



cause he was only in minor orders, he had been temporarily forced out of his benefice in 1479 by a competitor.

Ars musicorum, printed in Gothic, two columns to the page, and reaching 68 leaves, chooses a more learned audience than any other treatise published in Renaissance Spain, excepting that of Salinas. Proof is found in the fact that the 1495 *Ars musicorum* and the 1577 *De musica libri septem* were the only two published in Latin, while all others are in Spanish. Despuig was not a little proud of his own ability to write correct and elegant Latin. Indeed after the usual compliments to his patron and formal bow to the authority of Boethius he next strikes out against "other theorists" who dare write on music but know so little Latin that they assign *diatessarón*, *diapente*, and *diapason* to the feminine gender. This error in gender is of course exactly the mistake that Ramos de Pareja made repeatedly in his *Musica practica* of 1482.⁹⁰ Since on every disputed point Despuig sides with tradition against Ramos, it seems quite probable that he has the latter in mind when he lashes out against ignorant Latinists: especially if Despuig's manuscript *Enchiridion*, conserved at Bologna, be taken as evidence that he travelled in Italy while the fires lit by his compatriot were still raging at full blast.

COMPOSERS

María del Carmen Gómez Muntané—who in 1977 published her doctoral thesis, *La Música en la Casa Real catalano-aragonesa durante los años 1336–1432*, in two volumes at Barcelona—more recently identified the Augustinian friar of Catalonian origin, Steve de Sort (ca. 1340–1407?; born at Sort, a village in the Pyrenees of Lleida) as composer of the Credo *a 3* (triplum, contratenor, tenor) in the so-called Mass of Barcelona (Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 971, no. 3) that appears in more *Ars nova* manuscripts than any other portion of the Ordinary of the Mass. In her article, "Quelques remarques sur le répertoire sacré de l'Ars nova provenant de l'ancien royaume d'Aragon," *Acta Musicologica*, LVII/2 (July–December 1985), page 168, she signals eight manuscript sources dating from approximately 1365

(Ivrea, no. 60, identified in this source, *de rege*) to about 1417 (Apt 16bis, no. 46) that contain Fray Steve de Sort's Credo. Its identification *de rege* ("of the king") in Ivrea "suggests that it may have been composed for a monarch, such as Charles V of the Valois dynasty (1364–1380), whose liking it contributed to its wide diffusion." However that may be, the likeliest place where Sort received his musical training, in Gómez Muntané's informed opinion, was Avignon.

After distinguishing himself as a performer on the exaquier, rote, harp, and organ, Sort was recommended to Juan I of Aragon (1350–1396) in the most enthusiastic terms by Juan I's ambassador at Avignon, in a letter dated September 16, 1394 (transcribed by Gómez Muntané from Archives of the House of Aragon, reg. 1966, fol. 160–160v in "Quelques remarques," 167). Juan I, who hired him as his royal chapel organist October 18, 1394, died in May 1396. His brother, Martin I, who succeeded him, retained Fray Steve de Sort (as well as hiring the composer Gacian Reyneau, who resided at the Aragonese Court from February 17, 1397 to 1429). On March 26, 1407, Fray Steve de Sort resigned his post as Aragonese royal chapel organist into the hands of his pupil, Anthoni Sánchez.

Gómez Muntané considers the so-called Mass of Barcelona to be a compilation (assembled between 1395 and 1410) of five disparate Ordinary of the Mass movements, drawn from various sources. She prefers believing that the Mass of Toulouse (copied in Bibliothèque Municipale, 94)—which likewise contains Sort's Credo—was its original habitat. The *Missa generalis Sancti Augustini* at folio 327 in Toulouse 94 may mean that this missal containing Sort's Credo originated in the Toulouse monastery of the Augustinian order to which Sort belonged. In any event, its presence in Ivrea (Biblioteca Capitolare) dates Sort's Credo as a youthful work. Even earlier than the Ivrea copy may be the incomplete copy found by her at Solsona (Archivo Diocesano, Ms. frag. 109) in a notarial binding.

Hanna Harder published the Toulouse version of Sort's Credo in "Die Messe von Toulouse," *Musica Disciplina*, VII (1953), 125–128. With kind editorial permission, her 1953 MD transcription is reproduced below (pages 39–42). Leo Schrade, who published his heavily accidentalized transcription in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, I (Monaco:

⁹⁰Wolf ed., 8, 49–50, 100–101.



Toulouse 94, fols. 47v-48

Steve de Sort

47

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem. fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae,

48

Contra tenor Patrem

48

Tenor Patrem factorem

10

vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um, et in - vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in unum

15

Et in unum

Et in unum

20

do - mi - num Je - sum Christum, fi - li - um de - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum.

25

Et ex pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la. De - um de de - o, lu -

Et ex patre

Et ex patre

30

men de lu - mi - ne, de - um ve - rum de de - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non factum

Genitum

Genitum

35 40

con-substan-ti-a-lem pa-tri; per quem om-ni-a fac-ta sunt. Qui prop-ter nos
 Qui propter
 Qui propter

45

ho-mi-nes, et prop-ter nostram sa-lu-tem de-scendit de cae-lis. Et
 Et
 Et

50 55

in-car-na-tus est de spi-ri-tu sanc-to ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne: et
 incarnatus
 incarnatus

60 65

ho-mo fac-tus est. Cru-ci-fi-xus e-ti-am pro no-bis: sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to
 Crucifixus
 Crucifixus

70

passus et se-pul-tus est. Et re-sur-re-xit ter-ti-a di-e, se-cun-
 Et resurrexit
 Et resurrexit



75 80

dum Scriptu - -ras. Et as - cen - dit in cae - lum: se - det ad dex - te - ram pa - tris.

Et ascendit

Et ascendit

85

Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos

Et iterum

Et iterum

90 95

et mor - tu - os: cu - jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis. Et in spiritum sanctum, do - mi -

Et in spiritum

Et in spiritum

100

num et vi - vi - fi - can - - tem: qui ex pa - tre fi - li - o que pro - ce - dit.

105

Qui cum pa - tre et fi - li - o si - mul a - do - ra - tur, et con - glo - ri - fi - ca -

Qui cum patre

Qui cum



110

tur: qui lo-cu-tus est per pro-phe-tas. Et u-nam sanctam ca-tho-li-

Et unam

Et unam

115

cam et a-posto-li-cam ec-cle-si-am. Con-fi-te-or u-num bap-tis-ma in re-

Confiteor

Confiteor

120

125

mis-si-o-nem pec-ca-to-rum. Et expec-to re-sur-rec-ti-o-nem mor-tu-o-rum.

Et exspecto

Et exspecto

130

135

140

Et vi-tam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li. A-me

Et vitam

Amen.

Et vitam

Amen.

145

n.

Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), 150–155, rejected Harder's suggestion that the triplum is related to Credo No. 1 in the Editio Vaticana. After marrying, Hanna Harder-Stäblein re-edited Sort's Credo in *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* (American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 89–91, now using Apt 16bis, fol. 40, as her transcription source and placing Sort's Credo at the head of six Credo compositions in discant style.

Whichever presently available edition is preferable will not be argued here. Sort's Credo divides into 18 sections that tally with text incises. Triplum (the only texted part) is notated without accidental, contratenor and tenor with one-flat signature. Fourteen of the 18 sections end on G chords, three on A chords, one on F (three final chords with thirds). The texted triplum disports itself in the usual vivacious discant rhythms. Ranging over a tenth, (B–d'), the triplum is almost entirely syllabic and indulges in extended melisma only during the concluding Amen. The contratenor and tenor both move in much slower, usually ligatured notes.

After Sort, the earliest peninsular residing abroad for whom any claims to a surviving composition have been made is Rodrigo de la guitarra. Already mentioned above as having been a favorite instrumentalist at the Neapolitan court of Alfonso V the Magnanimous, Rodrigo de la guitarra was of Castilian origin. This fact comes to light in Alfonso's letter to Juan II of Castile dated July 30, 1417 (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Registro 2562, fols. 110v–111). As published in the sixth edition of Ramón Menéndez Pidal's *Poesía juglaresca* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1957), 223, this letter states that Alfonso is sending "his faithful household string player, Rodrigo de la guitarra, accompanied by Rodrigo's helper Diego, to John's court to do him reverence as John's vassal, and to serve him and entertain him with his art" (*el fiel ministrer de cuerda de nuestra cambra Rodrigo de la Guitarra, con su criado Dieguiello, de nuestra licencia va a vuestra cort por fazer a vos servicio e plazer de su oficio*). When after a delay Rodrigo de la guitarra did make the trip in August 1418, he and his entourage went with Alfonso's safe conduct (*salvoconducto*) protecting them and their baggage train laden with gold, silver, money, and clothing.

Earlier still while in the service of Alfonso V's father, Ferdinand I, Rodrigo de la guitarra had won the favor of the widowed queen Margarita de Prades (1386–1430), who after the death of her husband, Martín I (1356–1410), resided successively at Barcelona, Valencia, and Perpignan (to May 1416). From Perpignan she sent a letter dated December 30, 1415, to Archimbaud of Foix, recommending "Rodrigo de la Guitarra, instrumentalist to the king [Ferdinand I], who visits you to do you honor and reverence."

Out of regard and concern for me, I beg you to treat him with singular respect, for by so doing you will please me greatly.

Her letter of December 30, 1415, copied in Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Registro 2355, fol. 83, reads thus (as transcribed in Martín de Riquer, *Jordi de Sant Jordi*, Universidad de Granada, 1955, 98):

Car cosí, Com Rodrigo de la Guitarra, ministrer del senyor rey, vage a vós per honor e reverència vostra, pregam vos que per sguard e contemplació nostra lo vullats haver en singular recomendació, e serà cose de que'ns complaurets molt . . . La Reyna Margarita. A nostre car cosí mossèn N'Arximbau de Foix, senyor de Nualles.

Thus early in his career—before accompanying Alfonso the Magnanimous to Naples, and being rewarded August 26, 1421 (registro 2571, fol. 175v), with the lucrative post of Castilian consul at Palermo—Rodrigo de la guitarra had already mingled with composers at the court of Foix.

If any composition by Rodrigo de la guitarra survives, Gilbert Reaney would have it to be a Latin ballade a 2, *Angelorum psalat tripudium*, copied at folio 48v in Chantilly manuscript, Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047). Discussing this work in his pathbreaking article, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047," *Musica Disciplina*, VIII (1954), 78–79, Reaney noted that the composer ascription "S. Uciredor is obviously another inverted name, this time Rodericus." According to Reaney, "it is one of the most recent and most complex works in the manuscript."

It is in fact the last work in the section comprising cantilena works à 2 and à 3. It seems that this piece is one of the few à 2, and indeed the complexity of the Cantus is such that a third voice would be a hindrance. On the other hand the distance between Cantus and tenor leads

blaudis br fans]n. no = III =

no: : Retro mordēs ut ffera pessima :

The tenor is untexted after the words “Retro mordēs ut ffera pessima” in this *ne plus ultra* of rhythmic complexity by S. Uciredor = Rodericus. His *Angelorum psalat tripudium*, a ballade *a 2* in Chantilly, Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047), fol. 48v, is copied on six-line staves. In the present facsimile (lacking the tenor after meas. 50 in the transcription) R with an arrow points to a red note or sign in the manuscript.



Angelorum psalat tripudium

Angelorum psalat

Rodericus

1. An - ge - lo - rum psa - lat
 2. Qui o - pe - rum fu - it

Tenor

Retro mordens ut fera pessima

tri - pu - di - um
 i - ni - ci - um

mu - si - co - rum
 de - lic - to - rum

pan - dens ar - mo -
 fran - gens cons - tan -

- ni - am or - phe - y - cam
 - ci - am du - pli - ca - tum



plec - - tens sin - pho - ni - am
os - - ten - dens a - ni - mum

23 ² ² *sim.*
pro - cul pel - - lens va - num

fas - ti - di - um. 24 ^a

25 ^a ² ² *sim.*
po - mum pre - - bens cunc - tis

le - ti - fe - rum. 30 Is -

ta ge - rit vi - ces

Lu - ci - fe - ri que

prin - ci - pi sup - pre - mo vo -

- lu - it co - e - qua - ri

sed tan



30

- dem cor - ru - it in

Musical notation for the first system, measures 30-31. The top staff is a vocal line in G minor, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. Measure 30 contains the lyrics '- dem' and 'cor - ru - it'. Measure 31 contains the lyric 'in'. A '3' above the piano staff indicates a triplet in the second measure of the system.

pro - fun - dum a - bis - si

Musical notation for the second system, measures 32-33. The top staff is a vocal line in G minor, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. Measure 32 contains the lyrics 'pro - fun - dum' and 'a - bis - si'. Measure 33 contains the lyric 'si'. A '3' above the piano staff indicates a triplet in the first measure of the system.

55

in - fe - ri - ri.

Musical notation for the third system, measures 55-56. The top staff is a vocal line in G minor, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. Measure 55 contains the lyrics 'in - fe - ri - ri.'. Measure 56 contains the lyric 'ri.'. A fermata is placed over the final note of the vocal line in measure 56.

60 65

Pes - ti - fe - ra in qua

Musical notation for the fourth system, measures 60-65. The top staff is a vocal line in G minor, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. Measure 60 contains the lyrics 'Pes - ti - fe - ra in qua'. Measure 65 contains the lyric 'qua'. A fermata is placed over the final note of the vocal line in measure 65.

su - per - bi - a in - gra - ta es de

Musical notation for the fifth system, measures 66-71. The top staff is a vocal line in G minor, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. Measure 66 contains the lyrics 'su - per - bi - a in - gra - ta es de'. Measure 71 contains the lyric 'de'. The piano accompaniment features triplets in measures 67, 68, and 69, and a doublet in measure 70.

70

o et ho - mi - ni in re - tro

73

mor - dens ut fe - ra

80

pes - si - ma

85

an - te blan - dis ut

90

fans in - no - cu - i



one to suspect the absence of a third voice, no doubt a contratenor. The variety of note forms employed in the Cantus reaches extremes unparalleled even in the Chantilly Codex, and syncopation produces results which can hardly be transcribed in modern notation. Coloration too is excessive, but particularly noteworthy is the modal transposition. A two-flat signature (E \flat and A \flat , B \flat being understood) moves the mode, Ionian, from C to E \flat , a unique case at this period, though more frequent is a similar triple transposition of the Dorian to F (with three- or two-flat signature as in the present example). Such modernism makes it very likely that Chantilly 77 was written by the famous *Rodriguet de la guitarra* who belonged to the court of Aragon when Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1401–58) was still uncrowned. This minstrel was sent to the Count of Foix in 1415, and no doubt he was as well received as his predecessors had been at the time of Gaston Phébus.

What Reaney wrote in 1954 concerning the difficulty of transcribing *Angelorum psalat tripudium* remained still valid in 1971. In that year Gordon Kay Greene echoed Reaney when in his Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation, "The secular music of Chantilly Manuscript, Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047)," page 285, he wrote:

The last two lines of text may indicate retrograde reading of some section or sections: "In retro mordens ut fera pessima ante blandis ut faris in vocibus." A great variety of note shapes has been found here. The rhythmic relationship between the two parts is extremely complicated. A satisfactory transcription has not been made as yet.

To Nors Sigurd Josephson, therefore, belongs great credit for having solved what to others seemed an insoluble riddle. With his kind permission, his transcription (first published in his article "Rodericus, *Angelorum Psalat*," *Musica Disciplina*, xxv [1971], 113–126) has been shown at pages 46–50 as an example of *ne plus ultra* rhythmic complexity.

Fernando de Córdoba = Ferdinandus Cordubensis

After Rodrigo de la guitarra, the next Spanish instrumentalist whose journey beyond the Pyrenees can be exactly dated was a Salamanca University graduate who visited Paris in December 1445—departing thence for Ghent on December 14. In that

year Philip the Good of Burgundy maintained a chapel that enrolled the composers Gilles Brinehois, Pierre Fontaine, Constans de Languebroek, and fourteen other chaplains. En route to the Burgundian court for a Christmas visit, the polymath Fernando de Córdoba = Ferdinandus Cordubensis (1421–1486) made a fortnight's stopover at Paris. So extraordinary an impression did his virtuoso accomplishments along every line create on members of the University of Paris that three contemporary sources document the circumstance of his December 1445 Parisian stopover. Julien Havet collated these sources in his article "Maître Fernand de Cordoue et l'Université de Paris au XV^e siècle," *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, ix–1882 (Paris: H. Champion, 1883), 193–222.

Born at Córdoba of a noble family, Fernando de Córdoba = Ferdinandus Cordubensis (as he is called in his formerly existing epitaph at the Spanish Church of St. James in Rome [*Mémoires*, ix, 199]) travelled as an emissary of Juan II of Castile (reigned, 1406–1455). According to the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405–1449* (*Mémoires*, ix, 201), Fernando de Córdoba "knew how to play all manner of musical instruments, sing, and discant better than anyone" (*se savoit jouer de tous instruments, chanter et deschanter mieulx que nul autre*). According to Mathieu d'Escouchy's *Chronique*, chapter VIII (*Mémoires*, ix, 200), Fernando de Córdoba "knew more about the art of music than anyone, [and] played every kind of instrument so well that none could surpass him" (*se congnoissoit en l'art de musique plus que nul aultre, jouoit de tous instruments tant bien que nul ne l'en pooit passer*). More specific in assessing his musical abilities, a Paris correspondent of Goswin vander Ryt, chancellor of Brabant, wrote him a letter dated December 30, 1445, in which Fernando de Córdoba's musical skills are said to include "the art of singing and composing airs, plus the ability to play all sorts of instruments, to play airs on them, and also to compose [instrumental airs]." (*Er chan auch musicam, die kunst des gesangs und seczung der don, und chan auch nicht alain auf alien saiten spilen und don spilen, sunder er chan si auch darzu machen* [*Mémoires*, ix, 221 quoting *Deutsche Chroniken = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi sunt*, tomus 2, Hannover,



Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877, p. 373; French translation in *Mémoires*, ix, 196]).

Fernando de Córdoba visited Germany in 1448 as a secretary to Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, papal ambassador. From 1460 he taught theology at Rome, meanwhile accumulating absentee ecclesiastical preferments in Spain (Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca 1219-1549* [Universidad de Salamanca, 1966], I, 136-137).

Johannes Cornago

If indeed Fernando de Córdoba could so astound Paris, his opportunities at Salamanca—where in about 1442 he earned his master of theology degree—must have included music instruction in more than plainchant (in 1411, among 25 endowed professorships at Salamanca, antipope Benedict XIII [a Spaniard, Pedro de Luna] specifically named the chair of music). One need not therefore assume that Johannes Cornago—the earliest Spanish composer with a sizable surviving repertory—waited until entering the University of Paris in the 1440's to equip himself musically. He did enroll there before 1449. In that year he received a bachelor's degree from the University of Paris theological faculty, with specialization in sacred scripture.

The printed evidence for Cornago's University of Paris degree has been overlooked by all previous investigators of Cornago's career—including Higinio Anglés and Isabel Pope. According to the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, tomus IV ab anno MCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MCCCCLII* (Paris: Frères Delalain, 1897), page 688, anno 1449 *recepit a bachalariis Bibliici. . . . Frat. Joh. Cornage, Ord. Minor.* As a manuscript source for Cornago's degree, the editors of the *Chartularium* cited Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 5657^c, folio 1.

Can anything be known about Cornago's career prior to 1449? In the Vatican Archivio Segreto, Alejandro Planchart discovered three entries dated a decade apart during Martin V's pontificate (*RS 142*, 200-200v [November 1, 1419-October 30, 1420], *RS 239*, 230-230v and *RS 239*, 234-234v [November 1, 1428-October 30, 1429]). All three identify "Johannes Eximii de Cornago," clerk of Calahorra diocese (*clericus calaguritanensis dioecesis*), as petitioner for a benefice in a parish church.

If indeed this petitioner was the same person as the composer, Cornago became a Franciscan rather late in life and was already an old man when in 1475 he joined the court chapel of Ferdinand V (Fernando el Católico) upon returning home to Spain.

What can, however, now be known with certainty is that Cornago became a member of Alfonso el Magnánimo's court at Naples no later than April of 1453. Up to 1963, the earliest document connecting Cornago with the court of Alfonso el Magnánimo had borne the date October 12, 1455. However, in 1963 Bianca Mazzoleni published in *Fonti aragonesi, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia Pontaniana*, Ser. II (Naples), III, 15, Alfonso el Magnánimo's concession dated April 6, 1453, fixing Cornago's yearly salary at the equivalent of 300 ducats.

Such a salary paid a Franciscan vowed to poverty needed papal approval. Robert Stevenson in 1985 produced the needed evidence of such papal approval having been granted in a bull drafted June 29, 1453, that was, however, not signed until April 20, 1455. Its signer was the Spanish pope Callistus = Callistus III (Alfonso de Borja; *b* Játiva, December 31, 1378; *d* Rome, August 6, 1458). Callistus was elected to the papacy April 8, 1455. Only twelve days later, April 20, on the very day of his coronation, Callistus III rewarded Johannes Cornago, then in Rome, with a bull (Reg. Lat., t. 498, fol. 64). The bull identifies Cornago as a chaplain of Alfonso V of Aragón⁹¹ and permits him to acquire any benefice, secular or regular; to hold a canonry or dignity in any cathedral or collegiate church; and/or to become a prior or any other office-holder in any monastery—despite his being a Franciscan vowed to poverty. The first lines of Callistus's bull dated April 20, 1455, also state that these privileges had already been granted him June 19, 1453—but without signing of the document, because of the death of the then pope, Nicholas V.

⁹¹Callistus III had been a jurist in Alfonso V's service for more than a quarter century. Concerning his career, see José Sanchis y Sivera, "El obispo de Valencia don Alfonso de Borja Calixto III (1429-1458)," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXXVIII (1926), 241-313. Elected pope in old age, he professed one overmastering concern—the recapture of Constantinople, lost in 1453. However, the best that could be achieved was the capture of Belgrade from the Turks July 22, 1456.



Antonio Pisanello, Medal of Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1449 (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples)

The April 20, 1455, bull in his behalf—having not thus far been even mentioned in the copious Cornago literature⁹²—must therefore be here quoted in full. The bull begins: “Dilecto filio Iohanni de Cornago, ordinis fratrum Minorum professori. Rationi congruit” and is dated “apud S. Petrum anno . . . 1455, XII kal. maii . . . , anno I.” As summarized in *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, tomus II (1455–1471), edited by Joseph M. Pouy Martí (Quaracchi: Ex typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1939), page 1, the bull:

Confirmat litteras Nicolai V (XIII kal. iulii a. VII) concessas, non tamen confectas ob mortem praedicti papae, vi quarum fr. Ioannes de Cornago O.F.M., cappellanus Alfonsi regis Aragoniae, et hoc supplicante, dispensabatur ad quodcumque beneficium ecclesiasticum saeculare vel regulare, dummodo canonicatus aut dignitas, personatus, administratio vel officium in cathedrali

⁹²Anglés, “Cornago, Frater Johannes,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II (1952), 1080–1084; Isabel Pope, “The Secular Compositions of Johannes Cornago,” *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), II, 689–706; I. Pope and Masakata Kanazawa, “The Musical Manuscript Montecassino N879 (recte 871),” *Anuario Musical*, XIX (1966), 123–153; I. Pope, “Cornago, Johannes,” *The New Grove Dictionary*, IV (1980), 779–780.



vel collegiali ecclesia aut dignitas sive prioratus conventualis vel officium claustrale non existeret.

The next documented reference to Cornago confirms his salary on October 12, 1455, as being a yearly 300 ducats.⁹³ Allan W. Atlas in *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, page 67, calls an annual 300 ducats a generous sum in comparison with what other foreign musicians earned at Italian Renaissance courts. (Gaspar van Weerbecke earned 144 ducats per year in 1474; Obrecht received 100 ducats as beginning annual salary at Ferrara in the fall of 1504.)

After Alfonso's death June 27, 1458, Cornago became chief almoner of Don Ferrante, Alfonso's son and successor to the Neapolitan crown (ruling with interruptions from 1458 to 1494). As holder of this office, Cornago dispensed royal charity. On April 3, 1466, he received 10 ducats and a tari to pay for the cost of altering certain garments in the royal wardrobe which Ferrante proposed to give away on Maundy Thursday to 34 poor persons. On the same April 3 he also took in trust 25 ducats to bestow as alms during the king's adoration of the true cross on the following Good Friday.⁹⁴

Like most Spaniards from Martial to the present, Cornago after his Italian sojourn seems to have yearned to spend his later years in Spain. At all events, his name crops up in a list of Ferdinand V's court chapel singers during 1475.⁹⁵

His unique mass copied in Trent Codex 88—a folio of 422 paper leaves kept in the Museum of the

⁹³Minieri Riccio, “Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I [V of Aragón] d'Aragona,” *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, VI/3, 437: “Alfonso spedisce a Roma per missione affidatagli Don Giovanni Dixer Signore della baronia di Ixer in Aragona, che ora trovasi nella sua Corte, dove ancora sta Lazzaro de Andronico greco di Constantinopoli, maestro Luigi Cardona, maestro in teologia con l'annua pensione di ducati 300; e Fra Giovanni Cornago dell'ordine di S. Francesco con la pensione di ducati 300 annue.”

⁹⁴Nicola Barone, “Le Cedole di Tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dall'anno 1460 al 1504,” *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, IX (Naples: Federico Furchheim, 1884), 209: “Ed al Reverendo frate Giovanni Cornago, elemosiniere maggiore del Re, si danno 10 d. ed un tari per pagare la confezione degli abiti di drappo tolti dalla guardaroba della corte per 34 poveri, che il Re vuole si vestano nel giovedì santo, quando farà l'offerta nel Castelnuovo di Napoli; e 25 d. per l'offerta, che il Re farà nel venerdì santo, adorando la vera croce in Castelnuovo.”

⁹⁵*Monumentos de la música española [MME]*, I, 24.



Castello del Buon Consiglio in Trento—bears this heading: *Frater Johannes Cornago la missa: Signum: de lo mapa mundi Apud Neapolim: est la missa de nostra domina Sancta Maria* (fol. 276v). In this mass he exploits both parody and tenor techniques. Kyrie I, Et in terra pax, Patrem omnipotentem, Sanctus, and Agnus I movements illustrate his use of the first technique. He threads both cantus and contra in the duets which begin each named movement with identical melodic material. With slight changes of time-values this duet reappears in identical pitches at the beginnings of every major section of his mass. This work shares also the character of a tenor mass, however, because in every movement in which the tenor sings,⁹⁶ the tenor quotes the same tune. The ditty that goes with the tune reads (fol. 279): *Ayo uisto lo mappa mundi / et la carta di naviga / re ma chichilia mi pare la la piu bella la piu bella di questo mondo* (I have seen the map of the earth and mariner's chart, but Sicily seems to me the most beautiful part of the world). These words are written beneath the tenor part towards the close of both the Qui tollis and Et resurrexit movements. Though the words are not written below in any Kyrie,⁹⁷ Sanctus, or Agnus movement—only the Gloria and Credo movements being actually polytextual—still the same *Ayo visto* melody is itself everywhere alluded to by the tenor in the less wordy movements as well. Cornago has set the two Osannas with different music, the first in duple (♩), the second in ternary (♩) meter. He also has set all three parts of the Agnus polyphonically.

So far as text-deletions are concerned, Cornago omits entirely the clauses 13–14 in the Credo that contain the “filioque” assertion (Holy Spirit proceeding from both Father and Son). In doing so, he kept pace with his century. As Ruth Hannas’s “Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass

⁹⁶The tenor does not sing in the Pleni or Benedictus movements, both of which are marked “duo” in the manuscript.

⁹⁷In *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, VII (1900; ed. by Guido Adler and O. Koller), the words “Ayo iusto” were printed in roman beneath the tenor part of the Kyrie. Trent Codex 88, containing the Mass at folios 276v–284 credits it to “Frater Johannes Cornago Apud Neapolim.” At fols. 280v–281 the text of the Sicilian song serving as tenor begins (corruptly) “Ayo iusto [= visto] lo mappa mundi.” See Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa: *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871, A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 70, note 11.

Credo,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, v/3 (Fall 1952), 183–185, showed, controversial clauses 13, 14, and 15 of the Nicene Creed text fail to appear in Credo settings by Busnois, Dufay, Fayrfax, Frye, Josquin, Obrecht, and Ockeghem—to go no further down the alphabet.

Sans the Credo (and what follows) Cornago’s Mass survives anonymously in a late fourteenth-century source in Czechoslovakia, Strahov D.G. IV.47 (Kyrie and Gloria movements only = items 94–95).⁹⁸ Prior to Robert J. Snow’s 1968 dissertation dealing with this Czechoslovakian manuscript source, Cornago’s mass had always been associated with a map painted by Girolamo Bellarista in 1462–1463 for Pope Pius II or by Giovanni di Giusto in 1480 for Ferrante II, king of Naples.⁹⁹ However, Snow argued against these two maps. According to him, they were too recent to have inspired the popular song which serves as the mass tenor. Instead of the 1462–1463 or 1480 maps, Snow proposed “a famous map painted by Jan van Eyck, about 1430, for Philip the Good.”¹⁰⁰ The Jan van Eyck *mappamundi*, although now lost, rated highly enough in the mid-fifteenth century to be singled out for special praise in *De viris illustribus* by Bartolomeo Facio = Fazio. Resident at Alfonso V’s Neapolitan court from 1444 or 1445 to his death at Naples in December of 1457, Facio takes rank as the first writer to recognize Jan van Eyck (ca. 1385–1441) as the “foremost painter of his time.” Snow postulated as the dates for Facio’s writing of *De viris illustribus* 1453 to 1457—“the very years that Cornago was employed there [Naples] as a composer.” Since

⁹⁸Concerning this source, see Robert J. Snow, “The Manuscript Strahov D. G. IV, 47,” University of Illinois Ph.D. dissertation, 1968 (University Microfilms 69–1456). The manuscript, consisting of 307 numbered paper leaves, contains a total of 319 compositions, 33 of which are ascribed to seven composers, another 12 of which can be attributed from concordances. Cornago’s two mass movements (items 94 and 95 in Snow’s numbering) belong to the group of 12 attributable from concordances.

⁹⁹See N. Barone, “Le Cedole,” 406; André Pirro, “Un manuscrit musical du XV^e siècle à Montecassin,” *Casinensia: Miscellanca di studi Cassinesi*, I (1929), 206, was the first to connect Cornago’s mass with the 1480 map.

¹⁰⁰Snow, p. 107. Not mentioned by Snow, but also highly renowned in its time, was Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s Mappamundo in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. Long since destroyed, Lorenzetti’s fresco (cited by Ghiberti as “Cosmografia”) was commissioned in 1344.



Missa mappamundi

Kyrie I

Trent Codex 88, fols. 276v -277.

JOHANNES CORNAGO

Kyrie

TENOR

CONTRA

Kyrie

Kyrie

10

15

20

eleyson.

eleyson.

eleyson.

* Because of the deterioration of the MS the next eight notes in the cantus cannot be clearly discerned.



Snow's dissertation, Claudio Marchiori has successfully fixed 1456 as the exact year in which *De viris illustribus liber* was completed (*Bartolomeo Facio tra letteratura e vita* [Milan: Marzorati, 1971], 101). Facio's special praise of the *mappamundi* painted by Ioannes Gallicus = John of Gaul = Jan van Eyck reads as follows (*De viris illustribus liber* [Florence: I. Mehus, 1745], p. 46):

Eius est Mundi comprehensio orbiculari forma quam Philippo Belgarum Principi pinxit, quo nullum consummatus opus nostra aetate factum putatur, in quo non solum loca, situsque regionum, sed etiam locorum distantiam metiendo dignoscas.

His [Jan van Eyck's] is a representation of the world in circular form, which he painted for Philip, Lord of Belgians, a work which is thought to be surpassed for perfection by none executed in our time. Here you can distinguish not only individual localities and the lie of the land areas but also, by measurement, the distance between localities.¹⁰¹

Among other Jan van Eyck masterpieces, Facio lauds "a remarkable picture in the private rooms of King Alfonso [= Alfonso V of Aragón] in which appears the Virgin Mary, noteworthy for her charm and modesty, the angel Gabriel announcing that the son of God will be born from her, his locks of hair of surpassing beauty, John the Baptist manifesting an admirable beauty and austerity of life, Jerome altogether like one alive." Alfonso's predilection for Jan van Eyck's art is therefore well documented. On all counts, a song rating Sicily as the most beautiful spot on earth can therefore be much more logically related with a world map painted before 1441 by Jan van Eyck rather than with any map dated 1480, five years after Cornago had returned home to join Ferdinand I's Aragonese choir.¹⁰²

Rebecca L. Gerber's transcription of Cornago's Mass opens her edition of his *Complete Works* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1984 [Recent

Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, xv]), 1-35. She rightly signals the historical importance of this Mass—not only because it antedates by a generation any complete Mass by another Iberian composer, but also because it ranks with Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* as one of the earliest Masses based on a secular tune. If she is correct (p. viii), the music of the borrowed tune survives solely in its ten *cantus firmus* repetitions within Cornago's Mass. As in Dufay's *Se la face ay pale* and *L'homme armé* Masses, the shortest note-value statements of the *cantus firmus* (and therefore closest to the borrowed song original) occur at the close of Gloria and Credo movements (pp. 12-13, mm. 245-283; pp. 21-22, mm. 255-293 of her edition).

According to Gerber (p. x), the English cyclic Masses of John Dunstable and Walter Frye resemble Cornago's Mass in these respects: (1) an introductory head-motif duet, replied to by the three voices, opens each of the five Mass movements; (2) Pleni, Benedictus, and Agnus II are "highly contrapuntal duets" (pp. 25-26, 27-29, 31-33). On the other hand, Cornago allies himself with later distinctively Spanish practice by reason of the large number of prescribed accidentals (f#, c#, bb, and eb). Especially "Spanish" is the diminished fourth, c#-ft, occurring on pp. 6 (mm. 37-38), 9 (120-121), 15 (51), 17 (107-108, separated by rest), and 30 (8). Prescribed as well as ficta accidentals infuse Cornago's dorian Mass with a strong sense of functional harmony not found in English fifteenth-century Masses.

Cornago's other extant Latin-text work, *Patres nostri peccaverunt* (Montecassino MS 871, page 248), was published in Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa's Clarendon Press edition, at pages 108-110.¹⁰³ Because of its poignancy Cornago's C Major threnody,¹⁰⁴ transcribed by them in slow 3/4, dis-

¹⁰¹See note 97 for bibliographical details.

¹⁰²See Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., *A Documentary History of Art*, Vol. I: *The Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 201.

¹⁰³Snow, p. 106, observes: "A superscription at the beginning of [Cornago's] Mass in Trent Ms. 88 also informs one of the liturgical use for which it was intended: *Apud Neapolim est la missa de nostra domina sancta Maria.*"

The writer of *The New Grove* article on Cornago mistakenly took Snow to mean that Cornago wrote two masses, one the *Mappamundi*, the other a Lady mass.

¹⁰⁴In his *Musice actiue micrologus* (Leipzig: Valentin Schumann, 1517). Andreas Ornithoparcus repeated the opinion voiced by most sixteenth-century theorists when he wrote thus: "diuers nations have diuers fashions, and differ in habite, diet, studies, speech, and song. Hence is it that the English doe carroll; the French sing: *the Spaniards weepe*; the Italians, which dwell about the Coasts of lanua [Genoa] caper with their Voyces; the others barke; but the Germanes (which I am ashamed to vtter) doe howle like Wolues." (See *Liber IV, cap. 8* [quoting Gaffurio], p. 88, of John Dowland's *Ornithoparcus* [1609]; fol. M2 of Valentin Schumann's 1517 Leipzig edition).



covers itself as a precursor of many intensely felt Spanish lamentations to come. The text—Lamentations 5:7 (“Our fathers have sinned and are no more; and we have borne their iniquities”)—is from the Prayer of Jeremy assigned to Holy Saturday. In the Pope and Kanazawa edition, the superius (A-c¹)¹⁰⁵ is accompanied by three undesignated instruments. If for no other reason than its four-part texture, this setting rates as unique among Cornago’s surviving works.

SECULAR WORKS

Where in the *Cancionero de Palacio* (Palace Songbook), the Colombina *Cancionero*, and Montecassino 871, canciones *a 4* ascribed to Cornago seem to survive, the fourth part has been added by some other composer. The other composer in the Colombina example was Triana, in the Montecassino example, Ockeghem. The popularity of Cornago’s *Qu’es mi vida preguntays* was doubtless considerable if so celebrated a master as Ockeghem (ca. 1410; *d Tours*, February 6, 1497) could have become interested in adding a fourth voice. In alphabetical order Cornago’s eleven surviving secular songs are

listed below as a complement to his biography. His poets—insofar as they are known—were fellow countrymen (Diego de Castilla and Mossen Pedro Torrellas) active at Naples shortly after mid-century, either at Alfonso V’s or Ferrante’s court. The wide vogue of his songs can be inferred from the geographic spread of the manuscript sources: (1) El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS IV.a.24, dated ca. 1465; (2) Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiana XIX, 176, ca. 1485; (3) Madrid: Biblioteca Real, MS 1335 (*olim 2-1-5*); (4) Montecassino: MS 871; (5) and (6) Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. fr. MS 15123 (Pix-érécourt Chansonnier), ca. 1500; and MS 2973 (Cordiforme Chansonnier), ca. 1470; (7) and (8) Seville: Biblioteca Colombina, sign. 5-1-43 and 7-1-28; (9) Trent: Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 89, ca. 1470.¹⁰⁶

The numeral (or numerals) after each item in the following list refers to the source (or sources): *Donde stas que non te veo* (4) and (8); *Gentil dama non se gana* (3) and (8); *Moro perche non dai fede* (2), (4), (5), and (7); *Morte merce gentile* (1), (4), and (6 [corrupt]); *Non gusto del male estranio* (4); *Porque mas sin duda creas* (8); *Pues que Dios te fizo tal* (3)¹⁰⁷ and (8); *Qu’es mi vida preguntays* (4)¹⁰⁸ and (8); *Segun las penas me days* (4); *Señora qual soy venido* (3) and (8); *Yerra con poco saber* (1), (4), and (9[contrafactum]). Of these eleven songs, *Moro perche non dai fede* (“I die because you do not believe in the pain that rends me”), has the distinction of entering the most manuscript sources. According to Franchino Gaffurio’s *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* dated ca. 1482 (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, A69), fol. 20v, the Neapolitan court musician Guillaume Guarnier =

A confirming opinion was given by Paride de Grassi (*Il Diario di Leone X*, ed. by Pio Delicati and M. Armellini [Rome: Tip. della Pace di F. Cuggiani, 1884], p. 66) when he described Tenebrae durring Holy Week of 1518. He said: “Three lamentations were sung, the first by the Spanish singers being filled with pathos, the second by the French being learnedly sung, and the third by the Italian singers being sweetly sung.”

Among the best known works by Morales is a “lament,” *Lamentatur Jacob*. Victoria’s *O vos omnes* (Lamentations 1.12), if not the most famous, is certainly performed as often as anything that he wrote. Cristóbal de Morales’s lamentations were still sufficiently in vogue in 1564 to make simultaneous commercial publication by two Venetian printers feasible, and to encourage their attributing five of Costanzo Festa’s lamentations to Morales.

¹⁰⁵Pope and Kanazawa, p. 555, explain their reasons for texting the superius. They also suggest that, like *O princeps Pilate* preceding it in the manuscript source, Cornago’s lamentation belonged to a paraliturgical ceremony during Holy Week at the Neapolitan court.

Item 93 (pp. 365–375) in their edition is an anonymous setting of the *Oratio Jeremie prophete*, *a 3* and *a 4*. The *Patres nostri peccaverunt* *verse a 3* (pp. 372–373) contains a paraphrase of the plainchant reciting formula in the top voice. Possibly the contraaltus of Cornago’s verse begins with a paraphrase of the same plainchant reciting formula. But if so the derivation is remote.

¹⁰⁶Bibliographic details in Gerber, ed., *Complete Works*, pp. xiv–xv. Trent 89, fol. 149, contains a contrafactum beginning *Ex ore tuo* of *Yerra con poco saber*. Atlas published a transcription of Montecassino 871, fols. 11v–12 in his *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, pp. 211–214, adding valuable critical notes at p. 235.

¹⁰⁷The *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (CMP) shows two versions, the second “arranged” by Madrid. Like Ockeghem, Madrid expunges Cornago’s contra. He adds a new voice in its place.

¹⁰⁸Anglés suggests that during Ockeghem’s Spanish visit of 1469/1470 he added the fourth voice (found in both sources). See *MGG*, II, 1681. But *Preguntays no vos la quiero negar* should not figure as a separate item in Cornago’s repertory. The text lacks the first three words, *Qu’es mi vida*. Ockeghem threw out Cornago’s contra, adding two of his own in its place.



Guglielmus Guarnerius composed a now lost *Missa Moro perche non dai fede*. Gaffurio, who met Guarner = Guarnerius at Naples sometime between 1478 and 1480, called him an *optimus contrapunctista*. Guarner's lost mass based on Cornago's desperate love complaint antedates every known parody of anything by Spanish composers.

Johannes Cornago follows Triana as the second most prolific Colombina Cancionero (sign. 7-1-28) = CMC composer. Even so, his total reaches only a bare half-dozen.¹⁰⁹ One of these, *Porque mas sin duda creas*, seems to be a unicum. The others occur either in the Palace Songbook = *Cancionero musical de Palacio* = CMP or in Montecassino MS 871.

Of the five concurring items, the four-voiced version of *Qu'es mi vida preguntays* arouses the most immediate interest, it bearing a double ascription in the Montecassino source. That Ockeghem should have had a hand in its composition, as Montecassino affirms, can be validated from internal evidence—and need not be believed solely because of the double attribution. Cornago's other songs were composed *a 3*.¹¹⁰ Moreover the contras in the version *a 4* veer radically from his known style. The lowest voice in *Qu'es mi vida* touches bottom D₁ fourteen times. Such low notes are all but unheard of in the music of the cancioneros.¹¹¹ But Ockeghem, com-

poser of *Interemata Dei Mater*,¹¹² freely called for D₁'s, descending on occasion to C₁. Even more to the point, the harmonies change at asymmetrical time-intervals in *Qu'es mi vida* and chords in what would now be called "first inversion" frequently appear on strong beats. Such asymmetry is a known hallmark of Ockeghem's style. It is, on the other hand, alien to the style of any cancionero composer. Certainly it is foreign to Cornago's style as disclosed in CMP, nos. 2, 38, and 52, or in the accompanying transcription or in his *Porque mas sin duda* (CMC, no. 27).

If the range of the bass and the asymmetry of the harmonic flow suggest another composer, what voice-parts can on the contrary be plausibly labeled as Cornago's? First, the treble with its Spanish text. The cadences at measures 16 and 24-25 exactly duplicate those at mm. 33-34 and 63-64 in CMP, no. 38 (an authentic Cornago item). If the treble belongs to Cornago so must also the tenor. The fact that the tenor and treble make a canon at the unison in mm. 27-31 cannot perhaps be called conclusive evidence since the bass has been cleverly made to share in the *Vorimitation*. But with Cornago's duet to suggest the idea, Ockeghem (granted he composed the bass) was too great an artist to have missed improving on Cornago's original idea. More important is the fact that in *Qu'es mi vida*, as in all Cornago's part-songs, the tenor and treble together make a complete harmony at all times. Whatever may be said of the other voices, these were made for each other. A fourth never occurs between them on a strong beat. An octave always separates them at ends of sections.

Having accounted for contra II (bottom voice), treble, and tenor, we are left with contra I. This voice, too, can be credited to Ockeghem on the following internal evidence: (1) treble, contra I, and tenor do not make a satisfactory three-part composition, even though treble and tenor together make a self-sufficient duet; (2) the delayed cadence caused by the last two notes in contra I is typical of Ockeghem's endings but not of Cornago's (which end with all the voices coming to a halt at once); (3) the rest at the end of measure 16 in contra II has obviously been inserted for one reason only: to get

¹⁰⁹This half-dozen includes two songs the authorship of which he shared (*Qu'es mi vida* with Ockeghem; *Señora qual soy* with Triana).

¹¹⁰Anglés in *MME*, 1, 105 (line 1) classified *Porque mas sin duda* as a three- and four-part composition, probably because in this instance the *Cancionero Musical de la Colombina* (CMC) scribe copied the tenor of the "B" part twice—the first time (fol. 45v) leaving out 21 notes, the second time (fol. 46) correcting the mistake. The omitted notes were those from mm. 37-42. The scribe's eye doubtless travelled from one phrase over two intervening ones, because of the likeness in phrase-endings (the last three notes before the rest in m. 37 and in m. 42 equal each other). *Olyda tu perdición España* (CMC, no. 52) is another piece with a scribal error of the same kind. The copyist in the latter case corrected his mistake not by writing out the tenor-part anew but rather by using a carat at the spot where the notes had been omitted and then another carat at the end of the tenor-part to show where the omitted notes were subjoined.

¹¹¹CMP (458 items) shows a lower note than F₁ in only nos. 57 (*Malos adalides fueron* by Badajoz) and 287 (*Todo quanto yo servi* by Baena). Lope de Baena's piece lacks any text beyond the first phrase. The lowest note in the contra of each is D₁.

¹¹²A. Smijers, ed., *Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck*, 1 (Amsterdam: G. Alsbach, 1939), 3-11.

contra II out of contra I's way at this particular moment; (4) the melodic line of contra I is quite different from the line in Cornago's own authenticated contras—as comparison with the contra in *Porque mas sin duda*, by way of example, soon discloses.

Fortunately, external as well as internal evidence clinches the case. Montecassino 871 contains Cornago's three-voiced original. Those who catalogued his songs prior to Isabel Pope missed it, because the next is defective. She, however, showed that the *canción a 3* formerly credited to him with the title *Preguntays no vos la qu[i]jero negar* is nought else but the superius-tenor duet of *Qu'es mi vida preguntays* joined to Cornago's own less suave contra.

Of the visit of *le premier chappellain et maistre de la chappelle du roy nostre sire*, we know that he received a travel grant for a "trip from Tours to the kingdom of Spain in January 1469."¹³ Only one Spanish MS, however, preserves any secular item by him: CMC.¹⁴ For every historical as well as esthetic reason, then, *Qu'es mi vida* deserves close study.

Cornago's own disdain of the contra shows up at once in CMP, nos. 2 and 38. If he will have his way, the contra exists only to complement the treble-tenor duet. In consequence, he endows it with no real interest or beauty of its own. Subtracted from the other voices and played alone, his contras sound angular, humpbacked. He takes no pains to avoid such wide intervals as major sevenths and ninths within a phrase. He outlines tritones which cannot be erased unless one applies an irresponsible number of ficta accidentals.

In order that the kind of contra Ockeghem added may be conveniently compared with Cornago's, the *canción* that is a unicum in the Colombina songbook (7-I-28), *Porque mas sin duda creas*, with lyrics by Juan de Mena,¹⁵ can profitably be studied. Ninths and sevenths crop up in the contra at mm. 10, 20,

35–36, but not in the other parts. It is for these other voices that he reserves his imitations (mm. 13–14, 25–28, 40–42). The one time the contra does rhyme (meas. 2), the tenor has already sung the motto (first three notes). The overall effect of the three voices sounding together is on the other hand quite gratifying. Rhythmic motion is evenly distributed among all the parts. When the song is performed, the likenesses of mm. 19–21, and 33–36 are even more apparent than on paper.

The words in *Porque mas sin duda* bristle with the scorned lover's desire for revenge. Like Triana, he seems to have reserved the dorian mode for tender or plaintive songs, *Donde stas*, *Gentil dama* and *Pues que Dios* [CMC, nos. 10, 4, and 18], and the ionian or phrygian for harsh or bitter ones. Within the limits of his own idiom he knows how to touch the listener's heart. His *Donde stas* ("Where are you?")¹⁶ shows his methods. When the lover protests that each day of his mistress's absence seems ten centuries, he assigns the treble a panting repeated-note figure (setting the words *mill años*), the obvious purpose of which is to express the lover's impatience in musical terms. In both *Donde stas* and *Porque mas sin duda* he interpolates fermatas near the end of each strophe-couplet, doubtless for dramatic effect. Certainly the words after the fermata in *Donde stas* are climactic (*inventut* = youth; *salut* = health). In *Donde stas*—his only CMC *canción* in which he allows the contra to participate in the imitative play—the imitation is made to serve a dramatic purpose. The treble leads with the cry, "Where are you?" Contra and tenor echo it in succession. Compared with Triana's texts, Cornago's may seem to cover a smaller gamut of emotion. But if their subject is invariably *Liebesfreud* or *Liebesleid*, he at least responds to the shades of emotion with musical settings that can be differentiated.

¹³Michel Brenet, *Musique et musiciens de la vielle France* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1911), 39.

¹⁴Anglés was not aware of the fact that CMC, no. 87, *Petite camusette (S'elle m'amera je ne scay)*, is by Ockeghem. (El Escorial MS IV.a.24 cannot be counted a "Spanish" manuscript.)

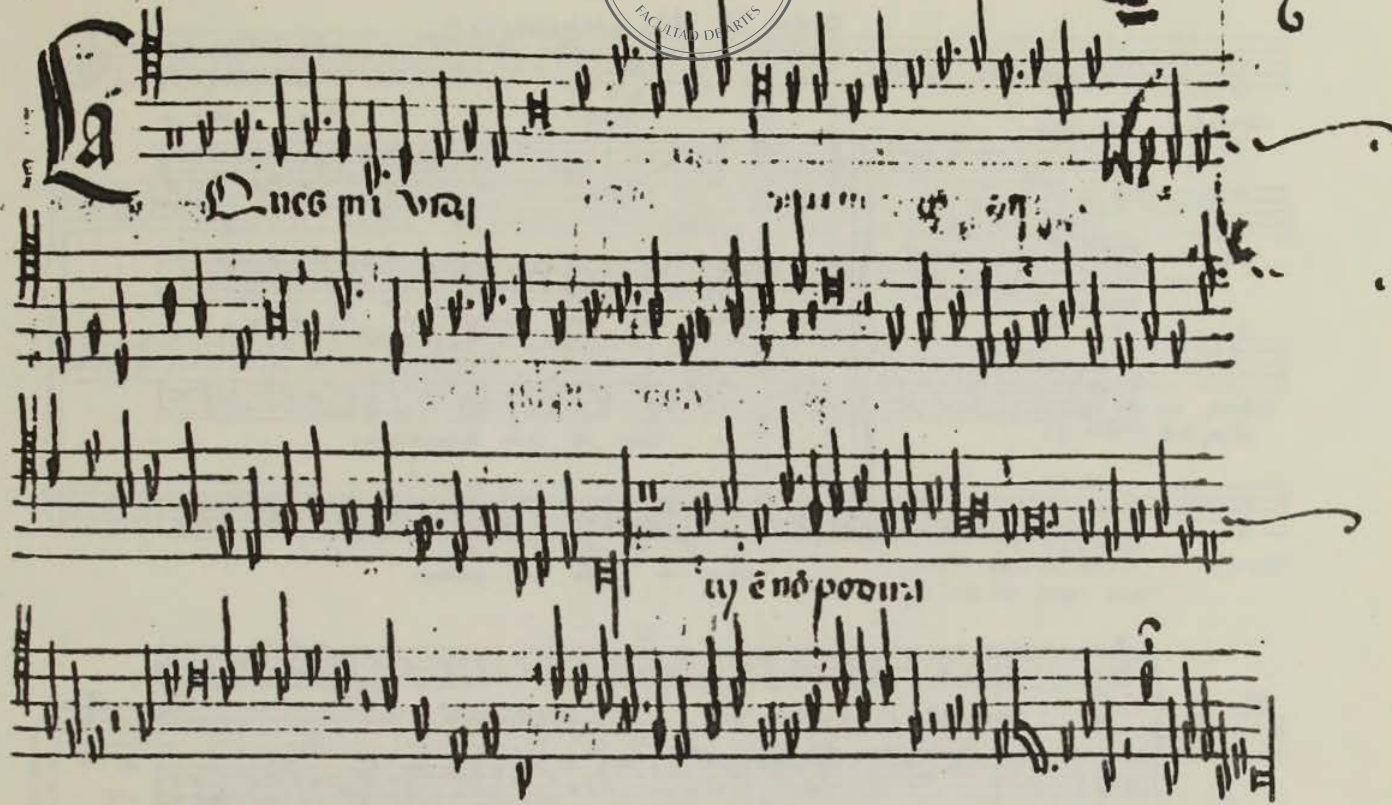
¹⁵Miguel Querol Gavaldá, editor of the *Cancionero Musical de la Colombina* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1971 [MME, XXXIII]) published the text at p. 46, and the music at pp. 35–37. His word-placement differs from ours, first published in *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (1960) at pp. 224–226. Juan de Mena's lyrics, printed with English translation in Gerber, ed., *Complete Works*, p. xxiv, are in London, British Library, Add. MS 33,383, fol. 78v.

¹⁶CMC, fols. 17v–19. Concordance in Montecassino MS 871, fols. 9v–10. For the texts of Cornago's Montecassino songs, see Isabel Pope, "La musique espagnole à la Cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle," in: *Musique et Poésie au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), pp. 46–50. Her reading of *Qu'es mi vida preguntays* (pp. 49–50) shows corrections from the Bibliothèque Nationale literary concordance. She identifies Diego de Castilla, a courtier at Naples ca. 1460, as the author of *Donde stas*. Her edition (with Kanazawa) includes texts with translations at pp. 564 (*Qu'es mi vida*), 569 (*Donde stas*), 572 (*Yerra con poco saber*), 577–578 (*Moro perche*), 578 (*Segun las penas*), 597 (*Morte merce*), and 610 (*Non gusto del male*).


nec mi videri
 futurum ne uis iugero negari. beati spiritus
 es lauda que me seruo
 De uis p. adira seruir. talien como he ser
 que mi uideri
 Para q me serui rare. Sapens q te p. illir
 Pnce. unie clunetiar. En lauda et medij.

On this page and the next are shown facsimiles of pp. 256-257 in Montecassino 871 which contain *Qu'es mi vida preguntays* of Cornago and Ockeghem. The transcription that follows on pages 62-64 is based on Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 7-I-28, fols. 24v-25.

La
Quies mi vna
u ē nō pōdii



Qu
Quies ma vna
uē nō pōdii



Qu'es mi vida preguntays *

CMC, fols. 24 v.-25.

CORNAGO-OCKEGHEM [1469]

FOL. 24 v. 5

Ques mi vida pre-gun-

FOL. 25

CONTRA 1 Ques mi vida pregun taes.

FOL. 24 v.

TENOR Ques mi vida preguntays.

FOL. 25

CONTRA 2 Ques mi vida pre guntays.

10

tays Non vos la pue-do ne-gar Bien a-mar y lan- men-

15 20

-tar Es la vi-da

* You ask what my life is like: I cannot deny that a life spent in deeply loving and lamenting is what you have inflicted on me.

Who would have served you as faithfully as I during my weary life, or who could so have suffered?

** B₁, C, D, B₁ in CMC.



que me days. ¿ Quien Mi

Quien vos pudie ra ser
Mi trabaja do bi vir

Quien vos pudie
Mi tra ba jado

Quien vos pu diera servir
Mi tra ba jado bevir

30 # 35

vos pu-die-se ser-vir Tan
tra-ba-ja-do be-vir Ni

vir

ra servir
bevir

Musical score for measures 40-44. The score is written for voice and piano. The voice part is on a single staff with lyrics: "bien co-mo yo he ser- vi- quien pudie-ra a-ver so-fri". The piano accompaniment consists of three staves: a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a separate bass clef staff. Measure 40 is marked with a sharp sign and the number 40.

Musical score for measures 45-48. The score is written for voice and piano. The voice part is on a single staff with lyrics: "do do?". The piano accompaniment consists of three staves: a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a separate bass clef staff. Measure 45 is marked with a sharp sign and the number 45. The score ends with a double bar line and the instruction "[D.C.]".



Porque mas sin duda *

CMC, fols. 44 v.-46.

CORNAGO

5

Por— que mas sin du— da cre— as Mi grand
 Pua que muer— te me de— seas Sin te—

TENOR

Por— que mas sin duda creas

CONTRA

Por— que mas sin duda creas

10

pe— na do— lo— ri— da De—
 nar la me— ra— sci— da

15

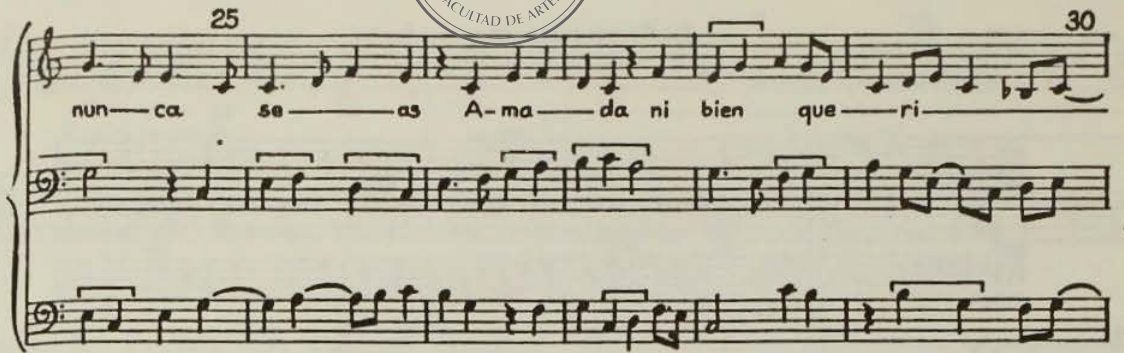
te Dios tan tri— ste vi— da

20

Que a mes y

* In order that you may better appreciate my sorrowful anguish, may God inflict on you the misery of loving and never being loved nor cared for.
 And with such a lot I believe that you would appreciate the terrible misery which you cause me without my deserving it.
 Since you desire my death without my deserving it, may God inflict on you the misery of loving and of never being loved nor cared for.

25 30



nun—ca se — as A—ma—da ni bien que—ri

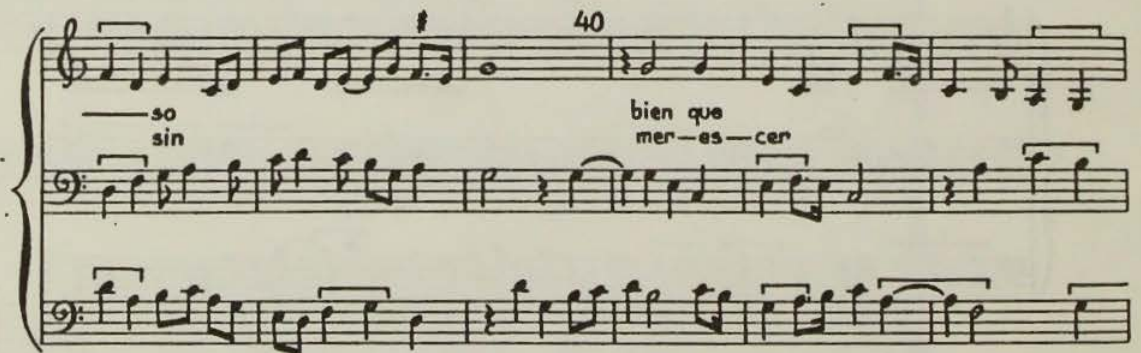
35



da. Y con es-ta vi—da tal Pien-Que
 El tor-men-to des—i-gual Que
 Y con esta vida tal
 [FINE] Y con es ta vida tal

** In the MS B_y appears as "signature" in the first, but is omitted in all succeeding staves.

40



so sin bien que mer—es—cer

45 [C]



cre-a-me ras. das.
 *** [DC.]

*** Contra in MS shows an extra C after this ligature.

Pere Oriola = Pedro Orihuela

Apart from Cornago, Montecassino 871 contains music by two or three other composers identifiable as Spaniards. According to documentation from the Naples Archivio di Stato, *Tesoreria antica frammenti*, vol. VI, folio 47, Alfonso on November 21, 1441, called Pere Oriola and two other excellent singers to attend him at camp.¹¹⁷ These same three—Pete Oriola, Phelip Romeu, and Miguel Nadal—are cited as Don Ferrando's = Ferrante's singers (*Xandes de don Ferrando*) on December 17, 1441.¹¹⁸ In October 1444 and November 1455 Alfonso the Magnanimous's singing chaplains included Pietro Oriolla = Pere Oriola.¹¹⁹ As late as 1470 he still remained at Naples. As evidence, William Flaville Prizer discovered two of Oriola's letters sent from Naples to Ludovico II Gonzaga, Marchese of Mantua—both apparently written in 1470 (Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 805). According to Higinio Anglés (*MME*, I, 116–117) Pedro Orihuela = Pere Oriola replaced Diego Alderete as a singer in Ferdinand I's Aragonese choir in about 1480.

Oriola's surviving compositions include a barzelletta *a 3* with Italian text, *Trista che spera morendo*, and a textless item *a 3* in Perugia Biblioteca Comunale Augusta 431 (G 20), fols. 64v–65 (olim 74v–75) and 66v–67 (olim 76v–77).¹²⁰ With slight textual differences, *Triste qui spero morendo* reappears in the Mellon Chansonnier (item 43) set *a*

4 (contratenor *si placet*) by Vincenet.¹²¹ The Mellon was copied at Naples ca. 1475; all four of Vincenet's secular works enter the Mellon. Although only one of these, *La pena sincer* [= *sin ser*] *sabida*, sets a Spanish text, all four were presumably written at Naples, where he may have resided as early as 1466. In that year, or at least before 1469, he was a singer in Ferrante's court chapel.

Not to be confused with the priest Johannes Vincinetti from the diocese of Toul who was taken into the papal choir December 24, 1425, the Mellon Vincenet was a native of Hainault employed at Ferrante's court in 1469 as both scribe and chapel singer (Tammara de Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletana dei Re d'Aragona*, ii [Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1952], 251). At his death in 1479 he left a widow, Vannella (Edmond vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, iv [Brussels: G. A. van Trigt, 1878], 31).

Vincenet's transposed Mode II mixed-signature setting of the same *Triste qui spero* poetry (mensuration: C) differs in every respect from Oriola's Mode I setting. Oriola's is the essence of sobriety, with a contratenor that moves constantly in ligatured intervals of a fifth. On the contrary, Vincenet's bassus remains supple throughout. His upper voice parts are lithe, whereas Oriola's are earthbound. Which setting better catches the spirit of the desolate poetry can be argued ("Sad [is he] who hoped, by dying / to end all pain; / sad he who never dies / [But] goes from fire to fire, burning / Sad he who dared hope, / His time of service ended; / Sad he who steps not forth / save with Pain as companion"¹²²).

At pages 218–219 of *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Atlas published Oriola's textless item *a 3* in Perugia 431 (G 20). At his page 62 Atlas had observed that "the two distinct sections, and the two endings in the *secunda pars*," may mean that this piece was originally a Spanish *canción*. In this textless piece, Oriola showed himself a "competent craftsman" with a flair for imitative writing in the two top voices.

As in the case of Perugia 431, Montecassino 871 contains two Oriola compositions. Despite their

¹²¹*The Mellon Chansonnier*, ed. Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), I, 148–149; II, 366–368.

¹²²Howard Garey's translation of text in Mellon, fol. 56v.

¹¹⁷Jole Mazzoleni, "Frammenti di cedole della tesoreria di Alfonso I (1437–1454)," *Fonti aragonesi [Testi e Documenti di storia napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia Pontaniana]*, serie II, volume primo (Naples, 1957), 119. For Alfonso's whereabouts in the fall of 1444, see p. XXXVII in the introduction to this volume.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹¹⁹Minieri Riccio, "Alcuni fatti," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, VI/2 (1881), 246, 439.

¹²⁰Alessandro Bellucci, "Perugia. Biblioteca Comunale," in: *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, v (Forlì: Luigi Bordini, 1895), p. 130; Michael A. Herson, "Perugia MS 431 (G20): A Study of the Secular Italian Pieces" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1972), p. 335; and especially Allan W. Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance of the Manuscript Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta 431 (G20)," *Musica Disciplina*, xxxi (1977), 86–87. Atlas dates the compilation of Per 431 "at Naples or its surroundings . . . during the 1480's, probably around the middle of the decade" (*MD*, xxxi, 56, 58). It reached Perugia no later than 1556.

Quola.

Trista che spera morendo
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera

Trista che spera
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera
 Trista che spera

Pere Oriola, *Trista che spera morendo*, a 3, copied in Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta MS 431 (G 20), fols. 64v-65 (olim 74v-75). The frequent skips of a fifth in the instrumental contra (especially between D and A) infuse Oriola's setting with the feel of "functional harmony."



titles—*In exitu Israel* (item 7, p. 253 in the MS) and *O vos homines qui transite in pena* (item 29, p. 279 in the MS¹²³)—only the first of these is a sacred piece. Concerning it, Pope and Kanazawa remind us that Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444–1476), duke of Milan the last ten years of his life, wrote Ferrante's = Ferdinand I's chapelmaster January 31, 1473, soliciting "*la copia de quelli salmi che faceva cantare la bona memoria del Re Alfonso quando sua Maestà haveva qualche victorie*" ("the copy of some psalms which King Alfonso of happy memory caused to be sung when His Majesty had some victories").¹²⁴

It is possible, as André Pirro suggests^[125] that the present setting of Psalm 113 is an example of such psalms. The style of the piece is quite simple, with a clear rendition of the *cantus firmus* in superius and set in chordal style throughout.¹²⁶

Oriola's second entry in Montecassino 871 belies its title. Rather than a setting of the *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam* antiphon for Holy Saturday lauds, the *O vos homines* text voices the instrumentally accompanied soloist's bitter complaint against the beauty of the "gentil donna d'Alagne," Lucrezia d'Alagne. She has enslaved the "sad, lost soul" who "serves his time in vain." Oriola's C signature for this Mode I barzelletta *a 3* "indicates a true *alla breve* mensuration"—and thus justifies a transcription that reduces breves to crotchets, semibreves to quavers (8:1). The manuscript prescribes seven anguished sharps (c#, g#, f#), but no consoling flats.

Apart from Oriola, at least one other putative Spaniard contributed two items to Montecassino—Damianus¹²⁷ (nos. 76 and 137). In *Ave maris stella*,



Domenico Gagini, trumpeter and wind player among musicians in Alfonso el Magnánimo's Triumphal Arch (entrance to Castel Nuovo)

a 4, the plainchant undergoes florid paraphrase in the superius (solo voice accompanied by three instruments). Only the first stanza of the hymn text underlies the superius. Two voices of Damianus's setting of the Holy Week *Christus factus est pro nobis* survive, superius and tenor. Concerning this duo, Pope and Kanazawa wrote (p. 662):

Evidently one or two additional voices were on the page now lost. Nevertheless, one can study the characteristic features of the piece rather accurately, since the two main voices survive. The chant melody [*Liber usualis*, 1961 ed., p. 669], quite freely elaborated, is placed in the top voice, and there is a fair amount of imitative writing between the two surviving voices. It is safe to say that this piece was a more extensive composition with more sophisticated texture than the same composer's setting of *Ave maris stella* (No. 76).

¹²³Pope and Kanazawa, music transcriptions at pp. 123–124 and 188–191; commentaries at pp. 561–562 and 580–581.

¹²⁴Emilio Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza," *Archivio storico lombardo*, Anno XIV, Serie II, vol. IV (Milan, 1887), 307.

¹²⁵"Un manuscrit musical du XV^e siècle à Montecassino," *Casinensia*, 1 (1929), 207.

¹²⁶Pope and Kanazawa, p. 562.

¹²⁷On January 31, 1456, Alfonso el Magnánimo's musicians included "Tommaso Damiano e Gabriele Guterriz Suonatori di flauto." See Camillo Minieri Riccio, "Alcuni fatti," 444. Anglés (*MME*, 1, 22 and 116–117) identified this Damiano as a Spaniard. Rudolf Gerber transcribed Damianus's *Ave maris stella*, *a 4*, in "Die Hymnen der Handschrift Montecassino 871," *Anuario Musical*, xi (1956), 19–20.



Bernard Icart

The musical section in Montecassino 871 (pp. 247–432) opens with a setting of *O princeps Pilate* (“Oh, Prince Pilate, magistrate of the Romans, we beseech you by your kindness that you will deign to give us Jesus’s body for burial”). “Bernardus,” who set this text (which is not from scripture but parallels Luke 23: 52–53), was very probably Bernard Icart = Ycart. In any event, the music belongs to the ceremony of the Deposition on Good Friday that was performed at Castel Nuovo during the reigns of Alfonso the Magnanimous and his son Fernando = Ferrante. Concerning *O princeps Pilate*, Pope and Kazanawa decreed (p. 33): “the composition is certainly a local product, belonging to Passion-tide.”

Edmond vander Straeten, the first to collect documented data concerning Icart, suggested that he originated in Belgium. Icart’s name (spelled Hycart) occurs in a list of chapel singers at Ferrante’s Neapolitan court in 1479 immediately above Tinctoris’s¹²⁸; it appears again in 1480, on October 27 of which year he received an allowance of approximately three-and-a-half yards of blue cloth for a choir gown.¹²⁹ Tinctoris was certainly a Fleming. Icart’s national origin was unknown, but since other evidence showed him to have become an eminent artist, Straeten inferred that he came from a strongly musical environment. *Huickart*, close enough to *Hycart*, occurs as a Flemish family name.¹³⁰

However, as Anglés long ago pointed out,¹³¹ Icart = Ycart is a common enough name in Catalonia, the most distinguished bearer of the name in Barcelona having perhaps been the Jesuit Francisco Icart (1572–1610), author of various devotional tracts.¹³² In 1985 Anglés’s presentiments were justified when Allan W. Atlas at last published the documentary proof in *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*—

¹²⁸*La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, iv (Brussels: G.-A. Van Trigt, 1878), 25.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 29.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 63. Straeten would have Icart specifically from Brabant.

¹³¹*MME*, i, 24 and 136. Isabel Pope, though well aware of Anglés’s suggestion, did not yield to it in her definitive study, “La musique espagnole à la Cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle,” *Musique et Poésie au XVI^e siècle*, p. 42.

¹³²*Diccionari Enciclopèdic de la Llengua Catalana* (Barcelona: Salvat, 1931), ii, 929. This Icart was a novice-master at Tarragona and Gandia.

at page 78 of which he documented Pope Sixtus IV’s having on October 27, 1478, provided Bernard Icart *clericus dertutensis diocesis* (diocese of Tortosa, on the Spanish east coast) with an abbacy in the Gulf of Taranto region that yielded an annual fifty gold cameral florins (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registri Lateranensi 797, fols. 30v–31v [document discovered by Adalbert Roth]).

Such positive proof of Icart’s Spanish origins could cause no one surprise. Even Straeten had admitted¹³³ that Ferrante’s musicians were oftener than not Spanish. Carlo Galiano, in “Nuove fonti per la storia musicale napoletana in età aragonese: I musicisti nei libri contabili del Banco Strozzi,” *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo* (ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa [Florence, 1983]), page 59, proposed that a payment of eight ducats to Guillem Ribelles of Tortosa on behalf of “Bernardo Picchart” April 17, 1476, was actually made in Bernard Icart’s behalf.

Francesco Florimo asserts that Icart rose from being a mere singer to *maestro di cappella* at the Neapolitan court.¹³⁴ Florimo also supposes him to have been five years younger than Tinctoris. Johannes Trithemius’s *Cathologus illustrium virorum* (Mainz: [1495]), fol. 73v, assigned Tinctoris’s birth to approximately the year 1435 (*Viuit adhuc in italia varia scribens. annos habens etatis ferme .lx.*). Under the supposition that Icart was indeed five years younger than Tinctoris, he was born in about 1440, and was therefore not only a fellow Tortosan but also Guillermus de Podio’s coetanean.

ICART’S THEORETICAL EXPERTISE

In the *Dialogus Johannis Ottobi Anglici in arte musica* (edited by Albert Seay in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, viii/2 [Summer 1955], 99), the English Carmelite based at Lucca after 1467, John Hothby, mentioned Ycart = Icart as a composer fond of verbal canons superscribed over tenors. For instance, “when he wished to have blacks sung as whites, he wrote over them “Ethiopians have white teeth.” Hothby himself had no use for verbal canons.

¹³³Straeten, iv, 31. See the musicians hired, for instance, in 1481. At least six of the nine were Spanish.

¹³⁴*La scuola musicale di Napoli* (Naples: Stab. tip. di Vinc. Morano, 1881), i, 67; also p. 74.



However, Icart's theoretical expertise gained him the respect of even the exacting Gaffurio. In a marginal addition to his maiden theoretical treatise (dated ca. 1474) *Extractus parvus musicae* (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, codex 1158, fol. 26v [F. Alberto Gallo, ed., Bologna, 1969], p. 166), Gaffurio exemplified a correctly used *punctus transportationis* with a nine-note excerpt from the tenor of a now lost *Missa Voltate in qua* by "Bernardus Ycart." Gaffurio also mentioned one other now lost Icart mass, a *Missa De amor tu dormi*.

Gaffurio met Icart at Naples. In the company of the exiled doge of Genoa he settled there at the end of November, 1478. Some years later Gaffurio supervised the preparation of a short sketch of his own personal life. In it are mentioned his reasons for settling at Naples, his efforts towards preparing his first theoretical book for the press, and also the famous men whom he had met at Naples. The *clarissimi musici* with whom he consorted were Tinctoris, Icart, and Guarnier.¹³⁵

Icart first reached print with a setting of lamentation verses ascribed to "Ber: ycart" that were published April 8, 1506, at Venice by Petrucci in his *Lamentationum Jeremie prophete Liber primus*. The 176-page musical supplement to Martin M. Herman's Yale University 1952 M. A. thesis, "Two Volumes of Lamentation Settings (Petrucci, 1506)," contains transcriptions of both 1506 books. Icart's Lamentations (fols. 7-13 in Petrucci's *Liber primus*) occupy pages 20-55. Like Herman, Günther Massenkeil opted for a 2:1 reduction ratio when publishing *Mehrstimmige Lamentationum aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1965)—but barring, however, in 4/2, rather than 2/2. Icart's chosen texts for the three last days of Holy Week run thus: I. Lamentations 1. 1-3 plus refrain "Jerusalem convertere"; II. 2. 1-2, 9, refrain; III. 5. 1-8, refrain.

Herman, who at page 95 of his thesis pioneered in analyzing Icart's lamentation-set, prefaced his discussion with these remarks:

Before undertaking a study of these two volumes of Lamentation settings, it is of primary importance to de-

¹³⁵Alessandro Caretta and others, *Franchino Gaffurio* (Lodi: Ediz. dell'Archivio Storico Lodigiano, 1951), pp. 21 and 22. Gaffurio's reference to Icart occurs in the Latin *Vita* written by Pantaleone Malegolo and revised by Gaffurio in March of 1514.

fine clearly the underlying principles that motivated their publication. A cursory examination of the content is sufficient to reveal conclusively that in his selection of material, Petrucci was guided throughout by liturgical considerations. These considerations were directly related to the position of the *Lamentations* as they appear in the Matin services. Petrucci had set himself the task of systematically providing for the liturgical demands of all nine lessons.

Book I opens with Tinctoris's setting of Lamentations 1. 1-3, plus refrain. Next come verses set by Icart, then by Alexander Agricola (ca. 1446-1506), Marbriano de Orto (ca. 1460-1529), and Johannes de Quadris (mid-15th century). Book II opens with lamentation verses set by Bartolomeo Tromboncino (ca. 1470-1535); next come verses by Gaspar van Weerbeke (ca. 1445-1517), then by Erasmus Lapidica (ca. 1445-1547). As Herman shows in his table at pages 61-62, all eight named composers (both books) provided music for Maundy Thursday lessons. However, only Icart and Johannes de Quadris (active at Veneto) set any verses for Holy Saturday lessons (*Oratio Jeremiae*). De Quadris's two-voice Lamentations—composed as early as 1440 according to Giulio Cattin's *Un processionale fiorentino per la settimana santa: studio liturgico-musicale sul MS. 21 dell'Opera di S. Maria del Fiore* (Bologna: Forni, 1975), 80-82—adhere faithfully to the *Tonus lamentationum*.

On the other hand, Tinctoris and Icart—representatives of the late fifteenth-century Neapolitan school—eschew any systematic use of plainsong formulae.

Both Tinctoris's and Icart's sets of lamentations appear to be freely composed. Tinctoris never quotes chant, and Icart in only the *Oratio Jeremiae*. Nor are their settings strophically organized. The structural unity in both sets is largely dependent upon bicinia groupings. In this respect, these two composers' settings stand apart from any of the other works contained in Petrucci's two volumes.

The structural importance of the bicinia in Icart's Maundy Thursday and Good Friday lamentations exceeds even their role in Tinctoris's set. Division of voices and alternation of bicinia are so systematically carried out as to provide the structural scaffolding around which Icart's lamentations for these two days are built. To obtain contrast, choral sections (usually a 4) alternate with bicinia groupings.

Final cadences throughout all of Icart's mixed-signature settings involving four voices (B flat in bassus)



invariably call for an octave leap from A₁ to A₂ in the bassus, against a settling from E to D in the tenor. The prevalent ficta C-sharps strongly suggest modern D minor. Intermediate cadences and half-closes on the A [major] chord reinforce the D minor sense. Block chords, with fermatas over each of them, at "inter angustias" and at "non est lex" heighten the sense of drama infused throughout Icart's poignant settings.

Icart's other extant sacred works are found in the so-called Bonadies Codex, preserved at the Biblioteca Comunale in Faenza (Cod. 117). This manuscript contains six items by Icart: three Magnificats (even verses)¹³⁶—one *a* 3, the rest *a* 4; and three movements of a Mass *a* 4 (Kyrie, Et in terra pax, Qui tollis).¹³⁷

Gino Roncaglia, "Intorno ad un codice di Johannes Bonadies" (Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Modena: *Atti e Memorie*. Series V, 4 [1939]), pp. 35–36, reported only two Magnificats; but there are three (fols. 6v–7, 7v–8, 65v–66). In the first, Icart's tenor follows the outline of the plainchant verse, *Et misericordia eius*, as given in the 1526 Jeronymite processional published at Alcalá de Henares (*Incipit liber processionarius secundum consuetudinem ordinis sancti patris nostri Hieronymi*), fols. 99v–100. Atlas, who published his transcription of the first of Icart's three Faenza Magnificats in *Music at the Aragonese Court* at pages 200–203, called attention to the tenor of Icart's Kyrie, Et in terra pax, and Qui tollis in the same Faenza source. It duplicates the tenor of the *Magnificat Sexti toni* published by him. At page 135, Atlas correctly insisted that self-borrowing of the 26-note tenor cantus firmus was "conscious" and that Icart therefore "pioneered" the parody Magnificat on the continent, just as Fayrfax and Ludford pioneered it in England. Atlas also proposed instrumental performance of the two contratenors and tenor parts, and to strengthen his proposal cited at his page 135 three documented instances of Italian choirs being accompanied by wind instruments—in 1473, 1475, and 1495.

¹³⁶For incipits itemized by folio-number, see Kurt von Fischer, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik* (Munich-Duisburg, 1972 [RISM Biv⁴]), pp. 898–920.

¹³⁷The two other composers of vocal polyphony in this codex were John Hothby (d. 1487) and Joannes de Erfordia, a fourteenth-century Franciscan. In 1964 Albert Seay edited *The Musical Works of John Hothby*, all of which survive uniquely in Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117.

Some evidence suggests that Icart composed his sixth-tone Magnificat before settling at Naples. Atlas mentions its "northern Italian" structure: verses 2 and 8 are sung to polyphonic section I, 4 and 10 to II, 6 and 12 to III (odd verses, plainchant).

Whether the Kyrie, Et in terra pax, and Qui tollis in Faenza 117 belong to Icart's lost Mass *De amoru tu dormi* mentioned in Gaffurio's *Extractus parvus musicae* remains conjectural. But obviously the three movements share the same Tone VI modality and tenor cantus firmus of the Magnificat transcribed by Atlas. In both Gloria movements the tenor enters so late as the second half ("Domine Deus" in Et in terra; "Tu solus" in Qui tollis). Fermatas crown the block chords to which "Jesu Christe" is sung in the Et in terra. Not only are these Gloria movements bicinia during their first halves, but the texting of the top part alone suggests that Icart intended them as instrumentally accompanied sections.

In the Pixérécourt Chansonnier (which also contains Cornago's *Moro perche non dai fede*) can be seen a picaresque item at fols. 62v–63 entitled *Non toches a moi car son trop*. The composer's name is spelled thus: "b. ycart". The *chapurrado* text, a gibberish of French, Italian, and nonsense phrases, is copied under all four voice-parts. The structure resembles that of a villancico, with the nonsense phrase "nichi, nichi, nioch" recurring at the end of both the estribillo and the coplas.¹³⁸

Allan W. Atlas brilliantly argued for still further additions to the canon of Icart's works in his extremely valuable article "On the Provenance of the Manuscript Perugia Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 431 (G20)," *Musica Disciplina*, xxxi (1977). At pages 66 and 83 he proposed that three short secular pieces attributed to Heinrich Isaac in Johannes Wolf's edition (*Weltliche Werke* [DTÖ, 28, 132–133]) should with all probability be assigned to Icart.

The monogram heading them, "M. I^c" is particularly interesting. Wolf speculated that the monogram might stand for Heinrich Isaac and published the three compositions (Nos. 21–23) that appear among the *opera dubia* of his edition of Isaac's secular works. Wolf's identification, however, must be reconsidered. Given the Neapolitan provenance of Per 431, the monogram "M. I^c" is far more likely to represent the composer Bernardus Ycart (= Icart).

¹³⁸Cf. Alonso's *La tricotea*, a drunkard's song in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*, no. 247.

The first of the three pieces under consideration, *Pouer me mischin dolente*, is texted throughout; the second, *Se io te o dato l'anima e'l core*, bears only a title; the third piece lacks even a title.

Johannes de Yllianas

Yllianas (= Hillanas, Lanas, de yllianas, lanas, llanes), a native of Aragón whence his name, Johannes de Aragonia,¹³⁹ evidently joined the papal choir September 1, 1492. Later Roman documents refer to him as an Augustinian canon¹⁴⁰; probably he was already an Austin canon before leaving Spain. Already in on January 19, 1491—if he was the same singer as Don Ferrante's *cappellanus* "Johannes de Aragonia"—he had been awarded a benefice at Caiazzo near Naples (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 880, fols. 229v–230 [Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, p. 94]).

When he entered the papal choir it comprised twenty singers, among whom the most illustrious was Josquin des Prez. The productive composers—apart from Josquin—were Bertrandus Vaqueras (= Beltrame Vacqueras) and Marbriano de Orto. The next Spaniard to enter following Yllianas was Alfonso de Troya (in 1501),¹⁴¹ a composer of whom, however, only three short part-songs now survive. At least another pair of Spaniards entered before the death of Alexander VI, last of the Spanish popes.

Yllianas joined the papal choir one month after Rodrigo Borja's election, and was the first Spaniard to be added to the papal choir in more than a decade. Indeed at the moment he entered there was none other among the twenty singers who can unequivocally be so claimed. Vaqueras's name is Spanish, and the *bassca* (*basco*?) after his first name in a St. Peter's register of 1482¹⁴² means possibly that

¹³⁹Haberl, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, III (Die römische "schola cantorum" und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts), 58.

¹⁴⁰Herman-Walther Frey, "Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X. und zu seiner Privatkapelle," *Die Musikforschung*, VIII/2 (1955), 184–185.

¹⁴¹Haberl, *Bausteine*, III, 59.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 50 (1482.2). In 1918 Mitjana identified Vaqueras as Spanish. See *Estudios sobre algunos músicos españoles del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Sucs. de Hernando, 1918), p. 203, n. 2. *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th edn., VIII, 649, follows suit. Bukofzer alludes in a posthumous article, "Three Unknown Italian Chansons of the Fifteenth Century," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae*, II (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1957), to a composer whose nickname—in two Italian MSS of late fifteenth-century origin—was *Le petit Basque* or *Le pitet basque* (p. 109).

he like Anchieta, was a Basque. But leaving aside Vaqueras, the papal choir immediately prior to Alexander VI's accession contained no identifiable Spaniards. At Alexander's death in 1503 it enrolled at least three. Yllianas in 1509 stood not only third in seniority but also found himself one of six Spaniards in a choir of twenty-one members.¹⁴³

Five years later he had become so senior as to be dean. In the same year (September 22, 1514), Leo X permitted him to cede a 24-gold-ducat pension, which he currently enjoyed on the fruits of St. John of Casteneto monastery in Calabria, to a 17-year-old relative named Michaelangelo de Yllanes, who was already in orders.¹⁴⁴ Pope Leo, always generous to his singers, also exerted himself to obtain absentee benefices for Yllianas in Cuenca (August 5, 1513) and Osma (September 11, 1516) dioceses. His income from the Cuenca rectorate (and probably from other sources) enabled him to retire in 1518, after a quarter-century in the papal choir.

He is the earliest assured Spaniard whose music still survives in the papal archive. But his untitled *Missa dominicalis a 4* in Capp. Sist. MS 49 at the Vatican Library awaits publication.¹⁴⁵ In the Pleni, Benedictus, and Agnus II, Yllianas reduces to three voices. He provides no music for Agnus III. According to Richard Sherr (*New Grove*, VIII, 561), "the mass is based on different chants, and the declamatory passages in the Gloria and the Credo may betray Italian influences."

Alexander VI died August 18, 1503. The careers of other Spaniards inducted into the papal choir before his decease belong to the sixteenth century. Among them, Alfonso de Troya¹⁴⁶ from Toledo di-

¹⁴³Haberl, *Bausteine*, III, 60 (1508).

¹⁴⁴Leonis X. *Pontificis Maximi Regesta*, ed. Joseph Hergenroether (Freiburg i/B: Herder, 1884–1891), v–vi [1888], p. 731.

¹⁴⁵*Bausteine*, II (Bibliographischer und thematischer Musik-katalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatikan zu Rom), 142. The only two named composers in this codex of 148 leaves are Vaqueras, with two masses, and Yllianas (Hillanas), with one. The other eight masses are anonymous, but the composers of five of them can be identified from concordances: Dufay, Isaac, Compère, Josquin, Brumel. This codex dates from Julius II's pontificate (1503–1513). See *Bausteine*, II, 21, and especially, José María Llorens Cisteró: *Capellae Sixtinae Codices* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica, 1960), p. 102.

¹⁴⁶Frey, "Regester," *Die Musikforschung*, VIII/1 (1955), 60; Troya rose to the post of *subdiaconus* and by February of 1509 was receiving ten ducats monthly instead of the eight being paid the 17 papal singers active that month (*Die Musikforschung*, VIII/2, 197).



ocese (entered February 1, 1501; *d* "outside Rome" December 1516) may be the Troya who contributed two sacred songs and one secular to the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (nos. 55, 413, and 187). Both sacred pieces belong to the original corpus of *Palacio*, and therefore probably antedate 1500. *O santa clemens* (no. 55) contains archaic octave-leaps at cadences to avoid consecutive fifths (mm. 10, 15, 39). *Quien tal árbol pone*, Troya's secular song in *CMP* (subtitled *endecha* = dirge), exhibits the spillover rhyme scheme popularized by Juan del Encina. Significantly, it is a later addition to the original corpus of *CMP*.

Alfonso de Frías¹⁴⁷ from Zamora diocese (belonged to the choir 1502–1516) left no known compositions. Neither did García Salinas nor Juan de Palomares, both of whom presumably entered before Alexander VI's death.¹⁴⁸ In contrast, Juan Escribano ranks as the most significant Spaniard who joined the choir before Cristóbal de Morales.

Juan Escribano

Escribano entered the pontifical choir at Rome probably late in 1502.¹⁴⁹ He had already earned a master of arts. His biographer, José M.^a Llorens Cisteró ("Juan Escribano, cantor pontificio y compositor, †1557" [*Anuario Musical* = *AM*, xii, 98]), permits our believing him to have hailed from Salamanca, to have been a soprano in his home town cathedral from 1498–1502, to have earned his degree at Salamanca, and to have left in 1502 to enter the papal choir at Rome. The singer who entered just after him was also a Spaniard, Juan de Palomares. It is extremely likely that both entered before the death of Alexander VI. In any event he remained an active member of the choir longer than any other Spaniard who entered before 1520. Only two, Calasanz and Sánchez, bettered his length of

service before 1600. He retired in August of 1539,¹⁵⁰ but had become dean in 1527 (on leave eight of the twelve intervening years).

During his long service at Rome he was rewarded with numerous honors and preferments. Already before Leo X named him an apostolic notary on July 5, 1513, he had somehow managed to obtain a Salamanca canonry the income from which he could enjoy *in absentia* (*Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi Regesta*, vii–viii [1891], p. 55). In 1514 his choir colleagues elected him *abbas* (treasurer). The next year Pope Leo authorized the Salamanca chapter to apply the fruits of the Archidiaconate of Monleón (a dignity in the gift of the chapter) to Escribano's canonry. When the chapter demurred, he on June 3, 1516, changed his request to an order sharpened with threats of penalties (*Die Musikforschung*, viii/2, p. 184).

With papal blessing, Escribano on November 30, 1520, resigned his Salamanca canonry into the hands of his brother—Alfonso—who was to hold it until the day that he should himself come home from Rome. Among Pope Leo's other favors were on November 1, 1517, a canonry in the Oviedo Cathedral; and on October 31, 1521 (if homonyms do not deceive us), a 40-gold-ducat benefice in Sigüenza diocese. Both Adrian VI (1522) and Clement VII (1527, 1530, 1532) showered him with such further favors that he could spend his last eighteen years in Spain a comfortably fixed man.

During his entire 37 years of active papal choir service his conduct continued so exemplary that he never incurred censure or fines. The confidence that he enjoyed among his fellow nationals expressed itself in many ways. From November 1525, he lived in a house belonging to the Pía Unión de Santiago (eleemosynary fund of the Spanish national church at Rome). During his absences from Rome, his majordomo Diego de Vera paid all his assessments punctually. Upon retirement from the papal choir and taking leave from his fellow singers August 24, 1539, he that day made over his occupancy rights to the house owned by the Pía Unión de Santiago. His fellow Spaniard papal singer Bartolomé Escobedo witnessed the document transferring these rights to

¹⁴⁷*Die Musikforschung*, viii/1, 59–60.

¹⁴⁸Haberl, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, iii, 60.

¹⁴⁹Haberl, iii, 60. In 1507 Escribano stood fifteenth in a list of 21 singers; his Spanish colleagues included the Augustinian canon Juan de Yllianas (of Aragón) [no. 5], Alfonso de Frías [no. 11], García Salinas [no. 12], and Juan de Palomares [no. 16]. Further data on Frías and Palomares in Frey, "Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle," 1955, pp. 59–60; 1956, p. 152. Frey's data on Escribano is divided between *Die Musikforschung*, viii, 184, and ix, 152. He documents the careers of the Spaniards who entered the choir during Escribano's second decade at viii, 62–63 (Antonio de Ribera), 188–189 (Martín Rodrigo Prieto), and 193–194 (Pedro Pérez de Rezola).

¹⁵⁰On June 12, 1539, Escribano rejoined the choir after extended leave in Spain. But on August 24, 1539, he took final leave to return homeward. See Haberl, iii, 79–80. Antonio Calasanz served from 1529–1577, Juan Sánchez from 1529 to 1572.



Francisco de Artifis. One year after his death an alien generation of pontifical singers attended an anniversary Mass in the Spanish national church of Santiago = St. James at Rome (October 12, 1558).¹⁵¹ If he retired at 62 in 1539, he would have died in his eightieth year.

All of Escribano's extant works are in Vatican City manuscripts. His *Magnificat Sexti Toni* (all verses) is copied in Cappella Sistina 44, fols. 52v-60, and his six-part motet *Paradisi porta* in Capp. Sist. 46, fols. 120v-121.¹⁵² His Lamentations *a 4* and Prayer of Jeremy *a 5* occupy Cappella Julia 27 [xii 3, copied in 1543], fols. 79v-96 and 96v-101. On April 23, 1556, veteran Spanish singer Blas Núñez (joined the papal choir 1520/22; *d* Rome November 22, 1563) was charged by the other choir members with overseeing the recopying of his lamentations. Andrea Antico printed at Rome in his 1510 *Canzoni nove*¹⁵³ two of Escribano's Italian secular songs, one a frottola, the other a mascherata.

Verses 1-5, 8-10 of Escribano's Tone VI Magnificat are composed *a 4*, verse 6 *a 2*, 7 *a 3*, 11 *a 5*, 12 *a 6*. Verses 8 and 11 contain canons at the lower fourth; verse 12, a double canon at the octave and the fifth. All verses of the eleven Magnificats in Capp. Sist. 44 are set polyphonically. None of the other composers in this *Liber canticorum Magnificat* (Agricola, Brumel, Compère, Josquin des Prez, Prioris) includes more than one canonic verse, and none climaxes with a double canon. Only Escribano augments to six voices in the final *Sicut erat*.

If his 70-breve *Paradisi porta* can be accepted as a token of his powers, Escribano was as learned a Spanish composer as any between Francisco de Peñalosa and Cristóbal de Morales. Properly to read

his many ligatures, the transcriber must, for instance, observe those rules listed as A.1, A.3, B.5, and B.7 at page 92 in Willi Apel's *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* (4th edn., 1949). For a further show of skill, he contrives between two upper parts a rigorous canon at the fifth (antecedent voice enters at meas. 6, consequent at meas. 8) which by omitting any reference to the note B through the antecedent adroitly sidesteps the problems of *befabemi* that usually arise when solving such canons. Only once does he even touch the note B (meas. 63), and then for but a fleeting crotchet in an ornamental resolution. For a third proof of his powers, he spins the notes in the canonic voices out of a plainsong antiphon: in this case, *Nativitas tua*, an antiphon to be sung at second vespers on September 8 (*LU* [1947], p. 1503). Although there can be no doubt that the under parts were conceived as handmaidens to the canonic pair in this Nativity of Our Lady motet, they too disport themselves in imitations whenever they can so frolic without disturbing the progress of the slower-moving canonic voices: e.g. at mm. 46-47, 56-57.

For still another matter, the proportions of *Paradisi porta* beautifully illustrate the perfections of the number 7. Sectionalized by its cadences, this motet divides into 7 + (14 + 14) + 28 + 7 breves = a total of 70 breves. The cadences successively debouch into chords of A minor, D minor, A minor, D minor, D. Such symmetry can hardly have been accidentally achieved. The "portals" of seven breves at each side support an arch comprising the middle group. The significance of the word *porta* as applied to the Virgin is doubly underlined at mm. 8-12, during which he requires altus I to sing "porta" to the notes of the *Salve Regina* plainsong initium (breves). Viewed in any light, then, this Nativity of Our Lady motet stamps him a virtuoso. He moreover set a precedent to be followed by Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria when he showered his richest learning on a motet composed in honor of the Virgin.

Throughout *Paradisi porta* he stratifies the parts according to the following scheme: canonic voices move in semibreves, breves, and longs; the three inner parts in crotchets, minims, semibreves, and breves; and the bass in semibreves, breves, and longs (with slight exceptions at mm. 14-15, 32-35). Occasionally, skips intrude in the bass which though singable enough in semibreves suggest that he considered this part a harmonic prop (mm. 48-49). He adheres throughout to Mode I, never once denaturing the

¹⁵¹Haberl, m, 121, col. 1, lines 50-54. Martín de Tapia in his *Vergel de música* (Burgo de Osma: Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1570), fol. 76v, cites him as *el venerado loan escribano, Arcediano de Monleón* and claims that Escribano favored the constant use of *ficta Bb*'s when singing plainsong melodies in Modes V and VI: a practice which Bermudo—from whom Tapia plagiarized most of the *Vergel*—had not endorsed.

¹⁵²Codex 44 was copied before 1513, Codex 46 probably before 1521. See Haberl, II, 66. A facsimile of Escribano's *Paradisi porta* was first published in *MGG*, m, at plate 45 (following columns 1567-1568).

¹⁵³Alfred Einstein, "Andrea Antico's *Canzoni Nove* of 1510," *Musical Quarterly*, xxxvii/3 (July, 1951), 332. *Vola il tempo*, second in Antico's collection is classified by Einstein as a frottola; *L'huom terren*, seventh, as a mascherata. This latter, according to Einstein, should be thought of as a "Trionfo della Fama" in frottola form.

Jo. Sartano.

P a ra di si por ta per eua cuncta clausa
est et per mariam uirginem Ite rum parafacta est
alle luya allelu ya alle luya
a ra di si por ta per pere
uam cunctis cunctis clausa est
est et per maria uirgi nem uirginem
Ite rum parafacta allelu ya
alle luya alleluya

P ara di si por ta per e
uam cunctis clausa est et per maria uirginem
nem Ite rum parafacta Alle luya
riam et per mariam uirginem
uirginem Ite rum parafacta
est Alle luya Alleluya Alleluya

P a ra di si por ta per eua cuncta clausa
est et per mariam uirginem Ite rum parafacta est
alle luya allelu ya alle luya
a ra di si por ta per pere
uam cunctis cunctis clausa est
est et per maria uirgi nem uirginem
Ite rum parafacta allelu ya
alle luya alleluya

P ara di si por ta per e
uam cunctis clausa est et per maria uirginem
nem Ite rum parafacta Alle luya
riam et per mariam uirginem
uirginem Ite rum parafacta
est Alle luya Alleluya Alleluya

Resoluto

Canon

pulse, moderato

5

Pa - ra - ra - di - si por -

10

Pa - ra - ra - di - si por - - ra - di - si por - ta - - si por - ta per - E - vam, - si por - ta per - ta per - ta, por - - - ta per -

15

20

- ta per E - - - vam per E - - - vam cun - ctis - ctis per E - - - vam E - vam, per E - - - vam cun - - E - - - - vam cun -

Note: B₂-m2,7,16, T and B₂-m65; the composer has added precautionary sharps (= naturals) to interdica ficta B flats at these points.



25 30

cun - ctis clau - - sa - est, et
 clau - - sa - est, et
 clau - - sa - est, et
 cun - - ctis clau - - sa est, et per,
 - - ctis clau - - sa est, et per Ma -
 - ctis clau - - sa - est,

35

et per Ma - - -
 et per Ma - - ri - - am
 clau - - sa est, et per Ma - - ri - - am
 et per Ma - ri - - - am
 - ri - am, et per Ma - - ri - - am
 et per Ma - - ri - - am Vir - -

40 45

- ri - - am Vir - - gi - - nem
 Vir - - gi - - nem
 Vir - - gi - nem, Vir - gi - nem i - - te -
 Vir - gi - nem, Vir - gi - nem i -
 Vir - gi - - - - nem i - -
 - gi - - - - - nem



50

50
i - te - - rum - - - pa - te - fac - ta
i - te - - rum - - - pa - te - fac - ta est. Al - -
- - - rum - - - pa - te - fac - ta est.
- te - - - rum - - - pa - - te - - fac - - - ta
- te - - rum, i - - te - rum pa - - te - fac - - ta
it - - te - - rum - - - pa - - - te - fac - ta

55 60

55 60
est. Al - - - le - - - lu - -
le - - - lu - - ya, al - le - lu -
Al - le - lu - - ya, al - le - lu - - ya,
est. Al - le - lu - ya, al - le -
est. Al - le - - lu - - ya, al - le - lu - -
est. Al - - le - - - lu - - -

65 70

65 70
- ya, (a) al - le - lu - - - ya, al - le - lu - - - ya.
- ya, al - le - lu - - - ya.
al - le - lu - - ya, al - le - lu - - - ya, al - le - lu - - ya.
- - lu - - - ya, al - le - lu - - - ya.
- - - ya, al - le - lu - - - ya.
- - - ya, al - le - lu - - - ya.



dorian with *bemol*. He interdicts ficta flats in two ways: (1) The MS shows "precautionary" sharps (i.e. naturals) before the bass-note B₁ at doubtful moments (mm. 2, 7, 65); (2) When realizing the canon at the fifth, e cries for b₁ as its answer in mm. 26–28, 48–50, 53–55, 58–60. As for dissonance-treatment, syncopes occur frequently enough; but a passing minim dissonance on a third minim of four in the bar, only once (meas. 10³), and the *nota cambiata* never.

Juan del Encina

The most universally renowned Spanish musician and poet who was attracted to Rome during Alexander VI's pontificate was not, however, any member of the papal choir but rather Juan del Encina. Born at or near Salamanca on presumably July 12, 1468, he had already composed the bulk of both the music and the dramatic poetry on which his universal fame now rests before age 30.

The first bull granted Encina by Alexander VI bears the date May 12, 1500. He gained access to the Pope through Cesare Borgia (1475/1476–1507). This heretofore unsuspected connection comes to light in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registri delle Suppliche (= RS), 1171, fols. 74–75. Under date of October 16, 1503, Encina asks to be confirmed in four simplex Spanish benefices granted him by Alexander VI (who had died two months previously). Near the close, Encina identifies himself as having been in the service of Cesare Borgia, and as having been made a familiar of Alexander VI through Cesare's influence (. . . *quod dictus orator in serviciis Illustrissimi duci Cesari Borgia de Francia insistiendo dixit se familiaris & continuus comensalis Alexandri Sexti . . .*).¹⁵⁴

The conclave that elected Julius II met October 31, 1503. By this date, or at least before November 10, 1504, Encina had become a familiar of the patron of arts and letters residing at Rome, Francisco Loriz = Loris. A native of Valencia, Loriz obtained the red hat May 30/31, 1503, during Alexander VI's ninth creation (Alfonso Chacón, *Vitae, et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium*, III [Rome: P. & A. De Rubeis, 1677], 207). Loriz

participated in the conclaves that elected the short-lived Pius III September 22, 1503, and Julius II one month later.

On January 28, 1505, an indult was accorded conclavists who had assisted at the one-day conclave of October 31, 1503. The indult concludes with a list of the conclavists (RS 1218, fol. 212v). A marginal note places Encina among the conclavists.

Jo. del Enzina, cassatum et descriptum de mandato S.D.N. Registro lib. tertio X, fol. CCXXV, per me, N. de Areto, anno tertio eiusdem S.D.N.

Since it was not until April 14, 1506 (RS, 1233, fol. 230v) that Cardinal Loriz formally asked that "Juan del Encina (described as a cleric of Salamanca and the cardinal's familiar) be inscribed in the rotulus of the conclavists in the conclave that elected Julius II . . . with rights and privileges accorded the conclavists,"¹⁵⁵ the marginal note on RS, 1218, fol. 212v may considerably postdate the indult. Indeed, Cardinal Loriz may have aided his protégé Encina with a legal fiction.

Loriz was reputedly a nephew of Juan Borgia, Cardinal of Monreale, and "was thus a close relative of Alexander and of Cesare; in fact, he was one of Cesare's intimate friends."¹⁵⁶ Whatever his other qualities, it was Loriz's patronage of arts, letters, and music that drew Encina to his side, "for it seems unlikely that Encina would have turned to him if he had not felt that his talents would be appreciated."¹⁵⁷ Loriz's other documented favors to Encina had begun as early as December 7, 1504, when the cardinal (who was also abbot *in commendam* of a monastery in Oviedo diocese) presented Encina for a benefice in San Bartolomé parish at Turon left vacant by the death of Bartolomé González.

Cardinal Loriz's favors—continuing up to the moment of his death at Rome July 22, 1506—reached a climax when on March 1, 1506, "Encina (described as a canon of Salamanca, Bachelor of Laws, and

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 171. Juan Pérez, who had died, may have been the cardinal's servant in the conclave of October 31, 1503. To make sure that the rights and privileges to which the just deceased Juan Pérez was entitled (as a conclavist), Cardinal Loriz perhaps fictionalized Encina for Pérez.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 161. According to Chacón's *Vitae, et res gestae*, III (1677), 207, Loriz visited France after Charles VIII's death April 7, 1498, as a member of a papal mission to condole with the new king, Louis XII.

¹⁵⁷Sherr, p. 162.

¹⁵⁴Richard Sherr, "A Note on the Biography of Juan del Encina," *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, xxxiv/2 (Winter, 1982), 168.



papal familiar), is granted canonries and prebends in the dioceses of Salamanca, Avila, and Oviedo, along with expectatives [promises of future benefices] in those dioceses."¹⁵⁸ Whether Encina ever succeeded in taking possession of these and of other papal conferrals must, however, remain speculative. Sherr, responsible for locating the March 1, 1506, document (as well as all others mentioned in this survey of Encina's benefice-hunting career at Rome 1503-1506) thinks "it likely that Encina was prevented from taking possession of the canonries and prebends granted March 1, 1506."

What Encina did succeed in obtaining during Julius II's pontificate that actually came into his possession was the archidiaconate of Málaga—one of the most lucrative dignities in Málaga Cathedral, and certainly a better paying post than any of the absentee benefices proposed by Cardinal Loriz. By a prior papal concession all dignities in Málaga Cathedral had after the Granada wars been placed nominally at the royal disposal. Encina therefore arranged through the papal nuncio at Ferdinand V's court that Pedro de Hermosilla, his brother, should obtain the requisite royal document and present it in his behalf to the Málaga chapter. Pedro could the more easily do so since he was in 1509 himself a resident in this Mediterranean haven. The Málaga capitular acts show that Pedro brought in the royal document on April 11, 1509. The first act mentioning Encina's presence is dated, however, January 2, 1510.¹⁵⁹

On March 20, 1510, the chapter designated him and a fellow-canon as deputies to the court, their commission being to obtain a new royal charter from Ferdinand guaranteeing the cathedral income and setting out certain new rules for the collection of tithes. On the following October 11 the chapter recalled him from the court, but on July 14, 1511, sent both him and Gonzalo Pérez back to pursue the business further. A cloud had already arisen between him and the chapter before his return to court, as is shown by their attempt to diminish his archidiaconal prerogatives (ostensibly because he had not yet been made a priest). The chapter did agree to give him 100 ducats towards the cost of the second trip to court—but reached the decision reluctantly. On August 21,

1511, his fellow-canons voted to reduce his archidiaconal income to one-half, because he had not yet received priest's orders.

With curious vacillation their next step (on January 3, 1512) was to appoint him delegate to the provincial synod summoned by Diego Deza, archbishop of Seville. He stayed in Seville in company with his own bishop and another Málaga canon from January 11 to 15. The meetings were held in St. Clement's chapel. Upon returning to Málaga he still did not wish to settle permanently, but instead asked leave from the chapter on May 17 (1512) to revisit Rome. Having reached the city which he loved above all others, he stayed a whole year. The most memorable event of this particular sojourn was the presentation at a Spanish archbishop's palace of his last known dramatic piece, the so-called *Egloga de Plácida e Vittoriano*. The audience included Julius II, Archbishop Jaime = Jacobo Serra (owner of the palace; created a cardinal September 28, 1500; d. March 15, 1517), the Spanish ambassador, and numerous Spanish and Italian nobility. Encina's play was given the night of January 6, 1513.¹⁶⁰

Although this is his longest and best developed piece, it has been criticized for its pagan atmosphere. The cast includes the goddess Venus. One passage "travesties" the Christian office of the dead. Plácida, the shepherdess who has committed suicide for a carnal love, is restored to life at Venus's instance. The name of Jesus is used, but as an exclamation rather than in petition. Eritea, an aging female, plies the trade of a Celestina. But if questions of propriety are brushed aside, the play can be applauded for the proof it gives of Encina's ripening dramatic powers. Unfortunately none of the music has been preserved. Before Plácida stabs herself a shepherd named Pascual sings an instrumentally accompanied villancico, railing against the goddess of love. At the end, the happy lovers join in dancing to the sound of bagpipes.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 172. Sherr's supporting document: Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registri Vaticani 1804, fols. 137-138v.

¹⁵⁹Rafael Mitjana y Gordon, *Estudios* (see note 142), p. 17.

¹⁶⁰The *commedia* began an hour before midnight. The pope sat between Federico Gonzaga and the Spanish ambassador. Gonzaga disliked it, because it was in Spanish. See Alessandro Luzio, "Federico Gonzaga, ostaggio alla Corte di Giulio II," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, ix, III-IV (1886), 550.

¹⁶¹*Gaitero* = bagpipe-player. See "Plácida y Vittoriano" in *El teatro español: Historia y antología*, ed. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1942), I, 183.



Encina returned to Málaga before August 13, 1513. In the succeeding autumn he was again chosen to represent the chapter at court. During his absence he also transacted business for Málaga Cathedral in Seville. Early in 1514 he set out anew for Rome, this time without awaiting the chapter's permission. On March 31 his fellow-canons merely heard that he had departed "in conformity with a papal bull." The new pope, Leo X (1513-1521), was to patronize him as enthusiastically as had the two previous pontiffs.

The evidence is first a bull in Encina's behalf which reached the Málaga chapter on October 11, 1514. It read in part: "During the attendance of the Archdeacon of Málaga at the pontifical court he is in no wise to be disturbed nor molested in the enjoyment of his full income, no matter what statutes of Málaga Cathedral may conflict with this provision." The second was the publication at Rome in 1514 of the *Egloga de Plácida e Vittoriano*, a play which on other evidence Leo X is known to have enjoyed. The third proof of Leo's favor is an appointment before May 27, 1517, to be a subcollector of apostolic revenues. For a fourth proof, Encina's ecclesiastical titles were so shifted that in exchange for the archidiaconate of Málaga he received a benefice in the collegiate church of Morón. This exchange took effect on February 21, 1519. To the Morón benefice not requiring residence, was added one month later the priorate in León Cathedral. Encina took possession of his priorate, the final dignity which he was to enjoy, on March 14, 1519. His proxy was a certain canon of León named Antonio de Obregón.

As for Encina's actual whereabouts between 1514 and 1519, he was in Rome during 1515. Early in 1516 he was again in Málaga, briefly. On February 4, 1516, he asked leave to go outside the city, without naming any definite destination. On May 6, 1516, his bishop, Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa, wrote a letter from Valladolid summoning him to appear in that city before May 27. Ferdinand had just died and Charles, the new king, was expected from Flanders. Presumably the bishop, relying on Encina's skill as a negotiator, wished him again to assist in the protracted cathedral suit for financial privileges. On December 30, 1516, the chapter voted to send him twenty ducats while he continued to reside at court. Before March 27, 1517, he had returned to Málaga, but the chapter on that day commissioned him to repair again to court with the purpose of suing for further pecuniary benefits. On April 14, 1517, his fellow-canons received his letter

from court asking for more expense money, a request which they immediately granted. On September 12, 1517, he made his last known appearance at a Málaga chapter meeting, presenting on that date an account of his most recent efforts at court.

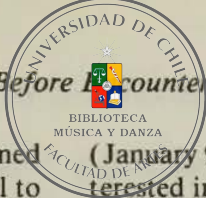
Since he appeared at no later session it is likely that he left for Rome immediately. The royal permission which he needed in order to resign his archidiaconate in exchange for a simple benefice at the collegiate church in Morón was given at Saragossa in the names of the titular queen, Joanna [the Mad], and her son, Charles [V], on June 13, 1518. This permission was addressed to the bishop of Málaga, who at that moment was the Italian cardinal, Raffaele Riario.

If not in Rome during the whole of 1518, Encina was certainly there on March 14, 1519. The León Cathedral capitular acts for that particular date show that his proxy took possession of the León priorate in the name of *Juan del Enzina, residente en corte de Roma*. At approximately this same date he decided to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to become a priest. The poetical account of this journey, *Tribagia o via sagrada de Hierusalem*, which was to be the last of his published writings, appeared at Rome in 1521.

In 200 eight-line stanzas (written in *arte mayor*)¹⁶² he narrated the events of a round-trip journey from Venice that lasted from July 1 until November 4. He left Rome in late June, passed to Loreto, and thence to Ancona. At Venice he found one of the principal grandees of Spain preparing to make the pilgrimage—Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, Marqués de Tarifa. Don Fadrique's prose account of the same journey contrasts interestingly with Encina's. The grandee offered, for instance, several observations concerning the music of other rites in Jerusalem. He noted that the Greeks did not gather together around a lectern to sing the hours from a large book, but that instead a youth started intoning a psalm.¹⁶³ The

¹⁶²Encina recognized two standard line-lengths: *arte real* (eight syllables to the line); *arte mayor* (twelve). He allowed an occasional *pie quebrado* (half-line) to break the monotony of whole lines (*enteros*). See his illuminating discussion in the *Arte de poesía castellana (Cancionero)*, 1496, fol. 4v) which he dedicated to Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella. His villancicos are written in *arte real* verse.

¹⁶³Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, *Viage de Jerusalem* (Madrid: Francisco Martínez Abad, 1733), p. 47, c.2: "Las horas Canonicas, i todo lo demas, no cantan en Atril, sino todo lo mas de Coro, e vn muchacho alli con vn Libro, que comienza los



other singers, while remaining at their accustomed place, attentively watched his hand rise and fall to indicate the rise and fall in pitch of the psalm-melody. Don Fadrique not only commented on the cheironomy of the Greeks, but added interesting observations on Oriental-rite music in Jerusalem.¹⁶⁴ Encina, by way of contrast, says nothing of the music heard anywhere during the four months' journey. When some seventy years later Francisco Guerrero, after taking the same trip, wrote his prose account, he too neglected to describe the music which he heard.¹⁶⁵ Both Encina and Guerrero, however, describe in prolix detail all the sacred sites which they visited.

Encina, having but recently been ordained priest, celebrated his first Mass on August 6 (1519) in a small side chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The "padrino" (= server) on this occasion was Don Fadrique.¹⁶⁶ He was not only served by the *Adelantado de Andalucía* (governor of Andalusia) but also celebrated Mass at the very site on Mount Sion where Jesus was traditionally supposed to have instituted the Sacrament.

After the disembarkation at Venice on November 4 he returned to Rome, to compose his poetical account. At the close of its 200 stanzas he added another dozen urging Christian kings to unite forces for the retaking of Palestine. His zeal for reconquest sounds typically Spanish, and helps to explain why during the trip the Spaniards, and they alone, were warned not to disclose their nationality to Moslem or Jew.¹⁶⁷ The *Tribagia* was published at Rome in 1521, reprinted at Lisbon in 1580 and 1608, at Seville in 1606, and at Madrid in 1748 (1733) and 1786, its popularity during two hundred and fifty years exceeding that of any other poetry which he produced.¹⁶⁸

After Leo X's death (December 1, 1521) a reforming pope was elected in the person of Adrian VI

(January 9, 1522). The succession of Maecenas, interested in art and music, had momentarily ended, and Encina finding Rome no longer a favorable climate, returned to Spain. He was in León at a cathedral chapter meeting on November 20, 1523. On April 14, 1524, he received a certain concession of lands from the chapter. During 1525 he was absent from León, a fellow-canon named Juan de Lorenzana acting as his deputy. On October 2, 1526, he covenanted with the chapter to spend a rather large amount—some 200,000 maravedís—for the remodeling of the piece of cathedral property which he was using as his own residence, and of certain adjoining residences and shops which formed part of the same lot.¹⁶⁹ On May 22, 1527, the chapter appointed two overseers to inspect the buildings which he proposed to remodel.¹⁷⁰ The actual remodeling had not been completed on the target date of October 2, 1528, whereupon the chapter gave him the privilege of delaying completion until the end of the succeeding August.¹⁷¹

On January 27, 1529, the chapter named a deputy to exercise the office of prior.¹⁷² According to Cotarelo, the wording of the January 27 act strongly suggests that Encina had been stricken by paralysis or some other incapacitating illness. The deputy named to function in his stead, Salazar, was a fellow-canon. Although an exact date cannot be fixed, the evidence summarized in the next paragraph makes it almost certain that he died late in that year.

First, there is a lengthy entry in the León Cathedral capitular acts dated January 10, 1530.¹⁷³ On that day the chapter conferred the priorate upon García de Gibráleón, then residing at the papal court. A proxy took possession of the office in his absence. Gibráleón had preceded Encina in the priorate, and may have resigned with the express understanding that it would revert to him at Encina's death. Although it is not strictly necessary to believe that news travelled to Rome and back again before January 10, still formal possession of the office within a mere week or so of his decease seems hasty. The second document bearing on his death is a

Psalmos, que ellos cantan en tono, *i quando suben, i bajan, hacen señal con las manos.*"

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 40, c.1. The Indian Christians danced and sang on Good Friday.

¹⁶⁵Guerrero's *Viage de Hierusalem* was published at Seville in 1590, 1592, at Alcalá de Henares in 1605, and elsewhere frequently during the seventeenth century.

¹⁶⁶Enríquez de Ribera, *Viage*, p. 94, col. 2 (lines 49-50).

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 22, col. 1 (lines 24-31).

¹⁶⁸Further bibliographical details in Encina, *Cancionero* (1496), p. 21.

¹⁶⁹Eloy Díaz-Jiménez y Molleda: *Juan del Encina en León* (Madrid: Lib. gen. de Victoriano Suárez, 1909), p. 24.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 30-32.



capitular act of January 14, 1530,¹⁷⁴ mentioning a bequest by the "late Juan del Encina" to the Dean and chapter of two books of decretals or a thousand maravedís, whichever they preferred.

Francisco Fermoselle del Encina (son of Francisco—Juan's younger brother who was an embroiderer by trade and died in 1504) sought the priorate immediately after his uncle's death. Clement VII eventually gave it to him, nullifying Gibraleón's absentee possession. The papal bull acceding the priorate to the nephew reached the León chapter on July 28, 1531. After a contest lasting some months the nephew made good his claim, and was inducted on February 10, 1532. This uncle-nephew transaction recalls the similar link of Francisco de Peñalosa and Luis de Peñalosa at Seville Cathedral.

Juan del Encina stipulated in his will that his body should be moved within five years to Salamanca. Miguel de Fermoselle, his brother, was named his residuary legatee. He had not carried out this provision of the will, however, as late as 1533. The next year Miguel himself died, and an entry in the Salamanca *libro de cuentas* for 1534 shows that in that year the Salamanca chapter received a payment of 500 maravedís to defray the expenses of interring Encina's body beneath the *coro* in the cathedral. Having travelled everywhere else, he wished to rest at last within the choir where he had begun as a singer, from which he had been rejected, and to which he had unsuccessfully intrigued to return. What he had failed to encompass in life, he aspired to do in death.

No portrait is preserved. But an authenticated signature (March 21, 1510) survives in a book of capitular acts at Málaga. It has been twice reproduced,¹⁷⁵ the second time in company with signatures by thirteen other Renaissance composers. Typically enough, Encina strives not so much for the legibility of his signature as for the drawing of a bold and striking picture. A scroll at the left side represent the name "Joan." At the right side a companion scroll with no meaning is added, simply to balance the picture. Above the "del enzina" he has written abbreviations for the Latin words meaning "archdeacon of Málaga." Since "M" is the one capital letter in the superscription, his making the scrolls on either side

resemble "M" as closely as possible dresses the picture. His signature seems exactly to express those flamboyant personality traits which his actions and writings have revealed to have been typical of him.

The most recent editions of Encina's music testify to the exceptional fascination that his pithy, forthright villancicos continue exerting abroad. In 1974 appeared *L'opera musicale* edited by Clemente Terni (Messina-Firenze: Casa Editrice D'Anna [Università degli Studi di Firenze. Facoltà di Magisterio. Istituto Ispanico]). Terni's sumptuous 625-page volume opens with an introduction in which he states his reasons for orchestrating the 61 villancicos attributed to Encina in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*, for varying the instrumentation in repeated sections, and for prefacing Encina's villancicos with instrumental introductions whenever he deems them appropriate.

Unfortunately for Terni, he erred in such numerous bibliographical details that his lavish volume underwent severe censure in a four-page review published in *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxxii/142-144 (April-December 1978). 142-145. Thinking himself the first to have alighted on Encina's villancicos copied in the Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. xix, 107, he announces his "discovery" that the villancicos copied anonymously in this early sixteenth-century manuscript now at Florence concord with Encina's villancicos numbered 249, 426, and 438 in Anglés's *MME* edition. In doing so, he fails to recognize that already in *MME*, x, 19, Anglés had in 1951 listed the concordances for all three: *Caldere et glave = Caldero y llave, madona* (249), *Tan buen ghanadigho = Tan buen ganadigo* (426), and *Todos los vienes = Todos los bienes del mundo* (438). In addition, Anglés had noted that *Lo chcheda es lo seghuro* in the Florence manuscript equals anonymous item 216 in *CMP*. Terni's many failures are the more painful because his enthusiasm is obvious.

In 1975 Royston Oscar Jones and Carolyn R. Lee published a 381-page Juan del Encina volume, *Poesía lírica y Cancionero musical* (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia [62]) containing Lee's musical transcriptions of the 61 villancicos attributed to Encina in *CMP* (original time-values quartered). At pages 361-373 she includes ten other villancicos not attributed to Encina in *CMP*, but which she considers his. The texts are surely his, why not the music? She doubts

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, Mitjana, *Estudios*, p. 40; Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, opp. p. 62.

that Encina had an individual musical style ("No se puede resolver la cuestión mediante un análisis del estilo musical de Encina, por carecer éste de rasgos estilísticos que le distinguen claramente de sus contemporáneos").

In making such a flat assertion, Lee trod on shaky ground. In Samuel Rubio's authoritative "Autores y estilos en el Cancionero Musical de Palacio (CMP) (Ensayo de crítica estilística), I. Juan del Encina," *Tesoro sacro musical*, LX/641 (July–September, 1977), 67–78, he meticulously itemized the stylistic traits that were peculiarly Encina's. Rubio could thus reject Lee's IV = Anglés 378, *No quiero tener querer*, because the cadential formula in measure 8 violates Encina's rules obeyed in all his authenticated works. Rubio's analysis also throws in doubt Lee's VII, *Gran gasajo siento yo*, because the music taken from the Segovia Cathedral cancionero first itemized in *Acta Musicologica*, VIII (1936), recalls Pedro de Escobar's musical idiom, not Encina's.

Rubio's generalizations concerning Encina's musical style read thus: (1) Encina always moved stepwise to anticipations, never by leap; (2) while other CMP composers gloried in the Landini cadence, Encina's authenticated villancicos contain only one such cadence; (3) Encina never wrote an ascending melodic sixth; (4) while even Escobar occasionally permitted himself an unprepared tied dissonance, not so Encina; however, Encina did allow himself numerous "changing notes" (*nota cambiata* figures), escaped notes, and Burgundian cadences. Encina liked long passages in which outer voices move in parallel tenths, he preferred to include the third in chords, and he showed a predilection for stepwise passages ascending or descending within the bounds of a perfect fourth or fifth. In approximately half his authenticated CMP songs, he repeats some of the estribillo music in the coplas.

Jones-Lee discovered an acrostic spelling Encina in the coplas of Encina's *O castillo de Montanges*. Outside CMP, Encina used acrostics to spell the names of these ladies to whom he was presumably attracted: Barbola, Ysabel, Leonor, Madalena, and Montesyna. Jones-Lee rejects the modish view popularized by Américo Castro that Encina's use of ritual language to describe profane love reflected a *converso* heritage.

Encina's most notable use of plainchant in a profane work—not noted by Jones-Lee, occurs in his *Mortal tristura me dieron* (CMP, no. 44), the tenor

of which repeats the opening incise of a Kyrie sung in Spain at Masses for the Dead.¹⁷⁶ The words of this particular villancico have to do with the death of love. Encina's Spanish text includes the Latin word *circumdederant*.¹⁷⁷ Alexander Agricola wrote a song in similar vein, *Le eure e venue* (*Odhecaton*, no. 81), Encina's tenor breves and semibreves and the two repetitions of the first incise (mm. 14–19, 20–26) highlight his borrowed melody—lending it the emphasis that such archaic treatment usually gives a plainsong *cantus firmus*.

Isabel Pope rendered Encina scholarship a valuable service with her article in *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980), VI, 159–161. In her works-list, she itemized Encina's six CMP songs a 4 that subsume the folia harmonic progression: *Los suspiros no sosiegan*, no. 163 (published in 1516² and 1517²)¹⁷⁸; *Ninguno cierre las puertas*, no. 167; *Oy comamos y bebamos*, no. 174; *Señora de hermosura*, no. 81; *Si abrá en este baldrés*, no. 179; *Una sañosa porfía* (romance), no. 126. She also noted that *Pues que*

¹⁷⁶See Francisco Montanos, *Arte de canto llano*, ed. José de Torres [Martínez Bravo] (Madrid: Diego Lucas Ximénez, 1705), p. 112. Encina's tenor corresponds with the Kyrie on the fourth staff of this page. He omits the eighth note of the chant (a passing-note) and makes other adjustments at the end of the phrase. The second Kyrie on this staff corresponds with Encina's tenor in measures 15–19.

¹⁷⁷A villancico expressly entitled *Circumdederunt me* belonged to the Palace Songbook (CMP) at the time the first index was made (ca. 1525). Francisco Asenjo Barbieri showed it to have belonged originally to Encina's *Plácida e Vittoriano* eclogue (1513), transcribing its complete text in his edition of CMP at pp. 50–51. The same objection can of course be brought against the Invitorium of Encina's *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta* that was brought against Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz's Lessons from Job.

Similar improprieties (by present standards) were rampant in Italian literature at the turn of the century. See Pilade Mazzei, *Contributo allo studio delle fonti, specialmente italiane del teatro di Juan del Enzina e Torres Naharro* (Lucca: Tipografia Amedi, 1922). Mazzei accepts it as fact that Encina copied portions of his *Coplas de zambardo* (Salamanca: Hans Gysser alemán [August 7], 1509) from the Ferrarese poet Antonio Tebaldeo. J. Wickersham Crawford, "The Source of Juan del Encina's égloga de Fileno y Zambardo," *Revue hispanique*, xxxviii/93 (October 1916), 218–232, pinpointed Tebaldeo's 251-line second eclogue published in 1499 as Encina's source.

¹⁷⁸ca. 1516² = *Frottole Libro secondo* (Naples: G. A. de Caneto; copy at Florence in Biblioteca Marucelliana); 1517² = *Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole libro quarto* (Rome: A. Antico & N. Giudici, 15 ag. 1517; copy at Florence in Biblioteca Nazionale).



Mortal tristura me dieron *

CMP, no. 44

JUAN DEL ENCINA

Mor-tal tris—tu—ra me die—ron Se-gun

con ta—les do-lo—res Mi ve—vir cir—cun—de—de—runt,

Don-se-lla, vues—tras a—mo—res. Mis sos-pi—Me tie-nen

—ros i cui—da—do i de—sa—o de ser²⁵vi—ros.
tan tras—tor—na—do Que me # da cau—sa de—ci—ros.

* Maiden, loving you inflicts fatal sorrow and causes me to live amid the pains of death. My sighs and cares and desire to serve you have so crushed me that I have cause to complain to you.

jamás olvidaros, a 4, reached print not only in João IV's *Defensa de la música moderna* (Lisbon, 1649) but also in 1516² and 1517²—thus substantiating the hitherto unheralded news that two of Encina's songs were published in Italy during his lifetime.

FURTHER SPANISH INFLUENCES IN THE PERUGIA 431 AND BASSE DANSE REPERTORIES

At Perugia, MS 431 (G 20), fols. 72v–73 (= 62v–63) in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta contains an untexted three-voice piece attributed to “Morton.” The same three-voice complex, plus an additional contra, turns up also in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio (CMP)*, no. 27 = Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio, MS 1335 (*olim* 2–1–5), fols. 17v–18. At the top of fol. 17v in the Madrid source, the composer's name is given as *Enrique* (*MME*, xiv/1, 14, note 3). Also, the top voice is texted in the Madrid source with a poem beginning *Pues servicio vos desplaze* by Pere Tor[r]oella = Pedro Torrellas, the same poet responsible for *Yerra con poco saber* set by Cornago (see above, page 57, column 2).

Toroella's patron (*MME*, xiv/1, 203–204) was Carlos, Príncipe de Viana (*b* Peñafiel, May 29, 1421; *d* Barcelona, September 23, 1461). As early as 1438, Toroella served him as a page (*escudero*), in 1446 as sword-bearer (*oficial de cuchillo*), and in 1457–1458 as majordomo. Carlos, Prince of Viana, an enthusiastic patron of the arts, married Anne of Cleves, niece of Philip the Good (duke of Burgundy), September 30, 1439—thereafter establishing his court at Olite (27 mi S of Pamplona) until her death in 1448. Concerning court life at Olite, *Diccionario de la música Labor* (= *DML*), II, 1614, has it that beginning with his marriage attended by Moorish *juglares*, its brilliance was world renowned—“music being especially emphasized” (*en ella tenía la música capital importancia*). *DML* also has it that Carlos, Prince of Viana, himself had the most fastidious musical tastes (*fue músico delicadísimo*).

In 1457 Toroella accompanied Carlos to Naples. Carlos took the trip to enlist war aid from his uncle Alfonso el Magnánimo, and was with him when he died. After his uncle's death June 27, 1458, Carlos returned to Barcelona via Sicily and Sardinia. At Carlos's own early death he bequeathed two books

of music to his singer (*cantor*) Enricus = Enrique (*DML*, I, 819: *recibe de los albaceas del príncipe dos libros de música que él había compuesto*).

To whom, then—Morton or Enrique—should the untexted piece *a 3* in Perugia 431 that enters Palacio MS 1335 as a four-voice item, setting Toroella's Spanish lyrics, be credited? Did Carlos's singer Enrique do no more than add a fourth voice-part? Enrique's canciones *a 4*, *Pues con sobra de tristura* and *Mi querer tanto vos quiere* that enter both Colombina (nos. 2 and 30, without ascriptions) and Palacio (nos. 16 and 29, with ascriptions) amply document his ability to have composed all four voices of *Pues servicio vos desplaze*. In David Fallows's Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 1978), “Robert Morton's Songs: A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century,” page 369, Fallows denied Morton any part in the composition of what became *Pues servicio vos desplaze* in Palacio. Morton, active at the Burgundian court 1457–1476, “did not compose *Pues servicio*” was Fallows's verdict. In deference to Manfred Bukofzer—who was the first to note that Perugia 431 (G 20) and Palacio contain the same music, Fallows did list *Pues servicio* as a doubtful work in his Morton article for the *New Grove Dictionary* (1980), XI, 596–597.¹⁷⁹

Not only was Bukofzer the first to call attention to the Morton-Enrique concordance, but also he was the first to publish a transcription of the instrumental piece *a 2*, *Falla con misuras*, ascribed to M. Gulielmus in Perugia 431 (G 20), fols. 105v–106 (= 95v–96).¹⁸⁰ In Gulielmus's *Falla con misuras* the extremely florid top part contrasts with the uniform slow motion of the dance tenor. Susanne Cusick's article in the *New Grove Dictionary* on *La Spagna*—the name by which the tenor in question

¹⁷⁹Allan Atlas, responsible for establishing Perugia 431 (G 20) as a manuscript of Neapolitan provenience, did include *Pues servicio vos desplaze* as nos. 12 (three-voice) and 12a (four-voice) in *Robert Morton: The Collected Works* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1981). At p. 102 he decreed that “there can be little doubt that the Spanish text *Pues servicio* . . . is a contrafactum, and that the original [lost] text must have been a bergerette.”

¹⁸⁰See Bukofzer, “A Polyphonic Basse Dance of the Renaissance,” in his *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), pp. 199–200, for transcription of Guglielmus's *Falla con misuras*. The concordance for *Falla con misuras* in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 16, lviii verso–ix, bears the title *La bassa castiglya*.



became best known by the time that Heinrich Isaac composed his *Missa La Spagna*—summarized in the extensive history of the tenor. Antonio Cornazano (Piacenza, ca. 1430; Ferrara 1484) included it in his *Libro dell' arte del danzare*, a manuscript dated ca. 1465 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capponiano 203, fol. 33v),—giving it the title *Tenore del Re di spagna*. However, when first printed in Michel Toulouse, *S'ensuit l'art et instruction de bien dancier* (Paris: ca. 1496), fol. Av, the tenor bore the misleading title *Casulle la novele* (= *Castille la novele*).

Because of its popularity over an exceptionally long period of time (from the mid-fifteenth century to 1622), and because of its many polyphonic settings (before 1510), the *La Spagna* dance tenor has been studied more than any other *basse danse*. Cornazano, whose ca. 1465 *Libro dell' arte del danzare* places *Re di Spagna* first among the three *tenori da basse danze et saltarelli*, called the *bassa danza* “the queen of all dance measures,” and warned that it “ought to be endued with all propriety.”¹⁸¹ According to him, it is the gravest of the four types of dance: *piva*, *saltarello*, *quaternaria*, and *bassa danza*. On the other hand, the *saltarello* is the “gayest” of the four and “the Spaniards call it *alta danza*. . . .”

Francisco de la Torre's instrumental *Alta a 3* (MME, no. 321) ranks as the first peninsular polyphonic setting of *La Spagna* dance tenor, and is the sole extant piece actually called *alta*—according to Howard Mayer Brown (*New Grove*, I, 293). Torre's *alta*, like M. Gulielmus's *Falla con misuras* in Perugia 431 (G 20), cites the *basse danse* tenor in slow notes—but accompanies it with a fast moving top part. It thus acquires the *saltarello* character befitting Cornazano's definition of the *alta danza*.

Which came first: Gulielmus's *Falla con misuras* or Torre's *alta*? Torre enrolled July 1, 1483, as a chapel singer in the choir of Ferdinand V of Aragon.¹⁸² Bukofzer equated the “M. Gulielmus” of

Perugia 431 (G 20) with Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro (ca. 1425–1480), the Jewish dancing master whose biography now appears in *The New Grove, Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, and *Enciclopedia Judaica*. Also known as Giovanni Ambrosio, Guglielmo spent the years 1465 to 1468 at the Neapolitan court of Ferrante of Aragon. At Naples 1465–1468 he in all probability composed “the earliest polyphonic setting of *La Spagna*.”

Apart from *La Spagna*, at least eight other fifteenth-century dance tenors itemized in Frederick Crane's *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse* can be connected in one way or another with the Iberian peninsula: *Barcelonne* (8), *Beaulté de Castille* (6), *Egipciana* (18), *Joyos* (27), *La baixa morisqua* (30), *La basse danse du roy d'Espaingne* (34), *La navaroise* (51), and *La portugaloise* (54). Except for *Beaulté de Castille* which is “not a regular *basse danse*, and possibly not a *basse danse* at all,” the available music for these several dances shares with *Castille la novele* = *La Spagna* (17) these characteristics: always belongs to dorian mode, always fits within the D-d octave, always ends on D.

Another *basse danse* tenor that obeys these rules is *Aliot novella*.¹⁸³ Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419*, page 48, suggests that the *Aliot Nouvelle* = *Aliot novella* *basse danse*

Middle Ages,” *Musical Quarterly*, xxvii/3 (July 1941), 295. The poem in question (*Cancionero de [Juan Alonso de] Baena*, no. 44, reprinted in *Poesía de la Edad Media*, ed. Dámaso Alonso [Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1942], pp. 176–178) contains this second strophe:

Andavan por la floresta	They were going through the
todas cercadas de flores,	woods
en su dança muy onesta	all surrounded by blossoms.
que fazian por sus tenores	In their very chaste dance
discores;	the roamings over their tenors
melodía muy estraña	made a very unexpected
que fazia esta compañía	melody.
me fizo perder dolores.	What this company was doing
	made me forget my griefs.

The poet saw Teresa and his lady love do a curtsy before Leonor of Castile, who after marrying Carlos III of Navarre in 1378 became regent of Navarre in 1403 and died at Pamplona in 1416. Teresa and the poet's lady love also danced before the Queen of Navarre in the French manner (*a la francesa*).

¹⁸³Frederick Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1968), pp. 44, 68.

¹⁸¹Otto Kinkeldey, “A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance (Guglielmo Ebreo),” in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Related Subjects, in Memory of Abraham Solomn Freidus* (New York: 1929), p. 343.

¹⁸²Much earlier than 1483, the adding of a fast moving part above a dance tenor had already been alluded to by the Spanish poet Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino (d. ca. 1424) when he wrote that women dancers tripped through the forest, adding to the tenors a strange melody that made him forget his grief. See Otto Gombosi, “About Dance and Dance Music in the Late



melody "was the work of the minstrel Nicola Aliot who served as a shawm-player at the court of Alfonso V of Aragón." Francisco de Paula Baldelló, "La música en la casa de los Reyes de Aragón," *Anuario Musical*, xi (1956), 49, identified Nicola Aliot as *ministrer de xalamia de casa nostra, octubre de 1418*.

Any further attention to *La Spagna* and to the other just mentioned dance tenors with suggestive names must await a later opportunity. But to conclude: such further attention can now be best bestowed by dance historians who will study much more than skeletal tenors of varying lengths from 24 notes (*La Spagna*) to 44 notes (*La basse danse du roy d'Espagne*). The one potentially useful book by a dance historian, Mabel Dolmetsch's *Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), eschews the rigors of scientific method and concludes with self-praising poetry and a 16-item bibliography that was out of date even for its own time. Except for Otto Gombosi, remaining basse danse authorities have skirted Spanish literary references. If exhaustively probed, these literary references may yet be of significant worth in the continuing effort to descry the origins of international dances with Spanish names.

PORTUGUESE MUSICAL CONTACTS ABROAD (BEFORE 1500)

Even in the anonymous centuries before 1000 when Mozarabic music flourished under the Moslem yoke, Portugal was already providing musical models that were being copied elsewhere in the Iberian peninsula. To head the list of Portuguese gifts to Spain can be mentioned the so-called Antiphoner of León. Nowadays considered by everyone the prime musical monument in the Iberian peninsula antedating 1000, this Antiphoner rightly belongs to Portuguese musical history, because the original from which Bishop Totmundo (or Teodemundo) of Salamanca ordered it copied (around 960) came from Beja. Or at any event, this was the conclusion of Spanish experts—who cannot be accused of partiality when they decree that a manuscript from Beja served as the original from which the presently known Antiphoner of León was transcribed. In *Archivos Leoneses*, viii (1954, No. 15, p. 138), Justo Pérez de Urbel summarized his

findings concerning the "Antifonario de León: El escritor y la época" thus: "Y de un libro de la iglesia de Beja debió copiar Totmundo . . . el suyo, y debió ser escrito allí algún tiempo después de la invasión musulmana, tal vez en ese año 806, al cual se alude varias veces en los prolegómenos."

If knowledgeable Pérez de Urbel rightly filiated the Antiphoner of León with a Beja parent source (dated presumably, 806), the few surviving fragments of Mozarabic music at Coimbra arouse fresh interest. Thus far, only the French scholars Solange Corbin (*Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au moyen âge (1100-1385)*, 1952, pp. 173, 248) and Dom Louis Brou ("Notes de paléographie musicale mozarabe" in *Anuario Musical*, x [1955], 29-30) have paid much heed to the eleventh-century Mozarabic pieces of Third Sunday in Advent music at Coimbra. Brou identified these fragments as identical with music copied at the bottom of folio 45v in the Antiphoner of León. "The León signs are more delicate and vertical, but this is evidently the same music," was his conclusion.

Granted that the Antiphoner of León needs an honorable place in Portuguese as well as Spanish musical history, so also do the numerous Portuguese musicians who emigrated to Spain in the late Middle Ages, as a letter dated July 8, 1434, from Dom Duarte to John II of Castile (reigned 1406-1454) will illustrate. In it, Dom Duarte complains that John II has seduced to his service one of the best Portuguese royal musicians, Álvaro Fernandes—despite the fact that everything Fernandes knows about playing the organ and singing was learned in Duarte's household.

His long letter preserved in the Lisbon National Library, Fundo Geral 339—this manuscript being the *Livro chamado da Cartuxa d'Évora*—reads in part (fols. 89v-90):

Muy alto, muy noble Rey Irmaõ primo e amigo, recebemos vossa carta pela qual nos fizestes saber como filhareis Alvaro Fernandes nosso cantor, e organista que p̄ nossa carta vos enviamos encomendar entendo que nos prazeriadelo. Muy poderoso Irmaõ Rey primo, e amigo respondendovos claram^{te} a nos parece que vos o não deveis reter em vosso Serviço . . . por estas razões primeiram^{te} visto como elle he criado e natural nosso, e todo o mais que sabe de cantar e tanger aver aprendido em nossa casa, e de tal mester nos desejamos aver bos servidores, e porem os criamos sempre, e fazemos ensinar, como fizemos a este. . .



The authenticated fact that a Portuguese court musician trained at home could so early as 1434 make a stir abroad raises these questions: (1) Did any opportunities for university music instruction exist in Portugal before 1434? (2) Did any representative of the French *ars subtilior* (late fourteenth century) visit Lisbon? (3) Did Guillaume de Machaut's art have any repercussions in Portugal? (The reply to all three questions is "Yes.")

The following paragraphs summarize the Portuguese musical situation 1290 to 1500.

After King Dinis's founding of the first Portuguese university at Lisbon on November 12, 1288/March 1, 1290, it moved to Coimbra twice during its first century (1308–1338 and 1354–1377). In a royal decree (*carta*) dated at Santarém January 18, 1323, Dinis stipulated the yearly salaries to be paid each of the six designated professors (equal installments on October 18 and June 24). In descending order, the professors of *grammatica*, *logica*, and *musica* were assigned 200 pounds (*libras*), 100, and 75. As is true of those fourteenth-century professors who occupied the chair of music established in 1254 by Alfonso the Wise at Salamanca University, so also the names of the fourteenth-century professors of music in the university established by Dinis remain still unknown. However, the list of university professors ordered paid in 1400—now grown to 15 (4 of *grammatica*, 3 of *leis*, 3 of *decretaes*, 2 of *logica*, 1 each of *theologia*, *physica*, and *musica*)—does certify that music professors continued on the pay list throughout the Portuguese university's entire first century.¹⁸⁴

How the moves back and forth between Lisbon and Coimbra affected the stability of the professorate can at present be only surmised. After the 23 years at Coimbra 1354 to 1377, Fernando (1345–1383; ruled 1367–1383) did give good and sufficient

¹⁸⁴Data in this paragraph is documented in Theóphilo Braga, *História da Universidade de Coimbra*, I (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Ciências, 1892), 107–108, and IV (1902), 600–601 and 608–609.

Torre do Tombo documents antedating 1500 permitted Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo's rescuing the names of four royal chapelmasters, twenty singing chaplains, fourteen royal trumpeters, and a host of players of *charamelas* (shawms) and of the *alaúde* (lute). See Michel'angelo Lambertini, "Portugal," in *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, IV/1 (1920), 2407.

¹⁸⁵Francisco Leitão Ferreira, *Noticias chronologicas da Universidade de Coimbra primeira parte [1288–1537]*, ed. Joaquim de Carvalho (Coimbra: Universidade, 1937), p. 167.

reasons on June 3, 1377, for ordering it again moved back to Lisbon,¹⁸⁵ where it remained until its final return to Coimbra in 1537. When announcing the move back to Lisbon, Fernando explained that more scholars would attend the university at Lisbon than at Coimbra. As chief reason, he stated that "some professors contracted from abroad do not wish to teach except in the city of Lisbon."¹⁸⁶

These professors brought from foreign realms—whoever they were—found Lisbon surrounded by new walls that had been started September 30, 1373, and completed in July 1375.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, Lisbon was the power center (Fernando, who despite other weaknesses was a known patron of learning and the arts, maintained his court at Lisbon, not Coimbra).

Fernando's interest in learning can be inferred from his recruitment for Portugal of so skilled a master of the French *ars subtilior* as the native of Arras, Johannes Symonis = Jehan Simon Hasprois (fl 1378–1428), who was a cleric of Cambrai diocese. On November 16, 1378, Fernando petitioned the Avignonese antipope Clement VII (1342–1394; elected at Fondi September 10, 1378)¹⁸⁸ to bestow on Hasprois a living in St. Martinho's Church (founded in 1150) at Sintra.¹⁸⁹ Sintra = Cintra (17 mi = 27 km WNW of Lisbon), if not already the seat of a royal palace during Fernando's reign, was a locality frequently visited by him.

How long Hasprois remained in Portugal, like other problems of medieval Portuguese music, remains conjectural.¹⁹⁰ Although Fernando gave Portuguese allegiance to antipope Clement VII until

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 168: "poderia haver mais Letrados nelle, do que haveria, se o dito Estudo estivesse em Coimbra, em razão de que alguns Lentos, que mandara vir de Reynos Estrangeiros, não querião ler senão na Cidade de Lisboa."

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁸⁸Robert of Geneva, son of Amédée III, count of Geneva, was bishop of Cambrai before Pope Gregory XI made him a cardinal in 1371. Concerning his first years as antipope, see Roger Ch. Logoz, *Clément VII (Robert de Genève)* (Lausanne: Librairie Payot, 1974).

¹⁸⁹Karl Hanquet, ed., *Suppliques de Clement VII 1378–1379* (Brussels: P. Imbreghts, 1924 [*Analecta Vaticano-Belgica*, Vol. VIII]), p. 606: [Rotulus regis Portugaliae] "Item dilecto suo Johanni Symonis, clerico Cameracensis diocesis, de perpetua et integra portione parochialis ecclesie Sancti Martini de Sintra, Ulixbonensis diocesis . . . dignemini providere."

¹⁹⁰Ursula Günther, "Hasprois, Johannes Symonis," *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980), VIII, 277, (1) places him in "the service of King Charles V of France in 1380," (2) makes him a "petit vicaire at Notre Dame in Cambrai in 1384," and (3) has him "in the papal chapel at Avignon from 1393 to 1403."



August 19, 1381—when he switched temporarily to Urban VI (elected pope at Rome March 27, 1378)—his successors of the house of Aviz never wavered in supporting the popes at Rome from 1385 to the end of the Great Schism. All Hasprois's many ecclesiastical preferments up to his death shortly before October 11, 1428,¹⁹¹ derived from antipopes at Avignon.

Gilbert Reaney, who published Hasprois's three ballades and one rondeau (in what he deemed their likely chronological order) (*Early Fifteenth-Century Music* [American Institute of Musicology, 1969], pp. 26–34), noted the wide “variety in Hasprois's output” and remarked that “each of Hasprois's compositions is in a different combination of time and prolation.”

What musical learning Hasprois brought with him to Lisbon was obviously considerable. Some hint of Hasprois's associations before 1378 turns up in the ballade, *Puisque je sui fumeux plains de fume* (Chantilly MS 564 [olim 1047], fol. 34v; this is his only two-voice composition). The text concords with Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelle acquisition 6221, folio 10, where it is attributed to “Maistre Fumeux” = Eustache Deschamps (ca. 1346–ca. 1406). In setting it, Hasprois aligned himself with the circle that in the years 1368 to 1372 surrounded the poet Eustache Deschamps, “empereur des Fumeux.” Deschamps, who had been a pupil at Reims of Guillaume de Machaut and who was perhaps Machaut's nephew, signed his verses “Jehan Fumée” in 1368 and 1372. (Ernest Hoepffner, *Eustache Deschamps Leben und Werke* [Strasbourg: K. J. Trübner, 1904], pages 50–52, discussed the society of *fumeux*, some of whose members dwelt as far afield as Vitry.)

However well known at the Portuguese court was the music of Guillaume de Machaut—rated by João I (ruled 1385–1433) as the supreme master of “beautifully concurring melody”¹⁹²—or of any later French fourteenth-century composer, none of their works presently survives in a Portuguese manuscript. A fifteenth-century chanson called *Portugaler* does survive in Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Clm* 14274, olim. Ms. mus. 3232a (276 pieces copied in

Saint Emmeram monastery at Regensburg). In this source, *Portugaler* turns up three times—at folios 65, 77, and 92v–93 (the latter version *a 3* copied in white notes with Latin text *Ave tota casta virgo*). All three versions of *Portugaler* in Munich 3232a lack composer ascription. On the other hand Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la ville, Ms. 222.C.22 (burnt in 1870) contained at folio 108—according to Edmond de Coussemaker (1805–1876) who had copied the manuscript before it went up in flames—a version *a 2* in black notes of *Portugaler* (minus the contratenor)—now no longer anonymous, but ascribed to “G. Dufay.”

On the strength of this ascription, *Portugaler* enters Charles E. Hamm's *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964), page 35, as a work dating from the 1423–1433 decade (mensuration: perfect tempus, O, “breve-semibreve movement, no semiminims, or a scattering of flagged semiminims”). Five years after Hamm, Leeman Perkins and Howard Garey published in *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979) a previously unrecognized version that concords musically with the version *a 3* in Munich 3232a, folios 92v–93, but that is texted with a French “decasyllabic ballade dixaine,” beginning *Or me veult bien Esperance mentir*.

As for the sense of the French poem to which the *Portugaler* music is wedded in Mellon: “deceiving Hope has abandoned the prisoner whom Hope had promised to keep happy.” Does the copy in Mellon represent the original version of *Portugaler*? Not in Perkins's judgment. Instead, he proposed its English derivation—on evidence supplied by Margaret Bent. (Bent found the tenor used as a cantus firmus “in a number of sacred English compositions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.”) Why then are the versions in not only Munich 3232a at folios 65, 77, and 92v–93, but also in “the organ intabulation of this chanson included in the Buxheim Organ Book, at folio 21,” labelled *Portugaler*?

Despite Perkins's argument for the English ancestry of at least *Portugaler*'s tenor, Albert Lovegnée, in *Le Wallon Guillaume Dufay ca. 1398–1474* (Charleroi: Institute Jules Destrée, 1980), page 56, still wished to believe that two-voice *Portugaler*—whatever the origin of the tenor—was originally conceived as a tribute to Isabel of Portugal, third wife of Philippe le Bon = Philip the Good.

¹⁹¹ *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica*, Vol. XIV (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1942), p. 249.

¹⁹² *Livro da montaria*, ed. F. M. Esteves Pereira (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1918), p. 19: “Guilherme de Machado . . . fez tam fermosa concordança de melodia . . .”



[Portugaler]

D—Mbs, Clm 14274 (olim Mus. Ms. 3232a), fols. 92v-93

5 b b b

A - - ve to - ta ca - sta vir - go in - te - me - ra - ta pu -

Tenor portugaler

Contratenor

10 # b b b

el - - - - - la que e - ti - am lu - -

15 # #

mi - nis cla - ri - ta - tem dum ge - nu - i - sti

20 b b

Om - nis fac - tu - ra col - lau - - dat

(b)



25 # 30

te ge - ni - tri - cem O san - cta ge-

35

ni - trix ju - gi - ter te pe - ti - mus om - nes vir-

40 45

go mi - tis pi - a duc

50 #

nos ad gau - di - a hic (?) nos il-



le lo - cus qui si - ne fi - ne ma -

65 \flat \sharp

(#)

net Om - nis fac - tu - ra col - lau -

60

Ms. \flat

dat te ge - ni - tri - cem.

65 \flat \sharp

(\flat) \sharp

Karl Dèzes (Bremen, April 11, 1892; April 10, 1968) published the above transcription of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Sancti Emmerami (formerly Ms. mus. 3232a, now *Clm* 14274), fols. 92v-93, at conclusion of his review of Charles van den Borren's *Guillaume Dufay* (Brussels: Marcel Hayez, 1925) in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, ix (1926/1927), 294-307.

Heinrich Bessler's transcription in modern clefs appears in his edition of Dufay's *Opera Omnia*, vi, (1964) 106-107. In his version, none of the parts carries B flat in its signature.



According to Charles van den Borren's *Guillaume Dufay* (Brussels: 1925), 301–302, the tenor of *Portugaler* shows a likeness—at least in the first few notes—to the basse danse *La portingaloise* copied in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9085, fol. 12v. This basse danse melody of 30 black = silver breves copied with C-clef on the fourth line proceeds as follows: GABd cBAA ABAG FDED DFEF GdcB AGDE DD. The same basse danse melody enters Michel Toulouse's *S'ensuit l'art et instruction de bien dancier* (Paris: ca. 1496). For other reasons listed in Frederick Crane's already cited *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse*, page 7, the compilation from which Brussels 9085 was copied dates at Bruges probably around 1470, two years before the death of Isabel of Portugal. Isabel, born at Évora (Portugal) February 21, 1397, was the daughter of João I, king of Portugal, and Philippa of Lancaster (whose father was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and whose grandfather was Edward III, king of England). She arrived at the port of Lescluze Christmas day 1429, and wed Philippe le Bon (1396–1467) Saturday, January 7, 1430. She died at Aire-sur-la-Lys October 17, 1472 (or December 17, 1471), after an “edifying” life.

If indeed, as Bent showed, the tenor of *Portugaler* is English, a pensive song referring to Isabel's life with Philippe le Bon (father of 14 acknowledged bastards) would not have been inappropriate—given her English royal ancestry.

On January 4, 1434, Philippe le Bon engaged, as Isabel's attendants, two blind minstrels who were natives of the Spanish peninsula, Jehan Fernandez and Jehan de Cordoval (or Cordeval).¹⁹³ Whether they came from Portugal or Castile has been lengthily debated. Jeanne Marix in her *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420–1467)* (Strasbourg: 1939), page 95, deemed them Portuguese. Edmond vander Straeten and Higinio Anglés called them Spaniards.^{193a} Evidence provided by Pero Tafur,

born in about 1410 at Seville (not Córdoba)¹⁹⁴ strengthens the opinion of Straeten and Anglés.

In 1435 Tafur began world travels that took him first to the Holy Land, then to Italy, Switzerland, the Low Countries, Austria, Hungary, Sicily, and Sardinia. Between 1453 and 1457 he wrote a travel narrative which in 1874 was published as Volume VIII in the *Colección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos* with the title *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur*. In 1438 his journey took him to the Low Countries. While visiting the Burgundian court at Brussels he “found two blind men, natives of Castile, who played bowed vihuelas, and later I saw them here in Castile.”¹⁹⁵

Wherever they originated, Jehan Fernandez and Jehan de Cordoval from 1433 through 1435 received payment as lute players (*joueurs de luth*). From 1436 through 1438, payment vouchers denominate them *joueurs de vielle*.¹⁹⁶ The 1439 accounts again refer to them as *joueurs de luz*. In 1440, pay vouchers specify them as *joueurs de bas instrumens*; and from 1440 through 1456—their last year of payment for services at the Burgundian court—they appear alternately in the accounts as players of lutes or of soft instruments. If indeed Fernandez and Cordoval were the same blind players encountered by Pero Tafur at the Burgundian court in 1438, then they must have been also the blind players whom he encountered in Castile after their retirement from Burgundian court service.

The cleric of Norman birth, Martin le Franc (ca. 1410–November 8, 1461), who from 1432 to 1449 was patronized by the Duke of Savoy, Amédée VIII (= antipope Felix V, 1440–1449), alluded to Jehan Fernandez and Jehan de Cordoval in his 24,000-line poem written in about 1440, *Le champion des*

¹⁹⁴Pero Tafur, *Andanças é Viajes* (Madrid: Miguel Ginesta, 1874), pp. xviii and 78: “ovo de saber de mi como yo era castellano, natural de Sevilla.” After returning from his journeys, Tafur married Francisca de Aguayo and settled at Córdoba, where he wrote his travel memoirs.

¹⁹⁵*Andanças é Viajes*, pp. 248–249: “Alli fallé en su corte dos ciegos naturales de Castilla, que tañen vihuelas darco, é después los ví acá en Castilla.” Tafur rated the Burgundian court the most sumptuous in Europe. According to him, Isabel was attended by 200 ladies in waiting. However, he mistook Philippe le Bon's age (*b* June 13, 1396). Tafur estimated his being 55 years old (p. 248: “será de edat de çinquenta é çinco años”).

¹⁹⁶In 1436 Hayne Boghart, instrument maker residing at Brussels, received “10 livres 6 sols” for two “vielles qu'il a faites pour les deux aveugles joyeurs de luz de madame la duchesse.”

¹⁹³David Fallows, *Dufay* (Master Musicians Series) (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1982), p. 41, gives 1433 as the year in which these two blind *joueurs de luts* “are first recorded in the Burgundian accounts.” Albert Van der Linden, “Les aveugles de la Cour de Bourgogne,” *Revue belge de musicologie*, iv/1–2 (January–June 1950), p. 75, cited January 4, 1434, as the date on which Philippe le Bon engaged them “pour servir et jouer devers Madame la duchesse [Isabel] de leurs instrumens, aux gaiges de ung franc de XXXII gros monnoie de Flandres par jour, pour le temps qu'ilz seront en sa compagnie ou devers madicte dame.”

^{193a}Van der Linden, p. 75, notes 3 and 4.



dames. According to Le Franc, none could equal these blind players at the Burgundian court. Binchois remained silent and stunned by their playing of the rebec (*rebelle*) and Dufay envied their beautiful melody—or at least so claimed Le Franc.¹⁹⁷

The question next arises, on what occasion did Binchois and Dufay hear the blind players? In 1982 David Fallows in his Master Musicians Series book, *Dufay*, dated their hearing the blind players between February 7 and 11, 1434. Wedding celebrations at Chambéry (between Geneva and Grenoble) brought Binchois and Dufay together that week. On February 7 arrived at Chambéry both Philippe le Bon with his large following and the bride, Anne of Lusignan (1418–1462), who was affianced to Louis I of Savoy (1402–1465; son of Martin le Franc's patron, Amédée VIII). The nuptial Mass was celebrated that very afternoon, Sunday, February 7, 1434. The rest of the week through Friday, February 11, was given over to appropriate entertainments and festivities. On Monday Binchois directed his twenty-member Burgundian choir in a Mass "so melodiously [sung], that it was a splendid thing to hear."¹⁹⁸

On the supposition that Jehan Fernandez and Jehan de Cordoval were indeed Portuguese, André Pirro thought it "possible that Dufay composed the *Portugaler*, a 2, credited to him in Strasbourg, MS 222.C.22, as his way of upstaging the two blind players whose melodies Martin le Franc pretended that Dufay had envied."¹⁹⁹ But as has been already said, any such supposition depends on *Portugaler's* being an authentic work. Heinrich Bessler, editor of Dufay's *Opera Omnia*, vi (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 106–107, decreed *Portugaler* to be an "anonymous" work. At his page lxiv he defended his decision with this laconic comment: "For stylistic reasons the work must not have been composed by Dufay."

However, his transcription falters, because neither tenor nor contratenor carries the flat signature

prescribed for these voices in the Mellon Chansonier version at folios 69v–71. As a result, Bessler (measure 42) even suggests B♭ on the tenor against B♭ in the top voice. Whether a different set of accidentals would have reconciled Bessler to the possibility of Dufay's authorship must therefore remain moot.

Only a quadrennium after the date now accepted for Dufay's Chambéry encounter with the two blind players serving Isabel, King Duarte (1391–1438) of Portugal completed a treatise entitled *Leal Conselheiro*. Written at his wife Leonor's request, this treatise, finished shortly before his death September 9, 1438, contains in chapter 96 the earliest detailed description of musical practice in the Portuguese royal chapel.

The 27 itemized rules in chapter 96 "Concerning governance required in the chapel, for it to be well governed,"²⁰⁰ attest to the following usages: (1) Chaplains singing alto, contra, and tenor parts shall be engaged. (2) The chapel must be governed by four officials: a head chaplain, a musically knowledgeable chapelmaster, a tenor (= succentor), and a master of the boys.

(3) Choirboys aged 7 and 8 with good voices, understanding, and disposition shall be enrolled and carefully trained, so that they can grow into good adult clergy and singers. (4) To assure sounding well together, vocal ensembles must always be tested in advance, because not always do merely good voices make good harmony. (5) Care should be taken to assure that no discord is made at the choir stand, because even one out-of-tune sound is enough to throw an [accompanying] instrument off pitch. (6) Whatever is sung should be sung in the written clef (*letera vogal segundo he scripta*) and not in another orally announced clef.

(7) The choir stand should not be placed near a window, but instead where obstructing outside sounds do not mask faults. Just as much care to find

¹⁹⁷Fallows, *Dufay*, p. 41, quotes the eight lines that are translated into English in Gustave Reese's *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959), p. 51: "Tu as les avugles ouy / Jouer a la court de bourgongne / Nas pas certainement ouy / Fust il jamais telle besongne: / Jay veu binchois avoir vergongne / Et soy taire emprez leour rebelle / Et Du Fay despite et frongne / Quil na melodie si belle."

¹⁹⁸Fallows quoted details concerning the week's activities from François Morand, ed., *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre* (Paris: 1881), II, 287–289.

¹⁹⁹Lovegnée, *Le Wallon*, p. 58, note 194.

²⁰⁰*Leal Conselheiro o qual fez Dom Eduarte Rey de Portugal e do Algarve e Senhor de Cepta*, ed. Joseph M. Piel (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1942), pp. 351–355: "Do rregimento que se deve teer na capeella pera ser bem regida." The Portuguese royal chapel founded in 1229 continued at the Palácio da Alcáçova until the reign of Manuel I, who moved it to the Paço da Ribeira. King Duarte's chapelmaster in 1427 was Gil Lourenço, a native of Aragon. See Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, "Lissabon," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VIII (1960), 956–957.



the right place for the choir stand should be taken when the chaplains sing in the tribune (*coro alto*). (8) What is sung in the royal presence should be well rehearsed under the direction of someone already completely familiar with what is to be sung. (9) What is sung in church ceremonies should have sad or joyful character—in accordance with character of the church season. (10) Whether singing composed song (*canto feito*) or [extemporizing] discant (*descanto*), the text itself should always be sung—unless the sense of the text is dishonest (*desonesta para sse dizer*).²⁰¹

The rest of King Duarte's requirements include such items as arriving in advance of the moment the ceremony is to begin, avoiding squabbles, rewarding the diligent, and castigating the errant. In chapter 97 he prescribes how long a sung pontifical Mass, complete with Asperges and Credo, shall last (an hour and a half); sung Mass without Asperges and Credo (one hour); sung Requiem Mass (less than an

hour); said Mass (half an hour); solemn pontifical vespers with compline (two hours); ordinary sung vespers with compline (an hour and a half); said vespers with compline (one hour). He continues with time lengths for ceremonies at Christmas, Purification, during Holy Week, at Pentecost, on special saints' days, and on Assumption.

The names of the many fifteenth-century royal musicians rescued from Torre do Tombo documents by Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo are not relevant here because before Pedro do Porto = Pedro de Escobar, none of them pursued documented careers outside Portugal.²⁰² Where Portuguese musical impact did make itself felt outside the peninsula before 1500 was along the coast of Africa.

During 1455 the Venetian mariner contracted by Prince Henry the Navigator, Alvise Da Mosto (1432–1483), skirted Senegal. He liked the moonlight dancing of the Senegalese, despite its being “molto diferente dal nostro,” and it amused him to see how immediately they took to the bagpipe (“una de queste nostre pive”), which they wished to class as a heavenly being (“cossa celestial che Idio l’avea fata con le sue man”). But he decried their native instruments and found particularly offensive the Senegalese *tanbache* (big drums) and their two-string plucked instrument resembling a violetta.²⁰³

On the other hand, native-born Portuguese voyagers found very attractive the drums, ivory trumpets, and fiddles played “in good tune with each other” at the end of March, 1491, to commemorate a deceased member of the Congo royal house. Mani-Sonho, an uncle of the Congo king,

²⁰¹(1) Item que se conheçam as vozes dos capellaães, qual he pera cantar alto, e qual pera contra, e qual pera tenor. (2) Item estas quatro som muito necessarias pera a capeella, scilicet capellam moor, e meestre da capeella, e tenor, [e] meestre dos moços.

(3) Item he muyto necessario de sse criarem moços na capeella, e que sejam de idade de VII ou VIII annos, de boa desposiçõem em vozes, e entender, e sotilleza, e de boos assessego, por que taaes como estes veem a sseer de razom boos clerigos e boos cantores. (4) Item que se conheça quaaes antre ssey nas vozes som melhor acordados, e aquelles cantem algũas cousas que se ajam estremadamente cantar, por que ha hi algũas vozes que, ainda que sejam boas, antre ssey nom se acordam bem, e outras que ambas juntas fazem grande vantagemem. (5) Item que se nom consenta nehũu desacordativo aa estante, por que hũa corda destemperada he abastante pera destemperar hũu estormento. (6) Item em qual quer cousa que cantarem, devem declarar a letera vogal segundo he scripta, e esto por que algũus teem de custume prenunciar mais hũa letera que outra em aquello que cantom.

(7) Item que se reguarde onde ha de star aa estante, e a casa quejanda he, pera soarem melhor as fallas; por que se está a par daalgũa janella, o vento se vai per ella fora, e faz menos soar as fallas. E esso meesmo faz em coro alto, ou muyto alongado; porem se deve reguardar o lugar pera mylhor soarem, specialmente se he tal tempo em que se queira resguardar ou mostrar seus capellaães. (8) Item que tanto que ouverem conhecimento de cantar, que os façam cantar aa estante, e que lhe façom enssynar algũas cantigas a algũu que saibha bem cantar, e esto pera as vvezes cantarem ante o ssenhor. (9) Item se deve resguardar que o cantar seja segundo as cerimonias da igreja: ou triste, ou ledo, e segundo os tempos em que estiverem. (10) Item devem seer avisados que em qual quer cousa que ouverem de cantar, ora seja canto feito ou descanto, declarem a letera daquello que cantarem, slavo se ella for desonesta pera sse dizer.

²⁰²Influenced by Sarum Use (introduced into Portugal by Gilbert of Hastings, bishop of Lisbon 1147–1166), King Alfonso V did send his *mestre de capela* Alvaro Alfonso to England in about 1454 to obtain a copy of the music used in Henry VI's chapel. Dean William Say supplied a superb manuscript that still survives in the Évora public library (sign. CV/1–36d). Alvaro Alfonso composed a *Vesperae, matutinum, & laudes cum antiphonis, & figuris musicis* to celebrate Alfonso's victory over the Moors at Arzila in 1471. This is lost—as are the works of his successors João de Lisboa (fl 1476), Matheus de Fonte (1516), Fernão Rodrigues (1521), and João de Vilhacastim. See Robert Stevenson, “Lisbon,” *The New Grove Dictionary*.

²⁰³*Le navigazioni atlantiche del Veneziano Alvise Da Mosto*, ed. by Tullia Gasparrini Leporace (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1966), p. 72. A bagpipe is mentioned at p. 70. First published in 1507 (*Paesi novamente ritrovati*), Da Mosto's account survives more authoritatively at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice) in Marciano It., Cl. VI, 454 (= 10701). English tr. Robert Kerr, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (Edinburgh: 1824), II, 235–236.



presided at the ceremony.²⁰⁴ In this same year, organs arrived at the Congo capital—a gift from the Portuguese crown.²⁰⁵

On Saturday, December 2, 1497, Vasco da Gama's party went ashore at Mossel Bay, some two hundred miles east of the Cape of Good Hope. In chapter III of his *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da Índia* (Coimbra: João de Barreyra, 1551 and 1554), Fernão Lopes de Castanheda tells how the Hottentots received the Portuguese. As translated in *The first Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias* (London: Thomas East, 1582), this tale of the first Hottentot encounter with Vasco da Gama's men reads thus (folio 9):

The Saterdag next after [December 2, 1497] came to the number of two hundreth blacke men: and more, some little, some great, bringing with them twelue Oxen and foure sheepe, and as our men went on shore, they began to play vpon foure Flutes accordingly with foure sundry voyces; the Musicke whereof sounded very well, which the Generall [Vasco da Gama] hearing, commaunded the trumpets to sound, and so they daunced with our men. In this pastime and feasting, and in buying their Oxen and sheepe, that daye passed ouer, and in the selfe same sort, vpon the Sunday following, sundry of the same. . . .

Although the account of Castanheda, who died in 1559, varies slightly from the 1497–1498 diary of the voyage published in 1861 with the title *Roteiro da viagem de Vasco da Gama em MCCCCXCVII*,²⁰⁶ the Hottentots had already in 1497 obviously passed the stage of mere monody to that of harmony. Or

²⁰⁴Ruy de Pina, *Chronica d'ElRei Dom Joaõ II* [Collecção de livros ineditos de historia portugueza, Tomo II] (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1792), p. 152. Pina (ca. 1440–1514/23) finished his account around 1504. The instruments played were *atabaques*, *trombetas de marfim*, and *violas*. Ruy de Sousa took command of the 1491 Congo expedition after the death of his brother Gonçalo.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. 150. The Congo capital at Mbanza (later São Salvador) served as seat of a bishopric 1597–1626. See *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vii, 428–430, for a short history of the Congo kingdom.

²⁰⁶*Roteiro*, (2da ed.) (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1861), p. 11: “E elles começaram logo de tanger quatro ou cinco frautas, e huuns tangiam alto e outros baixo, em maneira que concertavam muito bem”; Castanheda, *História*, 3.^a edição conforme a *Editio princeps* (Coimbra: 1924), i, 13: “& como os nossos forão a terra começarão eles de tãger quatro frautas acordadas a quatro vozes de musica.”

at least, so the later references to Hottentot reed-flute ensembles gathered by Kirby in this classic study permit one to believe.²⁰⁷

Camões (*Os Lusíadas*, Canto V, lxiii, 5–8) immortalized the Hottentot “pastoral songs” (*cantigas pastoris*) that welcomed Vasco da Gama's men ashore, calling their pastoral flutes “as sweet as those played by Tityrus” in Virgil's first eclogue. Camões's grandiose epic also refers (Canto I, xlvi, 8) to the sonorous vertical trumpets (*anafis*²⁰⁸ *sonorosos*) played aboard ships sent out from an island off Mozambique to greet Vasco da Gama's party three months later.²⁰⁹ On March 3, 1498, “seuen or eight little boates vnder saile” approached the Portuguese fleet. “And then by view of their persons it appeared they were men of a good stature and somewhat blacke. They were apparelled in linnen cloth of Cotten, welted with sundry colours. . . . They have swords and daggers as the Moores do vse them; in their boates they brought with them their instruments called Sagbutts.”²¹⁰

Upon boarding the Portuguese ships, these islanders immediately made themselves at home—especially upon finding a Portuguese mariner who spoke Arabic. On low Sunday, April 22, 1498, the

²⁰⁷Percival R. Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, 2d ed. (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1965), pp. 135–138. See also Kirby's “Some Problems of Primitive Harmony and Polyphony, with Special Reference to Bantu Practice,” *South African Journal of Science*, xxiii (December, 1926), 951–970.

For A. M. Jones's discussion of African indigenous harmony see *Studies in African Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), i, 216–222; and map after p. 230. He classes all native African harmony as organum at the fourth, fifth, octave, or third. For other references to *Mehrstimmigkeit* in aboriginal Africa, see Klaus P. Wachsmann, “Ostafrika,” *MGG*, x (1962), 445.

²⁰⁸*anafil* [P.] = *añafil* [Sp.] = a vertical trumpet of silver or base metal. Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 1611, derives *añafil* from the Arabic *nafir*. Castanheda's 1582 translator uses “sagbut” or “shagbut” as the English equivalent of “añafil.” But Covarrubias vetoes our confusing it with either a coiled or slide trumpet.

²⁰⁹See the edition of Reis Brasil (Oporto: 1960), i, 258, 271; v (1966), 298, 311.

²¹⁰Castanheda, *The first Booke* (1582), fol. 14. In the diplomatic reprint of the Portuguese first edition the sentence reads, p. 17: “& quãto mais se chegauã soauão neles atabales como q̄ hião de festa.” The *Roteiro* account, which must be accepted in preference to Castanheda's, specifies (1861 ed., p. 23): “chegaram a nós sete ou oyto daquelles barcos e almadias, os quaees vinham tamjendo huuns anafis que elles traziam. . . .”



Malindi sultan visited the “Captaine generall [Vasco da Gama] . . . giuing him a Pilot to carry him to Calicut” [India]. According to the 1582 translation (fol. 29v) and the 1551 Portuguese original (capitolo .xii.),²¹¹ this Moslem “King of Mylynde”

. . . brought with him many Shagbutts, and two Flutes of Ivorie, which were eight spans of length each of them, they were very well wrought, and vppon the same they played by a little hole that is in the midst thereof, agreeing and according well with the shagbutts.

FIRST PORTUGUESE NEW WORLD ENCOUNTER

On March 8, 1500, Pedro Alvares Cabral’s fleet of thirteen ships carrying 1200 men set sail from Lisbon, bound for India. João de Barros’s *Década I* published in 1552 (António Baião edition [Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1945], p. 103), describes the embarkation. The musical instruments carried aboard included trumpets (*trombetas*), *atabáques*, sistra (*séstrós*), drums (*tambores*), flutes (*frautas*), tambourines (*pandeiros*), and bagpipes (*gaitas*). Straying off course, the fleet reached the Brazilian coast in the south of the present state of Bahia on April 22, 1500. On April 26 (Low Sunday), Mass was celebrated at Coroa Vermelha, Baía Cabralia.

About seventy indigenes heard the singing of this first Mass on Brazilian soil. The celebrant was Frei Henrique Soares de Coimbra (later Bishop of Ceuta). According to Frei Fernando da Soledade, who was one of the seven Franciscans who helped celebrate, the assisting friars included Frei Maffei, *organista*, and Frei Pedro Neto, *corista com ordens sacras* (*Historia Seraphica Chronologica de S. Francisco, Provincia de Portugal* [Lisbon, 1721], III, 489–490). Vouching for the musical aspect, Damião de Góis (composer represented in Glareanus’s *Dodekachordon*), stated that “the Mass with Deacon and Subdeacon” was celebrated with the “assistance of all the friars, chaplains of the ships, and priests who were in the fleet, and other persons who knew about singing” (*Crônica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* [Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1949],

²¹¹Trazia muytos anafis, & duas bozinas de marfim de cõpriméto doyto palmos cada hũa, & erão muyto lauradas: & tâgiase per hũ buraco q̄ tinhão no meyo: & cõcertauão cõ os anafis.

129: *Ha Missa foi de Diacono, & Subdiacono, offiçada com todos los frades, capellães das naos, & saçerdotes q̄ iham narmada, & outras pessoas que entendiam de canto.*

After Mass, Diogo Dias:

a gallant and playful man, who had been a stock keeper at Sacavém, crossed to the other side of the river, taking with him one of our bagpipe players with his bagpipe. He joined them [Tupiniquin indigenes] in the dance, taking them by the hands; and they amused themselves and laughed, and to the sound of the bagpipe followed him very well (Manuel Vicente Ribeiro Veiga, Jr., “Toward a Brazilian Ethnomusicology: Amerindian Phases,” University of California at Los Angeles Ph.D. dissertation, 1981, p. 148, quoting Pedro Vaz de Caminha’s letter dated May 1, 1500, to King Manuel I).

On Thursday, April 30, 1500, the indigenes again danced with the Portuguese—this time accompanied by a *tamboril* (“double membranophone, with snares attached to both membranes,” Veiga, p. 154).

Thus began Portuguese musical contacts with the New World, opening thereby a fresh chapter in European musical expansion. The indigenes who on April 26, 1500, joined hands with Diogo Dias “and laughed, and to the sound of the bagpipe followed him very well” ushered in a new era of cultural cooperation that has not yet seen its end.

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