

The Codex Lerma

Utrecht, University Library, Ms 3 L 16

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The history of the manuscript

Before the Codex Lerma was purchased in 1959 by the University of Utrecht, it was housed in the ex-collegiate church of San Pedro in Lerma, a small town to the south of Burgos in northern Spain, at the road from Madrid to Santander. The description of the manuscript by Willem Elders in 1967 showed that it was an important source for sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish polyphony, containing a number of hitherto unknown works from several composers of that time.¹

Although the original binding and title page and other leaves are now lost, Douglas Kirk was able to reconstruct the history of the manuscript from the inventories of the church of San Pedro.² He argues that the Codex Lerma (DK 1 in his terminology) was copied by minstrels in Palencia in the first half of the 1590s or somewhat before that. Their exemplar contained Franco-Flemish compositions from Johannes Urreda (Wreede) and Josquin des Prez of the late fifteenth century to the collections of the works of Orlando di Lasso and Alessandro Striggio of the 1560s. While copying they added a group of seven-voiced gospel motets from 1581 by Jacopo Corfini and a seven-voiced madrigal from 1585 by Philippe de Monte. A reworking of Urreda's *Pange lingua* at fol. 173v, entitled *Nobis datus*, is from Bricia Gaudí, who was *maestro de capilla* of the Palencia cathedral from 1581 to 1605. Kirk thinks it is very likely that Gaudí's work was copied in Palencia, by someone closely associated with him.

One of the persons who came in contact with Gaudí was Andrés de Alamillos, who was hired by the Palencia cathedral as second cornetto in 1603, and who stayed there less than two years. Kirk reasons that De Alamillos went to León afterwards and took the manuscript with compositions from Palencia with him. According to the inventory of the manuscripts of San Pedro, the coat of arms of De Silvas, De Mendoza or De Vegas was on the manuscript now known as the Codex Lerma, and was identical to that found in a similar manuscript, now still at San Pedro (Kirk's DK 2). Kirk found the first leaf of this manuscript in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America in New York, by which it had been purchased in 1911 (HSA/HC 392-298).³ It contains the note *Es de la yglesia colegia de S Pº de Lerma. Roa* (i.e. Francisco de Roa, canon and treasurer of San Pedro in the early seventeenth century) and a coat of arms which Kirk identifies as being of Hurtado de Mendoza, a powerful family in sixteenth-century Spain. It is hence certain that the Utrecht Codex Lerma had also been illustrated with the Hurtado de Mendoza coat of arms, and Kirk argues that the owner in question had been Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, abbot of Arbás and elect of San Isidoro el Real in León. If so, it had not been in his possession very long. De Alamillos left Palencia in 1603 or 1604, and in 1607 we find him in Lerma, performing with four instrumentalists, of whom he became the leader (regarding that he had the highest salary) in March 1608. In the contract he is recorded as a resident of León and a minstrel of cornetto, soprano shawn,

¹ Willem Elders, 'The Lerma codex: a newly discovered choirbook from seventeenth-century Spain', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 20 no. 4 (1967) 187-205.

² Douglas Kirk, 'The Lerma codex: the earliest wind band manuscript from Renaissance Spain', in D. Lasocki (ed.), *A time of questioning. Proceedings of the International Early Double-Reed Symposium (Utrecht 1994)* ([Utrecht: STIMU, 1997]) 1-11; idem, 'Instrumental music in Lerma, c.1608', *Early music* 23 no. 3 (1995) 393-408. What follows below is a summary of his findings with respect to the Codex Lerma.

³ Reproduced in Kirk, 'Instrumental music', 393.

soprano and tenor recorder and cornamuse. Hence he is the link between the Hurtado de Mendoza coat of arms and the compositions of Bricia Gaudí of Palencia in the Codex Lerma.

The manuscript is not recorded in the inventory of June 1607, but in August 1609 the updated inventory records ‘four other books of polyphony, the two for the minstrels, one with a binding of blue velvet and the other, larger [one] of brown leather’. Between these dates Andrés de Alamillos arrived in Lerma, and Kirk reasons that he was the one who took the manuscript from León with him, after having obtained it during his tenure in Palencia.

De Alamillos’ arrival in Lerma was the direct result of the foundation of the collegiate church of San Pedro by Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, first duke of Lerma, and de facto ruler of Spain under king Philip III from 1598 to 1618, when he fell from grace. Lerma is mainly known for his misgovernment and self-enrichment, and the transformation of San Pedro from a small parish church into the chapel of his ducal court can be explained from this context. In 1603 pope Clement VII authorized the establishment of a collegiate chapter. Work on the church must have been well advanced, regarding that the duke ordered that musical personnel was to be hired for San Pedro. These were the mentioned four minstrels, who were taken from the royal court at Madrid, as well as six singers and an organist. This group was later headed by De Alamillos. Their first assignment was a performance in the refurbished San Pedro during Holy Week in 1607. The musical library of the chapel was quickly filled, numbering 27 volumes in June 2007. Shortly after the Utrecht Codex Lerma entered the library.⁴ In the inventory of June 1615 is written about the manuscript:

Another big book bound in red of *cançiones* for minstrels, damaged so much that it seems more black than red because it was left in that shape by the blacks His Excellency [the duke of Lerma] had there when they were learning to play their instruments.⁵

This surely accounts for the bad state of the manuscript (see below) when it was purchased in 1959. Yet this is what may have saved it when in 1890 all but two of the musical manuscripts from San Pedro were stolen (the other one being DK 2). It is still named in the inventory of 1632 but not afterwards. Perhaps its fragile state made it unsuitable for the library, yet it was deemed important enough not to be discarded. Nothing further of the history of the manuscript is known, until in the 1950s dr. Maarten A. Vente, lecturer and curator at the Institute for Musicology (Instituut voor Muziekwetenschap) of the University of Utrecht, happened to see it lying in the sacristy while visiting the church in Lerma. Its keeper had not much use for the old and tattered codex, and Vente offered to buy it, thus saving it from further deterioration.⁶ The Institute for Musicology officially purchased it from Creyghton in Bilthoven – the company from which it always bought its books – in November 1959. Hence it was first housed in the the Institute for Musicology.⁷ Before it was restored, a microfilm was made in which the holes in the manuscripts were photographed against a black background, similar to the current digital reproduction. Afterwards the codex was transferred to the manuscript department of the University Library where it could be stored under better conditions.

⁴ Elders, ‘The Lerma Codex’, 187, states that the duke of Lerma had probably been the owner of the Codex Lerma, but this is potentially misleading. It is in any case quite certain that the duke had not been the original owner. Elders also states that Francisco’s uncle, Cristóbal de Royas y Sandoval, archbishop of Seville, founded the collegiate church in 1617. However, Cristóbal was archbishop of Seville from 1571 until his death in 1580. Since he had raised Francisco, the duke put up a praying statue of his uncle in his honour in San Pedro in 1617, which now functioned as his uncle’s mausoleum (José Garmendia Arruebarrena, ‘Un arzobispo ilustre de Fuenterrabía’, *Sancho el sabio* 10 (1999) 151-62: 160). The statue still exists, as does an organ from 1616.

⁵ Kirk, ‘The Lerma Codex’, 2; idem, ‘Instrumental music’, 394 (with the original text at 407, note 11); my square brackets.

⁶ How Vente purchased the codex was related to me by Willem Elders on 8 July 2008.

⁷ Hence it is abbreviated as ‘Utrecht, I.M.W. Codex Lerma’ in K. Ph. Bernet Kempers, ‘Jacobus Clemens non Papa’s chansons in their chronological order’, *Musica Disciplina* 15 (1961) 187-97, and idem, ‘Bibliography of the sacred works of Jacobus Clemens non Papa. A classified list with a notice on his life’, *Musica Disciplina* 18 (1964) 85-150.

The theory of Douglas Kirk about the origin of the manuscript is attractive, since it is able to relate the Hurtado de Mendoza coat of arms (probably León) on the codex, the composition of Bricia Gaudí of the Palencia cathedral, and the presence of the codex itself in Lerma to one person: Andrés de Alamillos. Whether this is supported by further clues in the manuscript has to be answered by a physical examination of the Lerma codex and an analysis of its contents.

Description of the manuscript

Physical description: Paper. 550x415 mm (written space, i.e. staves: 525x365 mm).

165 single leaves. For the rebinding the leaves were by twos pasted on a slip of Japanese paper. Older reparations with paper, perhaps made while the manuscript was being written, are also visible (e.g. 18r below, 27r below, 29v to the left, 34r below, 43v middle, 62v below). Sometimes this paper was written upon. On many folios ink has eaten through the parchment (e.g. fol. 5).

The leaves are numbered in the upper right hand corner from (1), (3), 4-190 (missing: fol. 2 (two fragments remain), 20-21, 31, 40, 45-46, 58, 61-62, 89-100, 120, 137 and 145). The current numbering replaces the difficult readable numbers in light-brown ink in the lower right hand corner, which run 1 to 7 folios ahead.

Trimming has taken place on the top (see e.g. 18v, 29v, 101v, 107v, 174v), the side (see e.g. 105r and 142r) and the bottom (see e.g. 130r-v and 131r, where the old foliation in light-brown ink is cut off).

Collation: III (fol. 1, 3-7), V (8-17), V (18-19, 22-29), V (30, 32-39, 41), V (42-44, 47-53), V (54-57, 59-60, 63-66), 2V (67-86), V (87-88, 101-108), V (109-118), V (119, 121-129), V (130-136, 138-140), V (141-144, 146-151), 4V (152-189); 1 leaf (190); 2 fragments from one leaf (2).

Watermarks: there are five different watermarks in the manuscript, all representing a bunch of grapes. None of them have been identified. Two resemble E. Heawood, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*. Monumenta chartae papyraceae 1 (Hilversum 1950) nr. 2173 (from Saxon's *County atlas*, London, ca. 1579), while two others resemble nr. 2177 (from Saxon's *County atlas*, London, ca. 1579).⁸

Decoration: Coloured initials in a coloured border (square frame) are found in the sections fol. 2v-23r and 146v-173r. They measure 40±5x40±5 mm. The colours used are red, blue, green and yellow, with penwork (leaves, branches) in the same colours.

Fol. 23r has a coloured initial to the left above, but only space for an initial in the middle. From 23v to 26v the initials are drawn in black ink, set in a border (except for 23v below and 24r, which have no border), in a different style, with for example a human figure, a bird, a snake or another creature being depicted. On 27r only the border is drawn. In the sections from 27v-146r and 173v-190r open spaces are left for the initials, but in the spaces at 77v and 174v-176r are crude drawings in led pencil.⁹

As was usual, the decorations were added after the music was written. Cue initials were written with a led pencil (e.g. 5v, 6v, 7v, 11v, 11v) or in ink (e.g. 164v, 165v, 166v, 167r). It is likely that the decorators were not the main scribes, who hardly would have needed to write cue initials for themselves.

⁸ The collation and watermarks have been taken over from the description of the manuscript by Koert van der Horst (December 1982) for the unpublished card catalogue of the manuscript collection of the University Library of Utrecht. It has also been used for other aspects of the physical description of the manuscript.

⁹ Led pencil is also used on 6v, 10r and 146v.

Main hands: Two main hands can be distinguished, which also show different ways of writing musical notes, hands A and B. Fourteen additional hands appear to have made further additions, of which hands C, G and E are the most prolific.¹⁰ Some of these hands may belong to the same scribe.

Hand A:

Broad script with occasional longer strokes at the beginning or end of a word or with capitals, but seldomly flamboyant. A somewhat crude hand, with a distinctive uncial **d** and somewhat sloping **a** (at times resembling a carolingian **a**), although he also writes a closed **a** (e.g. 135v, 149v and 167v). At times he uses a **ct** and **st** ligature, – or ~ to abbreviate **n**, and ⁹ to abbreviate **us**, all standard practice. Sometimes he writes in a more cursive script, e.g. at 82v-83r, 120v-121v and 153r. At a later stage commas were added to the names of the composers and titles, e.g. at 5v: *Orlando, di, lassus, A, 4* and *avecque, vous*, although the words were originally already separated.

Musical notes: square or diamond shaped, written with a broad pen. C-clef is a C with a vertical stroke or J-shaped stroke through it. Staff ends with a short round zig-zag stroke, sometimes ending with a long stroke to the right.

Appears at 2v-41v, 42v-43r, 72v-125r, 126v-136r, 146v-183r.

Hand B:

Thinner script than hand A, more flourished, especially the capitals, which approach a Gothic textualis script with its added hairlines. At 53v-57r a different more cursive hand has written the names of the composers and titles.

Musical notes: drop or tulip shaped, sometimes partially open. Less broad and often more rapidly written than the musical notes of hand A. C-clef is a C, wedged-shaped on top, with a 7-shaped stroke through it. Staff ends with a short round zig-zag stroke, ending with a round stroke upwards to the left.

Appears at 1v-2r, 27v (three bottom staves), 28r (two bottom staves), 42r, 43v-57r.

Hand C:

Capital script with serifs on letters; cursive script on 68v. Written with a broad pen in somewhat faded black ink, but on 70v-71r (crossed out) with a thin pen in black ink. Staves are numbered from 68 to 71.

Musical notes: round or tulip-shaped notes, sometimes with hooks at the end of the ascenders or descenders. C-clef usually without a stroke through it, but if so it has a thin vertical stroke followed by a 3-shaped sign. Staff ends with a short horizontal stroke, ending with a diagonal stroke with a hook to the right.

Appears at 59r-v, 63v-64r, 68v-70r, 70v (1st, 7th and 8th staff, all crossed out), 71r (1st, 6th and 7th staff, all crossed out).

Hand D:

Cursive script with a diagonal, overhanging **L** and 8-shaped **s**; **a** ends with a horizontal stroke. Black ink.

Musical notes: q and d-shaped notes, with the q-shaped notes having the form approaching that of a triangular flag. C-clef without a stroke through it, followed by a 3 or z-shaped sign. Staff ends with a short round w-shaped stroke ending in a short round stroke upwards to the right with a slight curl.

Appears at 60v and 63r, 65v-68r, 70v-71r (Hand C being crossed out).

¹⁰ Elders, 'Lerma Codex', 187, notes: 'Several folios are written in different hands, some of them extremely careless'. Kirk, 'Lerma Codex', 1, says: 'One principle scribe copied most of the original corpus of music in the manuscript, to which additions were made by two or perhaps three others. The scribal hand, although reliable and clear, is hardly beautiful, suggesting that the codex is the product of a minstrel scribe, not a major scriptorium'.

Hand E:

Cursive script with a long **s**. Black ink (64-65) or brown ink (69-70).

Musical notes: q-shaped notes, rapidly written, descenders ending in a long stroke. C-clef without a stroke through it. Staff ends with a short round **S** or 2-shaped stroke.

Appears at 64v-65r, 69v-70r (4th and 5th staff).

Hand F:

Cursive script with long penstrokes and bulging **p**. Slightly broad pen, light-brown ink.

Musical notes: d and q-shaped notes, rapidly written. C-clef without a stroke through it.

Appears at 88v and 126r (crossed out).

Hand G:

Cursive script, sometimes followed by a ÷ sign (139v-140r), dark-brown ink.

Musical notes: round notes, sometimes giving way to q and d-shaped notes. The round or q-shaped notes can be open, so that it looks like a Visigothic **g**: a **c** with a long straight vertical ascender to the right. C-clef without a stroke through it. Staff ends with a short round w-shaped stroke ending in a large curl upward to the right, so that it resembles Arabic script.

Appears at 138v-139v, 140r (letters only; notes in hand M), 140v-144r, 187v-188r, 190v.

Hand H:

More formal script, with broad pen, serif at the ascender of the **p** and **t**, and open **Q** (184v, 186v). Dark-brown ink.

Musical notes: round or tulip-shaped notes, sometimes giving way to q and d-shaped notes (but not open as with Hand G), sometimes with hooks at the end of the ascenders or descenders. C-clef is a C, wedged-shaped on top, with or without a J or 7-shaped-stroke through it. Staff ends with a tight w-shaped stroke ending with a short round stroke to the left. Resembles hand B, apart from the q-shaped notes.

Appears at 42r (5 bottom staves), 136v, 138r, 144v, 184v-187r, 188v-190r.

Hand J:

Thin pen, light-brown ink.

Musical notes: d and q-shaped notes, rapidly written. C-clef without a stroke through it. Staff ends with a short v-shaped stroke.

Appears at 57v.

Hand K:

Thin cursive script, curving **p**.

Musical notes: tulip-shaped notes. C-clef without a stroke through it, followed by a z-shaped sign. Staff ends with a short round w-shaped stroke ending in a short stroke to the right.

Appears at 59v.

Hand L:

Thin cursive script, curving **p**, c-shaped **r**, crooked **d**.

Musical notes: tulip-shaped notes, carefully and regularly written. C-clef is a C, wedged-shaped on top, without a stroke through it. No stroke at the end of a staff.

Appears at 71v.

Hand M:

Dark-brown ink.

Musical notes: d and q-shaped notes, rapidly written. C-clef with a J or 7-shaped-stroke through it. Staff ends with a short w-shaped stroke ending with a short round stroke to the left.

Appears at 140r (letters in hand G).

Hand N:

Black ink.

Musical notes: q-shaped notes.

Appears at 54r (6th staff).

Hand P:

Light-brown ink, irregularly written.

Musical notes: q-shaped notes.

Appears at 169v (5th staff, crossed out)

Hand Q:

Older layer of letters on 1r: Triple, Tenor, Cantus, Basus. In faded brown ink.

Appears at 1r

Hand R:

Cursive script, long loops, often 8-shaped s, e at the beginning of *eleyson* begins with a curl as approach stroke. Thin pen, black ink.

Musical notes: drop and d-shaped notes, rapidly written.

Appears at: 1r

Blank pages with only ruling: 60r, 72r, 125v (no ruling), 146r, 183v-184r.

The composition of the manuscript: Hand A is without doubt the scribe who wrote the main part of the manuscript first. He left a number of pages unwritten at the beginning (later filled by B and the hands of 1r), starting with the four-voiced compositions on the spread of 2v-3r. After a large section with compositions of Orlando di Lassus, he continued until *Orsus a cop* by Thomas Crecquillon on 40v (missing) and 41r. The initials (or sketches for them) stop at 27r, the final composition attributed to Orlando di Lassus. At 27v-28r Hand B has added a total of five staves to *Pange lingua*, and at 28v-29r A continues with *Sacri[s] solemn*, unusually headed *quatuor uocem*. It seems that A first wrote the Orlando di Lassus section, which was decorated with initials, and at a later stage extended the corpus of four-voiced compositions. He continued this until *Misere mei deus*, for which he only needed 41v, leaving 42r to be filled by B (and H). Hand A's final four-voiced composition, without a title, is at 42v-43r. He then left almost 30 folios blank, until 71v, which enabled B to add other four-voiced compositions until 57r, with hands C, D, E and others filling the remaining pages, apparently taking turns in writing instrumental pieces, usually without a title. Yet 60r was still not used, and 72r was left blank to mark the transition to the five-voiced compositions.

Again A begins this section, starting with Thomas Crecquillon and Orlando di Lassus, and writing until *Cosi moriro* at 124v-125r.¹¹ 125v-126r was left blank (125v is not even ruled), with F later using 126r. Then A continues, but he probably did so at a later stage, for rather than heading each of the five voices with a title, now only once a title is given, on the verso side (apart from 128r). His final addition is at 135v-136r: Orlando di Lassus' *Ma tu prendre a diletto*. G and H mainly add instrumental pieces until 144v, with 145r-v missing, and 146r remaining blank. At 139v-140r G begins *La guerre*, of which the notes were finished on the recto by M.

After this section the six-voiced compositions begin, which run until 173v-174r: Bricio Guidi's *Nobis datus* [*Pange lingua*]. Yet this last of the six-voiced compositions is the only one without decoration. It has only one title, whereas the preceding composition, *Tant vous alles doulx*, has a

¹¹ 89-100 are missing, yet 87 and 101 belong to the same gathering.

Kirk distinguishes three basic categories:

- 1) Compositions with specific liturgical connection (Kyrie eleison, hymns, psalm verses).
- 2) Motets that might be associated with particular Gospel texts in Mass (Ave Maria, O Domine Jesu, O crux victoria, etc.)
- 3) Chansons, madrigals and other secular pieces lacking an obvious liturgical connection.¹³

Comment:

In the hitherto published descriptions of the manuscript no paleographical analysis was made, and few attention was given to the various scribes or the marginal notes. The notes include a number of names, none of which I have not been able to identify from the available sources.¹⁴ The possible exception is the name scribbled on the top of 169v: *Andres in ca ...*, who could of course be Andrés de Alamillo, who according to Kirk brought the manuscript from Palencia via León to Lerma.¹⁵ The name *Lermas*, crossed out on the same page, attests of the presence of the manuscript there,¹⁶ yet on 42r we find the note *Burgos que Ds* (perhaps *que Dios*, with a verb omitted), referring to the town not so far from Lerma.

Manuel de la Suon has entered his name on 65v twice and has written six times *Ma* on 73r. Two men who name themselves *sacristán* (sacristan) and *menor* (friar) are found on 69v (Pedro de la Fuente) and 174r (Pedro Contero). The latter added words to his name, but I cannot make sense of them, and also wrote the beginning of his name at 162r.

On 15r is written in a distinctive script *La mano y pluma de mí Josepe Liberalino coro de coro y lo firmo Pedro de Cabas conpañiro che Josepe*: ‘The hand and quill of me, Josepe Liberalino, choir (singers) of the choir (chapel), and the signature of Pedro de Cabas, bandmember with Josepe’ (the name *Liberalino* may also be read as *Libreal(mo)* or the like). The same hand has written at the bottom of 158v a comment of what it means to live from music: *Condenados a culpa y a pena por ser en re da do res* ‘Condemned to guilt and to pain to be with re-da-do-res’. The same line, but apparently in a different hand, is at the top of 159r.

Whether these notes support or contradict Kirk’s theory about the genesis of the Codex Lerma still remains to be investigated, as do many other aspects of the manuscript. Comparison with other musical manuscripts may also throw light on the use of the Codex Lerma for a number of years by various musicians. It is indeed the fact that this is a musician’s manuscript with a number of unknown, mostly unnamed instrumental compositions which makes the Codex Lerma so special to modern researchers of the history of music.

¹³ Kirk, ‘The Lerma Codex’, 6.

¹⁴ None of the names occur in the inventories of the Palencia and León cathedrals, see Jose Lopez-Calo, *La musica en la cathedral de Palencia*. Volumen I: Catálogo Musical Actas Capitulares (1413-1684) (Palencia 1980), and José M. Álvarez, ‘Polifonia sagrada y sus maestros en la catedral de León durante el siglo XVII’, *Anuario musical* 15 (1960) 141-63.

¹⁵ Cf. Lopez-Calo, *La musica*, 569 §1.107 (25.2.1603). The inventory mentions around the same date a number of men named Juan (Sánchez, De Marañillos, Pablo, De Guinea, etc.) but it is impossible to ascertain whether one of them is the *Juan laans* whose name is written next to that of *Andres*.

¹⁶ From the records at Lerma we know that Andrés de Alamillo cooperated with four minstrels (Miguel de Calavia, Pedro and Felipe Deza Mazuela, Pedro de Porrás), seven singers (Diego Gallego, Bartholomé Gonzales, Martín Becerra, Pedro Baltierra, Juan de Nicolás Rubio, Bartolomé de Tiedia, later also Juan Bautista de Errazu) and an organist (Pedro de Salazar), see Kirk, ‘Instrumental music’, 394.

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Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Hand
1r	Kirie eleyson Christe [Deus genitor alme] [INC]	4?		(Q +) R
1v-2r	Martiminot [= Martin menait] [INC]	4	[Clément Janequin]	B
2v-3r	Petite folle [INC]	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
3v-4r	A ce matin	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
4v-5r	Maistre robin [= Monsieur l'Abbé]	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
5v-6r	Avecque vous	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
6v-7r	Quand mon mari vient de dehors	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
7v-8r	Trop endurer	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
8v-9r	Je l'ayme bien	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
9v- 10r	Fuyons tous d'amour le jeu	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
10v-11r	Helas quel jour	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
11v-12r	Le temps peult bien	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
12v-13r	Si par souhait ie vous tenoye	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
13v-14r	Bonjour mon coeur	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
14v-15r	Margot laboures les vignes	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
15-16r	Ardant amour	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
16v-17r	Soyons joyeux	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
17v-18r	Ce faux amour	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
18v-19r	En espoir vis	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
19v	Du corps absent [INC]	4	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
[20, 21	missing]			
22r	Haste vos de moy faire grace [INC]	4	[Orlando di Lassus]	A
22v-23r	Qui dort ic(h)y	4	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
23v-24r	Las voles vous	4	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
24v-25r	Un(g) doux nenny [1a P]	4	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
25v-26r	O come heureux: rispuesta [2a P]	4	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
26v-27r	Si pur ti gardo	4	Orlando [= B. Donato]	A
27v-28r	Pange lingua	4/5	[Joh. Urreda= Wreede]	A (+ B)
28v-29r	Sacri[s] solemnis	4		A
29v-30r	Fabordones para las chirimias 1., 4., 6., 7., 8. tono	4		A
30v	Anchor che col partire [INC]	4	[Cypriano de Rore]	A
[31	missing]			
32r	Io son pur giovinetta [= Io mi son giovinetta] [INC]	4	[Domenico Ferabosco]	A
32v-33r	Juvons beau jeu	4	Clemens non Papa	A
33v-34r	Tu sai madonna mia	4	Orlando di Lassus	A
34v-35r	La cortesia	4	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
35v-36r	Alix avoir	4	Thomas Crequillon	A
36v-37r	Entre vous fille[s]	4	[Clemens non Papa]	A
37v-38r	Ce mois de may	4	Goddart	A
38v-39r	Demande vous	4	Thomans Crecquillon	A
39v	Je prens en gre [INC]	4	Joan Baston [=Clemens?]	A
[40	missing]			
41r	Orsus a cop [INC]	4	Tho. Crecquillon	A
41v	Miserere mei deus [Ps.50-fabordón]	4		A
42r	Cum invocarem [Ps.4-fabordón]	4		B (+ H)
42v-43r	[Fabordón, 5 verses, mode 8]	4	Morales	A
43v-44r	Partus moyens [= Par tous moyens]	4	Crequillon	B
44v	Pousque voulemque [= Puisque voulez] [INC]	4	Clemens non Papa	B
[45, 46	missing]			
47r	Sayons [= Soyons ioyeux] [INC]	4	[N. de Wismes]	B
47v-48r	Fa re mi la re sol fa	4		B
48v-49r	Hortens	4	Clemens non Papa	B

¹⁷ This list of content is based on Kirk, 'The Lerma codex', table 1, with additions from Elders, 'The Lerma codex', 190-200, and several other minor corrections and additions based on the manuscript. Kirk and Elders both give additional information and references. For the identity of the composer of the compositions on fol. 126v-128r, see Juan Ruiz Jiménez, *Cinco canciones para ministreres Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599)* (Madrid 1999) 14.

49v-50r	Lutens	4	Clemens non Papa	B
50v-51r	Un gai bergier	4	Crequillon	B
51v-52r	Un souvenir	4	Crequillon	B
52v-53r	Vivons, vivons	4	Clemens Morel	B
53v-54r	Venes mens [= Venes mes serfs]	4	Clemens non Papa	B (+ N)
54v-55r	Sustempus	4	Clemens non Papa	B
55v-56r	Sapia	4		B
56v-57r	Pabana francesa	4		B
57v	[Untitled inst. piece] [INC]	4?		J
[58	missing]			
59r	[Untitled inst. piece] [INC]	4?		C
59v	La Segidillas [INC]	4?		K
60r	[blank]			
60v & 63r	[Untitled dance] La galera, La dedonsu ^o	4		D
[61 + 62	missing]			
63v-64r	[Untitled piece]	4	Morales	C
64v-65r	[4 parts of a larger piece] [INC]	8?	"Choro de ministriles"	E
65v-66r	[Untitled piece]	4		D
66v-67r	[Untitled piece]	4		D
67v-68r	La de las medias / La de las dames / La Francesa	4		D
68v-69r	Cuarto tono [Fabordón, Verses 1-4]	4	"del can ^o garson"	C
69v-70r	[Verses 5&6]	4		C (+ E)
70v-71r	La ytaliana / Tanque / Mi mi re ut	4		D (+ C)
	[Tanque= excerpts of Tant que vivray]		[Claudin de Sermisy]	
71v	Primer[o] tono [Fabordón] [INC]	4		L
72r	[blank]			
72v-73r	Regret én(n)uy	5	Thomas Crequillon	A
			[= N. Gombert]	
73v-74r	La me tiendray [= Cherchant plaisir]	5	Thomas Crecquillon	A
74v-75r	Crainte et espoir	5	Thomas Crecquillon	A
75v-76r	Pis ne me peult venir	5	Tho: Crecquillon	A
76v-77r	Susanna ung jour	5	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
77v-78r	Comme un qui prend (une couppe)	5	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
78v-79r	De tout mon ceur	5	[Orlando di Lassus]	A
79v-80r	Mon ceur ravi d'amour	5	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
80v-81r	Ung triste ceur	5	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
81v-82r	Ardant amour	5	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
82v-83r	J'attens le temps	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
83v-84r	Mon coeur se recomande a vous	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
84v-85r	Vous qui ayme les dames	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
85v-86r	Le vo(u)le(s) vous: secunda parte [of 86v-87r]	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
86v-87r	Veux tu ton mal [1a P of 85v-86r]	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
87v-88r	Le rossignol	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
88v	Apri vulcan lo speco [INC]	5	Philippe de Monte	A
	[added unknown inst. piece]	?	Magistro Marco Santore (?) (+ F)	
[89-100	missing]			
101r	Ayme quiouldra [INC]	5	[Nicolas Gombert]	A
101v-102r	Triste depart	5	Nicolaus Gombert	A
102v-103r	Si par souffrir	5	Cornelius Canis	A
103v-104r	Souffrir, me convient	5	Nicolaus Gombert	A
104v-105r	J'endure tourment [1a P only]	5	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
105v-106r	Las pour souffrire [2a P of 109v-110r]	5	[Philippe de Monte]	A
106v-107r	Quant je suis prez de mamie	5	Nicolaus Gombert	A
107v-108r	Le bergier et la bergiere	5	Nicola(u)s Gombert	A
108v-109r	Sur tous regretz	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
109v-110r	Si par souffrir [1a P, 2a P = 105v-106r]	5	Philippe de Monte	A
110v-111r	Elle s'en va	5	Orlando di Lassus	A
111v-112r	Au ioly bois	5	Joannes Lupi	A
112v-113r	La non ailleurs	5	Clemens non Papa	A
113v-114r	D'amy parfaict [2a P of 112v-113r]	5	Clemens non Papa	A
114v-115r	Il me suffit	5		A

115v-116r	Elle a mon c(o)eur	5		A
116v-117r	Le temps viendra	5		A
117v-118r	Vous seulement; tenor: Adieu mes amours	5	Simon Morea[u]	A
118v-119r	Mon pere si me maria	5	Clemens non Papa	A
119v	Plaisir n'ay plus [INC]	5	[Thomas] Crecquillon	A
[120	missing]			
121r	Si ie prometz [INC]	5		A
121v-122r	Resveilles vous	5	Cleme[n]s no[n] Papa	A
122v-123r	Tirsi morir volea [1a P]	5	Luca Marenzio	A
123v-124r	Frenò Tirsi il desio: secunda parte	5	Luca Marenzio	A
124v-125r	Cosi moriro: tertia parte	5	Luca Marenzio	A
125v	[blank]			
126r	Contrapundi se conzieno – solo se cite (?) canto llano	4		F
126v-127r	No me podre quexar d'amor	5	[Francisco Guerrero]	A
127v-128r	Si el mirar	5	[Francisco Guerrero]	A
128v-129r	Hec est arbor dignissima	5	[Clemens non Papa]	A
129v-130r	O felici ochi miei	5	Jaquet [Berchem]	A
130v-131r	Orriel [= Or il ne m'est possible]	5	Clemens [non Papa]	A
131v-132r	Forbons	5	Clemens [non Papa]	A
132v-133r	Vostre	5		A
133v-134r	Venit vox de celo [1a P]	5	Clemens [non Papa]	A
134v-135r	Respondit milles: secunda pars	5	Clemens [non Papa]	A
135v-136r	Ma tu prende a diletto [2a P of Fiera stella]	5	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
136v	[3 parts of unknown inst. piece] [INC?]	5?		H
[137	missing]			
138r	[3 parts of unknown inst. piece] [INC?]	5?		H
138v-139r	[unknown inst. piece]	5		G
139v-140r	[La Guerre – 1a P]	5	[Janequin/Verdelot]	G M
140v-141r	[La Guerre – 2a P]	5	[Janequin/Verdelot]	G
141v-142r	[Unknown inst. piece]	5		G
142v-143r	[Unknown inst. piece]	5		G
143v-144r	[Unknown inst. Piece]	5		G
144v	Regina caeli [INC]	5		H
[145	missing]			
146r	[blank]			
146v-147r	Nasce la gioia mia	6	[Giovanni Animuccio?]	A
147v-148r	Nasce la pena mia	6	Alexandro Striggio	A
148v-149r	Sara che cessi	6	Alexandro Striggio	A
149v-150r	Voglia mi sprona	6	Alexandro Striggio	A
150v-151r	La ver l'aurora	6	(Alexandro Striggio)	A
151v-152r	Però s'oltra suo stil	6	(Alexandro Striggio)	A
152v-153r	Poi che spiegat so l'ale	6	[Alessandro Striggio]	A
153v-154r	La voce del mio cor	6	Alexandro Striggio	A
154v-155r	S'ogni mio be savete	6	[Alessandro Striggio]	A
155v-156r	Fortuna alata il pie	6	Alexandro Striggio	A
156v-157r	Nasce la gioia mia	6	[Gio. Leo. Primavera]	A
157v-158r	Dolce cantar s'udia	6	Gio. Leo. Primavera	A
158v-159r	Anc[h]or ch'io possa dire	6	Alex. Stri[ggio]	A
159v-160r	Si me tenes tant de rig(u)eurs	6	[Thomas Crecquillon]	A
160v-161r	Tous les regretz	6	[Nicolas Gombert]	A
161v-162r	Ultimi miei sospiri	6	Verdelot	A
162v-163r	A qui me doige [doibs ie] retirer	6	Clemens non Papa	A
163v-164r	Languir me fais	6	[Clemens non Papa]	A
164v-165r	Ecco [ch'io lass'il core]	6	[Anonymous]	A
165v-166r	Benedicta [es] [1a P]	6	[Josquin des Prez]	A
166v-167r	[Nunc Mater exora] [3a P of Benedicta es]	6	[Josquin des Prez]	A
167v-168r	Ave Maria [2a P of Pater noster]	6	Josquin de Pres	A
168v-169r	Fremuit spiritus Jesus [1a P]	6	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
169v-170r	Videns [dominus]: secunda pars	6	[Orlando di Lassus]	A (+ P)
170v-171r	In te domine speravi: prima parte	6	Orlando [di Lassus]	A
171v-172r	Quoniam fortitudo mea: secunda pars	6	[Orlando di Lassus]	A

172v-173r	Tant vous alles doulx	6	[Guillemette Abran]	A
173v-174r	Nobis datus [= Pange lingua]	6	Bricio Gaudi	A
174v-175r	Stolto mio core	7	Philipp(e de Monte)	A
175v-176r	Tua est potentia	7	Di Jacopo Corfini	A
176v-177r	O domine [Jesu Christe]	7	Di Jacopo Corfini	A
177v-178r	O crucis victoria	7	Jacopo Corfini	A
178v-179r	Quem vidistis pastores	7	Jacopo Corfini	A
179v-180r	Mon seul	7	[Nicolas] Gombert	A
180v-181r	Beata es virgo Maria: prima pars	7	[Philippe Verdelot]	A
181v-182r	Ave Maria: secunda pars	7	(Phili)pp(e Verdelot)	A
182v-183r	Pon fren al gran dolor	7		A
183v-184r	[blank]			
184v-185r	[Unknown inst. piece]	6		H
185v-186r	[Unknown inst. piece]	6		H
186v-187r	[Unknown inst. piece]	6		H
187v-188r	[Unknown inst. piece]	6		G
188v-189r	[Unknown inst. piece]	6		H
189v-190r	[Unknown inst. piece]	6		H
190v	[Unknown inst. piece] [INC]	6?		G

Bart Jaski, 6-8-2008

http://digbijzcoll.library.uu.nl/extras/Codex_Lerma/Codex%20Lerma-description.htm

pdf-version with a few minor textual corrections 4-11-2011