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Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, CIC 60: the repertories and their context[1]

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OUR understanding of Portuguese musical culture during the reigns of Manuel I and João III is severely limited by the paucity of sources dating from this period or containing substantial repertories of that time. We are thus handicapped when investigating such major issues as, for example, the relationship between the musical cultures (sacred and secular) of Portugal and Spain: For Latin polyphony, our main sources are those few of the manuscripts copied at Santa Cruz in Coimbra which may be dated to the last decade and a half of João III's reign (there being, almost certainly, none which pre-date this[2]): Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM 6, MM 7, MM 9, MM 12, and MM 32.[3] Much of the repertory which these sources contain is significantly older than the books themselves, and two sources in particular (MM 12 and MM 32) are important repositories of music composed in large part by musicians

1 This article originated as the introduction to a projected facsimile edition of the manuscript concerned. I am grateful to Manuel Carlos de Brito and João Pedro d'Alvarenga for proposing publication of this – a revised version of the original text – in the current context.

2 The one manuscript of earlier date in the same collection – Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM 2, which probably dates from about 1530 – was copied not in Portugal but in the Netherlands: see Owen REES, *Polyphony in Portugal: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra*, New York & London, 1995, pp. 137-145, and the same author's forthcoming study "A Northern Choirbook in Portugal: the Provenance of Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM 2", to appear in David CRAWFORD, ed., *Encomium Musicæ: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*.

3 On these sources and their dating see REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 8, 155-166, 173-194, and 215-227.

associated with the Spanish royal courts in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[4] With regard to the vernacular song repertory, scholars were for a long time aware of only one source which may have originated in Portugal and which contains a substantial number of songs dating from the period just mentioned – the *Cancioneiro de Elvas* (Elvas, Biblioteca Municipal, Ms 11793),[5] a manuscript probably compiled no earlier than the third quarter of the sixteenth century.[6] Fortunately, during the last thirty years three more sources of Portuguese provenance and containing vernacular songs definitely or probably of the relevant date have been brought to our attention: Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, Ms Masson 56; Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia, Ms 3391; and the manuscript discussed here – Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Colecção Ivo Cruz 60.[7] Finally, our knowledge of music at the Portuguese court during the time of Manuel I and João III has been enhanced by the recent discovery of a copy of Gonzalo de Baena's *Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger* (Lisbon, 1540), a source which provides further clues regarding the importance of Spanish and other foreign musical repertories in Portugal at this time.[8]

The manuscript Biblioteca Nacional CIC 60 – the contents of which are set out in the Table – is important not only as one of the

4 See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, chapter 2 and appendix 2.

5 This source was discovered by Manuel Joaquim in 1928, although his published study of it (incorporating a transcription of the works it contains) did not apear until twelve years later (*O Cancioneiro musical e poético da Biblioteca Públia Hortênsia*, Coimbra, 1940). There have since appeared two further editions of the music in the source, with prefatory studies of the manuscript (Manuel MORAIS, *Cancioneiro musical d'Elvas*, Lisbon, 1977; Gil MIRANDA, *The Elvas Songbook*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicæ 98, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1987), and a facsimile edition incorporating a study by Manuel Pedro FERREIRA (*Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Publia Hortensia de Elvas*, Lisbon, 1989).

6 See MIRANDA, *The Elvas Songbook*, pp. 18-19.

7 Descriptions of the first and third of these manuscripts, and an edition of the songs they contain, are to be found in Manuel MORAIS, *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances do século XVI*, Portugaliæ Musica XLVII, Lisbon, 1986. On the Paris manuscript, see also François REYNAUD, *Le Chansonnier Masson 56 (XVI^e Siècle) de la Bibliothèque des Beaux-Arts de Paris: description, edition diplomatique des textes, concordances et transcriptions musicales*, PhD diss., U. of Poitiers, 1968. For an account of the source in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia, some at least of the pieces in which may date from the period under consideration, see MORAIS, *Música portuguesa maneirista: Cancioneiro musical de Belém*, Lisbon, 1988, and Arthur ASKINS and Jack SAGE, "The Musical Songbook of the *Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia*, Lisbon (*ca.*1603)" *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 13/2, 1976, pp. 129-137.

8 See Tess KNIGHTON, "A Newly Discovered Keyboard Source (Gonzalo de Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger*, Lisbon 1540): A Preliminary Report" *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5/1, 1996, pp. 81-112.

earliest Portuguese sixteenth-century sources to contain examples of vernacular song, but also as one of very few sources in Portugal to transmit sacred Latin polyphony of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the type of repertory found in greater abundance in the Coimbra manuscripts MM 12 and MM 32 mentioned above. Manuel Morais has published a study and edition of the songs in this manuscript.[9] The present study considers both repertories from a number of angles; as will be shown below, the Latin-texted music in manuscript CIC 60 – quite apart from its inherent importance – may be crucial in tracing the likely provenance of the book.[10]

It will be seen from the inventory that the compiler of manuscript CIC 60 placed the group of sacred works first (folios 1-32), following them with the vernacular songs (folios 32^{v}-52), this latter group being interrupted only once, by *Ave verbum incarnatum* at folios 42^{v}-43. (The 'interruption' may however be more apparent than real, as is pointed out below.) At the beginning of his work the copyist may have envisioned a careful (possibly alphabetical) ordering of pieces which was never carried through: he begins with three works whose texts open with the word 'Ave', and places them in alphabetical order. (One wonders if the two works by Peñalosa were conceived as a pair – although it should be noted that they are in different modes – since their texts are meditations respectively on the flesh and blood of the crucified Christ. Certainly the compiler of the Lisbon manuscript was not the only scribe to present the works together: they appear thus also in Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Mss 2–3.) A touch of

9 The description of the book's physical characteristics provided by Morais is comprehensive, and only pertinent details will be given here. A further brief description of the manuscript is included in the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1, vol. 4, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1988, p. 422, where it is assigned the siglum LisbonBN 60.

10 The following Latin-texted works in the source are available in modern editions (index numbers refer to those in the Table): the two Peñalosa motets (nos. 2 and 3) in three sources – Dionisio PRECIADO, ed., *Francisco de Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, vol. 1: *Motetes*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 217-223 and 225-230 respectively, Martyn IMRIE, ed., *Francisco de Peñalosa (ca.1470-1528): Motets for 4 & 5 Voices*, London, 1990, pp. 12-16, and Jane HARDIE, ed., *Collected Works of Francisco de Peñalosa: Twenty-four Motets*, Ottawa, 1994, pp. 15-26; no. 8 is in Ludwig FINSCHER, ed., *L. Compère: Opera omnia*, IV, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicæ 15, American Institute of Musicology, 1961, pp. 27-28, and PRECIADO, ed., *Francisco de Peñalosa: Opera omnia*, vol. 1: *Motetes*, pp. 267-272; no. 11 in three sources – J. B. de ELUSTIZA and G. CASTRILLO HERNANDEZ, eds., *Antología musical*, Barcelona, 1933, pp. 1-4, Robert STEVENSON, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, The Hague, 1960, pp. 142-144, and Samuel RUBIO, ed., *Juan de Anchieta: Opera omnia*, San Sebastián, 1980, pp. 78-82.

orderliness returns later within the group of Latin-texted works, where two Easter pieces are placed together (nos. 13 and 14 in the inventory), although they are distinct in type, the first being a motet and the second an *Alleluia* (i.e. a Mass Proper item). After these works, and concluding this section of the manuscript, is a collection of verses extracted from settings of the *Magnificat* by Francisco de Peñalosa, Vasco Pirez, and Juan de Urreda. (Gonzalo de Baena included the same two verses – for two voices – from Urreda's *Magnificat* in his *Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger*, mentioned above.) The hand of the original copyist ceases at f. 52 (although it is clear that all the remaining folios had already been prepared with margins and staves).[11] The rest of the manuscript was utilised by other scribes, who added both polyphonic items and chant, using relatively informal copying styles (and in some cases, unfortunately, acidic inks which have caused considerable damage to the paper in this section of the manuscript).[12]

That the principal copyist of manuscript CIC 60 did not envisage its use by singers is suggested by its size (just 96x146 mm, with staves only 9 mm high). The presence of serious – and uncorrected – errors (for example, in Escobar's *Stabat mater*, where there are two mistakes involving pitch and one extraneous repeat of a melodic figure within what is a relatively brief piece) tends to confirm that performers never used the book.[13] Besides such evidence, the fact that the copyist included isolated verses from settings of the *Magnificat* (mentioned above) provides immediate confirmation that his priorities were those of a connoisseur, and that the source had nothing to do with liturgical

11 All 72 folios were apparently provided with margins and staves before the copying of music began; that this preparatory work was carried out as a single project is indicated by the consistency of layout and dimensions of the margins and staves. The folios were gathered regularly into nine quaternions. Two folios – which would have borne the numbers 6 and 63 – are missing from the manuscript.

12 The polyphonic works consist of four settings of *Benedicamus Domino*, all copied by a single scribe. These are certainly not the work of experienced composers, and are at times strikingly crude. The last of them employs the chant most commonly associated with this liturgical item, albeit in a slightly truncated form, as a *cantus firmus* in the tenor; the beginning of the same chant occurs at the opening of the second setting, again in the tenor. The style of the four pieces suggests that they date from the sixteenth century. The script used here, and for the items of chant added to folios 52^{v}-61, points towards a copying date in the second half of the sixteenth century or the early seventeenth century. Other brief items copied into the book at still later periods have been excluded from the inventory.

13 The copy of *Ave verbum incarnatum* (no. 28 in the inventory), with its gross mismatching of text and music (discussed below), points towards the same conclusion. See also note 38 below.

performance,[14] as does his casual attitude to texting, which is discussed below. It seems, then, that manuscript CIC 60 was intended as a personal anthology. The principal copyist took considerable trouble over the appearance of the book (see Figure 1): the regularity and neatness of music and text suggest that he was a trained and practised scribe, and there is ample decoration in the form of initial letters (some of them gilded) and floral-pattern borders.

Manuel Morais has noted that the scribe was certainly Portuguese, as is indicated by his spelling of Spanish texts,[15] and that he carried out his work in or after 1521, since the text of *Ninha era la infanta* (no. 22 in the inventory) concerns an event which took place on the 4th August of that year: the departure from Lisbon of the Infanta Dona Beatriz (daughter of Dom Manuel I), who was to marry the Duke of Savoy.[16] In seeking to establish more precisely the original provenance and date of the manuscript, it is necessary to rely on indirect evidence, namely – in the first instance – that provided by concordances.

The Latin-texted works: concordances

A glance at the final column of the inventory, where presently-known concordances are shown, will reveal the striking contrast in this regard between the sacred Latin-texted works in the manuscript and the vernacular songs. While only one of the nineteen songs has been located in other sources (as discussed below), just two of the eighteen Latin-texted pieces seem to be *unica*, and the numbers of concordances for many of the others are substantial.[17] The concordances are important partly in that they provide attributions (even if conflicting ones) for most of these pieces, and – more generally – allow us to locate this sacred repertory chronologically and geographically:

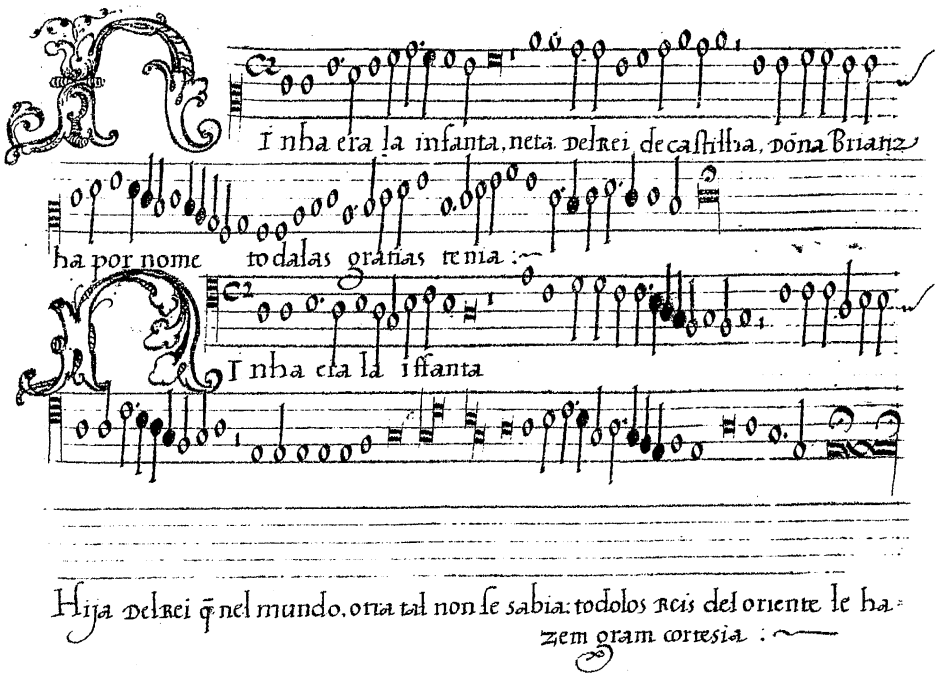
14 Similarly, no. 4 in the inventory (*Hierusalem convertere*) is textually not a complete work; it may either be the conclusion of a setting of one of the liturgical sets of Lamentations, or a *contrafactum* (since the text fits the music poorly, a situation not uncommon in this manuscript, as is pointed out below).

15 *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances*, p. VIII.

16 This *romance* is discussed further below.

17 It will be argued below that one of the two *unica*, *Ave verbum incarnatum* (no. 28 in the inventory), may well be a *contrafactum*, and indeed that it might originally have existed as a song with vernacular text and so not belong to the same repertory as the other Latin-texted works.

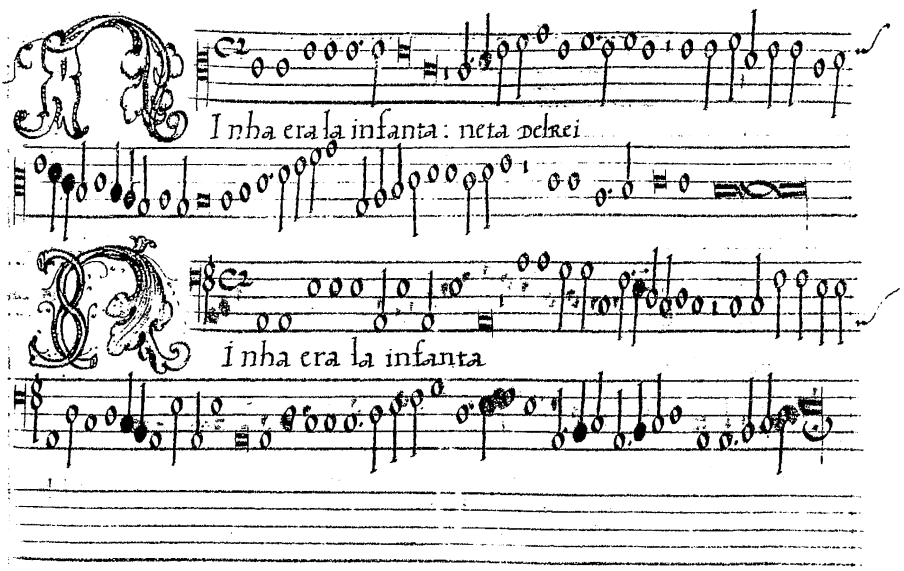
Fig. 1



a large proportion of it was composed by musicians active at the courts of the Catholic Monarchs in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries – Francisco de Peñalosa, Juan de Anchieta, Pedro de Escobar, Alonso de Alba, Juan de Urreda, and others.[18] The few works in this section of the manuscript which cannot be provided with an attribution through concordances (nos. 4, 7, 10, 13, and 14) belong in all probability to the same 'Spanish court repertory', or at least to the same period, to judge by their style. *Resurgens Christus* (no. 13), for example, employs an expressive combination of imitative and homophonic textures which might suggest the hand of Peñalosa.

Many of the concordances identified for the Latin-texted works involve the principal Spanish sources of the Latin-texted repertory,

18 On the composers and repertory associated with the courts of the Catholic Monarchs, see Tess KNIGHTON, *Music and Musicians at the Court of Fernando of Aragon, 1474-1516*, PhD diss., U. of Cambridge, 1983.



such as Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Mss 2–3, and Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454. However, the largest number of concordances is not with these sources but rather with a number of the manuscripts from Santa Cruz in Coimbra mentioned above (CoimU 6, CoimU 9, CoimU 12, and CoimU 32),[19] and with two additional manuscripts from the same institution: CoimU 48 and CoimU 53 (the former dating from *c.*1556-*c.*1559, and the latter from *c.*1585-*c.*1600). The repertorial overlap is most striking in the case of two of the Coimbra books – the Lisbon manuscript shares no fewer than ten works with CoimU 12 and nine with CoimU 32. CoimU 6, CoimU 9, and CoimU 12 are large formal choirbooks, while CoimU 32 and CoimU 53 are smaller and calligraphically less distinguished manuscripts in choirbook format; MM 48 is a highly

19 As in the inventory, the *sigla* used here are those found in the *Census-Catalogue.*

eclectic anthology of motets, French chansons, and instrumental ensemble music which employs score format, apparently in order to facilitate study of its contents.[20]

In the case of the repertory under discussion, these Coimbra sources form a closely-related group in stemmatic terms, as one might expect given their common provenance. The degree of similarity between their readings is the more notable given that pieces belonging to this repertory typically acquired large numbers of variants during the process of their widespread dissemination, so that the versions preserved in Coimbra and in, for example, the Tarazona and Barcelona manuscripts mentioned above frequently differ to a very substantial extent.[21] How, then, does the Lisbon source fit into this stemmatic picture? It emerges that the readings which it transmits are in general very close to those found in the manuscripts from Santa Cruz, agreeing with them much more consistently than with the Spanish readings. A good example is provided by the two verses of the *Magnificat* setting by Peñalosa copied into manuscript CIC 60 (no. 15 in the inventory). This setting appears complete in two of the Coimbra sources, CoimU 12 and CoimU 32, and in the Tarazona manuscript. While there are no variants of any significance between the readings in the Lisbon source and those from Coimbra, there are two significant variants with the Spanish reading. A similar pattern emerges in the case of the most widely-copied motet preserved in manuscript CIC 60 – *O bone Jesu* (no. 8 in the inventory), which other Iberian sources attribute variously to Anchieta, Peñalosa, and Ribera.[22] This work occurs in no fewer than four sources from Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and these readings together with the reading in the Lisbon source form a closely-knit group. All the other manuscript readings lie firmly outside this group, showing numerous separative variants.[23]

20 The function of MM 48 and of the related book MM 242 is discussed in detail in REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 342-360.

21 The whole group of concordances involving this repertory as preserved in the Coimbra sources is discussed in REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, chapter 2 and appendix 2.

22 Tess Knighton argues (in "Francisco de Peñalosa: New Works Lost and Found", forthcoming in David CRAWFORD, ed., *Encomium Musicæ: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*) that the piece is more likely to have been composed by a Spaniard than by Compère, to whom it is attributed in Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona libro tertio* of 1519, and that Peñalosa's authorship is the most probable.

23 See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 424-426.

In summary, one can state confidently that there is a strong stemmatic relationship in most cases between the Lisbon and Coimbra readings, although it is also clear that the relationship is never that of exemplar and direct copy. It might be, of course, that this stemmatic proximity is merely a symptom of the common nationality of the Lisbon and Coimbra sources. Although this possibility cannot be dismissed, there is evidence which significantly weakens it. One Latin-texted item in the Lisbon manuscript has been located in another Portuguese source besides the Coimbra books: the two verses from Urreda's *Magnificat* (no. 17) included by Gonzalo de Baena in his *Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger*. As can be seen from the inventory, the relevant music is also to be found in CoimU 12 and in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 4379. Comparison of all these readings shows a typically high level of agreement between the Lisbon and Coimbra sources (there were no significant variants until the reading in CoimU 12 was later altered) but a very high level of disagreement between these and Gonzalo de Baena's version (including substantial variants; to take just one example, Gonzalo de Baena's reading of the 'Esurientes' verse is two breves shorter than those in the Lisbon manuscript and CoimU 12). While some of these disagreements might be due to changes made by Gonzalo de Baena as he tabulated the piece for keyboard (indeed, his method of rhythmic notation is clearly responsible for some variants), this cannot have been the only cause of the divergences, as is demonstrated by the existence of one passage (the mid-verse cadence of the 'Esurientes' section, in the lower voice) where the *Arte* and the Lisbon/Coimbra readings part company but where the Paris manuscript carries an identical reading to that in the *Arte*, thus significantly connecting these last two readings and showing that Gonzalo de Baena's exemplar was stemmatically separated from the Coimbra/Lisbon version. Here, then, we see that there was no single Portuguese stemma subject to little mutation. The same seems to have been true in all those cases where it is possible to compare the readings of works found both in Santa Cruz sources and in Portuguese sources which were clearly compiled at other institutions (such as Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MM 40 and MM 76-79): again, no such close relationship between readings can be observed as one sees bet-

ween the readings in the Lisbon manuscript and those from Coimbra.[24]

It may therefore be worth considering the possibility that the Lisbon manuscript originated in the same orbit as those from Santa Cruz. One should mention in this regard that one composer represented in the manuscript – Vasco Pirez (see no. 16 in the inventory) – lived and worked in Coimbra, being associated with the cathedral, and that the only other sources known to contain examples of his work are those from Santa Cruz.[25] The *Magnificat* setting of which manuscript CIC 60 preserves three verses is found complete in CoimU 12 and CoimU 32, and the stemmatic relationship between the three readings of these verses is – as usual – very close, there being no substantive variants but only superficial differences in texting and the use of ligatures.[26] However, this and the other close stemmatic kinships between Coimbra sources and manuscript CIC 60 need not imply that the Lisbon manuscript was copied at the Coimbra monastery itself, for the musical influence of Santa Cruz spread widely through the congregation of Augustinian monasteries and convents of which it was the mother-house, partly through the exchanges of personnel which are widely documented in, for example, a manuscript necrology compiled at Santa Cruz by Dom Gabriel de Santa Maria and covering the years 1527-1616.[27] Thus, for example, the monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon would be a feasible candidate for the manuscript's origin given both this house's close links with Santa Cruz and its wealth and cultural pres-

24 See, for example, the case of António Carreira's *Dicebat Jesus*, as described in Owen REES, *Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Polyphony from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra, Portugal*, PhD diss., U. of Cambridge, 1991, vol. 3, pp. 170-171.

25 On Vasco Pirez, see Robert Stevenson's introduction to *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa 1490-1680*, Portugaliæ Musica XXXVII, Lisbon, 1982, pp. XXX-XXXI.

26 See the critical commentary to the edition of this piece in the author's thesis, vol. 3, p. 158.

27 One might take, for example, the case of the most famous composer associated with Santa Cruz in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Pedro de Cristo (*c.*1550-1618), who spent periods as *mestre de capela* both at Santa Cruz and at its most famous sister-house, São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon; for a concise summary of the relevant biographical information, see Robert STEVENSON, *Autores vários: Vilancicos portugueses*, Portugaliæ Musica XXIX, Lisbon, 1976, p. LV. An edition by Pedro de Azevedo of Dom Gabriel's necrology has been published as "Rol dos Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho por D. Gabriel de S. Maria" *Boletim de Segunda Classe da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, 11, Coimbra, 1918, pp. 104-177.

tige.[28] Although there is no direct evidence that manuscript CIC 60 was compiled within a monastery, one of the items of chant added on the folios left blank by the original copyist suggests that it was indeed located in such a house at a relatively early stage in its history. This item (no. 41 in the inventory) is an 'ordo ad inumandum fratrem mortuum'. The script found here suggests a date in the second half of the sixteenth century or the early seventeenth century.

There is one further aspect of the possible relationship between the Lisbon source and those from Santa Cruz which is worthy of consideration. As mentioned earlier, most of the Santa Cruz manuscripts involved (CoimU 6, CoimU 9, CoimU 12, and CoimU 32) were compiled at the same period (approximately 1540-1555); indeed, they belong to a closely-knit group (which also includes part of CoimU 7 and the chant manuscript CoimU 37) in terms, for example, of the scribes who worked on them, paper-types, and repertory,[29] and may represent a concerted effort by the members of the *scriptorium* at Santa Cruz to renew the monastery's musical books, an effort possibly associated with the reform of the house initiated by Dom João III in 1527 and supervised by Frei Brás de Braga between that date and 1554.[30] This process of reform clearly had an enormous intellectual impact, and resulted in a revitalisation of cultural activity of all kinds at the monastery and an increase in its power and educational prestige. It is possible, if the postulated connection with the Santa Cruz manuscripts existed, that the Lisbon source represents another fruit of this cultural renaissance: the musical and textual script used by the main copyist certainly makes a dating of *c.*1530-1550 entirely feasible (we have already seen that the manuscript cannot pre-date 1521); indeed, there is a close resemblance between this script and that employed by some of the scribes who compiled CoimU 32, which is the smallest and least

28 It is possible that Ivo Cruz obtained the book from São Vicente. Certainly, the Conservatório Nacional (of which he was the Director) acquired music books from that source, as is shown by labels (with the printed title 'Conservatório Nacional') pasted to the covers of such books – now in the Biblioteca Nacional – describing them as 'Aquisição no Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fóra de extintos Conventos e Seminários'. Given the wording of these labels, we do not know the original provenance of such books, but only that they were once in São Vicente. I am most grateful to João Pedro d'Alvarenga for pointing out the relevant evidence.

29 See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 159, 179-180, 193, and 224, and appendix 1.

30 See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 22-30.

formal in appearance of the group of Santa Cruz choirbooks compiled between 1540 and 1555.[31] The musical script in MM 32 is so small as to make it unlikely that the book was designed for use as a *livro de façistol* in the monastery chapel. In function, this manuscript may occupy an intermediate position between the large choirbooks copied at the same period and the Lisbon source.

The fact that manuscript CIC 60 contains secular music does not destroy the hypothesis that it may have originated in a similar orbit to the Santa Cruz manuscripts: we have already seen that the book was in a monastery at one stage in its existence, and among the musical manuscripts compiled at Santa Cruz are two (CoimU 48 and CoimU 242, both already mentioned) which contain substantial repertories of chansons and madrigals, and thus demonstrate a keen interest in secular song on the part of the monastery's musicians.[32]

Texts and texting

The Latin-texted works in the Lisbon source exemplify some of the principal emphases observable in the Iberian motet repertory of this period.[33] The two largest textual categories are those works associated with Easter (no. 13) or more specifically with the Passion (nos. 2, 3, 5, and 11), and those with a Eucharistic theme or concerned with Corpus

31 Interestingly, both the copyist of the Lisbon source and some of the scribes who worked on CoimU 32 were in the habit of switching – apparently at random – between the use of rounded and (more formal) lozenge-shaped note heads; this occurs for example during nos. 35-37 in manuscript CIC 60, at folios 48^{v}-52. The less formal style, with rounded note heads, can be seen in Figure 1.

32 It may be worth noting that the two principal types of watermark which occur in CoimU 242 – an armillary sphere surmounted by a star and a hand similarly surmounted by a star – are those to which the two marks visible in the Lisbon source belong. However, none of the paper types involved is identical, and the second type of watermark just mentioned was a particularly common one. Briquet includes no very close equivalents to the 'hand and star' mark in the Lisbon manuscript (visible for example on f. 27), although no. 10831 (found in a paper from Tours dated 1557) is similar in some respects; see Allan STEVENSON, ed., *The New Briquet, Jubilee Edition*, Amsterdam, 1968. Manuel Morais notes a resemblance between the 'armillary sphere and star' mark (visible for example on f. 39) and a whole category of such marks – nos. 13998-14022 – in Briquet. Two of these Briquet marks seem to be closest to that in the Lisbon source: no. 13999 (dating from 1553) and no. 14013 (dating from 1570).

33 This discussion ignores nos. 4, 9, and 14-17, which are works (or extracts from works) designed to fit a specific liturgical niche, and hence not 'motets' according to the conventional use of the term.

Christi (nos. 6, 10, 12, and 28, and once again nos. 2 and 3). Besides these, we have a Marian text (no. 1), David's lament for Absalom (no. 7), and a prayer to Jesus (no. 8). Immediately striking – and again typical of the repertory – is the high proportion of texts expressing a highly personalised and emotionally intense form of devotion, sometimes communicated in extravagant and impassioned language (as, for example, in the case of no. 11, *Domine Iesu Christe*, a text drawn from the *Officium de Passione Domini* of St Bonaventura).

Perhaps the most intriguing piece among the Latin-texted works is no. 28, *Ave verbum incarnatum* (Figure 2). The text itself is unremarkable, being part of a popular prayer on the theme of Corpus Christi (one common in motet texts chosen by peninsular composers at this period) which occurs in many Books of Hours:[34]

Ave verbum incarnatum
[In][35] altare consecratum,/confessorum[36]
Panis vivus angelorum,
Salve[37] et spes miserorum,/infernorum[38]
Medicina peccatorum.

34 The complete text may be found in Bruno STÄBLEIN, ed., *Monumenta monodica medii aevi* 1, no. 216, and in G. M. DREVES, C. BLUME, and H. BANNISTER, eds., *Analecta hymnica medii ævi* 32, no. 101. A rather different version of the text to that in the Lisbon source was set by Johannes Lupi (*c.*1506-1539; see Bonnie J. BLACKBURN, ed., *Johannes Lupi: Opera omnia*, vol. 3, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1986, no. 1):

Ave verbum incarnatum
In altari consecratum,
Panis vivus angelorum,
Salus et spes miserorum.

Ave corpus Jesu Christi
Qui populum redemisti
Precioso sanguine,
Liberans eum a malo
Et ab omni periculo.
Amen.

35 This word is omitted in the source.

36 The lowest voice has 'confessorum', the other two voices 'consecratum'. The former makes no sense here, and is clearly inferior also in terms of rhyme compared with 'incarnatum'/'consecratum'. See also note 37 below.

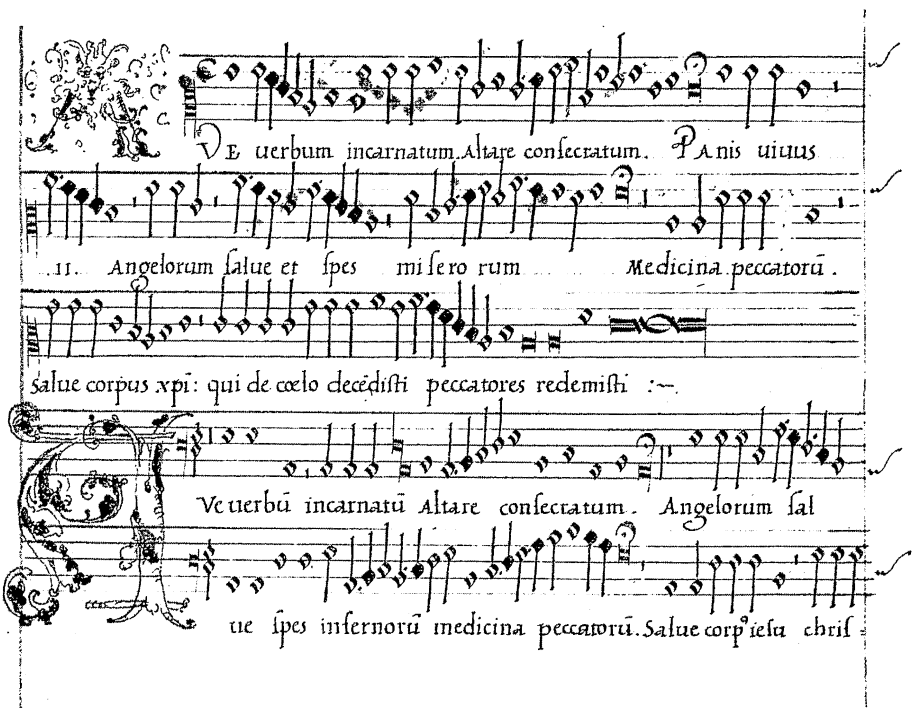
37 This should perhaps be 'salus': compare the text set by Lupi and given in note 34. The error may have occurred through confusion with the line beginning 'Salve corpus'.

38 The topmost voice has 'miserorum', the other two voices 'infernorum' (the latter making no sense). One suspects that 'infernorum', and 'confessorum' given in the lowest voice at the end of line 2 (see note 36 above), may be all that remain of missing lines of text. Given the problems which the scribe (or whoever originally combined the current text and music) was having in fitting this text to music which is too brief to accommodate it (a matter discussed below), such suppression of lines would not be surprising. It may indeed be that the first part of the text (i.e. before 'Salve corpus') was originally eight lines long rather than the five lines preserved here.

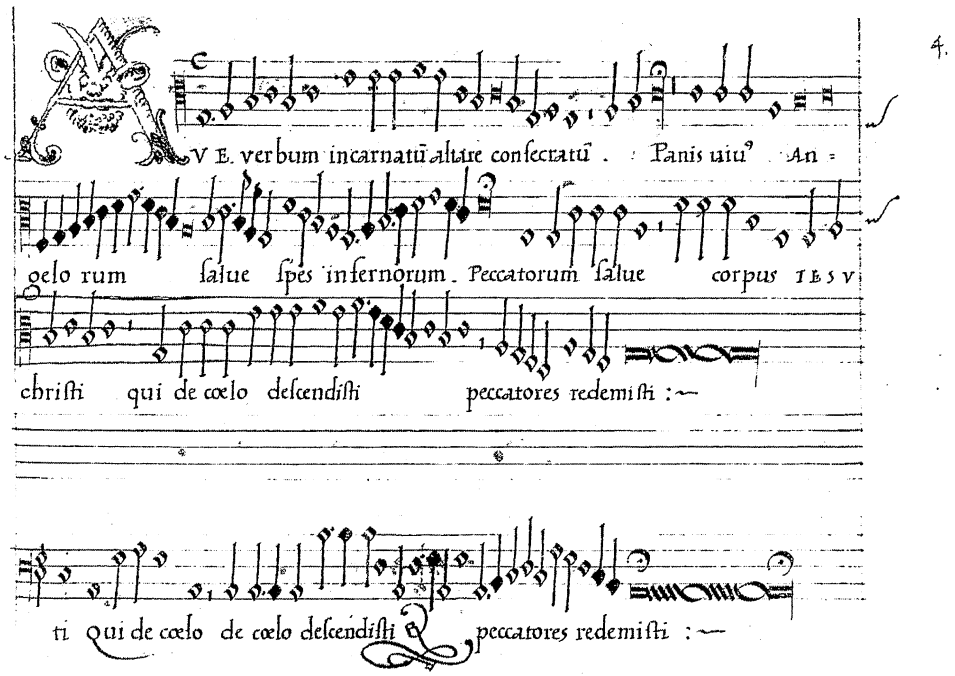
Salve corpus Iesu Christi
Qui de cælo descendisti,
Peccatores redemisti.

The problem is that this text cannot be accommodated in any adequate way to the music (shown in Example 1, where no underlay has been attempted) with which it is here associated. The awkward match between words and notes is not simply the fault of the scribe, although it is true that he shows no particular concern to solve the problems involved. To take some of the more striking examples: in the highest part at bar 14 he assigned the word 'angelorum' to an isolated three-note phrase; at bars 25-26 in the same part there are only

Fig. 2

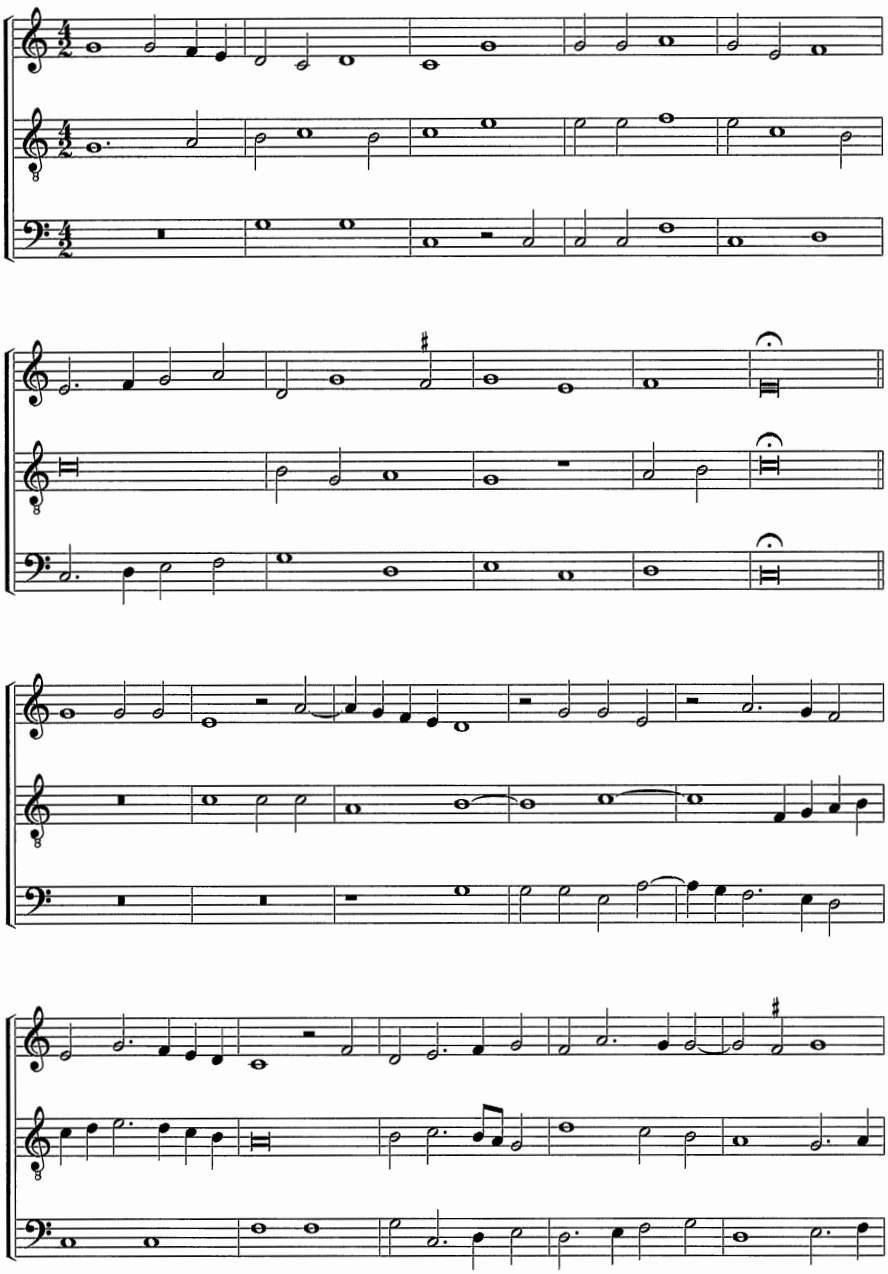


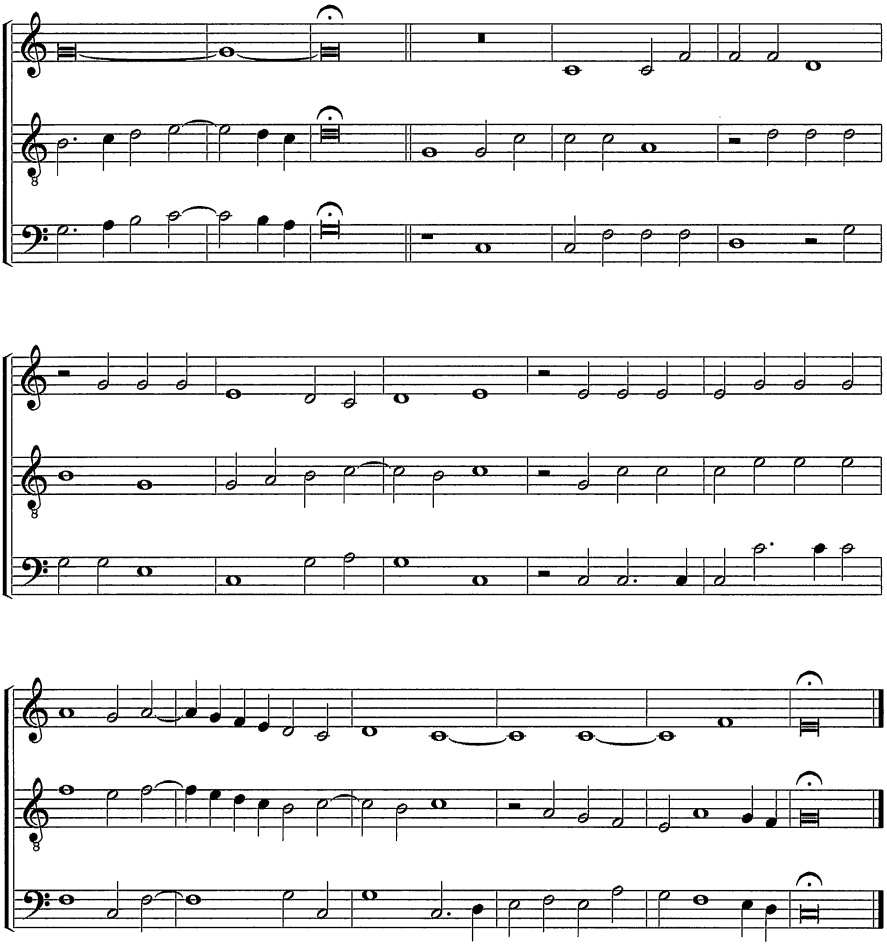
six notes available for the words 'medicina peccatorum'; and there are many gross discrepancies in the text – and its distribution – between the three voices. Indeed, one cannot conceive of a natural way to match the phraseology and major divisions of the text to the music and its tripartite structure. Quite simply, the text is too long for the music: 63 syllables are to be accommodated within 36 breves, a relationship which is in stark contrast to that typically found in contemporary motets, where the proportion of breves to syllables is regularly within the range of approximately 1:1 to 2:1.[39] Indeed, the brevity of the piece in itself sets it apart from the typical motet of the period. For example, the shortest of Peñalosa's motets (*Ne reminiscaris*) is 59 breves in length, and many are substantially longer than this.



39 Taking Peñalosa's three-voice motets as examples, *Unica est columba mea* takes 66 breves to set 54 syllables, while *Nigra sum* sets 33 syllables in 67 breves, *Adoro Te* 66 syllables in 62 breves, and *Ne reminiscaris* 41 syllables in 59 breves. *Sancta Maria* is unusually concise, setting 76 syllables in only 64 breves, but the ratio is still not close to that found in the work under consideration here.

Ex. 1





It seems, then, highly probable that *Ave verbum incarnatum* is a *contrafactum*,[40] and possible that in its original form it was not even a motet. Indeed, the light and simple style of the piece accords well with that of the songs among which this 'motet' is placed in the Lisbon source.[41] It likewise matches them in length: as mentioned above,

40 I know of two other cases within the Iberian motet repertory discussed here where the text and music fit together in so unsatisfactory a manner as to suggest that the pieces concerned may have been composed to a different text; one of the two works concerned, Alva's *O sacrum convivium*, is preserved in the Lisbon manuscript, the other being Illario's *O admirabile commercium*. See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 421-423 and 426.

41 See, for example, *Soledad tenguo de ti*, which is no. 24 in the inventory, and of which an edition may be found at pp. 10-11 of MORAIS, *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances*.

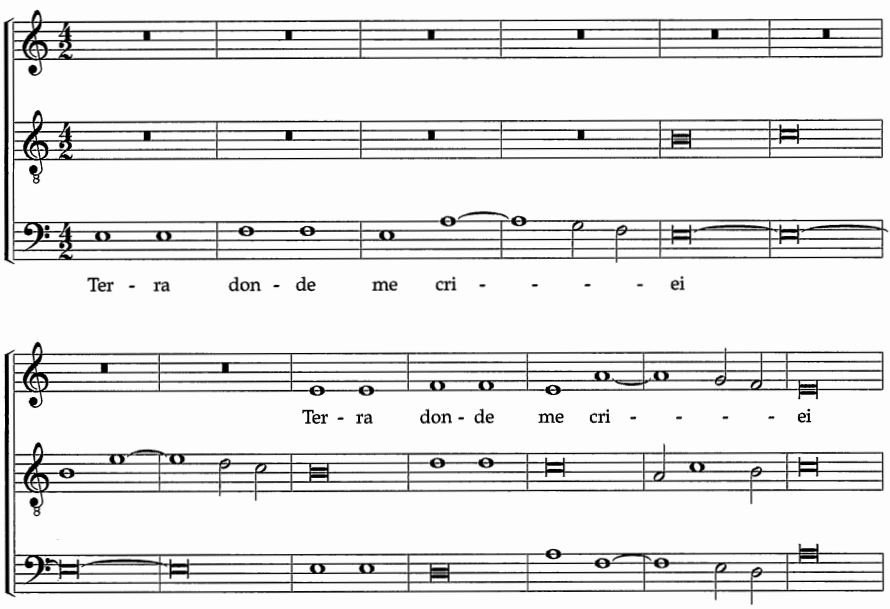
Ave verbum incarnatum lasts for 36 breves, which compares with 33 breves for *Terra donde me criei* (no. 19) and 34 for *Soledad tenguo de ti* (no. 24), both of which are – like *Ave verbum incarnatum* – three-voice pieces in imperfect time. There remains the question of sectionalisation, for if the piece bearing the text *Ave verbum incarnatum* was originally a *vilancete*, we should expect it to fall into two musical sections to accommodate, first, the *estribillo* and *volta* and, second the *mudanças*. Although the tripartite structure of *Ave verbum incarnatum* might therefore at first seem problematic, it actually corresponds closely with that of many songs in the Lisbon source, since it is common for the first musical section of a song to be clearly divided into two subsections. In fact, the proportions of *Ave verbum incarnatum* are quite typical of those found in the songs: the first division occurs after nine and a half breves (the end of bar 10 in Example 1), but is a relatively insubstantial cadence, while a much firmer division comes after 22 breves (the end of bar 23 in Example 1); the final section occupies 14 breves, its concluding cadence echoing that at bars 21-23 (compare the figure in the lower voices) in a way that supports the view of the piece as essentially bipartite.[42] This overall bipartite proportion of 22:14 may be compared with 20:13 for *Cercaranme los pesares* (no. 23) or 16:10 for *De gram prision* (no. 21). As for the internal division of the first section, the 9.5:12.5 proportion in *Ave verbum incarnatum* is comparable to, for example, 7:14 in *Puse mis amores* (no. 32). It is also worth noticing that the final section of *Ave verbum incarnatum* falls into two phrases (the division occurring at bar 30), perhaps to accommodate a standard two-line *mudança*. (This section of the music would, of course, then be sung twice, once for each *mudança*.) Once again, such a phrase-structure is common in the songs in manuscript CIC 60. If *Ave verbum incarnatum* was indeed originally a *vilancete*, this might explain how it came to be associated with such a repertory in the Lisbon source; in other words, rather than the copyist deciding at a late stage in his compilation of the manuscript to add another motet, this 'motet' might have existed in the same exemplar as the songs which surround it.

There are no other examples within the Lisbon manuscript of so drastic a mismatch between words and notes as is seen in *Ave verbum*

42 It is worth noting that the cadence at bar 23 ends with perfect consonances, and is in this respect more decisive than the 'final' cadence of the piece, at bar 37 (which includes the third); if the piece were performed as a *vilancete*, it would of course end with the cadence at bar 23.

incarnatum. However, it is difficult to fit the given text to the music in several songs and Latin-texted pieces, problems which are exacerbated by the casual approach of the scribe when it came to texting. One of the strangest cases is that of the opening motive of *Terra donde me criei* (no. 19; see Example 2); in the highest and lowest voices this motive has a semibreve rhythm with repeated notes to which the text fits well, but in the middle part it is presented in undivided breves, making nonsense of the imitation. (This middle part is left untexted in Example 2.) When the motive recurs at the opening of the stanza, it is the lower two voices which have the semibreve rhythm and the upper voice the breves, with the result that this latter voice cannot fit all of the text-phrase ('Mis dias seran penados') into its first musical phrase. One presumes that in this case the rhythms have become corrupted during the transmission process.

Ex. 2



In three instances the texts included by the original scribe of the Lisbon manuscript are incomplete. One of the songs involved, *O tempo bom tudo cura* (no. 37), comes at the very end of the pieces copied by this scribe, and he may (as Manuel Morais suggests) simply have left his task (and the manuscript) unfinished at this

point, for he failed to provide any text for the stanza. On the other hand, it is possible that he did not have access to this part of the text, as seems to have happened with another song, *Ojos tristes non lhoreis* (no. 30): although in this case the stanza has been underlaid with text, that text is simply the last line of the refrain; in other words, the text of the stanza is once again missing. That the scribe should be content with such a 'solution' indicates his lack of concern either for the structure of the *vilancetes* which he copied or for the usefulness of his copies as a guide to performers. In one other case – *Em mi gram suffrimento* (no. 29) – the stanza is not underlaid with text, but here the scribe wrote out this section of text at the bottom of f. 44. However, it seems that once again the complete text was not available to him, since the second line of the first *mudança* is missing.

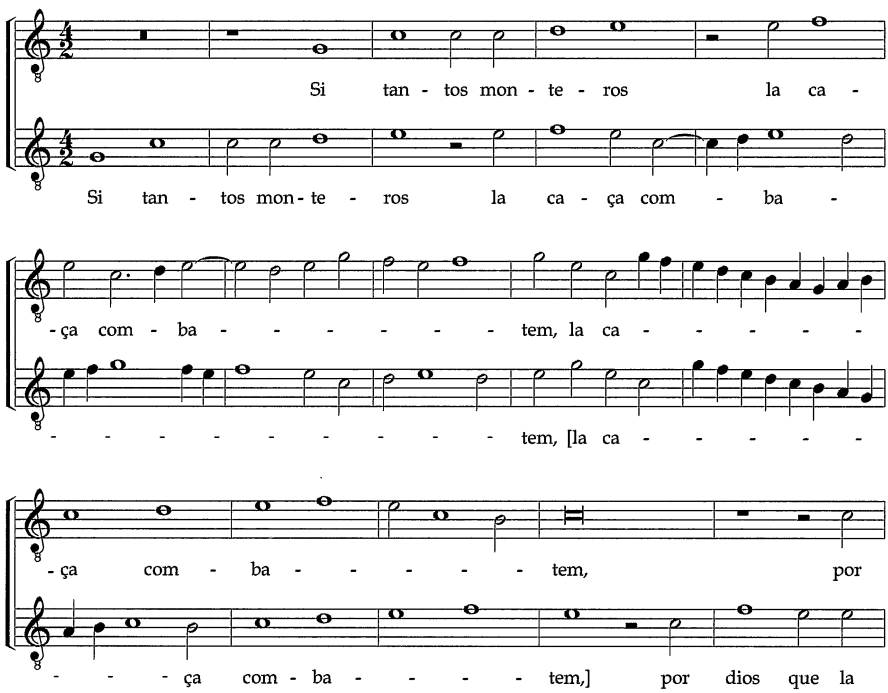
In general, given the scribe's lack of concern to provide copies adequate for performance, one should probably not take his texting practices as a guide to performance practice when considering such issues as the question of which parts of these songs were commonly performed by singers and which, if any, by instrumentalists. One approach to this issue is to scrutinise the texture of the songs. *Si tantos monteros* (no. 34) may be taken as a particularly striking case-study in this regard (see Example 3). The piece has a two-part texture; the parts use the same clef and both are texted in the source, albeit with little care.[43] The text describes hunters chasing their prey, and this is reflected in the musical device employed (one which composers had used in such a context as early as the fourteenth century): the piece is a canon (albeit not always a strict one) at the unison, the two parts 'chasing' one another at a distance of three or two semibreves.[44] The composer took the musical pun still further: while the *estribillo* mentions the hunters ('monteros') and then the hunted ('la caça'), in the stanza 'la caça' appears first, and in the music the order of the two voices is appropriately reversed at

43 For example, the four-syllable phrase 'en la cova' first appears in the upper part under the three-note musical unit from the end of bar 30 to bar 31 of Example 3 (left untexted in the example), which was surely designed instead to accommodate a repeat of the preceding two words – 'la caça'.

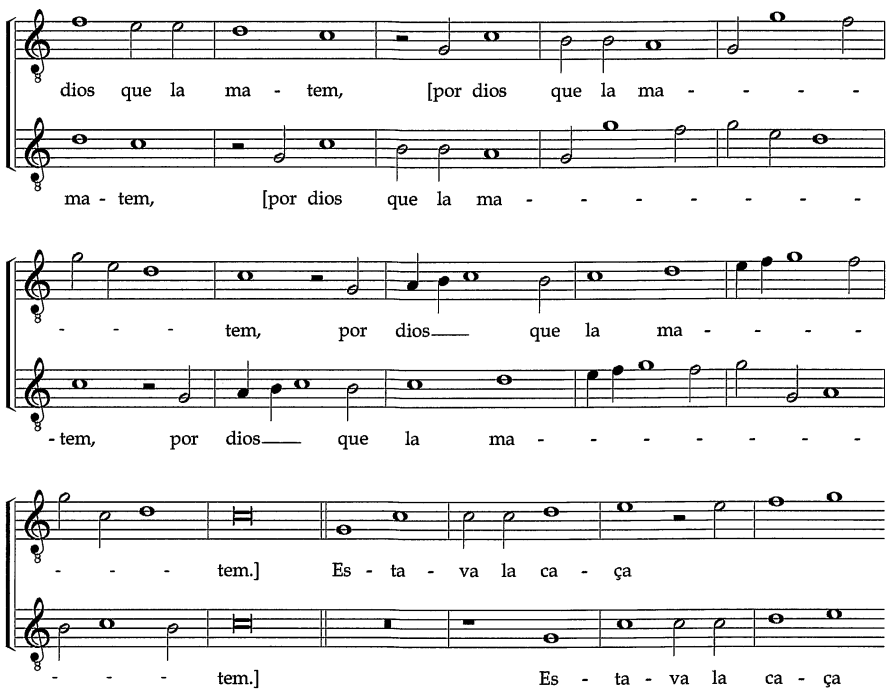
44 The Latin term for canon is, of course, *fuga* or 'flight'. A similarly punning use of canon occurs in, for example, *Perque me fuge amore* in the *Cancionero de Palacio* (f. 288), where the third word of the text is reflected in the scoring for three equal voices in free canon.

this point (bar 28 onwards in Example 3), so that the part which had been the *dux* becomes the *comes* and vice versa. Given these facts, it seems that to make sense of the song in performance both parts should be texted. One suspects that all-vocal performance was intended also in the case of the other loosely canonic duet in the Lisbon source, *Mis ojos tristes* (no. 26), even though no musical pun is involved here,[45] and the same may apply to *Fijas de ierusalem* (no. 27), which has three parts in the same range and which is once again predominantly canonic. Several songs in manuscript CIC 60 have a pair of upper parts in the same range which engage in imitation at the unison (no. 18, *Vos virgem sois*; no. 30, *Ojos tristes non lhoreis*; no. 32, *Puse mis amores*; no. 33, *Por mi mal me lo tomastes*; no. 35, *Acabarseam mis plazeres*); it would seem appropriate for both of these parts to be performed with text.

Ex. 3



45 The scribe provided full texting for one voice, with an incipit in the other part.



The songs: style and date

Consideration of the textures which predominate in these songs leads neatly to the question of how one may determine the date of the repertory. As already noted, this is a much more difficult task than is the case with the Latin-texted music in manuscript CIC 60, since for only one of the nineteen songs has anything which can justifiably be termed a concordance been identified: the piece concerned is *Passame por Dios barquero* (no. 25), which is preserved in the *Cancionero de Palacio* (attributed to Escobar) and the *Cancioneiro de Elvas*.[46] (The question of 'concor-

46 The readings in these two sources are significantly closer to one another than they are to the reading in the Lisbon manuscript. It seems clear that the Lisbon version is stemmatically subsequent to the others, not least because at several points it apparently represents an attempt to remove both archaic cadential formulæ and harmonic or contrapuntal asperities in the Palacio/Elvas version: the asperities consist of what would now be called a second-inversion triad

dances' and other types of relationship between songs is discussed further below.) For the other songs, therefore, one must have recourse to stylistic analysis and comparison with other repertories in order to position the pieces chronologically.[47]

The most obvious characteristic of the collection of songs in manuscript CIC 60 is the prevalence of essentially imitative textures (much of the imitation tending, as has already been suggested, towards a strict near-canonic type). Songs employing such textures are very rare in the *Cancionero de la Columbina* and *Cancionero de Palacio*, which preserve repertories approximately contemporary with the Latin-texted works in the Lisbon manuscript. This is the first hint that the songs in the Lisbon source may be later in date than the Latin works which it contains. The search for songs which are stylistically concordant with those in manuscript CIC 60 reveals close parallels with the pieces in two sixteenth-century sources: the so-called *Cancionero de Uppsala* (a copy of *Villancicos de diversos autores*, published by Scotto in 1556),[48] and Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454, at the end of which is a group of twelve songs copied into the manuscript between the mid 1520s and the early 1530s.[49] These two groups of works are connected by the fact that the largest number of attributions in both is to Mateo Flecha, and that both also contain songs by Pedro de Pastrana. Flecha and Pastrana – who were born in about 1480 and died in the 1550s – belong to a rather younger generation than Peñalosa, Anchieta, and Escobar, the dominant figures within the Latin repertory present in the Lisbon source.

(at the end of b. 7 in the edition of the Palacio reading by Higini ANGLÉS, p. 99 of *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, vol. 3, Monumentos de la Música Española X, Barcelona, 1951) and a pair of parallel fifths between the outer parts (in the penultimate bar of the same edition); the alterations to three cadences were designed to remove the old-fashioned leap of an octave in the contratenor part. That such amendments were made is not particularly surprising given that *Passame por Dios barquero* is in all likelihood a significantly older piece than the other songs in manuscript CIC 60, most of which – as shown below – are probably the work of a later generation than that of Escobar. The alterations are not entirely felicitous: they remove the originally regular and simple phraseology of the music for the stanza, and result in a highly awkward part for the lowest voice in the penultimate bar.

47 This subject is covered in greater detail in Owen REES, "Texts and Music in LisbonBN 60" *Revista de Musicología*, 16/3, 1993, pp. 1515-1533.

48 See Leopold QUEROL ROSSO, *Cancionero de Uppsala*, Madrid, 1980.

49 The songs occur between folios CLXXXIIII and CXC^{V}. I am grateful to Emilio Ros-Fábregas for information concerning the date at which these songs were copied. For further information concerning the Barcelona source, see his thesis, *The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454: Study and Edition in the Context of the Iberian and Continental Manuscript Traditions*, PhD diss., City U. of New York, 1992.

The similarities between these songs and the bulk of those in manuscript CIC 60 extend beyond the predominance of imitation to details of scoring and, in one case, of material. Attention has already been drawn to the presence in the Lisbon source of many three-voice songs employing a pair of equal imitative upper parts, and of pieces scored for two or three equal voices and relying on a freely canonic technique. These various types of texture are all extremely rare within the *Cancionero de Palacio* and the *Cancionero de la Columbina*, but are common in one or other of the later groups of songs mentioned above. Thus, out of the vast repertories in *Palacio* and *Columbina* one finds only one song in each source with equal upper voices,[50] while half of the three-voice works in the *Cancionero de Uppsala* display this feature. As for freely canonic duos (such as *Si tantos monteros* and *Mis ojos tristes* in manuscript CIC 60, mentioned above), there are no such works in *Columbina* and only one in *Palacio*,[51] but no fewer than twelve in the *Cancionero de Uppsala*, more than half of which are scored for equal voices. Finally, the type of equal-voice trio represented by *Fijas de ierusalem* in the Lisbon source actually predominates in the group of twelve songs at the end of Barcelona M. 454.[52]

In addition to these textual similarities, there is one song in manuscript CIC 60 which is more directly related to a piece in the *Cancionero de Uppsala*: as I have shown elsewhere,[53] the settings of *Vos virgen sois nuestra madre* in these two sources are clearly related to an extent which suggests that the composer of one setting knew the other piece (the type and extent of the similarities indicating that the songs are not simply based on a common melody, a phenomenon explored further below).

In summary, we have perhaps sufficient evidence to use the *Uppsala* and *Barcelona* songs as an approximate chronological yardstick for those

50 In Palacio, *La zorrilla con el gallo* (folios 237^{v}–238), and in Columbina, *Pues que no tengo* (f. 106).

51 Ponce's *Torre de la niña*, f. 234; the other duo in the collection (*Rodrigo Martines*, f. 8) is essentially homorhythmic in texture. Columbina contains two duos with Latin sacred texts, and one textless duo.

52 The similarity of freely canonic technique between *Fijas de ierusalem* and one of the relevant songs by Flecha in the Barcelona source is demonstated in REES, "Texts and Music", pp. 1521-1522. Columbina has no such pieces, and Palacio only five. One of Pedro de Pastrana's songs in the Barcelona manuscript and belonging to this type – *Llenos de lagrimas tristes* – is found also in the *Cancioneiro de Elvas* (folios 97^{v}-98); there are no other songs in that manuscript with the relevant scoring and texture.

53 REES, "Texts and Music", pp. 1523 and 1525-1526.

pieces in Lisbon which show the textural features just outlined. (It is worth reinforcing the point that, although there are songs of other types in manuscript CIC 60, the categories of song discussed above predominate.) It does seem likely, however, that these Lisbon songs are slightly earlier in date than those in the other two sources, given their marginally less smooth melodic and rhythmic technique. Bearing this in mind, together with the dates given above for the copying of the last section of the Barcelona manuscript and the age of Flecha and Pastrana, it may be that many of the songs in manuscript CIC 60 were composed during the 1510s or 1520s.[54]

Common melodies

Another field of comparative investigation within the Iberian song repertory remains largely unexplored, namely the isolation of common melodies on which several polyphonic settings of the same (or related) texts, or of different texts, may have been based.[55] It seems likely that a number of the texts found in the Lisbon source were regularly associated with such a melody. One example is the canonic duet already discussed, *Si tantos monteros* (no. 34; see Example 3). Luys de Narváez included three arrangements of a related text (which begins 'Si tantos halcones la garza combaten' and has a different stanza to the song in manuscript CIC 60) in *Los seys libros del delphin de música de cifra para tañer vihuela* (Valladolid, 1538). The third version presents the least-decorated form of the melody, and it is this version which corresponds most closely with the melodic material of *Si tantos monteros* in the Lisbon manuscript: compare Example 4, where the refrain and the opening of the stanza are shown, with Example 3.[56] This comparison reveals the extent to which *Si tantos monteros* is a loosely canonic elaboration of the common melody, those sections which derive

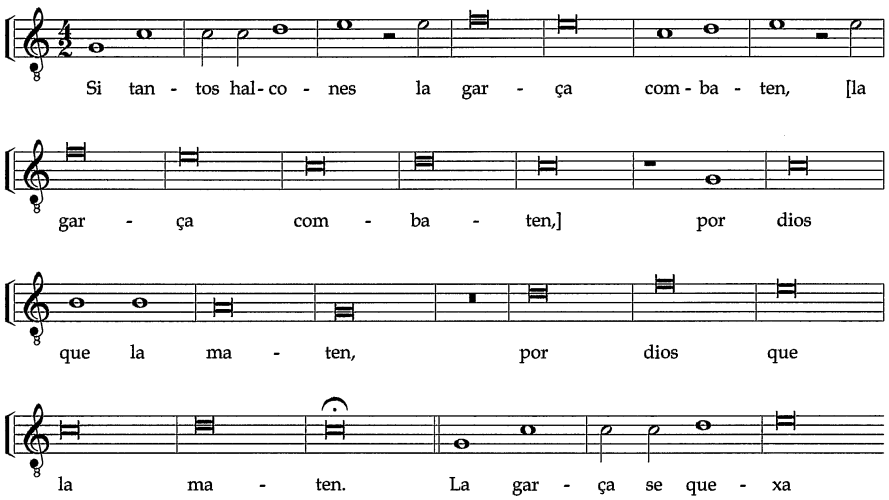
54 It is worth noting that there is no sign among the songs in the Lisbon source of the Italianate textual forms and styles which became fashionable in Portuguese literary circles after the middle of the sixteenth century.

55 For a study of one such melody and its associated texts see Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, «Cancionones sin música en la corte de Isabel la Católica: *se canta al tono de...*» *Revista de Musicología*, 16/3, 1993, pp. 1505-1514.

56 The melody as presented by Narváez has been transposed upwards by a fourth in Example 4 to facilitate the comparison.

from it being interspersed with freely invented material such as the virtuosic runs at bars 9-11 of Example 3. The composer devised a particularly felicitous way in which to develop canonically the phrase of the common melody to which 'por dios que la maten' is first set (see bars 13-17 of Example 4), namely by repeating it a fourth lower (see bars 14-19 of Example 3).

Ex. 4



A much more complex situation surrounds the various musical settings of the text which Lisbon transmits as *Cercaranme los pesares* (no. 23). The poem, by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, was clearly extremely popular: it survives in numerous textual sources (printed and manuscript) and spawned several glosses. Musical settings, besides that in the Lisbon source, are found in the *Cancionero de Palacio* (attributed to Escobar), the *Cancioneiro de Elvas*, and the Paris manuscript (where only one part is given).[57] Of the four settings, only those in *Palacio* and *Elvas* can be described as versions of the same work; although the variants between them would be counted as very considerable if this were a piece of Latin polyphony, in the context of the vernacular repertory – where readings of both music and text seem often to have been less stable – the relationship is reasonably close. Manuel Morais noticed that the voice copied on

57 Gil Miranda reproduces all four versions in *The Elvas Songbook*, pp. XLIII-XVIV, p. 3, and pp. 71-73.

f. 37^{v} in the Lisbon source is related to the upper voice of the Escobar setting.[58] The degree of correspondence is such as to suggest, I would propose, that these two voice-parts may have been separately based on a common melody (rather than one referring directly to the other); the single melodic line given in the Paris source is clearly another version of this common melody. Since we have here three versions of the melody which are not directly related in the conventional sense applied to multiple readings of polyphonic works, it is interesting that there are what seem to be significant connections between, for example, the versions in manuscript CIC 60 and the *Cancionero de Palacio* which separate these from the reading in the *Cancioneiro de Elvas* at the point concerned, or between Elvas, Paris, and Lisbon which separate these from Palacio, despite the fact that Elvas and Palacio are related as versions of the same polyphonic work. What is probably happening at such points is that various readings are making independent reference to the common melody known to the separate composers or arrangers. Therefore, by isolating the majority reading at these points one could work towards a reconstruction of the most usual form of the original common melody.

It is possible to attempt something of the same kind with another song in the Lisbon source, *Puse mis amores* (no. 32). We know that a common melody was associated with this text, thanks to the existence of a sacred *contrafactum* of the text published in a *Cancionero de nuestra Señora* (Barcelona, 1591), which is described as 'al tono de Puse mis amores'.[59] In searching for evidence of this common melody, the natural first step is to compare the polyphonic setting in the Lisbon source with a setting of the same text in the *Cancionero de Palacio*, a piece attributed to Badajoz. The pieces are not, in all probability, related as polyphonic works; indeed, they are in different modes. However, they are clearly based on the same melodic material (see Examples 5 and 6).[60] In the first phrase

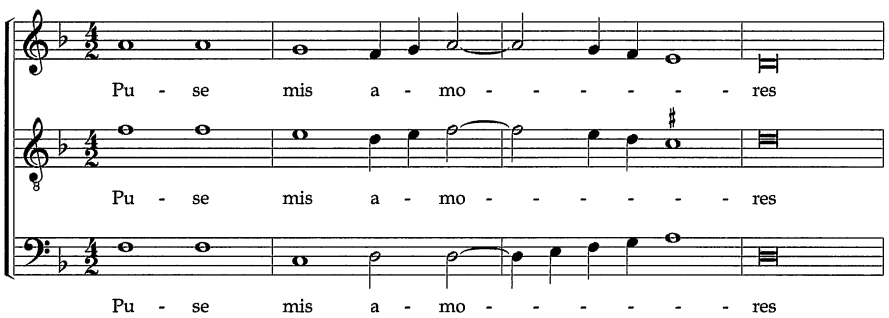
58 *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances*, p. XCII.

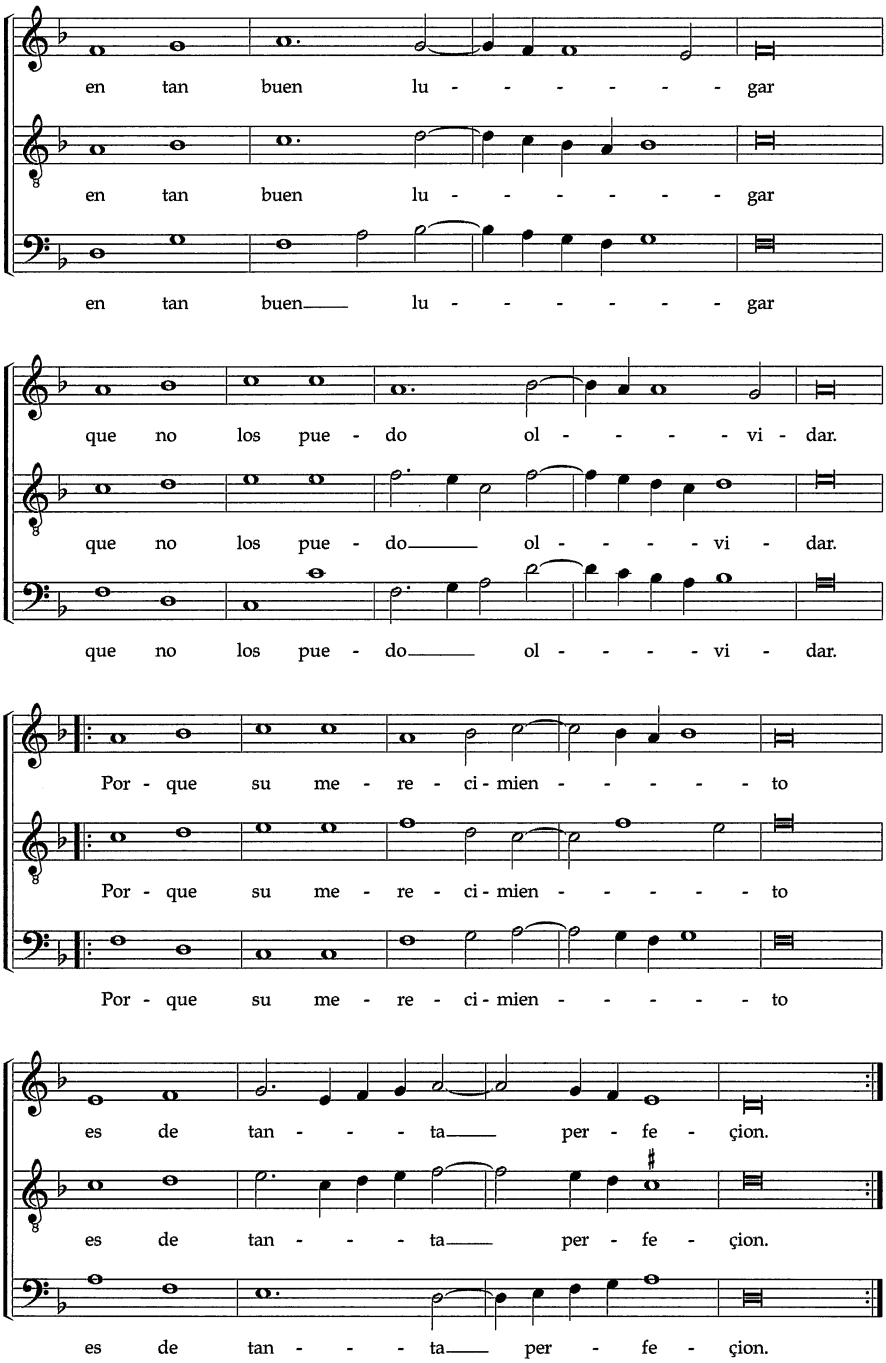
59 See António RODRIGUEZ MOÑINO, *Manual bibliográfico de cancioneros y romanceros*, Madrid, 1973, vol. 2, p. 223.

60 The copy of *Puse mis amores* in manuscript CIC 60 affords more examples of the type of uncorrected errors committed by the scribe. The openings of both the first and second phrases in the topmost voice have rhythmic mistakes: the initial note of the first phrase lacks the required dot of addition, while a breve rest is missing immediately before the second phrase (bar 8 of Example 6).
Note that Examples 5 and 6 do not include the complete text, but only the *estribillo* and the first *mudança*, sufficient, that is, to clarify the phraseology of the song. The first line of the stanza in manuscript CIC 60 includes the word 'gran' before 'mereçimento' in the first *mudança*. This word is not present in the *Cancionero de Palacio*; further, it cannot be accommodated within the available notes in the Lisbon version, and produces a metrical irregularity. It is therefore omitted from Example 6.

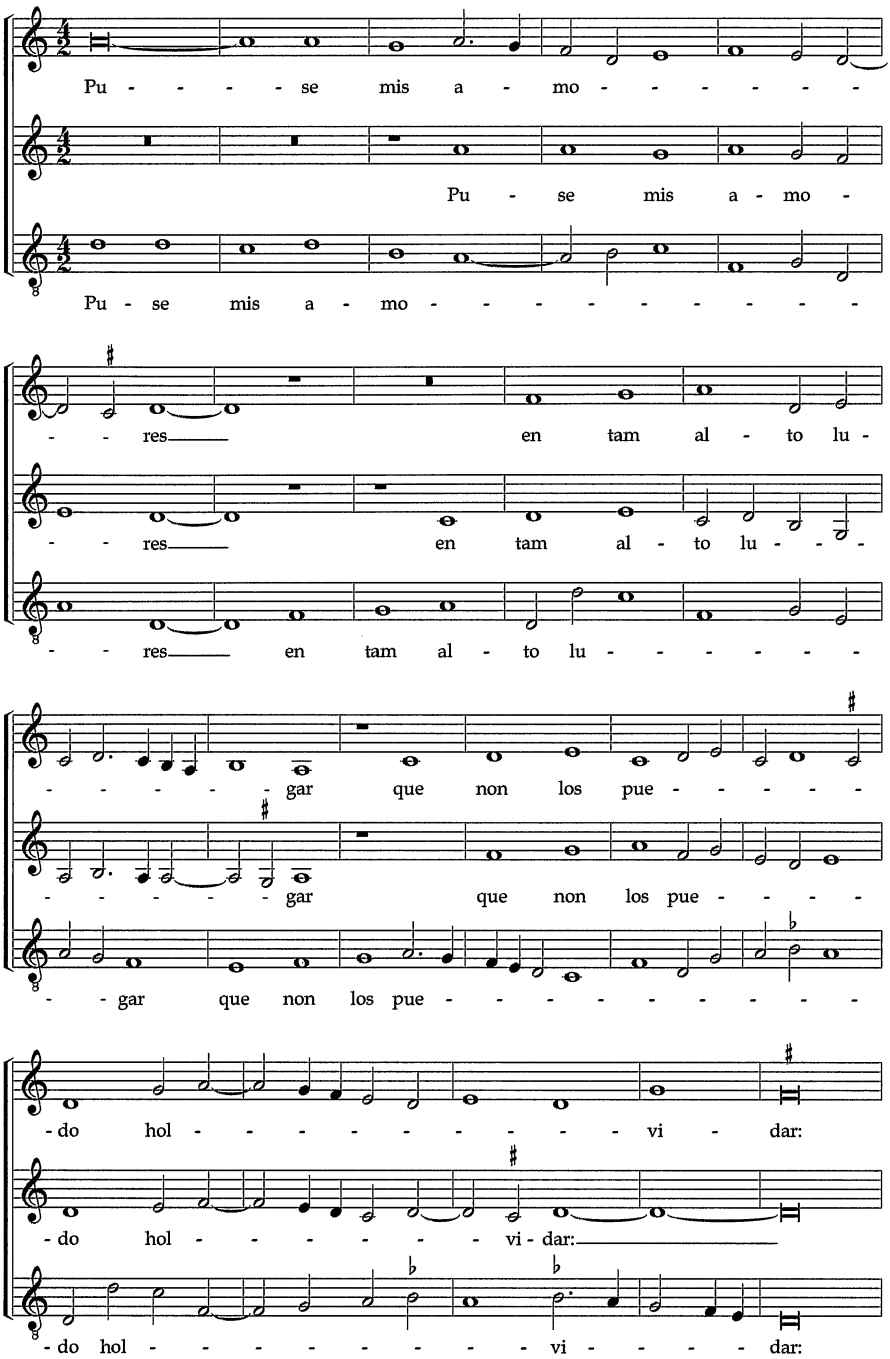
the top voice of Badajoz's piece and the middle voice of the setting in manuscript CIC 60 correspond closely in outline, while in the second phrase (bars 5-8 of Example 5; bars 7-12 of Example 6) the correspondence is between the upper voice of each setting (although the two versions here part company after the initial three rising notes, making it impossible to know the subsequent progress of the common melody in this phrase). The third and final phrase of the *estribillo* (bars 9-13 of Example 5; bars 12-21 of Example 6) must, like the second, have begun with a scalic rise of a third, but it is difficult to know what set of pitches were involved (although Badajoz's middle voice and the top voice of the Lisbon version here correspond in pitch-level during this rising figure), since the rising figure is present in more than one voice in both settings. In the stanza the melodic parallels are once again close, allowing a correspondingly rather clearer view of the common melody (although we can be much more certain of its shape than of its rhythm). The similarity between the two pieces becomes greatest in the setting of the second line of the *mudança* (bars 19-22 of Example 5; bars 26-30 of Example 6), particularly with regard to the progress of the upper two voices. (The cadences concluding the settings of the first line of the *mudança* – bars 17-18 of Example 5; bars 24-25 of Example 6 – are also close.) Overall, it is worth noting the formulaic nature of the common melody, all but one of its phrases beginning with the stepwise ascent of a third. One might also point out the contrast in texture between the Badajoz setting (predominantly homorhythmic, and with the middle voice rhythmically tied to one of the others almost throughout) and that of the Lisbon song (which makes considerable use of imitation in the first of the two musical sections), reinforcing the observations made above concerning the style and likely date of the songs in manuscript CIC 60.

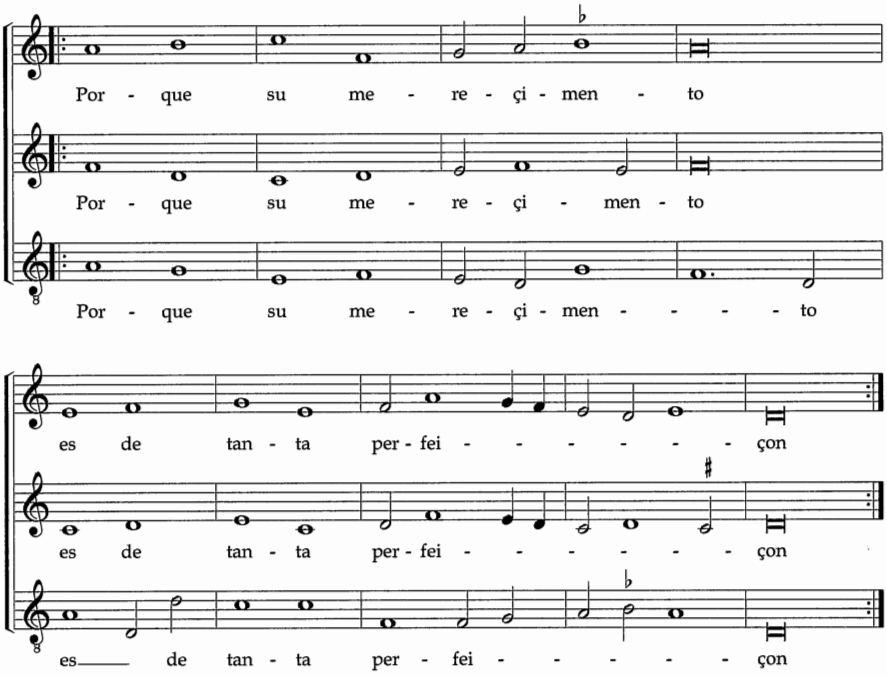
Ex. 5




en tan buen lu - - - - - - - gar
en tan buen lu - - - - - - - gar
en tan buen lu - - - - - - - gar
que no los pue - do ol - - - - vi - dar.
que no los pue - do ol - - - - vi - dar.
que no los pue - do ol - - - - vi - dar.
Por - que su me - re - ci - mien - - - - - - to
Por - que su me - re - ci - mien - - - - - - to
Por - que su me - re - ci - mien - - - - - - to
es de tan - - - - ta per - fe - çion.
es de tan - - - - ta per - fe - çion.
es de tan - - - - ta per - fe - çion.

Ex. 6


Pu - - - - - se mis a - mo - - - - - - - -
Pu - se mis a - mo -
Pu - se mis a - mo - - - - - - - - - -
- - res en tam al - to lu -
- - res en tam al - to lu - - -
- - res en tam al - to lu - - - - - -
- - - - - - gar que non los pue - - - - -
- - - - - - gar que non los pue - - - -
- - gar que non los pue - - - - - - - - - -
- do hol - - - - - - - - - - vi - dar:
- do hol - - - - - - vi - dar:
- do hol - - - - - - - - vi - - - - dar:

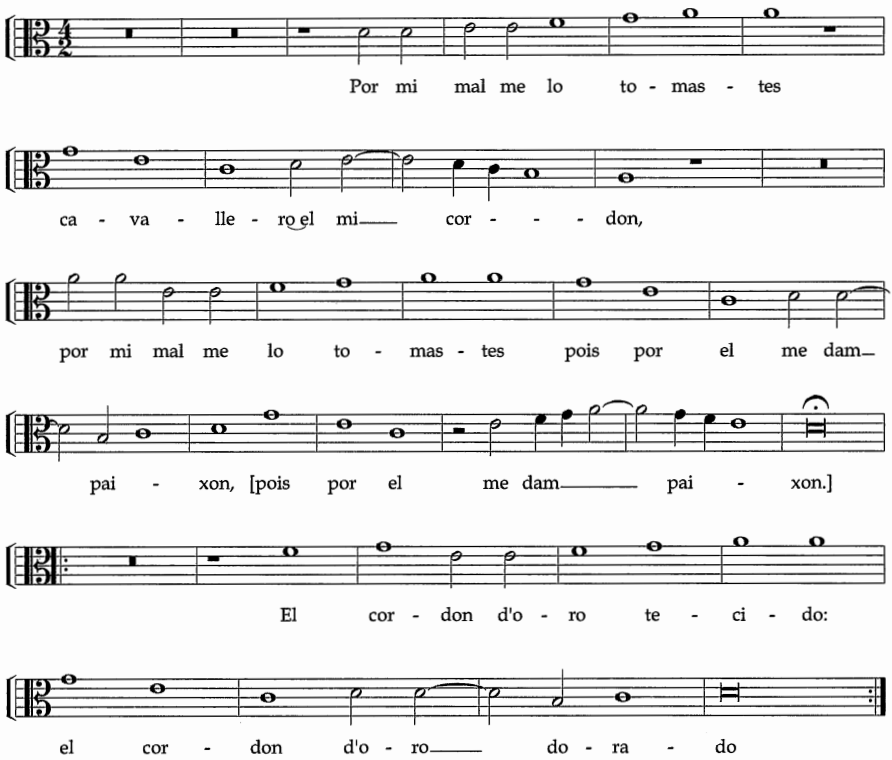


The task of identifying common melodies is clearly more difficult when only one polyphonic setting of a particular text survives. This is apparently the case with *Por mi mal me lo tomastes* (no. 33), a text which – once again – we know to have been associated with a particular melody thanks to the existence of a later sacred *contrafactum*, in this case *O Reyna de la alta silla,* which appears in a *Cancionero para cantar la noche de Navidad* (Francisco de Ocaña, published at Alcalá de Henares in 1603) accompanied by the instruction 'al tono de por mi mal me lo tomastes cavellero el mi cordon'.[61] It is easy to believe that the upper two voices of the Lisbon setting may be heavily indebted to the common melody, in particular the topmost voice (shown in Example 7), which has a predominantly very simple rhythmic profile and clear phraseology. The melody displays an economically formulaic construction similar to that observed above in the case of *Puse mis*

61 RODRIGUEZ MOÑINO, *Manual bibliográfico*, vol. 3, p. 48.

amores. There are only two basic elements: the first is a rising phrase built from minims on *e'* and semibreves on *f'-g'-a'*, used (with a different prefix each time) at the opening of both *estribillo* and stanza and also at bars 12-14; the second element is the falling triadic figure (*g'-e'-c'*) which begins every other phrase in the top voice (see bars 7-8, 15-16, 18-19, and 28-29). One should also note that the passage from the middle of bar 12 to the middle of bar 18 in the first musical section is identical to the music of the stanza from the third note onwards. In summary, the basic form of this voice-part (ignoring such decorative cadential material as is found in bars 20-22) can be represented as ABABB for the first musical section and AB for the second.

Ex. 7



References to plainchant

Besides reliance on a common melody, another type of thematic reference can be detected in at least one of those songs in the Lisbon source which has a religious text: quotation of chant.[62] *De gram prision* (no. 21) is typical of these texts in being Marian in theme; is it also clearly a Christmas *vilancete*, as the words 'esta manhana' (referring to the birth of the Christ child) at the end of the *estribillo* demonstrate. The *estribillo* tells of how the Virgin has freed us from prison (that is, the prison of sin) through the birth of the Saviour. As I have noted elsewhere,[63] study of the upper voice part of the refrain shows that it is essentially a statement – with little decoration – of the chant melody most often employed for the *Agnus Dei* of Marian Masses in the Iberian peninsula, as can be seen by comparing Examples 8 and 9.[64] The chant is used as far as 'peccata mundi', the melody of this last phrase being employed twice (bars 8-11 and 13-15, the second time with the first note missing) in order to accommodate all of the *estribillo* text. This melodic borrowing is appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, there is the Marian theme of the text; indeed the Latin first line of the stanza – 'ante sæcula creata' – provides a textual link with Marian feasts, where the chapter at Second Vespers begins 'Ab initio et ante sæcula creata sum'. Secondly, the theme of the *estribillo* text, summarised above, is clearly akin to that of the *Agnus Dei* – the Saviour who takes away our sin. Thirdly, not only is the word 'quitó' in the *estribillo* the equivalent verb to 'tollis' in the *Agnus Dei* text, but its two syllables are

62 For discussion of a second song (*Fijas de ierusalem*) within the manuscript which may contain a reference to chant, see REES, "Texts and Music", p. 1528.

63 REES, "Texts and Music", pp. 1527-1529.

64 For Portuguese instances of the use of this chant, see the Marian Masses by both Duarte Lobo and Magalhães. The existence of the plainchant reference was pointed out by Bernadette Nelson, to whom I would like to express my gratitude.
In Example 9 two mistakes in the source have been corrected: the first note of bar 5 in the middle voice is *f'* in the manuscript, and the last note of bar 9 in the same voice is again given as *f'*, which is clearly wrong for both harmonic and imitative reasons. These are not the only mistakes within this song to have remained uncorrected in the source: on the final stave of f. 35^{v} the scribe originally drew the wrong clef (C2 instead of C3), and, instead of deleting the erroneous clef, simply extended it upwards. The resulting hybrid would certainly have been confusing to singers, and is yet another indication that the compiler of the manuscript did not have performance in mind. In the first song in the source – *Vos virgem sois* (no. 18) – the scribe gave the wrong clef throughout the middle voice (C3 instead of C1).

identical in sound to the first two syllables of 'qui tollis' (given that speakers of Spanish and Portuguese would then have pronounced the Latin 'qui' as 'ki'). There remains, however, a puzzling feature of the song: although, as has been shown, the melodic material could hardly be more appropriate to the theme of the text, the rhythms presented in the source are frankly ill-suited to that text. Thus, as can be seen from Example 9, the first two musical phrases were in all likelihood designed for longer textual units than 'De gram prision' and 'nos quitó', given particularly their use of repeated notes. Could it be that this piece is another *contrafactum*? If so, the original text must clearly have been such as to prompt the musical quotation of the *Agnus Dei*. Although one is here indulging in pure speculation, it happens that the music could accommodate well a vernacular version of the *Agnus Dei*: 'Cordero de Dios, que quitas el pecado del mundo', the first phrase of three words being repeated for the second musical phrase in the top voice (i.e. from the end of bar 4), and the final four bars of the *estribillo* being texted 'el pecado del mundo'. The currency of such a vernacular form of the *Agnus Dei* at the period and within the *cancionero* repertory is demonstrated by a poem by Suero de Ribera in the fifteenth-century *cancionero* Madrid, Biblioteca Real, Ms 594; the poem begins 'Cordero de Dios de Venus', and is an astonishingly sacrilegious amalgam of the sacred (mainly references to the *Agnus Dei*) and the profane.[65]

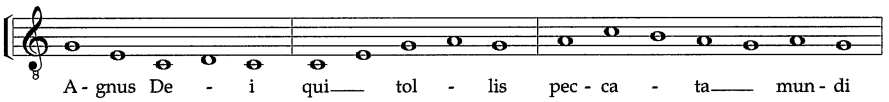
65 The complete text, which occurs at f. 170 of the manuscript, is as follows:

Cordero de Dios de Venus,
dezian los desamados,
tu que pones los cuydados
quita nos que sian menos.
pues tienes poder mundano
o senyor, tan sobirano
miserere nobis.

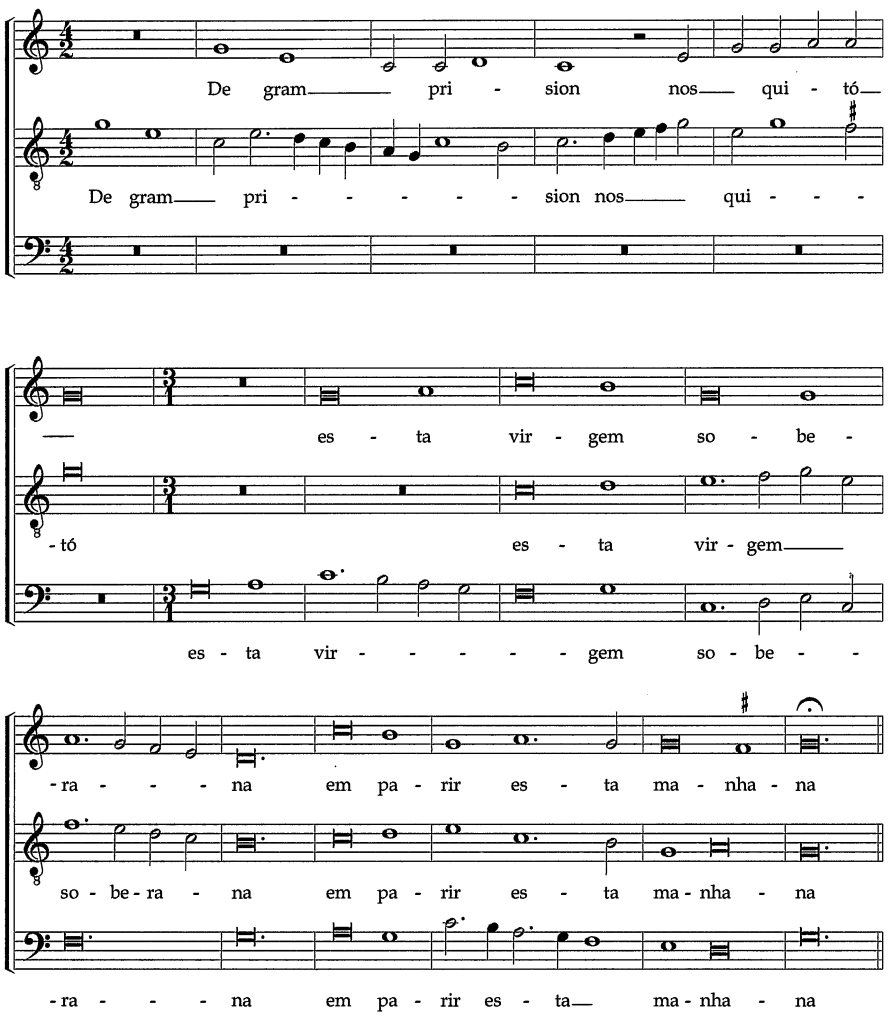
Cordero de Dios de Venus,
tu que quitas los cuydados
plegate nunca seer menos
de los que somos agora,
quada qual con su senyora
dona nobis pazem.
Ite, missa est, Deo graçias.

See Francisco VENDRELL DE MILLAS, ed., *El Cancionero de Palacio (Manuscrito n.º 594)*, Barcelona, 1945, pp. 424-425.

Ex. 8


A - gnus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

Ex. 9


De gram pri - sion nos qui - tó
De gram pri - - - - - sion nos qui - - -
es - ta vir - gem so - be -
- tó es - ta vir - gem
es - ta vir - - - - - gem so - be - -
- ra - - - na em pa - rir es - ta ma - nha - na
so - be - ra - na em pa - rir es - ta ma - nha - na
- ra - - - na em pa - rir es - ta ma - nha - na

Conclusion

Some of the areas on which this study has touched are ripe for further investigation in studies of the Renaissance *cancioneiro* repertory. Thus, it would be fascinating to discover whether the type of chant quotation just outlined exists in isolation or represents a more extensive practice within the repertory of the sacred *vilancete*. Much wider topics for future work include analysis of the range of ways in which polyphonic songs may be related (including through reference to common melodies) and the categorisation and dating of stylistic developments within the repertory. As it is, and despite the efforts made above to place some of the songs in manuscript CIC 60 into such a stylistic (and hence chronological) context, these songs remain unplaced geographically and their chronology is far from precisely known. Apart from the one piece with a Portuguese text – *O tempo bom tudo cura*, which we can presume to have been written in Portugal – and Escobar's *Passame por Dios barquero* (which may well have reached Portugal from Spain, as did the Latin-texted repertory by composers associated with the courts of the Catholic Monarchs), it is impossible to know even whether these works are by Spanish or Portuguese composers. The one exception may be the piece that provides our *terminus a quo* of 1521 for the copying of the manuscript, *Ninha era la infanta*. I have argued elsewhere[66] that the music accompanying the original text of this *romance*, from Gil Vicente's *Cortes de Jupiter* (performed to mark the Infanta's departure from Lisbon), was probably composed by Pedro de Escobar, and – further – that the music preserved in manuscript CIC 60 is likely to be Escobar's setting, and that this music accommodates Vicente's original text as well as – indeed, somewhat better than – the poem preserved in the manuscript. We may thus have one song within the Lisbon source whose date of composition is known. It will be noted that this date fits well with the proposed dating of the categories of songs described earlier, dating which in that case depends upon comparative analysis of musical techniques.

Such comparative analyses within the repertory as it is currently known will allow us to refine our stylistic categorisations, isolating specific types of song and fitting them into chronological place, so that we can come to view the vernacular song repertory preserved in Portuguese

66 REES, "Texts and Music", pp. 1528-1533.

sources within a more sharply focused peninsular picture. The task of comparative analysis is by no means complete even for the relatively small repertory in the Lisbon source, since (as already mentioned) there are songs which do not conform to the highly imitative type described above: some, like *Quiso nuestro Dios* (no. 20) and *Non me pregunteis* (no. 31), are predominantly homorhythmic, while in *Em mi gram suffrimento* (no. 29) homorhythmic textures are combined with non-imitative (and suspension-filled) counterpoint to produce a rich-textured work which possesses a *gravitas* suggestive of the motet repertory.[67]

The other principal area in which much more work remains to be done concerns the poems, and specifically the substantial networks of concordances which exist for many of them. The identification and study of such concordances, taking advantage of the expanding bibliographical resources available in this area, can serve many purposes, including the isolation of corruptions and omissions in the texts transmitted in the musical sources and the uncovering of stemmatic relationships between those texts and the concordant versions, relationships which are often highly complex within this repertory because of, for example, the widespread practice of glossing. Thorough searches of the *cancionero* repertory outside musical sources may well shed further light also on the existence and use of common melodies.

Our understanding of the Latin-texted repertory within manuscript CIC 60 is already much clearer, thanks to the survival of concordances – and hence attributions – for so great a proportion of the works. The repertory – entirely peninsular in origin (with the possible exception of *O bone Iesu*) – provides further documentation of the widespread influence of composers (Spanish and Portuguese) who gravitated towards the circle of the Catholic Monarchs. If the dating proposed here for manuscript CIC 60 is correct (that is, *c.*1530-1550), then the book provides one more sign (together with, in Portugal, such manuscripts as CoimU 12 and CoimU 32) that this influence was also long-lasting: whoever compiled this beautiful manuscript anthology either only had access to, or demonstrated a taste for, an Iberian repertory of Latin-texted devotional and liturgical polyphony that had been established for several decades.

67 The same variety is, incidentally, observable in the quality of the Lisbon songs: at one extreme are masterworks such as the piece just mentioned or the densely imitative *Acabarseam mis plazeres* (no. 35), while at the other are songs which are technically very crude (notably *Ojos tristes non lhoreis*, no. 30, and *O tempo bom tudo cura*, no. 37).

Inventory of Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Colecção Ivo Cruz, 60

No.	Folios	Incipit	Voices	Composer*	Concordances/Notes**
1	1^{v}-3	Ave Maria	4	[Ribera]	BloomL 1, 3^{v}- 4; CoimU 48, 39^{v}; TarazC 2-3, cclviii^{v} - cclix
2	3^{v}-5	Ave vera caro Christi	4	[Peñalosa]	TarazC 2-3, cclxvii^{v}- cclxviii
3	7-8	Ave vere sanguis Domini	4	[Peñalosa]	incomplete; BarcBC 454, ii and lxv^{v}-lxvi; BloomL 8, 45^{v}-46; TarazC 2-3, cclxviii^{v}-cclxix
4	8^{v}-9	Hierusalem convertere	2		
5	9^{v}-11	Stabat mater dolorosa	4	[Escobar]	TarazC 2-3, cclxxvi^{v}-cclxxvii
6	11^{v}-12	O sacrum convivium	4	[Alva]	CoimU 12, 195^{v}-196; CoimU 32, 18^{v}-19; TarazC 2-3, cclxx^{v}-cclxxi
7	12^{v}-14	Rex autem David	4		CoimU 32, 56^{v}-57; CoimU 48, 123^{v}
8	14^{v}-16	O bone Iesu	4	[Anchieta/Compére/ Peñalosa/Ribera]	BarcBC 454, cxxxv^{v}-cxxxvi; BarcOC 5, 69; BloomL 8, 26^{v}-27 and 58^{v}-59; CoimU 12, 190^{v}-191; CoimU 32, 17^{v}-18; CoimU 48, 36-36^{v}; CoimU 53, 131^{v}-132; JacSE 7, pp. 66-68; SegC s.s., 100^{v}-101; TarazC 2-3, cclxxiii^{v}-cclxxiiii; 1519[2]
9	16^{v}-17	Benedicamus Domino	4		CoimU 6, 87^{v}-88
10	17^{v}-19	Hoc corpus	4		CoimU 12, 107^{v}-108; CoimU 32, 20^{v}-21
11	19^{v}-21	Domine Iesu Christe	4	[Anchieta/Peñalosa]	CoimU 12, 191^{v}-192; CoimU 32, 23^{v}-24; SegC s.s., 94^{v}-95; SevC 5-5-20, 18^{v}-19; TarazC 2-3, cclxxix^{v}-cclxxx; TarazC 5, 85^{v}-87; VallaC 5, 75^{v}-77; VallaP s.s., 95
12	21^{v}-22	Ave sanctissimum	4	[Diaz/Mondéjar]	BarBC 454, lxxxii^{v}-lxxxiii; CoimU 12, 192^{v}-193; CoimU 32, 19^{v}-20; CoimU 48, 123-123^{v} TarazC 2-3, cclxxv^{v}-cclxxvi
13	22^{v}-24	Resurgens Christus	4		CoimU 12, 189^{v}-190; CoimU 32, 21^{v}-22
14	24^{v}-25	Halleluia Christus resurgens	3		CoimU 9, 110^{v}-111; CoimU 12, 59^{v}-60
15	25^{v}-27	Deposuit potentes,	2	[Peñalosa]	CoimU 12, 163^{v}-164 and 165^{v}-166;
		Gloria patri	2		CoimU 32, 58^{v}-60; TarazC 2-3, xxx^{v}-xxxii

* Composer's names in brackets occur only in concordant sources.

** The *sigla* for vocal sources in the lists of concordances are those employed in the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, 5 vols, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979-1988. Where there is no entry in the *Census-Catalogue* for a particular manuscript in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra collection, that manuscript is here assigned a *siglum* using the 'CoimU' prefix used in the *Census-Catalogue*.

No.	Folios	Incipit	Voices	Composer*	Concordances/Notes**
16	27^{v}-30	Quia fecit,	2	[Vasco Pirez]	CoimU 12, 167^{v}-168 and 169^{v}-170 and 171^{v}-172
		Esurientes,	3		CoimU 32, 60^{v}-63
		Sicut erat	3		
17	30^{v}-32	Quia fecit,	2	[Urreda]	CoimU 12, 174^{v}-175 and 176^{v}-177;
		Esurientes	2		ParisBNN 4379, 87^{v}- 88 and 89^{v}-90;
					Gonzalo de Baena, *Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger* (1540), 13^{v}-15
18	32^{v}-33	Vos virgem sois	3		
19	33^{v}-34	Terra donde me criei	3		
20	34^{v}-35	Quiso nuestro Dios	4		
21	35^{v}-36	De gram prision	3		
22	36^{v}-37	Ninha era la infanta	4	[Escobar?]	
23	37^{v}-38	Cercaranme los pesares	3		
24	38^{v}-39	Soledad tenguo de ti	3		
25	39^{v}-40	Passame por Dios barquero	3	[Escobar]	ElvasBM 11973, 95^{v}-96; MadP 1335, 232
26	40^{v}-41	Mis ojos tristes	2		
27	41^{v}-42	Fijas de ierusalem	3		
28	42^{v}-43	Ave verbum incarnatum	3		
29	43^{v}-44	Em mi gram suffrimento	4		
30	44^{v}-45	Ojos tristes non lhoreis	3		
31	45^{v}-46	Non me pregunteis	3		
32	46^{v}-47	Puse mis amores	3		
33	47^{v}-48	Por mi mal me lo tomastes	3		
34	48^{v}-49	Si tantos monteros	2		
35	49^{v}-50	Acabarseam mis plazeres	3		
36	50^{v}-51	Parto tryste saludoso	3		
37	51^{v}-52	O tempo bom tudo cura	3		incompletely texted
38	52^{v}-53^{v}	Incipit oracio ieremie	1		chant (Lamentation)
39	54		1		chant (incompletely texted)
40	54^{v}-55	Parce michi domine	1		chant
41	55^{v}-60	'Ordo ad inumandum fratrem mortuum'	1		chant
42	60^{v}-61	Sancta maria sucurre miseris	1		chant
43	68^{v}-69	benedicamus domino	3		
44	69^{v}-70	benedicamus domino	4		
45	70^{v}-71	benedicamus domino	4		
46	71^{v}-72	benedicamus domino	4		