In his last will and testament of 21 January 1284, written in Seville, seventy-four days before his death, Alfonso X decreed that all the Cantigas codices be housed in the cathedral of that city, where his body was to be interred and that the cantigas de loor should be sung in the cathedral on the feast days of the Virgin. According to José M. Llorens Cisteró, the king's wish was honored on feast days, not only in the cathedral, during the procession, but also in religious ceremonies at court and in popular festivities (en algunas celebraciones religiosas de la corte y manifestaciones populares). By the middle of the fourteenth century, however, interest in the Cantigas had begun to decline until they were totally forgotten (empezaron a decayer en interés hasta quedar completamente olvidadas).

From John E. Keller's remarks, while not in full disagreement Llorens Cisteró, one senses the implication that the practice was from time to time and that "even now [cantigas are] sung [at the cathedral of Seville] to musical accompaniment." Thus, any attempt to verify whether or not Alfonso's command was executed per annum, through the centuries, would necessitate a laborious and time-consuming perusal of the cathedral's Actas capitulares, particularly the entries for the feast days of the Virgin: February 2, March 25, August 15, September 8, October 12, December 8. Apart from Seville and Toledo where Alfonso held his court, information concerning when, where else, and how Alfonso's Cantigas were performed during his reign has to date yielded very little descriptive documentation of musicological significance, except for scanty iconographical evidence.

One has only to view the physical appearance of any one of the extant Cantigas codices bearing musical notation-ranging from 315 to 485 mm long and from 217 to 326 mm wide, and containing from 160 to 370 leaves of parchment-to realize how unwieldy each was for the solitary singer as well as the clarity of its notation if additional singers were huddled before it. This immediately calls to mind the larger and cumbersome cantorales, or choir books, such as those resting on facistolia (lecterns or choristers' desks) in the choir loft of the royal monastery of El Escorial, around which several singers stood to sing from the same musical notation, inscribed on huge sheets of parchment. Whether such a group gathered around a Cantigas codex, or whether one singer, knowledgeable in reading its notation, taught selected texts and tunes to those gathered around him, remains an enigma. One can add to this problem such further speculations as those pertaining to performance practices, including dancing, with or without the accompaniment of musical instruments like those depicted in several of its miniatures, as well as the manner of accompaniment.

A closer study of the text-tune relationships of both the Marian miracles and the praises sung in her honor may even enable us to differentiate the poetic texts, for which their tunes were created.
simultaneously, from texts which may have been suited to known melodies of the time taken from either liturgical or secular sources. At the same time, we can take into account their varied formal, modal, cadential, and intervallic structures, ambitus, syllable count, rhythmic features, mensural schemes, and versification. The melodic origins of the *Cantigas* tunes await further investigation. Moreover, considering the fact that the Galician-Portuguese dialect was neither the spoken nor even the written language of most Castilians, it is unlikely that even a handful of sung cantigas would have survived in oral tradition.

**Cantiga 10: "Rosa das rosas"**

Still, the possible instance of a cantiga tune surviving in oral tradition up to the third decade of the present century appears to have given rise to a few casual notices, even though its sung text is a Castilian translation of the original Galician-Portuguese. I am referring, of course, to Alfonso X's cantiga *de loor 10*, "Rosa das rosas" (Figure 11-1), which appears as no. 263 among the musical notations in Kurt Schindler's *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal*, published posthumously by the Hispanic Institute of Columbia University in 1941 (Example 11-1b). Schindler collected the [161] cantiga in the town of Ceclavin, in western Cáceres near the Portuguese border, during his short visit there in the late summer of 1932. This was the period of Schindler's second field trip to Spain, during which he transported a Fairchild portable recording apparatus for the purpose of gathering his material on aluminum discs. The label on disc no. 150A, containing "Rosa [de las] rosas", cites Amado Vives Amores as Schindler's informant. Furthermore, in the text portion of his published collection, Schindler identified item 263 as "la Cantiga X del rey Don Alfonso el sabio," yet he questioned whether it was "tradicional en Ceclavin." [11]

Daniel Devoto, in his critical review, was the first to take note of its inclusion in Schindler's magnificent collection. He concluded that the text is traditional (folklórico) and relates to its original antecedent, the cantiga, despite the difficulty of proving it (es [de no establecerse una transmisión no tradicional ] folklórico, y cuenta con un antecedente, la cantiga original). Citing Devoto's reprinted version, Jacques Chailley concurred that "the cantiga 'Rosa das rosas' is preserved in Spanish oral tradition, and in Kurt Schindler's [book] it was collected as a popular song" (s'est conservé dans la tradition orale espagnole, et a été recueilli comme chant populaire dans Kurt Schindler). I initially agreed, including in my article not only Schindler's but also four additional modern transcriptions of "Rosa das rosas" for comparative purposes. In a recent critical study of Martin Codax's *Cantigas de amigo*, Manuel Pedro Ferreira included (in the first of three appendixes) a short discussion of "Rosa das rosas," wherein he too expressed a similar view, while, at the same time, suggesting that the cantiga may have had its own manuscript tradition. In support of this last position, Ferreira cited Luis Villalba's published arrangement of "Rosa das rosas" as the "manuscript" source of the Schindler tune, basing his evidence not on the tune, but on the comparison of the text underlays of their initial strophes. The text for Villalba's setting had been Castilianized by R. de Valle; the deviations in Schindler's text are enclosed in brackets:

*Rosa, entre rosas* Flor de las flores

[de las]

Virgen de virgenes T amor de amores.

[Amor]

Rosa en que el Señor puso su querer
Flor la más hermosa que se vió nacer
Virgen que hace dulce todo padecer
   [dulces todos los dolores]
Amor que hace nuestros sus santos amores.
Example 11-1a. Schindler's original notation transcribed from his recording.

Example 11-1b. The notated version as it appeared in Schindler's *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal*. 
Had Villalba known of the existence of the earliest Castilian version of the text, recently discovered by John Keller, he might have placed it below the original text of his transcription as he had done with R. de Valle's translation. Thus, if both Schindler's and Villalba's text underlays had agreed closely with the medieval Castilian version, it would have indeed added weight to the speculative opinions registered above for an unbroken chain of oral transmission.

According to Keller, the Castilianized poetic rendition of the original can be considered one of the earliest examples of thirteenth-century Castilian poetry, the first three stanzas of which are almost literal translations from the Galician:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GALICIAN-PORTUGESE:</th>
<th>CASTILIAN:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Rosa das rosas e Fror das freres dona das donnas, Sennor das sennores.</em></td>
<td><em>Rosa de las rosas e flor de las flores e dueñas de las dueñas, e Señora de las señoras.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[endif]--&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;17&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rosa de beldad e de parecer e Fror d'alegria e prazer,</em></td>
<td><em>Rosa de beldad e de parescer e flor de alegria e de plazer,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dona en mi piadosa seer,</em></td>
<td><em>e due nuestras cuentas e nuestros dolores.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sennor en toller coitas e doores.</em></td>
<td><em>Rosa de las rosas.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rosa das rosas.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ATAL SENNOR DEV' o me muit' amar,*                                     | E QUE ES |
| *que de todo mal o pode guardar; e pode, l' os pecados perdoar,*      | *Atal Señora que devemos mucho amar, porque de todo mal nos puede* |
| *que faz no mundo per maos sabores.*                                  | *guardar,* |
| *Rosa das rosas.*                                                     | *e nuestros pecados nos faz perdonar,* |
| *e que nos fazemos por malos sabores.*                                | *que nos fazemos por malos sabores.* |
| *Rosa de las rosas.*                                                  |            |

| DEVEMO-la muit' amar e servir,*                                       | E QUE |
| *ca punna de nos guardar de falir; des i dos erros nos faz repentir,*| *La devemos siempre [amar o servir]* |
| *que nos fazemos come pecadores.*                                    | *que [punna] de nos guarir [de falir],* |
| *Rosa das rosas.*                                                    | *e de los yerros nos faz [repetir],* |
| *e que nos fazemos como pecadores.*                                  | *que nos fazemos como pecadores.* |
| *Rosa de las rosas.*                                                 |            |

| ESTA donna que temo por Sennor e de que quero seer trobador,*         | E QUE |
| *se eu per ren poss' aver seu amor,*                                 | *Devemos siempre trabajar* |
| *dou ao dem ao outros amores.*                                       | *por todavia su amor ganar,* |
| *Rosa das rosas.*                                                    | *ca es valiosa e muy celestial,* |
| *e que non valen nada los outros amores.*                            | *e non valen nada los otros amores.* |
| *Rosa de las rosas.*                                                 |            |

**Translations (by Kathleen Kulp-Hill) are as follows:**

**TRANSLATION OF THE GALICIAN-PORTUGESE:**

*ROSE OF ROSES, FLOWER OF FLOWERS, LADY OF LADIES, QUEEN OF QUEENS:*

*ROSE OF BEAUTY AND APPEARANCE, FLOWER OF JOY AND PLEASURE, LADY IN BEING MERCIFUL, QUEEN IN RELIEVING PAIN AND SUFFERING. ROSE OF ROSES...*
Following my publication of 1974, I was fortunate to acquire an entire set of program notes for the concerts presented by the Schola Cantorum of New York, under Schindler's direction (1912-1926). They were all written by Schindler, with occasional annotations by other authors. Among the programs, the Schola's concert at Carnegie Hall on Wednesday evening, 21 January 1920, which exemplified the kind of programming that made this choral society one of the foremost in the nation, was included the first American performance of "Rosa das rosas." This particular concert was divided in three parts: the first was devoted to Mozart's Requiem Mass., the second comprised "Three Ancient Melodies of the Church," and the last was Handel's Ode on Saint Cecilia's Day.

Schindler placed "Rosa das rosas" as the third of the "Ancient Melodies, " preceded by the Gregorian hymn "Ave maris stella" (from a ninth-century manuscript of the monastery of St. Gall) and the Introit "Rorate caeli" (for the fourth Sunday of Advent). Although mentioning Alfonso's Cantigas de Santa Maria as its original source, Schindler did not cite his direct source, that is, Villalba, upon which he based his choral arrangement; nor did he adhere strictly to the original text that was printed on the first page of Villalba's arrangement. Rather he presented his own edited version (variations shown below in bold characters) of the first and last strophes of the original Galician-Portuguese text (compare the versions just given):

Rosa das rosas, et Flor das flores,
Donna des donnas, Sennordas Sennores.

Rosa de beldad e de parecer,
et Flor d'alegria et de placer;
Donnaen mui piadosa seer,
Señor en tollercuitas et dolores.

Rosa das rosas...

Esta Donna que tengo por Sennor
et de que quiero seertrobador,
se ioper resposs' aver su amor,
dono al demo los otros amores.

Schindler's own rather free translation was given as:

Rose among roses, O sweetest of flowers,
Chosen of women, to thee bring we homage.

    Rose of beauty, fairest vision,
    Mystic flower of purest joy,
    Holy essence thou of purest joy,
    Victor over pain and woe!

[168]
Rose among roses...

    To her service I have pledged me
    For to be her troubadour.
    If her love I could but gain me,
    Earthly loves would go for naught.  [21]

Schindler also added the following brief description:

The Tenth Canticle from the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of the King Alfonso el Sabio. (Spain, XIII Century). This is a song in praise of Saint Mary, of her marvellous goodness and of her great power.
From the illustrated collection, containing poem and melody, in the castle of the Escorial, Madrid, Spain.

Villalba arranged the cantiga for solo, chorus, and piano accompaniment. The opening refrain, which he designated as tiples, was to be sung by the sopranos and repeated by the chorus. The sopranos followed, singing the individual strophes to a harmonized piano accompaniment. Schindler, on the other hand, preferred an a cappella setting, having the contralto sing the opening refrain, which was repeated by the chorus, singing in octaves. The contralto then sang the two additional strophes that Schindler gave, with the chorus humming the exact harmonization Villalba had written for the piano (Example 11-2).

"Rosa das rosas" was performed again, six years later, at Carnegie Hall on Wednesday evening, 10 March 1926. By some strange coincidence, it was sung at Schindler's final concert with the Schola Cantorum at Carnegie Hall. [22] He had resigned as its founder and musical director owing to a long dispute with the organization's governing board. In the accompanying program guide, Schindler provided a more elaborate, albeit somewhat inaccurate account of the collection from which the cantiga was taken, including comments about its author, whose degree of participation has been widely conjectured:

King Alfonso the Wise of Castilla and León, who reigned in the middle of the XIII Century in his capital of Santiago de Compostella (the celebrated shrine of Spanish Galicia), [23] was not only a patron of poets and troubadours but also a deeply religious man. During his reign one of the foremost manifestations of mediaeval religious poetry took place: a collection of more than four hundred songs and canticles in praise of the Virgin Mary was issued in magnificent
volumes illustrated by exquisite miniature painting. The authorship of the canticles was attributed solely to the King, although we may easily surmise that he was helped by his court of poets and troubadours, among whom he is shown seated in paintings of the period. Only two specimens of the complete collection have been preserved to posterity, one in the library of the Escorial near Madrid, the other at the Vatican in Rome. The text of the canticles (in the old Galician court language, an idiom very nearly related to Portuguese, but retaining a great many traces of pure Latin) has been reprinted in a modern edition, and the illuminated pictures can be seen in photographic reproductions at the Museum of the Hispanic Society of America, for which they were ordered by Mr. Archer M. Huntington. Apart from their artistic charm and interest, these pictures represent one of the foremost sources of information regarding the musical instruments of the Middle Ages.

But the most interesting part of the collection is its music, since every canticle is accompanied by a particular melody written in neumatic notation. The deciphering of the 'Neumes' has long been a puzzle to scholars and has given rise to some extraordinary theories and aberrations. The late wizard of Spanish music, Felipe Pedrell, never quite succeeded in finding the key to the code. Julián Ribera, a foremost Arabic scholar of Madrid University, produced and published grotesque and purely theoretical paraphrases of them, but two less known scholars succeeded in reading some of the melodies in most convincing fashion: the late Padre Villalba, who deciphered 'Rosa das Rosas,' and D. Francesch Pujol, who decoded the melody of the "Miracle of the Virgin" [cantiga 139: Maravillosos et piadosos].
It is strange that Schindler should level such criticism at Ribera, whose study of the Cantigas appeared four years earlier in 1922. It was not until the year after Schindler's comments that Anglés published the first of his articles, dealing with the Cantigas, wherein he attacked Ribera's transcriptions. I would venture a guess that Schindler picked up the criticism of Pedrell and Ribera from either Gregorio María Sunyol's article of 1924 or Manuel F. Fernández- Núñez's article of 1924-1925. One cannot be sure of Schindler's acquaintance with the two-volume Real Academia Española 1889 edition of the text of the Escorial codex B. I. 2, for which Ribera's edition of 1922 constituted the third volume, or with the studies of Pierre Aubry (1907), and of Henri Collet with Luis Villalba (1911). What is certain is that Schindler came upon Villalba's arrangement of cantiga 10 some time in 1917 or earlier. From the evidence presented above, it appears that Schindler was already familiar with "Rosa das rosas" long before he recorded it in Cáceres. The evidence also explains why he questioned whether it was traditional there. It is also clear that Schindler's informant was acquainted with the Castilian text of Villalba's arrangement. Either he had heard it on repeated occasions or may even have sung it as a member of some chorus, though his tonal memory appears to have faltered with the passage of time. While Schindler himself seems to have supported the notion that the cantiga survived in oral tradition, I suspect that, had Schindler lived to complete the in-depth musicological study which his collection lacks, he would have attempted to examine the possible transmission of the cantiga through the centuries.

Ferreira's suggestion, linking the cantiga collected in Cáceres with Villalba's arrangement as having its own manuscript tradition, is plausible. However, I would prefer a linkage that was more historically bound, one which can be applied to any of the miracles and cantigas de loor that had undoubtedly circulated in this manner—that is, after having been copied from any of the original codices bearing musical notation. Wherever they were circulated, during the generations that followed, there were bound to occur textual and melodic discrepancies owing to the very nature of oral transmission. Doubtless this process also occurred, but exactly when and where it began its gradual to almost total decline are difficult to ascertain. Such questions hinge on the popularity of particular texts and/or tunes as well as events to which they were linked, the verification of which is virtually impossible. Nonetheless, several scholars have noted that Cantigas tune variants eventually made their way into regional dance repertoires, or survived as instrumental music or to an even lesser extent as tune contrafacts. Still, with due respect to the conclusions drawn above concerning Schindler's published field notation, Ferreira's alternate suggestion more accurately describes the by no means coincidental relationship between the cantiga Schindler collected in Cáceres and Villalba's arrangement. Inasmuch as a manuscript tradition carries with it the factor of continuity, in our case this factor must be discounted. A more plausible explanation would take into account attempts to resurrect the long-dormant Cantigas tradition, which reflected deeply rooted religious sentiments, as a vehicle to arouse nationalistic sentiments as well.

The earliest vocal settings of cantigas can be found among a collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century notebooks at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, which contain mainly settings for soprano and continuo that were made by an anonymous composer, and the notebook in which they are found was entitled "Música española" by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. "Rosa das rosas" is one of the eleven cantigas contained therein. In 1855, Mariano Soriano Fuertes published settings for eight of the eleven cantigas, excluding "Rosa das rosas," with continuo accompaniment. The earliest modern musical
composition based on a cantiga tune was that of Hilarión Eslava (c. 1861 ?). From the turn of the century to the early 1930s, there followed arrangements of selected Cantigas melodies by Luis Villalba (one being that of the cantiga under discussion), Felipe Pedrell, and Tomás Bretón, including transcriptions of various cantigas made by such renowned musicologists as Pierre Aubry, the Arabist Julián Ribera, Gregorio María Sunyol, and J.B. Trend. Trend based most of his transcriptions on those of Aubry, reworking several of them. Thus, by the time Schindler collected "Rosa das rosas," there was a goodly amount of interest in the Cantigas repertory, and this undoubtedly prompted Angles to undertake his monumental study. His transcription of the entire corpus was to become the basis for the present and continued resurgence of cantigas performances throughout the world.

Possible Textual and Melodic Antecedents

Jacques Chailley pointed out Alfonso's literal paraphrase of "Rose des roses et fleurs des fleurs" from the sixth verse of Gautier de Coinci's Chanson à la Vierge, "Quant ces floretes florir voi." It is likely that Alfonso was inspired by this verse, which he developed into a full-fledged song in praise of the Virgin and which, together with Prologue B, cantiga de loor 1, and the Pétion (cantiga 401), constitutes the strongest grounds for attributing his authorship to these particular examples.

In a recent article I alluded to the ninth-century sequence "Victimaes paschali laudes" (Example 11-3c) as a possible source or inspiration for "Rosa das rosas" (Example 11-3a, taken from the Toledo codex, dating from around 1257), whose melodic incipit it closely resembles. For the Example 11-3b (taken from Escorial B.1 2), the Argentine musicologist Josué T. Wilkes (1942) found additional melodic similarities in the antiphons "Magnum haereditatis mysterium" (Example 11-3f) and "In patientia vestra" (Example 11-3e), to which I add the antiphon "Juste et pie vivamus" (Example 11-3d). These can be seen in the Liber usualis. Even the melodic incipit of the thirteenth-century sequence, "Stabat Mater" (Example 11-3g), attributed to the Franciscan Jacopone da Todi (c. 1228-1306) and which also may have been inspired by the earlier ninth-century sequence, is much closer to the Escorial version of "Rosa das rosas" which dates from around 1281.

With regard to the form of the cantiga, Anglés placed "Rosa das rosas" in the category of virelais and mentioned that it was similar in structure to cantiga 64, "Quen mui benquiser." In his analysis of the refrain and stanzas, he counted, according to the rules of versification, an average of ten syllables per line of verse, save the initial one. Yet a careful reading of the second line of refrain bears out the fact that it contains eleven syllables. Moreover, Anglés used Greek letter to designate the corresponding melody phrase for each verse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhyme Scheme</th>
<th>Melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A⁹</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A¹¹</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b¹⁰</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b¹⁰</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b¹⁰</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a¹⁰</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
42. Ribera’s transcription was printed without a text underlay.
43. The Castilian version was made by Ernesto Mario Barreda.
44. In Anglés’s transcription of To and B.I.2, their differences are reflected in the transposition (To is a 4th higher) and in bars 2, 8, and 19.
45. E. López Chavarri duplicated Villalba’s transcription in his *Historia de la música* (Barcelona: Hijos de Paluzí, 1921), 1: facing p. 156.
46. The first two measures of Pedrell’s arrangements indicate that he used Aubry’s transcription; see Higinio Anglés, *Cataleg dels manuscrits musicals de la Col·lecció Pedret* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1920), 79.
47. See Anglés above in n. 46. Anglés’s transcription of the cantiga 10 from B.I.2 was subsequently utilized by: (1) Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, 247, who obtained it from Anglés’s unpublished paper, "La notación mensural de la moda de la corte española del siglo XIII ofrece soluciones nuevas, hasta hoy totalmente desconocidas, para la interpretación estético-ritmica de las melodías de los trovadores," a discourse delivered by proxy to the American Musicological Society of New York, September 1939; (2) José María Lamaña, *Canciones de la Andalucía medieval y renacentista (siglos XIX-XVI) para canto y piano* (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1968), 1, who transposed it up a major 2nd, with minor alterations; (3) Venancio G. Velasco, *Rosa das rosas (cantiga de Santa María)* (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1973), who employed it in his arrangement for guitar, transposed up a major 3rd and renotated in a strict 6/4 meter; and (4) Mariano Pérez Gutiérrez, "Rosa das rosas (armonización modal), Op. 56, (unpublished manuscript dated 1967), who arranged it for mezzo-soprano and four-part chorus, *a cappella*. It should also be noted that the portion accompanying the text "Rosa de beldad' e ... et de prazer" in Anglés’s transcriptions (Example 11-4, d and i) duplicates that made earlier by Friedrich Ludwig: see Guido Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2nd edn.
(Frankfurt am Main: Hess, 1930), 1: 213.
A more accurate analysis of the musical structure of the cantiga requires a subdivision of each verse, as reflected in the musical transcriptions made from the *Cantigas* codices in Example 11-4. The first textual strophe is also problematic, specifically its second and third verses, wherein the division of their lines necessitates six and four syllables per melody phrase. Also notice how the initial melody phrase of the third verse ends on the second syllable of the word *piadosa*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poetic Structure</th>
<th>Melodic Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Rosa das rosas</em>&lt;br&gt; <em>e Fror das frores</em></td>
<td>$A^{11}(5+5)$&lt;br&gt;$A^{x+w}$&lt;br&gt;$A^{x+y}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dona das donas.</em>&lt;br&gt; <em>Sennor das sennores.</em></td>
<td>$A^{11}(5+6)$&lt;br&gt;$B$&lt;br&gt;$A^{x+z}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The only melodic discrepancy that exists between "Rosa das rosas" of the Toledo (To) and Escorial (B. I. 2.) codices can be found in the initial melody phrase, above the syllable "ro" (see Example 11-4). In the former codex, the two-note ligature above that syllable is *podatus* (b-flat-c; or f-g, transposed down a perfect 4th), whereas in the latter, it is a three-note ligature, *scandius* (e-f-g). It is possible, as Josué T. Wilkes suggested, that this was the cause of scribal error, "by mere recollection, not totally exact" *(por simple recordación, no por curto exacta)*, even though two distinct notational systems were employed, the earlier of which the scribe may not have taken care to verify.[42]

To Collet and Villalba's statement that the melodic *incipit* of "Rosa das rosas" is a general formula of plain chant in the Dorian mode ("est une formule générale de plain-chant (1er mode 'gravis' [the Dorian mode])"), Wilkes responded:

Rather than a general formula that usually comprises but three or four principal tones within the ecclesiastical modality, the tune of the cantiga would have suggested to the composer any one of the melodies from the Christian liturgy. [43]

[181] Yet the most crucial element distinguishing Schindler's example and Ribera's transcription from the others is modality. We have speculated earlier that Schindler's informant may have been acquainted with Ribera's transcription, thus explaining their common modality (D minor, with a raised 7th), which would seem to be more than coincidental. Be that as it may, Ribera's transcriptions of the Toledo codex have continued to provoke criticism, and Wilkes has devoted a major part of his article to condemning Ribera's views on modality. 44

Of all the literary and scientific works produced under the sponsorship of Alfonso X the Wise, the *Cantigas de Santa María* remained his most cherished. The performances of songs from this unique collection, which was compiled, ordered, and lavishly illustrated under his supervision, continue to delight audiences throughout the world. Schindler himself was responsible for such performances; all the same, he was truly excited when he confronted the tune in what he believed to be "oral tradition." Nonetheless, one can only hope that this and other tunes from the collection are still lurking somewhere on the Iberian peninsula.

Notes for Chapter Eleven

[1] Alfonso's text reads: "Otros í mandamos, que todos los libros de los *Cantares de laor de Santa María* sean todos en aquella iglesia de nuestro cuerpo se enterrare, e que los fagan cantar las fiestas de Sancta Maria. E si aquel que lo nuestro heredare con derecho e por nos, quisiere haber estos libros de los *Cantares de Sancta Maria*, mandamos que faga por ende bien et algo a la iglesia onde los tomare porque los haya con merced e sin pecado." See Alfonso X, *Antología* (ed. A. G. Solalinde, Madrid:
The books to which Alfonso referred comprise the four extant codices of *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (see above, ch. 4, n. 1). Two of them are located at the Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real at El Escorial near Madrid (B.I.2 [formerly j.b.2] and T.I.1 [formerly T.J.1], respectively), a third at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (B.N. MS 10.069), and the fourth at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (MS Banco Rari 20). Alfonso had the latter version prepared as a gift to his cousin, Louis IX of France (Keller, *Alfonso X*, 69). All but the Florentine codex bear musical notations; however, only its staff lines had been inscribed, examples of which can be seen for cantigas 1 and 14 in two plates supplied by Solalinde in his description of this codex. See Solalinde, "El códice florentino de las *Cantigas* y su relación con los demás manuscritos," *RFE* 5 (1918): insert between 152-53.

The cantigas *de loor*, which are the songs sung in praise of the Virgin Mary, begin with *cantiga* 1, after which, commencing with cantiga 10, they constitute every tenth *cantiga* throughout the remainder of the collection. These have been studied by Joseph T. Snow in his *The Loor to the Virgin and Its Appearance in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X, el Sabio* (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1972). In Codex B.I.2, each of the cantigas *de loor* bear the miniatures of the instrumentalists as their initial vignettes.


[5] Robert Stevenson undertook an investigation of the cathedral's *actas capitulares catedralicias* for the years 1478 through 1606 by extracting information linking the musical life of the incipient cathedral of Mexico with that of the cathedral of Seville, upon which it was modeled (cf. *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla, 1478-1606: Documentos para su estudio*, 2nd. edn. [Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985]). In his extractions, no mention is made of musical performances, even for the few entries coinciding with the feast days of the Virgin.

[6] Codex T.I.1, fol. 5, *cantiga* 8 (panels 1-5, depicting the minstrel Pedro Desigrad); *cantiga de loor* 100 (panel 6, depicting angels singing, while a consort, comprising instruments of Eastern origin, accompanies them); *cantiga* 194 (panel 2), *cantiga de loor* 120 (panel 1), and Codex B.I.2, fol. 29v.

[7] Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta studied both the intervals and ambitus of the *Cantigas* melodies in his "La interpretación melódica de las *Cantigas de Santa María*," in *Studies on the Cantigas*, 155-88. Gerardo V. Huseby, in "The 'Cantigas de Santa Maria' and the Medieval Theory of Modes" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1982), studied their modes. The controversies concerning their rhythm were taken up by J. M. Llorens Cisteró, in "El ritmo musical de las *Cantigas de Santa María*: estado de la cuestión," *Studies on the Cantigas*, 203-21. Huseby added a further contribution, "Musical Analysis and Poetic Structure in the *Cantigas de Santa María*," in *Florilegium Hispanicum: Medieval and Golden Age Studies Presented to Dorothy Clotelle Clarke*, ed. John S. Geary, et al. (Madison, Wisc.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1983), 81-101. For a classic study regarding their...
versification, see Dorothy Clotelle Clarke, "Versification in Alfonso el Sabio's Cantigas," Hispanic Review 23 (1955): 83-98.


[9]. Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal, with an introduction on Kurt Schindler and his Spanish work (in English and Spanish) by Federico de Onís (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1941). Onís, then chairman of the Spanish department at Columbia University, supervised the final editing of Schindler's field notations. Concerning its publication, see my article 'The Posthumous Publication of Kurt Schindller's Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal (New York, 1941),' in Libraries, History, Diplomacy, and the Performing Arts; Essays in Honor of Carleton Sprague Smith, ed. Israel J. Katz (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon, forthcoming).

[10]. The second field trip took place between July 1932 and December 1933, under the auspices of Columbia University. The first trip, which took place between the fall of 1928 and fall of 1931, was unsponsored.


[15]. Manuel Pedro Ferreira, The Sound of Martin Codax: On the Musical Dimension of the Galician-Portuguese Lyric (XII-XIV Century) (Lisbon: Unisys, Imprensa Nacional --Casa da Moeda, 1986), bilingual edition, 190. Facing Schindler's transcription (which he transposed down a major 2nd), Ferreira provided his own of cantiga 10, from the Toledo codex, which he presumed to be the oldest of the extant codices.
Luis P. Villalba Muñoz, *Cantigas a la Inmaculada Virgen Maria: cantiga X de el rey D. Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, 190?).

Keller, "An Unknown Castilian Lyric Poem: The Alfonsine Translation of Cantiga X of the Cantigas de Santa Maria," *Hispanic Review* 43 (1975): 43-47. Keller discovered the poem among the Castilian prosifications of the first twenty-six cantigas, which, according to recent investigations, could have been made during the reign of Sancho IV (1284-1295), by Sancho himself, or by Alfonso's nephew, Juan Manuel (1282-1348/49), or perhaps much later. For a discussion of the prosifications, see Anthony Cárdenas, "A Study of Alfonso's Role in Selected Cantigas and the Castilian Prosifications of Escorial Codex T.I.1," in *Studies on the Cantigas*, 248-68.


This was given to me as a gift by Hugh Ross, Schindler's successor at the Schola Cantorum.


Officially, his final concert with the Schola Cantorum took place ten days later at the high school auditorium in Summit, New Jersey.

This certainly is not true. During Alfonso's reign (1252-1284), there was no fixed capital. Seville, however, was the most favored city of the court.

He is referring here to *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria de Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar, 2 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1889).

Schindler was ignorant of the existence of the four extant *Cantigas* codices. At the Hispanic Society, the former work can be seen in a photographic copy under the call name *Cantigas de Santa*
Maria MS T.J.1 (Escorial thirteenth century). It is the only Cantigas codex for which photocopies exist. The latter, the Vatican compilation, to which Schindler alluded, may be that of the Cancioneiro de Vaticana (Vatican MS 4803), which does not contain any of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, but rather fifteen of Alfonso's cantigas profanas (nos. 61-79), some of which are cantigas de mal-dezir or mal-decir, i.e., "cántigas en las que se maldice de algo, sino cantigas escritas con palabras obscenas, género que cultivaban la mayoría de los trovadores gallego-portugueses, incluso el piadoso D. Alfonso X el Sabio" (Eugenio López Aydillo, Las mejores poesías gallegas [Madrid: Imprenta Artística Española, 1914], 173, n. 9). There are no photographic reproductions of this work at the Hispanic Society. See also Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Las lecturas del deán de Cádiz en una cantiga de mal dízer," in Studies on the Cantigas, 329-54.

[26] Schindler created an eight-part setting a cappella, with soprano and baritone as narrators, to open the first Spanish concert of the New York Schola Cantorum at Carnegie Hall, Tuesday evening, 15 January 1918. The arrangement was based on Pujol's transcription, which was printed in Lluís Millet's article, "The Religious Folk-Song of Spain," printed in the Actas of the Third National Congress of Sacred Music, held in Barcelona in November 1912. Schindler's arrangement, according to the program notes (p. 3) of 10 March 1926 was also "sung in Madrid by a chorus of four hundred voices under the direction of Padre Nemesio Otaño on the Tercentenary of the death of Saint Ignacio de Loyola." Had this been the occasion, the year should have been 1856, for Ignacio died in 1556. Pujol's transcription of the tune can also be found in Trend, Music of Spanish History, 205.


[32] The call number for the notebook is M. 3881/8. "Rosa das rosas" can be found on folio 3r. It is unfortunate that I was unable to photocopy the melody. See the commentary of Anglés and José Subirà, Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca nacional de Madrid, 1: Manuscritos (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1946), 281-83. See also Anglés, La música, 2: 16-17, n. 2.

[33] Soriano Fuertes, Historia de la música española desde la venida de los fenicios hasta el año
1850 (Madrid: Martín y Salazar, 1855), 1:109ff. and the apéndice musical. He claimed to have taken them from the so-called Cancionero de Marialva, which belonged to D. Francisco Contino, Conde de Marialva, and which to date has not been located. See Anglés/Subiá, Catálogo musical, 1: 281-83, and Anglés, La música, 2: 16-17, n. 2.


[35] See Villalba above in n. 16. Pedrell, Cancionero musical popular español (Madrid: J. Fernández Arias, 1914), 1: nos. 145-48; 3 (Vails, Spain: Eduard Castells, 1920): nos. 1-4. For information concerning Breton's settings, see Julián Ribera Tarrago, "Valor de la música de las Cantigas," in Discursos leídos ante S. M. el Rey y la real familia (23 de noviembre de 1021) . . . para conmemorar el VII centenario del nacimiento del rey don Alfonso el Sabio (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1921), 7-20. Breton's arrangements, based on Ribera's transcriptions, were interspersed among the various discourses presented during the evening. These arrangements were not published.


[37] Anglés, La música de las Cantigas de Santa Maria del rey Alfonso el Sabio, facsimile with transcriptions and study, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1943 - 1964). Volume two (1943) contains the musical transcriptions.

[38] However, it was Elias F. Dexter who undertook the first serious study of Alfonso's sources for his Cantigas, among which was Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge of Gautier de Coincy (1177/1178-1236). See Dexter's "Sources of the 'Cantigas' of Alfonso el Sabio" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1926). See also Walter Mettmann, "Os Miracles de Gautier de Coinci como fonte das Cantigas de Santa Maria," Homenagen Luciana Stegagn Picchio (in press). Peter Dronke observes that "only in the twelfth century [such] expressions ... as ' flos florum ', 'rosa rosarum ' became a common currency in hymns." See Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 186.


[40] Wilkes, "La XI cantiga de Alfonso el Sabio y su armonización por Julián Ribera," Revista del profesorado [Buenos Aires] ( June 1942): 109-24, esp. 118 and 120, respectively. Wilkes confused the numbering of "Rosa das rosas," referring to it as cantiga 10 when discussing the Escorial codices and as 11 for the Madrid ([sic] Toledo). Wilkes was following Ribera's enumeration. He also discussed the notational differences between the Escorial and Toledo codices and elaborated on the relationship of
the Cantigas tunes to the Gregorian modes. Wilkes was both a composer and a musicologist. In the latter capacity, he was known for his study on medieval modes and Gregorian chant. It is surprising that Gerardo V. Huseby, in his exhaustive study 'The Cantigas de Santa Maria and the Medieval Theory of Modes," does not make reference to Wilkes's work. See also Wilkes, "Cantiga 10 ," in Joya de canciones españolas, prologue and selection by Ernesto Mario Barreda (Buenos Aires: Asociación Patriótica Española, 1942), 17-19.

[41] Anglés, La música, 19 (transcription). The text follows Mettmann's arrangement; see his Cantigas (1 a 100), 84-85. Angles differentiated the rhyme schemes between the refrain and strophe by employing upper and lower case letters, respectively. The superscript numbers designate the syllable count in their respective lines of verse. In my analysis of the tune, given under the heading Melodic structure, the upper case letters correspond to the melody phrase, while the superscript letters designate subdivisions in the phrase. Their coordination with the melody can be seen in Example 11 C 4.


[43] Ibid. "Más que una 'fórmula general' que por lo común no comprende sino tres o cuatro sonidos capitales dentro de la tonalidad eclesiástica, el tema de la Cantiga se diría sugerido al compositor por alguna de las melodías de la liturgia cristiana."