MED & REN
BARCELONA 2011

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE
INTERNATIONAL MUSIC CONFERENCE

BARCELONA
5-8 July 2011

Organitzen:

[Logos and affiliations]
Medieval and Renaissance International Music Conference  
Barcelona, 5-8 July 2011

Institut d'Estudis Catalans and 
Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC)  
[Spanish National Research Council] 
Institució Milà i Fontanals

Organizers:  
Tess Knighton  
Emilio Ros-Fábregas

Keynote Speakers:  
David Fallows  
Leo Treitler

Programme Committee:  
Maricarmen Gómez Muntané  
Emma Hornby  
Tess Knighton  
Emilio Ros-Fábregas

Local Arrangements Committee:  
Xosé Aviñoa  
Jordi Ballester  
Joaquim Garrigosa  
Tess Knighton  
Emilio Ros-Fábregas

Organizational Assistance:  
Marcel.la Artis (Institut d'Estudis Catalans)  
Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita (Institució Milà i Fontanals/CSIC)

Students Helpers:  
Adriana Camprubi Vinyals  
Tonatiuh Cortés  
Alicia Daufí Muñoz  
Gonzalo Villegas Curulla  
Miquel Fernández  
Nekane García Amezaga  
Eloy Garsal  
Sarah Johnson  
Emma Llesera  
Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita  
Núria Morera Canosa  
Mireia Pacareu  
Irene Pujol  
Íngrid Pujol Rovira  
Mariona Reixach  
Fernanda Rojo  
Antonio Ruiz  
Eleanor Rutherford  
Violeta Tello Grau  
Laura S. Ventura Nieto
Welcome!

We are very pleased to welcome you to the Medieval and Renaissance International Music Conference which for the first time is being held in Spain, in the historic Institut d’Estudis Catalans (IEC). The Catalan Academy was founded in 1907 by Enric Prat de la Riba with the aim of supporting research in every aspect of the Catalan language and culture and raising its profile in the world at large. The Conference is co-organized with the section of Musicology of the Institució Milà i Fontanals, Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), home to the former “Instituto Español de Musicología” created by Higinio Anglés.

Over 200 musicologists from 20 countries have registered for this year’s Conference, which offers over 130 papers and 7 poster presentations; it is the largest musicological conference ever organized in Barcelona. All papers and presentations will take place in the rooms around the patio of the IEC, except the Welcome and information session and the two keynote lectures scheduled in the nearby building of the Universitat de Barcelona. Breaks and the Conference Reception (Wednesday 6 July, 7.15pm) will be held in the IEC patio.

In the upper and lower cloisters of the patio, there will be the following book stalls and exhibitions: Rosemary Dooley’s Books on Music (representing Boydell, Brépols, CUP, OUP, Reichenberger); Ashgate; Societat Catalana de Musicologia; Institut d’Estudis Catalans; and poster displays.

Throughout the Conference there will be an exhibition of Medieval and Renaissance Music Manuscripts and Printed Books in the display area at the entrance to the Biblioteca de Catalunya (in the patio beyond the IEC): Mon-Fri, 9am-8pm; Sat, 9am-2pm.

The Conference Concert takes place on Tuesday 5 July at the Capella de Santa Àgata (Capella Reial), Plaça del Rei, part of the Gothic complex of buildings that formed the medieval royal palace of Barcelona. The programme of music by Victoria to mark the 400th anniversary of his death is given by Musica Reservata de Barcelona, directed by Peter Phillips.

The Conference Dinner takes place in the Asador de Aranda (c/ Londres, 94) on Thursday 7 July at 9pm. This spacious restaurant boasts a traditional Castilian décor and the speciality of roast lamb.

We are very grateful to the following for helping to make the Conference possible: Institut d’Estudis Catalans; Institució Milà i Fontanals/CSIC; Universitat de Barcelona; Societat Catalana de Musicologia; Museu d’Història de Barcelona; Biblioteca de Catalunya; Residència d’Investigadors CSIC-Generalitat de Catalunya; and the Royal Musical Association. We owe special thanks to Marcel.la Artis of the IEC and Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, Conference Assistant and Coordinator of Student Helpers.

We very much hope that you enjoy the Conference.

Tess Knighton, ICREA Research Professor, Institució Milà i Fontanals/CSIC
Emilio Ros-Fàbregas, Investigador Científico, Institució Milà i Fontanals/CSIC
Med & Ren Conference, Barcelona, 5-8 July 2011

PROGRAMME

Institut d’Estudis Catalans (IEC)
Institució Milà i Fontanals, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC)

Organizers: Tess Knighton & Emilio Ros-Fàbregas

Conference venues:
IEC Institut d’Estudis Catalans (c/ Carme 47)
UB Aula Magna, Facultat de Geografia i Història, Universitat de Barcelona (c/ Montalegre 6, 4th floor)

Throughout the Conference an Exhibition of music manuscripts and printed books held at the Biblioteca de Catalunya will be on display in the entrance hall at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (c/ de l'Hospital, 56, but access also through c/ Carme, 47); opening hours Mon-Fri 9am - 8pm, Sat 9am-2pm

Tuesday 5 July

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>IEC: Registration opens. Coffee</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>[Walk to the UB]</td>
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<td>10.30-11.00</td>
<td>UB: Welcome and information session</td>
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<td>11.30-13.00</td>
<td>IEC Prat de la Riba</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S1: New Approaches to Notre-Dame Polyphony</td>
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<td>Chair:</td>
<td>Jordi Ballester</td>
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<td>Rob Wegman</td>
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<td>Paradoxes in the</td>
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<td>Transmission of Notre Dame</td>
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<td>S2: Printing and Music</td>
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<td>Chair:</td>
<td>Richard Sherr</td>
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<td>Jorge Martin</td>
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<td>Gombert’s ‘Swansong’: the</td>
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<td>Eight Magnificats in MS M</td>
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<td>2433: an Analytical Study</td>
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<td>Kateryna Shtryfanova</td>
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<td>Vocal Basis in the tientos by</td>
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<td>Luys Milán and Alonso</td>
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<td>Mudarra – Myth or Reality?</td>
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<td>17.30-18.00</td>
<td>Walk to the UB</td>
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| 18.00-19.00 | **UB: Keynote lecture. Leo Treitler**, Reflections on our Mimetic Heritage: From Plato to Louis Vuitton  
Owing to unforeseen circumstances, Professor Treitler is unfortunately not able to attend the Conference in person, but he has asked Sean Gallagher (Boston University) to read his keynote lecture on his behalf. |
| 21.00-22.00 | **Capella de Santa Agata: Concert by Musica Reservata de Barcelona (dir. Peter Phillips), programme of Victoria and his contemporaries**, Peter Phillips, Luis Gago and Manuel Pedro Ferreira will speak briefly. |
### Wednesday 6 July

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>IEC de Prat de la Riba</th>
<th>IEC Coromines</th>
<th>IEC d’Olwer</th>
<th>IEC Pi i Sunyer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: Michael Noone</td>
<td>Chair: Stefan Gasch</td>
<td>Chair: Anne Walters Robertson</td>
<td>Chair: Mark Everist</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Peter N. Schubert &amp; Julie E. Cumming</td>
<td>Joseph Sargent</td>
<td>Jan Ciglbauer</td>
<td>Mary E. Wolinski</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Giuseppe Fiorentino</td>
<td>Jacobijn Kiel</td>
<td>Gael Saint-Cricq</td>
<td>Gregorio Bevilacqua</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Con ayuda de nuestro Señor’: Teaching Improvised Counterpoint in 16th-Century Spain</td>
<td>Senfl’s ‘Salves’</td>
<td>A New Link between the Motet and the Trouvère Song: the Motet-canso</td>
<td>Conductus or Motet? A New Source and a Question of Genre</td>
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<td>Philippe Canguilhém</td>
<td>Wolfgang Fuhrmann</td>
<td>Fabric Fitch</td>
<td>Santiago Galán Gómez</td>
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<td>A Lesson in Extempore Counterpoint by Vicente Lusitano</td>
<td>Senfl’s <em>Quid vitam sine te</em> and the Consolations of Music</td>
<td>Towards a Critical Perspective on the Motet-Chanson</td>
<td>A New Source of Notre Dame Polyphony from Spain. The Music Manuscript 98.28 from Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular</td>
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<td><strong>NB This session will follow the structure: double paper 40’; two papers of 20’ each; followed by 10’ of discussion</strong></td>
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<p>| 11.00-11.30 | BREAK |</p>
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<th>IEC Coromines</th>
<th>IEC d'Olwer</th>
<th>IEC Pi i Sunyer</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 11.30-13.00  | S13: Historiography & Reception I  
Chair: Lisa Colton  | S14: Ludwig Senfl II  
Chair: Sonja Tröster  | S15: València  
Chair: Bernadette Nelson  | S16: Humanism, Music and Proportion  
Chair: Cathy Ann Elias  |
|              | Mary Channen Caldwell  
*Ad repetendum*: Repetition and Reiteration in Latin Lyrics  | Royston Gustavson  
Senfl in Print II: the ‘Einzeldrucke’  | Ferrán Escrivà Llorca  
Power, Erudition and Musical Patronage in the 16th Century: the Borja Dynasty and the Dukedom of Gandia  | Davide Fara  
Poetical Music in Dante’s *Divine Comedy*  |
|              | Amy Williamson  
The ‘Worcester Fragments’: Legend, Legacy or Lacuna  | Markus Grassl  
Senfl among the Theorists  | Bruno Turner  
Too Many Tears for Absalon?  | Renata Pieragostini  
A Humanist’s View of Poetry: ‘Rhetorica in musica posita’  |
|              | Honey Meconi  
The Unknown Hildegard: Editing, Performance and Reception  | Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl  
Ludwig Senfl, a German Hero of Early Times  | Greta Olson  
Reframing Our Knowledge of Early 17th-Century Valencia  | Amaya Sara García Pérez  
Music and Architecture in the Historic Façade of the University of Salamanca  |
|              | 13.00  | LUNCH  |  |  |
| 16.00-17.30  | S17: Historiography & Reception II  
Chair: Tess Knighton  | S18: Trecento  
Chair: Giuliano di Bacco  | S19: Anonymity, Attributions and Authenticity  
Chair: Thomas Schmidt-Beste  | S20: Dubrovnik  
Chair: Pieter Mannaerts  |
|              | Pilar Ramos López  
Practical Music in Early Modern Spain: Some Reflections on Jewish and Moorish Legacy  | Elena Abramov-Van Rijk  
Jacopo da Bologna and Luchino Visconti: Courting a Patron  | Zoe Saunders  
Ascription and Anonymity in the Alamire Manuscripts  | Ana Čizmić  
The Republic of Dubrovnik: History and Early Medieval Chant Sources  |
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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>17.30-18.00</td>
<td>[Walk to the UB]</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.00-19.00</td>
<td><strong>UB: Keynote lecture.</strong> <strong>David Fallows,</strong> The Polyphonic Mass Cycle as <em>forme fixe</em></td>
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<td>19.50-21.00</td>
<td><strong>Poster sessions (IEC):</strong> In addition to the posters displayed in the upper cloister, the seven poster presenters will be assigned the five available rooms at the IEC so that they will be able to use a computer projector to demonstrate their projects. Each presentation should last 10 minutes, with the possibility of repeating it at least twice according to the schedule provided below. This arrangement, to avoid crowded spaces, should make it possible for those attending the Conference to walk from room to room to listen to all seven presentations, in any order they wish, from 19.50 to 21.00.</td>
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<td>IEC Prat de la Riba</td>
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### Thursday 7 July

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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>9.30-11.00</td>
<td>IEC Prat de la Riba</td>
<td>S21: Chanson Chair: Jane Alden</td>
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<td>IEC Coromines</td>
<td>S22: Tinctoris at 500 I Chair: Ron Woodley</td>
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<td>IEC d’Olver</td>
<td>S23: Cristóbal de Morales: Aims &amp; Challenges of a New Edition Chair: Cristina Urchueguía</td>
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<td>IEC Pi i Sunyer</td>
<td>S24: Music for Saints Chair: M. Jennifer Bloxam</td>
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<td><strong>Vincenzo Borghetti</strong> Fors seulement l’attente que je meure: Ockeghem’s rondeau and the Gendered Rhetoric of Grief**</td>
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<td><strong>Evan MacCarthy</strong> ‘Ab eruditis existimetur’: Considering Tinctoris’s Neapolitan Colleagues</td>
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<td><strong>Michael Noone and Graeme Skinner</strong> Morales in Toledo Cathedral Manuscripts (1543-1604)</td>
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<td><strong>Giota Filocamo</strong> ‘Verrayment il fut bon homo et de bone vie mes ieo ne sey pas que miracles dussent estre fet pur ly’: Why Are Saints not Invoked in Polyphonic Laude?</td>
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<td><strong>Carlo Bosi</strong> Malmariéès, Adulterers and Lovers in Late 15th-Century Song</td>
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<td><strong>Emily Zazulia</strong> Tinctoris on Busnoys’s L’homme armé</td>
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<td><strong>Manuel del Sol</strong> ‘New’ Works by Cristóbal de Morales in SilosA 21</td>
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<td><strong>Veronika Mrácková</strong> Local or Global? Hymns to Czech Saints in Late Medieval Central Europe</td>
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<td><strong>Frank Dobbins and Reinier de Valk</strong> The instrumental arrangements of Janequin’s songs and their international diffusion</td>
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<td><strong>Sean Gallagher</strong> Tinctoris’s Examples and the Sound of Cantare super librum</td>
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<td><strong>Roundtable: Cristina Diego Pacheco, Cristiane Wiesenberg, Cristina Urchueguía</strong> NB This session will follow the structure: Introduction 10’; two papers of 20’ each; followed by a round table discussion.</td>
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11.00-11.30 BREAK
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<th>Time</th>
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<th>Session</th>
<th>Chair</th>
<th>Talks/Performances</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IEC d’Olwer</td>
<td>S27: Notation</td>
<td>Joaquim Garrigosa</td>
<td>Ellen Hünigen: Notational Situations and Changes in 12th-Century Aquitanian Music Manuscripts</td>
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<td>IEC Pi i Sunyer</td>
<td>S28: Chant &amp; Liturgy in Medieval Spain</td>
<td>Warwick Edwards</td>
<td>Ute Evers: The Quem queritis in Spain</td>
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<td>David J. Burn: Seven Masses on Bewahr mich Herr</td>
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<td>Marlène Britta: Deux ou trois choses que l’on sait de lui: Johannes Tinctoris à Orléans</td>
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<td>Giovanni Varelli: An Early Source for Two-Voice Organa in London British Library Harley 3019</td>
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<td>13.00</td>
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<td><strong>LUNCH</strong></td>
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<td>Kathleen Nelson: Seeking Early Melodic Practice for the Exultet in Sources of Cataluña</td>
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<td>16.00-17.30</td>
<td>IEC Prat de la Riba</td>
<td>S29: Compositional Process</td>
<td>Fabrice Fitch</td>
<td>David Andrès-Fernández: The processionale and its Music in Medieval Aragon: Codices and their Paleographic Features</td>
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<td>IEC Coromines</td>
<td>S30: Biography and Chronology</td>
<td>Margaret Bent</td>
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<td>IEC d’Olwer</td>
<td>S31: Catholic Reform in Spain</td>
<td>Tess Knighton</td>
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<td>IEC Pi i Sunyer</td>
<td>S32: Medieval Theory</td>
<td>Leofranc Holford-Strevens</td>
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Jennifer Thomas  
Through the Magnifying Glass: Motivic Organization in Josquin’s Core-Repertory Motets

Carolann Buff  
The Case of *O virum omnimoda–O lux et decus–O beate Nicholae*: A Chronological Anomaly in the Canon of Johannes Ciconia

Mercedes Castillo Ferreira  
A 15th-Century Plainchant Office by Hernando de Talavera Composed to Commemorate the Battle of Salado

Luminita Florea  
Rethinking Classifications through Analogy in Medieval Theoretical Discourse on Music: Two French Approaches

Daniel Donnelly  
*Ethos, Tonos and Eros* in Monteverdi’s Eighth Book of Madrigals

Lisa Colton  
John Dunstaple, Armiger

Gonzalo Roldán  
Music and Ceremonies in the Cathedral of Granada Relative to the Council of Trent

Elina G. Hamilton  
A Tale of Two Walters: What the Original Sources of *De speculatione musica* Reveal

Angel Manuel Olmos  
A New Attribution to Medina’s Works Contained in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*

Juan Carlos Asensio  
‘Before retiring at the close of day…’: The Hymnary for Compline in the Escorial’s Choirbook Collection

Michael Scott Cuthbert  
Computational Musicology and the *Ars nova*: Four Case Studies Using Music21

17.30-18.00  
**BREAK**


18.00-19.30  
IEC Prat de la Riba  
S33: Music Book Production and Scribal Practice
*Chair*: Leofranc Holford-Stevens

IEC Corominas  
S34: Monophonic Song
*Chair*: Manuel Pedro Ferreira

IEC d’Olwer  
S35: Genres in the 16th Century
*Chair*: Cristle Collins Judd

IEC Pi i Sunyer  
S36: Tuning and Chromaticism
*Chair*: Bonnie Blackburn
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thomas Schmidt-Beste</th>
<th>Rachel May Golden</th>
<th>Nele Gabriëls</th>
<th>Frauke Jurgensen</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Production and Reading</td>
<td>Desire and Victory: A Re-</td>
<td>Madrigal Reception and Editorial</td>
<td>Investigating 15th-Century</td>
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<tr>
<td>of Music Sources:</td>
<td>Creation of Crusade Song</td>
<td>Practice in the Low Countries</td>
<td>Keyboard Tuning through Symbolic</td>
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<td>Manuscripts and Printed</td>
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<td>Prior to 1555: Three Verdelot Madrigals</td>
<td>Music Analysis</td>
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<td>Editions of Polyphony, 1480-1530</td>
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<td>in CambraiBM 125-8 (Bruges, 1542)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warwick Edwards</td>
<td>Pieter Mannaerts</td>
<td>Katelijne Schiltz</td>
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<td>Syllable Deployment, c. 1500:</td>
<td>Adam’s Modes: A Case Study on the Modality</td>
<td>Gioseffo Zarlino’s <em>Tres lectiones pro mortuis</em> and Their Context</td>
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<tr>
<td>An Illustrated Guide with Reference</td>
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<td>to the Music of Isaac</td>
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<td>Agnieszka Leszczynska</td>
<td>Sarah Johnson</td>
<td>Franz Körndle</td>
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<td>Stockholm Manuscript S 230 and Its</td>
<td>The Melodies of the *Cantigas de Santa</td>
<td>Orlando di Lasso’s Compositions for the</td>
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<td>Prussian Context</td>
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<td>21.00</td>
<td>CONFERENCE DINNER: El Asador de Aranda (c/ Londres, 94)</td>
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### Friday 8 July

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Session Title</th>
<th>Chair/Presenter(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.00-11.00</td>
<td>IEC Prat de la Riba</td>
<td>S37: Tudor Music</td>
<td>Chair: Kerry McCarthy, Kerry McCarthy with Benjamin Hebbert, Josquin in England</td>
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<td>IEC Coromines</td>
<td>S38: Victoria (d.1611): Circulation and Reception of His Music</td>
<td>Chair: Noel O'Regan, Juan Ruiz Jiménez, ‘Buena música y breve’: The Reception and Circulation of Victoria’s Missae, Magnificat, Moteta, Psalms (Madrid, 1600) in the Crown of Castile</td>
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<td></td>
<td>IEC d’Olwer</td>
<td>S39: Women and Music</td>
<td>Chair: Honey Meconi, Mauricio Molina, Non se tenga por maestra compuesta: The Skillful Medieval Female Performer and Her Challenge to the Social and Intellectual Space Dominated by Males</td>
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<td></td>
<td>IEC Pi i Sunyer</td>
<td>S40: Conductus, Motet et alia</td>
<td>Chair: Maricarmen Gómez, Catherine Bradley, Benedicamus Domino, Conductus, and Clausula</td>
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<td>Kerry McCarthy with Benjamin Hebbert, Josquin in England</td>
<td>Jeremy L. Smith, Mary and the Burning Bush: Another Josquin/Byrd Connection?</td>
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<td>Esperanza Rodríguez-Garcia</td>
<td>Eric Lubarsky, Widowhood in Marguerite of Austria’s Chansonnier: Public Identity and Personal Sentiment</td>
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<td>Dana Marsh</td>
<td>Humanist Authority and Early-Tudor Sacred Polyphony: Erasmus or Richard Pace?</td>
<td>Alfonso de Vicente, The ‘Responsorios … dispuestos metódicamente a 4 voces por D. Diego Llorente y Sola … sobre los que compuso D. Tomás Luis de Victoria’, Klaas Van der Heide, The Reflection of its Spanish Inheritance in Music in the Dynastic Propaganda of the Habsburg-Burgundian House</td>
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<td>David Catalunya &amp; Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, New 14th-Century Fragments Recently Discovered in Mundó’s Archive (Barcelona)</td>
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<td>11.30-13.00</td>
<td>IEC Prat de la Riba</td>
<td>Elisabeth Giselbrecht</td>
<td>Crossing Multiple Boundaries: The Italian Sacred Repertoire Written for a Lutheran Church in Nuremberg between 1570 and 1600</td>
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<td>IEC Coromines</td>
<td>Mitchell P. Brauner</td>
<td>Scribal Publication and the 16th-Century Madrigal</td>
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<td>IEC d’Olwer</td>
<td>Richard Sherr</td>
<td>Three Singers from Toledo in the Papal Chapel in the Early 16th Century: A View from Rome</td>
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<td>IEC Pi I Sunyer</td>
<td>Abigail Ballantyne</td>
<td>Judging a Music Theory Book by its Cover: <em>Regole di Musica</em> in Late Renaissance Italy</td>
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<td>IEC Pi I Sunyer</td>
<td>Emiliano Ricciardi</td>
<td>Late 16th-Century Madrigals on Torquato Tasso’s <em>Rime</em>: The Case of <em>Non è questa la mano</em></td>
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<td>IEC Pi I Sunyer</td>
<td>Noel O’Regan</td>
<td>Tomás Luis de Victoria’s <em>Cum Beatus Ignatius</em> in the Context of Rome’s Jesuit Colleges</td>
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<td>IEC Pi I Sunyer</td>
<td>Ascensión Mazuela Anguita</td>
<td>Artes de canto and Music Teaching in the Renaissance Iberian World</td>
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<td>Sergi Zauner</td>
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<td>Revising Polyphonic Lamentations: Composition,</td>
<td>The Evolution of the Madrigal in the Second Half of the</td>
<td>A Sonic Life of Carlo Borromeo</td>
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1. Rob C. Wegman (Princeton University)

**Paradoxes in the Transmission of Notre Dame Organa Dupla**

Methods of textual criticism have not been extensively applied in the study of Notre Dame polyphony, for good reason. The vast preponderance of this repertory survives in only three early sources, W1, F, and W2 (c.1230–1250). Even if a particular setting survives in all three, one would need several additional sources to be able to construct a meaningful stemma. Second, the central Notre Dame sources appear to be retrospective anthologies: they are not practical sources, but collections made for collections’ sake. As such, they are not especially informative about the more dynamic textual traditions that preceded (and, no doubt, continued independently from) the encyclopedic effort that went into their compilation. Third, even when we do have additional sources, these mostly postdate the central Notre Dame manuscripts, meaning that they are even less likely to shed light on older textual traditions.

Still, there are repertorial layers where textual criticism can, and has been, successfully applied. Genres that are known for their textual instability include the earliest motets, and—paradoxically—the corpus of *organa dupla* known as the Magnus Liber Organi. I say paradoxically because that corpus is thought to represent the oldest layer in the entire Notre Dame repertory. Yet its transmission shows that *organum* was subject to continuous revision and recomposition throughout the 1240s and 1250s—as if it were a genre as brand new as the motet. This is not the only paradox. If the central Notre Dame manuscripts were retrospective anthologies, aimed at preserving historic repertory, why were their scribes so ready to discard any but the most recent versions of the venerable Magnus Liber Organi? What was the impulse behind such extensive experimentation and revision, and where did these endeavors originate—among singers in church, theorists at the university, or scribes in the workshop? These are questions that must be tackled for each *organum* separately, not for the corpus as a whole, and in this paper I propose to do so for a number of *organa* that are found in fragmentary sources as well as the central Notre Dame manuscripts.

2. Mark Everist (University of Southampton)

**Organum and Heresy**

Many frames have been put around Parisian musical culture c.1200. Best known is the indelible ‘School of Notre Dame’, closely followed by the surround that stressed the complexity of the repertory in Friedrich Ludwig’s *Repertorium*. Other ways of enclosing Parisian *organum* of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries centred on the concept of the liturgical cycle, and more recently Bruce Holsinger proposed enclosing this music within a world of sexual dissidence populated by polyphones and sodomites. *Organistae*, despite their physical position in the choir of the Cathedral of Notre Dame and their ritual position within the cathedral’s highly-regulated liturgy, were on the edge of musical and ecclesiastical society; as a consequence, they not only developed a self image as heretics, but they were treated as such by the church and its ecclesiastical police. The age of ‘Notre-Dame’ *organum* overlapped almost exactly with the second phase of heresy that scholars have identified as lasting from the 1140s to the 1230s.
The evidence for the organista’s self image as heretic comes from his liminal status and libidinal reputation as clericus matutinarum (clerk of matins) who was fired and possibly rehired annually, and the relationship between Leoninus as perfectus with the rest of the organistae: the credentes. And when Robert of Courson arbitrated on the merits of ‘scurrilous and effeminate’ organum in his Summa of 1208-1213, he interrupted work on his text to serve on the council that tried the heretical Amalrician sect in Paris, and sentenced ten of them to death by auto da fé in 1210. Furthermore, Leoninus’ neo-Ovidian homoerotic poetry sits as a backdrop to his path breaking work as the leading musician among the heretics, the optimus organista but also ‘the masculine concubine of men’. The embellishment of the liturgy enacted by organistae has its exact counterpart in the Amalricians’ modification of liturgical texts.

Such a diagnosis of the organistae’s self image as heretics is a basis on which to re-examine the various excesses found in their surviving works, and to provide a distinction between Courson’s ‘licit chants’ and his heretical organum ‘in which are mixed scurrilous notes’.

3. Makiko Hirai (Tokyo University of the Arts)
The Concept of copula Reconsidered

The manuscripts of the Notre-Dame repertory have blocks of two-part organa, which are considered to have three rhythmic patterns: organum per se, which consists of a sustained tenor part and an organal voice in free rhythm; copula, which has a sustained tenor part and an organal voice in modal rhythm; and discantus, whose tenor and organal voice are both in modal rhythm. These definitions were established by Fritz Reckow’s 1967 interpretation of Johannes de Garlandia’s statements, which had been considered problematic: “there are three species of organum: discantus, copula, and (specific) organum”; “copula is that which is between discantus and organum”; and “copula is that which is produced by proper measure equivalent to a single sound.” Reckow explained: “copula is between discantus and organum per se; therefore when discantus has modus-rectus style in both parts and organum per se has modus-non-rectus part over sustained-note tenor, copula must have modus-rectus part over sustained-note tenor” and this has been widely accepted. However, it is difficult to determine whether the organal voice is written in free rhythm or modal rhythm, although whether the tenor of the specific portion is written with sustained tones or in modal rhythm can be immediately recognized. In short, it is impossible to distinguish an organum per se portion from a copula portion.

Observations reveal that the explanation of copula given by treatises coeval with Garlandia holds as its central characteristic “between discantus and organum” rather than “sustained-note tenor and modal-rhythm organal voice.” Some other characteristics that the treatises share regarding copula include: “keeping some kind of ‘correct sequence’” and “related to closing of a phrase.” As a result of comparative examinations of the music mentioned in relation to copula, this paper proposes a revised definition that the copula is a repeated sequence, the function of which is to connect organum per se and discantus.
1. Tim Shephard (University of Nottingham)
Selling Music to Monkeys: The Market for Secular Music in Petrucci’s Venice

Music printing began in earnest with Ottaviano Petrucci’s 1498 application for a privilege in Venice (pace earlier chant and music theory books). There are a range of well-recognised practical reasons why Petrucci might have chosen Venice, established centre of a Europe-wide book trade, as the venue for his experiment. However, Petrucci’s motivation, or at least his success, may also owe an important debt to the cultural and social values of his immediate, distinctively Venetian market. Following a brief overview of Petrucci’s secular Italian output, this paper will investigate social and ideological aspects of private music-making in Venice and elsewhere at the beginning of the sixteenth century in search of a new strand of explanation. Along the way we will encounter celebrity performers, singing shepherds, introspective courtiers, the painter Giorgione and a lute-playing monkey.

2. Owen Rees (The Queen’s College, Oxford)
Francisco Guerrero Revising: Evidence from the Motets

When composers revise their works, and when multiple versions survive, we can gain invaluable evidence of their musical priorities. However, it is often difficult to discriminate composers’ reworkings from variants introduced during the transmission process by copyists, editors, performers, or others. Besides the other Spanish composers in whose outputs instances of revision have been studied (new findings regarding Navarro will be presented), the published motets of Francisco Guerrero provide an unusually rich source for evidence of composer’s revisions; this is because many (indeed a significant majority) of these motets – 70 out of 105 – were published more than once during the composer’s lifetime in editions with which he was directly involved. Indeed, some appear in three or four such collections. Comparison of the published versions of Guerrero’s motets uncovers a great abundance of reworkings, sufficient to indicate that Guerrero, for much of his career, was in the regular habit of altering his existing motets (a phenomenon apparent also in his work in other genres). While some motets underwent trivial changes, in others the alterations are numerous and significant. The reworkings reveal considerable variety (indeed, inconsistency) in Guerrero’s approach to technical and stylistic issues, both between pieces and within them, such that we cannot extract from the assembled evidence a simple model of his ideals of motet writing at each point in his career. Nevertheless, a good deal can certainly be gleaned about Guerrero’s tastes from what he revised and how he revised it, and this contributes to wider consideration of his musical language, in terms of (for example) text-setting and sonority. This paper presents an overview of the extent of recomposition and revision in Guerrero’s published motets, and then considers in more detail the work which he subjected to the most substantial revision between printings, the five-voice setting of Beatus es et bene tibi erit. The paper concludes with observations on how the collation and comparison of cases of recomposition (focusing on those composers who can be shown to have frequently revised their works) might benefit our understanding of composers’ working habits and approaches to their music in this period.
1. Jorge Martín (Ávila)
Gombert’s ‘Swansong’: the Eight Magnificats in MS M 2433: an Analytical Study

Copied in a single manuscript, the M 2433, preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, the eight Magnificats are the culmination of Gombert’s production and a milestone in Renaissance music. Their myth grew up as a legend thanks to the physician Cardano, who related that they were composed as a successful plea for forgiveness by Gombert to the Emperor Charles V to avoid a sentence imposed after having molested a choirboy. Each Magnificat is composed in a different tone (two of them in double tone): the complex counterpoint, the daring use of dissonances (hidden without a proper application of *musica ficta*) and the intense harmonic movement constitute the basic elements of his language. Despite the interest generated by these works, a series of significant mistakes and a lack of an exhaustive application of *musica ficta* and an analytical study are contained in the 1957 edition by Joseph Schmidt Görg in the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae. This paper deals with the mistakes in the 1957 edition and tackles an analysis of these eight masterpieces throughout their most relevant features.

2. Christian Thomas Leitmeir (Bangor University)
From Rome to Barcelona: Jacobus de Kerle Travels to Spain (1562-3)

It is not without irony that Jacobus de Kerle, the leading protagonist of church music reform and composer of *Preces speciales* for the Council of Trent, should wait idly in nearby Marguagno, when the Council made its notorious pronouncement on church music. De Kerle’s passionate concern for the future of sacred music was put on temporary hold by other duties: in the summer of 1562 his employer Cardinal Otto von Waldburg, ambassador of the Empire to the Holy See, had received a commission from the Roman King (and later Emperor) Maximilian II to escort his children Rudolph and Ernest to Spain. As director of Waldburg’s music chapel, de Kerle formed an indispensable part of the entourage as did many other artists. The journey from Rome (10 August) to Bressanone, where the retinue was joined by the Imperial Princes (29 November), and Barcelona (17 March 1563) is meticulously recorded in the travel diary kept by the Cardinal (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4459, fols. 187r-257v). This document, which has remained untranscribed and unstudied so far, provides a valuable rich source not only for the circumstances of early-modern travelling in general, but proves specifically instructive for music history. As the route was determined in part by diplomatic considerations, Waldburg and the Imperial princes had to pay visits to many wealthy courts and cities, where music played an important role in entertaining the guests and their hosts.

The first part of the paper will focus on the travel itinerary, the edition of which is currently underway. The second part will shift the focus to a singular concrete trace which Jacobus de Kerle had left at the destination of his journey: roughly a decade ago, a copy of his *Six Misce* (1562), which were composed to exemplify de Kerle’s reform agenda, appeared on the market in Barcelona and was subsequently acquired by a private collector. Circumstantial evidence suggests that de Kerle brought an edition of his latest music with him to Barcelona, where the music came to be adapted to the Tridentine norms as they were interpreted in the more radical context of Philip II’s Spain.
3. Erika Supria Honisch (University of Chicago)

Light of Spain, Light of the World: Invoking St James in Rudolfine Prague

Although St. James the Greater was rarely honored with polyphony in early modern Europe, several motets composed in Prague during the reign of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612) make reference to this “light and glory of Spain.” Written by figures such as Philippe de Monte, Jacobus Gallus, and Carl Luython, some of these motets honor the saint directly, while others—collected in the Odae suavissimae anthology (n.p. 1602?)—use him as a means to praise the head of Rudolf’s chapel, the Imperial Almoner Jacobus Chimarrhaeus (1542–1614). Although previous studies have established the circumstances of the anthology’s compilation, little attention has been paid to its numerous invocations of the Almoner’s namesake, and to musical celebrations of the saint in other collections. In this study, I suggest that such music sought at once to naturalize (“to make native”) and universalize the Catholic Church and the Habsburg court. Noting the often uneasy relationship of Rudolf’s Catholic court with the predominantly non-Catholic city he chose as the Imperial capital, I show how this pugnacious saint, beloved in his adopted country of Spain, offered a fitting analogue for a dynasty and church seen by many as interlopers.

I begin by establishing the status of St. James in Prague’s religious and political ceremonials, focusing on the Church of St. James—destroyed during the Hussite Wars but rebuilt during Rudolf’s reign and the site of performances by Imperial musicians. I also pay special attention to the importance of the many Spanish women who married into the Bohemian nobility (e.g. Maria Manrique de Lara y Mendoza) and of music-loving Spanish diplomats such as Don Juan de Borja, the dedicatee of Matheo Flecha el Joven’s Ensaladas (Prague, 1581). Having outlined the Prague context, I turn to selected “James motets,” showing how they establish the saint and the Almoner who shared his name as more than just local figures—as shining lights not only in Spain or Bohemia, but throughout the world.

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1. Kateryna Shtryfanova (University of Music and Theatre “Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy”, Leipzig)

Vocal Basis in the tientos by Luys Milán and Alonso Mudarra – Myth or Reality?

The tientos of the Spanish vihuelists and composers Luys Milán (El Maestro, Valencia 1536) and Alonso Mudarra (Tres libros de musica, Libro II, Seville, 1546) belong to the earliest examples of tientos that were written on paper. From the beginning, the tiento shows a purely instrumental and improvisational form, which was determined by the former pedagogy. The melodic and chordal models are not determined from vocal patterns. But in structural organisation could be considered features of Spanish vocal forms, such as soneto, romance and villancico. I aim to focus on the structural analysis of the tiento, particularly on articulate and often paired phrasing, and refrain structures. Moreover, I will discuss the aspect of the tiento’s genre and style of the early 16th century. The results of the analysis show that on the one hand, (i) the vocal structure basis determined the tiento as form in the early 16th century. It differentiates earlier tientos from other improvisational instrumental
forms of this time, such as prelude and toccata. On the other hand, (ii) vocal basis doesn’t characterise tiento as a genre. The vocal features open the tiento in the style-/intertext-context of the early 16th century, as not to conform to its instrumental concept. Already in the second half of the 16th century, the tiento loses vocal features and adopts concepts from other genres, such as the ricercare, variation and toccata (Miguel de Fuenllana, Antonio de Cabezón, Aguilera de Heredia). The vocal structures are also one of the features which characterise the tiento in the early 16th century as a genre-stylish formation. (iii) The vocal features of early tientos are at the same time a basis for the development of later tiento, particularly with respect to the tradition of intabulation.

2. Xavier Alern (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)  
**Musica ficta in Morales’s Masses (c.1550-1553) from the Arrangements for Vihuela and Lute**

Arrangements of vocal music were, as is well known, an important part of the instrumental repertory of the 16th century. The arrangement process was, many times, a process of re-creation in which, from their artistic personality, arrangers decide what counterpoint rules to apply and which not in relation to the musica ficta. For this reason, the testimony of instrumental music is the key to understanding the uses of semitonia by players. Living practice was photographed in their tablatures, but also the singers, since there were two distinct practices between instrumental and vocal music.

In this study, that belongs to my doctoral thesis, the arrangements of Cristóbal de Morales part-masses by Enríquez de Valderrábano, Miguel de Fuenllana and Jean Matelart are systematically analysed with the aim of providing a future global vision of the musica ficta uses in Renaissance Spain. This is a pioneering work that follows the previously published studies on Josquin by W. Apel, M. Honegger and H. M. Brown, but dedicated exclusively to the often neglected Hispanic polyphony.

3. Luca Bruno (Conservatorio of Music ‘S. Pietro a Majella’, Naples)  
**Improvisational Practice and Harmonic Composition In Mid- 16th-Century Italy and Spain**

Searching for sources to reconstruct a theory of 16th-century harmony, a musicologist may encounter Tomás de Santa María’s *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasía*, written between 1541 and 1557, and eventually published in Valladolid in 1565. The treatise, widely studied by scholars such as Carl Dahlhaus (1968) and Miguel Angel Roig-Francoli (1990), contains one of the most striking description of a “simultaneous conception” of the polyphonic structure (Lowinsky 1981; Blackburn 1987), exemplified through mid-16th-century Spanish instrumental music.

This paper aims to detect the relationships between the improvisational and compositional practices illustrated by Santa María and the harmonic strategies to be found in contemporaneous Italian secular polyphony. With this purpose, I will compare Santa María’s description of the “playing in consonances” technique to my own developing theory of chordal construction and linkage in Renaissance music, following my methodology of harmonic analysis in Adrian Willaert’s *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* (Bruno 2008). My hypothesis is that theorists such as Gioseffo Zarlino, Nicola Vicentino, and Santa Maria dealt with a “new” harmonic practice, so well conveyed in Willaert’s “lighter” production, which featured local as well as large-scale implications of harmony. However, while
Willaert’s “new method of composition” is often advocated but never explicitly described by his pupils, in his treatise on the “Art of playing fantasia.” Santa María exemplifies with his own compositions an improvisational practice of harmony also recorded in Antonio de Cabezón’s tiento, a contemporaneous genre akin to the Italian recercare. Dealing with the homophonically improvised sections of the fantasia, Santa María’s discussion of “playing in consonances” should then represent “the earliest systematic presentation […] of a compositional technique based on treble-bass supremacy and vertical sonorities” (Roig-Francolí 1990, p. 207): a fundamental achievement in historiography for any research on Renaissance harmony.

I will discuss Roig-Francolí’s positions on “simultaneous conception,” improvisation, contrapuntal writing, and chordal composition, and then briefly illustrate my methodology for analyzing harmonic procedures in particular genres of 16th-century secular polyphony. In particular, I will present Willaert’s villanescas as an ideal model for studying the interactions between harmony and other dimensions of the musical structure, such as form and text setting.

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1. M. Jennifer Bloxam (Williams College)
A Tale of Two (x Five) Cantus firmi: An Anonymous Marian Mass in CasAC L(B)

The choirbook Casale Monferrato, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare, Duomo, MS L(B), copied in this Piedmontese city between 1515 and 1526 and possibly commissioned by the Marquis of Monferrato, Guglielmo Paleologo, for the use of the Cathedral of St. Evasius, is the unique source for an extraordinary anonymous four-voiced Marian mass that has received only passing attention in the scholarly literature. Nors Josephson first brought the work to attention in the early 1970s in the context of his work on Missae de Beata Virgine; he believed it to be a work from the late 15th century, suggesting that the apparent grab-bag of Marian plainsongs used as cantus firmi (no fewer than ten chants drawn from office liturgies for a variety of Marian feasts) indicated its function as a general “Mass for the Blessed Virgin.” Josephson offered a tentative attribution to Hottinet Barra, a suggestion rejected by David Crawford in his 1975 study of the Casale Monferrato choirbooks. That same year Josephson included the mass in his CMM edition of the collected works of Nicolas Champion as an anonymous composition entitled Missa de Beata Virgine, apparently to allow comparison of its multiple cantus firmus technique to that found in Champion’s Missa super Maria Magdalena. He did not, however, propose an attribution in his edition, and that is where the scholarly engagement with this mass in the published literature ended.

This paper offers a fresh view of the anonymous Marian mass of CasAC L(B) through the lens of its multiple cantus firmi. Starting from a consideration of the choice and treatment of its preexistent materials and reaching out to encompass stylistic features, I will argue that Josephson was in fact correct to include it within Champion’s Opera omnia. Close examination of the liturgical context of the many plainsongs on which the mass is based reveals, moreover, that this is no generic “Mass for the Blessed Virgin”: it is a Mass intended specifically for use on the feasts of Mary’s Conception and Nativity. Finally, the puzzling inclusion of chants from the Annunciation liturgy is explicated in relation to the
dramatic contour of the Mass ritual, specifically the potent correspondence of incarnation and transubstantiation in Eucharistic theology.

2. Anne Walters Robertson (University of Chicago)
Masses Based on Secular Songs in the New Christology of 15th-Century Europe

Setting the five movements of the mass ordinary in polyphony using secular songs as cantus firmi is a technique that appeared rather suddenly in Europe in the 1450s and spread rapidly during the next two decades. Although scholars have generally believed that most of these masses were intended for the Virgin Mary, more recent work suggests that a large portion of these works were meant for Christ. This paper explores theological, literary and especially art historical currents that gave rise to a new and intensely Christological devotion. It illustrates how these cultural factors led composers to experiment with love songs, rethead in polyphonic masses as Christological signifiers, to create a new kind of mass that could express intimate devotion to Christ.

Four major themes in fifteenth-century art that illustrate the widespread devotion to Christ’s Passion appear to have analogues in the music of the period. These iconographies include the image of Christ’s face and body, better known, respectively, as the Veronica and the Holy Shroud; the depiction of the Suffering Servant who was foretold in Isaiah; the image of the verdant Cross representing the resurgence of the Tree of Life; and the multifaceted iconography of the instruments of the Passion. Polyphonic masses that seem to correspond to these themes include the Missa Se la face ay pale, the Missae Le Serviteur, the Missa Grüne Linden, and the Missa Di dadi.

It is the songs on which these masses are based that hold the key to their theological interpretation. The texts of these pieces closely parallel the affective Christological theology of the period, as it is found in mystical treatises, visions, saints’ lives, autobiography, and other genres. Through their use in mass settings, these songs became aural cues for devotion to the Passion. The masses they inspired thus intensified the multidisciplinary experience of Christ’s suffering, meditation on which was the surest road to salvation in the late Middle Ages.

3. Rory McCleery (The Queen’s College, Oxford)
‘Duo seraphim clamabant’: Homage and ‘Parody’ in a Marian Motet and Antiphon from Renaissance Seville

This paper addresses issues surrounding the use of compositional device, scoring, and texture as a means of perpetuating, if not creating, a musical conceit with possible allegorical resonances. Two works will be considered in detail: the famous Ave virgo sanctissima by Fransisco Guerrero and Ave regina caelorum by Alonso Lobo, both of which make use of canon at the unison in twin Superius parts in a five-part texture. Lobo, Guerrero’s successor as chapellmaster at Seville Cathedral, is well documented as having paid homage to his predecessor and possible mentor by means of the writing of imitatio masses based on the former’s compositions, and Guerrero himself is thought to have used Marian motets by Morales as a possible model for his own. However, the undoubtedly close relationship between these two strikingly similar Marian works has until now remained largely unexplored. Their comparison leads to a consideration both of the importance of canon and in particular its possible extra-musical significance for composers in Seville, a musical centre renowned for its Marian devotion with Guerrero as its ‘cantor de Maria’, and
of the conceivable web of relationships between works written for and at Seville by composers in the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries.

S6: Sources for Early 17th-Century Practice
Chair: Robert Kendrick

1. Michael O’Connor (Palm Beach Atlantic University)
Mariology and the Motet in the Early Seventeenth Century: The Marian Motet Cycle of Juan de Esquivel

One of the most delicate subjects entertained by the Council of Trent concerned the accretion of popular devotions to the Virgin Mary. While her popularity as loving advocate for humanity and intercessor in worldly affairs was seen by Protestants as a dangerous deviation from Trinitarian worship, the Council reaffirmed the Church’s devotion to the Virgin, while warning against undue superstition and improper veneration of images. This reaffirmation prompted a flowering of Mariological treatises that sought to define the Virgin’s role in salvation, not only in answer to the challenges of Protestant theologians, but also as means instructing the Catholic faithful.

Francisco Suárez laid the foundations of Tridentine Mariology in his De Mysteriis Vitae Christi (1592), defining the Virgin’s role in the Christological mysteries in a manner that harmonized with the Church’s desire to place the primary focus of devotion towards Christ. Theologians in Spain were quick to take up the ideas laid out in Suárez’s commentary. The Marial (1602) by Luis de Acevedo, a younger contemporary of Suárez, presents a series of homiletics structured around Marian feast days. Acevedo’s work transmits the orthodox understanding of Mary’s virtues through a series of sometimes emotionally-charged discursos.

The marriage of teaching and artistic expression is also present in a cycle of Marian motets, published in 1608 by Juan de Esquivel, a composer working in Ciudad Rodrigo, a short distance from the Salamanca of Suárez and Acevedo. Each of his motets is assigned to a particular Marian feast day, and each features a carefully chosen text that venerates the Virgin, yet in a Christological context. The musical imagery of the settings underscores the role of Mary as model Christian, thus musically reinforcing the Council’s hope for a more orthodox veneration of the Virgin.

2. Catherine Motuz (McGill University)
Burmeister’s ‘Ornaments of Music’ as Tools for Word-Painting

The twenty-seven ‘Ornaments of Music’ found in Joachim Burmeister’s Musica Poetica (Rostock, 1606) mark the beginning of a long tradition of discussing music in terms of musical figures. Burmeister’s introduction describes composition as joining together ‘the sounds of melody into harmony, ornamented with various affections of the periods, in order to bend the minds and hearts of men in various ways’ (italics mine). Despite his overt concern with expression, Burmeister’s figures, taking many of their names from the figures of oratory, do not, with the exception of ‘pathopoeia’ – the extended use of semitones – signify affect or meaning in themselves. Instead, they explain on a technical level the many compositional and imitative techniques that Renaissance composers had at their disposal. Where does the bending of the minds and hearts of men come into play?
Burmeister defines this as word painting and claims to be the sign of a master composer. Using Burmeister’s analysis of Lassus’s *In me transierunt* as a model and building on the discussions of it by Claude Palisca and Anne Smith, I have analysed the motet *Maria Stabat ad Monumentum* (1587) by Lassus’s contemporary, Andrea Gabrieli. By asking why Gabrieli chooses to write certain figures at certain points in the text, I will show that even though most figures in themselves have no inherent semantic value, they are nevertheless used as tools for word painting. For instance, the figure *congerie* – the piling together of perfect and imperfect consonances in similar motion – is used at the word ‘inclinavit’ and subtly illustrates Maria’s stooping towards Jesus’s tomb. By dividing up the motet into nine sections characterised by figures, I identified many instances of word painting that I did not notice in performing the piece. I argue that Burmeister-style analysis is a useful tool for helping musicians to expand their understanding of word painting beyond melodic motion to include relationships between voices, choices of texture, tessitura, and deviations from modal norms.

3. Sakurako Mishiro (University of Manchester)

**References to the Past in Charles Butler’s *Principles of Musik* (1636)**

An English priest, philologist, and amateur musician, Charles Butler (c.1560-1647) is known for his contributions to the science of bee-keeping, the study of the English language and 17th-century English music theory. His *Principles of Musik* of 1636 is the first comprehensive theoretical book published in England after Thomas Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* of 1597. *Principles of Musik* stands out among contemporary English music-theory books for including by far the most specific references to material from other writers. Butler’s diverse sources range from classical writers such as Plato, Boethius and Biblical authors, to his continental contemporaries, such as the German music theorist, Sethus Calvisius, and to his countryman Thomas Morley. Practices of citating and learning from forerunners exist in every age, but in *Principles of Musik* both the patterns of borrowing materials from other books and especially Butler’s own background as a rhetorician, highlight the fact that the principles that governed the creative process in his writings—as with other art forms in the period—were those of *imitatio* and *emulatio*. Influenced by the rhetorical writings of a Frenchman, Pierre de la Ramée, also known as Peter Ramus, Butler’s *Rhetoricae Libri Duo* of 1598 was one of the most well known textbooks of Ramistic rhetoric in England, being reprinted many times. In *Principles of Musik*, Butler encourages the reader to ‘heed[e]fully examine, observ, and imitat[e] [th]e Artificial works of [th]e best Au[th]ors’, and also links music with rhetorical techniques: ‘For as in Oratori, so in Music, ar necessarily req[u]ired to perfection; 1 Natur[e], 2 Art, and 3 Excercitation according to Art and Examples’. This paper sheds new light on *Principles of Musik* among contemporary English theory books, by focusing on Butler’s use of sources, annotations, and techniques of quotation, situating his reference style within the context of the tradition of emulation and exploring how it reflects his view of the past. Viewing Butler’s book and other English theoretical treatises from the perspective of *emulatio* allows us to develop more sophisticated understanding of the origins of late Renaissance English theory, which is often viewed as entirely forward looking.
1. Matthew Laube (Royal Holloway, University of London)

**Hymnbooks and Confessional Interchange in and around the 16th-Century Palatinate**

The development and solidification of specific religious identities is a hallmark of the period between the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Thirty Years War (1618) in German-speaking areas. Commonly called the Age of Confessionalisation, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics began to identify themselves in less ecumenical ways, creating increasingly rigid boundaries which they seldom crossed. According to historian Heinz Schilling, modern scholars have traditionally seen this period between 1555 and 1618 simply as the prelude to the Thirty Years War, thereby neglecting the nuanced process by which early modern people created and acted out their own confessional identities. Hymns were a common way of expressing religious beliefs as well as attacking competing ones, but few scholars have used music as a lens for understanding the development of these specific confessional identities, and, subsequently, how they interacted. In this paper, I will use the territory of the Palatinate and the city of Heidelberg as a case study for examining German Calvinism, placing hymnbooks produced there alongside other confessional publications. The Heidelberg Catechism (1563) is an especially valuable theological lens, helping to throw confessional nuances found in hymnbooks into sharper relief. Heidelberg is an ideal case study for understanding confessionalisation, as the city oscillated between Calvinism and Lutheranism several times in the second half of the 16th century. Through a study of extant hymnbooks produced in Heidelberg and the surrounding areas, this paper hopes to begin disentangling the complex interrelation of Protestant music in the Palatinate and to understand how Protestants used music as a tool of confessionalisation.

2. Grantley McDonald (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

**Ludwig Senfl, Leonhard Päminger and Martin Luther’s Theology of the Cross**

One of the most characteristic expressions of Luther’s thought is his “Theology of the Cross,” a theology of negation and inversion intended to contrast with the “Theology of Glory” which Luther thought dominated the practice of theology in the universities of his time. Building especially on the work of Christian Meyer and Katelijne Schiltz, this paper seeks to explore the Lutheran background of three related pieces: a pair of canons (the Passiontide hymn *Vexilla regis prodeunt* and the Passiontide antiphon *Tua cruce triumphamus*) by the Passau composer, poet, and theologian Leonhard Päminger; and another canon by Ludwig Senfl (*Crux fidelis*). All three pieces are notated in the form of a cross, and all three are retrograde canons. It is argued in this paper that the notion of inversion so central to Luther’s “Theology of the Cross” may have been an important motivation for the choice to write retrograde canons. Amongst the evidence adduced is a pair of recently-discovered epitaphs written on the death of Luther by Leonhard Päminger’s son Sophonias, entered by Sophonias into a book given to Leonhard by Luther himself.

3. Daniel Trocmé-Latter (Magdalene College, Cambridge)

**Thieves, Drunkards and Womanisers? Perceptions of Church Musicians in Reformation Strasbourg**
During the 1520s, Strasbourg, a Free Imperial City of the Holy Roman Empire, embarked upon a series of liturgical reforms designed to uproot what were seen by many as the outdated medieval practices of the Roman Catholic Church. The Mass and monastic offices of the Church were replaced with ‘evangelical’ services. This process included giving the lay people a greater degree of direct involvement in worship, through translations and interpretation into the vernacular, and introducing the singing of congregational psalms and spiritual songs.

Unlike Martin Luther, the Strasbourg reformers felt no compunction about eliminating the need for those who were employed to make music in church. In the treatises, notices, and private correspondence of the reformers from the 1520s, singers are attacked on a semi-constant basis. In a letter to the town council from 1526, the leader of the reforms, Martin Bucer, expressed his opinion that ‘it is the responsibility of authority to appoint, as [King] David did, the most holy and pious to sing [in church]. For no reason should wooers, the miserly, idol worshippers… drunkards, thieves or those with disorderly lives be appointed’. One year earlier he and a colleague had in two separate writings criticised the immoral lives of singers, who, no sooner than having received their payment, ‘leave the church, toss their choir robe behind the door and join the maid behind the oven’.

Nevertheless, some musicians, such as organist and composer Matthias Greiter, managed to survive – and even profit from – the new system, despite leading what can now be seen quite clearly as an opportunistic life. This paper explores the reputation of church musicians at this time, asking why the reformers felt such attacks were necessary, and whether ecclesiastical ‘art-music’ would still have declined in Strasbourg if those performing it had been deemed by the reformers to be more righteous people.

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1. Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Universidade Nova de Lisboa) and Rui Araújo (CESEM)

The Lisbon Cantigas de Santa Maria database

This paper will present the Lisbon Cantigas de Santa Maria database, developed at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (CESEM/FCSH) since 2005, but only now reaching a fully operational state. It intends to complement the Oxford Cantigas de Santa Maria database created by Prof. Stephen Parkinson, which was designed to give online access to a vast range of information relevant to the processes of collection, composition and compilation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria. Whereas the latter is concerned with the textual contents, providing the critical material for a new edition of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, the Lisbon database is strictly concerned with the corresponding musical contents. In fact, the Lisbon project is double-folded: a full diplomatic transcription of the notation in the three surviving Mss of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, which is being proof-read, will be made public in PDF format through the Portuguese Early Music database, currently under development; the corresponding contents are being entered into the Lisbon CSM database, to allow electronic searches of strings of notes, intervals and notational figures in the sources. The PEM database is accessible online; the research-oriented CSM database is installed in one of CESEM's computers, and research is done locally by request. This paper will present its structure and modus operandi, and illustrate its scientific capabilities. For the
first time, automated research on the music of the CSM can be done on the basis of the raw data in the manuscripts (adding to 740 songs or song versions), concerning not only melodic features, but also notation and rhythm. Comparative research with other repertories will also be possible, allowing us to enrich our perception of stylistic indices, cultural borrowings and influences in the repertory, and of its eventual historical reach.

2. Mathias Le Rider (Strasbourg)
Text, Notation and Style: The Case of the Song Tant plus que vous voy tant plus me semblés belle (Ox, f. 124)

The anonymous rondeau Tant plus que vous voy tant plus me semblés belle appears as unicum in the gathering VIII (f.124) of the famous manuscript Oxford Bod. 213 which contains far the most comprehensive surviving collection of secular songs from the first half of the 15th century. Whereas the notation of Tant plus que vous voy, which contains as many as 27 mensuration signs in the two upper parts, refers to the style of the ars subtilior, the aesthetic of the song is characteristic of the “simple style” also called the “new style” widespread in the beginning of the 15th century. The meanings of the multiple proportional mensuration signs have already been discussed by Jason Stoessel in the article “Looking back over the missa l’ardant desir” (Music & Letters, 91/3, 2010). Our paper aims to propose an explanation of the apparent contradiction between the notation and the style of the song based on an interpretation of the poetic text. Further examples of text / notation relationships will also be given in two songs by Richard de Loqueville and Briquet. The notational characteristics of the so-called “new style” will also be clearly exposed.

3. Jared C. Hartt (Oberlin Conservatory of Music)
The Peculiar Role of the Harmonic Seventh in Guillaume de Machaut’s Music

All extant fourteenth-century contrapunctus manuals regard the so-called harmonic minor seventh as dissonant, and thus forbid its use in basic counterpoint. A survey of Guillaume de Machaut’s music, however, reveals that Machaut not only employs the seventh throughout his compositional oeuvre, but that he also occasionally composes the seventh as a structurally significant component of the penultimate sonority in a cadential progression. Although the use of the seventh in Ars nova repertory has received little treatment, it has not gone entirely unnoticed: in the latest issue of Musica Disciplina, for instance (dated 2003-2008 but appearing only a few months ago), Roland Jackson notes that “in the fourteenth century the seventh began to appear as a sonority in its own right” (18). Jackson offers only a few supporting examples, however, some of which are more convincing than others, and some of which render incorrect pitches due to his reliance on Schrade’s edition rather than the manuscripts themselves. Moreover, Jackson fails to distinguish between ‘surface’ dissonances – those discords that can be easily accounted for in terms of the underlying consonant contrapunctus – and apparent ‘structural’ dissonances – those discords that belie such an explanation and appear to function in the underlying voice leading.

This paper shall examine Machaut’s use of the minor seventh, focusing on those instances in which the seventh appears to be ‘structural’ in nature and on those instances in which the seventh in turn contracts to a fifth. That Machaut composes the seventh-to-fifth progression on numerous occasions throughout the Messe, motets and Hoquetus David points to the fact that this seemingly forbidden move constituted a salient element of his
compositional praxis. And although the manuals would forbid such a progression on the grounds of the seventh’s dissonant status, because Machaut composes the move regularly enough, often in a fashion similar to the paradigmatic minor third to unison contraction, the seventh-to-fifth progression should in turn be added to Machaut’s vocabulary of tendency progressions.
1. Peter N. Schubert & Julie E. Cumming (McGill University, Montreal)

Chant Paraphrase Canon: Strait-jacket or Instinctive Behaviour?

A well worn trope about Renaissance music narrates the gradual emancipation of musical style from the strictures of pre-existent material, contrived canons, and complex counterpoint. From Glareanus through Burney, Kiesewetter, Blume, and Lowinsky, canon and cantus firmus have been considered “learned” Netherlandish techniques that contrast with the free flow of natural invention as practised in Italy. Yet singing “super librum” over a cantus firmus, singing canons at short time intervals, and adding a third part to a duo were all fundamental to elementary music education for choirboys. (We cite recent work by John Milsom and treatise evidence from Holthby, Lusitano, Sancta Maria, Zarlino, Montanos, and Morley). These techniques were not just the domain of pedantic masters of counterpoint, they were natural to any trained musician in the Renaissance.

We will show for the first time how these techniques apply to the making and elaboration of chant paraphrase canons, the basis for many large polyphonic pieces. We will demonstrate this by improvising a canon based on an antiphon melody chosen at random from the Liber usualis by a member of the audience. Some chant melodies happen to follow the rules for stretto canon, others have to be rhythmicized to make them “fit,” but any chant melody can be made into a canon extempore. Then we will show how to add a third part to the resulting duo, modeling the plausible compositional process. Finally we will examine works that combine canons with chant paraphrase in a variety of works from the decades around 1500. Among our examples will be Josquin’s famous Ave verum corpus; Isaac’s autograph Sanctissimae virginis votiva festa (discussed by Jessie Ann Owens in Composers at Work); the canons in the Choralis Constantinus (recently discussed by Katelijne Schiltz); and multiple imitative settings of a single common chant melody, to demonstrate the application of chant paraphrase. Musical straitjackets actually make it easier to improvise and compose, because they were learned when the composers were children.

2. Giuseppe Fiorentino (Universidad de Cantabria, Santander)

‘Con ayuda de nuestro Señor’: Teaching Improvised Counter-point in 16th-Century Spain

As we can deduce from the “actas capitulares” compiled in Spanish cathedrals during the 16th century, the learning of singing in musical chapels basically dealt with three main subjects: “canto llano”, “canto de órgano” and “contrapunto”, i.e., plain chant, written polyphony and specific practical skills that pupils trained in musical chapels were supposed to acquire gradually. In any case, the learning and practice of “contrapunto” was considered as the most difficult challenge both for students and professional singers.

In this paper I will examine the role of improvised counterpoint in the teaching system of Renaissance Spain, analyzing two kinds of sources: on one hand, the “actas capitulares” from Burgos, Granada, Sevilla, Palencia, Toledo and Las Palmas cathedrals, where music learning is mentioned; on the other hand, some of the most important theoretical tretises of the age, such as those by Domingo Marcos Durán (c.1502-1506), Francisco Tovar (1510), Juan Bermudo (1555) or Vicente Lusitano (1553). First of all, the concept of “contrapunto” will be defined according to the theoretical sources; second, I will
establish the importance of improvised vocal counterpoint as a daily practice and as a basic subject in the curriculum of young singers; finally, I will try to reconstruct how young singers were trained in the practice of "contrapunto".

3. Philippe Canguilhem (Université de Toulouse 2 - Le Mirail)
A Lesson in Extempore Counter-point by Vicente Lusitano

Since 1962, the musicological community has been informed that Vicente Lusitano’s Trattato grande di musica pratica, as he calls it in his “Introduttione facilissima” printed in Rome in 1553, has been preserved in manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, under the shelf-mark Ms. Esp. 219. Yet, since then, this fundamental source for our understanding of how polyphony was orally added to plainchant in the late Renaissance has been totally ignored by scholarship. With more than 200 musical examples, Lusitano’s counterpoint treatise gives us not only a detailed lesson on the various techniques used by the most gifted singers in the middle of the 16th century, but also a precise idea of how “extempore” polyphony actually sounded.

My paper will present those techniques and sonorities, which allow us to think in a different way the relationship that we have established between composition and “extempore” polyphony in the Renaissance.

S10: Ludwig Senfl I
Chair: Stefan Gasch
Respondent: David Fallows

Organization: Stefan Gasch & Sonja Tröster (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

After two major figures, Heinrich Isaac and Pierre de la Rue, have been approached in the Med-Ren Conferences of 2009 and 2010 we would like to continue this tradition and dedicate an entire panel session to a no less renowned composer of the Habsburg court chapel: the singer, composer, and editor Ludwig Senfl. This seems to be the right moment as scholars paid more and more attention to the œuvre of this important Renaissance composer during the last two decades and a comprehensive catalogue of his works has been established by the Viennese research project “Ludwig Senfl – Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke” (“Ludwig Senfl – A Catalogue Raisonné”).

Based on this worklist new insights into Senfl’s œuvre will be given by the panel. The contributions will deal with two aspects of Senfl’s fascinating corpus of works: by discussing individual work groups and compositions (J. Sargent, J. Kiel, W. Fuhrmann) the less known liturgical repertoire, namely his Magnificat settings and motets, will be emphasized, and by investigating the reception of Senfl and his works (R. Gustavson, M. Grassl, A. Lindmayr-Brandl) the composer’s significance in past and present times will be highlighted.

1. Joseph Sargent (University of San Francisco)
The Modal Affect Effect in Ludwig Senfl’s Magnificats

The 1530s marked a watershed decade for the polyphonic Magnificat – a period when composers began writing full octo tonorum Magnificat collections instead of crafting
pieces on only some of the eight canticle tones. This transition generated a new sense of communal identity to the genre, with Magnificats now conceived as forming a set of collected works rather than a conglomeration of individual pieces. This in turn prompted a higher level of compositional planning across all pieces within a collection, encompassing core features of the genre such as the monophonic canticle tone along with other devices like canon and textural shifts across verses, prevalent enough in this repertory to be considered de facto genre conventions.

Ludwig Senfl’s Magnificat octo tonorum, published in 1537, ranks among the first single-composer octo tonorum collections, and his pieces offer an insightful view of how the new eight-tone framework could affect compositional planning – particularly with respect to canon and texture. In comparison with peer composers such as Morales, Festa, and Carpentras, Senfl employs texture shifts and canon more sparingly, and his usage of these devices is far from consistent across the eight tones.

What prompted Senfl to emphasize these devices in some of the eight tones and not others? In this paper I propose that concepts of modal affect may have guided Senfl’s choices of where and how to use canon and texture shifts. Many scholars view modal affect as analytically untenable, due to disagreements among individual theorists and the inherent difficulty of correlating abstract affective descriptions with concrete musical practice. Yet the Magnificat bears a unique relationship to mode and tone, from its immutable canticle tone foundations to liturgical modal-tonal links in which a Magnificat is bound to the mode of its framing antiphon on any given liturgical day. A close look at modal theory also reveals several viable common threads that transcend the admittedly significant differences among theorists. In a genre characterized by standardization of text, length, and melodic foundation, Senfl uses modal affect, canon, and texture as tools of individuation within a larger collective whole.

2. Jacobijn Kiel (Utrecht)

Senfl’s ‘Salves’

Senfl wrote three settings of Salve regina. The first setting contains a Stella maris as a cantus firmus, the second is an alternatim setting and the third Salve rex aeternae misericordiae is incomplete. In this paper I will concentrate on the first two settings. Senfl must have had access to the international repertoire of Salve settings during his employment with Maximilian in Austria and Wilhelm IV of Bavaria in Munich. In order to detect any patterns of influence of other composers I will focus on the structure and use of models in these two settings.

3. Wolfgang Fuhrmann (Universität Wien)

Senfl’s Quid vitam sine te and the Consolations of Music

Ludwig Senfl’s motet Quid vitam sine te, published some time after the composer’s death in Concentus octo, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum (Augsburg: Ph. Uhlhard, 1545), is a motet of mourning and consolation. Senfl composed this piece on behalf of the widowed Augsburg patrician Christoph Ehem, presumably shortly after the death of Ehem’s wife in 1535. Quid vitam sine te represents a dialogue: in its first part the widower utters his grief; in the second part, his deceased wife consoles him, speaking from the afterworld: ‘Abi, o bone, non obii’ (I have gone away, my dear, I didn’t die). Musically, the piece fuses Senfl’s experience in humanist ode setting (the text, written by the lawyer
Johann Koler, is cast in elegiac distichs) with a flexible and deeply expressive rhetoric. The paper will explore the historical setting, the musical structure and the tradition of musical consolation of which it is a part.

**S11: Questions of Genre**

**Chair: Anne Walters Robertson**

1. Jan Ciglbauer (Univerzita Karlova, Prague)

*Audi tellus: A Few Remarks on the Tradition of Extra-Liturgical Music in Latin in Central Europe*

The Central European song culture of the late Middle Ages (14th and 15th Centuries) comprises a series of sacred songs in Latin language having a musical form which can be in some cases described as troped lai. Some of these songs relate more or less to the main repertory of conducti, although direct transmissions are rare. An example widely found in Central European sources is *Audi tellus*. The most important variants have been documented – one of them is also found in the Huelgas manuscript which is a good starting point to set questions about how new musical pieces have been composed and transferred – with regard to a model. Some less known examples will be given to ask further. One of them is *Angelus ad virginem* (not to be confused with the text attributed to Philipp the Chancellor), another is *Sol nascitur de sidere*. Both demonstrate a different type of relation toward the model, but they have something in common: re-composing combined with quoting known models seem to become an important part in the tradition of this type of music in the 14th and 15th century.

2. Gaël Saint-Cricq (Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne)

*A New Link between the Motet and the Trouvère Song: the Motet-canso*

In the 13th century, the ethic of musical genres draws clear boundaries between the trouvère monophonic song and the measured polyphonic genres. This dichotomy is clearly exposed in musical treatises and obvious in the conception of sources and collections. True to this original dichotomy, musicology tends to restrict the musical exchanges between the motet and the trouvère song – especially the grand chant courtois – to two main cases: a few contrafacta found between individual works from both realms, and the sharing of refrains occurring between songs and the upper parts of motets.

This paper introduces a new point of convergence that can be mapped out between the trouvère song and the motet: the sharing of a common formal structure between these genres. There is indeed, a corpus of 16 French motets rigorously built on the AAB conventional plan of the *canso* originating from the trouvère song, and especially the grand chant courtois. This corpus points out that exchanges between these genres are more abundant, varied and complex than has been so far acknowledged.

This paper will briefly present this corpus of “motets-canso”, and shall focus on a clear example. The analysis of this motet-canso will establish in which ways the encounter between the motet and the trouvère song works out. I will first show how the formal structure of the motet-canso matches exactly that of the courtly song. The critical role of the refrain in this corpus will then be examined, as it acts as a mediator between the two genres and has a determinant impact on the formal make-up of the motet-canso. Finally, I will
show how the fusion between the two genres in the motet-canso, not only denatures the trouvère song, but also the motet through the creation of the new polyphonic texture of “motet-chanson” governed by isometrism, isosyllabism, newly invented tenors and synchronism between the parts.

3. Fabrice Fitch (Royal Northern College of Music)
Towards a Critical Perspective on the Motet-Chanson

The question of genre in the early modern period is not without its contradictions and difficulties. In this paper I will consider some of these with particular reference to the genre (or subgenre) known as the ‘motet chanson’. Though its nomenclature is more straightforward than the actual name suggests, I will argue that the term is of limited use in discussing the works to which it attaches, and indeed, that the artificial distinctions to which it gives rise have at times been a positive hindrance in their evaluation. In considering the matter I will draw on manuscript evidence and on contemporary contributions to genre theory.

1. Mary E. Wolinski (Western Kentucky University)
The Case of the Disappearing Rests: A New Look at the Spanish In seculum Hocket in Madrid, BNE, MS 20486

Various manuscripts testify to the spread of 12th and 13th-century Parisian polyphony to Spain. One of the best known is Madrid, BNE, MS 20486 from around the mid-13th century. In comparison to the earlier French sources of its repertory, the main scribe of the Madrid manuscript copied mostly simple two-voice, texted compositions. These were created by omitting one of the voices from preexistent three-voice conductus and motets.

This paper will present a new analysis of the scribal hands and identify the presence of erasures in a significant composition. My scribal analysis differs from those of Roesner (1993) and Asensio Palacios (1997) in regard to only a few leaves. This results, however, in my conclusion that the main scribe deviated from copying simple two-voice polyphony by adding the famous three-voice hocket on In seculum to the end of the fifth fascicle. This piece, attributed to “a certain Spaniard” by Anonymous IV, was considered so outstanding that it was prominently featured in the Montpellier and Bamberg codices and cited in at least seven treatises. The Madrid manuscript is the earliest known source of this composition, although, due to the condition of its copy, it is certainly not the original. The lack of alignment of the voices in the score makes it difficult to know if the copyist appreciated the importance of the hocketing between the two upper voices or understood how to read the rhythmic notation. This paper, furthermore, presents the discovery that there are numerous erasures in the triplum and duplum of this piece. The erasure of double-stroke rests in the duplum, without doing likewise in the tenor, left the duplum too short to fit with the tenor. The elimination of many short rests in the triplum eliminated the interlocking hocketing between the triplum and duplum.
If we consider the original notation of the Madrid copy of the In seculum hocket before the erasures were made, however, we have a perfectly viable version. It contains notable differences from later copies and brings us closer to the “certain Spaniard’s” most influential piece.

2. Gregorio Bevilacqua (University of Southampton)
Conductus or Motet? A New Source and a Question of Genre

The 13th-century conductus and motet are generally considered as clearly discrete types of composition. Such a view is based on a handful of statements by medieval theorists, and on the internal organization of Notre-Dame sources, which tend to devote distinct sections and individual formats to specific genres. Yet the situation is more complex as some compositions in the Notre-Dame repertory either display features of both types or appear as conducti in one source and as motets in another. Such a situation prompts a series of questions around the status of such compositions that stand between genres.

The manuscript Salamanca, University Library, 226, as yet unknown in the literature, provides valuable information about the interaction of motet and conductus in a single source. It transmits four monophonic conducti and an incomplete two-part motet. One of the conducti (Qui servare puberem) and the motet (Serena virginum – Manere) deserve particular consideration: the former appears in other sources as a polyphonic conductus but also as a hybrid piece simultaneously presenting features of conductus and motet; the latter is found elsewhere both as a polyphonic conductus and as a hybrid four-part piece. Such multiple versions call into question the neat boundary between genres, and are important in understanding the role played by conductus in the path that led to motet. The issue of genre raised by the two pieces in the Salamanca manuscript prompts comparison with similar cases that defy neat generic classification, such as the conductus prosula (a motet-like piece based on material borrowed from conducti) and the hybrid compositions preserved in the manuscript fragments in Châlons-sur-Marne 3.J.250. This paper will investigate the extent to which an experimental attitude of 13th-century musicians may have contributed to the creation (and reworking) of pieces as Qui servare puberem and Serena virginitum, which, with their diverse versions, defy precise classification. These and similar works may be either interpreted as a specific step on the route to the motet or as a generic friction between two established genres. The Salamanca manuscript and its pieces represent a rare and important new piece of evidence on these questions.

3. Santiago Galán Gómez (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
A New Source of Notre Dame Polyphony from Spain. The Music Manuscript 98.28
from Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular

With this paper I present the study of a new collection of Notre Dame polyphonic pieces contained in the last fascicle of a factitious codex from c.1300 held at the Biblioteca Capitular in Toledo, Spain. The existence of this manuscript was first noticed by Karl-Werner Gümpel in 1997, but the source remained unstudied until now.

Besides a monophonic conductus, the manuscript contains a small collection of two and three-voice conductus-moteti, including a notable version of the well known Agmina milicie/Agmina with a new text, Agmina malicie added in the third voice. Also in the document is found a new version for the hoquetus In seculum, which is studied in comparison with the other known versions, including the one from Madrid, Biblioteca
The study of the different aspects of the codicology of the manuscript, the palaeography, the music and the notational characteristics, with special interest in establishing the relationship of the manuscript with the main Spanish sources of Notre Dame polyphony, as well as with the main European sources of the same music, point to a French origin of the source, copied around 1300, which can be defined as a "terminal" copy of Notre Dame music, but still conceived as a performing source, given the synchronization of all the voices in the manuscript.

1. Mary Channen Caldwell (University of Chicago)
Ad repetendum: Repetition and Reiteration in Latin Lyrics

In the register of the famed and useful collection of medieval Latin texts, Dreves’s Analecta hymnica, the categories of hymn, conductus, sequence, and so forth, are further subdivided using the term repetitio to create separate entries. As quickly becomes clear, these lyrics cum repetitio are actually refrains, indexed separately from the parent text. Repetitio, however, is a term rarely seen in medieval treatises on music and poetry or in reference to refrains; rather, it appears in works on rhetoric where it refers to repetition at the beginning of lines or clauses. The purpose behind the listing of over 100 refrains as repetitiones among nine genres in the Analecta hymnica is therefore not immediately obvious, especially as many refrains are not included. Was this simply an accidental omission? Or is there a further level of analysis that underlies the choice of indexed refrains and the genres within which they are contained?

This paper examines the reasons behind the inclusion—and exclusion—of repetitiones in the register of the Analecta hymnica. By focusing on the music and text of a selection of both indexed and un-indexed refrains intended for the Advent and Christmas season, I will argue that the refrains are a key factor in determining the context and function of the songs, and that “refrain songs” should indeed, as the register suggests, be considered as a separate generic group. Moreover, it is through the refrains themselves that the relationship between the newly-composed lyrics and seasonal liturgies, as well as non-liturgical festivities, is formed and preserved, more so than in other sacred lyrics. In essence, the refrains in these Christmas songs provide a link between the secular and sacred, and orthodox and popular proclamations of faith. In demonstrating these relationships, it will become apparent that the separate indexing of the refrains in the register, although not comprehensive, serves the function of identifying a larger, relatively unexplored tradition in the religious lyric of the Middle Ages. This “repetitio” or refrain tradition found in sacred lyrical texts and music is one technique by which conventional and popular expressions of faith were merged.

2. Amy Williamson (University of Southampton)
The ‘Worcester Fragments’: Legend, Legacy or Lacuna

The ‘Worcester’ Fragments are perhaps the most famous sources of English medieval polyphony in the period between the Winchester Troper and the Old Hall
Manuscript, between the millennium and c.1400. The fragments first received attention from Dom. Anselm Hughes in the 1920s and have acquired a position of importance ever since, a position that has remained uncontested. Hughes coined the term ‘The Worcester Fragments’ to describe the sources now arranged into two composite sources (Ob lat. Litug. D.20 and Wo add. 68), but originally found in over 20 host sources in Worcester Cathedral Chapter Library, the Bodleian, and the British Library, and this concept has been a recurrent feature on the landscape of English medieval music for nearly a century. Hughes assumed that the music in these fragments was the product of a school of composition at Worcester during the 13th and early 14th centuries, and that all of these fragments share a common origin and history. This view has been adopted in subsequent studies of English music and is mentioned (frequently without question) in many of the general histories of the period.

However, there is no evidence to suggest that the Worcester Fragments can bear the historical weight that has been given them. It would appear that this music has fallen victim to a 20th-century desire to fill a historical vacuum: Hughes’s account of the music provided a convenient filler for the void in English musical history between the other two large collections of English music. Hughes argued in 1928 that almost nothing else survived that shows a “level of culture … comparable to that of France and Italy”, but evidence suggests that Hughes’s advocacy of the ‘Worcester Fragments’ is misplaced and exaggerated. The music contained in these fragments represents rather under half of the extant English repertory and therefore does not warrant the level of importance that has remained a prominent feature of its study to date. A re-evaluation of the concept of the Worcester fragments goes some way to dispel a characteristic mythology of English medieval music during the last century.

3. Honey Meconi (University of Rochester)
The Unknown Hildegard: Editing, Performance and Reception

The music of Hildegard of Bingen is now well-known in both academic and early music circles, and has made a considerable impact on the general listener as well. Multiple recordings exist of her play with music, Ordo virtutum, as well as almost all of her 77 chants. We have facsimile editions of both of the main sources of her music, the “Dendermonde” Codex and the Riesencodex (two facsimiles of the latter, in fact, one dating back to the early 20th century). Transcriptions of selected works go back still further, to the 19th century, and we have two complete editions of all of her music, one in standard notation and one in modern chant notation. This staggering amount of material stands in stark contrast to the works of most medieval composers, as well as to the output of women composers of any era. Surely this is someone whose music we “know,” whose music we can study and discuss with confidence. In fact, however, Hildegard’s music has been poorly served in its many editions, with ambiguous results for its performance, reception, and ultimately our understanding of it. This essay discusses the challenges faced by modern transcribers and traces the modern editing of her music, evaluating the varying degrees of success attained by scholars and performers in their attempts to recreate the compositions of this remarkable woman.
1. Markus Grassl (Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Vienna)

Senfl among the Theorists

As it is well known, Ludwig Senfl belonged to the most renowned and most widely disseminated composers in the German-speaking countries throughout the 16th century. Despite its utmost significance, Senfl’s contemporary reception has been studied up to now only selectively. The paper aims at a systematical investigation of the phenomenon within a clearly defined field: music theory.

Based on a thorough documentation of all writings referring to Senfl, the following questions will be addressed in the first place: Which lines of transmission leading to the authors of the treatises can be detected? Which (specific) functions do the exempla drawn from Senfl’s oeuvre fulfill within the context of the theoretical writings? Do any consistent ‘patterns’ emerge therein, i.e. in what way does music theory contribute to the formation of a kind of canon of Senfl’s composition or even a general picture of Senfl during the 16th century?

2. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl (Universität Salzburg)

Ludwig Senfl, a German Hero of Early Times

This paper is about historiography and will explore why and how Ludwig Senfl was promoted as the first German composer in music history. The idea of creating this position evolved at the turn of the 20th century, in a time of strong nationalism, when politically engaged people were looking for a German predecessor of the great Johann Sebastian Bach. Another issue was that Josquin’s and Isaac’s position in German music history became problematic because of their external origin. The choice fell on Ludwig Senfl, a comparatively minor composer with a Swiss-Habsburg-Bavarian provenence. He was seen as a force-bound, strong personality with excessive humor, and his music was characterized as exhibiting a balanced elegance of highly mature classicism in a northern coining. In the Third Reich, when the German Song was elevated to a central genre and abused in reuniting the German ‘Volk’, Senfl’s music received a second promotion. It was now considered to be the archetypical example of this genre and the first art music owned by the people. Its downfall began when Luther and Senfl died, so the myth said.

1. Ferrán Escrivà Llorca (Conservatorio Superior de Música de Canarias)

Power, Erudition and Musical Patronage in the 16th Century: the Borja Dynasty and the Dukedom of Gandía

The nobility and the role of musical patronage have enjoyed an outstanding reassessment in historical musicology. In a case-study in Spain, the noble family of the Borja is closely linked to the most influential dynasties in Western Europe during the late 15th century, especially with the important figures of the Popes Calixtus III and Alexander VI; however, its authority was gradually increasing in the Iberian World under the auspices
of Juan de Borja (1494-1543), III Duke of Gandia and Saint Francis Borja y Aragon (1510-1572), IV Duke of Gandia, Grandee of Spain and III Superior General of the Society of Jesus. Within this lineage, don Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606), son of St. Francis Borgia, appears as the most important noble of this relatives during the Spanish 16th-century, in both political and cultural contexts.

The dukedom of Gandia had a greater splendour from the late 15th to the early 17th century and its cultural heritage covered varied institutions related to music. In the inventories of the ducal palace it is possible to find a varied collection of music books and instruments, although it was more likely that in the religious centres – mainly in the Seu–Collegiate Church – we might suppose an outstanding documentation concerning the musical practice in the ducal chapel.

The aims of this study are to broaden and deepen our understanding and contextualization of the Borjas’ court and to encourage further work in the field of musicians, singers, sources, transmission and reception, leading to fresh interpretations of the cultural heritage of this powerful Spanish dynasty. There is much still to investigate in terms of Spanish reception history and the place of Borja music in the historical canon.

2. Bruno Turner (Worthing)
Too Many Tears for Absalon?

The set of partbooks catalogued as LP 20 (Libros de Partituras) kept at the Biblioteca del Santo of the Real Colegio de Corpus Christi in Valencia is an eclectic collection of just under 80 complete pieces, Latin motets plus a few with Spanish or Italian sacred texts. It was compiled probably around 1600, written by one scribe, with few errors, uncorrected and with little sign of use. The eight leather-bound books are of paper with some ink corrosion, but generally readable. The set was presented to the College, known as the Patriarca, in September 1641, by one Don Diego Vigue.

The works are grouped by the number of voices, four to eight, but most are for five or six voices. The choice of composers shows the compiler’s broad and excellent taste in 16th-century music from Spain and Italy (‘Lasso’, Palestrina, Ruffo, Vecchi). Apart from Guerrero (of Seville), the Spaniards are from the Aragonese provinces: Comes, Cotes, Company, Pérez, Pujol, Ribera, Robledo, and Josep Gay. Of these, it is Bernardino de Ribera who has my attention in this paper.

Ribera’s known works include two Marian Masses, a half-set of Magnificats (Tones 1 – 4 only, in pairs of odd- and even-verse settings for alternatim performance), and nine motets conserved in a great manuscript choirbook, Toledo Cathedral BC 6, copied in 1570 at the end of Ribera’s tenure as maestro and shortly before his death. This beautiful book has been severely vandalised, folios ripped out and many decorated initials cut away. Of the motets five are recoverable. Two of these appear in the Valencia partbooks. Another three that do not appear in the Toledo choirbook are included in the Valencia collection. In 1852 Hilarion Eslava published transcriptions of *Virgo prudentissima* and *Rex autem David* (republished separately in 1952).

This paper examines what may be gleaned from the two sources by detailed comparison of text underlay and accidentals. There have been erasures in the Toledo book that match sharps that are present in Valencia. King David may have been made to do some extra weeping.
3. Greta Olson (Chinese University, Hong Kong)
Reframing Our Knowledge of Early 17th-Century Valencia

The majority of the data known about early 17th-century Valencia details the musical activities of two primary institutions, Valencia Cathedral and the newly founded Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi, their two primary composers during this time, Juan Bautista Comes (ca. 1582-1643) and Vicente Garcia Velcaire (1599-1650), and the various singers and instrumentalists engaged by the institutions.

This paper will present several new documents from the time to enhance our understanding of the period 1630-1632 in Valencia.

1. Davide Fara (University College, Dublin)
Poetical Music in Dante’s Divine Comedy

The topic of my research attempts to recover the medieval vision of music within the modern textual criticism of Dante's main work. An author like Dante, in fact, lends himself perfectly to this approach. What clearly emerges from his works is musical awareness, coming from a custom for a praxis of the time that foresaw comparison, exchange, technical knowledge of the music for a poet in view of the musical “dressing” of the “harmonized word” organized by him. As recent musicologist studies highlight, Italian philological lessons based on the thesis of “divorce” between music and poetry of the 70s et seq, has to be reviewed in terms of different phases of production, composition and execution in the poetic text in those places thought for his reception.

Consequently, these studies by successive literary critics were out of kilter with research conducted in the field of musicology. Not even in the face of the frustrating scarceness of resources, in fact, this branch surrendered before objective impossibility of rebuilding that musical heritage belonging to the oral practice, where text and music basically operated, linked for the execution.

The fact that Dante had an important part to play in his time, rightly considered by many to be the link between medieval history of music and poetry, requires a revisitation of the modern readers to his texts from a musical perspective. Only in that way will it then be possible to consider in the proper way the musical factors that for many years were seen as a ‘tired rhetorical translation’ by literary men. On the contrary Fictio musicae et retorica poëta (De vulgari eloquentia, II, IV, 2) invested in the development, the constitution and the creation itself of his main art as we can enjoy it today. This paper will highlight aspects from the Divine Comedy where the poet expresses, through the poetic technique, his musical competence. Through rhetoric artifices, showing us his musical knowledge, it will be
possible to modify hierarchical arts' roles in the representation of the most mature and latest poetry of Dante.

2. Renata Pieragostini (St Anne’s College, Oxford)
A Humanist’s View of Poetry: ‘Rhetorica in musica posita’

Although in recent years the relation between rhetoric and music in the early Italian humanism has received some attention, this theme still deserves systematic study. This paper focuses on a significant view of this relation, as elaborated by Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), influential humanist and statesman, in the context of a discussion of poetry contained in the treatise De laboribus Herculis (largely concerned with allegory and mythography). Salutati left various observations on music interspersed in letters and other writings; however, it is in this treatise that his deep knowledge of, and interest in, the Pythagorean-Boethian concept of musico-numerical harmony emerges most clearly, providing a theoretical foundation for his discussion: Salutati considers poetry to be inherently musical—the organisation of verses and poetic feet being based on the same numerical proportions as those ruling music. Moreover, it is in poetic composition that the music of the spheres is to be found, rather than in the celestial orbits. The notion of a universal order founded on numerical proportions becomes in the humanist’s view a metaphor which explains the musical quality of poetry and its persuasive power, while the existence of the music of the spheres stricto sensu is rejected along the lines of the Aristotelian tradition.

3. Amaya Sara García Pérez (Universidad de Salamanca)
Music and Architecture in the Historic Façade of the University of Salamanca

The relationship between music and architecture is a common place in Renaissance architecture. It can be seen both in specific buildings and in many architectural treatises of the 15th and 16th centuries. The use of musical symbolism in Renaissance architecture (mainly through the use of musical ratios and proportions) has been widely studied in Italian examples since Wittkower’s classical Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism. However, Spanish Renaissance architecture has not received the same attention (one of the few exceptions is Villalpando’s treatise, which has been studied by Taylor and is the focus of at least one doctoral dissertation currently in progress).

The current paper analyzes the use of musical ratios and symbolism in a paradigmatic example of early Spanish Renaissance architecture: the historic façade of the University of Salamanca. This plateresque façade of the first third of the 16th century has been widely studied from an iconogaphical-structural point of view, but its relationship with the musical thought of the time has never been rigorously examined. Taking the work of the architect Pablo Andrés, who analyzes its structure and measurements, as a starting-point, we present a study of the use of musical ratios and symbolism in this building placing them in the cultural context in which this emblematic façade was built.

S17: Historiography & Reception II
Chair: Tess Knighton

1. Pilar Ramos López (Universidad de La Rioja)
Practical Music in Early Modern Spain: Some Reflections on Jewish and Moorish Legacy

This paper is concerned with the presence of late medieval Muslim and Jewish ideas about music in Spanish Renaissance musical practice. Particularly Hamid al-Ghazzali’s (1058-1111) and Maimonides’s (1135-1204) moral restrictions about the practice of music could contribute to explain a significant part of the polemics on practical music that has been relevant for Spanish Renaissance Music and beyond. Echoes of Muslim and Jewish thought can be traced in treatises on education and morals dealing with questions such as: Who can sing, listen or play an instrument? Where? How? For what purpose? What kind of music? and so on…

These are not rhetorical questions; indeed, they conditioned not only the social status of certain musical styles and genres, and specifically, female musical practice, but even formal traits of Spanish music of the time. Musicologists have concerned themselves on the one hand with the study of Jewish and Muslim music in Spain during the Middle Ages and, on the other hand, with the collection and study of songs in Balkan and Mediterranean communities which are descendants of those Jewish and Moorish people exiled from the Spanish Kingdoms in early modern times (Israel J. Katz 1992, 1995; A. Shiloah 1992, 2007). However, the problem of the Muslim and Jewish cultural heritage in early modern Spain has not been a main issue for musicologists in contrast to general historians and literary scholars.

2. Reiner Kleinertz (Universität des Saarlandes)
Tomás Luis de Victoria – Myth of a Spanish Vocal Polyphony

Contemporary to Palestrina and usually compared to him, Tomás Luis de Victoria has been considered always as the Spanish representative of 16th-century vocal polyphony. It is well known that his repertory and also his musical style differ from Palestrina’s, for instance in dissonance treatment and harmony (J. A. Kriewald, The Contrapuntal and Harmonic Style of Tomás Luis de Victoria, Madison 1968). Musicological research, however, hasn’t found any specific Spanish characteristics in his music until now: his music can’t be seen in the tradition of Cristóbal de Morales or Francisco Guerrero’s compositions, nor do we know of any successors. (Michael Zywietz: Art. ‘Tomás Luis de Victoria’, in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart 2, Kassel, 2006, col. 1549).

Should we assume therefore, that the reception of Victoria as a representative of a (typical) Spanish vocal polyphony is due to a myth in the context of Spanish nationalism? In the preface to his edition of Victoria’s works, Felipe Pedrell, for instance, describes the Spanish nation as the nation, that made ‘fructífera la semilla sembrada en Roma por los predecesores, contemporáneos y continuadores inmediatos de Palestrina: la nación que pudo resistir la influencia neerlandesa conservando su independencia de escuela’ (Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis, Opera omnia, ed. by Felipe Pedrell, vol. 1, Leipzig 1902, repr. Ridgewood 1965-1966, pp.V-VI).

In my paper, I will try to reconstruct the creation and history of the Victoria myth. Special attention will be given to the editors of Victoria’s music and other musicologists in the European context of nationalism.

3. Emilio Ros-Fábregas (Institució Milà i Fontanals, CSIC, Barcelona)
Higini Anglès’s Defense of Medieval and Renaissance Sacred Music in Mid-20th-Century Rome

Spanish musicologist Higini Anglès (Maspulols, Tarragona, 1888—Rome, 1969) became Director of the “Instituto Español de Musicología” (CSIC) he created in Barcelona in 1943 and was appointed President of the Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra (PIMS) in Rome in 1947; he held both positions until the end of his life. Although his musicological writings and editions of Spanish music are well known, his correspondence preserved at the PIMS in Rome and at the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona remains unpublished. This correspondence documents, among other things, Anglès’s permanent efforts to inform the Church hierarchy about the importance of Medieval and Renaissance music, and how to keep it alive with its proper use in the liturgy of the 20th century. Well before Vatican II, he warned Church authorities (through “Pro-Memorias” and other writings) about the negative consequences of using vernacular languages to sing the Ordinary of the Mass. His letters, though, show Anglès’s frustration, since his recommendations were often ignored, and decisions about sacred music, ultimately at Vatican II, followed the criteria of people who, according to Anglès, knew nothing about liturgy or the history of music. This correspondence brings to light Anglès’s musicological contributions and editorial decisions into a new perspective, and, especially, the important role he played in Rome in the service of three Popes.

1. Elena Abramov-Van Rijk (Jerusalem)
Jacopo da Bologna and Luchino Visconti: Courting a Patron

In the musical repertory of the Trecento, four compositions are unequivocally and explicitly dedicated to a contemporary secular ruler: two madrigals, *Lo lume vostro* and *O in Italia*, and two motets, *Lux purpurata/Diligite iustitiam* and *Laudibus dignis*, all by Jacopo da Bologna (*Laudibus dignis*, though transmitted anonymously, is surely his). Their addressee is the Milanese ruler Luchino Visconti: both motets and the madrigal *Lo lume vostro* contain an acrostic *Luchinus*, and the madrigal *O in Italia* refers to the birth of Luchino’s twin sons. It is thought that Jacopo worked for Luchino as a court composer, and the compositions were designed for court ceremonies.

Similar instances of written musico-poetical production designed for a patron are known mostly in later periods and/or by non-Italian composers (like Ciconia’s motets for church authorities). Other Trecento compositions, discerned by scholars as intended for court events and ceremonies, are in fact extremely vague in their references and abound in allegories and symbols, usually indecipherable.

On the other hand, poems flattering rulers were very common in Italy. They were designed for oral presentation, recitation and/or singing on special occasions. Only a few have survived, mostly in literary documents, chronicles and treatises (like *De li contrasti* by Gidino da Sommacampagna), as examples of this courtly practice. The circumstances of the creation of the Luchino series, for some indications, seem to be unlike those where the ruler commissions or rewards poets or/and musicians for a “coverage of current events.” How then do we explain it? I propose as a group of experimental works, in which Jacopo converted this oral performance practice into a written one. Here he shows off his talent, both poetic (acrostic, Latin and semi-literary versification, senhals and codes) and musical
(motets and madrigals being the most learned genres at the time in the Italian ambience). Analysis of the motet Lux purpurata has uncovered a link to historical and literary sources and an unusual technique of setting the text.

Jacopo’s novel idea of courting a ruler with written music apparently was not successful, since it did not produce any sequel by other contemporary Italian court composers.

2. Lucia Marchi (Northeastern Illinois University)
Chasing Voices, Hunting Love: Sounds, Images and Words to Italian caccia

The Italian genre of the caccia has mainly received attention for its musical construction and its idiosyncratic texts. The poetic texts describe hunting (or more rarely fishing or market) scenes, but it is quite clear, though, that the hunt represents a metaphor for the quest for love.

The presence of such metaphorical meaning has been noted only in passing in musicological studies, but has received attention by literary scholars (Thiébaux 1974, Bärberi Squarotti 2000). Viewing cace in the broader context of medieval literature and visual arts is fundamental for understanding the metaphorical meaning of the text and its reflection in the musical form.

In a groundbreaking article of 1961, Pirrotta viewed the caccia as the quintessential example of ‘musical realism’ for its imitation of animal sounds and hunting signals. I argue that, besides this apparent realism, the genre is a highly refined and metaphorical reenactment of the actual experience of hunting. This analysis leads to a reinterpretation of the provenance, attribution and relationships of single cace – a relatively small repertory represented in almost all the major manuscripts of 14th-century music.

3. Lauren Jennings (University of Pennsylvania)
Ovid’s Heroides, Florentine volgarizzamenti and the Un-Notated Transmission of Trecento Song

Dominating the material life of Trecento song is a handful of elegant, high-grade notated canzonieri. The Squarcialupi Codex with its elaborate illuminations and famously conservative repertoire is an extreme example, but through their physical forms nearly all the extant musical sources present Trecento polyphony as a “high art tradition” consumed by an elite few. One under-studied body of sources, however, places this repertoire in a rather different cultural and material framework—the 40-plus text-only manuscripts transmitting Trecento song sans notation in literary settings. Often private miscellanies copied by amateur scribes, almost all of these sources locate themselves in a low graphic environment that finds musical parallels only in London 29987 and a handful of fragments.

This paper examines the treatment of Trecento song texts in two such sources: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61 and Magliabechiano VII 1040 (noted by Gallo and D’Agostino for its siciliane). Though these composite manuscripts have long been recognized for their musical concordances, the codicological connection between their final units has hitherto gone unnoticed. Reunited, they represent a substantial portion of a zibaldone copied in late 14th-century Florence by a certain Amelio Bonaguisi, who incorporates 10 polyphonic ballate texts within an unusual collection of Italian and French lyric poetry, preceded and conceptually framed by Filippo Ceffi’s volgarizzamento of Ovid’s Heroides.
Discussing the *zibaldone*’s literary environment, I argue that Amelio places these song texts in a context radically different than that constructed by their primary musical habitat, the Squarcialupi codex. In its Ovidian cornice, Amelio’s entire lyric collection participates in a process of linguistic and cultural “vulgarization” through which the mythological characters of the *Heroides* are refashioned as protagonists in various quintessential medieval courtly (and not-so-courtly) love scenes. Wedding them to the tradition of *volgarizzamenti* rejected by Florence’s most influential intellectuals around the turn of the 15th century, Amelio thereby forcefully ejects his musical *ballate* from the elite cultural milieu with which John Nadás and others have associated the Squarcialupi Codex, repositioning them in the very world of seemingly-unsophisticated vernacular culture enjoyed by the *borghesia* that the Florentine Studio sought to correct.

**S19: Anonymity, Attributions and Authenticity**

**Chair: Thomas Schmidt-Beste**

1. Zoe Saunders (The Johns Hopkins University)

**Ascription and Anonymity in the Alamire Manuscripts**

Of 77 unascribed masses and mass movements in the Alamire complex, a group of 61 decorated presentation manuscripts prepared in Brussels and Mechelen between about 1495 and 1534, 24 remain anonymous today. While modern attributions of about two-thirds of the compositions that were copied without ascription into the Alamire manuscripts have greatly improved our knowledge and understanding of this repertoire and its context, we have thus far not explained why these masses were transmitted anonymously. In this paper, we will consider all Alamire manuscripts that contain unascribed masses in order to understand the meaning of ascriptions in the Alamire manuscript complex, and, more broadly, the phenomenon of anonymity in the early Renaissance.

We begin by exploring the circumstances under which the Alamire manuscripts were produced. New and detailed codicological and paleographic evidence supports the division of the Alamire manuscripts (excluding the earlier Scribe B manuscripts) into two distinct chronological groups, thus bringing into question the concept of one Alamire workshop.

An examination of variants in the musical texts of compositions copied into more than one Alamire manuscript illuminates the use of exemplars by the early and late Alamire scribes, and thus clarifies the relationships between individual codices and small groups of related manuscripts. Our examination of variants also reveals that these scribes took initiatives in their copying, and the variants to be discussed are firm musical evidence as to the type of editorial initiative the Alamire scribes took. They also illustrate specific ways in which these scribes exercised their own initiative in copying, including ascription practices.

Finally, we consider the presence and absence of ascriptions, asking if the scribes actively included or omitted them, or if they passively copied from the exemplars. As we
shall see, the Alamire manuscripts, considered as individual physical objects and as a complex, contribute significant evidence to explain how the scribes worked; in this way, they also reveal how anonymity could be “produced” in the Renaissance.

2. Bernadette Nelson (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)
'Meester noel de sangmeester': Notes on Re-tracing the Life and Works of Noel Bauldeweyn

Information on the life of Noel Bauldeweyn was traditionally based on G. Van Doorslaer's interpretation of documentation in Malines and Antwerp, which showed that the composer held the position of choirmaster first at S. Rombaut in Mechelen (c. 1509-1511/12), and then at the church of Our Lady in Antwerp (c. 1512-1517). This was repeated in subsequent work on the composer, in particular in Edgar Sparks’s influential monograph Noel Bauldeweyn (1972).

In a new set of readings of archival documents made in the 1980s, the identity of the 'meester noel' in the Antwerp registers was challenged, and Bauldeweyn’s association there was discounted in favour of an otherwise unknown musician, Noel Grant. This revised interpretation has influenced further work connected both with this composer (including my own) and with the Antwerp documents, and to date this interpretation has remained unchallenged. However, as I shall attempt to show in this paper, it appears that Van Doorslaer’s original interpretation was probably correct, and that the 'meester noel' at the Antwerp church was indeed likely to have been Bauldeweyn.

Unfortunately, no further documentation relating to this composer has yet been recovered although, as surviving sources of his music clearly demonstrate, he may be seen as one of the more successful Franco-Flemish composers of the early 16th century whose music was extremely widely circulated throughout Europe, with a focus on a few key places. For example, practically all of his identified mass settings are included in the series of choirbooks associated with the Hofkapelle of the dukes of Bavaria: this raises the question whether Bauldeweyn had been in any way connected with the compilation procedure of the earlier choirbooks preserved there, bearing in mind that his career overlapped that of Alamire in Mechelen and Antwerp.

This paper also considers the extremely wide dissemination of Bauldeweyn's music not only in Germany where some of his music reached publication (though frequently showing challenging attributions to other composers, notably Josquin) but also in southern Europe, mainly Italy and the Spain of Charles V where there are significant unica.

3. Stephanie Klauk (Universität des Saarlandes)
Problems of Authenticity in the Works of Tomás Luis de Victoria: Some Methodological Considerations

Until now, problems of authenticity concerning (supposed) works by Tomás Luis de Victoria have not been the centre of musicological research on Victoria’s music. The articles about Victoria in musicological encyclopaedias such as Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, The New Grove or Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana do not mention these questions. In fact, the research on Victoria in general hasn’t been very extensive. This may partly be due to the absence of a complete and critical edition of his works.

Works by Victoria are known from 11 anthologies, published between 1572 and 1605, and from almost 300 manuscripts. Most of them are copies of the printed sources, but 85 of these
manuscripts are unique. Among them, 14 compositions are doubtful, for example the Missa Dominicalis and the hymn Jesu dulcis memoria, both part of Felipe Pedrell’s Opera omnia from 1902-1913. Other manuscript compositions edited by Pedrell are considered today as authentic, like Domine, ad adjuvandum. In 1965, Samuel Rubio edited five other manuscript-motets by Victoria. Kurt von Fischer showed in a convincing article that the Spanish copyist Francisco Soto had written down the psalms of Mus. 130 (Biblioteca Nazionale) in collaboration with Victoria. More recently, Eugene Cramer also proved the authenticity of several compositions.

In addition to the different methods of authentification used by these authors, I will try to present a new one. Considering two of the remaining eight uninvestigated manuscripts, I will discuss Victoria’s authorship proving ‘intertextual relationship’ with other works by Victoria. In this context, the results of a project on automated harmonic analysis realized by the Max-Planck-Institute for Computer Science and the Department of Musicology at the University of Saarbrücken might be of some use.

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**S20: Dubrovnik**  
**Chair: Pieter Mannaerts**

Dubrovnik (Ragusa), situated in southern Dalmatia, in 1205 accepted the rule of Venice, under which it remained for a period of 150 years. During the years 1358-1526 it was a dominion of the King of Hungary, preserving, however, its political and economic independence. Dubrovnik’s location was favourable to the development of commerce and craft, while at the same time it provided a unique cultural environment. The Republic of Ragusa, which included the neighbouring coast and islands as well as the city itself, became a Catholic enclave in a territory dominated by Muslim and Orthodox populations. While retaining strong links with Italy, Dubrovnik maintained lively contacts with Bosnia, Serbia and the distant Hungary.

Mendicant orders, which remained largely under the control of the state, played a particular role in the culture of Dubrovnik. The libraries of the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in Dubrovnik have preserved until today the liturgical books dating to the Middle Ages. The aim of this session is to present these sources in the context of Europe, taking particular account of the cultural characteristics of the Republic of Dubrovnik and Dalmatia as a whole. Attention will focus on the oldest relics, belonging to different traditions (Čizmić), liturgical books from the 14th and 15th centuries (Beban), as well as sources documenting polyphonic practice (Gancarczyk). The presentation will include the latest results of research by the international team which has been systematically working on the musical sources of Dubrovnik for a number of years.

1. Ana Čizmić (Zagreb)  
**The Republic of Dubrovnik: History and Early Medieval Chant Sources**

The history of Dubrovnik is long and rich. The city was prosperous and advanced, and had a highly developed cultural life already in the Middle Ages, and especially during the Renaissance. From almost the very beginnings, the city was also a strong Catholic
centre, despite its location in the immediate vicinity of the Ottoman Empire and its Orthodox neighbours. The documents show that the Dubrovnik archbishopric was founded sometime between 996 and 999, the Dominicans built their monastery in 1225, and in 1227 the Franciscans established a monastery on the opposite side of town. The strong Catholic tradition, which has had an immense influence and played an important part in the history of the city as a whole, has continued to flourish through the ages.

This paper will examine the earliest liturgical sources from Dubrovnik that also contain music. There are about 15 fragments, kept mainly in the Franciscan monastery of Little Brethren and the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik. The only complete source is the Missal MS Canon. liturg. 342, kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. These sources will be presented in the context of the medieval history of Dubrovnik, as well as the whole of Dalmatia and of Europe in the same period.

2. Hrvoje Beban (Zagreb)
Mendicant Orders and Chant Sources from Late Medieval Dubrovnik

In spite of the fact that the mendicant monasteries on the eastern Adriatic coast have suffered damage and destruction throughout history (caused by the Ottoman invasion in the 16th century, the great earthquake that struck Dubrovnik in 1667 and World War II and the Croatian War of Independence), Croatia has the best-preserved heritage of mendicant art after that of Italy, including collections of liturgical manuscripts from the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Franciscans and Dominicans came to Dubrovnik in the late twenties of the 13th century. After Zadar, the friar monasteries of Dubrovnik have the richest collections of liturgical chant books. In the Franciscan monastery of Little Brethren one can find about 20 manuscripts written in Italian gothic rotunda script with square chant notation. It is most likely that they were brought to the monastery after the earthquake, initially from the abolished monastery at nearby Daksa Island, while the second group of codices, which is today kept in the monastery collection, was transported from the Franciscan monastery at the Badija Island near Korčula after World War II.

By examining the Little Brethren monastery collection of chant books, which is partly of Dominican provenance, the paper will try to place this type of medieval music source in a wider context, referring to the other Dalmatian mendicant monasteries with similar sources, bearing in mind the proximity of Italy as the centre of the mendicant movement.

3. Paweł Gancarczyk (Polish Academy of Music—Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warsaw)
Traces of Polyphonic Practices in the Republic of Dubrovnik

In 1993 Rudolf Flotzinger published an article devoted to the sources of medieval polyphony in Dalmatia, Croatia and Slovenia (Revista de Musicología, 16). The majority of manuscripts referred to in that publication were written after 1500 and document the stability of the practice of simple liturgical polyphony (cantus planus binatim). Recently, a new interpretation of a number of sources from the territory of Dalmatia has been carried out, pointing to their European context (H. Breko Kustura); copies of previously unknown polyphonic compositions have also been discovered (M. Demović, P. Gancarczyk). Significantly, these latest discoveries concern mensural polyphony practised in the 15th century in the area of the Republic of Dubrovnik.
The paper will describe and interpret these not widely known and partially unpublished sources. Although they contain only a few compositions, they provide a new perspective on the musical culture of Dubrovnik and the whole of Dalmatia. They point to the Dominican and Franciscan orders playing a key part in nurturing music in that area. Those liturgical books in which we find polyphony reveal the individual local characteristics of the Dubrovnik Republic, where influences from Central Europe (the Kingdom of Hungary) were superimposed on a Mediterranean culture (strong links with Italy). The books will thus be presented against a background of the political and cultural situation in the Republic towards the end of the Middle Ages, and an analysis of music manuscripts will be accompanied by references to archival and literary sources.

**Poster sessions**

P1 Victoria Chang, Clare Robinson and Eric Tuan (with Jesse Rodin on-line): The Stanford Josquin Research Project: Overview and Strategy Session

The Josquin Research Project is a digital musicology project that aims to place scores of all 331 pieces attributed to Josquin online and make them searchable. We've already launched a search engine (password: joskin) that will find any melodic, rhythmic, or interval pattern and, as of a few days ago, that will track parallel perfect intervals and highlight all dissonant notes. Going forward we hope to develop additional analytical tools and add a whole lot more music by both Josquin and his contemporaries to our database.


The digital environment offers much that will advance the study, teaching, and performance of early music. Focusing on a neglected but important repertory of secular polyphonic songs from mid-16th-century Paris, The Chansonniers of Nicolas Du Chemin puts an unprecedented range of modern editions, facsimiles, critical commentaries, and practical editorial tools before a diverse audience of modern readers. The images, editions, and tools are freely available on the internet for the use of scholars, teachers, and performers.

We are now poised to move ahead with a new phase of work envisaged from the outset of our project: a virtual workshop in which many contributors could experiment with the challenges of restoring voice parts lost as music books were damaged or dispersed in the nearly five hundred years since they were first composed, published, and performed. When complete, there will be a thesaurus of musical devices drawn from theoretical and practical literature that informs our restorations, and there will be new kinds of digital editions in which alternative solutions and layers can be explored in a flexible virtual space.

This poster session will offer a demonstration of the various parts of the project, its methods and tools, and information on how to participate in this growing range of digital initiatives, both in Europe (via the CESR) and in North America (via Haverford College).

Urls for the fascimile and digital edition project:  
http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/duchemin/  
and for the project devoted to reconstructions of lost voice parts:  
http://193.52.215.195/Ecole_thematique_1/Lost_Voices_-_A.html
P3: Matthew Laube and Esperanza Rodríguez García (Royal Holloway, University of London): Early Music On-line: Digitalisation of the British Library’s Printed Music

Motets by Josquin des Prée; drinking-songs from Nuremberg; love-songs from Lyon; lute music from Venice: these are just some of the 16th-century musical riches to be digitized in the Early Music Online project (www.earlymusiconline.org). The digitization of all 300 of the British Library’s anthologies of printed music (those in RISM B/1) is nearing completion; for each volume digitized, new bibliographical information will be provided, and the individual pieces within each will be documented, making it easier for performers, researchers and students to find music that interests them.

P4: John Ashley Burgoyne (McGill University): Creating a Fully Searchable Edition of the Liber usualis

Our research group has a simple, if perhaps quixotic, goal: we would like the text and melodies of all known plainsong to be available online in a database that one could browse or search according to musical patterns, textual patterns, and liturgical use. Others have shared that dream for more than a decade now, and it has become clear that it is impractically expensive for the scholarly community to transcribe everything to such a database on its own. Based on our experience with optical music recognition, whereby computers are trained to recognise musical symbols from digital images with minimal human intervention, we have built software tools that can transcribe printed square-note notation automatically. As a first step toward our goal of a complete database of plainsong, we are using this new software to make a fully searchable edition of the Liber usualis available online.

We chose the Liber usualis, despite its sometimes curious editorial practices, because it has remained a fundamental volume in plainsong performance and scholarship for more than a century. Thus far, we have run these new software tools on the entirety of its musical and textual content, and human curators are presently correcting the output to ensure its accuracy. Our tools preserve neume groupings and take account of ornamental neumes such as quilismae and liquescents. They also maintain information about where each neume and word appear on the page, which allows for links not only to full pages but also to the specific regions of a page where melodic or textual fragments appear.

We expect to be able to have the full content available and searchable by the time of the conference meeting in Barcelona and will have a demonstration laptop available for visitors to try. We hope that some visitors will bring search queries that will be useful for their own research, and we are excited to receive ideas from all participants at the conference on how we could make our tools for searching the Liber usualis even more useful for the scholarly community.

P5: Vladimir Prado (Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Vienna): The Madrigali a Quattro voci of Philippe de Monte

Philippe de Monte (1521-1603) wrote and published in Venice between 1562 and 1581 four books of four-voice madrigals. Each of these books was printed for a second time (1586, 1585, 1585 and 1588). It is well known that at that time the standard setting of the genre was the five-voice madrigal. By contrast, de Monte self published during his life 19 books of five-voice madrigals. Wert, published only one book and Marenzio two books of
four-voice madrigals. Here we have something extraordinary that needs to be the object of research.

In this sense I would like to show during my exposition:

1) Situation and importance of the madrigal genre in the cultural context of the Habsburg’s court during the rule of the Emperors Maximilian II (1564-1576) and Rudolf II (1576-1612).

2) A brief report about the musical sources.

3) The problem of the exact dating of de Monte’s third book of four-voice madrigals, which still today remains unknown. I would like to propose my hypothesis about a more exact dating.

4) Exposition about the texts including the names of the authors and description of the changes made by de Monte through the music setting.

5) Narrative and rhetorical structures by selected madrigals of the collection.

The project of a critical edition in modern notation, containing all four books: 109 Italian madrigals, two Latin madrigals and one Italian madrigal by Giovan Batista de la Gostena (printed at the end of de Monte’s third madrigal book a 4).

P6: Samantha Bassler (The Open University): Antiquarianism and the Manuscript Copies of Byrd’s Sacred Music in the London Madrigal Society Collection (British Library Mad. Soc. MSS)

This poster presentation is the result of further work drawing from the paper I gave in 2010 at Royal Holloway, wherein I laid out the topic of my PhD dissertation and the impact it may have upon future Byrd scholarship and our understanding of the reception of Byrd’s music by subsequent generations. In last year’s paper, I briefly described the contents of the London Madrigal Society collection (on loan to the British Library since 1954). I argued that in light of such documentation of available sources, it is unhelpful to state that there was a complete nadir of Byrd’s music from 1623 until the English Musical Renaissance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the 2011 poster, I will give a detailed account of the sources, provide examples of the Madrigal Society manuscript copies of Byrd’s 1589 Cantiones sacrae and of his 1605 and 1607 Gradualia, and also explain how the 18th- and 19th-century editions of these works were constructed and compare these copies to the 16th- and 17th-century originals. The poster presentation will also include examples of various manuscript copies of music by Byrd and his contemporaries, attendance records, and other historical data from the antiquarians of the Madrigal Society. I will situate the antiquarian societies within the larger framework of 18th-century concert life in London. While it is true that there exist few examples of printed music and concert programs of Byrd’s music from the three hundred years between his death and the rise of Sir Richard Terry’s English Musical Renaissance, what remains is an impressive body of manuscript copies that demonstrate the appreciation of a select group of interested lay performers and historians. This select group, although not representative of the tastes of the majority of 18th-century London concertgoers, is a microcosm that displays the greater phenomenon and peculiarities of antiquarianism: It is noteworthy that the three collections of Byrd’s music extant in the Madrigal Society library are of his controversial sacred music. This constitutes a reception – albeit small – of Byrd’s music, and should be recognized as such.
P7: Jan Koláček (Univerzita Karlova, Prague): CANTUS Database: A New Vision

This poster will provide information concerning the current state of the CANTUS project and a vision for the future. Screenshots of the new web interface will present advanced browsing functions and new analytical tools for research purposes. Further site developments, such as a Volpiano editor and data-entry screens, will be introduced as the next improvements for an effective widening of the usefulness of CANTUS.
1. Vincenzo Borghetti (Università degli Studi di Verona)

Fors seulement l’attente que je meure: Ockeghem’s Rondeau and the Gendered Rhetoric of Grief

The rondeau *Fors seulement l’attente que je meure* is among Johannes Ockeghem’s most extensively discussed secular works. A much-debated characteristic feature of this chanson, one that distinguishes it from all others in Ockeghem’s oeuvre, is that its two upper voices span almost the same high register, against a lower contratenor. This feature may have been responsible for the disagreement among sources over which of the two upper voices is the tenor: surprisingly, earlier and presumably more authoritative manuscripts assign this role to the uppermost voice, while later ones “normalize” the matter by giving it to the slightly lower one.

When discussing this issue, musicologists have almost exclusively focused on the music of this rondeau, paying little attention to its words. As Paula Higgins has demonstrated, the poetic text of *Fors seulement*, the lament of an abandoned woman, is modelled upon, and extensively quotes, Alain Chartier’s *Complainte* on the death of his lady. In this paper, I consider anew the issue of *Fors seulement*’s unique contrapuntal structure and its troubled reception from the point of view of the peculiarly gendered nature of its poetic voice.

I begin by discussing the chanson’s text, focusing on the transformation of the rhetoric of grief from male *complainte* to female rondeau, and placing *Fors seulement* in the context of other late-medieval female laments as well as writings by such authors as Boccaccio and Christine de Pizan that thematize gender transformations. I then suggest that, as the text of *Fors seulement* stages the “feminization” of an originally masculine voice, its music can be heard as an attempt on the part of Ockeghem’s to “feminize” its setting. I examine the various compositional devices which the composer deploys, especially the reversal of the standard, i.e. “masculine,” voice designation and function in contemporary chansons effected by the choice of assigning the tenor role to the uppermost voice. In conclusion, I ponder the potential relevance of this interpretation for larger issues of musical gendering in 15th-century secular repertoires.

2. Carlo Bosi (Universität Salzburg)

Malmariées, Adulterers and Lovers in Late 15th-Century Song

French song compositions of the late 15th and the early 16th century, besides progressively dissolving the rigid framework of the formes fixes or anyway by making them much more permeable and interchangeable with each other, also slacken the conventional and somewhat stiff literary shackles imposed onto them, in particular the by then already at least two and a half centuries old topic (if we include its earliest development in the West by the troubadours and trouvères) of the amour courtois. The peak of this musical and poetic language (popularly known as ‘Burgundian style’) was reached, after the achievements of Du Fay and, perhaps even more typically so, Binchois, in the chansons by the likes of Ockeghem, Busnoys and Ghizeghem. However, already by the last quarter of the 15th century we witness the emergence (or rather re-surfacing?) of an entirely different set of literary topics, which, while still clustering on love as its main theme, tackle it in a much
more realistic and refreshing way, their main musical feature being their frequent construction around a simple pre-existing melody. Now sexual gratification is explicitly (sometimes with a very crude language) suggested and the woman’s voice surfaces to express, for instance, her annoyance at her being married to a rich but old bourgeois. Building on work on this topic by, amongst others, Howard Mayer Brown, Maria Rika Maniates, Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, Helen Hewitt and, of late, Isabel Kraft, and developing from an on-going research project sponsored by the Austrian FWF (Der Wissenschaftsfonds), carried out at the University of Salzburg, the paper seeks to redefine, thanks to the analysis of a couple of examples and the reconstruction of their transmission history, the changing role of secular polyphony between the gradual demise of the classic Burgundian chanson at the end of the 15th century and the rise of the Parisian chanson on the second decade of the 16th, additionally looking at possible earlier models for this new type of song.

3. Frank Dobbins and Reinier de Valk
The instrumental arrangements of Janequin’s songs and their international diffusion

From 1515 Janequin’s songs first appeared in Italy and only from 1525 in France. Shortly after this the same songs, describing birds, battles and bawdy amours, appeared in arrangements for lute, guitar, keyboard or instrumental ensemble, transcribed by the most famous virtuosi of the time in Italy, France, Spain, the Low Countries and Germany: notably the lutenists Francesco da Milano, Alberto da Ripa and Marco dall’Aquila. There seems to be no evidence that Janequin was distinguished in his lifetime as an instrumentalist or that he composed any music specifically intended for instruments. However, certain of his songs were eagerly adopted and arranged by contemporary lutenists, keyboardists, violinists and other instrumentalists. Most surviving instrumental music of the Renaissance period continued to depend greatly on models that were conceived vocally; together with the contemporary songs of Claudin de Sermisy, the three- and four-voice chansons of Janequin, with their lively rhythm and clear structures, provided an ideal framework for new types of polyphonic songs without words (called canzon or canzone in Italy), or for fantasias or dances that became the foundation of a new repertoire of instrumental music which developed with an increasing idiomatic language that eventually asserted its independence from traditional vocal models.

Tinctoris at 500

Without the theoretical writings of Johannes Tinctoris, the quincentenary of whose death we celebrate this year, our knowledge and understanding of 15th-century music would be immeasurably poorer. Tinctoris’s writings span the gamut of musical topics and are fundamental to the study of not only technical aspects of compositional practice, but also the aesthetic and intellectual history of 15th-century music. In order to commemorate the Todestag of this illustrious figure, this panel considers several aspects of his multifarious work. Committed to the tenets of humanistic learning, Tinctoris writes of imitatio and the need for proper models, the first two papers track Tinctoris’s own
influences and immediate impact. Evan MacCarthy’s presentation accounts for the impression that the rhetoric and structure of Tinctoris’s writings made on his Neapolitan colleague Giuniano Maio. Emily Zazulia details Tinctoris’s responses to the notation of Busnoys’s Missa L’homme armé, both explicitly in his Proportionale Musices and implicitly in his own L’homme armé mass, by reading the treatise alongside the composers’ respective masses. Sean Gallagher reads the musical examples of the Liber de arte Contrapuncti to shed new light on the contentious practice of cantare super librum. Together these papers offer fresh perspectives on Tinctoris’s place within the musical and intellectual climate of a period and attest to his legacy, which permeates the study of 15th-century music.

1. Evan MacCarthy (Harvard University)

‘Ab eruditis existimetur’: Considering Tinctoris’s Neapolitan Colleagues

Several of the late 15th-century treatises of Johannes Tinctoris have been scrupulously examined for traces of literary, rhetorical, and musical influence, both ancient and modern, especially his Proportionale musices (before c.1475), Complexus effectuum musices (before c.1475), and Liber de arte contrapuncti (1477). In order to draw attention to the Neapolitan context of the completion and reception of these treatises and others by Tinctoris, this paper proposes a comparative study of one of Tinctoris’s likely closest colleagues and contemporaries at the Aragonese court in Naples. The Neapolitan humanist Giuniano Maio (c.1435-1493) taught rhetoric at the Neapolitan studio from 1465 to 1488. He was a member of the Academy and a friend of the celebrated scholar Giovanni Pontano. Like Tinctoris, Maio was a tutor to several children of King Ferrante and had ties to the court scribe Joan Marco Cinico, whom Tinctoris also knew personally. Maio authored a grammar as well as an etymological dictionary (De priscorum proprietate verborum, 1475), which like the Terminorum musicae diffinitorium of Tinctoris was one of the first of its kind and would gain him renown through multiple printings. Of particular interest to musicologists is Maio’s vernacular treatise De maiestate (On majesty), dedicated to Ferrante in 1492, which follows in the tradition of the courtly speculum principis already cultivated at the Aragonese court by Pontano, Carafa, and Panormita. In a manner strikingly similar to the then already printed Complexus effectuum musices of Tinctoris, Maio’s treatise analyzes the subject of majesty in 20 chapters, examining the defining attributes, which include magnificence, glory, gratitude, piety and modesty. Like Tinctoris, Maio draws from classical authorities for the roots of his arguments, especially Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca. Following each attribute, Maio provides a contemporary esemplo from the deeds of Ferrante.

Through an examination of Maio’s biography and writings, contrasted with the Neapolitan career and output of Tinctoris, it becomes apparent that the intellectual and courtly life of late quattrocento Naples existed within a close-knit circle of scholars whose works often overlapped in style, content, and structure.

2. Emily Zazulia (University of Pennsylvania)

Tinctoris on Busnoys’s L’homme Armé

Antoine Busnoys’s Missa L’homme armé commits one notational error after another—at least according to Johannes Tinctoris. It uses mensuration signs to indicate proportions, numbers to indicate mensuration, and invents signs “so wrong and so far
from all appearance of reason [to be] worthy of example." But Busnoys’s peculiar mensural usage is the result of painting himself into notational corners that have no agreed upon solution and devising signs ad hoc to suit his needs. Such innovation did not sit well with Tinctoris, who must have had Busnoys’s mass on his mind as he composed his Proportionale musices (before 1475), a treatise describing the proper notation of mensuration and proportions. Not only does Tinctoris include sections from Busnoys’s mass to exemplify erroneous usage, but virtually every notational transgression Tinctoris details can be found in Busnoys’s mass.

In his own L’homme armé mass, Tinctoris again replies to Busnoys—this time through compositional means. He does not, however, cite Busnoys directly, but instead responds through his handling of notational challenges. Tinctoris’s mass follows Busnoys’s in its patterns of mensural augmentation, by employing the same unusual cantus firmus division, and in a particularly striking use of hemiola in the Confiteor that recalls the analogous section of Busnoys’s setting. Tinctoris’s response is all the more potent because it features the very solutions to Busnoys’s errors prescribed in the Proportionale. While there is nothing remarkable about Tinctoris using notation he himself argues is correct, it should give us pause that he does so in precisely the same context in which he had criticized Busnoys—indeed in an apparent effort to “correct” Busnoys’s notational infelicities wholesale. I argue that Tinctoris’s particular model of musical borrowing lies less in his notational choices themselves than in the musical problems he tackles and the effects he achieves. Considering the importance Tinctoris placed on proper rhetorical exemplars, the modeling exhibited in his Missa L’homme armé stands to augment our understanding of 15th-century musical borrowing more generally.

3. Sean Gallagher (Boston University)
Tinctoris’s Examples and the Sound of Cantare super librum

In Book Two of his Liber de arte contrapuncti (1477), Johannes Tinctoris, having made a distinction between res facta and cantare super librum, devotes two chapters to showing how singers can make counterpoint “either on a plainchant or on figured song.” The musical examples he provides in these chapters are striking, not least because they differ so markedly from those found elsewhere in the treatise. While the tenor in these examples moves in various simple rhythmic patterns, the contrapunctus is much more elaborate and notated with frequent, sometimes complex, changes in mensuration. When sung, the rhythmic character of these two-part examples creates an effect unlike that of any surviving works from the mid-15th century.

Previous discussions of Tinctoris’s comments about res facta and cantare super librum have tended to focus on matters of dissonance treatment, and it has been suggested that, in this respect, any differences between the sounding result of composed polyphony and properly prepared “singing on the book” could well have been minimal. Although clearly related to dissonance treatment, the issue of rhythm in “extemporized” polyphony of this period—both the rhythmic unfolding of individual lines and the coordination among voices—has received rather less attention. In this paper I consider what Tinctoris intended to convey with these rhythmically elaborate examples and what they can tell us about the possibly distinctive sound of “singing on the book.”
Cristóbal de Morales is considered to be one of the unchallenged heroes of Spanish Renaissance music. The more we try to understand his works and his relevance, the more we are forced to revise this opinion. This assessment stresses Morales’s Spanishness in disadvantage to his internationality. But putting Morales under a more adequate light implies not only a change concerning our view on Morales himself but a rectification of the concept of nationality as a means of musical ordering in the Renaissance. This historiographical crux is more then just another methodological subtlety, it has influenced Morales scholarship and research in a fundamental and obstructive way. The Opera Omnia, prepared by Higinio Anglès under the auspices of the Instituto Español de Musicología, combined this problematic conviction with another even more dubious guideline: it epitomized the nationalistic point of view unrestrainedly and it subjugated any editorial evidence to liturgical practicability. This led to editorial decisions that are not only questionable but fatally mistaken. Obviously times have changed. What do we expect from a new Morales edition? What are our predictions about the needs for the next years and decades? This panel raises these questions in order to define the aims and requirements, the technical possibilities and expectations concerning a new Morales edition. It will be structured in three parts with a short introduction and an open discussion at the end. Each part will expose the Pros and Contras of a particular editorial model (edition following the genres or the sources and a hypertext-archive edition).

1. Michael Noone (Boston College) and Graeme Skinner
Morales in Toledo Cathedral Manuscripts (1543-1604)

Between 1545 and 1604, Toledo Cathedral scribes made over 90 copies of almost as many separate works by Cristóbal de Morales. Archival documentation and careful codicological examination allow us to produce, for the first time, a complete numbered checklist of 16th-century Morales copies at Toledo, in chronological order of production. While the majority of these copies of Morales’s works are found within the cathedral’s set of 21 16th-century manuscript polyphonic choirbooks (actually dating from 1542 to 1605), one newly-discovered source is a partbook. This source, recently catalogued as ToleBC 36, is a tiny parchment partbook of only twelve folios (c.195 x 145mm), ten of which are all that now remain of a set of processional partbooks copied by Pérez and illuminated by Buitrago in 1555. The only manuscript partbooks known to have been copied at Toledo during the 16th century, they were listed in a 1563 inventory of polyphonic books as “ocho libros procesionarios dorados”. An account to Pérez dated 10 July confirms that there were eight books (“de escrevir y puntar de canto de organo los ocho cuerpos de marca de quadro”), covering a total of 396 folios, that is, slightly fewer than 50 folios per book. Included in the set were duplicate copies of at least four items from the 1549 choirbook ToleBC 21, as well as the Te Deum from the 1546 choirbook. The latter copy is especially interesting. Interspersed with the copy of Morales’s setting of the even-numbered verses of the Te Deum is a set of odd-numbered verses, possibly added by the then Toledo chapelmaster Bartolomé de Quevedo. Notably, a quite different odd-verse setting, though sharing the final verse with the Toledo copy, is ascribed to Morales in the manuscript, Ledesma, Parroquia de Santa Maria, s.s., at ff.185v-193r. Also among the duplicate copies in the partbooks are settings of...
two distinctively Toledan processional texts for Christmas and Epiphany Vespers respectively, *Ad tante nativitatis* and *Salva nos stella*.

2. Manuel del Sol (Universidad de La Rioja)

‘New’ Works by Cristóbal de Morales in SilosA 21

Silos Abbey’s 16th-century manuscript polyphonic choirbooks have received surprisingly little detailed attention from scholars and a comprehensive study of SilosA 21 and SilosA 22 remains unfinished. The main aim of this case-study is not only to throw light upon the previous catalogues published by Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta (*Tesoro Sacro Musical*, 57 (1974), 35-39) and Dionisio Preciado (*Revista de Musicología*, 15 (1992), 625-640, but also to enhance our understanding of a group of seven motets unknown by Morales and also other composers—notably concordances of pieces by Francisco de la Torre, Morales, Melchor Robledo, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Pedro Guerrero, Sebastian de Vivanco and Alonso de Tejeda, among others. Overall, the catalogue presented here will explore the historical and stylistic context of this Silos anthology to obtain a ‘period’ understanding of this valuable manuscript, as well as a diverse set of issues related to its liturgical background, concordances, structure, form and compilation of this repertoire, and both influences and reception of this repertory.

**Roundtable: Cristina Diego Pacheco, Cristiane Wiesenfeldt, Cristina Urchueguía**

Introduction: What is wrong with the Morales Opera Omnia (Cristina Urchueguía)

1. A New Edition by Genre: Pro: Christiane Wiesenfeldt; Contra: Manuel del Sol
2. Editing the Sources; 3. Hypertexting Morales: Pro: Cristina Urchueguía; Contra: Cristina Diego

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1. Gioia Filocamo (Università di Bologna)

‘Verrayment il fut bon homo et de bone vie mes ieo ne sey pas que miracles dussent estre fet pur ly’: Why Are Saints not Invoked in Polyphonic Laude?

“He was surely a good man and led a good life, but I really do not know what miracles he could have done”: these are the words of a 13th-century Franciscan friar who knew the Bishop of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe, very well. The remark suggests that in order to be canonized at the end of the Middle Ages it was desirable not only to have led an exemplary life, but also to have performed attested miracles. This new attitude arose at the time of the mendicant orders, which discouraged the prevailing idea that there was a direct connection between being good bishops and being saints without other signs of exceptional holiness. Normally, saints were credited with powers that went beyond those they enjoyed as intercessors between people and God; they took the credit not only for recovery after illness, but also, which seems somewhat contradictory, for provoking the same illness as a revenge against sinners. Given their popularity, it seems quite strange that we have very few musical laude with texts devoted to saints before the Council of Trent. To which saints did people prefer to address their requests? And is there any relationship between the texts of the laude and the presumed advantage of addressing them in polyphony?
2. Veronica Mrácková (Charles University, Prague)
Local or Global? Hymns to Czech Saints in Late Medieval Central Europe

Research in musical culture of the Czech lands in the late Middle Ages began more than a hundred years ago but our knowledge of sources still does not cover all areas of musical life during this period. The hymn as an important form became frequently used in polyphonic music in the 15th century. Polyphonic hymns preserved in sources of Central European origin have largely been neglected by researchers till the present day. Strahov Codex PragP 47 represents one of the late medieval manuscripts containing three-voice hymns. This extensive collection of predominantly anonymous compositions provides valuable material for studying the hymns with regard to specific traits of local liturgical practice (hymns to Bohemian saints), and above all to the broader Central European context. One of the methods to determine the provenance of the repertoire is identifying cantus firmi in Bohemian and other Central European manuscripts containing monophonic hymns. Interestingly, Silesia (part of the Czech Kingdom since the 14th century) seems to be one of possible areas where the Strahov Codex could have been compiled. An investigation of the hymns to local saints and the spread of their cult together with the transmission of the hymn melodies should help to clarify, among others, the role of the Strahov Codex in musical life in the Czech lands.

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1. Cathy Ann Elias (De Paul University)
A New Look at Mid-16th-Century Imitation Masses in Context from the View of Erasmus and Glareanus

In rejecting theories of *imitatio* for mass composition musicologists have focused on the ardent Italian followers of Cicero such as Bembo, yet the cultural milieu in which musicians from the Low Countries operated was molded by Northern Humanists, especially Erasmus. The question is how we understand, for example, Cicero, but how others reused and reinvented such writers to fit their own agenda; in the case of Erasmus, Christian Humanism was the driving force. The value of ancient texts extends beyond the author’s initial intention to the re-appropriation of it reflecting the needs, anxieties, and desires of the period in question. I will further illustrate these ideas with examples from the *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus, a friend of Erasmus. In using chanson figures and syntax in the mass, composers dislocated *res* from its original *sententia*. Cave points out in discussing Erasmus that “…allusions, scattered as *res* on the colorful surface of *verba*, point back towards *sententia* or *sensus* whose hidden presence would give plenitude to *copia*”, or, as Conte would say, creates poetic dimension. Chanson allusions in a mass—even if the specific chanson is not recognized—invoke in the listener the simple charm of a courtly love song, transforming it into a neo-platonic ideal of divine beauty in the mass, and through this process composers were able to achieve Erasmus’s goal of combining eloquence with piety.
2. David J. Burn (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)
Seven Masses on Bewahr mich Herr

In the second half of the 16th century, the motet Bewahr mich Herr, by the Heidelberg composer and court official Stefan Zirler, proved to be not only an extremely popular work in Lutheran circles, but also the basis for at least seven masses. In 1978, Wolfram Steude, the last to consider the group, listed six masses on Bewahr mich Herr, but did not notice that two of the pieces on his list were concordant with each other. My own examination of the group has added two further masses to the group. This paper examines the relationships between the masses. Such an examination is not without its problems: one of the masses is known only from a documentary citation, and three of the remainder are missing one or more voice-parts in their only surviving sources. Nonetheless, certain parts of the missing material can be reconstructed on the basis of the model. Furthermore, it is possible to make at least some assessment of the music, even in its fragmentary state, as well as to speculate about the significance of Bewahr mich Herr as a model on the basis of the circumstances in which the various composers worked (if they are named) or on the basis of the manuscript context (when the masses are anonymous).

3. Pauline Graham (University College, Dublin)
Articles of Faith: William Byrd's Settings of the Creed in His Five-Voice Mass and Great Service

William Byrd composed three settings of the Catholic Mass Ordinary (c.1592–1595) and a large-scale, elaborate Great Service, probably composed for Queen Elizabeth’s Chapel Royal, and possibly for the 40th anniversary of her accession, as Richard Turbet has suggested. In this paper, I will argue that establishing an opposition between the Credo from Byrd’s Five-Voice Mass and the Creed from his Great Service demonstrates some controversial issues of confessional and political difference, which Byrd himself was forced to confront as a recusant at the court of Elizabeth.

These points of difference are expressed in complementary ways: firstly, by means of the language set in each case (Latin versus English); secondly, by reference to the authority that sanctioned each text (the Roman Catholic Church versus the established Anglican Church); and thirdly, through the respective musical settings. Among the diverse compositional techniques involved, one can identify a predominantly homophonic style in the Great Service Creed, as opposed to a predominantly contrapuntal style in the Credo from the Five-Voice Mass. However, Byrd uses dramatic changes of texture to emphasise statements of doctrinal importance (as David Trendell has noted in the Latin motets). For example, in the Five-Voice Mass Byrd delineates the contested text ‘Et unam sanctam Catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam’ (‘One holy, Catholic and apostolic church’) through an abrupt change from polyphonic to homophonic writing; conversely, in the Great Service, the Protestant adherence to the Bible is emphasised through the use of homophony for the words ‘according to the Scriptures’. 
1. Ronald Woodley (Birmingham Conservatoire, Birmingham City University)

**Tinctoris’s Family Origins: A Few New Clues**

We are now gradually filling out a lot of valuable detail regarding the core of Tinctoris’s life, career, writings and intellectual status between around the 1460s and 1480s. But it has proved frustratingly difficult to round out both the beginning and end of his life. Some new documentary evidence, however, which has emerged only in the past few weeks, and which can at least begin to give us some context for his family origins, will be presented.

2. Marlène Britta (Université de Liège)

**Deux ou trois choses que l’on sait de lui: Johannes Tinctoris à Orléans**

De la vie et des activités du théoricien et compositeur Johannes Tinctoris (c.1435-1511), nous avons une connaissance partielle, de nombreuses lacunes subsistent encore, que les recherches dans les archives comblient petit à petit. Jusqu’à très récemment la toute première trace dans les archives de Johannes Tinctoris datait de 1459, année où son nom apparaissait dans un registre de compte des « petites vicaires » de la Cathédrale de Cambrai. Pourtant, le théoricien fait une apparition un peu plus tôt dans les archives de la cathédrale Sainte-Croix d’Orléans. En 1458, un certain « Johannes le Tinturier » est bel et bien présent dans les registres de la Cathédrale Sainte-Croix où il occupe la position de « maître de chœur » jusqu’en 1465. Son nom réapparaîtra une dernière fois en 1476. En revenant sur les années passées par le théoricien dans la ville universitaire, je propose non seulement d’apporter un nouvel éclairage sur la personnalité de Tinctoris, en analysant ses rapports avec le Chapitre, notamment la manière dont il remplit ses fonctions pédagogiques, mais encore de tracer un parallèle entre sa formation universitaire (il obtient son diplôme en droit civil et en droit canon à l’Université d’Orléans) et le contexte intellectuel de cette ville.

3. Jeffrey Palenik (Blanchardville, Wisconsin)

**Recontextualizing Johannes Tinctoris’s *De inventione et usu musicae***

Around the early 1470s the music theorist Johannes Tinctoris departed northern Europe and entered the Neapolitan court under the patronage of King Ferdinand I. Over the following decade he wrote 12 musical tracts that have become central to our understanding of Renaissance theoretical thought. Until recently, scholars reasoned that the theorist’s final work in the series was *De inventione et usu musicae*, a treatise which offers a unique and important glimpse into the author’s own perspective and biography both because of its encyclopedic range and scope as well as its first-person accounts. Recent research by Rob Wegman demonstrates that Tinctoris drafted *De inventione* more than 20 years prior to the surviving fragmentary revision of c.1483, during a period when the theorist was engaged in a variety of educational pursuits in northern Europe. This paper seeks to recontextualize Tinctoris’s treatise with respect to his writings, education, and other undertakings in order to flesh out some of the consequences of Wegman’s discovery.
1. Ellen Hünigen (Humboldt-Universität, Berlin)
Notational Situations and Changes in 12th-Century Aquitanian Music Manuscripts

This paper presents a discussion of four Aquitanian music manuscripts that contain two-part polyphony: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1139, 3719 and 3549, and London, British Library, Add. 36881. I will compare the different styles of musical notation and the different habits of the scribes, focussing on two issues: (1) how the notational signs and rules which had been used for monophony for at least two previous centuries were now adapted to polyphony, and, in particular, (2) how the adaptations appear to have evolved among these four sources (even though we have no clear stemma-chain among them).

In the London manuscript, for instance, we can observe (a) some degree of standardization of notational signs, (b) because of that a loss of variety among the shapes inherited from the notation of monophony, (c) a budding multiplicity of new conjunctions of signs, and (d) some newly devised sign-shapes while still appearing the old sign-shapes in the same manuscript, which is a coexistence that indicates that the system of notation was evolving and that some sorting out of the rules of notation had not yet been done.

2. Giovanni Varelli (Royal Holloway College, University of London)
An Early Source for Two-Voice Organa in London British Library Harley 3019

The scarcity of sources for early European music notation from the 9th and 10th centuries is one of the greatest challenges every scholar working on early medieval music and theory must confront. This is true for plainchant, but is all the more evident when dealing with early polyphony. A new source in London, British Library, Harley MS 3019 contains two antiphons, Sancte Bonifati martyr and Rex caelestium terrestrium, notated in Palaeofrankish neumes and a fully notated organum on Sancte Bonifati martyr. The type of polyphony notation employed is extremely rare as it is only found in one other later source and there are no concordances for the texts of the two antiphons. Furthermore, no literature exists on the manuscript, and its notation has never before been listed, let alone studied systematically. Therefore, priority was to proceed with a detailed study of Harley 3019 as possible, in order to set the basis for future research on the subject.

The purpose of this paper will be to describe and analyse every feature of the musical annotation in order to establish its date, provenance and musical context. The analysis of the two types of music notation will be led by comparisons with other sources. I will suggest a particular definition for the polyphony notation, based on its underlying notational principles and contemporary theoretical references. Another section will be devoted to the examination of the musical techniques in relation to the antiphon text and to organal conventions in earlier and later theoretical and practical sources. Finally, the palaeographical, musical and liturgical evidences emerging from the aforementioned discussions will be gather with the aim of proposing a possible provenance for the Harley 3019 annotation.
1. Ute Evers (Universität Augsburg)

The *Quem queritis* in Spain

The *Quem queritis*, the dialogue between the Marys and the angels at the empty tomb, was performed on Easter morning either at the beginning of mass or at the end of matins. The melodies for this ceremony are documented through eight centuries and from all over the area of the Latin church. I am currently working on an edition of the *Quem queritis* ceremonies, a melody edition to accompany Walther Lipphardt's *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, Berlin 1975-1990. In this edition all Spanish sources for the *Quem queritis* dialogue containing melodies will be brought together for the first time. Previous research on the *Quem queritis* in Spain did not consider melodies (e.g. Richard B. Donovan: *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain*, Toronto 1958; Eva Castro: *Teatro Medieval. I: El drama litúrgico*, Barcelona 1997).

Melodies to the *Quem queritis* are found in liturgical manuscripts and imprints from Vic, Urgel, Huesca, Silos and Santiago de Compostela dating from the 11th-16th centuries. The ceremonies differ from place to place. In Vic, Urgel and Huesca the *Quem queritis* is set as a trope leading to the introit *Resurrexi*. In Silos and Santiago de Compostela it is set as a type I visitatio performed at the end of matins. The trope settings show similarities with Aquitanian sources, especially concerning the choice of antiphons used with the *Quem queritis* dialogue, but not that much concerning the melodies of the *Quem queritis* dialogue itself. The only exception is Huesca, which makes use of the Aquitanian *Quem queritis* melodies. Certain parts of the melodies from Vic resemble Italian sources. A 16th-century ceremonial from Urgel, one of the latest sources for the *Quem queritis* in a trope environment, still preserves the antiphons typical for Aquitanian sources, but uses melodies that are influenced by French sources. The type I visitatio from Santiago has antiphons that are otherwise only found in *Quem queritis* ceremonies from a trope environment. The sources from Silos display melodic characteristics linking them to *Quem queritis* ceremonies from Northern France.

2. Kathleen Nelson (University of Sydney)

Seeking Early Melodic Practice for the *Exultet* in Sources of Cataluña

An intriguing and remarkable variety of melodic practice for the Easter vigil *Exultet* chant (*Exultet iam angelica*) is indicated in surviving Iberian manuscripts for the Roman rite dating from the medieval era. As I have shown in a previous study, two sources from c.1100 – both representing the period of the change of rite in more central northern regions of the Iberian Peninsula and both demonstrating the transitional combination of Visigothic script and Aquitanian notation – show different melodic practices. Further evidence of variety of melodic practice for the *Exultet* is found among the rich body of liturgical manuscripts from the 11th and 12th centuries that survive from the Catalan region. One such notated example of the chant is found in the Sacramentary of Ripoll of the mid-11th century (Vic, Archivo y Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 67). In this book, musical notation for the *Exultet* has been added into the scant space between the lines of full-sized text; similarly, notation was added between the full-sized writing of the *Exultet* in the early witness to the arrival of the Roman rite in the region of La Rioja, the Missal of San Millán.
de la Cogolla (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS18). Dating from about a century later than the Ripoll Sacramentary, the \textit{Exultet} in the Miscellany or \textit{Liber misticus} (Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS 72) is also given in Catalan notation but contrasts with the earlier example in melody and layout, as well as displaying notable textual variants. Following a brief introduction to early Iberian sources of the \textit{Exultet}, I will discuss the evidence for melodic practice of the chant as found in the selected Catalan sources. Discussion will focus particularly on the first part or prologue of the chant, considering melody and aspects of textual transmission.

3. David Andrés-Fernández (Universidad de Zaragoza)
\textbf{The processionale and its Music in Medieval Aragon: Codices and their Paleographic Features}

Together with both writing history and musicological historiography, some types of noted liturgical books have not been studied as much as would be desirable. The case of the processional book affords a very clear example. The term \textit{processionale} (one also may find \textit{liber processionum}, \textit{processionarium}, \textit{processionarius}) does not appear in sources before the second half, and even the end, of the Middle Ages although one may find processional repertory some centuries earlier as a part of other liturgical books. From the 12th and specially 13th centuries onwards, the processional book acquired a place among the many liturgical books that a church was expected to possess. The processional may be defined as a “small portable liturgical book of the Western Church, containing the chants, rubrics, and collects appropriate to liturgical processions”. In Aragon, there are several books of this type which were created in the late Middle Ages for use in certain churches or monasteries in that region. These codices are being studied to complete my in-progress PhD dissertation (final stage). This paper will show the different medieval processional books from (or used) in Aragon and will summarise both their internal and outer codicological description. Moreover, some local liturgical and musicological features will be given.

\begin{center}
\textbf{S29: Compositional Process}
\textbf{Chair: Fabrice Fitch}
\end{center}

1. Jennifer Thomas (University of Florida)
\textbf{Through the Magnifying Glass: Motivic Organization in Josquin’s Core-Repertory Motets}

In 1964, Lewis Lockwood tantalizingly closed his seminal article on parody in the 16th century thus: “a sense of motivic organization . . . would eventually grow, under very different means of harmonic extension and control, into one of the permanently significant modes of Western musical thinking.”

Recent research explores fruitful new ways of analyzing early music (e.g., Cumming, Judd, Milsom, Schubert), often seeking hallmarks of individual style (e.g., Perkins, Rodin, Meconi, Brown). But Lockwood’s observation about motivic organization awaits a systematic examination of early modern music. Studies of the motive (Quereau, Růžička) have not yet presented a convincing picture of motivic organization across a representative repertory—a critical step in understanding the subtle and pervasive ways that
composers introduced and developed motives as a means of building works and establishing unity within them. Josquin’s most widely circulated and securely attributed motets offer an apt case study of his use of motivic organization. Eight motets (Ave Maria, Benedicta es, Inviolata, Miserere, Pater noster, Praeter rerum, Qui habitat, and Stabat mater) represent the span of his career, several compositional types, and various textures, with and without cantus firmus. Moreover, the adoption of these works as models by Josquin’s contemporaries and successors conveys their perception of his important motivic ideas.

This sustained study of Josquin’s use of motive reveals his virtuosic treatment of these essential musical kernels. In some works, such as Qui habitat, motives are prominently heard, while in others, such as Pater noster, they are so hidden as to evade notice. He employs successful motivic ideas among several works, transforming and recontextualizing them contrapuntally, harmonically, and rhythmically, creating new conventional idioms in the process. Josquin’s approximate contemporaries (Agricola, Mouton) and successors (notably Richafort) engaged in similar compositional practices, whether as a result of influence or aesthetic Zeitgeist is difficult to prove. Clearly, Lockwood was right: the motive proves to be one of most effective tools used by Josquin and his cohorts in creating coherence and growth in musical forms. Its widespread adoption as such results in a new musical language, one in which innovation quickly becomes convention.

2. Daniel Donnelly (McGill University, Montreal)

Ethos, Tonos and Eros in Monte-Verdi’s Eighth Book of Madrigals

In the introduction to his Ottavo libro of 1638, Monteverdi writes that his invention of the new stile concitato finally allowed modern music to achieve the same generic variety that the ancients had enjoyed. Though Monteverdi’s genera—which he lists as the concitato, temperato, and moll—are not immediately reconcilable with the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera of Greek theoretical writings, it may be possible to associate these genera with the three ancient harmoniai mentioned by Plato and transmitted through Ptolemy, Aristides Quintilianus, and Monteverdi’s contemporary Giovanni Battista Doni. In this paper I will propose that Monteverdi’s concitato, temperato, and moll correspond to the Phrygian, Dorian, and Lydian harmoniai respectively, and further propose one method by which Monteverdi may have reinterpreted the octave species transmitted by the ancients in order to fit them into contemporary theoretical systems—particularly the cantus durus/cantus mollis distinction and the hard and soft hexachordal systems outlined by Eric Chafe.

Though employing all three harmoniai and their corresponding ethoi in a single piece was contrary to Greek practice and aesthetics, Monteverdi’s introduction makes it clear that mixture and contrast of these modes is a central goal in his writing. The madrigal “Hor che'l ciel e la terra e il vento tace” will provide a good opportunity to analyse the manner in which Monteverdi uses the contrasting affects of his genera to lay out a meaningful structure for a piece. Indeed an understanding of the contrasting ethoi in play allows one to see Monteverdi’s own subversive reading of the text as the very basis of the work’s overarching structure, and it is revealed to be much more than the meandering conglomeration of empty mimetic episodes Gary Tomlinson has made it out to be: Petrarch’s narrator, deprived of his love’s embrace, is forced to take matters into his own hands with all the frenetic energy Monteverdi’s new concitato style was able to provide him.
1. Carolann Buff (Princeton University)  
The Case of O virum omnimoda–O lux et decus–O beate Nicholae: A Chronological Anomaly in the Canon of Johannes Ciconia  
   The date of composition of Johannes Ciconia’s motet O virum omnimoda – O lux et decus – O beate Nicholae has long been established as occurring in the mid-1390s. The text specifically refers to S. Nicholas of Trani, a relatively obscure saint from Apuglia, and is likely in honor of a notable person associated with the region. On these grounds, Margaret Bent, Giuliano di Bacco and John Nadas conclude that the motet was probably written for events in Rome, possibly the 300th anniversary of the saint’s feast day or for the appointment of Jacobus Cubellus as bishop of Trani. If this motet was composed in 1393 or 1394, it is amongst the earliest of Ciconia’s works. There remains something troubling about the dating of O virum omnimoda – O lux et decus – O beate Nicholae this early. There is an apparent gap between the composition of this work and Ciconia’s next datable motets in the early 1400s. This could be explained if Ciconia went to the court of the Visconti after working in Rome, and was not commissioned to write motets, but rather songs suiting the taste of the northern court. A further quandary is that the musical elements of the motet closely resemble the other motets in Ciconia’s later canon, sharing similarities in form, construction, and texture. Stylistically the motet is distinctively representative of tastes in the Veneto in the early 15th century and would situate the composition of this motet within the years of Ciconia’s employment in Padua, sometime between 1401 and 1412. This paper intends to address some of the difficulties of establishing a chronology of Ciconia’s works focusing on O virum omnimoda – O lux et decus – O beate Nicholae by examining more thoroughly the musical style, form, construction, and texture of the motet and relating it to the works of composers associated with Ciconia’s tenure in Rome, most notably Antonio Zacara da Teramo, as well as later works such as Ciconia’s Venetian motets of 1401 to 1412.

2. Lisa Colton (University of Huddersfield)  
John Dunstaple, Armiger  
   John Dunstaple is popularly perceived as the first significant composer in the history of English music, and he remains one of the first to whom a substantial body of works can be confidently attributed. Yet, many details of his career and biography remain elusive or have been absorbed into music history only hesitantly. Of the ‘John Dunstaples’ (or Dunstables) identifiable in 15th-century records, distinguishing between those that may be the same man has been problematic, even with Andrew Wathey’s identification of Dunstaple as an owner of property in Normandy, and with the recent confirmation of the composer’s handwriting and scribal activities by Rodney Thomson.

   Over the past century, a picture has gradually emerged of at least one man named John Dunstaple who was evidently a wealthy landowner, and who was amply rewarded for various types of (usually unspecified) service; this John Dunstaple was variously described
in the sources as ‘esquire’ or ‘armiger’, in recognition of his high social status. This paper reinvestigates two previous identifications—John Dunstable of Broadfield (Hertfordshire) and John Dunstable of Steeple Morden (Cambridgeshire)—and securely links these two men under one identity. It also examines a document not previously known to musicologists, a 16th-century copy of the will of John Dunstable, armiger, of Broadfield. The will fills out information relating to the Hertfordshire man and raises a key problem for the accepted biography of the composer if the two ‘Dunstaples’ are the same man: namely, the long-accepted date of Dunstable’s death, 24 December 1453.

3. Ángel Manuel Olmos (Escuela Superior de Canto, Madrid)
A New Attribution to Medina’s Works Contained in the Cancionero Musical de Palacio
Most of the musicological literature attributes to Fernand Pérez de Medina all works attributed to “Medina” in the Cancionero Musical de Palacio, lacking a better candidate whose post or fame would allow him to be so well represented in the Castillian Cancionero. As has been noted earlier by Tess Knighton, the composing style of the extant works by Pérez de Medina is very different from that found in Medina’s works in the CMP, suggesting the existence of another composer called Medina who could have composed these works.

This paper will analyse new data extracted from a 130-page trial at Zamora against Francisco de Medina, maestro de capilla at Zamora Cathedral, for having abandoned his post and accepting an offer by Leon Cathedral. The data will show a well recognized and skilled musician, his duties at the Cathedral and the fame he acquired that would allow him to have his works written down in CMP. The proximity of Zamora-León and the place of possible compilation of CMP (Medina de Rioseco – Valladolid) increases the possibilities of this musician being the real composer of the works attributed to Medina in the CMP.

1. Mercedes Castillo Ferreira (Universidad de Jaén)
A 15th-Century Plainchant Office by Hernando de Talavera Composed to Commemorate the Battle of Salado
Hernando de Talavera (1428-1507), confessor of Queen Isabel the Catholic and the first Archbishop of Granada after the “Reconquest”, is known for composing the office and mass of the Conquest of Granada. However, he composed at least one other office, on a political subject, in order to commemorate the Battle of Salado (1340), in which Alfonso XI of Castile defeated the Benimerines. Talavera wanted to improve the lessons of Morning Prayer with an office on the same subject as that which appears in the Breviary of Toledo, printed in Venice in 1483, and which he considered inadequate. In this paper, I will present a musical source for this work while also offering an overview of the composition of political offices during the age of Isabel the Catholic.

2. Gonzalo J. Roldán Herencia (Universidad de Málaga)
Music and Ceremonies in the Cathedral of Granada Relative to the Council of Trent
The Cathedral of Granada was one of the most important religious centres in Andalusia during the Renaissance. The foundation of this cathedral, immediately after the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs, constitutes an opportunity to study an early ecclesiastical model in the Modern Era. As this cathedral was pre-Tridentine, it underwent the impulses of the Reformers, especially through Archbishop Pedro Guerrero, member of the Council of Trent. Pedro Guerrero, archbishop in Granada between 1546 and 1576, organised a provincial council to reform its archdiocese according to Tridentine dispositions. This provincial council dealt mainly with reviewing its organization and canons, but also made decisions about ceremonies and the use of music. In this paper I present the most important changes that influenced the musical development of the institution in the following centuries.

3. Juan Carlos Asensio (ESMUC, Barcelona)
‘Before retiring at the close of day…’: The Hymnary for Compline in the Escorial’s Choirbook Collection

The set of choirbooks at the monastery of San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial contains among its melodic treasures—the majority of which remain unknown—an interesting collection of 27 melodies for the Compline hymn *Te lucis ante terminum*. This variety is a measure of the importance accorded in the monastery to the Office of Compline. The scribes responsible for copying the Escorial’s *cantorales* found themselves obliged to adapt, as was common elsewhere in the period, melodies from Office Hours other than Compline. Their practice of *contrafactum* is even more interesting when we bear in mind that many polyphonic and instrumental works were subsequently based on the borrowed melodies. The Escorial practice, possibly inherited partly from the practice of Toledo, in which hymns were simply adapted from both the Greater or the Lesser Hours, has received very little attention in studies of hymnody, including Iberian hymnody. A very small number of these hymns, since they cannot be found in any other source, may be described as *unica*. At the end of the pair of *cantorales* that contains the Office of Compline, there appears a fascinating table listing the liturgical assignments of each hymn. A careful comparison of this table with the various *directorios* allows us to come to a much closer understanding of daily practice in the Jeronymite choir.

S32: Medieval Theory
Chair: Leofranc Holford-Strevens

1. Luminita Florea (Eastern Illinois University)
Rethinking Classifications through Analogy in Medieval Theoretical Discourse on Music: Two French Approaches

Late medieval music theorists’ discourse on the relative virtues of the arts retained the distinction between the seven liberal ones (which included * musica *) and the seven mechanical ones: wool-weaving, ironwork, agriculture, navigation, hunting, medicine, and theatriecs. The latter enumeration, proposed by English theorist Walter Odington at the close of the 13th century, is reminiscent of Hugh of St. Victor’s while also echoing the *Opus maius* of Roger Bacon—who, in turn, was quoting St. Augustine’s authority. Furthermore, early
Renaissance music theorists postulated that the work of cobblers, carpenters, and land cultivators did not belong with the instruments of inquiry into the speculative side of music; and that woodworking, ironworking, shoemaking (or mending), the making of shoe soles, architecture, and painting were manual occupations to be dismissed in scholarly discourse on the superior arts, including music.

Yet in quite a few music theory tracts of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries analogies were used to create bridges between the liberal and mechanical arts. As figures of speech involving elements of palpable reality, analogies reconfigured theoretical discourse, facilitated the understanding of musical concepts, and ultimately improved musical knowledge.

This paper presents two case-studies in connecting the liberal and mechanical arts through analogies inspired by leather preparation and cobblering in France: the anonymous author of the *Musica Guidonis* (a Cistercian chant treatise based on the principles evolved by Guido, Abbot of Cherlieu, in the 12th century) invoked the stretching of cured leather to explicate hexachord mutation as well as accommodating a large chant ambitus in vocal performance. The paper proposes that such an analogy is best read in the context of Cistercian monastic economy, which relayed heavily on *in situ* mills and tanneries for the preparation and production of both cloth and leather goods, and of which Cherlieu itself was a prime example as attested in contemporary documents.

In the early 14th century, Parisian music theorist Johannes Grocheio posited that just as the crafts of leather preparation and cobblering were mutually beneficial, so, too, theology and canon law, in prescribing the texts or the subject-matter of the sections of the Mass aided the work of the musical artisan. This double analogy discloses the author’s familiarity with at least some of the contemporary Parisian métiers whose bustling headquarters were situated on the Île de la Cité as well as in the Quartier d’Outre-Grant-Pont. The geographic distribution and physical association of trades, directly observed by Grocheio in Paris might easily have been a factor in his adoption of a rather unexpected analogy for the musical embellishment of the text of the Mass. Evidence for reading the analogy in its urban context comes from reconstructed maps of the city, the *taille* of 1292, Etienne Boileau’s *Livre des métiers*, the early 14th-century *Le Dit des rues de Paris*, as well as texts of late 13th-century motets.

2. Elina G. Hamilton (Bangor University)

**A Tale of Two Walters: What the Original Sources of *De speculatione musica* Reveal**

Since Charles Burney made a detailed description of *De speculatione musica* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi 410) in his *A General History of Music* (1776), the author of this great English treatise has always been assumed to be a certain ‘Walter Odington’. Subsequently, he was praised not only as an authority on music, but a master within the scientific field of alchemy. Such a great mind was praised by Leland, Bale and Dugdale who, within their monastic histories of Britain, lauded him as being one who devoted multiple hours to his studies. Curiously, these early records only mention the author’s contribution in music, neglecting to include the equally great alchemical treatise, *Iocedron*, credited to his name today.

Initial investigations into the biographical details of Walter Odington seem needlessly complicated and equally puzzling: dates of suggested activity (mostly at the University of Oxford) for a Walter Odington range from 1298-1361. Although these records
can confirm both scientific and mathematical activities, the 63-year span is improbable, even
for a great and noble scholar. Prompted by the discovery of a new and hitherto unstudied
fragment (London, British Library 56486a), a thorough investigation of all sources claimed
to be works of Odington revealed surprising evidence of authorship. Rather than the
supposed polyglot scholar, all evidence seems to indicate two authors: Walter of Evesham
and Walter of Eynsham. This doppelmeister revelation resolves a number of complicated
issues including the possibility to finally provide a more accurate date for De speculatione
musica.

3. Michael Scott Cuthbert (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Computational Musicology and the Ars Nova: Four Case Studies using music21

The field of computational musicology has held great promise for the past several
decades, and yet more often than not has failed to deliver on those promises. Even as
computers and the Internet have transformed so many other aspects of musical research,
systems designed specifically for musicological research have failed to have a major impact
on the field. Instead of answering long debated problems, or opening up new avenues for
research, computational approaches to studying musical scores and repertories have rightly
been seen as too complex or too narrowly focused for the average musicologist.

The music21 project at M.I.T. was developed with simplicity and open-ended
design in mind. It is a free, open-source software toolkit for writing short programs to solve
problems in musicology and music theory. Though it can be applied to music of any period,
music21 comes with specialized tools for working with mensural notation and the questions
arising in the study of early music. This paper presents four short case studies in 14th- and
early 15th-century music.

The application of musica ficta is one of the most difficult topics that medieval
musicologists regularly face. Jan Herlinger’s discovery of the regularae of Nicolaus de Capua
held great potential for simplifying its usage. Nicolaus’s four rules, presented simply and
with little ambiguity, showed initial promise and utility in several pieces by Zachara da
Teramo. The music21 toolkit lets us apply these rules to a much larger body of music, in this
case, 400 Trecento ballate, and shows that for every dissonant harmonic interval they
remove, they create nine others. The second case examines the idea of tonal closure in the
period, showing that works by Francesco da Firenze (Landini) come much closer to modern
ideals than works by other composers of the period, perhaps suggesting why they have been
so important to the modern reception of the Trecento. The third study shows how music21
can be used for identifying small fragments of music. The talk concludes with an example of
using computational musicology to create flexible editions of music showing differences
among sources and according to changing editorial norms.

S33: Music Book Production and Scribal Practice
Chair: Leofranc Holford-Strevens

1. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Bangor University)
The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Manuscripts and Printed Editions of
Polyphony, 1480-1530
No systematic study of the mise-en-page in polyphonic music sources around 1500 has ever been attempted. Where such studies exist, they mostly have been devoted to non-musical sources, and those that concern music have primarily concentrated on earlier sources (particularly those produced before the middle of the 14th century) and on manuscripts containing liturgical monophony (plainchant). Insofar as they concern polyphonic music, they have focused on individual manuscripts (often in the context of prefaces to published facsimile editions), small groups of manuscripts or on individual components of mise-en-page. A three-year research project funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council will fill this lacuna by examining how verbal text, musical notation and other graphic devices interact on the written or printed page at a time when the transmission of polyphonic music extended across the whole of Europe and achieved its fullest variety in terms of codicological and repertorial types. It will also investigate the ways in which meaning is constructed by readers and performers on the basis of this interaction. The project is a collaboration between Bangor University, the Warburg Institute, the Centre for Computing in the Humanities (Kings College London) and the Capella Pratensis; it thus brings together musicologists, art historians, codicologists, digital scholars and practitioners. The results will be presented in an online environment as well as in a series of publications, workshops and concerts.

This presentation will be in two parts: firstly, it will provide an overview over the aims and objectives of the project; secondly, it will, by way of a brief case study of one manuscript, invite discussion and feedback on the preliminary findings of our ongoing work.

2. Warwick Edwards (University of Glasgow)
Syllable Deployment, c.1500: An Illustrated Guide with Reference to the Music of Isaac

Syllable deployment in music c.1500 needs to be seen against the backdrop of prevailing assumptions of the time regarding music’s self-sufficiency. More a dynamic process than an aspect of ‘the work’, the manner in which words are borne on melodies is neither taught nor judged, but is characterized by its spontaneity. It is within this framework that all composers of polyphony conceive and notate their work, that musically intelligent scribes transmit it, and that singers sing it.

With these observations in mind we can analyse compositions of the period and the manner of their notation with a view to formulating a set of behaviourally credible rules for syllable deployment in practice that can be applied consistently across the board. What such analysis endorses emphatically is the idea that singers characteristically deploy groups of words, and the syllables within them, according to their individual perceptions of melodic phrasing and articulation. Such practice is entirely consistent with humanistic pre-occupations of the time concerning music’s intrinsic expressive powers and in complete contrast to the view expressed by Vicentino and others from the 1540s onwards, by which time music’s very existence had come to be seen as vindicated by its capability of expressing words.

The approach to syllable deployment here outlined is plainly at variance with that widely adopted by editors and others today where music c. 1500 is concerned. Most regard the topic as problematic, calling attention to widespread instances of ‘haphazard’ and ‘careless’ text placement, while clinging to an unfounded assumption that composers compose and singers sing necessarily with some kind of theoretically driven sense of
obligation to the words. If, however, we can accept that scribal deployment of syllables to notes, in all its seeming chaotic diversity, might be susceptible to systematic analysis, and entertain the possibility that it reflects singing habits that at the time did not call for conscious theoretical articulation, many of the perceived problems simply disappear.

In the present paper I attempt to demonstrate this with reference to a series of examples chosen from the music of Isaac.

3. Agnes Leszczynska (Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warsaw)
Stockholm Manuscript S 230 and Its Prussian Context

Until now the manuscript S 230 held in the Royal Library of Sweden in Stockholm has been not the subject of deeper investigation – the only information on it is to find in the RISM-online. Just one partbook of the source is preserved. It contains 31 works – motets and German songs. Only four of them bear names of composers: Orlando di Lasso, Franciscus de Rivulo, Johannes de Vienna and Joachim a Burck. Among the authors of anonymously written works there are Jacob Bultel, Jacob Clemens non Papa, Arnold Feys, Nicolas Gombert, Josquin des Prez, Jacob Meiland, as well as di Lasso and de Rivulo. The contents of the manuscript will be described. At least two works in it are unique: A Domino egressa est res ista by de Rivulo and Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet by de Vienna. The text of de Rivulo’s motet is the biblical paraphrase and the only other composer who wrote music to those words was Johannes Wanning who five years after death of de Rivulo, in 1569, succeeded him as the magister chori musici at the Marian church in Gdansk. Their motets will be compared. Johannes de Vienna was the composer at the Königsberg in 1564-1568 and 1571-76 (according to Maria Federmann). The psalm from the Stockholm manuscript is the only work by him preserved. Some facts and hypothesis concerning his life will be presented. Two works from the Swedish collection: anonymous Non est bonum and de Rivulo’s Nuptiae factae sunt have their concordances in the Prussian manuscript J 4o 24-28 held in the Copernican Library in Toruń. The sources will be compared.

S34: Monophonic Song
Chair: Manuel Pedro Ferreira

1. Rachel May Golden (University of Tennessee)
Desire and Victory: A Re-Creation of Crusade Song

In the Second Crusade song Lanquan li jorn, troubadour Jaufre Rudel (fl.1120–47) articulated distant love (amor de loin) and advanced idealized love’s fusion with Crusading. Indeed, the song reflects Jaufre’s position at the forefront of an Occitanian culture for which Crusade concepts intimately entwined with idealized love. Appropriately so, as throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, western Christendom’s Crusade agenda proved more ideal than realized. Around the Sixth Crusade, Walther von der Vogelweide wrote his Palastinalied (1225), often identified and debated as a contrafact of Lanquan. Musicologists typically define troubadour contrafacture as setting a new text to an old melody, involving a literal reiteration of melodic pitches and structures. But Palastinalied’s relationship to Lanquan articulates a richer type of re-creation, one that has to do with tune, but also with concepts of crusading and personal experiences of it. Thus Walther did not simply re-text borrowed pitches; he enacted the quintessential troubadour process of re-creation. In so doing, Walther
established meaningful dialogue between the sociopolitical contexts of troubadour song and Minnesang. Further, his reinvention suggests multivalent resonances among medieval songs, their creators, and re-inventors, with respect to textual and melodic elements. The two Crusade songs demonstrate positional contrasts reflected in melodic rhetoric and signaling divergent worldviews. *Palastinaliert* situates its narrator at the instant of his arrival in the Holy Land. Affording his life new “dignity,” his experience affirms Christianity’s rightness; he sings, “all the world is contending here; but our desire is the right.” Contrastingly, Jaufre’s voice longs for a distant East, luxuriating in subjective memory and courtly love’s mystique: “when I have departed...I remember a love from afar; I go sad and bowed with desire.” Walther’s call to victory represented a pervasive Crusade stance. Yet, as compared with earlier models, his song reveals that what constitutes victory has been reconceived. For Jaufre, the pinnacle of delight had resided not in conquering Islam, but in enjoying his own imagined defeat; he sings: “There in the Kingdom of the Saracens, I would be her captive.” As Rudel surges toward an unattainable horizon, Walther defines a historical moment when lyric-geographic exactitude crystallizes religious righteousness.

2. Pieter Mannaerts (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven)
*Adam’s Modes: A Case Study on the Modality of Trouvère Song*

While the aspects of rhythm, melodic variants, and transmission in trouvère chansons have been central concerns for scholars of medieval secular monophony, other, yet equally essential features of the trouvère repertory have received less attention. This paper deals with the modality of trouvère song as exemplified by the chansons of Adam de la Halle, preserved in his ‘collected works’ manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 25566. The analysis of these 36 melodies challenges the view (recently defended by Hans Tischler) that trouvère melodies frequently ‘modulate’ within one chanson, and suggests that the rhythmic interpretation of the songs proposed by various scholars affects our perception of modality. By focusing on one particular composer, this paper functions as a test case for Ian Parker’s findings on the autonomy of modes on \(a, b,\) and \(c\) and on the predominance of \(d\) and \(g\) as finals in troubadour and trouvère song in general. Furthermore, it evaluates the modal implications of melodic variants, the function of chromatic alterations, and the relationship of Adam’s modes to those of the *oktōechos*.

3. Sarah Johnson (Robinson College, Cambridge)
*The Melodies of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are a collection of 423 monophonic songs that survive in four manuscripts, three of which preserve musical notation as well as text. That this notation conveys not only melody, but also some indication of rhythm has seized the imagination of musical scholars throughout the last century, leading to a wealth of investigations into the subject. The result of this however has been the neglect of research into the songs’ melodic properties, and consideration of the songs as whole entities of which both text and music are constituent parts and inextricably linked.

Using those songs preserved in the *Cantigas* manuscript known as the *códice de Toledo* (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid MS 10069) and their concurrences in the other two notated manuscripts, this paper investigates the melodies of the *Cantigas*, independent of the question of rhythm, using a methodology derived from previous studies of monophonic song repertories that have been adapted and developed to achieve the methodology most
appropriate to the characteristics of the Cantigas. This analysis covers the interaction between rhyme scheme, syllable count and syntax with the use of tonal centres, intervallic content and melodic pattern.

I will present the preliminary findings of this investigation, before discussing their implications for our understanding of the repertory, its function and the reason for its preservation in four elaborate manuscripts.

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**S35: Genres in the Sixteenth Century**  
**Chair:** Cristle Collins Judd

1. Nele Gabriëls (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven)  
**Madrigal Reception and Editorial Practice in the Low Countries Prior to 1555: Three Verdelot Madrigals in Cambrai BM 125-8 (Bruges, 1542)**

1555 was a pivotal year in the dissemination of the madrigal in the Low Countries as it was marked by the appearance of Lasso’s so-called ‘Opus 1’. Kristine Forney (1990) has argued the importance of this Antwerp publication, and has pointed out the central role of the Antwerp civic environment for the transmission and naturalisation of the madrigal in the North, resulting in its ensuing popularity as exemplified by many printed collections during the following decades. However, as this paper shows, the madrigal came to the Low Countries at least over a decade earlier. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale MSS 125-8, a collection of four partbooks copied c.1540 in Bruges by the merchant and amateur scribe Zeghere van Male, its owner, contains three madrigals by Verdelot: Ognun si duol damore, Sel ardor fussi equale, and Donna leggiadra et bella. The Bruges partbooks are arguably the earliest extant sources to transmit Italian madrigals in the Low Countries. They provide a to date unexplored opportunity for the study of the Northern reception of the madrigal prior to Lasso’s first publication and outside Antwerp. This paper discusses the transmission of the aforementioned compositions in the Van Male partbooks and their possible sources, thus counterbalancing the strong focus on Antwerp in current musicological discourse regarding the madrigal’s dissemination in the Low Countries. Adriaen Willaert is suggested as the key figure in the transmission of these works. Furthermore, the paper considers how the amateur scribe treats the foreign genre, thereby using the madrigals as examples of his editorial practice. Overall, the paper redirects present-day knowledge of the early presence of the madrigal in the Low Countries, i.e. prior to the genre’s well-documented popularity in that region from 1555 onwards, and offers insight into both its earliest reception history as well as into scribal and editorial practices in amateur bourgeois circles in Flanders.

2. Katelijne Schiltz (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich)  
**Gioseffo Zarlino’s Tres lectiones pro mortuis and Their Context**

The collection Motetta D. Cipriani de Rore et aliorum auctorum quatuor vocum parium (Venice, 1563) contains four motets by Gioseffo Zarlino. Three of them—Parce mihi, Tedet animam meam and Manus tuae Domine—are designed as lessons for the dead. They form a unit, as is also indicated in the subtitle of the Scotto print ("cum tribus lectionibus, pro mortuis Josepho Zerlino auctore"). This triptych has not been studied before; it is going to appear in a modern edition, together with the Modulationes sex vocum (Venice, 1566), by Cristle Collins Judd and myself. In this paper I will discuss Zarlino’s
lectiones, both in the context of the collection of a voci pari-motets and in relation to Zarlino’s other motets (especially from the Musici quinque vocum moduli [1549] and the Modulationes sex vocum). Special attention will be devoted to aspects of compositional style, modal organisation and text expression. Finally, I will also propose a context of origin for Zarlino’s lectiones.

3. Franz Körndle (Universität Augsburg)
Orlando di Lasso’s Compositions for the Augsburg Jesuits

Although it is well known that Orlando di Lasso wrote a group of masses for the Augsburg Benedictine monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra during the years 1568 and 1569, and 1575 his four-part Requiem, we have got little information about his connections to the Jesuit college in the town. Recently I was able to identify the texts of some Lasso-motets as poems of Thomas a Kempis which were printed in late 16th century by Jesuit editors. Among these compositions are the motets In hora ultima and Omnium deliciarum. Another one, Certa fortiter was used for Lasso’s own parody mass performed in 1583 when the cornerstone of the Munich Jesuit church of St. Michael’s was laid. In my paper I will show the connections between the foundations of the Jesuit colleges in Munich and Augsburg and the performance of LASSOS motet Certa fortiter during the opening ceremonies of the Augsburg Jesuit college in 1581.

S36: Tuning and Chromaticism
Chair: Bonnie Blackburn

1. Frauke Jurgensen (University of Aberdeen)
Investigating 15th-Century Keyboard Tuning through Symbolic Music Analysis

Scholars employ a variety of strategies to trace the development of keyboard tunings: clues may be found in theoretical treatises, in sources related to organ building, and also in the surviving repertoire. Mark Lindley, in particular, has investigated the emergence of mean-tone temperaments by examining favoured diads and triads in mid-15th-century sources such as the Buxheim Organ Book. He suggests that the presence of particular triads in prominent positions is indicative of particular tunings in which these would appear sweet. He also suggests that a change in emphasis can be traced in some pieces, in particular those connected with Conrad Paumann, from a Pythagorean tuning with a B-G-flat wolf, to a mean-tone approach.

We build on this approach by using computer-driven symbolic music analysis on an electronically-encoded collection of 15th-century keyboard music, predominantly from the Buxheim Organ Book and the Lochaimer Liederbuch. We perform a statistical analysis of many musical features, such as long notes, the final sonorities of phrases, and the position within a mensural unit, to create profiles of triad content of various piece categories within the collection. Some of these profiles show different triads being treated as consonances, suggestive of different tunings. In addition, we show that some intabulations may have been altered from their mensural-notation models in order to accommodate keyboard tuning issues.
2. Linda P. Cummins (University of Alabama)
The Coniuncta in 15th-Century Italian Music Theory

The conventional view of the doctrine of coniunctae in 15th-century Italy, based on Seay’s and Ellsworth’s research, holds that its fountainhead was the Berkeley Compendium (Paris, 1375), which presented an array of eleven “coniuncta” hexachords beyond the seven of the musica recta system; the doctrine is supposed to have appeared in Italy first around 1400 with anonymous treatments of eight coniunctae, with Ugolino expanding the array between 1431 and 1448, Hothby (1470s) describing hexachords on the remote pitches F#, Ab, B, Db, and E, and Florentius de Faxolis, late in the century, stating the full Berkeley array plus a twelfth hexachord on very high Bb. Research by Gümpel suggests that the Berkeley array found a much earlier reception in Spain, and coniuncta theory a more rapid development there, than in Italy.

I offer a reassessment based on recent research by myself and others. Scant evidence supports the emergence of an eight-coniuncta array in Italy by 1400; but a version of Nicolaus de Capua's Compendium (1415) unknown to La Fage already restates the Berkeley array with an additional incomplete hexachord on very high C. An array like one of Ugolino’s appears—earlier than his—in tabular form in an Italian manuscript dated 1429 and reappears elsewhere. An Italian manuscript dated 1463-64 includes one treatise with hexachords built on F#, A, Bb, B, D, Eb, and E (anticipating Hothby by more than a decade) and another with an array identical to Florentius’, anticipating his by two to three decades.

A new Italian source for Berkeley I (in addition to the two Ellsworth knew); the four sources for Ugolino’s Declaratio II; two concordances for the portion of Nicolaus’s Compendium bearing the treatment of coniunctae; other treatments of coniunctae, some unpublished, some not previously cited—these, along with those mentioned above, constitute a nexus of texts that attest to an early and widespread interest in extended arrays of coniunctae in Italy that, as in France and Spain, do not appear to be an outgrowth from a basic array of eight conjunctae; and to an interest that continued through the 15th century.

3. John Griffiths (University of Melbourne)
Spiancino’s Twelve-Tone Development

This study brings into focus one of the most extraordinary lute ricercars of the early 16th century, a bold tonal experiment and a work that has passed virtually unnoticed in the revival of lute music in modern times. With no elaborate title to attract attention, this Recercare is the closing work and crowning jewel of the earliest known printed lute tablature, Francesco Spinacino’s Intabulatura de Lauto, Libro primo (Venice: Petrucci, 1507). Complementing Spinacino’s Recercare in tutti li toni that moves systematically through the eight church modes within a single work, this ricercar is deliberately conceived in complete contravention of accepted music theory. In addition to being an essay in tonality that explores every corner of the chromatic octave, it is also a work created with a level of architectural proportion more frequently associated with subsequent generations of composers. It is thus the antithesis of the category of “preludial or rhapsodic ricercar” into which the works of the Petrucci lutenists are habitually classified. Unlike to be created by an extemporising minstrel lutenist, this ricercar shows Spinacino to have been a sophisticated musician exploring some of the most debated musical topics of its time. Both the structural and conceptual elegance of this ricercar together with its radical interrogation of the principles of tonality and the practice of modal composition obliges a reconsideration.
of the status of the earliest lute ricercars within the broader musical context of the early 16th century, and a reevaluation of Francesco Spinacino as lutenist, composer, and musical thinker.
1. Kerry McCarthy (Duke University) with Benjamin Hebbert (West Dean College)
Josquin in England
In 2010 a previously unrecorded painting by the Master of the Countess of Warwick (fl.1560-1570s), showing a family group of English children making music, was brought to our attention by the London art dealer Mark Weiss in the hope of establishing an identity for the sitters. The oldest boy is holding a realistically depicted musical partbook. This can be identified as the bass part of the Josquin motet *Domine ne in furore / Turbatus est* (NJE 16.7), in an exact reproduction from a printed source, Johannes Petreius's *Tomus primus psalmorum selectorum* (RISM 15386). *Domine ne in furore* is a complete polyphonic setting of Psalm 6 without doxology: exactly the sort of 'psalm-motet' cultivated by numerous English composers during the 1560s and early 1570s. Sources of Josquin's music were not entirely unknown in 16th-century England, but this image offers a new and unusual glimpse into the world of international musical exchange. This paper explores the social and artistic background of the painting, as well as its implications for the further study of the Elizabethan motet.

2. Jeremy L. Smith (University of Colorado at Boulder)
Mary and the Burning Bush: Another Josquin/Byrd Connection?
Sometime in 1475, René of Anjou, who had settled permanently in Provence in the early 1470s, commissioned a depiction of Mary in the Burning Bush from the painter Nicholas Froment, whose justly famous triptych on this subject is now held at the Cathedral of St. Sauveur in Aix-en-Provence. In 1476, the year Froment received his final payment, René employed him again, this time to renovate and decorate a new residence the “Good King” had purchased in Avignon. Until now Froment’s painting has never been connected with the work of another famous “artist” associated with René, namely, Josquin des Prez. But the subject of Josquin’s *Rubum quem viderat Moyses incombustum* is also the Burning Bush and the Virgin Mary and David Fallows’s recent re-dating of Josquin’s cycle *O admirabile commercium*, which contains *Rubum*, opens the strong possibility that the provenance of Josquin’s motet and Froment’s painting are virtually identical.

Although the text was drawn from a Lauds antiphon, the Mary and the Burning Bush image was rarely used as an iconic symbol in the West. Nonetheless, a little less than a century later, in England, William Byrd—who set a number of the same texts as Josquin—demonstrated a special interest in the theme by quoting a work of Christopher Tye’s entitled *Rubem quem* in his much-admired *Though Amaryllis dance in green*. Intriguingly, Byrd’s quotation of Tye has also gone unnoticed.

In this paper, where I expose connections among the aforementioned works of art and music, I will first attempt to establish the likelihood that Josquin, in composing his *Rubum*, was responding to René’s special interest in the Mary and the Burning Bush theme, noting that René was himself portrayed in the Froment panel. Following upon the work of Bonnie Blackburn, my contention will be that Josquin's *Rubum* served a purpose similar to that of the painting. I will also propose that the motet may have been first performed at the time of the triptych’s unveiling. This will necessitate a re-consideration of some influential theories about *Rubum*’s purpose that predate Fallows’s reassessment. Secondly, with the
explication of the theme established, I will attempt to show how Byrd used it to make a specific, ironic, point in his famous pastoral *Amaryllis*. Finally, with Rene’s familial connections to England in mind, I will explore the question of whether Byrd was aware of the Josquin model, noting that Byrd’s text itself is unusually rich with elements of literary imitatio.

3. Dana Marsh (Indianapolis)

**Humanist Authority and Early-Tudor Sacred Polyphony: Erasmus or Richard Pace?**

Among a good number of scholars and theologians of late-15th and early 16th-century England, a patristic revival had taken place well before Desiderius Erasmus’s first visit. Two generations of English students had received humanist educations in Italy without direct reference to northern European humanism. Nevertheless, ‘early-Tudor learning’ has long been subsumed under the impact of Erasmus, whose remarks about English church music are well known. Although Erasmus’s *Annotations* was first published in 1516, his musical polemic didn’t reach the rhetorical force for which we know it today until 1527 – the fourth edition. I shall examine the editorial history of this passage in parallel with Erasmus’s bids for patronage at the English court.

Where music is concerned, it is the Anglo-Italian milieu represented by Henry VIII’s principal secretary, Richard Pace, which places English humanism in its appropriate context on the eve of the Reformation. A talented musician and linguist, Pace attended the universities of Padua, Bologna and Ferrara from the age of 14. His musical discussions in the treatise *De fructu* (1517) have only recently received attention. Erasmus condemned Pace’s treatise, given its satirical references to the Dutchman’s struggle to obtain permanent courtly patronage. Overlooking the work’s deliberate, Menippean fusion of contrasting literary genres, historians have taken Erasmus’s stylistic scorn at face value. Tellingly however, it has recently been established that Pace was the author of the anonymous antipapal comedy, *Julius exclusus*, which has always been attributed to Erasmus. This paper evaluates Pace’s musical discourse against the traditional ‘Erasmian’ invective.

4. Suzanne Cole (University of Melbourne)

**R. R. Terry and the Revival of Tudor Music at Downside Abbey: A Reassessment**

Richard Runciman Terry is widely recognised as one of the driving forces behind the revival of early English sacred music at the turn of the 20th century. While Terry’s major contribution to this revival was as the organist and choirmaster at Westminster Cathedral, his first revivals took place while he was music master at Downside. Terry and the Downside choir were responsible for giving the first modern performances of Byrd’s Mass for five voices in 1899 and the Tallis Lamentations in 1901, along with Tallis’s Missa sine nomine, Byrd’s three-part Mass, and a number of smaller works by Byrd, Philips and others. Hilda Andrews, in her Westminster Retrospect, a source still heavily quoted in most studies of Terry, tells how the pile of editions of early music that Terry prepared at Downside ‘mounted higher and higher’, and of revivals not only of the works already mentioned, but of ‘Taverner’s Western Wynde, the Gradualia and Cantiones Sacrae of Byrd and Philips, motets by Tye, Shepherd, etc.’

Yet a careful examination of Terry’s early editions and the press reports of his activities at Downside presents a rather different picture. His published editions of early English music are considerable fewer than Andrews’s ever-mounting piles suggest, and are
almost entirely dependent upon either earlier editions or the manuscript copies of others, particularly of William Barclay Squire. Similarly, while the choir may possibly have read through works like Taverner’s Western Wynde Mass in rehearsals, the repertoire actually reported in the Downside Review, although unarguably extremely adventurous for the time, is relatively modest, and the rate at which new works were introduced suggests that the choir may have struggled rather more with this challenging repertoire than later accounts suggest.

In this paper, I will present a less flattering and more realistic assessment of Terry’s revivals of early repertoire, both at Downside and in his early years at Westminster Cathedral. In the process, however, I hope to give a clearer sense of just how foreign and difficult this music was, and, paradoxically, of the significance of Terry’s contribution to its revival.

S38: Victoria (d.1611): Circulation and Reception of His Music
Chair: Noel O’Regan

The distinctive features in the life and works of the composer Tomás Luis de Victoria (c.1548-1611) make the circulation of his music a singular case, both in his own time and in the following centuries. On the one hand, certain facts in his biography contribute to single him out among other Spanish composers of the time: he lived one half of his creative life in Rome and the other half in Madrid; he spent some of his formative years in Rome among German and English Jesuits priests; he became a sort of freelance composer in Rome; back in Spain, he did not hold a position as chapelmaster either in a cathedral or in a private chapel, as most of his peers did. On the other hand, the patterns of the publication of his music are also very different from other Spanish composers: most of his works were printed under his supervision and only a few non-printed pieces are found in manuscripts.

Because of these peculiarities, it is of the utmost interest to examine how Victoria’s prints circulated, how late manuscripts were copied from the prints and how his music was tailored to different contexts. Up until recently these questions have hardly received any attention – the examination of some transcriptions into lute and organ tablatures in Germany, England and Poland is the exception. Hence the importance of presenting four case-studies of distribution embracing different places and times (Castile, Aragon, South America, and England between the 16th and the 18th centuries), and using different methodologies (such as the examination of the general patterns of circulation of books, the study of inventories and extant sources, and the comparison of sources). In addition to clarifying the circulation and distribution of Victoria’s music, the results will also shed light on its reception. It will show how the esteem of the composer changed throughout time and which works contributed to build this esteem.

1. Juan Ruiz Jiménez (Granada)
‘Buena música y breve’: The Reception and Circulation of Victoria’s Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi (Madrid, 1600) in the Crown of Castile

The circulation of Tomás Luis de Victoria’s music has always been treated anecdotaly, through isolated data drawn from the documentation of ecclesiastical institutions or as a descriptive element in the biographical narrative, without analysis of its characteristics, determinants and implications for the canonization of the composer and his
work. The prevailing Hispanic perception of Victoria has its origins in the Romantic movement of Cecilianism, whose spirit took root in Spain thanks to musicians such as Hilarion Eslava. Spanish Cecilianism dovetailed with the nationalist movement, led by Pedrell, whose modern edition of Victoria’s works helped to consolidate their inclusion in the canon of sacred polyphony. In addition, the development of the choral movement underscored the exponential increase in performance of Victoria’s music to the present day. This paper focuses on an aspect of a more extended study on the reception and prevalence of Victoria’s work in church institutions in the crown of Castile. Taking the printed collection entitled *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi* (Madrid, 1600) as a case study, I explore different aspects of its reception and circulation (motivation, economics, stakeholders, etc.) to re-examine certain assumptions still found in the recent literature. I will present a reassessment of the impact of Victoria’s work on his contemporaries in the territories of the crown of Castile to try to define the various factors that need to be taken into consideration and to reach some preliminary conclusions.

2. Esperanza Rodríguez-García (Institute of Musical Research, University of London)

The Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria (d.1611) in the Collection of Manuscripts of Edward Paston (1550-1630): Contexts, Circulation and Performance

This paper will examine the works of Tomás Luis de Victoria contained in the collection of manuscripts gathered by the English gentleman Edward Paston. Himself an amateur lute performer, Paston compiled one of the largest collections of English musical sources from the late 16th and early 17th centuries to have survived. The 45 extant sources comprise forty sets of partbooks (16 complete and 24 incomplete) and five books of tablatures for the lute. The number of compositions totals over 1350 (excluding the many repeated pieces) and covers a large variety of genres and European composers. Victoria is represented with more than one hundred compositions, either complete or fragmentary. The works are scattered in 16 of the manuscripts now held in the British Library and the Royal College of Music in London, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and books in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C. Despite the large number of compositions, Victoria has hardly been acknowledged in relation to this collection. Moreover, modern scholarship on Victoria has almost completely overlooked these sources, even though they are included in Eugene E. Cramer’s *Tomás Luis de Victoria: a guide to research* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

The prominent presence of Victoria in Paston’s collection is remarkable in many aspects. First, the transmission of Victoria’s music in manuscripts is rare, as is its inclusion in anthologies; second, the adaptation of his music for instrumental performance was quite uncommon; and finally, its reception outside Italy and Germany, where his music was printed, was very limited (this was even the case in his native Spain, where he lived from c.1585 onwards).

I will address issues about the patterns of selection, circulation, and performance practice of Victoria’s music in Paston’s collection. The conclusions will provide a complementary view on the dissemination of Victoria’s music that will help to challenge the received view of the composer.

81
3. Alfonso de Vicente (Conservatorio Profesional de Música, Madrid)
The ‘Respontorios … dispuestos métodicamente a 4 voces por D. Diego Llorente y Sola … sobre los que compuso D. Tomás Luis de Victoria’

Since their publication in the 1850s by Karl Proske under the title Selectissimae Modulationes, Victoria’s 18 responsories for tenebrae, originally published in the Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae of 1585, have come to be regarded as the greatest expression of the composer's style. For some, they are also the finest musical expression of the Catholic Holy Week liturgy. It seems, however, that this was not always the case. João IV of Portugal, for example, expressed a clear preference for the Fleming Géry de Ghersem (c.1575-1630) whose musical expression of the relevant texts he regarded as much more appropriate; and in centres as important as San Jerónimo el Real de Madrid or San Lorenzo del Escorial, the preferred responsory settings were those of Stefano Limido (†1647). With the exception of one or two individual pieces such as the Vere languores, the Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae (OHS) as a whole found little favour in Spanish religious institutions. Against this background, stands the 1789 adaptation of Victoria’s eighteen responsories made for the cathedral of Huesca by its chapellmaster Diego Llorente y Sola (†1836). This little known source is cited neither by González Valle in his 1992 article on the reception of the OHS in Spain nor by Eugene Casjen Cramer in his Guide to Research (1998). My paper closely examines Diego Llorente y Sola’s adaptation and his addition of a part for bajón. I also study the circumstances in which this composer from Navarre decided to make his versions, quite probably under the influence of Francisco Javier García Fajer.

4. Javier Marín (Universidad de Jaén)
Victoria in the Indies: Sources, Reception and Influence

The music of Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611), like many other contemporary composers active in Post-Tridentine Rome, was quickly distributed in churches and cathedrals of all Catholic Europe. Among the different factors that contributed to his popularity, his prestige as successor of Palestrina at the Collegium Germanicum and the printing of his works in several editions seem to be important. The studies available on the composer’s dissemination tend to concentrate on European archives, mainly Italian and Iberian, assuming Stevenson’s idea that Victoria “is poorly represented in Mexican [and, by extension, Latin American] church archives”. In light of recent research we are forced to reconsider this assumption, given that Victoria is the second 16th-century Spanish polyphonist with more works in Latin American archives, only surpassed by Francisco Guerrero. In this paper I will explore Victoria’s legacy in the New World, considering not only the music physically preserved in American archives –both printed and manuscript– but also the references in documentary sources such as music inventories or purchase document. In addition, this paper will explore some examples of the impact of Victoria’s style on composers active in the American viceregalies and their familiarity with some modern developments such as polychorality in order to re-examine the ways in which Victoria’s voice was heard in the New World during the 16th and 17th centuries.
1. Mauricio Molina (Conservatori de Música Isaac Albéniz de la Diputació de Girona and IES Barcelona)

*Non se tenga por maestra complida: The Skillful Medieval Female Performer and Her Challenge to the Social and Intellectual Space Dominated by Males*

The prominent presence of professional female performers in the society of the Middle Ages is well recorded both in literature and art. Some of these sources also indicate that despite their important role as entertainers these women were stigmatized especially by the clerical ruling class. Scholars have concurred that the main reason for this apprehensive attitude towards these performers was primarily connected to their sexual status: during this period women who did not appear to be under the control of a husband or other male figure were perceived as sexually available. However, some sources, particularly Iberian in origin such as the *Libro de Apolonio*, *La doncella Teodor*, and *El libro de buen amor*, suggest that female performers also were stigmatized simply because of their compelling performances, and their musical skills and knowledge. By entering social and intellectual spaces that were forbidden to them, these females expressed an independent behavior that was a test to male status—during the Middle Ages those considered master musicians were generally men with an ecclesiastical education. This created a completely different type of challenge to the established gender roles. Control over these skillful women was exercised in the literature by devaluing all elements of their performance subsequently to describing their musical attributes, and by further suggesting the necessary tutelage of a male figure. Unfortunately, since most studies about medieval female performers have focused on the idea of the “sexual temptress” and not the skillful performer, our modern scholarly construction of this entertainer is that of the prostitute with almost no musical skills. This paper not only considers the unexplored possibility of stigmatization based on musical prowess, but also postulates a new way of viewing these performers: as the skillful musicians that they most likely were.

2. Eric Lubarsky (Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester)

*Widowhood in Marguerite of Austria’s Chansonnier: Public Identity and Personal Sentiment*

With its luxurious decoration, grand scale, prominent provenance, and important repertoire, Marguerite of Austria’s personal chansonnier (Brussels, Royal Library, MS 228 [BrusBR 228]) remains an object of admiration and intrigue. Incorporating works that mourn the deaths of her brother and her father as well as some chansons texts written by Marguerite herself, the contents of the chansonnier provide a rare window into the regent’s life and personality. In previous scholarship on the manuscript, both Martin Picker and Honey Meconi focus on these personal elements. Relating the texts to various aspects of the regent’s biography, both scholars suggest the strong possibility of the collection’s personal meaning. However, the significance of the manuscripts is not strictly personal. As Meconi explains, the manuscript’s atypical size and sophistication emphasized Marguerite’s prominence, suggesting that it also carried sociological significance. When considered in this new light as a status symbol, the public interpretation of the manuscript holds greater significance. This paper suggests a deeper and more complex understanding of the...
collection that previously provided, arguing that Marguerite of Austria used her personal chansonnier to advance her public identity as a widow by emphasizing her special status as a member of this elite class of women.

The virtue of widowhood granted a woman authority in this era. As her patronage in the visual arts illustrates, Marguerite frequently presented herself as a widow. Her portrait in BrusBR 228, where she is coiffed in a widow’s headdress, is one of the first instances of this practice. The texts of the 55 works in the original layer of the manuscript invoke common concerns and prescriptions of widowhood, as explained by Erasmus of Rotterdam in his treatise on the topic. Along with these recurring themes, specific works voice the sentiments and sensibilities associated with widows. These works, corroborated by other poems and letters by Marguerite, demonstrate the regent enacting the role and invoking the status of the widow. When viewed in the light of the common values associated with widowhood and the status afforded these women, Marguerite’s personal sentiments documented in the manuscript in turn support her elevated social position.

3. Klaas van der Heide (Stadspolders, The Netherlands)
The Reflection of its Spanish Inheritance in Music in the Dynastic Propaganda of the Habsburg-Burgundian House

After King Philip the Fair’s death in Burgos on 25 September 1506, his wife, Queen Juana, was inconsolable, and unable to leave the corpse of her dead husband. The music of his Grande chapelle was one of the few things that stayed to bring her solace. She richly paid the chapel singers, of which La Rue was the head.

The singers must have seen at close quarters that Juana trusted a prophecy, spoken to her by two monks, that a king would shortly rise from death. Perforce, they also participated in Juana’s lugubrious, nocturnal journey across the Spanish plateaus with her husband’s body in the coffin, who she wished to have buried in the Royal Chapel at Granada. In this paper I will argue that in the Bourgeois manuscript VienNB 1783 La Rue and Agricola are presented as the messengers of the sad news: Extrema gaudii luctus occupat and the Mass Maleur me bat, and that in BrusBR 6428, BrusBR 15075, JenaU 4 and MechAS s.s. La Rue’s Missae Pascale and de doloribus may also be seen as referring back to the sad events of 1506: Resurrexi ad adhuc tecum sum and Postulavi meum dedit mihi gentes in hereditatem then being specific references to the intended, but meanwhile dead heir to the dynasty, and In Aegyptum pertulisti per desertum and Inde posuisti filium … doctorum in medio as specific references to the lugubrious journey on the Spanish plateaus. Several indications suggest that the Missa de doloribus was closely intertwined with King Philip’s life, with his kin, and with Queen Juana’s lamenting the early death of her husband. The devotion to N.S. de la Soledad, which is the special form the devotion of the Seven Sorrows took in Spain, appears to go back to Queen Juana, lamenting the early death of King Philip. The paper may illustrate the extent to what religious imaginary played a role in the transmission of the dynastic messages in, for instance, the Alamire manuscripts, and the five- and six-voice polytextual masses of La Rue contained in it.
4. Laurie Stras (University of Southampton)
Nuns Having Fun: The Ricreationi per monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini (c.1586)

The Ricreationi per monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini is a c.300-page manuscript collection of veglie – musical entertainments – that were written and performed in the Florentine convent during the late 16th century. This remarkable volume was acquired by Margherita Gonzaga d’Este, the last duchess of Ferrara, who commissioned a copy. Both books remained in the ducal library after the devolution of Ferrara in 1597, hence passing to the Biblioteca Estense.

The manuscript contains eight veglie, some written for special occasions including Carnevale, Calendimaggio, a celebration of consecration, and a visit by the Archduchess of Tuscany. One is dedicated to a nun in another Florentine convent, suggesting a wider circulation of convent culture than might previously have been assumed. Each contains directions for staging and music, while some also contain detailed descriptions of costumes, clearly intended to convey information for future performances. The subject matter ranges from intellectual debates about the sciences (raising questions about the level of academic learning in 16th-century convents) and the arts (revealing attitudes to the practice and value of poetry and music) to an appreciation of religious commitment, the difficulties of maintaining moral rectitude and the role of free will in the decision to embrace celibacy as part of monastic life, a discussion that is startling in its frankness. There is a wealth of practical information regarding music in a little-known dramatic context as well as a unique exposition of the Divine Office as a musical, as well as a religious, experience.

The importance of this manuscript to our better understanding of early modern monastic women, their attitudes to enclosure, their access to education and the performing arts, and their interactions with other convents and with the secular world cannot be underestimated. Moreover, because the veglie were created in an entirely feminine environment, and have been transmitted in manuscript rather than in print, they are completely unmediated by any masculine agency. This makes them a priceless record of 16th-century “girl talk,” and a testament to the resilience and creativity of a group of women, many of whom were not necessarily happily resigned to life-long enclosure.

1. Catherine Bradley (The Queen’s College, Oxford)
Benedicamus Domino, Conductus, and Clausula

‘Benedicamus Domino’ (‘Let us Bless the Lord’) is the versicle which, with its response ‘Deo Gratias’ (‘Thanks be to God’), closes the Offices (excepting Matins). This versicle appears to have been performed in polyphony from a very early date: polyphonic Benedicamus Domino settings are already notated in extant 12th-century sources. The text ‘Benedicamus Domino’ and associated chant melodies also appear frequently in polyphonic conducti and motets of the 13th century. Later medieval carols are, too, often characterised by the refrain ‘Benedicamus Domino’.

Anne Walters Robertson (1988) has highlighted the inherent flexibility of monophonic Benedicamus Domino chants, which were often fashioned by borrowing

S40: Conductus, Motet et alias
Chair: Maricarmen Gómez
existing chant melismas, usually from office responsories. Walters Robertson suggests that this kind of ‘Benedicamus by plagiarism’ practice might have had a substantial ‘unwritten tradition’, whereby Benedicamus chants were created ad hoc, simply through re-texting a melisma from a chant for the day. It seems, therefore, that this moment in the liturgy may long have presented an opportunity for particular musical licence and creativity.

In 1958 Frank Harrison suggested that conducti and clausulae in the 13th-century Magnus liber might have functioned as Benedicamus Domino substitutes in the Parisian liturgy. This is a theory which, though repeatedly alluded to, still lacks detailed investigation. I will propose that the number of conducti and clausulae which could have served as potential Benedicamus substitutes might be greater than is initially apparent. I will also demonstrate that Benedicamus substitutes in the polyphonic repertoire of the Magnus liber might betray the influence of the monophonic practice of ‘Benedicamus by plagiarism’.

2. Eva M. Maschke (University of Southampton/ Universität Hamburg)
Material Culture and Music: Sigillography and 13th-Century British Polyphony

With a very few exceptions, texts and music of 13th-century polyphony are preserved in bound codices. It is therefore more than striking to discover the text of a 13th-century conductus preserved in two contemporary seals. In addition to three musical sources and a large number of textual sources, the text of the well-known conductus ‘Porta salutis ave’ is found on two 13th-century seals from Middleton Abbey in Dorset and Arbroath Abbey on the east coast of Scotland.

This discovery raises important questions not only about the possible cultivation of music at Middleton and Arbroath, but also about the ritual and institutional function of text, music or both. Middleton Abbey is only 15 miles from Netherbury where the music of the polyphonic sequence ‘Verbum bonum et suave’ was found in the clock chamber of St Mary’s Church, and Arbroath is about the same distance from St Andrews where the most famous source of English polyphony in the period, W1, was copied.

Furthermore, an important link between ‘Porta salutis’ and the east coast of Scotland exists in the fact that W1 was designed to preserve a three-voice version of the piece of which only two were copied. The paper also presents the discovery of a source which allows the partial reconstruction of this version that links so importantly to Arbroath, Middleton and the presence of the conductus within the domain of material culture.

The 13th-century polyphonic conductus is found copied in the large collection of ‘Notre-Dame’ sources, W1, of course, as well as Florence, Madrid and W2. But it was frequently preserved monophonically, and often with just its text alone. In the cases, it could be argued that the monophonic version or just the text functioned as a synecdoche (pars pro toto). The presence of the text emblazoned on a seal suggests an extension of the same practice, and this unique occurrence prompts questions about the thorny issue of the function of the conductus, as well as the specific musical features – themselves very rare – in ‘Porta salutis’.

3. David Catalunya & Carmen Julia Gutiérrez (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
New 14th-Century Fragments Recently Discovered in Mundó’s Archive (Barcelona)

This paper reports the discovery of a new early 14th-century manuscript of presumably Castilian origin. The fragmentary folio was acquired by Manuel Mundó in 1967; nevertheless, it remained unknown to the musicology until now. Despite its
fragmentary condition, this source offers a double, remarkable interest: on the one hand, it provides new traces on the diffusion and use of mensural notation in the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of the 14th century; on the other hand, it sheds new light on the practice of Hispanic rite through the late Middle Ages. One side of the folio shows an unknown monophonic piece written in *Ars Nova* notation, whose text has been identified as a Mozarabic *prez*. Its rhythmic and melodic figuration recalls strongly Cardenal Cisneros’s “Mozarabic” choirbooks (beginning of the 16th century), and thus the discovery of this fragment suggests an important review of the current historiography of Cisneros’s choirbooks and the survival of the Mozarabic rite through the late Middle Ages. On the other hand, the backside of the folio shows some other musical fragments (presumably monophonic) written in an older mensural system based in ‘undetermined’ *semibreves* and *puncta divisionis*. Therefore, this manuscript may represent the first known Spanish source employing the Petronian system described in the Barcelona Cathedral treatise on mensural notation (MS 23, mid-14th century).

The paper presents an accurate codicological examination of the manuscript (including the digital restoration of a palimpsest), transcriptions, musical analysis and some reflections regarding its connection with Barcelona’s treatise and the survival of Mozarabic rite through the late Middle Ages until Cisneros. Likewise, a resemblance with certain monophonic *Ars Nova* pieces transmitted in Las Huelgas Codex is also observed.

4. Giuliano Di Bacco (Darwin College Cambridge - Indiana University) ‘Plausu querulo’ and Other Latin Compositions in MS Paris 22069

In an article of 2009 Mark Everist presented a new source of *Ars subtilior* compositions found in a miscellany manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: besides the three French-texted pieces that were the object of his study, Everist mentioned (with no further discussion) the presence of other 14th- and mid-15th-century compositions with Latin texts. In this paper I will examine the musical content of the miscellany in its entirety, discussing the possible relation between the French and Latin pieces. Among the earlier compositions here represented, the most important findings are additional voices of Vitry’s *Flos ortus/Celsa cedrus*, and *Plausu querulo*. The latter is a anonymous motet commemorating the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket, also known from a source, also fragmentary, found in Cortona, the content of which is also worth comparing with MS Paris 22069.

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**S41: Crossing Boundaries**

**Chair: Christian Leitmeir**

1. Elisabeth Giselbrecht (King’s College, Cambridge)

**Crossing Multiple Boundaries: The Italian Sacred Repertoire Written for a Lutheran Church in Nuremberg between 1570 and 1600**

Of the 26 original choirbooks written for St. Egidien Church in Nuremberg in the last third of the 16th century, only 17 survive. Known as the “Lindner choirbooks”, these significant but little studied documents have not gone unnoticed in scholarly literature, however, they have not been studied as a series and their importance as an unparalleled collection of Italian music in German-speaking countries at the time has not been explored.
Furthermore the significance of the contained repertoire in the context of their place of origin needs further examination: the compilation of Italian Catholic sacred music was created explicitly for St. Egidien, which had been Lutheran since 1525.

Research has considered individual manuscripts only in isolation for work on specific composers, but the manuscript series itself has not been the subject of a comprehensive study since Rubsamen’s article in the 1950s. Revisiting the surviving choirbooks has brought new insights regarding both their chronology and their content. This paper will present new findings from the physical objects and tie them to their larger cultural and religious context. It will challenge assumptions about the manuscripts’ production, investigating whether there is evidence that they were written for performance or simply compiled to collect repertoire. It will furthermore re-contextualise their content. Can the chosen repertoire be taken as representative of the general transmission of Italian sacred music north of the Alps, is it representative of the cultural exchange between the Italian Peninsula and the German speaking regions, or is Nuremberg an exception? More broadly, this paper will re-examine the choirbooks’ implications for the overlap in repertoire (and thus religious practices) between Catholic and Protestant services during the Counter-Reformation.

2. Hector Sequera (University of Birmingham)
Alternatives to the ‘English a cappella heresy’: Performance Practice of Sacred Spanish Polyphony in Recusant House-holds Based on Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Sources

Many of the wealthy Catholics in England during Elizabethan times and afterward remained very influential and in some cases held high posts at court by pledging alliance to the throne. Some of them, however, agreed to retire to the countryside where they built stately homes and maintained entourages of sometimes hundreds of gentry and yeomen. Within their socio-cultural expectations were music literacy, especially the enjoyment of continental music, instruments, and fashions, all of which were avidly collected during the popular ‘Grand Tour’. All of the items gathered and the knowledge acquired whilst overseas were put to use in domestic entertainment or for their religious rituals. For the latter there survive a few descriptions of instruments being used during the liturgy, although it is not exactly clear how this was done. For instance, we do not know whether instruments and voices were used together, if they alternated, or the implications for these performances.

Although the diversity and scope of these performances is obscured by the lack of documentation and other considerations such as the secrecy of the Catholics’ gatherings to celebrate the liturgy, it seems evident that the recusants were very fond of Spanish and Italian polyphony not only because of its inherent beauty but also because of the Catholic connection. Hence, this paper explores the extant Spanish sacred polyphony in English sources within the context of the recusants as a way to investigate how this music was used by the Catholic circle in the privacy of their homes. Thus, through analysing the sources not only as musical texts but also as silent witnesses of a practice, and in conjunction with other circumstantial evidence, it is hoped a more comprehensive picture of this domestic practice will emerge.
Revising Polyphonic Lamentations: Composition, Transmission and Performance Practice Context

La falta de trabajos especializados sobre las Lamentaciones de Jeremías es la causa del sorprendente desconocimiento acerca de un género polifónico cuya importancia está, por el contrario, sobradamente avalada por una amplia presencia en las fuentes musicales del Renacimiento. Aunque su relevancia puede ser afirmada a nivel europeo –consecuencia obvia, aparentemente, del hecho que se interpretaran durante el período litúrgico de mayor importancia del calendario católico, esto es, en las lecturas del oficio de Maitines del Triduo Pascual– la tradición interpretativa de las Lamentaciones estuvo dotada en la Península Ibérica de un especial interés, hecho que definió la tendencia investigadora de gran parte del reducido número de especialistas que se han ocupado de ellas. En este sentido, los estudios realizados hasta la fecha situán su interés en la correspondiente tradición cantollanista y en la relación entre ésta y las composiciones polifónicas, estableciendo las bases esenciales para posteriores aportaciones: la definición de una variadísima realidad por lo que respecta a la estructura textual del género antes de la publicación del Breviario de 1568, así como la identificación de melodías distintas a aquella propia de la tradición romana –melodías que los compositores usaron como base de sus obras polifónicas– se cuentan entre sus más interesantes aportaciones.

Sin embargo, muchos elementos de la tradición polifónica de las Lamentaciones están aún por estudiar. Cuestiones como la transmisión del género en las fuentes, su proceso compositivo o de compilación y, en especial, su contexto de interpretación son elementos que requieren, en efecto, una atención pormenorizada. Ésta habrá de sacar a la luz de forma inmediata la gran cantidad de incógnitas que, por el momento, sigue rodeando al género Lamentación. El presente trabajo pretende apuntar algunas de tales incógnitas y, en la medida que tiempo y extensión lo permitan, aportar algunos datos que apunten a posibles respuestas.

S42: Madrigal
Chair: Richard Freedman

1. Mitchell P. Brauner (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)
Scribal Publication and the 16th-Century Madrigal

The study of handwritten sources of music in the 16th century has largely concentrated on the end of the process of construction, copying and compilation in the production of bound volumes. That scribes gathered together the material they copied is taken as a given, but how that music circulated and the mechanisms by which scribes gathered their material has generally not been explored. Taking the early Italian madrigal of the 16th century as its focus, this paper proposes that both individual pieces and collections circulated by a process which literary scholars Harold Love (The Culture and Commerce of Texts), Brian Richardson (Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy), and others have called "scribal publication". The term publication, in its proper historical context (well before the age of print) required two elements: an author making a text public and thereby relinquishing control of the text to its users. These are the two actions upon which the concept of any sort of publication rests. While we commonly assume that the term publication is
Med&Ren 2011 Abstracts: Friday 8th July

This paper describes how the hand-copied, bound volumes into which madrigals were collected were compiled. The correspondence of 16th-century musicians and patrons and other archival materials that reference madrigals reflect this process of scribal publication. It demonstrates that the distribution and circulation of the early madrigal parallels and intersects with that of its necessary component, 16th-century Italian verse. Composers, poets and scribes gave or sold their works, individually or in groups, to patrons and consumers; and collectors, patrons and scribes compiled them into the sources we now admire and study.

2. Emilianno Ricciardi (Stanford University)
Late 16th-Century Madrigals on Torquato Tasso’s Rime: The Case of Non è questa la mano

Belonging to Torquato Tasso’s collection of lyric poetry, the Rime, Non è questa la mano was the poet’s most successful work in the late 16th-century musical world. Indeed, between the 1570s and the 1590s it received as many as 18 settings, ranging from Pallavicino’s (1579) and Marenzio’s (1581) to Giovannelli’s (1590) and Gesualdo’s (1594). Due to the prominence of the Gerusalemme liberata in both literary and musicological studies, however, we have a very limited understanding of the musical reception of this and other very successful poems from Tasso’s Rime. By taking Non è questa la mano as a case study, in this paper I tackle three of the questions surrounding the musical fortune of the Rime, thus contributing to a better appreciation of these poems’ role in the history of the late madrigal.

First, I examine how the literary text was transmitted to the composers. As with other poems from the Rime, some madrigalists drew the text of Non è questa la mano from the numerous prints published after Manuzio’s first edition of 1581. Others, such as Pallavicino, drew it from manuscripts, which suggests possible relationships between composers and Tasso or his entourage. I then assess what literary features made this poem appealing to composers, focusing not only on the poem’s concettismo, typical of the Rime, but also on its reworking of such a celebrated topos of Renaissance literature as the woman’s hand. Lastly, I explore the musical renditions of the poem. While many composers set it in strikingly different ways, some referenced previous settings, generating small-scale musical traditions. These include Hippolito Sabino (1586), referencing Marenzio, and Jean de Castro (1591), referencing both Marenzio and Giovannelli.

Shedding light on relationships between composers, as well as on their literary taste and personal connections with Tasso, the case of Non è questa la mano calls for studies on the settings of other poems from the Rime as well. These have the potential for enriching our view of Tasso’s impact on the madrigal, and more generally of the relationship between literature and music in the late 16th-century.

3. Paola Ronchetti (Sapienza Università di Roma)
The Evolution of the Madrigal in the Second Half of the 16th Century

The madrigal Alba cruda, alba ria by Giovan Battista Strozzi (1504-1571), a Florentine in the service of Gran Duke Cosimo I, was set to music in the second half of the 16th century, from 1551 to 1584, by seven different composers, almost all active in Rome,
many of which were part of the *Compagnia de’ Musici di Roma*, the *Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia* of today. The first who composed the madrigal was the Florentine Giovanni Animuccia in 1551, the Master of *Cappella Giulia* in St Peter’s from 1555 to 1571. There, Francesco Rosselli, worked as *Magister puerorum*, and in 1562 he set the same poem to music. In the 1570s, four musicians composed madrigals on Alba cruda, alba ria: Andrea Dragoni, Alessandro Striggio, Giovanni De Macque and Tiburzio Massaino. The last madrigal set to music was by Cristofano Malvezzi in 1584.

In light of the linguistic and literary discussions of the time, the poem will be analysed making a comparison between the different versions of music, with reflections on the different approaches to the text by the composers, and on the relationship between text and music. Furthermore, attempts will be made to show the evolution of the genre madrigal through the second half of the 16th century. Finally, the existing sources and musical modern transcriptions in score of the madrigals will be shown.

### S43: Rome, Milan & Spain

**Chair: Emilio Ros-Fábregas**

1. Richard Sherr (Smith College)

**Three Singers from Toledo in the Papal Chapel in the Early 16th Century: A View from Rome**

A recently completed survey of almost all the extant Vatican documentation concerning papal chapel during the 10-year pontificate of Julius II (1503-1513) allows for some general observations about the ecclesiastical careers of individual singers (always bearing in mind that Vatican documents never tell the whole story). For this paper, I have chosen to discuss three Spanish singers who shared a common geographical origin in the (admittedly large) diocese of Toledo. Alonso de Troya, Alonso de Frias, and García de Salinas entered the papal chapel in the last years of the pontificate of Alexander VI and remained during the entire pontificate of Julius II and into the first years of the pontificate of Leo X. They all were very active in the benefice business, yet the documents show that these colleagues from the same diocese never crossed each other’s path while seeking benefices. Only Troya consistently pursued benefices in the city and diocese of Toledo (his early career in that city’s cathedral is well documented). Salinas looked to the East, largely to the diocese of Cuenca. Frias looked to the West and North; he held tenaciously to a benefice in Loussada in the far off diocese of Lugo, and pursued benefices in Avila, Salamanca and Segovia. Each singer cultivated a different set of patrons. Troya was closely associated with Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza and later Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Salinas drove a hard bargain with Cardinal Raphael Riario. Perhaps the most interesting relationship concerns Frias who was involved in complicated deals involving the brother and nephews of Francisco de Rojas, the ambassador of the Catholic Monarchs in Rome, and who was even confused with one of them (Alonso de Rojas). The name Rojas, however, calls up other associations, particularly the charge that many prominent Spaniards were *conversos*, Jews who had converted to Catholicism. And this brings to mind a curious remark of the papal master of ceremonies Jakob Burkhard that Spanish singers were uniquely suited for performing the music of Holy Week “because their ancestors had been present at the Crucifixion.”
2. Noel O’Regan (University of Edinburgh)
Tomás Luis de Victoria’s *Cum Beatus Ignatius* in the Context of Rome’s Jesuit Colleges

The motet *Cum Beatus Ignatius* (2a pars Ignis, Cruc, bestiis) is one of the most vivid in Tomás L. de Victoria’s *Motecta 4-6, 8vv* of 1572. It sets words by St. Ignatius of Antioch which describe in dramatic terms that saint’s welcome of his impending martyrdom by wild beasts in Rome and the torments which he expected to suffer. At the same time the inclusion of a motet for this feastday is strange in the context of the liturgical programme of the publication. The text would, however, have had particular relevance in the Collegio Germanico in Rome, where Victoria had been a student, since it was preparing its students for mission work and potential martyrdom. It also taps into the renewed interest by the Roman church at this time in early Christian martyrs. As a motet for what had been the patronal feast of Ignatius of Loyola, it would also have had special resonance for the Jesuits who ran the Collegio Germanico. The exordium of Victoria’s motet uses the opening of Palestrina’s madrigal *Vestiva i colli*, as pointed out by Antonio Delfino and, much earlier, by Francis Tregian. That madrigal was first published in 1566, the year in which Palestrina took up an appointment at the Collegio Germanico’s sister Jesuit-run Seminario Romano and it is striking how many other parodies were based on it by composers with Roman Jesuit connections. The web of associations will be examined in this paper in an attempt to explain the motet’s inclusion in the 1572 print.

3. Daniele V. Filippi (Università degli Studi di Pavia/Cremona)
A Sonic Life of Carlo Borromeo

When the name Carlo Borromeo turns up in musicological contexts, it is invariably associated either with the ‘textual intelligibility’ issue (the Cardinals’ Commission, Vincenzo Ruffo, etc.) or with the liturgical repercussions of the reforms he carried out in Milan (the disciplining of church musicians and the clergy, the revision of the Ambrosian rite, and so on). This stereotyped view has obscured many other aspects of Borromeo’s experience of music. Following clues contained in recent interdisciplinary literature on the Milanese scene, and browsing through Carlo’s early biographies and other documents, one can gain a much more vivid and accurate picture of the future saint’s ‘sonic life’. His music therapy sessions as a (worn out) student in Pavia, a late exchange of letters with Tomás Luis de Victoria, the musical homages he received during his life and after his death, the impressive details on the soundscape of Borromean Milan given by his biographers, all suggest that the relation between this key figure of the Italian Cinquecento and the musical civilization of his time was rich and complex, well beyond the clichés, and that it deserves to be studied with fresh interest.

1. Abigail Ballantyne (Exeter College, Oxford)
Judging a Music Theory Book by its Cover: *Regole di Musica* in Late Renaissance Italy

Attempts to lure buyers to purchase musical prints through their titles are well known to scholars: look no further than Adrian Willaert’s celebrated publication, *Musica*
**Med&Ren 2011 Abstracts: Friday 8th July**

*nova*, a title describing music ‘concealed and buried’ for many years. Yet how was music theory marketed? How did both theorist and printer-publisher, out of self-interest, seek to make a book’s cover appeal to as wide an audience as possible while still accurately representing its content? Which words did these two agents carefully select for inclusion in a title in order to fuel an interest in musical thought, and why?

In this paper, I survey the titles of music-theory books printed on the Italian peninsula in the late Renaissance, drawing attention to the intimate relationship between these and a book’s function and material form. I then explore the reasons behind the prevalence of the word ‘rules’ in these titles – for instance, in Pietro Cerone’s *Le regole* (1609). This word signals the growing emphasis on providing practical guidance and knowledge for musical novices, usually in books that were small in size and short in length. Indeed, the printer Alessandro Vincenti listed practically oriented and (for the most part) slender music manuals in his 1621 index under the heading ‘Regole di musica’.

While arguing against the validity of the modern licences taken in two of Claudio Monteverdi’s madrigals, in 1600 Giovanni Maria Artusi stated that the ‘good rules’ of music were ‘in part founded upon experience, the mother of all things, in part observed in nature, and in part proved by demonstration’. *Regole di musica*, then, could either refer to the entirety of music theory or to one or several of its constituent parts. Indeed, the increasing association of music-theory books with the practical application of rules, rather than with the theoretical rules (and laws) outlined in *musica speculativa*, implies a shift in the musical significance of the word ‘regole’ over the course of the Renaissance. In short, I will show how such trends influenced the way that titles for treatises were chosen.

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2. Ascensión Mazuela Anguita (Institució Milà i Fontanals, CSIC, Barcelona)

*Artes de Canto and Music Teaching in the Renaissance Iberian World*

By following the connections between book history and education history pointed out by Roger Chartier, the purpose of this paper is to relate the history of music teaching to the history of a precise book category generally overlooked or undervalued in historical accounts, namely the *artes de canto*, or small-format books in the vernacular containing the main rules of religious chant, that were printed in the Renaissance Iberian world. Starting with a brief study of the functions of the *artes de canto* using as evidence the signs of use found in 100 copies analysed, this paper discusses the content of these handbooks in order to connect it with that of the music lessons given in different teaching contexts such as churches, universities and the private sphere. Usually unnoticed in the musicological historiography, Juan Martínez’s *Arte de canto llano* (1530), an extremely popular plainsong handbook reprinted at least 14 times in Spanish and translated into Portuguese through almost a century, is presented as a case-study. A reconstruction of the Castilian version of Martínez’s book by assembling its different sections from the preserved copies – some of them hitherto unknown – allows us to analyse the content, features and didactic quality of such a widely circulated work. Furthermore, the link that this paper establishes between Martínez’s book and the music teaching at Coimbra University in Portugal acts as evidence both of the relevance of the *artes de canto* as foundation of the process of music teaching in distinct contexts, in contrast with the generally held belief that they were use only in churches, and of the existence of differences in subject matter between the music lessons at Coimbra University and those at the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares.
3. Filipe Mesquita de Oliveira (Universidade de Évora)

The Recompositions of Buus’s Ricercare from his Libro primo (1547) in Manuscript P-Cug MM 242 and the Didactic Processes of the Friars of the Santa Cruz Monastery in Coimbra

This paper addresses the presence of seven recomposed ricercari by Jacques Buus in the manuscript P-Cug MM 242, based on the Libro primo de ricercari a quattro voci, published in Venice in 1547 by Antonio Gardane. These recompositions, probably copied in the third quarter of the 16th century, were made after the previously copied Buus’s ricercari in P-Cug MM 48. Besides the works mentioned, these manuscripts include mostly copies of motets and chansons from some of the most important Flemish and north Italian mid-sixteenth century prints. Two years ago I presented in Utrecht’s Med-Ren Conference 2009 the initial phase of the investigation done upon this manuscript and P-Cug MM 48, the other Coimbra manuscript in score-format which testifies the instrumental activity in mid-16th century Portugal.

P-Cug MM 242 includes copies of Buus’s recomposed ricercari in score-format, and this paper addresses the idea that the score-format served once as a pedagogical tool in the teaching of counterpoint through the music of a northern European master in the Santa Cruz Monastery in Coimbra. I show that the copies in the manuscripts were never intended to be used as a performing support – they contain many errors of vertical coordination between the voices that make the performance impossible – but testify instead to the didactic procedures of the friars. Through Buus’s recomposed ricercari, which were the object of many cuts, brief recomposed bridges, newly inserted sections, and written glosa figurations, I will describe the theoretic assimilation of formal processes, of style, mode, counterpoint and performing practice.
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| Italy   | Conservatorio of Music ‘S. Pietro a Majella’, Naples  
          Università degli Studi di Pavia/Cremona  
          Università di Bologna  
          Università Sapienza, Rome  
          Università degli Studi di Verona |
| Japan   | Tokyo University of the Arts |
| Netherlands | [Utrecht] |
| Poland  | [Poland]  
          [Warsaw]  
          University of Warsaw |
| Portugal| Universidade de Évora  
          Universidade Nova de Lisboa |
| Spain   | [Ávila]  
          [Granada]  
          Conservatori de Música Isaac Albéniz de la Diputació de Girona IES  
          Barcelona  
          Conservatorio Profesional de Música, Madrid  
          Conservatorio Superior de Música de Canarias  
          Escuela Superior de Canto, Madrid  
          Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya, Barcelona  
          Institució Milà i Fontanals, CSIC, Barcelona  
          Universidad Complutense, Madrid  
          Universidad de Cantabria, Santander  
          Universidad de Jaén  
          Universidad de La Rioja  
          Universitat de Lleida  
          Universidad de Salamanca  
          Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona  
          Universidad de Zaragoza |
| Switzerland | [Basel]  
          Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Bern |
| United Kingdom | All Souls College, Oxford  
          [Worthing]  
          Bangor University  
          Birmingham Conservatoire, Birmingham City University  
          Durham University  
          Exeter College, Oxford  
          Institute of Musical Research, University of London  
          King’s College, Cambridge  
          Magdalene College, Cambridge |
Queen’s College, Oxford
Robinson College, Cambridge
Royal Holloway, University of London
Royal Northern College of Music
St Anne’s College, Oxford
The Open University
The Queen’s College, Oxford
University of Aberdeen
University of Birmingham
University of Cambridge
University of Edinburgh
University of Exeter
University of Glasgow
University of Huddersfield
University of Manchester
University of Nottingham
University of Southampton
University of Surrey
West Dean College

United States
Boston College
Boston University
Bowdoin College
The City University of New York
De Paul University
Duke University
Eastern Illinois University
Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester
Florida University
Harvard University
Haverford College
[Indianapolis]
Northeastern Illinois University
Oberlin Conservatory of Music
Princeton University
Smith College
The Catholic University of America
The Johns Hopkins University
University of Alabama
University of California
University of Chicago
University of Colorado at Boulder
University of Michigan
University of Pennsylvania
University of Rochester
University of San Francisco
University of Tennessee
University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee
Wesleyan University
Western Kentucky University
Williams College
A note about the people after whom the rooms at the Institut d’Estudis Catalans are named

Enric Prat de la Riba (Castellterçol, 1870 – Castellterçol, 1917)
Enric Prat de la Riba, a doctor in law, became President of the Diputació de Barcelona in 1907, institution from which he fostered the creation of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans, the Biblioteca de Catalunya and, in 1914, the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, of which he was President; the latter institution coordinated the Diputaciones of the four Catalan provinces and carried out formidable work in infrastructure and culture, but it was banned in 1925 with the dictatorship of general Primo de Rivera. Prat de la Riba wrote numerous articles, such as the controversial “Missatge a S. M. Jordi I Rei dels Hel·lens” (1897). His articles were published in important newspapers such as La Renaixença and La Veu de Catalunya in Barcelona. Eugeni Ors called him the “wisdom of Catalonia”.

Pere Coromines i Montanya (Barcelona, 1870 - Buenos Aires, 1939)
A politician, writer and economist, Pere Coromines i Montanya was a founding member of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans in 1907. He graduated in law in Barcelona and was a member of both the Associació Escolar Catalanista and Salmerón’s Republican Party. As a writer, he worked as editor of La República and L’Avenç, and collaborated with La Humanitat and Revista de Catalunya. In 1896 he was arrested for the attack on Canvis Nous Street and went into exile to France in 1897. As an economist, he worked as a counsellor and secretary of the Bank of Catalonia. He was appointed President of the Unió Federal Nacionalista Republicana and participated in the campaign for the autonomy of Catalonia in 1918. He also held the position of President of the Ateneu Barcelonès. In 1931 he became a member of the committee to write the Catalan Statute of Autonomy and later he was appointed Deputy of Esquerra Republicana. As curator of the Museums of Catalonia he worked to avoid the destruction of Catalan heritage. In 1939 he went into exile to Buenos Aires, where he wrote El perfecte dandi i altres contes, published posthumously in 1940.

Joan Coromines i Vigneaux (Barcelona, 1905 - Pineda de Mar, 1997)
Joan Coromines i Vigneaux, son of Pere Coromines i Montanya, was a distinguished linguist and philologist who worked as a lexicographer at the Institut d’Estudis Catalans. He studied at the Universitat de Barcelona and at the Estudis Universitaris Catalans. At the Fundació Bernat Meige, he studied under Pompeu Fabra, publishing the latter’s Gramàtica catalana. After the Spanish Civil War he went into exile and from 1946 to 1967 he taught at the University of Chicago. From 1952, he combined his activities as a teacher with scientific research in Catalonia. As a philologist, he published editions of medieval texts as well as works on Tirant lo Blanc, Les Homilies d’Organyà, Eiximenis and Cerverí de Girona. Joan Coromines was awarded an honorary doctoral degree from the Sorbonne in 1978, received the Premi d’Honor de les Lletres Catalanes (1984) and the Spanish Premio Nacional de las Letras (1989). Among his works, Diccionari etimològic de la llengua (1980, 1990), Onomasticon Cataloniae (1989), and Diccionario crítico-etimológico de la lengua castellana (1954-1957) stand out.

Lluís Nicolau d’Olwer (Barcelona, 1888 - Mexico City, 1961)
He was a historian (Hellenist), journalist and politician. He studied Law at the Universitat de Barcelona and Philosophy and Literature at the Universidad de Madrid. After he joined the
Nationalist Youth of the Regionalist League, he became a Barcelona City Council Member in 1918. Founding member of the General Council of Catalan Action and director of the paper La Publicitat, he was a representative for Barcelona at the Mancomunitat de Catalunya’s Assembly, member of the Revolutionary Republican Committee, Representative at the Parliament in Madrid and President of the Republican Catalan Action. When the Spanish Second Republic was proclaimed in 1931, he was appointed Minister of Economy during Niceto Alcalá Zamora’s presidency. He was President of Barcelona’s Ateneu and also of the Spanish Delegation at the World Economic and Monetary Conference (1933). During Manuel Azaña’s presidency, he was the Spanish Bank Governor. He participated in the publication of La revista de Catalunya and El Poble Català. A representative for the Institut d’Estudis Catalans at the International Academic Union, he was a great scholar of Catalan history and literature, being interested mainly in the Catalan expansion in the Mediterranean. As a Latinist, he was interested in medieval lexicography and literature. After the Spanish Civil War he went into exile to Mexico.

August Pi i Sunyer (Barcelona 1879 - Mexico 1965)
He graduated in Medicine at the University of Barcelona and completed his doctorate at the University of Madrid. He worked as a physiology teacher assistant in Barcelona and later was appointed chair at the University of Seville. His scientific and teaching work at the Laboratori Municipal de Barcelona was remarkable, as he turned it into a paradigmatic centre of physiological research. In 1912 he founded the Societat Catalana de Biologia as part of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans; he was President of the Reial Acadèmia de Medicina de Barcelona, and director of Treballs de la Societat de Biologia, where he published most of his works. He achieved international prestige as leader of the Physiological Institut of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya. He also was a member of the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas de España, of El Consell de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, and of the Patronat de Govern de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. As music connoisseur, he presided over the Associació de Música de Cambra de Barcelona. Regarding his political activity, he founded the Unió Federal Nacionalista Republicana and was representative of the Partit Republicà Català for the district of Figueres. After the Civil War, he went into exile in France and Venezuela, where he was appointed professor at the University of Caracas. There he led the Instituto de Medicina Experimental and collaborated with the Instituto Pedagógico Nacional de Caracas. He was also founder and first president of the Centre Català de Caracas (1945).

Josep Puig i Cadafalch (Mataró, 1867 - Barcelona, 1956)
He was an architect, art historian and politician with a doctoral degree in Sciences. Lecturer at the Estudis Universitaris Catalans, he was doctor honoris causa at the Universities of Barcelona, Paris, Friburg and Toulouse. He was founder and contributor to La Veu de Catalunya and La Renaixença, and presided the Centre Escolar de Catalunya. He was also a founding member of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans in 1907, of which he was President between 1915 and 1956. Representative at the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, when Prat de la Riba died he succeeded him as President between 1917 and 1923. He was a member of the Patronat de la Biblioteca de Catalunya and presided over the Jocs Florals de Barcelona in 1935. He was co-founder of the Lliga Regionalista and a member of the Comitè d’Acció Política of this party. He became a Barcelona City Council Member and Representative at the
Parliament in Madrid. As an architect, he was one of the most important figures of the Modernisme; in Barcelona, among other houses, he built the Casa Martí (Els Quatre Gats, 1896), Casa Amatller (1900; next to Gaudi’s Casa Batlló at the Paseig de Gràcia) and Casa Terrades (Casa de les Punxes, 1905). He was also an excellent urban planner who stands out owing to the project to link Via Laietana with Barcelona’s ancient city centre, as well as for the reorganization of Plaça Catalunya and Plaça d’Espanya.

Biographies compiled and edited by the student helpers Adriana Camprubi Vinyals, Alicia Daufi Munoz, Ascension Mazuela-Anguita, Nuria Morera Canosa and Laura S. Ventura Nieto.
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