

Two Unnoticed Portuguese Villancicos in a Sixteenth-Century Italian Songbook

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Resumo

A música profana do século XVI em língua portuguesa, que já raramente se encontra presente nos cancioneiros portugueses, é ainda mais escassa em fontes não portuguesas. Contudo, preservam-se dois vilancicos portugueses num conjunto de livros de partes de origem italiana que parecem ter permanecido despercebidos até ao momento. Estes manuscritos encontram-se actualmente na British Library (*GB-Lbl* Royal Appendix 59-62, também designados de Livros de Partes de Fitzalan) são, até onde se conhece, a única fonte não ibérica de canções portuguesas do século XVI. Apesar da aparente natureza despreziosa da música, estas duas canções revelam-se testemunhos importantes da circulação de repertório e de transmissão transcultural a diversos níveis.

Neste artigo pretende-se, pela primeira vez, apresentar estes vilancicos à comunidade musicológica através da descrição e análise dos seus conteúdos poéticos e musicais e, numa tentativa de reconstruir o percurso histórico destas canções desde Portugal até Itália, através do estabelecimento de afinidades e concordâncias com outras fontes ibéricas e italianas.

Palavras-chave

Fitzalan Partbooks; Vilancicos portugueses; Música profana do século XVI; Circulação de repertório.

Abstract

Sixteenth-century secular music in the Portuguese language, which is already a rarity in Portuguese *cancioneiros*, is very infrequently found in non-Portuguese sources. There are, however, two Portuguese villancicos preserved in a set of partbooks of Italian origin that seem to have been unnoticed until now. These manuscripts, currently kept at the British Library (*GB-Lbl* Royal Appendix 59-62, also known as the Fitzalan Partbooks) are, to my knowledge, the only known non-Iberian source of Portuguese sixteenth-century songs. In spite of the seemingly unassuming nature of their music, these two songs prove to be fascinating testimonies to repertory circulation and transcultural transmission on several different levels.

This article aims to present these villancicos to the musicological community for the first time, through the description and analysis of their poetic and musical contents, and attempts to reconstruct the historical path that took the songs from Portugal to Italy by establishing connections and concordances with other Iberian and Italian sources.

Keywords

Fitzalan Partbooks; Portuguese villancicos; Sixteenth-century secular music; Repertory circulation.

TWO YEARS AGO, WHILE UNDERTAKING RESEARCH for my master's thesis, I was looking through Daniel Devoto's extensive and very helpful list of Spanish songs in non-Spanish sources—included in his article 'Un millar de cantares exportados'¹—searching for possible concordances with the *Cancioneiro de Paris*.² My attention was drawn to one particular concordant incipit, 'Vida da minha alma', which Devoto had found in Hughes-Hughes's catalogue of musical manuscripts in the British Museum. This aroused my curiosity, for I had never heard of sources of Portuguese Renaissance songs kept in the United Kingdom before. Yet there it was, an unequivocally Portuguese-language song inventoried in manuscript 'Royal Appendix 59-62'.

Keen on investigating the matter further, I consulted Hughes-Hughes's catalogue in search of additional information about this song and this manuscript. I scanned through the manuscript's inventory and, after a series of Italian-language titles, there was 'Vida da minha alma', the second-to-last song on the list.³ I was then even more intrigued to find that the incipit of the last song in the manuscript was also a very Portuguese-sounding 'Minima fermeza'—which later I came to realise was actually meant to read 'Minina hermosa'.

Songs in the Portuguese language are already in the minority in all four known Portuguese collections of Renaissance secular music, and finding them in their Spanish counterparts is very rare;⁴ but to this day—to my knowledge—none has ever been found in a non-Iberian sixteenth-century source. For this reason alone, the discovery of these two hitherto unnoticed Portuguese-language polyphonic songs in an Italian manuscript is a unique finding. Ultimately, however, it is the story behind them—one of circulation of repertory and multiple transcultural exchanges between different groups and territories—that makes them truly fascinating.

In this article I present these songs to the musicological community, describing their poetic and musical characteristics, and, by establishing connections to Portuguese and Spanish

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¹ Daniel DEVOTO, 'Un millar de cantares exportados', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 96/1 (1994), pp. 5-115.

² This Portuguese musical *cancioneiro* (manuscript *F-Peb* Masson 56) was the subject of my master's thesis: see Nuno de Mendonça RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris: uma nova perspectiva sobre o manuscrito F-Peb Masson 56' (Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2017).

³ Augustus HUGHES-HUGHES, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London, British Museum, 1908), vol. 2, p. 136.

⁴ There are eight Portuguese-language songs we know of in sixteenth-century Spanish secular music collections: two villancicos (for two and five voices) in the so-called *Cancionero de Uppsala* (*Villancicos de diversos autores*, Venice, G. Scotto, 1556 [RISM 1556³⁰]), and six songs for solo voice with vihuela accompaniment in Luis de Milán's *El Maestro* (Valencia, Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536 [RISM M2724]). Additionally, three part-songs in Galician-Portuguese and one part-song alternating Spanish and macaronic Portuguese are found among the more than 450 secular works in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (*E-Mp* II/1335).

sixteenth-century literary and musical sources, I attempt to reconstruct the historical circumstances that brought these pieces from Portugal to Italy.

The Manuscript and its Contents

Manuscript *GB-Lbl* Royal Appendix 59-62 (sometimes called the Fitzalan Partbooks, a designation I will adopt hereafter), now kept at the British Library, is a set of four octavo partbooks (cantus, altus, tenor, and bassus), dating from the sixteenth century. It contains three- and four-part musical pieces, mainly dances and villanellas, the vast majority with Italian texts or titles, which attest their origin in Italy.⁵

In the first folio of each partbook, there is an inscription that reads ‘Arundel / Lumley’, the names of the manuscript’s former owners: Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (1512-80) and his son-in-law John Lumley (c. 1533-1609), who inherited Fitzalan’s book collection, currently known as the Nonsuch Library.⁶ Alfredo Obertello has plausibly suggested that Fitzalan may have acquired or been offered the partbooks during his sojourn in northern Italy—in Padova, and possibly Ferrara—from 1566 to 1567, or perhaps had them sent to him afterwards,⁷ together with the only other set of manuscript partbooks of Italian music in the collection.⁸ Fitzalan or Lumley gave the manuscript the somewhat, even if not entirely, accurate title of *Gallyardes & neapolitans songes of 3 & of 4 partes*, which is inscribed on the *verso* of the last folio of the bassus partbook.⁹

Indeed, the contents of the Fitzalan Partbooks are divided into two clearly distinct sections (see Table 1). Section 1 (ff. 1v-26r) contains 44 ensemble dances for four instruments, with titles in Venetian—mostly pavaues and saltarellos, rather than galliards, according to Joel Newman.¹⁰ The

⁵ Very succinct inventories and descriptions of the manuscript can be found in the old catalogues of manuscript music in the British Museum (*Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, edited by Frederic Madden (London, 1842), vol. 73, pp. 11-2; HUGHES-HUGHES, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music* (see note 3), vol. 2, pp. 135-6, vol. 3, pp. 202-3). A slightly more detailed description was elaborated by Alberto Obertello, who also published the manuscript’s Italian poetic contents (Alberto OBTELLO, ‘Villanelle e madrigali inediti in Inghilterra’, *Italian Studies*, 3/3-4 (1947), pp. 97-145, at pp. 107-9).

⁶ See John MILSOM, ‘The Nonsuch Music Library’, in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections*, edited by C. Banks, A. Searle and M. Turner (London, The British Library, 1993), pp. 146-82. This collection should not be confused with the Arundel collection, which refers to manuscripts collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1586-1646) and grandson of Henry Fitzalan; see M. R. JAMES, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (London - New York, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge - Macmillan Company, 1919), p. 86.

⁷ See OBTELLO, ‘Villanelle e madrigali’ (see note 5), pp. 104-5, at p. 109.

⁸ This other set is an autograph collection of madrigals by Innocenzo (or Innocentio) Alberti (c. 1535-1615), dated 1568 and dedicated by the composer to Fitzalan. For more on this manuscript and its author, see OBTELLO, ‘Villanelle e madrigali’ (see note 5), pp. 98-101.

⁹ According to Obertello, this English inscription was made by a coeval hand (see OBTELLO, ‘Villanelle e madrigali’ (see note 5), p. 108).

¹⁰ Joel NEWMAN (ed.), *Sixteenth-Century Italian Dances* (University Park and London, Pennsylvania State University, 1966), p. [2].

second section (ff. 26v-44r) contains 35 songs mostly for three voices; the vast majority are villanellas in Italian,¹¹ but there is also one chanson in French (the only four-part piece in this section), and the two villancicos in Portuguese—the last two songs in the manuscript—which are the main subject of this article. Each section was certainly the work of a different scribe: besides glaring differences in the shapes of some characters, both the music and text in Section 1 are written in a very neat and steady hand, while those in Section 2 are more irregular.

	ff *	Pieces	Contents	Genres	Parts	Concordant sources†
SECTION 1	1v-26r	44	Italian instrumental dances	pavane, saltarello	4	<i>Viel feiner Lieblicher Stucklein</i> (Wrocław, Scharffenberg, 1555), RISM 1555 ³⁵
SECTION 2	26v-36r 37r-43r	32	Italian songs	villanella	3	<i>Il primo libro delle villotte alla napolitana</i> (Venice, Gardano, 1560), RISM 1560 ¹² [<i>Il primo libro di villanelle alla napolitana</i> (Paris, Le Roy–Ballard, 1565)] [<i>Primavera, Il secondo libro de canzon napolitane a tre voci</i> (Venice, Correggio [Merulo]–Betanio, 1566), RISM P5448=1566 ¹⁵]
	36v-37r	1	French song	chanson	4	<i>Quatorsiesme livre contenant xxix chansons nouvelles</i> (Paris, Attaignant, 1543), RISM 1543 ¹¹ (composer: P. Sandrin)
	43v-44r	2	Portuguese songs	villancico	3	

* foliation follows the cantus partbook

† Only musical sources were considered; RISM sigla were used when available. This list does not mean to be exhaustive but rather to show the general chronological range of the concordant sources. Square brackets indicate partial musical concordances.

Table 1. Summary of the contents of *GB-Lbl* Royal Appendix 59-62

Joel Newman, in a short introductory note to his edition of twelve dances from Section 1, has indicated a tentative date of c. 1540 to the manuscript;¹² however, Newman makes no mention of the second section of the collection, which was clearly copied at a later date. Dietrich Kämper has dated the manuscript to c. 1550-60,¹³ but two aspects point to an even slightly later timeframe. First,

¹¹ Two songs are textless but their structure is identical to the other Italian-language villanellas.

¹² Newman justifies his reasoning not only with ‘the frequency of the archaic octave-leap cadence and the presence of the saltarello (with its typical upbeat beginning) rather than the later gagliarda’, but mainly with the ‘numerous concordances with ... mid-century German lute tablatures’ which ‘imply a somewhat earlier provenance for the Italian “original versions”’; see NEWMAN, *Sixteenth-Century Italian Dances* (see note 10), p. [2].

¹³ Dietrich KÄMPER, ‘Studien zur Instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien’, *Analecta Musicologica*, 10 (1970), pp. 159 ff., as cited in *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology - Hänssler Verlag, 1979-88), vol. 4, p. 433.

the songs have several poetic and musical concordances with printed collections of *villanesche* and villanellas published between around 1555 and 1570. Notably, there are complete musical concordances with four anonymous songs published for the first time in *Il primo libro delle villotte alla napoletana* (Venice, Gardano, 1560) [RISM 1560¹²];¹⁴ and one other song, *O Dio, perchè non vedi*, shows many similarities to Giovan Leonardo Primavera's musical setting of the same poem, first published in 1566 also in Venice,¹⁵ where Primavera was probably working.¹⁶ The second indication of a later date is the fact that one of the songs is explicitly self-designated as a 'villanella'. As a matter of fact, the original Neapolitan designation for this kind of song was *villanesca*; the term villanella, for its part, 'first appeared in the title of a Roman anthology ([RISM] 1555³⁰),¹⁷ but it was not applied regularly until the *villanesca* had been transformed by north Italian composers', according to Donna Cardamone, who also explains that this transformation occurred 'during the 1560s', when 'Neapolitan idioms were gradually replaced by stereotyped conceits in the Petrarchan or Arcadian vein, giving rise to the gentler designations "villanella" and "napolitana"'.¹⁸ The fact that these songs were copied in the same manuscript of a collection of Venetian dances points indeed to their north Italian origin (already suggested by Kämper),¹⁹ thus pushing the probable date of the copying of Section 2 into the decade of the 1560s. Therefore, it is very likely that Section 2 of the Fitzalan Partbooks was copied c. 1560-5, and it is unlikely to have been copied before 1555.

The Music

The Portuguese pieces in the Fitzalan Partbooks, *Vida da minha alma* and *Minina formosa*, are *unica*²⁰ and there are many similarities between them (see Examples 1 and 2).²¹ First, and differently from every other item in the collection, their mensural notation is entirely black (from minims to breves), except for the final notes, which are white. They are also the only two songs set

¹⁴ This is the first issue of the popular *Villotte alla napoletana* series.

¹⁵ Giovan Leonardo PRIMAVERA, *Il secondo libro de canzon napolitane a tre voci* (Venice, C. da Correggio [Merulo] & F. Bethanio, 1566) [RISM P5448=1566¹⁵].

¹⁶ See Jane BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York - Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 670.

¹⁷ *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus e d'altri eccellenti musici libro secondo* (Rome, Valerio Dorico, 1555).

¹⁸ Donna CARDAMONE, 'Villanella [villanesca, canzone villanesca alla napoletana, aria napolitana, canzone napolitana, villanella alla napoletana]' in *Grove Music Online*, available at <doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29379> (accessed 27 September 2018).

¹⁹ See note 13.

²⁰ Some melodic parallelisms may, however, be established between *Vida da minha alma* and two other Portuguese songs, as we will see later on.

²¹ See Appendix I for an edition of these pieces in modern notation.

entirely in triple metre, namely *proportio sesquialtera*, indicated by a ‘C3’ mensuration sign in *Vida da minha alma* and by a ‘3’ in *Minina formosa*.²² The high-clef combination (C1, C2, C4) is also the same for both songs. *Vida da minha alma* does not have a B-flat in the signature as *Minina formosa* does, but in practice, all its Bs are flat. However, the former is in a *re* tonality, while the latter is in an *ut* tonality.

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Cantus, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in triple metre, indicated by a 'C3' mensuration sign. The lyrics are in Portuguese. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-10) includes the lyrics: 'Vi - da da mi - ña al - ma nõ vos po - so ver es - ta não é ne hay mal pe - or ne hay mas me - rer que ver - me con'. The second system (measures 11-24) includes the lyrics: 'vi - da ay me de per - der ay me de per - der vi - da sen vos po - der ver sen vos po - der ver'. The third system (measures 25-30) includes the lyrics: 'non po - de a ven - ta - de on - de vi - ue a - mor as - con - der sao - da - de ne en - co - brir dor'. The score includes various musical notations such as mensuration signs (C3), time signatures (3), and accidentals (flats and sharps). The piece concludes with a [Fine] marking.

Example 1. *Vida da minha alma*, GB-Lbl Royal Appendix 59-62 (Fitzalan Partbooks), f. 43v (cantus) and f. 43r (tenor, bassus)²³

²² Other than these, only the French chanson *Dame d'honneur* (ff. 36v-37r) makes partial use of triple metre (♩3), alternating it with duple metre (♩2).

²³ Notes on the edition: dashed barlines, repeat signs and indications, time signatures above staves and accidentals above notes are editorial. The original pitch, note values, and colouration were retained. The text was also transcribed as found in the original source, except for abbreviations and repeat text signs ('//'), which were expanded and rendered in italics. Text underlay respects the original positioning of the text. The numbering at the top left of the systems refers to the count of semibreves (not of editorial measures).

Cantus
Tenor
Bassus

Mi-ni-ña fer-me-za de-zei de que ten ser-destem y-ro-sa
por ser-des fer-mo-sa no-ve-des min-gen

13 a quẽ os quer ben ser-des tã y-ro-sa a quẽ os quer ben [Fine]

25 Pa-re-çer di-ui-no ion-ge con-di-cion na-rin ce en que si-ño foy ve-sa nac-cion [D.C. al Fine]

Example 2. *Minina fermosa*, GB-Lbl Royal Appendix 59-62 (Fitzalan Partbooks), f. 44r (cantus) and f. 43v (tenor, bassus)²⁴

In regard to their structure, both songs conform to the typical musical form of the villancico, the most common song genre in sixteenth-century Portugal and Spain;²⁵ thus, they are divided into two sections (each one corresponding to four lines of text, in this case)—section A for the *mote* and *voltas* of the poem, and section B for the *mudanças*—and sung in ABBA-BBA fashion. Besides

²⁴ See note 23 for editorial criteria and notes.

²⁵ In this article, I use the term ‘villancico’ to refer exclusively to the musical genre, in order to distinguish it from the associated poetic form *vilancete* (also called ‘villancico’ in Spanish). The *vilancete* form consists of a two- to four-line *mote* (head stanza) followed by one or more seven- to eight-line *glosas* (*estribillo* and *coplas* in Spanish, respectively). Each *glosa* is in turn divided into *mudanças* (the first four lines) and *volta* (the last three to four lines) (*mudanças* and *vuelta* in Spanish). For a detailed description and study of the musical form of the villancico, see Isabel POPE, ‘Musical and Metrical Form of the Villancico: Notes on its Development and its Rôle in Music and Literature in the Fifteenth Century’, *Annales Musicologiques*, 2 (1954), pp. 189-214.

this, there are many further analogous structural features. To begin with, the songs share the same short and simple overall framework, with a length of 32 perfect semibreves²⁶—24 in section A, 8 in section B—grouped into four melodic periods of two melodic phrases each (each phrase corresponding to a text line)—three in section A, one in section B. In terms of their internal melodic structure, both songs present a rondel-type form, where the melodic phrases of section B reuse melodic material from section A.²⁷ The metric and rhythmic structures are also quite simple, in spite of some slight differences: *Vida da minha alma* is mainly based on a regular ternary pulse given by the repetition of the basic rhythmic pattern of semibreve-minim, interspersed with other regular patterns (minim-semibreve, dotted semibreve); *Minina formosa*, on the other hand, shows more metric variety: two *tactus* of standard *proportio sesquialtera* ternary metre ($\frac{3}{2}+\frac{3}{2}$, or $\frac{6}{2}$, to use modern equivalents) are regularly and continually alternated with a *proportio tripla* hemiola ($\frac{3}{1}$), providing a constant fluctuation of the sense of metre. The hemiola is also present in section B of *Vida da minha alma*, which makes this section identical to its counterpart in *Minina formosa* in terms of metric structure (that is, $\frac{6}{2}+\frac{3}{1}+\frac{6}{2}$ [$+\frac{3}{1}$]).

With regard to melody and texture, in both songs the cantus part consists of simple and straightforward melodic lines, moving predominantly in conjunct steps with the occasional interval of a third and a fourth, and with much repetition of notes. The texture is strictly homophonic and syllabic, without any dissonance or ornamentation, not even suspensions at cadence points. Tenor lines mostly run parallel to the melody of the cantus, in thirds below it, and the bassus line functions, in practice, as a harmonic bass, most of the time a third or an octave below the tenor (and thus with more frequent leaps of fourths and fifths), producing mostly root-position chords and thus giving the songs a strong sense of harmony.²⁸ This kind of chordal texture and harmonic structure is identical to those produced by traditional fauxbourdon-style improvisatory musical practices, which were originally used to create simple vocal arrangements or instrumental accompaniments of pre-existing melodies. The type of basic chordal polyphony that is found in these two Portuguese villancicos—associated with simple melodic-rhythmic features and related to improvisatory formulas—was in fact a common characteristic of sixteenth-century Iberian and Italian lighter secular forms; one finds it in frottolas and villanellas as well as in many other Iberian villancicos, especially from the early part of the century.²⁹

²⁶ For this purpose, I considered final semibreves with fermatas as equivalent to breves.

²⁷ The terminology applied here follows the one described in RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 2), pp. 80-4.

²⁸ In *Vida da minha alma*, only three chords are inverted; in *Minina formosa* there are six inverted chords, five of them in unaccented notes (harmonic terminology is used here for practical purposes).

²⁹ See Giuseppe FIORENTINO, 'Unwritten Music and Oral Traditions at the Time of Ferdinand and Isabel', in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, edited by Tess Knighton (Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2017), pp. 504-48, at

To give a specific, pertinent example, let us analyse the Portuguese villancico *Que é o que vejo* from the *Cancioneiro de Elvas*,³⁰ which is akin to the villancicos in the Fitzalan Partbooks in many ways, and especially to *Menina formosa* (see Example 3).

Example 3. *Que é o que vejo*, P-Em 11793 (*Cancioneiro de Elvas*), ff. 70v-71r³¹

The similarities between this villancico and those in the Fitzalan Partbooks are evident (see Table 2). It is set in triple metre (*proportio sesquialtera*, C3) and uses high clefs (where only the

pp. 535-41; and Giuseppe FIORENTINO, 'Folia'. *El origen de los esquemas armónicos entre tradición oral y transmisión escrita* (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2013), pp. 169-87.

³⁰ Elvas, Biblioteca Municipal, ms. 11793 [P-Em 11793]. This Portuguese musical songbook was copied c. 1570 but contains repertory from as early as the 1500s.

³¹ Notes above staves are not in the original but are required for proper articulation of the text. Text between brackets was not underlaid below the notes in the original. See note 23 for other editorial criteria and notes.

middle-voice clef is different). It has the same external structure with 28+4 semibreves, the same rondel-type internal structure—with the repetition of phrases α and δ in section B, similarly to *Menina formosa*—and the same simplicity of texture—also entirely homophonic and chordal, without any kind of suspensions or embellishment notes. Likewise, the cantus consists of an unassuming melody with many repeated notes that the tenor mostly follows a third below; and the bassus plays a basic harmonic role (in the particular case of *Que é o que vejo*, there is not one single inverted chord). The cadences of each musical period in this song are the same as in *Vida da minha alma*, and the B sections of the three songs share the same final cadence to D.

	<i>Vida da minha alma</i>	<i>Minina formosa</i>	<i>Que é o que vejo</i>
<i>mensuration</i>	C3	[C] 3	C3
<i>signature</i>	[b] *	b	[b] *
<i>clefs</i>	C1, C2, C4	C1, C2, C4	C1, C3, C4
<i>outer form</i>	villancico [ABBA-BBA]	villancico [ABBA-BBA]	villancico [ABBA-BBA]
<i>length</i>	32 perfect semibreves†	32 perfect semibreves†	32 perfect semibreves
<i>metric structure</i>	SECTION A 24 SECTION B 8	SECTION A 24 SECTION B 8	SECTION A 24 SECTION B 8
	SECTION A $\frac{6}{2}$ SECTION B $\frac{6, 3}{2+1}$	$\frac{6, 3}{2+1}$	$\frac{6, 3}{2+1}$
<i>inner form</i>	rondel type [$\alpha\beta.\gamma\delta.\epsilon\epsilon' : \gamma\delta'$]	rondel type [$\alpha\beta.\gamma\delta.\epsilon\zeta : \alpha\delta'$]	rondel-type [$\alpha\beta.\gamma\delta.\epsilon\delta : \alpha\delta'$]
<i>melodic periods</i>	SECTION A 3 SECTION B 1	SECTION A 3 SECTION B 1	SECTION A 3 SECTION B 1
	SECTION A 3 SECTION B 1	SECTION A 3 SECTION B 1	SECTION A 3 SECTION B 1
<i>texture</i>	homophony	homophony	homophony
<i>tonality</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>re</i>
<i>cadences</i>	SECTION A A, D, D SECTION B D	SECTION A F, D, C SECTION B D	SECTION A A, D, D SECTION B D

* B flat not in signature but required throughout the whole piece

† Final perfect semibreves with fermatas were considered equivalent to one perfect breve

Table 2. Musical properties of the three songs in study

Vi - da da mi - nha al - ma [naõ uos po - so uer
7 sou tão de - fe - rem - te do que so - j - a ser
js - to não he ui - da ei me
12 de per - der ei me de per - der] [Fine]
18 Des que fui au - sen - te dom - de uos es - tais
num - ca ui - uy mays hum di - a com - temte

Example 4a. *Vida da minha alma*, F-Peb Masson 56 (*Cancioneiro de Paris*), ff. 59r-60v

Vi - da da mi - nha al - ma nõ vos po - so ver
9 ne hay mal pe - or ne hay mas me - rer
es - ta não é vi - da ay me
17 que ver - me con vi - da sen vos
de per - der ay me de per - der
po - der ver sen vos po - der ver
25 non po - de a ven - ta - de on - de vi - ue a - mor
as - con - der sao - da - de ne en - co - brir dor

Example 4b. Melody of *Vida da minha alma* in the Fitzalan Partbooks

There is, however, one particular aspect that associates *Que é o que vejo* with *Menina formosa* more closely: their overall metric structure is indistinguishable, as they share the exact same pattern of alternation between regular ternary tactus and hemiolas. In turn, the rhythmic phrases within these tactus show remarkable similarities in the pattern of disposition of trochaic (semibreve-minim) and iambic (minim-semibreve) rhythmic units throughout the pieces.

As mentioned earlier, there are no full musical concordances with these pieces. However, there is a monophonic setting of *Vida da minha alma* in the *Cancioneiro de Paris*³² which shows some parallelisms with the cantus of the polyphonic version in the Fitzalan Partbooks (see Example 4).

Immediately, we can see that the two songs are identical in their short length and rather regular ternary pulse, but the more interesting and concrete similarities are to be found in their melodies. While they are somewhat distinct in the first two lines, they gradually come closer together in the following phrases until finally becoming identical. Indeed, phrases γ in both songs (corresponding to the third line, ‘isto/esta não é vida’) share the same general melodic contour; phrases δ of example (a) and ε of example (b) are almost the same; and finally, in phrases δ' of example (a) and ε' of example (b)—that is, the last three measures of section A—the two songs are fully concordant both in rhythm and pitch. In section B, the songs diverge again; both reuse melodic material from section A, but the first version reuses phrases α and δ , while the second version reuses phrases γ and δ .

The musical similarities are enough plausibly to suggest that the music of these two songs ultimately derives from the same melody, possibly the tune to which a supposed original ‘Vida da minha alma’ poem was sung. Court musicians would then pick up these orally circulating melodies and adapt them to their courtly musical practices, either by singing them to semi-improvised accompaniments played by a plucked string instrument, which was probably the case with the Paris settings,³³ or using them as cantus firmi for simple vocal polyphonic arrangements, like the three-part setting in the Fitzalan Partbooks. Indeed, the borrowing of pre-existing musical material, especially that which is associated with traditions of oral transmission, was common practice among sixteenth-century Iberian composers of secular music, and there are several examples of villancicos and *romances* derived from common ‘ancestor’ melodies of folk or popular origin.³⁴ Indeed, it is likely that the hypothetical ‘primordial melody’ that originated the two settings of *Vida da minha alma* was ultimately of folk origin, given the simplicity and spontaneous nature of their analogous melodies—two qualities that, it is worth noting, also apply to their shared *mote*.³⁵ The presence of the very same melody of the Paris version (with slight variants) in another song copied in the same

³² Similarly to the *Cancioneiro de Elvas*, the *Cancioneiro de Paris* was copied c. 1550-70, but part of its repertory can be dated from the early sixteenth-century. See Nuno de Mendonça RAIMUNDO, ‘The Dating of the *Cancioneiro de Paris* and a Proposed Timeline for its Compilation’, *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 6/1 (2019), pp. 211-32.

³³ See RAIMUNDO, ‘O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris’ (see note 2), pp. 107-8.

³⁴ For some paradigmatic examples, see Gracia GIL MARTÍN, ‘La transmisión de la música profana en el siglo XVI: Una mirada a través de Silva de Sirenas de Enríquez de Valderrábano’, *ActaLauris*, 2 (2015), pp. 88-108.

³⁵ Margit Frenk includes the *mote* ‘Vida da minha alma’ in her anthology of ‘early Hispanic folk lyric poetry’; see *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)*, 2 vols. (Mexico, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México - El Colegio de México-Fondo de cultura económica, 2003), vol. 1, no. 431A, p. 314.

songbook, *No val das mais belas* (no. 51, ff. 65v-66r)³⁶—a setting of a bucolic poetic text clearly inspired by rural culture—reinforces this hypothesis.

It may be suggested, therefore, that the melody of *Vida da minha alma* in the Fitzalan Partbooks is derived from a traditional tune, which, because of its association with Portuguese texts, is likely to be of Portuguese origin. For its part, the similarities of style between the three-part compositions of *Menina formosa* and *Que é o que vejo* may also suggest that these villancicos were composed in Portugal. The almost complete absence of Portuguese-language texts in collections of Spanish secular music points to that as well; however, at the same time, these particular texts seem to have been well-known in Spain, as we will see, so a possible Spanish origin of the music should not be completely ruled out. In any case, it seems likely that the songs in the Fitzalan Partbooks were copied from an Iberian source—the use of the *signum congruentiae* in the notation of *Minina formosa* is an indication of that, since in Italy it was more common to use the *signum reinceptionis* (repeat sign) for equivalent purposes.

The fact that these typically Iberian villancicos are found in an Italian collection among a sizeable amount of villanellas makes one wonder whether they were similar enough to these to be regarded as villanellas too, or whether they were different enough to be musically recognised as a foreign repertory (text language aside). On the one hand, in terms of musical contents, the simplistic polyphony based on chordal harmonic structures brings these villancicos close to the original idiom of the villanella; this consisted of a simple tune for the top voice supported by a strictly homophonic accompaniment, based on ‘musical formulae of oral culture’ and often imitating ‘untrained musicians’.³⁷ On the other hand, there are significant differences in terms of their structure: the villancico musical form (ABBA-BBA-BBA..., each letter corresponding to two or more lines of text) is rather distinct from that of the villanellas of this collection, which always entail the repetition of the first verse of each stanza and of a refrain at the end of each stanza (aabcc-aabcc-aabcc..., where each lowercase letter corresponds to one line and *c* is a refrain with invariable text).³⁸ It is therefore unlikely that these villancicos would ever be perceived by their listeners as simple villanellas in a non-Italian language. Furthermore, the use of triple metre sets them apart from the villanellas in this collection and from the standard duple-metre villanella model.

This begs the question, then, of how these Portuguese villancicos came to be part of an Italian collection of villanellas. Their texts provide us with important elements to formulate a hypothesis in answer to that question; that is where I will now direct my attention.

³⁶ For an edition of the music and text of this song, see RAIMUNDO, ‘O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris’ (see note 2), pp. 41, 205.

³⁷ CARDAMONE, ‘Villanella’ (see note 18).

³⁸ This was a ‘consistently popular form’ for villanellas of three-line strophes, according to Cardamone; see CARDAMONE, ‘Villanella’ (see note 18).

The Portuguese Texts and the Spanish-Italian Connection

The scribe who copied the Portuguese texts clearly had little to no grasp of the Portuguese language. The mistakes are numerous and sometimes so concentrated that they completely obscure the meaning of several lines (see Table 3), showing that he did not understand the meaning of the words he was writing. These mistakes can be categorised into three main types:

- 1) Mistaking the letter *o* for the letter *e*: ‘ventade’ (instead of *vontade*), ‘merer’ (instead of *morrer*), ‘fermeza’ (instead of *fermosa* or *formosa*), ‘vesa’ (instead of *vossa*);
- 2) Italianisms: ‘susietto’ (instead of *sujeito*), ‘asconder’ (instead of *esconder*);
- 3) Hispanicisms and Galicianisms: ‘ollos’ (instead of *olhos*), ‘poso’ (instead of *posso*); ‘ista’ (instead of *esta*); ‘hay’ (instead of *há*); ‘mas’ (instead of *mais*), ‘riguroso’ (instead of *rigoroso*), ‘condicion’ (instead of *condição*).

Italianisms are to be expected from an Italian scribe, but there are actually few of those; the other two types of mistake are more meaningful. Indeed, the frequent confusion between *o* and *e* seems to indicate that the texts were copied from a manuscript where these two letters were not clearly distinguished. There are other instances that also point to this hypothesis,³⁹ but perhaps the strongest evidence for it is to be found in the obscure line ‘veremes ã mpenae’ (*Minina hermosa*, line 16). Since we know that this rhymes with the first line, the last word of which is ‘verde’, it is obvious that the last two letters of that passage actually mean to read ‘de’ and not ‘ae’, the *a* probably coming about as a copy of a less legible *d* (perhaps with a very short or faded ascender). Given that the scribe did not know the language, he copied the texts almost purely based on his interpretation of the graphic shapes of the letters.

This also probably means that the Hispanicisms and Galicianisms were already in that same original manuscript and that the scribe did no more in this respect than copy them as they were. This suggests that the songs arrived in Italy through a Spanish source. Specifically, the use of Galicianisms in a Portuguese-language text is a particularly meaningful indication of a probable Spanish origin, as this was a customary device used by Spanish poets and playwrights whenever they wanted their characters to imitate Portuguese speech.⁴⁰ Among the most common of these Galicianisms—or should we say, ‘fabricated Lusisms’—was the use of the pronouns ‘isto’, ‘ista’ and ‘istos’⁴¹ (instead of the regular Portuguese ‘este’, ‘esta’ and ‘estes’), which we indeed find in

³⁹ For example, the fact that the word ‘*fermosa*’ is written both as ‘fermeza’ and ‘fermosa’ in the same text.

⁴⁰ See examples in Esther BORREGO, ‘Portugal y los portugueses en el teatro cómico breve del siglo XVII: De los entremeses a los villancicos’, *Hipogrifo*, 3/2 (2015), pp. 49-69.

⁴¹ In the early modern Galician language, the words ‘iste(s)’ and ‘ista(s)’ (but not ‘istos’) seem to have been common alternative forms to ‘este(s)’ and ‘esta(s)’; nowadays, their usage is rare. See Ricardo CARVALHO CALERO, *Sobre lingua e literatura galega* (Vigo, Galaxia, 1971), p. 264.

the text of *Vida da minha alma* (line 3: ‘*ista não é vida*’ instead of ‘*esta não é vida*’). However, in spite of this linguistic jumble, the texts are undoubtedly of Portuguese origin, as we will now see.

<i>Vida da minha alma</i> [cantus, f. 43v]		<i>Minina fermosa</i> [cantus, f. 44r]	
Vida da miã alma nõ vos poso ver Ista non é vida ay me de pder ://:	<i>Vida da minha alma, não vos posso ver; esta não é vida, hei-me de perder.</i>	Miniãia fermeza dezei de ã ten serdes tem yrosa a quẽ os quer ben serdes tã yrosa a quẽ os quer bem	<i>Minina fermosa, dizei de que vem serdes tão irosa a quem vos quer bem?</i>
non pode a ventade onde viue amor asconder sa odade ne encobrir dor ne hay mal peor ne hay mas merer ã verme con vida sen vos pder ver	5 <i>Não pode a vontade onde vive amor esconder saudade nem encobrir dor. Nem há mal pior, 10 nem há mais morrer que ver-me com vida sem vos poder ver.</i>	Pareçer diuino ionge [?] condicion narince [?] en ã sinõ foy vesa naccion por serdes fermosa no vedes mingen	5 <i>Parecer divino, longe [?] condição [...?] em que sino [?] foi vossa nação. [?] Por serdes fermosa, 10 não vedes ninguém; serdes tão irosa a quem vos quer bem.</i>
	[Pero de Andrade Caminha]	Vestiuos de verde negai speranza por vos enbalança veremes ã mpenae [?] donde ela mays pende meus ollos lo ven serdes tan yrosa /.	15 <i>Vestis-vos de verde, negais esperança; por vós em balança veremos quem perde [?] Donde ela mais pende, meus olhos o vêem serdes tão irosa a quem vos quer bem.</i>
		Nace en vn susietto como pode ser Riguroso preito brando pare cer cruel y fermesa meus ollos lo vem serdes tan yrosa /.	20 <i>Nace em um sujeito, como pode ser?, rigoroso preito, brando parecer. Cruel e fermosa, 25 meus olhos o vêem serdes tão irosa a quem vos quer bem.</i>

Table 3. The Portuguese texts as they appear in the Fitzalan Partbooks and their respective interpretation

To begin with, both poems are set in typically Iberian *medida velha* (‘old metre’)⁴²—specifically, in pentasyllabic⁴³ or *redondilha menor* verse—and conform to the poetic form of the

⁴² *Medida velha* is the Portuguese term for designating the traditional Iberian pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic verses, in opposition to the Italian-origin decasyllabic verse (*endecasillabo italiano*, known as Italian hendecasyllable in English), which is called *medida nova* (‘new metre’).

vilancete:⁴⁴ *Vida da minha alma* has one *glosa*, *Minina formosa* has three *glosas*, and both are headed by a four-line *mote*. In this type of Iberian poetry, the *mote*'s function was to set the theme for the poem; for this reason, the *mote* was often not created by the author of the *glosas* himself, but taken from the verse of another poet or from popular songs of the epoch, many of folk origin.

Minina formosa appears to be such an example. According to Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, the figure of the *menina formosa*⁴⁵ ('fair lass')—a common motif in Portuguese courtly poetry⁴⁶—is of popular inspiration, and possibly related to folk songs.⁴⁷ The *mote* as it appears in our manuscript was used by the most renowned Luís de Camões (c. 1524-80) as the head of one of his poems (with a variant in the third line: 'rigorosa' instead of 'tão irosa'),⁴⁸ and was also the inspiration for a long series of *glosas* in dialogue by an anonymous sixteenth-century Portuguese author, called *Trovas da menina formosa*; this particular poem was so popular it was still being republished in the mid-eighteenth century⁴⁹ and became a common cultural reference.⁵⁰

For its part, *Vida da minha alma* seems to have reached similar levels of popularity in the country. Besides being associated with a tune that was the origin of several different songs, as we have seen, its popularity in sixteenth-century Portugal is further attested by the fact that it served as a *mote* for several authors, including two of the most celebrated poets of the second half of the century, Pero de Andrade Caminha (c. 1520-89) and the aforementioned Luís de Camões. The latter composed two poems based on it—one based only on the first line of the *mote*, the other with a variant fourth line ('para se sofrer' instead of 'hei-me de perder').⁵¹ The first of two *glosas* written by Caminha⁵² is the one that appears in the Fitzalan Partbooks, which unequivocally proves its

⁴³ The Portuguese pentasyllabic verse is equivalent to a hexasyllabic verse in Spanish syllable-counting rules.

⁴⁴ The classification of these poems as *vilancetes* follows the criteria described in RAIMUNDO, 'O Cancioneiro Musical de Paris' (see note 2), pp. 78-9, which was based on POPE, 'Musical and Metrical Form of the Villancico' (see note 25). For a brief description of the *vilancete* form, see note 25.

⁴⁵ 'Menina formosa' in modern-day Portuguese; 'minina' and 'fermosa' were common variants in the sixteenth century.

⁴⁶ There are many variations of this theme, all of them gravitating around the contrast between the beauty of the young woman and her cruelty and mercilessness. See Carolina Michaëlis de VASCONCELLOS, preface to Bernardim RIBEIRO and Cristóvão FALCÃO, *Obras*, edited by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1923), p. 150.

⁴⁷ See VASCONCELLOS, preface to RIBEIRO - FALCÃO, *Obras* (see note 46), pp. 148-9.

⁴⁸ See Luís de CAMÕES, *Rimas* (Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1598), p. 190.

⁴⁹ The poem is known to have been published as *folhas volantes* (chapbooks) in 1640, 1656, 1738, and 1761. Delfim Guimarães attributed it to Bernardim Ribeiro, but Carolina Michaëlis convincingly rebutted this hypothesis. See Delfim GUIMARÃES, *Bernardim Ribeiro (O Poeta Crisfal)* (Lisbon, Guimarães & C.^a, 1908), pp. 191-4; and VASCONCELLOS, preface to RIBEIRO - FALCÃO, *Obras* (see note 46), pp. 148-9.

⁵⁰ See Teófilo BRAGA, *O povo português nos seus costumes, crenças e tradições* (Lisbon, Dom Quixote, 1994) vol. 2, p. 332.

⁵¹ See Luís de CAMÕES, *Obras de Luís de Camões* (Porto, Lello & Irmão, [1970]), pp. 783, 820.

⁵² See Vanda ANASTÁCIO, *Visões de glória: uma introdução à poesia de Pêro de Andrade Caminha* (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1998), vol. 2, no. 110, pp. 470-1.

Portuguese origin.⁵³ The other known *glosas* of this *mote* appear with no authorship attribution in the *Cancioneiro de Paris*, added by a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand; Caminha's poem was also copied among them. The original poem from which all these poets took the *mote* may possibly be the one originally copied in that same *cancioneiro*.

If *Menina formosa* became a staple of popular culture in Portugal, *Vida da minha alma* may claim the additional honour of having become an international cultural reference. Indeed, the fame of this song crossed the border into Spain, where it would become known as a typical Portuguese song, presumably due to its massive popularity in the neighbouring country. The early seventeenth-century *También la afrenta es veneno*, a Spanish multi-author theatre play set in fourteenth-century Portugal and revolving around the figure of Portuguese King Fernando, is evidence of that fact; in its first act, written by Spanish playwright Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644), when King Fernando orders his musicians to sing, one of the songs they perform is *Vida da minha alma*, accompanied by guitars.⁵⁴

Tocan guitarras, y dice dentro el REY.

REY Cantad, cantad hasta el día,
que mi amor no me da espacio
para volverme a Palacio.

...

MÚSICOS *Vida de miñalma*
naom vos posse ver,
esta naom he vida
*para se safrer.*⁵⁵

⁵³ This does not mean, however, that we can use the biographical dates of this poet to determine a *terminus a quo* for the song, as we cannot be sure if the music in the partbooks was composed explicitly for Caminha's poem. Indeed, as mentioned before, these poems composed on *motes* were often inspired on pre-existing poems. Since both the pre-existing poem and the poets' *glosas* adhered to the strict formal rules of their respective poetic forms, and since each stanza had relative semantic autonomy, the *glosas* could be easily removed, added, swapped, and mixed with other authors' *glosas* without loss of meaning. A good case in point is the *Cancioneiro de Paris*, where a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand added many *glosas* of different origins and by different authors to pre-existing mid-sixteenth-century song texts, as if they were all part of the same poem. In the specific case of the Fitzalan Partbooks, this means that the song copied in these Italian manuscripts could have originally been a musical setting of that supposed pre-existing poem 'Vida da minha alma' (perhaps the one copied in the *Cancioneiro de Paris*?), whose stanza was later replaced by Caminha's *glosa*.

⁵⁴ Luis Vélez de GUEVARA, Antonio COELLO, and Francisco de ROXAS, *También la afrenta es veneno* (Madrid, Antonio Sanz, 1754), p. 7. I have modernised the Spanish spelling but left the macaronic Portuguese as in the original.

⁵⁵ 'Guitars are played, and the King speaks off-stage. King: Sing, sing until it is dawn, for my love does not leave me room to return to the Palace. Musicians: 'Vida de minha alma, não vos posso ver; esta não é vida para se sofrer' (my translation).

Thus, the fact that *Vida da minha alma* and *Menina formosa* appear together in the Fitzalan Partbooks does not seem to be fortuitous, as both were songs that enjoyed immense popularity in Portugal and probably became known internationally because of that popularity. But there is yet a closer connection between these songs. Indeed, their *motes* were certainly very intimately associated with each other, for in seventeenth-century sources we find a sort of ‘hybrid’ version that merges the two of them together, taking the first line of *Minina formosa* and the other three lines of *Vida da minha alma* (with the above-mentioned variant used by Camões), thusly:

Menina formosa
não vos posso ver;
isto não é vida
para se sofrer.

This version is not found in any known Portuguese source, but it appears in another Spanish theatre play, where it is once again used for its association with Portugal and the Portuguese. This time, it is in a comedic *entremés* by renowned playwright Luis Quiñones de Benavente, *El borracho*, performed somewhere after 1622 and first published in 1645, where it is meant to be sung twice by characters pretending to be Portuguese:⁵⁶

Salen los cuatro de portugueses, cantando.
 CRIADA ¡Aprisa, señores míos,
 que nos vienen alcanzando!
 HIJA *Toca, portugués deitoso.*
 SOLDADO *Xa morreu lo castillao.*
 HIJA *Menina formosa,*
naom os posso ver,
que ista naom es vida, ¡ay, ay, ay!
para seu sofrer.
 ...
 TODOS *Menina formosa, etc.*⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Luis Quiñones de BENAVENTE, *Joco seria* (Madrid, Francisco García, 1645), ff. 166v-167r. I have modernised the Spanish spelling but left the macaronic Portuguese as in the original.

⁵⁷ ‘The four [characters] enter the stage as Portuguese, singing. Maid: Quick, sirs! They are getting closer! Daughter: Play, you merry Portuguese. Soldier: The Castilian is dead. Daughter: ‘*Menina formosa, não os posso ver, que isto não é vida, ai, ai, ai!, para se sofrer.*’ ... Everyone: ‘*Menina formosa, etc.*’ (my translation).

It is thus evident that *Vida da minha alma* and its corresponding text—either in its original form or in its hybrid version—had become a sort of quintessential Portuguese song, an archetypal rendition of the trope of the eternally enamoured musician that Spanish authors of light theatre attributed to the Portuguese character-type.⁵⁸ Notice, once again, the use of the word ‘ista’ instead of the Portuguese ‘isto’, in the exact same way we find in the Fitzalan Partbooks, further reinforcing the hypothesis that the pieces arrived in Italy through Spain.

As a matter of fact, this ‘hybrid’ *mote* seems to have had a significant presence in Italy as well, especially Naples, for it is also found in two manuscript sources associated with Neapolitan culture. One of these sources is a collection of Spanish poetry copied for Antonio Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba and Viceroy in Naples from 1622 to 1629,⁵⁹ known as the *Cancionero del Duque de Alba*.⁶⁰ The other source is a collection of Italian and Spanish songs with *alfabeto* notation for Spanish guitar, *Villanelle di più sorte*, compiled, or possibly composed, by one unidentified Giovanni Casalotti;⁶¹ the origin of this collection is disputed and could be either Naples or Florence,⁶² but the fact that it contains several *villanelle spagnole* strongly associates it with the southern Italian kingdom under Spanish rule. In both these sources, the *mote* is followed by Camões’s *glosas* (with their share of Hispanicisms and Italianisms⁶³), first published in 1595.⁶⁴

It is nothing short of fascinating to realise that the *mote* of this Portuguese poem found in two early seventeenth-century sources copied in Italy originated from the *notes* of the texts of the only two Portuguese-language songs found in a late sixteenth-century songbook copied in Italy. This can hardly be a coincidence, especially considering that the sources had several connections to Naples, which, naturally, was a main hub of exchanges between the Iberian and the Italian peninsulas. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Naples played a central part in the transmission of this repertory in Italy. One could even be tempted to suggest that the merging of the *notes* occurred

⁵⁸ See BORREGO, ‘Portugal y los portugueses en el teatro cómico’ (see note 40), p. 52.

⁵⁹ See Benedetto CROCE, ‘Illustrazione di un canzoniere ms. italo-spagnuolo del secolo XVII’ (Naples, Stab. Tipografico della R. Università, 1900), pp. 1-2.

⁶⁰ Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XVII.30. The poem that begins with the ‘hybrid’ *mote* is in p. 54 of this manuscript, according to CROCE, ‘Illustrazione di un canzoniere’ (see note 59). See also FRENK, *Nuevo corpus* (see note 35), vol. 1, no. 431A, p. 314.

⁶¹ London, British Library, MS Add. 36877 [GB-Lbl Add. 36877]. No specific dating of this manuscript is known other than seventeenth century.

⁶² See Daniel ZULUAGA, ‘The Five-Course Guitar, *Alfabeto* Song and the *Villanella Spagnola* in Italy, c. 1590 to 1630’ (PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 2014), p. 74.

⁶³ See Appendix II.

⁶⁴ In Luís de CAMÕES, *Rhythmas* (Lisbon, Manoel de Lira, 1595), ff. 164v-165r. The preference for Camões’s *glosas* in these sources can probably be explained by the success and prestige the works of the Portuguese poet had rapidly acquired among the Spanish and the Italian literary circles of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century (see Pedro SERRA, ‘Receção de Camões na Literatura Espanhola’, in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, coordinated by Vítor Aguiar e Silva (Alfragide, Caminho, 2011), pp. 772-93, at pp. 780-1; and Valeria TOCCO, ‘Receção de Camões na Literatura Italiana’, in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, pp. 814-22, at pp. 814-5).

within Italy itself—which would actually be unsurprising, given that villanellas sometimes had their texts and verses reordered, mixed and reassembled.⁶⁵ However, given the *mote*'s stereotypical association with the Portuguese, it is more probable that the merging occurred in Portugal or in Spain, and that the hybrid version reached Naples in a second, later source, unrelated to the one that was at the origin of the copy in the Fitzalan Partbooks. In any case, the poetic and musical similarities between both songs have certainly contributed to that fusion.

Apropos of this, did the music of the two Portuguese villancicos accompany the hybrid *mote* in its travels through Spain and Italy? One important clue appears in Benavente's aforementioned quotation of the song *Vida da minha alma*, which may indicate that was indeed the case. Notice that, in the three-part setting of this song (see Example 1), right after the verse 'esta não é vida', there are three textless semibreves (semibreves 13 to 15). The natural flow and accents of the text, as well as the strictly syllabic homophony, do not suggest that any of the previous syllables should be extended for more than one note—so what text was sung to these notes? Benavente gives us a solution (possibly, *the* solution); his musical-theatrical version of the *mote* adds an important element which is naturally absent from the other purely poetic records: the interjections 'ay, ay, ay' interpolated after said line, which fit perfectly to the three textless semibreves. This piece of evidence suggests that the melody to which Benavente's Portuguese-disguised characters sang the *mote* was similar to or derived from the melody of *Vida da minha alma*, if not the same.

As for *Villanelle di più sorte*, the musical indications that come with the poem (no melodies are given, only chords) do not seem to match the music of any of the villancicos in the Fitzalan Partbooks.⁶⁶ In fact, the music of Casalotti's *Menina formosa* already shows a certain departure from the rigid villancico structures—even though there are still reminiscences of this form in the way that the *volta* of the poem is sung to almost the exact same chord sequence as the *mote*. In any case, the presence of this Portuguese poem in yet another Italian musical source seems to indicate that the former eventually became a well-established reference in the musical repertory of Italy and particularly in its *corpus* of villanellas—and, there, continued to be set to music and performed well into the seventeenth century.⁶⁷ This was a rare achievement for a Portuguese-language text—and it is highly likely that the two sixteenth-century villancicos in the Fitzalan Partbooks contributed significantly to the process that led to that feat.

Vida da minha alma and *Minina formosa* had indeed come a long way. They probably started as simple popular songs, in constant transformation by processes of oral transmission, until around

⁶⁵ See CARDAMONE, 'Villanella' (see note 18).

⁶⁶ For an edition of this song, see Appendix II. My thanks to Daniel Zuluaga for his assistance in the access of this source.

⁶⁷ In fact, this is the earliest known example of a musical setting of a poem by Camões in its native language. About the presence of one *glosa* by Camões in the *Cancioneiro de Paris*, see RAIMUNDO, 'The dating of the *Cancioneiro de Paris*' (see note 32).

1500, when some of these melodies were assimilated by court musicians interested in the poetic-musical culture of popular tradition. These musicians used the melodies as the basis for their compositions, thus fixing several different variant readings of common original tunes. These ‘courtified’ pieces could be performed by a solo voice accompanied by the vihuela, as was probably the case with the *Cancioneiro de Paris* version of *Vida da minha alma* and its twin piece *No val das mais belas*, or they could be performed with three voices in very simple and plain homophonic arrangements like that of *Que é o que vejo*. These songs became rather popular and probably had a significant presence in the courtly musical scene of the second quarter of the century, when poets like Caminha and Camões frequented the Portuguese court; these poets would later draw inspiration from the songs for their own lyric poetry. The songs gained such popularity in Portugal that they eventually reached Spain, where they probably became known as typically Portuguese songs. As these songs circulated in Spain, their texts accumulated some Hispanicisms, but also some fabricated Lusisms, which helped reinforce their association with Portugal. At around the mid-sixteenth century, these songs with Hispanicised texts were brought, in manuscript sources, from Spain to Italy, probably through Naples. From there, they were disseminated to other Italian regions, namely northern Italy, where the Fitzalan Partbooks were copied, perpetuating their Hispanicisms and fabricated Lusisms. Around 1600, Spaniards were still regarding *Vida da minha alma* as representative of the stereotype of the Portuguese stock-character, especially in lighter theatrical contexts. At around the same time, the *motes* of both songs merged into one, possibly due to their identical poetic structure—pentasyllabic verse, four-line *mote*, *vilancete* form—and their many musical similarities—triple metre, simple melodies and rhythms, homophonic texture. This new hybrid *mote* seems to have been sung to the tune of *Vida da minha alma*, and it was again disseminated to Italy via Naples, this time with Camões’s *glosas*. This poem continued to be part of the Italian poetic-musical *villanella* repertory in the seventeenth century.

This path that I have reconstructed still leaves many questions remaining to be answered, the most pressing probably being: what was it about these villancicos that appealed so much to the Portuguese, and then to Spanish and Italian audiences? As is often the case with this repertory, the exact contours of the story may never be known. However, these two Portuguese villancicos in an Italian manuscript, short and simple as they are, carry great historic-musicological significance. They not only constitute a notable example of the mutually influential cultural ties and exchanges between Portugal and Spain in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but, more importantly, they are also documentary evidence of the circulation of secular music of Portuguese origin in Spain and Italy in that epoch, running in the opposite direction of the standard flow of repertory transmission and dissemination. It is to be hoped that the story of *Vida da minha alma* and *Minina fermosa* will contribute to a better knowledge of the Portuguese secular repertory and its role in Renaissance Europe’s musical life.

Appendix I

Edition of *Vida da minha alma* and *Minina fermosa* in modern notation

Gb-Lbl Royal Appendix 59-62. f. 43v (cantus), 43r (tenor, bassus)

Text: Pero de Andrade Caminha

Cantus

Tenor

Bassus

6 Fine

13 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{6}{8}$

D.C. al Fine

Gb-Lbl Royal Appendix 59-62. f. 44r (cantus), 43v (tenor, bassus)

Cantus

Mi-ni-na fer-mo - sa, de - zeí de que vem ser - des tão i - ro - sa
Cru-el e fer-mo - sa, meus o-lhos o vêem

Tenor

Mi-ni-na fer-mo - sa, de - zeí de que vem ser - des tão i - ro - sa
Cru-el e fer-mo - sa, meus o-lhos o vêem

Bassus

7

a quem vos quer bem? ser - des tão i - ro - sa a quem vos quer bem?
a quem vos quer bem? ser - des tão i - ro - sa a quem vos quer bem?

a quem vos quer bem? ser - des tão i - ro - sa a quem vos quer bem?

13

Na-ce em um su - jei - to, co - mo po - de ser?
ri - go - ro - so prei - to, bran - do pa - re - cer.

Tenor

Na-ce em um su - jei - to, co - mo po - de ser?
ri - go - ro - so prei - to, bran - do pa - re - cer.

Bassus

D.C. al Fine

Appendix II

Edition of *Menina formosa* from *GB-Lbl Add. 36877, ff.57r-v*

Music: Giovanni Casalotti (?)

Text: Luís de Camões

Menina for - mo - sa não me po - des ver, não, não, não me po - des ver; esta não é vida

5 para se so - frer esta não é vi - da, vida, vi - da para se so - frer. [Fine]

Copla

8 Quando vos ser - via, esse bem lo - grava; a vida ex - tre - mava, porque en - tão vi - vi - a,

12 porque me ser - vi - a só para vos ver; pois vos já não ve - jo, para quê vi - ver? *Menina, etc.* [D.C. al Fine]

Não me atrevo já,
 minha tão querida,
 a chamar-vos vida,
 por[que] a tenho má.
 Ninguém cuidará
 que isto pode ser,
 sendo-me vós vida,
 não poder viver.

Menina, etc.

Original text

Menina formosa / Naon me podes uer / Naon, naon, naon me podes uer / Esta naon è uida / Para se sofrer /
 Esta naon è vida / Vida uida para se sofrer

Copla.

Quando uos seruia / Esse bein lograua / A uida estremaua / Porq antaen uiuia / Porq me seruia / Sol para uos
 uer / Pues uos ya no veggio / Para q uiuer / *Menina etc.*

Naon me atreuo ya / Ninna taon querida / A llamar uos uida / Por la tegno ma / Naon ghein cuidara /
 Que esto podesser / Sendome uos uida / Naon poder uiuer / *Menina etc.*

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