Manuel da Costa Fontes’s study of the modern Portuguese and Brazilian poem *Vida de freira*, and its comparison with three sixteenth- (1550 and 1568) and early seventeenth-century Spanish versions, has focused on the structural and social changes that occurred during the poem’s transmission in oral tradition across the centuries. The poem in its varied versions deals with the laments of women who were unwillingly consigned to the cloister during medieval and renaissance times, and perhaps even later. The titles of two, “Lamentaciones de vna monja” (1568) and “Lamentaçao de húa freira que meterão no mosteiro menina” (early 17th cent.), the latter in Portuguese, attest to their generic poetic classification as laments.

Graciela S. Daichman mentioned that earlier generic equivalents were known as far back as the twelfth-century in a Latin Planctus monialis, as well as in the vernacular French chanson de nonne and German Klosterlieder or Nonnenklagen of coeval and later times.

1 See his article, “Vida de freira en la tradición oral luso-brasileira,” in this homage volume.

2 G. S. DAICHMAN, *Wayward Nuns*, pp. 13-15. P. DRONKE (*Poetic Individuality*, pp. 27-28), mentioned that “Latin melody-types from the ninth and tenth centuries — planctus sterilis, planctus Bertanae — point to the existence of early lost Latin women’s laments, a type that [flowered] in the eleventh century in the exquisite *Levis exsurgit zephyrus*, and the grimmer [seven stanza, twelfth-century] lament of a nun, «Plangit nonna, fletibus»” (MS Roma, Vat. lat. 3251, fol. 178v), whose text both he (*Medieval Latin*, Vol. II, pp. 357-358) and Daichman (pp. 67-69) duplicated in their respective studies. It was first published by M. VATTASSO in his “Contributo”, p. 124. The Latin exclamation of grief, hue misella (‘Woe is me!’), which permeates the lament, is undoubtedly an early counterpart of ¡Ay de mi!.

3 G. S. DAICHMAN (*op. cit.*) devoted almost an entire chapter to the *Chanson de nonne*, pp. 65-102.
Taken collectively, such outspoken plights, which candidly expressed the deprivation of a secular life with all its trials and tribulations, displayed yearnings for a return to the outside world or, at times, sought death as a means of liberation. Although A. L. Lloyd did not include them as a sub-category in his discussion of laments, his description of the two kinds of expression — grief and discourse — found universally among such "poetic forms related to or inspired by mourning rites for the dead or ritual leave-taking, as in the case of bridal laments," can be applied, in the latter case, to our genre. Grief, which Lloyd referred to as the *planctus*, represented for him "moments of crisis... sometimes accompanied by the self-infliction of physical pain." Discourse, on the other hand, was "a relatively rational communication and a lyrical resolution of suffering."

That these lamentful poems were sung, one can be certain. Yet, to date not a single traditional melody or tune contrafact connected with such poems has been located in Iberian Peninsula sources prior to the sixteenth century. The earliest musical settings of such poems can be found in two sixteenth-century Spanish sources. A third, yet somewhat remotely-related setting made by an anonymous composer, is in a Portuguese *cancioneiro* dating from the turn of the seventeenth century. The fact that all three were linked to the same poetic text proves that its popularity was substantial enough to inspire separate musical treatments. Yet, it is difficult to prove whether each was based on a particular traditional tune. Even to suggest that the first six tones (from the *tiple* parts of the Spanish and all the parts of the Portuguese setting) may have been taken from a current tune, sharing the same initial verse, "Ay de mi, sin ventura," is a remote possibility. In the course of this short study, it will also be shown how markedly their textual treatments varied.

Of the Spanish settings, the first was created by Juan Navarro (ca. 1530-1580) as a four-part [*tiple primero*, *tiple segundo*, al-
MUSICAL SETTINGS OF VIDA DE FREIRA

669

tus, and tenor] madrigal, which he entitled "La monja" (see Ex. 1). His setting appeared twice among the 177 polyphonic compositions in the Libro de tonos antiguos con sus letras (c. 1569), which originally belonged to the Biblioteca de la Casa del Duque de Medinaceli (Madrid). Bartolomé José Gallardo (1776-1852) was the first to describe the Libro de tonos and its poetic contents, and Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894) was the first to transcribe Navarro's setting in modern notation.

stated that "Juan Navarro was born at Seville about 1530, and died in Mexico after 1604" ("Catalogue," p. 497).

6 It can be found in primary source B.1 (fols. 43'-44 and 151'-152, resp.).

7 M. Querol (Cancionero musical, p. 32) placed its theme, i.e., poetic content, under the category of Temas de índole folklórica, which also included the madrigal dialogado "Ay Jesús qué mal fraile y enportuno" (fols. 199'-200) (= Querol, no. 98), and which J. B. Trend ("Catalogue," p. 505) questioned as belonging to Navarro.

8 Refer again to the citation under primary source B.1.

9 He described it under the entry "Anónimos," where it was listed as item number 1223: "Libro de tonos antiguos con sus letras (B.-M.). Este título he puesto de mi mano en el forro de un tomo en folio, pergamo. Consta de unas 200 hojas, letra de fines del siglo XVI..." (see his Ensayo, Vol. I, col. 1203). M. Querol, who copied the same quote (Cancionero musical, p. 13) and who had studied the original manuscript, reported that its "hojas no son de pergamo... sino papel," yet he agreed with Gallardo that the manuscript was dated "del final del XVI," even though he misquoted him: "la copia no es de fines del siglo XV [sic]." J. B. Trend also described its contents in his "Catalogue," 489-508, referring to it as Tonos castellanos (A) [13230]. By present standards, both his and Gallardo's descriptions are unreliable and inconsistent, although many of Trend's musicological comments are informative. However, in his introduction (p. 486), where he called attention to the Spanish (Castilian) madrigals belonging to the Medinaceli library, Trend caused considerable confusion by mentioning that they were "found in the two Ms. volumes first described by Gallardo under the name of Tonos castellanos." To clarify this matter, it should be mentioned that Gallardo's preceding entry, no. 1222 (cols. 1193-1203), comprises a description of Tonos castellanos (B.-M.), which Trend also described under the title Tonos castellanos (B) [13231] (ibid., pp. 508-518). In spite of this distinction, the first volume, Libro de tonos, can also be obtained under the name Tonos castellanos, now housed at the Biblioteca Bartolomé March (Madrid). Querol (ibid., pp. 16-21) provided a handy and more accurate synoptic table, which lists the entire contents of the Libro de tonos (in numerical order by folios, textual incipits, musical genres, number of voices, and by composers, together with useful observations).

10 Of Navarro's duplicated settings of "Ay de mi, sin ventura," only the latter (fols. 151'-152) bore the title "La monja." However, a closer look at each setting will reveal that they were copied by the same hand, though, at times, with distinct orthographic differences. Only in the upper left corner of the initial folio of the first setting (fols. 43'-44), do we see the name "Nau-
cription to Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), who published it, in 1918, in the third volume of his *Cancionero musical popular español* (no. 79) (see Ex. 2)\(^{11}\). Thirty-three years later, Miguel Querol Gavaldá included the first (fols. 43v-44) of its duplicated setting among the ninety-seven musical transcriptions\(^{12}\), which he made of only the secular polyphonic works contained in the *Libro de tonos*, and which

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\(^{11}\) Published at Valls, a small town near Tarragona, by Eduard Castells. PEDRELL (p. 41) acknowledged that the transcription was made by Barbieri, who placed it at his disposal and which bore, in Barbieri's hand, the words “Hallazgo y transcripción de F. A. Barbieri.” Moreover, Pedrell recalled that: “Barbieri andaba, hace años de esto, ocupado en transcribir de un ¿códice? toda una colección de obras por el estilo de la presente, es decir, de índole profana. Mi ilustre amigo Julio Gómez, del Cuerpo de Archiveros, compositor y conocedor de las existencias del fondo de obras de Barbieri existentes hoy en la Bib. Nacional, recordará, sin duda, si existe en dicho fondo el proyecto de referencia del cual se deduzca el proyecto que acabo de recordar, esto es, si existe el tal códice de composiciones profanas de Juan Navarro.” Indeed, Barbieri included in his inventory (Fondo Barbieri, MSS 14.036·30·37) of *Cólices musicales* at the Biblioteca de Medinaceli in Madrid the following description: “‘Libro de tonos antiguos con sus letras (Citado con este título en el Inventario de 1842 — Es un vol. ms. del s. xvi con música de Francisco y de Pedro Guerrero, de Diego Garçon, Morales, Ginés de Morata, Navarro y otros compositores españoles). — Fol. Pergo.” (See E. CASARES, ed. Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, Vol. I, pp. 545-546.) This confirms that Barbieri had planned to transcribe either the entire *códice* or, perhaps, only the works of Navarro.

\(^{12}\) These comprise the musical genres: baile cantado (1 item), canción (25), ensalada (1), madrigal (43), madrigal dialogado (2), romance (3), villancico (18), villanesca (13), and an anonymous three-part textless setting. Among these, Navarro contributed, in addition to the madrigal “‘La monja,’” three others (“Sobre una pena de la mar batia,” fols. 65v-67 “‘Ay [mi] soledad amarga,’” fols. 77v-78; and “Ribera el sacro Darro,” fols. 192v-194 [= QUEROL, nos. 45, 55, and 93, resp.], a canción (“‘No ves, amor, q sta gentil moçuela,’” fols. 136v-137 [= Querol, no. 76]), and two villancicos (“‘Buelve tus claros ojos,’” fols. 32v-34, and “‘Siendo mios, di pastor,” fols. 72v-73 [= Querol, nos. 26 and 50, resp.]). J. B. TREND (“Catalogue,” pp. 496-497) added to Navarro’s attributions, “‘Prado verde y florido,’” fols. 64v-65 [= Querol, no. 44], and “‘Siendo de amor Susana reçrida,’” fols. 201v-202 [= Querol, no. 100], for which M. Querol credited Francisco Guerrero and Orlando de Lassus, respectively. For Navarro’s “‘Ribera el sacro Darro,’” Trend (p. 491) cited Rodrigo de Cevallos as its composer. As was the case with Navarro, two composers shared the name Rodrigo de Cevallos. For a clarification of their identities, see S. RUBIO, *Desde el ‘Ars Nova’*, pp. 158-161.
he published in a two-volume critical edition entitled *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli (Siglo xvi)* (Barcelona, 1949-1950).

Example 1: Juan Navarro's setting of "La monja" from *Libro de tonos* (fol. 151v-152) (order of voices: tiple primero, altus, tiple segundo, and tenor):
Example 2: Barbieri’s transcription of “La monja” (Pedrell 1918:III, pp. 184-188):

La monja

Juan Navarro.
¡Ay! ay que Regla tan pesada
fuego vivo ¡Ay! ay que Regla tan pesada

¡Ay! ay que Regla pesada
fuego vivo ¡Ay! ay que Regla pesada

Da, triste core a triste coro,
datris te core impor tu no impor,

da triste core impor tu no

datris te core impor tu no
¿Para qué fue belleza, para qué fue belleza y gracia en belleza, para qué fue belleza y gracia...
MUSICAL SETTINGS OF VIDA DE FREIRA

da? Vida de sespe-ra da ¡ay quegransinha

zón, que ley tan fuer-te, que nos dé li-ber-tad

que nos de que nos de li-ber-tad so-

li-ber-tad que nos de que nos de li-ber-tad so.
The musical notation for two of the voice parts in Navarro's setting appeared in separate manuscripts, the first of which may have constituted a partbook for the *tiple segundo* ('second soprano') (see Ex. 3)\(^\text{13}\), whereas the second was notated in the *altus* (or pos-

\(^{13}\) See primary source C.1. It is strange that, on the title page, Francisco Guerrero was not mentioned as a major contributor, for in this manuscript eight works were attributed to him, surpassing those of Navarro by two. R. Stevenson called this a soprano partbook (*Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 218), given the fact that Navarro's *tiple segundo* ('second soprano') is contained therein. Askins and Sage ('The Musical Songbook,' p. 135, n. 12) are of the opinion that, in spite of the year 1548, given on its title page, the manuscript was compiled in the late sixteenth century. In 1548, Navarro would have been about eighteen years of age; however the title *maestro*, which he first earned "when he succeeded Bernardino de Ribera as *maestro de capilla* of Ávila Cathedral" on either 15 April 1563 (according to R. Stevenson, "Navarro, Juan (i)," p. 82) or 26 February 1564 (according to Samuel Rubio, *Desde el 'Ars Nova'*, p. 156), appears to strengthen their opinion. It should also be mentioned that, according to Pedro Aizpurua ("Juan Navarro," p. 339), Valladolid "no fue Catedral ni Obispado hasta 1595. Es, pues, en el cuadro histórico de Catedrales españolas, una Colegiata tardía, lo que no resta nada a la brillante histórico de la Colegiata como tal desde el siglo xi." Aizpurua found in the *actas capitulares* of the Cathedral de Valladolid, the mention of Juan Navarro as Maestro de Capilla for the date 17 February 1564, on which "pide permiso para ausentarse de Valladolid «a un negocio por diez días»." Here follows Aizpurua's observation, after encountering additional facts: "Justamente, el 24 del mismo mes y año es nombrado maestro de Capilla de la Catedral de Ávila. En las actas del 6 de marzo siguiente, aparece como despedido de Valladolid. Creo que esta rigurosa coincidencia de fechas entre su salida de Valladolid y entrada en Ávila, elimina cualquier duda sobre la identidad de Juan Navarro, Maestro de Capilla de la, entonces, Colegiata de Valladolid. Se trata, pues, del
sibly tenor) partbook from the Cathedral of Valladolid14, "copiada en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI" (see Ex. 4)15.

Example 3: *Tiple segundo* from Navarro’s setting (fols. 28v-29):

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fol. 28v
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polifonista sevillano que pasó a Ávila, después a Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, y finalmente, a Palencia."

14 See primary source C.2. H. Anglés referred to it as Ms. 17, comprising 105 items. His inventory can be found in "El Archivo Musical," 83-86, wherein the aforementioned fol. 2v bears the attribution "anónimo." Anglés described the manuscript (ibid., p. 83) as a tenor partbook, whereas Stevenson (Spanish Cathedral Music, p. 218) referred to it as an alto partbook, following Navarro’s nomenclature. Additional *altus* parts by Navarro included notations for "Sobr’una pena do la mar batia" (no. 3, fol. 3v), "O mar, mar fiel de mis ojos" (no. 4, fol. 4v). These were the two attributions printed by J. M. Llorens in his most valuable catalogue of sixteenth-century polyphonic vocal and instrumental works ("La música española," p. 291), wherein he apparently followed Anglés’s commentary. From my personal perusal of the *Canciones musicales... 1548*, yet without having seen the entire Valladolid MS., I believe that Navarro may have been the composer of Anglés’s anonymous attribution of "Pastora que mis ojos hazes fuentes" (no. 9, fol. 9v) and that Francisco Guerrero, rather than [Melchor] Robledo composed the setting for "Rosalles mirtos platanos y flores" (no. 12, fol. 14v). Concerning the latter, Querol (Cancionero musical, I, p. 18), stated that "Valladolid, f. 15v [sic!], trae el *Altus* de una composición a 4 voces de Robledo sobre el mismo texto," that is, referring to the four-part setting by Rodrigo Cevallos in the *Libro de tonos* (fols. 71v-72 and 94v [= Querol, nos. 49 and 63, resp.]) Incidentally, Robert Stevenson (Spanish Cathedral Music, p. 218) identified Francisco Guerrero as the composer of several of Anglés’s anonymous attributions: "Prado verde y florido," no. 15 (fol. 18), "Dexo la venda," no. 16 (fol. 18v), and the textless melody, no. 19 (fol. 21), which he identified as "Vana esperançà." He also discovered an additional Guerrero work, totally ignored by Anglés, "Dívina ninfa mía" (fol. 17). However, Navarro composed more than a dozen motets for the liturgical service at the Colegiata de Valladolid, whose contents are listed in P. Aizpurua’s "El códice musical," pp. 54-57.

Example 4: *Altus* from Navarro's setting (fols. 2v-3):
The poem, set by Navarro, is divided into two stanzas, containing six and seven verses, respectively, with the rhyme schemes: abbacc and deeddff. Although counterparts for each of the stanzas can be found among the canciones and villancicos of Juan del Encina, not one of the latter’s resembles our stanzaic structure, comprising two unequal and entirely different melodic strophes:

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ (melody phrases)
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz (verse rhymes)
Navarro, who called his setting a madrigal rather than lament, appears to have followed the current usage. In spite of its doleful contents, Navarro’s text underlay did not entirely satisfy Willis Barnstone’s definition of the madrigal as “a brief conceptual poem, inspired by love or nature, usually in the form of the *silva*” (*Spanish Poetry*, p. 41). Prof. Dorothy C. Clarke, who brought this definition to my attention and to whom I’m grateful for her analysis of the versification, also suggested the more sensitive definition from the Real Academia Española’s sixth edition (Madrid, 1939) of the *Diccionario de la lengua española*: “Composición poética en que se expresa con ligereza y galanura un afecto o pensamiento delicado y la cual es breve por lo común, aunque no tanto como el epigrama, a cuyo género pertenece y se escribe más ordinariamente en la composición métrica llamada *silva*.” In her “A Chronological Sketch” (p. 365), Clarke defines the *silva* as:

[... ] a poem in Italianate verse (eleven- and seven-syllables) in which the poet makes his strophic divisions at will, usually in unequal lengths, and rhymes most of the lines without set pattern, sometimes leaving a few lines unrhymed. More than two consecutive rhymes according to strict rule, are not permissible. Other meters may be used. Sometimes considered a form of Italianate *canción* and called *canción libre*.

Musically speaking, M. Querol (*Madrigales españoles*, p. 7) explained that, in the sixteenth century, the madrigal was the highest form of secular music, but that the quality of the Spanish was more inferior to the Italian. He also mentioned that the greater portion of villancicos from Spain’s Siglo de Oro were “auténticos madrigales disfrazados («authentic, yet somewhat disguised madrigals»),” bearing the external form of the villancico. Moreover, Querol (*Transcripción e interpretación*, pp. 141-144) explained the characteristics of the madrigal, its external form and contents — examples of which he included in his critical edition of the Medinaceli *Libro de tonos*. He also commented upon its cultivation in Spain.

The second Spanish setting, for voice and vihuela, was made by Esteban Daça (fl. 1575) (see Ex. 5). It is actually an intabu-

\[16\] See primary source B.2 (Libro tercero, fols. 85v-87r). Daça included among his villanescas an additional intabulation of one of Navarro’s canciones, “No ves, amor, ¿sta gentil mocuela,” also from *Libro de tonos* (no. 129, fols. 136v-137 [= QUEROL, no. 76]). For additional insights concerning Daça’s book, see J. WARD, *The Vihuela de mano*, pp. 358-363, and J. GRIFFITH’s “The Vihuela Book El Parnasso” 37-51.
lution of Navarro’s setting, from which Daça utilized the *triple primero* (‘first soprano’) part for the vocal solo. Disregarding Navarro’s designation, Daça labeled his setting a *villanesca*\(^{17}\). A comparison of Navarro’s melody and Daça’s adaptation reveals notable differences, even more in their respective textual underlays (see Ex. 6)\(^{18}\).

Example 5: Esteban Daça’s setting:

\[\text{Navarro} \quad \text{Libro tercero.} \quad \text{Villanescas}\]

\[\text{Otra Villanesca a quatro de Navarro, señalese la clau de C solfáit quarta en segundo traste, y señalese la voz del triple con vosos puntislos.}\]

\[\text{Ex. 5} \text{ (Esteban Daça’s setting): Libro tercero. Villanescas}\]

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\(^{17}\) According to R. STEVENSON (*Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 217) the term “made its first peninsular appearances in the vihuela tablatures of Pisador (Salamanca: 1552) and Fuenllana (Seville: 1554)”, wherein it “applied exclusively to examples of Italian origin […] however, by the time […] Daza published his *El Parnasso* (Valladolid: 1576), the term had lost its vogue in Italy — where *villanella* replaced it after 1570 — and had become domesticated in Spain to mean a thoroughly madrigalian Spanish song; preferably a 4.” This was confirmed by D. ARNOLD (in S. SADIE, ed. *The New Grove*, vol. XX, p. 771), who stated that (in Italy) “from the 1530’s to the mid-1550’s, *villanesca*, *canzone villanesca* or *canzone villanesca alla napolitana* were the preferred names on title-pages of printed anthologies.” It was replaced by *villanella* and “increasingly adopted by Venetian publishers in the 1570’s to become the standard form by the end of the century.” In the *Enciclopedia universal, villanesca* was defined as “cancioncilla rústica antigua. Danza que se acompaña con este canto.” F. PEDRELL produced a somewhat curious definition, stating that it was “especie de poesía rústica, cuyas estrofas terminaban por un estribillo” (see his *Diccionario técnico*, p. 495), undoubtedly referring to those with the *caballo*, i.e. “antiguo estribillo de algunas canciones jocosas que estuvieron muy en boga en España en el siglo pasado” (18th cent.) which included *villanescas* (p. 60).

\(^{18}\) For the comparison, I followed more closely Zayas’s transcription.
A quatro.

Libro tercero.

Fol. 86.

Nabarro.

Libro tercero.

Villancicos
A quatro.

Libro tercero.

Guerrero.

Villanescas

Otra Villanesca a quatro de Guerrero, señala la clau de C solfae en la quarte, ha en seguido trasfe, y señala la voz del triple con unos puntíllos.
Example 6: A comparison of Navarro’s and Daça’s setting. The bracketed texts under Daça’s transcription represent Morphy’s text underlay:
The third setting, composed for four-voices (tiple, altus, tenor, and bassus) by an anonymous composer (Portuguese?), was dis-
covered among seventeen three- and four-part polyphonic compositions in a Portuguese cancioneiro musical by Arthur L.-F. Askins and Jack Sage\(^\text{19}\). Also entitled madrigal, the work is highly reminiscent of the sophisticated madrigal settings of Cipriano de Rore (1516-1565)\(^\text{20}\). It begins with the initial melodic motive \((x + y, \text{as depicted in Example 8})\) dispersed among the voices in stretto (\textit{altus}-tenor-\textit{bassus}-\textit{tiple}); the \textit{altus} and tenor proceeding in 5ths almost simultaneously, with the \textit{bassus} entering on the tenor’s cadential tone, moving almost simultaneously in octaves with the \textit{tiple}. The \textit{altus} and \textit{tiple} continue with subtle repetitions of the opening phrase. A complete analysis of the work would not serve our purpose here; however, among the voices, the \textit{tiple} (see Exs. 7 and 8) appears to be linked remotely to the Navarro and Daça melodic lines (compare Ex. 8 with 6).

Example 7: The \textit{tiple} from the anonymous Portuguese setting:

19 See primary source B.3. ASKINS/SAGE (\textit{op. cit.}, 132) described the setting as tri-sectional (\textit{pars}): the first, “Ay de mím sin ventura / Ay vida trabaio-sa entre paredes” (fol. 59\(^v\)); the second, “Ay Regla pesada i triste / pera q fue beldad y grâ[tia] e uno . . . ” (fol. 61\(^v\)), and lastly, “Ay q grâ sin razô / y mal fuerte . . . ” (62\(^v\)). A. RESTORI (“Il Cancionero Classense 263,” p. 119) referred to the canción as having three strophes (stanzas?); however, one would have to see the manuscript to verify this.

20 Although M. MORAIS (\textit{Cancioneiro musical}, p. 110) fully agrees that the “copying of the musical part must have been carried out at roughly the same place and date as indicated in the Ms.: \textit{Porto, 1603 . . . }” he feels that “its forms, contents and musical style would suggest that the songs may have been composed between c. 1550 and c. 1580.”
Example 8: An unmeasured melodic transcription of Example 7, displaying remote fragmented concurrences with Example 6:
The opening melodic phrase \( (A^x+y) \) concurs with the Spanish examples, except that the overlapping cadential segment \( A^z \) differs in its approach toward the cadential tone (a). It is interesting to see a variant form of ‘z’ as the final cadence. The descending motive ‘y’ (f to b-flat’) appears again in phrase C, but only partially in the Spanish (f’ to c’). Notice also the variant cadence in phrase F, and that their initial tones concur in phrases G, H, J, and L.

While the authors of the text were not identified in each of the settings, it appears that Navarro, the first to do so, may have based his on a poem by the renowned Spanish poet Gutierre de Cetina (1520-1554)\(^{21}\), who was younger by a decade or slightly

\(^{21}\) Among Askins/Sage’s sources for both the music and text of “Ay de mi, sin ventura,” is one which attributes its authorship to Gutierre de Cetina (p. 134, n. 6) (see primary source, A.2). The manuscript comprises five books containing las obras de diversos autores, the second of which is devoted entirely to las obras de Gutierre de Cetina (F. Esteve Barba, p. 403). It should be mentioned that the fifth book contains seventeen additional works by Cetina, in-
more. In the Libro de tonos, several of Cetina’s poems are included among those of such celebrated poets, all practically contemporaries, as Juan Boscán Almogáver (1495-1542), Garcilaso de la Vega (1501?-1536), Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), Jorge de Montemayor (1520?-1561), Gregorio Silvestre (1520-1569), Juan de Timoneda (d. 1583), et al. Moreover, Cetina’s most famous madrigal, ‘‘Ojos claros, serenos’’ is, in fact, the opening work in the Libro de tonos (fol. 2) — comprising a four-part setting by Francisco Guerrero (1527/1528-1599)\(^{22}\).

The question concerning Cetina’s authorship is yet to be resolved\(^{23}\). However, Begoña López Bueno appears to have been convinced enough to cite primary source A.1 among his listing of Cetina’s works (Guttiere de Cetina, poeta del Renacimiento español, p. 312, no. 27)\(^{24}\). Moreover, referring again to the madrigal, Clarke defined it as ‘‘a short silva on a light topic’’ (A Chronological Sketch, p. 347). She also inserted a relevant quote from a review by Joseph G. Fucilla\(^{25}\) ‘‘that Gutierre de Cetina [...] was perhaps the first writer to introduce this verse form [from Italy] into Spain,’’ which throws additional light on this matter.

Apart from the missing crucial text, attributed to Cetina, listed under primary source A.1, it may prove useful to compare the

\[^{22}\] This was intabulated as a villancico for vihuela by Miguel de Fuenllana (d. 1568/1579) in his Libro de Musica para / Vihuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra. Enl / qil se cotienen muchas y diversas obras. / Copuesto por Miguel de Fuenllana. Dirigido al muy alto y muy poderoso se / ñor don Philippe principe de España, / Rey de Inglaterra, de Napoles, &c., nro señor. Con privilegio Real / 1554, Casa de Martín Montedosca, Seville, Libro quinto, no. 141, fols. 143r-144r.

\[^{23}\] I had tried, in vain, to obtain either photographs or photocopies of the manuscripts listed in primary sources A.1 and A.2 (of which the former was attributed to Cetina).

\[^{24}\] See also B. López Begoña’s comments concerning Ms. BPPT and its omission among the early editors of Cetina’s works in his edition of Gutierre de Cetina. Sonetos y madrigales completos, pp. 65-66 and 69-70.

\[^{25}\] From his review of E. W. Hesse’s Spanish Verse of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, p. 410.
texts utilized in the Spanish and Portuguese musical settings (B.1, B.2, and B.3), as well as the primary texts (A.3 and A.4). Thus, assuming that Navarro based his setting on Cetina’s poem, one could construct a composite text, based on the majority occurrences of the words in each verse — in their original orthography, without punctuation — of the respective vocal parts in both of Navarro’s settings (B.1), including the partbooks (C.1 and C.2). I have noted the variant orthographic spellings among the respective vocal parts, including those from the partbooks, and have, adhering to majority usage, replaced the abbreviated forms (grā, pā, ĕ, tā, etc.) with their respective full spellings. The composite, or so-called ur-text (see B.1 below), which comprises all the words that were distributed among the vocal parts, verse by verse, enables us to follow the textual changes (including omissions and additions) that occurred in the other musical settings (B.2 and B.3) as well as in the remaining manuscript texts (A.3 and A.4). Such changes or deviations from the so-called ur-text undoubtedly resulted from a particular scribe’s recollection of the poem as it circulated in oral transmission during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or that it was purposely transformed as a glossed text — exemplified in the Daça setting (see B.2). To facilitate their comparison — noting particularly the textual differences among them — all deviations from the Navarro text, including orthographic spellings, will be highlighted in bold characters, and, where necessary, with short commentaries below each, including also the syllable count of each verse.

B.1: Composite text from Libro de tonos (ca. 1569), nos. 44 (fols. 43v-44) and 143 (“La monja”) (fols. 151v-152):

1. Ay de mi sin ventura
2. ay vida trabajosa entre paredes
   ay ĕ estrecha prisio son estas rredes
3. carcel molesta oscura26
   torno fiero enojoso auaro esquiuo
4. abrasarte uea yo de fuego bibo
   ay. ay ĕ regla tan pesada

26 An interesting and convincing parallel, displaying a succession of verses commencing with the interjection, ¡Ay!, and employing a similar rhyme scheme, can be seen in the following verses of a poem by Cetina (see J. HAZAÑAS DE LA RUA, Obras, I, p. 36): ‘‘¡Ay, salud perezosa y con engaño! // ¡Ay, cruel dilatar tan peligroso! // ¡Ay, pesado esperar triste y forzoso! // ¡Ay, qué día mayor que el mayor año!’’
8 triste coro y nportuno
para qi fue beldad y grâ en vno
10 no auiendo de ser uista ni gozada
vida desesperada
12 ay qi gran sin razon qi lei tâ fuerte
qi nos de libertad sola la muerte.

Variants: 1: Ai (C.1); 2: trabaxosa (also in C.2); 3: strecha; strecha (C.2);
4: obscura; carcel, escura (C.2); 5: fiero y . . . ; abaro esquibo (C.1); 6: Abrasadote vea; biuo; bivo; 7: rrregla; 8: triste seco; inportuno; 9: uano; en vano;
10: auiendo; vista; goçada (C.1); 11: bida; uida (C.1); 12: rrazon; rraçon (C.1);
ley.

N.B. Syllable count: 7-11-11-7-11-11; 7-7-11-11-7-11-11; note also in verse
7 that the first of the repeated ay’s is a pie perdido.27

B.2: Text from Daça, LIVRO DE MVSICA (1576), Libro tercero (fols. 85-87):

Ay de mi, sin ventura
2 amor quí me a metido entre tus redes
 , quien puso en tu prision mi coraçón
4 y en carcel tan obscura
 amor cruel in grato esquibo
6 qual me veo te vea en fuego viuo.
ay ay que vida tan pesada
8 es la que das amor
 mas yo como perdi mi libertad
10 a trueco de vna misera speranza
ay vana confianza
12 Ay que gran sin razon que mal tan fuerte
que este el remedio del solo en la muerte

N.B. While the first text [B.1] bears out the lamentful confinement of a nun, Daça appears to have revised the text so that “the theme of love [is] figuratively described as an imprisonment.” I am grateful to Prof. Wayne Finke for this analysis. Syllable count: 7-11-11-7-7-11, 7-7-11-11-7-11-11; verses 5 and 7 contain pie perdido, while a dieresis, above the i in confianza, is necessary to achieve a full count.28

27 Pie perdido, according to D. C. CLARKE (“A Chronological Sketch,” p. 353) means a “syllable lost to the count of the verse; the addition or subtraction of a syllable count at the beginning of a verse or hemistich, corresponding to esdrújulo (‘a verse or word having a strong accent on the antepenultimate [syllable],’ p. 338) and agudo (‘main stress on the final syllable,’ p. 318) count at the end of a verse.”

28 In comparing its rhyme scheme (X) with that in Navarro’s text (Y),
B.3: Text from Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia (Lisbon) (ca. 1603), MS. 3391 (fols. 59v, 61v, 62v):

Aý de mím sin ventura
2 Aý vida trabajosa entre paredes
ay que estrecha prisió son estas redes
4 Carcel molesta i obscura
torno fiero auaro y no sofrido
6 Abrazarte veja yo de fuego uiuo

Baxad sora los oyos29 = Baxad señora los ojos
q matais = que matais
e ver como los alcais = en ver como los alçais

it will be seen that Daça did not adhere strictly to it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>X (cont.)</th>
<th>Y (cont.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu-ra</td>
<td>tu-ra</td>
<td>sa-da</td>
<td>sa-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-des</td>
<td>re-res</td>
<td>a-mor</td>
<td>tu-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra-çon</td>
<td>rr-re</td>
<td>ber-tad</td>
<td>v-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scu-ra</td>
<td>cu-ra</td>
<td>ran-za</td>
<td>za-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qui-bo</td>
<td>qui-u-o</td>
<td>an-za</td>
<td>ra-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi-uo</td>
<td>bi-bo</td>
<td>fuer-te</td>
<td>fuer-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muer-te</td>
<td>muer-te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Morais (pp. 33/121), suggested that these three verses were from Francisco Guerrero's "Baxáste me señora," which appeared in the Valladolid MS. 255 (fol. 107) and in his Canciones y villanescas espirituales (Venice, 1589). I would venture to say that Morais did not consult either source. The Guerrero incipit was cited by Anglés as "Baxasteme, señora a tal estado" for which Guerrero created a five-part setting (see Anglés, "El Archivo Musical", p. 85). In M. Querol's edition (Francisco Guerrero. Ópera Omnia I, p. 34), one will find the full texts for the versión profana ("Baxáste, Señora, a tal estado / de l'alta cumbre do me vi subido") and versión a lo divino ("Baxóme mi descuyado a tal estado / . . ."). Curiously the music for the latter, transcribed in modern notation by Vicente García, was published in the edition. Another source for the profana "se halla en el fol. 142 del t. XIX de los libros de facistol de la catedral de Puebla" (Querol, loc. cit.). Furthermore, Morais (loc. cit.) interpolated its incipit in the Askins/Sage inventory as item no. 3, surmising that it may have been an incomplete vilancete, thereby moving the remaining fifteen items upwards by one cipher. Another interpretation might be that the verses were interpolated as malo divino, which occurs frequently in sixteenth-century cancioneros. These short verses may have been intended here as a refrain, to be sung at the conclusion of each part. However, here, they were set for only three voices (tiple, altus, and bassus). Refrains were frequently employed by Juan del Encina in many of his villancicos, wherein all the voices participated.
Aý, ay Regla pesada
8 i triste choro importuno
pera ñ fue beldad y grã en uno
10 no auiendo de ser uista ni
gozada
Vida desesperada
12 aý ñ gra sin razô y mal tan
fuerte
ñ nos de libertad solo la muerte


N.B. A composite was made among the texts of each vocal part. Syllable count: 7-11-11-7-11-11, [7-4-7], 7-11-11-7-11-11. Verse 4 necessitates the combining of the vowels aio to form a single syllable; verse 6 contains an extra syllable, possibly the e of abrazarte, which should remain silent. In verse 7, the repeated aý completes the seven syllables, and verse 8 contains pie perdido.

A.3: Text from Palacio de Oriente, Madrid, MS. 2803 (fol. 232v):
Ay de mi sin ventura
2 ay vida **trauajosa** entre paredes
4 **carcel** molesta obscura
torno fiero enojoso avaro **esquibo**
6 abrasarte **vea** yo de fuego viuo
ay que rregla pesada
8 triste **choro ymportuno**
para que fue **veldad** y gracia en vno
10 no auiendo de ser vista ni goçada
vida desesperada
12 ay que gran sin **Racon** q lei tan fuerte
**pues queda** libertad **sola** la muerte

_N.B._ The third verse is omitted. Syllable count: 7-11-7-11-11, 7-11-11-7-7-11-11.

A.4: Text from British Library, MS. Add. 10.328 (fols. 115r-115v):
Ay de mi sin ventura
entre paredes
ay q estrecha prision son estas redes
carcel molesta escura
torno fiero uaruo esquiuo
abrasarte bea yo de fuego uibo
ay regla triste
ay coro ynportuno
para q fue Veldad y gracia En Vno
no auiendo de ser vista ni gozada
Vida desesperada
Ay que gran sin rrason q lei tan fuerte
que nos de libertad sola la muerte

N.B. The second verse lacks the initial words “ay vida trabajosa.” Thus, combining verses 1 and 2, as well as 7 and 8, the syllable count is: 11-11-7-8-11, 11-11-7-11-11. Apart from the missing word enojoso in verse 5, the text is strikingly similar to that of the initial stanza in the partbook of primary source C.1.

While Prof. da Costa Fontes was able to link the ancient texts with examples he found in the Luso-Brazilian modern oral tradition, no such links with the melodies discussed above have been found. However, among his examples recorded in Portugal and the Azores, da Costa Fontes was fortunate to collect two that were sung (see Exs. 9 and 10). Both were rendered as strophic songs, the first of which conformed to a structure that was equally traditional during the centuries of the Spanish and Portuguese settings. The poetic form of “Ay de mi sin ventura,” however, could not have suited a strophic tune, due to its uneven stanzas.

Example 9: Version from Malhadas (near Miranda do Douro, Portugal), sung by Josefina de Glória, age 61, collected by Manuel da Costa Fontes and Maria-João Câmara Fontes (July 30, 1980) (see primary source D.1, no. 1146):

The musical transcription was made of the third poetic stanza, whose structure and rhyme (abba) is as follows: “Eu, como menina, cria / assim fosse na verdade: / Qualquera freira ou frade / casar podia, casar podia.”
Example 10: Version from Altares, Terceira, a central island of the Azores, sung by Joaquina Cândida Gonçalves do Couto, age 78, and her daughter, Maria da Conceição Couto, age 48, collected by Manuel da Costa Fontes (July 10, 1977):

The first (Ex. 9) comprises a quatrain strophe \((A^x + y B A^x' + z C)\) in the plagal Major mode. It encompasses the range of a minor 7th and was sung in triple meter with dotted eighth-note rhythms predominating. The second, also based upon a strophic tune, contains seven melody phrases \((ABACABC)\) within an ambitus of a minor 7th. It is basically in a compound duple meter \((6/8)\), yet its cadential C phrases were sung distinctly in a compound triple meter \((9/8)\). The cadential tones of the C phrase end on the third degree, creating a feeling of circularity.

In conclusion, the musical examples exhibited here span four

31 The text's formal structure, according to DA COSTA FONTE's transcribed text, is a quatrain. However, the text underlay of the musical transcription was taken from a variant rendition of one of the two singers wherein the last verses of each stanza (the second comprising three verses) appear to generate, musically speaking, a refrain-like feeling. "Já não há nem pode haver / uma vida tão penosa: / sendo eu a mais fermosa, / cá me deixaram, cá me deixaram // Fechada nesta clausura / me parece a noites escura / ao meio dia, ao meio dia."
centuries. As was mentioned earlier, it is unlikely that we will ever find the traditional melodic sources of the earlier musical settings, still, tune analogues for those that have lingered on in the modern oral tradition may yet be discovered in some Luso-Brazilian musical anthology of past generations.

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MUSICAL SETTINGS OF VIDA DE FREIRA

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   *Poesías de varios autores*. Libro segundo (fol. 116r): "Cancion en boz de una monja."

   (See F. Esteve Barba, *Catálogo de la colección*, pp. 400-[427], at p. 404.)

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   (See A. Restori, "Il Cancionero Classense 263", p. 119.)


B. Musical settings:

1. Biblioteca Bartolomé March (Madrid)

   *Libro de tonos antiguos con sus letras* [formerly from the Biblioteca de la Casa del Duque de Medinaceli, Madrid, MS. 13230 (ca. 1569)], nos. 44 and 143 ("La monja") (fols. 43r-44 and 151v-152, resp.).


LIBRO DE MUSICA / en cifras para Vihuela, intitulado El / Parnasso, en el qual se hallara toda diversidad de Musica, assi Mo / tetes, Sonetos, Villanes­cas, en lengua Castellana, y otras cosas, / como Fantasias de Autor, hecho por Esteuan Daça, ve- / zino de la muy insigne villa de Valladolid, diri- / gido al muy Illustre señor Licenciado / Hernando de Habalos de Soto / mayor del Consejo su / premo de su Ma- / gestad, &c. / (Impresso por Diego Fernandez de Cordoua, Impressor / de su Magestad. Año de M.D. Lxxv), Libro tercero (fols. 85v-87v).

(For modern transcriptions, see the editions of G. Morphy, Les Luth­istes espagnols, Vol. II, pp. 248-250 and R. de Zayas, Los vihuelistas, pp. 247-252; the latter also contains the entire facsimile edition.)


The portada of the manuscript, prepared by Frei C. Santiago of Porto, reads: Em este liuro se / contem muitas cou / sas curiosas asi em / prosa Como em Verso / Em o Fim Aigüas / ceremonias etc. (Porto, ca. 1603), no. 2 (fols. 59v-63v).

(For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see A. L-F. Askins and J. Sage, “The Musical Songbook.” For a modern tran­scription, see M. Morais, Cancioneiro musical, pp. 53-58. The latter work comprises a critical musicological edition of the entire manuscript.)

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