

Translating Musical Instruments in Fifteenth-Century Valencia

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ABSTRACT

Religious texts present abundant opportunities for exploration as regards musical terminology, as well as the actual use of instruments. Research has previously focused, mainly, on the presence within these texts of lists bearing witness to the degree of a given set of instruments' dissemination, though lists represent only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the wealth of musical information brought together in this kind of text. This article analyses a number of quotations referring to musical instruments as found in Catalan vernacular translations of the Bible, and focuses on their presence within two interconnected works, namely, Isabel de Villena's *Vita Christi* and Joan Roís de Corella's *Lo cartoixà*, the latter being the translation of one of the former's principal sources. It thus becomes possible to see how different translators and different authors treat the Holy Scripture and how the instruments' terminology is adapted to different ends.

KEYWORDS

Isabel de Villena; Joan Roís de Corella; Catalan translations of the Bible; medieval musical instruments; translation studies; *Vita Christi*; *Cartoixà*; Psalms in Catalan



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RESUMEN

Els textos religiosos ofereixen abundants oportunitats d'exploració pel que fa a la terminologia musical i l'ús efectiu dels instruments. Fins ara els estudiosos s'han centrat principalment en la presència de llistes dins d'aquests textos, útils per testimoniar el grau de difusió d'un determinat conjunt d'instruments, les quals, però, representen només la punta de l'iceberg de la riquesa d'informacions que aquestes tipologies textuals recullen. Aquest article analitza una sèrie de referències als instruments musicals tal com es troben a les traduccions medievals al català de la Bíblia, per centrar-se després en la seva presència en dues obres interconnectades, és a dir, la *Vita Christi* d'Isabel de Villena i *Lo cartoxà* de Joan Roís de Corella, sent aquesta última la traducció d'una de les fonts principals de la primera. Així, es fa possible veure com diferents traductors i diferents autors tracten la Sagrada Escripura i com adapten la terminologia relativa als instruments a diferents propòsits.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Isabel de Villena; Joan Roís de Corella; Traduccions catalanes de la Bíblia; instruments musicals medieval; traductologia; *Vita Christi*; *Cartoxà*; Salms en català

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-------|
| 1 Musical instruments in the Bible | – 157 |
| 2 Musical instruments in Villena's <i>Vita Christi</i> and in Corella's <i>Lo cartoxà</i> | – 163 |
| 2.1 <i>Campana</i> (Cat. <i>campana</i> / Eng. <i>bell</i>) | – 163 |
| 2.2 <i>Cithara</i> (Cat. <i>cítara</i> (<i>viula</i>) / Eng. <i>zither</i>) and <i>psalterium</i> (Cat. <i>psaltiri</i> / Eng. <i>psaltery</i>) | – 164 |
| 2.3 (Cat. <i>llaüt</i> / Eng. <i>lute</i>) | – 167 |
| 2.4 <i>Organum</i> (Cat. <i>orgue</i> / Eng. <i>organ</i>) | – 168 |
| 2.5 <i>Symphonia</i> , <i>tympanum</i> (and the enigmatic chorus) | – 169 |
| 2.6 <i>Tuba</i> , <i>buccina</i> , <i>cornu</i> (Cat. <i>trompa</i> , <i>trompeta</i> , <i>botzina</i> , <i>corn</i> / Eng. <i>Roman tuba</i> or <i>trumpet</i> , <i>buccin</i> or <i>bucine</i> , <i>horn</i>) | – 171 |
| 3 Players and the orchestral ensemble | – 178 |
| 3.1 <i>Joglar</i> (Eng. <i>jester</i> / <i>minstrel</i>) | – 178 |
| 3.2 <i>Trompeta</i> (Eng. <i>crier</i> / <i>herald</i>) | – 178 |
| 3.3 <i>The orchestra of angels</i> | – 183 |
| 4 Conclusion | – 187 |
| 5 Appendix: Musical Instruments in the Catalan Translations of the Bible | – 189 |
| 6 Works Cited | – 193 |



1 Musical instruments in the Bible

The Holy Scriptures abound in references to musical instruments.¹ The Latin Vulgate specifies eighteen such instruments, dispersed throughout its various books, i.e. *buccina*, *chorus*, *cinyra*, *cithara*, *cornu*, *cymbalum*, *fistula*, *lyra*, *nablum*, *organum*, *psalterium*, *sambuca*, *sistrum*, *symphonia*, *tibia*, *tintinnabulum*, *tuba*, *tympanium*.²

Three of its chapters, in particular, present the largest concentration of mentioned musical instruments within a relatively condensed space. The first instance occurs in 1 Chronicles 15, which recounts the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant to the City of David:

[16] Dixitque David principibus Levitarum, ut constituerent de fratribus suis cantores in *organis musicorum*, *nablis* videlicet, et *lyris*, et *cymbalis*, ut resonaret in excelsis sonitus laetitiae [...]. [19] Porro cantores, Heman, Asaph, et Ethan, in *cymbalis* aeneis concrepantes. [20] Zacharias autem, et Oziel, et Semiramoth, et Jahiel, et Ani, et Eliab, et Maasias, et Banaias in *nablis* arcana cantabant. [21] Porro Mathathias, et Eliphahu, et Macenias, et Obededom, et Jehiel, et Ozaziu, in *citharis* pro octava caneabant epinicion. [22] Chonenias autem princeps Levitarum, prophetiae praeerat, ad praecindendam melodiam : erat quippe valde sapiens [...]. [24] Porro Sebenias, et Josaphat, et Nathanael, et Amasai, et Zacharias, et Banaias, et Eliezer sacerdotes, clangebant *tubis* coram arca Dei : et Obededom, et Jehias, erant janitores arcae [...]. [28] Universusque Israel deducebant arcam foederis Domini in jubilo, et sonitu *buccinae*, et *tubis*, et *cymbalis*, et *nablis*, et *citharis* concrepantes.³

The second occurrence appears in Daniel 3, and relates to the veneration of the golden idol built by Nebuchadnezzar:

[5] in hora qua audieritis sonitum *tubae*, et *fistulae*, et *citharae*, *sambucaae*, et *psalterii*, et *symphoniae*, et universi generis musicorum, cadentes adorate statuam auream, quam constituit Nabuchodonosor rex.⁴

This list is repeated in identical order in verses 7, 10, and 15:

1. The author wishes to thank Dr Robert D. Hughes (Prague) for his diligent linguistic revision of this article.

2. The *cinyra* and the *tintinnabulum* are the sole instruments not considered in this article, since they fail to appear within the works under examination here.

3. '[16] David also commanded the chiefs of the Levites to appoint their kindred as the singers to play on musical instruments, on *harps* and *lyres* and *cymbals*, to raise loud sounds of joy. [...] [19] The singers Heman, Asaph, and Ethan were to sound bronze *cymbals*; [20] Zechariah, Aziel, Shemiramoth, Jehiel, Unni, Eliab, Maaseiah, and Benaiah were to play *harps* according to Alamoth; [21] but Mattithiah, Eliphelihu, Mikneiah, Obed-edom, Jeiel, and Azaziah were to lead with *lyres* according to the Sheminith. [22] Chenaniah, leader of the Levites in music, was to direct the music, for he understood it. [...]. [24] Shebaniah, Joshaphat, Nethanel, Amasai, Zechariah, Benaiah, and Eliezer, the priests, were to blow the *trumpets* before the ark of God. Obed-edom and Jehiah also were to be gatekeepers for the ark. [...] [28] So all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord with shouting, to the sound of the *horn*, *trumpets*, and *cymbals*, and made loud music on *harps* and *lyres*'. All given English translations of the Bible come from the New Revised Standard Version.

4. '[5] that when you hear the sound of the *horn*, *pipe*, *lyre*, *trigon*, *harp*, *drum*, and entire musical ensemble, you are to fall down and worship the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up'.

[7] Post haec igitur, statim ut audierunt omnes populi sonitum *tubae, fistulae, et citharae, sambucae, et psalterii, et symphoniae*, et omnis generis musicorum, cadentes omnes populi, tribus, et linguae adoraverunt statuam auream, quam constituerat Nabuchodonosor rex. [...] [10] tu, rex, posuisti decretum, ut omnis homo, qui audierit sonitum *tubae, fistulae, et citharae, sambucae, et psalterii, et symphoniae*, et universi generis musicorum, prosternat se, et adoret statuam auream [...] [15] nunc ergo si estis parati, quacumque hora audieritis sonitum *tubae, fistulae, citharae, sambucae, et psalterii, et symphoniae*, omnisque generis musicorum, prosternite vos, et adorate statuam, quam feci: quod si non adoraveritis, eadem hora mittemini in fornacem ignis ardentis : et quis est Deus, qui eripiet vos de manu mea?⁵

The third passage corresponds to the final psalm, namely Psalm 150, wherein certain of the instruments cited in this hymnological collection appear alongside each other:

[3] Laudate eum in sono *tubae*; laudate eum in *psalterio* et *cithara*. [4] Laudate eum in *tympano* et choro; laudate eum in *chordis* et *organo*. [5] Laudate eum in *cymbalis* benesonantibus; laudate eum in *cymbalis* jubilationis.⁶

The assorted terms are used to designate different instruments within the Latin Vulgate, and, for this very reason, the same instrument can be translated in diverse ways. The *kinnor*, for example, is an ancient Hebrew stringed instrument (lyre / zither) which is translated as *cithara, lyra, organum* or *psalterium*; the *nabel*, likewise a stringed instrument designed to be plucked (harp / lute?), is rendered by the terms *lyra, nablum, psalterium* and, even in one case (Isa 14:11) it goes untranslated.⁷ The documentary sources studied by project *MiMus* – wherein the terminology employed by the officials of the Catalan-Aragonese chancellery frequently suffers from a lack of homogeneity, the variations often depending on the prevalent fashions of the time – also reveals discrepancies of this kind.

The medieval Catalan vernacular versions of the Bible are able to provide important information as regards the ways in which the terms designating such instruments find themselves translated and the manner in which such translations are adapted to the historical contexts in question. Many of the manuscript copies in which this translation of the Holy Scriptures has been preserved date back, in fact, to the years when Isabel de Villena was writing her *Vita Christi* and Joan Roís de Corella was translating Ludolph of Saxony's own work of the same title. The above-quoted small selection of texts drawn from biblical sources, therefore – a selection which in any case includes almost all of the instruments cited in Holy Scripture – may serve to cast light on both these works.

The episode concerning David can be found in the so-called *Fourteenth-Century Bible*, i.e. the Catalan full translation of the Bible, undertaken during the reign of King Peter III the Ceremonious, a Bible which is preserved in various manuscripts, some of them subsequent (Casanellas 2014: 24-

5. '[7] Therefore, as soon as all the peoples heard the sound of the *horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, drum*, and entire musical ensemble, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell down and worshiped the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had set up. [...] [10] You, O king, have made a decree, that everyone who hears the sound of the *horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, drum*, and entire musical ensemble, shall fall down and worship the golden statue, [...]. [15] Now if you are ready when you hear the sound of the *horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, drum*, and entire musical ensemble to fall down and worship the statue that I have made, well and good. But if you do not worship, you shall immediately be thrown into a furnace of blazing fire, and who is the god that will deliver you out of my hands?'

6. '[3] Praise him with *trumpet* sound; praise him with *lute* and *harp*! [4] Praise him with *tambourine* and dance; praise him with *strings* and *pipe*! [5] Praise him with clanging *cymbals*; praise him with loud clashing *cymbals*!'

7. See in particular Appendix 4 in Kolyada (2014: 217-255).

28). Although the 15th-century witnesses reproduce the same translation in essence, certain sections present significant variants that depend on a range of factors (Casanellas 2014: 27). It is crucial, therefore, to compare the original Latin text with the translation preserved in each codex.⁸

In MS Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina [BCC], 5-5-26,⁹ which contains the Bible's 'historical books', though not in their entirety (i.e. only 1-2 Kings; 1-2 Chronicles), the passage from 1 Chr 15 is translated as follows:

[16] E com Daviu dix als prínceps dels fills de Leví que ells ascollisen de lurs frares cantós an *orges de cant*, so és a seber, en *rautes* e an *arpes* e an *senbes*, per ço que lo so de alegrance sonàs en alt. [...] [19] E los cantós éran Hamar e Asaf e Atan, sonans ab *senbes de aram*. [20] E Zacaries e Oziell e Santamoch e Jaiell e Aníam e Eliay e Maasias e Baamias cantaven, e cantaven las coses secretes ab lurs *arpas*. [21] E Matatias e Elifalu e Macenias e Obededom e Yoel e Zezan cantaven ab lurs *rautes*. [22] E Cocinas, príncep dels fills de Leví era astablit sobre la profecia per cantar dolç cant cor ell era molt savi. [...] [24] E Sabonias e Josefát e Natanael e Masay e Zacarias e Bennias e Elèzer, preveras, cantaven ab *tronpes* devant la archa de nostro Senyor, e Obededom e Camians éran portés de la archa. [...] [28] Tots los fills de Leví, qui aportaven la archa de nostro Senyor ab gran alegria, e ab so de *butsines* e de *tronpes*, e ab so de *arpes* e de *rautes*. (BCC 5-5-7, f. 78r)

In the Peirese Bible,¹⁰ which is the only complete copy of the medieval Bible in Catalan, many verses of 1 Chr 15 are missing; the instruments named in verses 16 and 28, however, have been preserved, and state:

[16] David dix als fills de Leví que ells stablisan de lurs frares cantors en *orgens* e en *rautes* e *arpes* e *sembles* per so que llo so de alegrança sonàs. [...] [28] Tots los fills de Leví qui aportàvan l'archa de nostre Senyor ab gran alegria e ab so de *botsines* e de *trompes* e ab son d'*arpes* e de *rautes*. (BnF, Esp. 2, f. 188r)

Conversely, in the Colbert manuscript,¹¹ which contains the first part of the Bible, from Genesis to the Book of Psalms, the translation is once more complete:

[16] E dix David als prínceps dels levitans que fècen star ab imnes e ab cants e ab *tabals* e ab *trompes* e ab *sembles* [sic] per alsar gran veu per adonar alagria. [...] [19] E los cantors eren Aman e Asap e Athan ab *sembles d'aram* per mils cantar. [20] E Zacaries e Asiel e Gumí e Aliab e Mazia e Banaïas tots aquests sonaren *tabals*. [21] E Mathaties e Eliseu e Macamas e Obededom e Jael e Azaries cantaven ab *òrguens* en le octava per sobrapuyar. [22] E Cananies, príncep dels levitans, asayava, *trompava* e amanave los altres cor era discret. [...] [24] E Abanias e Josaphat e Natanael e Massay e Zacaries e Alètzar, qui eren capallans, *trompaven* devant l'archa de Déu ab *trompes*, e Obedeb e Edom e Jayà eren capellans porters de la archa. [...] [28] E tot Ysrael aportava l'archa del testament de nostre Senyor ab jubilació faent-ho hoir ab *tabals* e ab *òrguens*. (BnF, esp. 5, ff. 228vb-229ra)

8. Almost all the given transcriptions have been checked against the original manuscripts, where such are available. In all other cases reference to a given edition is provided.

9. Copied within the first half of the 15th century (Puig i Oliver 2001: 500-501). For this manuscript, see also the introduction by Casanellas and Bescós to the edition of 1 Chr (Bescós-Puig ed. 2021: 15-17).

10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France [BnF], esp. 2-4, copied between approx. 1460-1470. (Casanellas 2014: 25).

11. BnF, esp. 5, dating from no later than the year 1461 or 1471 (Casanellas 2014: 25).

The Egerton manuscript,¹² which contains the same books as does Colbert, shows no variation from the latter, apart from the decision taken therein to place the word *trompes* adjacently to its corresponding verb in verse 24: “*trompaven ab trompes* devant l’archa de Déu” (Bescós-Puig ed. 2021: 261).¹³

The tally of musical instruments mentioned in the Book of Daniel is translated in the Peiresc manuscript as follows:

En la hora en la qual vós hoyrets lo so de la *trompa* e della *caramella* he de la *arpa* e delles *sembles* e del *saltiri* e de la *sofonia* e dells *altres sturments* cahents hen terra adorats la y<do>lla dell hor la qual ha stablida Nabugadenasor rey. (BnF, esp. 3, f. 471vb)

However, in the three further iterations of the same list the translator reduces its components to merely two, i.e. the trumpet and the blanket term ‘other instruments’:

Dan 3:7 Après açò de mantinent quant hoyrem tots los pobles *lo so de la trompa e dels altres sturments* qui son dits (BnF, esp. 3, f. 472ra)

Dan 3:10 Tu rey, has stablit que tot hom qui oïa *lo so della trompa e dells altres esturments* (BnF, esp. 3, f. 472ra)

Dan 3:15 Donques siats aparellats que qualqua hora que vós hojats *lo so de la trompa e dells altres sturments* (BnF, esp. 3, f. 472ra/b)

Similarly, in the earlier *Biblia rimada*¹⁴ only the trumpet and an assortment of generic ‘instruments’ are mentioned once again:

So vos manda Nabugodonosor
Qui es Rey vostre e senyor
E cant *les trompes hoyrets sonar*
Els esturments altres tocar
Tot hom se deya ajenoylar
E la ymaga de Nabugodonosor adorar.
(ll. 239-244, Miret ed. 1916: 83)

The other items contained in the list are summarised in just one line of verse: “Que cant los *esturments sonauen*” (Miret ed. 1916: 83, v. 248).

Richer possibilities are presented by the many available vernacular translations of Psalm 150:¹⁵

Peiresc: Loats-lo ab so de *trompa*; loats-lo ab *saltiri* e ab *rauta*. Loats-lo ab *tempe* e ab *menacort*; loat-lo ab *canons d’orge*. Loats-lo ab *símbols* e *sonans*; loats-lo ab *símbols* de gibulació. (BnF esp. 2, f. 275ra)

Colbert: Loats-lo ab so de la *trompa*; loats-lo ab *saltiri* e ab *guitarra*. Lloats-lo ab *sembles* e ab *tempens* de alagria. (BnF, esp. 5, f. 362ra)

12. London, British Library [BL], Egerton 1526, dating from no later than the year 1465 (Casanelas 2014: 25).

13. Both the Colbert and the Egerton manuscripts translate this book from a Hebrew source, a factor which serves to explain the differences observable between them and the Peiresc and Sevilla codices (Bescós-Puig ed. 2021: 57-68).

14. Seville, BBC, 7-7-6. The *Biblia rimada* is a versified version of twenty-one books of the Bible, composed between 1282 and 1325, although the manuscript itself dates from the second half of the 14th century (Casanelas 2014: 24).

15. This comparison was first proposed by Josep Perarnau (1978: 89-93). The available manuscripts have been revised, as have the relevant editions of some of the texts published since the appearance of Perarnau’s article.

Egerton: Loau-lo ab so de *trompa*, loau-lo ab *salteri* e ab *rauta*; loau-lo ab *tempe* e ab *manacort*, loau-lo ab canons *d'orgue*. Loau-lo ab *símbols* de jubilació, loau-lo ab *símbols* sonants. (Perarnau 1978: 90)

Salteri de Marsella [Ps. Marseille]: Loatz-lo ab lo son de la *trompa*; loatz-lo ab *salteri* et ab *rauca*. Loats-lo ab lo *tempe* et ab lo *cor*; loatz-lo ab *cordes d'orgue*. Loat-lo ab *cimbles* ben sonan; loatz-lo ab *cimbles* be alegrans. (BnF, fr. 2434, f. 98vb)¹⁶

Salteri de Perpinyà [Ps. Perpignan]: [L]ohats-lo al ço de la *trompa*; lohats ab *psalteri* e ab *cítara*. Lohats-lo ab lo *temple* e ab lo *cor*; lohats-lo ab *cordes* e ab *orgue*. Lohats-lo ab *cembes* ten sonants; loats-lo ab *cembes* de alegria. (BnF, fr. 2433, f. 187r)¹⁷

Salteri de Barcelona [Ps. Barcelona]: Loats-lo en so de *tronpa* e loats-lo en *psalteri* e *cítara*. Loats-lo en *tamboret* e en *cor*, e loats-lo en *cordes* e *orguens*. Loats-lo en *sembes* /be/ sonans e loats-lo en *sembes* de cant. (BC 2057-II, f. 77r)¹⁸

Salteri 1 de València [Ps. 1 València]: Lloau-lo ab so de *trompa*, lloau-lo ab *salteri* e *cítara*. Lloau-lo ab *tromba* e *corn*, lloau-lo en los *cors* e *orgue*, lloau-lo ab *çímbals* de jubilació. (Costa 1995: 125)¹⁹

Incunable [1480]: Loau a ell en so de *tuba*: loau-lo en *psalteri* e en *guitarra*. Loau a ell en *tambor* e *chor*: loau a ell en *cordes* e *orgue*. Loau a ell en *símbols* be sonants: loau a ell en *símbols* de alegria. (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1228, 7r)²⁰

Corella [Ps. Corella]: Loau Aquell en lo so de la *trompeta*; loau Aquell en lo *psalteri* hi en la *cýthara*. Loau Aquell en lo *tambor* hi en lo *instrument qui's diu chorus*: loau Aquell en *instrument de cordes* hi en *orgue*. Loau Aquell en *cýmbols* bé sonants; loau Aquell en *cýmbols* de alegria (Martos ed. 2013: 349-350)²¹

Salteri 2 de València [Ps. 2 València]: Loau a ell en so de *trompeta*; loau a ell en *psalteri* hi en *cítola*. Loau a ell en *atambor* y *coro*; loau a ell ab *cordes* hi en *orgue*. Loau a ell ab *cembes* bé sonants; loau a ell ab *cembes* de alegria. (BnF, esp. 376, f. 263r)²²

16. MS dating from the 14th century (Casanelas 2014: 22).

17. MS dating from the 15th century. According to Casanelas (2014: 21-22), both the Psalter of Perpignan and the Psalter Reginense (BAV, reg. lat. 19, 15th century) copy the same text, i.e., “the psalter attributed to the Dominican Romeu Sabrugera, translated around 1285 to 1295 from the Vulgate, as is the case with the majority of the medieval translations of the Bible into Catalan (although on occasions an Occitan source might also underlie a Catalan version). The manuscript [i.e., Seville, BCC, 7-7-6 = Ps. Seville] dates back to the early decades of the second half of the 14th century and contains text up to Ps 113:10” (Casanelas 2014: 20). In the Reginense manuscript Psalm 150 is missing as well, for the reason that its last folio (f. 78r) has been torn out.

18. MS dating from the first half of the 15th century (Casanelas 2014: 21). Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 2057-I and 2057-II (formerly 1043 and 2057).

19. MS dating from the 15th century. Perarnau’s transcription differs from the text edited by Costa, particularly with respect to a fragment from ll. 5-6, namely, “bé sonants, loau-lo ab çímbols”, a fragment which is present in the former, though not so in the latter.

20. *Psalteri tret de la biblia de stampa, la quall és estada empremtada en la ciutat de València, e fon corregida, vista e regoneguda per lo reverend mestre Jacme Borrell, mestre en sacra theologia, de l'ordre de pricadors e inquisidor en lo Regne de València, e d'altres, segons en aquells se conte*, Barcelona, Nicolau Spindeler, c. 1480 (Casanelas 2014: 30).

21. Corella’s full translation of the Book of Psalms was printed in Venice in 1490 (Martos ed. 2013: 13-29).

22. MS dating from the end of the 15th to the beginning of the 16th century (Casanelas 2014: 21).

Llibre d'Hores de Morella (A) [Morella]: Loats-lo en so de *trompa*; loats-lo en *psaltiri* e en *guitarra*; loats-lo en *tempe* e en ballada; loats-lo en *cordes* e en *orgue*; loats-lo en *símbols* de lengua. (Colón ed. 1988: 79)²³

Llibre d'Hores de Morella (B) [Morella]: Loats a ell en so de *trompa*; loats a ell en *tamboret* e en *cor*; lohats a ell en *cordes* e en *horgue*. Lohats a ell en *cembes* ben sonants. Lohats a ell en *cembes* d'alegria. (Colón ed. 1988: 161)²⁴

Siddur (A) [Siddur]: Loats a ell ab so de *botzina*, loats a ell ab *òrguens* e ab *saltiri*, loats a ell ab *tambor* e ab *instuments*, loats a ell ab *cembes* ben sonants, loats a ell ab *cembes* de jubilació. (ff. 53-54, Riera ed. 1988)²⁵

Siddur (B) [Siddur]: Loau-lo en so de *botzina* e en *laiit* e en *orgue*. Loau-lo ab *cembes* e *alduff*. Loau-lo en *esturments* e *guitarra*. Loau-lo en *esturments de hoyda*, loau-lo en esturment de oblació. (f. 205, Riera ed. 1990-91)

Our Appendix (for which see below) comprises a table which shows that in MSS Seville and Peiresc the *nablum*, for example, is rendered dually by the terms 'rotta' (or 'psaltery harp') and 'harp' in the case of 1 Chr 15, while in MSS Colbert/Egerton it is translated as 'drums'. Likewise, in MSS Seville and Peiresc the *cythara* is translated using the term 'rotta' in the cases of 1 Chr 15:21 and 28, though in the fragment from Daniel in MS Peiresc it is rendered as 'harp'. The same instrument is once again translated as 'rotta' in the psalm from MSS Peiresc and Egerton, as well as in the Psalter of Marseille. In MSS Colbert/Egerton (1 Chr 15:21), on the other hand, it is rendered by means of the generic term *òrguens*, as is also the case with the non-specific *estuments* to which the *Biblia rimada* (Dan 3:5) refers. It ultimately finds itself transformed into the more – shall we say – modern, 'guitar' in the Psalm from MS Colbert; in the 1480 incunable; and in one of the two versions thereof that have been preserved in the case of both the Book of Hours of Morella (A) and the *Siddur* (B).

In order to provide a final contextual element, it should be mentioned that the above episodes have often provided the opportunity for the visual representation of musical instruments. Such is the case, in respect of Catalan-Aragonese territories, with the venerable Bible of Sant Pere de Rodes (BnF, Lat. 6, c. 1050-1100), in which Nebuchadnezzar's idol is represented as being surrounded by various musicians and jesters (f. 64v, reproduced in Anglès 1935: fig. 14). It is also true of the portico to the Monastery of Saint Mary in Ripoll, where the episodes relating to both David and Nebuchadnezzar can be seen in sculptural form (Madueño 2018: 253-257). Finally, the extraordinary cycle of frescoes portraying the "blue and gold" musician angels on the vault of the main chapel of Valencia Cathedral was begun in 1472 and finished in 1481 (Ballester 2006), while the carved musician angels at the Merchants' Guildhall (*Llotja de mercaders*) in Valencia can be dated to between approximately 1484 and 1498 (Perpiñá 2014).²⁶

23. MS dating from the second half of the 14th century (Colón ed. 1988: 38), probably from Morella, now lost. The first quotation from Psalm 150 also occurs in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

24. The second quotation from Psalm 150 is included in the Office of the Dead.

25. The Catalan *Siddur* was a translation of a Jewish prayer book for the use of *comversos*, a manuscript copy of which, dating from the last third of the 15th century, is now preserved at the Reial Acadèmia de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi in Barcelona (Casanelas 2014: 23).

26. In the list of works Sor Isabel testified to having done while at the Convent of the Trinity (*Monestir de la Trinitat*), mention is made of the costs incurred in relation to the image of the seraphim produced for the high altar (Cortés-Mandingorra-Pons ed. 2019: 84); in this case, however, no indication is given as to whether such seraphim were also musicians.

2 Musical instruments in Villena’s *Vita Christi* and in Corella’s *Lo cartoxà*

In terms of the above considerations relating to translation and iconography, the presence of musical instruments in Isabel de Villena’s *Vita Christi* [VCV] is relatively scarce. As far as the possibility of using lists of instruments is concerned, the abbess has but scant recourse to the rhetorical figure of *enumeratio* – by which the previously quoted biblical verses are characterised – or of the ekphrasis and hypotyposis for which her prose is known. In *Lo Cartoxà* [LC] – a translation of one of the principal sources of Villena’s work, namely, the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi* [VCC] – her contemporary Joan Roís de Corella, on the other hand, takes full advantage of this rhetorical figure, and often introduces into his text passages relating to music. In what follows, therefore, it will be necessary to organise the quotations in question according to the instrument to which reference is made, providing, where available, the Latin form thereof, followed, in parentheses, by the corresponding Catalan and English translations.

2.1 Campana (Cat. campana / Eng. bell)

In Chapter 216 of the VCV, which describes Jesus Christ’s Deposition from the Cross, Joseph of Arimathea, holding Christ’s body in his arms, makes a speech that uses a quotation from the *Meditationes et orationes* of Saint Anselm (XIV.2, PL 158:781) as its starting point. In the vernacular version Villena provides thereof, we find added a fascinating reference to Alexander the Great in relation to the wide medieval dissemination of the *Ubi sunt* topos,²⁷ followed by a further quotation, this time from Psalm 9:7:²⁸

E per ço, Senyor, com David sabia molt cert quant era de poca durada la glòria mundana sens vós posseïda, dix de aquells que molta festa e brogit fan dels delits e honors temporals: *Periit memoria eorum cum sonitu*: “car ab un **gran so de campanes** los meten davall terra, e de aquí avant no y ha pus memòria”. (Hauf ed. 2022: 945)

By comparing the translation of this verse with those drawn from the available manuscripts of the Catalan Bible, it is possible to notice that Isabel anticipates the vernacular version of the biblical *cum sonitu* in her commentary. These manuscripts, in fact, propose *brogit*, as against the probable retranslation – namely, *so*, likewise used by Villena in her actual rendering of the biblical verse – preserved by the incunabula.

Table 1. Translations of *cum sonitu* (Ps 9:7)

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Colbert</i> | <i>Ps. Seville</i> | <i>Ps. Marseille</i> | <i>Ps. Perpignan</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| cum sonitu | ab brogit | | ab brugit | | ab brogits |
| <i>Ps. Reg.</i> | <i>Ps. 1 València</i> | 1480 | <i>Ps. Corella</i> | <i>Ps. 2 València</i> | |
| ab brogit | | | ab so | | |

27. “–*Si cuncta que fecisti mihi dederis, non sufficit mihi servo tuo, nisi tu te ipsum dederis*. Volent dir: ‘Y què haguera a mi valgut ésser lo gran monarca del món present si a vós no hagués conegut ni amat?, car més delit he sentit en aquest vostre abraçar que may Alexandre no sentí en lo seu regnar’” (Hauf ed. 2022: 945).

28. [Ps 9:6] “[...] the very memory of them has perished”.

The introduction of the sound of the bell, on the other hand, seems to be an interpretation on the part of the abbess that can be related to the liturgy of the Easter *triduum*. According to liturgical ritual, in fact, the final ringing of the bells takes place during the *Gloria* of the Holy Thursday Mass of the Lord's Supper and is followed by the drawn-out silence of mourning until the *Gloria* of the Easter Vigil Mass is once again sung.

In accordance with its source, namely, the *VCC*, Corella's *LC* itself refers to the bells on but a single occasion (i.e., at the point when both texts give an account of the Virgin's steadfast faith), and does so in terms specifically associated with the *triduum*:

Representem aquest misteri les matines dels tres dies en la Setmana Santa, quant totes les caneles se apaguen, sinó sola una que, encesa, la lum de la fe de la nostra Senyora declara; los altars tots se despullen, perquè Jesús, del qual són figura, los dexebles, qui eren los seus paraments e palis, tots lo dexaren; hi, encara, en los tres dies los officis nocturns ab altes veus se canten, que significa que ls prophetes en aquells tres dies altament les prophesies declaraven, e les hores diürnes ab una submissa veu les celebren, significant que ls apòstols en aquells tres dies amagats callaven; les **campanes** no sonen perquè no sonà, ans callà la preycació apostòlica.²⁹ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 51)

2.2 *Cithara* (Cat. *cítara* (*viula*) / Eng. *zither*) and *psalterium* (Cat. *psaltiri* / Eng. *psaltery*)

In the *VCV* the zither appears twice, on one of which occasions it finds itself in the company of a psaltery. In Chapter 207 Villena describes the dances performed by the patriarchs in Limbo for the purpose of celebrating Christ's descent into Hell (or Harrowing of Hell). The final dance is entrusted to the nine orders of angels, the evocation of which is followed by the following quotation from the responsory *Decantabat populus in Israel* used during the Second Sunday of Easter (Lat. *Dominica in albis*):

Et David cum cantoribus citharam percutiebat in domo Domini. Et laudes Deo canebat: "car David, ensemps ab los cantors, tocava la sua **cíthara** en la sala o casa del Senyor, e les laors de aquell cantava ab grandíssim delit". (Hauf ed. 2022: 914)

The translation is, in this instance, literal, for the reason that, in this particular episode, David himself provides musical accompaniment to the dance of the angelic hierarchies.

The second reference to the zither occurs in Chapter 236. After setting free the denizens of Hell, Christ's soul arrives at His tomb accompanied by angels and patriarchs and, speaking to His own body, He proclaims the third verse from Psalm 107:³⁰

29. "[...] ob cuius repraesentationem in matutinis illius tridui omnes candelae exstinguuntur, excepta una sola, quae remanet accensa. In hujus signum etiam denudantur altaria, quia Christus per altare designatus relictus fuit ab Apostolis signatis per ornamenta. In illo etiam triduo officium nocturnum alte cantatur, per quod prophetiae de Christo signantur; diurnae vero horae sub silentio dicuntur, quia Apostoli tunc praedicare non audebant unde et **campanae** non pulsantur, quia tunc sonus praedicationis cessavit" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 30).

30. [Ps 108, 1-2] "Awake, my soul! Awake, O harp and lyre!". In his Easter Sunday Sermon, Vicent Ferrer uses this very verse as a prefiguration of Christ's resurrection. The preacher recounts that, during the night of Holy Saturday, the Virgin Mary had perused the Holy Scriptures in order to discover the precise hour at which Jesus was due to be resurrected, which corresponded to dawn. As regards the manner in which the instruments are to be interpreted, he adds: "¿Per què diu *psalterium*? Açò és instrument de cambra, significant la obediència de la llei que Déu donà a Moisès; instrument de cambra que no eixia de fora: *Non veni solvere legem, sed adimplere* (Matt 5:17); perquè guitarra no és instrument de cambra, mas pertot se sona: *Euntes per universum mundum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae*, per

–*Exurge, gloria mea: exurge, psalterium et cithara*. Volent dir: “Levau-vos, cors meu’, qui no éreu digne de mort, ans ‘sou glòria e delit meu’, car per les penes que haveu soffert me haveu procurat glòria inestimable e irrecontable! ‘Levau-vos, **lo meu insturment gloriós**’, ab lo qual yo he fet aquell so de tanta melodia que axí ha placat e desenutjat lo meu eternal Pare que no solament ha perdonat lo gran crim de natura humana, ans la ha acceptada ab tanta de amor e benivolència que la vol molt exalçar en la glòria sua!” (Hauf ed. 2022: 1015-1016)

Comparisons with the various Catalan versions of the Bible show that in the latter, unlike in the *VCV*, both instruments are retained, the only variants being those which concern the zither, which is rendered in different ways, namely, as ‘guitar’, ‘rotta’ (*rauca*) and ‘citole’ (*cítola*), that is to say, in a manner akin to that of the translations of Psalm 150:

Table 2. Translations of *psalterium et cithara* (Ps 107:3)

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Colbert</i> | <i>Ps. Seville</i> | <i>Ps. Marseille</i> | <i>Ps. Perpignan</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| psalterium et cithara | <i>omissis</i> | saltiri e guitarra | salteri e gitara | ab lo salteri e ab la rauca | psaltiri |
| <i>Ps. Reg.</i> | <i>Ps. Barcelona</i> | <i>Ps. 1 València</i> | 1480 | <i>Ps. Corella</i> | <i>Ps. 2 València</i> |
| saltiri e guitarra | saltiri e citara | saltiri e ab la guiterra | psaltiri et guitarra | psaltiri e cytara | psaltiri hi cítola |

The elimination of the specific musical terminology, replaced as it is by the collective noun (i.e. *insturment*), is attributable, therefore, to Villena’s own decision. As far as the exegesis of the text is concerned, however, the musical significance of the term *instrument* is retained, for in the remaining lines of Villena’s gloss we encounter the additional assertion to the effect that this ‘glorious instrument’ (i.e., Christ’s body) had produced ‘such a melodious sound’ (*so de tanta melodia*).

In his translation of the entirety of the Book of Psalms, Corella renders the instruments verbatim: “cantaré e diré psalm endreçat a Tu, qui est gloria mia. Leva’t, doncs, **psaltiri e cýtara**” (Martos ed. 2013: 300),³¹ while in *LC* he inserts this same quotation into a different episode, though alters his rendering of *cithara* as he does so. When Jesus appears to his mother for the first time following His resurrection, Corella supplements his source with a dialogue between the two figures, a dialogue which begins with the Virgin, in contemplation, reciting two passages from the Psalms, the latter of which is the verse likewise employed by Villena:

Stava, donchs, la Verge Mare en contemplació elevada, e desijant e suplicant la resurrecció de son Fill, ab veu dolça de humil, mansueta tortra deya aquelles paraules del psalmista: “Leva’t! Per què dorms tant, Senyor, Fill meu, absent de la tua Mare?” E ab altre Psalm replicava: “Leva’t, glòria mia! Leva’t, **psaltiri e viola**, música e alegria de la mia ànima!” (Aguilar ed. 2020: 322)

The *cithara* appears in the *VCC* for the first time during the episode in which the high priests question Christ’s authority (Matthew 21:23-27). In this instance, once again, Corella’s rendering is literal:

excel·lència de la llei cristiana” (Sanchis Sivera ed. 1973, II: 179).

31. In Corella’s *Psalteri*, the Latin term *cithara* is always rendered by the Latinism *cítara* (Martos ed. 2013: 188, 206, 243, 261, 276, 282, 300, 346, 348, 349).

Diu sanct Cri[s]òstom: “Deyen dins si los sacerdots e bisbes: ‘Nosaltres som columnnes del temple, e sobre aquest home recolsa y stà tota la nostra sinagoga. Nosaltres som lengua de la Sacra Scriptura, y ell tot lo dia resona preycant enmig del temple, e nosaltres menyspreats callam, axí com **cítara** sens cordes. Nosaltres som los pares y aquest nos fa stèrils; hi mirau quants fills engendra! Molt nos ha fets vils e dejectes”.³² (Furiò Vayà ed. 2020: 331)

Throughout the *Cartoixa's Quart* (or Fourth Book), on the other hand, the same Latin noun is always translated as being a *viula* (Lat. *vitula* / *fidula*, i.e. fiddle or viol), a term which should not be held to indicate the bowed instrument of that name. Corella clarifies this reference by twice relating the *viula* in question to the instrument played by King David, the first occasion on which he does so modifying his own original rendering: “Si l’enemich te aflegeix e no-t dexa, pren aquesta davítica **viula**, les sues dolces cordes sona” (Aguilar ed. 2020: 286).³³ Such a shift may have been based on the previously quoted text. The chapter in which this change occurs concerns the figures on the Cross, a Cross that had, a few lines earlier, been likened to the Key of the House of David: “obre la creu, clau de David” (Aguilar ed. 2020: 286),³⁴ a fact which could have led the translator to alter the original comparison, i.e. *citharam sanctae crucis*.

In the next quotation relating to a *viula*, also in the *VCC*, the instrument is, in fact, directly associated with the same King David:

Diu sant Agustí: “Resplandia aquell alegre dia no de la claredat del sol comuna, mas de la lum de l’anyell qui resucitat era. En aquest dia és pujat de l’occident dels inferns lo sol de justícia sobre la nostra terra. Sonem, donchs, de David la sua **viula** cantant e dient: ‘Aquest dia que ha fet lo Senyor, ajam en ell goigs hi en ell sia la nostra alegria’”.³⁵ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 310)

In a contemporary letter (dating from 1488) sent by Master Bartomeu Caldentey and others to the *jurats* (chief councillors) of the Kingdom of Majorca with the aim of forbidding a Jewish doctor, Isaac, from exercising his profession, reference is also made to King David, here in the role of a *cithara* player:

Canta lo gran scitarista rey de Israel, *psalmo lxxvij, zelus domus tue comedit me*, significant a tots aquells qui la veritat, Jh[esu]s redemptor, aman, com per zel de la sua honor e deffensi[ó] de la sglesia [christ]iana, casa sua e congregaci[ó] dels feels, la vida exposar a perills no teman. (Aguiló ed. 1902: 284-285)

In the anonymous *Curial i Güelfa*, a “viola de set cordes” (a seven-stringed viola) (Fernández-Clot 2021, I: 254) is played by Apollus, a fact which reinforces the idea that a viola may not be considered a bowed string instrument.

32. “Nam, secundum Chrysostomum, dicebant sacerdotes, apud se metipsos: Nos sumus columnae templi, ecce super illum tota recumbit Ecclesia; nos, sumus quasi tacentium Scripturarum lingua visibilis, et ecce ille resonat in medio templi et nos contempti quasi **cithara** dissipata tacemus; nos fuimus patres, modo iste generat filios, et nos steriles sumus. Quasi dicerent: multum vilificamur” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.1: 210).

33. “Si spiritus malus quemquam accipiat, arripiat **citharam** sanctae crucis, et refocillabitur, leviusque habebit” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 161).

34. “adhibe clavem David, quae aperit, et nemo claudit” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 161).

35. “Unde et Augustinus: ‘Alacrior dies illa refulget, non de usitatis solis circulis illuminata praeclarius, sed de lumine Agni resurgentis illustrata sublimius. Hac enini die Sol justitiae Christus ascendit ab inferis, et idcirco pulsemus **citharam** David, canentes: Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus, exsultemus et laetemur in ea’” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 174).

The *MiMus* corpus records instances of the instrument (*cithara*) as well as its player (*citharista*) during earlier periods, though only in Latin texts. The latest occurrence of the instrument appears in 13th June 1390,³⁶ whereas that of its player occurs on 4th September 1387.³⁷ The first document in which it is mentioned offers important details as to how should we understand the nature of the instrument, which is described as being a “citharis sive arpis”, thus confirming that, once again, we are not dealing with a bowed instrument. In December 1431, during the later period of the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous (Cat. *Alfons el Magnànim*), the minstrel Diego de Soto (fl. 1431-1446) was reimbursed for his purchase of a *viola*.³⁸ In February of the following year, he bought a lute,³⁹ although in May of 1432 he was recorded as having been a “sonador d’arpa”.⁴⁰ It seems, therefore, that this particular musician chiefly performed on a range of plucked instruments, rather than on instruments played with a bow. Curiously enough, however, the so-called *Prayerbook of Alfonso V of Aragon* (London, BL, add. MS 28962, f. 82r), happens to represent King David as playing a bowed instrument.⁴¹ Such an occurrence would seem to be exceptional, however, as in medieval illuminations David is not customarily portrayed as playing this type of instrument.⁴²

2.3 (Cat. *llaüt* / Eng. *lute*)

Neither the *VCC* nor the *VCV* make any mention whatsoever of the lute; that is why the Latin form is absent this subsection’s title. Corella, on the other hand, inserts an *exemplum* concerning precisely this instrument into the chapter that deals with the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16: 19-31):

Hi devem atendre que la Scriptura Sacra porta una acordada consonància. Diu sanct Gregori que si temprau dos **laüts** en eguals acordances e posau la hu poch distant de l’altre, e posau sobre les temprades cordes de l’hun una palla e sonau l’altre, mou-se la palla quant les cordes de l’alt[r]e toquen; axí, per lo semblant, la concordant música de la Sacra Escriptura moltes vegades ho practica, hi especialment en aquesta evangèlica ystòria: dampnat és lo rich, pompós, aver, superbo; salvat és Làzer, plagat, pobre, miserable, però en lo si de Abraham rich, humil e misericorde reposa. E axí-ns mostra que no per les riqueses, mas per lo mal usar de aquelles era cruciat lo rich en les flames. (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 162)

This fragment appears in an exhortation to show mercy and to suffer poverty, an exhortation that the translator profoundly modifies by altering all three quotations from the original text and replacing them with a new triad of quotations attributed to Saint Gregory the Great. The editor, Josep Maria Furió Vayà, explains in the corresponding notes that these very quotations are: “totes falsament atribuïdes a sant Gregori Magne” [‘all falsely attributed to Saint Gregory the Great’] (Furió Vayà 2020: 161), an opinion reiterated when he expressly considers the metaphor concerning the lute:

36. *MiMusDB*, ACA, Cancelleria, Registres, reg. 1978, f. 2v.

37. *MiMusDB*, ACA, Cancelleria, Registres, reg. 1867, f. 47r.

38. “per comprar-se una viola”, *MiMusDB*, (A) ARV. Mestre Racional, reg. 8780, f. 147v. (B) ARV, Mestre Racional, reg. 8783, f. 147v.

39. “per comprar-se un lahut per smena de l’altre que lo dit senyor li ha prés”, *MiMusDB*, ARV, Mestre Racional, reg. 8784, f. 8iv.

40. *MiMusDB*, ACA, Reial Patrimoni, MR, reg. 422, f. 75r-77r. All other documentation concerning this musician refers to him using the generic designation “ministrer de corda”, i.e., “string minstrel”.

41. <<https://go.uv.es/PvBoceM>>.

42. According to Cluzot (2016: 564-571), David is represented playing primarily the harp, and also, though to a lesser extent, the organ or the bells. Note that in the same *Prayerbook*, David is depicted, within an initial, as playing the *psalterion* (or psaltery), in London, BL, add. MS 28962, f. 346v.

“Certament no és de sant Gregori Magne, per tant, Corella li assigna aquest passatge falsament” [‘It most definitely does not originate from Saint Gregory the Great; Corella, therefore, falsely ascribes this passage to him’] (Furió Vayà 2020: 162). It is, nevertheless, possible to find a parallel within Gregory’s *Moralia in Iob*, a text which uses the idea of sympathetic resonance as a metaphor which enables one to understand how the Holy Scripture is able to hint at something even as it elucidates it and, simultaneously, to reveal something else even as it is left unsaid:

Hi qui chordarum harmoniam temperant, tanta hanc arte dispensant ut plerumque cum una tangitur, longe alia ac multis interiacentibus posita chorda quatiatur; cum que ista sonitum reddit, illa, quae in eodem cantu temperata est, aliis impercussis, tremit. Sic ergo in scriptura sacra plerumque de uirtutibus, sic de uitiiis agitur, ut dum loquendo aliud insinuat, tacendo aliud innotescat. (Adriaen ed. 1979: 30)

Corella makes the acoustic phenomenon more ‘visible’, as it were, thanks to the *palla* (‘blade of straw’) that moves if perfect harmony obtains between the two lutes.⁴³ His decision to use this particular instrument as the means of validating his experiment is probably attributable to its notable prevalence during the 15th century.

2.4 *Organum* (Cat. *orgue* / Eng. *organ*)

The instrument par excellence of religious music is absent from the *VCV*, while in *LC* it is mentioned on three occasions, only two of which feature in the original source.⁴⁴ In the *Segon* (or Second Book) of the *Cartoixa*, the organ is used as a metaphor for the action of the Holy Spirit, in relation to the quotation from Matthew 10:18–20, which explains why the apostles entertain no fear either of imprisonment or of speaking to those who hold power; the reason being that the Holy Spirit would doubtless ensure that the apostles’ voices resounded with His own, just as an actual organist is able to do using the many ‘voices’ of his instrument:

[L]o Senyor, respondent al que ells pensar podien, los diu: “No tingau sollicitut ni ànsia què direu, què respondreu als presidents, reys e prínceps, ni fiu gens en vostre saber ni eloqüència, donar-vos-ha lo meu Pare saber e sciència, a la qual no poran contradir ni resestir tots los vostres adversaris. No sereu vosaltres los qui parlareu, parlarà lo Sperit Sanct en la vostra boca, axí com l’**orgue** sona hi les sues veus dona segons aquell qui sona”.⁴⁵ (Oviedo ed. 2020: 101)

The second mention occurs within a similar context; once again, in fact, we encounter a metaphor concerning the action of the Holy Spirit, though this time related to His granting of the gift of tongues at Pentecost.

43. The editor suggests an interesting comparison with a later work by Tommaso Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia* (written around 1590, though published in 1620), in which, albeit the instruments in question differ (i.e., *cytharas ad symphoniam*), one of the objects – alongside a feather and a sheet of paper (*aut plumam aut chartulam*) – that makes the phenomenon visible is, nevertheless, a blade of straw (*palea*) (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 162).

44. The third reference to an organ will be explained in § 2.6.

45. “Non confidatis de scientia vestra et eloquentia, sed de divina providentia, quia Spiritus Sanctus docebit vos tunc, et sine praemeditatione vestra, quid loqui oporteat. Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, id est, non ex solo ingenio vestro procedunt verba vestra, sed ex Spiritus gratia: Spiritus enim Patris vestri est qui loquitur in vobis, ut in **organis**; quia sicut **organa** mittunt modulationem ad motum temperantis, sic bonum quod praedicator loquitur, ad voluntatem Patris inspirantis” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.2: 49).

Fon lavors la profecia del psalmista complida: “És hoyt en tota la terra la so de la veu de aquells”. Sembrà lo foguejant e sanctificant sperit en lo cor dels apòstols lavor de paraules de foch de caritat enceses que a ells e als qui les hoyen scalfaven, que no stímaven e quasi no sentien la mort quant per lo nom de Jesús la prenien, y com a Mestre de infinida sapiència adobà e ordenà dotze **flahutes** en l'**orgue** de la sua Sgleya, hi ab lo vent del luminós ayre **tocant** ell mateix **la tecla**, tan alt so, melodiós e suau sonaren que, hoïts per tot lo món, convidaren tots los hòmens a dançar a les noces del Fill de Déu ab la nostra carn humana.⁴⁶ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 497-498)

Josep Antoni Aguilar, the editor of the *Quart*, remarks in the corresponding note that Corella freely develops this musical image (Aguilar ed. 2020: 497, n. ll. 13-498,2); but this is so just for the quotation's latter part, as the use of 'flutes' with reference to the pipes of an organ had already been attested during the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1416-1458).⁴⁷ It is noteworthy, however, that Corella mentions the organ's actual keyboard – a feature absent from his source, though whose presence here can be explained by his previous reference to the instrument – while omitting any allusion to the *fistula*, and adding a dance scene to the *VCC*. The sole mention of a *fistula* within the Bible occurs in the Book of Daniel, which we have already examined in § 1 above. Thanks to a document in the *MiMus Corpus* dating from James II's (Jaume II) reign wherein an anonymous player is described as someone “qui pulsat fistulam sive *caramella*”, the correspondence between the *fistula* and the *caramella* (Eng. shawm) of the Peiresc Bible manuscript can be confirmed.⁴⁸ During the reign of John I (Joan I), however, the use of the term *fistulatore* occurs only once,⁴⁹ this occurrence being referred to Jean Conche, whose name is associated, in other documents, with another wind instrument, namely, the *bombarda* (Eng. bombard).⁵⁰ Thus, in this instance, the modification with regard to the source may be ascribable to Corella's own decision to alter the original text, just as he does in other parts of *LC*, or more plausibly even, to the fact that he was unable to render a term in a suitable manner given that, by his day, the instrument it denoted had completely fallen into disuse.

2.5 *Symphonia, tympanum (and the enigmatic chorus)*

Present within the *VCC* are two other musical instruments which pose a challenge to Corella's skills as a translator. The *symphonia* was an evolution of the *organistrum* that, during the 14th century, was shaped like a classic fiddle (Lamaña 1969: 56). Its spread throughout the Catalan-Aragonese Kingdoms in earlier periods is confirmed by its presence in Ramon Llull's *Llibre de contemplació* and *Arbre de ciència* (Castellet 2019: 64-66). *Tympanum* refers to a percussion instrument and

46. “Et tunc impleta est prophetia, quae ait: In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum; et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum. Seminavit quidem igneus, ac sanctificus Spiritus in Apostolorum corda sermones, et ut sapiens adinventor duodecim **tibias** fidei in **organo** positas novo flatu implevit, diversisque spiritualibus currens in **fistulis** Apostolicis, cunctis verba divinae virtutis sparsit, omnes Gentes delectabilem invitavit ad sonum, et sanctissimae Trinitatis praedicavit mysterium” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 275).

47. The *MiMusDB* confirms the activity of Guillaume de Lens (de Lanyes) as a master of organ and 'flutes', see ACA, Cancelleria, Registres, reg. 2680, f. 188v (Anglès 1975: 749-750, doc. XXXII; Baldelló 1956, p. 47); ACA, Cancelleria, Registres, reg. 2680, f. 188r (Baldelló 1956, p. 132; Gómez Muntané 1979: doc. 281).

48. *MiMusDB*, 6th January 1306, ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 362, f. 22v-23v.

49. *MiMusDB*, doc. in Latin: “fistulatore domus nostre Conche”, 28th November 1390, ACA, Cancelleria, Registres, reg. 1958, f. 146v.

50. *MiMusDB*, doc. in Latin: “Conxes, bombarde”, 6th September 1387, ACA, Cancelleria, Registres, reg. 1867, f. 47v, (Trenchs-Baiges 2000-2002: doc. 41); doc. in Catalan: “Conxes de la bombardia”, May 1391, ACA, Reial Patrimoni, Mestre Racional, reg. 390, f. 167r, (Trenchs-Baiges 2000-2002: doc. 286).

evolved into the medieval Catalan *tempe*, a term employed by Ramon Llull once again (Castellet 2019: 68), and likewise by the Infanta Joana, daughter of John I, in a letter of later date (24th-25th May 1390) (Cingolani-Vela 2023). *Sofonia* and *tempe* are both terms which can also be traced back to the Peiresc Bible, as has been pointed out above in § 1. Throughout his translation of the Book of Psalms, Corella gives a precise rendering of the term *tympanum* in the form of the synonymous *tambor* (Martos ed. 2013: 261, 348, 349). As regards the word *chorus* that appears in combination with the two instruments, its actual meaning is 'dance', though, as can be gleaned from the Appendix below (Psalms 149:3 and 150), the translation of this term is problematic. The Peiresc / Egerton codices use the term *menacort*, i.e. the monochord, while nearly all of the other translators employ *cor* / *chor*, which, by rights, ought to signify a choir; and only one witness has *corn* ('horn'). Instead, in his rendition of the Psalms Corella refers to this term periphrastically, namely, as "lo instrument qui·s diu *chorus*" (Martos ed. 2013: 349), and uses the same periphrasis in Psalm 149:3 (Martos ed. 2013: 348).⁵¹ This is a psalm which reveals notable variants within the biblical manuscripts:

Table 3. Translations of *chorus* (Ps 149:3)

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Colbert</i> | <i>Siddur</i> | <i>Morella (A)</i> | <i>Morella (B)</i> | <i>Ps. Marseille</i> |
|---|--|---|---|--|--|--|
| in <i>choro</i> , in tympano et psalterio psallant ei | ab <i>sturments</i> , ab <i>tempes</i> e ab saltiri cantam a ell | en lo <i>cor</i> , e canten-li ab trompa e ab saltiri | ab <i>òrguens</i> e ab <i>tambor</i> e ab instruments. Salmejau a Ell | en <i>ballada</i> (ço és en bones obres); e en <i>tempe</i> e en <i>psaltiri</i> (ço és de cor e de boca) cantem a ell | en lo <i>cor</i> ; en <i>tamboret</i> e <i>saltiri</i> salmegen a ell | ab <i>esturment</i> ab <i>tempe</i> et ab <i>saltiri</i> cantem a el |
| <i>Ps. Perpignan</i> | <i>Ps. Reg.</i> | <i>Ps. Barcelona</i> | <i>Ps. 1 València</i> | 1480 | <i>Corella</i> | <i>Ps. 2 València</i> |
| en lo <i>cor</i> e canten-li ab temple e ab psaltiri | en lo <i>cor</i> e canten ab temps e ab psaltiri | en <i>cor</i> e canten-li ab <i>tamboret</i> et en psaltiri | ab <i>sturment</i> , <i>timpà</i> e <i>saltiri</i> cantem-li | en <i>chor</i> e <i>tambor</i> e <i>psaltiri</i> canten a ell | ab lo instrument qui ha nom <i>chorus</i> ; ab <i>tambor</i> e ab psaltiri canten psalms a Ell | en <i>coro</i> , en <i>tambor</i> hi en <i>psaltiri</i> canten a ell |

The Morella (A) translation is particularly noteworthy because it proves that a correct interpretation of the Latin term was indeed available; however, in the second copy of the same psalm within the same manuscript, it is once more translated as *cor*.

The pairing *symphonia et chorus* appear within the *VCC* at the point at which the source text pauses to consider the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Corella once again modifies the original by translating explicitly from the text of the Vulgate – a situation which demands a literal rendering – but he does so without offering any explanation as regards the duo of terms: "Hi era lo fill major

51. "Let them praise his name with dancing, making melody to him with tambourine and lyre".

en lo camp. E venint e acostant-se a la casa, hoý la **sinfonia** e lo **còruç**” (Furió Vayà ed. 2022: 59).⁵² However, when the instruments receive further mention a little later on in his source – within discussion of the same parable –, Corella fails to repeat the two nouns, instead replacing them by the generic designation ‘musical instruments’:

Era lo fill major en lo camp defora, que significa l’ome bo servint a Déu, apartat de les coses mundanes. E acostant-se a la casa, sentí los **instruments de música**, que són los penidents, que de la gràcia que han obtesa la divina misericòrdia loen. Enterroga un servent de la casa quina era aquesta festa, e torna-li resposta: “Ton germà, lo tan gran peccador, és vengut a ton pare e à-li mort un gras vedell”.⁵³ (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 68)

Corella chooses to do the same when his source makes mention of the other pairing, i.e. *tympanis et choris*, even though a precise rendering of the first of the two terms clearly would have been possible:

Si Moysés e los fills de Israel, pasada la mar Roja, cantaren càntich a nostre senyor Déu de alegria e Maria, germana de Moysés, ab totes les altres dones **en instruments diversos de música** regraciaren a la divina bondat gràcies de tan gran benefici, ¿quant més ara los sants, tots los perills, angústies e adversitats sobrades? Tots canten, tots sonen, tots salten, tots se alegren, tots jubilen, ballen, dancen, rihen, tots triünphen, tots toquen palmes! Hi en tota la ciutat de Jerusalem superna són hoïts càntichs de alegria per tots los seus carrers e places lo al-leluya en alta veu se canta.⁵⁴ (Aguilar Àvila 2020: 462)

In both of these cases, therefore, the use of a generalised term seems to stem from the presence of the word *chorus*, a word evidently not interpreted in its right sense as a dance, but apparently considered to be either an uncommon or an unknown instrument in Corella’s time.

2.6 *Tuba, buccina, cornu* (Cat. *trompa, trompeta, botzina, corn* / Eng. *Roman tuba* or *trumpet, buccin* or *bucine, horn*)

The Bible refers to three types of brass instruments, namely, the *tuba*, the *buccina*, and the *cornu*, the terms for which, within the texts under examination, are predominantly translated by recourse to their two distinct, though clearly intertwined, Catalan counterparts: *trompa* and *trompeta*. Although

52. “Erat autem filius ejus senior in agro: et cum veniret, et appropinquaret domui, audivit **symphoniam et chorum**” / “Now his elder son was in the field; and when he came and approached the house, he heard music and dancing” (Lk 15:25).

53. “Erat autem filius ejus senior in agro, id est Judaicus populus in cultu unius Dei occupatus erat, Legem observando; vel Christianus in justitia perseverans, remisse tamen operando. Et cum veniret et appropinquaret domui, scilicet Ecclesiae, audivit **symphoniam et chorum**, scilicet poenitentes Deum laudantes, et in Domino gaudento epulantes; et vocavit unum de servis, et interrogavit quid haec essent, scilicet festa Ecclesiae vel gaudia. Isque dixit illi: Frater tuus, id est Gentilis populus, vel peccator, venit, scilicet ad fidem et poenitentiam; et occidit pater tuus, id est Deus, qui est Pater omnium per creationem, vitulum saginatum, id est Christum, quod intellige, ut supra dictum est, quia salvum ipsum recepit, scilicet Gentilem populum et peccatorem” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.1: 52).

54. “Si enim Moyses et filii Israel post transitum maris rubri cecinerunt carnem [*sic for* carmen] Domino, et si Maria prophetissa soror ejus, et reliquae mulieres eam sequentes canebant Domino in **tympanis et choris**; quanto magis modo omnes hoc faciunt, omnibus adversitatibus superatis? Omnes igitur ibi constituti psallunt, omnes cantant, omnes exsultant, omnes laetantur, omnes gaudent, omnes jubillant, omnes manibus plaudunt, omnes tripudiant, omnes jucundantur. Vere nunc in superna Jerusalem auditur canticum laetitiae, et per omnes vicos ejus ab universis dicitur alleluia” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 157).

English terms for these instruments do exist, for convenience and for purposes of disambiguation they will be referred to according to the terms used in the source language.

The sole appearance of the *tuba* within Villena's oeuvre results from the author's reference to Holy Scripture in Chapter 125 of the *VCV*, which narrates how the patience of the Canaanite woman is sorely tested in her attempts to convince Jesus to heal her daughter. The woman, in fact, finds herself knocking on the door of the dwelling in which Jesus was lodging and one among the various biblical references to which she resorts in order to demonstrate the constancy and firmness of her faith, combines Isa 58:1 and 8 with Deut 4:31.⁵⁵ The musical instrument in question, however, is not translated in the following explanation of the verses given by our abbess:

[E] no cessaré de cridar, seguint lo consell de Ysaïes, qui diu: *Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam, et sanitas tua citius orietur, quia misericors est Dominus Deus tuus*: "car, ab tot la forsa mia corporal defall, la dolor del cor me farà pus altament cridar sperant obtenir la salut tan desijada, car só certa que vós, Senyor y Déu meu, sou infinidament misericordiós e piadós, e no us negau als qui us cerquen si us demanen en lo temps degut. (Hauf ed. 2022: 535)

Unlike what we find in the case of *VCV*, mention to this instrument is preserved by the only biblical manuscript to contain a Catalan vernacular version of Isaiah, namely, MS Peirese, which describes it as "quaix tromba" (BNF esp. 4, f. 383v). An identical designation is used by Vicent Ferrer to translate the same verse in his Sermon for the Third Sunday of Lent.⁵⁶

Villena, however, uses the only sound of trumpets (*trompetes*) to announce the arrival of the angels.⁵⁷ In Chapter 48, these angels descend into the created world bearing for the first time the crown of Mary's later coronation, after she has given her consent, and after she has donned her royal garments:

Aprés vingué gran multitud de àngels ab infinides **trompetes** e ministres [sic;], portant quatre d'ells un bastiment d'or molt guarnit de pedres e perles ab gran solemnitat, enmig del qual venia una corona excel·lentíssima, e acostant-se los dits àngels a la Senyora, ficant lo genoll davant sa Senyoria, baixaren lo bastiment, qui portaven molt alt. (Hauf ed. 2022: 230)

In Chapter 50, once the ceremony has concluded, the Order of Seraphim comes to honour the Virgin. The attention of her 'maidens', i.e. the allegorical figures who embody Mary's virtues, is attracted by the sound of the trumpets played by the troupe of angels:

E stant axí les donzelles festejant la sua Senyoria, sentiren gran so de **trompetes**, e, girant-se, veren venir gran multitud d'àngels en forma humana. (Hauf ed. 2022: 236)

The *LC* is once again richer in detail than is Villena's work on account of its source's more extensive use of instruments of this kind. The first example concerns the Hebrew celebration of Rosh

55. [Isa. 58:1, 8] "Shout out, do not hold back! Lift up your voice like a trumpet! [...] and your healing shall spring up quickly"; [Deut. 4:31] "Because the Lord your God is a merciful God".

56. "*Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam, et anuncia populo meo scelera eorum* (Is, 58,1); dix Déu a Isaïes: 'Puix yo t'he fet **trompa**, crida, crida e denuncia al meu poble los llurs peccats'" (Sanchis Sivera ed. 1973, I: 182). In the same paragraph, the preacher considers the words *anafil* and *trompeta* to be synonymous, for the reason that he is discussing instruments within a military context.

57. Other occurrences of the instruments in question will be examined in § 3 below as such references arise in relation to larger ensembles.

Hashanah, well known for its ritual sounding of the shofar, an instrument fashioned from a ram's horn:⁵⁸

Cinch eren les les altres festes, que una vegada l'any venien: la festa de Pasqua [...]; la segona era Penthecostés [...]; la tercera festa era de les **Trompes**, lo primer dia del mes de setembre, que ab **buccines** y ab **corns** cridaven, en record que fon deliurat Ysac del sacrifici, y en loch seu oferí lo moltó Abraam son pare; la quarta festivit, de Propiciació [...] la quinta festivit era de la Cenofegie, que festa dels Tabernacles se nomenava.⁵⁹ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 272)

The source provides a pair of synonyms (*tubarum et clangorum*) for the name of the feast, which itself is rendered by the translator as *trompa*.⁶⁰ We should take the time, however, to focus on the way in which Corella modifies a further passage relating to instruments, a passage wherein the first-person form of the verb *buc(c)inare*, 'to blow (a trumpet)' i.e. *buccino*, leads Corella to refer to the instrument in question using a Latinism, instead of the more common Catalan term *botzina*,⁶¹ and to supplement it, for clarificatory purposes, with the term *corn* ('horn'). When his source, however, happens to mention the instrument *buccina* itself, Corella, in fact, opts to render it as *trompeta*:

Com no pensam, insensats, miserables, què farem en aquell spantable dia, quant tremolarà lo món al terrible so de les spantables **trompetes**, segut lo Jutge en lo tribunal de la sua judicial cadira, circuit de tota la celestial milícia, e tota natura humana en lo principi engendrada de la terra, ara ressucitada, sperarà tremolant lo juhí de la sua justa sentència?⁶² (Aguilar ed. 2020: 544-545)

The *tuba* is the most frequently mentioned instrument within the *VCC*. We find it once more within the *Cartoixà's Primer* (or First Book), where its occurrence stems from a quotation of the Gospel of Matthew 6:2,⁶³ present in the source:

58. The Catalan *Siddur* offers the following explanation of the Jewish holiday: "Tisri és lo primer mes del any, e en lo primer dia del dit mes fonch creat lo món. E el primer e segon dia del dit mes són nomenats Rosesanà, que vol dir Principi de Cap d'any, e en los dits dos dies ffan festa els juheus, e sonen lo corn que en ebraich vol dir Soffar" (Riera ed. 1988: f. 2).

59. "Anniversariae vero festivitates erant quinque, scilicet: festum Paschae [...]. Secunda erat festivitas Pentecostes [...] Tertia festivitas erat **Tubarum et Clangorum**, quae celebrabatur prima die mensis septembris: tunc enim **buccinabant cornibus pecorum**, in memoriam quod eadem die fuit Isaac liberatus ab immolatione patris, pecore substituto pro eo. Quarta festivitas erat Propitiationis [...]. Quinta erat Scenopegia, scilicet festum Tabemaculorum" (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.1: 128).

60. For the use of polynomial expressions in medieval Catalan translations, see the foundational study by Curt Wittlin (1991).

61. Besides this term's occurrence in both MS Peiresc and the *Siddur* (see Appendix), it also crops up in Desclot's *Chronicle*: "[King Peter the Great] partí's d'aquí i féu sonar la sua botzina, per tal que tuyt lo seguissen" (Soldevila ed. 2008: 350), as well as in certain documents pertaining to the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, *MiMusDB*, "butzinas", ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2452, f. 154v; "butzinas de medero", ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2452, f. 159r; "bozinas pora caça", ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2680, f. 102r.

62. "Etenim, quid faciemus, carissimi, in illo metuendo iudicii die, cum Dominus, tremante mundo, praecinentibus **Angelorum buccinis**, in illo majestatis suae throno, circumdatus coelestis militiae luce, consederit, ibique de terrae gremio et de antiquo pulvere suscitato humano genere, adstante testimonio conscientiae singulorum, positus in conspectu peccatorum poenis, iustorumque praemiis, rationem vitae coeperit postulare" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 301).

63. "So whenever you give alms, do not sound a trumpet before you, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, so that they may be praised by others. Truly I tell you, they have received their reward".

Diu lo Senyor: “Com fas spiritual o corporal almoyna, no vulles que davant tu sia sonat ab **trompeta**, axí com fan los ipòcrits”, quasi dient: “No vulles que la tua oració sia manifesta per glòria y laor tua, axí com és manifest lo so de la **trompeta**”.⁶⁴ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 616)

On this occasion and in both cases, the translator uses the word *trompeta* to render the original term.

In the *VCC*, the *tuba* is clearly considered to be an instrument whose sounds would have accompanied warriors in battle, as indicated by its first appearance in the *Segon* (or Second Book), at the point at which Ludolph discusses the miracle involving the raising of Jairus's daughter:

Entrà, donchs, lo Senyor en la cambra hon molts planyien hi ab veus de lamentables **instruments** lamentaven. Diverses melodies, diverses passions exciten: algunes exciten audàcia, axí com les **trompetes**; altres devoció, axí com los **òrguens**; altres alegria; altres dolor e tristícia. Hi de aquests **instruments** versaven los jueus en les obsèquies de nobles persones, perquè provocassen los hoïnts a plor, dolor e tristícia.⁶⁵ (Oviedo ed. 2020: 69)

The clear specification present in the source text (*tubis bellicis*) is once more translated using the term *trompeta*, and we should observe with interest the fact that the ‘Ecclesiastical songs’ of the original have been replaced by a church organ, as has likewise been noted by the editor Jordi Oviedo Seguer.⁶⁶

The word *tibicines*, which disappears in the translated version, requires further elucidation. It signifies ‘flute players’. This instrument, in antiquity, used to provide music at funeral ceremonies. The term appears in the Bible only once, namely in Matthew 9:23,⁶⁷ though it occurs on three occasions in the *VCC*, all of which stem from the aforementioned miracle. Corella, on each of these occasions, correctly associates it with musicians; however, he never gives precise information as to what the instrument actually is. Indeed, when the term makes its second appearance, the said miracle's mystical sense is examined, and, in this instance, Corella proposes a rendering of *tibicines* as ‘those who sing, lament and deplore’:

64. “Ait ergo: Cum facis eleemosynam, corporalem scilicet vel spiritualem, noli **tuba** canere ante te, sicut hypocritae faciunt, id est noli eam facere in manifestatione, et velle innotescere, ut glorieris in laude tua, sicut ille apertum dat signum, qui canit **tuba**” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.1: 295).

65. “Et cum venisset Jesus in domum principis, invenit filiam ejus jam defunctam, et **tibicines** conductitios carmen lugubre canentes. Diversae enim melodiae diversas passiones excitant, in homine: aliquae enim excitant audaciam, ut patet in **tubis bellicis**; aliquae devotionem, ut patet in **canticis Ecclesiasticis**; aliquae laetitiam, ut patet in diversis **instrumentis musicis**; aliquae excitant fletum et devotam lamentationem, et talibus utebantur antiquitus in exsequiis magnarum personarum, ut provocaretur multitudo ad fletum et luctum” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.2: 30). Regarding Corella's introduction of the Jews within the passage's closing lines, the editor Jordi Oviedo Seguer has commented: “en *VCC* [...], no apareix cap referència explícita als jueus, sinó al fet que el costum de fer servir instruments en el velatori era antic” [‘in *VCC* [...], there is no explicit reference to the Jews, but to the fact that the custom of using instruments in the vigil for the dead was ancient’] (Oviedo ed. 2020: 69).

66. “Notem l'actualització dels referents musicals efectuada per l'autor valencià, que tradueix els ‘canticis Ecclesiasticis’ vocals en *VCC*, 218a, com a ‘los òrguens’, uns instruments que cobraren especial rellevància en les esglésies cristianes al llarg de la baixa Edat Mitjana, que Corella devia conèixer i, segurament, admirar” [‘We note the modernisation of the musical terms of reference carried out by the Valencian author, who translates the “canticis Ecclesiasticis” that are sung in *VCC*, 218a, as ‘(a church) organ’, an instrument which gained special importance within Christian churches throughout the Middle Ages, a fact of which Corella must necessarily have been aware and surely been an admirer’] (Oviedo ed. 2020: 69).

67. “Et cum venisset Jesus in domum principis, et vidisset tibicines et turbam tumultuantem, dicebat” / “When Jesus came to the leader's house and saw the flute players and the crowd making a commotion, he said”.

Los qui canten hi lamenten hi endechen són los diables o mals hòmens qui detenen l'ànima peccadora en la culpa, ab complacències e persuasions perverses. Però nosaltres, per tornar a la nostra pàtria, devem a tals cants tancar les orelles, que les mortals serenes en la mar de infern no ns acabucen. Legim poèticament de Ulixes que, essent en les mars que les serenes cantaven, manà als seus que·l ligasen a l'arbre perquè no saltàs en la mar al cant de les serenes.⁶⁸ (Oviedo ed. 2020: 71)

When the term makes its final appearance, Corella presses into use once more the same adjective by which it had been accompanied the first time it was mentioned, though, in this instance, applies it to 'musicians' themselves, rather than to their instruments: "Los lamentables músichs lo peccador lança, que són les dolors e tristícies que lo cor turmenten, quant se aparta de les coses que en offensa de Déu lo delitaven" (Oviedo ed. 2020: 72).⁶⁹ It is thus possible that, as may have been the case with the term *chorus*, Corella was unable to offer an exact translation of the word, even though, on this occasion, he is able to contextualise it correctly. The relatively few Catalan translations of the Gospels seem to adopt a similar procedure to that used by Corella:

Table 4. Translations of *tibicines* (Matt 9:23)

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Marmoutier</i> ⁷⁰ | <i>Palau Gospels</i> ⁷¹ |
|---|--|---|--|
| <i>tibicines</i> et turbam tumultuantem | molt gran brogit hi ach de gents planyents | gran brugit que y ach de gent planyents | les fembres e la companya de casa planyent e plorant |

If we return to the *tuba* as an instrument used to accompany soldiers in combat, we note that the *VCC* also makes consistent use of the term when referring to the trumpets that shall be sounded at the Last Judgment. The occasion of its first use in this respect relates to the reason Jesus might be willing to show His resurrected body to both the doomed and the saved, though reserve the additional contemplation of His divine nature to the latter alone, a parallel being drawn between Christ's own conduct in this and that of a king:

Diu sant Crisòstom: "Si quant algun rey de la terra ve a executar alguna notable sentència, totes les potestats e dignitats del seu regne tremolen, donchs, què faran totes les jerarchies angèliques hi humanes quant lo universal rey e Senyor devallarà a jutjar los vius e ls morts, los àngels e los hòmens? Mouran-se les virtuts angèliques, spantables trons seran les **trompetes** e terribles lamps seran les entorches".⁷² (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 447)

68. "**Tibicines** sunt daemones suggerentes, vel homines adultores, qui fovent mortuam, et tenent hic corpus in carnis laescivia et solatiis, quae faciliter terminantur ad luctum inferni et desolationis. Sed nos ad patriam tendentes, mortiferos sirenarum cantus surda aure praetereamus. Unde Ulysses fecit se ligari in malo navis, et aures suas obturavit, ne deceptus sirenarum cantibus in mare saltaret" (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.2: 31).

69. "**Tibicines** ejici debent, qui tamquam magistri in errorem animam demulcent" (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.2: 31).

70. Paris, BnF, esp. 486. MS dating from the mid-14th century (Casanelles 2014: 25)

71. Barcelona, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, ms. ANCI-960-T-5294 (fons Requesens-Palau). MS dating from the first half of the 15th century, preserved at one point within the *Palau reial menor* in Barcelona (Casanelles 2014: 28).

72. "Unde et Chrysostomus: "Si quando, rex terrenus processum aliquem, aut expeditionem mandat in populo, dignitates omnes moventur, et exercitus excitatur totaque civitas fervet; quanto magis Rege coelesti exurgente iudicare vivos et mortuos, Virtutes angelicae commovebuntur, terribiles ministri, terribiliorem Dominum praecedentes! Ante ipsum pro candelabris fulgura viva praecedent, et pro **tubis** horrenda tonitrua vociferabunt" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.1: 274).

Once more, Corella uses *trompeta* to render the term *tuba*, here used metaphorically to represent the terrifying sound of thunder. The allegory is explained shortly afterwards in relation to the Gospel of Matthew and with reference to a quotation from Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, in both of which a *tuba* once again makes an appearance, and one is able to confirm, not for the first time, its identification with the *trompeta*:

Trametrà los seus àngels ab **trompeta** e veu alta, que per tot lo món tots los morts despertará a immortal vida.⁷³

Diu sant Remigi: "Aquesta **trompeta** no devem entendre que algun instrument corporal sia, mas veu angèlica tan alta que tots los morts la senten. O és la **trompeta** la potència del Senyor, que-ls morts resucita y ab la sua veu al juhí final los crida." [...]

Diu lo Apòstol⁷⁴: En un moment, en un tanquar de ull, sonarà la **trompeta** e los morts ressucitaran".⁷⁵ (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 448)

The following examples relate to the same issue, though do not require any commentary as they simply serve to confirm the specific identification of the *tuba* as a martial instrument, as well as one that shall be played on the Day of Reckoning:

[*Jesus's entry into Jerusalem*] Per què no mires com ve a tu, exí com diu lo profeta? No seu en trihufal carro, vestit de preciosa porpra. No ve sobre cavall brau, ferosce, qui al so de les **trompetes** se alegra quant de batalla senyalen. Sobre una somera entra, t[r]anquil·le, pacífica. No porta gent de armes de la sua guarda, mas porta rams florits de olivera significant pau, amor e concòrdia.⁷⁶ (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 266)

[*The Parable of the Ten Virgins, and on the noise that awakens them*]: A mijanit la gran veu e clamor sentien; diu-se a mija[nit] perquè ignoram del Senyor la venguda, e les coses fetes a mijanit comunament són amagades. La veu e clamor serà la veu e so de la spantable **trompeta**, despertant tots los morts a la vida. O, quina veu tant alta, potent e terrible! No y aurà ànima en lo més alt cel gloriosa, ni en lo infern profunde, ni cors en la terra tancat e fet pols en lo sepulcre ni en les aygües, que no senta, que no hoja, que no se spante e tremole al so de aquesta **trompeta**.⁷⁷ (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 485)

73. "Et mittet angelos suos cum **tuba**, et voce magna : et congregabunt electos ejus a quatuor ventis, a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum" / "And he will send out his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt 24:31).

74. "In momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima **tuba** : canet enim **tuba**, et mortui resurgent incorrupti : et nos immutabimur" / "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed" (1Cor 15: 52).

75. "Et tunc, scilicet ante resurrectionem communem, mittet Angelos suos cum **tuba** et voce magna, id est tam aperta et tam intensa voce, quae a mortuis audiatur ubique. Unde Remigius: 'Haec autem **tuba** non revera corporea est intelligenda, sed angelica vox, quae adeo magna erit, ut ad clamorem illius omnes mortui de terrae pulvere consurgant; vel **tuba** est potestas suscitandi mortuos, [...] dicente Apostolo: In momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima **tuba**; canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti'" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.1: 275).

76. "Vis cognoscere mansuetudinem venientis? Considera speciem adventus ipsius. Non sedet in curru aureo, pretiosa purpura fulgens, nec ascendit super fervidum equum discordiae amatorem et litis, qui gloriae jactantia pectus habet repletum, et gaudet ad vocem **tubae**; sed sedet super asinam, tranquillitatis et pacis amicam. Non autem vides in circuitu ejus splendentes gladios, aut cetera ornamenta armorum terribilium. Sed quid? Ramos frondentes, testimonia pietatis et pacis" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.1: 172).

77. "Media autem nocte, id est subito, nullo sciente aut sperante; quia sicut fur, ita dies Domini in nocte veniet, cum enim tempus judicii est nobis occultum, ideo signatur per mediam noctem, quia illa quae fiunt nocte media, sunt hominibus occulta; media ergo nocte, clamor factus est, **tubantium** Angelorum, excitans mortuos et convocans ad judicium : Ecce Sponsus venit, exite obviam ei. O quantus clamor, quia non erit anima ita alte in coelo, nec ita profunde

[*Concerning the Resurrection and Jesus's arrival as a judge*]: Serà la resurrecció en un moment, a la veu de la spantable **trompeta**, a la mija nit, stant lo món desavisat del so de tal **trompa**. Per aquesta veu podem entendre algun admirable so que serà per voluntat divina perquè ls morts ressuciten. Nomena's en algun loch de la Scriptura veu de l'archàngel, en altre **veu de trompeta**, que senyalarà contra los mals la general batalla hi als bons convidarà a la eterna cena.⁷⁸ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 540)

This last quotation serves to confirm the clear synonymy between *trompa* and *trompeta*, although when Corella supplements his source by means of this instrument, he has recourse to the latter term alone, as the following passages attest:

[*The Calling of the Disciples: why Jesus often preferred the mountainous heights*]: Diu Beda: "Al seny tropològich, pujar lo Senyor en lo mont significa le excel·lència de la ley evangèlica; en lo mont de Thabor, ameníssim de fonts, arbres, flors y fruytes, en figura que la celsitud de la ley evangèlica stà en amor fundada, y en temor la ley judaica: en lo mont de Sinaí, mont stèril, ab trons, lamps y spantable so de **trompetes**. La una y altra ley són altes, que nostre Senyor Déu les ha donades, y de excel·lents preceptes, sobre totes leys humanes, però és amor lo fonament de la ley evangèlica, y temor de la ley judaica. Pujà lo Senyor en lo mont los apòstols, perquè volia que l celestial Regne pricassen, y ells se levassen alts de terra, y aquells qui ls oyren".⁷⁹ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 550-551)

[*The Parable of the Ten Virgins: concerning the ill-preparedness of the foolish ones*] Levaren-se, donchs, a la venguda del senyor totes les vèrgens, hi les prudents e les folles, que bons e mals, tots ressucitaran a la veu de la **trompeta**. Ornaren les sues lànties, que vol dir que pensaran hi adobaran rahons e paraules de les bones obres que hauran fetes, ornant la sua consciència.⁸⁰ (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 485)

[*Concerning the Fifth Word of Jesus on the Cross*]: Diu sant Agostí: "[...] O, ànima devota! Com no-t fatiguen de aquest món les contínues molèsties, pèrdues, tristors e misèries: lo turment de la carn, la batalla dels vicis, la mutació dels staments, la prosperitat dels mals, la afflictió dels mansuets, la varietat e mutació de la tua forma de infància en vellea, de sanitat en diverses malalties, lo destempre dels ayres, la afflictió de multiplicades pestilències, la temor contínua de la incertitut de la mort certa e de la sua manera incerta? De la **trompeta** del juhí, que en les tues orelles, si est crestià, de continu sonant és rahó que-t spante, e les penes de infern e la vall de Josafat te presente com si present

in inferno, nec corpus in sepulchro, quin audiat hunc clamorem, et contremiscat!" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 297).

78. "Et hoc in momento, id est in brevissimo et angustissimo spatio temporis, in ictu oculi, qui transvolat media, et transit ad remota, in **novissima tuba**, id e[st]t per vocem magnam et manifestam, post quam non erit alia. **Canet enim tuba**: haec **tuba clamor** ille intelligitur, de quo in Evangelio dicitur: Media nocte clamor factus est, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei. Non enim tunc veniet cum speratur; sed media nocte, id est occulte valde et insperate. **Tubae** nomine aliquod evidens et praeclarum signum accipitur, quod nutu divino dabitur; quia et Archangeli vox, alibi, et etiam vox Filii Dei in Evangelio **tuba** Dei dicitur. Et bene dicitur **tuba** Dei: quasi enim ad bellum contra inimicos veniet; et efficaciam dabit ei, quod per illam mortui resurgent. Vox ergo **tubae**, secundum quosdam, est imperium Christi resurgere imperantis; secundum alios vero est manifesta Christi apparitio" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 298).

79. "Unde Beda: 'Mystice mons ille, in quo Apostolos elegit Dominus, altitudinem designat justitiae, qua instruendi erant et quam praedicaturi hominibus. Nam quia missurus erat eos ad praedicandum Evangelium regni coelestis, merito per sublimitatem loci, in quo electi sunt, admonere voluit eos, non in infimis desideriis animi dissolvere, sed ad superna desideranda et quaerenda semper erigere debere. Sic etiam Legem daturus priori populo suo in monte apparuit, de monte quae agenda essent innotuit'" (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.1: 262).

80. "Tunc surrexerunt omnes virgines illae, fatuae et prudentes, quia omnes scilicet boni et mali resurgent, ut in iudicio appareant, et ornaverunt lampades suas, id est, aptaverunt rationes operum suorum reddendas, cogitando et numerando apud se opera sua, pro quibus exspectabant remunerationem" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.1: 297).

mirases les eternes flames. Per què doncs, no desiges que ab Jesús e per Jesús muyres".⁸¹ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 216)

3 Players and the orchestral ensemble

This final section addresses certain quotations concerning musicians, as well as generic references to musical instruments, and descriptions of the performances delivered by larger ensembles.

3.1 *Joglar* (Eng. *jester / minstrel*)

The sole occurrence of the term *joglar* is found in *LC*, within a passage related to the biblical episode involving King David that we examined above in § 1. In the chapter of the *VCC* concerning Jesus's strategy of acting first and only subsequently offering instruction, Corella provides a detailed account of the matter and, among the *exempla* he adds, we encounter a reference to the episode of Michal (daughter of Saul), who criticises David for having danced in an inappropriate manner before the Ark:

Humilià's David quand, vestit com ha levita, ministre del temple, cantava y ballava davant l'archa. Mirava'l Michol, filla de Saül, primer rey de Judea, primera stimada muller sua. Diu al rey, quand ja despullat de les levítiques vestidures com a rey per lo palau entrava: "Graciós y honrat anava lo rey com hun **jutglar**, ballant hi cantant davant l'archa". "Axí ballaré y saltaré y cantaré –respòs lo rey– davant Déu y la sua archa; y seré humil y dejecte, y ell me levarà hi m'alçarà, qui ha humiliat la casa de ton pare". (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 298-299)

In the *VCC*, however, Michal receives only a very brief mention: "Bonus ludus quo Michol irascitur, et Deus delectatur!" (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.1: 138). Thus, Corella has expanded upon the corresponding biblical verses, i.e. 2 Sam 5:16, 21-22, in order to amplify the episode, adding the reference to the jester / minstrel for the sake of underlining Michal's contempt for the king's behaviour.

3.2 *Trompeta* (Eng. *crier / herald*)

The profession of crier or herald was already well established by the Middle Ages, the function of this position being to publicise orders issued by the royal and municipal authorities, as well as to announce available jobs or other information of interest to the people. Although they constituted a fundamental part of the medieval soundscape, their role has generally been neglected by scholars, since it has not been considered, strictly speaking, to be musical.⁸² The Catalan term used to designate this profession is metonymically identical to the instrument, i.e. *trompeta*, this being the principal choice of word to which Corella has recourse when his source employs the Latin term *praeco*.

81. "Unde Augustinus: '[...] Nonno taedet te, anima mea, intemperies aeris, molestia carnis, et cordia pugna cum vitiis, varietas formae, mutatio et incertitudo temporis, expectatio et timor mortis? Cur igitur non cupis dissolvi, et esse cum Christo?'" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 123).

82. A pioneering study on 15th century Barcelona was published by Kreitner (1992).

The first examples we offer all concern Saint John the Baptist who, as the forerunner of Christ, plays a heraldic role always rendered in terms of *trompeta* as well as certain synonymous pairings:

[*St. John in prison testifies to the fact that he is not the Messiah*] La veritat confessà, que no era lo Messies, y no negà lo qui era. Confessà que no era Crist, axí com los pobles opinaven, mas no negà que era precursor de Crist, haraut y **trompeta**; confessà que no era spòs, mas que amich del spòs era; confessà que no era lo Verb etern fet home, però no negà que era veu de la eterna Paraula.⁸³ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 347-348)

[*Quotation from Jn 1:30*] Diu més lo benaventurat Baptista: “Aquest de qui yo us parle és aquell que vendrà après de mi, de qui yo so haraut, precursor y **trompeta**”.⁸⁴ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 356-357)

[*Prayer to St. John*]: Beatíssim Johan, precursor de Jesús, araut y **trompeta**, amich del spòs, veu de la divina Paraula, qui has mereixcut denunciar la consolació y alegria de la redempció nostra[.]⁸⁵ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 362)

[*John endorses Jesus as his superior*]: “És mester –diu sanct Joan– que yo minve y en veritat me abaixe hi m’humilie, y los pobles ho coneguen, axí com la stela de l’alba com la claredat del sol se demostra, y cessa la **trompeta** quand arriba lo jutge, y l’offici de legat quand és vengut lo príncep, y cessa la veu quand ve aquell per qui cridava”.⁸⁶ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 494-495)

[*On why the preaching of St John predated that of Jesus*]: Diu sant Agostí⁸⁷: “Anà primer lo Batista, axí com la veu ans de la paraula, axí com ans del sol se mostra l’alba, axí com lo **trompeta** ans del jutge, axí com ans del senyor lo servent, axí com lo amich ans del spòs. Hi perquè tot lo món ocupaven tenebres hi lo Sol de justícia no podien veure, vench primer axí com entorcha lo Batista”.⁸⁸ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 502-503)

When the *VCC* pauses to explain the differences between the First and Second Comings of Christ, Corella uses the word *trompeta* in a way that could lead to confusion, since he places it alongside another ‘object’, namely, flags. Comparison with the original text confirms that Corella ought to have opted for the instrument’s player, rather than for the instrument itself:

No ha mester **trompetes** ni banderes qui-l senyalen; mirar-l’an tots en clara resplendent e luminosa vista. No serà mester que algú la sua venguda us mostre.⁸⁹ (Furió Vayà ed. 2020: 425)

83. “Confessus est se non esse quod non erat; non negavit se esse quod erat. Confessus est se non esse Christum, quod opinio vulgi publica habebat; et non negavit se esse Christi Praecursorem, quod erat. Confessus est se non esse Judicem; non se negavit iudicis **praeconem**. Confessus est se non esse Ecclesiae Sponsum; non negavit se amicum. Confessus est se non esse Verbum; non se negavit esse vocem” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.I: 163).

84. “Et subdit Joannes de Christo: Ipse est, qui post me veniet, vel venturus est, quem ergo ut praecursor **praenuntio**, qui tamen ante me factus est” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.I: 167).

85. “Joannes, beatissime praecursor Christi, **praeco** Judicis, amicus Sponsi, vox Verbi divini, qui solatium nostrae Redemptionis annuntiare meruisti” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.I: 170).

86. “ipsum autem minui et humiliari in re vera, et quoad populum in fama, sicut lucifer minuitur in claritate quoad apparentiam, oriente sole, et auctoritas **praeconis**, adveniente iudice, et officium legati, adveniente principe” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.I: 234-235).

87. *Sermones de sanctis*, CXCIVII, *In Natali Joannis Baptistae* (PL 39, 2114)

88. “Unde etiam Augustinus: ‘Praemissus est Joannes, velut vox ante Verbum, aurora ante solem, **praeco** ante Judicem, servus ante Dominum, amicus ante Sponsum. Et quia universum mundum tenebrae et nox infidelitatis oppresserant, et solem justitiae aspicere non valebant, beatus Joannes quasi lucerna praemittitur” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.I: 239).

89. “nec annuntiante vel **praecone** indiget, sed in instanti momento temporis in orbem terrarum universum apparet;

According to all three authors, the figure of the trumpet player takes part in the tragic moments of the Passion story. This player is mentioned twice in the *VCV*: in Chapter 174, where he is identified as being the leader of the procession when Christ emerges with the Cross from Pilate's palace, in the company of the two thieves; and, further on, in Chapter 175, wherein Mary, who had already left her home after John had warned her of Jesus' death sentence, searches for her son in the crowd that has gathered to witness the distressing procession.

Ch. 174: E axí carregat lo Senyor, ab molta dolor e pena començà de exir per la porta de la cort, acompanyat ab dos ladres e la *trompeta* davant. [...] E lo gloriós Johan, qui sabia millor lo camí, portà-les per un carrer qui exia en una placeta per hon lo Senyor devia passar. (Hauf ed. 2022: 793, 797)

Ch. 175: E acostant-se la Senyora e los que ab ella eren al cap del dit carrer, hoÿren la *trompeta* e la gran flota de la gent; e, sentint sa Senyoria aquell dolorós so, alterà's la sua cara e començà a tremolar tota la sua persona que de sols veure lo seu gest tan piadós totes les dones cuydaren esclatar per lo cor, cridant e plorant, vehent aquella Excel·lent Mare posada en tanta dolor.⁹⁰ (Hauf ed. 2022: 798)

The presence of the *trompeta* in the first episode can be found in Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist* [*VCE*]; in the *VCC*; in *LC*; and, lastly, in the poem by Pero Martines *Al rey Jesús donada la sentença*. The recollection of the sound that Villena uses to relate the two episodes at the beginning of Chapter 175, however, is absent from these works.

In Chapter 99 of Eiximenis's *VCE* (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 460), not only is reference made to the *trompeta*, but the author also quotes the proclamation (Cat. *crida*) he issues, an incident soon followed by a meeting with a number of holy women (not reported below) whom Jesus instructs to weep for themselves and for their children, rather than for Him. Chapter 100 is devoted to the encounter with the Virgin Mary, she being one of the said holy women Jesus meets along the *Via Dolorosa*, though lacks the detail concerning John's mission as well as reference to the proclamation of the crier / herald.

Ch. 99 *qui mostre que faeren al Senyor a hora de tercia*: De aquí exint ab so e veu de **trompeta** a la porta de la cort dix axí: "Veus açí Jesús de Natzalet, qui per tal quant se volia fer rey será ara penjat, e qui aytal farà aytal pendrà". (f. 214r)

Ch. 100 *qui ensenya les dolors de la gloriosa mare cant lo viu anar a la passió*: En les contemplacions del sant abat Efrem se recompte com lavores, entre les dites dones de Iherusalem plorants lo salvador, era aquella sagrada mare sua, qui contínuament crexia en dolor, qui quant viu lo seu fill axí cruelment per la cara e per los braços nafrat, sangonós e colpat, e viu que ab tan gran afany portava la creu ab lo cors incurvat polsant e penteyant, en tant que en vides li bastava la alenda, car cuytaven-lo molt de anar los jueus, tements que Pilat no revocàs la sentència. E quant lo viu ja quaix mig mort e no-s podia acostar a ell, cuytà a encontrar-lo ab les dites santes dones per altra camí pus curt, e encontrant-lo en lo portal de la Ciutat. E aquí viu lo seu fill caure en terra, car no podia pus portar la creu ni alendar tant era lo pes de la creu, e cuytà que los jueus li daven, lavores, lo salvador la guarda, e la dolça mare a ell, e no-s digueren res la un a l'altre car les dolors eren tan grans de cada part que no-s pogueren res dir de paraula, ne y feu fretura parlar car aquelles

ita erit et adventus Filii hominis, ad iudicium generale: erit subitus, et coruscus, et manifestus omnibus, et ita patens et clarus quod nullus de eo dubitare poterit" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.1: 269).

90. The *Tractat de la Passió* (Madrid, BNE 4327, f. 75v-76r), which represents the core version of the *VCV* as discovered by Curt Wittlin (Hauf ed. 2022: xiv-xvi), offers minimal variants for both these chapters.

dues, sobres altres ànimes, se parlaven de un llenguatge celestial axí com stant ensemps se havien acostumat de parlar sens lengua. (ff. 24IV-215r)

In both the *VCC* and in Corella's translation the *praecone* / *trompeta* is mentioned twice, namely, at the third and the sixth hour; he is missing from the encounter with Mary, however, albeit that the latter episode undergoes a small degree of amplification at the hands of the translator.

[De hora tertia] A la porta de Pilat començà la **trompeta** exclamar la crida. Fon gran e quasi innumerable lo poble que a la veu corria per hoir la sentència del fill de Maria de Natzaret, gran profeta. E los qui seguint no-l podien veure exien-li a l'encontre, e per les travesses dels carrés era tan gran lo concurs del pobles que los uns ab los altres se empenyien he-s derrocaven.⁹¹ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 149)

[De hora sexta] A hora de sexta, trist, plorós e adolorat, contempla com, lo **trompeta** davant exclamant la vergonyosa crida, Jesús, ple de dolors e impropis, fon portat al loch pudent del mont de Calvari, en ebrahich nomenat Gòlgota, en latí "loch de degollament", hon los malfactors sentenciaven e allí staven les públiques forques.⁹² (Aguilar ed. 2020: 159)

[*Encounter with Mary*] Atén ací, o, ànima devota! Totes les dolors que lls tràgichs doctors scriure poden són quasi en figura en sguart de aquesta: com la dolorosa Verge Mare, no podent-se acostar al miserable Fill per la gran multitud del poble, cuyta e corre més del que podia ab aquella plorant, lamentable companya que ensemps ab ella planyien e làgremes sobre la terra plovién, e ja fora de la ciutat, en la travessa de dos camins vench a son Fill a l'encontre, e, mirant dolor de tan dolorosa vista, caygué verdadera ho semblant a verdadera morta lo pilar de nostra speranza sens poder parlar al Fill en qui vivia e per qui morir volia.⁹³ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 151)

The poem by the Dominican Pero Martines (ca. 1400-1463) is a meditation in which the poet himself participates in the events of the Passion as if in a vision. His view, however, is obstructed by the crowd that has gathered at the sound of the trumpeter:

Al rey Jesus donada la sentença

91. "Cum igitur Christus, Pilato imperante, **praecone** clamante, bajulans sibi crucem traheretur ad supplicium; tunc cum ducendo et accelerando, et opprobriis saturando, factus est magnus concursus populorum post ipsum euntium; alii super ipsum plangebant, alii illudentes irridebant, alii lutum et immunditias in caput et in faciem ejus projiciebant" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 87). The editor of *Lo quart*, Josep Antoni Aguilar, explains in the corresponding note: "L'al·lusió al trompeta, oficial encarregat de publicar les crides o anuncis de les autoritats, [...] és de la collita de Corella" ["The allusion to the crier or herald (lit. trumpeter), the official charged with publicising the proclamations and announcements issued by the authorities, [...] is of Corella's own invention"] (Aguilar ed. 2020: 149), adding a short passage in Catalan concerning a proclamation wherein the instruments alone are mentioned ("ab so de trompeta o nafil") as well as the Latin text of the *VCC*. The use of *trompeta* as a valid translation of crier / herald (Lat. *praecono*) is well attested, so it is not clear why the editor asserts it to be of Corella's own invention.

92. "Hora sexta cogitabis dolens et tristis, quomodo Dominus Jesus, **praecone** clamante, et vituperabiliter ductus extra portam Jerusalem, pervenit ad locum Calvaris, utique foetidum, Hebraice Golgotha dictum, et Latine decollationis interpretatum; ubi malefactores puniebantur, et ubi publicum erat patibulum" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 93).

93. "Quia vero moesta Mater et moerore confecta, propter multitudinem populi appropinquare ei non poterat, nec eum videre, ivit celeriter per aliam viam breviorum et compendiosam. cum sociabus suis et Joanne, ut alios praecedens valeret Filio suo approximare. Cum autem extra portam civitatis in concursu viarum eum haberet, cernens eum sic oneratum ligno tam grandi, obvium quod ante non viderat, semi-mortua facta est, et pene exanimata prae angustia, nec ei verbum dicere potuit, nec Dominus sibi, acceleratus ab his qui eum ducebant. O quam tristes et dolentes, quam clamantes et plorantes ibant mulieres sanctae sustentantes Dominam nostram Matrem ejus, non valentem se sustentare vel sustinere; imo dicitur in terram corruisse" (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 88).

de agra mort que ffos crucifficat,
 viu lo batut axi ffort maltractat,
 que de son gest perdi la conaxença.
 Lo poble junt ab so de la **trompeta**,
 destorb me ffeu en poder lo mirar,
 ffins en cert pas hon lo vag dividir
 humil devot ab vista mansueta.
 (Riquer ed. 1946: 114, ll. 1-8)

During the encounter the author has with Mary in the final part of the poem (ll. 11-13), on the other hand, neither the instrument nor its sound is again mentioned.

Both of these episodes, moreover, feature within Bernat Fenollar and Pere Martines's *Istòria de la Passió* from *Lo Passi en cobles* (Valencia 1493). At the beginning of the episode, the crier / herald is situated at the head of the tragic procession and the versified announcement is proclaimed:

[271] Per fer-li vergonya, per dar-li més pena,
 les mans li ligaren, aquell turmentant,
 y enmig de dos ladres anant ab cadena,
 posant-li molt prest la creu en la squena,
 anava-l **trompeta** davant ell cridant.

[272] “Aquest és aquell fill de Déu qui-s feya
 y rey dels juheus se fa nomenar,
 aquest és aquell que-l temple sant deya
 desfer en tres dies y en altres tres creya
 ab sa virtut pròpia aquell reparar.
 Aquest és aquell qui veda les rendes
 pagar al gran Cèsar subvertint la gent,
 puix ha caminat tostemps per tals sendes,
 Pilat vol que bega amargues beendes
 e sia-n creu dura penjat prestament”.
 (García Sempere ed. 2002: 353, ll. 2957-2971)

The activity of the trumpet player is again exploited for the purpose of emphasising the aspersions cast at Christ as well as the anguish felt by the faithful:

[274] E altres gents fels, qui bé-l conexien,
 mirant com anava ploraven molt fort,
 dolor y turment y pena sentien
 de tal injustícia, car tots bé sabien
 que sols per enveja li daven la mort.
 Y, ohint tan sovint sonar la **trompeta**,
 aquell diffamant per tot lo camí,
 cridant publicaven ésser gran proffeta,
 de totes ses obres e vida perfeta,
 fent ver testimoni, tots deyen axí:
 (García Sempere ed. 2002: 354, ll. 2983-2992)

The sound of a trumpet subsequently recurs in the episode detailing Christ's final encounter with His mother:

[288] Axí, fent la cerca cercant lo fill digne
 per totes les places ab plors y grans crits,
 hixquè al encontre del fill tan insigne,
 hi·ls dos remirant-se ab gest molt benigne,
 caygueren en terra restant esmortits.
 Caygué prest la mare mirant ja desfeta
 del fill la bellea ab colps y buffets.
 Caygué prest lo fill de mort vent constreta
 la fel mare sua y ohint la **trompeta**
 que tant difamava sos actes perffets.
 (García Sempere ed. 2002: 360, ll. 3129-3138)

The final reference to this sonic feature occurs in the commentary put forward by the *Lector* once Mary has been entrusted to the care of John:

[330] Anàveu, registre de vida perffeta,
 anàveu com ladre entre·ls celerats,
 anàveu benigne hoyint la **trompeta**,
 anàveu cansat y ab força reffeta,
 anàveu corrent ab passos cuytats.
 (García Sempere ed. 2002: 380, ll. 3571-3575)

The Marian episode associated with the *trompeta* seems, therefore, to have been of Villena's own compassionate invention, a fact which explains its presence both in the *Tractat de la Passió* (a work by the same Poor Clare) and in the *Istòria de la Passió*, a text of which she is the dedicatee.

3.3 *The orchestra of angels*

In the *VCV*, above all, angels play an orchestral role, both at the point that they make their descent into the historical record and, even more so, within the description of the heavenly palace. Their descent occurs in Chapter 65, devoted as it is to the virginal birth, a chapter wherein the archangel Michael assembles a throng of angels around Our Lady:

E lo dit príncep sanct Miquel ordenà tota aquella multitud que stiguessen entorn de la Excel·lent Senyora, qui prestament devia parir, ab diversos **instruments de música** de singular armonia; e sa Senyoria stava enmig agenollada, ab les mans plegades, los ulls al cel, la cara resplandent e tota angèlica. (Hauf ed. 2022: 296-297)

The above quotation presents the only formulation used by Villena, namely, *instruments*, or the formal variant *insturment* or, lastly, the popular form *esturments*, embellished either by a particular adjective or an attributive proposition, as confirmed by the other instances in which this term is employed.

In Chapter 207, which interrupts the description of Mary's sorrows after the Crucifixion, Villena describes the dance performed by the patriarchs in Limbo to celebrate their liberation at the hands of Christ; and here, likewise, we find angels playing instruments in order to accompany the dancing: "E los àngels menors sonaven **esturments de música** ab gran armonia" (Hauf ed. 2022: 914).

In Chapter 239, which forms part of the four chapters (Chs 237-240) describing the appearance of Christ – risen in both flesh and spirit – to Our Lady, a dance is described, in accompaniment to

which once again “los sanets àngels ab singular plaer los feren so de melodiosos **esturments**” (Hauf ed. 2022: 1033).

Similarly, in Chapter 251, in which begins Villena’s description of Christ’s ascension in the presence of Mary and the apostles, an army of angels plays instruments; in this instance, however, Isabel supplements the generic formulation *insturments* with the more specific *trompeta* in order to highlight the heraldic purpose of that occasion:

E aquí trobaren la Magestat del Senyor, qui ab gran alegria rebé la Mare sua e tots los que ab ella venien. E tantost sentiren lo gran so de **trompetes e infinits insturments** que venien ab lo exèrcit angelical, qui exia a recibir lo Senyor e Rey seu. (Hauf ed. 2022: 1080)

In Chapter 258, with which the terrestrial description of the episode in question closes, the moment of ascension is underlined by the music emanating from trumpets, generalised ‘instruments’, and the chorus of angels:

E axí estant lo Senyor, ab les mans junctes levades envers lo cel, començà a muntar ab tota aquella gran companyia, usant de sa infinida potència, que pot tot lo que vol; e aquí desaparà lo gran e melodiós so de **trompetes e insturments**, e cants angelicals de tanta excel·lència e delit que defall lo enteniment humà a poder-ho pensar, e molt més la llengua a la mínima part recitar. E, mirant la Senyora Mare e l’altra gent que aquí era en aquesta delitosa festa, staven ab la pensa tan elevada que res corporal no sentien, sinó sols lo desig de seguir lo Senyor, qui ab tanta glòria muntar veyen. (Hauf ed. 2022: 1097-1098)

The final instance occurs in Chapter 287, which describes the preparations to which Mary was subject and the garments in which she was arrayed prior to her assumption into heaven and her coronation at the heavenly court. At the beginning of the ceremony, Mary, the apostles and all the others present hear the angels coming by reason of the ‘melody’ that surrounds them: “E tots, hoint la Senyora, stiguieren ab les penses elevades, ab desig infinit de veure aquell Déu e Senyor qui tan carament amaven. E, stant així, començaren a sentir la gran melodia angèlica” (Hauf ed. 2022: 1196). At the end of the same chapter, it is indicated that generic ‘instruments’ accompany the melody of the angelic court’s songs, a melody that itself accompanies Christ’s own arrival:

E, havent-se la Senyora abrigat aquell gloriós manto, stant encara de peus, entrà aquella infinida multitud de àngels e hòmens qui ab lo Senyor venien, ab singulars **esturments** e sons de gran melodia, cantant. (Hauf ed. 2022: 1198)

In *LC*, likewise, we encounter generic references to musical instruments, most of which are additions on the part of the translator. When the *VCC* is explaining the figurative sense of David’s throne, Corella adds generic ‘musical instruments’ to the whole range of voices indicated by his source:

Diu Beda: “Pres lo Senyor lo regne de David y cadira, que axí com David ab **instruments de música**, hymnes, modulacions a ifior de Déu los juheus incitava, axí lo Senyor ab innumerables miracles y deífica doctrina convidava a les nocces del celestial Regne”.⁹⁴ (Garcia Peris ed. 2020: 79)

94. “Unde Beda: ‘Accepit autem sedem, sive regnum David Dominus, ut gentem cui David quondam temporalis regni gubernacula simul et exempla justitiae praebuit, quamque modulis hymnorum spiritualium ad fidem atque amorem sui Conditoris accendere solebat, hanc ipse factis, verbis, donis, et promissis, ad regnum coeleste et immortale vocaret, atque ad ipsam Dei patris visionem perduceret’” (Rigollot ed. 1878, I.1: 38).

The passage could be related to 2 Sam 6:5,⁹⁵ which, in the Latin Vulgate version, presents a list of instruments which are not correspondingly retained by the Catalan manuscripts of the Bible:

Table 5. Translations of 2 Sam 6:5

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Egerton</i> | <i>Colbert</i> |
|---|--|---|--|
| David autem et omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino in omnibus lignis fabrefactis, et <i>citharis</i> et <i>lyris</i> et <i>tympanis</i> et <i>sistris</i> et <i>cymbalis</i> | E David e tot lo poble jugàvan e cantàvan davant nostre Senyor Déu e tochàvan de tots <i>sturments</i> | E David e tot Yrrael jugaven e cantaven davant nostro Senyor Déu e tohaven de tots <i>sturments</i> | E tot Ysrael anave bellant e juguant davant nostre Senyor Déu e cantaven e toquaven de tots <i>sturments</i> |

Another reference to both vocal and instrumental music is added by the translator when his source treats the miracle of the healing of the deaf-mute man (Mark 7: 31-37). Among the *authoritates* cited in the *VCC*, Corella adds a reference to the Book of Psalms:

Quant més lo devem loar nosaltres, qui tenim manament que laors sues sia tota la vida nostra, dient lo psalmista que-l loem ab totes les **veus** hi **instruments** que loar se puga. (Oviedo ed. 2020: 556)

The editor Jordi Oviedo Seguer correctly relates this passage to Ps 97:5-6,⁹⁶ in relation to which, yet again, Catalan versions of the Bible present variants. In particular, Corella's own translation of the full Book of Psalms retains the listing of the instruments, whereas in *LC* he replaces it with generic terminology, i.e. 'voices and instruments'.

Table 6. Translations of Ps 97:5-6

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Colbert</i> | <i>Ps. Seville</i> | <i>Ps. Marseille</i> | <i>Ps. Perpignan</i> |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| [5] Psallite Domino in <i>cithara</i> ; in <i>cithara</i> et voce psalmi; [6] in <i>tubis</i> ductilibus, et voce <i>tubae</i> corneae | Cantats a nostre Senyor ab la <i>rauta</i> he ab la veu del <i>saltiri</i> , e ab les <i>trompes</i> e ab la <i>corneta</i> de corn | Cantats a nostre Senyor ab la <i>rauta</i> he ab la veu del <i>saltiri</i> , e ab les <i>trompes</i> e ab la <i>corneta</i> de corn | Cantats a nostre Senyor a[b] <i>guitarra</i> et ab vou del salm, et ab <i>trompes manadisses</i> et ab vou de <i>trompa de corn</i> | Cantatz a nostre Senyor ab la <i>rauca</i> e ab la veu del <i>psaltiri</i> , e ab les <i>trompas</i> e ab la <i>corneta de corn</i> | Cantats a nostre Senyor ab <i>guitarra</i> e ab veu de psalm e ab <i>trompes manedices</i> [<i>sic</i>] e ab veu de <i>trompa de corn</i> |

95. "David and all the house of Israel were dancing before the Lord with all their might, with songs and lyres and harps and tambourines and castanets and cymbals".

96. "[5] Sing praises to the Lord with the lyre, with the lyre and the sound of melody. [6] With trumpets and the sound of the horn make a joyful noise before the King, the Lord" (Psalm 98).

| <i>Ps. Reg.</i> | <i>Ps. Barcelona</i> | <i>Ps. 1 València</i> | <i>1480</i> | <i>Corella</i> | <i>Ps. 2 València</i> |
|---|---|---|--|---|--|
| Cantats a nostre Senyor ab <i>guitarra</i> ab veu de salm e ab <i>trompas</i> menant dances ab veu de <i>trompa de corn</i> | Cantats al Senyor en <i>cítara</i> et en veu de psalm; en <i>trompes portables</i> et en veu de <i>trompa de corn</i> | Cantau a nostre Senyor ab la <i>guitarra</i> e veu de <i>saliris</i> , e ab les <i>trompes</i> e ab la <i>corneta de corn</i> | Cantau al Senyor en <i>guitarra</i> en <i>guitarra</i> e veu de psalm, en <i>tubes ductils</i> e ab veu de <i>tuba de corn</i> | Cantau aplegrament al Senyor en la <i>cýthara</i> , en la <i>cýthara</i> e ab veu de psalm, en <i>tronpetes fabricades de martell</i> e ab veu de <i>trompeta de corn</i> | Cantau lo Senyor en <i>cítola</i> en la <i>cítola</i> hi en veu de <i>psaltiri</i> , ab <i>trompes trahents</i> hi en veu de <i>trompeta de corn</i> |

Finally, the third reference reflects a direct dependence on the source text, to which Corella merely lends adjectival enhancement:

O, ab quin desig desig que tots los **suavs e melodiosos instruments de música**, e les celestials armonies e totes les ternals melodies del cor de totes les creatures en alt se elevassen en laors tues, e laors condignes axí dolçament personassen que a les orelles de la tua magestat fossen agradables hi tota la celestial cort de un novell goig alegrassen!⁹⁷ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 509)

Thus, in *LC* Corella seems to behave similarly to Villena in that he uses a generic reference rather than pausing to provide a detailed account, this latter being a practice he himself had employed when slavishly translating the Book of Psalms. There is, however, one exception to this rule: in the chapter concerning the Assumption of Mary,⁹⁸ the rhetorical figure of enumeration is put into effect, and the source profoundly modified as a result:

Qui pot splicar, com de parahís se començà a moure, quin fon lo tro de les **veus**, dels **clarons**, de les **trompetes**, dels **ministrés** e **sacabuges**, los **òrguens**, **musetes**, **laüts** e **viules**? Feren-se dos cors tots los angèlichs òrdens: la un **cor**, los **instruments de la música**; l'altre **cor**, **veus acordades**. Cantaven los càntichs de Salamó tots en versos e metres. “Besa'm, senyora Mare, ab lo besar dels teus labis”.⁹⁹ (Aguilar ed. 2020: 524)

The order of the list is entirely logical: first we have the clamour of voices; second, the sound of the brass instruments; third, that of the wind instruments; and fourth and last, that of the strings. The instruments which remain to be analysed, since only here do they make an appearance, are the following:

97. “O utinam cuncta **suavia instrumenta musicalia** coelestes quoque harmoniae, ac terrestres melodiae de corde suo sursum procederent, et condignas laudes tam dulciter personarent, ut oculis divinae majestatis tuae gratae fierent, ac totam coelestem curiam, novo quodam et ineffabili gaudio laetificarent!” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 281).

98. Isabel de Villena died while writing the chapter concerning the Assumption of Mary, as noted in the conclusion by, probably, *VCV*'s first editor, namely Aldonça de Montsoriu, a successor of Isabel as abbess (Hauf 2022: 1210-1211). It is thus impossible to know if she would have added a list of this kind to the final scenes of her work.

99. “Quis explicare queat, quibus ad thronum gloriae canticis sit deducta? Quam placido vultu, quam serena facie, quam lactis amplexibus suscepta a Filio et super omnem exaltata sit creaturam, cum eo honore, quo tanta mater digna fuit, cum ea gloria, quae tantum decuit Filium? Felicia prorsus oscula labiis impressa lactentis, cui virgineo Mater applaudebat in gremio! Verum, numquid non feliciora censebimus, quae ab ore sedentis in dextera Patris hodie in beata salutatione suscepit, cum ascenderet ad thronum gloriae, epithalamum canens et dicens: Osculetur me osculo oris sui?” (Rigollot ed. 1878, II.2: 288-289).

- 1) Cat. *claró* (Eng. clarion): a smaller, high-pitched trumpet, introduced into the Iberian Peninsula by the end of the 14th century, though most references occur during the 15th (Lamaña 1969: 101-102).
- 2) Cat. *sacabutxo* (Eng. sackbut): an early trombone of very recent introduction, as it was considered to be a 'novelty' in the 1470s (Knighton 2017: 114-115). The reference to it here may well be its first attested use in Catalan.
- 3) Cat. *museta* (Eng. musette): a small bagpipe of French origin. It can be considered to belong to the same family as the organ, since both instruments use an air reservoir.¹⁰⁰

The Catalan term *ministrer* (Eng. minstrel) seems to interrupt the list of brass instruments; it is, however, plainly associated with them, since, in the 15th century, *ministrers altos* were considered to be wind bands which provided musical accompaniment to dancing and entertainment (Knighton 2017: 110-111).

It is of considerable importance also to bear in mind the separation maintained between the two 'choirs', there being, on the one hand, the musical instruments, and, on the other, the chorus of angels, who have assembled for the purpose of singing the Song of Songs.

4 Conclusion

Armand Puig i Tàrrach (2001: 126-127) has already provided us with a very brief list itemising the musical instruments to which reference is made in the Catalan vernacular versions of the Bible, so that such references may act as *loci crítics* whereby not only to understand the relations between the manuscripts, but also to appreciate the way the vocabulary has been updated for contemporary purposes. As is demonstrated by this organological record mapping the 15th century, some of the modernised terms can be confirmed both by archival documents and by authorial writings. As far as the various authors' attitude towards the preservation of the terms used in their works is concerned, we can possibly gauge there to have been a 'double-standard' approach operative within Corella's writings, insofar as, when translating the Book of Psalms he offers a literal rendering of the instruments, whereas in *LC* he tends to simplify his source, as does Isabel de Villena for the most part. The exception to this practice occurs in the list Corella adds to the *VCC*, which, at all events, succeeds in tallying with the medieval love of enumeration. Neither of the authors seems to have taken advantage of the already available Catalan versions of the Bible; in contrast, they both operate freely, responding only to the necessity of the moment, albeit that we encounter in them a common tendency towards simplification.

Villena considers the joy of instrumental music to be part of the heavenly kingdom itself, whereas, in her view, the anguish of Christ's Passion continues to reverberate through the ringing of bells that precedes the silences that occur every Holy Friday and Saturday, as well as in the cruel sound of the trumpet that proclaims the Way of the Cross. This last episode has an echo in contemporary literature.

100. The same Guillaume de Lens (de Lanyes) mentioned above in n. 47 was also asked to make musettes during the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, *MiMusDB*, ACA, Cancelleria, Registres, reg. 2680, f. 188r (Baldelló 1966: 132; Gómez Muntané 1979: doc. 281).

The *VCC* employs music also, as a means of rekindling one's fear of Christ's Second Coming, an event that shall be foretold by the sounding of trumpets. Corella tends to adapt his source to contemporary tastes, not only by modifying certain of the musical references, but also by adding more of them. Such a strategy might have assisted his reader to plunge right into the stories, and prevented their being distracted by outmoded terminology (e.g., *tibicines* or *chorus*), thus enabling them to conduct a profound meditation upon the life of Christ, the latter constituting, of course, the genuine objective of both authors.

Even if instrumental music has only a minor role to play in the worship of God, that role itself being superseded by the greater importance of singing,¹⁰¹ the salient presence of musical instruments within the Bible compels religious writers to include and discuss such instruments in their own works, thus giving us the chance to catch a glimpse of how they were used and what functions they had within the medieval soundscape.

101. For the importance of singing to Isabel de Villena, see Sari (2022) and Hauf (ed. 2022: xlii-lvii).

5 Appendix: Musical Instruments in the Catalan Translations of the Bible

1.1 *Chronicles 15*

| | <i>Vulg</i> | <i>Seville</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Colbert/ Egerton</i> |
|----|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| 16 | organis musicorum | frares cantó an orges de cant | órguens | imnes e cants |
| | nablis | rautes | rautes | tabals |
| | lyris | arpes | arpes | trompes |
| | cymbalis | senbes | sembles | sembes |
| 19 | cymbalis | senbes de aram | | sembles de ram |
| 20 | nablis | arpes | | tabals |
| 21 | citharis | rautes | | órguens |
| 22 | melodia | cantar dolç cant | | trompava |
| 24 | tubis | tronpes | | trompes |
| 28 | buccinae | butsines | botzines | tabals i òrguens |
| | tubis | tronpes | trompes | |
| | cymbalis | | | |
| | nablis | arpes | arpes | |
| | cytharis | rautes | rautes | |

2. *Book of Daniel 3:5*

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Biblia rimada</i> |
|--------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Tubac | trompa | trompes |
| Fistulae | caramella | esturments |
| citharae | arpa | |
| sambuca | sembles * | |
| psalterii | saltiri | |
| symphonic | Sofonia | |

3. *Psalms 97:5-6*3.1 Within the 14th-century Bible

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc / Colbert</i> |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| cithara | rauta |
| cithara | |
| <i>[voce psalmi]</i> | veu del saltiri |
| tubis ductilibus | trompes |
| tubae corneae | corneta de corn |

3.2 Within the psalters' manuscripts

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Ps. Seville</i> | <i>Ps. Marsella</i> | <i>Ps. Perpinyà</i> | <i>Ps. Reg.</i> | <i>Ps. Barcelona</i> | <i>Ps 1 València</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| cithara | guitarra | rauca | guitarra | guitarra | cítara | guitarra |
| cithara | | | | | | |
| [<i>voce psalmi</i>] | [<i>veu del salm</i>] | veu del psaltiri | [<i>veu de psalm</i>] | [<i>veu de psalm</i>] | [<i>veu de psalm</i>] | veu de saltiris |
| tubis ductilibus | trompes manadisses | trompas | trompes manedices | trompas menant dances | trompes portables | trompes |
| tubae corneae | trompa de corn | corneta de corn | trompa de corn | trompa de corn | trompa de corn | corneta de corn |

3.3 Within the psalters' incunabula

| <i>Vulg.</i> | 1480 | Corella | <i>Ps. 2 València</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| cithara | guitarra | cýthara | cítola |
| cithara | guitarra | cýthara | cítola |
| [<i>voce psalmi</i>] | [<i>veu de psalm</i>] | [<i>veu de psalm</i>] | veu de psaltiri |
| tubis ductilibus | tubes ductils | tronpetes fabricades de martell | trompes manedices |
| tubae corneae | corneta de corn | trompeta de corn | trompa de corn |

4. *Psalm 149:3*4.1 Within the 14th-century Bible

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Colbert</i> |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| choro | sturments | cor |
| tympano | tempes | trompa |
| psalterio | saltiri | saltiri |

4.2 Within the psalters

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Ps. Marsella</i> | <i>Ps. Perpinyà</i> | <i>Ps. Reg.</i> | <i>Ps. Barcelona</i> | <i>Ps 1 València</i> | 1480 | Corella | <i>Ps. 2 València</i> |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| choro | esturment | cor | cor | cor | sturment | chor | instrument qui ha nom chorus | coro |
| tympano | tempe | temple | temps | tanboret | tympà | tambor | tambor | tambor |
| psalterio | saltiri | psaltiri | saltiri | psaltiri | saltiri | psaltiri | psaltiri | psaltiri |

4.3 Within the *Book of Hours* and the *Siddur*

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Morella A</i> | <i>Morella B</i> | <i>Siddur</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| choro | ballada | cor | òrguens |
| tympano | tempe | tamboret | tambor |
| psalterio | psaltiri | saltiri | instruments |

5. *Psalm 150*5.1 Within the 14th-century Bible

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Peiresc</i> | <i>Egerton</i> | <i>Colbert</i> |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| tubae | trompa | trompa | trompa |
| psalterio | saltiri | saltiri | saltiri |
| cythara | rauta | rauta | guitarra |
| tympano | tempe | tempe | tempens |
| choro | menacort | manacort | |
| chordis | canons | canons | |
| organo | orge | orgue | |
| cymbalis | símbols | símbols | sembe |

5.2 Within the psalters

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Ps. Marsella</i> | <i>Ps. Perpinyà</i> | <i>Ps. Barcelona</i> | <i>Ps 1 València</i> | <i>1480</i> | <i>Corella</i> | <i>Ps. 2 València</i> |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| tubae | trompa | trompa | tronpa | trompa | tuba | trompeta | trompeta |
| psalterio | saltiri | psaltiri | saltiri | saltiri | psaltiri | psaltiri | psaltiri |
| cythara | rauca | cítera | cítara | cítara | guitarra | cythara | cítola |
| tympano | tempe | temple | tanboret | tromba | tambor | tambor | atambor |
| choro | cor | cor | cor | corn | chor | instrument dit <i>chorus</i> | coro |
| chordis | cordes | cordes | cordes | cors | cordes | instrument de cordes | cordes |
| organo | orge | orgue | orguens | orgue | orgue | orgue | orgue |
| cymbalis | cimbles | cembes | sembes | cýmbols | símbols | cýmbols | cembes |

5.3 Within the *Book of Hours* and the *Siddur*

| <i>Vulg.</i> | <i>Morella A</i> | <i>Morella B</i> | <i>Siddur A</i> | <i>Siddur B</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| tubae | trompa | trompa | botzina | Botzina |
| psalterio | saltiri | | saltiri | llaüt |
| cythara | guitarra | | | guitarra |
| tympano | tempe | tamboret | tambor | alduff |
| choro | [ballada] | cor | instruments | esturments [de hoyda] |
| chordis | cordes | cordes | | |
| organo | orgue | orgue | òrguens | orgue |
| cymbalis | símbols | cembes | cembes | cembes |

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