

## CHAPTER 7

# The Segovia Manuscript: Another Look at the ‘Flemish Hypothesis’

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Although the various types of paper used in the Segovia choirbook have not been securely dated, it is clear from the common related watermark they share that the manuscript must have been compiled in Spain. In the late fifteenth century that watermark – a raised hand surmounted by a five-petalled flower – was almost as common in Spanish paper manuscripts and prints as it was rare in northern European sources.<sup>1</sup> Yet here is the odd and well-known paradox about the Segovia choirbook: while the manuscript is unquestionably of Spanish origin, and while it contains two gatherings devoted, respectively, to Castilian songs and music by Juan de Anchieta, in almost every other respect it looks like a regional western Flemish source.

Much of Segovia’s repertory can only have originated in Flanders, or at least in the Southern Netherlands, and is not otherwise known to have enjoyed international transmission. The manuscript offers unique glimpses, for example, into the compositional activities of Jacob Obrecht in Bruges during the late 1480s – including his autobiographical motets *Mille quingentis* and *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, not to mention his numerous songs on Flemish texts. Another superlative Flemish composer for whom the Segovia choirbook is a uniquely important source is Matthaëus Pipelare. It transmits, amongst others, that breathtaking masterpiece by Pipelare that must sadly languish under the generic title *Missa Sine nomine* (fols. 54<sup>v</sup>–63<sup>r</sup>), as well as the only known copy of his middle Dutch song *Morkin ic hebbe ter scolen*

<sup>1</sup> For the preponderance of this watermark among paper types in Spanish incunabula, see the collection published on the website *Watermarks in Incunabula printed in España* (WIES), <http://www.bernstein.oeaw.ac.at/databases/wies>, accessed 25 July 2019, which contains nearly 600 samples of hand watermarks for the period 1474–1500 alone. Compare this with the handful of samples documented in *Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries* (WILC), <http://watermark.kb.nl>, accessed 25 July 2019. For the most recent findings concerning the watermarks of the Segovia manuscript, see the contribution by Emilio Ros-Fábregas to this volume (Ch. 2).

*gheleghen*. While we do not know anything about Pipelare's life except for the two years he spent in 's-Hertogenbosch (1498–1500), the surname Pipelart (or Pippelart) was very common in French Flanders, especially in Lille and St-Omer – two places that are known to have had regular musical exchanges with Bruges. It would be easy to give more examples. There are, for example, the *unica* by the composer identified by the Segovia scribe as Roelkin ('Little Roland'), perhaps the Bruges organist Roeland Wreede, who died in 1482. Or the otherwise unknown composer Petrus Elinc – his last name is a contraction of the common Bruges family name Edelinc. Or the only known ascription in any source to Johannes and Carolus Fernandes, two blind brothers who were Bruges natives. With this and much else, the Segovia manuscript appears to open a direct window onto regional Flemish musical activity during the 1480s and 1490s, in a way no other surviving musical source does.

It is only natural to assume, then, that even though the Segovia scribe was active in Spain, he must have been either a Fleming or at least very well connected with Flemish musical circles. It is the aim of this contribution to examine that assumption by taking a closer look at the scribe's working habits, especially the way he sought to organize his repertory, and the orthography of his Flemish texts. It has long been known that the Segovia scribe wrote almost flawless Flemish, though in principle this could still mean that he was a Spaniard who happened to be exceptionally punctilious about copying texts in languages other than his own. What we need is evidence that can settle this question more definitively, and in what follows I hope to demonstrate that the Segovia manuscript contains such evidence – enough to make the scribe's nationality a matter of virtual certainty.

Let us begin by considering the manuscript as a whole. Table 7.1 shows the basic layout of the Segovia codex. There are altogether twenty-nine gatherings, numbered here in Roman numerals, corresponding to the numerals entered by the scribe himself on the first pages of the individual gatherings. A separate numbering system for gatherings is rare, so far as I know, and it is worth asking why the scribe would have introduced it.

Obviously, there would have been a point to numbering the gatherings only up to the time at which they were to be bound together. Loose gatherings that are lying around on a desk or a shelf, say, or that are kept in a portfolio from which individual items can be taken out and later returned, have to be clearly identifiable if they are not to end up in the wrong order. After binding, on the other hand, gathering numbers could have served no conceivable purpose. Even if one were to go to the trouble of locating the first page of some gathering, which would take rather more patient searching now, that page would only give the number that was to be expected anyway – unless

Table 7.1. Manuscript structure of Segovia s.s.

Gatherings	Folios	Sheets	Initials	Repertory	Parts
I	[1]–8	4	✓ <sup>a</sup>	Polyphonic mass cycles by Isaac, Obrecht, Josquin, and Pipelare	4
II	9–16	4	✓		
III	17–24	4	✓		
IV	25–32	4	✓		
V	33–40	4	✓		
VI	41–6	3	✓		
VII	47–54	4	✓		
VIII	55–64	5	×		
IX	65–70	3	×	Miscellany of liturgical settings and motets	
X	71–8	4	×		
XI	79–86	4	×		
XII	87–94	4	×		
XIII	95–102	4	✓ <sup>b</sup>	Anchieta	
XIV	103–10	4	×	Dutch, French, and Italian songs	
XV	111–18	4	×		
XVI	119–26	4	×		
XVII	127–34	4	✓ <sup>c</sup>		
XVIII	135–42	4	×	Mass cycle and miscellaneous liturgical settings	3
XIX	143–50	4	×		
XX	151–8	4	×		
XXI	159–66	4	×	Dutch, French, and Italian songs	
XXII	167–74	4	×	Miscellaneous liturgical settings	
XXIII	175–82	4	×	Dutch, French, and Italian songs	
XXIV	183–90	4	×		
XXV	191–8	4	×		
XXVI	199–206	4	×		
XXVII	207–14	4	×	Castilian songs	3–4
XXVIII	215–22	4	×		
XXIX	223–8	3	×		

<sup>a</sup> Up to fol. 52.<sup>b</sup> Only the first two openings of gathering XIII.<sup>c</sup> Decorated initials on last page of gathering XVII (Obrecht, *Meiskin es u cutkin ru*).

perhaps the gatherings had been bound out of order. But of course that is precisely the point: evidently the scribe was worried that unless he numbered them, the gatherings might be mixed up, either by himself or by the binder – and numbering them was the easiest way to help verify the correct order before binding. It follows that the scribe must have been quite particular about the order of the gatherings, and this in turn suggests that he observed an organizational principle of some kind.

The two columns on the far right of the table show what this principle might have been. It is clear, first of all, that the scribe planned the main body of the manuscript in four major sections: one for music in four (or sometimes five) parts, one for music in three parts, a single gathering with music in two parts, and then the Castilian songs. Although I cannot prove it, I believe that this arrangement must reflect the planning of the Segovia scribe himself, not that of the exemplars from which he copied the music. In the original sources (assuming he worked from more than one) the repertory was probably mixed up, four-part pieces alternating with three- and two-part pieces, and Flemish songs alternating with Spanish, French, and occasionally Italian songs.

If that was the case, then our scribe, while he was in the process of copying from the various originals, would have needed to decide for each piece which of the four sections it needed to go into – four-part, three-part, two-part, or Castilian. This is the sort of process in which it would have been easy to make mistakes, and perhaps that might explain some of the misattributions that have cast doubt on the Segovia scribe's reliability in the past. An interesting case is the middle Dutch song *Mijns liefkins bruyn oghen*, on fol. 177<sup>v</sup>. At first the scribe attributed it to Agricola, but later on he crossed out that name and attributed the song to Pipelare instead. How could he have made such an error, and, having made it, how did he catch it? I assume that in the source from which he was copying, the three-part Pipelare song was on a page facing a two- or four-part song by Agricola, that the scribe looked at the wrong piece when he copied the composer's name, and discovered the error only after he had finished the song. This is not the place to reopen the vexed *Fortuna desperata* question – the celebrated song whose unique attribution to Busnoys is found only in the Segovia manuscript – yet it is worth asking if the scribe might have made this kind of error elsewhere without catching it.<sup>2</sup> We all know from the experience of compiling tables for our handouts how easy it is to get the wrong

<sup>2</sup> On the attribution, see Joshua Rifkin, 'Busnoys and Italy: The Evidence of Two Songs', in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 505–71 at 519–71. See also Honey Meconi, 'The Segovia Manuscript as Chansonnier', Ch. 6 in this volume.

name with the wrong piece, and how the error may completely escape us unless somebody points it out.

The repertorial arrangement of the Segovia manuscript is methodical not only on the level of the major sections, but also on a more detailed level. Within the first two sections there is a further division between (1) cyclic masses, (2) motets and miscellaneous liturgical pieces, and (3) secular pieces. The three- and four-part sections follow broadly the same organization in this regard, so once again it makes sense to assume that the scribe had been working on them concurrently.

It is quite possible that our scribe was copying not from two, but from three or perhaps even four sources – say, a mass choirbook with a motet section, and a chansonnier, or some other collection. Or perhaps he was conflating and rearranging a Flemish source and one from Spain. Whatever the case, he ended up creating a mixture of sacred and secular that is quite uncommon for later fifteenth-century music manuscripts. It is this mixture that led Heinrich Bessler to view Segovia as a late example of what he dubbed the *gemischte Quarthandschrift*.<sup>3</sup> This was the type of quarto-size manuscript, like the Trent Codices or the Aosta Codex, in which we find masses, motets, and songs side by side, and which was supplanted, by the middle of the fifteenth century, by two distinct types: the choirbook in folio and the chansonnier in octavo. The Segovia manuscript was the apparent exception to the rule, yet for Bessler it was easily explained away as the sort of thing one might expect in some outpost in Spain, which was after all a peripheral *Randgebiet*.

Yet I do not think that Segovia can be usefully described as a *gemischte Quarthandschrift*. Apart from anything else, it is not actually in quarto (that is, folio folded twice, with the watermark typically positioned along the fold), but in the smaller of two standard folio sizes that were current in the fifteenth century (about 30 × 45 and 40 × 60 cm for the sheets, and 30 × 22.5 and 40 × 30 cm for the single pages). Genuine choirbooks, like Brussels 5557, were usually made of the larger of the two sizes, what is called *grand-in-folio* in French. This type of paper was not typically produced for use by private individuals, but for

<sup>3</sup> 'Das Typus der "gemischten Quarthandschrift" ist in den Randgebieten auch nach 1430 durch mehrere wichtige Denkmale vertreten ... Wie lange man den Typus kannte, zeigt in Spanien die Quarthandschrift Segovia (29,1 × 21,5 cm), die um die Jahrhundertwende nochmals ein gewaltiges Repertoire von Messen, Motetten und kleineren liturgischen Werken, Liedern und Liedbearbeitungen aller Art zusammenfaßt'. Heinrich Bessler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon: Studien zum Ursprung der niederländischen Musik*, 2nd edn., ed. Peter Gülke (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1974), 128.

formal presentation and display manuscripts. We find it used most often for the financial accounts of major institutions, as the next-best thing to parchment, and for that very reason it is not especially common. The smaller folio size, on the other hand, was widespread indeed, and could be used for almost any kind of purpose – whether chapter acts, minor accounts, prints, or indeed any book somebody might want to copy for their own personal use. It is the latter category that Segovia belongs to: big enough to allow the copying of masses and motets, but no bigger than was necessary or convenient. I strongly suspect that the Segovia scribe copied the manuscript for his own private use.

There are indications that seem to support this. While the main scribe's hand is far from illegible, it certainly is not formal, nor is it easily read from more than a few feet away. I suspect it would have been quite hard to sing from it in a dimly lit chapel. A man of his experience would have been perfectly able to produce a neatly written copy for use in a polyphonic establishment, at least if he were paid for his labor, or if he intended to offer the manuscript as a gift. The fact that he chose not to do so means, in all probability, that he did not expect this copy to be used outside a small personal circle.

The overall organization of the manuscript may point to the same conclusion. The basic classification in works for four, three, and two voices, overriding even questions of genre or function, suggests a musician who could not always be sure how many companions there would be around to sing with. If there were only two singers to join in music-making, then all he needed to do was browse through the three-part section and he was sure to find something suitable. Needless to say, this is not the sort of issue that would have quickly arisen in a household chapel or cathedral choir.

On the other hand, the compiler of the Segovia manuscript was clearly a music collector as well as a practical musician – somebody for whom the repertory as a whole was more than the sum of its parts. The presentation of that repertory demanded a certain degree of care that went beyond the immediate needs of everyday music-making. For the book he copied presents a rare example of the kind of methodical repertorial organization that was ubiquitous in the great thirteenth-century books of organum associated with the Notre Dame school, and it contrasts markedly with the ad hoc copying typical of fifteenth-century scribes, usually resulting in musical sources resembling commonplace books. The repertory as a body had a certain significance to him, a significance that went beyond the merits of the settings individually.

The Segovia codex is the work of one musical scribe. Although Norma Klein Baker and others have argued that the final three gatherings, the section with the Castilian songs, is in a different hand, the *musical* notation there is

identical to that of the rest of the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> It is only the verbal texts that were written by a different scribe. Evidently the main scribe was not confident enough in his Spanish to copy those song texts himself, even though he still notated the music. I assume he asked a Spanish colleague or friend to copy the Castilian texts for him. This hypothetical scenario is confirmed by the apparent exception: there is one non-Spanish piece that ended up in the final section, the setting of *Pange lingua* by Johannes Wreede (fols. 126<sup>v</sup>–127<sup>r</sup>). The words of the hymn are in Latin, of course, so there was no need to get the Spanish scribe to copy them – and indeed, in this one piece in the final section the familiar textual hand of the main scribe returns.

It is helpful to know that the scribe was not too confident of his written Spanish. For while the paper types of the Segovia manuscript unambiguously confirm its origin on the Iberian peninsula, it is apparent that the scribe must have been a foreigner, perhaps a recent settler. Since he did write French, Italian, Latin, and Flemish texts himself, we may infer that he felt confident, or at least confident enough, of his knowledge of these latter languages. He was an educated musician, and quite possibly a well-traveled man. I will not venture to judge his command (or lack of it) of the first three languages, but it is worth offering some observations about his Flemish.

None of the Flemish songs in Segovia is texted much beyond the opening four or five words, but all the songs taken together do add up to a substantial amount of text. I have brought all of this text together in the Appendix, and have summarized the conclusions in Table 7.2.

As one might expect, the scribe's Flemish is not completely without fault, though there are actually only two errors that a Fleming would immediately have corrected if he had noticed them. These are the non-existent word *wans* or *waus* (for *was*), and the abbreviation *lenen* (to lend or borrow) for *leven* (to live). These are minor errors, however: both are found in one voice part only, with the correct spelling in the other voice parts. I am inclined to view them as the sorts of scribal errors likely to occur when one is copying in haste, and do not think they cast serious doubt on the scribe's proficiency in Flemish.

Nor do I attach much weight to the claim, apparently going back to Norma Klein Baker, that the main scribe's hand is typically Spanish. As far as I can see, there is nothing about the script that would be untypical for a Fleming – and I can honestly say that I have seen a very broad spectrum of fifteenth-century

<sup>4</sup> Norma Klein Baker, 'An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1978), 92–107.

Table 7.2. The middle Dutch orthography of the main scribe of Segovia s.s.:  
A summary of features bearing on the question of his origins and nationality<sup>a</sup>

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### Arguments in favor of Flemish origin

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1. The scribe shows fluency and confidence in writing typically Flemish ligatures, and letters connected in one movement, reflecting long experience:

	<i>drucke</i> (2)
	<i>Roelkin; moeselkin</i> (25)
	<i>meiskin</i> (1, 6, 17); <i>clocskins</i> (12); <i>liefskins</i> (28)
	<i>langhe</i> (2); <i>ghenoughen</i> (4); <i>haghel</i> (10); <i>jonghen</i> (11); <i>gheen ghelt</i> (15); <i>verlanghen</i> (24); <i>gheselle</i> (27); <i>oghen</i> (28); <i>ghedaen</i> (29)

(The ligature *ch* is not included here, since it was common in other languages as well.)

2. The scribe uses typically Flemish abbreviations, whose resolution would not have been apparent to non-Flemish speakers:

	<i>ende</i> (10, 19)
	<i>mijn</i> (15, 18, 22, 26, 27); <i>mijnder</i> (11, 24); <i>schijn</i> (23); <i>pijn</i> (24); <i>mijns</i> (28)
	<i>her</i> (11)
	<i>mijnder</i> (11, 24); <i>lijden</i> (18); <i>alder</i> (26)

3. With the exception of the errors noted below, all spelling variations are firmly within the range of what was usual in middle Flemish:

<i>cleen</i> / <i>cley</i> n / <i>cleeyn</i>	(6)
<i>bloxkin</i> / <i>blocskin</i>	(6)
<i>die</i> / <i>dij</i> / <i>di</i>	(7)
<i>vruechden</i> / <i>vruchden</i>	(13)
<i>scoene</i> / <i>schoone</i>	(16)

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### Arguments against Flemish origin

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1. Spelling error: *wans* or *waus* (neither of which was a word in Flemish) for *was* (1).  
2. Abbreviation error: *lenen* rather than *leuen* (2).
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<sup>a</sup> The numbering of the pieces follows that in the Appendix.



Flemish hands during nearly two decades years of archival research in the city archives of Ghent, Bruges, and other places.

The arguments in favor of Flemish origin, on the other hand, are overwhelming. Those arguments are not principally to do with questions of Flemish spelling and orthography. I do think it is important to emphasize that all spelling variants (with the exception of the two errors mentioned) are firmly within the range of what was typical in middle Flemish texts, as summarized in Table 7.2. But this is not a completely watertight argument for the scribe's Flemish origin. After all, even a scribe who was completely unfamiliar with the language could still decide to copy the texts letter by letter, and to proofread his transcription painstakingly – at least if he had a peculiarly humanistic reverence for textual integrity.

However, even if we allow that possibility, slim though it may be, there are two things that a non-Fleming would have found extremely difficult, if not downright impossible, to read and copy: abbreviations and ligatures.

To begin with ligatures – that is, combinations of letters written as one character – there are certain combinations of letters that occur so frequently in Flemish that native scribes wrote them in one movement without any further thought. For example, it was exceptional for the letter *g* not to be followed by *h*, and *h* in turn not to be followed by a vowel – just as exceptional as it would be in Romance languages to see the letter *q* without a *u* behind it, as in the words 'quarto' or 'quintessential'. So the combination *gh* was usually written in one fluent movement, almost as though it were a single, composite character. This would have been far from easy for any scribe not used to this: a scribe who copied the text character by character would not have joined together *g* and *h* in this way, nor would he necessarily have understood *gh* as a unit. A Fleming knows that *ghenoughen* or *haghel* are hyphenated *ghe-nou-ghen* and *ha-ghel*, but for a Spaniard it might as well have been *ghen-oug-hen* or *hag-hel*. Yet writing *gh* as a single typographical entity was clearly second nature to the Segovia scribe, as shown in the Appendix.

The same is true of the ligatures *ck*, *lk*, and *sk*, which the Segovia scribe habitually wrote in one continuous, fluent movement, as though they made up one character. This may sometimes make it difficult for non-Flemings to decipher them. (Remember how the name of the composer Roelkin, with the *lk* ligature in it, was read for a long time as 'Roellrin'.) Yet the Segovia scribe connected *ck*, *lk*, and *sk* without any further thought, and this, too, I think, is a compelling indication that he was Flemish.

Even more compelling is the evidence from abbreviations. When one is transcribing a text in an unfamiliar language – as would be true in my case of Provençal – one can get a long way just transcribing the text character by

character, but abbreviations are an obvious and insurmountable stumbling block. Their shape does not necessarily reveal anything about the particular combination of letters that is being abbreviated, nor is it easy to guess the correct reading if one's command of the language is less than perfect.

The abbreviations shown in Table 7.2 illustrate this. They are all very common middle Flemish abbreviations, though the symbols are found in other languages as well, where of course they have different meanings. Let us consider, for example, how they would have to be read in Latin. The first abbreviation, an encircled *en*, can be read as *enim* in Latin, but unless I knew the particular scribe really well, I would not actually be certain even of that. The second abbreviation, an encircled *mj*, was used by the Segovia scribe in his Latin texts: when preceded by *o* it can mean *omnium*. The third abbreviation, *h* with a line through the ascender, usually means *hoc* in Latin, but may also be an abbreviation for the first three letters in words like *habere* or *habitatio*. As for the last one, a *d* with downward tail to the right, I am not sure if it necessarily stands for any particular string of letters, and in Latin it would not surprise me to find it used for words beginning with *de-*, *dis-*, or *des-*, or indeed at the endings of many words.

In Flemish, on the other hand, these abbreviations are completely unambiguous: the first stands for the word *ende*, meaning 'and' – a word so frequent that the Flemish did not ever spell its four letters if they could help it. Yet there is no conceivable way that a non-Fleming could have guessed what the abbreviation *en* must stand for.

The second abbreviation stands for *mijn*, as in *mijn herte*, 'my heart', or *mijnder herten*, 'with my heart', once again a very common word in Flemish.

The third stands for *her*, as in 'her Jacob Obrecht', Sir Jacob Obrecht, the title of a priest. But here it is used in the combination *herten*, or heart – only a Fleming could have come up with that kind of non-etymological use. (It is a bit like using the abbreviation for *per* in Latin *sperare*.)

The fourth abbreviation, finally, can stand for the letters *dem*, *den*, or *der*, depending on the particular Flemish word that it is being used in. Unless one can guess which word is meant, however, or indeed what case it must be in, there is no way to tell which of the three readings is the one required.

What is the upshot of all this? When the scribe copied the Flemish songs, he took the specifically Flemish meanings of these abbreviations as totally self-evident, and paid no regard to the possibility that non-Flemings might ever have to read them. This confirms the impression that he copied the music for his own use and perhaps that of a few Flemish friends.

Speaking more generally, this is the impression I have always had about Segovia: going through the middle Dutch songs is like entering a cosy

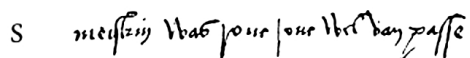
Flemish circle from which non-Flemish speakers are unavoidably barred – not just because they cannot read or understand the incipits, but because they do not know the lyrics that follow. This impression is confirmed by the scribe's apparent familiarity with Flemish and Burgundian composers personally, almost as if he had been on first-name terms with them: Roelkin, or 'little Roland', Adam, and, most telling of all, 'scoen Heyne' for Hayne van Ghizeghem, a nickname not found in any other known source. The word *scoen*, for fair, or beautiful, was typically used for women or youths, and in this case it may signify either that Hayne was somewhat youthful or effeminate in appearance, or else, if the epithet was used ironically, that he was heavily built and not especially good-looking. Then there is the unique attribution of the textless *Cecus non judicat de coloribus* to 'Ferdinandus et frater eius', meaning Johannes and Carolus Fernandes, who had been born and were resident in Bruges until moving to France in 1483–5, yet who had evidently faded to a dim memory twenty years later. Still, the scribe, or that of his exemplar, evidently remembered that they were brothers and were blind, and obviously recalled the name Ferdinandus, surely because it was exceedingly rare in medieval Flanders.

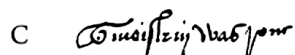
In sum, I would venture, first, that Segovia's main scribe had a good part of his career in the North behind him by the time he settled in the Spanish lands, and second, that when he copied the manuscript he had lived in this part of Europe long enough to have professional ties with Spanish musicians, yet not long enough to have mastered the language. It should not prove difficult to identify a musician who meets this particular description in Spanish archival sources from around 1500 – especially given Emilio Ros-Fábregas's new findings concerning the dates of the paper used in the Segovia manuscript – and if his life turns out to be well documented we might conceivably discover the answer to Segovia's greatest mystery: how and by what route the musical repertory traveled from Flanders to Castile, and how the manuscript managed to end up in the library of Segovia Cathedral.

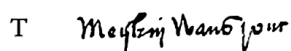
## Appendix: The Middle-Dutch Song Texts in Segovia s.s.

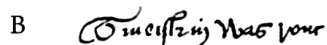
In many cases, the first letter of the incipit was meant to be written in the space set aside for ornamented initials, and is therefore not shown here.

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1. fol. 103<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Tmeiskin was jonc wel van passe*

S 

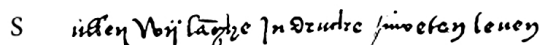
C 

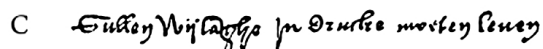
T 

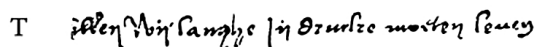
B 

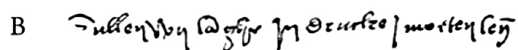
The ligature *sk* (in 'meiskin') is rare in languages other than middle Dutch; *wans* or *waus* for *was* (T) is an error.

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2. fol. 103<sup>v</sup>. Obrecht: *Sullen wij langhe in drucke moeten leuen*

S 

C 

T 

B 

Note the single movement for *gh* (*langhe*; C) and the ligature *ck* (*drucke*; CB); the abbreviation *len* with an overline for *leuen* (B) must be an error: the normal way to write it was *leu*.

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3. fol. 119<sup>v</sup>. Pipelare: *Morkin ic hebbe ter scolen ghelegghen*

S *ozziij ic hebbe ter scole ghelegghen*  
 C *Mozziij ic hebbe ter scole ghelegghen*  
 T *ozziij ic hebbe ter scole ghelegghen*  
 B *Mozziij ic hebbe ter scole ghelegghen*

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4. fols. 119<sup>v</sup>–120<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Laet v ghenoughen lieuer johan*

S *Laet v ghenoughen lieuer johan*  
 C *Laet v ghenoughen lieuer johan*  
 T *Laet v ghenoughen lieuer johan*  
 B *Laet v ghenoughen lieuer johan*

Note the single movement for gh in ghenoughen (T).

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5. fols. 120<sup>v</sup>–121<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Vvat willen wij metten budel spelen / ons ghelt es vut*

S *Vvat willen wij metten budel spelen*  
 C *Vvat willen wij metten budel spelen ons ghelt es vut*  
 T *Vvat willen wij metten budel spelen*  
 B *Vvat willen wij metten budel spelen*

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6. fols. 121<sup>v</sup>–122<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Tsat een cleen meiskin al up een bloxkin*

S *fat een cleen meiskin al up een bloxkin*  
 C *fat een cleyn meiskin al up een bloxkin*  
 T *fat een cleen meiskin al up een bloxkin*  
 B *fat een cleyn meiskin al up een bloxkin*

Note the ligature sk (in *meiskin*, but not *bloxkin*); the spelling variants *cleen* / *cleyn* / *cleyn* and *bloxkin* / *bloxkin* are common in Flemish texts of this period.

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7. fols. 122<sup>v</sup>–123<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Waer sij di han / Wie roupt ons daer*

S *Waer sij di han*  
 C *Waer zij di han*  
 T *Waer sij di han*  
 B *Wie roupt ons daer*

The spelling variants *die / dij / di* are normal for Flemish texts.

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8. fol. 123<sup>v</sup>. Obrecht: *Lacen adieu wel zoete partye*

S *Laceny adieu wel zoete partye*  
 C *Laceny adieu wel zoete partye*  
 T *Laceny adieu wel zoete partye*  
 B *Laceny adieu wel zoete partye*

The spelling *zoet* (for ‘sweet’) is more typical of Brabant than Flanders, where the normal spelling was *suet*.

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9. fol. 124<sup>r</sup>. Roelkin: *Zart reyne vrucht*

S *Zart Reyne vrucht*  
 C *Zart Reyne vrucht*  
 T *Zart Reyne vrucht*  
 B *Zart Reyne vrucht*

The word *zart* (for ‘soft’ or ‘tender’) is German, not Flemish; the first line of Roelkin’s other middle Dutch song (no. 19 below) also incorporates German words.

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10. fols. 124<sup>v</sup>–125<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Den haghel ende die calde snee*

- S *en haghel en die calde snee*  
 C *en haghel en die calde snee*  
 T *en haghel en die calde snee*  
 B *en haghel en die calde snee*

Note the single movement for *gh* in *haghel*, and the uniquely Flemish abbreviation for *ende* in all voices.

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11. fols. 126<sup>v</sup>–127<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Vveet ghij wat mijnder jonghen herten deert*

- S *Vveet ghij wat mijnder jonghen herten deert*  
 C *Vveet ghij wat mijnder herten deert*  
 T *Vveet ghij wat mijnder jonghen herten deert*  
 B *Vveet ghij wat mijnder jonghen herten deert*

Note the abbreviations for *mijn* en *der* (in *mijnder*) and *her-* (in *herten*) in **B**; in Flemish the latter is the standard abbreviation for the title *her* or *heer* ('sir') before the name of priests; *gh* in *jonghen* written in one movement (**B**).

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12. fols. 129<sup>v</sup>–130<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Ic hoerde de clocskins luden*

- S *r hoerde de clocskins luden*  
 C *r hoerde de clocskins luden*  
 T *r hoerde de clocskins luden*  
 B *r hoerde de clocskins luden*

Ligature *sk* (in *clocskins*) in **T** but not the other voice parts.

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13. fols. 130<sup>v</sup>–131<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Als al de weerelt in vruechden leeft*

- S *Is al de weerelt in vruechden leeft*  
 C *Is al de weerelt in vruechden leeft*  
 T *Is al de weerelt in vruechden vrucht*  
 B *Is al de weerelt in vruechden leeft*

*Al de weerelt* to be understood as Fr. *tout le monde*, i.e. everybody. Spelling variants *vruchden* / *vruechden* are common in Flemish texts from this period. Note the strange variant in T: *in vruchden vrucht*.

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14. fols. 131<sup>v</sup>–132<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Ic draghe de mutse clutse*

- S *ic draghe de mutse clutse*  
 C *ic draghe de mutse clutse*  
 T *ic draghe de mutse clutse*  
 B *ic draghe de mutse clutse*

'My cap's askew' means: I'm madly in love; cf. *Tghevecht van Minnen: Naar de Antwerpse postinkunabel van 1516*, ed. Robrecht Lievens (Leuven: Nauwelaerts, 1964), vv. 3, 6, 203, 845–84.

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15. fols. 132<sup>v</sup>–133<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *In hebbe gheen ghelt in mijn bewelt*

- S *in hebbe gheen ghelt in mijn bewelt*  
 C *in hebbe gheen ghelt in mijn bewelt*  
 T *in hebbe gheen ghelt in mijn bewelt*  
 B *in hebbe gheen ghelt in mijn bewelt*

*in* = *ic* + *en*. Note the abbreviation for *mijn*, and the single movement for *gh* in *gheen ghelt*.

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16. fols. 133<sup>v</sup>–134<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Ic weinsche alle scoene vrouwen eere*

- S *r Weinsche alle scoene vrouwen eere*  
 C *r Weinsche alle schoone vrouwen eere*  
 T *r Weinsche alle scoene vrouwen eere*  
 B *r Weinsche alle schoone vrouwen eere*

The variants *scoene* / *schoone* ('fair') are normal in Flemish texts of this period.

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17. fol. 134<sup>v</sup>. Obrecht: *Meiskin es v cutkin ru / Wat heb dier me te doene*

- S *Meiskin es v cutkin ru*  
 C *Meiskin es v cutkin ru*  
 T *Wat heb dier me te doene*  
 B *Meiskin es v cutkin ru*

Note the ligature *sk* (in *meiskin*); *dier* = *di* + *er*. The middle-Dutch adjective *ru* means hairy or hirsute. In the song, a man addresses a maiden and asks her in the coarsest language if she has hair on her private parts, and if she will let him touch it. In canon law the age of consent was defined by the growth of pubic hair, so the difference was not inconsequential. The maiden must be in her early teens, as the man cannot tell from her appearance whether she is of legal age or not.

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18. fol. 159<sup>r</sup>. Elinc: *Dat ic mijn lieden aldus helen moet*

- S *Dat ic mijn lieden aldus helen moet*  
 C -  
 T *Dat ic mijn lieden aldus helen moet*  
 B *Dat ic mijn lieden helen moet*

Note the abbreviations for *mijn* and for *-den* in *lijden* (S).

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19. fol. 159<sup>v</sup>. Agricola: *In minen zin*

S *n minen zin*  
 T *In minen zin*  
 B *n minen zin*

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20. fol. 161<sup>r</sup>. Roelkin: *Vrucht ende moet es gar da hin*

S *vrucht ey moet es gar da hin*  
 T *Vrucht ey moet es gar da hin*  
 B *Vrucht ey moet es gar da hin*

*Gar da hin* is German, not Flemish; it is exceptional for the letter *g* not to be followed by *h* in middle Flemish; *es* for *es* (S) is highly uncommon in Flemish; note the abbreviation for *ende*.

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21. fols. 161<sup>v</sup>–162<sup>r</sup>. Agricola: *Tandernaken al vp den rijjn*

S *Tandernaken al vp den rijjn*  
 T *Tandernaken al vp den rijjn*  
 B *Tandernaken al vp den rijjn*

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22. fol. 164<sup>v</sup>. Elinc: *Adieu natuerlic leuen mijn*

S *Adieu Natuerlic leuen mijn*  
 T *Adieu Natuerlic leuen mijn*  
 B *Adieu Natuerlic leuen mijn*

*Natuerlic leuen* ('natural life') means the life devoted to the business of Nature, i.e. amorous pursuits; note the abbreviation for *mijn*.

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23. fol. 165<sup>r</sup>. Obrecht: *Moet mij lacen v vriendelic schijn*

S *oet my lacen v vriedelic schijn*

T *M oet my lacen v vriedelic schijn*

B *M oet my lacen v vriedelic schijn*

Note the abbreviation -ijn in S and T.

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24. fol. 165<sup>v</sup>. Elinc: *Verlanghen ghij doet mijnder herten pijn*

S *ezlanghen ghij doet mijn d herten pijn*

T *ezlanghen ghij doet mijn d herten pijn*

B *ezlanghen ghij doet mijn d herten pijn*

Note the single movement for *gh* in *verlanghen* and *ghij*, and the abbreviations for *mijn-* and *-der* in *mijnder*, and for *pijn* (S).

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25. fol. 166<sup>r</sup>. Barbireau: *Een vroylic wesen*

S *en vroylic wesen*

T *en vroylic wesen*

B *en vroylic wesen*

The lengthening of the vowel in *vroylic* (rather than Flemish *vrolic*) is typical of Brabants; Barbireau was of course born and bred Brabander.

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26. fol. 166<sup>v</sup>. Agricola: *Mijn alder liefste moeselkin*

S *ijn alder liefste moeselkin*

T *Mijn alder liefste moeselkin*

B *Mijn alder liefste moeselkin*

*Moeselkin* or *muselkin* means bagpipe (Fr. *musette*); unless this song was an ode to a musical instrument, one could perhaps read *moeselkin* as a Flemish variant of French *musequin*, pretty girl.

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27. fol. 173<sup>r</sup>. Elinc: *Hoert hier mijn lieue gheselle*

S oert hier my lieue gheselle

T Hoert hier my lieue gheselle

B Hoert hier my lieue gheselle

Note the single movement for *gh* in *gheselle*, and the abbreviation for *mijn*.

28. fol. 177<sup>v</sup>. Pipelare: *Mijns liefskins bruyn oghen*

S Mijns liefskins bruyn oghen

T Mijns liefskins bruyn oghen

B Mijns liefskins bruyn oghen

Note the ligature *sk* (in *liefskins*), the single movement for *gh* in *oghen*, and the abbreviation for *mijns* (T).

29. fol. 183<sup>r</sup>. Isaac: *Het es al ghedaen*

S et es al ghedaen

T Het es al ghedaen

B Het es al ghedaen

Note the single movement for *gh* in *ghedaen*.

30. fol. 189<sup>v</sup>. Martini: *Scoen kint*

S scoen kint

T Scoen kint

B Scoen kint

31. fol. 190<sup>v</sup>. Isaac: *Comt hier*

S comt hier

T Comt hier

B comt hier