Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus

By CATHERINE WEEKS CHAPMAN

In 1929, when knud Jeppesen published an article on the copy of Petrucci's Laude libro secondo in the Biblioteca Colombina, he included a list of early 16th-century music prints he had discovered entered in one of the manuscript catalogues of that library. He has since corrected and supplemented his findings; his revisions and additions are published in Die italienische Orgelmusik and in a review of works by Claudio Sartori on Petrucci and by Alfred Einstein on Antico.² It is now apparent that no one working in early 16th-century music bibliography can afford to overlook Dr. Jeppesen's discoveries or the Colombina catalogues themselves, because the casualty rate among early music books has been depressingly high. Rather few books survive in several copies; of many only a single copy is preserved. Sometimes a single copy is undated. Often these sole survivors are badly damaged or are represented by only one, two, or three part books. Occasionally we find a "libro secondo" but no "libro primo"; frequently a "libro primo," suggesting a planned series, has no known sequels. Thus we are haunted by the spectres of lost books and vexed by our inability to date key publications. The Colombina catalogues solve many such problems. And because Ferdinand Columbus owned a copy of nearly every now known music book published up to and including 1535, plus a considerable number that have disappeared altogether, it is not impossible that we can approach, through the catalogues, a reasonably accurate and complete working bibliography of the offerings of the earliest music printers. The immediate purpose of this article, combining in a single source the results of our own investigations with the earlier discoveries of Dr. Jeppesen and others, is to furnish some perhaps not insignificant revisions and additions to the standard bibliographies; for the longer run, it is meant to supply bits of information about lost books that may serve to identify part books and fragments yet to be brought to light.

Needless to say, had the Biblioteca Colombina remained intact over

¹ Knud Jeppesen, "Die neuentdeckten Bücher der Lauden des Ottaviano dei Petrucci und andere musikalische Seltenheiten der Biblioteca Colombina zu Sevilla," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft XII (1929), 73-89.

² Jeppesen, Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento (Kopenhagen, 1943), pp. 56-57, n. 2; pp. 64-66, n. 7; 2nd ed. (Kopenhagen, 1960), pp. 47-48, n. 2; pp. 54-56, n. 7. The review is published in Acta Musicologica XX (1948), pp. 78ff.

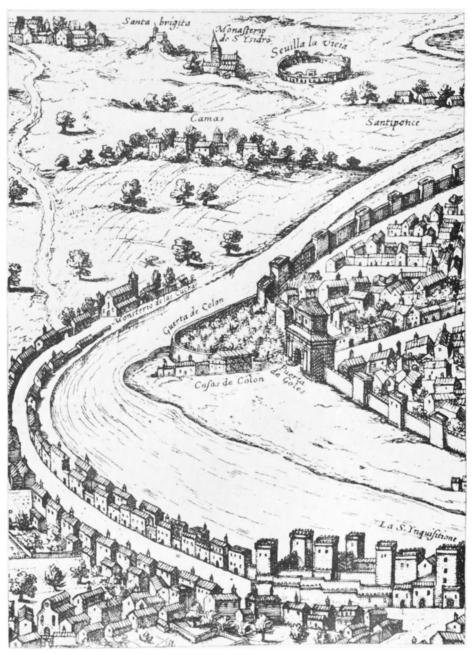


PLATE I H. Harrisse. Excerpta Colombiniana (Paris, 1887), frontispiece.

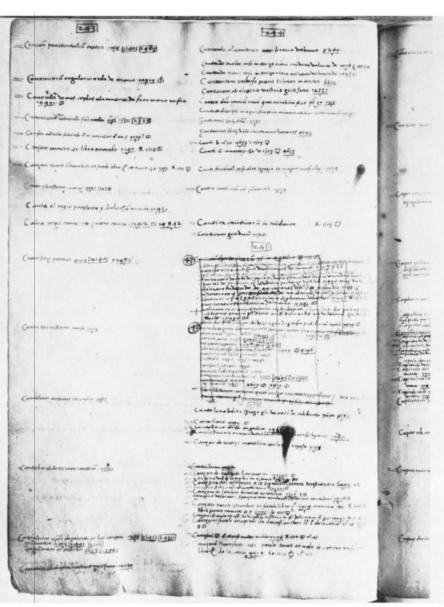


PLATE II. Abecedarium B.

the centuries, articles such as this one would be unnecessary, and the library itself would be the world's most important repository of early 16th-century printed music. It was, in fact, Ferdinand Columbus' hope, when he arranged to have his library taken over at his death by the Cathedral Chapter of Seville, that it would remain permanently open to scholars. His catalogues, moreover, had they been completed in accordance with his plans, would have made every volume easily accessible. Unfortunately, the library was made accessible to vandals as well as to scholars, and only a few thousand of the 15,370 books Columbus owned at the time of his death are still there.³ The process of reconstruction through the catalogues may be a poor substitute for the opportunity to study the books themselves, but it is nevertheless a fascinating process, made possible by a man scarcely less persistent and singleminded than his famous father.

Born in 1488 to Beatriz Enríquez de Harana, mistress of Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Columbus was gradually drawn away from his mother into the court life enjoyed by the family of the Admiral of the Ocean Sea. When not yet fourteen, he set out with his father on "his most dangerous and least profitable voyage," the fourth and last. Christopher Columbus wrote the King, "Our Lord gave him [Ferdinand Columbus] such courage that he revived the spirits of the others, and he acted as if he had been a sailor of eighty years, and he consoled me." Returning to Spain and the court in November, 1504, Ferdinand joined with his relatives in trying, without success, until the Admiral's death to secure him the money and privileges to which he felt entitled. In 1509 Ferdinand was sent to Hispaniola to supervise the erection of churches and monasteries, but returned after a few months to Spain.

In subsequent years Ferdinand Columbus was called upon frequently by the Spanish sovereigns as an expert in colonial affairs and in cartography. He also wrote, or supervised the writing of, a famous biography of his father. Much of his time, however, was devoted to accumulating and cataloguing his library, which he installed in his house outside the walls of Seville on the Guadalquivir River (Plate I).

² The printed books are listed in Biblioteca Colombina: Catálogo de sus libros impresos, 7 vols. (Seville, 1888—Madrid, 1948). See also J. B. Trend, "Musikschätze auf spanischen Bibliotheken," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft VIII (1925-6), 499-504; Higinio Anglés, "La música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla," Anuario musical II (1947), 3-39.

⁴ Samuel Eliot Morison, The Admiral of the Ocean Sea (Boston, 1942), II, 319.

⁶ Ferdinand Columbus, The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by his Son Ferdinand, translated and annotated by Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, N. J., 1959), p. vii.

⁶The work was first printed in Venice, 1571, thirty-two years after Ferdinand's death. The manuscript has been lost. The controversy over the authenticity and accuracy of the work as printed is summarized by Keen, The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus, pp. xiiiff.

Apparently the most systematic of men, Ferdinand recorded his purchases in detail from the earliest years. The place, date, and price of purchase, as well as a registration number, are noted on most of the volumes still in the library; and this information is also found in the numerically ordered Registra, which correspond, more or less, to the acquisition files of modern libraries. The registration numbers apparently also served as call numbers. The Abecedaria are alphabetical indices to the Registra. Together, the Registra and Abecedaria constitute a remarkably comprehensive library catalogue even by modern standards. Probably because of his passion for system, Ferdinand was constantly revising, expanding, and improving his cataloguing procedures, with the unfortunate result that only the Abecedarium B (Plate II), with numbers well into the 15,000's, is anywhere near complete. Registrum B, to which it serves as index, contains only numbers 1-4231. Registrum A (Plate V), of which only the central portion survives, and its Abecedarium represent an earlier attempt to catalogue the library, an effort abandoned when over 1600 of its books were lost at sea.

Besides the Registra and Abecedaria A and B, there survive in the library other manuscript catalogues and related works that might help us to reconstruct and describe Ferdinand Columbus' musical holdings. All these works are listed by Henri Harrisse, who endeavors to link them with an itemization made shortly after Ferdinand's death by the Colombina librarian Juan Perez.7 Two of the volumes, an index rerum and a catalogue of summaries, would probably provide some data of musicological interest. Neither of these is anywhere near complete, however, and it would appear that the music books included are precisely those described in considerable detail in the Registrum B. A bit later, we shall see how, in a typical Abecedarium B entry, the alphabetical index served as a directory to the index rerum and catalogue of summaries as well as to the Registrum. Ferdinand's system of catalogues, then, had he been able to complete it according to plan,8 would have included an acquisition file, a subject index, a sort of "book review digest," and, as the key both to the other catalogues and to the library itself, the alphabetical title/author index-Abecedarium B, which is, significantly, the one project he had brought fully up to date at the time of his death.

Registrum B, the definitive acquisition file so far as it goes, has been published in facsimile by Archer M. Huntington, and "Items of Musical Interest" have been extracted by Dragan Plamenac.⁹ Its numbers cor-

⁷ Henri Harrisse, Fernand Colomb: sa vie, ses oeuvres (Paris, 1872), pp. 165-172; Harrisse, Excerpta Colombiniana (Paris, 1887), pp. 259-265. The Perez memo is transcribed complete in Excerpta, pp. 266-283.

^{*}Columbus recorded his plan for cataloguing his collection of books and art works in a letter of 1537 to Emperor Charles V. A transcription is in Harrisse, Excerpta, pp. 284-286.

Archer M. Huntington, ed., Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus,

respond to notes on the books themselves, notes that include the numbers and the words "esta registrado," together with the above-mentioned information about the circumstances of purchase. Most of the entries in Registrum B provide the book's title and author, its place and date of publication, some information as to its contents and format, and the place, date, and price of purchase. Only about a dozen of Ferdinand's more than 170 printed collections of polyphonic music have numbers low enough to be included in this superbly detailed catalogue.

It is an understatement to say that Columbus in no way anticipated Melville Dewey in his numbering system. The "system" that suggests itself as one studies Registrum B is largely accidental: the first 1975 books, arranged in no particular order, were bought on the same trip in 1520-1522; there follow many books bought in Rome in 1512, 1513, and 1515, with an admixture of books from the later trip and some bought in Spain at various times; numbers 4184—4231 are all assigned to books bought in Italy in 1520-1530. Apparently the numbering suggests nothing more than how the books were packed for shipping, then stored in Seville, and finally unpacked and catalogued.

The Abecedarium B and its Supplementum (Plates II, III, and IV) contain short-form entries with the numbers that locate the entries in Registrum B. The alphabetically arranged entries include not only authors (almost always under their Christian names rather than their surnames) and titles but often such items as text incipits for the poems, pieces of music, or bits of prose that are first either in the table of contents or in the book itself. Also listed are a few printers, including Petrucci, Antico, Sambonettus, and Peter Schoeffer. Many title and author entries include place and date of publication, a little rectangular or circular device identifying the volume's format, the registration number, and sometimes other numbers locating the book in the index rerum and the catalogue of summaries. A typical complete entry is found on Plate III, the next-to-the-bottom entry in the left-hand column, Antico's Canzoni novi of 1510. The underscored number is the registration number. The second number, three-quarters enclosed, refers to the category under which the book is entered in the index rerum. The third, totally enclosed, refers to the catalogue of summaries. The little rectangular sign belongs to a complex shorthand system for describing the books. The basic geometric figure, with or without an intersecting vertical line, represents the book's format. The small circle underneath reveals that the

Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique Manuscript in the Columbine Library of Seville (New York, 1905); Dragan Plamenac, "Excerpta Colombiniana: Items of Musical Interest in Fernando Colón's 'Regestrum'," Miscelanea en Homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés (Barcelona, 1958-61), II, 663-687.

¹⁰ Harrisse, Excerpta, p. 265. ¹¹ Loc. cit. Perez' explanation of the signs is on pp. 273-277 of the Excerpta; reproduction of seventy-nine signs on p. 283.

book includes a table of contents or something of the sort; a circle above would indicate some sort of prefatory material. Neither these circles nor any of the other signs except those designating format are used with any frequency or consistency in the music book entries, presumably because the process of elaborating and refining the *Abecedarium* was postponed until its central core was complete. (Our assumption that work on the *Abecedarium* proceeded in this fashion also explains the unfortunate fact that many of Ferdinand's later musical acquisitions are entered in the briefest possible form, often without publication data.)

Some of the steps in Ferdinand's constantly evolving master plan are evident in the B indices. At some point, for example, he evidently felt that certain portions of the Abecedarium were becoming overcrowded, so he crossed out whole groups of entries (Plate II) and transferred most (unfortunately, not all) of them to the Supplementum. Here, following an alphabetical section identical in arrangement to the Abecedarium, are listed the numerous works of such authors as Erasmus, Plutarch, St. Thomas, Cicero, and Ovid; the official pronouncements of Clement VII; works in honor of the Virgin Mary; and "Musica" (Plates III and IV). Many of the more than one hundred entries under "Musica" were transferred from the Abecedarium's crossed out "chansons," "cantiones," "frotole," "misse," and "moteti" sections; others are not found elsewhere in the indices. That the "Musica" list is incomplete is indicated by notes appended to the end referring us to "Franciscus bossinensis," "Franciscus de layola," "Francisci Seraphini," "Gasparis misses," and no fewer than fifty-seven numbers. One can easily find the Bossinensis, Layolle, Seraphin, and Gasparis books in the *Abecedarium*. Locating the books corresponding to the fifty-seven numbers, however, involves intensive combing through the catalogue. We have found all but two of these entries, together with a few others not cited by number in the "Musica" section. A few turned out to be manuscripts; and I was unable to find entries for music books corresponding to nos. 4622 and 9704.

The revision according to the new "Musica" classification was, as the foregoing shows, nowhere near complete. It would seem that it was undertaken late in Ferdinand's life because many of the Attaingnant prints, bought in 1535, are listed only in the "Musica" section and not, like most of the earlier acquisitions, transferred from the main body of Abecedarium B. In any case, however, the Abecedarium B and its Supplementum, unfinished as they were, furnished a nearly adequate guide to the library when it was still intact, since most of the books themselves either contained as printed, or were marked by their owner with, all the information intended for the other catalogues.

Another feature showing that Columbus was still in the process of revising *Abecedarium B* at the time of his death is the presence in the index of nine entries with numbers between 1932 and 2319, that is, low

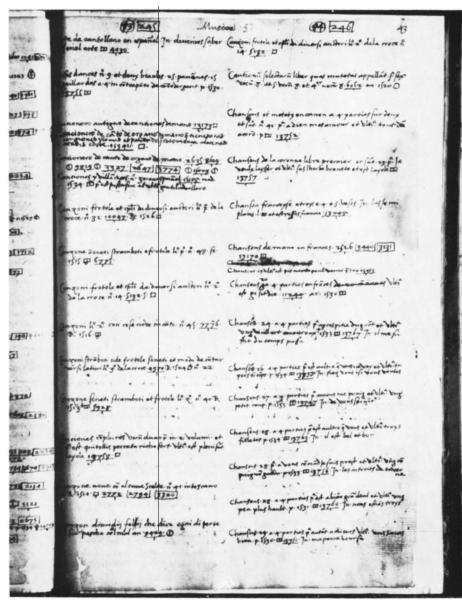


PLATE III. Supplementum

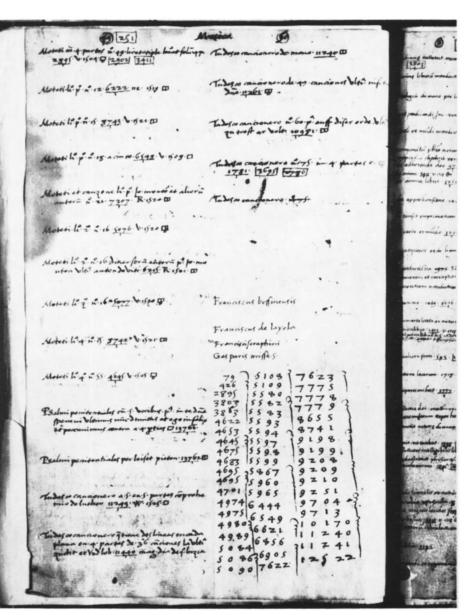


PLATE IV. Supplementum.

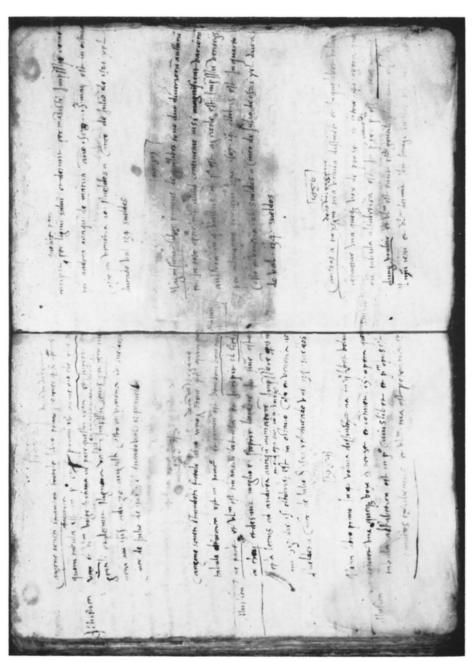


PLATE V. Registrum A.

enough so that they would presumably be found in Registrum B. None of the nine is found in that register, yet each is used consistently in several different entries. Therefore the numbers appear not to be errors but rather to belong to some other numbering system. Harrisse's description of the manuscript catalogues includes an incomplete Registrum A originally consisting of four volumes of which, he says, the first and the two last are lost. The numbers in the surviving volume run from 914 to 2581 and do not correspond to the system used in the B catalogues. Alongside many of the entries, Harrisse tells us, are notes of classification, such as "philosophia," "toscana," "musica," etc. Professor A. Tillman Merritt, Curator of the Isham Memorial Library at Harvard University, was kind enough to acquire films of Registrum A and its Abecedarium so that we could confirm our theory that the nine numbers belong to the A that we could confirm our theory that the nine numbers belong to the A system. It was with considerable relief that we found all but one of these numbers in Registrum A with entries even more complete, if anything, than those in Registrum B. Number 1932, the Antico-Torresano Missarum liber primus of 1521, is used as consistently as the others throughout Abecedarium B, but it appears nevertheless to be an error. The other eight numbers, 1981-1987 and 2319, refer to five Antico prints of which two are not known today, to a Petrucci Magnificat liber primus which is likewise unknown, to Sambonettus' Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole libro primo, and to an unknown Motetti libro primo by the Neapolitan printer Antonio de Frizis.

Columbus makes clear his reason for abandoning his A catalogues in two notes in Registrum A, one before entry 925 and one after entry 2562. The latter, which is more complete, reads: "Nota que todos los libros contenidos desde el numero 925 hasta a qui son los que yo dexe en venecia a micer octaviano de grimaldo que me los enbiase y se anegaron en la mar." ["Note that all the books contained from number 925 up to this point are those which I left in Venice with Messer Octaviano de Gri-

maldo, who sent them to me, and they sank in the sea."]¹³

The surviving volume of Registrum A was preserved as a record of the lost books. Entries prior to 925 and following 2562 are crossed out. Numbers 914-924 were bought in Worms in January and February of 1521 and were evidently sent safely to Seville and re-entered in catalogues B. The lost books include a few bought in Speyer, Strasbourg, and Basel during the latter part of February, and over 1600 bought in northern Italy (chiefly Venice) between March and November 6. Numbers 2563 on were bought later in November—three in Padua, the rest in Trent. It would appear that Columbus returned to Venice from Padua around November 6 to add his most recent purchases to the ill-fated shipment.

¹² Harrisse, Fernand Colomb, p. 165; see also Excerpta, p. 261

¹³ A more detailed account of this accident is provided in the Perez memo. See Harrisse, Excerpta, pp. 281-282.

Well over 5700 books were listed in Abecedarium A. The entries are less detailed than those in Abecedarium B, but the index is still moderately useful. We find that it included as numbers 124-127 the first four Petrucci lute prints, as numbers 4626-7 the two Bossinensis books, and as number 4637 Antico's Canzoni nove, all seven of which, Registrum B tells us, were bought in Rome in 1512. Petrus Tritonius' Melopoeia was number 3233, and Registrum B shows it was renumbered 79 and had been bought in Nürnberg in 1521. Is Registrum B then nothing but a reworking, without the lost books, of Registrum A? If we subtract the 1638 lost books from the circa 5800 listed in Abecedarium A, the result is 4162, a figure corresponding very closely to the 4231 books listed in Registrum B. It seems likely that Registrum B is precisely Registrum A revised except for its last group of entries (4184—4231), which begin to record purchases made on a trip of 1529-31.

After this revision, Registrum A was discarded, except for the volume including the lost books, which may have been preserved chiefly as a sort of desiderata list. As far as the music books were concerned, Ferdinand managed to replace seven of the eight, one of them in a later edition:

Registru	m A	Abecedarium B
1981	Frottole V, Rome, 1518	5929
1982	Canzoni I, Siena, 1515	6775
	Canzoni III, Rome, 1513	5928, 5867
1984	Motetti I, Rome, 1518	8743 (Venice, 1521)
1985	Magnificat I, Venice, 1507	4975
1986	Chansons 2 3, Venice, 1520	no replacement
1987	Frottole intab., Rome, 1517	no number; 5084?
2319	Motetti I, Naples, 1519	6222

The altus of the Venetian edition of Antico's *Motetti libro primo* is the only souvenir of these replacements to survive in the Biblioteca Colombina.

Taken together, the detailed entries in the two Registra and the handwritten notes found on the relatively few surviving books make it possible to piece together the book-buying "voyages" of Ferdinand Columbus. For our purposes it is useful to divide the books into two groups: the almost 6000 books that were bought before ca. 1526 and the more than 11,000 bought in or after 1529. The first group includes the 1600 lost books from Registrum A and almost all those entered in Registrum B; as we have suggested, it probably follows that everything in Abecedarium A belongs to this group as well. This group probably represents Columbus' library when he transferred it to the building he acquired on the banks of the Guadalquivir in 1526 (Plate I), and it is possible that the

¹⁴ It is precisely on these notes and entries that Harrisse bases a large portion of his biography of Ferdinand Columbus.

compilation of Registrum B and, accordingly, the reorganization of the numbering system, were undertaken in connection with this transfer.

Ferdinand Columbus apparently began to collect books in earnest in September, 1512, on his first trip to Rome, where he remained until at least July, 1513. A second extended Roman sojourn lasted from June, 1515, to July, 1516, this time with side trips to Viterbo and Florence. Books were also bought in Genoa in January, 1515, and in Rome in May, 1517, and June, 1518. Of these, at least the *De correctione Kalendarii* mentioned by Harrisse was sent from Rome to Madrid: "Este tratado me embio maestro Pedro de Salamanca de Roma a los 29 de Mayo de 1517 y recebilo en Madrid a 16 de Junio del dicho año." That Columbus made the other purchases in person is not supported by sufficient documentary evidence. We shall nevertheless refer to the two Roman trips collectively as the first voyage.

Harrisse suggests that what we shall call the second voyage began on May 22, 1520, when Charles V sailed to the Low Countries, eventually to be crowned on October 23 in Aix-la-Chapelle.¹⁷ Whether or not Columbus was actually among those accompanying the king, he was certainly in Brussels and Ghent in July and August of 1520. In November he was in Mainz, according to the end of entry 913 in Registrum A; entries 914-922 place him in Worms in January-February, 1521. Harrisse writes that Colombus had received a sum of money from the Emperor in that city on December 17, 1520.18 From Worms he went to Speyer, Strasbourg, and Basel. During March, April, and May he made his way across northern Italy, stopping at Milan, Genoa, Pavia, Cremona, and Ferrara, finally arriving at Venice, where he stayed until October 18. Then he went north via Padua, Treviso, and Trent. Switching to the first part of Registrum B, we can trace his progress from December, 1521, to June, 1522, through Nürnberg, Würzburg, Frankfurt, Mainz, Aachen, Cologne, Louvain, and Bruges to London. The Emperor sailed for London from Calais on May 28, 1522, remaining in England until July 4.19

Columbus remained in Spain during the next seven years, so far as we know. The end of *Registrum B* shows that new acquisitions were made in Italy between August 29, 1529 and January, 1530. Harrisse writes that

¹⁵ Juan del Encina made trips to Rome that coincide closely with those of Ferdinand Columbus. See MGG, Vol. III, cols. 1332-33.

¹⁶ Harrisse, Fernand Colomb, p. 14, n. 4.

¹⁷ *lbid.*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁸ Harrisse is probably mistaken when he says Columbus could not have been present at the Diet of Worms "car pendant l'hiver de 1520-1521, il était en Italie." (Fernand Colomb, p. 17) The dates he quotes are taken from Columbus' handwritten notes, which we assume to have been dated 1530 and 1531 and thus to belong to a later trip. Our assumption is confirmed by many other notes in the modern catalogue and supported by the fact that Ferdinand often used a type of figure 3 that can be all too easily taken for a 2.

19 Harrisse, Fernand Colomb, p. 19, n. 2.

Charles V left for Genoa from Barcelona on July 8, 1529 but that Columbus could not have accompanied him because the index rerum in the Biblioteca Colombina is dated "Dia de Sancto Mathia [September 21]. Año de 1529."20 Assuming that Harrisse, although he does not say so, believes the note to be in Ferdinand's handwriting, we are forced to admit that this date is rather a thorny problem, since it seems unlikely that the index rerum was begun or finished away from Seville; nevertheless, Registrum B indicates that Ferdinand did, after all, accompany the Emperor on the July voyage. After landing in Genoa, Charles crossed northern Italy to Bologna, arriving there on November 5,21 eventually to be crowned by the Pope in February, 1530. Registrum B records a continuous series of purchases in the course of an itinerary that appears to be identical with the Emperor's: Genoa in late August and early September, Piacenza on October 9, Modena at the end of October, and Bologna in December and January. That Ferdinand made these purchases himself is indicated by number 4213-4, which he notes were given to him personally by the author in Bologna on January 11, 1530. On January 21 he was in Venice, but he may have been present at the Bologna coronation in February. The last few purchases recorded in Registrum B are dated Venice, 1530; no more specific date is given.

The rest of the third voyage cannot be traced through the Registrum, but is is possible to reconstruct it by means of the notes on the books that survive in the library.22 We find that he stopped in Perugia in August and early September on his way to Rome, where he remained from no later than September 14 until at least October 1, 1530. By December he was in his father's birthplace, Genoa, having stopped in Cesena, Bologna, Modena, and Piacenza on the way. In 1531 he traveled first through northern Italy, then through Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries, returning to Spain by December.

The fourth voyage, which we have likewise reconstructed through the notes on the books as recorded in the modern catalogue, was Ferdinand's first trip to France. In July, 1535 he was in Montpellier, from August-December in Lyons, and from February-May, 1536, in Avignon. Much of the French portion of the library was acquired on this trip, Ferdinand's last outside Spain.

The lower registration numbers, as we have said, are generally related to the date of purchase, but they are by no means in thoroughgoing chronological order. The end of Registrum B suggests that a purely chronological system was about to prevail. Had such been the case, it would have been possible to establish probable place and approximate

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 24, 169; see also Excerpta, p. 264.

²¹ Harrisse, Fernand Colomb, p. 24, n. 4.

²² In the modern catalogue (see n. 3 above), these notes are included in the descriptions of the books in which they appear.

date of purchase of the music books (practically all of which are now lost) bought on the third and fourth voyages by finding where their registra-tion numbers fit into the itineraries established by the notes on books tion numbers fit into the itineraries established by the notes on books that do survive. Unfortunately, such was not the case at least with respect to numbers through about 7700. First of all, if the modern catalogue can be assumed to be complete in this respect, it would seem that most of the books bearing these numbers are not marked with the customary notes containing place, date, and price of purchase. Many of those that are so marked were bought in Montpellier, others in Lyons—that is, on the fourth voyage. These are mixed in quite chaotic fashion with books bought considerably earlier: numbers 4701 and 4716, for example, are Petrucci prints bought in Perugia in September, 1530, while number 4702 was purchased in Montpellier on July 3, 1535. Numbers 5000—5300 seem predominantly to be books bought in Montpellier and Lyons, but number 5113 was acquired five years earlier in Perugia.

From number 7700 on circumstances of purchase are again consistently noted on the books. For the first time, moreover, these data suggest that most of the books were numbered in the order of their acquisition. Whereas the sequence of lower numbers suggests only that the books were numbered as they were unpacked, the sequence of higher numbers is a strongly chronological one. Perhaps Columbus rather suddenly took another decisive step toward further systematization: "Never mind the books that have already been numbered, but from now on I want them numbered in order of date of acquisition."

The chronological core in the latter part of the numbering system

numbered in order of date of acquisition."

The chronological core in the latter part of the numbering system allows us to suggest probable place and date of purchase for all the books with numbers above 7700; but the fact that there were quite a few deviations from the underlying system means that some of our suggestions will be incorrect. So it is with both conviction and reservations that we present the following general chronology of musical purchases made on the four "voyages" as revealed through the Colombina catalogues. The first two voyages can be traced through the two Registra, as can the earliest portion of the third. Books numbered from about 4300 to 7700, too high for the Registra and too low for the "chronological core," were probably bought either in the course of the third voyage or during the early part of the fourth (Montpellier or Lyons). The latter part of the third voyage and almost all of the fourth can be reconstructed from the notes on the books with numbers higher than 7700 still in the library; these notes are recorded in the modern catalogue.

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First Voyage: The Two Early Roman Trips
Rome, 1512-13, 1515-16
                                               Reg B, 1975 on, passim
 Music purchased: seven Petrucci prints, one by Antico
                   Second Voyage: Grand Tour, 1520-1522
Northern Europe, July 1520-Feb. 1521
                                               Reg B, 1-1974, passim
                                               Reg A, 913-950
Northern Italy, March-Nov. 1521
                                               Reg A, 951-end
 Music purchased: five Antico prints; one each by Petrucci, Sambonettus, and
Northern Europe, Nov. 1521-May 1522
                                               Reg B, 1-1974, passim
Music purchased: Oeglin (1507), Schlick (1512), Aich Liederbuch (ca. 1519)
                   Third Voyage: Grand Tour, 1529-1531
Genoa-Venice, Aug. 1529-Jan. 1530
                                               Reg B, 4184-end
Italy and Northern Europe, 1530-1531
                                              ca. 4300-ca. 7700 passim
 Music Purchased: 64 Italian prints, mostly Petrucci and Antico; also Sambonet-
                  tus, Caneto, J. Giunta and/or Pasoti, B. Vercellensis, Dorico;
                  also unidentified Roman and Venetian prints and undated (and
                  unknown) Sienese prints; also Grimm and Wyrsung (1520)
         Third Voyage, continued according to "Chronological Core"
   Music Books
                                                  Notes on Surviving Books
 7623 Isaac, Missa, Siena, s.d.
                                                7629 Perugia, Sept. 4, 1530
                                                7726 Rome, Sept. 14
 7775 Bosch, Musica, Rome, 1526
 7776 Antico, Canzoni II, Rome, 1516
                                                7777 Rome, Sept. 17
 7778 Eustachio, Musica, Rome 1521
 7779 Fior de motetti, Rome, 1523
 7780 Missa motetti canzoni, Rome, 1526
                                                 7787 Rome, Sept. 17
                                                8453 Rome, Oct. 1
                                                8550 Bologna, Nov. 7
 8655 Speculum, s.d.n.l.
                                                 8712 Bologna, Nov. 10
 8741 Petrucci, Motetti A, Venice, 1504
 8742 Antico, Motetti IV, Venice, 1521
 8743 Antico, Motetti I, Venice, 1521
                                                8792 Modena, Nov. 28
                                                8843 Parma, Dec. 3
                                                8899 Reggio, Nov. 30
                                                8934 Piacenza, Dec. 8
                                                9042 Genoa, Dec., 1530
                                                9177 Savona, Jan. 3, 1531
 9198 Mouton, Missa, Lyons, s.d.
 9199 11 Chansons, Lyons, s.d.
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9200 Turin, Jan. 12

9208 Layolle, Motetti a 5, Lyons, s.d. 9209 Layolle, Motetti, Lyons, s.d. 9210 Janequin, Sperantis, s.d.n.l. 9251 Layolle, Motetti I, Lyons, s.d. 9339 Contrapunctus, Lyons, 1528

	9406 Turin, Jan. 22
0420 Canzon 1/2 folio, s.d.n.l.	
71 -7 Camaon 1/2 2020, status	9469 Milan, Feb., 1531
	9995 Milan, March 2
	10034 Cremona, March 11
10047 Canzoni Croce I, Rome, 1526	,
2004/, 2000.00 2000.00 4, 2000.00 4, 2,20	10049 Mantua, March 16
	10122 Ferrara, March 22
10170 Madrigali, Rome, 1530	
101/0 1/244/184/194/1940	10191 Venice, March 30
	10216 Padua, April 4
	10857 Treviso, May 8
	10887 Augsburg, May 20
10981 Oeglin, RISM [1513]*	1000/ 114835415, 1144 20
11243 Witt. Gesangbuch, Worms, 1525	
11244 20 Chansons, Strasbourg, 1530	
11244 20 Charsons, Strasbourg, 1530	11254 Augsburg, May 28
Oorlin DISM1	11254 Hugsburg, May 20
11261 Oeglin, RISM 15121	11291 Ulm, June 7
	11305 Constance, June 11
est et piese to se	11363 Basel, June 16
11440 Schoeffer, RISM [1515]*	C. Deed James
	11463 Basel, June 20
	11557 Freiburg, June 25
	11583 Strasbourg, June 29
	11668 Speyer, July 17
	11719 Cologne, July 17
	11786 Aachen, July 21
	11811 Antwerp, July 26
	11930 Brussels, Aug. 16
11937 Tablatures, Antwerp, 1529	
	11980 Louvain, Sept. 12
12002 Attaingnant, 36 Chansons, Paris, 1530	
	12083 Louvain, Sept. 12
	12112 Antwerp, Oct. 9

In the interval between the third and fourth "voyages" Columbus purchased over a thousand books in Burgos, Valladolid, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, and Barcelona. Two of these, possibly bought in Valladolid in December, 1531, are undated German prints containing music. One, listed under "Musica," is called "Lamentatio ad marti. lut. 12634"; the other, listed in Abecedarium B under "Sebastianus brante," is entitled "Ave praeclara versum germanice in cantu. 12636."

Fourth Voyage: France, 1535-1536

Montpellier and Lyons, June-August, 1535 ca. 4300-ca. 7700, passime

Music purchased: probably three books of Layolle motets, numbers 5001, 5582,

5583; also a book containing "Las ie my playns . . . in cantu,"

numbered 5168.

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Fourth Voyage, continued according to chronological core
                                                   Notes on Surviving Books
  Music Books
13206 Missarum decem, Rome, 1522
                                                13219 Lyons, August, 1535
                                                13250 Lyons, Sept., 1535
13451 Missarum decem, Lyons, 1531
13523 Chanson provencal, s.d.n.l.
13567 41 Chansons, Geneva, n.d.
13605 Attaingnant, Magnificat orgues, Paris, 1531
                                                13702 Lyons, October, 1535
13732-13776 Attaingnant, Moderne, etc.
13953 13 Chansons, s.d.n.l.
                                                13982 Lyons, Nov., 1535
14030-14033 Carpentras, Avignon, 1532
                                                14184 Lyons, Nov., 1535
                                                14348 Lyons, Dec., 1535
                                                14363 Avignon, Feb., 1536
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Shortly after his return from this French trip, Columbus bought a tablature, "Cythare germanice tabulature," printed in Augsburg either in 1532 or—according to an entry under the name of, presumably, the composer, Jo. Schlumberger—in 1525. Its number was 14918. Book number 14868 was bought in Barcelona in June; book number 14922 is marked Lerida, July 2, 1536. The last collection of printed music he acquired is number 15108, "Canciones y villancicos numero 32," printed in Madrid in 1534. Book 15110 was bought in Valladolid on September 19, 1536.

14451 Avignon, May, 1536 14850 Barcelona, June, 1536

If we have not made too many misleading deductions in our chronology of purchase, it would seem that most of the music books were purchased in the leading publishing centers in the country where they were printed. The Lyons prints with numbers in the 9000's are exceptional and may represent a group misplaced from the fourth "voyage." On the other hand, there survive in the library many French books that are among those numbered in the 9000's, bought in Turin early in 1531. Therefore we see little reason to doubt that the Lyons music books belong to the Turin purchases. If they do, they must have been published by late 1530. As we shall see later, there is good reason to believe that a great deal of music was printed in Lyons before Jacques Moderne adopted Attaingnant's method in the early 'thirties. Whether or not a book was available as early as 1530 or 1531 happens often to be a matter of the greatest importance for the history of early music printing. While the chronology of purchase suggested by Ferdinand's numbering system cannot by itself establish the latest possible dates of publication for books like the Lyons group, it is certainly not without significance as a source of corroborative evidence and as a basis for working hypotheses.

The Colombina catalogues reveal a great deal about Ferdinand Columbus—his travels, his interests, his passion for system and completeness, and his generous desire to make his library both available and as usable as possible. They also tell us something about the general condition of publishing and bookselling in the early 16th century, including valuable information on prices. Most important, of course, is the fact that they provide a record of a huge and comprehensive library that no longer exists. Accordingly, the most important part of our study is the Appendix, where all the entries that pertain to printed collections of polyphonic music are presented. In order that the information from the catalogues may be easily used in conjunction with major bibliographies and reference works, the books are divided into various categories, such as the works of major printers and what seemed to us other appropriate groupings (some more satisfactory than others). Within each category, we have observed chronological order whenever possible. The following pages are meant both as a guide and as a supplement to the appendix.

THE ITALIAN MUSIC BOOKS (Appendix, nos. 1-91)

Information provided in the catalogues of Ferdinand Columbus is most precise and detailed when it concerns his earlier acquisitions. Among these were a considerable number of music books printed in Italy, chiefly by Petrucci and Antico. The Registra contain useful data on publication and purchase for fifteen different prints. Most of the other 75 Italian books are treated in sufficient detail in the Abecedarium B and its Supplementum so that they can either be identified with prints and fragments surviving in modern libraries or added, with some confidence, to the known works of certain printers or publishers. The principal exceptions are a group of Sienese prints for which Columbus gives no dates of publication. Since these books, like many French prints on which Columbus provides inadequate information, are precisely those that do not seem to have been preserved anywhere, it is almost as if they were in the process of dematerializing even as he was describing them.

A. Petrucci: 1503-1520 (Appendix, nos. 1-44)

Columbus was able to acquire, in one edition or another, all but one of the Petrucci books known to us—the Brumel masses of 1503. The three volumes of Josquin masses and the four of Motetti de la corona he owned only in Jacopo Giunta's Roman editions of 1526. He did not have copies of the first editions of the Odhecaton, Canti B, Motetti A, or the second, third, and fourth books of Frottole, but he bought later editions of each. In all, he had 42 of the 59 books listed in Sartori's bibliography,²³ including the three important lost prints (the Hymni, the third lute book, and the tenth frottola book). He also owned a 1504 edition of Motetti A and a Magnificat liber primus, neither of which would be known to us without his catalogues.²⁴

²⁸ Claudio Sartori, Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci (Florence, 1948).

²⁴ Sartori has added considerable information from the Colombina catalogues to his Petrucci bibliography in "Nuove conclusione aggionte alla 'Bibliografia del Petrucci'," *Collectanea bistoriae musicae*, I (Florence, 1953), 175-210. Most of it was first made public by Jeppesen in his review (see n. 2 above).

The six lute books and *Motetti C* were purchased on the early Roman trips (1512-13). The *Magnificat liber primus* was among the books bought in Venice on the second trip, then lost at sea. It was presumably replaced on the third trip (1529-31), when the remainder of the Petrucci prints were

probably bought.

Four different mass books, supposedly Petrucci's, are mentioned by Sartori: A Messa corale of 1513, a Tre messe corali of 1523, and the Missarum decem libri 2 of 1515. The first two are mentioned by Schmid and Vernarecci, Petrucci's early biographers, and by Fétis. The descriptions are unconvincing (one mass, for example, on 123 folios) and based on hearsay. The fact that Ferdinand Columbus did not own them supports Sartori's doubts as to their existence, doubts reflected in his decision not even to provide them with numbers in his bibliography. Sartori assigns number 54 to the "Missarum decem libri 2," which are listed in Conrad Gesner's Pandectarum. Gesner's descriptions of other books are detailed and dependable so far as they can be checked. He tells us that the two mass books were printed in Fossombrone in 1515. It seems likely that these volumes did in fact exist even though they managed to elude Columbus.

In 1522, Giovanni Jacopo Pasoti printed in Rome, at the expense of Jacopo Giunta, a Missarum decem a clarissimis musicis compositarum nec dum antea exceptis tribus aeditarum liber primus, the exact title given by Gesner for the supposed Petrucci volumes. One's first thought is to dismiss Gesner's attribution as an error—he must somehow have attached the colophons of, say, the Mouton or Fevin mass books of 1515 to the Pasoti-Giunta volume. The words "nec dum antea exceptis tribus aeditarum," however, suggest that Gesner is to be believed. While eight, not three, of the ten masses in the 1522 print had been previously published in Antico's Liber quindecim missarum of 1516, it was precisely three of these ten that had previously appeared in print by some time in 1515, the year given by Gesner. These three were brought out by Petrucci himself, two in the Missarum Josquin liber tertius (March 1, 1514) and one in the Missarum Joannis Mouton liber primus (August 11, 1515). It is well known that Jacopo Giunta and his associates Pasoti and Dorico printed many new editions of Petrucci prints in 1526-7; their Missarum decem of 1522 can probably be considered the first of the series.

B. Antico: 1510-1521 (Appendix, nos. 45-63)

The music books published by Andrea Antico during the first part of his career, in Rome (1510-1518) and Venice (1520-21), have fared badly over the centuries. By 1521 he had brought out at least sixteen different collections of music printed in woodcut in a total of at least twenty-three different editions.²⁷ This calculation is based on a composite of what we have and what Columbus had, with a dash of what there must have been. In the last category, we place a 1512 or 1513 edition of Canzoni libro secondo, sequel to the Canzoni nove of 1510 and predecessor of the libro tertio of 1513. No such volume has survived, nor is our conjecture confirmed by an entry in the Colombina catalogues. Ferdinand did possess, however, a copy

25 See Sartori, Petrucci, pp. 161, 191f.

26 Conrad Gesner, Pandectarum sive partionum universalium (Tiguri excudebat

Christophorum Froschonerus, Anno M.D.XLVIII), fol. 82.

²⁷ For Antico, a woodcut printer, a printing subsequent to the first of any book is a "new edition" only with respect to the letter types, etc.; with respect to the music, for which the same woodcuts were invariably used, it would be a reprint.

of an otherwise unknown edition of 1516 entitled Canzoni libro secondo con cose nuove in canto (Appendix, no. 47). Containing 45 pieces, the first of which was "Amor quando fioriva," this collection appears to have been identical with editions of 1518 and 1520 (nos. 49 and 52 below). The "cose nuove in canto" are presumably compositions added to the contents of the lost first edition and retained in the third and fourth editions.

Besides the 1516 print, Columbus owned copies of two more otherwise unknown Antico prints, the *Frottole libro quinto* and *Motetti libro primo*, both published in 1518 (nos. 50 and 51). The latter was apparently an earlier Roman edition of the 1521 *Motetti libro primo* printed in Venice by Antico and Andrea Torresano.

Of the other twenty Antico prints, most survive as unica, and most are damaged. No fewer than five lack colophons. The standard bibliographies and encyclopedias, as a result, provide an incomplete picture of Antico's work and, in dating the prints, follow the reasonable but erroneous guesses of Vogel. Certain characteristics of the prints themselves suggest more satisfactory attributions and dating,²⁸ and these are verified by the entries in the Colombina catalogues. Dr. Jeppesen deserves the credit for first discovering many of the entries in the list to follow, but most of his findings have been effectively concealed in a review and a number of footnotes.

The Canzoni nove of 1510 is the only Antico print listed in Registrum B. Numbers 5867 and 5928 apparently refer to two different copies of the same book, the Canzoni sonetti strambotti e frottole libro tertio represented today by G. Thibault's copy (RISM 15131), which lacks its colophon. Registrum A gives us an exact publication date. The Frottole intabulate da sonare organi was also among the books listed in Registrum A, then lost at sea, and later replaced. It is listed without a number both in Abecedarium B and in the Supplementum. We have assigned number 5084 from the list of numbers following the "Musica" section to the keyboard print because "Amor quando fioriva," the first piece in the Frottole intabulate (as well as in the Canzoni libro secondo) is marked 5084 (as well as 4929 and 7776). The Frottole libro quinto of Registrum A was replaced with a copy numbered 5929 in the B catalogues. The other Antico prints listed in Registrum A seem not to have been replaced: the 1518 edition of the Motetti libro primo mentioned above and the Chansons a troys printed by Antico and Lucantonio Giunta in Venice in 1520.

While the B catalogues, as Dr. Jeppesen has shown, permit an accurate and nearly thorough revision of our view of Antico's work, it is unquestionably Registrum A that contributes the more significant and detailed information. Antico's continued presence in Rome was not required for the Giunta-Mazzocchi reprints of the second and third frottola books of early 1518;²⁹ the continued presence of the original woodcuts was sufficient. But he was presumably still in Rome when the Motetti libro primo appeared in May under his imprint. And by establishing the existence of a fifth volume of

²⁸ This evidence is discussed in Catherine Weeks Chapman, "Andrea Antico" (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964), Part I.

²⁹ The second book is not in RISM. See Alfred Einstein, "Eine unbekannte Ausgabe eines Frottolendruckes," Acta Musicologica VIII (1936), pp. 154ff. This third book of 1518 is the edition Einstein used for his Canzoni, sonetti, strambotti et frottole, libro tertio, Smith College Music Archives, No. IV (Northampton, Mass., 1941). These two prints are bound with the first edition of the libro quarto (Rome, 1517) in Florence (Bibl. naz. cent., formerly in the Landau collection). Columbus did not own copies of these editions of the third and fourth books.

Antico frottole, Registrum A has probably pinpointed the volume from which, together with the fourth book, Caneto made exact woodcut copies of thirteen pieces for his Fioretti of 1519³⁰ and from which Antico himself must have drawn many of the arrangements for lute and voice in his Frottole de Misser Bortolomio Tromboncino of 1520.³¹

Aside from the Canzoni nove, bought on one of the early Roman trips, and the five books in Registrum A, bought on the trip of 1520-22, Ferdinand presumably acquired nearly all his Antico prints together with the bulk of his Petrucci collection during the Italian portion of his trip of 1529-31. It seems strange that on none of these trips did he purchase Antico's masterpiece, the Liber quindecim missarum, especially since he was in Rome from April to June, 1516, during which interval the magnificent mass book was published.

C. Other Italian Prints (Appendix, nos. 64-91)

If the catalogues are useful for Petrucci and valuable for Antico, they are absolutely indispensable in any attempt to straighten out the work of Italian music printers between 1520 and 1530. Many of their books have been totally lost or damaged beyond recognition over the centuries, and, in the case of part-book collections (increasingly the rule during this decade), it seems to have been a point of honor among their owners to lose at least that part book that contained the colophon. This decade is the decade of the fragment, the isolated part book, and, as we learn from Ferdinand's catalogues, the lost book.

The following list is composed mainly of twenty-two books for which Columbus provides date and place of publication in his Abecedarium B and its Supplementum. Only two of these (nos. 64 and 66) are found in Registrum A, none in Registrum B. Among the twenty-two are four books that are otherwise unknown and four more that survive without colophons or in fragmentary condition. The catalogues enable us to supply date and place of publication for the Motetti e Canzoni Libro Primo that is bound with the four Antico-Torresano prints in the Morgan Library, New York, and for three of the four alto part books that constitute R 141 in the Civico Museo, Bibl. Mus., Bologna.³² They also show that the Canzoni de la croce series, thought to have begun in 1526 with the first volume, may have come out in earlier editions, for a third volume was published in 1524.

The last six books (nos. 86-91) have all been lost, and Columbus dates none of them. The first three were published in Siena, previously thought to have produced only one music book (no. 64) during this period. One of the three (no. 86) is the second volume of the Canzoni de la croce series that we associate with Giunta, Pasoti, and Dorico in Rome. The undated edition owned by Columbus contained fourteen pieces, including—probably as the first piece—"Su su su su pastori su nymphe," while Dorico's Roman edition of 1531 contained nineteen, of which "Su pastori" was now the second piece. The other two Sienese prints and the last three in our list are not known today in any form.

Before proceeding to the books printed outside Italy, let us summarize what the books and Registers of Ferdinand Columbus reveal about prices. It

³⁰ Chapman, "Andrea Antico," pp. 77-83.

⁸¹ *Ibid*., pp. 231-237.

³² The fourth part book, *Altus Libro Primo De La fortuna (RISM* [c. 1530]¹) cannot be identified by means of the Colombina catalogues.

is not necessary to be an expert in real prices in order to make some interesting comparisons. First of all, music books, usually in quarto and octavo format and containing roughly 40-64 folios, appear to have been more expensive than ordinary books of the same general size. Secondly, we find that the octavo volumes of Antico and the other woodcut printers were markedly cheaper than Petrucci's quartos, printed with an exacting typographical method involving at least two and probably three impressions. This will surprise no one, but it is gratifying to have our suspicions verified by Ferdi-

nand's precise figures. The chart below provides, first, the prices supplied by Registrum B for books bought in Rome in 1512 and 1513; second, those supplied by Registrum A for books bought in Venice in 1521; and, third, those supplied by Columbus' notes on two Petrucci prints still in the library, both bought in Perugia in 1530. The value of the quatrine relative to the ducat is supplied by the two books bought in Perugia: "il ducado doro val 420 quatrines," while the entries in Registrum A reveal that "el ducado val 134 sueldos." Let us boldly ignore the following facts: 1) that the seven Petrucci books bought in Rome had been imported from Venice and Fossombrone, while Antico's Canzoni nove had been printed in Rome itself; 2) that the Petrucci print bought in Venice in 1521 was fourteen years old while the others were comparatively recent; 3) that the quatrine was probably not computed at the same value in Perugia in 1530 that it had had in Rome in 1512-13; and 4) that a strong general inflationary trend throughout Europe owing to the influx of wealth from the New World probably affected these prices to some degree (although perhaps not the relative value of the ducat to other monetary units). Then we can make the simple calculation that the sueldo was equal to 3.13 quatrines and supply the prices of the books bought in Venice in quatrines.

воок	PRICE	PLACE AND DATE OF PURCHASE
Intab. Spinacino I (Petrucci) Intab. Spinacino II (Petrucci) Intab. J. M. Alemani III (Petrucci) Intab. Dalza IV (Petrucci) Intab. Bossinensis I (Petrucci) Intab. Bossinensis II (Petrucci) Canzoni nove (Antico) Motetti A (Petrucci)	76 quatrines 74 quatrines 110 quatrines 76 quatrines 70 quatrines 96 quatrines 75 quatrines 247 quatrines	Rome, Sept., 1512 Rome, Sept., 1512 Rome, Sept., 1512 Rome, Sept., 1512 Rome, Sept., 1512 Rome, Sept., 1512 Rome, Oct., 1512 Rome, Feb., 1513
Magnificat I (Petrucci) Canzoni III (Antico)	81.4 quatrines (26 sueldos) 31.3 quatrines (10 sueldos)	Venice, July, 1521 Venice, July, 1521
Canzoni I (Sambonettus) Frottole intab. (Antico) Canzoni V (Antico) Motetti I (Antico) Chansons a 3 (Antico) Motetti I (Frizis) Laude II (Petrucci) Frottole XI (Petrucci)	31.3 quatrines 31.3 quatrines 31.3 quatrines 31.3 quatrines 31.3 quatrines 40.7 quatrines (13 sueldos) 105 quatrines 100 quatrines	Venice, July, 1521 Venice, July, 1521 Venice, July, 1521 Venice, July, 1521 Venice, July, 1521 Venice, Oct., 1521 Perugia, Sept., 1530 Perugia, Sept., 1530

Unless all sorts of extraneous factors conspire to make our figures misleading, there was a dramatic difference between Petrucci's and Antico's prices. The one exception, Antico's Canzoni nove, was a quarto volume closely, and intentionally, modeled on Petrucci's publications. And, finally, the high price of Petrucci's Motetti A is due to the fact that it is an uncommonly large collection in four part books; to bring the price into line, we may regard it as costing 62 quatrines per part book.³³

THE FRENCH MUSIC BOOKS (Appendix, nos. 92-157)

Most of the French collections of polyphonic music that belonged to Ferdinand Columbus were purchased on his last trip of 1535-36, apparently also his first visit to France. Accordingly, none of these books are listed in his Registers. None, moreover, have been preserved complete in the Columbina library. Our information comes chiefly from the Abecedarium B and the "Musica" section of its Supplementum. Little that is new turns up about Attaingnant, of whose early prints Columbus bought a generous selection in Lyons in 1535. However, the two catalogues provide really startling, and tantalizingly incomplete, information about many otherwise unknown books, most of them printed in Lyons.

Our guiding principle in organizing this French section has been to move from the certain to the doubtful. We begin with Attaingnant, then proceed to Moderne, unidentifiable Lyonnais prints, and prints that seem to us likely to have been Lyonnais. The final section includes the Avignon prints of Carpentras and miscellaneous items about which we know as little as we do

about the books with which we closed the Italian portion of this study.

D. Attaingnant: 1528-1535 (Appendix, nos. 92-128)

In his definitive article on the Attaingnant chronology, Daniel Heartz³⁴ has listed sixty-two music books from the first eight years of Attaingnant's music printing career. To this must be added the early canonic print represented by the Eichstätt fragment.35 Of these sixty-three prints, Columbus owned at least 37, including the "Chansons et motetz en canon" that Professor Heartz believes may be Attaingnant's first collection of polyphonic music (the entry is, unfortunately, undated) and the lost Wernigerode prints (nos. 117, 127 and 128). Of the latter two it should be noted that the collection for three and two voices (Eitner, Sammelwerke, 1535b) seems to have been two distinct books despite the inclusive title; otherwise there is no accounting for the two different, not successive, numbers that Columbus has assigned to them. Eitner himself, despite his use of the inclusive title, describes only the three-voiced portion.

The chronology suggested by the numbers Columbus gave to his Attaingnant collection indicates that one Attaingnant print (12002) was bought in Louvain in 1531 and all the rest in Lyons in October, 1535. Columbus bought all the tablatures and most of the chansons but for some reason managed to acquire only one volume of Magnificats from Attaingnant's thirteen

33 A contract setting forth the arrangements for the sale of Antico's Liber quindecim missarum of 1516 provides that it be sold for 15 giulii wholesale and 20 retail, equivalent roughly to 360 and 480 quatrines, respectively. See Chapman, "Andrea Antico," p. 59.

84 Daniel Heartz, "La Chronologie des recueils imprimés par Pierre Attaingnant,"

Revue de musicologie XLIV (1959), 176-192.

85 Heartz, "A New Attaingnant Book and the Beginnings of French Music Printing," this JOURNAL XIV (1961), 9-23.

motet books of 1534-35 and none of the seven mass books of 1532. He probably did not own the Janequin Sacrae cantiones of 1533, described by Fétis³⁶ but not extant today so far as we know. Among the possible Lyons prints in the next section, however, a Janequin "Sperantis modulatio" is listed; it is not impossible that Columbus gives us the subtitle of Fétis' book, or vice versa. The number of the Columbus copy, however (9210), suggests that it belongs to the books bought in northwest Italy in 1531.

E. Lyons: Moderne and Others (Appendix, nos. 129-150)

The Lyons prints Columbus bought indicate a music printing activity in that city far more vigorous than extant music books suggest. Columbus owned the Guaynard Contrapunctus of 1528 and two well-known Moderne prints of 1532. One of the latter, the Missarum decem, survives without colophon in Bologna and is traditionally dated 1532 because that is the date of its dedication; according to Columbus' entry in the Supplementum, his copy was dated 1531.

Besides the two known Moderne prints, Columbus had six books of Layolle motets, a Mouton mass, and two books of chansons, which he tells us were all printed in Lyons; but he gives no dates. None of these survive, nor do four other prints containing works of Layolle, possibly printed in Lyons; the previously mentioned Janequin print (numbered 9210—two of the Layolle motet books are assigned numbers 9208 and 9209); and five other books which we tentatively assign to Lyons for no good reason other than

that their numbers (137-) suggest that they were brought there.

Lest it be thought that many or all of these problematic prints simply augment in no particularly interesting way the output of Jacques Moderne, who introduced the Attaingnant method of single impression typography to music printing in Lyons, it should be pointed out that there survives, in the British Museum, one fragment that suggests otherwise. The fragment in question is a tenor part book containing twelve motets bound with the tenors of the four Antico-Torresano prints of 1521. It was printed with a woodcut method comparable to Antico's. The British Museum catalogue ascribes the print to Buglhat, Hucher, and Campis,37 probably because the Ferrarese printers used as their device a fleur-de-lys, and tentatively gives Ferrara as the place and 1540 as the date of publication. The title page of the tenor part book, framed by a foliated border, is marked with the word "Tenor" and a fleur-de-lys. The device does not in the least resemble that used by the Ferrarese printers; and they, like Moderne, used the Attaingnant method, not woodcuts, in all their known music books. A more attractive hypothesis is that the part book might be identifiable with one of the six Layolle motet books.

Each of these books contained, like the British Museum fragment, twelve compositions. The *Abecedarium B* shows that the first of the six (no. 132) contained an "O clara virgo christi gloriosa. 5582."; an "O clara virgo" is the second piece in the fragment.

The fleur-de-lys device was used by many 16th-century printers in France and Italy, most notably by those of Florentine origin (the Giunta family) and those associated with the Florentine exiles in Lyons (Moderne, Jacques Junte [Giunta], and possibly Campis). It would hardly be surprising

1800 Now in the British Museum (London, 1912), II, 158.

⁸⁶ F. J. Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens (Paris, 1868), IV, 423.
87 W. Barclay Squire, Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and

to find that a print devoted to Layolle bore on its title page the Florentine

lily.

Taken together, the evidence from the catalogues, the appearance and contents of the fragment, and Moderne's preoccupation with the works of Layolle all suggest Moderne as the printer and a date earlier than 1531 or 1532, by which time Moderne had mastered single-impression typography. If all this seems reasonable enough, let us further suggest, perhaps less reasonably, that most or all of the Lyons prints listed without date by Columbus comprise a sort of incunabula of Lyonnaise music printing, i.e., books printed before 1530 with older printing methods.

Moving finally to something rather like pure fancy, we are tempted to suppose that Antico, whose total disappearance from Italian music printing between 1521 and 1533—between two periods of intense activity—is certainly a vacuum abhorrent to those interested in his life and work, may have cut the music for the British Museum fragment. The woodcut method was always closely associated with him and a few Italian imitators, and the twelve motets strikingly resemble his work. Antico and Moderne were both born in Istria. Both were at one time or another associated with members of the Giunta family. Finally, both published large mass books with many graphic details and general features of design in common.38

F. Other French Books (Appendix, nos. 151-157)

The remaining seven French music books owned by Columbus included the four Carpentras sacred collections printed in Avignon by Jean de Channey in the early 'thirties. Curiously, their numbers (14030-14033) suggest that they were bought in Lyons in December, 1535; it was not till 400 books later, in February, 1536, that we find Columbus in Avignon. Chiefly known for their lozenge-shaped note heads, the Carpentras prints (Lamentations, Masses, Magnificats, and Hymns) are also noteworthy because of the detailed contracts drawn up between the papal singer and his printer.39

We have found no title for the next print on our list (no. 155), but the Abecedarium B entry "Las ie my plains . . . 9199. 5168. in cantu" shows that it contained music. Number 9199 is a Lyons chanson print that appears to be related to (or identical with) no. 13748 (see App. nos. 139 and 140). Another Abecedarium entry pertaining to the print in question must be the beginning of a prose introduction (or perhaps the book was largely prose-a manual with a bit of music) directed to "him who wants to judge any woman well

and healthily."

Like the above, the other three French prints have not to our knowledge survived; none is dated. The first, Nativitatis fleur des noelz (no. 156), in the Supplementum under "Christi arbor genealogie," and its number, 6897, is lacking among the numbers Columbus listed in the "Musica" section, to direct attention to music books he never got around to entering in full. It appears to have been an ordinary collection of Noels except for the words "et cantu de organo," which meant to Columbus, not tablature, but canto figurato of any sort. It contained, in some form, the famous hymn "Conditor alme syderum." No place of publication is given. Its number places it squarely in that general area of the catalogue's numbering system where guesswork as to place and date of purchase is quite impossible.

³⁸ Chapman, "Andrea Antico," pp. 266-268.
39 Pierre Pansier, Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon du XIV** au XVIme siècle (Avignon, 1922), III, 124ff.

The "Chanson in language provensal cum cantu dorgano" was, judging from its number, bought in Lyons in September, 1535. The catalogues yield some information about the contents, but I am unable to decipher the title of the Provençale chanson.

G. MISCELLANEOUS MUSIC BOOKS (Appendix, nos. 158-172)

Columbus owned twelve German music books, three of which he purchased in 1521. These are fully described in Registrum B. The other ten are found in Abecedarium B and/or its Supplementum under "Musica." Owing to the sketchiness of most of these entries and also to Ferdinand's apparent reluctance to use the German language, the catalogues do not so much settle problems about early German music printing as raise them.

Of the works of the first German music printer, Erhard Oeglin in Augsburg, Ferdinand acquired the folio edition of Tritonius' *Melopoeia* (1507) and two songbooks, both of which he calls simply "Tudesco cancionero" and fails to date. He does, however, give enough information about the contents

so that we may identify them with RISM numbers 15121 and [c. 1513]3.

The catalogues are more useful with respect to the fine printer Peter Schoeffer the Younger. The Schlick tablature is described in detail in Registrum B.40 Our transcription of this valuable entry is unfortunately not without gaps, but two seemingly contradictory facts emerge. One is that the "Harmoniarum tabuli authore arnoldi schlitz" has the same musical contents and was printed on the same day as the well-known Schlick Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang (Mainz, St. Matthew's Eve, 1512). The other fact is that Ferdinand's tendency to use Latin instead of German is not sufficient to explain the discrepancies between the volume he describes and the surviving copies of the Schlick tablature. Ferdinand's title is certainly a reasonable translation of the German, but he goes on to note an epigram by "Jo. Marquardi" beginning "Multa. . . ." In the German edition we find instead an anonymous poem in German. Then, rather than the two letters in the German edition, one by Schlick's son, the other by the composer himself, Columbus mentions only a "proscriptio" by the elder Schlick, beginning "Cum ex philosophorum. . . " It would seem that Schoeffer must simultaneously have brought out German and Latin editions of the same work.

The term "Tudesco cancionero" is applied to two further Schoeffer prints, one identifiable with RISM [c. 1515]³ and the other with the 1525 Worms edition of Johann Walter's (Wittenberg) Geystliche Gsangbüchlin. Finally, the print Columbus calls "Chansons 20 a 4 parties en frances . . . ar[gentoratum=Strasbourg]" must have been a copy of the book described by Fétis but since lost: "Viginti Cantiunculae gallicae quatuor vocum, excusae Argentorati apud Petrum Schoeffer, 1530, gr. in 12 obl."⁴¹ The Walter book and the chanson print have consecutive numbers (11243, 11244) and were probably bought, together with the Oeglin songbooks, in Augsburg in

May, 1531.

The Registrum entry concerning Arnt von Aich's Liederbuch, undated but printed in Cologne, presents no such problems as the description of the Schlick tablature, for Ferdinand states that he is giving a Latin translation of the original German. He provides no date of publication, so it seems probable that the collection, even when complete, was not dated. Ferdinand recorded

41 Fétis, Biographie VII, 499.

⁴⁰ Plamenac omits this entry in Registrum B from his study.

the Grimm and Wyrsung Liber selectarum cantionum of 1520 (with its Latin title) unambiguously in his Abecedarium B and its Supplementum.

The other three German music books have not survived. One, a Cythare germanice tabulature by one Jo. Schlumberger, was printed either in 1525 or in 1532, according to entries under the author and the title, respectively. Its number suggests that it was bought after Ferdinand's final return to Spain, in 1536. Probably also bought in Spain, but five years earlier, the other two prints are described too briefly to be readily identified.

Registrum information on prices of German music books is inconclusive. No price is given for the Tritonius book. The Schlick tablature and the Aich Liederbuch were bought in Nürnberg in December, 1521, for eight and twenty Kreuzer, respectively. Eitner tells us that the Schoeffer edition of the

Geystliche Gsangbüchlin cost forty Kreuzer in 1527.42

Columbus purchased only three music books not printed in Italy, France, or Germany. None of the three are known today. One was a tablature printed in Antwerp over a decade earlier than the first offerings of Tylman Susato. Columbus probably bought it in Brussels in August, 1531. Another was a collection of 41 chansons, without date, printed in Geneva (unless there is a more satisfactory interpretation of the abbreviation "gen."). Our chronology of purchase suggests that this book was acquired in Lyons in September, 1535. The third was an anthology of 32 "Canciones y villancicos" published in Madrid in 1534. This book, number 15108, was probably purchased in Spain in 1536 or 1537, perhaps at the same time and place as number 15111, Luis Milan's "Libro de motes en coplas," printed in Valencia in 1535 (Abc B, col. 1032).

It seems to us unlikely that our research exhausts what the Registra and Abecedaria have to tell us about printed collections of polyphonic music. Little work in any field, moreover, has been done on the index rerum and the catalogue of summaries. And since Ferdinand Columbus' musical holdings included manuscripts, theoretical treatises, and plainchant as well as the books described here, the present study does not begin to exhaust the musical significance of the Abecedaria and Registrum A. Only by doing for these catalogues what Dr. Plamenac has done for Registrum B, and for other books of importance to musicology what we have tried to do for printed collections, can the research begun thirty-seven years ago by Dr. Jeppesen be completed. It is obvious that the Biblioteca Colombina, because it has been largely destroyed, is less important for the study of early 16th-century music than, for example, the Conservatory library in Bologna. It is almost equally apparent, however, because Columbus' musical holdings were once far more comprehensive than those in any modern library, that the catalogues in which these works were so meticulously recorded are probably as valuable for early 16th-century music bibliography as all the modern catalogues put together.

42 See Eitner, Quellen-Lexikon X, 168.

APPENDIX: MUSIC PRINTS IN THE COLOMBINA CATALOGUES

The catalogue entries presented on the following pages are meant to be literal and complete transcriptions. Italics indicate resolved abbreviations. Some of Columbus' most commonly used abbreviations are not resolved, such as those representing ordinal numbers, the *I* and *d* meaning *incipit* and *desinit*, and, most notably, the letters standing for place of publication:

an	Antwerp	mad	Madrid
ar	Strasbourg	mag, mog	Mainz
au	Augsburg	n, ne	Naples
av	Avignon	p	Paris
С	Cologne	Ŕ	Rome
fo	Fossombrone	S, se	Siena
gen	Geneva [?]	Ý	Venice
ĺ	Lyons	\mathbf{w}	Wittenberg

The sigla he used for bibliographical description are represented in our transcriptions as follows (these are printed in bold-face type):

\circ	2R	Royal folio
9	2Ra	Royal folio; includes tabula or index
රී	2Rb	Royal folio; includes prefatory material
\bigcirc	2	Common folio
Ф	2a	Common folio; includes tabula or index
\Diamond	2b	Common folio; includes prefatory material
	4	Quarto
	4a	Quarto; includes tabula or index
ů	4b	Quarto; includes prefatory material
Ç	4ab	Quarto; includes tabula or index and prefatory material
<u></u> +	4c	Quarto; includes supplementary material
	8	Octavo
Ü	8a	Octavo; includes tabula or index
Ů	8b	Octavo; includes prefatory material
Ů,	8ab	Octavo; includes tabula or index and prefatory material
<u>+</u>	8c	Octavo; includes supplementary material

The first column provides enough information to locate the entries in the catalogues. Column numbers are provided for *Abecedarium B* up to the point where Columbus ceased numbering; in any case, the entries are in alphabetical order. It is the registration number itself, underscored in the list below, that serves to locate entries in *Registra A* and *B*.

In general, we present complete all entries we have found relative to a given book. If the Supplementum and Abecedarium contain nearly identical entries on the same book, the source listed first was used for the transcription. We do not draw on Abecedarium A because most of the entries reappear in Abecedarium B, where they are far more complete.

The third column, marked "Identification," refers to modern publications, usually the standard bibliographies, in which books corresponding to Columbus' entries are described and located in modern libraries. There follows a key to the symbols we have used for these publications.

15101	Répertoire international des sources musicales , Vol. I (Munich-Duisberg, 1960)
B 15102	Howard M. Brown, Instrumental Music Printed before 1600 (Cambridge, Mass., 1965)
BMC	W. Barclay Squire, Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Museum (London, 1912)
EB 1510a	Robert Eitner, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1877)
EQ	Eitner, Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1899-1994)
Н 1510, 1	Daniel Heartz, "La Chronologie des recueils imprimés par Pierre Attaingnant," Revue de musicologie XLIV (1959), 176-192
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
Sı	Claudio Sartori, Bibliografia delle opere musicale stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci (Florence, 1948)
S 1 bis	Sartori, "Nuove Conclusione aggionte alla Bibliografia del Petrucci," <i>Collectanea historiae musicae</i> , I (Florence, 1953), 175-210 (see above, n. 24)
SBS	Sartori, Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampate in Italia fino al 1700 (Florence, 1952)
SmJM	Albert Smijers, ed., Werken van Josquin des Prez, Missen, Vols. I-III (Leipzig, 1921——), introductions.
V 15101	Emil Vogel, Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vokalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1892)

	A. Petrucci	
1. Abc B, col. 747 Abc B, col. 170	Harmonice musices odhecaton cantionum quod plurium in gallico. <u>6856</u> . V. 1502. 4 Ave maria gratia plena dominus tecum. <u>6856</u> . <u>5108</u> . <u>9252</u> .	1503 ² n. st.; S 5
2. Abc B, Obreth	missa ie ne demande / grecorum / fortuna desperata / malheur me bat Salve diva parens in cantu. 9713. V. 1503. 4	S 6
3. Supp, Musica; Abc B Abc B	Moteti de passione de croce de sacramento de b. virgine. nº. 30. <u>5969</u> . V. 1503. 4a Non letis manibus manducare non conquinat hominem. <u>5969</u> .	1503¹; S 7
4. Abc B, col. 936 Abc B, col. 286	Jo. guiselin misse quinque. V. 1503. <u>5090</u> . 4 Chirie <u>8830</u> . <u>2205</u> . <u>5598</u> . <u>5599</u> . <u>5596</u> . <u>5594</u> . <u>5595</u> . <u>6545</u> . <u>6978</u> . <u>7003</u> . <u>7063</u> . <u>7623</u> . <u>9198</u> . <u>5090</u> .	S 9
5. Abc B, col. 244 Abc B, col. 1021	Canti. b. nº. 50. <u>4683</u> . V. 1503. 4a lomme arme cu <i>m</i> aliis 49 . in canto dorgano. <u>4683</u>	1503³; S 10
6. Abc B	Petri de la Rue misse quinque in cantu composite. I. beate virginis / puer natus / Sexti ut fa / nunquam fue pena maior. 5593. V. 1503. 4	S 11
7. Abc B, col. 244 Abc B, col. 171	Canti. c. numero. 150. V. 1503. 4a <u>4653</u> . Ave regina celorum in canto dorgano. cum 149. aliis. <u>4653</u> .	1504³ n. st.; S 12
8. Abc B, col. 66	Alexandri agricole misse quinque In cantu composite. I. le serviteur / Je ne demande malheur me bat primi toni. secundi toni. <u>5594</u> . V. 1504.	S 13
Abc B, col. 286 Abc B, col. 589	Chirie [see no. 4] Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis. <u>5594</u> .	

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification	8
	A. Petrucci		
9. Abc B, col. 747 Abc B, col. 170 Abc B	[Harmonice musices (see no. 1)] et alia nº. 98. <u>5108</u> . V. 1504. 4a Ave maria [see no. 1] Petri castellani harmonice musices odhecaton. <u>5108</u> . V. 1504. 4a	1504³; S 14	JOURNAL
10. Supp, Musica; also Abc B, Cantiones; Abc B, Moteti	Moteti in .4. partes nº. 49 licet tipla licant solum 47. 2895. V. 1504. 4a 2902 3411	1504¹; S 15	, of THE
Abc B, col. 170 Reg B, 2895	Ave maria de Josquin en quatro partes. 2895. Libro de motetis de Canto dorgano y son. 4. volumenes por que cada voz esta de por soy en un libro. Imp. en venecia por otavio petrucio anno. 1504. septembris. 15. habet quelibet pars. 49. Cantiones seu motetos preter le typle quod habet solum. 47. quorum tabula alphabetica est in principio. uniuscuiusque partis dimidij folij. 2 col. La primera es ave maria Josquin y en las. 3. partes la postrimera es in lectulo meo en el tiple la postrimera es dignitate singularis. costaron las 4. partes en Roma. 247. quatrines anno. 1513. por hebrero. es en 4. ad longum.		AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL
11. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676 Abc B, col. 76	Frotole li ⁰ . p ⁰ . n ⁰ . 62. [space left for registration number] V. 1504. 4a Alma svegliate hor mai alma [no number]	15044; S 16	
12. Supp, Musica; Abc B, Moteti	Moteti. a. nº. 33. <u>8741</u> . V. 1504. 4	Not extant; S 11 bis	SOCIETY
13. Supp, Musica; Abc B Abc B, col. 286	Misse de orto dominicalis jai prins amours lomme arme la bella se assied petita camuseta. 6545. V. 1505. 4 Chirie [see no. 4]	S 20	

14. Supp, Musica; Abc B	Moteti li ^o . 4 ^o . n ^o . 55. <u>4645</u> . V. 1505. 4a	1505 ³ ; S 21	
Abc B, col. 76	Alma redemptoris mater que per via celi porta. 4645.		
15. Abc B, Misse in cantu	fragmenta n. 27. <u>4695</u> . V. 1505. 4	1505 ¹ ; S 23	
16. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li. 5°. n°. 6 [sic]. <u>6547</u> . V. 1505. 4a	1505°; S 24	PRI
Abc B	Si come fede se depinge biancha una candida. 6547.		NTEL
17. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li ^o . 6. n ^o . 66. <u>4690</u> . V. 1505. 4a	1506 ² n. st.; S 25	COLLE
18. Abc B, col. 983, Lamentationum	Liber primus nº. 12, <u>4989</u> . V. 1506. 4b	1506¹; S 26	CTION
Abc B, col. 46	Adoramus te domine Jesu xpe et benedicamus tibi. 4989.		S OF
19. Abc B, col. 983; col. 198, Bartholomei	Lamentationum liber secundus tromboncini gasparis et erasmi. 4980. V. 1506 4	1506²; S 27	PRINTED COLLECTIONS OF POLYPHONIC MUSIC
Abc B, col. 861	Incipit lamentatio hieremie prophete aleph 4980.		INO
20. Abc B, col. 965	Isaac misse quinque. I. charge de deul / misericordias domini / quant Jai au coeur la spagna comme feme. 5599. V. 1506. 4	S 28	C MUS
Abc B, col. 286	Chirie [see no. 4]		ic
21. Abc B, col. 691	Gasparis misse. 5. scilicet ave regina celorum / o venus banth / e trop penser / octavi toni / se mieulx ne vient. 5598. V. 1506. 4	S 29	
Abc B, col. 286	Chirie [see no. 4]		
22. Reg B, 2580	Intabulatura de Lauto libro primo de francesco Spinacino. in principio est reglam sive Canon ad docendum modum pulsandi ea quae in libro scripta sunt. latine et	1507*; S 30	19

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification S
	A. Petrucci	
Abc B, col. 874	italice. latine I. intelligendum est. italice. I. prima deve posita et sequitur epistola octavij petrutij. I. Cum mihi. Item cristophori pierij exhasti con. I. est natura. Item tabula cantilenarum totius operis prima. I. ave maria de Josquin. ultima. I. Recercare et tantum habentur principia Cantilenarum que sunt. 22. Imp. Venetiis anno. 1507. est in. 4º. ad longitudinem ligatus et in unaquaque pagina sunt. 4ºr. ordines notularum. costo en Roma. 76. quatrines por Setienbre de. 1512. Intelligendum est primo que in presenti. 2580.	JOURNAL OF THE A
23. Reg B, 2581	Intabulatura di Lauto libro secundo de francesco Spinacino. continet. 34. Cantilenas seu carmina principia quorum tabula est in principio. prima. I. bergerette. ultima. I. Recercare. In principio. est Regula pro illis qui Canere nesciunt. italice et latine. Italice. I. prima deve. latine. I. intelligendum est. Imp. Venetiis anno. 1507. die ultima martij est in. 4º. ad longum. costo en Roma. 74. quatrines por Setienbre de. 1512.	1507*; S 31
24. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676 Abc B, col. 616	Frotole li ⁰ . 8 ⁰ . n ⁰ . 56. <u>5595</u> . V. 1507. 4	15074; S 32
25. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Falace speranza che fa dolce ogni stento. <u>5595</u> . Frotole li ^o . 7 ^o . <u>4366</u> . V. 1507. 4a	15074; S 32
26. Abc B Abc B, col. 889	Stramboti ode frotole soneti et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli li ⁰ . 4 ⁰ . 4675. V. 1507. 4a numero. 91. Io son locel che sopra i rami doro de un arbor verde 4675.	1507²; S 34
27. Supp, Musica;	Frotole li ^o . 3 ^o . <u>4365</u> . V. 1507. 4a	1507¹; S 35

Abc B, col. 676 Abc B, col. 137	Arde el ciel el mundo tuto. <u>4365</u> .		
28. Abc B, col. 781 Abc B, col. 336	hymni de tempore et de sanctis liber primus de canto. nº. 37. 4974. V. 1507. 4b Conditor alme syderum. 946. 4974. 8969.	Not extant; S 36	
29. Abc B, col. 1043 Abc B, col. 585 Abc B, col. 781 Abc B Reg A, 1985	Magnificat liber primus de quolibet tono duo 4975. V. 1507. 4 Et exultavit spiritus meus in deo salutare. 4975. Magnificat in canto dorgano. 1985. Octavij petrucii magnificat liber primus. 1985. Magnificat liber primus de quolibet tono duo diversorum auctorum et In toto opere nil aliud continetur nisi magnificat variorum auctorum cum 4. vocibus et prima est agricole est Impressum Venetijs per octavianum petrucium. anno. 1507. 14. octobris est In quarto Costo en Venetia. 26. sueldos a cinco de Julio de 1521 y el ducado val. 134. sueldos.	Not extant; S 36 bis	PRINTED COLLECTIONS OF POLYPHONIC MUSIC
30. Abc B, col. 942 Reg B, 2582	Jo. marie alemani intabulature de lauto libro tertio. 2582. 3053 4a Intabulatura de Lauto Libro Tertio. et opera quae continet sunt Joannis marie alemanj cuius epistola. I. Come la musica. Cantilene sunt. 25. quorum tabula est in principio. Item Regula pro illis qui canere nesciunt Italice et Latine. Italice. I. prima deve. Latine. I. intelligendum est. Prima Cantilena. I. come feme. ultima. I. Recercare giovan maria. Imp. venetijs Anno. 1508. Junij. 20. est in. 4º. ad longum. Costo en Roma 110. quatrines por Setienbre de. 1512.	Not extant.; S 37	S OF POLYPHONIC M
31. Supp, Musica; Abc B	Moteti li ⁰ . p ⁰ . n ⁰ . 18 a cinco. <u>6548</u> . 4	1508¹; S 38	IUSIC
32. Abc B, col. 989 Abc B	Laude libro 2º. nº. 60. <u>4701</u> . V. 1507. 4a Salve sacrata e gloriosa insegna. <u>4701</u> .	1508 ⁸ n. st.; S 39	
33. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li ⁰ . 2 ⁰ . n ⁰ . 53. <u>4720</u> . V. 1507 4	1508 ³ n. st.; S 40	63

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification
	A. Petrucci	
34. Supp, Musica; Abc B, Misse in cantu	Missarum diversorum nº. 5. li. p ^s . <u>5596</u> . V. 1508. 4	1509 ¹ n. st.; S 41
Supp, col. 200	Bassiron missa de franza 5596. V. 1508.	
Abc B, col. 235	Brumel missa dringhis. <u>5596</u> . V. 1508.	
Abc B	Obreth missa si dedero in cantu organico. 5596. V. 1508.	
Abc B	Petri de la Rue missa di S. antonio. <u>5596</u> . V. 1508.	
35. Abc B, col. 989	Laude libro p ⁰ . in. damonis curarum dulce lenimen. 6549.	S 42
Abc B, col. 869	Innocentii damonis laude libro po. no. 66 in cantu. 6549. V. 1508. 4	
36. Supp, Musica	Intabulature de lauto liº. 4º. 36. cantionum. Jo. ambrosij [illegible] 2543. V. 1508. 4a	S 43
Abc B, col. 893	Jo. ambrosii dalza intabulature de lauto libro quarto. 2543. 3054	
Reg B, 2543	Intabulatura de lauto libro quarto Joannis ambrosij dalza. 36. continens cantiones	
106 =, =010	quorum tabula est in principio. Item est Regula pro nescientibus canere italice. I.	
	prima deve. prima cantilena. I. galdibi castigliano. ultima. I. Laudate dio. Imp.	
	venetiis anno. 1508. ultimo decembris. est in. 4º. ad longum. costo en Roma. 76.	
	quatrines por Setienbre de. 1512.	
	quatrines por secientic de. 1512.	
37. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li ^o . 9 ^o . n ^o . 64. V. 1508. 4a <u>4671</u> .	1509² n. st.; S 44
Abc B	Quercus iuncta columna est quercus iuncta columna 4671.	
AUC D	Quercus iuncia coiumna est quercus iuncia coiumna 2011 .	
38, 39. Abc B, col. 647;	Francisci bossinensis tenori et contrabassi liber primus et 2 ⁸ . en toscano. <u>3803</u> . 2287	1503³; 1511
ABC, Tenori	Affliti spiriti mei siati contenti. 3803.	S 45, 46
Abc B, col. 50	Ayme lasso ayme dolente. 3803.	
Abc B, col. 54	Tenori e Contrabassi intabulati col soprani in Canto figurato per cantar e sonar col	í

Reg B, 3803	lauto. est in toscano cum suis notulis. dividitur in 2. libros est author franciscus bossinenssis. in principio primi libri est tabula alphabetica carminum. Item regula. In. prima deve. Item authoris epistola. I. grande. Item Carmen. I. per mostrare. opus I. affliti spiriti mei. D. prese a sdegno. Imp. venetijs anno. 1509. martij. 27. in principio secundi libri est tabula carminum alphabetica. Item Carmen. I. per mostrar. opus. I. felice fu. D. anzi bellarte. Imp. in foro Sempronij Anno. 1511. maij. 10. est in quarto ad longum. el primero costo. 70. quatrines el. 2º. 96. en Roma por Setienbre de. 1512.	
40. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li ^o . 10. n ^o . 75. <u>4967</u> . fo. 1512. 4a	Not extant; S 47
Abc B, col. 606	Exaudi preces meas o mater gloriosa del tuo. 4967.	}
41. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li ^o . 11. n ^o . 68. <u>4716</u> . fo. 1514. 4	1514°; S 50
Abc B	Si che la vo seguire e muna alta offesa 4716.	j
42. Abc B, col. 945 Abc B, col. 286	Jo. mouton missarum quinque in cantu liber primus. 5965. fo. 1515. 4 Chirie [see no. 4]	S 52
43. Abc B, col. 117 Abc B Abc B Abc B	Antonij de fevin misse tres in cantu. <u>5960</u> . Fo. 1515. 4c Roberti de fevin misa in cantu le vilan yalois. <u>5960</u> . fo. 4c 1515. Pierzon. misa in cantu quarti toni. <u>5960</u> . Fo. 1515. 4c Sancta trinitas missa in cantu et mente tota et ave maria <u>5960</u> .	Not extant; S 47
44. Abc B, col. 220 Abc B	Bernardi pisani musica sopra le canzone del petrarcha <u>6944</u> in 4. partes. fo. 1520. 8a Vergine genitrice alma maria <u>6444</u> [should probably be 6944]	S 59
	В. Антісо	
45. Reg B, 2772	Canzoni nove Con alcune falte [sic] de varij libri de Canto dorgano Imp. en Roma anno. 1510. costo en Roma. 75. quatrines anno. 1512. pro otubre. continet. 41.	1510

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification
	B. Antico	
Supp, Musica; Abc	cantilenas quarum tabula est in principio. alphabetica. Prima. I. tucto il mondo. ultima. D. occhi mei lassi. es en. 4º. ad longum. Canzoni nove con alcune scelte nº. 41. in toscano R. 1510. 4a 2772 2794 3320	
B, col. 244, Can- tiones		
Abc B and Supp	Tuto il mondo e fantasia 2772 2794	
Abc B, col. 87	Amor che voi ragion. 2772.	
46. Abc B, col. 243 Abc B, col. 284	Canzoni soneti stramboti et frotole libro 3º et sunt 40. <u>5867</u> . R. 1513. 8a Che se passe de speranza. <u>5867</u> . [This piece is second both in the table of contents and	15131
Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 245	in the sequence of compositions.] Canzoni soneti stramboti et frotole liº. 3º. nº. 40. R. 1513. 8. 5928.	1513¹
Abc B Reg A, 1983	Sil foco in chui sempre ardo fusse foco. 5928. 4954. [See no. 53.] Canzone soneti stramboti frotole libro tertio de canto dorgano opera quorum tabula alfabetica est in principio et primum est ben ben che te ne pare et ultimum est tintinami la brocha et Incipit il focho in chui et desinit meglio e scoprir lardore In fine est epistola Leonis ad andream antiquum miniatorem Impressorem operis roma anno 1513. die. 15. octobris et omnia opera sunt cum 4. vocibus est in octavo. Costo en Venetia. 10. sueldos a Cinco de Julio de 1521 y el ducado val 134. sueldos.	15131
Abc B, col. 205	Ben ben ben che te ne pare. 1983.	
47. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 245	Canzoni li ⁰ . 2 ⁰ . con cose nove in canto. 8a n ⁰ . 45. 7776. R. 1516.	Not extant
Abc B, col. 88	Amor quando fioriva. 4929. 7776. 5084. [See nos. 48 and 52.]	
48. Supp, Musica;	Intabulature de frotole liº. pº. per organi. nº. 26. R. 1517 4a [No number: 5084?]	1517*

Abc B, col. 676 Reg A, 1987 Abc B, cols. 874, 92	Frotole Intabulate da sonar organi libro primo et continet 26. opera quorum tabula alfabetica est in principio. prima est amor quando fioriva et ultima est vergine bella. Incipit posita scriptura transversalite in capite Intabulaturae est decet amor quando et desinit cantai mentre nel core. In fine est epistola leonis ad andream antiquum de montona operis Impresorem rome anno 1517. die Januarij est in octavo. Costo en Venetia. 10. sueldos a cinco de Julio de 1521. y el ducado val. 134. sueldos. Intabulatura de organo 1987.	
49. Abc B, col. 243 Abc B	Cansone numero 45. libro secondo. <u>5597</u> . R. 1518. 8 Per dolor mi bagno el viso <u>5597</u> . [This piece is second in the sequence of compositions.]	Supra, n. 29
50. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676 Abc B, col. 419 Reg A, 1981	Frotole li ⁰ . 5 ⁰ . n ⁰ . 40. <u>5929</u> . R. 1518. 8 Cum rides mihi basium negasti cum ploras. <u>5929</u> . Frotole libro quinto de canto dorgano contiene. 40. obras a quatro Tabula quorum alfabetica est in principio et primum opus est amor mincende et ultimum victoria victoria et incipit cum rides et desinit caridad muy In fine sunt 2. epistole leonis ad andream antiquum miniatorem Impresorem operis rome anno 1518. die 25. Januarij est In octavo Costo en Venetia. 10. sueldos a Cinco de Julio de. 1521. y el ducado val 134 sueldos. frotole libro quinto. 1981.	Not extant
51. Reg A, 1984 Abc B, col. 92	Moteti libro primo In. 4. volumina distincte nam in quolibet volumine continetur una queque vox de per se et continentur. 15. opera quorum tabula alfabetica est in principio cuius libet et primum opus est congaudentes exultemus et ultimum tua est potentia et incipit quelibet pars per lignum salvi et desinit per mansisti Impressum rome per andream antiquum de mantua [sic] anno 1518. 15. maij est in octavo Costo en Venetia 10. sueldos a Cinco de Julio de 1521. y el ducado val 134 sueldos. moteti libro primo 1984.	Not extant; see no. 62
52. Supp, Musica; Abc	Frotole li ⁰ . 2 ⁰ . n ⁰ . 45. <u>4929</u> . V. 1520. 8	[c. 1516] ²

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Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification	68
	B. Antico		
B, col. 676 Abc B, col. 88	Amor quando fioriva <u>4929</u> . <u>7776</u> . <u>5084</u> .		JOURNAL OF
53. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li ^o . 3 ^o . n ^o . 40. <u>4954</u> . V. 1520. 8	15171	AL OF
Abc B	Sil focho in cui sempre ardo fusse foco. <u>5928</u> . <u>4954</u> .		THI
54. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 676	Frotole li ^o . 4 ^o . n ^o . 40. <u>4962</u> . V. 1520. 8	15205	E AME
Abc B, col. 715	Glie pur cocente il fier desir chio morre [sic] 4902 [sic]		RIC.
55. Abc B, col. 198	Bartholomei trombo <i>nc</i> ini cose amorose da cantar nel lauto e in laude [See no. 89.] Frotole tenori et bassi tabulati per lauto. nº. 27. <u>5109</u> . V. 1520. 8a	[c. 1520] ⁷	N MU
Abc B Abc B	Margheti carra con frotole tabulate per sonar con lauto. <u>5109</u> . V. 1520. Qui se po eslegar damore preso en bon conpito. <u>5109</u> .		SICOL
56. Supp, Musica Abc B	Moteti liº. 2º. nº. 16. <u>5076</u> . V. 1520. 8a Moteti novi liº. 2º. nº. 16. <u>5076</u> . V. 1520	1520 ¹	THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY
Abc B, col. 169	Ave ancilla trinitatis ave filia. 5076.	}	Š
57. Supp, Musica Abc B Abc B	Moteti li ⁰ . 3 ⁰ . n ⁰ . 16. <u>5077</u> . V. 1520. 8a Moteti novi li ⁰ . 3 ⁰ . et sunt 16. <u>5077</u> . V. 1520. Salve mater salvatoris salve mater salvatoris. <u>5077</u> .	15202	HTT
58. Supp, Musica Abc B	Moteti e canzone franzose a 4. sopra doi. nº. 32 V. 1520. 8a <u>5078</u> . Moteti novi e canzone franzose a 4. sopra doi. nº. 32. V. 1520. 8 <u>5078</u> .	1520*	

59. Reg A, 1986 Abc B, col. 92 Abc B, col. 164	Cansons a troys de canto dorgano in tria volumina distincte et In quolibet volumine continetur una quequevox de per se et contene. 41. opera. quorum tabula alfabetica est In principio cuius libet et primum est a tous iamais dung vouloir et ultimum est tant est gentil playsant et incipit Il nya iessi et ultimum desinit Ibit Imago in fine epistola Leonis ad andream antiquum operis Impresorem de 1520. die. 15. octobris est In octavo. Costo en Venetia. 10. sueldos a cinco de Julio. 1521. y el ducado val. 134. sueldos. cansons a troys 1986. A tous jamais dung vouloir. 1986.	1520* PRINT
60. Supp, Musica Abc B, col. 945	Missarum diversorum li. p ^s . in 4° partes. 1932. [This number does not correspond with either Registrum.] V. 1521 8 [Under Jo. mouton] missarum diversorum authorum liber primus in 4. partes cantus	PRINTED COLLECTIONS
61. Supp, Musica Abc B, col. 945	organici. 1932. V. 1521. Missarum diversorum li. 2°. 7063. V. 1521. 8 [Following entry of liber primus] Jam secundus. 7063. V. 1521.	OF
62. Supp, Musica; Abc B	Moteti liº. pº. nº. 15. <u>8743</u> . V. 1521. 8	1521* POLYPHONIC
Supp 63. Supp, Musica;	Per lignum salvi facti sumus et per. <u>8743</u> . Moteti li ⁰ . 4 ⁰ . n ⁰ . 15. <u>8742</u> . V. 1521. 8	1521 ⁵ C
Abc B Abc B	Salve regina regina misericordie vita dulcedo. 8742.	MUSIC
	C. Other Italian Prints	
64. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 245	Canzoni soneti stramboti e frotole liº. pº. nº. 48. se. 1515. 8a <u>6775</u> .	1515*

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification
	C. Other Italian Prints	
Abc B Reg A, 1982	Spiriti gentili se mai vi spinse amore. 6775. Canzone soneti stramboti frotole libro primo de canto dorgano continet. 48. opera quorum tabula alfabetica est in principio et primum est ayme dio che glie pur vero et ultimum Volge fortuna in pace questa rota et Incipit spirti gentili et desinit signora vale et omnia sunt quatuor vocum. Impressum senis per petrum sambonetum anno. 1515. a di. 30. augusti Costo in Venetia 10. sueldos a Cinco de Julio de 1521 y el ducado val 134 sueldos.	
Abc B, col. 54	Ayme dio che glie pur vero. 1982.	
55. Abc B, col. 635	Fioretti di 34. frotole barzellete capitoli stramboti e soneti. libro secondo. <u>5580</u> . n. 1519. 8	15194
Abc B, col. 88	Amor se la mia dona non prova. <u>5580</u> .	
66. Supp, Musica; Abc B, Moteti	Moteti li ⁰ . p ⁰ . n ⁰ . 12. <u>6222</u> . ne. 1519. 8	Not extant
Abc B, col. 447 Reg A, 2319	De profundis clamavi ad te domine 2319 [crossed out] 6222. Moteti libro primo in. 4. volumina distincte et in quolibet volumine continetur una queque vox de per se et continet. 12. opera quorum tabula alfabetica est In principio cuius libet et primum opus est beata dei genetrix et ultimum est sancti dei omnes et quelibet pars Incipit de profundis clamavi ad te domine et ultima desinit dona eis requiem Impresum neapoli per antonium de frizis de 1519 die 17. decembris est in octavo. Costo en Venetia. 12. sueldos a 13. de octobre de 1521 y el ducado vale. 134. sueldos. moteti libro primo. 2319.	
67. Supp, Musica; Abc B, Moteti	Moteti et canzone li ⁰ . p ⁰ . Jo. mouton et aliorum autorum n ⁰ . 21. 7307. R. 1520. 8	[1521]6

Abc B, col. 850	In omni tribulatione et angustia succurrat. 7307.	
68. Supp, Musica; Abc B, Moteti	Moteti liº, 2º, nº, 16. diversorum autorum, pº Jo, mouton ultiº, anton de viti. 6215. R. 1521. 8	[1521]4
69. Abc B, col. 602 Abc B, col. 613	Eustachius de macionibus li. p ⁰ . de musica. 44. operum. <u>7778</u> . R. 1521. 4b Extorsit presul amplissime importuna amicorum. <u>7778</u> . [From the dedication: see SBS, p. 3.]	B 1521 ₁
70. Supp, Musica; Abc B, Misse Abc B, col. 974	Missarum. 10. li. p ^a . p ^a . est brumel de beata virgine et 10 ^a . est petrus roseli de bayssez moy. 13206. R. 1522. 4 Kyrie elison xpe leison Kyrie leison. 13206.	1522
71. Abc B, col. 635 Abc B, col. 670 Abc B, col. 171	Fior de moteti e canzone novi da diversi. nº. 14. 7779. R. 1523. 8 Francisci seraphini fior de moteti e canzone in cantu. 7779. R. 1523. 8 Ave sanctissima maria mater dei mater dei regina. 7779.	[c. 1526] ⁵
72. Abc B Abc B	Marci anthonii da bologna motteti et canzoni liº. pº. 6905. V. 1523. 4 Poi che dalle exhortatione di v. magnificenza. 6905. [From the dedication: see SBS, pp. 3-4.]	B 1523 ₁
73. Supp, Musica Abc B, col. 245	Canzoni stramboti ode frotole soneti et modo de cantar versi latini. liº. 3º. de la croce. 4970. R. 1524 4b nº. 22. Canzoni stramboti ode frotole soneti et modo de cantar versi latini libro 3º. de la croce 4970. Ro. 1524 4ab nº. 22.	Not extant
74. Supp, Musica Abc B, Moteti Abc B	Moteti e canzone franzose de Jusquin et altri. V. 1524. <u>6169</u> . 8 Moteti novi e canzone franzose de Jusquin et altri. V. 1524. 8 <u>6169</u> . Nesciens mater nesciens mater virgo virum peperiti. <u>6169</u> .	[c. 1521] ⁷
75. Abc B Abc B, col. 29	Mathei boschi li ⁰ . p ⁰ . de musica de la salamandra. <u>7775</u> . R. 1526. 8 tiene 24 coses. Acciones nostras que sumus domine que sumus domine aspirando. <u>7775</u> .	Not extant

Identification

	Tunibulption of Ditty	
	C. Other Italian Prints	
76. Supp, Musica	Missa moteti canzoni li. p ⁰ . n ⁰ . 15. <u>7780</u> . R. 1526. 8	Palma de Mallorca, Catedral*
Abc B	Messa motteti canzoni li ^o . p ^o . n ^o . 15. <u>7780</u> . R. 1526 8.	
77-80. Supp, Musica; Abc B, Moteti	Moteti de la corona li. 4. primus habet. 26. et 2º 25 et 3º 16. et 4º. 16. <u>5089</u> . R. 1526. 4a	15261-4
Abc B, col. 696	Gaude barbara beata barbara. 5089.	
Abc B	Verbum bonum et soave per sonemus. 5089.	1
Abc B, col. 797	Huc me sydereo sydereo descendere. 5089.	1
Abc B	Tribus miraculis tribus miraculis. <u>5089</u> .	
81-83. Abc B, col. 964	Josquin missarum. 5 li. p ^a . missarum sex li. 2 ^a . et missarum sex. li. 3 ^a . <u>5086</u> . <u>5087</u> . <u>5088</u> . R. 1526.	SmJM

Transcription of Entry

Location of Entry

Abc B, col. 1021

Abc B, col. 170

Abc B

Mater patris. 5088. 84. Supp, Musica; Canzoni frotole et capitoli da diversi auctori liº. pº. de la croce. nº. 32. 10047. R. 1526. 15266 Abc B, col. 245 Voi che ascoltate i dolorosi pianti del mio passato. est de canto. 10047. Abc B 85. Abc B, col. 1038 Madrigali de diversi musici liº. pº. de la serena. 10170. R. 1530. 8ab nº. 18. 1530²

Lomme arme super voces musicales. 5086.

Ave maris stella. 3100. 2588. 5087. 9597.

Abc B, col. 1013 Lieti fior verdi frondi che solete far vi del. 10170. Canzoni frotole capitoli da diversi auctori liº. 2º. de la croce. nº. 14. 5132. S. 4 Not extant

86. Supp, Musica (en-

tered twice); * This print, discovered by Knud Jeppesen, is discussed by him in a forthcoming volume of essays in memory of Glen Haydon.

Abc B, col. 245 Abc B	Su su su su pastori su nymphe. <u>5132</u> .	
87. Abc B, col. 242 Abc B, col. 979	Canon virginis marie in canto figurato. <u>7365</u> . S. 2. La prima dominica de ladvento e la stazione <u>7365</u> .	Not extant
88. Abc B, col. 965, Isaac	missa nova cum una cantilena Jo. mouton. <u>7623</u> . S. 8	Not extant
Abc B, col. 945, Jo. mouton	cantilena una in laudem divi francisci. 7623. S. 8c	PRINTED COLLECTIONS Not extant
89. Abc B, col. 198	Bartholomei tromboncini cose amorose da cantar nel lauto e in laude [see no. 55] de dio e de sua matre liº. pº. 6621.	Not extant
Abc B, col. 992; Supp	Le note le qual sono puntelate [?] de le parole restano. 6621.	CTION
90. Supp, Musica Abc B, col. 244 Abc B	Canzon dimidij folii che dice ogni de per te sia pascha col mal an. 9429. 2 dimidii folii canzon che dize ogni di per te sia pascha col mal an. 9429. 2 Ogni di per te sia pascha col mal an che te dia dio. 9429.	Not extant Q
91. Abc B	Speculum effectus pacientie de canto dorgano. 8655.	POLYPHONIC
	D. Attaingnant	MUSIC
92. Supp, Musica	Chansons et motetz en canon a. 4. parties sur deux et sunt nº. 41. p². adieu mes amours et ult². tout dun acord. p 8 13752. (See Heartz, "A New Attaingnant Book.")	ō
93. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 35. a. 4. parties p ^a . a bien gran tort ulti ^a . ung gran plaisir. p. 8 13774. In.	[c. 1528] ⁷ ; H 1 529, 2

le trop long temps.

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification
	D. Attaingnant	
Supp	Le trop longtemps. <u>13774</u> .	
94. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 32. a. 4. parties p ^a apporte a boyre et du ulti ^a venes regretes. p. 8 <u>13769</u> . In. vien tost de piteux.	[c. 1528] ⁸ ; H 1529, 3
Abc B	Vien tost de piteux. Vien tost de piteux desconfort. 13769.	
95. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 30. a. 4. parties p ^a . est amour amour tu es et ulti ^a . est vray dieu damours. p. 8 <u>13768</u> . In. du grant solas.	[c. 1528] ⁴ ; H 1529, 4
Abc B, col. 512	Du grant solas. 13768.	
96. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 42. a troys parties p ^a . amy souffres ulti ^a . est vive la margarite. p. 1529. 8 13775. In. tout aloysir.	15294; H 1529, 6
Supp	Tout aloisir. 13775.	
97. Supp, Musica	Moteti. 11. p ^a . giru <i>m</i> celi ulti ^a . ave maria cu <i>m</i> 2. aliis en canon ulti ^a . ista est spetiosa. p. 8 <u>13753</u> .	[1528]²; H 1529, 7
98. Supp, Musica	Moteti nº. 12. a. 4. et a. 5. p* est angelus d <i>omi</i> ni et ulti* salve barbara digniss. p. 1529. 8 <u>13743</u> .	1529 ¹ ; H 1529, 8
99. Supp, Musica	Liut musica. 39. operum. p ^m . est a toy me redez et ulti ^m . una bergerote. p. 1529. 8 13754. In. con un prelude.	B 1529; H 1529, 9
Abc B, col. 332	Con un prelude 13754.	
00. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 31. a 4. parties p ⁿ . au joli boys et ulti ⁿ . vire vire Jan p. 1529. 8 <u>13749</u> . In. mon povre cueur.	1529²; H 1529, 10
Supp	Mon povre cueur 13749.	

1530^s n. st.; H 1530, 1

	13771. In. nature avoit fait.		
102. Supp, Musica	Liut musica de. 18. basses dansses p ^a . la magdalena ulti ^a vert durant cum aliis. p. 1529. 8 <u>13744</u> .	1530 ⁷ ; H 1530, 2; B 1530;	
103. Supp, Musica	Gallardes n ⁰ . 6. et pavannes et. 13. chansons a. 4. p ^a . a la venture lentrepris ulti ^a . bion vialle. p. 1529. 8 <u>13773</u> . (The discrepancy between Ferdinand's date and that given by Brown and Heartz is due to the practice of dating the new year from Easter.)	[c. 1528]*; B 1530 ₄ ; H 1530, 3	
104. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 29. a 4. parties p ^a . autant ailleurs ulti ^a . vous scaves bien. p. 1530. 8 <u>13751</u> . In. ma povre bourse	1530*; H 1530, 4	741100
105. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 244	Chansons. 36. a. 4. ps. chantons sonons ultis. est hau le boys p. 1530. 8a 12002.	15304; H 1530, 5	SRUL
Abc B, col. 279 and Supp	Chantons sonons trompetes tamburins phiferes. 12001 [sic]	S. P.	
105a. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 36. a. 4. parties p ^a . au fons denfer et ulti ^a . vray dieu las. p. 1530. 8 <u>13746</u> . In. chantons sonons trompetes.	15304; H 1530, 5	שמוור
Abc B, col. 245 Supp	36 chansons a quatre. p ^a . chantons sonons ult ^a . hau le boys. [Number not legible] Chantons sonons trompetes. <u>13746</u> .	-	
106. Supp, Musica	Basses dances n^0 . 9 et deux branles. 25. pavannes. 25 [sic] gaillardes. a. 4. in contrapunto de canto dorgano. p. 1530. <u>13755</u> . 8	B 1530a; H 1530, 6	71017

Chansons. 38. a. 4. parties pa amy souffre puys et ultia. vostre bon bruys. p. 1529. 8

Intabulatura dorgues de. 19. chansons pa. est amour partes ultia. ung gran plaisir. p. 107. Supp, Musica

ultia. ung iour robin. p. 1530. 8 13741.

101. Supp, Musica

1531⁶ n. st.; B 1531₁; H 1531, 1 1530. 8 13742. 15317 n. st.; B 15312; 108. Supp, Musica Intabulature dorgues de. 25. chansons musicales pa aller mi fault sur la verdure et

H 1531, 2

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification	76
	D. Attaignant		
109. Supp, Musica Supp	Intabulatura dorgues de. 26. chansons p ^a . amour val trop ulti ^a . veu le grief mal. p. 1530. 8 13761. In mon cueur gist. Mon cueur gist tousiours	1531* n. st.; B 1531*; H 1531, 3	JOURNAL
110. Abc B	Tabulature dorgues sur le plainchant de cunctipotens et kyrie fons avec leurs et in terra patrem sanctus et agnus. 13732. p. 8	B 1531 ₆ ; H 1531, 4	L OF THE
111. Abc B	Magnificat sur les huit tons avec te deum laudamus et deux preludes en la tabulature des orgues. p. 1530. 8 13695.	1530 ⁸ ; B 1531 ₆ ; H 1531, 5	E AMERICAN
112. Abc B	Tabulature dorgues de. 13. motetz avec ung prelude. p ^a . est aspice d <i>omi</i> ne et ulti ^a sicut lilium. 13733. p. 1531. 8	1531 ⁵ ; B 1531 ₇ ; H 1531, 6	
113. Supp, Musica	Gallardes nº. 14. et. 9. pavanes. 7. branles et. 2. basses tabulature per orgues sine titulis. p. 8 <u>13759</u> .	B 1531,; H 1531, 7	MUSICOLOGICAL
114. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 33. a. 4. parties p ^a . ayes pitie et ulti ^a . ung allent ni o sie non [= Veuillant ou non?] p. 8 13764.	1532 ¹³ n. st.; H 1532, 1	OGICAL
115. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 28. a. 4. parties p ⁿ . est a bien gran deul et ulti ⁿ . ung peu plus hault. p. 1531. 8 <u>13760</u> . In. nous estions troys	1531 ¹ n. st.; H 1532, 2	SOCIETY
116. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 24. a. 4. parties. p ^a . ayes pitie du grant et ulti ^a ung vieillart amouroux p. 1533. 8 13767. In. il me suffit du temps passe.	H 1533, 1	¥
Supp, col. 826	Il me suffit du temps passe. <u>13767</u> .	1	
117. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 30. a. 4. parties pa. est aultre que vous et ultia. veu le grief mal. et. per a. b.	Eitner, Sammelwerke,	

	notantur qui sunt per fistula. p. 1533. 8 13740. In per chel viso.	1533a: formerly Wernigerode, now lost. H 1533, 2	
Abc B	Per chel viso. <u>13740</u> .		
118. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 27. a. 4. parties p ^a . amour me poing et ulti ^a . ung petit coup. p. 1533. 8 <u>13747</u> . In. de vous servir.	1533 ¹ ; H 1533, 3	ĮŢ
119. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 30. p ^a . est amour a tort et ulti ^a . vostre amytie. p. 1533. 8 <u>13776</u> . In. just et amer.	153418 n. st.; H 1534, 1	PRINTED COLLECTIONS
120. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 28. ps. a vous command je suis prest et ultis. ung compaignon gallin. p. 1533. 8 13756. In. les introits taverne.	1534 ¹¹ n. st.; H 1534, 2	CTT100
Abc B, col. 1004 and Supp	Les introytes de taverne. <u>13756</u> .		CTIONS
121. Supp, Musica	Missarum musicalium. 4. vocum li. p ^s . p ^s . est le cueur est mien et ulti ^s . content desir. p. 1534. 4 13737.	1534 ¹ ; H 1534, 5	OF
122. Supp, Musica	Missarum musicalium a. 4. li. 2°. p°. est tota pulchra ulti°. iam non dicam vos servos. p. 1534. 4 13735.	1534³; H 1534, 8	LYPHON
123. Supp, Musica	Magnificat li ⁰ . 6 ⁰ . 13. quinque ultimorum tonorum p ⁿ . primi [sic: quarti] toni Jo. mouton. ulti ⁿ . primi toni Jo. de villon. p. 1534. 4 13736.	15348; H 1534, 10	POLYPHONIC MUSIC
124. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 31. a. 4. parties p ^a . est amour passion increable et ulti ^a . voulant amour. p. 1534. 8 13739. In. o doulce amour.	1534 ¹⁴ ; H 1534, 11	SIC
Abc B	O doulce amour. 13739.		
125. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 28. a. 4. parties pa. est aultre que vous et ultia. troys filletes. p. 1534. 8 13763. In. il est bel et bon.	1534 ¹² ; H 1534, 12	
Supp, col. 826	Il est bel et bon aut est. <u>3763</u> vel <u>13763</u> .		77

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification	78
	D. Attaignant		
126. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 26. a. 4. parties p ^a . est aultre que vous ne voy et ulti ^a . tu pers ton temps. p. 1534 8 13738. In. fiez vous i si vous voules.	1535* n. st.; H 1535, 3	JOURNAL OF
127. Supp, Musica Supp	Chansons. 31. a troys parties p ^a . amour te es par trop et ulti ^a . vivre ne puis. p. 1535. 8 <u>13750</u> . In. le berger et la bergere. Le bergier et la bergiere. <u>13750</u> .	Eitner, Sammelwerke, 1535b: formerly Wernigerode, now lost; H 1535, 6	THE
128. Supp, Musica Supp, col. 44	Duo nº. 15. pª. ayes pitie du gran mal. ultiª. vivre ne puis. p. 1535. 8 13745. In. ung gran plaisir cupide me dona. Ung gran plaisir cupido me dona. 13745.	Eitner, Sammelwerke, 1535b: apparently was not after all at Wer- nigerode, since Eitner provides contents only for the three-voice pieces; H 1535, 6	AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY
	E. Lyons: Moderne and others		AL SOC
129. Supp, Musica Also Abc B, col. 354 Supp, Musica	Missarum solemnium totius anni contrapunctus seu musica figurata super plano cantu. 9339. l. 1528. 2Rb "Contrapunctus" Missarum solemnium contrapunctus seu figurata musica. 13451. l. 1528. (The correct number is clearly 9339. No. 13451 belongs to the Missarum decem, our No. 130 and next in the list.)	15281	HTY

Also Abc B, col 244 Supp	Isopo et mundabor lavabis me. ij. et. super. 9339. (These words were copied from the first page of music, complete with the ditto mark "ij.")		
130. Supp, Musica	Misse. 10. pa. p. mombi de s. stephano. 10a. F. de layole de salutaris hostia cum tribus motetis. 13451. l. 1531. 2	[1532]*	
131. Supp, Musica	Moteti del fior in 4° volumine. li. p. habet 32. el p. est o regem celi et ulti. o admirabile commercium. l. 1532. 4 13734.	153210	PRINT!
132. Abc B, col. 651 Abc B	Francisci de layole motetti nº. 12. <u>5582</u> . l. 8 O clara virgo xpi [christi] gloriosa. <u>5582</u> .	(= British Museum "Tenor"? Catalogue, II, 158.)	PRINTED COLLECTIONS
133. Abc B, col. 651 Abc B	"Francisci de layole": motetti nº. 12. 5. vocum l. 8 <u>5583</u> . Suscipe verbum virgo maria quod tibi. <u>5583</u> .		TIONS OF
134. Abc B, col. 651 Abc B, col. 68 Abc B, col. 70	"Francisci de layole": motetti nº. 12. trium vocum. 7622. l. 8 Alexander episcopus servus servorum dei ad futura. 7622. "Alexandri sexti": Intimatio futuri jubilei a cantes cum suspensione Aliarum indulgentiarum. 7622. 8 (This work survives in the library. According to the modern catalogue [I, 45], the correct number is 7621, and the book was bought in Perugia on September 4, 1530. No. 7623 is a Sienese print [supra, no. 88]. It seems probable that nos. 7621-3 were all bought in Perugia in 1530.)	Not extant	F POLYPHONIC MUSIC
135. Abc B, col. 651	"Francisci de layole": motetti cum. 5. vocibus nº. 12. in 4ºr partibus et pª est ego in foelix et ulti². est ave verum. 9208. 1. 8	Not extant	ic
Abc B, col. 531	Ego in felix in felix peccator quia quia peccavi in mis 9208.	•	
136. Abc B, col. 651	"Francisci de layole": motetti ex vocibus paribus. 12. rerum p ^a . est ave maria et ulti ^a . virgo maria. <u>9209</u> . 1. 8	Not extant	
Abc B, col. 170	Ave maria ave maria ave maria. <u>9209</u> .	;	79

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification	80
	E. Lyons: Moderne and Others		
137. Abc B, col. 652 Abc B, col. 272	"Francisci de layole": motetti novi. liº. pº. nº. 12. ultimus est memor esto. 9251. l. 8 Celorum candor splenduit novum sydus emienit in cantu. 9251.	Not extant	Jour
138. Abc B, col. 945 Abc B, col. 286	"Jo. mouton": missa de cantes cantilenam et luculi cantum. 9198. l. 8 "Chirie"	Not extant	JOURNAL OF
139. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 243	Canson novelle françoise nº. 11 a trois e a 4 e a 5 9199. 1. 8	Not extant	THE
Abc B, col. 986	Las ie me playns mauldite son fortune quant pour. 9199. 5168. in cantu.		AM
140. Supp, Musica	Chanson francoyse a troys e. 4. e. 5. voses. In. las ie me plains. l. 8 et est regis francie. 13748. (This print appears to be identical to the one above [no. 139]. The copy numbered 9199 was probably bought in Turin in 1531, the other in Lyons in October, 1535.)	Not extant	AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY
141. Abc B, col. 652 Abc B, col. 502	"Francisci de layole": septem psalmi penitentiales in cantu. 5091. 8 Domine ne in furore tuo 5091.	Not extant	MUSICO
142. Supp, Musica	Chansons de la coronne libre premier et sunt. 23. pa. Je veulx laysser et ultia. sus lherbe brunete et est layole. 8 13757.	Not extant	LOGICA
143. Supp, Musica	Canciones con plures vocum duarum in 2. volumine et pa. est. qui tollis peccata richafort ultia. est pleni sunt layole. 13758. 4	Not extant	T SOCI
144. Supp, Musica	Missarum trium liber. p. conditor alme syderum de layole 2º quam pulchra es de pieton 3º. Jamais amoreux bien de Jo. hedin. 13770. 8	Not extant	ETY
145. Abc B, col. 311	Clementis Genichin Sperantis modulatio in dimidio folio. 9210. 2	Not extant	
146. Supp, Musica	Psalmi penitentiales per loiset pieton. 13762. 8	Not extant	

147. Supp, Musica	Fleur des chansons a. 4. parties nº. 23. pº. cest une dure de partie et ulti. vivra tous jours en soucy. 8 13765.	Not extant	
148. Supp, Musica	Psalmi penitentiales cum. 5. vocibus. p. in te domine speravi ultimus nunc dimittis et ego is felix et peccavimus contra a. 4. partes. 4 13766.	Not extant	
149. Supp, Musica	Memor esto sex vocum discantus p. et discantus secundus in 4. dimidiis folliis. 13772. 8	Not extant	P
150. Supp, Musica	Chansons. 13. ultia. est pis ne me peul venir que lay. 13953.	Not extant	PRINTED
	F. Other French Prints		
151. Abc B, col. 264	Carpentras lamentationes hieremie in cantu de organo 1532. 2R 14030.	See MGG, Vol. II, cols. 867-870, "Carpentras."	COLLECTIONS
Abc B	Se mieulx ne vient carpentras Kyrie <u>14030</u> . (Should be <u>14031</u> .)	pentras.	£0
152. Abc B, col. 264	"Carpentras": Missarum. 5. liber. p ^a . p ^a . se mieux ne vient. 5 ^a . encore je jouer. av. 1532. 2R 14031.	See MGG, loc. cit.	РОГАЪН
153. Abc B, col. 264	"Carpentras": Magnificat omnium tonorum in cantu. 2R 14032.	See MGG, loc. cit.	ONIC
154. Abc B, col. 264	"Carpentras": Hymnorum liber n ⁰ . 42. p ^s . in adventum conditor alme syderum in dedicatione urbs beata hierusalem 2R <u>14033</u> .	See MGG, loc. cit.	POLYPHONIC MUSIC
155. Abc B, col. 986 Abc B, col. 272	No title. <u>5168</u> . Las ie my playns mauldite son fortune quant pour. <u>9199</u> . <u>5168</u> . in cantu. Celluy qui veulx bien et sainement juger de aucune. <u>5168</u> .		
156. Supp, col. 374	"Christi arbor genealogie": Nativitatis fleur des noelz in versu gallico et cantu de organo. 6897.	Not extant	18

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification
	F. Other French Prints	
Abc B, col. 336	Conditor alme syderum eterna lux credentium christe. <u>1408</u> . <u>6897</u> . <u>13393</u> . <u>14293</u> . <u>14292</u> .	
157. Supp Abc B	Chanson in language provensal cum cantu dorgano. 13523. 8 Maudit sia tant de 13523.	Not extant
	G. Miscellaneous Music Books	
Abc B Abc B Abc A	Melopoie sive harmonie tetracentice super. 22. genera Carminum per petrum tritonium et alios composite. In principio Carmen quod dicitur crater bacchij. I. carminum dulces. Item aliud. Conradi celtis. I. conspicite. Item aliud. I. Carmina Concordi. Item ta. de genibus Carminum Item benedicti schelidonij carmen. I. quamvis ad nigros. Item alia carmina. I. hic tibi Bacha Item est apollo in memoribus figuratus cum lyra in monte parnasso cum musis et aliis inscultantibus. Cantus Continet 6. fo. litteras I. Mecenas primum et d. floreat in studiis. Item in fine sunt. 4. genera Carminum. Item epigrama quod. I. Inter germanos. Item en effigiis. 9. Musarum et Phoebi in depicta. Item aliud Carmen theodorici ulsenij. I. orphea cum scylius [?]. Imp. anno 1507 auguste. Comprose en nerumberg por diziembre de 1521. Petrus tritonius super 22 genera carminum. 79 1144 665 au. 1507. 2 Mecenas primum genus carminum. 79. Petrus tritonius molopopie [sic] 22 genera carminum in musica cantus 3233.	
159. Supp, Musica	Tudesco cancionero de. 49. canciones ulti. nisi tu domine. 11261. 8a	1512¹
160. Reg B, 426	Harmoniarum tabuli authore arnoldo schlitz. Jo. marquardi epigrama. I. Multa Item authoris in harmoniarum tabulas proscriptio. I. Cum ex philosophorum insculta-	15129

Abc B, col. 149 Abc B Also Abc A	tionibus litteras operis. I. salve Regina. d. mit dreien. Item habet suas notulas et quasdam partes litteras. sub notulis hec in opere Continentur. primo in organum polyphthongum aliquot intentiones utriusque Cantus. secundo in barbiton Cuius duo discrimina vocum fidicinibus carpantur una interdando voce dicitur. Tertio in tres Cantilenas trium vocum discrimina fidicinibus pulsando. Imp. moguntie in vigilia sancti mathei anno. 1512. Costo en nerumberga. 8. craicer. por diziembre de. 1521. Arnoldi schlich armoniarum tabule 426 1359 949 Mag. 1512. 4 Tabule harmoniarum arnoldi sclich [sic] 426. "arnoldi" (number 220)		PRINT
161. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 244 Abc B	Tudesco cancionero nº. 60 [recte 68]. pa. auff diser orde, ultia. zu trost ar volt. 10981. 8 Mitt Gott so Wolln wers heben an, es de canto, 10981.	[c. 1513]³	ETTOO GE
162. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 244	Tudesco cancionero que tiene dos lineas en cada plana en. 4. partes de. 36. canciones la ultia zucht er und lob. 11440. mag. dia de s. luzia.	[c. 1515]*	CTIONS O
163. Reg B, 1781 Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 244	Libellus musices seu de Canto dorgano cum vocibus. 4. impressis de per se in. 4. partibus. habens. 75. cantiones et etiam nonnullas ad fistulam. est in lingua germanica cuius titulus Latine sonat. in isto libello Reperiuntur. 75. pulchre Cantiones et in fine unius-cuiusque partis est sua tabula alphabetica. est Imp. colonie per arnoldum de aquisgrano. est in 8°. costaron todas. 4. partes en nurumberga. 20. craycer por diziembre de. 1521. Et in volumine tenoris sunt omnes Cantiones scripte ad longum quod in aliis vocibus non est nisi principium. Tudesco cancionero n°. 75. in 4. partes C. 4a 1781. 3695	[1519]6	PRINTED COLLECTIONS OF POLYPHONIC MUSIC
164. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 244	Cantionum selectarum liber quas mutetas appellant. I. sex vocum. 8. et 5. vocum. 8. et 4° vocum 8. 6062. au. 1520. 2R	15204	
165. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 244	Tudesco cancionero a. 5. en. 5. partes con prohemio de luther. 11243. W. 1525. 4	See Eitner, Quel- len-Lexikon X, 168.	83

Location of Entry	Transcription of Entry	Identification
	G. Miscellaneous Music Books	
Abc B	Nun biten wir den heiligen geist y es canto dorgano 11243.	
166. Supp, Musica; Abc B, col. 245	Chansons 20 a. 4. parties en frances ultima est gi fit die. 11244. ar. 1530. 8	See Eitner, Quellen- Lexikon IX, 59; Fétis, VII, 499.
167. Abc B, col. 306 Abc B, col. 955	Cythare germanice tabulature. 28. operum. p. est consumo et ulti*. est aleluya. au. 1532. 8 14918. Jo. Schlumberger cythare germanice tabulature au. 1525. 14918. 8	Not extant
168. Supp, Musica	Lamentatio ad. marti. lut. 12634. 2R	Not extant
169. Abc B Abc B, col. 170	Sebastianus brante: Ave praeclara versum germanice in cantu. 12636. Ave durch leuchte stern des meres on feuchte 12636.	Not extant
170. Abc B	Tabulatures per manichordion lut et flutes in gallico. 11937. an. 1529. 4	Not extant
171. Supp, Musica	Chansons, 41. ps. longtemps ia et ultis. Reveilles vous tous chantres. 13567. 8 gen.	Not extant
172. Supp, Musica	Canciones y villancicos. nº. 32. en español. <u>15108</u> . mad. 1534. 4b p*. est pesta fue [?] et ulti*. gentil cavallero.	Not extant

Addendum. No. 170 is probably identical with B 1529₂. The unique exemplar, still in the Colombina, bears the notation on sig. K4*: "Este libro costo 12 negmit en bruselas a 26 de agosto de 1531 y el ducado de oro vale 320 negmit."