

Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference University of Sheffield, 5–8 July 2016

Organising Committee

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Welcome!

We are delighted to welcome you to the Department of Music at the University of Sheffield! The department boasts a rich tradition of research into medieval and Renaissance music: Denis Arnold and Gilbert Reaney studied here in the 1940s, and since the 1970s it has been the home of Byrd scholar Alan Brown. The city was also home to the pioneering period luthier Michael Plant, and continues to enjoy regular visits from top period performers, recently including the Dufay Collective, the Marian Consort and the Hilliard Ensemble. Currently the department hosts the Leverhulme Trust-funded project *Music in the Art of Renaissance Italy, c.1420-1540*, involving most of this year's conference organisers.

We have aimed to maintain MedRen's laudable inclusive and sociable traditions, but at the same time have sought to integrate research, performance and conviviality more seamlessly in the conference. This year, in the place of a wine reception, we feature a creative reconstruction of a masque held in Florence in the 1530s, featuring costumes, stories, live music, and, of course, masks. Also, instead of a full-length evening concert we have a conference consort--4D/O Beta--joining us throughout to contribute to workshops and provide live musical examples for papers.

The heart of the conference are the over 120 papers delivered by you, the delegates. In addition to individual papers, we have sponsored sessions from two of the biggest current UK-based music research projects, the *Tudor Partbooks* project based at Newcastle and Oxford, and the *Music in the Art of Renaissance Italy* project, headquartered here at Sheffield. We are also lucky to have keynote contributions from two outstanding figures. Linda Austern's seminal work on music and gender in Renaissance England will be familiar to all, and Emma Hornby leads what must be one of the most vigorous medieval music research clusters anywhere in the world at Bristol.

Sheffield is a friendly, relaxed city with a wealth of parks and gardens, and we hope you will enjoy your time here. As the home of John Ruskin, the city holds rich and diverse museum collections, which can be seen at the Graves Gallery, Millennium Gallery and Weston Park Museum. There are also significant historical sites to search out, including the early Tudor Bishop's House, Manor Lodge, and Sheffield Cathedral's Shrewsbury Chapel, and, a few miles outside the city, Chatsworth House and Hardwick Hall. Immediately to the west of the city is the beautiful Peak District National Park, which welcomes ten million visitors a year. Perhaps most importantly, a recent report named Sheffield the 'Real Ale Capital of the World', with 57 breweries in the city region.

We are hugely grateful to the University of Sheffield, the Music & Letters Trust, the Royal Musical Association and the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society for their generous support of this conference, and also to the department's Admin Office, the faculty's Finance Team, and the university's Room Booking Service for their indispensable practical assistance. In the circulation space you will find stalls from several publishers whose participation of course brings important income to the conference, and we hope you will support them by browsing their displays.

We wish you an enjoyable and productive conference!

The Organising Committee

Tuesday 5 July

	LT5	LT6	LT7	LT4
12:30-13:30	WELCOME			
13:30-15:00	S1: Printed sources of chant Chair: David Burn	S2: Music and Art in Renaissance Italy 1 Chair: Tim Shephard		S3: Fifteenth-Century English Music: In Memory of Brian Trowell Chair: Andrew Wathey
	Alessandra Ignesti (McGill University): Young Choristers in the Venetian Republic: Sources and Teaching Methods	Sanna Raninen (University of Sheffield): Music Books in Renaissance Italian Art: Formats and Performance		Margaret Bent (All Souls College, Oxford): <i>Sub Arturo plebs</i> Revisited
	Miguel Ángel López Fernández & Carmen Julia Gutiérrez (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): An invented repertoire? An approach to the process of composition of the Cisneros Cantorales	Laura Ventura Nieto (Royal Holloway, University of London): 'Sweet-Tasting Suffering': Religious Mysticism, Saint Teresa of Ávila and Italian Depictions of Saint Cecilia		David Fallows (University of Manchester): Fauxbourdon in the Carols
	Marianne C.E. Gillion (Universität Salzburg): 'Laborious efforts': The printing of early sixteenth century graduals	Antonio Cascelli (Maynooth University): <i>Armonia</i> , seeing, and hearing in Paolo Veronese's <i>Le nozze di Cana</i> .		Reinhard Strohm (University of Oxford): Uses of foreign polyphony in 15 th -century Austria
15:00-15:30	BREAK			

15:30-17:30	S4: Reformation Chair: Grantley McDonald	S5: Iberia - Sources Chair: Esperanza Rodriguez-Garcia	S6: Italy - the Long Sixteenth Century Chair: Dan Donnelly	S7: PERFORMANCE WORKSHOP <i>He Who Wins The Prize: Josquin, the true competitor</i>
	Matthew Laube (University of Cambridge / Université Libre de Bruxelles): Singing, Religious Identity and the Clandestine Book Trade in the Southern Netherlands, 1550–1600	David Andrés-Fernández (Universidad Austral de Chile / The University of Sydney): Four Spanish Manuscript Processionals at the University of Sydney	Elizabeth G. Elmi (Indiana University): Written and Oral Practice in Late-Quattrocento Neapolitan Song	Matthew Gouldstone & 4 O/Beta
	Alanna Ropchock (Case Western Reserve University): Fractured Cycles: The Polyphonic Mass in the Early Lutheran Liturgy	Andrea Puentes-Blanco (Institució Milà i Fontanals (CSIC, Barcelona) and University of Barcelona): Printed Books of Polyphony at Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria: New Unknown Editions by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Giuseppe Caimo	Bláithín Hurley (University of Warwick / University College Cork): Gossip, News and Music: The Barber Music Teacher in Early-Modern Venice	
	Luca Vona (University La Sapienza, Rome): Towards a Reformed Theology of Music during the Reign of Edward VI	Ana Sá Carvalho (University of Oxford): The Council of Trent and polyphony for the Office in Iberian sources	Momoko Uchisaka (University of Sheffield): Love and Madness in Isabella Andreini's Performance at the Medici Wedding in 1589	
	Samantha Arten (Duke University): Protestant Advocacy for Musical Literacy in <i>The Whole Booke of Psalmes</i>		Augusta Campagne (University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna): Lute and harpsichord together? - Evidence from the intabulations in the prints of Simone Verovio	
17:45-18:45				

Wednesday 6 July

	LT3	LT5	LT6	LT7
9:00–10:30	<p>S8: English song Chair: Lisa Colton</p>	<p>S9: Finding Individual Style in Detail: Analysis in Motet, Mass, and Madrigal Chair: Bonnie Blackburn</p>	<p>S10: Motet in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries 1 Chair: Paul Kolb</p>	<p>S11: Reshaping Medieval Song Chair: Helen Deeming</p>
	<p>Louise McInnes (University of Sheffield): Carols and Vernacular Musical Culture in the Late Middle Ages</p>	<p>Cathy Ann Elias (DePaul University): A New Look at the Compositional Process in "Je suis Deshéritée" Masses</p>	<p>Daniel Trocmé-Latter (Homerton College, Cambridge): "A modal idiot?" Mode and ficta in Billon's Postquam impleti sunt</p>	<p>Meghan Quinlan (Merton College, University of Oxford): 'In Fear for my Life': Trouvère Song, Political Unrest, and Contrafacture in King Louis IX's France</p>
	<p>Simon Bate (King's College London): 'Jesu swete now wyll I syng': A nun's songbook as witness to musical life in late medieval Chester</p>	<p>Dan Donnelly (University of Toronto, CRRS): Building the Poet's Toolbox: Musical Structure and Poetic Norms in the Cinquecento</p>	<p>Vicente Chavarría (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven): Séverin Cornet and that Flighty Temptress, The Quinta Pars</p>	<p>Matthew Thomson (St Peter's College, University of Oxford): Monophonic Song in Motets: Performing Quoted Material and Performing Quotation</p>
	<p>Catherine Evans (University of Sheffield): 'To ear and heart send sounds and thoughts of gladness, That bruised bones may dance away their sadness': Elizabethan settings of Psalm 51</p>	<p>Jennifer Thomas (University of Florida): Counterpoint, Stasis, and Trajectory: Controlling Time in Sixteenth Century Counterpoint</p>		<p>Henry Hope (Magdalen/New College, University of Oxford): Collecting Songs: Valentin Voigt and the Jena Songbook</p>
10:30-11:00	BREAK			

11:00-12:30	S12: Sixteenth-Century England Chair: Katherine Butler	S13: Shearing the Golden Fleece: A Multivalent Approach to L'homme Armé Chair: Jeffrey Dean	S14: Motet in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries 2 Chair: Christian Leitmeir	S15: Medieval and Renaissance Musical Legacy Chair: Owen Rees
	James Burke (University of Oxford): The 'Sadler' fragments (GB-Ob Mus. e. 21) and a lost mass Veni creator spiritus	Brett Kostrzewski (Boston University): Before Burgundy: early <i>L'homme armé</i> masses in France and the north	Lenka Hlávková (Charles University, Prague): On the style and function of unique polyphonic songs in the Strahov Codex (1467-1470)	Lorenzo Candelaria (The University of Texas at El Paso): The Creation of Euro-Aztec Catholic Song in Sixteenth Century Mexico
	Christopher Ku (Worcester College, University of Oxford): The English long-note cantus firmus: Ordinary texts for a proper tune	Matthew Hall (Cornell University): Brumel's <i>Missa L'homme armé</i> : style and transmission, 1485-1505	Jan Bilwachs (Charles University, Prague): The Motet Collection <i>Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum...fasciculus primus</i> by Carl Luython	Luiz Fiaminghi (State University of Santa Catarina, Brazil): Performing the Medievality of Brazilian Oral Traditional Music
	Samantha Bassler (Rider University / Rutgers University): A Case Study in Early Music and Disability Studies: Voice, Gender, and (Dis)ability in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, Othello, and Richard II	Rachel Kurihara (Boston University): Busnoys's <i>Missa L'homme armé</i> in Barcelona and beyond after c.1500	Esperanza Rodriguez-Garcia (University of Nottingham): Playing Motets in Alternative Performance Contexts 'per la bellezza & vaghezza loro'	Ed Emery (SOAS, London): Critical Categories for Analysis of Medieval Dance Songs: Calais, Dunkirk and Kurdistan
12:30-13:30	LUNCH			
13:30-14:30	CONFERENCE CONCERT AT FIRTH HALL			
14:30-15:00	Website Launch (Firth Hall): DIAMM, PRoMS, Prosopography of English Church Musicians			

15:30-17:30	S16: Chant and Liturgical Drama Chair: Marianne Gillion	S17: Renaissance Theory 1 Chair: Christian Goursaud	S18: Music, Materiality and History Chair: Barbara Eichner	S19: Printed Sources of Music Chair: Thomas Schmidt
	Henry Parkes (Yale University): Suspending the Suspension of the Alleluia: Observations on the Septuagesima Office and its Eleventh-Century Decline	Ian Lorenz (McGill University): Aron, Glarean, and Josquin's <i>Miserere</i>	Franz Körndle (University of Augsburg): What is an organ book?	Martin Ham (University of Surrey): Manfred Barbarini Lupus: composer and con artist
	Henry T. Drummond (Merton College, University of Oxford): Daring to Believe: Sounding Wonder in the Miracles of Castrojeriz	Sabine Feinen (Department of Musicology Weimar-Jena): "Cristóbal de Morales, the light of Spanish music": Cristóbal de Morales' Magnificats in Renaissance music theory	Erich Tremmel (University of Augsburg): Facts and omissions relating to Musical Instruments in the 16th Century	Elisabeth Giselbrecht (King's College London): Rediscovered songs: A manuscript addition to Peter Schöffer's third song book (1536)
	Zoltan Mizsei (Liszt Ferenc University of Music): Laus angelorum – traces of angelic singing in Gregorian chant and Renaissance motets	Alexander Jakobidze-Gitman (University Witten/Herdecke): Spirits within the Body: The Break in the Humoral Theory by Zarlino	Tess Knighton (Institució Milà i Fontanals, Barcelona): Written and Unwritten Musics in Sixteenth-Century Barcelona	Grantley McDonald (University of Vienna): Music, political panegyric and print at the court of Maximilian I
	Michael L. Norton (James Madison University): When Words Collide: The Illusion of Liturgical Drama	Johann Hasler (Universidad de Antioquia): The Musical Examples in Athanasius Kircher's <i>Musurgia Universalis</i> (1650)	Moritz Kelber (University of Salzburg): A history of music in 100 objects?	Louisa Hunter-Bradley (Royal Holloway, University of London): The production of Plantin's printed polyphonic music editions, 1578 to 1621
18:30	MASQUE AT CUTLER'S HALL (Church Street, Sheffield S1 1HG)			

Thursday 7 July

	LT2	LT6	LT7	StG
9:00-11:00	<p>S20: Songs in the Thirteenth Century</p>	<p>S21: Madrigal Chair: Antonio Cascelli</p>	<p>S22: Renaissance Theory 2 Chair: Ruth DeFord</p>	<p>S23: Tudor Partbooks: the manuscript legacies of John Sadler, John Baldwin and their antecedents. English sources, Henry VIII to Charles I Chair: Magnus Williamson</p>
	Catherine A. Bradley (State University of New York at Stony Brook): Mini Clausulae and the <i>Magnus liber organi</i>	Lucia Marchi (Northeastern Illinois University / De Paul University): Tasso, Marenzio and lesbian desire	Paul Kolb (University of Salzburg): Dots of division in theory and practice: Anomalies and their contexts	Daisy Gibbs (Newcastle University): Singing the French Crown: Two Henrician sources and an antiphon newly attributable to William Cornysh
	Tiess McKenzie (University of Saskatchewan): Two Sides to the Story: Binary Rhythm in the Bamberg and Montpellier Manuscripts	Sigrid Harris (University of Queensland): "Dolce veleno": Lust, Gluttony, and Symbolic Cannibalism in Carlo Gesualdo's <i>Ardita zanzaretta</i> (1611)	Adam Whittaker (Birmingham City University): Exemplifying Imperfection and Alteration in Fifteenth-Century Theory: A comparison of the approaches of Johannes Tinctoris and Franchino Gaforus	Hector Sequera (Durham University): William Byrd's incomplete unica works in GB-Lbl Add. MS. 31992: An assesment and reconstruction
	Warwick Edwards (University of Glasgow): Thirteenth-Century Latin song and the Idea of Musical Measure	Paul Schleuse (Binghamton University / State University of New York): Adriano Banchieri on the Delights of the Modern Madrigal	Alexander Morgan (McGill University): Detection of Intervallic Rhythm in Renaissance Music: A Systematic and Dynamic Tool for Fundamental Counterpoint Analysis	Katherine Butler (University of Oxford): Framing the Music: Borders for Printed Music and Music Paper c. 1560-1600
	Katherine Steiner (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto): The Lady of St Andrews: Singing Roses in the Mass	Evan Campbell (McGill University): Monteverdi's Medleys	Christian Goursaud (Birmingham Conservatoire): Scribal Process in the Presentation Manuscripts of Tinctoris's Music Theory	John Milsom (Liverpool Hope University / Newcastle University): Printed staves: what can we learn from them?
11:00-11:30	BREAK			

11:30-13:00	<p>S24: The Presentness of the Past and the Timelessness of the Present: Representations of Early Music on Stage and Screen Chairs: Adam Whittaker & James Cook</p>	<p>S25: Secular monody</p>	<p>S26: Music in the Royal Court of France Chair: Vincenzo Borghetti</p>	<p>S27: ROUND TABLE <i>Tudor Partbooks: Describing and Identifying Scribal Traits</i></p>
	<p>Lisa Colton (University of Huddersfield): Sacrificing the past, creating a timeless present: Music in <i>The Wicker Man</i> (1973)</p>	<p>Anne Levitsky (Columbia University): "Tell her, if it pleases her, to learn you and sing": Learning and Embodiment in the Troubadour <i>Tornada</i></p>	<p>Jeannette D. Jones (Boston University): The Bourbonnais in the 15 th century: Historiography and Patronage</p>	<p>Julia Craig-McFeely (DIAMM) and Katherine Butler (University of Oxford)</p>
	<p>Alex Kolassa (University of Nottingham): Presentness and the Past in Contemporary British Opera</p>	<p>Alexandros Hatzikiriakos (Sapienza University of Rome): The Chansonnier du Roi, Naples, and the geography of thirteenth-century music</p>	<p>Naomi Gregory (University of Rochester): Allegorical Resonances: Music's Role in Mary Tudor's Entry to Paris (1514)</p>	
		<p>Carlo Bosi (Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg): <i>Espérance Or</i>: The First Owner(s) of the <i>Manuscrit de Bayeux</i> (F-Pn, F. Fr. 9346)</p>	<p>Alex Robinson (Independent): The musical training of Louis XIII during the time he was dauphin (1601-10): evidence from the Journal of Jean Héroard</p>	
13:00-14:00	LUNCH			
14:00-16:00	<p>S28: Georgian Music Chair: Warwick Edwards</p>	<p>S29: Iberia - Performance and Reception Chair: Tess Knighton</p>	<p>S30: Music in the German-Speaking Areas Chair: Moritz Kelber</p>	<p>S31: WORKSHOP <i>Tudor Partbooks: Polyphonic reconstruction: stylistic freedom, uncertainty and invention</i></p>
	<p>Tamar Chkheidze (Tbilisi State Conservatoire): The Role and Function of Cantus Firmus in the Church Polyphony</p>	<p>Manuel del Sol (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): Lamentations of Jeremiah in Medieval and Renaissance Spain</p>	<p>Sanna Iitti (Independent): Itinerant Musicians in Hamelin's Piper's Legend</p>	<p>Magnus Williamson (Newcastle University): Lost Tenor of the Baldwin partbooks</p>
	<p>Khatuna Managadze (Batumi Art Teaching University): The Lent Chants in Georgian Notation Manuscripts of XIX c.</p>	<p>Santiago Ruiz Torres & Nuria Torres (Universidad de Salamanca & Universidad Complutense de Madrid): The reception of the hymn <i>Te matrem dei laudamus</i> in Castile.</p>	<p>Aaron James (Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester): Lost Canonic Instructions in the Salminger Prints?</p>	<p>Marina Toffetti (University of Padua): Reconstructing lost voices: towards a methodology</p>

		Julia Miller (Antwerp University): Recorder Use in Spanish Churches and Cathedrals in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries	Kirstin Pönnighaus (Department of Musicology Weimar-Jena): A Reconstruction of Venediers Masses - an attempt	Nicola Orio (University of Padua): Automatic Comparison of Reconstructed Parts
			Barbara Eichner (Oxford Brookes University): A cause for thanksgiving: Cipirano de Rore's "Agimus tibi gratias" and Imperial politics	
16:00-16:30	BREAK			
16:30-17:30				KEYNOTE 2: Linda Austern (Northwestern University): Anne Boleyn, Musician: A Romance Across Centuries and Media
17:30-18:00	BREAK			
18:00-19:00				S32: LIGHTNING TALKS
				David Burn (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven): The Savoy-Nemours Chansonier: A New Late Fifteenth-Century Song Source
				Štefánia Demská (Charles University, Prague): Traditions of Post-Pentecost antiphons in medieval music sources
				Max Erwin (University of Leeds): Mode/Row/Series: Medieval Thought (mis)Understood in Post-War Composition
				Gillian Hurst (University of St Andrews): The singing cadels of the St Andrews Gradual
19:30	CONFERENCE DINNER (Discovery Room, Inox Dine / Sheffield Students' Union, Level 5, Durham Street, S10 2TG; in the campus area			

Friday 8 July

	LT2	LT5	LT6	LT7
9:00-10:00	BUSINESS MEETING			
10:30-12:00	S33: Women Patrons in the Sixteenth century Chair: Jennifer Thomas	S34: A Prosopography of English Church Musicians: Pilot Project Chairs: Helen Deeming & Lisa Colton	S35: Composition and Analysis	S36: Songs in the Fourteenth Century
	Aimee E. Gonzalez (University of Florida): Saints, Sons, and Sovereignty: Mouton's <i>Gloriosa Virgo Margareta</i> in the Court of Anne of Brittany (1477–1514)	Roger Bowers (University of Cambridge): A Case Study: the College Royal of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Nicholas, Cambridge	Reiner Krämer & Julie E. Cumming (McGill University): The Supplementum: Structure and Evolution	Elena Abramov-van Rijk (Independent): Jewish traces in Italian medieval poetry: a revival of an old intuition
	Vincenzo Borghetti (Universita degli Studi di Verona): Reading Music, Performing Identity: Margaret of Austria and her Chansonier BrusBR 228	James Cook (Bangor University) & Ralph Corrigan (Independent): Towards a prosopography of Musicians in Pre-Reformation England and Wales 1	Christian Leitmeir (Magdalen College, University of Oxford): A 16th-century canon and its preservation in an album leaf of Johann Sebastian Bach	Zoltán Rihmer (Liszt Ferenc University of Music): “Ludowice” and “O Philippe”: Which came first?
Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita (Institución Milá y Fontanals, Barcelona): Women and networks of musical patronage in the sixteenth-century Iberian world: Ana de Mendoza, Princess of Eboli (1540-1592)	Ralph Corrigan (Independent) & James Cook (Bangor University): Towards a prosopography of Musicians in Pre-Reformation England and Wales 2	Bernadette Nelson (Universidade Nova, Lisbon): 'Missas de Requiem' in early 17th-century Lisbon: Traditions, Compositional Processes, Influences	Mikhail Lopatin (St. Hugh's College, University of Oxford): Tornando indietro: Dante, Petrarch, and the topos of return in the Trecento madrigal	
12:00-12:30	BREAK			

12:30-14:00	S37: Rome Chair: Noel O'Regan	S38: Music and Art in Renaissance Italy 2 Chair: Sanna Raninen	S39: Heroes of Early Modern Music in Historical Thought and Historiography Chair: Henry Hope
	Jeffrey J. Dean (Birmingham Conservatoire): Ritual, codicology, and Josquin's music for the Sistine Chapel	Serenella Sessini (University of Sheffield): Botticelli's Angels and the Representation of tactus in Renaissance Italy	Kai Marius Schabram (Liszt School of Music Weimar): Heroes and authorities in music historiographical concepts of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century Germany
	Mitchell Brauner (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee): Tomás Luis de Victoria's Lamentation Lessons	Laura Cristina Stefanescu (University of Sheffield): Giovanni Boccati, Music and the Sensory Experience in Paintings of the Virgin in the Garden	Michael Meyer (University of Zurich): Foundations of Music History: Concepts of Heroizing Composers in Sixteenth Century Germany
	Rosemarie Darby (University of Manchester): Triple-choir Mass settings in the archives of the Chiesa Nuova, Rome	Tim Shephard (University of Sheffield): Orpheus and the Animals: Representing Persuasion Musically	Stefan Menzel (Liszt School of Music Weimar): Arch Cantors and Mighty Fortresses - Lutheran Historiography and Culture Protestantism
14:00	CONFERENCE END		

POSTERS PRESENT IN THE FOYER:

Joanna Booth (University of Sheffield):

Music, Memory and Instruction on the 15th-century Cassoni Panels of Apollonio di Giovanni

Annabelle Page (University of Sheffield):

Virtue, Regulation and Disorder in Italian Representations of the Muses c. 1530

LT 2–7 at the Diamond Building (32 Leavygreave Road, Sheffield S3 7RD)

StG = St George's Church Lecture Theatre (St George's Terrace, Sheffield S1 4DP; opposite the Diamond)

5.2: Printed books of polyphony at Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria: new unknown editions by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Giosepe Caimo”
Andrea Puentes-Blanco, Institució Milà i Fontanals (CSIC, Barcelona) and University of Barcelona

Barcelona University Library preserves a rich bibliographical heritage consisting of manuscripts and printed books from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern period. Among the printed books, there is a collection of twenty-two printed books of polyphony from 1547 to 1613. The uniqueness of this collection lies in the existence of three unknown or lost editions by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (ca. 1525/26-1594) and Giosepe Caimo (ca. 1545-1584). These editions are: 1) the lost book of *Canzonette... libro primo* (Brescia, 1584) by Giosepe Caimo; 2) an unknown edition of Palestrina's *Litaniae* published by Angelo Gardano in 1582; and 3) another unknown reprint of Palestrina's *Libro primo de madrigali* for four voices (1580). Caimo's edition was dedicated to the Duke of Savoy, who visited Barcelona a year after the publication. This paper aims to present this collection of printed books in the general framework of the “Books of Hispanic Polyphony” research project carried out by the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC-Institució Milà i Fontanals) and, particularly, in the context of my own research about manuscript and printed books of polyphony at Barcelona in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century.

5.3: The Council of Trent and polyphony for the Office in Iberian sources
Ana Sá Carvalho, University of Oxford

It is possible to find, in musicological literature published as late as 1997, several misassumptions regarding the Council of Trent and its impact on sacred polyphony. Although these erroneous perspectives have been challenged since the 1940s, these more up-to-date theories have, for a long time, left out peripheral countries. More recently, however, some studies have approached the influence of the Tridentine Council in a more holistic and geographically broader fashion, namely in what regards the liturgy in the Iberian Peninsula. If some alterations were quite pragmatic, being materialised in the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum* and the 1570 *Missale Romanum*, others do not seem to have been so much on the level of particular musical features (hardly spoken of or specified during the Council, in fact) but much more on the creation of a certain atmosphere, which should be propitious to devotion and to the restoration of faith. This paper will look at the Hispanic polyphonic Office in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and in what ways it was (or not) affected by Tridentine decrees. This will hopefully contribute to a more balanced and knowledgeable perspective of Iberian Renaissance polyphony, both by its approach to a usually less studied repertory (polyphony for the Office) and by its research on a fundamental issue for Renaissance sacred polyphony: the aftermath of the Council of Trent.

The Council of Trent and polyphony for the Office in Iberian sources

‘When the Council of Trent convened for its third and final round of sessions in 1562, it took up a number of matters pertaining to church music. The noisiest debate centred on the nature of sacred polyphony. Simply stated, the Council put polyphony – specifically, the contrapuntal style of the Netherlands – on trial. The charges: such music obscured the words and too often infused sacred music with secular elements, as in parody Masses based on chansons or madrigals.’ I am quoting from the 1998 book of Allan Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, possibly one of the latest publications to reflect this long-standing perspective of the Council of Trent and its influence on music. This perspective has been progressively losing ground, as musicological research has gained access to documental sources. The 2002 article by Craig Monson, frequently mentioned by scholars, restricts the Council’s decisions on music to a highly ambiguous decree applied only the Mass [2.1] and one other which leaves the decisions concerning the proper way of singing and playing in the divine office with the local synods [2.2] - pivotal proof, according to Monson, of just how much the Council did *not* intend to legislate on liturgical music. In a recent seminar at the Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, Christian Leitmeir suggested a reflection on post-Tridentine sacred music which focuses more on specific local scenarios, which brings to the forefront the number of madrigal composers writing masses in the last quarter of the 16th century and which proposes a bold approach to the sacred musical style of this period: to think of it as if the Council of Trent had not regulated on music.

These, however, as most other studies and publications on post-Tridentine catholic polyphony, are pretty much circumscribed to Italy. As for many other subjects, the Iberian case is, by comparison, far less studied, a consequence of an issue which falls outside the scope of this paper: the state and challenges of musicological research in Spain and

Portugal, as well as their role and relevance on the international stage of Musicological studies.

How was, then, the Council of Trent and its decrees perceived in the Iberian Peninsula?

On 12 July 1564, Philipp II of Spain ordered the observance of the reformed rite - which would come to be locally known as the *nuevo rezado* - in Spain and all Spanish dominions. He also declared, in a 1578 letter to his ambassador in Rome, that no other liturgical books other than the official ones (the 1568 breviary and the 1570 missal) would be accepted in his kingdom. His compliance with the decrees of Rome was made, however, in a way that would ensure he had complete control over the process. The local synods were summoned, as determined by Trent, but under strict control of the Royal Council, namely through the presence of a representative of the king; all bishops and prelates were nominated by the Crown and the monopoly for the printing and sale of the new liturgical books was given to the Escorial, forbidding importation from Italy (a project which would come later to be undermined).

The first Spanish local synod after Trent took place in Tarragona, in 1564. Toledo, Valencia, Santiago de Compostela, Zaragoza and Granada followed, just the year after. Some dioceses would repeat these meetings, some 20 years later. In these local synods, music was treated not as an isolated issue, but always in the context of matters related to the liturgy. The depth and way of dealing with it, therefore, varied considerably. A single reference is made to word perception and exclusion of secular elements from the music: an act from the local council of Toledo, held in 1565 [3]. Its wording is basically the same as the so often quoted canon of Trent's 22nd session, discussed but never formally approved in the general congregations.

The subjects related to music that seemed to worry the prelates the most were essentially three. First on the list was the behaviour of singers in the *coro*, which should be proper

and sober. Toledo, for example, declares that the celebrations of mass and office are not to be disturbed by inappropriate behaviour, such as frivolous conversation [4]. This concern is not, of course, exclusive of the acts of Toledo or of provincial synods, but common in other contemporary sources, many of which without any relation to Trent. A description of censurable behaviour in a 16th century mass in Spain is given, for example, by the Franciscan friar Juan de Dueñas [5].

The second concern of the local synods was related to the knowledge of the repertoire, especially of plainchant. In Santiago de Compostela, the prelates decide that prebendaries in cathedrals and collegiate churches must be examined by the bishop on this matter. Should any display a poor knowledge of the chant, he would have six months to learn it properly, or else pay a fee of 10 ‘aureos’ [6]. The last concern regarding sacred music was the interdiction of some practices considered as inappropriate and taking place inside churches in particularly popular feasts, such as Christmas, Corpus Christi or other local celebrations.

Some of these feasts had, in Renaissance Iberian Peninsula, a very particular component during services, especially at Matins: music specifically written and rehearsed for these occasions. The *villancicos* were true shows taking place inside the churches, frequently involving dances and masks, performed to vast audiences and thoroughly cultivated, with an enormous success, throughout the 16th and 17th centuries in Spain and Portugal. That chapel masters were dispensed from their regular duties during these occasions in order to dedicate themselves entirely to this is telling of their importance. A Toledo ceremonial, dated 1604, makes a point of giving clear notice – three months before Christmas - that the time has come to start preparing the *villancicos* for this feast [7].

The adoption of the reformed breviary and missal took place during the 1570s, in all the most important Spanish cathedrals and dioceses, although this process would not run

smoothly, namely due to the already mentioned Phillip II's attempt at gaining the monopoly of the distribution of these books. Their general adoption resulted, naturally, in a certain standardisation of texts and calendar, but not of much else. For a start, the breviary and missal were, for 25 years, the only two official liturgical books issued by Rome, among the vast array normally used in Catholic mass and office. The *Pontificale Romanum* is published in 1595 and the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* in 1600. The *Rituale Romanum* only sees the light of day in 1604 and its use was not compulsory, but optional. As for books with musical notation, there was not - despite previous Italian editions of Graduals and Antiphoners - an official Tridentine Roman version of plainchant melodies. The attempts to reform the chant would eventually result in the *Editio Medicea* of 1614-15, which only includes the chants for the mass.

The adoption of a new breviary and missal did not mean, therefore, the abandonment of local practices; it did not mean obedience to proposals discussed but not approved in the Council of Trent and it did not even mean the obedience to official decrees.

I am going, now, to focus on the less studied – at least for Iberian music - polyphony for the Office, and particularly on hymns. Polyphonic hymns are almost exclusively written for Vespers, one of the most musically elaborated Hours of the divine office. The adoption of the new breviary implied the composition of new cycles of hymns or revision of pre-Tridentine ones. Robert Snow [8.1] analyses the process of revision of these cycles by three Spanish composers: Guerrero, Navarro, and Durán de la Cueva [8.2]. From this text, we can draw a few interesting conclusions. The first one is that, while there are certainly alterations made to hymns, these relate, in many cases, to the text and to the choice of strophes that are set polyphonically. On multiple occasions, the chant melodies are maintained, even if they are specifically local, and particularly if they are deeply rooted in a long tradition: it is the case of the Spanish melody of the hymn *Pange lingua*

(maintained by all 3 composers) [9] or, in the case of Durán de la Cueva, the melody used in the Christmas hymn *Veni redemptor gentium* which, although with the new text - *Christe redemptor omnium* - still maintains its pre-Trent 1st mode melody, instead of the new 8th mode one. Another important aspect to be withdrawn from Snow's study is the reference to several manuscripts copied after the adoption of the *nuevo rezado*, which maintain the versions of the hymn cycles as written before their Tridentine alterations. It is the case of manuscript 2-A from Guatemala Cathedral (whose mother institution is Seville) copied around 1605 and containing Guerrero's hymn cycle as written in the 1550s and, in Spain itself, the manuscript of Ávila Cathedral, n° 3, with Navarro's hymns as composed in the 1560s, according to the liturgical use of Ávila, but copied for the use of this cathedral in 1796.

In his study of polyphonic sources, repertoire and performance practices in Seville cathedral, Juan Ruiz Jiménez mentions the huge undertaking that meant the adoption of the reformed rite. The 1575 decision of the chapter implied not only the production of new books, especially chant ones – with a total expense of over 4 million *maravedís* – but also the renovation of old ones and even the creation of a *scriptorium* where all this process could take place. And yet, the evidence given by archival and documental sources is, again, the maintenance of many pre-Tridentine hymns, namely of their traditional melodies. The polyphonic Vespers Seville choirbook n° 2, copied around 1573-76, and used until as late as the 19th century, is a very interesting source, namely because it contains previously unidentified works by Guerrero, Ceballos and Navarro. For most of these hymns, the melodies used in Seville maintain a great stability, despite their several textual adaptations. These hymns would be used for about 3 centuries, namely Guerrero's cycle. They were complemented by the cycle of hymns to local saints copied in book n° 16, from the 1st half of the 17th century.

One interesting feature of this repertoire is to see how it evolves in terms of performance practice, adapting itself to different musical styles throughout time. One good example of this are the sheets of parchment where the 'Tantum ergo' strophe of Guerrero's *Pange lingua* is copied. [10]. There are 15 parts for the voices plus 4 for instruments and one for the chapel master. The vocal parts give a good idea of the spatial distribution of the performers: 1 SATB choir next to the great organ, 1 SATB next to the small organ and two (SST/SATB) in the *Capilla Mayor*, in the centre of the nave. The chapel master directed all these from this *capilla*, where he could have a visual perception of the whole ensemble. Another example is the 18th century copy of the *Pange lingua* by 15th century composer Juan de Urreda, with a figured bass to the 4 voices [11] [The '1560' annotation on top is probably the date of the source from where it was copied].

As for Portugal, the reception of the Council has also its particular features. Between the 1530s-60s, the most important dioceses - except for the ancient local rites of Braga, Évora and Coimbra - seem to have welcomed the Roman liturgy, as testified by the printed missals, breviaries and ceremonials found in most of the main institutions around these dates. This generalised adoption of the Roman liturgy was mainly encouraged by the prelates of the Royal Family, cardinals D. Henrique and D. Afonso, sons of king D. Manuel. D. Henrique was archbishop of [12] Braga, Évora and Lisbon and D. Afonso Archbishop of Évora, succeeding his brother. Indeed, the Portuguese Royal chapel followed at this time the Roman liturgy (even if influenced by the rite of Salisbury, brought to Portugal sometime after 1387 by Philippa of Lancaster, wife of king D. João I). Curiously enough, then, the acceptance of the new breviary and missal was far from straightforward. The reformed breviary, whose printing privilege had been given by Rome to the Italian Paolo Manutio, was apparently hard to get hold of. In 1569, king D. Sebastião writes to the Pope, explaining that the absolute lack of reformed breviaries in

Portugal meant that the new Office had not yet been adopted. The papal permission to print, in Portugal, copies of the breviary and of the missal came in 1570 and in 1573, respectively. The first reformed missal printed in Portugal was issued in 1575. As for the breviary, it is yet unknown what happened with the printing licence, but the fact is that there isn't a single exemplar of a printed Pius V breviary in Portugal in the last quarter of the 16th century. What we do have is a 1585 *Enchiridion Missarum*, [13] with plainchant melodies and the Tridentine texts of the Sunday and Votive masses, Vespers, Compline and Office of the Dead. The most important Portuguese religious houses, both monastic and secular, although adopting the new reformed liturgy, did it with certain constraints. The Augustinian Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra implements the new rite in 1569, but chooses to maintain its own plainchant melodies. This is made clear both in the act of the general chapter as in their Ceremonial, printed 10 years later [14]. The Cathedral of Évora follows, in 1570, although maintaining their *Processionale* and *Rituale*. The rector of the choir boys of this cathedral complains about the lack of proper chant books in 1593. The cathedral of Braga, head of the Archdiocese, having a rite older than 200 years, chose to keep their own liturgy.

As for printed antiphoners and graduals, they are scarce in Portugal until the early 18th century. Heavily revised early 16th century manuscripts are, on the contrary, quite common. These would be the ones used for nearly 250 years in the daily celebrations of Portuguese churches. As for local polyphonic sources and repertory, all the ones of the last quarter of the 16th and early 17th centuries are manuscripts, since the earliest polyphonic printed book from a Portuguese composer dates from 1602.

Of the polyphonic hymns preserved in Portuguese sources, only one displays an alteration that makes it conform to the 1568 Breviary: the hymn for Trinity, which changes its text from *Adesto Sancta Trinitas* to *O lux beata Trinitas*. This happens in 3 polyphonic

manuscripts, being that in one of them (copied around 1550 but used long after) the original text is erased and turned into the new one [15]. This happens in the only complete polyphonic hymn cycle in Portugal, where no other work is altered. In the meantime, two new main genres emerge in polyphonic sources dated between 1580 and 1620: on one hand, cycles of responsories for the *Triduum*, and, on the other, the *chansonetas*, vernacular songs of a devotional character, usually performed at Mass and at Matins of Christmas and Corpus Christi.

What picture can we then draw of Iberian church and its music from the last quarter of the 16th-century onwards? The one that seems to emerge is that of a Church developing in a sinuous and gradual process that extended from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The expressions of a new Church and a new religiosity were perceptible on sacred music and artistic manifestations, as well as on the everyday life of the laity, linked to the Church at such a deep level at this time. The diverse ways in which the norms of the Council of Trent were adopted and perceived in different countries within the Christendom seem therefore to go well beyond specific rules, and they do seem to render true the statement of Craig Monson on this subject [16]: ‘The history of post-Tridentine sacred music is therefore local history, characterized not by uniformity, but by fascinating diversity’.