



# The First Black Published Composer

IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY RESEARCHER Josephine Wright's prescient article, "Ignatius Sancho (1729-1780), African Composer in England," *The Black Perspective in Music*, vii/2 (Fall 1979), 134, she calls Sancho "apparently the first black composer in history to publish his music." Although Sancho earns no biographical entry in *The New Grove*, E. L. Gerber's *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler, Viertes Theil. S.-Z.* (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, 1814), 15, gave him a 13-line article stating that he wrote a *Theorie der Musik*.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, this theory text seems lost. But the Library of Congress owns *Twelve Country Dances for the Year 1779. Set for the Harpsichord By Permission Humbly Dedicated to the Right Honourable Miss North, by her most obedient Servant Ignatius Sancho* (London: Printed for S. and A. Thompson N° 75 St Pauls Church Yard [Price 6s!]). Wright also identifies Sancho as composer of *A Collection of New Songs Composed by an African* and of two books of *Minuets, Cotillions & Country Dances for the Violin, Mandolin, German-Flute, and Harpsichord Composed by an African* that are catalogued H. 1652.f (31); a. 9. b(1) and b.53. b(1) at the British Library.

Gerber identified Sancho as originally *ein Negersklave*. On the other hand, he identified Joseph Boulogne, Chevalier de Saint-Georges (1739-1799), as racially *ein Mulatte* (*Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon, Zweytes Theil E.-I.* [1812], 290). Dominique-René de Lerma, in "The Chevalier de Saint-Georges," *The Black Perspective in Music*, iv/1 (Spring 1976), 3-21, cited the chevalier's father as Joseph-Jean-Nicholas Boulogne from France, where he had been in the *parlement* at Metz before assignment to Guadeloupe island as comptroller and secretary to the Ordre de Saint-Esprit. In footnote 1, De Lerma cautions that "individual black composers" may well have flourished on the European continent before the Chevalier de Saint-Georges.

If the Chevalier de Saint-Georges, even though a mulatto, be counted as Black,<sup>2</sup> then also would have to be so counted the Minas Gerais pleiad of eighteenth-century mulatto composers revealed by Francisco Curt Lange, the Rio de Janeiro cathedral

<sup>1</sup>Wright says that Sancho's surname was derived "from the squire in Cervante's[!] play[!], *Don Quixote*" (p. 134). According to her, "Sancho was born in 1729 aboard a slave ship en route from Guinea to the Caribbean port of Cartagena, now located in North Columbia[!], South America." She credits the Gerber entry in her footnote 6 to the 1966 facsimiled v. III, p. 15 (should be v. III, second foliation, p. 15).

<sup>2</sup>Issued in 1974, *Black Composers Series*, Vol. 1 (Columbia M 32781), consisted entirely of music by the Chevalier de Saint-Georges. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (father from Sierra Leone, mother English) occupies the first side of Vol. 2 in the same *Black Composers Series*. Olly Wilson, "The Black-American Composer," *The Black Perspective in Music*, i/1 (Spring 1973), 33, chided Irving Kolodin for questioning the "blackness" of the music included in *Natalie Hinderas Plays Music by Black Composers* (Desto DC 7102/3). Robert Stevenson's "America's First Black Music Historian," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxvi/3 (Fall 1973), 383-404, grappled with the problem of racial mixing (pp. 388, 396, 400).

chapelmaster often called the father of Brazilian music—José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767–1830), and numerous other Brazilian mulattos who flourished before 1800.<sup>3</sup> In Portuguese, the word for mulatto is *pardo*.<sup>4</sup> The first Portuguese-born composer to publish both music and theoretical works who is identifiable as a *pardo* was Vicente Lusitano. Entered in all international music lexicons from Gerber (III [1813], 275) to *The New Grove* (xi, 340–341), he has hitherto emerged a somewhat shadowy figure. As authority for Vicente Lusitano's being a mulatto, João Franco Barreto (1600–ca. 1674)<sup>5</sup> thus identified him in his manuscript *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Cadaval Ducal Library, Muge [Portugal], Sign. M.VI.14), fol. 953:<sup>6</sup>

Vincençio Lusitano, natural de Olivença, clérigo e homen pardo, compos em Padua, e na lingua Italiana. Huma arte de canto ("Vicente Lusitano, native of Olivença, clergyman and mulatto, wrote in Padua an Art of Singing in the Italian language"). . . .

Barreto continues with details concerning the third edition of Lusitano's *Introdvttione facilissima, et novissima, di Canto Fermo, Figvrato, Contraponto semplice, et in concerto. Con Regole Generali per far fvghhe differenti sopra il Canto Fermo, a ii. iii. & iiiii. voci, & compositioni, propotioni, generi. S. Diatonico, Cromatico, Enarmonico* (Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1561). This edition like the second which it duplicates (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1558), and the first which differs only slightly (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1553),<sup>7</sup> presumably served as a textbook for the pupils whom Lusitano taught at Rome, Viterbo, and Padua. All three editions were dedicated to the same patron, Marc'Antonio Colonna, Duke of Marsi.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>See "Some Portuguese Sources for Early Brazilian Music History," *Yearbook of the Inter-American Institute for Musical Research*, iv (1968), 22–26.

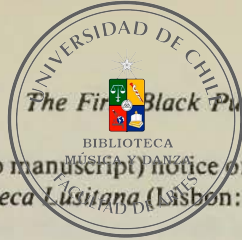
<sup>4</sup>Antônio Houaiss and Catherine B. Avery, *Nôvo Dicionário Appleton das Línguas Inglêsa e Portuguêsa* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 442: "*pardo*, mf [masculine-feminine]. mulatto."

<sup>5</sup>A native of Lisbon, Barreto published his translation of the *Aeneid* in 1664–1670, an *Index de todos os Nomes proprios* to conclude his three-volume edition of Camões's *Os Lusíadas* in 1669, and an *Orthographia da lingua Portuguesea* in 1670. Concerning him see Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisbon: Ignacio Rodrigues, 1747), II, 664–666; Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1859), III, 379–380. According to Barbosa Machado, the antiquarian Manuel Severim de Faria (1582/3–1655) induced Barreto to begin his *Bibliotheca Portuguesea* while rusticating at Redondo. Although ready for the press, its printing was disallowed (*Ejus Bibliothecam Lusitanam propediem typis mandandam videre non licuit*). The copy in the Cadaval ducal library provided Barbosa Machado "with many data which he [Barreto] had gathered with indefatigable zeal."

<sup>6</sup>Maria Augusta Alves Barbosa, *Vincençivs Lvsitanvs ein portugiesischer Komponist und Musiktheoretiker des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Lisbon: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, Direcção Geral do Património Cultural, 1977 [printed and bound at Braga by Barbosa & Xavier, Artes Gráficas, Limitada, Rua Gabriel Pereira de Castro, 31-C]), p. 9 (note 10). Vicente Lusitano's mother was probably the African Black, his father the European. See Barbosa, p. 53: "ist es wohl möglich, dass er der Sohn einer Farbigen und eines weissen Portugiesen gewesen ist."

<sup>7</sup>Facsimiles of the title pages (see below, pp. 94, 96) appear in Barbosa, at pp. 4–6. The first edition at Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Sign. F5317 A L.P., differs slightly from the second and third, which latter two duplicate each other *ipsis verbis*. The title page of the first edition spells *Introdutione* without the double tt, contains punctuation and capitalization variants, and begins in gothic rather than roman type. A copy of the second edition known to Barbosa is at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, of the third at Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, F5319 A L.P. Throughout the remainder of this article, no attempt at rigorous consistency will be made in spelling *Introdvttione*, *Introdvttione*, *Liber Primvs Epigramatvm*, and other titles containing capitalized *v*.

<sup>8</sup>Born at Civita Lavina February 26, 1535, Marc'Antonio Colonna [II] died at Medinaceli, Spain August 2, 1584. The death of two older brothers left him in 1551 heir to the family titles. In 1553, the year of Vicente Lusitano's dedication, he commanded the combined Spanish and Neapolitan cavalry in fighting



The first published (as opposed to manuscript) notice of Vicente Lusitano awaited Diogo Barbosa Machado's *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisbon: Ignacio Rodrigues, 1752), III, 779:

Vicente, whose family name is unknown, was born in the small town of Olivença, Alentejo province. Priest of the habit of St. Peter,<sup>9</sup> and a noted musician, he taught in the cities of Padua<sup>10</sup> and Viterbo with great success, and to the great profit of his students.<sup>11</sup> He wrote the *Introduktione facilissima* . . . published by Francesco Rampazetto at Venice in 1561<sup>12</sup> in large quarto, which is dedicated to Marc'Antonio Colonna, Duke of Marsi. Antonio Possevino cites this work in his *Bibliotheca Selecta de ratione studiorum* [Vol. II, p. 223, Cologne edition of 1607]; so does Fabiano Giustiniani in his *Index universalis alphabeticus*, appendix under the word "musica" [Rome, 1612]. Canon Bernardo da Fonseca translated this work into Portuguese in 1603.<sup>13</sup>

Olivença, 24 km southwest of Badajoz, Spain—which both Barreto and Barbosa Machado cited as Vicente Lusitano's birthplace—enjoyed close links with the port city of Ceuta (opposite Gibraltar in Africa) during Lusitano's lifetime. Ceuta, wrested from the Moors by Portuguese king João I August 21, 1415, became five years later the seat of a diocese created by Pope Martin V September 6, 1420. On July 14, 1444, Eugene IV's bull *Romanus Pontifex* annexed Olivença (and Valença do Minho) to the diocese of Ceuta. From 1473 to 1513 Olivença belonged to Braga diocese but, by Leo X's bull of June 25, 1513, *Inter curas multiplices*, was again joined to Ceuta—in which diocese it remained until June 9, 1570, when it was made part of the newly created diocese of Elvas.<sup>14</sup>

around Siena. His father Ascanio died March 24, 1555, his mother Giovanna di Aragona September 11, 1575. See note 67 below. Henceforth throughout this article Marc'Antonio will be spelled Marcanonio.

<sup>9</sup>This phrase means simply that he was a "secular priest," not a member of a religious order. See Barbosa, pp. 167–175. At p. 174 she summarizes: "Wenn Barbosa Machado Vincentius Lusitanus *Presbytero do Hábito de S. Pedro* nennt, so ist anzunehmen, dass er damit einfach einen Weltpriester meinte." Levy Maria Jordão, vizconde de Paiva Manso, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugaliae Regum in ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae* (Lisbon: Ex Typographia Nacional, 1868), I (1171–1600), p. 121, published Leo X's bull *Exponi nobis nuper* of June 12, 1518, defining the right of any qualified Christian Black to be ordained a priest, no matter what his land of origin. In 1520 Manuel I successfully petitioned for a papal dispensation permitting the underage son of the king of Manicongo to become the first sub-Saharan Black bishop (Barbosa, pp. 181–182).

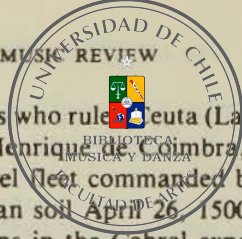
<sup>10</sup>Vicente Lusitano was never chapelmaster in Padua. See Raffaele Casimiri's list in "Musica e musicisti nella Cattedrale di Padova nei sec. XIV, XV, XVI," *Note d'archivio*, XVIII (1941), 101–118. Neither was he ever organist or singer in the cathedral (*ibid.*, pp. 118–129).

<sup>11</sup>*Com grande . . . emolumento de seus discipulos* can also be interpreted to mean "receiving high fees from his students."

<sup>12</sup>Like João Franco Barreto, Barbosa Machado cited only the third edition. On the other hand, the Portuguese Jesuit researcher at the Vatican, Francisco da Cruz (1629–1706), acknowledged as Barbosa Machado's chief source, mentioned both first and second editions. See the manuscript copy of Cruz's unpublished *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Biblioteca da Ajuda, Sign. 51.V.50), p. 180. Concerning the various editions of the *Introduktione*, Cruz wrote: "Mandou se corresse o liuro, mas riscado o nome do Author não se sabe quare" ("The book was allowed to circulate but with the author's name erased for some unknown reason"). No registered copy of any edition of Lusitano's *Introduktione* now survives in any Italian library.

<sup>13</sup>Barreto (who was Barbosa Machado's source for news of Canon Fonseca's Portuguese translation) learned of the translation from Manuel Severim de Faria (see note 5). F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2d ed., v, 379, claimed that Fonseca published his translation; this is not so.

<sup>14</sup>For the data summarized in this paragraph, see Levy Maria Jordão, vizconde de Paiva Manso, *Historia Ecclesiastica Ultramarina, Tomo I: Africa Septentrional, Bispados de Ceuta, Tanger, Safim e Marrocos* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1872), pp. 3–9. (Barbosa, pp. 462 and 464, does not recognize Jordão and the Visconde de Paiva Manso as being one and the same person.)



Two of the four bishops who ruled Ceuta (Latin, *Septa*) diocese from 1505 to 1569 were Franciscans. Frei Henrique de Coimbra, who sailed from Lisbon March 8, 1500, in the thirteen-vessel fleet commanded by Pedro Álvares Cabral, celebrated the first Mass on Brazilian soil April 26, 1500. Reembarking on May 2, with the other fourteen Franciscans in the Cabral expedition, Frei Henrique continued to Calicut, India. On January 30, 1505, Manuel I rewarded his leadership with the bishopric of Ceuta.<sup>15</sup> When in 1513 Olivença rejoined Ceuta diocese, the bishop's seat was simultaneously moved to Olivença, where it remained until 1570.<sup>16</sup>

Frei Henrique, who died at Olivença September 14, 1532, and was buried there in Magdalena church, was succeeded by João III's confessor, Frei Diogo da Silva. Born in the vicinity of Covilha, 1485, of noble parents, Silva earned a law degree at Coimbra and enjoyed a distinguished secular career at court before becoming a Franciscan. On March 4, 1534, Clement VII confirmed his nomination to be bishop of Ceuta. On January 23, 1539, twenty months before being elevated September 24, 1540, to the archbishopate of Braga (where he died September 19, 1541), Diogo da Silva instituted prebends at Olivença to be occupied by (1) a pulpit orator, (2) a teacher of Latin grammar and Latin poetry whose duty it would be to teach worthy students in the diocese gratis,<sup>17</sup> and (3) a teacher of ecclesiastical music. Although the formalization of financial arrangements for these three prebends awaited January 23, 1539, the music teacher Pero Brujel active on that date had already been teaching at Olivença for four years.

Portalegre Cathedral archive contains an eighteenth-century transcript of Bishop Silva's January 23, 1539, provisions for these three prebends. To make certain that the Latin grammar and Latin poetry teacher produced knowledgeable pupils, Bishop Silva required the teacher's being voted on every two years.<sup>18</sup> This system produced surprising results: witness Vicente Lusitano, who while growing up in Olivença became excellent enough a Latinist to win the praise of even the fastidious divine, Pietro Paolo Vergerio (1498-1565),<sup>19</sup> and competent enough a classicist to quote Horace in the preface of his first Roman publication (1551) that contains also at least one specimen of his own original Latin poetry.<sup>20</sup> The Flemish or French Pero Brujel,<sup>21</sup> named in Bishop Silva's January 23, 1539, provision for the music prebend

<sup>15</sup>Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957 [facsimile reprint of Regensburg edition, 1873-1886]), p. 470.

<sup>16</sup>Jordão (note 14), p. 9: "Desde essa epocha fixaram os bispos de Ceuta o seu domicilio em Olivença, aonde construíram paço episcopal, tribunal, e aljube; e ahi residiram até D. Jaime de Lencastre."

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 46: "por provisão de 23 de janeiro de 1539 . . . um mestre que ali ensinasse grammatica e poetica latina aos estudantes do bispado." For his authority, Jordão cites Fr. Jeronymo de Belem, *Chronica Serafica da Santa Provincia dos Algarves* (Lisbon: I. Rodrigues, 1750-58), liv. xii, cap. xvi.

<sup>18</sup>Barbosa, p. 116: "hordenamos que a dita Cadeira de grammatica vague de dous em dous annos e que se proujeja pollos uotos Dos Estudantes . . . porque ho Mestre da grammatica sabendo e uendo que ha de vagar a cadeira tera melhor Cuidado de Ensinar E aproueitar por lha não tirarem." Bishop Silva excluded students under fourteen years of age from voting. However, local jockeying for votes suborned discipline, with the result that on April 16, 1543, Bishop Silva's successor wrote João III asking that the election system in vogue at Salamanca be henceforth used at Olivença (*ibid.*, p. 118).

<sup>19</sup>*Briefwechsel zwischen Christoph, Herzog von Württemberg, und Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, collected and edited by Eduard von Kausler and Theodor Schott (Tübingen: H. Laupp [für den Litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart], 1875), p. 267: "non indoctus."

<sup>20</sup>See below, pp. 86, 88, for discussion of the dedication and the thirteenth motet text in Lusitano's *Liber primvs epigramatvm*.

<sup>21</sup>On June 27, 1494, the Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral chapter elected a native of Gascony to be chapel-master—Giraldin Bucher, whose last name is corrupted variously in that cathedral's acts to Buxer, Buxel,



at Olivença, but who had begun teaching there in either 1534 or 1535, achieved no less success in grounding Vicente Lusitano "in plainchant and mensural music." The Portalegre Cathedral copy of the original Olivença January 23, 1539, document contains these pertinent clauses:<sup>22</sup>

Frei Diogo da Silva, by the grace of God and the Holy Roman Church bishop of Ceuta, senior diocese in Africa, announces to all who see this entitlement that, considering and judging from experience the excellent results achieved at Olivença during the last quadrennium by music master Pero Brugel in teaching everyone in the diocese who wished to learn both plainchant and mensural music; and also that in the *coro* he provides polyphony at Masses and vespers on every feast day throughout the year; and also that he plays the organ on all holy days and other necessary times, so that [Magdalena] church and those whom he teaches are excellently well served; it seems to us very serviceable to God and mete for the discharge of our conscience, that the said maestro should receive six *moios* of wheat delivered him on August 16, 1539, instead of the three *moios* of wheat and 6500 reas that we have hitherto allotted him every year. He shall be obliged to continue teaching gratis as heretofore all those in the diocese desirous of learning [music]; and to serve in *coro* at Masses and vespers; and to play the organs as hitherto on all feast days throughout the year; combining the teaching and organ playing to the best of his ability in order to merit his whole salary.

If he dies, or decides to quit, or for some reason cannot continue teaching and attending to church services in the ways above prescribed for the vocal and instrumental music appointee's duties; or if someone better fitted for the appointment than the said Pero Brogel [= Brujel] presents himself (we doubt if anyone else of such ability can be found); we ordain and decree that every two years the appointment shall come up for renewal by an election. His singing pupils shall vote. They shall be conscience-bound to elect the most competent person that can be found, without letting personal bias sway them. The bishop shall oversee the election, or in his absence his canonically appointed vicar. Such biennial elections will stimulate many workers to learn and to become proficient in order that they too may rise to compete. Those who occupy the post will be stimulated to put more effort into it, so as not to be thrust out. In order that in future none of our episcopal successors may revoke our provisions we have petitioned the papal envoy, Geronimo Ricanati Capodiferro,<sup>23</sup> to confirm all these provisions, in order that they may hold in perpetuity.<sup>24</sup>

Not only does Bishop Diogo da Silva's establishing at Olivença both a music prebend<sup>25</sup> and a Latin grammar and Latin poetry chair redound highly to his credit, but even more so does his insistence on absolutely superior free instruction. The time

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and Bujel. His son and pupil, Diego de Bujel, became Ciudad Rodrigo chapmaster on November 30, 1522. For further data on Diego Bujel, whose last name resembles that of Pero Brujel, see *Inter-American Music Review*, 11/2 (Spring-Summer 1980), 135 (quoting from Mateo Hernández Vega's *Ciudad Rodrigo: la Catedral y la ciudad* [Salamanca: Imprenta Comercial Salmatina, 1935]). See also Barbosa, p. 132, note 12.

<sup>22</sup>Barbosa, p. 113.

<sup>23</sup>Barbosa, p. 134, note 15, states that Geronimo Capo di Ferro was nuncio in Portugal "bis zum Ende des Jahres 1939" (should be 1539).

<sup>24</sup>The nuncio dated his confirmation of the Mestre do Canto prebend (Lain text in Barbosa, pp. 114-115) at Lisbon February 13, 1539.

<sup>25</sup>Apart from Pero Brujel, the name of only one other chapmaster at Olivença before 1570 survives—"Vicente Raymundo, natural de V.[ila] Viçosa M.<sup>e</sup>[stre] da Cappela em a Sé de Olivença, compos hum Stabat Mater em Muzica, e huma Missa." See José Mazza, *Diccionario biographico de Musicos portugueses e noticia das suas composições* (Cod. CXIV/1-26, Évora Biblioteca Pública), ed. José Augusto Alegria, *Ocidente Revista Portuguesa* xxiv/78 (October 1944), 156.

frame of his episcopate, 1534<sup>26</sup> to 1539<sup>27</sup> makes it probable that Vicente Lusitano was born at Olivença not much earlier than 1522. If born in that year, he would have reached the canonical age for ordination to the priesthood in 1546, during the episcopate, 1545–1569, of Jayme de Lencastre, twelfth bishop of Ceuta. Did he continue learning the necessary Latin at Olivença after Bishop Silva's departure in 1539?

Between Silva and Lencastre, came the Spanish-descended bishop of Congo, Diogo Ortiz de Villegas, translated to Ceuta episcopate September 24, 1540 (died July 4, 1544). In keeping with his predecessor's desires, Bishop Ortiz de Villegas on April 22, 1542, donated "some houses facing the gate in front of Santa Maria church for the residence of the professor who occupies the chair of Latin established by Bishop Diogo da Silva."<sup>27</sup> Soon hereafter, whoever occupied the Latin professorship quit or died. On April 16, 1543, Bishop Ortiz de Villegas wrote João III a letter in which he announced having filled the recently created Latin vacancy "with a learned clergyman born at Olivença" who was not liked by some parents. These parents and their adolescent children—claiming the right to choose their own much less learned candidate—had held their own election. The bishop did not want bad blood in Olivença stirred up by "a bunch of ignoramuses," as he called them,<sup>28</sup> who knew no Latin, but who insisted that Bishop Diogo da Silva had willed them the right to choose whatever Latin professor they pleased. Bishop Ortiz de Villegas's letter to the king omits the name of the native of Olivença inducted against parents' and pupils' desires, and for whom he was asking royal approval. But whoever the taskmaster was, Bishop Ortiz de Villegas assured Olivença during the next several years a Latin grammar and poetry teacher who was "truly learned" rather than a popularizer.

Bishop Jayme de Lencastre, grandson of João II (1455–1495), king of Portugal, was the fourth son of D. Jorge, duke of Coimbra (1481–1550), and was brother of João de Lencastre, first duke of Aveiro. Bishop Jayme de Lencastre ruled Ceuta diocese from October 9, 1545, to his death on or about March 12, 1569.<sup>29</sup> This bishop was a relative of Dinis de Lencastre (ca. 1531–1598) to whom Vicente Lusitano (who by 1551 had already been priested in Ceuta diocese<sup>30</sup>) dedicated his book of 23 motets published at Rome in 1551.<sup>31</sup> On June 20, 1550, João III named as his ambassador to Rome Dinis's father who was Grand Commander of the Order

<sup>26</sup>Clement VII's bull confirming him Bishop of Ceuta *Gratiae divinae* is dated March 4, 1534. On May 23, 1536, Paul III's bull *Cum ad nihil magis* recalled him to be *inquisidor-mor*, a responsibility from which he sought relief in a letter to João III dated June 10, 1539, "because he needed more time to administer Olivença diocese." For further data concerning Frei Diogo da Silva, obviously one of the most capable and influential bishops of his generation, see Alexandre Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1975), II, 149–151 (including note 30), and especially 186.

<sup>27</sup>Paiva Manso, *Historia ecclesiastica*, p. 48.

<sup>28</sup>"Muytos ydiotas com sobornos e cartas de fora quizerem fauorecer . . . huõ outro opponente de . . . muyto menos saber." See Barbosa, pp. 117–122, for the whole April 16, 1543, letter and the facsimile of the original (Torre do Tombo archive, C.C., P. I. M. 73, n.º 73).

<sup>29</sup>Gams, p. 470; Paiva Manso, *Historia*, p. 50.

<sup>30</sup>Fabio Accoramboni's ten-year copyright privilege issued in Pope Julius III's name (facsimile below at p. 89 [bottom]) identifies the composer as *Vincētius Lusitanus septē [septensis]*.

<sup>31</sup>Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981 [Studies in Musicology, no. 43]), established 1551 (not 1555) as the date of the original imprint. See her pp. 53 and 173 (no. 19). In the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek tenor partbook, the



of Christ, Afonso de Lencastre (1506<sup>1</sup>–1569; in royal service since about 1530). Afonso de Lencastre's wife, Jerónima de Noronha, whom he married in about 1525 and who died shortly before January 15, 1536, bore him three children, Filipa, Diogo, and Dinis (Diogo died in childhood).<sup>33</sup> Before marriage, she had inherited property and rights at Óbidos<sup>34</sup> (some fifty miles north of Lisbon) that passed to her husband when he became a widower. Although it cannot now be proved that the couple spent much time at Óbidos between marriage and 1530 (in about which year he entered court service),<sup>35</sup> or that they resided there anytime between 1530 and her death in 1535/1536, the fact remains that she chose to be buried there.<sup>36</sup>

Afonso de Lencastre took with him to Rome his approximately 20-year-old son Dinis. Leaving Lisbon August 13, 1550, they entered Rome on January 3, 1551.<sup>37</sup> On January 7, 1551, attired in costly French brocade and ermine, his vestments trimmed with gold buttons, Afonso de Lencastre presented his credentials to Pope Julius III.

Already before January 22, 1552, Dinis was officially appointed to assist his father in the conduct of official business at the papal court.<sup>38</sup> Dinis remained continuously at his father's side until shortly before October 6, 1557, on which date Afonso de Lencastre wrote João III, announcing Dinis's having left Rome for Lisbon the previous week.<sup>39</sup> In the previous year, 1556, Afonso de Lencastre's elder brother, Fernando Ruiz de Castro (1505–1575), who had become Count of Lemos May 1, 1543, and who was a Spanish subject, joined him in Rome as Charles V's ambassador to the papal court.<sup>40</sup>

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last roman numeral in M.D.L.I. has been hand-changed—an ascending oblique stroke being added to I. Perhaps the composer hoped thereby to extend copyright privilege another four years.

<sup>1</sup>António Caetano de Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, nova edição (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1951), ix, 29, cites his father as Diniz (1481–1516), who married Beatriz de Castro Osorio, third countess of Lemos, in 1502 (for this date see Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, xxv, 148). After Diniz's death at Orense, Galicia, May 9, 1516, she married again and died very old at Valladolid November 11, 1570. Afonso de Lencastre was their second offspring. Their first offspring, Fernando Ruiz de Castro, fourth Conde de Lemos, was born at Segovia July 11, 1505, and died at Madrid July 19, 1575 (García Carraffa, xxv, 149). Barbosa, p. 331, erroneously proposes "um 1504 oder 1505" for Afonso de Lencastre's birth year. Concerning the third son, Pedro de Castro, born like his two elder brothers in Spain, and who became successively bishop of Salamanca and Cuenca, see Tritón Muñoz y Soliva, *Noticias de todos los Ilmos. Señores Obispos que han regido la diócesis de Cuenca* (Cuenca: Francisco Gómez é hijo, 1860 [1862]), pp. 702–705. Afonso de Lencastre's half-brothers by his mother's second marriage included the future archbishop of Seville and cardinal, Rodrigo de Castro. Concerning the latter's musical munificence, see indexed references in *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961).

<sup>33</sup>Barbosa, p. 357.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 332. All Barbosa's further references to Jerónima de Noronha, her husband Afonso de Lencastre, and son, Dinis de Lencastre, not otherwise attributed in the present article, can be located by using the *Personenverzeichnis* closing her xxviii + 503-page book.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>36</sup>Jerónima de Noronha's being buried there certainly gives Óbidos greater significance for the present study than Barbosa wishes to grant it. For a photograph of D. João de Noronha's tomb in Santa Maria Church at Óbidos, see the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, xix, plate opp. p. 102.

<sup>37</sup>António Caetano de Sousa, ix, 36.

<sup>38</sup>Barbosa, p. 381, note 16.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>40</sup>António Caetano de Sousa, ix, 70.

So far as Vicente Lusitano's career goes, the year 1551 suddenly brought him out of the shadows of anonymity. Two transcendental events occurred that year. The first that will be mentioned here (because it gives this essay its title) was publication by the Dorico brothers, Valerio and Luigi, of his *Liber Primvs Epigramatvm* dedicated to the newly arrived Portuguese papal ambassador's son, Dinis. The Dorico brothers printed no dedicated music at their own expense,<sup>41</sup> or on their own initiative. "All dedications [music books printed by the Dorico brothers] signed by the composer included somewhere the critical information that the composer [not the printers] has decided to bring his work to light, usually to celebrate some special occasion."<sup>42</sup>

No less than eleven months elapsed between Cristóbal de Morales's signing his printing contract with the Dorico firm and completion of the printing of one volume of his Masses (choirbook format).<sup>43</sup> Lusitano's partbooks may have cost less time at the printers. Nonetheless, the warmth of Lusitano's dedication to the youthful Dinis and the presence of the thirteenth motet in the collection specifically addressed to Dinis raises the possibility that Lusitano already knew the young melomane Dinis before he and his father reached Rome January 3, 1551. Indeed, Lusitano may even have reached Rome in the newly appointed ambassador's entourage. According to Barbosa Machado's already quoted sketch, Lusitano while living in Italy made his living as a gifted and highly sought-after teacher. Who had taught Dinis music in Portugal?<sup>44</sup> As a possibility Barbosa suggests the royal chapelmaster João de Vila Castim serving João III in 1527, 1532, 1543, and 1548. Or perhaps he was taught by Lusitano, who would then have had the time needed to build the warm friendship presumed not only by an allusion to Óbidos, where Dinis's mother was buried and of which town Dinis's father was Gouverneur,<sup>45</sup> but also by such other dedication thoughts as the following:

Dinis's most splendid patronage has dispelled the darkness hanging over him. To tell truth, only Dinis's authority and supreme liberality (without which Lusitano confesses that he could have done nothing) now makes possible any of Lusitano's progress. Dinis's overwhelming greatness of soul and justly won reputation cannot be measured by the worth of the work herewith dedicated to him, but only by Lusitano's incomparable love and devotion. For indeed, as St. Paul attests [2 Corinthians 8:12], "where there is willingness, a work is welcome according to what one has, not according to what one does not have."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Cusick, p. 101.

<sup>42</sup>See Cristobal de Morales's contract as a sample, published by Francesco Barberi, "I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel Cinquecento," *La Bibliofilia*, LXVII/2 (1965), pp. 260-261.

<sup>43</sup>Barberi, p. 260.

<sup>44</sup>According to Afonso de Lencastre's letter to João III dated at Rome October 17, 1552, Dinis in that year still lacked enrollment in royal exchequer books. Nonetheless, he had served the king from the age of five: "em todo ho tempo [23 years] que digo nom avantajey mais do que tinha quando Vim servir que ate nem nome tem meu filho nos Liuros de sua Alteza seruindo isso mesmo a todos hos de Vossa Alteza de jdade de cinco Annos ate agora. cousa que eu Cuido que nenhū outro podera dizer." See Barbosa, p. 368, note 47. She suggests that while a page or the like at court Dinis had studied music with royal chapelmasters. See her page 404.

<sup>45</sup>Lusitano's ten-year papal copyright privilege enforceable throughout Christendom imposed a fine of 200 ducats, half payable to him, half to the Apostolic Camara, for any copyright infringement. See Robert Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano: New Light on his Career," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xv/1 (Spring 1962), p. 74, and Barbosa's scholia, pp. 424-426.

<sup>46</sup>*Yt illius splendidissimo fulgore non solum obtrectatorum nebulas dispellam, Verum etiam tuo numine ac summa liberalite (sine qua me nihil posse haud inficior) inchoatum opus ad supremã usq;*





# LIBER PRIMVS EPIGRAMATVM

QVE VVLGO MOTEÏTA DICVNTVR

Cum Quinque Sex & Ocho Vocibus

VINCENCII LVSITANI

T E



N O R

Impressum Romæ Apud Valtrium Doricum, &  
Aloysium Fratres Brixienfes.  
M. D. L V.

## I N D E X O P E R I S

Cum quinque Vocibus

Hodie simon Petrus	4	Clamabat autem	35
Cruce & uirga cū secunda parte	6	Sancta mater	37
Hic est michael cū secunda parte	8	Benedictum cū secunda parte	38
Aspice domine cū secunda parte	10	Cum sex uocibus	
Elisabeth cū secunda parte	13	Aspice domine	41
Emendemus cū secunda parte	15	Sancta Maria	43
Illi sunt	18	O leata Maria cū secunda parte	44
Videns Crucem	20	Salve regina	47
Vidi ciuitatem cū secunda parte	23	Sum seruus cū secunda parte	49
Aue spes nostra	26	Cum octo Vocibus	
Lucia uirgo cū secunda parte	27	In uiolata cum 2 & 3 parte	51
Regina celi cū secunda parte	30	Preter rerum cum 2 parte	54
Quid montes cū secunda parte	32		

The phrase at line 7 in Lusitano's dedication, *Cum Principem apud te locum, magno meo beneficio Musica ordinaverit*, testifies to Dinis's exalting music to first place among his affections—to Lusitano's great benefit<sup>47</sup> (which benefit may, or may not, have included pupil fees, as well as publication subsidy). In the thirteenth motet of the collection, Lusitano invites the muses to forsake their former inhospitable terrain (presumably Dinis's Portuguese abode<sup>48</sup>) and to join Phoebus and Pallas at a new Parnassus where the *ingens gloria saeculi nostri* ("outstanding glory of our age") will now grace the center of their circle. Lusitano calls this person who will now grace the center of the Muses' circle *Hieronimus*—a way of paying tribute no doubt to Dinis's being the son of Hieronyma = Jeronima.<sup>49</sup>

Whatever may have been Dinis's youthful feelings about the Portugal that he was exchanging in 1551 for the more hospitable cultural atmosphere of Rome, he elected not to return home any time soon—instead staying there continuously until October 1557.<sup>50</sup> When at last he did go back, his father's ambassadorship was drawing to a close. João III had died June 11, 1557. Afonso de Lencastre's successor, Lourenço Pires de Tavora, reached Rome June 8, 1559.<sup>51</sup> Upon Afonso de Lencastre's return to Portugal, he enjoyed a royal pension of 230,000 réis annually, from December 11, 1561,<sup>52</sup> until his death November 5, 1569. Dinis inherited not only Óbidos but on June 20, 1572, Sebastian gave him the title of Grand Commander of the Order of Christ. On October 21, 1572, Sebastian named him ambassador to France.<sup>53</sup> On November 29, he received instructions for his embassy to Charles IX.<sup>54</sup> According to António Caetano de Sousa, he also served Sebastian as ambassador to Spain. In 1579 Sebastian's successor, Henrique, named him ambassador to Rome—but without his accepting the latter post. After Henrique's death at Almeirim January 31, 1580, he defended Óbidos against the Prior of Crato, remaining at Óbidos until death in 1598 at about age 67.

Lusitano set such familiar texts as *Aspice Domine—Muro tuo, Ave spes nostra, Elizabeth Zachariae, Isti sunt due olive*, and *Sancta Maria, mater Dei*. The *Regina coeli* in Lusitano's motet collection may possibly be the very composition based on plainchant that gave rise to the famous dispute with Vicentino (end of May, 1551) to be discussed below at pages 91-93.

manum redigam. . . Illiusq; magnitudinem quanta sit, ac aestimari debeat, non ex ipso opere, sed ex incomparabili meo in te affectu ac deuotissimo animo metiri, quandoquidem (diuino Paulo teste) uoluntas Secundum id quod habet grata est non secundum id quod non habet. Vale."

<sup>47</sup>Barbosa, p. 420, argues two interpretations.

<sup>48</sup>With admirable patriotic fervor Barbosa, p. 422, refuses to identify the forbidding terrain, unfriendly forests, menacing beasts, and so on, which the Muses are invited to exchange for a more hospitable clime, as being anywhere in Portugal. However, the mythological abode of the Muses on either Mount Helicon or Parnassus does not include the *inhospita saxa* or *saltus rapidarumque antra ferarum* to which the first three lines of Lusitano's 20-line poem refer.

<sup>49</sup>Barbosa, pp. 422-423: "Die Erwähnung eines Hieronimus, der im Kreise der Musen aufgezogen wurde und *ingens gloria saeculi nostri* ist mag wohl auf D. Denis, den Sohn von Dona Jerónima (Hieronyma) hindeuten, was die Auslegung von Stevenson, diese Motette sei D. Dinis gewidnet, bekräftigt."

<sup>50</sup>Barbosa, pp. 336, 375 (note 56b), and 380-381 (notes 62-68), documented Dinis's presence at Rome December 10, 1551, January 6, 1552, August 23, 1553, March 16, 1554, and October 1, 1554. Dinis occupied third place of honor, after his father and Charles V's ambassador, at the exequies in Santa Maria de Populo, Rome, March 16, 1554, commemorating the deceased Portuguese crown princess.

<sup>51</sup>Barbosa, p. 386, note 82.

<sup>52</sup>António Caetano de Sousa, ix, 37.

<sup>53</sup>Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Itinerários de El-Rei D. Sebastião* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1962), I, 242.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 257, 258.



Dedication of Lusitano's  
LIBER PRIMVS EPIGRAMATVM

ILLVS. DOMINO D. DIONISIO DE ALLENCASTRO FILIO ILLVS.

Domini Domini Illustriſſi de Alencastro Maioris Comendatarij Militiæ Ieſu Chriſti Luſitanorum Apud Sãtium

Dominum Noſtrum Iulium Papay III pro Sereniſſimo Portugaliæ Rege Oratoris

VINCENTIVS LVSTITANVS. S.



EQVIVTVS illorum exemplum qui libros suos immortalitate, ac perpetua æſtimatione donari volunt. Principem aliquem ac dignum Laude Virum quem muſa veret. mori, quæren æum propoſito meo cenſui, cui ſacras quaſdam Cantiones Motetta Vulgo dicta, quonia fieri potuit Harmonia elaboratas, quas in Lucem ædere ſtatutam dicearem. Sed præ omnibus tu mi Dieniſi occurris, ut qui propter Heroicas tuas Virtutes, ac egregia maiorum tuorum ſcilla, natura dominus & re Princeps, bobearis & generis ſplendor, nempe. Attavus Luſitanorum ædite Regibus: & Regijs quibus opido polles Virtutibus ornatus. Inter quas (humanitate comite qua me ſuſcipis ac munificè ſoves) Cum Principem apud te locum, magno meo beneficio Muſica obtinuerit, quam quod oprime calleas, ea ſuaviſſime, delectariſ: elucubratis baſ meas Cantiones uel ipſi Apollini baud credo ingratas, tuo nomini cunctupãdas decreui. Vi illius ſplendidiffimo fulgore non ſolum obſcurotatorum nebulas diſſellem, Verum etiam tuo numine ac ſumma liberalitate (ſine qua me nihil poſſe baud inferior) incobatum opus ad ſupremã uſq. manum redigam, Quare tuum erit hoc quod tuum eſt muſiſculum, quaſi ad maiore gradum, qua ſoles benignitate, meq; unã cum ipſo ſuſcipere. Illuſq; magnitudinem quanta ſit, ac æſtimari debeat, non ex ipſo opere, ſed ex incomparabili meo in te affectu ac deuotiſſimo animo metiri, quandoquidem (Quino Paulo teſte) ueluntas Secundum id quod habet grata eſt non ſecundum id quod non habet. Vale.

Lusitano's Printing Privilege

I V L I V S P A P A . I I I .

F. Acotombonus.

NOTV proprio etc. Cũ ſicut dilectus filius noſter Vincẽtius Luſitanus ſepiẽ nobis ex pont fecit nonnuões Cãtione, uel opera muſicalia Motetta uigariet nuncupata, baſ tenus non impreſſas, imprimi ſacere intendat, dubitat tamen ne poſtmodum ab alio ſine cuius licentia imprimantur: nos propterea ejus indemnitati conſulere uolentes motu ſimili, & ex certa ſciẽntia eidem Vincẽntio, ne preſatas Cantiones ſeu opera muſicalia ſua buiſſimodi nondum impreſſa, et per ipſum imprimenda, per decem annos poſt illarum ſeu illorum reſpectiue impreſſionem à quocunq; ſine ipſius licentia impriat, aut uendã, ſeu uenãlia teneri poſſint concedimus & indulgemus: Inhibentes omnibus: & ſingulis Chriſtifiõelibus tam in Italia quam extra Italiam exiſtentibus, præſertim bibliopolis, & alijs impreſſoribus ſub excommunicationis niſi late ſententiæ, in terris uero ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ mediãte uel immediate ſubiectis ducentorum auri Canera Apoſtolicæ pro una, & diſto Vincẽntio pro altera medietatem applicandorum, & in ſuper amiffionis buiſſimodi Cantionum, ſeu operum prædictorum ipſo factõ & abſq; alia declaratione quoties contrãnuẽtum fuerit, ne intra dictum decennium ut præſertim conputandum dicta opera muſicalia prædicti Vincẽntij non impreſſa, & per Valerium Doricum Brixiẽn. dioc. impreſſa. ſine ei uſdem Vincẽntij ex preſſa licentia dictõ decennio durante imprimere, uendere, ſeu uenãlia habere audeant: Mandantes uniuerſis uenerabilibus fratribus, nemon Archiepiſcopis, Epifcopis, eorumq; Vicarijs, & in ſtatu temporalis ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & Legatis, & Vicelegatis ſcãis a; ſiõice, ac ipſius ſtatus gubernatoribus, ut quoties pro ipſius Vincẽntij parte fuerint requiſiti, uel eorum aliqui fuerit requiſiti eidem Vincẽntio effectiõis deſenſionis præſidio aſſiſtentes præmiſſa ad omnem dicti Vincẽntij requiſitionem contra inobedientes, & rebelles per conſuras eccleſiaſticas etiam ſepiẽs eggranandos, & per alia iuris remedia apoſtolica auctoritate exequantur. Inuocãto ad hoc ſi opus fuerit auxilio bras eby ſecularis. Non obſtãntibus conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus apoſtolicis principalibus cæterisq; contrariis quibuscuq;: Et in ſuper quia difficile admodum eſſet præſentem motum proprium ad quolibet loca deferre, uolumus & apoſtolica auctoritate decernimus, ipſius tranſumptum prædicti excipiẽs etiam in ipſius operibus impreſſis plenam et eandẽ præterius fidẽm ubique tam in iudicio quam extra adhiberi, quo præſenti originali adhibetur, & quod præſentis motus proprii ſola ſignatura ſufficiat, & ubique fidẽm faciat in iudicio & extra eam no ſtrãnt contrarium facta, non obſtãnt.

Placet & ita mandamus. I.

UNIVERSIDAD DE CHILE  
FACULTAD DE ARTES

SSATB  $\text{♩}$  Re-gi-na coe-li lae-ta - - - re. Al-le-  
Re-gi-na  
Re-gi-na coe-li lae-ta - - - re. Al-le-lu - - - ia,  
coe-li lae-ta - - - re. Al-le-lu - - - ia.  
li lae-ta - - - re. Al-le-lu - - - ia.  
Re - - gi - na coe - li

*Regina coeli*, mm. 1-8

In this motet, as in all his five-voice compositions, Lusitano keeps all his voices continuously busy. Like Gombert, he dislikes *pausas* and stocks his motets with full harmonies. Now that the *Clamabat autem mulier Cananea*, formerly ascribed to Cipriano de Rore, has been subtracted from his de Rore's repertory and shown to be by Morales instead, Lusitano, Guerrero, and Morales seem to be the only composers whose motets of this title were published in the sixteenth century. Lusitano also challenges comparison with Morales in another motet, *Emendemus in melius*. What strikes the hearer immediately in the Lusitano version is the modal daring, the rich store of  $\text{ab}'$ 's in a piece ending on the G-chord, the dense harmonies with five voices intertwining in the middle register, and the motivic treatment of the first melodic idea. Lusitano avoids *ostinati* in the quintus, if he is writing *a 5*. But he does revert to *ostinati* when he challenges comparison with Josquin des Prez in his two motets *a 8*—*Inviolata integra* and *Preter rerum*. In this last pair, Lusitano not only quotes the same plainsong melodies that Josquin used, but also employs Josquin's mensurations. In *Preter rerum*, Lusitano imitates Josquin's O2 mensuration while at the same time citing the Wolfenbüttel 677 (fol. 194 $\nu$ ) source melody. Lusitano divides into two *partes*, just as Josquin; and uses the same derived material that Josquin does in every section.

To summarize Lusitano's preferences in his 1551 motets: 13 of the 23 are in two *partes*, one in three *partes*, the rest undivided; 18 call for  $\text{bb}$  in the signature; 14 begin with  $\text{C}$  mensuration, 8 with C; Dorian modality is his favorite, though with frequent excursions into other modes. (Gombert was another composer who mixed modes with what seemed reckless abandon to Spanish-born theorists; see Bermudo, *Declaración* [1555], Bk. IV, Ch. 40.) On occasion Lusitano uses alpha ligatures; the bassus of *Videns crucem Andreas* (fourth staff on xviii, first on xix) affords examples. His cut and uncut mensuration sings ( $\text{C}$  and C; O2 and  $\text{C}_2$ ) can be rationalized as tempo-indicators, with the *minim* moving faster in the uncut signatures. His daring—so far as accidentals are concerned—extends to the use of  $\text{g}\sharp$  and  $\text{eb}$  in the same voice (bassus) of *Hic est Michael*. No Spanish composer of his century ever published motet collections calling for  $\text{g}\sharp$  and  $\text{ab}$  in the same set; Lusitano did. He paid the penalty for his daring



Vespertinae Laudes Congregatio XVIII

BASSUS

BIBLIOTECA MÚSICA Y DANZA FACULTAD DE MÚSICA

XIX

... ad peccata tua... deus...  
... ad peccata tua... deus...  
... ad peccata tua... deus...  
... ad peccata tua... deus...  
... ad peccata tua... deus...

when no publisher chose to anthologize his motets, and no *Liber secundus* was called for to match his hopeful *Liber primus*. Another factor militating against success of these motets was the difficulty of the inner voices, which in such motets as *Clamabat autem*, *Emendemus*, and *Preter rerum*, seem to be instrumentally conceived.

In the outer voices, Lusitano often writes sequences, separated by rests. This method of spinning a part recalls Morales. *Sum servus*, a 6, invites comparison with Guerrero's *Gloriose confessor* (1570), since both motets have a blank space in the text that can be filled in with the name of any bishop or saint that the choir wishes to celebrate. After 37 measures, the second soprano begins with an ostinato, as in the accompanying example. This voice then waits 16 measures to repeat a variant, then five for another variant—always of the plainsong antiphon used by Palestrina as a tenor in his first Mass (1554), *Ecce sacerdos*.

Sopr. II

37

16

5

.N. sa - cer - dos ma - gnus  
.N. sa - cer - dos ma - gnus .N.

Apart from publication of his *Liber primus eprigmatvm*, Lusitano's other chief accomplishment during the year 1551 was his winning a debate with Nicola Vicentino (1511–ca. 1576) on whether contemporary composers customarily used chromatic and enharmonic genera. From Sir John Hawkins in 1776 to *The New Grove* in 1980 this debate with Vicentino is what keeps Lusitano's name in histories and dictionaries—not publication of his book of motets in 1551, nor of his *Introduzione facilissima* in 1553, republished as *Introduzione facilissima* in 1558 and 1561, nor of his madrigal *All' hor, ch'ignuda* in 1562.<sup>55</sup> Hawkins's biased account of the debate, occupying his Book IX, chap. lxxxiii, paragraphs 17–36,<sup>56</sup> relies chiefly on

<sup>55</sup>Lusitano's lone published madrigal is fifteenth in a collection of 22 madrigals that begins with five by Antonio Barré, *Il primo libro delle mvse, a tre voci* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1562). In *MGG*, viii, 1329, Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro misdated publication (1552 instead of 1562).

<sup>56</sup>Conveniently accessible in *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* by Sir John Hawkins, with a new introduction by Charles Cudworth (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), I, 392–395. As an example of bias, Hawkins claimed that Lusitano "cited but two chapters of Boetius, and the eleventh of the first book contains nothing to his purpose." Neither Hawkins nor his authority Vicentino took note that Lusitano had for his authority on the genera cited in his 1553 *Introduzione facilissima* not Boethius's Bk. I, chh. 11 and 21 (as Vicentino claimed in 1555), but chapters 21 and 23. See Barbosa, pp. 212–213, note 14.

Vicentino's *L'Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barré, 1555), Book IV, chap. 43. However, when Vicentino's report of the controversy is conferred with the much fuller history of the debate by Ghiselin Danckerts (ca. 1510–after 1565),<sup>57</sup>—one of the two judges who decided in Lusitano's favor—a different picture emerges. Danckerts prepared three versions of his history.<sup>58</sup> In the second, intended for printing but not published by him, Danckerts roundly denounced Vicentino's "poison-pen" version published in *L'Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*. According to a memorandum signed June 7, 1551,<sup>59</sup> by Nicola Vicentino and Vicente Lusitano and later attested by four witnesses,<sup>60</sup> the history of their controversy ran thus:

Our disagreement arose over a composition based on *Regina coeli*, which was sung [the last week of May] at the house of Bernardo Acciaoli [Florentine banker] or [his deceased partner Luigi] Rucellai, situated in the Via dei Banchi. I, Don Nicola, offered to prove that no present-day composer knows in which of the genera [diatonic, chromatic, enharmonic] he composes. I, Don Vicente, contended that present-day composers do know which of the genera they use. We wagered two gold ducats and chose as judges, from whose decision no appeal could be made, the learned papal singers Bartolomé Escobedo and Ghiselin Danckerts. On June 2, 1551, the papal choir, at the behest of Cardinal Cupi of Trani, sang a polyphonic Mass of the Most Blessed Sacrament at the Church of the Orfanelli alla Capranica. We there asked permission to debate, with the extremely expert Don Giulio d'Arezzo serving as a third judge in the event that the two above named judges disagreed. His Eminence the Cardinal of Ferrara [Ippolito d'Este II, 1509–1572], whom I, Don Nicola, serve as chaplain, asked that the debate take place in his presence Thursday, June 4. The debate did take place that day in his presence and in that of many learned persons, with Bartolomé Escobedo and Giulio d'Arezzo present. However, Ghiselin Danckerts's private business called him away that day. Escobedo refused to deliver his vote without Danckerts present. On Friday Danckerts learned what had transpired. He said that he could not vote without having the opinions of both disputants in writing. We said that each one of us had already given our opinions in writing to the two judges present the day previous, and asked him to make his judgment accordingly.

Four years later Vicentino printed his opinion (with variants from the text submitted Danckerts) in *L'Antica Musica*, fol. 95<sup>v</sup>; Lusitano's opinion follows at folio 96 but with Lusitano's citation of Boethius's Book I, chapter 2, changed to chapter 11.

On the basis of their two written statements, Escobedo and Danckerts judged in Lusitano's favor Sunday, June 7, at the close of polyphonic Mass in the pope's chapel. According to Vicentino, Lusitano carried the verdict to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este II, whereupon Vicentino immediately paid the two gold ducats. Vicentino continues thus (Hawkins's translation):

<sup>57</sup>Three copies of Danckerts's *Differentia musicale Sententiata . . . contro il perdente venerabile Don nicola vicentino* survive at Rome in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, R 56 no. 15b, R 56 no. 15, R 56 no. 33. See Lewis Lockwood, "A Dispute on accidentals in sixteenth-century Rome," *Analecta Musicologica*, 2 [Studien zur italiensch-deutschen Musikgeschichte II] (Cologne-Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1965), p. 26 (modified in *The New Grove*, v, 220). See also Barbosa, p. 185, note 3.

<sup>58</sup>Lockwood, p. 26, dates Danckerts's three versions 1551, 1555–1556 (after the publication of Vicentino's treatise), and 1559–1560.

<sup>59</sup>Conveniently accessible in Barbosa, pp. 194–195.

<sup>60</sup>Concerning Battista Preccarese Aspro, Giacomo Martelli, Stefano Bettini, and Antonio Barré who attested the *Cedula Originale fatta sopra la differentia*, see Henry William Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino (1511–c. 1576)* ([Dallas]: American Institute of Musicology, 1966 [Musicological Studies and Documents XI]), p. 23.



I will not rehearse the complaints of the Cardinal to Don Vicente of the wrong the judges had done me, because I would rather have lost 100 crowns than that an occasion should have been given to such a prince to utter such words concerning me as he was necessitated to use in the hearing of such and so many witnesses as were then present. I will not enumerate the many requests that my adversary made to the Cardinal to deliver back the sentence of my unrighteous judges. I, however, obtained the Cardinal's permission to print it and publish it to the world, upon which Don Vicente redoubled his efforts to get it out of his hands, and for that purpose applied for many days to Monsignor Preposto de Troti, to whom the Cardinal had committed the care of same.

Lusitano based his opinion that composers in 1551 wrote diatonic genus music, not chromatic or enharmonic, on Boethius's *De institutione musica*, especially Bk. I, ch. 21, in which diatonic is defined as tetrachords of two tones and a semitone, chromatic as tetrachords of two semitones and a trihemitone (= minor third), enharmonic as tetrachords of two diesis and a double tone (= major third).<sup>61</sup> Vicentino contended that any use of minor third or major third leaps implies chromatic or enharmonic genus. Diatonic, according to Vicentino, meant stepwise movement by tone or semitone, not leaps of minor or major thirds. As early as Vicentino's own published first book of five-voice madrigals (1546) he had claimed to be writing "in a new manner discovered by my very celebrated teacher" [Willaert].<sup>62</sup> But extreme chromaticism involving semitonal melodic movement certified by accidentals, forbidden intervals such as augmented seconds, diminished and augmented thirds, and augmented fourths awaited Vicentino's fifth book of five-voice madrigals (1572) and his six-voice motet *Heu mihi Domine*.<sup>63</sup>

Vicentino's disingenuousness in claiming that his opponent had argued for *Diatonica semplice* (pure diatonic) greatly annoyed Danckerts, who produced sworn testimony to show that Vicentino had himself introduced the crucial word *semplice* in his 1555 treatise to prejudice the reader against Lusitano.<sup>64</sup> As for Vicentino's claim that Lusitano "eventually adopted the concept of mixed genera in his *Introdutione facilissima*," Henry William Kaufmann argued against Vicentino's self-serving claim.

In the passage from the *Introdutione facilissima* [fols. 25<sup>v</sup>-26] cited by Vicentino [*L'Antica Musica*, fol. 97<sup>v</sup>], Lusitano discussed the genera in practically the same terms that Boethius had used, with special emphasis on the incomposite nature of both the trihemitone and the ditone. Since Vicentino had placed his own particular interpretation on these passages, it does not necessarily follow that Lusitano actually diagnosed them in the same way. There is nothing else in the *Introdutione* to warrant a fundamental change of attitude on Lusitano's part.<sup>65</sup>

Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie Storico-Critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome: Società Tipografica, 1828), I, 345, suggested that

<sup>61</sup>J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series Latina* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1882), LXIII, 1188-1189. Translated in Calvin Martin Bower, "Boethius' *The Principles of Music*, An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary," George Peabody College for Teachers, Ph.D. dissertation, 1967 (University Microfilms 67-15,005), pp. 84-85.

<sup>62</sup>Nicola Vicentino, *Opera omnia*, ed. Henry W. Kaufmann (American Institute of Musicology, 1963 [Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 26]), p. vii.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. viii and 133-140.

<sup>64</sup>Barbosa, pp. 188, 273.

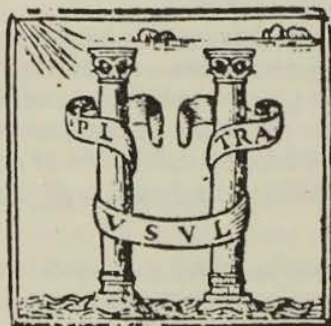
<sup>65</sup>*The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, p. 28.



# Introdutione facilissi

ma, & nouissima, di Canto Fermo, Fi-  
 gurato, Contraponto semplice &  
 inconcerto, con Regole Gene-  
 rali per far fughe differenti so-  
 pra' il Canto Fermo, à .2.  
 3. & 4. voci, & Com-  
 positioni, proportio-  
 ni, generi. 1. dia-  
 tonico, croma-  
 tico, enarmo-  
 nico,

Composta per Vincentio Lusitano.



Stampata in Roma, in Campo di Fiore,  
 per Antonio Blado, Impresore  
 Apostolico.

L'Anno del Signore, M. D. LIII.  
 a li. X X V. di Settembre.



AL'ILLVSTRISSIMO, ET, EXCELLEN-  
 tissimo, Signore, il Signore, Marcantonio  
 Colonna, Duca de Marfi, suo  
 Signore.  
 Vincentio Lusitano.



**D**IGLIANDO per fondamento que-  
 lo sopri'lquale ogni Fabrica edificata  
 cresce che è Christo, deliberai compo-  
 re questa introduttione, o' ridotto di  
 Musica non men vtile & facile che bre-  
 ue, accio mi mostrero gli ambagi cagio-  
 nati da la ignorantia di quelli che si pre-  
 sumeno esser maestri la onde nō hanno anchora sufficienz-  
 ti principiū da boni discepoli, & la perdita di tempo che si  
 fa comunemente in questa eta nostra da chi desidera im-  
 parare alcuna particella di questa Musica prattica, e mi  
 penso che sara questa facilissima & vtilissima introduttio-  
 ne solo per questo effetto di prattica. Questa cosi fatta in-  
 troduttioe per esser piccola, ho voluto che si ricoueri sot-  
 to l'ali de la grandezza di V. Excellentia di cui non e in-  
 grandire quel che Natura, o' Fortuna fece grande,  
 ma cio che da se e' piccolo & debile, & cosi  
 questa mia piccola operetta, conseguira  
 tutti gli'effetti che le grandi de glial-  
 tri conseguiscano, con la pro-  
 tectioe di V. Excell. la-  
 quale nostro S. Iddio  
 prosperi eter-  
 namente.



# INTRODVTTIONE

FACILISSIMA, ET NOVISSIMA, DI CANTO  
 FERMO, FIGVRATO, CONTRAPONTO  
 SEMPLICE, ET INCONCERTO,  
 CON REGOLE GENERALI PER FAR FVGHE  
 DIFFERENTI SOPRA IL CANTO FERMO,  
 A II. III. ET IIII. VOCI, ET COMPOSITIONI,  
 PROPORZIONI, GENERE L DIATONICO,  
 CROMATICO, ENARMONICO,  
 COMPOSTA PER VINCENTIO LVSITANO.



VERI

TAS.

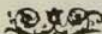
IN VENETIA

Per Francesco Marcolini. M D LVIII.

# INTRODVTTIONE

FACILISSIMA, ET NOVISSIMA,  
 DI CANTO FERMO, FIGVRATO,  
 CONTRAPONTO SEMPLICE,  
 ET INCONCERTO.

CON REGOLE GENERALI PER FAR FVGHE  
 differenti sopra il Canto Fermo, a II. III. & IIII. voci,  
 & compositioni, proporzioni, generi. S. Dia-  
 tonico, Cromatico, Enarmonico.



Composta per Vincentio Lusitano.



IN VENETIA,

APPRESSO FRANCESCO RAMPAZETTO.

M D L X I.



Lusitano may have published his *Introduzione facilissima* because he was “fearing that in time a subterranean volcano might erupt” over him. Bains observed truly that Vicentino claimed Cardinal Ippolito d’Este II as his powerful protector, whereas Lusitano claimed no protector whatsoever. Nor did Lusitano boast any choir connections. In 1551 he was neither a papal singer nor a member of the Cappella Giulia.<sup>66</sup>

Whether or not Lusitano, fearing Vicentino’s forthcoming *L’Antica Musica*, intended for his 1553 treatise to serve as protective armor, no one can now say for certain. However, Lusitano did dedicate his *Introduzione facilissima* to the friend of Spain who fought at Lepanto, Marcantonio Colonna II, (1535–1584).<sup>67</sup> In 1553, Marcantonio Colonna II, then still the 18-year-old Duke of Marsi (pending his father Ascanio’s death March 24, 1555, when he inherited all the Colonna titles<sup>68</sup>), commanded Spanish and Neapolitan cavalry against the Sienese, who were struggling to preserve Siena’s independence from renewed Spanish domination. In this so-called War of Siena, Vicentino’s protector, Cardinal Ippolito d’Este II, took the side of the French, who were supporting the Sienese. Arriving at Siena November 1, 1552, Ippolito II remained there until at the French king’s order he withdrew June 5, 1554.<sup>69</sup> Lusitano did therefore choose as dedicatee a belligerent young duke who in 1553 fought opposite Ippolito II’s side.

How did Lusitano make contact with Marcantonio Colonna II? The same madrigalist and theorist, Giovan Tomaso Cimello (ca. 1500–ca. 1580), who wrote a ten-line laudatory poem to preface Lusitano’s *Liber primvs epigrammatvm*, also taught

I O: T H O M. C I M E L L I

Epigramma ad D. Vincentium:  
Lusitanum.

Ille si prisca Vincenti atate fuisses  
Summis ornasses Laudibus unus eam;  
Nec nostra hæc posset conferri cantibus illi;  
Nec tot iactasset, fabula græca uiros  
Repissee at scopulos; Sylvas iuisse; serasq̃  
Lenitas; fluuios & reuocasse gradus  
Ille etas & aues Orphei tunc uoce canora  
Crederet historiam quisque fuisse tui  
Illos ut credit quod uincas arte modisque;  
Inuisum Nomen Conuenit unde tibi.

<sup>66</sup>On June 1, 1554, Francisco Albuquerque, a Portuguese sopranoist, joined the Cappella Giulia. He continued a member through September 1564 (Barbosa, pp. 214–219). From 1572 through 1581 João Fernandes was active at Rome as organist and organ repairer (Barbosa, pp. 218–224).

<sup>67</sup>Antonio Coppi, *Memorie Colonesi* (Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, 1855), p. 11.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>69</sup>Alessandro Sozzini, *Diario delle cose avvenute in Siena dai 20 iuglio 1550 ai 28 giugno 1555* (Florence: Gio. Pietro Vieusseux, 1842 [Archivio storico italiano, II]), pp. 92, 238.

at Naples, where he frequented the court of Giovanna di Aragona (1509–1575),<sup>70</sup> granddaughter of Ferrante I of Naples and mother of Marcantonio Colonna II. Later Marcantonio Colonna II hired Cimello for an unspecified period. Lusitano did not update his dedication to Marcantonio Colonna II, *Duca di Marsi*,<sup>71</sup> in the subsequent editions of the *Introdvitione* published at Venice by Francesco Marcolini in 1558 and by Francesco Rampazetto in 1561. In all likelihood, Lusitano's contact with Marcantonio Colonna II therefore remained merely casual, not reinforced by favors from the latter after Marcantonio inherited his father's titles in 1555.

Lusitano's teaching stints at Viterbo and at Padua preceded his escape from Italy to Protestant strongholds in Germany. After his conversion and marriage, he depended upon contacts that he had made in Italy to aid him in getting established in Protestant territory. Among these contacts was Count Giulio Thiene (1501–1588/1589), a native of Vicenza whose Protestant convictions caused him to leave Italy before 1556—in which year he resided at Lyons.<sup>72</sup> A year later, Thiene sought citizenship in the duchy of Württemberg. In a letter dated June 17, 1557, Pietro Paulo Vergerio (1498–1565), erstwhile papal nuncio in Germany and bishop of Capodistria who had forsaken Romanism for Lutheranism and had in 1549 departed from Italy,<sup>73</sup> recommended Thiene to Duke Christoph of Württemberg (ruled 1550–1558).<sup>74</sup> Whatever action Duke Christoph took remains uncertain. In 1560–1561 Thiene resided at Strassburg. From no later than 1570 to his death he lived at Geneva.

Thiene recommended Vicente Lusitano to Vergerio.<sup>75</sup> In a letter to Duke Christoph dated May 30, 1561, at Baden-Baden, Vergerio, on Thiene's word, vouched for Vicente Lusitano's being a convert to Protestantism who was a surpassingly fine musician, and who was en route from Strassburg without children but with his wife.<sup>76</sup> On June 2, 1561, Duke Christoph ordered Vicente Lusitano paid "10

<sup>70</sup>One of the most famous highborn beauties of her epoch, Giovanna di Aragona excelled "in looks and in literary gifts." See Coppi, pp. 312–313, and Antonio Archi, *Gli Aragona di Napoli* (Bologna: Cappelli Editore, 1968), p. 134 and her portrait at the Louvre reproduced opposite p. 151.

<sup>71</sup>Giovanni II of Naples conferred the title of *duca di Marsi* on Marcantonio II's great-grandfather Odoardo della Colonna February 21, 1432. See Coppi, p. 192.

<sup>72</sup>Barbosa, p. 40, note 23, quoting Giovanni Montese, *Odeo Olimpico: Memorie dell'Accademia Olimpica* (Vicenza, 1969–1970), viii, p. 100, note 61.

<sup>73</sup>*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. by Samuel Macauley Jackson and George William Gilmore (1912), xii, 164–165.

<sup>74</sup>For Vergerio's letters of November 1555 and June 17, 1557, recommending Thiene, see *Briefwechsel zwischen Christoph, Herzog von Württemberg, und Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, pp. 116–117 and 139–142.

<sup>75</sup>At Padua prior to April 1555, Thiene met Matteo Gribaldi, professor of civil law there 1548 to 1555. In his letter to Duke Christoph dated November 27, 1555, Gribaldi (whose denunciation to the Inquisition forced him to flee Padua in April 1555) vouched for having discussed religion with Thiene at Padua (*Briefwechsel*, p. 120). Padua was such a hotbed of heresy in 1555 that some "4000 persone che vivono da eretici" were reported to the Roman Inquisition (Pio Puschini, *Venezia e l'inquisizione romana da Giulio III a Pio IV*, reviewed in *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 12 [1979] 189 [no. 44]).

<sup>76</sup>*Briefwechsel*, pp. 266–268 ("Über einen portugiesischen Musiker, der in Herzog Christophs Hof sich hören lassen oder in seinen Dienst treten will"). Vergerio's letter of May 30, 1561, is in the Stuttgart Hauptstaats archiv, Sign. A 63, Bu. 12 (40). Thiene's interest in Lusitano implies lengthy personal knowledge: "Affirmat dominus comes, se scire, hunc esse in musica peritissimum, deinde (quantum vidi ego) est vir christianus, et non indoctus, natione Lusitanus: habet secum uxorem sine liberis tamen." After writing the main body of his letter to Duke Christoph, Vergerio added a postscript saying that Lusitano had in the meantime arrived at Baden-Baden from Strassburg. Vergerio was sending him immediately to Stuttgart to demonstrate his singing ability.



Magistro Vicentio Lusitano, einem Italienischen Singer, so sich zu dienen offeriere, vom  
Vergerio gefirdet. vnd etliche gesang übergeben. Laut decrets den 2. Junj. haben 10 Thaler  
und xj [Florin] xx [Kronen] Record of payment June 2, 1561 (Stuttgart: Hauptstaatsarchiv,  
Kirchenkastenrechnungen, 1561-1562 [A 282, Bd. 1297\*, fol. 63\*]).

21. 6. 1561

Magistro Vicentio Lusitano, einem Italienischen Singer, so sich zu dienen offeriere, vom Vergerio gefirdet. vnd etliche gesang übergeben. Laut decrets den 2. Junj. haben 10 Thaler und xj [Florin] xx [Kronen] Record of payment June 2, 1561 (Stuttgart: Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kirchenkastenrechnungen, 1561-1562 [A 282, Bd. 1297\*, fol. 63\*]).

Thaler und 11 Florin 20 Kronen” for some music that he had submitted.<sup>77</sup> At the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek, an anthology of seventeen works by various composers catalogued Cod. mus. fol. 1, 3, contains at folios 50<sup>v</sup> through 65 Vicente Lusitano’s six-voice motet, *Beati omnes qui timent Dominum*. Copied in 1562 by the native of Regensburg hired as Württemberg court chapel music copyist August 15, 1554, Johann Chamerhueber, this motet ascribed to “Vincentius Lusitanus” survives as Vicente Lusitano’s sole manuscript work in a German archive.

At Paris, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, esp. 219, lacks an author attribution, and was therefore published as an anonymous treatise by Henri Collet with the title *Un Tratado de Canto de Organo (siglo XVI), Manuscrito en la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris* (Madrid: Libreria Gutenberg, 1913). However, various strong reasons for accepting Vicente Lusitano as author of the treatise (written in Spanish) were proposed in “Vicente Lusitano: New Light on his Career,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xv/1 (Spring 1962), 76-77. Fifteen years later (1977), Barbosa considered the treatise as Vicente Lusitano’s with such extreme likelihood that she quoted extensively from it and published at her pages 298-303 the motet *a 4* included in it as an example of chromaticism, *Heu me Domine*. Further emphasizing Lusitano’s claim to be the author of the treatise, *Heu me Domine* is the sole composition that Barbosa transcribed in her 503-page monograph *Vincentius Lusitanus, ein portugiesischer Komponist und Musiktheoretiker*

<sup>77</sup>Gustav Bossert, “Die Hofkantorei unter Herzog Christoph,” *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, Neue Folge (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1898), vii, 160. Manuel Joaquim—who published Vicente Lusitano’s three-voice hypermixolydian madrigal, *All’hora ch’ignuda (Il Primo libro delle Muse, a tre voci, 1562)*, in *Gazeta Musical*, Ano II, No. 16 (January 1952), pp. 4-5—questioned the conflation of the madrigal composer and Duke Christoph’s payee. For Joaquim’s discussion of the Girolamo Scotto 1562 imprint, see *Gazeta Musical*, October-November 1951, pp. 13-14. In contrast with Lusitano’s 1551 motets, his 1562 madrigal in three dovetailed sections (mm. 1-22, 22-35, 36-62) eschews accidentals and the cantus only once changes into sesquialtera proportion.

Rather frequently, Duke Christoph paid for compositions presented to him. In February 1564 Orlanus Lassus visited Stuttgart and on February 27 received 20 Thaler = 23 fl. Usually, however, Duke Christoph paid much less—2 fl. on January 21, 1561, 3 fl. on April 10, 1561, 4 fl. on March 31, 1562. Lusitano’s 11 fl. 20 kr. ranked high. In 1561 Duke Christoph’s chapelmaster was the veteran Philipp Weber. His singers and instrumentalists included an occasional Netherlander, but were mostly Germans to whose company Lusitano would have been an utter stranger, whatever his shared religious convictions.



hor ch'ignuda

Transcription by Manuel Joaquim

Canto.

Tenore.

Basso.

5 3

Al- l'hor ch'i-gnu-da d'her bet fior la

Al- l'hor ch'i-gnu-da d'her bet fior la

Al- l'hor ch'i-gnu-da d'her bet fior la

10 15 20

ter-ra al- l'hor ch'i-gnu- da d'her bet fior la ter-  
 ch'ignu-da d'her bet fior la ter- ra la ter-  
 ter-ra al- l'hor ch'i-gnu-da d'her bet fior la ter- ra

25 30

---ra per- che da noi è dilonga l'il so- --- le per- che da noi è  
 ---ra per- che da noi è dilonga- l'il so- --- le per- che da noi è  
 per- che da noi è dilonga- l'il so- --- le per- che da noi è dilonga- ---

35 40

dilonga- l'il so- --- le on- de spari- l'o- --- gli-  
 dilonga- l'il so- --- le on- de spari- l'o- --- gli-  
 --- l'il so- --- le on- de spari- l'o- --- gli-



45

gigli a ca vi -- sta la qual fa-cca di se va-g'ogni pra -- to va-

g'ogni vi -- -- -- sta la qual fa-cca di se la qual fa-cca di

di vi -- -- -- sta la qual fa-cca di se va-

55 60

g'ogni pra -- to va-g'ogni pra -- -- -- to qu -- sta

se va-g'ogni pra -- -- -- to qu -- sta

g'ogni pra -- to va-g'ogni pra -- to qu -- sta

65 70 75

gen - til et giovinet - ta ro -- sa più sempre verde se - ha

gen - til et giovinet - ta ro -- sa più sempre verde se -- -- -- c'ha fogli e

gen - til et giovinet - ta ro - sa più sempre verde se c'ha fogli e

80 85 90

fogli -- -- -- ri più sempre verde se c'ha fogli e fio -- ri.

fio -- -- -- ri più sempre verde se c'ha fo -- gli e fio -- -- -- ri

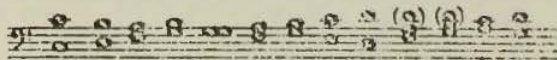
fio - ri più sempre verde se c'ha fogli e fio -- -- -- ri.

des 16. Jahrhunderts (1977; output of her 1970 doctoral dissertation at Cologne University).

The following reasons for ascribing Bibliothèque Nationale, esp. 219, to Vicente Lusitano were advanced in the "Studies and Abstracts" section of *JAMS*, xv/1, 76-77:

From internal evidence, the anonymous treatise in Spanish published from a Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript by Henri Collet in 1913<sup>78</sup> can be assigned a writer who spelled many Spanish words in the Portuguese manner, and who had some personal knowledge of Rome.<sup>79</sup> Whoever wrote the treatise, whether Lusitano or another, obviously knew the music of Gombert to perfection,<sup>80</sup> and that of Josquin only slightly less well.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, he did not know the music of any Spanish masters, except the Ortiz who wrote a *L'Homme armé* Mass.<sup>82</sup> The most telling evidence that Lusitano wrote the treatise published by Collet is the musical examples. Several are identical with those in Lusitano's *Introduitione facilissima*. The fact that the plainchant on which nearly all counterpoints in both the *Introduitione* and the anonymous treatise are based is the Alleluia verse *Dies sanctificatus* (third Mass for Christmas)<sup>83</sup> makes the identification of the concording examples all the easier.

Once the identity of Lusitano as the writer of the hitherto anonymous Spanish treatise is conceded as a likelihood, any number of corroborating parallels between the *Introduitione* and the Spanish treatise begin appearing. Their topics and their order of presentation are the same at pages 80-86 of the Collet and fols. 15-17<sup>v</sup> of the *Introduitione* (*contrapunto concertado* is so rare a topic in the native Spanish treatises that only Bermudo [*Declaración de instrumentos*, Bk. V, Ch. 26] goes heavily into it). The notational idiosyncrasies and the explanations for them are alike in the anonymous Spanish treatise and the *Introduitione*. For instance, at page 125 of the printed Spanish treatise X is given as the sign for the diesis and ✕ for the minor semitone, "because the small semitone is made up of two dieses." The *Introduitione*, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>, says exactly the same thing. What Lusitano says at fol. 7 on retorted signatures [C and D] and on the mensurations O and E duplicates all that is said in Spanish at page 113 of the Collet edition. Two concording examples will show how closely the music in *Introduitione* and Spanish treatise agree.



*Introduitione* (Venice: Rampazetto, 1561), fol. 12 (= Collet, Ex. 27)

<sup>78</sup>See his "Descripción del Manuscrito" at pp. 13-14, his discussion of the authorship problem at pp. 15-33, and his analysis of the contents of the treatise at pp. 35-43.

<sup>79</sup>*Consonancia, arismetica, and pequeno* appear on one page, 65; each adhering to the Portuguese Renaissance spelling; other examples occur on every page; what he says of the Pantheon at Rome (p. 63) leads us to infer a personal visit.

<sup>80</sup>See p. 38 of Collet's introduction; and musical examples 96-113 (based on the Kyries of Gombert's *Philomena* Mass); also examples 114, 115 based on the "Et resurrexit" from the same Mass.

<sup>81</sup>See Collet's edition, pp. 35, 36, 40, 48, 53, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 76, 77, 104, 105. Josquin was by all odds the best known European composer in Spain throughout the sixteenth century.

<sup>82</sup>Diego Ortiz intended to publish his Masses, he said in the introduction to his 1565 book of hymns, psalms, Magnificats, and motets. Another Ortiz is represented in Enriquez de Valderrábano's *Silva de Sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547).

<sup>83</sup>In his *Introduitione* he quotes only the first incise of the chant, but in his Spanish treatise he uses the entire melody frequently.





*Introduzione* (Venice: Rampazetto, 1561), fol. 12 (= Collet, Ex. 31)

Lusitano, or his Spanish double, carried erudition to its *ne plus ultra*. The canons that he devises to accompany the Kyrie of Gombert's *Philomena* Mass, the chromatic motet *a 4*, *Heu me, Domine*, and the elaborate study of proportions go far beyond anything attempted by Bermudo, Santa María, or any indigenous Spanish writer of the century. Even Salinas, who wrote in Latin but whose sympathies lay more with monody than polyphony, does not exceed this show of learning. At the end, the student lays aside the treatise feeling the kind of awe that Festus felt (Acts 26:24) because of the Apostle Paul's learning.

Whether or not Lusitano's authorship of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, *esp. 219*, continues being upheld, recent research does at least add these further biographical data for entry in all future encyclopedia articles: (1) Vicente Lusitano was the first published *pardo* = mulatto = Black (current parlance) composer; (2) although ordained a priest in Ceuta diocese, he converted to Protestantism; (3) by 1561 he had married; (4) in that year he sought a singer's post in Germany (at Württemberg court); (5) his psalm *a 6*, *Beati omnes qui timent Dominum*, was in 1562 copied into an extant manuscript at the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek. With such data now available, the next duty of Lusitano scholarship will be to publish the long-deferred edition of his complete oeuvre. Only then can his creative genius begin redounding, as it should, to the glory of Black music history.