos respectivos copistas e o período aproximado em que terão ocorrido.

Palavras-chave

Cancioneiro de Paris; *Chansonnier Masson*; Música profana ibérica; Século XVI; Datação de manuscritos; Datação de repertório.

Abstract

The *Cancioneiro de Paris* (manuscript *F-Peb* Masson 56) is the largest known Portuguese collection of sixteenth-century secular music; as such, it constitutes a source of primary importance for the history of music in Portugal. However, the problem of its dating has been largely neglected, with the exception of some brief contributions by Eugenio Asensio (1989) and Manuel Pedro Ferreira (2008).

In my master's thesis (2017) I presented the first ever proposal for a dating for the *cancioneiro* based on a thorough study of the manuscript's physical and repertorial aspects. In this article I revisit these aspects to present a revised proposal.

Thus, to begin with, I analyse the codicological and palaeographical properties of the *cancioneiro* through the study of watermarks and handwriting styles, which will provide an understanding of its successive layers of compilation and its several intervening hands. Next, I tackle the issue of the dating of the repertory—mainly from the biographical data of the few identifiable authors represented in the

cancioneiro, but also from the historical context of forms and genres—which will allow us to set approximate *terminus a quo* limits for each layer of the manuscript. Finally, on the basis of this analysis, a timeline is proposed for the compilation of the *cancioneiro*, summarising, for each of its stages, the intervention of the respective scribes and the approximate period in which they occurred.

Keywords

Cancioneiro de Paris; *Chansonnier Masson*; Iberian secular music; Sixteenth-century; dating of manuscripts; dating of repertory.

THE *CANCIONEIRO DE PARIS*, OR *PARIS SONGBOOK* (manuscript *F-Peb* Masson 56)¹—also known as *Cancioneiro Masson*²—is the largest known Portuguese collection of sixteenth-century secular music, containing a total of 122 songs in Portuguese and Spanish.³ It is one of the most important sources of Iberian Renaissance music, not only because of the quantity, but also because of the richness of its contents. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the attention of the musicological community paid to this codex has not corresponded to the magnitude of its importance. During a period of more than half a century after being discovered in the library of the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts de Paris, in 1965, only one academic study was dedicated exclusively to it: François Reynaud’s doctoral thesis, in 1968.⁴ Although there have been a number of subsequent contributions after that, namely by Manuel Morais, Eugenio Asensio, and Manuel

This article developed from a conference paper given at the ENIM 2017 (Universidade do Minho, Braga, 10 November 2017) as part of the panel-session ‘Late 15th- and Early 16th-century Iberian Polyphonic Music and Sources’, and from a revision of Chapter 1 of my master’s thesis ‘O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris: uma nova perspectiva sobre o manuscrito F-Peb Masson 56’ (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2017). I am indebted to Manuel Pedro Ferreira, supervisor of this thesis, and João Pedro d’Alvarenga, principal investigator of the FCT-funded research project *The Anatomy of Late 15th- and Early 16th-Century Iberian Polyphonic Music* (PTDC/CPC-MMU/0314/2014), of which I was a grant-holder, for their guidance and unwavering support of my work.

¹ France, Paris, Bibliothèque de l’École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, MS Masson 56. A complete digital facsimile of this manuscript is available at the *Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux (BVMM)* <bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=3007> (accessed 10 September 2018).

² The designation ‘*Cancioneiro de Paris*’ was used by Rui Vieira Nery and by Manuel Carlos de Brito in their historiographical works; see Rui Vieira NERY and Paulo Ferreira de CASTRO, *História da música* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1991), and Manuel Carlos de BRITO and Luísa CYMBRON, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1992). ‘*Cancioneiro Masson*’ and ‘*Chansonnier Masson*’ (after Jean Masson, French industrialist and bibliophile who bequeathed his collection to the library of the École de Beaux-Arts in Paris, which the *cancioneiro* was part of) were the designations preferred by Manuel Pedro FERREIRA in *Antologia de música em Portugal na idade média e no renascimento*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, Arte das Musas - CESEM, 2008). Other names have been used by other authors, including ‘*Cancioneiro Musical da Biblioteca de l’École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts de Paris*’ by Manuel Morais, and ‘*Cancionero de D. Alonso Núñez*’ by Eugenio Asensio; see Manuel MORAIS, *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances do século XVI* (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986), and Eugenio ASENSIO, *Cancionero musical luso-español del siglo XVI antiguo e inédito* (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca - Sociedad Española de Historia del Libro, 1989).

³ Additionally, it contains five Latin-texted sacred pieces and two poems without music, bringing the total number of pieces to 129.

⁴ François REYNAUD, ‘Le Chansonnier Masson 56 (XVI^e s.) (Bibliothèque des Beaux Arts de Paris) : description, édition diplomatique des textes et concordances’, 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, Université de Poitiers, 1968).

Pedro Ferreira,⁵ there remain many unfilled gaps in our knowledge of this manuscript. One question in particular seems to have been neglected, even though it is fundamental for a proper historical contextualization of the songbook: its dating.

Until recently, the only brief attempts to broach this problem were to be found in Asensio and Ferreira. The former estimates a chronological range for each of the two predominant hands in the *cancioneiro*: he dates the one belonging to its original layer to between 1540 and 1570, and the one responsible for the largest number of corrections and later additions to between 1580 and 1590.⁶ Ferreira, on the other hand, has not attempted to date the manuscript but to give approximate dates for its repertory based on stylistic markers and concordances with other sources; the latest date he indicates is the 1540s, ‘or shortly after that.’⁷ Other authors have proposed a dating for the *cancioneiro* at around 1525 or earlier,⁸ or from the 1560s or later,⁹ but without presenting any evidence to support their claims.

One of the main goals of my master’s thesis, finished in 2017 and solely dedicated to the study of this codex,¹⁰ was to fill in the gaps remaining in our knowledge of it. It included the first ever proposal for a dating of the *cancioneiro* based on a thorough study of its codicological, palaeographical and repertorial evidence, which has since undergone refinement. This article presents a revised proposal and the grounds for it—it studies the manuscript, both its physical aspects and its poetic-musical contents, in order to gather every chronological marker that might provide evidence for its dating. On the basis of this data, I then propose a summarised timeline for the compilation of the *cancioneiro*, which will finally allow us to locate it properly in history.

Chronological Markers from a Codicological and Palaeographical Analysis

Let us begin by analysing the physical properties of the *cancioneiro*, that is, the codicological and palaeographical evidence.

⁵ See note 2 for references of these works.

⁶ ASENSIO, *Cancionero musical luso-español* (see note 2), p. 12.

⁷ ‘[...] tudo isto aponta para a década de 1540, ou pouco depois’; see FERREIRA, *Antologia de música em Portugal* (see note 2), vol. 1, p. 76.

⁸ See, for example, Jane WHETNALL, ‘Secular Song in Fifteenth-Century Spain’, in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, edited by Tess Knighton (Boston - Leiden, Brill, 2017), where it is dated 1522-25 (n. 131, p. 89), and Paul LAIRD, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, Harmonie Park Press, 1997), where it is claimed that the manuscript is ‘from the first quarter of the sixteenth century’ (p. 24).

⁹ Nery states that the *cancioneiro* was copied in the 1560s; see NERY - CASTRO, *História da música* (see note 2), p. 28. Brito dates it to the second half of the sixteenth-century, probably based on Nery’s proposal; see BRITO - CYMBRON, *História da música portuguesa* (see note 2), p. 54.

¹⁰ Nuno de Mendonça RAIMUNDO, ‘O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris: uma nova perspectiva sobre o manuscrito F-Peb Masson 56’ (Master’s thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2017).

With regard to inscriptions indicating specific dates, we find what seems to be the number ‘1650’ on the flyleaf,¹¹ appearing below a series of abbreviations written by the same hand that reads ‘C.º M.ª N.ª B.ª L.’.¹² While the meaning of the latter is unclear, the number may possibly be an indication of the year that one of the owners gained possession of the codex. On the front pastedown endpaper, there is also an enigmatic inscription consisting of the digit ‘3’ preceded by a character similar to a ‘ξ’.¹³ Whatever the exact meaning of these inscriptions, which is currently impossible to ascertain, the fact is that they do not match any other hands in the *cancioneiro*, thus having limited relevance in its dating. If they are posterior to the final form of the codex—which is not unlikely, as we will see from the palaeographical study below—then the year of 1650 could be tentatively indicated as a *terminus ante quem* boundary after which no changes were made to its contents.

An analysis of the paper reveals the presence of two types: the first is used only in the first gathering, which contains an index; the second occupies the rest of the body of the codex. They can be distinguished by their respective watermarks: the first type shows a gauntlet surmounted by a shield with an unidentified pattern in it (see Figure 1), a similar design to which has proved impossible to find elsewhere.¹⁴ On the other hand, the recurring watermark design found on the main paper-type is far more common: an armillary sphere surmounted by a five-pointed star (see Figure 2).

The presence of this watermark is the most important codicological element for the dating of the *cancioneiro*. This design type, of French origin, was disseminated all over Europe, and

¹¹ The digit ‘5’ in this number has a peculiar shape (it is ‘lying down’, similar to the musical symbol for an inverted *grupetto*), but it cannot represent any other figure. Morais, too, read it as ‘1650’; see *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances* (see note 2), p. xi. Surprisingly, Reynaud does not mention this number.

¹² It could be the initials of the name of a private owner or of an institution. Reynaud also conjectured that these were abbreviations of a title given to the *cancioneiro* (‘Cº pouvant être interprété comme : *cancionero*, Ma comme : *musica...*’; see REYNAUD, ‘Le Chansonnier Masson 56’ (see note 4), p. 12). Morais did not propose any interpretation.

¹³ Reynaud did not venture to decode the puzzling character; he refers to it only as a ‘signe curieux’; see REYNAUD, ‘Le Chansonnier Masson 56’ (see note 4), p. 12. Morais, for his part, reads it as the number 3, adding that it is ‘a copy of the symbol used in this *cancioneiro* to indicate *proportio tripla* or *sesquialtera*’ (‘uma cópia do símbolo usado neste *cancioneiro* para indicar a proporção tripla ou sesquialtera’; MORAIS, *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances* (see note 2), p. x); however, while said symbol assumes sometimes the aspect of a ‘z’, it is not quite identical to the design of the character in question so as to be considered ‘a copy’. In my master’s thesis, my interpretation was also that the character represented the digit ‘3’, and I conjectured that the resulting number ‘33’ could possibly be an indication of the year this Alonso Núñez acquired the codex (1633). Yet it is unlikely that Núñez would have written the same digit in such different ways. The inscription could then possibly be interpreted as a shelf-mark (‘E 3’, or ‘Z 3’, for example), and the fact that it is preceded by the word ‘*librería*’ might strengthen this hypothesis (my thanks to João José Alves Dias for this suggestion).

¹⁴ Watermark collections show plenty of gauntlet designs similar to the one in the *Cancioneiro de Paris* but not with a shield on top of it; see Charles-Moïse BRIQUET, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1600* (Paris, Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1907), vol. 3, nos. 11205 to 11217.

approximate matches are to be found in various watermark studies.¹⁵ In Briquet there are more than thirty variants of this type, dating from 1550 to 1589;¹⁶ those that most resemble the one in the *Cancioneiro de Paris* are dated 1550 and 1570.¹⁷ In Likhachev's collection, the most similar design is dated c.1560,¹⁸ and in the Portuguese collection of Tecnicelpa we find a matching design from 1564, presumably from a Portuguese manuscript.¹⁹ The same design is also found in other Portuguese manuscripts, including musical ones, from around 1570.²⁰ Thus, we obtain our first clue for the dating of the *cancioneiro*: a chronological range between 1550 and 1570.



Figure 1. Watermark design found in the first paper-type²¹



Figure 2. Watermark design found in the second paper-type

¹⁵ '[...] ce sont des papiers français appartenant à la région du sud-ouest et particulièrement à l'Angoumois'; see BRIQUET, *Les filigranes* (see note 14), vol. 4, p. 689.

¹⁶ See BRIQUET, *Les filigranes* (see note 14), vol. 4, nos. 13995-14023.

¹⁷ Nos. 13995 and 14013, respectively.

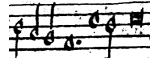
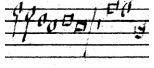
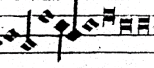
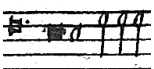
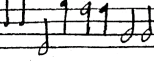
¹⁸ Nikolai Petrovich LIKHACHEV, *Paleograficheskoe znachenie*, 3 vols. (Saint Petersburg, V. S. Balashev i Ko., 1899), no. 2849.

¹⁹ Maria José Ferreira dos SANTOS, *Marcas d'água: Séculos XIV-XIX* (Santa Maria da Feira, Tecnicelpa - Câmara Municipal de Santa Maria da Feira, 2015), no. MJ62, p. 64. Although the manuscript belongs to a Portuguese collection, it is not explicitly mentioned if the manuscript itself is of Portuguese origin.

²⁰ Similar watermark designs are found in MS COD 6383-84 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, dated from the 1570s according to Vanda ANASTÁCIO, *Visões de glória: Uma introdução à poesia de Pêro de Andrade Caminha* (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1998), vol. 2, pp. xx, xxiii, xxxi; and in musical manuscripts *P-Cug* MM 242, dated c.1565-70 according to Owen REES, *Polyphony in Portugal c.1530-c.1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz* (New York - London, Garland, 1995), p. 8; see also watermark reproduction on p. 411) and *P-Ln* CIC 60, dated c.1570 according to João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'On the Transmission of Iberian Polyphonic Music in the Early Decades of the sixteenth Century: Some Philological Issues Revisited', *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 6/1 (2019), appendix II.

²¹ Lines in red were reconstituted by me; they are missing from the manuscript due to later trimming of the pages.

In terms of palaeography, the *Cancioneiro de Paris* is a particularly rich witness to the continuing multigraphism in the Iberian Peninsula of the sixteenth-century as the product of a number of different scribes intervening in the course of the century. Indeed, we find there several distinct script styles—some with gothic characteristics, others closer to a humanist script—which provide a general notion of the period they intervened. More specifically, there are ten different text hands—seven associated with *ex novo* contributions (A–G); three associated with corrections and amendments (X–Z)—and five different music hands (α – ε). Through an analysis of the contexts of occurrence of these hands and the relations between them, we can reasonably suppose that these hands belong to a total of eight different scribes (I–VIII).²² In most of the cases, the scribe who wrote the music also wrote the corresponding text. The number of contributions of each scribe and their respective hands are summarised in Table 1.

	Text hand	Musical hand	Scribe	Contributions*	Amendments †
A	<i>Por Campos de mudego</i>		I	58 [45%]	26 [19%]
B	<i>Ande querros vos signa</i>	α 	II	51 [40%]	2 [2%]
C	<i>queda es lo seguro</i>				
D	<i>que'te bem scisar</i>	β 	III	4 [3%]	0
E	<i>ponernas en afeccion</i>				
F	<i>patris mei habundat</i>	γ 	IV	7 [5%]	0
G	<i>pois esta mi disculpa</i>		V	1 [1%]	0
X	<i>permi culpa lo he</i>	δ 	VI	7 [5%]	39 [28%]
Y	<i>hoze amor, e noz fmo</i>	ε 	VII	1 [1%]	0
Z	<i>lo e no' or pernar</i>		VIII	0	71 [51%]

* number of music pieces (or, where music is absent, poems) notated *ex novo* by the scribe, and percentage of total pieces
 † number of pieces that had their music or text amended by the scribe, and percentage of total amended pieces in bold: most significant percentages

Table 1. Hands and number of contributions of each scribe²³

²² Hand C, although graphically very distinct from B, never appears without the latter. Furthermore, hand B sometimes incorporates certain handwriting features of hand C. This allows us to conclude that they belong to the same scribe. Hands D and E are associated with the same musical hand (β), and are similar enough to be attributed to a single scribe. For more details on this, see RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 10), pp. 56–8.

²³ Adapted from RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 10), table 20, p. 60.

From this table, we can safely assert that the original elaboration of the songbook was carried out mainly by Scribes I and II, to whom we owe the bulk of its contents (85%). Scribe III can also be counted among the original collaborators, as one of the pieces he began copying was finished by Scribe I (no. 117, ff. 132v-133r).²⁴ The remaining scribes correspond to later interventions, after the original layer was completed. Scribe IV copied a set of musical pieces at the end of the *cancioneiro*, which are clearly later additions, as they are all of a sacred nature and do not conform to the structure designed by the original scribes.²⁵ Scribe V's only contribution was one poem without music after Scribe IV's pieces. Scribe VI, though he contributed with some pieces that appear among the original layer of the *cancioneiro*, made several corrections and amendments to the work of Scribes I and II throughout the songbook, therefore being undoubtedly a later hand. Scribe VII contributed with the index, which includes all the former contributions, meaning that this intervention must be later than the earlier ones; one can then assume that the first gathering is also a later addition by Scribe VII, as was already suggested by the different paper-type mentioned above. Finally, Scribe VIII only made corrections and additions to the existing texts.

We will now see how the characteristics of each of these scribe's hands can provide us with clues as to their dating.²⁶

- Scribes I and II show handwriting styles that combine both late Gothic and Italianate characteristics. Scribe I's hand is neat and regular, with rounded characters made of thick and well-defined strokes, but it also presents certain cursive features in the organicity of its *ductus* and the tendency to link some of the strokes between letters. The differentiation of characters is very clear, which reveals the influence of the so-called humanist scripts, resulting in a hybrid type which Elisa Ruiz called 'escritura humanístico-cortesana'.²⁷ As mentioned before, Eugenio Asensio has suggested that this hand might be dated between 1540 and 1570; this last boundary can be extended, since one can find similar scripts in Portuguese royal documents dated from 1572.²⁸

²⁴ Throughout this article I will follow the modern foliation of the manuscript, as well as the numbering of the pieces used in RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 10).

²⁵ This will be explained further in the section 'Dating of the repertory' below.

²⁶ The dating of hands is always a problematic exercise, as scribes naturally tend to keep the same handwriting style throughout their lives even if it becomes 'outdated'. Therefore, the results of this palaeographical study cannot possibly be considered more than clues, and should never be taken as definitive chronological boundaries. I would like to thank João José Alves Dias for his invaluable help in the analysis of these hands and in tackling their identification and dating issues.

²⁷ Elisa RUIZ GARCÍA, 'La escritura humanística y los tipos gráficos derivados', in *Introducción a la paleografía y la diplomática general*, edited by Ángel Riesco Terrero (Madrid, Síntesis, 2000), pp. 149-87, at p. 168.

²⁸ See Avelino de Jesus da COSTA, *Álbum de paleografía e diplomática portuguesas* (Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 1976), no. 239.

The main script of Scribe II is highly cursive, pairing two or more characters in one single stroke; consequently, its legibility is sometimes less clear. It was probably still considered the national script in Portugal in the late sixteenth century, as it is called *letra portuguesa* ('Portuguese script') by calligrapher Manuel Barata (1549-c.1587) in a posthumous work published in 1590.²⁹ It is close to what was called the 'cortesana' hand in Spain,³⁰ but with clear influences of the Italianate so-called 'humanist minuscule' script and Roman typeface. These are most evident in the scribe's secondary script, which has a noticeably typographic style, with high calligraphic quality and clear legibility. In Portugal, the first documents to use such type were printed c.1530, and manuscripts using similar scripts are found at least from mid-sixteenth century.³¹

Both scribes share the same type of musical hand, which is very neat and legible, with some traces of cursivity. Noteheads are lance-shaped, a style found, for example, in Italian musical manuscripts from the first half of the sixteenth century (as early as late 1510s),³² but also from the late sixteenth century.³³

- The text script of Scribe III, for its part, is already fully humanist and an example of the Italic script. This was a rather popular type all over Europe throughout most of the sixteenth century; in Portugal, it is to be found at least from the 1530s,³⁴ but less commonly towards the end of the century. This scribe's musical hand is quite unique with its obliquity and parallelogram-shaped noteheads; I have been unable to find a similar hand in other musical manuscripts.

The original scribes' hands can thus be tentatively dated from between 1530 and 1580.

With regard to the scribes who intervened after the original layer:

- Scribes IV and V show a type of hand derived from both the Italic and 'humanist cursive' scripts; similar styles are found in Portuguese documents from the second half of the sixteenth

²⁹ It is likely that this term already appeared in Barata's *Arte de Escrever* published in 1572, and now lost; see Vítor SERRÃO, 'Camões e as artes do seu tempo, entre humanismo e *Bella Maniera*', in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, coordinated by Vítor Aguiar e Silva (Alfragide, Caminho, 2011), pp. 115-25, at p. 124, and also Ana Lúcia DUQUE, 'Portuguese Calligraphy of the XVI Century' (2013), available at <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256557704_Portuguese_Calligraphy_of_the_XVI_Century> (accessed 16 September 2018), from which we got Manuel Barata's dates.

³⁰ This gothic-affiliated handwriting style was profusely used in Spain as of the early fifteenth century; see Ana Belén SÁNCHEZ PRIETO and Jesús DOMÍNGUEZ APARICIO, 'Las escrituras góticas', in *Introducción a la paleografía* (see note 27), pp. 149-87, at pp. 139-42.

³¹ See COSTA, *Álbum de paleografía* (see note 28), no. 218.

³² See, for example, manuscript *I-MO*d mus. IV, dated between 1513 and 1521 (description and digital facsimile available at *DIAMM* <www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1435>, accessed 19 September 2018), and first part of manuscripts *GB-Lbl* Royal Appendix 59-62, dated c.1540 according to *Sixteenth-Century Italian Dances*, edited by Joel Newman (University Park and London, Pennsylvania State University, 1966), p. [2].

³³ See, for example, manuscript *I-MO*d mus. XII, from f. 34v onwards, dated late sixteenth century; description and digital facsimile available at *DIAMM* <www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2156> (accessed 19 September 2018).

³⁴ See COSTA, *Álbum de paleografía* (see note 28), no. 197.

century.³⁵ At the same time, Scribe IV's musical hand is the most conservative of the *cancioneiro*: perfectly square, vertical and neatly drawn. Even though this notation style was widespread in the fifteenth century, it continued to be used throughout the entire sixteenth century, especially for the notation of sacred music, as found in Portuguese musical manuscripts dating from the mid to the late century.³⁶ We can point, then, to a period between 1550 and 1590 for these scribes based on their respective hands.

- Scribe VI's text hand is similarly derived from humanist Italic scripts, but less neat than that of the previous scribes. This kind of script is found in Portuguese documents at least from the late 1530s to the end of the century.³⁷ The scribe's music notation is also rather cursive, and noteheads are between oval- and round-shaped; this type is commonly found in Portuguese musical manuscripts from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century.³⁸ These features also put this scribe somewhere between 1550 and 1590.

- Finally, Scribes VII and VIII use a highly cursive and oblique script, derived from the Italianate '*cancellaresca bastarda*', in widespread use in the Iberian Peninsula from the late sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century.³⁹ Scribe VII's hand is running and sprawling, the one with the least calligraphic quality in the songbook. In Portugal, one finds similar hands mainly from the last quarter of the sixteenth century to early seventeenth century.⁴⁰ The scribe's musical hand is round and equally cursive, similar to that of Scribe VI but more irregular.

Scribe VIII's hand is more elegant and regular. As mentioned earlier, Asensio dated it to 1580-90, but in Portugal this type of hand is found more commonly in the seventeenth century. It is perhaps more plausible to place these two scribes somewhere between 1580 and 1650.

³⁵ See COSTA, *Álbum de paleografia* (see note 28), no. 229.

³⁶ See, for example, manuscripts *P-Cug* MM 3, 6, 9, 12, and 32, dated c.1575, 1540-55, 1545-50, 1540-50, and 1540-55, respectively, according to REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 20), p. 8. Descriptions and digital facsimiles available at the *Portuguese Early Music Database (PEM)* <pemdatabase.eu/source/2903>, <pemdatabase.eu/source/2998>, <pemdatabase.eu/source/2707>, <pemdatabase.eu/source/3069>, <pemdatabase.eu/source/15642> (accessed 20 September 2018).

³⁷ See, for example, MS COD. 11008 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, dated 1539; digital facsimile available at *Biblioteca Nacional Digital*, <purl.pt/30341>, (accessed 19 September 2018). See also COSTA, *Álbum de paleografia* (see note 28), nos. 218-21, 229.

³⁸ See, for example, manuscripts *P-Cug* MM 48 and 217, dated c.1556-59 and c.1602-1620, respectively, according to REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 20), p. 8. Descriptions and digital facsimiles available at the *Portuguese Early Music Database (PEM)* <pemdatabase.eu/source/35332>, <pemdatabase.eu/source/26293> (accessed 20 September 2018).

³⁹ RUIZ GARCÍA, 'La escritura humanística' (see note 27), p. 72

⁴⁰ See, for example, MS 3391 of the Biblioteca do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia de Lisboa, and COSTA, *Álbum de paleografia* (see note 28), nos. 110-8.

I will now analyse the manuscript's contents in search of chronological markers that allow us to date its repertory—namely musical and poetic forms, concordances with other sources, and identifiable authors' dates.

Dating of the Repertory

With the knowledge of the chronological order of the scribes' interventions that the palaeographical study provides, one of the most fascinating peculiarities of this *cancioneiro* becomes apparent: the conscious grouping of its contents in a carefully organised fashion, indicative of a well-defined project for the structuring of the manuscript. Indeed, if we compare the distribution of the repertory with the occurrence of each musical hand (not counting corrections and amendments), we can immediately perceive the explicit intention of the original scribes to divide the *cancioneiro* in three distinct sections: (1) court songs for solo voice, (2) *romances* for solo voice, and (3) court songs for three voices, each one beginning in a new gathering.⁴¹ This is proved unequivocally by the way in which all the folios were filled with staves prior to any copying. Those of the gatherings that make up Sections 1 and 2 were all prepared to receive only one voice part (with staves only on folio versos, and with one single indentation), while those of the gatherings of Section 3 were prepared for the copying of three-part music (with staves on both folio versos and rectos and three indentations to mark the beginning of each voice part).

Between the end of one section and the beginning of the next, the original scribes left some blank folios which were later used by the other scribes, such as Scribe VI, to write down other pieces, forming five secondary groups: (a) sacred villancicos for one voice; (b) sacred villancicos for two voices; (c) sacred Latin-texted music for one voice; (d) sacred pieces for three to four voices; (e) isolated additions.

As Table 2 suggests, the original organization of the repertory into sections seems to have taken into account not only the number of voices and forms of the songs, but also their age and origin. This makes it possible to propose a general dating for the repertory of each section, which will then provide evidence for the earliest possible dates of the layers of the *cancioneiro*. I will focus principally on Section 3 (three-part songs) as it is the one that contains the most recent repertory, and therefore the one that can help determine a *terminus a quo* date for the original layer of the manuscript.

⁴¹ Section 3 has two additions outside of the original gatherings, probably on account of the fact that the scribes had run out of staved folios. Scribe I added a song on the blank folios just before the first gathering of this section (no. 78, ff. 92v-93r), and Scribe III added another one on the blank folios just after the last piece of Section 1 (no. 62, ff. 76v-77r).

	Sections / groups	ff.	nos.	Scribes	Text forms ‡	v	Language	Musical concordances §
1	Monophonic songs	*15v-76r	1-61	I II	<i>vilancete</i> [89%] <i>cantiga</i> [7%] <i>serranilha</i> [3%] others [1%]	1	Sp. [79%] Port. [21%]	Palacio Elvas Colombina
a	Monophonic sacred villancicos	78v-81r	63-6	VI	<i>vilancete</i>	1	Sp.	
2	Monophonic romances	*81v-87r	67-72	I	<i>romance</i>	1	Sp.	
b	Polyphonic sacred villancicos	87v-90r	73-5	VI	<i>vilancete</i>	2	Sp.	
c	Monophonic sacred music	90v-92r	76-7	I	psalm hymn	1	Latin	
3	Polyphonic songs	[76v-77r]† [92v-93r]† *93v-137r	62 78 79-120	I III	<i>vilancete</i> [66%] <i>cantiga</i> [20%] quatrains [5%] <i>terza-rima</i> [2%] others [7%]	3	Sp. [66%] Port. [33%]	Elvas Belém
d	Polyphonic sacred music	137v-142v	122-7	IV	motet litany <i>vilancete</i>	3 4	Latin Sp. Port.	
e	Isolated additions	143r-145r	128-9	V VII	<i>vilancete</i>	3	Sp. Port.	

Grey rows indicate original sections; white rows denote groups of later interventions

* beginning of a new gathering (in the following folio recto)

† see note 41

‡ the *vilancete*, *cantiga*, and *serranilha* are equivalent to the Spanish forms *villancico*, *canción*, and *serranilla*.

§ *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (E-Mp II/1335), *Cancioneiro de Elvas* (P-Em 11793), *Cancioneiro de Belém* (P-Lma 3391).

Table 2. Structure of the contents of the *Cancioneiro de Paris*⁴²

Sections 1 and 2

In these two sections containing monophonic pieces we find eleven concordances (four of them partial or vague) with the top voice of three- and four-part songs copied in the Spanish *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*. For the most part, these correspond to this songbook's earliest layer, dated c.1505; there are also concordances with one song from the second layer, c.1507-10, and with another one from the tenth layer, dated 1519-20.⁴³ There is also one partial musical concordance

⁴² Adapted from RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 10), table 21, p. 62.

⁴³ All these dates were put forward by Romeu FIGUERAS (see *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos, IV-1: Cancionero Musical de Palacio (siglos XV-XVI)*, introduction and study by José Romeu Figueras (Barcelona, CSIC–Instituto Español de Musicología), vol. 3-A, p. 22). Emilio Ros-Fábregas has recently called into question some of

with the top voice of a song found in the Spanish *Cancionero Musical de la Colombina*, copied in the 1490s,⁴⁴ and one other full concordance with the Portuguese *Cancioneiro de Elvas*, namely with the top voice of a song dateable from the early sixteenth-century.⁴⁵ The establishment of new text concordances with Spanish poetic collections also allows for the secure identification of the authors of five poems, all of whom are Spaniards born in the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Similarly, the overwhelming predominance of the *vilancete* poetic form (89%) and the presence of older traditional forms such as the *serranilha* point to the first decades of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ Thus, Section 1 is mostly made up of repertory originating in or inspired by popular tradition—both in its poetic and musical aspects—with texts of authors from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This repertory can therefore be dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Section 2 of the *cancioneiro* is exclusively made up of monophonic *romances* in Spanish. Its texts belong to the Hispanic *romancero viejo*, of fundamentally oral transmission, which dates back to the fourteenth century at the earliest, originating from medieval *cantares de gesta*.

Section 3

In this section, by contrast, we only find musical concordances with Portuguese songbooks and later repertory—namely the sections of mid-sixteenth-century repertory of the *Cancioneiro de Elvas* (copied c.1570),⁴⁸ and the *Cancioneiro de Belém* (copied c.1603)—with one sole exception.⁴⁹ At the same time, all but one of the pieces in this section (and in the entire *cancioneiro* for that matter) are musical settings of traditional Iberian poetic forms (*vilancete* and *cantiga*), which probably rules out

Romeu Figueras's hypotheses for these datings; see Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, 'Manuscripts of Polyphony from the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand', in *Companion to Music* (see note 8).

⁴⁴ See Kenneth KREITNER, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2004), p. 60.

⁴⁵ See Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, preface to *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Pública Hortênsia de Elvas: Edição fac-similada* (Lisboa, Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1989), p. viii. The song in question, *Quien por veros pena y muere*, is most probably the same one that opens the theatre play *Farsa de Inês Pereira* written by Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente and first presented in 1523.

⁴⁶ These are Antonio de Soria (1476-1509/15), Garci Sánchez de Badajoz (1460-1526), Antonio de Velasco (fl. late fifteenth century-early sixteenth century), Lope de Stúñiga (1415-65), and Comendador Escrivà (c.1485-c.1547); see RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 10), table 22, p. 67. Speculative attributions can also be made to Juan del Encina (1468-c.1530), one Las Casas (fl. fifteenth century), and Portuguese Cristóvão Falcão (c.1515-57), the latter based on a concordance with the poetic *Cancioneiro de Ferrara* (1554). The only poet among these from a later generation is Falcão, but the identification of him as the author of the poems in the *Cancioneiro de Ferrara* is rather speculative (see below).

⁴⁷ For a summary of these poetic forms, see RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 10), pp. 78-80 and 85-7.

⁴⁸ See FERREIRA, preface to *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Pública Hortensia de Elvas* (see note 45), p. viii.

⁴⁹ There is one piece (no. 107, ff. 122v-123r) whose top voice is partially concordant with the top voice of a song in Palacio. For more details on the other concordances, see the inventory of the manuscript in RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 10), table 2, pp. 18-21.

a dating to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Italian influence grew stronger.⁵⁰ Still, the presence of the Italian *terza-rima* form (no. 80, ff. 94v-95r) means that the manuscript cannot be prior to the introduction of the Italian style and metre in Portugal, by Sá de Miranda, in 1528.⁵¹ Some pieces also show a careful treatment of the text and the use of rhetorical devices in accordance with humanist principles which began to be established in Portugal around that same year.⁵²

The task of identifying authors whose dates could help us determine a *terminus a quo* for our *cancioneiro* is particularly challenging. All pieces are anonymous, and the small number of concordances with other songbooks unfortunately does not enable us to establish the author or composer of the great majority of the texts or the music. Indeed, of the poems of Section 3 of the *cancioneiro*, only five can be attributed to an author born in the sixteenth century:⁵³ these five, all Portuguese, are Cristóvão Falcão, Bartolomeu Trosilho (also possibly responsible for the music of one of the songs⁵⁴), Maria of Portugal, Nuno Álvares Pereira⁵⁵ and João Pinheiro. Furthermore, these attributions are rather problematic: they are either somewhat conjectural, as is the case with Bartolomeu Trosilho and Maria of Portugal; or the identity of the authors is not clearly established, as is the case with João Pinheiro; or both of the above, as is the case of Nuno Álvares Pereira and Cristóvão Falcão.⁵⁶ Consequently, none of these authors' dates can constitute strong evidence for the dating of the *cancioneiro*; nonetheless, they will provide important clues for that purpose and may help confirm other chronological markers.

Let us now see, then, what timeframes can be determined on the basis of each of these attributions:

- Cristóvão Falcão (c.1515-57) was tentatively identified as the author of the poem 'Pois tudo tão pouco dura' (no. 93, ff. 107v-108r) by Carolina Michaëlis, but not without some reservations.

⁵⁰ The *Cancioneiro de Elvas* contains three musical settings of poems in Italian metre (out of 65 songs); in the *Cancioneiro de Belém*, eight out of 18 pieces have some Italian influence on their poetic or musical form.

⁵¹ On this subject see Carolina MICHAËLIS, *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda* (Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1885), p. xvii.

⁵² See FERREIRA, *Antologia de música em Portugal* (see note 2), vol. 1, p. 76.

⁵³ There are two other identifiable authors born in the fifteenth century: Gómez Manrique (1412-90) and Pedro Álvarez de Osorio, II Marqués de Astorga (d. 1505), whose dates, naturally, do not help us determine a *terminus a quo* for the original layer of the *cancioneiro*.

⁵⁴ I was not able to identify any other composer in this section.

⁵⁵ Not to be confused with the more recognisable general and saint Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360-1431).

⁵⁶ Some scholars have disputed the very existence of a poet called Cristóvão Falcão, chief among them Delfim Guimarães (see Delfim GUIMARÃES, *Bernardim Ribeiro: O poeta Crisfal*, Lisbon, Guimarães, 1908). Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, in his edition of *Crisfal* (Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1978), attempts to dismantle Guimarães' theory, arguing convincingly, in my opinion, that Falcão, the poet, did in fact exist. This seems to be the current majority consensus—even though it is still upheld that Falcão is a 'fanciful construction' in *Dicionário cronológico de autores portugueses*, coordinated by Eugénio Lisboa (Mem Martins, Europa América, 1985), vol. 1, p. 372, though without presenting new arguments.

This same poem appears, with some variants, in the so-called *Cancioneiro de Ferrara* (in ff. 157v-158v), a collection of anonymous lyrical poems published in 1554, together with the more famous works *Menina e moça* by Bernardim Ribeiro, and *Crisfal*, commonly attributed to Cristóvão Falcão. Carolina Michaëlis demonstrated that some of the poems of this poetic *cancioneiro* are by Bernardim Ribeiro, Francisco de Sá de Miranda, and an unidentified ‘A. L.’,⁵⁷ and that, regarding the remainder, ‘there is a certain basis on which to attribute them to Cristóvão Falcão’.⁵⁸ However, this is rather speculative; we cannot be certain that they are not by Ribeiro, Miranda, or some other author hidden behind anonymity. If we were to take it that Cristóvão Falcão is in fact the author of this poem, we can reasonably suppose he would not have written it before he was fifteen, that is, not before c.1530. The time for the poem to be set to music and transcribed in the *cancioneiro* would probably set 1535 as a lower chronological boundary. Again, it should be stressed that this date is based on high levels of conjecture and must not be taken as being secure.

- Bartolomeu Trosilho (c.1500-c.1567) may be identified as the author of the poem ‘Não vos acabeis tão cedo’ (no. 99, ff. 114v-115r) thanks to a concordance with the so-called *Cancioneiro de Évora*, another Portuguese sixteenth-century poetic collection. However, only the *mote* of this poem was copied in this collection and attributed to ‘Trosilho’, which means we cannot be sure if the rest of the poem is by the same author. However, if the poem was indeed written by Bartolomeu Trosilho, *mestre de capela* of King João III of Portugal (between 1548 and c.1567),⁵⁹ we can conjecture with some plausibility that the musical setting may also be his. That would once again point to a period within the second and the third quarters of the sixteenth century.

- Maria of Portugal (1521-77), daughter of King Manuel of Portugal, was tentatively identified as the author of the *mote* of the poem ‘Já não posso ser contente’ (no. 104, ff. 119v-120r) also by Carolina Michaëlis, based on accounts of that period.⁶⁰ Michaëlis added that, if that attribution were indeed to be true, the *mote* could not be later than 1549.⁶¹ If in fact the *mote* was attributed to the Infanta by her contemporaries, as Michaëlis reports, then it is legitimate to conclude that it was not taken from an old poem or folk song, but was created in that decade of 1540-9, either by Maria or by some other courtier.

⁵⁷ Carolina MICHAËLIS, preface to Bernardim RIBEIRO and Cristóvão FALCÃO, *Obras*, edited by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1923), p. 167.

⁵⁸ ‘[...] resulta algum direito para as atribuímos a Cristovam Falcão’; see MICHAËLIS, preface to *Obras* (see note 57), p. 168. But immediately after, she cautiously states that ‘suppositions are not certainty’ (‘Mas... suposições não são certeza’, p. 169).

⁵⁹ FERREIRA, *Antologia de música em Portugal* (see note 2), vol. 1, p. 73.

⁶⁰ At the same time, Michaëlis seems to admit that there is some likelihood that the *mote* may be by an earlier author; see Carolina MICHAËLIS, *A infanta D. Maria de Portugal e as suas damas (1521-1577)* (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1983), p. 57.

⁶¹ MICHAËLIS, *A infanta D. Maria de Portugal* (see note 60), p. 57.

- Nuno Álvares Pereira is identified by the renowned poet Pero de Andrade Caminha (c.1520-89) as the author of the *mote* of ‘Quiérome ir morar al monte’ (no. 111, ff. 126v-127r), to which Caminha wrote some *glosas*. It is not improbable that the original poem is the one copied in our *cancioneiro*. For Caminha to explicitly mention the author of the *mote*, it is likely that he personally knew him. Now, there is one Dom Nuno Álvares Pereira, who died of an illness when he was around 25 years old, to whom Caminha dedicated four epitaphs, and who may be the same person.⁶² Caminha’s devotion suggests that he and Pereira were intimate friends, and that they would probably be of similar ages. Thus, assuming that both were born around the same time, this Nuno Álvares Pereira would have died around 1540-50; if he be indeed the author of the poem, this once again points to a *terminus a quo* for the *cancioneiro* of c.1535-40.

- Finally, the poem ‘Foi-se gastando a esperança’ (no. 118, ff. 133v-134r) appears with slight variants in a Portuguese poetic collection called *Cancioneiro de Fernandes Tomás* (copied between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century), where it is attributed to one João Pinheiro.⁶³ This is the most secure attribution of the entire repertory in the *Cancioneiro de Paris*; unfortunately, the precise identity of this author is not yet fully established. I proposed—for the first time, to my knowledge—that the writer in question was João Pinheiro (1521-61),⁶⁴ son of Jorge Cabedo and *fidalgo* of the house of Infantes Pedro and Fernando, who went to Bordeaux in 1538 to study Humanities, and was later invited by King João III of Portugal to teach the same course at the University of Coimbra.⁶⁵ If he was, in fact, the author of the poem, it sets the year of 1540 as an approximate lower chronological limit for the compilation of this *cancioneiro*.

Thus, Section 3 of the *Cancioneiro de Paris*, in notorious contrast with the previous ones, is composed of a more erudite palace repertory, whose formal and stylistic features, concordances with almost exclusively late Portuguese musical and poetic collections, and dates of the authors represented, place it in the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century. Specifically, this data

⁶² This biographical data is inferred from the epitaphs mentioned (‘a quatro lustros pouco mais chegado’, ‘d’ũa branda febre derribado’; see Pero de Andrade CAMINHA, *Poezias* (Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências, 1791), pp. 285-6). This could this also be the poet and *fidalgo* of the court of Dom Luís that Barbosa Machado refers to; see Diogo Barbosa MACHADO, *Bibliotheca lusitana: Historica, critica, e cronologica* (Lisbon, Ignacio Rodrigues, 1752), vol. 3, p. 500. Joseph Pribsch, who was the first to suggest this attribution, also mentioned another Nuno Álvares Pereira (c.1500-after 1561), brother of António Pereira Marramaque, lord of Cabeceiras de Basto, both intimate friends of the renowned poet Sá de Miranda; see *Poesias ineditas de P. de Andrade Caminha*, edited by Joseph Pribsch (Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1898), pp. 539-40, and, for biographical notes on Marramaque’s family, António Dias MIGUEL, *António Pereira Marramaque, Senhor de Basto: Subsídios para o estudo da sua vida e da sua obra* (Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1980). To my knowledge, there is no explicit evidence that Caminha knew this latter Nuno.

⁶³ *Cancioneiro de Fernandes Tomás* (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia, 1971), f. 67v.

⁶⁴ See RAIMUNDO, ‘O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris’ (see note 10), p. 70.

⁶⁵ See José Galdes FREIRE, *Obra poética de Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos* (Coimbra, [n.p.], 1962), pp. 8, 10, 19-20; and Jorge CARDOSO, *Agiologio lvisitano dos sanctos, e varoens illvstres em virtvde do reino de Portvgal, e svas Conqvasistas* (Lisbon, Henrique Valente d’Oliveira, 1657), vol. 2, p. 18.

shows us that the copying of the original layer of the *cancioneiro* is unlikely to have begun before 1545 and was most probably completed before 1575.

Later additions (groups a-e)

The texts of the sacred Christmas and Marian villancicos copied by Scribe VI (groups *a* and *b*) seem to be versions *a lo divino* of secular songs; that is most likely the case of pieces ‘Isabel y más María’ (no. 64, ff. 79v-80r) and ‘A la gala de la más linda zagala’ (no. 66, f. 81r), at least.⁶⁶ This type of *contrafactum* was already documented in the late fifteenth century but gained increased popularity as a devotional sacred genre in Spain and Portugal in the course of the sixteenth century.⁶⁷ The text of one of the pieces in this group, ‘Señora del mundo’ (no. 75, ff. 89v-90r), was published in a Spanish sacred *cancionero* in 1554.⁶⁸ It is plausible, then, to suppose that this repertory dates from the mid-sixteenth century.

The group of seven sacred pieces copied by Scribe IV (group *d*) is more heterogeneous. The two very brief and rudimentary four-voice litanies ‘Dic nobis Maria’ and ‘Pater de caelis Deus’ (nos. 126 and 127, ff. 141v-142v) are evidently written forms of a kind of improvised polyphony based on *fauxbourdon* models, documented in Spain in the late fifteenth century,⁶⁹ and, according to Ferreira, the musical style of the 3-voice motet ‘Quanti mercenarii’ (no. 121, ff. 138v-139r) ‘reflects that of Peñalosa’ (c.1470-1528), which would date it to the first third of the sixteenth century.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the four Christmas villancicos copied by this scribe point to a later date, as one of them is for four voice parts, the top one only intervening in the *estribillo* section—this is a musical structure we also find in a Christmas villancico copied in the *Cancioneiro de Belém*.⁷¹ This suggests that this repertory in the vernacular dates to the late mid-sixteenth century at the earliest. Thus, considering the dating of this scribe’s hand proposed above, we can now point to 1560-90 as the timeframe within which he probably intervened, although the inclusion of the three earlier Latin-texted sacred pieces is certainly intriguing and would warrant further study.

⁶⁶ These are probably *contrafacta* of the secular poems ‘Isabel e mais Francisca’ and ‘A la gala, gala, de nuestra zagala’; see Margit FRENK, *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)*, 2 vols. (Mexico, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México - El Colegio de México-Fondo de cultura económica, 2003), no. 89A/B, and no. 1342, respectively.

⁶⁷ See LAIRD, *Towards a History* (see note 8), pp. 18-20.

⁶⁸ Gregório de PESQUERA, *Doctrina christiana, y espejo de bien vivir* (Valladolid, Sebastián Martínez, 1554), f. 135r.

⁶⁹ According to Ferreira, the counterpoint of no. 126 in particular is ‘partially affiliated to the old parallel *organum* at the fifth and octave’ (‘estilo parcialmente filiado no antigo *organum* paralelo à 5ª e 8ª, agora enriquecido com movimentos contrários e a adição de uma quarta voz’); see FERREIRA, *Antologia de música em Portugal* (see note 2), vol. 1, p. 62.

⁷⁰ ‘O motete anónimo *Quanti mercenarii* ... poderá talvez reflectir o estilo de Peñalosa’; see FERREIRA, *Antologia de música em Portugal* (see note 2), vol. 1, p. 64.

⁷¹ ‘Pues a Dios humano vemos’, no. 1 of that songbook. For a modern edition, see Manuel MORAIS, *Cancioneiro Musical de Belém* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1988), pp. 51-2.

Scribe V's single contribution, the poem 'No hallo a mis males culpa' (no. 128, ff. 143v-144r) (group *e*) by Portuguese poet Jorge de Montemor (1520?-61) was published for the first time in his *Las obras* of 1554,⁷² and afterwards in successive editions of his work (in 1563 and 1579). There are some minor variants between the text in the manuscript and the printed versions, mainly Lusisms,⁷³ suggesting that the former was not copied directly from any of the latter. Nevertheless, it does not seem out of place to restrict the proposed period for this scribe's intervention tentatively to 1555-90.

Regarding the text of the last piece of the *cancioneiro*, 'Não tragais borzeguis pretos' (no. 129, ff. 144v-145r) (group *e*), the single musical contribution by Scribe VII, it has been suggested that it alludes to the sumptuary laws that regulated the courtiers' clothing (the *mote* of this villancico is 'Do not wear black *borzeguis* [leather netherhoses] for they are forbidden in the court'⁷⁴)—Nery refers King João III,⁷⁵ who made this decree in 1535;⁷⁶ Morais points instead to the reign of King Sebastião,⁷⁷ during which at least three such laws were passed in 1560, 1565, and 1570.⁷⁸ The latter would make more sense taking into account the dating of this scribe's hand. It should be noted, however, that none of these four decrees restrict any kind of specific footwear; on the contrary, they mostly aim to restrict or forbid the use of extravagant, excessively luxurious pieces of clothing—namely silk fabrics and adornments with gold and silver threads—which certainly would not include black netherhoses.⁷⁹ It is possible, therefore, that the text of the song does not allude to any actual regulation but is intended instead to be satirical and humorous.⁸⁰

⁷² Jorge de MONTEMOR, *Las obras de George de Montemayor* (Antwerp, Juan Stelsio [Jan Steels], 1554); digital facsimile available at <books.google.pt/books?id=2DpeAAAACAAJ> (accessed 14 September 2018).

⁷³ E.g., 'terrible' > 'terribel'; 'pues' > 'pois'; 'bien' > 'bein'; 'aun' > 'aum'.

⁷⁴ 'Não tragais borzeguis pretos / que na corte são defesos' in the original Portuguese.

⁷⁵ NERY - CASTRO, *História da música* (see note 2), pp. 29-30.

⁷⁶ *Ordenação da defesa dos Veludos e Sedas* ([Lisbon, Germão Galharde, 1535]); digital facsimile available at *Biblioteca Nacional Digital* <purl.pt/14851> (accessed 14 September 2018).

⁷⁷ MORAIS, *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances* (see note 2), p. CXLI.

⁷⁸ *Ley sobre os vestidos de seda, & feittos delles: E das pessoas que os podem trazer* ([n.p., 1560]); *Ley das calças* ([Lisbon, Marcos Borges], 1566); 'Lei sobre os gastos demasiados, Sedas, & outras cousas que pertencem a reformation dos costumes' in *Leys e prouisoos que el Rey dom Sebastião nosso senhor fez depois que começou a gouernar* (Lisbon, Francisco Correia, 1570), pp. 6-17; digital facsimiles available at *Biblioteca Nacional Digital* <purl.pt/14914>, <purl.pt/16726>, and <purl.pt/23032>, respectively (accessed 14 September 2018).

⁷⁹ King João III himself wore *borzeguis* with black shoes to solemn events; see Francisco d'ANDRADA, *Cronica do muyto alto e muito poderoso rey destes reynos de Portugal dom Ioão o III. deste nome* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodrigues, 1613), part IV, ff. 13-4.

⁸⁰ Another theory, put forward by Victor Amaro Vicente, suggests that this song might refer to the suspension of the sumptuary laws for the period of the wedding of Infanta Maria, when—quoting Giuseppe Bertini—'black clothes of poor quality' were replaced by 'the richest garments "of silk and velvet in gold and different colours"'. However, the same Bertini states that 'the nobility retained their traditional black dress for official ceremonies', which seems to contradict Vicente's theory. Furthermore, the song explicitly alludes to a prohibition and the risk of being arrested for transgressing it, which a temporary suspension of the law would certainly not entail. See Victor Amaro VICENTE, 'Music of the New Lusitania: The Impact of Humanist Thought on Polyphony in Sixteenth-Century Portugal' (Master's thesis,

Finally, Scribe VIII extended three already existing poems by adding two *glosas* by Pero de Andrade Caminha (to no. 45, ff. 59v-60r) which are also found in an autograph manuscript dated from the 1570s;⁸¹ one *glosa* by Luís de Camões (c.1524-80), first published in 1595 (to no. 96, ff. 110v-112r);⁸² and one *glosa* by Jorge da Silva (d.1578), also found in a manuscript collection copied c.1608-10 (to no. 22, ff. 36v-37r).⁸³ These dates suggest that this scribe's contributions were carried out somewhere between the last two decades of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, which is consistent with the timeframe proposed earlier based on the respective hand.

Dating and Timeline of the Compilation of the *Cancioneiro*

After putting together every chronological range obtained from the analysis of both form and contents of the manuscript (see Figure 3), it may be asserted with a significant degree of certainty that the original body of the *Cancioneiro de Paris* was copied between 1550 and 1570, and that the later interventions are likely to have occurred between 1560 and 1650.

From these results, we may formulate a timeline summarising the five stages of the codex's compilation—one original stage and five corresponding to the successive additions (see Table 3):

- Stage 1 occurred somewhere between 1550 and 1570 and consisted of the copying of the original sections of the *cancioneiro*. The copying of Section 1 is the product of a collaborative effort between Scribes I and II, who together filled almost six gatherings, sometimes completing each other's work (stage 1.1).⁸⁴ Then, Scribe I alone copied Section 2 in the following gathering, leaving

University of Maryland, 2006), p. 106; and Giuseppe BERTINI, 'The Marriage of Alessandro Farnese and D. Maria of Portugal in 1565: Court Life in Lisbon and Parma', in *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, edited by K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 51.

⁸¹ This manuscript, MS COD 6383-84 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, is known as the 'Códice de Lisboa' ('Lisbon codex'); the dating is in accordance with Vanda Anastácio. Caminha's poem is found at f. 64r. See ANASTÁCIO, *Visões de glória* (see note 20), pp. xxxi, 470-1.

⁸² In Luís de CAMÕES, *Rhythmas* (Lisbon, Manuel de Lira, 1595), pp. 164-5. It is appropriate once again to demystify the idea that the *Cancioneiro de Paris* contains musical settings of poems by Luís de Camões (this claim is made in NERY - CASTRO, *História da música* (see note 2), p. 70 and in BRITO - CYMBRON, *História da música portuguesa* (see note 2), p. 56). As Ferreira has already emphasised (Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Da música na história de Portugal', in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 4-5 (1994-5), pp. 167-216, at pp. 181-2), there is no correspondence whatsoever between the texts of the songs 'Na fonte está Lianor' and 'Foi-se gastando a esperança' in the *Cancioneiro de Paris*, one the one hand, and the respective *glosas* written by Camões, on the other, except that they share the same *motes*, which are certainly not originally by the latter (Camões identifies the *mote* of 'Na fonte está Lianor' as a 'cantiga alheia'). The only stanza by Camões in the *Cancioneiro de Paris* is that added by Scribe VIII to the text of the song 'Minina dos olhos verdes', therefore a later addition probably from the early seventeenth century as we now know; the *mote* of this poem is also called 'alheio' by Camões, which means he is all but guaranteed not to be the author of the stanzas copied in our *cancioneiro*.

⁸³ This manuscript, MS CXIV/2-2 of the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, is known as the *Cancioneiro de Cortes e Magnates*. Silva's poem is found at ff. 36v-37r. See Luís de Sá FARDILHA, 'Cancioneiro de Corte e de Magnates', in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões* (see note 29), pp. 189-91.

⁸⁴ Scribe I added or completed the text of 26 melodies copied by Scribe II; Scribe II completed the text of two melodies copied by Scribe I.

some blank pages between this and the previous one (stage 1.2). After this, he began copying Section 3, again in the following gathering, leaving the previous gathering still with some blank pages. He filled four complete gatherings with three-part songs, with a short collaboration by Scribe III, and began a new, last gathering, without staves, to complete some of the poems of the pieces copied (stage 1.3).

- Scribe I would subsequently add two sacred melodies using the blank folios immediately before Section 3 (group *c*).

At this point, the original layer of the *cancioneiro* was concluded. The blank folios left by the original scribes would then be used by the successive interveners to add new pieces.

- In stage 2, which probably happened somewhere between 1560 and 1590, Scribe IV used the blank folios left in the last gathering to add seven sacred pieces (group *d*).

- Stage 3 consisted only of Scribe V's addition of an isolated poem (group *e*) after Scribe IV's contributions.

- In stage 4, within the same time range, Scribe VI did a revision of the original contents of the *cancioneiro* with corrections and amendments to music and text, and used the folios that had been left blank between sections 1 and 2 to add monophonic sacred villancicos (group *a*), and those between sections 2 and 3 to add polyphonic sacred villancicos (group *b*).

- In stage 5, somewhere between 1580 and 1650, Scribe VII added a new gathering at the beginning of the *cancioneiro*, where he wrote down the index. He also added a musical piece—which would be the last one—on the first available blank folio he found at the end of the *cancioneiro* (group *e*).

- And finally, in stage 6, within the same time range, Scribe VIII corrected and amended texts throughout the songbook.

In this way was compiled the *Cancioneiro de Paris* as it has come down to us today.

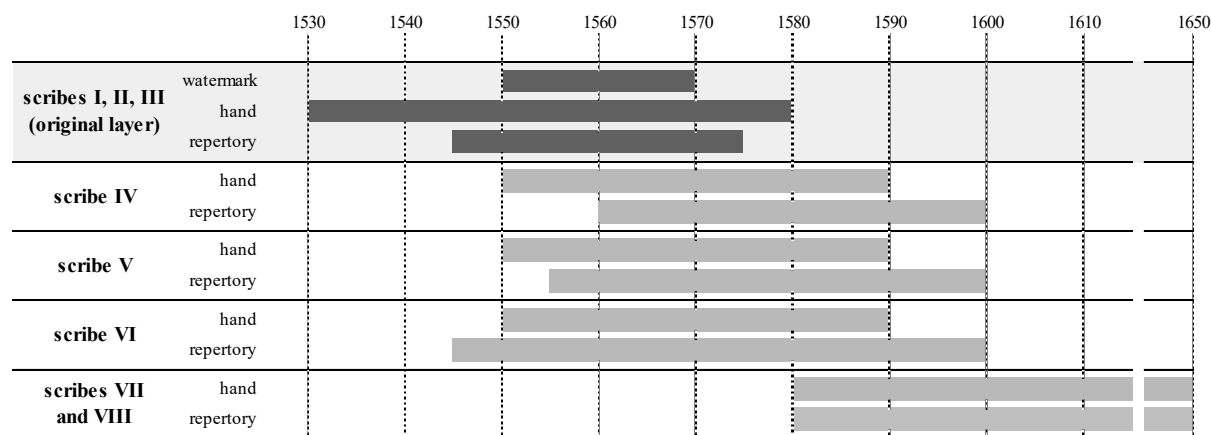


Figure 3. Summary of the chronological ranges obtained from the analysis of the *Cancioneiro de Paris*

Dates (approx.)	Stages of formation	Scribes	Sections
1550-1570	original layer	1.1	I, II
		1.2	I
		1.3	I, III
1560-1590	later interventions	2	IV
		3	V
		4	VI
1580-1650		5	VII
		6	VIII

Table 3. Timeline for the compilation of the *Cancioneiro de Paris*

The fact that the original layer of the *Cancioneiro de Paris* was completed c.1550-70 means that it is the earliest Portuguese source of Renaissance secular music that we currently know of.⁸⁵ This is one of the most immediate and relevant conclusions of this study, but the knowledge of the dates of the repertory and of the compilation of the *cancioneiro* also opens up many research possibilities hitherto inaccessible. The fact that its original layer contains song melodies from the early sixteenth century as well as polyphonic part-songs from the mid-sixteenth century, for example, can give us further insight on how older and newer repertory could be performed together, and allows for a better understanding of how musical styles and tastes evolved. The later additions, although few in number, are significant aids for the tracing of the evolution of the villancico genre in Portugal. The repertory of the *cancioneiro* can now also be compared with its Spanish counterparts to understand how similarly or differently the song genre evolved in both countries. Furthermore, a knowledge of the structure and the process of compilation of the *cancioneiro* enables us to understand better the thinking of the scribes behind it; its organisation reveals not only an awareness of the existence of a set of common features between pieces—voice combination,

⁸⁵ This takes into account the new dating of the *Cancioneiro de Lisboa* (P-Ln CIC 60) to c.1570, proposed by João Pedro d'Alvarenga; see ALVARENGA, 'On the Transmission of Iberian Polyphonic Music' (see note 20). The other two sources we know of are the above-mentioned *Cancioneiro de Elvas* and *Cancioneiro de Belém* (dated c.1570 and c.1603, respectively).

forms, age, origin—but also an intention to group them in accordance with these features, and to plan the copying of the manuscript beforehand in accordance with this grouping, thus revealing a developed notion of repertory and genre. In essence, the dating and the history of the *Cancioneiro de Paris* are crucial new pieces of evidence for future studies of Renaissance music in Portugal properly situated within the broader context of social and cultural history.

Nuno de Mendonça Raimundo is an integrated researcher at the Centre for the Study of the Sociology and Aesthetics of Music (CESEM) at the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. He is also pursuing his doctoral studies on seventeenth century music in the vernacular in Portugal at the same university. From 2016 to 2019, he was part of the project *The Anatomy of Late 15th- and Early 16th-Century Iberian Polyphonic Music*, led by João Pedro d'Alvarenga, as holder of a research assistant grant from Portugal's Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT).

Recebido em | *Received* 18/10/2018

Aceite em | *Accepted* 13/12/2018

