



studi musicali

nuova serie • anno 04 • 2013 • numero 02

Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia • *Fondazione*

Studi musicali. Nuova serie
Rivista semestrale di studi musicologici

Direttore
Agostino Ziino

Redazione
Teresa M. Gialdroni

Studi musicali

Nuova serie, IV, 2013, n. 2



ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE
DI SANTA CECILIA
Fondazione

Questo volume è stato pubblicato in collaborazione con ARCUS SpA



Art Director

Silvana Amato

Impaginazione

Raffaella Barbetti

Composizione tipografica in *Cycles* di Summer Stone

«Studi musicali» pubblica articoli riguardanti tutti i campi della ricerca musicologica in italiano, inglese, francese, tedesco e spagnolo. Gli articoli proposti per una eventuale pubblicazione possono essere inviati in copia cartacea al seguente indirizzo: Agostino Ziino, Via Giovanni Antonelli, 21, 00197 Roma, e, in allegato a una e-mail, all'indirizzo studimusicali@santacecilia.it. La pubblicazione è subordinata al parere di due studiosi specializzati cui l'articolo sarà sottoposto in forma anonima. Una volta accettato, l'articolo dovrà essere redatto secondo le norme editoriali della rivista disponibili in italiano e in inglese al seguente indirizzo: <http://studimusicali.santacecilia.it>.

Per gli annunci pubblicitari rivolgersi all'indirizzo editoria@santacecilia.it

Nessuna parte di questo periodico può essere riprodotta o trasmessa in qualsiasi forma o con qualsiasi mezzo elettronico, meccanico o altro senza l'autorizzazione scritta dei proprietari dei diritti e dell'editore

ISSN 0391-7789

ISBN 978-88-95341-52-1

© 2013 Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia – Fondazione, Roma

Tutti i diritti riservati

www.santacecilia.it

studimusicali.santacecilia.it

studimusicali@santacecilia.it

Soci Fondatori dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia

Istituzionali: Stato Italiano, Roma Capitale, Provincia di Roma, Camera di Commercio di Roma, Regione Lazio

Privati: Enel, BNL-BNP Paribas, Assicurazioni Generali, Astaldi, Cassa Depositi e Prestiti, Autostrade per l'Italia, Ferrovie dello Stato Italiane, Gruppo Poste Italiane

Partner istituzionali: Lottomatica, Telecom Italia

Sommario

- 237 Juan Ruiz Jiménez
Italian music in Spanish minstrel books
- 259 Paola Besutti
The 1620s: the rebirth of 'Arianna'
- 283 Giulia Giovani
Un manoscritto sconosciuto di cantate e arie di Alessandro Stradella conservato a Venezia
- 325 Federico Di Santo
Così fan tutte: i meccanismi della commedia e lo spazio dell'emotività
- 371 Saverio Lamacchia
La 'terza parte' della trilogia di Beaumarchais: storia e ricezione dei Deux Figaro di Martelly e dei Due Figaro di Romani
- 417 Benedict Taylor
Fatal Landscapes: Carmen, L'Arlésienne, and Bizet's musical development
- 443 *Comunicazioni*

Italian music in Spanish minstrel books*

Juan Ruiz Jiménez

From the late Middle Ages, wind bands were established as independent groups in both urban centres and royal or noble households. In 1526, the chapter of Seville took the bold step of giving them salaried positions. From then on, these groups of *ministriles* became a formal part of major Spanish ecclesiastical institutions and one of their major distinguishing features. From at least this time, their repertory probably included both improvised and written polyphony. When performing composed music, they appear to have played directly from choirbooks or prints that were sometimes bought specifically for them, or they used books compiled exclusively for their use. This would have given them the repertory required for the full range of their professional obligations.¹

Details of the practices of these wind bands can be traced from four extant books and the detailed inventory of a fifth book now lost, preserved in Spain and

* An early version of this article was read as a paper at the 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society (Rome, July 2012). I wish to thank Tess Knighton and John Griffiths for their comments and help in the translation of this article.

¹ JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *Ministriles y extravagantes en la celebración religiosa*, in *Políticas y prácticas musicales en el tiempo de Felipe II. Estudios sobre la música en España, sus instituciones y sus territorios en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*, ed. by John Griffiths and Javier Suárez Pajares, Madrid, ICCMU, 2004, pp. 199-239.

Spanish America (Table 1, below). They include works by leading local composers as well as high quality international repertory. Books such as the ones that survive are referred to in documentary sources as books «de canciones y motetes» («of songs and motets»), pointing to their miscellaneous character. The word «canciones» is used generically for any vernacular text: French chansons, Italian madrigals or Spanish *villancicos*, while the term «motetes» was used to denominate pieces in Latin. In this article, I have chosen to focus exclusively on the Italian secular works from these extant sources. Some pieces are otherwise unknown, while others are copied directly or indirectly from prints that circulated widely. Detailed examination of these books allow us to gain an understanding of the way that repertory was selected and the way it was transmitted.²

The format of these books is similar to other polyphonic vocal sources. The existence of such books is known from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the earliest evidence being an intarsia depiction of such books in the choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral, made between 1505 and 1512 (Fig. 1, below). Works in these books are often untexted or identified solely by an incipit, often corrupted in the case of foreign works in the vernacular, which needs to be borne in mind when tracing their transmission. When performed instrumentally, the original secular origin of these works is obscured, particularly if the works were not already well known, as would have been the case with most Franco-Flemish chansons and Italian madrigals. The use of music of this kind was not restricted, moreover, to particular spatial and temporal locations: they were sometimes performed in processions, inside or outside the temple, or in

2 The contents and description of these books for wind-players are found in: WILLEM ELDERS, *The Lerma codex: A Newly-Discovered Choirbook from Seventeenth-Century Spain*, «Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis», XX, 1967, pp. 187-205; MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS - JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *Manuscrito 975 de la Biblioteca de Manuel de Falla: Una nueva fuente polifónica del siglo xvi*, «Revista de Musicología», XVII, 1994, pp. 205-236; DOUGLAS KIRK, *Instrumental music in Lerma, c. 1608*, «Early Music», XXIII, 1995, pp. 393-408; JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *The Mid-Sixteenth-Century Franco-Flemish Chanson in Spain. The Evidence of Ms. 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library*, «Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis», LI, 2001, pp. 25-41; DOUGLAS KIRK, *Newly-Discovered Works of Philippe Rogier in Spanish and Mexican Instrumental Manuscripts*, in *Encomium Musicae. Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow*, ed. by David Crawford and George Grayson Wagstaff, Hillsdale, Pendragon Press, 2002, pp. 47-74; JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano. Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la catedral de Sevilla*, Granada, Junta de Andalucía, 2007, pp. 196-198, 346-347.

other ceremonies of varied nature in which minstrels of Spanish chapels participated outside their home institutions.

It is very difficult to know whether music contained in sixteen century prints in circulation in the Iberian Peninsula with French or Italian texts were sung a cappella in these territories; and if they were, by whom and where. The natural place for the performance of these songs would be the houses of the nobility with large private music chapels. A good example of these music chapels was that of the ducal house of Medina Sidonia in the sixteenth century.³ In particular, the Sixth Duke, Juan Alonso de Guzmán, owned an impressive collection of instruments, both loud and soft, as well as a good number of Italian books, notably works by Petrarch, and including his *I Trionfi* («en toscano»).⁴ They could also be heard in private residences, sung by amateurs or professionals, as well as in the academies where adaptation, imitation and translation of Italian verses and stanzas to the Spanish language occurred from the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The influence of Italian verse and, in particular, of poets such as Petrarch and Sanazzaro, is clear in the case of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in Granada, where he was involved with the academy held at the house of the Granada Venegas, and in that of Juan de Mal Lara, who held literary gatherings in the Count of Gelves's extensive library in his estate outside Seville, at which the best poets of the Sevillian school were present. Musicians of the stature of the poet and composer Gregorio Silvestre, organist of Granada Cathedral, attended the meetings of the Granada academy, while in Seville, cathedral chapelmasters Pedro Fernández de Castilleja and Francisco Guerrero attended the academy that met in the Count of Gelves's library. Fernández de Castilleja had been Mal Lara's grammar teacher at the college of San Miguel, which was attached to the cathedral.⁵ As yet, no documentary proof regarding the ways in which chansons and Italian madrigals were performed at these meetings has been found, but both vocal and instrumental performance is likely.

3 JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *Power and musical exchange: The Dukes of Medina Sidonia in Renaissance Seville*, «Early Music», XXXVII, 2009, pp. 401-416.

4 ANTONIO URQUIZAR HERRERA, *Coleccionismo y nobleza. Signos de distinción social en la Andalucía del Renacimiento*, Madrid, Marcial Pons Historia, 2007, pp. 201-206.

5 INMACULADA OSUNA, *Poesía y academia en Granada en torno a 1600: La Poética silva*, Utrera, Universidad de Sevilla, Universidad de Granada, 2003, pp. 19-58; FRANCISCO PACHECO, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones (Sevilla, 1599)*, ed. por Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez, Rogelio Reyes Cano, Sevilla, Diputación provincial de Sevilla, 1985, pp. 16-18,

Prints with Italian vocal repertoire appear in all kinds of Spanish inventories of music books, though it should be stressed that there is not the slightest reference to the purpose served by these books. Books were sometimes acquired simply to become part of a collection (Ferdinand Columbus was one such a collector), or to be used in vocal or instrumental performance, or to be housed in musical repositories for learning or teaching purposes, or as sources for the copying of instrumental music manuscripts. Among the most remarkable private musical libraries, documented in the second half of the sixteenth century, was the one donated to the Cathedral of Orense by the canon of this church, cardinal Juan Febos Rodríguez, in 1589, which contained more than twenty prints, in part-book format, with compositions in Italian.⁶ Other music libraries containing prints with this repertoire are those of Bishop Andres Fernández de Cordoba, who donated his collection to the Cathedral of Badajoz in 1609, and Juan de Borja, to whom may have belonged the books of madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli and Steffano Limido that later went to the collegiate church of San Pedro de Lerma (Burgos), sponsored by the Duke of Lerma, in the early seventeenth century.⁷ This repertoire is also present in various prints listed in the inventories of booksellers established in Barcelona, Joan Guardiola (1562) and Joan Lauriet (1604), and in Valladolid, Gaspar Trechsel (1571).⁸

The Archivo Musical of Valladolid Cathedral houses an extraordinary collection of Italian Madrigal prints from a donation made in 1629 by its chapelmaster Jerónimo de Leon. This can be considered tangible proof of the circulation of

261-263, 267; FRANCISCO JAVIER ESCOBAR BORREGO, *Noticias inéditas sobre Fernando de Herrera y la academia sevillana en el Hércules animoso de Juan de Mal Lara*, «Epos: Revista de Filología», xvi, 2000, p. 135.

6 FRANCISCO JAVIER GARBAYO MONTABES, *Inventarios de obras e instrumentos musicales en el archivo capitular de la catedral de Ourense. Siglos xviii-xix*, «Porta da aira: Revista de Historia del Arte orensano», xii, 2008, p. 230.

7 CARMELO SOLÍS RODRÍGUEZ, *El archivo musical de la catedral de Badajoz. Una aportación documental*, in *El patrimonio musical de Extremadura*, Trujillo, Fundación Xavier de Salas, 1993, pp. 24-26; TREVOR J. DADSON, *Music books and instruments in Spanish Golden-Age inventories: The case of Don Juan de Borja (1607)*, in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World*, ed. by Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton, Kassel, Reichenberger, 2006, p. 113.

8 I wish to thank John Griffiths for the information about the unpublished inventory of Gaspar Trechsel (1571). EMILIO ROS FÁBREGAS, *Script and Print: The Transmission of Non-Iberian Polyphony in Renaissance Barcelona*, in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* cit., pp. 317-328.

these books in the kingdom of Castile. It may be possible that Jerónimo de León acquired them in the neighbouring flourishing book fair of Medina del Campo, where he worked before arriving in Valladolid.⁹ Manuscript 17 stands out for its uniqueness in the music library of Valladolid Cathedral (Fig. 2, below). It is an oblong tenor part-book (17.5 x 24.7 cm) of 200 folios, the rest of the volumes that made up the set have been lost.¹⁰ The provenance, origin and function of this particular manuscript are unknown. It contains mostly works in Castilian, French and Italian as well as a significant group of motets. Along with composers such as Francisco Guerrero, Orlando di Lasso, Alessandro Striggio, *et alii*, there are others who were not as well known but who are very well represented, such as Girolamo Conversi, and an anonymous group of compositions that I have not been able to identify. With only the tenor part-book and in the absence of a detailed study of literary texts and music, it is very difficult to assess the function of this manuscript. It contains some works without text. Its format and content suggests that it arrived at this institution through a donation, possibly made by Jerónimo de León. It is unique among extant Spanish manuscripts with secular repertoire in French and Italian, possibly copied for a cappella use or performance by a mixed set of voices and instruments, since the text underlay was done with special care.

Surprisingly, the books copied for wind bands and printed vihuela volumes have been overlooked in most studies on the circulation and reception of foreign repertoire in the Iberian Peninsula, where they are the most reliable evidence of its performance, especially with respect to the compositions in vernacular. The songs of Luis de Milán, published in *El Maestro* (Valencia, Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536), include six «sonetos» in Italian, four of them are based on well-known poems written by Petrarch and Sannazaro. They have the novelty of being original compositions and not just instrumental transcriptions of vocal pieces.¹¹ Alonso de Mudarra, in his *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* (Sevilla, Juan de León, 1546), also introduced four «sonetos» in Italian, choosing again texts by Petrarch and San-

9 SOTERRAÑA AGUIRRE RINCÓN, *The formation of an exceptional library: early printed music books at Valladolid Cathedral*, «Early Music», XXXVII, 2009, pp. 379-400.

10 See JOSÉ LÓPEZ CALO, *La música en la catedral de Valladolid. Catálogo del archivo de música*, vol. I, Valladolid, Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Caja España, 2007, pp. 184-206.

11 GERARDO ARRIAGA, *La obra vocal de Luis de Milán*, «Roseta» (Revista de la Sociedad Española de la Guitarra), I, 2008, pp. 13-14, 34-38.

nazaro. Unlike Milán, who interpolates the sung voice as part of the tablature, but in red ink, Mudarra presented the vocal part on a separate staff in mensural notation above the tablature. Starting with *Silva de Sirenas* by Enríquez de Valderrábano (Valladolid, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1547), Spanish vihuelistas began to incorporate intabulations of vocal works in Italian by different composers of greater or lesser renown. The same repertoire is also present in Diego Pisador's *Libro de música para vihuela* (Salamanca, Guillermo de Millis, 1552) and Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphenica lyra* (Sevilla, Martín de Montesdoca, 1554), with the sung voice either in red ink or presented in separately mensural notation (Fig. 3, below).

In the books for wind players, the large number of anonymous works, the absence of text, and corrupt text incipits, all create extreme difficulties in identifying many of the works contained in these volumes, some of which, for the moment, can be considered *unica*.¹² These facts seem to suggest, for some of these compositions, an indirect transmission that may occur as a result of the periodic renewal of these books. This process reveals the canonization of certain works that remained in the repertoire of wind bands until well into the eighteenth century. Proof of this is the copy of Choirbook 19 of Puebla Cathedral (Puebla, Catedral, Archivo de música sacra, ms 19, hereafter MEX-Pc, ms 19), written probably in the second half of the seventeenth century, and the lost volume of Seville Cathedral, still in use when it was inventoried in 1724. In the latter book, there were eight madrigals, seven for four voices and one for five, *Il giorno felice*, which has lost its attribution through deterioration of the manuscript. Some texts have been found and attributed to Petrarch: *Lasso ch'io ardo*, *Passer mio solitario*, *Non ha tanti animali* and *Ben riconosco in voi*. *Vidi io* could be derived from the text of Sannazaro's eclogue XII. Less successful has been the identification of *Il giorno felice* (*¿O che felice giorno?*, *¿Ecco il giorno felice?*), *Buyo vane* and *Ochos talle flori* (*¿Occhi come i fiori?*). With regard to the authors, only Vincenzo Ruffo is clearly identifiable, while we can make an educated guess at Alessandro Striggio, Cipriano de Rore and, perhaps, Francesco Rosselli (Fig. 4, below). In any case, none of the works correspond to those listed in the worklists of these composers and in cases of false attribution identification is impossible.¹³

12 JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *The unica in Ms. 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library: A music book for wind band*, in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World: a homage to Bruno Turner*, ed. by Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson, Kassel, Reichenberger, 2011, pp. 59-78.

13 RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano* cit., pp. 195-198.

The two manuscripts for wind bands of the collegiate church of Lerma contain a larger number of original compositions in Italian. In Choirbook 1 (Lerma, Colegiata de San Pedro, ms 1, hereafter E-LERc, ms 1), Douglas Kirk was able to identify the compositions listed in the Table 2 below.¹⁴ All the works by Lasso were copied in order one after the other. Between them, there is an anonymous piece which should match the «secunda pars» of *O invidia, Ne pero*, but it does not, nor has it yet been identified. The first four Lasso compositions are in the same order as those in *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venezia, Antonio Gardano, 1555). One of the many editions of this print might be the indirect source.¹⁵ The fifth Lasso composition was included first in the *Secondo libro delle Muse a cinque voci, Madrigali d'Orlando di Lassus...* (Roma, Antonio Barrè, 1557).¹⁶ The three works by Nanino were published, in the same order, in *Madrigali a cinque voci di Giovan Maria Nanino et di Annibal Stabile* (Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1581, reprinted in 1587).¹⁷

The madrigals by Verdelot and Striggio and the «secunda pars» of *Fiera stella, Ma tu prendi a diletto*, by Lasso were also included in the second book which reached the collegiate church of Lerma in the early seventeenth century, known as Lerma codex, currently in the Utrecht University Library (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms 3.L.16, hereafter NL-Uu, ms 3.L.16), whose first description was provided by Willem Elders. The presence of four works by Verdelot, Striggio and Lasso, already mentioned, and some other concordances in different genres, may suggest a point of contact in the process of transmission to these manuscripts.¹⁸ Although small differences exist between them, it is of note that both copied only the «secunda pars» *Sarà che cessi* of the madrigal *O messaggi del*

14 KIRK, *Newly-Discovered Works of Philippe Rogier* cit., pp. 49-52. In Tables 2 to 6, the column headed 'Concordances' includes only those located in the Spanish or Latin American manuscripts studied in this essay.

15 ORLANDO DI LASSO, *Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken 1555-1687*, ed. by Horst Leuchtmann, Bernhold Schmid, vol. 1, Kassel, London, Bärenreiter, 2001, pp. 39-40.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-55.

17 They are madrigals numbers 4, 5 and 8 in 1581's edition. I have consulted the online exemplar preserve at the Bayerische StaatsBibliothek (Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum). The three pieces were copied accurately without rhythmic modification.

18 The pieces in common are four chansons by Clemens non Papa, Orlando di Lasso and Thomas Crecquillon, the *Pange lingua* by Juan de Urrede, five verses from two psalms by Cristóbal de Morales, *In convertendo* and *Lauda Jerusalem*, and «Cinco fabordones para las chirimías» only found in these two manuscripts.

cor, sospiri ardenti. In the Lerma codex there are nine pieces from Striggio's *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (Venezia, Antonio Gardano, 1560), although, again, they were transmitted indirectly (Table 3, below). This statement is based on the fact that only the «secunda pars» was copied for two out of the nine madrigals and four are anonymous; and there is even one instance in which the prima pars of the madrigal *Poi che spiegat'ho l'ale al bel desio* was transmitted as anonymous, while the «secunda pars», *La voce del mio cor*, was correctly attributed to Alessandro Striggio. A fair number of these compositions were also published in Flemish or Italian anthologies, but the presence of a significant group of pieces ordered in a sequence similar to the first edition, or one of its reprints, points to them as the original source.

Beside Verdelot's *Ultimi miei sospiri*, the Lerma codex includes two other well-known and highly influential madrigals that circulated widely in vocal and instrumental sources: Cipriano de Rore's *Anchor che col partire* and Luca Marenzio's *Tirsi morir volea* (Table 4, below). The figure of Lasso in this manuscript is outstanding with forty-three works of different genres, of which four are madrigals.¹⁹ Giovan Leonardo Primavera is present with two pieces from *Il primo et secondo libro de madrigali a cinque, et a sei voci* (Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1565). Jaquet Berchem, Domenico Ferrabosco and Philippus de Monte, besides those already cited, are represented only by one piece. Three works remain anonymous. One of them, *Ecco [ch'io lass'il core]*, was published in 1583 as «D'incerto» [autore] in Phalèse's anthology *Musica Divina* (Antwerpen, 1583). The other two, *Nasce la gioia mia* and *Pon fren al gran dolor*, do not correspond to settings of these texts that I have consulted. The first is a parody of the anonymous poem *Nasce la pena mia*, which was set by many composers of the period. The most famous setting by Alessandro Striggio is also included in this manuscript. The second, based on a text by Petrarch, is also, thus far, an *unicum*.

19 ELDERS, *The Lerma codex* cit., pp. 190-200. Among the compositions in Italian, there is one, *Si pur ti gardo* (*Se pur ti guardo*), attributed in the Lerma codex to «Orlando». This piece was printed first by Antonio Gardano by «Incerto autore» in Baldassarre Donato's *Il primo libro di canzon, villanesche alla napolitana, a quattro voci* (Venezia, 1550). Other sources carry an attribution to Baldassarre Donato. MARY S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer. 1538-1569. A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, vol. 2: 1550-1559, New York, London, Garland Publications, 2005, pp. 20-22, 102-103, 182-185, 278, 373; JANE A. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice. The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 415-416, 425-426, 493-495.

The extant Hispanic manuscripts for wind bands include a significant number of concordances. This circumstance suggests private transmission processes of these instrumental sources by individual musicians, is probably linked to the fact that the minstrels themselves usually copied these books.²⁰ They were responsible for selecting and decanting a number of vocal pieces that were canonized in their particular performance repertory. The two remaining manuscripts are chronologically and geographically extreme, but have obvious points of connection that strengthens the above mentioned idea of the existence of particular routes of transmission, circulation and reception for these instrumental sources. My research on Manuscript 975 of the Manuel de Falla library (Granada, Archivo Manuel de Falla, ms 975, hereafter E-GRmf, ms 975) suggest a link with the Royal Chapel of Granada, through its chapel master Rodrigo de Ceballos. Only five compositions of that manuscript came from Italian texted vocal works. Arcadelt, Verdelot, Berchem and Lasso are each represented by a single work (Table 5, below). The fifth is a piece bearing the incipit «Sio fues si çerto de levar per morte»; though somewhat corrupt, this is in fact the strambotto *S'io fusse certo di levar per morte* by the Italian poet-musician Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila.²¹ To date, I have not been able to find a concordance for this piece and so we can add it to the *unica* found in the Lerma codex.

The final book for wind bands, although copied in Puebla a century after Manuscript 975 (probably in 1672), is linked to the other volumes already described by its repertoire and functionality. Choirbook 19 of Puebla Cathedral exemplifies the process of transmission and selection made when these books were recopied, presumably when they were worn out through use. The scribes turned to coping those works canonized by tradition as well as adding new compositions to update their contents. Lasso is one of the best represented composers in this manuscript, with five attributed works (Table 6, below). All are

20 RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *The unica in Ms. 975* cit., pp. 73-75.

21 Serafino Aquilano's works circulated widely in Spain well into the sixteenth century, and are found in noble libraries such as that of Pedro Fajardo, I Marquis of the Vélez, who owned a remarkable number of books in Italian. JOSEPH G. FUCILLA, *A note on Aquilano's vogue in Spain*, «Itálica», XXII, 1955, pp. 104-106; PEDRO MANUEL DE URREA, *Cancionero*, vol. I, ed. by María Isabel Toro Pascua, Zaragoza, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza et alii, 2012, p. CXXIV; DIETMAR ROTH, *Los instrumentos de tecla en la corte del primer Marqués de los Vélez en época de Antonio de Cabezón*, «Revista de Musicología», XXXIV, 2011, pp. 382-384.

denominated by the generic term «canción» («song») and only one of them carries the textual incipit, *O imbidia*. Douglas Kirk identified one more, the chanson *Mon coeur se recommande*. My attempts to find the other three from the vernacular works of this composer have been unsuccessful. The reason was that at least two of them are chansons not by Lasso but by Crecquillon: *Belle, donne moy ung regard* and *Je suis aymé de la plus belle*.²² For now, it is not known if the other one is a composition with Italian text and even if it is by Lasso. Nor have I been able to identify the anonymous madrigal *Ochi mei* which we can also add to the list of *unica*. This must be a setting of Petrarch's *Occhi miei lassi* which was set to music by Tromboncino, Arcadelt and Layolle. I have had more luck in identifying another anonymous work, which proves to be particularly interesting: Arcadelt's madrigal *Il ciel che rado* which, like Lasso's *O invidia*, is also copied in Manuscript 975 of the Manuel de Falla library.

In the final part of this article, I will explore the changes made to these compositions in the process of being transferred to manuscripts for wind bands. Most of the works I have cited are copied relatively faithfully from the vocal prints. Frequently, however, the scribes divided long notes in half or in a different rhythmic configuration to generate more lively rhythms; other times they did the reverse, and combined repeated notes of the same pitch into single notes of longer value.²³ This process did not cause problems, because these works were exempt from the determinants of stress and syllable distribution derived from the text underlay when performed instrumentally. On another matter, scribes were often careless in the way they transferred accidentals to these manuscripts from the prints. This may be associated with a particular use of *musica ficta*, regional and temporal, accentuated by the renewal process of the books. Changes to the melodic content and replacement of some note values by rests occur infrequently. The reason for this may stem from the fact that the original sources from which this repertoire was copied were prints that retained a high degree of stability even in their numerous reprints.

22 Both were printed in *Le sixiesme livre contenant trente et une chansons nouvelles a cinq et a six parties* (Antwerp, Tylman Susato, 1545). *Je suis aymé de la plus belle* has already been identified in THOMASII CREQUILLONIS, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Barton Hudson and Laura Youens, vol. XIX, Holzgerlingen, American Institute of Musicology, 2000, ("Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae", 63), pp. XXXII-XXXIII, LII-LV.

23 RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *The mid sixteenth-century cit.*, p. 30.

The copy of *Sarà che cessi*, in E-LERc, ms 1, can exemplify these small changes (Fig. 5, below).²⁴ Except in the Alto and Basso, the other voices present different rhythmic patterns. In the Alto (mm. 166 and 167 in modern edition)²⁵ and the Sesto (m. 167) the note «d» is an octave higher. In the final chord there is a modification in the Canto to duplicate the third. Finally, there are three errors, two in the Tenor and one in the Basso. A latter hand corrected two of them, adding the missing notes (mm. 131 and 159), essential for performance. The third is a change of pitch, repeating «f f» instead of the «f e» in the print. This dissonance seems not to have affected performance.

In the case of uncorrected copy errors present in the sources, especially incorrect pitches, changes of note values or omitted rests, we can hypothesize that these pieces were once interpreted from that music source. It also shows that no check was made during or after the copying process. The madrigal *Tirsi morir volea*, by Luca Marenzio, copied in the Lerma codex, may illustrate these uncorrected copying errors. In the Canto, the scribe change a «d» minima for a semiminima in m. 5 (modern edition)²⁶ and four fusas for semiminimas in m. 46. In the Alto, he transformed the two fusas at the cadence in m. 18 into semiminimas. Finally, in the Quinto, the «a» minima in m. 10 was changed to a semiminima. Tenore and Basso were copied faithfully.²⁷

Another type of manipulation detected in certain works is the curtailment of text repetition to make the composition shorter. This strategy is illustrated in the madrigal *S'ogni mio ben havete* by Alessandro Striggio that was copied in the two Lerma books, but while in the Lerma codex it is complete, in E-LERc, ms 1, five breves corresponding to the text repetition «È pur giusto ch'anch'io almen ricuopr'il mio, almen ricuopr'il mio» have been cut (Fig. 6, below). One reason for this

24 The copy of this piece in the Lerma codex follows closely the print, but the missing «b» flat in the Basso (one of the corrected errors in E-LERc, ms 1, mm. 131) raises the question of its performance from this source.

25 ALESSANDRO STRIGGIO, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, ed. by David S. Butchart, Madison, A-R Editions, 1986, pp. 102-106.

26 LUCA MARENZIO, *The complete five voice madrigals for mixed voices*, vol. 1, ed. by John Steele, New York, Gaudia Music and Arts, 1996, pp. 31-35.

27 In the «Seconda parte», *Frenò Tirsi il desio*, there are two errors at the Alto: m. 48, where two «e» fusas were changed by semiminimas and in m. 53 where the «g» fusa was replaced by a semiminima. The «Terttia parte», *Così morirò*, was copy free of mistakes.

reduction might have been the need for shorter pieces according to the multifunctional requirements of the wind band for which the manuscript was made.²⁸

There are specific details common to the two pieces copied in the Granada and Puebla sources. This specific example, in combination with numerous other similar ones, seems to point to an indirect connection between the two volumes, probably through a common original source found originating in Seville.²⁹ A first detail, seemingly circumstantial, is in Lasso's madrigal *O invidia*. Both sources closely follow the version printed in *Il primo libro di madrigali, a cinque voci* (Venezia, Antonio Gardano, 1555), which was reprinted numerous times. The connecting elements are a possible error made by the scribe of the Falla manuscript found at the end of the Quintus and a slight modification that would not be significant if it were not also in Puebla (see Fig. 7, below). In the case of the Manuscript 975 of the Manuel de Falla library, the dissonance produced by replacing the original «b» for «c» is not taken further. In Choirbook 19 of Puebla Cathedral, the scribe seems to have made a mistake in replacing one of the notes «a» for the minima rest found in E-GRmf, ms 975. He transformed the rest and the second «a» into semiminimas, so it lacks a minima to fit this voice to the others until the end of the composition. Somebody, later, added the word «blanca» (a modern term for minima) above one of the two semiminimas to correct the error. This, as I have mentioned before, can be considered as proof of instrumental performance of this composition.

More interesting is the transformation found at the end of the other work concordant in both manuscripts: *Il ciel che rado*. This piece is remarkably consistent in

28 We can find a similar example in E-GRmf, ms 975 (fols. 139v-140r). In the Thomas Crecquillon's chanson *Prenez pitie*, the scribe cut the last thirteen breves from the original version printed in *Le tiers livre de chansons à quatre parties (composées par Maistre Thomas Crecquillon maistre de la Chapelle de l'empereur)*, Antwerpen, Tylman Susato, 1544, corresponding to different repetitions of the final fragment of the text «Et du passé faire payer l'usure», and closely with a newly reworked cadence. THOMASII CREQUILLONIS, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Laura Youens and Barton Hudson, vol. xvii, Middleton, American Institute of Musicology, 2005, ("Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae", 63), pp. lvi-lvii. Another case in point is found present in E-GRmf, ms 975 (fols. 185v-186r) and MEX-Pc, ms 19 (fols. 103v-105r). In the Guerrero's song *Mi ofensa es grande*, both manuscripts showed a mayor cut of thirty-five breves and a new final cadence at the conclusion of the verse «¡Ay, Dios! Que te ofendí, que ya no miro», as printed in his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*, Venezia, Giacomo Vincenzi, 1589.

29 There are sixteen pieces common to these two manuscripts. Specially significant are the four that are only present in them: *Pane me ami duche*, by Thomas Crecquillon, *O Maria, Benedictus* and

its numerous reprints, with two minor variations in the Altus present only in some of them.³⁰ In the manuscripts MEX-Pc, ms 19 and E-GRmf, ms 975, from «qual fior...» (m. 38 of the modern edition),³¹ the music is completely different for the last twelve breves. This precise and characteristic coincidence reinforces the idea that the volumes are connected by their transmission processes (Fig. 8, below).

With instrumental performance of this repertoire, the boundaries between secular and sacred were blurred, and thus the wind band became one of the most important agents for the circulation of international repertory in the Spanish kingdoms. Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it seems that there was a tendency to canonize this repertoire. This repertoire had its own hallmarks, that were distinct from the vocal corpus and which coexisted at the Baroque Era with the vocal-instrumental works in the style of the *seconda prattica*.³²

a verse of the hymn *Pange lingua*, by Francisco Guerrero, the latter clearly linked to the Sevillian environment of this composer.

30 JACOBUS ARCADELT, *Opera omnia*, vol. x, ed. by Albert Seay, s.l., The American Institute of Musicology, 1970 (“Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae”, 31), pp. xv-xii.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

32 JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *Creación del canon de polifonía sacra en las instituciones religiosas de la corona de Castilla, 1550-1625*, in *Estudios. Tomás Luis de Victoria. Studies*, ed. by Manuel del Sol and Javier Suárez-Pajares, Madrid, ICCMU, 2013, pp. 361-394.

Table 1. Spanish Music Books for Wind Band

Manuscript	Dating and provenance	Contents of the manuscript
Manuel de Falla' Library [E-GRmf, ms 975]	1560s Royal Chapel of Granada	Liturgical repertoire (<i>fabor-dones</i> , hymns, masses) + Songs + Motets + 3 canons
Choirbook 1. Lerma [E-LERc, ms 1]	1590s ? / Collegiate church of Lerma (Burgos)	Liturgical repertoire (<i>fabor-dones</i> , hymns) + Songs + Motets
Lerma codex [NL-Uu, ms 3.L.16]	1570s-1610s Dukes of Infantado? / Collegiate church of Lerma	Liturgical repertoire (<i>fabor-dones</i> , hymns, 1 mass section) + Songs + Motets + 9 dances
Choirbook 19 [MEX-Pc, ms 19]	1672? Cathedral of Puebla	Liturgical repertoire (<i>fabor-dones</i> , hymns, 1 mass sections) + Songs + Motets
Choirbook 34 (lost) [inventory of 1724]	17th century Cathedral of Seville	Liturgical repertoire (<i>fabor-dones</i> , hymns, five <i>Sicut erat</i> from Magnificats by F. Guerrero) + Songs + Motets

Table 2. Ms. 1. Collegiate church of Lerma (Burgos) (E-LERc, ms 1)

E-LERc, ms 1	Composition	Composer	N. vv.	Concordances
Fol. 85v-86r	[Mia benigna fortun' e 'l viver lieto]	[O. di Lasso]	5 vv	
Fol. 86v-87r	[O invidia, nemica di virtute. 1 pars]	[O. di Lasso]	5 vv	E-GRmf 975/MEX Pc19
Fol. 87v-88r		[O. di Lasso?]	5 vv	
Fol. 88v-89r	[Crudel, acerba inesorabil morte]	[O. di Lasso]	5 vv	
Fol. 89v-90r	[Fiera stella. 1 pars]	[O. di Lasso]	5 vv	
Fol. 90v-91r	[Ma tu prendi. 2 pars]	[O. di Lasso]	5 vv	NL-Uu 3.L.16
Fol. 91v-92r	[Vostro fui vostro son. 1 pars]	[O. di Lasso]	5 vv	
Fol. 92v-93r	[Che se la vers'. 2 pars]	[O. di Lasso]	5 vv	
Fol. 111v	[Ultimi miei sospiri]	[Ph. Verdelot]	6 vv	NL-Uu 3.L.16
Fol. 116v-117r	[Sarà che cessi]	[A. Striggio]	6 vv	NL-Uu 3.L.16
Fol. 117v-118r	[S'ogni mio ben havete]	[A. Striggio]	6 vv	NL-Uu 3.L.16
Fol. 126v-127r	[Dolce fiammella mia]	[G. M. Nanino]	6 vv	
Fol. 127v-128r	[Questa sì bianca neve]	[G. M. Nanino]	6 vv	
128v	[Amor deh dimmi come]	[G. M. Nanino]	6 vv	

Table 3. Lerma codex (NL-Uu, ms 3.L.16). Collegiate church of Lerma (Burgos)

NL-Uu, ms 3.L.16	Composition	Composer	N. vv.	Concordances
Fol. 147v-148r	Nasce la pena mia	A. Striggio	6 vv	
Fol. 148v-149r	Sarà che cessi. 2 pars	A. Striggio	6 vv	E-LERc 1
Fol. 149v-150r	Voglia mi sprona	A. Striggio	6 vv	
Fol. 150v-151r	Là ver l'aurora	[A. Striggio]	6 vv	
Fol. 151v-152r	Però, s'oltra suo stil'ella. 2 pars	[A. Striggio]	6 vv	
Fol. 152v-153r	Poi che spiegat'ho lale. 1 pars	[A. Striggio]	6 vv	
Fol. 153v-154r	La voce del mio cor. 2 pars	A. Striggio	6 vv	
Fol. 154v-155r	S'ogni mio ben havete	[A. Striggio]	6 vv	E-LERc 1
Fol. 155v-156r	Fortuna, alata il pié	A. Striggio	6 vv	

Table 4. Lerma codex (NL-Uu, ms 3.L.16). Collegiate church of Lerma (Burgos)

NL-Uu. ms 3.L.16	Composition	Composer	N. vv.	Concordances
Fol. 26v-27r	Se pur ti guardo	O. di Lasso	5 vv	
Fol. 30v-[31r]	Anchor che col partire	[C. de Rore]	5 vv	
Fol. [31v]-32r	Io mi son giovinetta	[D. Ferrabosco]	5 vv	
Fol. 33v-34r	Tu sai madonna mia	O. di Lasso	5 vv	
Fol. 34v-35r	La cortesia	O. di Lasso	5 vv	
Fol. 122v-123r	Tirsi morir volea. 1 pars	L. Marenzio	5 vv	
Fol. 123v-124r	Frenò Tirsi il desio. 2 pars	L. Marenzio	5 vv	
Fol. 124v-125r	Così moriro. 3 pars	L. Marenzio	5 vv	
Fol. 129v-130r	O felici occhi miei	J. de Berchem	5 vv	
Fol. 135v-136r	Ma tu prendi. 2 pars	O. di Lasso	5 vv	E-LERc 1
Fol. 146v-147r	Nasce la gioia mia		6 vv	<i>Unicum</i>
Fol. 156v-157r	Nasce la la gioia mia	G. L. Primavera	6 vv	
Fol. 157v-158r	Dolce cantar s'udia	[G. L. Primavera]	6 vv	
Fol. 161v-162r	Ultimi miei sospiri	Ph. Verdelot	6 vv	
Fol. 164v-165r	Ecco [ch'io lass'il core]		6 vv	
Fol. 174v-175r	Stolto mio core	Ph. de Monte	7 vv	
Fol. 182v-183r	Pon fren al gran dolor		7 vv	<i>Unicum</i>

Table 5. Ms. 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library (E-GRmf, ms 975)

E-GRmf, 975	Composition	Composer	N. vv.	Concordances
Fol. 69v-70r	O invidia, nemica di virtute	O. di Lasso	5 vv	MEX-Pc 19/E-LERc 1
Fol. 134v-135r	S'io fusse certo de levar per morte		4 vv	<i>Unicum</i>
Fol. 144v-145r	Il ciel che rado	J. Arcadelt	4 vv	MEX-Pc 19
Fol. 186v-187r	D'un altro fuoco	J. de Berchem	5 vv	
Fol. 190v-191r	Madonna no so dir tante parole	Ph. Verdelot	5 vv	

Tabla 6. Choirbook 19. Puebla Cathedral (MEX-Pc, ms 19)

MEX-Pc 19	Composition	Composer	N. vv.	Concordances
Fol. 86v-87r	[Il ciel che rado]	[J. Arcadelt]	4 vv	E-GRmf, 975
Fol. 89v-90r	Occhi miei lassi		4 vv	<i>unicum</i>
Fol. 107v-109r	[Belle, donne moy. T. Crecquillon]	O. di Lasso	5 vv	
Fol. 109v-111r		O. di Lasso	5 vv	
Fol. 111v-112r		O. di Lasso ?	5 vv	
Fol. 112v-114r	O invidia, nemica di virtute	O. di Lasso	5 vv	E-GRmf, 975/E-LERc 1
Fol. 114v-116r	[Mon coeur se recomande]	O. di Lasso	5 vv	NL-Uu 3.L.16
Fol. 116v-118r	[Je suis aymé. T. Crecquillon]	O. di Lasso	5 vv	

Fig. 1. Choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral. Andrés de Nájera (1505-1512)



Fig. 2. *Nasce la pena mia*. Alessandro Striggio. E-V, ms 17, fols. 175v-176r

a 8 Alessandro striggio

asse la pena mia non potendo mirar mio viso
sole. E la mia vita e mia. qual hor lo miro.
perch'il guardo te. le. Che lasciar mi peggio che morte suole
Che morte suole. Ah! ah! ah! vita tristo frate che fa d'angeli miei. Che far mi

degno. I'io mirho male. e l'io non
mir. ho peg gio chi ah! ah! vita tristo frate che fa d'angeli miei
Che far mi degno. I'io mirho male. e l'io non mirho
e l'io non mir. ho peg gio i'io mirho male e l'io non mirho peggio

Fig. 3. *Signora Iulia*, Philippe Verdelot, in Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphenica lyra*, Sevilla, M. de Montesdoca, 1554, fol. 114v

Strambotes a cinco. Orphenica Lyra. Verdeloth. Libro, V.

in liber ra poy chel tno frule

poco ti vale

nō vo sperar ne piu temer gia mai

nō vo sperar ne piu temer gia ma i.

Comiençan los strambotes a cinco de Verdelot. Entrotonale la bez la prima en el tercero traste. D.

Signora Iulia il diſſi el dire ſempre daldiche ioui mirai che piu bella di uoi non

S Ignora Iulia il diſſi el dire ſempre

dal diche ioui mira i che piu bella di voi nō viddi mai nō vi-

Fig. 4. *Inventario de las obras de latín y romance, libros, cuadernos y papeles que hay en el Archivo de música (1724). Seville, Cathedral Archive, section o, book 11157, fol. 21r*

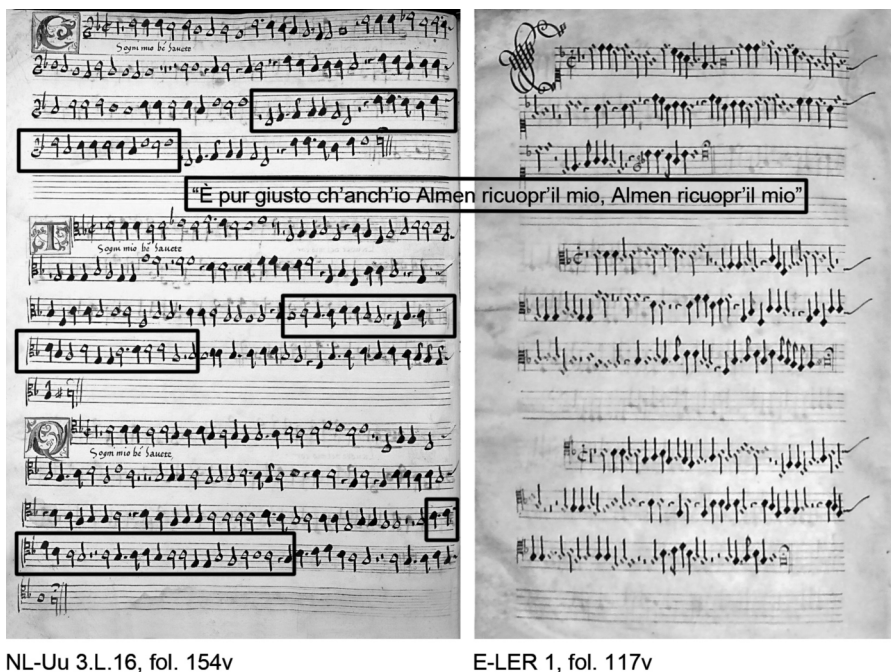
34. *Vn Libro pequeño manuscrito que tiene 84. ojas de Pergamino, que siempre está en el coro, y sirve a los Ministriles para las Procesiones, en el qual ay diferentes Versos, Sonatas, y Canciones de diferentes Maestros Españoles y Extranjeros, cuyos nombres son los siguientes.*

17. — O chus talle florí. —————	à 4.
18. — Lazo charde. —————	M. ^o Alexandr. à 4.
19. — Non hatanti. —————	M. ^o Ju. ^o Antonio. à 4.
20. — Ben si conoco. —————	M. ^o Ju. ^o Antonio. à 4.
21. — Vicio. —————	M. ^o Vincen. ^o Ruffo. à 4.
22. — Taner. —————	M. ^o Cipriano. à 4.
23. — Buio vane. —————	M. ^o Scollé. —
30. — Iugno felice. —————	

Fig. 5. *(Sarà che cessi). [Orlando di Lasso]. E-LERc, ms 1, fols. 116v-117r*



Fig. 6. *S'ogni mio ben havete* Alessandro Striggio. NL-Uu, ms 3.L.16, fol. 154v / E-LERc, ms 1, fol. 117v



NL-Uu 3.L.16, fol. 154v

E-LER 1, fol. 117v

Fig. 7. *O invidia nemica* [Quintus]. Orlando di Lasso. *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, A. Gardano, 1555) / E-GRmf, ms 975, fol. 69v / MEX-Pc, ms 19, fol. 113v

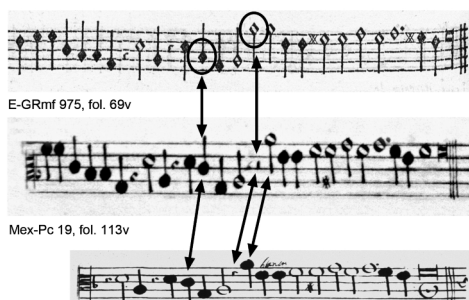
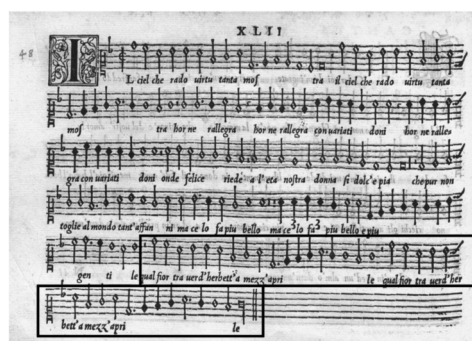


Fig. 8. *Il ciel che rado* [Cantus]. Jacques Arcadelt. *Il primo libro de madrigali a quatro* (Venice, A. Gardano, 1539) / E-GRmf, ms 975, fol. 144^v / MEX-Pc, ms 19, fol. 87^v



E-GRmf 975, fol. 144^v



MEX-Pc 19, fol. 87^v

Finito di stampare da Futura Grafica srl, ottobre 2013