

# GOIGS AND GOZOS (THIRTEENTH - SIXTEENTH CENTURIES) HISTORICAL, METRICAL, MUSICAL NOTES, AND RESEARCH INSIGHTS

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## ABSTRACT

The flourishing literary and musical production of *goigs* (in Catalan), *gozos* (in Castilian), and *gosos/gòccius* (in Sardinian), is a rare case of a poetic-musical phenomenon of Romance origin —with a strophic structure peculiar to the diverse typologies of *formes fixes*— that is still alive today, both in the written and oral tradition. The purpose of this note is to provide a preliminary, diachronic overview of the sources and main studies on both *goigs* and *gozos*, from their origins down to the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The review will be complemented by historical, metrical and musical observations, from an interdisciplinary perspective, and with hints for research and/or further study.<sup>1</sup>

## KEYWORDS

Medieval music, Iberian Marian chants, *Llibre Vermell*, Our Lady of the Rosary, Orality and writing.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Musica mediaevalis, Cantus Mariani Iberici, Liber rubeus, Beata Maria Virgo a Rosario, Traditio oralis et scripta.

## 1. Literary precursors: *gaudia B.M.V. and gautz*

The VII *gaudia* of Our Lady<sup>2</sup> are often mistakenly regarded as direct ancestors of the *goigs* and *gozos*,<sup>3</sup> whereas in fact they are mere literary antecedents. In turn, Marian *gaudia* sprang from a liturgical substratum recorded by ancient witnesses of both the *cursus romanus* and *cursus monasticus*, as well as the gradual.<sup>4</sup> As is widely known, the earliest literary documentation of the *gaudia VII Beatae Mariae Virginis* is the *Gaude, flore virginali* which, on the basis of a highly dubious later tradition, is usually attributed to Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury (1152-1170); in this text, the seven “celestial” *gaudia* of the Virgin Mary are sung.<sup>5</sup> These are hexastich accentual stanzas with a markedly trochaic pace, consisting of 2 tristichs, 8p 8p 7pp. The VII *gaudia* are strongly marked by a stress/dynamic accent and by rhymes with a flowing rhythm of 2 eight-syllable lines, with the accent falling on the last syllable of the final word + a six-syllable line with the accent falling on the penultimate syllable of the final word. These *gaudia* further contributed to spread the 8p 8p 7pp stanza in Europe, the successful *versus caudatus tripertitus*, resulting from the disassembling of the trochaic catalectic tetrameter and the doubling of its second hemistich.<sup>6</sup> This is the same “classic” strophic model, aab ccb, also used by the *Stabat*

1. This article is part of a research project (D. R. Rep. n. 2467. Prot. 94737 07/08 2019, Tit. III, Cl. 13, All. 1), funded by the Fondo di Ateneo per la Ricerca 2019, Università di Sassari (Italy). I would like to thank Anna Gudayol, *Cap de la Secció de Manuscrits* of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, for her valuable support during the investigation, and to Elisabetta Zoni for the English translator of this article. Abbreviations used: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó; AMSCO, Archivio del Monasterio di Santa Chiara di Oristano; BAV, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BC, Biblioteca de Catalunya; BM, Biblioteca de Montserrat; BNE, Biblioteca Nacional de España; BnF, Bibliothèque nationale de France; CENS, Cens de Poesia Catalana de l'Edat Moderna; MAT, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne; MCEM, Bases de Dades de Manuscrits Catalans de l'Edat moderna; MCM, Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna; RBME, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial; RIALC, Repertorio informatizzato dell'Antica Letteratura Catalan. La poesia.

2. On *gaudia*, see: Mele, Giampaolo. “De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis. Appunti storici, metrici, musicali”. *Critica del testo*, 23/2 (2020): 117-138.

3. For example, regarding *goigs*: “Septem Gaudia Beatae Mariae Virginis, which text was as following: *Gaude, Virgo mater Christi* (...). This prose gave rise to our *Set Goigs*, or *Goigs de Nostra Dona*, or *Goigs de la Mare de Déu del Món*, which are so called indistinctly”. Baldelló, Francesc. “Los *goigs de la Mare de Déu*”. *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 28 (1955): 184.

4. On the manuscript tradition, see: Mele, Giampaolo. “De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis...”: 118, note 1, with references to the sources of *Gaude, Maria virgo* in the liturgical-musical form of antiphon/responsory/tractus.

5. Edition of *Gaude, flore virginali* in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, eds. Clemens Blume, Guido Maria Dreves, Henry Marriott Bannister. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1898: 31 (docs. No. 189, 198-1993). See also Chevalier, Ulysse. *Repertorium Hymnologicum. Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'Église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*. Louvain: Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1897: II, 407 (docs. No. 6808, 6809, 6810).

6. Literature on the 8p + 8p + 7pp stanza has flourished in both the literary and musicological fields. In particular: Norberg, Dag. *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958: 173; Bertone, Giorgio. *Breve Dizionario di Metrica Italiana*. Turin: Einaudi, 1999: 127-128 (with reference to the *versus tripertitus caudatus*, Adam of San Vittore is confused with Hugh of San Vittore); Camprubí, Adriana. “Consideraciones métrico-melódicas sobre el *versus tripertitus caudatus*”.



*mater dolorosa* (second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century), formerly attributed to Jacopone da Todi (Jacopo Benedetti, 1230/36-ca. 1306), and today usually considered anonymous by historiography.<sup>7</sup> What is certain is that the morphological structure of the *gaudia* is by no means reflected in any tradition of either *goigs* or *gozos*, which always have a refrain.<sup>8</sup>

*Gaude, flore virginali* is sometimes referred to as *prosa*.<sup>9</sup> The song is actually based on two melodies: the first one is applied to the odd stanzas, the second to the even stanzas, following a pattern comparable to the sequence, and indeed the title of the song is *Prosa de beata*. However, as we shall see, *Gaude, flore virginali* was also perceived as a hymn in the Middle Ages.

The literary genre of *De VII Gaudiis*, especially the “earthly” ones (I. Annunciation. II. Birth of Christ. III. Adoration of the Magi. IV. Resurrection of Christ. V. Ascension of Christ. VI. Advent of the Holy Spirit. VII. Assumption in heaven, composed after the “celestial” ones but more widespread at the time, also enjoyed great fortune in the Iberian Peninsula; unfortunately, we have no sources containing a setting of the melody. Among the rare witnesses with music on *Gaude, flore virginali* a *cantoral* from the Biblioteca de Catalunya stands out,<sup>10</sup> an acephalous codex, with black modal

*Critica del Testo*, 22/1 (2019): 111-142, and references in Gaggero, Massimiliano. *Per una storia romanza del rythmus caudatus continens. Testi e manoscritti dell'area galloromanza*. Milan: Ledizioni, 2016: 8 (note 9), 24, 31 (note 42), 49 (note 50), 96, 106 (note 228), 108, 266 (note 50).

7. Among others, see especially: Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002 (first edition 1968): 62 (Reedited in 1996 and 2002); among the latest studies on new medieval sources, see: Ruini, Cesarino. “Un’antica versione dello Stabat Mater in un Graduale delle domenicane bolognesi”. *Studi Gregoriani*, 30 (2013): 103-126, on the codex MCM, Ms. 518 (late 13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 200r-204r.

8. On the *vexata quaestio* of the refrain in medieval sung poetry, see in particular the extensive study in: Lannutti, Maria Sofia. “Per uno studio comparato delle forme con ritornello nella lirica romanza”. *La lirica romanza del Medioevo. Storia, tradizioni, interpretazioni, Proceedings of the triennial conference of Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza (Padova-Strà, 27 September-1 October 2006)*, Furio Brugnolo, Francesca Gambino, eds. Padua: Unipress, 2009: 337-362.

9. MAT, Ms. 1253, 15<sup>th</sup> century, ff. 129v-131v. This membranous codex, transcribed in an elegant Gothic book script, and generically called *Recueil factice*, is reported and utilised in: Pothier, Joseph. “Séquence *Gaude flore virginali*”. *Revue de Chant grégorien*, 7/6 (1898): 101-104. The distinguished musical palaeographer, and Gregorianist from Solesmes, does not provide any indications on the date or sheets. Dom Pothier also omitted a crucial codicological aspect: the *Gaude, flore virginali* studied is a very late interpolation, as evidenced by both the textual writing and the musical notation, dating from the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century, possibly well into the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

10. BC, Ms. M 1327, ff. 171r-173v (15<sup>th</sup> century). *Gaude, flore virginali* in the *cantoral* (a rather generic term, which does not specify the codicological type) is transcribed seamlessly after a section that includes the antiphon «in tempore pestilencie» *Stella celi extirpavit*, ff. 167v-168r, the *Ave verum corpus*, ff. 169r-170, the hymns *Iam lucis orto sydere*, ff. 170r-v, *Te lucis ante terminum*, f. 170v, and before the antiphon «pro pace» *Da pacem domine*, f. 173v. Codex M 1327 is cited in: Baldelló, Francesc. “Los ‘goigs de la Mare de Déu’...”: 187, note 5; Serra i Baldó, Alfons. “Els ‘Goigs’ de la Verge Maria en l’antiga poesia catalana”, *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d’estudis literaris, històrics i lingüístics*. Barcelona: Impremta de la Casa de Caritat, 1936: III, 381 (note 2), where reference is made to Anglés, Higiní. *La Música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII*. Barcelona: Publicacions del Departament de Música de la Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1935: 251. The Latin version of the *Gaude flore virginalis* included in the Troyes codex M 1327 is collated with a 16<sup>th</sup>-century Catalan version of the manuscript R I-17 from Trinity College Library, in Cambridge. It is a Catalan manuscript, from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, copied by Lluís Palau, notary of Tortosa, on the final pages of which several poetic compositions have been recorded, in a later



square notation on staff, first mode (trochaic), *longa-brevis*,  $\underline{\cup}$ , originally from the convent of the Clarisses of the Holy Trinity in Valencia. Rhyme-metrical scheme:  $a_8 a_8 b_7 c_8 c_8 b_7 x 7$ . In this case, the *gaudia* are treated melodically as a hymn.<sup>11</sup>

*Gaudia* with melody are also transcribed in black square notation on a tetragrammaton in a 15<sup>th</sup>-century *Ritual* for Clarisses nuns, which includes *Gaude, virgo mater Christi*, with 8 stanzas.<sup>12</sup> Metrical structure of the first and second tristich:  $a_8 a_8 x_7 b_8 b_8 x_7$ . In this case, the *gaudia* are treated melodically as a sequence.<sup>13</sup> This is a peculiar strophic version of *Gaude, virgo mater Christi*: the *versus caudatus tripertitus* is not repeated regularly, as in the prototypical model of the *gaudia Gaude, flore virginali*, but is interspersed with tetrastichs of septenaries, composed *ex novo*, resulting in an unusual mixture of metrically unequal stanzas, with dissonant rhythmic consequences that disrupt the formal coherence of the composition.

A version of *Gaude, virgo mater Christi*, albeit without music and in the form of an oration, disassembled and staggered over the liturgical hours with a text that in turn differs considerably from the one published in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*,<sup>14</sup> 96, is also transcribed, with rubrics in Catalan, in the *Llibre Vermell*, end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup>

hand. On folio 89 et seq. we find some heavenly Joys of the glorious Virgin Mary that the manuscript attributes to Saint Thomas of Canterbury. Serra i Baldó, Alfons. “Els ‘Goigs’...”: 380, notes 1-2. The Catalan text actually only shows distant reminiscences of the original *VII Gaudia*, certainly not an close kinship: Serra i Baldó, Alfons. “Els ‘Goigs’...”: 384. Compare the first stanza of the *goigs* and the first stanza of the *gaudia*, collated by Serra i Baldó, Alfons himself. “Els ‘Goigs’...”: 381-238: (...): *Lo primer que sent en vós | és, Verge, que sou pus alta | e més digna de llahors | dels sancts tots sens causar falta; | los àngels sobrepugau | en honor i jerarchia: | dels dons alts regiu la clau | ab tant clara companya; Gaude, flore virginali | honoreque speciali | transcendis splendiferum | angelorum principatum | et sanctorum decoratum | dignitate munerum*: (“The first thing I feel about you, Virgin, is that you are higher and more worthy of praise than all the saints, said without disrespecting them; you are above the angels in honor and hierarchy; you hold the key to the highest gifts, with such clear company, ‘Gaude, flore virginali, honoreque speciali transcendis splendiferum angelorum principatum et sanctorum decoratum dignitate munerum’”). A valuable musical transcription is in Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *El Llibre Vermell. Cantos y danzas de fines del Medioevo*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017: 73 (*Ejemplo 5. Gaude flore virginal*); Mele, Giampaolo. “*De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis...*”: 134, *Appendix 1*, transcription of the melodies of each stich of the first stanza in alphabetical notation; followed by the *incipit* in alphanumerical coded encoding of the first line. The BC codex, Ms. M 1327, digitised in 2009, is available online at <<https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/partiturBC/id/4677>> [20 April 2022].

11. Mele, Giampaolo. “*De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis...*”: 134, note 1.

12. BC, Ms. 865, ff. 69r-71v: “[f. 69r] *Incipiunt septem gaudia | virginis Marie*. || [69v] ♪ *Gaude virgo mater | cristi que per aurem concepisti Gabriele nuncio* (...). Text edited in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi...*: 15, (docs. No. 68, 96), based on only two 15<sup>th</sup>-century Munich sources: *Orat. ms. Tegurinum saec. 15. Clm. Monacen. 1982A. A. - Orat. Tegurinum saec. 15. Clm. Monacen. 20001. B. A recensio and collatio of the various European testimonia would now be desirable, with a view to a critical edition, which is lacking even in the case of the “prototype”, Gaude, flore virginali*. Interesting transcriptions of *Gaude, virgo mater Christi* are also found in other codices of BC, including BC, Ms. 1682, f. 7r.

13. Mele, Giampaolo. “*De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis...*”: 134, note 2.

14. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi...*: 15 (docs. No. 68, 96).

15. *Si vols lohar: e breu oratio far. a nostra dona sancta Maria. offriri lli quescum die aquestes hores segents. A matines dignes | Ave Maria. gratia plena. dominus tecum. benedicta in mulieribus. et benedictus | fructus ventris tui Ihs. Sancta Maria ora pro nobis peccatoribus. Amen. | Gaude virgo mater Xpi: que per aurem concepisti, Gabriele nuntio* (...) [my conservative transcription] “If you want to praise and say a short prayer to our Lady



From a strictly musical point of view, *Gaude, virgo mater Christi*<sup>16</sup> and *Gaude, flore virginali*,<sup>17</sup> bear witness to a particularly interesting phenomenon: in the case of strophe 8p 7pp, music can determine the literary identity of the song, connoting it either as a sequence, with the melody applied to stanza pairs, or as a hymn, with a single melody for all isometric and isorhythmic stanzas.<sup>18</sup>

*De VII Gaudiis* influenced the devotional poem *Los set gautz de nostra Dona*<sup>19</sup> by the jurist Guy Folqueys/Guiu de Foulquet († 1268). Guy was a versatile figure: married and with two daughters, then widowed, he became a priest, subsequently bishop of Le Puy, archbishop of Narbonne, and finally, Pope Clement IV (1265-1268). The law expert-poet-bishop-pope composed *Los set gautz* when he was bishop of Le Puy, the cradle of the French Way: the *Via Podensis*, furrowed by vast currents of Marian worship and songs. *Los set gautz*, whose incipit reads *Escrig trop, et aisi es vers*<sup>20</sup> is based on the seven earthly joys of Our Lady, which displaced the seven heavenly joys in popular devotion.<sup>21</sup>

It is evident at a glance that Folqueis's *gautz*, with their highly irregular stanzas of unequal length, are metrically quite distant from both the *VII gaudia Beatae*

Santa Maria, give her the following hours: in the morning say 'Ave Maria, gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tuis Jesus, Sancta Maria ora pro nobis peccatoribus Amen. Gaude virgo mater Christi, que per aurem concepisti Gabriele nuntio': BM, Ms. 1, f. 70r; Baraut, Cebrià. "Textos omilètics i devots del *Llibre vermell* de Montserrat", *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 28 (1955): 40-41. Also in the *Llibre Vermell*, we find further *septem dulcissima gaudia*: BM, Ms. 1, f. 51v: not found in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi...*, published in Baraut, Cebrià. "Textos omilètics...", 41-42. Serra i Baldó, Alfons. "Els 'Goigs'...": 368 also reports *Gaude, virgo mater Christi a la Biblioteca d'Art de la Junta Municipal de Museus de Barcelona, sota la signatura M.-G.V.M. de la col·lecció de goigs*. Refers to *Gaude, virgo mater Christi* also Llorens i Soler, Antoni. "Els goigs de la Mare de Déu en l'antiga litúrgia catalana". *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 28 (1955): 129-130: *Els set goigs de la Mare de Déu en la versió del missat d'Urgell són els següents: Gaude, virgo, mater Christi (...)*. Transcriptions of *Gaude, virgo mater Christi* are also found in other Catalan codices; among these, I will only mention here the interesting BC, Ms. 1682, f. 7r. Also on these *gaudia*, with the second stich of the type *quae p. a. c. | G. n. [quae per aurem concepisti | Gabriele nuntio]* and variants, see: Chevalier, Ulysse. *Repertorium Hymnologicum...*: 420 (doc. No. 7013-7019). Among the diverse later evidence of *Gaude Virgo Mater Christi*, see also a version printed in Cagliari in 1750, with some variants, cited by Turtas, Gloria. *Innodia sarda fra scrittura e oralità: i gosos nella Sardegna settentrionale. Origini iberiche, aspetti storici, metrici, liturgici, paraliturgici, musicali*. Sassari: University of Sassari (PhD Dissertation), 2021: 12-16.

16. BC, Ms. 865, ff. 69r-71v.

17. BC, Ms. M 1327, ff. 171r-173v.

18. Mele, Giampaolo. "*De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis...*": 129.

19. The edition of reference today remains Fabre, Césaire Antoine. *Les Sept Joies de la Vierge. Los.VII. Gautz de Nostra Dona. Poème provençal par Guy Folqueys (pape Clément IV), XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Le Puy: Imprimerie Marchessou, Peyriller, Rouchon et Gamon Successeurs, 1920. See also Albarel, Paul. "Un troubadour archevêque de Narbonne et pape". *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 15 (1922-23): 328-339.

20. Fabre, Césaire Antoine. *Les Sept Joies de la Vierge...*: 78. The following is my diplomatic transcription of the rubric and the first line of text from BnF, Ms. fr. 1745, cod. Z, ff. 125rb-125va (text on 2 coll.) [14<sup>th</sup> century]: [f. 125rb] *Ayssí comesso. lo vij. Gaugz de | la mayre de dieu jhu cristz || [f. 125va] Escrigz trob et ayssi es vers.; rubric and first line of text from BnF, Ms. fr. 22543, cod. R, f. 125rb (text on 4 coll.) [14<sup>th</sup> century]: *Aquestz gautz dechet mo selnh e(n). Gui Folques. E donet |c. jor(n)s de p(er)do qui los dira ca(n) | fo(n) apostolis. | Escrig trop e aisi es v(er)s.**

21. Fabre, Césaire Antoine. *Les Sept Joies de la Vierge...*: 86-91.



*Mariae Virginis* and the *goigs*, of which they are sometimes mistakenly regarded as precursors.<sup>22</sup> This composition is actually a kind of free lyrical-devotional inlay embedded in a long, learned spiritual Mariological praise. As is known, the Romance sphere saw the spread of flourishing traditions of texts centering on *gaudia*, from the Galician-Portuguese area to the Castilian, Catalan, Occitan and Oitanico, in Italy, extending even beyond the domain of the Neo-Latin languages, especially (but not only) in the Germanic region.<sup>23</sup>

## 2. *Goigs*: origins, sources and metric-musical aspects (13<sup>th</sup> century-15<sup>th</sup> century)

The strophic origins of *goigs* (< GAUDIUM) are usually traced back to the *cançons de dansa* of Provençal literature: the *dansa* and the *balada*, «two genres that differed in that the *dansa* repeated, in whole or in part, the refrain at the end of each stanza, while the *balada* interspersed the refrain lines within the stanzas».<sup>24</sup> Subsequently,

22. On the relationship between *gautz* and *goigs*, in an extensive article, Pagès, Amédée. “La *dansa* provençale et les *goigs* en Catalogne”. *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d’estudis literaris, històrics i lingüístics*. Barcelona: Impremta de la Casa de Caritat, 1936: I, 217: puts forward a clumsy, unclear thesis, based on a mysterious Latin version of the *gautz*: *On sait que le pape Clément IV (1265-1268) avait composé, sous le titre de Los VII gauts de Nostra Dona, un poème provençal en novas rimadas octosyllabiques qui eut un grand succès. Ce n’est cependant pas ce texte que l’on a imité dans les milieux ecclésiastiques d’où sont sortis les goigs catalans, mais plutôt la paraphrase latine qu’en avait faite lui-même. Telle ou telle de joies, en particulier la seconde, n’y peut avoir été développée que d’après cette seconde version* (“We know that Pope Clement IV (1265-1268) had composed a Provençal poem, under the title of ‘Los VII gauts de Nostra Dona’, in octosyllabic rhyming ‘novae’, which was a great success. However, it is not this text that was imitated in the ecclesiastical circles from which the Catalan ‘goigs’ came, but rather the Latin paraphrase that he himself had made of it. Such and such a joy, in particular, the second, can only have been developed there according to this second version”). This thesis is endorsed by, among others, Vila, Pep. “Els set *goigs* terrenals de la Verge Maria de la Cathedral de Girona”. *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins*, 64 (2003): 179-180; Amades, Joan. “Un aspect de la influència de la cultura catalana a Sardenya”, *Acts of the VI National Congress of Popular Traditions*. Florence: Olschki, 1956: 188-191, the *VII gautz* are mentioned, somewhat extemporaneously, as precursors of the *goigs*, in a brief discussion without any bibliographical references.

23. Mele, Giampaolo. “*De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis...*”: 131-132, note 31, with essential bibliographical references on the spread of vernacular *gaudia* in Europe. Besides the ‘canonical’ *De gaudiis VII, De gaudiis V, De gaudiis VII, De gaudiis XV, De gaudiis XXV* etc. are well documented. *De gaudiis V* in particular enjoyed significant literary fortune. See, for instance, *De quinque gaudiis beate Marie*, paraphrased as *Les Cinc Joies Nostre Dame*, 36 verses of 9 quatrains of Alexandrines with aabb rhyme, in Gautier de Coincí’s *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, dating from 1214-1236. For his part, in the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Gonzalo de Berceo (ca. 1195-1264?) inserts *V gozos* in *cuaderna vía* (monorhyme tetrastich).

24. Bover i Font, August. “I *goigs* sardi”, *I Catalani in Sardegna*, Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi, eds. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 1984: 105-110, 105; essential bibliography Bover i Font, August. “I *goigs* sardi...”: 109-110. See also the pioneering study on the Romance origins of *goigs* and their relationship with *dansa* by Pagès, Amédée. “La *dansa...*”: 129, where, among other sources, we also find a reference to ACA, Ripoll 126; on the latter, see the seminal edition of Badia, Lola. *Poesia catalana del segle XIV: Edició i estudi del Cançoneret de Ripoll*. Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1983. See also Serra i Baldó, Alfons. “Els ‘Goigs’...”: III, 367-386. On the Provençal *dansa*, see: Aubrey, Elisabeth. *The music of the Troubadours*.



«around the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the *dansa* specifically became a strophic system for singing these themes in the Catalan countries, to the extent that from this moment on we can speak of *goigs* in a narrow sense».<sup>25</sup>

The circulation of the Virgin's *goigs* dates back to at least the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Ramon Llull (1232-1316) in his *Doctrina pueril* (1274-1276), intended for the religious and moral education of his son, didactically expounds on the *VII goigs*.<sup>26</sup> Another significant testimony on the *VII goigs* is in the *Crònica* by Ramon Muntaner (1265-1336): *jo us prech et consell que diluns, a honor de Déu [f. IIIRA] e de madona santa Maria, comensen tots quants preveres ne hòmens d'orde aja en Muntpastler a cantar misses de madona santa Maria, et tenguen-ho VII jorns per los VII goigs que ella hac de seu car fill*.<sup>27</sup> Muntaner himself reports evidence of settings performed by Catalan soldiers and called *llaus* (< LAUDES),<sup>28</sup> sometimes erroneously connected with the genesis of the *goigs*.

Bloomington-Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996: 117-118, 123-126, 257-259; Radaelli, Anna. *'Dansas' provenzali del XIII secolo. Appunti sul genere ed edizione critica*. Florence: Alinea, 2004: 85-264 (20 *dansas*); Radaelli, Anna. "La dansa en llengua d'oc: un gènere d'èxit entre Occitània i Catalunya". *Mot so razo*, 6 (2007): 49-60; Lannutti, Maria Sofia. "Per uno studio comparato...": 338, 343, 346 (note 25), 357 (note 61). A broad overview is in Avenoza, Gemma. "La dansa. Corpus d'un genre lyrique roman". *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 107 (2003): 89-129.

25. Bover i Font, August. "I goigs sardi...": 105.

26. *Dels.vij. Goigs de nostra dona Santa Maria*, in this case "earthly" *gaudia*: *Salutacio*, chapter 45; *Nativitat*, chapter 46; *III Reys*, chapter 47; *Resurreccio*, chapter 48; (...) *can son fill apparech*, chapter 49; *Pentagosta*, chapter 50; *Assumcio*, chapter 51. See Llull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril*, ed. G. Schib. Barcelona: Barcino, 1972: 112-122 (chapters 45-51). On the pedagogical-catechetical context of the *Doctrina pueril* - in which the 7 glories of Our Lady are to be contextualised, along with the powerful symbolic value of the number 7, also evident in the 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit: Llull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril...*: chapters 30-36; 7 virtues: Llull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril...*: chapters 52-59; 7 mortal sins: Llull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril...*: chapters 60-66; 7 liberal arts, chapters: Llull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril...*: 73-74 (incidentally, it should be noted that music, far from Boethius' tripartite conception centering on the 'academic' quadrivium, is mentioned here by Llull as *doctrina en cantar e a tocar*, even making a dig against the jesters, because they played and sang before the princes *per la vanitat mundana*: Llull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril...*: chapter 74); 7 ages of the world: Llull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril...*: chapter 97 - see Santanach, Joan. "Cové que hom fassa aprendre a son fill los ·XIII· articles". *La Doctrina pueril com a tractat catequètic*, *Literatura i cultura a la Corona d'Aragó (s. XIII-XV)*. Lola Badia, Miriam Cabré, Sadurni Martí, eds. Barcelona: Curial-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2002: 419-430.

27. "I advise you that Monday, in honour of God [f. iiira] and of Our Lady of Saint Mary, all the priests and ecclesiastical men who are in Montpellier begin to sing Masses of Our Lady of Saint Mary, you have it for 7 days for the 7 'goigs' she makes of her dear son": Muntaner, Ramon. *Crònica*, ed. Josep Antoni Aguilar Àvila. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015: II, 4, 29. Masses for the seven *goigs* are also attested in Sardinia, as shown by Seche, Giuseppe. *Un mare di mercanti. Il Mediterraneo tra Sardegna e Corona d'Aragona nel tardo Medioevo*. Rome: Viella, 2020: 82-83, note 65.

28. In particular, see the description of the spectacular *llaus* sung during the taking of Castell de Càller (a passage hitherto ignored in Sardinian historiography on Catalan songs on the island): (...) *E aquí lo llaus se crida, e havia hi tanta de gent de dins, de catalans, e defora gran gent de sarts, e aquells de Bonayre qui responien al llaus tots ensemps, que paria que cel e terra vingues* ("And here the *llaus* are sung, and there were so many people, such as the Catalans inside and the Sards outside, plus those from Bonaire who filled the *llaus* all together, and the whole thing seemed as if the heaven had fallen to land"). De Bofarull, Antonio. *Crònica catalana de Ramon Muntaner: Texto original, y traduccion castellana, acompañada de numerosas notas por Antonio de Bofarull*. Barcelona: Jaime Jepús, 1860: 556. These were military-type "praises/acclamations", albeit different from another well-known type of hagiographic *llaus* sung by the *almogavers*, along with



As of today, however, not all historical and morphological passages are easy to understand or have been conclusively clarified. No doubt the influence of *dansa* can be detected from the very first pioneering *goigs*: the *dansa Mayre de Déu e fylha*, composed by James II of Aragon (1291-1327), and copied in Montpellier in 1305,<sup>29</sup>

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the *Salve regina*, cited by Bover i Font, August. “I goigs sardi...”: 105. Muntaner’s mention of the *llaus* also brings to mind the *laudes et præconia*; these were sung in Sardinia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, during the war against Peter IV the Ceremonious (1336-1387) by the judge Mariano IV (1347-1375), educated in Barcelona, in honour of the *domnikellu Ugone*, the future Hugh III (1375-1383), and in praise of the Virgin Mary. These *laudes et præconia* were sung during the taking of *Castrum de Auria* (Casteldoria), according to an Arborean tradition of political-military doxologies, sung in castles snatched from the enemy. ACA, Real Cancilleria, Procesos en volumenes, 1, 1353-, f. 167r: *Audivit, die qua dicta familia dicti iudicis intravit / dictum castrum et iste cum dicto scriptore inde fuerunt eiecti, laudes / in dicto castro et preconia ad honorem dicti Hugonis laxis fibris / resonari. Et hec et etiam et similia audivit pluribus noctibus in / castro ipso proclamari ad laudem et honorem ipsius Hugonis prout / laudes in castris aliis sunt solite celebrari* (a copy/draft of the document is in ACA, Real Cancilleria, Procesos en volumenes, 6, f. 215r). A surprising detail in the quotation of the *laus* is the passage *laxis fibris / resonari*, which explicitly evokes the famous hymn *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*, for Saint John, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi...*: 2 (doc. n° 52, 50-51), 50 (doc. n° 96, 120-123). 2 (doc. no. 96, 120). An entirely different curial, papal, Byzantine and Carolingian context gave rise to the ancient *laudes regia* evoked by De Bofarull, Antonio. *Crónica catalana...*: 200, note 2, with reference to the ancient *ἐὐφημία*, on which see: Mele, Giampaolo. “Il canto delle ‘laudes regiae’ e una ‘euphemía’ di Sardi a Bisanzio nel secolo X”, *Studi in onore del Cardinale Mario Francesco Pompedda*, Tonino Cabizzosu, ed. Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 2002: 213-222. In Sardinia *gosos* are sometimes referred to as *laudas/laudes/llores* in the sources, albeit without any connection with *llaus*; see: Mele, Giampaolo. “*Gosos/Goigs/Gozos* tra Sardegna e penisola iberica: primo repertorio documentale e bibliografico (con fonti inedite)”, *Sistema integrat del Paisatge entre antropització, geo-economia, medi ambient i desenvolupament econòmic*, Marina Sechi Nuvole, Dolors Vidal Casellas, eds. Girona: Documenta Universitaria, 2017, with cross-references to *laudas, laudes, laudis, loores*, 227, 249, 250, 252, titled both after saints and Our Lady.

29. BAV, Vat. lat., ff. 235ra-235rb. See: Etzkorn, Girard J. *Iter Vaticanum Franciscanum. A Description of Some One Hundred Manuscripts of the Vaticanus Latinus Collection*. Leiden-New York-Cologne: Brill, 1996: 56 (ff. 235ra-235rb): *Dancia illustris domini regis Aragonum. Inc. Incipit dancia illustris regis Aragonum cum commento domestici servi eius. Mayre de Deu e Fylha, Verge humil: On the datatio topica and datatio chronica* of Vat. lat. 3824 and the *dancia*, see: Villanova, Arnaldi de. *Alphabetum catholicorum ad inclitum dominum regem Aragonum pro filiis erudiendis in elementis catholicae fidei. Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium*, eds. Josep Perarnau, Marcel Coromines. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans-Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, 2007: 71-72. First edition of the *dancia* in: De Lollis, Cesare. “Ballata alla Vergine di Giacomo II d’Aragona”. *Revue de Langues Romanes*, 31 (1887): 289. See also: Pagès, Amédée. “*La dansa...*”: 209; Cluzel, Irénée. “Princes et troubadours de la Maison royale de Barcelone-Aragon”. *Bulletti de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona*, 27 (1957-58): 354 [relies on De Lollis]; d’Aragó Jaume II, *Mayre de Deu e fylha*, RIALC, Rao 84bis.1 <<http://www.rialc.unina.it/84bis.1.htm>> [20 April 2022]; The *dansa* of Jaume II, was again edited, also based on De Lollis, in: Larson, Pär. “Ancora sulla ballata ‘Molto à ch’io non cantai’”. *Medioevo Letterario d’Italia*, 1 (2004): 64-65, with the Italian translation of *Madre e figlia di Dio* in page 66 (where reference is made to De Lollis, Cesare. “Ballata alla Vergine...”: 290). Finally, we may point out the *concatenatio*, the rhyme that links the last line of the *fronte* to the first of the *volta*, which is very frequent in the Italian ballad but non-existent in the Occitan *dansa*, and indeed expressly forbidden by the *Leys d’amors*: Larson, Pär. “Ancora sulla ballata...”: 66-67 (notes 34-36). On the much-debated dating of the *dancia* of James II of Aragon, see: Larson, Pär. “Ancora sulla ballata...”: 65-66, note 32; among the main studies, Asperti, Stefano. “La letteratura catalana medievale”, *Le letterature medievali romanze d’area iberica*, Carlos Alvar, Stefano Asperti, Valeria Bertolucci, eds. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1999: 359-360 [third edition: 2006], which suggests a year “around 1290”. A reference to *Mayre de Déu e fylha, obra de Jaume II de Mallorca*, with an erroneous attribution to James II of Mallorca (1243-1311), instead of James II of Aragon, is in Gomis Corell, Joan Carles. “Música, poesia i imatge al servei de la religiositat: els goigs en la tradició cultural valenciana”. *Scripta*, 1 (2013): 216.





with the pattern '/abc,abc;cddz/'.<sup>30</sup> The pioneering 'gogistic' lyrics *Flor de lir, Verge Maria*<sup>31</sup> and *Verge, alegrja auem per vostr'amor*, the latter recently edited and studied in depth, turn out to be interesting for their literary value;<sup>32</sup> both poems are included in the codex with Bernat Desclot's *Crònica* (13<sup>th</sup> century), together with *Santa verge maria* "large sections of which are illegible".<sup>33</sup>

There is more rare evidence dating between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, notably the *vij. goy* discovered and published by an "epoch-making" figure, the director of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró (1777-1859),<sup>34</sup> *Ací comencen los. vij. goy de la Verge Maria, ab altres orations en rimes. Sancta Maria, Verge puella, / done gloriosa et bella.*<sup>35</sup>

30. Larson, Pär. "Ancora sulla ballata...": 61.

31. Concerning *Flor de lir, Verge Maria*, Pagès, Amédée. "La dansa...": 217, states that it is *un véritable 'goig', le plus ancien spécimen qui nous soit resté du genre* (a real 'goig', the oldest surviving specimen of this kind of music). The literature on it is now extensive. See: Milà i Fontanals, Manuel. *De los trovadores en España. Estudio de lengua y de poesía provenzal*. Barcelona: Librería de Joaquín Verdagué, 1861: 466-467; *Flor de lir, Verge Maria, / Xantaray fort de bon cor Vostre laus ab alegrja. – Verge de gran alegrança* ("Flower of the lily, Virgin Mary, I will sing your 'laus' loudly with joy - Virgin of great joy"); Milà i Fontanals, Manuel. *Catalanischer Dichter, Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, 5 (1864): 143; Suñol, Gregori M. "Els cants dels romeus. Segle XIV". *Analecta Montserratensia*, 1 (1917): 143-144 (si basa sul testo di Milà i Fontanals, Manuel. *De los trovadores...: 466-467*); Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Libre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya: història, etnografia, folklore, arqueologia, imatgeria, bibliografia*. Barcelona: Imp. de Oliva de Vilanova, 1925: 169 (with an explicit reference, for the first time, to the source's shelfmark: BC, Ms. 486); Massó i Torrents, Jaume. *Repertori de l'antiga Literatura Catalana. La Poesia*, Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans - Alpha, 1932: I, 260; Pagès, Amédée. "La dansa...": 217-218 (217: transcription d'après le manuscrit; 218: indicates the Soloist [= S] and the Choir (C): S. C. – *Flor de lir, Verge Maria, / xantaray fort de bon cor / vostre lauç ab alegrja. S. – Verge de gran alegrança* ("Flower of the lily, Virgin Mary, I will sing your *laus* loudly with joy - Virgin of great joy"); Serra i Baldó, Alfons. "Els goigs...": 370: B. *Flor de lir e de gog e d'elegrança* (unique initial sadness) ("Flower of the lily and the joy"); *Flor de lir, Verge Maria; / cantaray fort de bon cor / vostre laus ab alegrja* ("Flower of the lily, Virgin Mary, I will sing your 'laus' loudly with joy - Virgin of great joy"); Spaggiari, Barbara. "La 'poesia religiosa anonima catalana' o occitanica". *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 1/7 (1977): 286-289; V *Flor de lir e de gag e d'elegrança / I / I Flor de lir, verje Maria, / 2 Xantaray fort de bon cor / 3 Vostre laus ab alegrja. / II 1. Verge de gran alegrança* ("Flower of the lily and of the joy, flower of the lily, Virgin Mary, I will sing your *laus* loudly with joy - Virgin of great joy"); Asperti, Stefano. "Un goig trecentesco inedito". *Romanica Vulgaria. Quaderni*, 12 (1990): 67-78.

32. See: Asperti, Stefano. "Un goig trecentesco...": 67-78; 70: facsimile of f. 110r of BC, Ms. 486; 73-74: diplomatic transcription; 75-76: edition of the 32 stichs: *Verge alegrja 1 / auem per uostr'amor. 2 / Verge, mayre pia 3 /* ["Virgin, we have joy / because of your love. 2/ Virgin pious mother 3/"]; *respont and tornada* formed by 1 couplet, 4 heptastich *cobles*. For the *status quaestionis* on the poems transcribed on f. 110r, see 67-69; metrical scheme, 75: 4 pentasyllabic-hexasyllabic stanzas (with four syllables and heptasyllables) preceded by a reprise of 2 lines and followed by a *tornada*, also of two lines.

33. See: Asperti, Stefano. "Un goig trecentesco...": 73. Interestingly, the lyrics at hand are found in the famous codex with Desclot's *Crònica*, BC, Ms. 486, f. 110r, beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

34. On the imposing figure of Bofarull, see: López, Carlos. *Speculum. Vida y trabajos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*. Valencia: Editorial Irt, 2008: 82-106.

35. "Here begins the seven *goigs* of the Virgin Mary, and other rhyming prayers. Saint Mary, Virgin child, Glorious and beautiful woman": De Bofarull y Mascaró, Prospero. *Documentos literarios en antigua lengua catalana (Siglos XIV y XV)*. Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1857: 152-154 (the verse lines are not divided into stanzas, but arranged seamlessly). ACA, Sant Cugat del Vallès, 83, *Miscel·lània ascètica*, 15<sup>th</sup> century (?), ff. 53v-55r (the text in 53v-54r is arranged in two columns, while in ff. 54v-55r the same copyist writes full-page, in an airy, well-spaced bastard Gothic minuscule, 54v: 15 lines; 55r: 16 lines. On f. 55r,



The earliest *goigs* with music —crystallised in a peculiar ‘fixed form’, without any real development— are transcribed in the *Llibre Vermell*,<sup>36</sup> written between November 1397 and 1399,<sup>37</sup> the time of Martin I the Humane (1396-1410), although

in the upper right-hand corner, under the trimming, we read from the ancient foliation: [I]xviij, in the lower right-hand corner in red pencil: 35); f. 53v: *Ací comensen lo vij goy / de le uerge marie e altres / orationes en rimes / Sancta maria v(er)ge puella / done gloriosa* (“originally *gloriosa* then the first *s* was deleted with an oblique stroke”) *et bella* (my conservative transcription of the rubric and the first two lines) (“Here begins the seventh *goig* of the Virgin Mary And other rhyming prayers. Saint Mary, Virgin Child, Glorious Woman”). The ACA file on the Ms. Sant Cugat del Vallès 83 dates it to the 15<sup>th</sup> century “[XV]”; in the absence of historical elements, we could perhaps cautiously assume the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in light of the bastard Gothic minuscule of the text, which can unquestionably be ascribed to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Regarding the time of composition of these *goys*, Serra i Baldó, Alfons. “Els *goigs*...”: 370, note 1, refers to Massó i Torrents, Jaume. *Repertori...*: 259, which strongly supports a 14<sup>th</sup>-century and even earlier dating: *Malgrat que el llenguatge és de mitjan segle XIV, hom pot endevinar formes força anteriors* (Despite the fact that the language is from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, one can guess much earlier forms....).

36. On the songs of the *Llibre Vermell* (the *Canzoniere* is in ff. 22v-27r), see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi...*: 20 (docs. no. 202-204, 160-162); the codex is dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century: *Cod. Montis Serrati s. n. saec. 15: Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi...*: 20 (doc. no. 161), in the apparatus; *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi...*: 21 (docs. no. 151, 101-102 (partial edition of the collection); Albareda, Anselm M. “Manuscrits de la biblioteca de Montserrat”. *Analecta Montserratensia*, 1 (1917): 3-9; Arxiver R.P. [Albareda, Anselm M.]. “Textos catalans...”: 201-225; Suñol, Gregori M. “Els cants dels romeus...”: 100-192; Ursprung, Otto. “Spanische-katalanische Liedkunst des 14. Jahrhundert”. *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (1921-22): 136-160; Baraut, Cebrià. “Textos omilètics...”: 25-44; Llorens i Soler, Antoni. “Els *goigs* de la Mare de Déu...”: 127-132; Baldelló, Francisco. “Los *goigs*...”: 183-198; Anglés, Higiní. “El *Llibre Vermell* de Montserrat y los cantos y la danza sacra de los peregrinos durante el siglo XIV”. *Anuario Musical*, 10 (1955): 45-78; Anglés, Higiní. *Scripta Musicologica*, eds. José López Calo, Josep M. Llorens. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1975-1976: 622; Baraut, Cebrià. “Els manuscrits de l’antiga biblioteca del monestir de Montserrat (segles XI-XVIII)”. *Anuario Musical* (1954-55): 339-398; Aramon i Serra, Ramon. “Els cants en vulgar del *Llibre Vermell* de Montserrat”. *Analecta Montserratensia*, 10 (1964): 9-54; Aramon i Serra, Ramon; Carbonell, Jordi, eds. *Estudis de llengua i literatura*. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1997: 79-130; Altés i Aguiló, Francesc-Xavier. *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat. Edició facsímil parcial del manuscrit núm. 1 de la Biblioteca de l’Abadia de Montserrat*, Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1989; Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *El Llibre Vermell de Montserrat. Cantos y danzas s. XIV*. Sant Cugat del Vallès: Los libros de la Frontera, 1990; de Courcelles, Dominique. *L’écriture dans la pensée de la mort en Catalogne. Les joies/goigs/des saints, de la Vierge et du Christ de la fin du Moyen-Âge au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: École des Chartes, 1992: 83-85; Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *La música medieval en España*. Kassel: Reichenberger, 2000: 265-272, 279-278; Mele, Giampaolo. “*Ad mortem festinamus*. Pellegrini e una Danza della Morte di fine Trecento (Montserrat, còd. 1, *Llibre Vermell*, seculo XIV<sup>ca.</sup>, ff. 26v-27r)”, *Pellegrinaggi e peregrinazioni. Percorsi di lettura*. Giuseppe Serpillo, Luigi Pellegrini, 2011: 141-170; Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *El Llibre Vermell. Cantos y danzas de fines del Medioevo*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017. Digital reproduction of the codex in *Llibre vermell de Montserrat*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes / Biblioteca Virtual Joan Lluís Vives, <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/llibre-vermell-de-montserrat--0/html/>> [20 April 2022]. See also Mele, Giampaolo. “Scribere proposui”. Notes on the “Danza della Morte” in the “*Llibre Vermell*”. *Polifonie. Storia e teoria della coralità*, VIII (2020): 197-226.

37. On the *datatio chronica*, in de Courcelles, Dominique. “L’écriture...”: 83 the codex is inexplicably dated to 1330: *Le manuscrit, rédigé vers 1330 par les moines de l’abbaye de Montserrat et connu sous le nom de Libre Vermell*. (The manuscript written around 1330 by the monks of the abbey of Montserrat and known under the name of Red Book”); Anglés, Higiní. “El *Llibre Vermell*...”: 624: *Para nuestro caso interesan más especialmente los dos milagros últimos, que preceden la colección de cantos que estamos comentando. Estos milagros se describen en los folios 20v y 21r. Son dos milagros obrados por intercesión de ‘Madona Sancta Maria de Montserrat’ el año 1398: f. 20v ‘De incarceratis liberatis Anno Domini M.CCC.XCVIII’, que va seguido de otro que empieza: De quodam presbitero a captione liberato. Eodem anno [1398] de mense Novembris (...). Atendiendo a la nota del*



its composition dates back to the last years of the reign of John I the Hunter (1387-1396), a refined music lover.<sup>38</sup> It is the famous *Ballada dels goytxs de Nostre Dona en vulgar cathallan, a ball redon, Los set gotx recomptarem*.<sup>39</sup>

The *gotx* of the *Llibre Vermell*, conceived for the pilgrims that visited the sanctuary,<sup>40</sup> show a peculiar stanza structure, a one of a kind; such a peculiar structure has led the

*folio 56v que dice: La VI [edat de món] del dit adveniment [de Jesucrist] entrò a la fin del món; e aquesta i a durat MCCCXCIX anys, resulta que el manuscrito fue terminado en 1399* ("In our case, the last two miracles, which precede the collection of songs that we are commenting on, are of particular interest. These miracles are described on folios 20v and 21r. These are two miracles performed through the intercession of 'Madona Sancta Maria de Montserrat' in the year 1398: f. 20v 'De incarceratis liberatis Anno Domini M.CCC.XCVIII', which is followed by another that begins: *De quodam presbitero a captione liberato. Eodem anno [1398] de mense Novembris (...)*. Considering the note on folio 56v that says: *La VI [edat de món] del dit adveniment [de Jesucrist] entrò a la fin del món; e aquesta i a durat MCCCXCIX anys*, it turns out that the manuscript was completed in 1399"); Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *La música medieval...*: 265: two collections of miracles attributed to the Virgin of Montserrat; the last of which is dated 1396 (ff. 1-21r). A compendium of Christian doctrine that is copied further back (ff. 56r-57r) dates from 1399, and therefore the songbook had to be incorporated into the manuscript between this year and that of the second collection of miracles. The date transcribed on f. 20v, reads "1398" and "1396" should be amended to 1397: *Anno d(omi)ni.m°.ccc.°xc.°vij°*. Later, in the fundamental, Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *El Llibre Vermell...*: 30, the correct date was definitively restored.

38. Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *La música medieval...*: 219-280; Mele, Giampaolo. "I cantori della cappella di Giovanni I il Cacciatore, re d'Aragona (anni 1379-1396)". *Anuario Musical*, 41 (1986): 63-104.

39. BM, Ms. 1, ff. 23v-24r. On the *Set gotx* of the *Llibre Vermell*, see: Suñol, Gregori M. "Els cants dels romeus...": 142f; Arxiver R.P. [Anselm M. Albareda]. "Textos catalans...": 201-202, 201 tables V-VI; Pagès, Amédée. "La dansa...": 209-212 (210-212: *gotx* text with stanza subdivision and division of intonations between soloist [S] and Chorus [C]); Serra i Baldó, Alfons. "Els goigs...": 371 (strophic remarks); Baldelló, Francisco. "Los goigs de la Mare de Déu...": 186-187; Anglés, Higiní. "El Llibre Vermell...": 646, note 5 (657 ♪); Baraut, Cebrià. "Textos omilètics...": 42-44; Aramon i Serra, Ramon. "Els cants en vulgar...": 89-94, 96-98 (linguistic analysis), 101-102 (strophic and metrical analysis); 94: this text, along with *Inperayritz de la ciutat joyosa*, is assigned: *to the primer quart del segle XIV, abans que la influència de l'escola tolosana s'estengués damunt el nostre país*; Spaggiari, Barbara. "La poesia religiosa...": 276-280 (chapter: "VII Ballada dels goytxs de nostre dona", the description of the stanza and meter structure cannot be entirely agreed upon with regard to the refrain/"reply"): "Ballad in eight stanzas, of six lines each, heptasyllabic; the first stanza, which serves as an introduction to the subject, has four lines. Each stanza is followed by the reply, which repeats the last two verses. Metrical scheme: I *abax*; II *ababxb*; III-VI *ababba*; IV-V *ababab*; VII-VIII *ababb'y*" 277; in the section on *Set gotx*, in the context of an extensive and well-documented study, strangely no mention is made of the melody; de Courcelles, Dominique. "L'écriture...": 84, states: *Le deux compositions, qui sont données en langue catalane et intitulées respectivement Balade del goyts de Nostra Dona en vulgar cathallan a ball redon (Ballade dels joies de Notre dame en vulgaire catalan à danser en rond) et Inperayritz de la ciutat joyosa (Impératrice de la cité joyeuse) sont sans conteste de décalques des hymnes latines des offices de la Vièrge* ("The two compositions, which are given in the Catalan language and entitled respectively 'Balade del goyts de Nostra Dona en vulgar cathallan a ball redon' (Ballade of the joies de Notre dame en vulgar Catalan to dance in the round) and 'Inperayritz de la ciutat joyosa' (Empress of the joyful city) are unquestionably copies of the Latin hymns of the Offices of the Virgin), an unsubstantiated claim; Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *El Llibre Vermell...*: 74-75 (no. 5, 92-94 ♪, facsimile of ff. 23v-24r); Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *La música medieval...*: 267-269 ♪; Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *El Llibre Vermell, Cantos y danzas de fines del Medioevo...*: 59-76, 128 ♪.

40. Since the pilgrims - both in the square, during the day, and inside the church, at night, during vigils - were eager to sign and dance - *volunt cantare et trepudiare* - the monks assembled a specific collection of *honestas ac devotas cantilenas*, as a precious rubric specifies: *Quia int(erdum) peregrini quando vigilant in ecc(lesi)a beate marie / de monte serrato volunt cantare et trepudiare. etiam in / platea de die. Et ibi non debeant nisi honestas ac devotas cantilenas / cantare. idcirco sup(er)ius et inferius alique sunt scripte. et de hoc /*



eminent Catalan Romanist Amédée (Amedeu) Pagès (1865-1952), in a categorical statement, to label the term *goig* used by the amanuensis as inappropriate: *Mais, bien qu'elle y traite des sept joies de la Vierge, le terme de goig, dans le sens donné à ce mot vers la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et surtout à partir du XVI<sup>e</sup>, ne lui convient pas. Un goig est essentiellement une dansa ou une forme de dansa à la manière des troubadours.*<sup>41</sup> Rhyme scheme: abac | d<sup>1</sup> d<sup>1</sup> | efefcf | d<sup>1</sup> d<sup>1</sup> | fgfggf' | d<sup>1</sup> d<sup>1</sup> | (...). The introductory abac tetrastich is sung on two reiterated melodic motifs: αβαβ', where the 2<sup>a</sup> melody appears first *ouvert* (β, with a 'finalis' on e) and then *clos* (β', with an e-d 'finalis': the clausula gives the quatrain music a modal taste of *protus*, authentic mode I, with the "finalis" precisely on d). This is followed by the dd refrain with γδ melody. Seen from a strophic, *formes-fixes* perspective, the eight<sup>42</sup> hexastich stanzas are bipartite as follows: 1) feet/mutations (*mudanzas*); 2) turn (*vuelta*).

The melody of the *mudanzas* is the same as that of the introductory tetrastich: αβαβ'; in turn, the melody γδ of the *vuelta* is the same as that of the *estribyl*. In the case of the *gotx* of Montserrat, therefore, there is a significant strophic deviation from the flexible *formes fixes*: the first quatrain does not show an *estribillo*, or any lines to be reused as a reprise, but rather a 'didactic' introduction with music, subsequently employed for the *mudanzas* of the stanza; the refrain, in turn reused musically for the *vuelta*, is transcribed immediately after the initial tetrastich. This peculiar strophic organization is, however, perfectly functional to the dance.<sup>43</sup>

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*uti debent honeste et parce. ne perturbent persev(er)antes in or(ati)o(n)ib(us) / et deuotis contemplationib(us). in quibus omnes vigilantes in/sistere debent pariter et deuote vaccare:* BM, Ms. 1, f. 22r. On the rubric see: Anglés, Higiní. "El Llibre Vermell...": 624, partial transcription, and a faithful translation into Castilian in: Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *La música medieval...:* 266. Concerning dances inside churches, for Sardinia, which was part of the Crown of Aragon, we have the interesting testimony of Sigismondo Arquer, burnt alive in Toledo by the Inquisition (1571). According to him, in the island men and women together used to sing and dance profane repertoires in the same temple during the feast of saints. See: Cocco, Marcello M. *Sigismondo Arquer, dagli studi giovanili all'Auto de Fe.* Cagliari: Castello, 1987: 414. Concerning dancing in churchyards, *in platea*, next to churches, until recently it was commonly believed (I myself shared this belief) that the scene depicted in a column capital of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century church of San Pietro di Zuri (1291-before 1336) was a Sardinian *ballu tundu*; in fact, it is a jubilation of mystical souls, as the symbolical acanthus leaf shows. See: Mele, Giampaolo. "A Historical Overview of Musical Worship and Culture in Medieval Sardinia", *A Companion to Sardinian History, 500-1500*, Michelle Hobart, ed. Boston - Leiden: Brill, 2017: 454-455 (note 85), 455 (Figure 17.3).

41. "But, although he deals there with the seven joys of the Virgin, the term *goig*, in the sense given to this word towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and especially from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, does not suit him. A 'goig' is essentially a troubadour-style *dansa* or form of dance". Pagès, Amédée. "La dansa...": 217.

42. Pagès, Amédée. "La dansa...": 210; Aramon i Serra, Ramon. "Els cants en vulgar...": 90-91 and Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *La música medieval...:* 92, note 5, despite some interesting but unconvincing remarks by Baraut, Cebrià. "Textos omilètics...": 39, rightly take into consideration the mutilated *gotxes* of the first stanza, concerning the Annunciation (indeed, both Pagès and Gómez Muntané, insert dots in their editions); this deletion probably dates back to some time before the codex was written: it is unlikely that an amanuensis monk would have forgotten to transcribe a stanza that was still "alive", or would have arbitrarily expunged it.

43. On the choreographic issues relating to the *ball redon*, see: Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *El Llibre Vermell...:* 272. Of the 10 songs of the *Llibre Vermell*, in addition to the *gotx*, 3 other songs also make explicit reference in their rubrics to the "ball round"/*trepidium rotundum*: no. 2: *Sequitur alia cantilena o(mn)i dulcedine plena ei(us)dem d(omi)ne n(ost)re / ad trepidium rotundum. / Stella splensens in monte...*, f. 22r (doc.



The *Llibre Vermell*, in f. 23v, provides valuable captions and information on the pilgrims' choreographic and musical performance: (a) the intonation, probably by a soloist, of the introductory tetrastich *Los set gotxs*, was followed by the 'response' by all the pilgrims with the singing of the refrain *Ave maria gracia plena* ("Ceteri respondent"); (b) repetition of the refrain («<I>/te/r(um) / di/cat[ur]»); (c) compulsory repetition of the *vuelta*: *Lo fill deus... Iteru(m) Lo fill*. Today this song still enjoys enormous popularity throughout Catalonia, and has been included in numerous, quite diverse, audio recordings.<sup>44</sup>

On the whole, the 'earthly' *goigs*, although never displacing the 'celestial' ones (which can also be documented in the modern age), have been particularly successful, as is shown by the *Set Goigs terrenals della Vergine Maria*, with the incipit *Humil Verge de gran dolsor*;<sup>45</sup> introductory quatrain: *Humil Verge de gran dolsor / preyar-vos vull, tot humilment / si-us plats, que dignament / vostres vjj- goigs ojats*.<sup>46</sup> Other interesting and representative/indicative examples of *goigs* date from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>47</sup>

Overall, between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, in a heterogeneous context of intersections between orality and writing, Latin and vernacular languages, the

no. 2). Inexplicably Anglés, Higini. "El Llibre Vermell...": 645, states: "No. 2. *Stella splendens*. El texto fue editado por Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, XX, número 202: pág. 160 s. publica la melodía con notación cuadrada; in fact, in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*...: 20 (docs. no. 202, 160) no melody appears (in apparatus, 161 the editor simply informs: *Mit Melodie*); *A ball redon. / Cuncti simus*..., f. 24r (doc. no. 6); *A ball redon. / Polorum regina*..., f. 24v (doc. no.7).

44. For example, Roberge, Pierre-F. *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat. A discography*, in particular: "8. Ballad/danse: Los set goyt's": <<http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/composers/vermell.html>> [20 April 2022], where 27 recordings of *Los set gotx recomptarem* are listed.

45. Gümpel, Karl-Werner; Sachs, Klaus-Jürgen. "Das Manuskript Girona 91 und sein Contrapunctus-Traktat". *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 45 (1988): 186-205 *Humil verge / plena de gran dolsor / preyar uos vull / tot humilment si us plats i que dignament vostres.vij. goigs ojats. I Lo primer goig... I quen paradís puxam tuyt habitat / e ell e vos en per tots temps loar* ("Humble virgin of great sweetness, I want to pray to you all humbly, please that in a dignified way you listen to your seven *goigs*. I The first goig...and that in paradise we can all live and he and you forever praise").

46. "Humble virgin of great sweetness, I want to pray to you all humbly, please that in a dignified way you listen to your seven *goigs*": Vila, Pep. "Els set goigs terrenals...": 179-184; the *respost* is strangely transcribed as a tristich stanza on page 181: *Un respost inicial de tres versos amb esquema 8A 10B 10B*, in place of the 'canonical' tetrastich: *I. Humil Verge de gran dolsor, / preyar-vos' vull, tot humilment, si-us plats, / que dignament vostres vjj- goigs ojats /* ("Humble virgin of great sweetness, I want to pray to you all humbly, please that in a dignified way you listen to your seven *goigs*"). See also note 45 for the text.

47. See: Serra i Baldó, Alfons. "Els *goigs*...": 372-375 and especially Avenoza, Gemma. "Un goig català inèdit de finals del s. XV o inicis s. XVI: *Verge, beneït fo*". *Revista de literatura medieval*, 5 (1993): 37-46, edition of the *goigs Verge, beneït fo* from BC, Ms. 241, ff. 199va-vb, with an in-depth philological and metric study of a song that is strophically and metrically very irregular: *Malgrat la seva irregularitat, l'estructura respon a una entrada de 3 versos, les rimes dels quals - AB'A - es repeteixen als tres versos finals de cada estrofa*<sup>15</sup> *com a tornada*<sup>16</sup>, ("Despite its irregularity, the structure responds to an entry of 3 verses, whose rhymes - AB'A - are repeated in the final three lines of each stanza<sup>15</sup> as a refrain<sup>16</sup>", 41. In note 16: *Aquests reposts de tres versos son - segons A. Serra i Baldó i Rossend Llatas - influència del villancico castellà'* (These reposts of three verses are —according to A. Serra i Baldó and Rossend Llatas— an influence of the Castilian villancico); see also RIALC, *Poesie anonime aggiunte*, Rao Obis, <[http://www.riac.unina.it/Obis/verge\\_ten\\_beneyt.htm](http://www.riac.unina.it/Obis/verge_ten_beneyt.htm)> [20 April 2022].



devotional literary genre of *goigs* established itself in Catalan circles, although it did not spread as a universally shared formal canon.

The current model was probably consolidated between the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, a distinction must be made between *goigs* intended for singing, such as the *gotx* of the *Llibre Vermell*, and others composed for declamation only, such as the 15<sup>th</sup>-century *goy* of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon;<sup>48</sup> the latter are, in fact, *orationes en rimes*, as the heading of the codex itself explicitly states, and can therefore be ascribed to the plethora of mariological *pia dictamina*. Clearly, further research is needed on several important ancient witnesses.<sup>49</sup>

The “classical” structure of the *goigs* definitively established itself in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; it certainly did not follow the stanza structure of Montserrat’s ‘ballada’, which remains a one of a kind; even the fresh, late 14<sup>th</sup>-century melody of the *gotx sets* remained a *hapax*. The stanza model of reference in the polygenesis of *goigs* remains that of the Provençal *dansa/dança*. In modern *goigs*, the chant is opened by an introductory quatrain, the *respost* (in *gozos*: *cabeza*, in *gosos*: *pesada/istèrrida*); this is followed by the *cobla* (stanza), an octave of heptasyllabic lines, in which the *retronxa* (usually the second couplet of the *respost*) is incorporated, and functions as a refrain. Another quatrain, the *tornada*, closes the song, often sealed by the *Oremus*, a euchological insert that connects these lyrics to their natural para-liturgical and/or devotional context.<sup>50</sup>

48. See note 35.

49. Consider, for example, the interesting occurrences in BC, Ms. 308, miscellaneous, with three poems that also require in-depth study: 1) ff. 61r-61v, *Cobblas de la verga Maria del Soquós*. Incipit: *Cantarem ab alegria*; 2) ff. 61v-63 *Cobblas de la verga Maria de Piata*. Incipit: *En lo món pus fou dotada* (also transcribed, as we shall see, in BC, Ms. 854, ff. 114r-115r); 3) ff. 63r-63v, *Cobblas del gloriós sent Sabastià*. Incipit: *Màrtir sant molt singular*. On BC, Ms. 308, dated “XVI”, see also Toldrà i Sabaté, Maria. MCEM, Id: 45, <[https://mcem.iec.cat/veure.asp?id\\_manuscrits=54](https://mcem.iec.cat/veure.asp?id_manuscrits=54)> [20 April 2022], where we read *Inclosos en un recull factici de textos dels s. XIV-XIX. El darrer és un f. solt, d’una mà moderna, que identifica algunes peces* (Included in a factual collection of texts from the s. XIV-XIX. The last one is a f loose, in a modern hand, which identifies some pieces) (in these *goigs*, note the reiteration of the word *Gox* at the beginning of the first line of each stanza). Historical and codicological investigations into the sources of *goigs* are always desirable, even in later manuscripts, bearing in mind the principle of *ecdotoca: recentiores non deteriores*. See, for example, the extensive research by Mahiques, Joan; Rovira, Helena. “Sobre la transmissió i la data dels *goigs* copiats al Ms. 1191 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya”. *Revista de Cancioneros Impresos y Manuscritos*, 5 (2016): 142-166.

50. For a *specimen* of the “canonical” structure of modern *goigs*, see: Bover i Font, August. “I *goigs* sardi...”: 105-106, (Chapter: “Sistema strofico”): *En lo mon pus sou dotata*; Porcu, Giancarlo. *Régula castigliana*, Nuoro: Il Maestrale, 2008: 64. *En lo món, pus fos dotade*. Regarding the *goigs* themselves, see the notable polyphonic elaboration by Joan Budrieu (ca. 1520-1591), *Los Gosos de nuestra Señora* (actually *goigs*), *En lo món pus sou dotada*. Text and music were published in 1585, in Barcelona, under the imprint of Hubert Gotard, in a collection of *Madrigals* that also includes texts by Ausiàs March (c. 1397-1459). The *goigs* are composed in 4 parts: *Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus*. Facsimile in Bernadó, Marius. *Joan Brudieu, Madrigals* (Barcelona: Hubert Gotard, 1585). Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2001: I, 9-35, 37-40, 52-53 (quatrain of the *respost*: *En lo món pus sou dotada / dels set goigs, Mare de Déu / D’altres set sou heretada / En los cels com mereixeu*).



### 3. *Puix de vostra carn sagrada* and other goygs in BC, Ms. 854

The ancient *goig* for the Virgin of the Rosary, *Puix de vostra carn sagrada*, appears in a later transcription contained in a miscellaneous Sardinian manuscript from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, discovered in 1987 at the monastery of Santa Chiara in Oristano.<sup>51</sup> Until now, in both Catalan and Sardinian historiography, the primary source of *Puix de tua carn sagrada* had been unknown. We can now locate the first occurrence of these *goigs* in Catalonia, in a source from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>52</sup>

The Barcelona source, in addition to *Puix de vostra carn sagrada*, also includes other *goygs*, some of them extraordinarily successful in later centuries. Here are the *goygs* transcribed in manuscript BC 854:

*Vostros goygs ab gran plaher.*<sup>53</sup>

*En lo mon si ffos dotada.*<sup>54</sup>

51. AMSCO, Ms. 2. The booklet, called *Cantorino* due to the presence of didactic sections with intonations of the psalm tones, includes mixed materials that probably date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, including “dramatic” texts of Holy Week, with iconography depicting Rosary brethren in the ceremony of the *Incravamentu* (“nailing”, Holy Thursday) and *Iscravamentu* of the Christ (“unhinging”, Good Friday), as well as music theory texts on the *cantus planus*, in Latin and Castilian. First mention of the source is in Mele, Giampaolo. “Un manoscritto di canto liturgico contenente gozos e una Passione inedita in sardo logudorese”. *Biblioteca Franciscana Sarda*, 1/1 (1987): 87-136. See also: Mele, Giampaolo. *La Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo. Testi liturgici, paraliturgici e musicali in un manoscritto sardo del Settecento*. Oristano: S’Alvure, 1989: 42-44: *Gozos de la / Virgen del Rosario. Puix de vostra carn sagrada / Si es vestit Deu verdader / Dignamente entitulada / Sou la Verge del Roser. / Copla. / Novel titol Verge pura* (“joys’ of the Virgen del Rosario, given that your sacred flesh is clothed by the true God, you are worthily titled Virgin of the Rosary, “Copla”: New title Pure Virgin”), 5 *coplas*, closed by the *tornada Suplico os agraciada* (...). Subsequently, the *goigs* at hand were published in a modernised transcription in: Manunta, Francesc. *Cançons i líriques religioses de l’Alguer catalana (segles XIV-XIX) amb una llarga introducció històrico-lingüística damunt de l’alguerès*. Alghero: La Celere, 1990: II, 85-88, and in Bover i Font, August. “Dos goigs sardo-catalans”, *Miscel·lània Jordi Carbonell*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 1991-1993: 102-107; Bover i Font, August. *Sardocatalana. Llengua, literatura i cultura catalanes a Sardenya*. Paiporta: Denes - Bàsica, 2007: 65-73. For the metrical aspects, a fundamental reference is Porcu, Giancarlo. *Régula...*: 68.

52. BC, Ms. 854; paper booklet, 155 x 105 mm, miscellaneous, first-hand reading by me in November 2021. *Pus de vostra carn sagrada* is transcribed on ff. 165r-166v; metrical scheme:  $xyx^1 y^1 : ababxy : x^{-1} y^{-1}$  (eight *coblas*, with closing tetrastich  $xyx^{-1} y^{-1}$ ), perfectly overlapping with the canonical scheme of *goigs*. Regarding the *datatio chronica*, it should be noted that f. 116r mentions Pope Julius II (1503-1513): *nostro sant para, papa Julio secundo, qui és de present*.

53. “your joys with great pleasure”. BC, Ms. 854, ff. 112v-113v [before the text, under a trimmed line, we read *Fili(us)*]; my conservative transcription: *Los goygs de la verge maria del roser / Vostros goygs ab gran plaher / ca(n)tarem verge maria / puixs q(ue) vostra se(n)yoria / es la verga del Roser / Cobla / deu planta dins vos se(n)yora / lo roser molt excellent / qua(n)t vos seu meraxedora / de consebrel purament / donant ffe al misatger / q(ue) del cel vos trametia / deu lo para que vohia / ffosseu mara del roser* (“the ‘goigs’ of the Virgin Mary of the Rose”. We will sing your joys with great pleasure, Virgin Mary, because your lordship is the Virgin of the Rose. ‘Cobla’: God planted in you, lady, the most excellent rose bush, because you deserve to conceive it purely. Thus, you gave credence to the message that God the Father sent you from Heaven, because he wanted you to be the Mother of the Rose”). These *goigs* are traditionally attributed to the Valencian Dominican Saint Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419), albeit without any documentary evidence. In Mahiques, Joan; Rovira, Helena. “Sobre la transmissió i la data...”: 149-152, III, reference is made to 25 witnesses.

54. “in the world if it were endowed”. BC, Ms. 854, ff. 114r-115r; my conservative transcription: *Altros set goygs d(e)la Verge Maria / En lo mon si ffos dotada / dels set goygs mara de deu / daltros set sou heretada / en los*



*Pus de vostra carn sagrada.*<sup>55</sup>

*Pusque rosa molt suau.*<sup>56</sup>

The Catalan ethnographer Valeri Serra i Boldú (1875-1938), from Castellserà (Lleida), author of a monumental monograph on the cult of the Rosary in Catalonia,<sup>57</sup> addresses the *goigs* transcribed in BC Codex, Ms. 854, also referring to Castilian versions included in a Seville incunabulum, a translation of an original Latin text:

*contemplaciones sobre el rosario de nuestra Soberana Señora virgen y madre de dios Sancta Maria: Ordenadas por don Gaspar Gorrício de Nouaria monje de Cartuxa: E tornadas en vulgar castellano por el reuerendo Bachiller Juan Alfonso de Logroño: Canonigo de Sevilla... Sevilla, Meinardo Ungut y Stanislao Polono, 1497. Ens permetem avençar, salvant el resultat d'ulterior investigacions, que totes les "Contemplaciones" deuen ésser tretes d'una obra catalana.*<sup>58</sup>

cells com marexeu / Cobla / Lo primer es verga pura / en lo grau que posehiu / mes q(ue) tota creatura / tal gloria vos santiiu / per humil la p(us) honrada / del restant sou hi sareu / de nosaltres advocada / en los çells com merexeu ("Another seven 'goigs' of the Virgin Mary. If in the world the Virgin was endowed with the seven 'goigs', another seven you are the heir, as you deserve. 'Cobla'. The first is pure virgin in the degree you possess has more than any other creature, as glorious as you feel, by humble, the most honest; of the rest you are and you will be a lawyer in the skies you deserve"). Among the earliest sources: Martínez Romero, Tomás. "El Cançoner espiritual de Moliné i Brasés: una proposta de reconstrucció". *Estudis Romànics*, 34 (2012): 420.

55. "Since your sacred flesh". BC 854, ff. 165r-166v; my conservative transcription: *Ihesu / lahos dela verge maria del roser / Pus de vostra carn sagrada / ses vestit deu vertader / digname(n)t intitulada / sou la verga del Roser. / Cobla / Novel titol verga pura / vostro filo vos ha donat / perq(ue) tota creatura / senta vostra puritat / pusque sou intitulada / rosa blanca del roser / el vos han intitullada / digna verge del roser* ("Jesus. Praises of the Virgin Mary of the Rose. Since true God was clothed in your sacred flesh, you are worthily titled as the Virgin of Rose. 'Cobla' Your son has given you the new title of pure Virgin, so that all creatures feel your purity").

56. "As much as very soft rose". BC 854, ff. 166v-169v; my conservative transcription: *Cobles del psaltiri o roser dela / intemerada verge maria p(er) (com)tem/plar.xv. misteris d(e)la sua sagrada / vida dient lo psaltiri o roser / Cobla / pusque rosa molt suau / deu mo(n) fill ma elegida / lo psaltiri m presentau / e dient lo contemplanu / quinze actes de ma vida // [f. 167r] Dela incarnacio / Contemplanu la ambxada / quem porta sent Gabriel / p(er) la qual resti prenyada / deu mo(n) fill lo rey del çell / E per que mes estenguau / de quant mes fuy enriquida / lo psaltiri m presentau / quinze actas de ma vida* ("contemplate 15 mysteries of his sacred life saying the psalter or rose. 'Cobla', Since my son God has chosen me as a very soft rose, present the psalter to me, and contemplate it while saying fifteen acts of my life").

57. Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Llibre d'or del Rosari in Catalunya...*; The work, *escrita en col·laboració amb Víctor Oliva*, includes an impressive documentation: 273 *reproduccions fotogràfiques en làmina*, 307 *gravats intercalats al text*, and 49 *exemples musicals* (data drawn from the remarkably long title on the title page). On the cult of the Rosary in Catalonia, see also: Torrell i Eulàlia, Salvador. *La devoció popular a la Verge del Roser. Iconography-Folklore-Bibliography*. Barcelona: Torrell de Reus, 1970: 513-552.

58. "Contemplations on the rosary of our sovereign Virgen and Mother of God Saint Mary: ordered by Don Gaspar Gorrício de Nouaria monk of Carttusan; and turned into vulgar Castilian by the reverend Bachilor Juan Alfonso de Logroño: Canon of Seville... Seville, Meinardo Ungut and Stanislao Polono, 1497. They enables us to advance, saving the result of subsequent research, that all the 'contemplations' must be taken from a Catalan work". Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Llibre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya...*: 172 and note 2. On the Sevillian incunable, see now the edition in Gorrício de Novara, Dom Gaspar. *Contemplaciones sobre el Rosario de Nuestra Señora historiadadas: un incunable sevillano*. eds. Santiago Cantera Montenegro, Almudena Torrego Casado. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik-Universität Salzburg, 2002; this is the *Rosarium Beatae Virginis Mariae, et alia opuscula*, printed in Seville by Meinardo Ungut and Stanislao Polono on 8 July 1495. Regarding the "1497" incunabulum cited by Serra i Boldú, Valeri.





Below is the incipit of the lyrics, in the Catalan and Castilian versions:

*Vostros goygs ab gran plaher / cantarem verge Maria.  
Vuestros gozos con señal / cantare señora mia.*<sup>59</sup>

*Pus de vostra carn sagrada / Ses vestit deu vertader.  
Pues vuestra carne sagrada / Vistiò a dios verdadero.*<sup>60</sup>

*Pusque rosa molt suau / Deu mon fill ma elegida.  
Pues madre de Piedad / Soy: e de gracia complida.*<sup>61</sup>

Let us start, then, from an objective fact: the *Contemplaciones* are the Castilian translation of a pre-existing, lost Latin text. The key question is: were the Marian songs in the vernacular already included in the original Latin text? For his part, Serra i Boldú, as we have seen, excepting the result of further research, postulates an antecedent *Catalan obra*.<sup>62</sup> As of today, this hypothesis has not been proven given the current state of research. On the other hand, a Catalan channel should concretely be taken into account for the Marian poems that flowed into the 1495 Seville print. Sticking to *Pus de vostra carn sagrada / Pues vuestra carne sagrada* (Well, your sacred flesh), some revealing lexical elements clearly point to a difficult editorial gestation for the Castilian version, as well as producing a curious mixture, a sort of *pastiche*: in the same stanzas, we actually find three variants at once - *rosero* (*respost*, 4; stanzas 6, 8; 7, 8) / *rosal* (stanzas 1, 8; 2, 2; 3, 8;) / *roser* (stanzas 3, 8; 4, 8; 5, 8; 8, 8; *tornada*, 4).<sup>63</sup> But this question is best left to the philologists. Here, I would like to highlight a few, equally suggestive, aspects of issues in *Kulturgeschichte*. In particular, in *Pus de vostra*

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*Llibre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya...*: 172 and note 2, This testimony must be taken with caution since it could be a facsimile of the 1495 edition; Jiménez Ruiz, Ana Milagros. "Gaspar Gorricio de Novaria, 'Contemplaciones sobre el rosario de Nuestra Señora'", *Catálogo de obras medievales impresas en castellano hasta 1600*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza: <[https://doi.org/10.26754/uz\\_comedic/comedic\\_35](https://doi.org/10.26754/uz_comedic/comedic_35)> [20 April 2022]. Regarding the date of the text of the *Contemplaciones*, see the same scholar: The original Latin work –also by Gorricio– on which the translation is based is dated around 1491.

59. "Your goygs with a sign / you will sing Our Lady". Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Llibre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya...*: 172-173; the Catalan text is collated opposite the Castilian one. Regarding *señal*, the reference to the cryptic language of the troubadours is not very convincing in this context: *l'intemerat traductor pogué tenir present el senhal dels trobadors* (The fearless translator could keep in mind the Senhal of the troubadours): Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Llibre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya...*: 172, note 3.

60. "So, your sacred flesh / Dressed [the] true god" Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Llibre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya...*: 192 (both Catalan and Castilian texts on the same page).

61. "So, mother of Mercy / I am: and of grace fulfilled" Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Llibre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya...*: 184-186; the first two verses of the Castilian version are different from the Catalan ones; the text continues, in Catalan: *lo psaltiri m presentau / e dient lo contemplau / quinze actes de ma vida*; in Castilian: *El psalterio me rezad / E rezando contemplad / Quinze actos de mi vida* (You presented the psalter to me / And by saying it you contemplated / Fifteen acts of my life).

62. Catalan work. See the text quoted in note 56.

63. Serra i Boldú, Valeri. *Llibre d'or del Rosari a Catalunya...*: 192.



*carn sacrada*, stanza 6, 6, a *caualler* [knight] appears.<sup>64</sup> In contrast, in the Castilian version of the *loores*, in the Seville incunabulum, stanza 6, any reference to this *caualler* is absent. This is the famous “Knight of Cologne”, a legendary figure linked to the cult of the Rosary. This cursory mention of the knight in the *goigs* in question is absent in Lorenzo Candelaria’s brilliant, erudite treatise on *The Knight of Cologne* and,<sup>65</sup> together with the 1488 engraving by Francisco Domènech (a Dominican friar from the Convent of St. Catherine in Barcelona),<sup>66</sup> is one of the earliest records of the Marian legend of Cologne, which found its way into 16<sup>th</sup>-century editions, including a volume printed in València in 1535 by Duran Salvanyach.<sup>67</sup> Note also in *Pus de vostra carn sacrada*, stanza 5, 2 an evocation of Pope *Ignocent*,<sup>68</sup> Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492), the Genoese Giovan Battista Cibo, who granted indulgences to all those who added the name of Jesus in the angelic *salutatio* (Ave Maria).

It turns out that a copy of the Sevillian incunabulum used to be at the Biblioteca Colombina dating back to Fernando Colombo (1488-1439). This is not surprising, since the aforementioned Carthusian monk *Gaspar Gorricio de Novaria* of Santa María de las Cuevas de Sevilla is the famous Gaspar de Gorricio (?-1515), a native of Novara, close friend, archivist and treasurer of Cristoforo Colombo (1451-1516).<sup>69</sup>

The original Latin work by Gaspar de Gorricio dates back to the European revival of the Rosary cult, which was resumed in the Rhine-Flemish area in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This was a very different time compared to the subsequent wave of devotion of the Rosary, coinciding with the institution of the feast day by Pius V (1566-1572) the year after the battle of Lepanto, the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1571, under the name “Our Lady of Victory”, later changed by his successor Gregory XIII (1572-1585) to “Our Lady of the Rosary”.

A key role in the wide spread of the confraternities of the Rosary was played by Cologne where, in the church of Saint Andrew, the Dominican Jakob Sprenger (ca. 1436-1495) founded a powerful confraternity on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1475.<sup>70</sup> Coming back to the Sevillian incunabulum, the text (ff. 112r-v) specifies that *cada día cada cofrade dijese (...) un salterio, conviene saber, quince Pater Nostres e ciento e cincuenta Ave Marías*.<sup>71</sup> At that juncture in the Iberian peninsula, the *goigs* transcribed in BC, Ms. 854 were also grafted onto the devotion of the Rosary. The *datatio chronica*

64. BC 854, f. 166r.

65. Candelaria, Lorenzo. *The Rosary Cantoral. Ritual an Social Design in a Chantbook from Early Renaissance Toledo*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000: 39-57.

66. See: Rossell y Torres, Isidoro. “Estampa española del siglo xv grabada por Fray Francisco Domènech”. *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, 2 (1873): 442-464.

67. See note 72.

68. BC 854, f. 165v.

69. Manso Porto, Carmen. “Gaspar Gorricio de Novara”. *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia. <<https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/83606/gaspar-gorricio-de-novara>> [20 April 2022].

70. For a historical and cultural background, see Saffrey, Henri Dominique. *Humanisme et imagerie aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles, études iconographiques et bibliographiques*. Paris: Vrin, 2003: 123-156 (Chapter: “La Fondation de la confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475. Histoire et Iconographie”).

71. “every day each confraternity said (...) a psalter, it should be known, fifteen Pater Nostres and one hundred and fifty Hail Marys”. Manso Porto, Carmen. “Gaspar Gorricio...”.



of these *goigs/lahors* can be placed in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the current state of research, we must assume 18 July 1495, the date of printing of the Seville incunabulum, as the *terminus ante quem*. On the other hand, the *datatio topica* must take into account both Seville and Catalonia. *Puix de vostra carn sagrada* and the other *goigs* of BC, Ms. 854 also appear in later editions throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, starting with a very rare 1535 edition from Valencia, which also contains the aforementioned legend of the “Knight of Cologne”.<sup>72</sup>

In any case, the historical problems and the ecdotics issue related to the pioneering *goigs* in BC, Ms. 854, confirm that any question on the varied repertoires of Marian devotional songs between written and oral tradition,<sup>73</sup> must always be framed in a European perspective, taking into account complex literary and cultic intersections (in this case between the Dominican and Carthusian cultural and spiritual worlds). But I will have a chance to return to this subject elsewhere, with a critical edition of *Puix de vostra carn sagrada*.

72. The *goigs/lahors* appear in *Trellat sumàriament fet de la Bulla o Confraria del Psaltiri o Roser*, printed in València in 1535 by Duran Salvanyach, and in *Trellat sumariament fet dela bulla o Confraria del Psaltiri o Roser: e cobles a lahor e gloria dela sacratissima e intemerada verge Maria del Roser*, published in the same city in 1546 by Joan Navarro. See the summary description of the *Testimonis* in Anònim. *Llaors de la verge Maria del Roser Puix de vostra carn sagrada / s'és vestit Déu vertader - puix que sou jntitulada / digna Verge del Roser*. (“Loans to the Virgin Mary of the Rosary because the true God is dressed with your sacred flesh / - because you are entitled as / honorable Virgin of the Rosary”) CENS, <[https://pcem.iec.cat/poema\\_sencer\\_veure.asp?numero=1219](https://pcem.iec.cat/poema_sencer_veure.asp?numero=1219)> [20 April 2022]; the “Bibliography” does not include any titles.

73. The main thing missing in this lively cultural context is written musical documentation. We know for sure that the *goigs* in the Seville incunabulum and BC, Ms. 854 were sung according to the oral tradition. A fragment from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (to be further investigated in the light of modern ethnomusicological research on *goigs*) contains a setting of *Vostres goigs ab gran plaher*, a melody written on staff with the key of F on the fourth line, in mensural notation. See Pelay Briz, Francesch. *Cansons de la terra*. Barcelona-Paris: Alvar Verdaguer-Maisonneuve y C.º, 1877: V, 30-40: *Trobats en un pergami que servia de carpeta á uns ‘Papers fahents per la fermansa que feu Jaume Cristofol de Guimerá á Miquel Angel Salarert per la bulla de Tarragona trienni 1596. – n.º 116.’*, 37. *Obra l’original (si be retallat en part pel que tinguè la trista idea de ferlo servir de carpeta) en poder del jove escriptor en Joseph Fiter (...)*, 37; *Nota. Aquest goigs son los mateixos que ‘s cantan encar, si be, en los impresos ara, la tornada es modificada (...)*, 39. (“Found in a parchment that served as a folder to a ‘Papers fahents per la fermansa que feu Jaume Cristofol de Guimerá á Miquel Angel Salarert per la bulla de Tarragona trienni 1596. – n.º 116.’, 37. The original work (if although partly trimmed by the sad idea of using it as a folder) in the hands of the young writer Joseph Fiter (...), 37; *Note. This joys are the same as still sing, although, in the printed ones now, the return is modified (...)*, 39”). See also: Amades, Joan; Colomines, Josep. *Els goigs*. Barcelona: Orbis, 1946-1948: 1, 10-11; Mahiques, Joan; Rovira, Helena. “Sobre la transmissió i la data...”: 150 (doc. no. 1). The fragment with music, measuring 53 x 28 mm, is currently preserved in the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Departament de Gràfics, C18/F6C5/009bis, century “XVI 2a m.”, catalogued in Mahiques i Climent, Joan, MCEM, Id: 2324, <[https://mcecm.iec.cat/veure.asp?id\\_manuscrits=2445](https://mcecm.iec.cat/veure.asp?id_manuscrits=2445)> [20 April 2022]. Description also in CENS <[https://pcem.iec.cat/fonts\\_una.asp?idf=210](https://pcem.iec.cat/fonts_una.asp?idf=210)> [20 April 2022], metrical scheme: “1 x 4, 2 x 8, 1 x 5, 2 x 8, 1 x 5, 1 x 8, 1 x 4”. A peculiar case of musical patronage by a Rosary confraternity at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries is analysed in Candelaria, Lorenzo. “The Rosary Cantoral...”, concerning a manuscript commissioned in c. 1500 by a Rosary confraternity connected with the Dominican convent of San Pietro Martire in Toledo, 20. The codex includes 22 troped parts of the *Ordinarium missae* and 2 fragments of polyphony, one by Josquin Desprez (ca. 1455-1521), *Et incarnatus est*, and another on *L’homme armé*.



#### 4. *Gozos*: medieval precursors (13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries)

At the dawn of the earliest *gozos* (< GAUDIUM), in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Gonzalo de Berceo (ca. 1195-1264?) inserted V *gozos* in *cuaderna vía* in the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*,<sup>74</sup> while the *Cantigas de Santa María*<sup>75</sup>, in Galician-Portuguese, of the King of León and Castile Alfonso X the Wise (1252-1284) includes VII “earthly” *goyos* in mensural notation, *Des oge mais quer’ eu trobar* (*Cantiga* 1).<sup>76</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the dissemination and musical performance of *gozos*, from both monastic and secular circles, was part of the Marian repertoires of the jesters.<sup>77</sup>

A central source for *gozos* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century is the *Libro de Buen Amor* (ca. 1330) by Juan Ruiz (ca. 1283-ca. 1350), *Arcipreste de Hita*,<sup>78</sup> which is also valuable for its extensive literary documentation of musical instruments in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The *Arcipreste* begins his work by invoking the Virgin with VII *gozos*,<sup>79</sup> rhyme

74. Among the various editions, see: De Berceo, Gonzalo. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Michael Gerli. Madrid: Cátedra, 2006; De Berceo, Gonzalo. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Vincente Beltrán. Barcelona: Área, 2002; De Berceo, Gonzalo. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Fernando Baños Vallejo. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002. For the *gozos*, see *Milagro IV: Gozo ayas, María* (...); *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*...: stanzas 119-122.

75. Anglés, Higiní. *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*. Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona - Biblioteca Central, 1964-1958, based on 3 codices: 1) BNE, Mss. 10.069 [= To], from Toledo Cathedral; 2) RBME, T. j. I; 3 [= E<sub>2</sub>]; 3) RBME, j. b. 2 [= E<sub>1</sub>]. See also Mettmann, Walter. *Alfonso X, el Sabio: Cantigas de Santa María*. Madrid: Castalia, 1986-1989.

76. *Cantiga* 1: *Esta é a primeira cantiga de loor de Santa Maria ementando os.VII. goyos que ouve de seu Fillo*. (“This is the first canticle in praise of Santa Maria, mentioning the seven ‘goys’ she had from her Son”). *Des oge mais que eu trobar pola Sennor onrrada* (...) ♪. Transcription on staff with key of G (Bf in key signature), in Anglés, Higiní. *La música de las Cantigas*... : II, 4; above the staff is a full palaeographic reproduction of the modal notation of “To, 1, f. 10 a-b”: ◆◆; “E<sub>2</sub>, 1, f. 5 b-c”: ◆◆; “E<sub>1</sub>, 1, f. 29 b-c”: ◆◆. Facsimile of E<sub>1</sub> in volume I, 29r. Scheme: II, 4: “a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup> a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup> a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup> a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup> a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup>”, with superscript indication of tonic accents, ♪ αβγδεζηθ. On the VII *goyos* see also Ciociola, Claudio. “Un’antica lauda bergamasca (per la storia del serventesi)”. *Studies in Italian Philology*, 37 (1979): 53, note 4; Disalvo, Santiago. “Los VII goyos de la Virgen en las *Cantigas de Santa María* y la tradición de los gaudia en la poesía medieval latina y vernácula”. *Revista do Centro de Estudos Portugueses*, 32/47 (2012): 39-66. From a strophic and metric point of view, the structure of the VII *goyos* is a rarity in Alfonso’s *Canzoniere*: No. 1-the *Cantiga* de loor, on the Seven Joys of Mary, is metrically (not musically) a song. The form could be borrowed from a northern model; I have not found any. The 8 stanzas are clean, a great rarity for Alfons. Spanke, Hans. *Die Metrik der Cantigas*..., in Anglés, Higiní. *La música de las Cantigas*...: III, 211. On *Cantiga* 100, the *gozos* and iconography, see Franco, Ángela. “Las cantigas de Santa María, la plástica, la iconografía y devociones en la Baja Edad Media”. *Alcanate*, 7 (2010-2011): 133-143.

77. For a concise historical overview of the jesters, see: Mele, Giampaolo. “I Giullari. Musica e mestieri nel Medio Evo (secoli XI-XIV). Cenni storici”, *Arte y vida cotidiana en la época medieval. XII Curso de la Cátedra Goya (Zaragoza, 24-28 de abril de 2007)*, María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, ed. Saragossa: Institución ‘Fernando el Católico’- Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 89-131.

78. Among the various editions: Ruiz, Juan Arcipreste de Hita. *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. Giorgio Chiarini. Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1964; Ruiz, Juan Arcipreste de Hita. *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. Alberto Blecuá. Barcelona: Planeta, 1983; Ruiz, Juan Arcipreste de Hita. *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Alberto Blecuá. Madrid: Cátedra, 1992; Ruiz, Juan Arcipreste de Hita. *Libro de buen amor*, eds. Alberto Blecuá, Margarita Freixas. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001. An Italian translation in: Ruiz, Juan. *Libro del buon amore*, eds. Vincenzo La Gioia, Giuseppe Di Stefano. Milan: Rizzoli, 1999.

79. Morreale, Margherita. “Los Gozos de la Virgen en el *Libro* de Juan Ruiz (I)”. *Revista de Filología Española*, 43/4 (1983): 223-290; Morreale, Margherita. “Los Gozos de la Virgen en el *Libro* de Juan



scheme: aaaa [a= x] | bbbx | cccx (...). The last line of the stanzas thus reiterates the rhyme of the last stich of the introductory tetrastich (for example, 20: *toda vía*; 21: *alegría*; 22: *mensajería*; 23: *Ave María* etc.).<sup>80</sup> The significant reiteration of the rhyme of the initial quatrain in the last line of the stanzas is also found in the Sardinian *gosos* (*camba torrada*), obviously in an entirely different metric scheme and historical-musical context.<sup>81</sup> The introductory tetrastich of the *gozos* of the Arcipreste de Hita (*O María, luz del día, / Tú me guía todavía!*) is perhaps not free from the influence (purely literary, of course) of the *estribillo* in the *Cantiga de loor* 100, *Santa María, strela do dia*.<sup>82</sup>

Even in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the *gozos* tradition, far from being a strict formal canon, included prestigious literary authors: Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398-1458), Marquis of Santillana,<sup>83</sup> and Íñigo de Mendoza (ca. 1424-ca. 1507), a Franciscan friar.<sup>84</sup> From

Ruiz (II)". *Revista de Filología Española*, 44/2 (1984): 1-69 (on stanzas 20-32; 33-43; 1635-41; 1642-48). Strophic and metrical aspects of Ruiz's *Gozos*: I, §§ 2-2.3.9, 233-239, as well as their literary precursors: II, §§ 6.1-6.8, 1-11. In Morreale, Margherita. "Los Gozos (II)...": 6, note 18, regarding *gaudia*, instead of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, erroneously refers to "Anselm of Canterbury", perhaps due to the influence of the referenc Chevalier, Ulysse. *Repertorium Hymnologicum...*: 407 (doc. no. 6810): "(S. Anselmus) S. THOMAS CANTUAR". See also Bleuca, Alberto. "Sobre la copla 1575 del *Libro de buen amor*", *Centro Virtual Cervantes* <[https://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/arcipreste\\_hita/03/bleuca.htm](https://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/arcipreste_hita/03/bleuca.htm)> [20 April 2022]; concerning *copla* 1648, *Gozos fueron siete*.

80. Chiarini, Giorgio. "Libro de Buen Amor...": 102.

81. Speaking of Sardinia: incidentally, codex E<sub>1</sub>, 79v, includes a miniature depicting two *launeddas* players; Mele, Giampaolo. "Le launeddas e la miniatura della carta 79v del manoscritto escorialense b.I.2 delle 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'", *Launeddas*, Giampaolo Lallai, ed. Cagliari: AM&D, 1997: 231-249; however, as is well known, the instruments depicted in the Escorial codex, *launeddas* included, are in no way referable to the melody of the *Cantigas*. *Launeddas* are still widely used in the accompaniment of *gosos*. See Bentzon, Andreas Fridolin Weis. *The Launeddas. A Sardinian folk-music instrument*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1969: I, ♯52, 124-125; ♯53, 125-127; ♯54, 127; ♯55, 128; ♯56, 128. The 'canonical' intonation of the *gosos*, TT (two tones), for example *f-g-a*, surprisingly coincides with the *incipit* of the *estribillo* of the *Cantiga* di Santa Maria No. 140, *A Santa Maria dadas sejan loores onradas* ("Honorable praises be given to Santa Maria"), which has *g-a-b*, arching in the *ambitus* of a fourth and touching C. However, it is by no means possible to identify any specific type of connection (or even kinship) between the two intonations. See, also for methodological problems on melodic comparisons, Mele, Giampaolo. "Gosos/Goigs/Gozos...": 233, 302.

82. "Oh Mary, daylight you still guide me"; "Santa Maria, star of the day" On *Cantiga* 100, Anglés, Higiní. *La música de las Cantigas...*: II, 109 (transcription from "To, 10b.a., f. 156 a-b; E<sub>2</sub>, 100, f. 144 e-d; E<sub>1</sub>, 100, f. 110 d-111a". *Estribillo*: 'santa Maria, strela do dia, mostranos via pera Deus et nos guía'); on metrics, Spanke, Hans. *Die Metrik...*: III, note 100, 211; facsimile: I, ff. 110v-111r.

83. Pérez Priego, Miguel Angel. "Los gozos de Nuestra Señora, del Marqués de Santillana", *Estudios de literatura medieval en la Península Ibérica*, Carlos Alvar Ezquerro, ed. San Millán de la Cogolla: Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española, 2015: 1061-1062. On the fortune of these *gozos*, see: Franco Mata, María Ángela. "El Marqués de Santillana y los gozos de la Virgen María en la tradición del Arte y Literatura". *Ruta cicloturísticas del Románico*, 30 (2012): 70-76. The *gozos* of the Marquis of Santillana were developed as a long gloss on a version of *Gaude, virgo, mater Christi* and some Marian antiphons and orations.

84. Calvo Moralejo, Gaspar. "Los Gozos de Nuestra Señora y su culto en fray Íñigo de Mendoza, ofm (1425-1507)", *De cultu mariano saeculis XII-XV. Acta Congressus mariologici-mariani internationalis (Romae anno 1975 celebrati)*, VI. Rome: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1981: 57-90; Calvo Moralejo, Gaspar. "Los Gozos de Nuestra Señora y su culto en fray Íñigo de Mendoza, ofm (1425-1507)". *Ephemerides mariologicae*, 28 (1978): 67-92.



the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the *gozos* that had also spread to the non-Iberian area as a literary genre,<sup>85</sup> became codified on the basis of the formal canon that has remained without interruption to the present day. This is eloquently testified by the many websites on the topic, which are constantly updated with historical and documentary material; but these recent developments are beyond the scope of my discussion.

Specific historical, strophic and musical problems are in turn posed by the *gosos*<*gozos*/*gòccius*<*goigs* in the cultic, cultural and musical tradition of Sardinia, in which they can be ascribed to the morphology of the *villancico*;<sup>86</sup> these will be addressed in a separate discussion.<sup>87</sup> On the whole, both the *goigs* and the *gozos*, as well as the *gosos*, which originated through the multifarious channels of the medieval *formes fixes*, and are still performed today, attest to the extraordinary vitality, in both writing and orality, of a composite literary-musical genre, multilingual and *de longue durée*.

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85. Especially noteworthy is an expansion of the *gozos* in Italian literature; see: Milite, Luca. "Le allegrezze-los *gozos*: fortuna di un genere letterario nelle liriche italiana e spagnola del Rinascimento", *I canzonieri di Lucrezia - Los cancioneros de Lucrecia, Atti del convegno internazionale sulle raccolte poetiche iberiche dei secoli XV-XVII. Ferrara 7-9 October 2002*, Andrea Baldissera, Giuseppe Mazzocchi, eds. Padua: Unipress, 2005: 353-362.

86. Porcu, Giancarlo. *Régula...*: 36-58, *Sesta torrada, gozos e villancico*. A different historical perspective is in Bover i Font, August. "I 'goccius' nei paesi catalani e in Sardegna: un'evoluzione parallela". *Insula*, 8 (2010): 21-34. See also Ayats Abeyà, Jaume. "Paral·lelismes musicals i situacionals entre els *goigs* i els 'gosos'". *Insula*, 8 (2010): 75-89.

87. On the *gosos/gòccius*, see: Bover i Font, August. "I *goigs* sardi...": 105-110; Mele, Giampaolo. "*Gosos/Goigs/Gozos...*": 225-312 (history and sources); On metrics see Porcu, Giancarlo. *Régula...*: 31-88. Among the main collections, see: Sechi, Giovanni. *Goggius. Raccolta completa delle lodi sacre Sardo-Logudorese-Campidanese per le solennità e feste dei Santi della Chiesa Cattolica celebrantesi in tutta la Sardegna. Corretta sulla scorta di numerosi manoscritti e stampe e ordinata secondo la disposizione del Messale Romano*. Oristano: Pascuttini & C., 1934; *Gosos. Poesia religiosa popolare della Sardegna centro-settentrionale*, eds. Raimondo Turtas, Giuseppe Zichi. Sassari: Istituzione 'Cultura e Società', 2001; *Gozos. Componenti religiosi raccolti nel XVIII secolo da Francesco Maria Marras. Trascrizione critica e studi*, eds. Giovanni Serreli, Maurizio Viridis. Dolianova: Grafica del Parteolla - Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, 2011. For about twenty forms of the headword *gosos*, including phonetic variants and synonyms, see: Turtas, Gloria. "Il *Libro dei gosos* di Olzai: prime analisi e descrizione di un manoscritto devozionale del XIX secolo". *Theologica e Historica*, 26 (2017): 464-467.

