David Hackston

Anonymous Voices:
From Source to Performance

Towards a Critical Edition and Historically Informed Performance
of the Lamentations of Jeremiah from Manuscript P-Cug MM 32.
A Practical Study.

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The present work examines a setting of the Lamentations of Jeremiah found in P-Cug MM 32, a musical manuscript dating from ca. 1540–1555 and belonging to the collections of the Augustinian monastery at Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Portugal. The writer has transcribed this source into a modern notational format and produced a critical edition of the work: the Lamentações. The purpose of the edition presented in the appendix to this work is twofold: first, to serve as a contribution to the continued process of documenting the contents of the vast collections of musical manuscripts at monasteries across Portugal and, second, to produce a practical edition of the music itself, the better to allow musicians to perform the work and, in broader terms, to propagate the Portuguese monastic musical tradition stretching back some eight centuries.

The writer examines some of the principal considerations in creating a modern edition from manuscript source and asks what it means to 'edit' early music, what role the editor can or should play. Through a series of detailed examples from the manuscript source, the writer presents his approach to the practical task of transcription in light of theoretical considerations on subjects including mensuration, the use of bar lines, and the questions of *chiavette* and *musica ficta*.

After presenting the theoretical bases for his approach to the transcription, the writer then considers aspects of historically informed performance practice with regard to the singing of 16th-century polyphony, covering issues such as the number of singers traditionally used in liturgical services, the questions of vibrato and phrasing, and posits an approach to the pronunciation of Latin in 16th-century Portugal, guided in part by the idiosyncratic orthography of the Latin text as found in the manuscript.

The present work offers researchers working in the field of Renaissance music an interesting window into the world of Portuguese polyphony and a detailed case study of the reconstruction of the Lamentações. For performers of early music, this thesis provides a thorough investigation of the theoretical premises of early-music performance practice and acquaints the reader with the central ideological tenets of the HIP movement.

Keywords	*Chiavette*, early music, edition, HIP movement, lamentations, manuscript, *musica ficta*, performance practice, polyphony, Portugal, renaissance music, Santa Cruz de Coimbra, source, transcription, underlay

Metropolia

Tekijä(t) Otsikko	David Hackston Tuntemattomat äänet: käsikirjoituksesta esitykseen. Kohti kriittistä editiota ja historiallisesti tiedostavaa esitystä.
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Tämä opinnäytetyö käsittelee erästä Jeremiaan Valitusvirsien teksteihin tehtyä polyfonista sävellystä. Teos on peräisin käsikirjoituslähteestä P-Cug MM 32 (noin 1540–1555), joka kuuluu portugalilaisen Santa Cruz de Coimbra -luostarin mittaviin kokoelmiin. Kirjoittaja on transkriboinut lähteen moderniin nuottiasuun ja laatinut teoksesta kriittisen edition nimeltä "Lamentações" (*Valitusvirret*). Liitteenä olevan edition tarkoitus on kaksitahoinen: se on osana Portugalin lukuisten luostareiden laajan musiikillisen perinnön jatkuvaa kodifiointityötä, ja toisaalta tarkoitus on ollut luoda nk. 'käytännöllinen' editio, jonka avulla esiintyjät voivat esittää kyseisen teoksen ja laajemmin edistää Portugalin musiikillista perinnettä.

Työ tarkastelee 1500-luvun käsikirjoituseditoinnin keskeisiä kysymyksiä ja menetelmiä. Samalla hän pohtii, missä määrin renessanssimusiikkia voi tai tarvitsee ylipäänsä 'editoida' ja kysyy, mihin yltää tai rajoittuu editorin rooli. Kirjoittaja valaisee yksityiskohtaisin esimerkein omia työmenetelmiään ja suhdettaan transkriptiotyöhön sekä avaa keskustelua mm. mensuraation, *chiavette*-transponoinnin, tahtiviivojen ja *musica ficta* -käytännön problematiikasta.

Esiteltyään transkriptiotyönsä teoreettisen taustan kirjoittaja pohtii historiallisesti valistuneiden esittämiskäytäntöjen perustavanlaatuisia kysymyksiä, koskien etenkin 1500-luvun musiikin laulamista. Käsiteltävinä olevia aiheita ovat mm. kuinka monta laulajaa olisi milloinkin laulanut liturgisissa menoissa, miten vibratoa on historiallisesti käytetty, ja miten laulajan kannattaa fraseerata mensuraalimusiikkia. Lopuksi hän esittelee mahdollista lähestymistapaa 1500-luvun latinan ääntämiseen portugalilaisessa kontekstissa. Ehdotettu menetelmä pohjautuu pitkälti käsikirjoituslähteessä olevan latinankielisen tekstin idiosynkraattiseen ortografiaan.

Työ tarjoaa renessanssimusiikin tutkijoille kiinnostavan katsauksen portugalilaiseen polyfoniseen perinteeseen laajemmin ja yksityiskohtaisen analyysin kyseisen sävellyksen rekonstruointivaiheista. Vanhan musiikin esiintyjille ja siitä kiinnostuneille tämä opinnäytetyö tarjoaa tiiviin tietopaketin vanhan musiikin esittämisen teoreettisista lähtökohdista ja tutustuttaa lukijaa HIP-liikkeen keskeisiin aatesuuntauksiin.

Avainsanat	*Chiavette*, Coimbra, editio, esittämiskäytännöt, HIP-liike, käsikirjoitus, lähde, *musica ficta*, polyfonia, Portugali, renessanssimusiikki, tekstinsijoittelu, transkriptio, valitusvirret

Metropolia

Table of Contents

1   Introduction

1.1   Background

In 2014–15 I had the privilege of undertaking a year of study at the Escola Superior de Música, Artes e Espectáculo (ESMAE) in Porto, Portugal. It was during this time that I first became aware of the vast quantities of music composed at the monasteries across Portugal over a period of some four centuries. In part due to the research interests of the members of staff at the Curso de Música Antiga (CMA), great emphasis is placed throughout the early-music curriculum on polyphonic works from the Portuguese heritage.

The annual CMA curriculum includes five or six intensive chamber-music periods whereby all students – singers and instrumentalists alike – come together to form the Sesquialtera chamber ensemble. During my year at ESMAE, all Sesquialtera projects focussed, at least to some extent, on the detailed study and performance of music from the collections held at the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Moreover, the pedagogical and artistic philosophy at ESMAE is very much of the belief that all performances – regardless of genre – must be fully grounded in a scholarly appreciation of the music at hand.

It was during the intensive rehearsals of the Sesquialtera ensemble that the idea of the present work came into being. A visit to the Biblioteca Geral of the University of Coimbra, which houses the collections of manuscripts originally from the monastery, only served to clarify the specifics of the project further.

Though many scholars have examined the contents of the Coimbra manuscripts in great depth, only a fraction of the extant material exists in 'modern' notation. While it is reasonable to assume that students of early music should over time attain fluency in reading mensural notation, this means however that the music remains the preserve of a specialised group of musicians and is largely inaccessible to a wider performing

public. The Portuguese Early-Music (PEM) Database has played an invaluable role in scanning the manuscripts and making them available in high-resolution images to scholars across the world.[1] The continued process of rendering accessible the music contained in these manuscripts is of great historical and cultural significance, as modern editions can bring this striking music more readily to modern performers and, thereby, modern audiences.

1.2   Objectives

The objectives in writing this work are manifold. Ever since becoming acquainted with the Tenebrae Responsories of Carlo Gesualdo (1566–1613), I have had a fascination for the music of Holy Week and in particular for settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the music of the Tenebrae mass. During my year of study at ESMAE it came to my attention that a vast quantity of music for the Triduum was written in Portugal during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and that much of this music still exists only in mensural choir-book format. The students at ESMAE prepared performances of some of this music under the guidance of professors Pedro Sousa e Silva, Hugo Sanches and Magna Ferreira. After discovering the treasure troves of music at the library of the University of Coimbra, I decided to set about finding an appropriate, large-scale example of music for the Triduum, which I could first transcribe and then perform with my own ensemble, the English Vocal Consort of Helsinki, as part of my artistic bachelor's recital in October 2015.

After searching through the manuscripts available at the PEM Database, I eventually found the Lamentations from MM 32.[2] My own primary aim was therefore to prepare a critical modern edition of this source, thus making the music accessible to singers of all levels. The present thesis thus represents a documentation of the process by which this modern edition came into being.

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[1] The PEM Database can be accessed at www.pemdatabase.eu.
[2] Henceforth referred to simply as 'the Lamentações' to distinguish them from other settings of the same text.

In broader terms, however, this thesis serves as a guide to ways in which we, as early 21st-century musicians, can approach the reading, analysis and performance of polyphonic manuscripts of this period. Thus the working process elaborated below, the challenges and obstacles encountered and the solutions I reached as the editor of the critical edition, can provide a valuable template both for scholars studying and examining this music and for musicians whose task it is to bring the manuscripts to life.

1.3 Acknowledgements

There are a number of people without whose help the present work would have been considerably more arduous – if, indeed, it had ever come into being in the first place. Foremost among those are the staff and students of the early-music course at ESMAE, Porto. As mentioned above, the Sesquialtera projects provided a fascinating opportunity to become deeply acquainted with the polyphonic music of this period. The detailed rehearsals with Hugo Sanches and Pedro Sousa e Silva opened a window on to the vibrant musical heritage of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. I am also indebted to scholars José Abreu and Paulo Estudante from the Universidade Geral de Coimbra for their insights into this music and for providing me with the opportunity in April 2015 and May 2016 to examine MM 32 and other manuscripts *in situ*.

Various other people have through animated conversations helped me and challenged me with wise words on some of the numerous topics covered in the present work. Among them are Nils Schweckendiek, Kari Turunen and James Wood whose thoughts and comments on the practice surrounding the transposition of *chiavette* have helped me to formulate an approach to the subject with regard to the Lamentações. Sakari Ylivuori and I have had many discussions about the preparation of an 'edition' and the implications that such an endeavour might entail. For all these conversations and those yet to come, I am humbly grateful.

As a fellow linguist, Juha Karvonen has instilled in me a fascination (upon reading Chapter 7, some might say an obsession) for the endless quagmire that is the world of historically 'accurate' pronunciation. Thanks also go to Seppo Heikkinen for his

2   Towards a 'Modern' Edition: Basic Principles

> Scores are more than just tablatures for specific actions or else some sort of picture of the required sound: they are also artefacts with powerful auras of their own, as the history of notational innovation clearly shows us. (Ferneyhough 1995: 373)

In this chapter I will outline some of the primary considerations of an editor in compiling a 'modern' edition from a 16th-century manuscript source. By 'modern' I mean a version of the source which can be readily understood by 21st-century musicians, as reading, singing and performing directly from mensural notation can be problematic even for advanced students of early music. Furthermore I will examine what makes an edition 'critical' and consider whether there is such a thing as an 'uncritical' edition.

2.1   Preparing an edition

The difficulties in preparing an edition of any source, regardless of its age, depend to a great extent on the quality of the source itself. If a source is in good, legible condition, preparing an accurate transcription should not present the editor with any significant obstacles; given the standard of music software available today, engraving the source into a typeset, printable format will not take very long at all. That being said, two potential problems grow exponentially with the age of the manuscript source. Firstly, the older the manuscript, the less familiar 21st-century readers are (on the whole) with the notational conventions at work in the source. Obviously, the further back in time we look, the more acute this problem becomes. Secondly, and most crucially, the older the manuscript, the more likely it is to be incomplete, degraded, often illegible in parts so that, even if we can fluently read the notation, the condition of the paper may prevent us from forming an overall picture of the music.

In instances in which the *Notenbild*, the visual content of the source, is unclear, the editor must come up with a strategy in order to read it properly and recreate the *Notentext* (the intent or meaning of the visual content) in the edition.[3] In the case of

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[3] The basic concepts of *Notenbild* and *Notentext* are explored in greater detail in Section 2.5.

music for which a manuscript in the composer's own hand has survived or for which multiple editions exist, the editor can compare the different sources, seek to place them in chronological order, isolate errors or copying mistakes and, if necessary, correct such mistakes in an attempt to establish the composer's original intention, to the extent that such a goal is possible.

The case of MM 32 is fortuitous in many respects. Foremost among them is the fact that the manuscript source is in relatively good condition and the handwriting of the different scribes is, on the whole, perfectly clear. As Owen Rees notes in his work *Polyphony in Portugal*, MM 32, like many other manuscripts, was compiled over a period of time and contains works copied by different scribes (Rees 1995: 221–222). For instance, the works copied earliest (of which the Lamentações are an example) use the diamond-shaped note heads familiar from mensural notation, whereas works copied later employ the rounded note heads with which modern musicians will be well acquainted. Both notational conventions are readily legible in the source.

Moreover, in the case of the Lamentações, concordant music can be found in two other sources: P-Cug MM 9 and P-Cug MM 48. This allows the editor of MM 32 to check the assumed intentions of the scribe in places where the page is degraded (e.g. at the right-hand edge of 009r/6 and 010r/6),[4] in instances where there appears to be a mistake in the voice leading (e.g. in Gimel during the music accompanying the text 'et multitudinem servitutis') or an incorrect number of beats (i.e. where the number of breves differs in each part, resulting in the notes coalescing incorrectly). These instances are examined in greater detail in Section 5.2.

2.2   What makes an edition 'critical'?

> *Making a good edition is an act of criticism* that engages with the musical material on all levels, large and small. (Bent 1986: 5)[5]

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[4] Throughout this work I will use the above system of referencing pages and staves. The reference 009r/6 thus indicates folio 009, recto, stave 6. Staves will be numbered in sequence from the top of the page. All page and stave numbers refer to MM 32 unless otherwise indicated.
[5] The italics are original.

The notion of the editing process as "an act of criticism" is crucial not only to the present work but to all editions of all musical works. In his enlightening book *The Critical Editing of Music* (1996) James Grier uses the example of Beethoven's *Hammerklavier* Sonata Op. 106 to demonstrate the extent to which the editor's judgements impact the resultant edition. In the contentious section (bars 224–226), two early sketches of the work give A♮ while the first edition gives A♯. Because both readings are plausible, there is no way of knowing 'the composer's intentions' with any degree of certainty. A similar example occurs in the solo duet in the final movement of Jean Sibelius's *Rakastava* for mixed choir – again revolving around whether to sing an A♮ or A♯. Different editions and arrangements present conflicting readings, yet there are strong arguments to defend both solutions (Ylivuori 2015b: 17). It is at points such as these that the editor must make a subjective decision about which reading to present in the edition. More importantly, *either* decision can be considered 'critical', and the resulting new edition will, *de facto*, represent a reading based on the editor's scholarly engagement with the available source material. An 'uncritical' edition (if such a thing existed) would be to simply reproduce the contents of a source in an unrealistic attempt to present "only the text of the composer […] instead of acknowledging [the editor's] own critical initiative" (Grier 1996: 4). Grier terms this phenomenon the '*Urtext* industry'. The very notion of an *Urtext* is, however, problematic, as it denies the agency of the editor altogether, an agency that, as we have seen, is integral to every decision the editor makes.

Christopher Reynolds suggests a division of editorial strategies into three categories. Firstly there are what he terms 'scholarly' editions, which contain an extensive appendix of emendations and observations regarding such matters as ligatures and *musica ficta*. 'Practical' editions include "interpretative cues about tempo, phrasing and dynamics [and] keyboard reductions". Reynolds contends that the remaining category, 'critical' editions, "normally publish the complete works of a single composer" (Reynolds 2002: 197). For obvious reasons, a complete edition of the composer's works is impossible in the case of the Lamentações. Following Reynolds' categorisation, it would perhaps be more appropriate to term my edition of the Lamentações a 'scholarly edition'.

2.3 Source evaluation

The role of the editor has many facets. It has been variously described as to act "as mediators between composer and audience", (Grier 1996: 4) with a view to "creating a map of the musical reality of the past" (Djupsjöbacka 2005: 49). Editors and editions are, however, not infallible, and the decisions editors take at any one time are not the only solutions that s/he might have reached. John Butt positively lambasts the notion of an omniscient, dictatorial editor in his paraphrasing of Stevens (1972), commenting that Stevens "articulates the common conception that it is the musicologist's task to discern 'the facts' and then pass these on to the obedient performer" (Butt 2002: 74).

In preparing an edition of a work for which there exist multiple sources, the editor must first make a number of decisions regarding the respective role played by each of the different sources available. One of the central questions an editor must consider is whether to treat all sources as equal representations of the work or whether to focus on a single, main source. The main source is the one source to which all other sources are subordinate and compared, and which will constitute the basis of the edition.

Establishing a chronology for all extant sources and placing them in a chronological hierarchy is one way of examining the material available to the editor. Dating the sources and placing them in chronological order, i.e. creating what is also called a 'source chain', helps the editor establish how the work came to reach its eventual form. However, in the case of manuscripts the like of those held at the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, the very notion of the work's 'eventual form' can rightly be called into question, as none of the sources available to the editor are necessarily in the composer's own hand but are, more often than not, copies of copies of copies. Given that the oldest manuscript is, one may logically assume, the source closest to the original act of composition, an editor might conclude that the oldest manuscript already represents the 'eventual form' of the work, and that subsequent manuscripts (i.e., in the case of many manuscripts from Coimbra, sources copied from an older manuscript) serve only to correct mistakes and / or to 'update' the notation.[6]

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[6] Indeed, this is the case with the concordant music of the Lamentações in sources MM 9 and MM 48 respectively.

In an example of recent scholarship on the study of source chains, Sakari Ylivuori (2013) looks to the methodology of *critique génétique* and applies this to his analysis of the source chains for the mixed-choir works of Jean Sibelius. As he notes, "Genetic Criticism does not seek to establish a singular or definitive version of the work" rather "each source […] is considered an equal representation of a stage in the work's evolution" (Ylivuori 2013: 8). From this description it would appear that Genetic Criticism is thus a more 'egalitarian' and specifically non-hierarchical approach to the analysis of sources within a chain and, therefore, stands somewhat at odds with the notion of a hierarchy based solely on the respective age of individual sources. It also suggests that the work does not exist within a single 'musical reality' but that individual sources, when examined together, reveal a multitude of realities, a myriad of directions that the music might have taken but did not.[7] With regard to 16th-century polyphony, it is hard to hypothesise on any alternative directions the music might have taken, even if such a hypothesis were based on information about the music gleaned from multiple contemporary sources. Rather, it is perhaps more fruitful to consider what different sources of the same work – 'sketches', part books, choir books, partially destroyed manuscripts – can reveal, when placed within a chronology, not so much about the composer's working practices and processes, as is often the case with scholarship focussing on the idea of the 'composer genius' (see e.g. Haynes 2007), but about the practices of the musicians within a given community such as the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, whose jobs included the codification and regular performance of a living and ever expanding musical corpus.

For the purposes of the present work, however, and based on the chronology of sources outlined below, I will consider MM 32 the main source upon which the eventual edition of the Lamentações will be based. Preparing an edition of music from a collection such as the Coimbra manuscripts is challenging specifically because we do not have a primary source (i.e. a source that can reasonably be assumed to be in the composer's own hand, a published edition, or any other editions that can be considered

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[7] As Ylivuori comments, once we have something we deem to be the 'final' or 'complete' version of a work, "the countless possibilities that the composer did not realise remain hidden" ("ne lukemattomat mahdollisuudet, joita säveltäjä ei toteuttanut, jäävät piiloon," Ylivuori 2015a: 90).

'definitively' to represent the composer's intentions).[8] In this respect, MMs 9, 32 and 48 are, at least from the perspective of Genetic Criticism, of equal relevance in preparing an edition of the work in question. However, because it appears, as will be outlined below, that MM 9 and MM 48 were copied *from* MM 32,[9] these two sources will be considered subordinate to the main source and consulted only in instances in which the main source is unclear.

2.4   The transcription of mensural notation

In the present edition of the Lamentações I will adhere to standard practice for the transcription of mensural notation. This includes indicating original clefs at the beginning of each independent movement (in this case, each Lectio) and the incipit phrase or starting note of each part. Ligatures will be indicated with a bracketed line and coloration with broken brackets, as per standard practice.

The question of *musica ficta*[10] is immense, too immense in fact to be dealt with in any great depth in the present work. My approach to *musica ficta*, explored in further detail in Section 4.4, is based partly on theoretical considerations and contemporary practice as we understand it and partly on a practical approach informed through experimentation in rehearsal. In accordance with standard notational practice, all examples of *musica ficta*, whether 'compulsory' within the hexachord to avoid forbidden intervals or non-idiosyncratic counterpoint, editorial suggestions or matters of preference (e.g. cadential major thirds), are normally indicated in square brackets above the note head to which they refer. For the purposes of the current edition, however, I will dispense with square brackets: all accidentals given above the stave are

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[8] The 'definitive' intentions of a composer are often hard to pin down. Moreover the value they bring to the preparation of an edition or a performance is open to debate. For instance, Haynes (2007) brings into question the whole notion of contemporary performers' fixation (even among those working within the HIP movement) with the composer's supposed intentions, a phenomenon he calls "text fetishism" and the "Urtext Imperative" – i.e. whereby the score is treated with almost religious reverence (Haynes 2007: 90).

[9] For instance, MM 9 corrects many of the copying errors found in MM 32, a subject explored in greater detail in Section 5.2, whereas MM 48 presents some of the music in open score, a much later notational device than would have been found in a manuscript from the early to mid 16th century.

[10] 'False' or 'fictitious' music. The term refers to any notes that were not originally included in the hexachordal system devised in the 12th century by Guido of Arezzo. For instance, the note C# in a cadence leading to D is routinely notated simply as C, though contemporary performers would automatically sing C#.

therefore editorial while only those marked on the stave are original. To avoid misunderstandings, courtesy natural marks will also be indicated above certain notes. These will be presented inside standard brackets.

The underlay is presented in Roman type whenever the text is clearly indicated in the manuscript. Where the manuscript indicates that a section of text is to be repeated, it will appear in the edition in *italics*, while any other text not shown (i.e. that which has been added by the editor) will be presented in square brackets. The details of the underlay and the problems involved in establishing how to assign text in sections where it is not clearly marked will be explored in Chapter 6.

Instances in which there is a mistake in MM 32 (the main source) or in which the manuscript is for some reason degraded and illegible and a section of music is taken from another source to correct the mistake or missing part, will be itemised in a list accompanying the score.

2.5   *Notenbild* and *Notentext* in the context of mensural notation

The twin concepts of *Notenbild* and *Notentext* are inextricably linked to the notion of the semiotic relationship between score and performance, i.e. that musical notation consists of symbols that denote particular actions. *Notenbild* refers to the visual aspects of the notation, that is, what these symbols look like. *Notentext*, however, refers to what these same symbols 'mean'.[11]

It is the interaction of these two concepts and the discrepancy between them that makes the job of the critical editor both fascinating and challenging. As was often the case, copyists (and latterly typesetters) could not read music very well, if at all, and copied scores as visual as opposed to musical content (as explained in, e.g. Ylivuori 2013: 14). This scenario mirrors the notion of the 'uncritical' edition, outlined above.

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[11] "*Notentext* refers to those qualities of the musical notation that affect interpretations of the musical work, whereas *Notenbild* refers to the graphical qualities of the notation (such as font, layout, etc.)" (Ylivuori 2013: 15).

Editors who read and understand the semiotic meanings of the symbols in the score are likely to spot obvious errors and correct them in any further copies and editions. To simply reproduce a source without paying attention to such potential mistakes would be to create an 'uncritical' edition: it is a direct result of copying verbatim the *Notenbild* without considering the implications that the symbols on the page hold for the *Notentext*.

That being said, the copyists and scribes at Santa Cruz de Coimbra were most fluent in reading mensural notation, and doubtless sang and even composed it themselves. It will come as no surprise, therefore, that one commonly finds that mistakes in earlier manuscripts have been corrected in subsequent copies, a matter which also helps scholars to date respective manuscript sources with a degree of accuracy. Examples of such instances are outlined in greater detail in Section 5.2.1.

2.6　Modern vs. 'authentic' solutions

As illustrated above, in the preparation of a critical edition one will inevitably encounter the often irreconcilable clash between rendering the *Notenbild* as it appears in the manuscript and adapting it the better to represent the *Notentext* of the manuscript to modern readers. How much is it acceptable to change aspects of the *Notenbild* in order to make the *Notentext* clear to the modern performer? Making alterations to the *Notenbild*, however minor, begs the following question: to what degree can the decisions of the editor affect performances of the work based on the editor's reading of the manuscript? Indeed, the fact that such alterations occur at all is bound up with the notion of the essentially 'critical' nature of the editor's work (see Section 2.2).

Like a translator, who mediates between a source language and readers of a target language, the editor serves as the only immediate interface between the original manuscript and the modern performer, so any decisions about the rendering of musical ideas and information will have a direct effect on anyone reading the edition. Because the specifics of a performance are largely guided by a performer's ability to read, understand and execute musical material as seen and experienced in a written format,

the role of the editor is of the utmost importance. This is a question that will inevitably come up time and again in the editing of any manuscript, and one that is of particular relevance in the transcription of 16th-century manuscripts, a process that involves shifting the music from one form of notational practice (that not only looks entirely different, i.e. with which the modern performer will be unfamiliar, but that in many respects operates within different musical parameters) to another.

One example of this problem is in the representation of the underlay. Latin orthography was not standardised across southern Europe, so the forms of words found in the manuscript are often 'non-standard' (i.e. they deviate from Italianate forms of the Vulgata) and often reveal much variation within one and the same manuscript. This is also the case with the Lamentações. The editor is faced with the choice of representing the text as it appears in the manuscript – with all its inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies – or adapting it so that, at least within the context of the single work in question, it can be presented in a 'standardised' form.

2.6.1 Bar lines

Until the early 17th century, music was generally written directly into the notational form in which it was eventually to appear (Owens 1997: 196). This often meant part books (in which, say, the Bassus parts of many works were collated in a single volume), choir books (in which all parts for a single work appear on a two-page spread – as is the case with the Lamentações – meaning that singers could stand around the book and sing together) or, in the case of organs and fretted instruments, in a form of tablature. Scores as we know them today did not exist, presumably, in accordance with Owens's contention, because there was no immediate use for them. To complicate matters further, in music written in the 'white' mensural notation that was used in part books and choir books, bar lines do not exist. However, it was less than a hundred years after the compilation of MM 32 that examples of music in 'open score' (i.e. in a

form of notation approaching that which we know today) began to evolve and become more common.[12]

From the perspective of preparing a modern edition of a Renaissance manuscript, however, the addition of bar lines, in some form, is inevitable. As Anne Smith comments, 21st-century musicians are so used to reading and perceiving music in equal segments (bars) that suddenly trying to read without bar lines makes musicians feel adrift and insecure as they have lost their "visual sense of metric orientation" (Smith 2011: 18). Fig. 1 exemplifies the sense of abject confusion that reading without bar lines can induce in a performer.
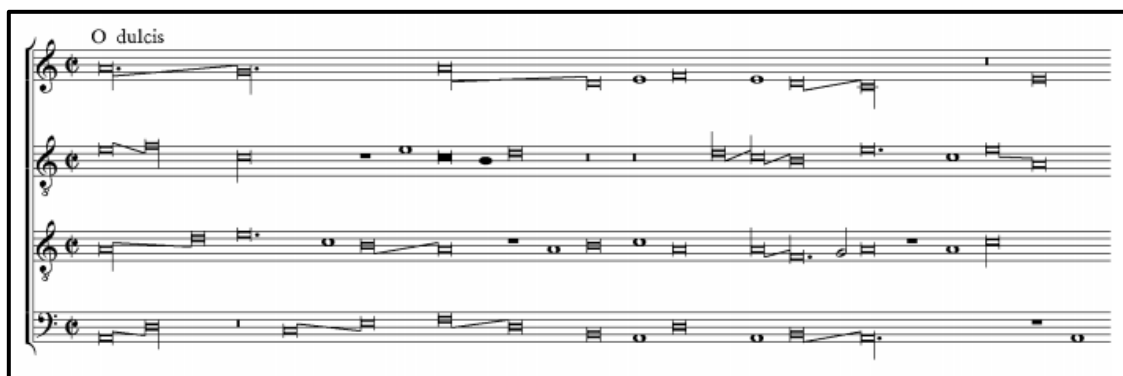
Fig. 1.   Example of mensural notation, with original ligatures, aligned in score format (from Guillaume Dufay, *Salve Regina*, ed. Renato Calcaterra).

Smith considers the virtues of singing from original facsimiles and contends that the extra work involved in rehearsing from original material trains in the musician "skills that we seemingly cannot learn if we stick to modern score notation" (Smith 2011: 19). This may well be true, but in the interest of facilitating greater ease of reading and performance, bar lines or some other means of orienting oneself through the musical texture should be introduced to the modern edition. There are three principal methods of doing this: 1) by aligning the mensural notation in score format, sometimes using small strokes to indicate each *tactus* and retaining all original ligatures (this is

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[12] MM 48 (ff. 126v–127r) contains the music of 'Beth. Plorans ploravit' in open-score format. While my edition places the bar line at the breve, this score uses bar lines one semibreve apart. However, in contrast with modern conventions, this score does not write out any values longer than a breve (i.e. it does not write a long as two breves tied together), rather it simply presents each mensural note value at the point where it begins in the counterpoint. This practice seems to pre-empt the advent of the *Mensurstrich* in many editions of Renaissance polyphony.

extremely difficult to read as this method still requires a working knowledge of the various ligatures employed in the music, as per Fig. 1); 2) the *Mensurstrich*, which retains most original note values but represents them in modern forms (see Fig. 2); and 3) the standard modern bar line running through the stave.

Fig. 2.   Example of the use of *Mensurstrich* in polyphonic music (Estêvão Lopes Morago: 'O magnum mysterium', bars 18–34, ed. Luís Henriques, 2009).

Originally introduced by German musicologists in the 1920s, notably in association with early modern editions of the music of Heinrich Schütz (Breig 2002: 265), the *Mensurstrich* (the 'mensural stroke') is, as the name suggests, a line used to indicate each *tactus* within the mensuration. Unlike standard bar lines, the *Mensurstrich* runs between the staves of the system but not through the stave itself. This means it is possible to retain all original note values while maintaining the "visual sense of metric orientation" that Anne Smith mentions. With a little practice, reading this type of notation is relatively easy. Problems occur with particularly long note values, making it easy to lose one's place because "the metrical structure of the music leaps less clearly to the eye" (Caldwell 1985: 49), and at the end of a line, where a note value

crossing the final *Mensurstrich* is carried over to the beginning of the next system. The result is that it often looks as though there are too many notes in the final 'bar' of one system and not enough notes in the first 'bar' of the next system. Fig. 2 illustrates this point. The transition between the two systems presents potential difficulty for the singer: in a division of the *tactus* into three minims, bar 26 seems to contain a breve (four minims) whereas bar 27 seems to contain only a semibreve (two minims). On the plus side, using *Mensurstrich* notation the singers may find it easier to make sense of the string of hemiolas to the text 'jacentem in praesepio' (bars 29–34).

Given its roots in the transcription of mensural music, the *Mensurstrich* would suit the needs of the Lamentações very well. However, again for the sake of clarity in the notation, I have elected to use standard bar lines running through the stave. The principal drawback of this method is that singers tend to 'phrase' towards the bar line (because so much of the music in which 21ˢᵗ-century musicians have been educated operates around the basic unit of the bar, the four-bar phrase, etc.), and thus there is a tendency to add accents where they do not exist. Acknowledging this potential pitfall will help performers see the bar lines simply as reference points, as aids to greater metric orientation.

2.6.2   *Tactus* and note values

Key to the performer's understanding of the role of the mensural *tactus* in polyphonic works from this period is how the music is visually represented in any new edition. The way performers understand the written information contained in the score has a direct and implicit impact on their interpretation of the music and all resultant performances thereof.

In the transcription of much Renaissance polyphony into modern notation, there has been in recent decades a tendency to halve or quarter the note values of the original, whereby the fundamental unit of the *tactus*, most commonly represented in mensural notation by a *brevis*, is routinely transcribed as a modern semibreve or minim respectively. This practice was particularly widespread in German editions of 16ᵗʰ and 17ᵗʰ-century polyphony published in the post-war years. Indeed, Hans Albrecht (1954)

goes as far as to call the use of halved note values the "standard technique in Germany at present".[13]

Throughout the twentieth century and the advent of transcribing mensural notation, there have been differing opinions as to how to approach the issue of note values and their representation within the conventions of modern notation. Apel (1953) draws attention to the fact that the use of different notes values did not remain constant over the centuries but changed often radically over time. He provides the following, detailed explanation of his logic:

> […] around 1225 [the brevis] designated the shortest value of music (brevis, short), while, in the sixteenth century, it was the longest value in practical use. As a matter of fact, the 'moderate beat' was represented successively by the *long* (1200–1250), the *brevis* (1250–1300), the *semibreve* (1300–1450), the *minim* (1450–1600) and finally the *semiminim*, i.e., the quarter-note (1600–present), so that reductions in the ratios of 1:16, 1:8, 1:4, 1:2 and 1:1 appear appropriate for the periods just named. (Apel 1953: 97).

Caldwell (1985) presents extensive tables and conversion charts, which provide a template for the transcription of mensural notation for the music of different periods. Crucially, however, he comments that "during the course of the fifteenth century, halved values may be substituted; while from the sixteenth century onwards I would argue for original values in most cases" (Caldwell 1985: 14). Following Apel's guidelines, therefore, the music of the Lamentações (ca. 1520) should employ halved note values, while Caldwell would retain original values.

Key to the editor's decision is the question of legibility. As Apel notes, the brevis, by definition, was once a relatively short note value. For modern singers, reading fast music in a modern 3/1 time signature (whereby the semibreve is the basic unit) can sometimes be challenging. Such music can well be transcribed in modern crotchets or quavers, as Apel suggests. However, Caldwell also notes that "the recommendations of Apel (1953) are based partly on the exigencies of pedagogic method. He sometimes calls for greater reductions than considerations of legibility would seem to warrant" (Caldwell 1985: 14).

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[13] Quoted in Breig (2002: 265). In the original: "Die Edition mit modernen Schlüsseln, Mensurstrichen und auf die Hälfte verkürzten Notenwerten könnte man geradezu als die deutsche Standardtechnik der Gegenwart bezeichnen."

The question of legibility is therefore an important consideration in the editor's choice of modern note values. One could argue, as per Apel's contentions, that halving the note values of 16th-century music facilitates reading by modern performers, who are not used to dealing with note values as long as the breve. This may very well be the case, as the music in which most musicians today have been educated rarely employs time signatures long enough to require a breve – 4/2, 3/1 or the all but obsolete 2/1 being the only time signatures in modern convention that would require a note as long as a breve. However, in my experience, summarily halving the note values of mensural notation can lead to interpretational solutions that can be far from desirable.

An acute example of the above is the tendency to misinterpret the *tactus* itself. In some situations, this misinterpretation leads conductors to insist on conducting music originally written in *tempus imperfectum* in four (!) rather than in two or, indeed, one. Conducting in a pattern of four encourages performers to accentuate beats that are unstressed within the *tactus* (i.e. beats two and four, which are essentially syncopations). Modern time signatures such as 4/4, which one encounters with weary regularity in some editions of Renaissance polyphony, only serve further to mislead conductors and performers as to how the *tactus* should best be perceived and manifested in performance. In 16th-century mensural music there were only two possible ways of dividing the breve: into two or three (not four). Both mensurations required only a simple downbeat and an upbeat. Tomás Santamaría comments extensively on the beating of the *tactus* in his 1565 treatise *Arte de tañer Fantasía*. His comments seem to preclude any representation of the *tactus* that implies a four-beat pattern.

> Tactus is the measure of time […] or, tactus is the lapse of time between one downstroke and the next, but it must be observed that more than one downstroke is not effected in each tactus, on which stroke the tactus is begun, so that each time there is a downstroke a new tactus is begun (Jacobs 1964: 5).[14]

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[14] Tomás Santamaría: *Arte de tañer Fantasía* (Valladolid, 1565), quoted in Jacobs 1964. In the original: "Compas es medida de tiempo […] o compas es la cantidad a tardança de tiempo, que ay del golpe que hiere en baxo a otro siguiente baxo, mas ha se de aduertir que en cada compas no se hiere mas de vn golpe baxo, en el qual golpe se comiença el compas, de suerte que cada vez que se hiere golpe en baxo, se comiença de nueuo compas."

Ultimately, the question of reading semibreves instead of breves may be simply a matter of taste. However, to my mind, the argument that note values should be automatically halved (as per standard German editorial practice in the 1950s) in order to facilitate the performer's ease of reading is something of a self-fulfilling prophecy: modern musicians cannot readily understand this notation, therefore we should avoid it and change it. If we turn this logic around, however, modern musicians cannot possibly understand this notation as long as they are never exposed to it.

The same might be said of the decision to change original clefs into those with which singers in the 21st century are more familiar: if singers are never required to read C clefs, they will never learn how to do so. In my experience most 21st-century musicians – and singers in particular – are exceptionally hostile to reading anything in a C clef for no other reason than that it would cause "discomfort [to] even the most intrepid score readers" (Brett 1988: 88).[15] While sight-singing atonal music is admittedly complicated in unfamiliar clefs (the tenor part, written in the tenor clef, in Olivier Messiaen's *Cinq Rechants* being a particularly egregious example), sight-reading 16th-century polyphony in original clefs is less complicated because each individual part generally operates within the parameters of a few related hexachords. After establishing the locations of *re* and *la* or *ut* and *sol* on the stave, the singer will soon be able to anticipate where the whole tones and semitones fall. However, though original clefs – and, moreover, the decision as to which combinations of clefs to use (see Section 4.3) – tell us much about how 16th-century musicians conceived of their own music, the shift to 'modern' choral clefs (the treble, suboctave treble and bass clefs) does not impact negatively on the performer's understanding of the music. On the contrary it speeds up the process of reading, which, in turn, allows for optimal use of generally scant rehearsal time and thus makes for more agreeable performances.

The question of breves versus semibreves is different from other questions involved in the transcription of mensural music for two reasons. Firstly breves still exist in our modern notational lexicon, so there is no good reason why they should not be deployed

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[15] See also Jeppesen (1992: 54). The obvious exceptions being those musicians who play instruments such as the viola, the cello and the trombone, for which knowledge of at least one C clef is a basic requirement.

in transcriptions. Secondly, unlike the use of original clefs, original note values enhance the performer's understanding of how musicians in the 15th and 16th centuries conceived of the music they wrote and performed. To change something as fundamental as the basic unit of dividing time will inevitably lead to misinterpretation and confusion, especially regarding shifts in temporal proportions (of which there are no examples in the Lamentações). It is for the reasons outlined above that I have chosen to retain the breve as the basic unit of time in this transcription. All notes values are therefore original.

3   Music and the Monasteries

Portuguese polyphony experienced something of a 'golden age' during the 15th and 16th centuries. As in many contemporary European musical cultures, some composers in Portugal worked for the church while others were in the employ of various private benefactors and royal courts.[16] Furthermore, the development of Portuguese sacred polyphony was very much centred around the needs of the Catholic Church to produce music to accompany services throughout the liturgical calendar. Surviving contemporary accounts of the period and records of obituaries kept through the centuries[17] demonstrate that music was an integral part of everyday life at all of the monasteries across Portugal.

Though the earliest examples of Portuguese sacred polyphony may date from as early as 959 (Kastner 1982: xxvi), it was in the early 12th century that we begin to find an increasing volume of music written for the day-to-day use of the church. The monasteries of Portugal served as thriving centres of musical life and were at their most active between the 14th and 18th centuries. Documents from the late 16th century reveal that Portuguese musical culture was already the envy of many others, notably in neighbouring Spain. Hierónimo Román, in his *Repúblicas del mundo* (1595) comments on Portuguese music thus: "I will say in brief why the Portuguese exceed us, and that is because the lavishness of their instrumental music and singing during the Divine Office gives them priority in the Catholic Church" (quoted in Kastner 1982: xxvii).

3.1   Musical Life at Santa Cruz de Coimbra

It is curious that, in liner notes to the disc *Portuguese Vocal Masterpieces of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Bernardo Mariano should comment that "one of the problems

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[16] Perhaps the most famous of such courts was that of Ferrara in Italy, where sacred and secular music coexisted at the resident *capela* during the reign of Ercole I, who not only sang and made music himself but who vied with rival courts to acquire the most talented singers and musicians of the day – notably Josquin himself (Stevenson 1976: 217). For more on musical life at Ferrara in general, see, e.g., Lockwood (2009: 147). For more on the Portuguese context of musicians employed at royal courts, see, e.g., Branco 2005 (118–119).
[17] With regard to the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, such records are extensively documented in e.g. Pinho 1981.

taxing scholars of Portuguese music in the first part of this period (ca. 1500–1550) is the almost complete lack of documentary sources covering the practice of religious and secular polyphony" (Mariano 2015: 3). Such sources are extensively documented in many of the works listed in the present work. In fact, a positive wealth of information about musical practices has been documented in contemporary sources at individual monasteries. Many of these are listed in Pinho (1981).

One of the most abundant musical monastic cultures was to be found at the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Founded in 1131, the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra developed into one of the most significant musical centres in 16th and 17th-century Portugal (Brito 1978: xiv). The monastery houses vast collections of music including sacred polyphony, madrigals, theatre pieces, and even examples of the *villancico de negro* and the *loa*, a curious, specifically Portuguese type of 'madrigal theatre'.[18] These genres are little known outside Portugal, particularly as systematic academic study of the manuscripts has in the past tended to focus on the liturgical and sacred music preserved in the archives. As contemporary scholarship continues the process of examining, analysing, codifying and transcribing manuscripts of secular music from the collections at Coimbra and other monasteries across Portugal, our knowledge and awareness of this fascinating music will duly – and rightly – increase.[19]

A thorough musical education was an essential part of a young monk's education at Coimbra. Novitiates were expected not only to have a thorough grounding in music and be proficient on the organ but were regularly called upon to play all manner of other instruments at church services (Brito 1978: xiv). Indeed, the monks were so talented as singers, organists and instrumentalists that Dom Nicolao's *Chronicle of the Order* from 1668 makes the bold claim that all church services were conducted "without any help from outsider singers, or players, which shall never be admitted to

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[18] For a fuller examination of the main features of some of the secular works held at Santa Cruz de Coimbra, see e.g. Brito 1978.

[19] Wonderful examples of secular music from Santa Cruz de Coimbra are available in performances by O Bando de Surunyo, an ensemble featuring many of the early-music staff and students at ESMAE. At the time of writing, a selection of videos and audio samples are available at the group's YouTube page, housed at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC9kwHYovE8slzvREmQUYMBg.

sing in that Choir, even if they are members of other Orders" (quoted in Pinho 1981: 45).[20]

The precise number of salaried singers varied from one monastery to the next, and at least in the case of certain monasteries it would appear that some of the monks were even paid separately for their services as musicians. For instance, the cathedral at Évora used four choirboys and paid salaries to a total of fourteen singers (d'Alvarenga 2015: 3).

Moreover, as Brito and Pinho note, the monks at Coimbra were also expected to compose music for the services and activities of the monastery. A perusal of any number of manuscripts from Coimbra indeed reveals this to be the case. Many manuscripts, including MM 32 at the focus of this study, contain works both by local composers from across the Iberian Peninsula as well as many examples of Franco-Flemish polyphony (see Section 3.2). Pinho (1981) provides a thorough overview of the significance of Coimbra as a musical centre in Portugal and lists many of the monks whose renown as singers, instrumentalists and composers was documented in the numerous volumes of the *Chronica da Ordem*, published at the monastery.

As Kastner (1983) notes, the Portuguese "lavishness" to which Román alluded can also be seen in the importance placed on the constant publication of volumes of polyphonic music by local composers. Indeed, the fact that so many manuscripts have survived to the present day – and in such relatively good condition – is in itself worthy of note. Musical manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries faced a precarious future. As well as needing "a good slice of luck" to survive, manuscripts also had to navigate the vagaries of "the opportunistic, the thrifty or the bloody-minded" (Gant 2015: 70). Moreover, in the case of Portuguese music, manuscripts had to compete with a variety of natural disasters that wiped out swathes of music in the centuries to come. For instance, many works itemised in the catalogues of the music library of King John IV of Portugal and housed in Lisbon, including significant works by composers such as

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[20] Unattributed English translation in Brito (1978: xiv). In the original: "E o que mais he, que tudo isto cantaõ, & tangem os mesmos Conegos do Mosteiro, sem ajuda algũa de cantores, ou musicos fora, que nunca já mais se admitiraõ a cantar naquelle Coro, ainda que fossem Religiosos de outras Ordens". *Chronica da Ordem* (1668).

Duarte Lobo (ca.1565–1646) and Filipe de Magalhães (ca. 1571–1652), were destroyed in the calamities that followed the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Northern Portugal remained largely unaffected by the earthquake, and thus substantial quantities of musical manuscripts were spared a similar fate. Other events that led to the loss of significant numbers of manuscripts were the three French invasions (between 1807 and 1811) and an 1834 decree abolishing all ecclesiastical institutions (d'Alvarenga 2010: 69).

3.1.1   Holy-week ritual

Of all the festivals in the liturgical calendar, it is perhaps Christmas and Easter that have inspired the most music – both in 16th-century Portugal and in the centuries to come. In both cases, the dramatic Biblical events associated with each respective festival lend themselves particularly well to musical interpretation. But whereas Christmas is an overtly joyful festival, Holy Week – and particularly the Triduum – is a much more sombre affair. In liturgical terms, Lent comes to an end at sunset on Maundy Thursday. The Paschal Triduum thus refers to the three-day period between the end of Lent and evening prayer on the night of Easter Sunday, marking the Resurrection of Christ.

The significance of sunset in the timing of the Triduum has clear associations with the Tenebrae mass, held on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday (Latin *tenebrae* meaning 'darkness' or 'shadow'). Save for the fifteen candles of the Tenebrae 'hearse' (see Fig. 3), extinguished one by one throughout the course of the service, the church is traditionally entirely unlit. The Tenebrae mass thus marks the gradual descent into darkness that precedes the death of Christ and that is referenced, for instance, in the responsory text for Good Friday 'Tenebrae factae sunt, dum crucifixissent Jesum Judaei' ('Darkness fell when the Jews crucified Jesus'). Contrastingly, the Resurrection is often marked by lights being lit at the singing of the Gloria during the Mass on Easter Sunday.[21] Thus the contrast between light and darkness assumes metaphorical significance in the context of Holy-Week ritual.

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[21] The Gloria is traditionally omitted from the Ordinary Mass during Lent and Holy Week.

Fig. 3.   A Tenebrae candelabra or 'hearse' featuring fifteen candles, which are gradually extinguished through the course of the service.

3.1.2   Music for the Triduum and the Lamentations of Jeremiah

> Right from the first publications of the Venetian printer Petrucci in 1506, early Lamentations music was characterised by its extreme simplicity on the page: sobriety was no doubt felt to be appropriate to the settings' liturgical destination. (Fitch 2002: 73)

As outlined above, Holy Week in general – and the Triduum in particular – was a sombre affair. As Robert Kendrick notes, it is "hard to imagine how much prayer and penitence were packed into the seventy-odd hours between the afternoons of Wednesday and Saturday" (Kendrick 2014: 1). The Book of Lamentations – a text whose very name lends itself perfectly to the notion of penitence and self-reflection – has long been associated with Holy Week. Key to the events of the text is the prophet Jeremiah's account[22] of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in ca. 586 BCE.

The figure of the ruined city is personified and described as a mourning widow throughout the Lamentations. These texts form the basis of the three Lessons (*Lectio*)

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[22] Though first contested as early as 1712, it is only comparatively recently that scholars have begun to call Jeremiah's authorship of the Book of Lamentations into question. See, e.g. Hayes (1998: 168).

of the Tenebrae mass. In the full Tenebrae mass, each Lectio is followed by three 'responsories', of which there are nine in total for each day of the Triduum. Carlo Gesualdo's 1611 settings of all 21 responsories (nine texts on three days) is one of the pinnacles of the genre. Examples of Tenebrae responsory settings from contemporary manuscript sources in Coimbra can be found, for instance, in MMs 25 and 36.

The texts used in the Lamentations evolved over a period of centuries to produce a 'standard' selection of verses from the Book of Lamentations for each day of the Triduum. The version of the text used in the Lamentações is interesting for a number of reasons, examined in greater detail in Section 6.1.

3.2   The Coimbra Manuscripts

A vast number of manuscripts have survived from the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Today these are housed at the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra. The collections at the library hold over 250 manuscripts (including polyphonic choir books, part books, manuscripts of secular music, treatises, et al.), around 40 of which are from the monastery of Santa Cruz.

Many of the sources surviving from the 15th century and earlier are breviaries containing texts for the various festivals throughout the liturgical calendar with accompanying plainchant melodies. The melodies of the earlier manuscripts are notated in neumes, initially on four-line staves and by the early 16th century on five-line staves. It seems clear that the early 16th century was a period during which the musical life of Santa Cruz was dedicated largely to the performance of sacred and liturgical music. However, if we are to understand the surviving manuscripts from Coimbra as documentations of a changing musical practice over a period of time, it would appear that by the mid to late 17th century much secular music had made its way into the musical life of the monastery. Indeed, Brito suggests that, in manuscripts dating from ca. 1630–1670, "sacred and secular *villancicos* and *romances*, mostly anonymous, far surpass any other kind of music" (Brito 1978: xv).

3.3   An Overview of MM 32

In his extensive work on the Coimbra manuscripts, Owen Rees suggests that MM 32 was copied around the mid sixteenth century (Rees 1995: 215). MM 32 is a sizeable manuscript comprising a total of 73 folios, each with multiple pages. The manuscript contains some works that can be readily attributed to specific clerics resident at the monastery (notably one composer named as 'Dom Benedictus', whom Rees posits may refer to the cleric Dom Bento, a "perfect musical master and one of the greatest keyboard players of his time"),[23] numerous composers from across the Iberian peninsula (Luis Moran, Francisco de Peñalosa) and even some copies of works by the French composer Philippe Verdelot and the Flemish composers Jacques Arcadelt and Lupus Hellinck. The fact that examples of Franco-Flemish polyphony are found alongside works by Spanish and Portuguese composers is, according to João Pedro d'Alvarenga's article on the influence of Josquin des Prez (c. 1450/55–1521) on Portuguese musical life, evidence that local composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had a particular fascination for music from northern Europe (d'Alvarenga 2010: 70).[24] This and the fact that the numerous folios of MM 32 are the work of so many different copyists leads Rees to conclude that MM 32 was "not compiled as a single unit" and "may have taken some time to assume its final shape" (Rees 1995: 222).

Rees also makes a number of interesting observations regarding the possible function of MM 32. He posits that, because of its physical size (though it contains many folios and pages, the book itself is relatively small) it may not have been used in performance as the singers would have found it impossible to read the small note heads from a distance. He concludes, however, that MM 32 "may have served a teaching function, as a source from which the members of the *capela* learned their repertory" (Rees 1995: 224). This contention is supported firstly by annotations and corrections made in a hand other than that of the primary copyist (e.g. the added minim at the beginning of

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[23] My translation. In the original: "perfeito mestre em ella [a música] e hum dos milhores tangedores de tecla do seu tempo". *Crónica da Fundação de S. Vicente*, quoted in Pinho (1981: 174).
[24] As we shall see in Chapters 4 and 5, this fascination was to have significant stylistic implications for the music of MM 32 in general and the Lamentações in particular.

003r/5 in the Altus part of 'Beth. Plorans ploravit') and the markings in red ink above some of the more unfamiliar ligatures (explored in greater detail in Section 4.3).

The majority of the works in MM 32, however, have not been attributed to any known composers or clerics. This is also the case with the Lamentações. We know very little of the origins of this work and nothing of who many have composed it. d'Alvarenga postulates that the Lamentações were most likely a work by a local (Iberian) composer, given that they bear "the hallmarks of northern influence in their technique and overall style" (d'Alvarenga 2010: 79).

Both Rees (1995) and d'Alvarenga (2010) have commented in detail on the specific dating of the Coimbra manuscripts, including MM 32. However, it must be noted straight away that the dating of MM 32 is not synonymous with the dating of the actual composition of the Lamentações. Rees (1995) places the compilation of MM 32 as between 1540–1555. d'Alvarenga (2010), however, claims that many works contained within MM 32, including the Lamentações, were "undoubtedly written for Santa Cruz around the 1520s" (d'Alvarenga 2010: 79). Placing the date of the composition a few decades earlier that the compilation of MM 32 may seem nothing but a small detail, but as we shall see, it will have significant repercussions regarding how the editor should approach various aspects of the work, notably its relationship to plainchant (see Section 4.1), the matter of underlay, and the relationship of syllables and ligatures, a subject explored in greater detail in Section 6.3.

## 4   Lamentacoins. Solfa da tempera uelha (ff. 001v–011r)
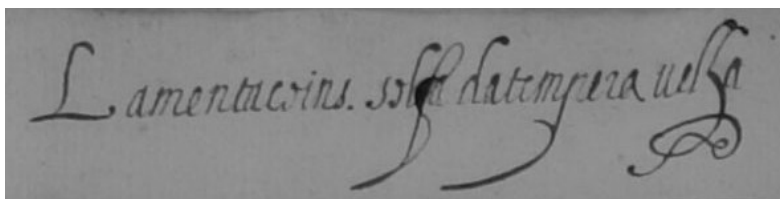
Fig. 4.   Inscription at the top of f. 002v

Fig. 4 shows an inscription found above the first stave of the Tiple part on f. 002v, the beginning of the verse 'Beth. Plorans ploravit in nocte'. This inscription is one of the few clues we have as to the wider compositional intention behind the work at hand. 'Lamentacoins' is clearly an earlier spelling of the modern Portuguese *lamentações*. 'Solfa' nominally means 'solmization' but in this context means simply 'music'. The manuscripts from Santa Cruz de Coimbra feature many works named 'solfa'. For instance, manuscript P-Cug MS 584 includes a work entitled 'Solfa para o Baile', which could be translated as 'Music for the Ballet'.

The further indication 'da tempera uelha' is more enigmatic. Literally this translates as 'of / from the old(en) time / style / manner'. d'Alvarenga (2010) translates the full inscription as 'Lamentations. Music in the old manner'. This naturally begs the question as to when such an earlier manner might have existed and to what it might refer.

Essential to our understanding of what 'in the old manner' might mean is our estimation of the age of the manuscript and the conclusions we can draw from this regarding the age of the composition itself. As noted above, though Rees puts the compilation of the manuscript between ca. 1540–1555, d'Alvarenga posits that the music itself was composed as early as the 1520s. In light of this assumed time frame, he postulates that the inscription 'Solfa da tempera uelha' is simply a marking, added much later than the copying of the manuscript, to differentiate this setting of Lamentations from a subsequent setting or settings – of which there are numerous examples in the Coimbra corpus. The inference of d'Alvarenga's contention is that by

the time of adding the inscription (presumably at some point after 1560), the 'tempera' of this setting was already deemed 'uelha'.

4.1 The Spanish Lamentation Tone

As to the specific nature of the relative 'antiquity' of the Lamentações, d'Alvarenga points to the occasional appearance throughout the work of the so-called 'Spanish (or Toledan) lamentation tone'. Much like the plainchant from the 'In nomine Domini' section of John Taverner's *Missa Gloria tibi Trinitas* and its subsequent association with the English 'In nomine' craze,[25] the Spanish lamentation tone went on to form the *cantus firmus* of many a polyphonic work across the Iberian Peninsula in the first half of the 16th century, notably in settings of the Lamentations by Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500–1553)[26] and, a century later, by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (ca. 1590–1664) (Turner 1990: 5).[27] Could this perhaps be the 'tempera uelha' to which the inscription refers?

The practice of composing large-scale polyphonic works based on a plainchant melody dates back centuries, a notable early example being Pérotin's *Viderunt omnes* from the late 12th century. The style became very popular during the 14th and 15th centuries, and culminated in the achievements of the isorhythmic motets of Machaut and those in the Eton Choirbook. Andrew Kirkman notes that the use of 'external' melodies in sacred music was "part of a much wider range of musical incursions – secular as well as sacred – into the rite" (Kirkman 2010: 135). The culmination of these incursions was the *cantus firmus* mass setting, a genre in its own right. Examples of this genre are the numerous masses based on the melody of *L'homme armé* (by composers including

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[25] The tenor melody from the 'In nomine Domini' section of Taverner's mass became so popular that it inspired a generation of English composers to write multiple works, generally entitled simply 'In nomine', using Taverner's melody as a *cantus firmus* running through the counterpoint. The most prolific exponent of the 'In nomine' genre was undoubtedly Christopher Tye (ca. 1505–1573), who composed dozens of short works for viol consort based on this self-same melody.

[26] Morales' seven surviving settings of the Lamentations make extensive use of plainchant melodies, and many of his mass settings are so-called 'parody masses', using pre-existing melodies and works as the basis for full mass settings. See, e.g., Nelson (2010: 31).

[27] Padilla, of course, was writing in a different time (the seventeenth century) and location (Mexico), so it is to be expected that his use of the Spanish lamentation tone was considered archaic and 'old' (Turner 1990: 5): not only did his Lamentations employ a plainchant from the past but, in doing so, the work made specific reference to the 'old world'.

Guillaume Dufay), English masses on the melody *The Westron Wynde* (Taverner, Tye and Sheppard), and Juan Cornago's *Missa Ayo visto lo mappa mundi*, based on a popular, Iberian secular melody. Conversely, the selection of a sacred plainchant *cantus firmus* would "have reflected the desire to associate the resulting [mass] cycles as closely as possible with Christ or the particular saints whose intercession was desired by their donors" (Kirkman 2010: 136).

The Spanish lamentation tone is characteristic of music from the Iberian Peninsula and was particularly prominent in music composed in the New World. Published in 1587, the *Cantus ecclesiastici officii majoris hebdomadae* by Pope Sixtus V declared that the only tone for lamentations should be the standard 'Roman tone' or the *tonus lamentationum.* Despite the decree from the Rome, this tone was not widely accepted in Mexico and the Spanish tone continued to be used alongside it (Schleifer 1980: 123).

Fig. 5.   The Spanish lamentation tone, as quoted in Schleifer (1980).

In his article on the use of lamentation tones in Mexican polyphony, Eliyahu Schleifer cites the research of Günther Massenkeil[28] and comments that "segments of the Spanish tone were quoted in various Spanish, French, and Flemish polyphonic Lamentations of the late 15th century" (Schleifer 1980: 124). Importantly, in light of Stevenson's comments on the significance of Josquin in Iberian music, he adds that the

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[28] Massenkeil's article 'Eine spanische Choralmelodie in mehrstimmigen Lamentationskompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 19-20* (1962-1963), pp.230-237, cited in Schleifer 1980, would undoubtedly be a revealing read with regard to the present topic. I have been unable to locate a copy and read it.

Spanish tone "was also quoted in some laments of the same era, such as Josquin's famous one of the death of Ockeghem and Gombert's lament on the death of Josquin" (Schleifer 1980: 124). Thus the quotation of the Spanish tone in the Lamentações is yet more evidence of Josquin's influence on the musical life of the Iberian Peninsula during the early to mid 16th century.

Upon examination of the Spanish lamentation tone above (Fig. 5), we can see clear similarities to the opening of the Lamentações. Compare the Tiple line at Aleph (Lectio I, bars 21–31, Fig. 6) with the first phrase of the Spanish lamentation tone as given in Massenkeil. The relationship between the two phrases could not be clearer.
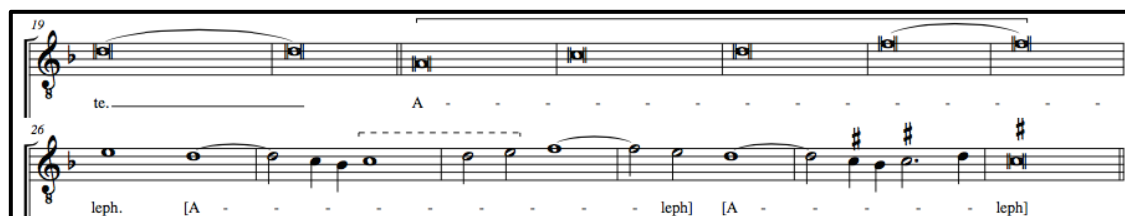
Fig. 6.   001v/2: Tiple, 'Aleph' (Lectio I: 21-31).

The same opening phrase of the Spanish lamentation tone is again presented in the Tiple at the beginning of the 'Jherusalem' verse, which concludes Lectio I (bars 223–246; see Fig. 7):

Fig. 7.   The Spanish lamentation tone in Lectio I, Tiple, bars 223–228.

It is interesting how regularly composers of the Renaissance turned to archaic tones and styles in settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and other texts intended for performance during the Triduum. For instance, Carlo Gesualdo is, of course, known principally for his fifth and sixth books of madrigals, works which even within the

context of the *seconda pratica*[29] stretched the boundaries of harmonic possibilities to the limit. In his Tenebrae Responsories (1611), however, Gesualdo keeps all six voices within a comfortable *tessitura* and, as it were, 'tones down' the dissonant harmonic language for which he had become famous, reserving what I term his 'aesthetics of pain' for the more dramatic words and phrases in the text.

4.2   Structure, clefs and part division

As presented in MM 32, the Lamentations of Jeremiah are grouped into three *lectio* in accordance with the traditional structure of the Tenebrae mass. Lectio I and II each consist of three verses (or 'letters') from the Book of Lamentations (Lam. 1:1-3 and Lam 2:8-10 respectively), and the concluding refrain of "Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum". In this manuscript Lectio III is shorter and features only two letters, here spread across six verses (Lam 3:22-27).[30] Additionally, Lectio I includes the introductory verse 'Incipiunt lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae'.

Each lecture employs a specific combination of clefs (see Fig. 8). From each set of clefs we can readily assess the ranges of the voices required to perform the music.[31] The selection of clefs, notably the principal clef of the Tiple, is largely dictated by the respective ambitus of each movement. Pedro Sousa e Silva notes that once a fourth voice had established itself within the basic structure of polyphonic music, one important function of the clef selection was to enable easy notation of the approximately two-and-a-half octaves of the *gammaut* (Sousa e Silva 2010: 212–213).

Additionally, in 16th-century handwritten notation, avoiding ledger lines was a common consideration (indeed, there are only very few examples of ledger lines in the Lamentações, e.g. on 002r/1), as extensive use of ledger lines caused problems with

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[29] *Seconda pratica* is a term used to describe the music of Caccini, Monteverdi and their contemporaries. Theirs was music that broke with the traditions of Palestrina and 'strict' counterpoint, known thereafter as the *prima pratica*. Most obviously, *seconda pratica* elevated the role of the text above the constraints of the counterpoint.

[30] The omission of a third letter in Lectio III is a strange anomaly. As the name suggests, every structural aspect of the Triduum is based on groups of threes and multiples thereof, to symbolise the Trinity: three days, three lectures (each subdivided into three letters), three sets of three responsories, etc. Neither is a third letter to be found in the analogous music of MM 9.

[31] In this respect too, Lectio III is an exception and is discussed in greater detail in Section 4.2.1.

the layout of the parts and too often led to reading mistakes (Jeppesen 1992: 54). To mitigate such problems, it was common to change clef at the beginning of a new stave and to revert to the previous clef as and when required in order to ensure that the note heads always fitted within the five lines of the stave. There are numerous examples of such clef changes throughout these Lamentações, e.g. at the transition between 002v/2, which uses the mezzo-soprano clef, and 002v/3, which uses the alto clef. This is ostensibly in order to accommodate the first three pitches of 002r/3, which would otherwise require a ledger line beneath the stave.

The principal clef of the Tiple in Lectio II is the soprano clef, thus indicating that the overall ambitus of the part is somewhat higher than that in Lectio I. This is instantly apparent: the Tiple part in this movement is centred between e^1 and a^1, whereas in Lectio I the part is centred a third lower between c^1 and f^1 with the occasional foray higher or lower.
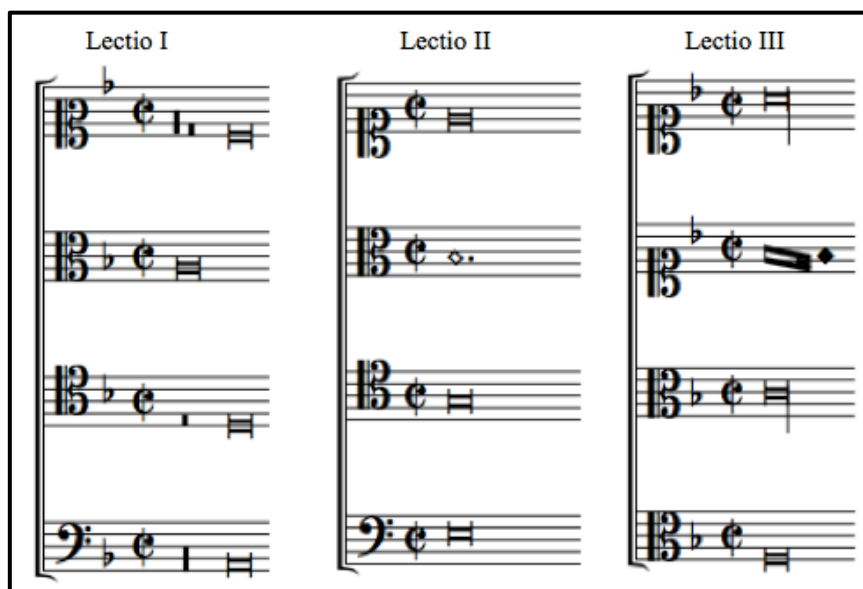

Fig. 8.   Original clef combinations in the Lamentations from MM 32.

Naturally, the selection of appropriate clefs for a specific voicing is a question that preoccupies the contemporary editor too. Bearing in mind that this music was intended for performance by four men, I have decided to present the Tiple part using the

suboctave treble clef, as is common for tenor parts.[32] In Lectio II, however, the original soprano clef and the higher tessitura of the part lead me to present this voice in the treble clef, as if it were notated for an alto or countertenor. Indeed, just as it was for the copyists who originally worked on MM 32, the question of ledger lines is key to this decision. Given that the tessitura of this part sits slightly higher than in the other movements, there is no need for ledger lines beneath the treble clef. Moreover, the treble clef eliminates the need for ledger lines to accommodate c^2, a recurring pitch that would require two ledger lines above the suboctave treble clef.

4.2.1   Transposition and *chiavette*

It must be observed that, in any discussion of pitch and transposition, one must take into consideration not only the setting of the intended performance (e.g. the ranges and voice types of the specific singers involved) and any practical restraints this may impose on the live performance, but also the nature of any instruments employed and whether their tuning is fixed (e.g. the organ) or adjustable (e.g. strings). Portuguese scholars Paulo Estudante (2009) and Pedro Sousa e Silva (2010) have examined the extensive use of instruments in sacred Portuguese polyphony, paying particular attention to practice in 16th and 17th-century Coimbra. Both explore the implications that introducing instruments, each with their own tuning requirements and restrictions, may have had in shaping the parameters of live performances. However, because the focus of the present work is on a purely *a cappella* performance of the Lamentações, I will not explore the issue of instrumentation, as this will only further complicate an already complex topic.

The set of clefs employed in Lectio III is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, and most strikingly, instead of being divided into four distinct voices, each with a clear role within the standard four-part hierarchy, the music of Lectio III is composed using two

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[32] This decision would have greatly disappointed Knud Jeppesen, who laments the demise of the old C clefs in melodramatic terms. "It is to be regretted that these clefs have gradually gone out of use. The tenor clef especially is sorely missed, since neither the treble nor the bass clef is suited to the range of the tenor. To note the tenor in the G clef an octave higher than it sounds always will be a miserable makeshift" (Jeppesen 1992: 54–55).

pairs of equal voices. Both Tiple and Tiple Secundus employ the soprano clef, while the Tenor and Bassus both use the alto clef.

Given that the lowest clef in Lectio III is the alto clef, it will come as no surprise that the lowest written pitch in this movement is f, the lowest line of that clef. The Tiple is now required to sing d^2 for the first time in any movement hitherto. Far more striking, however, is the fact that the Altus (now specifically marked in the manuscript as 'Tiple Secundus') is required to sing c^2, a full fourth higher than in the previous two movements. Similarly, the Bassus part sits much higher than before and is now written in the octave between f and f^1.

All three sections of the Lamentations text are presented, in textual order, in MM 32 (as, indeed, it is in the analogous music found in MM 9), so it can readily be assumed that the three movements of this setting were designed to be performed on the same liturgical occasion. This, in turn, would suggest the use of the same singers for all three movements. It is curious, therefore, that the respective ranges of the four voices in Lectio III are so markedly different from those in Lectio I and II. We can therefore reasonably assume that Lectio III is an example of the use of *chiavette* or 'high' clefs.

The use of high clefs was by no means uncommon in Coimbra during the 16th century. In his introduction of an edition of a selection of secular works from Santa Cruz, Brito claims that "the great majority" of works were written in high clefs (Brito 1978: xviii).[33]

The simultaneous deployment of different sets of clefs within one and the same work is not unprecedented. In his work *Performing Palestrina*, Kari Turunen highlights the example of Palestrina's *Missa de Beata Virgine*, in which the Credo alone is notated using *chiave naturali*, while all the other movements are notated in *chiavette.* He duly notes that "non-transposition of the movements in *chiavette* would lead to extreme ranges and a surprising shift in key and character" (Turunen 2014: 126). Clearly, this

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[33] Given that Brito does not specify which body of works this "great majority" refers to, the comment seems something of a generalisation and must, to my mind, be read in the light of the works with which Brito's own edition concerns itself, the great majority of which date from much later than the works in MM 32.

situation is analogous with that of Lectio III in the work at hand: performance of Lectio III at written pitch would require the Altus and Bassus singers to have a range that even by today's standards would be considered 'extreme' (see Fig. 9).

Much ink has been spilled in discussion of the specific nature of *chiavette* – which combinations of clefs are 'high', which 'low', and how much transposition they denote. In his *Syntagma musicum* (1619) Michael Praetorius suggests as standard practice downward transposition by either a fourth or a fifth for music in which the Bass part is written in the alto, tenor or baritone clefs.

> Each composition written in high clefs, that is, when the bass is written in a C-clef on the second or third line from the top […] or in an F-clef on the third line, must naturally be transposed into tablature or score by organists, lutenists and all others who will be using a fundamental instrument. If it is in a transposed mode [♭ mol], it must be taken down a fourth, and B♮ [durum] applied; if, however, it is untransposed [♮ dur], it must be taken down a fifth, and B♭ [mol] used.[34]

Praetorius states his case in particularly dogmatic terms, and we can rightly wonder to what extent his rules represent a documentation of contemporary practice as he found it or an attempt to create a standard from a set of chaotic practices that all differed from one another. Definitive evidence to support arguments one way or the other is scant. Either way, Praetorius's rules apply to Lectio III in two respects: the Bassus is notated in the alto clef and the predominant hexachord is the *molle*, i.e. it uses a B♭, thus the application of Praetorius's rules (as outlined above) to the matter of the transposition of the *chiavette* in this work is justified.

Of particular interest is the fact that Praetorius gives not only a theoretical basis for the decision of whether to transpose by a fourth or a fifth, but also an aesthetical one (which, again, we must read cautiously as representing Praetorius's subjective opinion

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[34] Translation by Kite-Powell (Praetorius 2004: 93). Here is the original in Praetorius's glorious melange of German and Latin: "Ob zwar ein jeder Gesang welcher hoch Claviret, das ist da im Baß das [C-clef] off der ander oder dritten Lini von obẽ anzuzehlen, oder das [F-clef] off der dritten Lini […] befunden wird; Wenn er ♭ mol, per quartam inferiorem in durum: Wenn er aber ♮ dur, per quintam inferiorem in mollem, naturaliter in die Tabulatur oder Partitur von Organisten / Lauttenisten und allen andern, die sich der Fundament Instrumenten gebrauchen / gebracht unnd transponiret werden muß. So befindet sich doch, daß in etlichen Modis, als in Mixolydio, Aeolio und Hypojonico, wenn sie per quintam transponiret, eine languidior & pigrior harmonia propter gravieres sonos generiret werde: Darumb es dann ungleich besser, und wird auch der Gesang viel frischer und anmuthiger Zuhören, wenn diese Modi per quartam ex duro in durum transponiret werden" (Praetorius 1619: 80–81).

alone). He notes that transposition by a fifth can in certain modes "generate a drab and languid sound because of the lower tessitura" and that transposition by a fourth is "far better and gives the work a much fresher and more delightful sound" (Praetorius 2004: 93). As our *a cappella* ensemble did not need to work with instruments, we were free to explore the technical and aesthetic implications of both transpositions.

Moreover, it is certainly not the case that works written in high clefs are intended to sound 'high' or higher than works in 'low' clefs. Andrew Johnstone (2006) posits that this "paradoxical situation", whereby music in high clefs ultimately has a lower sounding pitch than music written in *chiave naturali*, "has a history reaching back to the early 16th century". Given that Praetorius's observations on the subject (in *Syntagma*) were published in 1619, we can safely assume that the Lamentações fall squarely within the time frame of the widespread practice of *chiavette*.

With regard to the Lamentações, it is indeed the case that Lectio III, when transposed downwards even by a fourth, has a lower sounding pitch than that of Lectio II, notated in *chiave naturali*. Fig. 9 gives the vocal ranges for each Lectio, including both the original and transposed ranges of Lectio III. (For the sake of easy comparison, the range of the Tiple part in Lectio II is here given using the suboctave treble clef, though my edition (Appendix 1) uses the standard treble clef.)
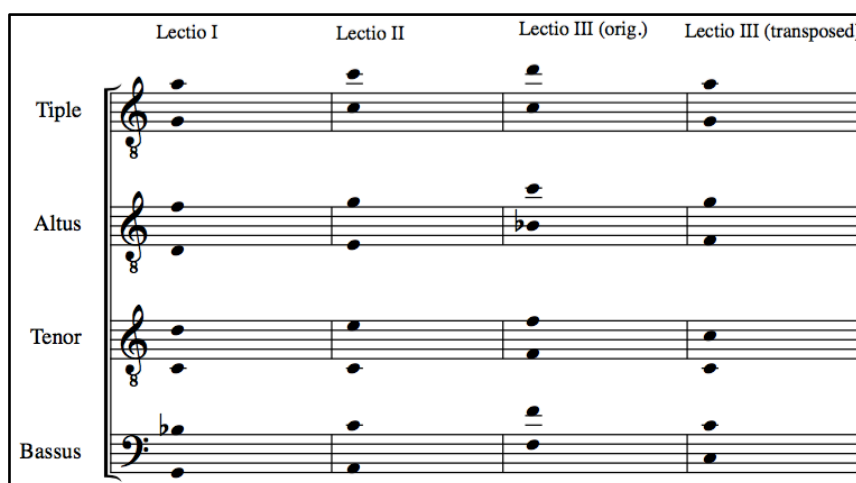

Fig. 9.   Respective vocal ranges of the four parts.

From a modern perspective, it is perhaps hard to grasp why certain movements were notated in *chiavette* and others in *chiave naturali.* Why couldn't everything be notated at the pitch at which it was meant to be heard? This, of course, begs the question: "At what pitch was the music 'meant' to be heard?" There are many reasonable hypotheses for why the phenomenon of *chiavette* arose. Sousa e Silva (2010) links the matter in part to the establishment of consorts of similar instruments (Sousa e Silva focuses on recorders) for the performance of this and similar music. Consorts consisted of four recorders each tuned a fifth apart, thus the use of different combinations of clefs had two effects: a) performers were better able to transpose in order to play different works on the same sets of instruments and, conversely, b) it was then possible to perform the same works at different pitches on different sets of instruments.

Instrumental considerations aside, Andrew Johnstone stresses once again the restrictions that notational layout posed for contemporary copyists. He highlights cases of 'dual notation', whereby instrumental bass parts are written out at sounding pitch while the corresponding vocal parts *for the same work* are in 'high' clefs, and notes that this "raises the question of why 'high' notation was necessary at all, if it could always have been converted into normal notation" (Johnstone 2006: 40). He concludes that, though by the late 16th century there was no practical need to continue notating in *chiavette*, the practice may have lived on "for no reason other than that it provided a neater way of notating *lower* vocal ranges than those accommodated by the normal clefs" (Johnstone 2006: 40).

Given contemporary testimony on the use of *chiavette*, the observations on this testimony by numerous modern scholars (Johnstone, Parrott, Turunen, Wood, et al.), the fact that the Bassus of Lectio III is notated in the alto clef with a flat signature, and that the movement as a whole would otherwise place two of the voices in ranges hitherto unused, I have decided to present Lectio III transposed down a perfect fourth from the written pitch as it appears in MM 32. This resolves several problems, the most significant of which is ensuring that the same singers can sing the Altus and Bassus parts throughout the Lamentações, as they doubtless would have done in liturgical performances at Santa Cruz de Coimbra.

4.3 Ligatures[35]

4.3.1 General observations

One of the challenges for the contemporary editor of 16th-century mensural notation is the extensive use of ligatures, shapes that indicate different groupings of note values. The music of MM 32 features a wide variety of *ligatures*, and the Lamentações is no exception. The majority of the ligatures in this work are of three standard types: the SS type (semibreve–semibreve), the BB type (breve–breve) and the SSB type (semibreve–semibreve–breve) (see Fig. 10). Both SS and SSB ligatures were very common in Iberian polyphonic manuscripts of the time, and singers were readily able to read and interpret them correctly. Because these three ligature types are so standardised and do not present any obstacles to our understanding of the *Notentext*, I will not examine them any further.
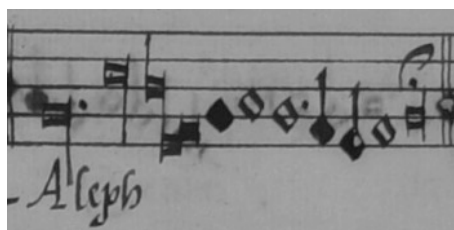
Fig. 10.   Example of a standard SSB ligature with coloration from 002r/2 ('Aleph. Quomodo', Altus). See Lectio I, Altus, bars 21-31 (Appendix 1).

All ligature types give us valuable information about the placement of the underlay. Given that an SS ligature could equally be – and frequently is – notated as two separate semibreves, the question arises as to what extra information the ligature provides with regard to aspects of the performance.

Slurs, as we know them from 18th century music, were not in use in mensural notation. At first glance, it would seem, therefore, that there was no way of imparting to the performer the information that today we represent using a slur. One practice, outlined

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[35] The subject of the form and notational meaning carried by the ligatures in mensural notation is ultimately inextricable from the question of text setting and pitch–syllable relationships. Though this immense topic is here split into two categories, some degree of overlap is inevitable. In broad terms Section 4.3 will deal with the functional description of the ligatures in MM 32, while Section 6.3 will examine the ways in which ligatures impact on the editor's approach to text setting.

by Gioseffo Zarlino in his treatise *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), suggests that, like modern slurs, ligatures indicated melismas, i.e. that a certain grouping of notes should ideally be sung as a single gesture (in a single breath) and that one should therefore not split a syllable during a ligature.[36] If we assume this to be the case, and the function of the ligature is indeed akin to that of the modern slur, this is a clear instance in which the ligature served to provide the performer with different musical information from that provided by two separate semibreves.[37] Interestingly, in the Lamentações and in much of the music from MM 32, ligatures often seem to coalesce with one another, either a) simultaneously in several different parts or b) at different times but at the same point within an imitative, canonic phrase. This also gives the editor important clues as to how they should be interpreted.

4.3.2   The use of ligatures in the Hebrew letters

Zarlino's contention regarding the use of ligatures to indicate melismas gains added credibility in the extensive use of ligatures in the music accompanying the Hebrew letters sung at the beginning of each verse throughout the Lamentações. This makes perfect sense, as at most these letters contain no more than two syllables (e.g. A–leph, Ghi–mel). For the modern editor, the more complicated the ligature, the greater potential difficulty we have in interpreting the precise note values intended. This sub-chapter will examine some of the more interesting cases in point and demonstrate ways in which we can make editorial decisions in instances which either reveal a copying mistake or in which two sources provide contradictory readings of the same musical passage.

A simple comparison with earlier manuscripts reveals that the once extensive use of ligatures in mensural notation had begun to wane by the arrival of the 16th century. Whereas in red-and-black mensuration, ligatures were commonplace, in so-called 'white' mensural notation they began, as it were, to be phased out, presumably by the

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[36] "No more than one syllable should be assigned to the beginning of a ligature of several notes, whether in mensural music or in plainsong." (Translation in Zarlino 1983: 98)

[37] Raasveld (1991) expresses reservations about applying Zarlino's rules to music from the first half of the 16th century. His argumentation and the reasons for these reservations will be examined in greater detail in Section 6.3.

predominance of more specific notational devices (moving closer to those we know and use today). As new notations were devised the better to represent the specifics parameters of the music, ligatures came to "lose more and more of their original importance" (Apel 1953: 88). Moreover, these changes and developments were motivated by a need for unequivocal clarity of information passed from score to performer, which itself is evidence of the growing convergence of *Notenbild* and *Notentext*.
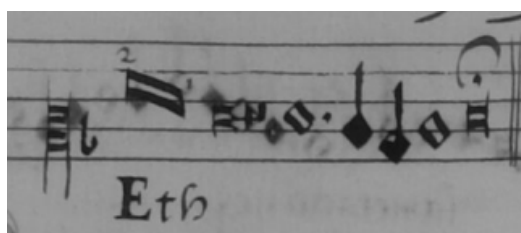
Fig. 11.   Example from 002v/1 ('Beth. Plorans ploravit', Tiple) of numbers added in red ink above a less common ligature to denote the correct number of breves. For corrected version, see Lectio I, Tiple, bars 83-92 (Appendix 1).

The Lamentações also provide evidence that the use of ligatures was becoming gradually less widespread. Indeed, by the time of the copying of MM 32 (ca. 1540–1555) some ligatures had become so rare that singers already found them hard to read and interpret correctly; "in the sixteenth century [ligatures] gradually disappear and only a few of the simplest forms survive until the middle of the seventeenth century" (Apel 1953: 88). To help the singers, some of the more complicated ligatures in the Lamentações show markings in red ink indicating how many breves (how many *tactus*) to count at any one time. A good example of this is to be found at the beginning of the Tiple part in 'Beth. Plorans ploravit' (see Fig. 11). This letter features a descending oblong ligature with no stem. The SS ligature is often written in oblong form too, but in such cases it has an upward stem at the left-hand side. Similarly the BB ligature could be written in descending oblong form with a downward stem at the left. The numbers added in red ink to the stemless descending oblong ligature reveal that, by the time of copying,[38] singers were less familiar with the correct note values denoted by this ligature. The correct values of the stemless descending oblong ligature

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[38] The Lamentações were composed in the 1520s (d'Alvarenga 2010) but copied into MM 32 at some point between 1540 and 1555 (Rees 1995).

are thus LB (long–breve). Given that the LB ligature is one of the four basic ligature types (*sine proprietate et sine perfectione*),[39] the need for these remedial numberings highlights further quite how unfamiliar singers in mid 16th-century Coimbra had become with the use of ligatures.

4.4   An approach to *musica ficta*

The topic of *musica ficta*, of accidentals not notated in the score but inferred by the performer, has been described as "one of the frontier problems of musicology (Lockwood 1968: 161). As such, the topic is vast and deserving of closer examination in further research. However, because an understanding of *musica ficta* is "so fundamental to performance that without its knowledge the very form and substance of the works to be reproduced is at stake" (Harrán 1990: 73), a few words on the subject must be said at this juncture. The approach to *musica ficta* in the current edition of the Lamentações is based primarily on a few guiding principles (outlined below) and on experimentation in rehearsal.

The decision as to whether or not add editorial *musica ficta* to the edition comes back to the notions of *Notenbild* and *Notentext*. Accidental inflections are not a written feature of the *Notenbild* (i.e. they are not visually represented in the manuscript), but they are certainly an integral part of the *Notentext*; the fact that they are implied within the musical information contained in the manuscript is indisputable. The extent to which they would have featured in music of different periods is a matter of debate. That being said, Karol Berger notes that since convention has changed over the centuries, with performers now expecting all significant aspects of the music to be notated in the score, "it becomes clear that the search for the correct realization (or, in some cases, the range of acceptable realizations) of implied inflections is the responsibility of the editor and that the results of this search should be spelled out in a critical edition" (Berger 1989: 108). Again, the fact that a "range of acceptable realizations" is available only serves further to underline the role of the 'critical' editor in the preparation of the edition.

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[39] For a detailed introduction to the basic concepts of *proprieta* and *perfectione*, see for instance, Apel 1953 and Bellermann 1963.

Franchinus Gafurius states that "feigned music was invented for two reasons, first, because of necessity […] second, because of beauty".[40] There are examples of both cases in the Lamentações. Firstly, there are instances in which the accidental inflection required is not a matter of taste but is mandatory to avoid a 'forbidden' interval. These are cases of *causa necessitatis.* One such example is the SSB ligature (bars 26–27) in the Bassus part of Lectio I, Aleph. The rising figure C–D–E would result in a tritone clash between the E and the Bb simultaneously sounding in the Tenor. To avoid the forbidden interval of *mi contra fa diabolus in musica* – the 'devil in music' – between the Tenor and Bassus, the bass singer would automatically adjust the E to E♭, as per the principle of *fa supra la.*[41]

The vast majority of the *musica ficta* in the Lamentações are instances in which I have elected to raise a pitch at a cadence point to produce a leading tone. Gafurius calls this species of accidental inflection one of *causa pulchritudinis* ("because of beauty"). As Marchetto da Padova puts it, "some diaphonies or dissonances are acceptable to the ear and mind and others are not".[42] There are two primary reasons for favouring this kind of *musica ficta*. The first is strictly contrapuntal in nature. As Berger notes, "an imperfect consonance must move to the closest perfect consonance in contrary motion. More specifically, one voice should move by a whole tone and the other by a diatonic semitone" (Berger 1987: 122). Berger concerns himself with the writings of Marchetto da Padova, and in particular his *Lucidarium in arte musicae planae* (1317–1318). Padova writes that two voices in dissonance must move in contrary motion towards the nearest possible consonance. As Berger explains, this means that a minor third would contract to a unison (e.g. C➔B, A➔B), whereas a major third would resolve into a perfect fifth (e.g. C#➔D, A➔G).

Depending on the mode of the music, it is sometimes necessary, therefore, to raise the note moving upwards to the perfect consonance (the fifth or octave) by a semitone. Of course, not all modes require this. For instance, Mixolydian modes (such as that

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[40] From Gafurius, *Practica musicae.* Cited in Berger (1987: 122).
[41] For a fuller explanation of these concepts, see, e.g. Jeppesen 1992 and Berger 1987.
[42] This and subsequent quotations from Marchetto da Padova, *Lucidarium in arte musicae planae* (1317–1318). Cited in Berger (1987: 122).

employed in Lectio III) already produce a major third (G–B) which can resolve into a perfect consonance (in Lectio III, this is often the cadential movement B→C, G→F, originally E→F, C→B♭; see, e.g. Lectio III, bars 83–87). However, in Dorian and Hypodorian modes, the cadential movement is generally C→D and A→G, a minor third resolving to a perfect fifth. Bar 242 in Fig. 12 is an example of such a case. The original C of the Tiple is raised to produce a leading tone a diatonic semitone away from the perfect consonance of the D octaves in bar 243. Because of this, the B♭ is subsequently raised to B♮ for two reasons: first, to avoid a dissonance with the A already sounding in the Altus, and second, because the movement of an augmented whole step (C#–B♭–C#) was forbidden.

Fig. 12.   Examples of editorial *musica ficta* (Lectio I, bars 241–246).

It is somewhat anachronistic to talk about 'major' or 'minor' harmonies in music of this period, but it is characteristic of *stile antico* (the so-called 'Palestrina' style of counterpoint prevalent before the advent of the *seconda pratica*) to end larger sections of the music on a major third (a consonance) as opposed to a minor third (a dissonance). As Jeppesen explains, "in the transition to polyphony, the chief modification in the ecclesiastical modes was the introduction of the leading-tone cadence (the half-tone step between the seventh and eighth degrees) in almost all modes" (Jeppesen 1992: 71). A good example of this development is to be found in the opening phrase of the work, presented in Fig. 18. The phrase in the Altus is imitated in the Tiple, but because bar 6 is a cadential arrival point, the music should ideally end on a consonance. Here I have added an editorial sharp above the C in the Tiple to indicate that this note should be sung C#.

The final phrase of Lectio I (Fig. 12, above) is another case in point: the movement in the Tenor (bars 245–246) is marked in MM 32 simply with F. However, the case for F# here is even greater than the case for C# in Fig. 18. In summarising the qualities of cadences, as specified by various 15th-century theorists, Berger maintains that "a cadence signifies a certain degree of closure of the whole musical discourse or of its part" (Berger 1989: 116). The sense of closure at the end of the 'Jherusalem' verse is greater than any other in the work, and thus warrants a major third, if for no other reason than *causa pulchritudinis.*

Most cadences throughout the piece follow this pattern, whereby the third in the final chord of the phrase is raised. In a few instances, however, singing a major third at a cadence would be impossible. For instance, in Lectio I, Tiple, bar 50, a C# would at first glance be ideal for this cadence. However, because the C is notated as a dotted breve (three semibreves), a C# would conflict with the movement of the Tenor in bars 50–51. Singing a C# in the Tiple would produce the chord A–f–a–c#[1] at the beginning of bar 51. For this reason I have added a cautionary natural in brackets about the Tiple's C. Of course, if the singer wishes to shorten the note and end before the Tenor sings the F, then C# may be a suitable option. However, this means that the F triad at the beginning of bar 51 will sound incomplete.[43]

Despite the seeming forest of rules governing the question of *musica ficta*, modern performers nonetheless retain an element of freedom, as Berger notes above. This freedom is exemplified on a magnificent recent CD release of the complete extant Lamentations by Cristóbal de Morales (Utopia, 2016). During my years of study I have become acquainted with the editions and transcriptions of Nancho Alvarez,[44] and have often wondered at how comparatively little *ficta* he adds to his editions. The Utopia singers use less still, meaning that many cadences now contravene Padova's

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[43] This is precisely what happened in our performance of the Lamentações. Having given the matter greater thought, I now consider C natural the more suitable option, because the 'cadence' is not so much an arrival as a moment of respite between two longer phrases. Moreover, because there is a rest in bar 51 between the C and the E of the Tiple, there is no need to inflect the C in order to effect a semitone progression upwards into a perfect consonance.

[44] Many of Morales's works, transcribed and edited by Nancho Alvarez, are available here: http://www.uma.es/victoria/

guidelines. This produces a very dark, sombre, rich rendering of the score. Sublime performances like this, with a very fresh approach to *musica ficta*, will hopefully encourage other ensembles to experiment with different options, and perhaps even to present different readings in different concerts. The version of the *ficta*, as it appears in the edition, is but one reading among many and should not be viewed as holy writ.

5   Principal Features of the Polyphony

> The transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance saw, among other things, the addition of another voice to the conventional compositional structure: while during the 15th century works were generally conceived in groups of three voices arranged hierarchically (*Tenor*, *Contratenor* and *Cantus*), in the 16th century the structure of polyphonic composition consisted of four voices (*Bassus*, *Tenor*, *Altus* and *Cantus*) of equal importance. (Sousa e Silva 2010: 212)[45]

Sousa e Silva (2010) succinctly sums up perhaps the single most important structural development in polyphonic composition at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. That these changes had taken place in Portuguese polyphonic practices by the mid 16th century is evidenced by a quick perusal of any number of manuscripts from the period. The overwhelming majority of the music composed during this period was for four equal voices, whereby "each voice shares responsibility for the structure of the work; contrapuntal relations [are] valid for each group of voices; and each voice exists within a limited ambitus, defined at the beginning in relation to the voices around it" (Sousa e Silva 2010: 212–213).[46]

The music of MM 32 perfectly exemplifies the developments outlined above. The Lamentações – and many other works in MM 32 – are written for four independent voices with shared responsibility and contrapuntal significance. Moreover, four voices were more suited than three to the extensive deployment of contrasting pairs of voices, a common stylistic feature of many works by contemporary composers in northern Portugal and Spain at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries (d'Alvarenga 2010: 81).

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[45] My translation. In the original: "A transição da Idade Média para o Renascimento significou, entre muitas outras coisas, a adição de uma voz na estrutura composicional convencional: enquanto durante o século XV as obras são pensadas em grupos de três vozes diferenciadas hierarquicamente (*Tenor, Contratenor* e *Cantus*), no século XVI a estrutura em que assenta a composição polifónica é constituída por quatro vozes elementares (*Bassus, Tenor, Altus* e *Cantus*) de igual importância."

[46] My translation. In the original: "cada voz partilha da responsabilidade de estruturar a obra, as relações contrapontísticas têm de ser válidas entre qualquer grupo de vozes ; cada voz habita um âmbito limitado que é definido desde o início em relação às vozes circundantes […]"

5.1   Canons and Imitative Counterpoint

Though the extensive use of canonic and imitative techniques had declined by the mid 16th century (Gauldin 1985: 53), much of the counterpoint in the Lamentações is generated through the exploration of canonic imitation in pairs of voices. d'Alvarenga (2010) contends that this very feature of the counterpoint identifies the music as the work of a local Portuguese composer. Owen Rees notes that MM 9 "provides some of the earliest evidence of an interest in the works of northern composers at Santa Cruz, and indeed of this music's incorporation into the repertory of the *capela*" (Rees 1995: 180). (For instance, MM 9 contains masses by Jacquet de Berchem and Janequin.) As such, we can assume that the composers at Santa Cruz were particularly well versed in the contrapuntal processes of the composers of northern Europe. This fascination for canons and imitative counterpoint is one of the pervading stylistic devices in the Lamentações too. As we shall see in Chapter 6, the examination of canons and imitations is a very useful in deducing the correct rendering the underlay in repeated verses.

5.2   Anomalies

In this section I will outline some of the main instances in which the manuscript of MM 32 presents problems for the editor, and suggest methods of overcoming such ambiguities in order to make informed decisions about how to interpret the information left to us in the surviving manuscript(s).

5.2.1   Mistakes and missing notes

In general MM 32 presents a relatively comprehensive picture of the Lamentações as a whole. The handwriting is clear and, for the most part, unambiguous. There are a handful of instances in which notes are missing from MM 32 or in which the scribe has made a mistake during the copying process. Such omissions are not immediately apparent and only come to the editor's attention once the music has been transcribed. Once one has accurately transcribed each individual voice, the editor will notice that

the voices no longer coalesce at cadence points, as one would normally expect. Such instances should alert the editor to the fact that the information as it stands in the manuscript may be erroneous and require the critical input of the editor to rectify the problem.

A pertinent example of a copying mistake can be found in the Tiple part of 'Beth. Plorans ploravit'. The letter 'Beth' is set to ten breves. The Tiple part progresses thus (see also Fig. 11):

Ligature				Rest			Final		
1) L	2) –	3) B	4) B	5) B	6) S+S.	7) (M)ssM	8) Final	9) –	10) –

The final note can last as long as is required for the other voices to reach the end of their counterpoint. The problem here arises when we put the Tiple and Tenor parts together only to realise that there is now a set of parallel fifths during breve 7. Comparison with the later MM 9 reveals that these parallel fifths are indeed a mistake that has been corrected in subsequent copies of the work. The note lengths themselves are correct, but the length of the rest in tactus 5 is incorrect. MM 9 presents the rest as only a semibreve (half a tactus), resulting in the ornamented part occurring a whole breve earlier than in MM 32. This, in turn, means that the final note in the Tiple line lasts four breves instead of three. This passage now makes more sense as, not only are the parallel fifths removed, but the Tenor now represents an imitation of the ornamental figure heard a breve earlier in the Tiple. In the current edition I present the Tiple part as it appears in MM 9.

MM 32 also contains examples of copying mistakes which have been later corrected in the manuscript in another hand. Such emendations and annotations provide further evidence that, as Owen Rees suggests, one of the functions of MM 32 was to teach singers the key repertoire of their employ (Rees 1995: 224).

In the Altus part of 'Beth', we encounter another example of the situation outlined above (the problematic section is found in Lectio I, bars 141–148). Having accurately

transcribed the note values as they appear in the manuscript, the editor will realise that there must be a mistake somewhere in the polyphony. This becomes apparent at the very latest in the text 'et facti sunt ei inimici', an obviously homophonic section. Another clue to the potential copying error is revealed upon closer examination of the canonic phrases associated with the texts 'omnes amici ejus' and 'spreverunt eam'. Both phrases begin with an 'upbeat' of three minims moving towards the phrases' respective stressed syllables (underlined above). As it appears in MM 32, the Altus part would put the first entrance of 'spreverunt' at the beginning of the tactus (putting the unstressed syllable 'spre-' in a stressed position). This, in turn, would position the two syllables of 'eam' incorrectly within the phrase. In this instance, however, there is no need to consult MM 9, as the missing minim (in Lectio I, bar 141 of the edition) has been added by a singer who doubtless encountered the same counting problem in the 16th century. The fact that this note has been added later is clear from the shape of the note head itself: the note is drawn with a slightly rounder head, in contrast to the calligraphic, diamond-shaped note heads of the surrounding music, and the colour of the ink is different from that of the main scribe.
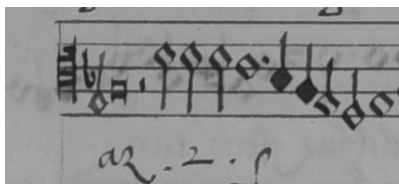
Fig. 13.   Missing note inserted at the beginning of 003r/5 (Altus: 'Beth').

5.2.2   Illegible sections

One particular problem in working with 400-year-old manuscripts is the physical quality of the paper. Many different factors affect how manuscripts are preserved over the course of the centuries: how and where they are stored, air humidity, light exposure, and so on. Given their age, most of the manuscripts from Santa Cruz de Coimbra are in remarkably good condition. However, the age of the manuscript and its current state do not always go hand in hand, as the different copies of the Lamentações

demonstrate. MM 32 is in relatively good condition and is, for the most part, legible, whereas MM 9 – though it too was probably copied in the mid 16th-century and perhaps several decades later (Rees 1995: 173) – is currently in such bad condition that is not available to researchers at the library of the University of Coimbra. It is thanks to the scans available at the PEM Database that we are able to access this manuscript at all.

The condition of a manuscript is key to an editor's ability to read it and make judgements about its content. MM 32 is in very good condition, and there are only a few instances in which the manuscript is so badly damaged that the editor must turn to another copy. Fig. 14 shows the beginning of the verse 'Misericordie Domini' in the Bassus of Lectio III. It appears that the paper has been so weakened by the amount of ink used to draw the ornate initial letter of 'Teth' on the other side of the folio that, over time, the paper has become loosened from the rest of the folio and disintegrated. The music visible within the broken section and the word 'Bonus' belong to the opening phrase of the next verse on 010r/6.

Fig. 14.   A degraded section of 009r/6 and /7 (Bassus, Lectio III).

Here the editor is faced with a number of problems. Not only is a section of music missing but, as we can observe on both staves in Fig. 14, the paper is so thin and the ink so heavy that note heads from the *verso* side of this folio are showing through and

interfering with the music of the *recto* side. This sometimes makes it hard to ascertain which note head belongs to which side of the page.[47]

Of course, in the case of the Lamentações the best option is to consult the concordant music in MM 9. The edition presents this missing section (Lectio III, Bassus, bars 12–13) as it appears in MM 9. If, however, concordant music did not exist, the editor has a number of options.

Most obviously, the editor should examine the other appearances of this phrase in the surrounding musical texture. In an examination of this phrase in the three other parts, the editor will notice that the musical phrase attributed to the words 'Misericordie Domini' is always structured in three units and perfectly accommodates the nine syllables of the text: S–M–M, S–M–M, S–S–B ('**Mi**-se-ri-**cor**-di-e **Do**-mi-ni'). The information we have about the Bassus part (before the degraded section) is S–M–M, S–M ('**Mi**-se-ri-**cor**-di-'). The first note head on the next line (009r/7) is a semibreve.[48] The following phrase 'quia non sumus consumpti' has been assigned a descending figure, and appears to begin at the following dotted semibreve in the Bassus. Thus we can assume that the first semibreve of 009r/7 belongs to the first phrase (its final note, presumably to the syllable '-ni') and not to the second phrase. Moreover, this reading of the manuscript would place '-ni' at the same time as it appears in the Altus. By examining what we know of the Bassus before and after the missing section, the editor's task is therefore to establish how best to accommodate the three missing syllables '-e Do-mi-'.

Given the structure of the text in the other voices, we must start from the assumption that the unstressed final syllable '-e' will be set to a minim. Indeed, upon (very) close examination of the upper-left edge of the degraded section at 009r/6, we can see what looks like the stem of a minim. Additionally, the left-hand edge of its accompanying diamond-shaped note head appears to sit on c^1. Slightly further to the right, above the

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[47] In the black-and-white image reproduced here this may be harder still. In the colour scan it is easier to deduce which music belongs to which side of the folio because the colour of the ink is slightly different (the ink showing through the paper is fainter).

[48] Though it looks as though 009r/7 begins with a minim on c^1, this is in fact an example of music from the other side of the folio showing through the paper. The first note of 009r/7 is the semibreve on f.

degraded section, we see the tip of what appears to be another minim stem. By examining the rising and falling sequences of minims at the beginning of both lines respectively, we know that the length of minim stems was quite uniform. With this in mind, we can surmise that this second minim is likely also on c^1. Furthermore, by looking at the general size of the note heads in this manuscript, we can assume that this minim must be the final note of the line and that between the minim on c^1 and this final minim (also on c^1?) there is room for only one other note head. In reality, this missing note can only be a minim or a semibreve. Given that no minim stem is visible above the degraded section, this note must be lower than c^1, or have no stem at all.

If we now look at the movement of the Tenor in this same phrase (see Lectio III, bars 12–14), we can observe that the word 'Domini' is repeated after the main phrase and set to the rhythm M–M–M–S–B. Of particular importance is the sequence of three minims e^1–d^1–e^1. If this structure is repeated in the Bassus and we insert a minim on b♭ between the two minims on c^1, this produces motion in parallel thirds and would mean that all four parts reach the following cadence at the same time. It is through 'detective work' like this that editors can overcome many problems faced in situations in which the manuscript is badly damaged or otherwise illegible.

6   On the Question of Underlay

Once the notes have been correctly transcribed into modern notation, the next significant challenge is to add the text beneath them. This presents the modern editor with a number of problems. Firstly, syllables were not routinely added to the notes with which they were intended to be sung. Often the copyist wrote out a line of text at the beginning of the stave and indicated using signs such as "ii" that the same text was to be repeated, without specifying how this was supposed to be done. Contemporary singers would, of course, have been fluent in placing syllables with their corresponding notes, but for the modern singer it is necessary to write everything out in a more explicit fashion.

The question of underlay and the intelligibility of the text when it is sung was the subject of much discussion and contention, notably during the 16th century. Reynolds (1989) notes the problems of 'accurately' (or, at least, intelligibly) assigning underlay beneath repeated verses increased during the 15th century because polyphony had gradually became more complex and the number of singers per part increased. "Soloists had only to coordinate their settings with the other voice parts, while two or more musicians attempting to align a single text to the same line encountered myriad opportunities for disarray" (Reynolds 1989: 190). Given the potential for confusion and the blurring of the text, it is all the more important that the editor think carefully about the alignment of the text in repeated verses. In this process a number of theoretical considerations will come to bear on the decisions made by the editor. Some of these are elucidated below.

Perhaps the most famous mention of the problems of assigning text to music comes from the third session of the Council of Trent (1562–63), where one of the topics discussed was the use of polyphonic music during liturgical services in the Catholic Church. Some clerics were convinced that polyphonic singing detracted from the text, making it unintelligible. When asked by the Sacred Congregation for Rites in Rome for his opinion as to whether polyphonic music should be included in liturgical ceremonies, Martín de Azpilcueta, a Spanish theologian and teacher also known as Dr Navarrus, concluded that "vocal music may be sung in Church on the condition that it

is sung with perfection, as indeed it is sung at the Monastery of S. Cruz de Coimbra in Portugal" (quoted in Branco 2005: 117).[49] In terms of voice production, 'perfection' can mean many things to many people (as is the case with the comment in Section 7.2 (p.72), contemporary statements are subjective and, therefore, unreliable), but Azpilcueta's statement reveals that, at least in his opinion and experience, great significance was placed on the intelligibility of the text by the singers and composers at Santa Cruz. This in turn suggests that the singers would have had a clear idea of how to interpret repeated lines of text and allocate the syllables appropriately.

This chapter will explore the idiosyncrasies of the Latin text as it appears in the Lamentações. It will consider the options open to the modern editor in how to present this text on the page and examine different ways of placing the text beneath the music in such a way that the text is clear and serves the textual and musical needs of each individual phrase.

6.1   Textual discrepancies and inconsistencies

As mentioned in Section 3.1.2, the text of the Lamentations of Jeremiah evolved over a period of centuries before assuming a 'standardised' form. Many settings use slightly different combinations of verses, and the specific choice of verses can tell us much about the origins of a work, particularly an anonymous work such as the Lamentações.

The setting found in MM 32 is interesting, as it uses verses for the first lesson at Matins for each of the three days of the Triduum and presents them side-by-side (d'Alvarenga 2010: 79). After the introductory phrase 'Incipiunt lamentationes Jheremie prophete', the first lesson continues, in standard fashion, with the first three verses or letters from Lamentations 1, the text usually associated with Maundy Thursday. Interestingly, the second lesson in the current setting uses verses from Lamentations 2 (verses 8–10), texts usually associated with Good Friday. Similarly,

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[49] My translation. In the original: "Navarro foi da opinião de que «ouesse musica de canto de órgão na Igreja com condição que se cantasse cõ a perfeição, com que se cantaua no Mosteiro de S. Cruz de Coimbra em Portugal.»"

the third lesson in the setting uses texts for Holy Saturday (Lam. 3:22–27). At first this seems irregular but, as d'Alvarenga (2010) notes, two surviving breviaries (one from Coimbra, published in 1531, and another earlier breviary from Porto, 1514) both present the texts in this order.[50] Accordingly, d'Alvarenga draws the reasonable conclusion that the selection of verses in the current setting is further evidence that the Lamentações is the work of a musician at or associated with the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra.

There are a few instances in which the texts used in the Lamentações differ from those as presented in the Latin Vulgata Bible. For instance, Lam. 2:10 reads 'abiecerunt in terra' in MM 32, while the Vulgata gives 'abjecerunt in terra**m**'. Lam. 3:27 uses the preposition '**in** ad**o**lescentia' where the Vulgata uses '**ab** ad**u**lescentia'. In general I have retained the text in the form in which it appears in MM 32. Local spellings have largely been preserved too, as these have an impact on our understanding of local pronunciation, a subject explored in greater detail in Section 7.1.

6.2   The interpretation of repeated verses

In most manuscripts from this period, and certainly in the majority of the manuscripts at Santa Cruz de Coimbra, it was customary for the scribe to indicate a line of text the first time it appears, then to indicate that it should be repeated using a variety of symbols, notably *ii, ij* or *.2.*. This practice of writing out the text in 'shorthand' saved time and, more importantly, paper. Singers at the time would, with practice, learn how to assign the rest of the text by themselves. Towards the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries composers became far more explicit about the assignment of underlay, a development that went hand in hand with the advent of the *seconda pratica*. However, for modern singers, the 'correct' assignment of repeated verses is a topic that the editor of an edition must address and for which s/he must develop a logical approach.

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[50] The breviaries in question are the *Breviarium secundum usum ecclesiae sanctae* ✤ *colimbriensis ordinis canonicorum regularium divi Augustini* (Coimbra, 1531) [Sanctae ✤ = 'Santa Cruz'] and the *Breviarium secundum ordinem divi Augustini* (Porto, 1514).

To my mind, the editor's approach to the distribution of the text must take as its first principle the primacy of the text itself and making this perceptible to the listener. This in turn presupposes an attention to the natural rhythms of the language, which often, as is the case with the Lamentações, serve as the basis of the contours of the individual melodic lines within the counterpoint.

In his article 'On Singing and the Vocal Ensemble II', Alejandro Planchart (1994) comments on the interpretation of repeated verses in the following terms:

> Editors are often extremely timid in matters of text repetition or moving the text as set in the source a few notes or bars to one side or another; and a number of editors […] turn a curiously deaf ear to the natural rhythms of spoken language that very often suggest sensible solutions to problems of text underlay. (Planchart 1994: 37)

The scenario outlined by Planchart perfectly exemplifies the case of the Lamentações. As outlined in Section 5.1, one of the principal contrapuntal devices in this music is the use of canons and imitation. Imitation is perhaps the most obvious indication that a musical phrase should be assigned a particular line of music; as Gauldin notes, "reentries of the initial motive are always accompanied with its original text setting" (Gauldin 1985: 55).

Throughout the Lamentações there are countless examples of instances of situations described by Gauldin. The text of the imitating phrase is often rendered merely with *ij* or .2., indicating some form of repeat, and it is the job of the editor to put the text in its proper place beneath the 'empty' phrase. Fig. 15 shows an example of what might be termed 'simple repeated underlay'. With this term I refer to examples of repeated phrases in which there is an exact correspondence between the number of syllables and notes in one phrase, to which the underlay has been attributed, and the following phrase which the editor must deduce. In Fig. 15 the placement of the words 'capita sua' is clear: the phrase contains three minims and two semibreves, thus the stressed syllable 'su-' should be placed beneath the first semibreve. The repeated, 'empty' phrase is rhythmically identical, so the job of the editor is simply to insert the syllables as per the previous phrase. The final phrase of this verse, 'virgines Juda', in the Altus part is another example of the same phenomenon. See bars Lectio II, Altus, 166–176 for the modern rendering of this section.
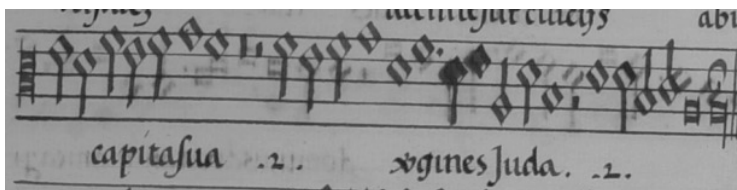
Fig. 15.   Example of simple repeated underlay, 007r/4 (Lectio II, Altus, bars 166–176)

Not only do repeated and canonic structures help the editor place text beneath successive empty verses, they also give us important clues in instances in which the scribe has accidentally allocated the wrong underlay to a musical phrase. There are a few examples of this phenomenon in MM 32, instances in which the editor must not doggedly follow the *Notenbild* of the manuscript but must instead use information from contemporary treatises (and often common sense) to make a judgement about the best placement of the text, the better to impart the *Notentext* to the performer. A good example of such a 'mistake' in the copying is in the Tiple part of 'Jerusalem' at the end of Lectio I. Fig. 16 shows that the scribe has confused the canonic phrase, already in use for the word 'Jherusalem', with the phrase for the next word in the text, 'convertere'.
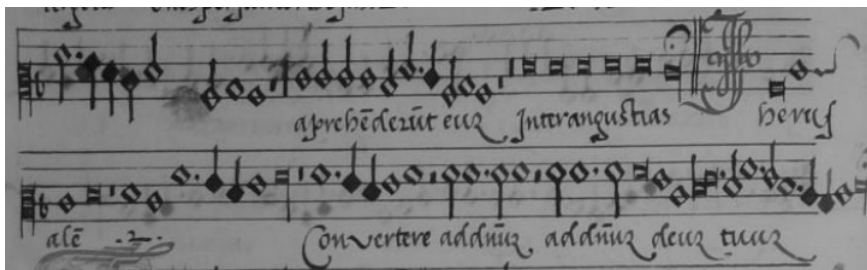
Fig. 16.   003v/4 and /5, showing the erroneous placement of the word 'convertere' in the Tiple (Lectio I, Tiple, bars 207–246).

Such a mistake is understandable, as both words have the same number of syllables, and the phrase in question could easily be sung to the word 'convertere' (albeit by erroneously putting the word stress on the final syllable at the end of the rising phrase: *'con-ver-te-<u>re</u>'). In all the other voices in this section, the word 'convertere' is placed at the following homophonic section, which pairs the Tiple and Altus in thirds against the Tenor and Bassus in octaves (see Fig. 17).

Fig. 17.   The concordant Tiple part in the edition, showing the amended placement of 'convertere' at the homophonic section with the Altus.

6.3   The relationship of ligatures and syllables

> The second rule is that to every ligature of several figures or notes, whether it occurs in mensural melody or plainsong, no more than one syllable, [placed] at the beginning is to be adapted. (Zarlino 1558)[51]

For many years Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) represented the primary authority on the matter of text setting and underlay in 16th-century music, and he was seen as "the earliest theorist to furnish information of sufficient detail as to permit the reconstruction of a practice" (Harrán 1973: 24). It is unclear, however, whether the guidelines outlined in Zarlino's *Istitutioni* represent the contemporary practice as he saw it or an attempt to suggest a practice. All we can deduce is that "these rules apply to the music written in the second half of the 16th century and onwards. To apply Zarlino's rules to the music of the 15th and early 16th centuries represents an anachronism" (Raasveld 1991: 88).

In reference to Giovanni Maria Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* (1533) – a treatise that predates Zarlino by more than twenty years – Reynolds observes: "beginning with an acknowledgement that 'there is no logic in how to adjust words to a melody beyond [that in] the mind of him who has to notate it', the rules are basic: places syllables on strong beats and sing only one per ligature" (Reynolds 1989: 190). Throughout the Lamentações there are examples of instances in which the instructions to place, on the

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[51] Unattributed English translation quoted in Harrán (1973: 39). In the original: "La Seconda regola è, che ad ogni Legatura di più figure, o note, sia posta nel canto figurato, o nel plano, non se le accommoda più di una sillaba nel principio".

one hand, a stressed syllable on a strong beat and, on the other, to sing only one syllable per ligature are sometimes mutually incompatible, and it is all but impossible to adhere to both of them at the same time without doing harm to either the text or the music. In such circumstances, to take Zarlino's guidelines at face value would be inadvisable or impossible. Emboldened by the scepticism of Raasveld and Harrán – and Lanfranco's encouragement to place stressed syllables on strong beats – I have thus elected to deviate from Zarlino's one-syllable-per-ligature principle in a few instances.

An apt example of this deviation – itself an example of the editor's agency in the transcription process – is in the very opening phrase of the work. The Altus part features an SS ligature in bar 5 of Lectio I. If we examine the opening phrase, we can observe that bars 1–3 in the Altus are immediately imitated in bars 4–6 of the Tiple. The text of bars 4–6 in the Altus is not given in the manuscript and must be deduced by the editor. The ligature in bar 5 (a ligature that also appears in the concordant music in MM 9) goes against what we have already learned about this phrase from bars 1–3 and what is going on simultaneously in the Tiple. For this reason, I find it more logical to 'split' the ligature and place the syllables '-ci-' and '-pi-' at the same time as those in the Tiple. This provides far greater clarity of text, a matter that would doubtless have placated the reactionary clerics at the Council of Trent.

Fig. 18.   Lectio I, bars 1–6.

There are a number of other instances in which I have chosen to split a ligature in contravention of Zarlino's rules. These are marked throughout the score with a dashed

line. Perhaps the most radical editorial change I have made to the score is in the Tiple part of Lectio III, bar 131. Fig. 19 shows the end of 009v/5 in the Tiple of Lectio III. Here we can observe that the phrase 'in adolescentia sua' begins with an SS ligature spanning an interval of a fifth. The repeat of the phrase (marked ".2." in the manuscript) presents the same 'sol-fa-mi-re-ut' descending figure as before, but now, instead of ending on the rhythmic construction semibreve–minim–minim for the syllables '-scen-ti-a', the phrase ends on a breve. This seems incompatible with the full repetition of the text, as in the second appearance of the phrase there are not enough notes to fit all the required syllables. In light of this, I have decided to rewrite the breve in the repeated phrase as the sequence semibreve–minim–minim. This solution seems reasonable when we look as the surrounding music. The words 'in adolescentia sua' are set to the same imitative, descending phrase in all four parts. The breve in the repeated section at the end of the Tiple part is anomalous, in that it is the only instance of such a rhythm in this entire passage. By 'correcting' the rhythm (see Fig. 19, bar 131), the Tiple phrase now repeats the structure of the preceding phrase, thus allowing the text to be placed idiomatically beneath the notes.

Fig. 19.   009v/5 and the concordant section in the edition. Lectio III, Tiple, bars 124–134.

7   Some Thoughts on Rehearsal and Performance

For me, the detailed work of editing a manuscript cannot be divorced from the concerns of performers. Just as the music was originally written for performance within a given context (in this case, a liturgical service), editions are created in order to facilitate performances by living musicians and not solely for musicological posterity. Once the edition was complete, realising a performance of the music was one of my primary concerns. Thus the first performance of this edition of the Lamentações took place at St Thomas Church, Helsinki, on 1st October 2015 performed by the four men of the English Vocal Consort of Helsinki.

Conversely, it must be stressed that the act of rehearsing and performing the work must not be viewed as something separate from the act of preparing the edition. On the contrary, I consider the rehearsal process as the final phase in the editing process. Rehearsal and performance provide the editor (either through performing him or herself or by collaborating with the performers) with an invaluable opportunity to assess the decisions made at various points throughout the transcription process and the resulting edit. Moreover, it is also an excellent opportunity to proofread the edition and confirm that the *Notenbild* of the new edition accurately represents the *Notentext* as we understand it from the original manuscript(s), i.e. to ensure that the musical ideas of the work are visually presented on the page in such a way that they give the performers the information they require to realise the music in the manner in which it was intended. It is during the rehearsal process that the editor can also look for any errors in the transcription, isolate sections in which there might be a mistake in the original manuscript, reconsider places in which the editorial decisions regarding the underlay do not serve the music or the singers well, and, in the case of the Lamentações, experiment with the use of *musica ficta*.

With the edition of the manuscript in hand, the musicians can (and, moreover, should) make aesthetical decisions about the level of 'authenticity' of their performance. Indeed, as the very name of the HIP movement suggests, performances of historical music may benefit from exploring the possibilities of a performance that is historically informed, though, as Peter le Huray duly notes, "authenticity is no dogma" (Huray

1990: 4). It is important here to note the distinction between the ideas of authenticity and following the composer's 'intentions'. As Butt notes, "following intentions cannot be a matter of blind obedience but involves interpretation and an understanding of the context in which [such intentions] were expressed" (Butt 2002: 76).

As is the case with the theoretical matters considered in previous chapters, the discussion of music and music making in treatises by contemporary writers (themselves often composers and performers) is a good starting point for researching and exploring possible approaches to the rehearsal and performance of early music. Musicians and audiences alike must accept that no performance today will ever be wholly 'authentic', that music, like all art, is bound to the time and place in which it was originally conceived. However, as Haynes comments, "if we wait to get it completely right, we'll never get it. First we cannot know if we have succeeded. And whether [our aesthetic choices are] right for all time is not the issue. All we want is to be confident we have realized the style as we perceive it at this particular moment" (Haynes 2007: 120).

While a fully 'authentic' performance, in the truest sense of the word, is impossible to recreate – and, indeed, may be far from desirable – I believe it is incumbent upon 21st-century musicians to consider the impact their aesthetic choices have on the music at hand. Do the choices we make help or hinder our ability to present a given work in a manner that is true to its original spirit? In the case of 16th-century polyphony, it is clear that practice varied greatly from one city and musical culture to the next.

One interesting facet of historical accuracy in period performance is the matter of 'authentic' pronunciation. In the performance of vocal music from any historical period, performers must consider whether to adapt the pronunciation of the text to suit the historical context of the music, as opposed to settling for standard contemporary pronunciation. From the time of the Second Vatican Council in 1962 – and for much music written before then – Italianate Latin (i.e. that which had become traditionally been used in and around Rome) was used as the standard Latin pronunciation model for the performance of most sacred (and especially Catholic) music, regardless of the linguistic world into which the music was originally conceived. English music was

always something of an exception in this regard, as the 'Vivat Regina Elizabetha' ['vaɪvæt rɪ'd͡ʒaɪnə ɪlɪzə'bi:θə] from Parry's *I was glad* aptly demonstrates.[52] Local pronunciations of Latin, however, persisted and continue to persist across Europe, and certainly since the advent of the HIP movement greater attention has been paid to the 'authentic' pronunciation of Latin in different countries and regions.[53] Such attention is not given merely for its own sake but because the sounds of the local pronunciation can reasonably be assumed to have impacted on composers' aesthetical choices. As Ross W. Duffin comments,

> [c]omposers set texts with the ambient pronunciation in mind and that includes Latin texts, too. Accentuation, rhyme, and the sheer tone color of a vocal work can be radically transformed by the use of historically appropriate pronunciations (Duffin 1994: 257).

I will therefore begin with a discussion of the matter of the 'authentic' pronunciation of Portuguese Latin and present one possible template for the performance of this work and similar music from the period.

7.1   'Portuguese Latin' and aspects of pronunciation[54]

In 1527 King John III of Portugal initiated a reform of the monastery of Santa Cruz, the aim of which was "the elevation of the monastery to a modern seat of learning of the first rank" and to "encourage the young men of Portugal to study at home rather than at Salamanca, Paris, or Bologna" (Rees 1995: 30-31). As was standard practice for a monastic education in the early 16th century, a thorough grounding in Latin was essential for all Novitiates. In preparation for his reforms, the King wrote to Paris hoping to employ as teachers and mentors "masters of [Latin] grammar, Greek, and

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[52] Though naturally one could argue that the above pronunciation documents the English Latin of the late 19th to mid 20th centuries and therefore is, in its own way, historically accurate!

[53] Interestingly, while rehearsing 16th-century Portuguese polyphony in Porto with Sesquialtera, no particular emphasis was placed on employing a specifically Portuguese pronunciation, though the group's rehearsals and performances diligently and conscientiously adhered to other details of historical performance practice. Latin texts were routinely sung in the familiar, essentially Italianate form of the language, with a few idiosyncratic exceptions.

[54] For detailed explanations of Portuguese pronunciation see, e.g. Williams (1946) and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese_phonology For an overview of the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet (which will be used throughout this work to denote phonetic renderings), see, e.g. http://www.internationalphoneticalphabet.org/ipa-sounds/ipa-chart-with-sounds/ which contains sound files for each symbol. A list of the symbols used in this work, complete with a pronunciation guide in both languages, is provided in Appendix 2.

other disciplines".[55] Testimony to the effects of the curriculum changes at Santa Cruz can be seen in an anecdote recounted by Owen Rees in liner notes for his disc *Music from Renaissance Coimbra*:

> The intellectual climate at Santa Cruz is vividly portrayed in an account of 1541 which describes the area in front of the monastery thus: *Within this area there is a great gathering of students engaged in continual discourse* […] *and all regard it as a disgrace to speak in any language other than Latin or Greek.* (Rees 1994: 2)[56]

As is the case with any *lingua franca*, the spelling and pronunciation conventions of Latin varied considerably throughout southern Europe. Though, as has been attested by contemporary sources, the clerics resident at Coimbra would have been very well schooled in written, liturgical Latin – and seemingly spoke it with ease – the manuscripts from the monastery reveal ways in which the spelling conventions of Latin either had not yet settled or ways in which the spelling represented the local pronunciation, i.e. whereby the spelling of the Latin revealed the influence of the spelling conventions of the local language.

In producing the current edition of the Lamentações, the editor has to make a choice between preserving the local, idiosyncratic (erroneous?) spellings of certain words or, in the interests of making the edition as 'performer-friendly' as possible, changing these spellings to adhere to standard ecclesiastical Latin. Naturally, it is problematic to talk of 'standard' orthography for 15th and 16th-century Latin as conventions differed across the Latin-speaking region, and variation can even be found in works by the same scribe – within one and the same work, no less, as is indeed the case with the Lamentações. However, from the perspective of examining historical pronunciation it is, as is the case with 16th-century English, the very variety of local spelling conventions of Latin that can reveal much about local pronunciation.

The opening line of the work at hand presents a number of interesting examples of non-standard spelling. As it appears in the underlay to 001v/1, the text is given as

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[55] "Mestres de Gramatica, Grego, e de outras Sciencias" (*Crónica* I: 104, quoted in Rees 1995: 30).
[56] The source of this anecdote is not given.

"Incipiũt lamẽtationes Jheremie prophete".[57] Interestingly the singular masculine genitive forms *Jeremiae prophetae* have been rendered with a simple <e>. This gives us an important clue to the pronunciation the composer and/or scribe had in mind. Allen (1965) argues that classical Latin pronunciation of <ae> would have been a diphthong, approximately [ai], though concedes that a process of monophthongisation later led to its pronunciation as a long [ɛ:] or [e:] (Allen 1965: 60–61). This process possibly occurred as early as the first century AD, though the simultaneous use of <e> and <ae> – even in texts by the same writer – continued and was common throughout the Middle Ages.[58] From the perspective of the singer and scholar of historical pronunciation, however, it is important to note that Ecclesiastical Latin pronounces <ae> as a single long vowel (Catholic Church 1961: xxxvii). As the monks of Santa Cruz were apparently conversant in Latin (and, moreover, speaking it around 1,500 years later than the era of classical Latin), we can assume that their pronunciation was a local variant of ecclesiastical Latin. This, in turn, leads to the assumption that the music the monks composed was intended for performance in that self-same variant. The rendering 'Jheremie prophete' strongly supports this assumption.[59]

Later in the work (for instance in 'Heth. Cogitavit dominus', ff. 004v and 005r) we encounter the spellings 'filie' and 'filiæ' in the same section of music. Again, this seems to suggest that <e>, <ae> and <æ> were entirely interchangeable and pronounced as the monophthong [e:]. There are no examples of <oe> in these verses of the Lamentations. Allen (1965) contends that this too would have been pronounced in classical Latin as a diphthong, this time [ɔɪ]. Thus 'poena' (in ecclesiastical Latin ['pe:na]) would become ['pɔɪna].[60] Examples of <oe> do however appear in other works throughout MM 32. Often the sound is rendered <œ>, as in 00A1v/1 'Regina cœli letare', whereby the vowel sounds in the syllables 'cœ-' and 'le-' are the same. Instances in which words whose 'standard' spelling is <oe> are later rendered with simply <e> (e.g. *'celi') would provide more, admittedly circumstantial, evidence that

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[57] In accordance with standard orthographical shorthand at the time, the letters <n> and <m> were often replaced with a tilde, doubtless to save space. Thus the form < ẽ > can represent both <en> or <em>.
[58] Seppo Heikkinen (2016), private communication.
[59] Of course, the *Book of Lamentations* dates from the same period as the Roman Republic and the presumed predominance of classical Latin, but to sing music of the 16th century in classical Latin for this reason alone would be, to my mind, anachronistic in the extreme.
[60] Cf. Greek 'ποινή' ('penalty', 'fine').

this combination of letters, once a diphthong, was in 16th-century Coimbra pronounced like <ae>, as per standard ecclesiastical Italianate Latin.

Furthermore, the form 'Jheremie', in ecclesiastical Latin [jɛrɛ'mie:], is noteworthy when we consider the spelling of the first phoneme. Elsewhere this phoneme is regularly rendered differently as <hie->, for instance in the analogous text 'Incipit lamentatio <u>Hie</u>remiæ prophetæ' (now complete with singular masculine genitive forms) from a setting of the Lamentations in MM 3, a somewhat later manuscript. In this manuscript 'Jeremiae' is consistently rendered '<u>Hie</u>remiæ', while 'Jerusalem' is consistently '<u>Hie</u>rusalẽ'. MM 3 contains three settings of different verses from the lamentations. The first of these settings (MM 3, ff. 069v–072r) has been recorded on Owen Rees's disc *Music from Renaissance Coimbra* (Hyperion, 1994). In this recording the choir sings [ʒɛ'ru:zalɛm].

Given the monks' level of study in Latin and Greek, the composers at Coimbra would certainly have known the 'standard' orthographical forms of the words in liturgical texts. This leads me to conclude that the forms 'Jheremie' and 'Jherusalem' / 'Hierusalem' / 'Herusalem' represent an attempt to mitigate potential undesired pronunciation. In modern Portuguese the letter <j> is always pronounced [ʒ], and is only used before a back vowel (e.g. *janela* [ʒɐ'nɛ:lɐ] 'window'). In his article 'Portuguese Latin', Harold Copeman gives [ʒ] as the standard pronunciation of the letter <j> in the liturgical Latin of 15th and 16th-century Portugal, e.g. in such cases as *cujus* ['ku:ʒus] and *eius* ['e:ʒus] (Copeman 1996: 182).[61] Thus, if [ʒ] was the standard local pronunciation, the spelling 'Jherusalem' could be a deliberate attempt on the part of the composer and/or copyist to ensure that the singer specifically does not sing [ʒɨruzɐ'lẽj], as per standard modern European Portuguese.

The copyist of the analogous music found in MM 9 generally follows the spelling conventions of MM 32, though with a number of interesting and revealing discrepancies. For instance, in the opening phrase, the variant 'Jeremie' appears only once – in the Tiple – and is then spelled 'Jheremie' in all subsequent appearances. If

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[61] Accordingly, Owen Rees's disc *Music from Renaissance Coimbra* (Hyperion, 1994) employs this pronunciation. Cf. track 3: 'Posuerunt super caput <u>eius</u>' = ['e:ʒus].

we assume that a copyist is most likely to begin at the top left-hand corner of the paper (i.e. with the Tiple part), it is as though the first appearance of the word took the copyist by surprise and he corrected himself thereafter. In MM 9 'Jerusalem' is now mostly spelled 'Herusalem' with one or two occurrences of 'Jherusalem'. Again, the variation and multiple spellings of this phoneme all seem to indicate a pronunciation other than [ʒ].

The calligraphy of the letter H is itself interesting. In both MMs 32 and 9, the capitalised H often looks like a combination of J and H (see. Fig. 20). However, this same form of the letter is used in instances of words for which there is no other possible spelling than with <h>, for instance, 'habitavit', which obviously would not have been pronounced *[ʒabi'taːvit]. Meanwhile, Copeman (1996) suggests that the <h> in Renaissance Portuguese Latin would have been entirely silent. Could the contemporary pronunciation of 'Herusalem' have therefore been approximately [ɛ'ruːzalɛm] with neither [j] nor [ʒ]?
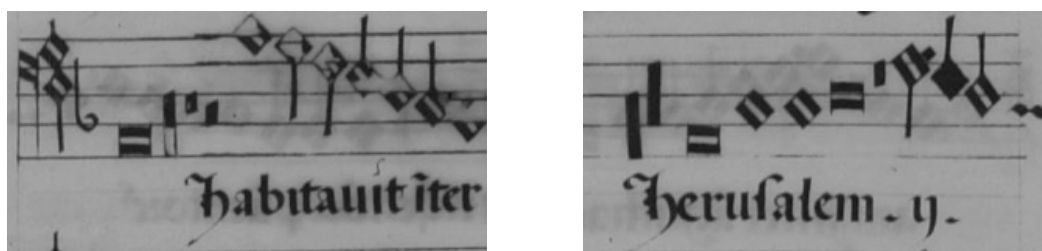
Fig. 20.   Examples of the capitalised H / J (MM 9, f. 133r).

Furthermore, the lack of consistency regarding the rendering of this sound is anomalous in that, at least with regard to the Lamentações, it is restricted solely to the words 'Jeremiae' and 'Jerusalem'. Contrastingly, the word 'Judas' is consistently spelled with < J >. This could be caused by the following back vowel [uː] (whereas in both 'Jeremiae' and 'Jerusalem' the initial phoneme is followed by a front vowel). The word 'ejus' / 'eius' is also consistent in this regard. Similarly, there seems to be no confusion at all regarding the spelling of other words potentially featuring [ʒ], such as 'gentes' ['ʒẽⁿtɛs], the <g> presumably employed because, as per standard modern European Portuguese, the sound is followed by a front vowel. It is with some trepidation that I hazard a pronunciation different from that of Owen Rees, a pre-

eminent authority on Portuguese music of this period, but the evidence in MM 32 does seem to point towards treating 'Jheremie' and 'Jherusalem' as special exceptions to the rule.[62]

The word 'gentium' (in its 'standard' spelling) is another interesting case in point. In the verse 'Aleph. Quomodo' the word appears in two different spellings: 'gẽtiũ' on 001v/3 and 'gencium' on 002r/4. Disregarding the standard renderings of <en> and <um>, the interesting feature here is the discrepancy between the syllables <ti> and <ci>. The standard ecclesiastical Italianate pronunciation of this word would be approximately ['d͡ʒɛnt͡sium], the <ti> being pronounced [t͡si] as it is followed by another vowel.[63] Given that the two spellings of this word are found in the same movement of music – and in the same textual context and written by the same copyist, no less – we can assume that these two spellings were entirely interchangeable in 16th-century Coimbra. This in turn suggests that the spelling was of secondary importance because the pronunciation was the same for both variants. The spelling 'gencium' seems, therefore, to indicate that local pronunciation may have been approximately ['ʒẽⁿsium]. The guidelines outlined in Copeman (1996) concur with this reading.

Standard ecclesiastical Latin (as outlined in *The Liber Usualis*, 1961) recommends that <c> be pronunciated as [k] before a back vowel or another consonant (e.g. *consoletur* [kɔnsɔ'le:tur] and *facta* ['fakta]) and [t͡ʃ] before a front vowel (e.g. *princeps provinciarum* ['print͡ʃɛps prɔvint͡ʃi'a:rum]).[64]

7.2 Voice production and aesthetic 'ideals'

In 1662 Catherine of Braganza (Catarina de Bragança), daughter of King John IV, was married to King Charles II of England. In an account of her initial journey to England

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[62] That being said, in his article on the pronunciation of Latin in Renaissance Spain, Copeman posits that, while the pervading pronunciation of this letter would have been [j], "biblical names, at least, used [ʒ] (*Iesus, Ierusalem, Ieremias*)" (Copeman 1996: 164). This seems the direct opposite of the situation we encounter in the Lamentações.

[63] As per the guidelines in *The Liber Usualis* (1961).

[64] This stands in contrast to Allen's contention that the letter would have been [k] in all instances, citing the Greek transliteration 'Κικερων' for Cicero as evidence of the hard [k] even before a front vowel (Allen 1965: 14).

with her entourage, the following amusing anecdote is recounted. After arranging for a group of guests to entertain Catherine by singing for her and the "Duque de Boyningan"[65] on their return from the garden, Catherine decided to thank the King with a performance of her own.

> To return the favour, the Queen [Catherine] summoned her Musicians and instructed them to sing a few notes, at which the King [Charles II] seemed pleased, saying that he found our music more agreeable than that of Castile, because the Castilians shouted whereas our musicians sang like the Italians.[66]

Naturally, the subjective opinions of an English king regarding the respective merits of Castilian and Portuguese singers can hardly be considered a reliable measure of quality; he may have been simply trying to be polite and ingratiate himself to his new bride. Moreover, the anonymous author of this highly entertaining diary may well have been embellishing the truth to keep the Queen happy.

The diary does not tell us what the Queen's musicians sang – probably not polyphony from Santa Cruz de Coimbra! Nonetheless the description "like the Italians" is revealing and interesting, particularly as it suggests that sounding like Italian singers was deemed a good thing, an ideal towards which to aspire.

Given the plethora of notions among 21st-century musicians regarding what constitutes 'authentic style', a few words should also be said about how best to present a work like the Lamentações. Stevens notes that "the use of a single voice to a part, a *sine qua non* of all madrigal performances that aspire to expressive authenticity, may be safely applied to most polyphonic music written between the 11th and 14th centuries" (Stevens 1972: 160). This concurs with Zarlino's observations about the development of two separate performance practices for singers: the *camera* voice (used for solo, generally secular music) and the *cappella* voice used in church.[67] In the case of the monasteries in early 16th-century Portugal, most of them would certainly have employed enough

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[65] Possibly George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber and a member of the Privy Council in 1661 upon Charles II coronation and one of the King's closest advisors.
[66] "[...] & a Rainha por lhe pagar este favor, mandou vir os seus Musicos, que lhe cantárão alguns tonos, de que el Rey mostrou agradarse, dizendo, que lhe contentava muito mais a nossa musica que a de Castella, porque os Castelhanos gritavão, & nòs cantavamos como os Italianos." (*Relaçam diaria da jornada*, 1662).
[67] Referenced in Reynolds (2002: 189).

singers to perform four-part polyphony with at least two singers on each part (see, e.g., d'Alvarenga 2015), though as Reynolds points out, the mere fact that a certain number of singers were on the monastery payroll does not automatically mean that they were all involved in every service. "It is one thing to know how many singers there were in a choir, but another to establish how many of those singers actually participated in performances of a mass by Josquin or a motet by Palestrina" (Reynolds 1989: 188). In many churches, written vocal polyphony would likely have been reserved for high feast days – of which Easter may well have been an example – while 'normal' services were handled using smaller ensembles, often featuring chant and improvised polyphony (Reynolds 1989: 187).

In light of these observations, it seems reasonable to assume that an intimate work such as the Lamentações may be performed either way: soloistically with one singer to a part or with, say, two or more to a part, producing a richer, fuller sound. In the performance by the English Vocal Consort of Helsinki, we elected to perform the work using only four singers. The intimacy of the resulting performance is, I believe, very much in keeping with the sombre character of the Tenebrae mass.

7.2.1   The (mis)use of vibrato

One of the first considerations of a vocal ensemble in approaching the music of the 15th and 16th centuries must be the question of vibrato, in the words of Bruce Haynes, "the MSG[68] of music".

The use and misuse of vibrato with regard to the singing of early music is a matter that has exercised scholars and practitioners over at least the last 500 years. In his article on the use of vibrato in early music, Bethell (2009) references two Renaissance treatises which make explicit mention of vibrato. Francino Gafurius's *Practica musicae* (1496) predates the Lamentações, while Hermann Finck's *Practica musica* (1556) was published several decades after their composition. Gafurius makes two points about vibrato: that it all too often obscures the counterpoint and that a wide vibrato should be

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[68] Monosodium glutamate, a flavour enhancer widely used in the food industry.

avoided because "these tones do not maintain a true pitch" (cf. also Blachly 1994: 15). Finck suggests that the tone of the voice "should not be too soft or too loud, but rather like a properly built organ, the ensemble should remain unaltered and constant" (quoted in Bethell 2009: 2).

The notion that the voice should work with the constancy of an organ pipe and that multiple voices should sound like an organ is intriguing. Regarding the overall sound ideals of a vocal ensemble, Finck continues thus:

> The higher a voice rises, the quieter and more gentle should be the tone; the lower it goes, the richer should be the sound, just as in an organ with various sizes of pipes, both large and small, the larger ones do not overpower the smaller, nor do the smaller ones with their bright tone swamp the larger, with the result that the polyphony and harmony make their way evenly into the ear, in such a way that each voice plainly sounds just as clear, as gentle and as smooth as any other and the listeners enjoy the performance to the full and experience the appropriate emotion. (Finck 1556, trans F.E. Kirby 1961)

Finck's observation about the levity of the higher voices versus the fullness of the low voices is telling, and reveals that a particular problem of ensemble singing today may well have existed in the 16th century too, namely that the higher one sings within one's own register, the greater the temptation to push the voice harder (in order to maintain the higher, less comfortable pitch) at the expense of volume, tuning and sound quality. Singers can often use vibrato to help themselves through a particularly awkward phrase in the upper reaches of the voice, but this inevitably means that the volume will increase – the opposite of Finck's ideal sound structure.

Modern commentators are largely in agreement with the contentions of Gafurius and Finck. Ellen Hargis, herself an accomplished early-music soprano, comments that singers of Renaissance music, particularly sopranos, should "be able to float high notes with ease and without excessive vibrato or volume" (Hargis 1994: 4). She also posits that excessive vibrato has a detrimental effect on the singer's ability to enunciate the text clearly. With regard to the use of polyphonic music during liturgical services, any aspect of vocal technique that obscures the text stands in direct opposition to the notion that the music should not obscure The Word.

Moreover, if the singers of an ensemble are indeed to sound like an organ, a seamless entity, as Finck suggests, one voice – which Haynes (2007) terms "the wobbly singer" – cannot be allowed to dominate simply by 'virtue' of its liberal use of vibrato. As Blachly notes, "loud, heavy singing not only violates the spirit of good ensemble music-making, it would also seem to contradict the very essence of the proportion, balance, and 'naturalness' that are so clearly idealized in the other arts of the time" (Blachly 1994: 15). Bethell is unequivocal in his reading of the sources by Gafurius and Finck: "Two conclusions must be drawn from these sources. First, absolute clarity in contrapuntal music is mandatory. Second, vocal vibrato is incompatible both with tonal clarity and with this evidence" (Bethell 2009: 2).

It is with these considerations in mind that a vocal ensemble should approach the rehearsal and performance of a work such as the Lamentações. Decisions regarding the deployment and extent of vibrato are so fundamental to the sound quality of a vocal ensemble that the subject must be discussed at an early stage in the rehearsal process. When the same singers sing together for many years (as is the case with many early-music ensembles and, indeed, was the case at Santa Cruz), the group will generally have forged its own approach to the matters of vibrato, phrasing, *tactus*, etc. Moreover singers who are familiar with one another gradually learn to adapt to one another's voices and to react to musical impulses.

8 Concluding Thoughts

8.1 Assessment and further research

Having worked on my own transcription and research, it was only towards the end of this project that I rather anticlimactically learned that a modern transcription of the Lamentações in fact already existed, transcribed by none other than João Pedro d'Alvarenga and included in the volume *Antologia de música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento* (2008, ed. Manuel Pedro Ferreira). From the perspective of my own thesis, being unable to compare my own transcription with an extant one was a very good thing, as it forced me to make scholarly decisions – and to justify them – by myself. I have not yet had an opportunity to examine this other transcription and will be interested to see how our two independent readings of the manuscript concur and, potentially, differ. Of particular interest will be to give close scrutiny to the decisions of another editor in the matters of repeated verses, the vagaries of the typographical and voice-leading problems outlined in the chapters above, and the (highly personal) question of *musica ficta*. As James Grier notes, "the recognition that editing is a critical act leads directly to the corollary that different editors will produce different editions of the same work, even under the most rigorous, scholarly circumstances" (Grier 1996: 5).

Having begun life as a 'simple' process of transcription, this project has grown in scope and size over a period of months. It is one thing to carry out the mechanical work of transcribing a piece of music from manuscript, and another to examine, explain and, moreover, theorise upon the myriad decisions the editor makes in creating 'the edition'. At first, the questions of whether or not to add a sharp here or there or to realign the text may seem small, trifling matters. As one digs deeper into each individual subject, however, it quickly becomes apparent that a detailed explanation of each facet of the transcription process would produce a work far too long for a bachelor's thesis. As it is, some of the topics outlined above are examined only very superficially, as they are simply too massive and involved to be examined at any greater length in the present work. The matter of *musica ficta* is one such instance. Entire theses and books have been dedicated to the subject, and naturally a somewhat

more detailed, theoretical examination of the subject would have opened up this complicated subject to the reader far more. It was for this reason that I elected to approach the subject through a process of practical rehearsal, at times guided by accepted principles, at others by trial and error and ultimately by my own, personal sense of *causa pulchritudinis*. The resulting 'template' for the *musica ficta* in this piece may not be entirely 'authentic' – it is highly subjective – but it presents one working model among many of how to proceed. We can read many treatises, pore over the advice of countless scholars, but ultimately the decisions we make as performers are a matter of taste, that most subjective category of all. To my mind, as long as our artistic decisions do not get in the way of the music or stand at irreconcilable odds with scholarly consensus on contemporary practice, they will serve the music well.

As far as further research is concerned, there is still much to do. Though scholars including Owen Rees, Bernadette Nelson, Tess Knighton and João Pedro d'Alvarenga have written extensively about the Coimbra manuscripts, little has been said about the present setting of the Lamentations. Some topics more specific to MM 32 in general, and the Lamentações in particular, are worthy of further exploration. One such research angle might be a deeper examination of the contrapuntal implications of the Spanish Lamentation tone and how its use affects the contours of the polyphony in the Lamentações and other similar works. At the very least, such research would shed fascinating light on the compositional processes at work in Iberian polyphonic works based on a plainchant melody. At best, similarities with techniques employed in other contemporary works may even eventually suggest a possible composer for the work.

8.2   From source to performance – and beyond

> […] each performance creates and objectifies a unique state of a piece, but no two performances of the same piece are exactly the same in all details. Similarly, no two editors would render its score in exactly the same way. (Grier 1996: 6)

In preparing the performance of the Lamentações on the attached CD, the singers of the English Vocal Consort of Helsinki considered many of the theoretical and interpretational matters outlined in the chapters above. The aim of the performance, which formed part of my own artistic recital, was to 'recreate' a performance of these

three movements as might conceivably have taken place at the church of Santa Cruz de Coimbra during Holy Week in the early 16th century. As has been noted above, however, the notion of a fully 'authentic' performance is a much-fetishized chimera. Every performance is indeed unique, as Grier notes, and every performance is, to a greater or lesser degree, a compromise.

As such, the attached performance represents the "unique state of the piece" as we understood it at the time of the performance. Naturally, our understanding was affected by such worldly factors as the amount of rehearsal time four busy musicians were able to allocate to this performance. Moreover, my understanding of the source – and our shared understanding of the piece – is something that developed over a period of time, both throughout the rehearsal period and beyond. The performance itself must not be seen as the end of a process; rather it is part of a continued process of broadening and deepening our knowledge.

As I have mentioned in the chapters above, the act of rehearsing and performing the Lamentações led me to revisit many of the editorial decisions I had made in the original transcription. For this reason, our performance did not entirely represent the edition as it now appears in the Appendix. The version presented in the concert represented but one stage in the evolution of the edition. Many changes were made to the edition after this performance. Commonly, for instance, the placement of the underlay in the first version, while striving to represent a 'faithful' rendering of the text as it appears in the manuscript, did not always facilitate easy singing. As a result of this, we made multiple changes to the placement of the underlay, the most significant of which are outlined in Chapter 6.

I find this symbiosis of research and performance, the meeting of composer, editor and performer through the interface of the score, a particularly fruitful way of thinking about our respective roles in the music-making process and the extent to which these inevitably overlap and impinge upon one another. Perhaps it is this to which Brian Ferneyhough refers in calling scores "artefacts with powerful auras of their own", a notion manifested *par excellence* in his own scores. To rephrase Margaret Bent, it is, to my mind, not only the task of making a good edition that is "an act of criticism that

engages with the musical material at all levels, large and small"; performance too engages critically both with the authority of the composer and that of the editor and, ultimately, exerts an authority of its own.

8.3   Scholarship vs. practice: a mutually exclusive binary?

Upon a visit to the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra in May 2016, I was struck by how little the monastery's rich musical heritage was in evidence to the general public. Santa Cruz was once renowned across the Iberian Peninsula not only as an esteemed seat of learning but also for its thriving musical culture. A tourist visiting the monastery today would be able to walk round the church, the sacristy and the courtyard and remain entirely unaware that the monastery had been a centre of cultural and musical life for seven centuries. The only immediate evidence of the musical traditions that existed here is the beautiful organ in the main church.

This kind of oversight is sadly not uncommon. All too often monuments are raised to material history (buildings, people, battles), while the immaterial – the history of thoughts, ideas, music – is left unhonoured. To my mind it is oversights like this that make the process of documenting, transcribing and, above all, performing the music of the manuscripts conceived, composed and performed at Santa Cruz all the more vitally important. That such an operation is today underway is in no small part thanks to the work of many tireless historians, musicologists and performers – many of whom are cited throughout the present work – who have dedicated years of study, research and hard work to the task of preserving the musical history of Santa Cruz de Coimbra and the other monasteries across Portugal.

However, if preserving and transcribing these manuscripts is to hold wider cultural significance, the task of codifying the manuscripts must not mean that the works themselves become mere museum items, relics displayed in glass cabinets, not to be touched. Too often, musicological scholarship sees intellectual engagement with the manuscript as its primary *raison d'être* rather than as a means to another, somewhat

different end. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, that great beacon of early-music performance practice, has wise words to say on this subject.

> But for us intensive study is required, an approach which can lead to serious error: a purely intellectual involvement with old music. The outcome is found in those familiar musical performances which are often historically impeccable, but which lack all vitality. Clearly, an interpretation that was historically uninformed but musically alive would be preferable. Musicology should never become an end in itself, but rather provide us with the means to make the best rendition, since a performance is only faithful to the original when a work is allowed to come most beautifully and most clearly to expression, something which happens only when knowledge and a sense of responsibility ally themselves with the deepest musical sensitivity. (Harnoncourt 1988: 16)

As Harnoncourt asserts, just as important as the task of transcription is, I believe, the act of performance. To quote Christopher Small, "music is not a thing: it is an act, something people do".[69] Like all music, the works contained in these manuscripts were created so that they may be heard. A book comes to life through the act of reading; to experience a painting, all we need to do is look at it, but until it is performed a musical work exists only potentially, in theory; it "inhabits the realms of the invisible" (Assis 2013: 5). Music requires the input of a performer to allow the listener to experience the information contained in the score (the *Notentext*), whether or not scholars have transcribed that information into a modern notational idiom. Without performance, the music will remain unheard. Haynes encapsulates this idea very nicely:

> […] the notes on the page aren't a work; in fact, they aren't music at all. They are merely a recipe for performers to follow—a cookbook. It's like trying to eat a cookbook; there is a missing step in-between. […] Musical meaning doesn't exist until the moment of "reception", the moment a piece is performed and heard. (Haynes 2007: 22–23).

In recent years Portugal has been beset with numerous financial difficulties. At a time like this it is all too easy to sideline the arts as secondary and unimportant, as has been repeatedly demonstrated in countries far less affected by the current economic turmoil than Portugal. It is testimony to the regard in which the arts are held in Portugal, and largely thanks to political will and the unflagging efforts of artistic practitioners, that these difficulties have had a relatively small impact on the arts in Portugal and that institutions such as ESMAE continue to thrive. Furthermore, the continued existence of vibrant early-music programmes at ESMAE (Porto) and ESML (Lisbon) ensures

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[69] Quoted in Haynes (2007: 22).

that a new generation of musicians – steeped in the principles of the HIP movement and in the history, theory and practice of the music they perform – is constantly emerging, thus replenishing the body of high-end professional practitioners in the field of Portuguese early music. It is these programmes that have given us pre-eminent early-music ensembles including Arte minima, Divino sospiro, the Ludovice Ensemble, Capella Duriensis and, more recently, O Bando de Surunyo. Long may this continue.

If we are to resurrect the musical culture of an institution the stature of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, it must happen through a combination of scholarship and active performance, by lifting the music from the page and allowing audiences to hear and experience it once again. The transcription of the Lamentações presented here is a small contribution to this continued endeavour.

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10 Listening Material

Cavalieri: Lamentations. Emilio de' Cavalieri (Composer) Le Poème Harmonique, dir. Vincent Dumestre. Alpha Productions (2001)

Cristóbal de Morales. The Seven Lamentations. Cristóbal de Morales (Composer) Utopia Belgian Handmade Polyphony. Etcetera Records (2016)

From Spain to Eternity. The Sacred Polyphony of El Greco's Toledo. Various (Composer) Ensemble Plus Ultra. Deutsche Grammophon Archiv (2014)

Lamentations de la Renaissance. Various (Composer) Huelgas-Ensemble, dir. Paul Van Nevel. Harmonia Mundi (1999)

Leçons de Ténèbre. François Couperin (Composer) Theatre of Early Music. BIS (2005)

Masterpieces of Mexican Polyphony. Various (Composer) The Choir of Westminster Cathedral, dir. James O'Donnell. Hyperion Records (1990)

Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas. John Taverner (Composer). The Tallis Scholars, dir. Peter Phillips. Gimell (1995)

Music from Renaissance Coimbra. Various (Composer) A Capella Portuguesa, dir. Owen Rees. Hyperion Records (1994)

Portuguese Vocal Masterpieces of the 16th and 17th Centuries. Various (Composer). Capella Duriensis, dir. Jonathan Ayerst. Naxos (2015)

Sacrae Cantiones, Liber secundus (1603). Carlo Gesualdo (Composer) VocalConsort Berlin, dir. James Wood. Harmonia Mundi (2013)

Secular Music of 15th-Century Spain. Juan Cornago et al. (Composer) His Majestie's Clerkes, dir. Paul Hillier; The Newberry Consort, dir. Mary Springfels. Harmonia Mundi (1992)

Zelenka: Lamentationes Jeremiæ Prophetæ. Jan Dismas Zelenka (Composer) Collegium Marianum, dir. Jana Semerádová. Supraphon (2014)

Incipiunt lamentationes Jheremie prophete

Anon. Portugal, ca. 1520

Transcribed and edited by David Hackston

Sources:
P-Cug MM 32
P-Cug MM 9
Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal

Incipiunt lamentationes Jheremie prophete

Anon. Portugal ca. 1520
Transcribed and edited by David Hackston

Main sources:
P-Cug MM 32, 001v–010r
P-Cug MM 9, 141v–142r

EMENDATIONS

Lectio I

27–28, Tiple. MM 32 gives three minims (C-D-E). An attempt seems to have been made to erase the stem above the c minim. MM 9 gives semibreve–minim–minim.

87–89, Tiple. MM 32 gives a breve and a semibreve rest; MM 9 gives only a semibreve. Edition amended as per MM 9.

125–126, Tiple. Tie editorial

141, Altus. G minim (found in MM 9) added in later hand.

161–164, Altus. MM 32 gives long plus final note. MM 9 gives a dotted long. An extra breve and a tie has been added accordingly.

176–177, Tiple. MM 32 gives two separate breves. Tie added.

222, all parts. Long shortened to breve.

Lectio III

12–13, Bassus. Minims G, F, G missing (manuscript degraded). Added as per MM 9.

81, Bassus. Semibreve F missing (manuscript degraded). Added as per MM 9.

131, Tiple. MM 32 gives breve. Rhythm amended as per previous phrase.

154–156, all parts. Cadential phrase taken from MM 9.

Lectio I

(Lam. 1:1–3)

Score

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Lectio I

Lectio I

Lectio I

Lectio I

Lectio I

Lectio I

11

Lectio II

(Lam. 2:8–10)

Score

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12

Lectio II

14

Lectio II

Lectio II

C in gen - - - - ti - bus; non est lex,

A bus; non est lex, et

T bus; non est lex,

B - - ti - - - bus; non est lex,

C et pro - phe - tae e - - -

A pro - phe - tae e - - - ius et pro - phe - tae

T et pro - phe - tae e - ius et pro - phe - tae - e - ius

B et pro - phe - - tae e - - - ius et pro -

C - - - ius non in - ve - ne - - -

A e - - - ius non in - ve - ne - - -

T non in - ve - ne - - - - - runt non in - ve - ne - - -

B phe - tae e - ius non in - ve - ne - - - - runt

C - - - runt vi - - si - o - - nem a

A - - runt vi - - si - o - - nem a

T - - - runt vi - - si - o - nem a

B non in - ve - ne - - runt vi - si - o - nem a

16

Lectio II

Lectio II

Lectio III

(Lam. 3:22–27)

Score

20   Lectio III

Lectio III

22

Lectio III

Lectio III

24   Lectio III

Guide to Phonetic Symbols

A short guide to the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet used in this work.
Consonants not listed here are pronounced as per standard UK English and European
Portuguese. A colon after a vowel denotes that the vowel is lengthened. An apostrophe
denotes that the following syllable is stressed. The word [ˈpɛːna] exemplifies both of
the above.

Vowels

	UK English	European Portuguese
a	*father*	–
æ	*hat*	*alho*
ɛ	*met*	*era*
e	as in French *été*	*três*
ɪ	*fit*	–
ɨ	–	*igreja*
ə	*father*	–
ɐ	–	*janela*
ɔ	*got*	*fora*
u	as in French *ouvrir*	*uva*
ẽj̃	–	*bem* (Brazil)
ẽj̃	–	*bem* (Portugal)

Consonants

j	*yellow*	–
ʒ	*pleasure*	*janela*
dʒ	*Jerusalem*	*onde* (Br.)
tʃ	*chat*	*presidente* (Br.)
θ	*think*	as in Castilian Spanish *cereza*