

**«MUSIC, WHY DO YOU WEEP?» A LAMENT FOR ALEXANDER
AGRICOLA (d. 1506)¹**

Tess Knighton
ICREA / Institució Milà i Fontanals – CSIC

ABSTRACT

It is well known that the composer Alexander Agricola travelled to Spain in the retinue of Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, and, through his marriage to Juana ‘La loca’, King Philip I of Castile, and that he died there in the autumn of 1506. This article looks at an anonymous setting of a polyphonic lament composed on the death of Agricola and preserved uniquely in a German print dating from several decades after its composition: Georg Rhau’s *Symphonia jucundae* (1538). Despite this location, the lament’s musical style would suggest that it was composed by a Spanish composer such as Juan de Anchieta who served Juana at that time.

Key words

Alexander Agricola, Juan de Anchieta, Philip the Fair, Juana ‘la loca’, Georg Rhau, *Symphonia jucundae*, the Catholic Monarchs, the Burgundian court.

¹ This article was originally published in «Early Music» 34/3 (2006), pp. 427-441, and is reproduced here with permission from Oxford University Press, without images, but with a complete list of manuscript and printed sources, and bibliography.

Laments written by one composer for another seem to have exerted as strong a sense of fascination for their contemporaries as for modern scholars and performers. The musical *déplorations* for Machaut, Binchois, Ockeghem, Josquin, Willaert, Tallis and others are perhaps better known than the lament *Musica, quid defles?* for Alexander Agricola, who died in Spain in 1506². The text takes the form of a Latin dialogue:

EPITAPHION ALEXANDRI AGRICOLAE SYMPHONISTAE REGIS CASTILIAE

Musica, quid defles? Perit mea cura decusque.

Estne Alexander? Is meus Agricola.

Dic age, qualis erat? Clarus vocum manuumque.

Quis locus hunc rapuit? Vavoletanus ager.

Quis Belgam hunc traxit? Magnus rex ipse Philippus.

Quo morbo interiit? Febre fervente abiit.

Aetas quae fuerat? Jam sexagesimus annus.

Sol ubi tunc stabat? Virgineo in capite.

EPITAPH FOR ALEXANDER AGRICOLA, COMPOSER TO THE KING OF CASTILE

Music, why do you weep? My champion and adornment has died.

Is it Alexander? It is my Agricola.

Tell us: what kind of man was he? Renowned as singer and composer.

Where was he taken? In the region of Valladolid.

Who brought the Belgian here? The great king Philip himself.

What sickness occasioned his death? A terrible fever took him.

How old was he? Already in his sixtieth year.

Where stood the sun then? With Virgo at the zenith.

The work is preserved uniquely, without attribution, in a late and relatively little studied source, Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae jucundae atque adeo breves 4 vocum, ab optimis musicis compositae* of 1538³. Over 40 years ago Ludwig Finscher suggested that the following piece in that source –*Nil*

² As far as I am aware, the piece has not been recorded. I am very grateful to Fabrice Fitch and Bonnie Blackburn for reading an earlier draft of this article and for their very helpful and illuminating comments

³ The piece has been known since the mid-19th century (Fétis), and a facsimile appeared in DELPORTE 1932, p. 104; it was first edited in ALBRECHT 1959, pp. 165-168 (no. 49). See WEGMAN 1997, p. 49.

prosunt lacrimae, attributed to Isaac— probably formed the *secunda pars* of the lament, and that *Musica, quid defles?* should therefore also be attributed to Isaac (FINSCHER 1963, p. 204)⁴. Martin Picker seems initially to have agreed with Finscher (PICKER 1978, pp. 665-666), but more recently he entertained doubts and viewed that suggestion as unlikely speculation; in an article published in 1993 he was ready to go along with Edward R. Lerner's assertion that it had more likely been composed by one of Agricola's colleagues in the Burgundian chapel (PICKER 1993, pp. 2685-2689; LERNER 1960, p. 58). However, Picker admitted that the style of the piece seemed unlike anything known to have been composed by Pierre de La Rue, Marbriano de Orto, Nicholas Champion or Antoine Divitis, Agricola's most eminent colleagues in the Burgundian chapel at the time of his death, and acknowledged my suggestion that the piece was structurally and stylistically much closer to motets by their Spanish contemporaries such as Juan de Anchieta or Francisco de Peñalosa⁵. In a subsequent article on Peñalosa, I also suggested that Anchieta was perhaps the most likely contender, given his close associations with the Burgundian chapel, and it is this possibility that will be explored here through a brief analysis of Anchieta's motets and a closer look at the context in which he was working at the time of Agricola's death.

Among the structural and stylistic features that are common to *Musica, quid defles?* and the motets by Anchieta (and, indeed, other Spanish composers) are: an opening exordium of about nine to 12 breves (generally about a fifth or sixth of the total length of the motet), usually for all voices and marked by a strong cadence with a fermata; the use of contrasting textures to articulate the structure of the text; an essentially syllabic approach to text setting and a strikingly declamatory character, including the use of homophonic declamation articulated by rests and pauses in all voices to highlight key moments in the text. It is true that these elements can also be found in some motets attributed to Franco-Flemish composers of the period,

⁴ Although *Nil prosunt lacrimae* is in the same mode (see below), it is in a very different style, and *Musica, quid defles?* has an in-built *secunda pars* beginning at «Quo morbo».

⁵ «It is possible that the [motet] was composed by a Spanish rather than a Netherlandish colleague of Agricola, perhaps Peñalosa» (PICKER 1993, p. 2695). My observation was originally made at the meeting of the International Musicological Society in Madrid, April 1992, and was later expanded in KNIGHTON 2002, pp. 231-257.

and they are strikingly to the fore in about a dozen of the works in the *Symphoniae jucundae*, this musical structure and idiom being particularly well suited to Rhau's aims (discussed briefly below)⁶. These features are distinctively and consistently combined in an articulation of textual rhetoric in devotional motets by Spanish composers, including Anchieta. *Musica, quid defles?* opens with an 11-breve exordium: «Music, why do you weep? My champion and adornment has died» (ex. 1).

The image shows a musical score for the motet 'Musica, quid defles?'. It consists of three systems of four staves each. The first system (bars 1-8) features a vocal line and three lute parts. The lyrics are: 'Mu - si - ca, quid de - - fles? Per - i - it me - a cu -'. The second system (bars 9-14) continues the lyrics: '- ra de - - cus - que. Est - ne A - lex - an - der?'. The third system (bars 15-21) concludes with: 'Is me - us A - gri - co - la? Est - ne A - lex - an - der? Is me - us A - gri - co - la? Die - an - der? Is me - us A - gri - co - la? A - gri - co - la?'. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and accidentals.

Ex. 1. Anonymous, *Musica, quid defles?*, bars 1-21

⁶ In Albrecht's edition the pieces are nos. 2 (Brumel), 3, 6 (Mouton), 7, 12, 21, 39, 41 (Mouton), 43, 46 (Isaac), 47 and 52. Interestingly, at least some of the attributions are considered unreliable. It would also be possible to argue on stylistic grounds that the unattributed works are Spanish in origin; see KNIGHTON 2002, pp. 252-253.

This is very similar to the openings of all Anchieta's surviving motets: *Domine Jesu Christe*, *Domine non secundum*⁷, *Domine, ne memineras*, *Virgo et mater* and the three-voice *Congratulamini mihi* (KREITNER 2004, pp. 104-126)⁸. There is a certain amount of variation within these openings, a difference of approach according to the nature of the text to be set, but the overall pattern is clear. *Domine Jesu Christe*, as a lament for the crucified Christ, shares the recitational quality of the lament for Agricola, though it is more concise (ex. 2), while *Virgo et mater*, a solemn meditation on the suffering of the Virgin at the foot of the Cross, is more extended, introducing the declamatory style to highlight the key words *filium dei* and *et verum hominem*, even within the opening exordium (ex. 3). One of the striking features of *Musica, quid defles?* is the use of the archaic-sounding cadence as illustrated in bar 10 of ex. 1. This occurs six times in the course of the piece, always in the same kind of chord progression, one that is still quite often found in the works of Anchieta and his contemporaries: ex. 4 shows a characteristic passage from the Credo of Anchieta's Marian Mass. Other cadential patterns, and stylistic hallmarks such as shortbreathed imitative exchanges, which cannot be discussed in detail here, are common to both *Musica, quid defles?* and Anchieta's motets. Indeed, if this homage to Agricola was not by Anchieta (nor by one of his Spanish colleagues) and by a Franco-Flemish composer, that composer may have adopted these distinctive elements from the Spanish tradition, perhaps in honour of the fact that Agricola died on Spanish soil.

⁷ Kenneth Kreitner has pointed out that *Domine non secundum* and *Domine, ne memineras* are two parts of the same piece, both from the Ash Wednesday tract *Domine non secundum peccata nostra*, although they are preserved separately in Segovia SegC ss (KREITNER 2004, pp. 106-107). Although in effect a *secunda pars*, *Domine, ne memineras* nevertheless has its opening exordium.

⁸ The motet *O bone Jesu* would also be relevant to this discussion, although it is attributed variously to Anchieta, Peñalosa, Ribera and Compère; Kreitner makes a strong case for Anchieta as the composer. *Congratulamini mihi* is preserved uniquely in a Portuguese keyboard source (KNIGHTON 1996, pp. 93 and p. 111).

Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - ste

Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - - - - ste

Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - - - - ste

Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - - - - ste

Ex. 2. Juan de Anchieta, *Domine Jesu Christe*, bars 1-10

While I remain convinced on musical grounds that *Musica, quid defles?* was composed by a member of the Spanish royal chapels rather than the Burgundian ducal chapel, this does raise a number of intriguing questions as regards its unique transmission in a German printed collection over 30 years later, its apparent uniqueness among the extant Castilian-Aragonese repertory of the period as a homage in the form of a Latin motet, and the authorship of the text, with its specific information concerning Agricola's origin and place and date of death.

Vir - go et ma - - - - ter que

Vir - go et ma - - - - ter que

Vir - go et ma - - - - ter que

Vir - go et ma - - - - ter que

10

fi - li - um de - i ge - nu - i - - - - sti

fi - li - um de - i ve -

fi - li - um de - i ge - nu - i - - - - sti

fi - li - um de - i ve - rum de -

Ex. 3. Juan de Anchieta, *Virgo et mater*, bars 1-25

Picker suggested that the author of the text «was a member of the [Burgundian] court» and that the piece was «set to music for performance by Agricola’s colleagues in the chapel at a burial or memorial service in the late summer of 1506» (PICKER 1993, p. 2687). Lerner asserted that because of the unusual amount of specific biographical detail, whoever wrote the dialogue must have been active in court circles in Spain at the time of Agricola’s death⁹. The motet has certainly been used to help establish details of his biography, including his Belgian origin, his age and so his date of birth as well as death (WEGMAN 1997, pp. 48-49; WEGMAN 2001, p. 226; PICKER 1993, p. 2686; RIFKIN 2004). The reference to the sun being with Virgo at its height would suggest that he died in mid-August; the discovery by Bonnie Blackburn of another epitaph to Agricola confirms his date of death as mid-August («mi-aoust») 1506 (WEGMAN 1997, pp. 48-49; WEGMAN 2001, p. 226). This *Épitaphe de maistre Alexandre Agricola* is written in French and also refers in greater detail and by means of more elaborate poetic expression to Agricola’s skills as both singer and composer (WEGMAN 1997, pp. 48-49 and pp. 61-62)¹⁰. Wegman has proposed 15 August as the date of death, as did Picker, but Honey Meconi’s discovery of a payment to Agricola from 16 August led her to suggest that that day, or immediately thereafter, was more likely, even though she acknowledges that «mi-aoust» was sometimes used to refer to the

⁹ «The authentic tone and variety of details mark it as a first-hand account by someone active at the Spanish court when the composer died» (LERNER 1960, p. 58).

¹⁰ It survives as part of a chronicle by Nicaise Ladam, and includes the lines «Tu as cassé la triumpante voix, / Quy excedoit et passoit les driades, / Les dieux d’amours, et les aucadriades, / Les seraines et les *niimphes des bois*» [italics mine], clearly a reference to the *déploration* for Ockeghem by Jean Molinet.

feast of the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August (MECONI 2003, pp. 70-71)¹¹. At this time the court was in the village of Tudela del Duero, just along the river from Valladolid; Philip had intended to go to Segovia, where Juana was to see out her pregnancy, but the queen fell ill shortly after leaving Valladolid, and the court thus spent the whole month of August in Tudela del Duero, where Agricola's last payment was recorded. However, the *Epitaphe* states categorically that he was buried in Valladolid («est dedans Veldoli inhume»), and this must mean that his body was taken back to the city, or that, in fact, he never left it, having fallen ill before or at the time the court began its interrupted journey to Segovia (ANTOINE DE LALAING 1876, pp. 448-449)¹².

150
- tur, et con glo - ri - fi - ca - tur:
- tur,
- tur, et con glo - ri - fi - ca - tur:
- tur, et con glo - ri - fi - ca - tur:

Ex. 4. Juan de Anchieta, Credo from his Marian Mass, bars 150-154

If we can assume that the author of the dialogue was active within court circles in August 1506, could he have been a member of the Spanish, rather than the Burgundian entourage? The text's open support for Philip the Fair – «Magnus rex ipse Philippus» (which may in itself provide a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the motet, since Philip himself died on 25 September)– might suggest that the author was Burgundian, but this would not necessarily have been the case. The political situation in Castile in August 1506 was volatile: Philip had arrived in La Coruña in April with the express purpose of being proclaimed King of Castile through his marriage to Juana “the Mad”, third daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. His father-

¹¹ It is possible, assuming that Agricola was already sick on 16 August, that his payment was collected on his behalf, although according to Meconi there is no indication of this in the ledgers.

¹² I am grateful to Fabrice Fitch for useful discussion on this point.

in-law, Ferdinand, had taken steps to ensure that he retained power in Castile after the death of his wife in 1504; indeed, the queen had specified in her will that if Juana were unfit to rule, her father should govern in her stead (HILLGARTH 1978, vol. 2, pp. 592-597). Ferdinand was quick to convene the Castilian parliament (*cortes*) and declare himself governor, in a clear affront to Philip, who determined to wrest Castile from Ferdinand's control. Philip set about corresponding with various disaffected Castilian nobles, gaining support from many quarters. By as early as May 1505 the Castilian ambassador to Flanders, Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, commented that «every shoemaker» in Castile was sending his allegiance to Philip (HILLGARTH 1978, vol. 2, p. 593; DUQUE DE BERWICKY DE ALBA 1907, p. 322, p. 330 and p. 359).

And not just shoemakers: one singer of the Castilian royal chapel also expressed his enmity towards Ferdinand. Anchieta, who had served Isabella from 1489 and been chapelmaster to her son prince Juan until his death in 1497, travelled after the queen's death to Flanders to continue in the service of her daughter Juana and also to teach her children, Charles V and his sisters Leonor and Isabel¹³. However, Anchieta's activities at the Burgundian court seem to have gone well beyond these responsibilities. In March 1505 Fuensalida reported to Ferdinand that Philip's advisors had decided at a council meeting that every means possible to persuade Juana to side against her father should be taken, and that anything she wrote to him should be intercepted. Anchieta, they agreed, would be the ideal «go-between in this because he spends time singing with the Queen and in this guise he would be able to talk to her about anything he wished. This Juan is as great an enemy to your highness's service as if the archbishopric of Toledo had been taken from him» (AIZPURÚA 1995, p. 21; DUQUE DE BERWICKY DE ALBA 1907, p. 341)¹⁴.

¹³ As many as ten of the other singers in the Castilian royal chapel at the time of Isabella's death had transferred immediately to the Aragonese royal chapel and continued to serve Ferdinand until his own death in 1516. See KNIGHTON 2001, pp. 87-88 and pp. 182-183. On Anchieta at the Burgundian court, see AIZPURÚA 1995, pp. 20-22. His English sojourn is mentioned in STEVENSON 2001, vol. 1, pp. 604-605 and GÓMEZ MUNTANÉ MGG Personenteil I, cols. 628-630.

¹⁴ «a El Viernes Santo en la tarde tnyeron Gran Consejo [...] y fui avisado de un amigo mío que allí se trataron muchas cosas, entre las cuales fueron éstas: que se trabajase de ganar a la Reyna para que se conformase con el Rey, su marido, porque no escribiese a V. al. alguna cosa sin saberlo ellos, y que Juanes Dancheta sería para esto buen medianero, porque la Reyna pasa

Anchieta thus belonged to the long tradition of musical spies, although why he should have taken so vehemently against Ferdinand is not clear: Peñalosa's pre-eminence in the Aragonese chapel choir by 1504 may have meant that there was no room for two chapelmasters, but by 1512 Anchieta must have swallowed his pride, since he was once again being paid as a singer in that choir (KNIGHTON 2001, p. 189)¹⁵. In the intervening years, however, he remained in the service of Juana: he travelled with her from Flanders early in 1506 and was one of the musicians who survived the terrible storms in the English Channel and subsequently spent three months sojourning at the court of Henry VIII (ANTOINE DE LALAIN 1876, p. 503; PICKER 1993, pp. 2684-2685). Anchieta's close association with the Burgundian court, and its musicians, continued after Philip's death when for almost two years he was the only Spanish singer paid by Juana alongside his Flemish contemporaries, including La Rue, Orto, and Divitis, as they traipsed over the Castilian countryside singing responsories for the embalmed body of Philip, which Juana refused to bury (DUGGAN 1976). He must, therefore, have known Agricola, and possibly even sung alongside him during the last years of that composer's life¹⁶.

Anchieta, then, would have been the Spanish composer most likely to have written a musical epitaph for Agricola: he would have known him, and, likewise through direct contact with the Burgundian court, he might well have been familiar with the tradition of one composer writing a polyphonic lament for another composer. He would also, if ambassador Fuensalida's comments can be taken at face value, have supported Philip's cause in Castile and referred to him willingly as «the great king» of Castile; it is hard to imagine a member of the Aragonese chapel such as Peñalosa setting the phrase, even if

tiempo en cantar, y aquél podría con aquella color dezirle todo lo que quisiese. El qual Juanes esta tan enemigo del servicio de v. al. como si le ovieron quitado el Arzobispado de Toledo».

¹⁵ His annual salary in the Aragonese household was 30,000 *maravedís*; however, he also continued to earn 15,000 *maravedís per annum* from Juana, and after Ferdinand's death in 1516 was also paid the total amount of 45,000 *maravedís* by Charles V, in recognition of the «muchos e Buenos servicios que el dicho Juanes nos ha hecho» until his death in 1523, even though in his later years he was infirm and no longer resided at court: see AIZPURÚA 1995, pp. 22-23.

¹⁶ The presence of works by both Agricola and Anchieta in the manuscript now preserved at Segovia Cathedral as SegC ss has led some scholars to suggest that it was in some way connected to Juana and/or Juan de Anchieta and this second visit of the Burgundian chapel to Spain. The debate is summarized in KREITNER 2004, pp. 80-103.

Ferdinand was eventually forced to concede Philip's rights to rule together with Juana, and on his own should she predecease him (HILLGARTH 1978, vol. 2, p. 595-596). In any case, Ferdinand had no option but to retire to his own kingdoms –and his chapel with him– before Agricola's death. Anchieta would have known Agricola well enough to be familiar with biographical details such as his Belgian origins and his age.

If Anchieta composed *Musica, quid defles?*, might he also have written the text? It is clear from the correspondence between members of the royal chapels, including several singer-composers, and the humanist Lucas Marineus Siculus that composers such as Francisco de Peñalosa and Juan Ponce wrote or put together their own motet texts with a helping hand from their Latin teacher (KNIGHTON 2002, p. 248)¹⁷. There is also a certain amount of evidence to suggest that Anchieta was familiar with Latin: he certainly owned books in Latin at the time of his death, and he may even have been responsible for teaching Latin as well as music to his royal charges¹⁸. In his will, dated 19 February 1522, Anchieta left his possessions, including his books, to his niece, Ana de Anchieta (STEVENSON 1960, pp. 131-132). On 1 August 1523, two days after his death, she took possession of his house in Azpeitia in the Basque Country, and the inventory of her uncle's belongings included the following books:

¹⁷ Marineus Siculus and other Latin humanists were employed at both the Castilian and Aragonese courts to teach Latin to the royal children and young nobles in their entourages as well as the members of the royal chapels as part of the Catholic Monarchs' strongly held beliefs in the importance of education and their reform of the clergy, including the royal chaplains.

¹⁸ Anchieta was employed as *maistre d'escole* to Juana's children in 1505, when Leonor would have been seven and Charles five, and it is not clear whether his duties would have included teaching Latin; he had certainly taught music to Juana and her siblings (see AIZPURÚA 1995, pp. 18-19 and pp. 21-22). Aizpurúa suggests that Anchieta's title of *maestro de capilla* should be interpreted as fulfilling the role of music master, rather than choir director, since although a household was established for Prince Juan in 1495, no singers are listed. A curious entry in an inventory of the personal effects of Isabella drawn up in her chambers before 1501 includes notebooks and papers pertaining to the education of her son, some of Latin and others of music: «[...] five parchment-covered cleaned [?] folders from when the prince was being taught Latin, and two notebooks of large-sized paper of polyphony, and another parchment notebook of chant». See also ROS-FÁBREGAS 2001, (I), pp. 58-59.

Item, two bound books of music (*canto*) and another music book sewn in parchment; three other books, among them the three parts of the *historiales*; another book called *Vocabulario*; another book entitled *Suma Rosela* (STEVENSON 1960, p. 132, no. 107)¹⁹.

The music books were almost certainly manuscripts, very possibly of his own works; it is interesting that two of the volumes are bound, suggesting that they may have been presentation copies, or at least books of some value²⁰. The *Vocabulario* must surely refer to Nebrija's pioneering and highly influential Latin–Castilian dictionary, first published in Salamanca in 1492 and appearing in many further editions by 1523 (NORTON 1978). The other books (if they are identified correctly here) were certainly in Latin: «the three parts of the *historiales*» very probably refers to the *Speculum maius*, the compendium of medieval knowledge compiled by Vincent de Beauvais (c. 1190–1264) in 1220–1254, and printed many times from the early 1470s in Strasbourg²¹. The *Speculum maius* comprised three volumes –*Speculum naturale*, *Speculum doctrinale* and *Speculum historiale*– the second of which included a chapter dedicated to music as part of the Quadrivium, in the form of a summary of music theory largely based on Boethius (GÖLLER 1959). Baptista Trovamala's *Summa roselle* is a substantial Latin tome²², and was also published in Strasbourg in 1516: possibly both books were acquired by Anchieta during his sojourn in Flanders. The possession of these Latin compendia would certainly indicate knowledge of Latin on the part of the composer, although book ownership, then as now, did not necessarily imply that the owner actually read the book in question²³.

¹⁹ «Yten. Dos libros encuadernados de canto, y otro libro de canto cosido en pergamino: otros tres libros, donde hauia las tres partes historiales: otro libro, que se llame vocabulario: otro libro, que se llame Suma Rosela». See also FÁBREGAS 2001, (II), pp. 34-36.

²⁰ Emilio Ros-Fábregas has argued (FÁBREGAS 2001, (II), p. 36) that the parchment-covered music book may possibly relate to the songbook known as the *Cancionero musical de Segovia* (Segovia SegC ss): see no. 24 above. See also FÁBREGAS 2001, (I), pp. 46-47.

²¹ I am very grateful to Bonnie Blackburn for her help in the identification of these volumes. See ANDERSON 2001, vol. 26, p. 651.

²² I am very grateful to Professor Trevor Dadson for his help with the identification of this volume. Trovamala's *Summa roselle de casibus conscientiae* was first published in Venice in 1495, but, as Professor Dadson suggests, given the date of the inventory, the Strasbourg edition of 1516 is more likely in this case.

²³ Anchieta's earliest biographer, Adolphe Coster (COSTER 1930, p. 59) supposes that Anchieta might have studied at Salamanca University before he entered Isabella's service in

It is quite likely, then, that Anchieta himself would have had sufficient knowledge of Latin to enable him to write a motet text²⁴, but the unusual dialogue form of *Musica, quid defles?* suggests a further possible candidate: Juana's head chaplain Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa (OLMEDO 1944). Ramírez de Villaescusa first set sail for Flanders with princess Juana in August 1496 and officiated at her marriage to Philip on 18 October. He was so loyal to the new duchess that Isabella suspected him of disloyalty to her, and recalled him to Castile two years later by appointing him Bishop of Astorga. However, he returned almost immediately to Flanders, and was in Ghent for the birth of Charles V on 24 February 1500²⁵. Ramírez de Villaescusa continued to serve Juana as *capellán mayor* throughout the early years of the 16th century until Philip's death in September 1506, and was in Valladolid at the time of Agricola's demise. Among the writings of Ramírez de Villaescusa are the *Dialogi quatuor super auspicato Hispaniarum principis emortuali die* (Antwerp, 1498) commemorating the death of Prince Juan in 1497 (OLMEDO 1944, pp. 219-296). The outpouring of grief at the untimely death of the prince found literary expression in a great variety of genres and forms, including the *romance Triste España sin ventura* and *villancico A tal pérdida tan triste* by Juan del Encina (published in a *pliego suelto* in Salamanca shortly after the prince's death), and an epitaph by Marineus Siculus for his tomb in the monastery of Santo Tomás in Ávila²⁶. Only Ramírez de Villaescusa's contribution, however, takes the form of the Latin dialogue. The four dialogues are much longer and more elaborate than the epigraph for Agricola, and recreate realistic exchanges between Isabel and Death (in the form of a skeleton that comes knocking at the door to her chambers), Ferdinand and his widowed daughter-in-law Margaret of Austria, Ferdinand and Isabella (in

1489, but there is no documentation to substantiate this. See STEVENSON 1960, pp. 132-133.

²⁴ Anchieta might well have written or arranged the text (partly centonized) for his devotional motet *Virgo et mater*.

²⁵ Ramírez de Villaescusa wrote a *relación* of this event which he sent to the Catholic Monarchs: see OLMEDO 1944, pp. 65-70.

²⁶ All these texts, as well as many others written on the occasion of the prince's death, are reproduced in ALCALÁ GALVE-SANZ 1999. No musical setting of Marineus Siculus's epitaph survives, although polyphonic versions of the *romance* and the *villancico* are preserved in Madrid Ms II-1335, ff. 55v-56 and f. 224v. See ANGLÉS 1947, no. 83 and ANGLÉS 1951, no. 324; and JONES-LEE 1990, pp. 51, pp. 212-213, p. 292 and p. 341.

which the king breaks the terrible news to his wife), and the queen and Margaret²⁷. The four dialogues, despite their inspiration in tragedy, are elegant and emotional works, expressed, as Ramírez de Villaescusa so modestly says in the prologue, «exquisitely and also accurately» (ALCALÁ GALVE-SANZ 1999, p. 302).

Anchieta, who had been chapelmaster to prince Juan and who was later employed in Juana's household alongside Ramírez de Villaescusa, must have known the *Dialogi quatuor* which could well have provided the inspiration for the Agricola epitaph, whether it was Anchieta or even Ramírez de Villaescusa himself who penned the lines. It would certainly appear that from the time of prince Juan's death, funeral elegies in the form of epitaphs and other genres, in both Latin and the vernacular, became *de rigueur* on the occasion of the demise of a figure of importance (ALCINA 1994). It is noteworthy that a *romance* was written in commemoration of Philip the Fair, whose death followed so shortly on Agricola's²⁸. This *romance*, preserved only in fragmentary form in a much-damaged *pliego suelto* (probably printed in Zaragoza not long after the duke's death), reinforces the idea that Philip's demise was lamented –or at least marked– by Castilian writers and poets²⁹. Its text can be reconstructed only in part, but it is clear that it comprises a dialogue between *Alemaña* (Germany, but with reference to the Holy Roman Empire) and Castile, in which each laments the loss of their emperor-to-be and their king respectively:

²⁷ The first three are translated into Spanish in OLMEDO 1944, pp. 238-96, and the fourth in ALCALÁ GALVE-SANZ 1999, pp. 304-307.

²⁸ This lament, entitled *Romance sobre la muerte del rey don Felipe* and published as a *pliego suelto* presumably in 1506, was listed among the many books in the library of Ferdinand Columbus (NORTON 1978, no. 216, p. 87) and has survived, in fragmentary form, bound in a collection of *romances* held in the private collection formerly belonging to Ramón Menéndez Pidal (NORTON 1978, no. 142, p. 59). See SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN 1920, p. 38 and pp. 43-44. The Castilian text follows Sánchez Cantón's transcription. See also NORTON 1978, no. 367; FERNANDO DE LA PRADILLA 1502.

²⁹ Sánchez Cantón, writing in 1920, considers the *romance* to be a somewhat unexpected manifestation of Spanish grief for Philip, including the «only poetic echoes of the premature death of the Flemish king» (SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN 1920, pp. 43-44). The historiography of Philip's brief reign and death traditionally projected this image of his unpopularity (as well as his death by poison), although recent research has established that the actual situation was far more complex.

Alta almaña ha hablado:
“Dezid, hermana [Castilla],
por qué hazes ta[...]?”
Allí respondió Castilla,
con dolor desigualado:
“Ay, triste de mi, cuytada,
que yo no podré b[...]
que he perdido mi gran [rey],
don ffelipe el señalado,
que entre todos los reyes del mundo,
éste fuera el más nombrado,
que antes de muchos dias
fuera emperador alçado”.

Great Germany spoke:
“Speak, sister [Castile],
why do you [...]?”
and Castile replied,
with unrivalled grief:
“Ah! Woe is me, wretched as I am,
for I will not be able to [...]
since I’ve lost my great [king],
the mighty king Philip,
who, among all the kings in the world,
was the most renowned,
who before too long
would have been crowned emperor (NORTON 1978, no. 142, p. 59)³⁰.

No musical setting for this *romance* has survived, but it would surely have been sung, possibly to a melody or setting already in existence. The *romances* for both prince Juan and Philip, as well as other elegies in the vernacular (NORTON 1978, no. 1334 [*Triunfo a la muerte de la reyna doña Ysabel*, s.l. ca. 1505] and no. 972 [*Elegía fecha a la muerte del rey don*

³⁰ As the eldest son of Maximilian I (d. 1519), Philip was also heir to the Holy Roman Empire. The incomplete transcription follows Sánchez Cantón.

Fernando, Seville 1516])³¹, throw into relief the uniqueness of *Musica, quid defles?*. No other Latin motet of this kind written for a specific occasion, whether in commemoration of an individual or an event, survives from the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, although it is true that much of the motet repertory has been lost. Indeed, it would appear that it was customary for a *sung* tribute of this kind to be in the form of the *romance* and *villancico*, which thus served the function of *Staatsmusik* in the Spanish kingdoms, rather than –possibly even in preference to– the Latin motet³². The earliest extant example of an occasional Latin motet for a Spanish monarch is Nicholas Payen’s *Carole, cur defles Isabellam*, composed to mark the death of Isabella of Portugal, wife of Charles V and mother of Philip II, in 1538 (KNIGHTON 2000, pp. 90-91). This motet, by a member of Charles’s Flemish chapel, conforms in structure and style to the Franco-Netherlandish motet of the first half of the 16th century.

Another feature peculiar to the motets by Spanish composers of the previous generation is that they do not appear to have been disseminated beyond the Spanish-speaking worlds, both old and new, and Portugal (REES 1995, pp. 49-85). This is not the place to discuss the reasons for this apparent peninsularity, but it does raise the question as to how *Musica, quid defles?* came to be preserved in Rhau’s *Symphoniae jucundae*; no other work is attributed to a Spanish composer in his collections³³. If Anchieta was indeed the composer of the motet, it might easily have travelled back to Flanders with La Rue *et compagne* on their return to Flanders in 1508; certainly, there would have been reason for it to have been valued or at least included in the Burgundian chapel repertory so that it, unlike other motets written for the Castilian and Aragonese courts, would have had currency north of the Pyrenees (DUGGAN 1976). How it came into Rhau’s hands is not known: Picker

³¹ A further occasional *romance* with a surviving musical setting, *Ninha era la infanta*, is found in Lisbon BN 60, which, in a somewhat different and extended version of the text in Gil Vicente’s *Cortes de Jupiter* (1521), forms a lament on the departure of the Infanta Doña Beatriz from Lisbon (REES 1993, pp. 1528-1532).

³² This idea is explored more fully in Tess Knighton, *Music and ceremony at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella* (forthcoming).

³³ Although, as has been discussed already, some of the anonymous pieces share the characteristic features of Spanish devotional motets. See note 6 above.

suggested that the printer probably included the work «in recognition of the Franco-Flemish masters as a group rather than Agricola in particular, since he sought out none of Agricola’s music for inclusion» (PICKER 1993, p. 2687). Rhau’s subtitle included the selling-point that the music was by the «best musicians», even though many of the pieces are, in fact, unattributed. In itself, *Musica, quid defles?* was highly suitable for inclusion in Rhau’s collection, which, as is clear from the preface –Martin Luther’s celebrated *Encomium musices*– was not intended to be sung by professional musicians in church services, but for music amateurs (*musicae studiosi*), many of whose performances took place in academic circles³⁴. Luther’s preface, though it makes no direct reference to the anthology it introduces (it does, however, refer to the «playfulness» and joyful nature of the combination of different vocal strands in polyphonic music), clearly reflects his recognition of the importance of music in the education and lives of young people (*juvenes*)³⁵.

The motets are mostly concise (as indicated by the words *adeo breves* in the subtitle) and relatively simple in terms of the vocal technique and sight-reading skills required to perform them³⁶. Albrecht has highlighted several pieces that would have been familiar to Luther –indeed, works that were performed in his house, such as the setting of Dido’s lament, *Dulces exuviae* (no. 12; ALBRECHT 1959, pp. XII-XIII). Rhau drew on both international and local repertoires, and the pieces were carefully selected, not only for variety of text (drawn from the psalms, the Old and New Testaments, devotional prayers and antiphons) and musical setting, but also for their mode, since the whole collection is organized modally; this would again reflect

³⁴ See the preface to Albrecht’s edition of the *Symphoniae jucundae* (ALBRECHT 1959, p. XII). As Albrecht points out, Friedrich Blume’s assumption that the 52 motets contained in the volume were intended as propers for the Sundays of the year was made without access to the actual contents of the volume, which contains at least three secular items, including the lament for Agricola. The number is suggestive, however: perhaps the intention was for one motet to be sung at weekly gatherings throughout the year, though not necessarily with strict adherence to the order in which they were printed.

³⁵ ALBRECHT 1959, p. XII: «pluribus vocibus interim circum circa mirabiliter ludentibus, exultantibus et jucundissimus gestibus laudem ornantibus, et velut juxta eam divinam quondam choream ducentibus».

³⁶ As Albrecht points out, even the more substantial pieces by Richafort and Hellinck present no rhythmic complications and have a notable transparency of texture (ALBRECHT 1959, p. XIII).

the volume's dual educational and entertainment purpose. The anthology begins with 19 works in the Lydian mode (F), with a striking number of pieces with texts drawn from the psalms or the Song of Songs; six motets follow in the Ionian mode (C) and 12 in the Mixolydian (G), with a pronounced emphasis on settings drawn from the New Testament. Then come seven pieces in the Phrygian mode (E), mainly Lamentations settings, and these are followed by six in the Aeolian (A), which are also mostly laments and include *Musica, quid defles?*. The anthology ends with two pieces again in the Mixolydian mode (perhaps to end on a lighter note), the last of which is the brief anonymous *Laus Deo, pax vivis*, an appropriately valedictory setting.

The unattributed setting of the epitaph written for Agricola in 1506 fits into this context like a glove: it would not stretch the musical abilities or experience of student amateurs and its text offers a prime example of an elegant Latin lament that would have had a wide appeal in such circles. It may never be possible to ascertain whether *Musica, quid defles?* was composed by Anchieta as a Spanish homage to a Franco-Netherlandish colleague, but it nevertheless remains a possible fruit of the period of direct musical contact and exchange that occurred between Burgundy and Spain through the marriage of Philip and Juana (DUGGAN 1976; KNIGHTON 2005).

Manuscript sources

Lisbon BN 60	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, CIC 60, "Cancioneiro de Lisboa".
Madrid Ms II-1335	Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms II-1335, "Cancionero Musical de Palacio".
Segovia SegC ss	Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, MS s.s "Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia".

Printed sources

ALBRECHT 1959	ALBRECHT, Hans (ed.): <i>Symphoniae Jucundae, 1538, Georg Rhau Musikdrucke aus den Jahre 1538-1545</i> (Kassel: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 3 vol.
ANTOINE DE LALAING 1876	ANTOINE DE LALAING: "Seconde voyage de Philippe le Beau", in Louis Prosper Gachard, <i>Collection des</i>

- voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1876), 1 vol.
- DUQUE DE BERWICK Y DE ALBA 1907 DUQUE DE BERWICK Y DE ALBA (ed.): *Correspondencia de Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, embajador en Alemania, Flandes e Inglaterra (1496–1509)*, (Madrid: s. e, 1907).
- FERNANDO DE LA PRADILLA 1502 FERNANDO DE LA PRADILLA: *La obra de la venida del rey don Phelippe y doña Juana* (Logroño: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, ca.1502).

Bibliography

- AIZPURÚA 1995 AIZPURÚA, Pedro: “Presentación de las pasiones y biografía musical”, in Dionisio Preciado (ed.), *Juan de Anchieta: cuatro pasiones polifónicas*, (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología-Sedem, 1995), pp. 15-27.
- ALCALÁ GALVE-SANZ 1999 ALCALÁ GALVE, Ángel and SANZ, Jacobo: *Vida y muerte del príncipe don Juan: historia y literatura* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999).
- ALCINA 1994 ALCINA, Juan F.: “La elegía neolatina”, in López Bueno, Begoña (ed.), *La elegía: III Encuentro Internacional sobre poesía del Siglo de Oro (Sevilla-Córdoba, 14-17 de noviembre de 1994)*, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1994), pp. 15-40.
- ANDERSON 2001 ANDERSON, Gordon A.: “Vincent de Beauvais”, *New Grove II*, vol. 26, p. 651.
- ANGLÉS 1947 ANGLÉS, Higinio: *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos, I. Polifonía Profana, Cancionero Musical de Palacio (siglos XV-XVI)*, Monumentos de la Música Española, 5 (1947).
- ANGLÉS 1951 ANGLÉS, Higinio: *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos, I. Polifonía Profana, Cancionero Musical de Palacio (siglos XV-XVI)*, Monumentos de la Música Española, 10 (1951).
- COSTER 1930 COSTER, Adolphe: “Juan de Anchieta et la famille de Loyola”, *Revue hispanique* 79 (1930), pp. 1-322.
- DELPORTE 1932 DELPORTE, Jules: “L'école polyphonique franco-flamande: Alexandre Agricola”, *Revue liturgique et musicale* 15/4 (1932), pp. 102-107.
- DUGGAN 1976 DUGGAN, Mary Kay: “Queen Joanna and her musicians”, *Musica disciplina* 30 (1976), pp. 73-92.
- FINSCHER 1963 FINSCHER, Ludwig: “Besprechung. G. Rhau: Musikdrucke, Bd. III: Symphoniae jucundae atque adeo breves... 1538, hrsg. von H. Albrecht”, *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963), pp. 203-206.
- GÖLLER 1959 GÖLLER, Gottfried: *Vinzenz von Beauvais O.P. (um 1194–1264) und sein Musiktractat im Speculum doctrinale* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1959).

- GÓMEZ MUNTANÉ MGG GÓMEZ MUNTANÉ, Maricarmen: “Anchieta, Juan de”, *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil I, cols. 628–630.
- HILLGARTH 1978 Hillgarth, J. N: *The Spanish kingdoms, 1250–1516*, 2 vols., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- JONES-LEE 1990 JONES, R. O. and LEE, Carolyn (eds.): *Poesía lírica y cancionero musical* (Madrid: Castalia, 1990).
- KNIGHTON 1996 KNIGHTON, Tess: “A newly discovered keyboard source (Gonzalo de Baena’s Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger, Lisbon, 1540): a preliminary report”, *Plainsong and medieval music* 5 (1996), pp. 81-112.
- KNIGHTON 2000 KNIGHTON, Tess: “La música en la casa y capilla del príncipe Felipe (1543–1556): modelos y contextos”, in Luis Robledo Estaire *et al.*, *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la corte de Felipe II*, (Madrid: Caja Madrid, 2000), pp. 35-97.
- KNIGHTON 2001 KNIGHTON, Tess: *Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, 1474–1516* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2001).
- KNIGHTON 2002 KNIGHTON, Tess: “Francisco de Peñalosa: new work lost and found”, in David Crawford (ed.), *Encomium musicae: essays in memory of Robert Snow*, (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), pp. 231-257.
- KNIGHTON 2005 KNIGHTON, Tess: “A meeting of chapels: Toledo, 1502”, in Juan José Carreras and Bernardo J. García García (eds.), *The royal chapel in the time of the Habsburgs: music and ceremony in the early modern European court*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 85-102.
- KREITNER 2004 KREITNER, Kenneth: *The church music of fifteenth-century Spain* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004).
- LERNER 1960 LERNER, Edward R.: “The «German» works of Alexander Agricola”, *Musical quarterly* 46 (1960), pp. 56-66.
- MECONI 2003 MECONI, Honey: *Pierre de La Rue and musical life at the Habsburg-Burgundian court* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- NORTON 1978 NORTON, Frederick John: *A descriptive catalogue of printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501–1520* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
- OLMEDO 1944 OLMEDO, Félix G.: *Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa (1459–1537): fundador del colegio de Cuenca y autor de los cuatro diálogos sobre la muerte del príncipe don Juan* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1944).
- PICKER 1978 PICKER, Martin: “A letter of Charles VIII of France concerning Alexander Agricola”, in J. LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of medieval and Renaissance music: a birthday offering to Gustave Reese*, (New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), pp. 665-672.

- PICKER 1993 PICKER, Martin: "Musical laments for King Philip of Castile and his musician Alexander Agricola", *Revista de musicología*, 16/5 (1993), pp. 2684-2695.
- REES 1993 REES, Owen: "Texts and music in Lisbon BN 60", *Revista de musicología* 16/3 (1993), pp. 1515-1533.
- REES 1995 REES, Owen: *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530 – c. 1620: sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York: Garland, 1995).
- RIFKIN 2004 RIFKIN, Joshua: "Alexander Agricola and Cambrai: a postscript", *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 54 (2004), pp. 23-30.
- ROS-FÁBREGAS 2001 ROS-FÁBREGAS, Emilio: "Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (I)", *Pliegos de bibliofilia* 15 (2001), pp. 37-62; "Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (II)", *Pliegos de bibliofilia* 16 (2001), pp. 33-46.
- SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN 1920 SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, Francisco Javier: "Un pliego de romances desconocido, de los primeros años del siglo XVI", *Revista de filología española* 7 (1920), pp. 37-46.
- STEVENSON 1960 STEVENSON, Robert: *Spanish music in the age of Columbus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960).
- STEVENSON 2001 STEVENSON, Robert: "Anchieta, Juan de", *New Grove II*, vol. 1, pp. 604-605.
- WEGMAN 1997 WEGMAN, Robert: "Agricola, Bordon and Obrecht at Ghent: discoveries and revisions", *Revue belge de musicologie* 51 (1997), pp. 23-62.
- WEGMAN 2001 WEGMAN, Robert: "Agricola, Alexander", *New Grove II*, vol. 1, pp. 225-229.

Tess Knighton

Since 2011 Tess Knighton is an ICREA Research Professor based at the Institució Milà I Fontanals-CSIC in Barcelona. She is also an Emeritus Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. From 1993-2009 she was editor of the journal *Early Music* (OUP), and she is currently a Series Editor (with Helen Deeming) for The Boydell Press's Medieval and Renaissance Music series. She has published widely on various aspects of music and culture in early modern Spain and Portugal and has recently edited a collection of essays entitled the *Brill Companion to Music at the Time of the Catholic Monarchs* (2016).