THE INTEGRATION

OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE ORGAN MUSIC

WITHIN THE LITURGY

FROM THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The integration of Spanish and Portuguese organ music within the liturgy from the latter half of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

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Spanish and Portuguese organ music still remains a relatively unchartered area escaping the attention of most general assessments of European musical history. The work which has been done in this field has tended towards stylistic appreciations of the published large-scale compositions and the compilation of short biographies of prominent musicians. No extensive investigation has yet been undertaken which deals with such fundamental issues as the role of the organist and the origins and function of the extant organ repertory, of which a large proportion lies dormant in manuscripts, within the liturgy. Indeed, there is no monograph about organists and organ music in the Iberian peninsula as a whole.

The overall aim of this thesis is to provide a musical background and liturgical context for short organ pieces called versos which were thoroughly integrated within a musical celebration of the Offices. For this end, a variety of musical and documentary material has been examined: practical sources of organ music; plainchant manuals; ceremonials and musical treatises. To an enormous extent this organ music was subject to long-standing liturgical customs and legislation, as well as to strongly defined traditions of musical composition.

The prescriptions to the organist given in the ecclesiastical constitutions and how these may have been realized in the Canonical Hours and in the Mass constitutes the essence of part two of this thesis. This interpretation of musico-liturgical practices has entailed an examination of the relationship between plainchant and the organ verset and the technicalities of mode and transposition which were involved when alternating the organ with choral plainchant. An analysis is also made of the musical development of versets based on the psalm-tones, organ hymns (the Pange lingua in particular) and the 'organ mass'. An anthology of transcriptions complementing this discussion is contained in a separate volume.

As a counterbalance to the analytical discussion in part two, part one provides an historical and cultural background to the subject. An assessment is made of the contribution made by individual organists and organ 'schools' and some consideration is made of the extent to which both royal and ecclesiastical patronage was responsible for the livelihood of music and the arts.

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Preface

In this study of Spanish and Portuguese organ music the main purpose has been to consider the enormous contribution made by the organist in the celebration of the liturgical Offices - the Canonical Hours and the Mass. Although I shall be concentrating on music composed during the seventeenth century, the historical period indicated in the title extends from the time of Antonio de Cabezón to that of Juan Cabanilles and his eighteenth-century successors active in Catalonia. Documentary evidence for the organist's important role has to a large extent been provided by a miscellaneous selection of ecclesiastical legislative sources, mostly ceremonials, containing chapters which outline either generally or specifically an organist's duties. (These sources are described in chapter 4.) This evidence has been substantiated by a vast collection of purely functional organ music which for the most part remains unpublished, and by a number of musical treatises which have been invaluable for their description and the interpretation of musico-liturgical practices. Furthermore, the approach which has been adopted specifically aims to give weight to this hitherto little known fount of organ music whose precise significance may not necessarily be immediately obvious.

Whilst this more detailed assessment and analysis of Spanish and Portuguese organ music constitutes part two of the thesis, in which the question of a composer-organist's identity is really subservient to the overall consideration of his functional capacity in the celebration of the liturgy, part one consists of a general historical and cultural perspective for an appreciation of the musical subject as a whole. Since the aim is to consider a branch of music not so much as a separate entity but as an integral part of liturgical worship, it should be seen, in

additon, as one of the many aspects of the life and artistic expression during this period in Spain and Portugal. Thus, whilst a great deal of historical detail related to the tracing of the lives and activities of the main organists and composers who were working in the service of the church and of the court is introduced, the first chapter in particular refers incidentally to important historical events and significant developments in the visual and literary arts as well. This study and interpretation has therefore involved the collation of and selection from much primary and secondary material, the latter having previously for the most part but formed the basis of important individual investigation.

The Introduction looks at some of the underlying considerations which permeate the thesis and which partly account for the duties and priorities of an organist in his liturgical role. The musical sources are also here briefly considered, since their general arrangement and presentation frequently has a bearing on the practical and theoretical concepts that underlie the repertory. It is to be hoped that this study as a whole, which, whilst drawing upon particular documentary and musical examples, is really designed as a general introduction to the subject, will give an indication both of the intrinsic value of Iberian organ music and of its capacity as a manifestation of a long-standing tradition of liturgical integration.

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My thanks are due also to the directors and staff of several libraries and institutions: the Biblioteca de Catalunya and the Instituto Español de Musicología in Barcelona; the Biblioteca Pública in Braga; the Biblioteca Geral at Coimbra University; the Biblioteca Pública in Evora; the Biblioteca de Ajúda and the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon; the British Library, London; the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; the Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional, Mafra; the Biblioteca de l'Abadia, Montserrat; the Biblioteca Pública Municipal in Oporto; the Ashmolean Library, the Bodleian Library, the Music Faculty Library and the Taylorian Institute Library, all in Oxford.

Members of Oxford University as well as various friends have willingly given me their advice and support over the last few years and among the following I am especially grateful to those who have more recently helped in the preparation of the typescript: António Rodrigues de Almeida, my typist Suzanne Anderson, T.F. Earle, Jamie Elwin, Q. Elwin, Assumpció Estivill, F.W. Hodcroft, Dr. Maurice Prynne Nelson, Júlio Ferreira Machado das Neves, Dr. Christiana Payne, Dr. Julian Raby, Roger Spikes, Dr. Roderick Strange, Antonia Strickland, Margaret Mary Vaughan Fowler, Julia Wiesner, Stevie Wishart and my sister Véronique. I am also appreciative for the interest which has been shown by María Ester Sala, Gregorio Estrada, O.S.B., Professor José María Lloréns Cisteró, and Professor Macario Santiago Kastner

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Sources, bibliography and references

The lists of musical sources and other literature at the end of volume I primarily consist of manuscripts and works specifically referred to during the course of this thesis. The secondary material, however (see General bibliography and Editions of music), has been augmented by a few publications which are useful to the subject area. References to the sources and bibliography are made as follows:

(i) a full reference accompanies each textual and musical citation from a primary source. Of these there are three categories:

(a) ceremonials;

(b) musical treatises (for convenience, facsimile editions are included in this group);

(c) musical manuscripts (short reference symbols are used for their location - a key to these is included in the list of Abbreviations below);

Sources within each of these categories are listed separately;

(ii) short references to secondary literature are incorporated within the text: these occur within round brackets usually following the end of a sentence. For the sake of brevity, these are confined to the author's name, date of publication (in parenthesis) and pagination. Longer references are placed in the footnotes of a page. These works are listed in the General bibliography;

(iii) with references to musical editions, the abbreviation 'ed.' is inserted between the editors' name and the bracketed date of publication: e.g. 'Anglés ed. (1944), p.24'. These works are listed under Editions of music.

Cross-references to another part of the thesis are generally made in parenthesis within a sentence.

Spanish and Portuguese texts

Throughout this thesis, the original spelling, grammatical construction and punctuation of the Spanish and Portuguese quotations has normally been retained, even where they are inconsistent. The only exceptions concern details of orthography, accentuation, and the expansion of abbreviations.

1. Spelling

The original spelling is maintained even when there are inconsistencies in the texts. For instance:

Spanish: 'z' may be written as 'ç';

'j' _____ 'x';

'i' _____ 'y';

Portuguese:

'ch' _____ 'x' (eg 'canto chão' & 'canto xão');

'ão' _____ 'am' (eg 'canto chão' & 'canto cham').

Letters which in modern spelling are redundant are retained. For instance:

Spanish: 'ss' (eg 'necessaria'; modern = 'necesaria');

Portuguese:

the old form of the indefinite article: 'hum'/'huma' (modern = 'um'/'uma').

Although the indiscriminate use of 'b' and 'v' has been retained (eg Cabezón = Cavezón = Caveçón), the uses of 'v' with vocalic value and 'u' with consonantal value have not been retained, e.g.:

Spanish: 'Huuiera' is changed to 'huviera' (modern = 'hubiera');

'vno' is changed to 'uno';

Portuguese (& Spanish):

'palaura' is changed to 'palavra';

'vltimamente' is changed to 'ultimamente' ('último' in Spanish).

2. Accentuation

In the Spanish texts the accentuation is modernized. Stress accents were only rarely inserted in the texts used, and those which do appear, being usually contrary to modern usage, have been altered or eliminated, e.g.:

the third person singular of the present tense of the verb estar was sometimes written '(él) està - this has been changed to '(él) está';

the preposition 'a' in Spanish was almost invariably written with a grave accent ('à'); similarly the words for 'or' in English ('o' and 'u') in Spanish) were spelt with grave accents ('ò' and 'ù') - all these accents have been removed.

In some Portuguese texts (particularly the 1730 Ceremonial Seráfico) the diphthong ão (which occurs in the third person plural of certain tenses of the verb and as the final syllable of many nouns) is written in a variety of ways, e.g. 'ão', 'ão' and 'ao'. These have all been changed to the modern form. (The old form of the plural of nouns, without the til, as in 'occasioens' for instance, has been retained.) As in the case of the Spanish texts, modern stress accents on nouns and verbs have been added to the Portuguese.

3. Editorial insertions

Any other changes made to the texts are indicated as follows:

(i) words appearing in square brackets are editorial additions serving to clarify the meaning of the text;

(ii) any words which were originally abbreviated in the text have been written out in full, with the missing letters being supplied in round brackets. For example:

'P$^{ro}_{.}$ V$^{so}_{.}$ p$^{a}_{.}$ organo Cabs' = 'P(rime)ro v(er)so p(ar)a órgano [de] Cab(anille)s';

'hũ verso' = 'hu(m) verso';

'Pãge lingua' = 'Pa(n)ge lingua';

'Cãtico' = 'Cá(n)tico' (Sp.) or 'Câ(n)tico' (Port.).

4. General note

Words or phrases which appear in italics in the text are underlined.

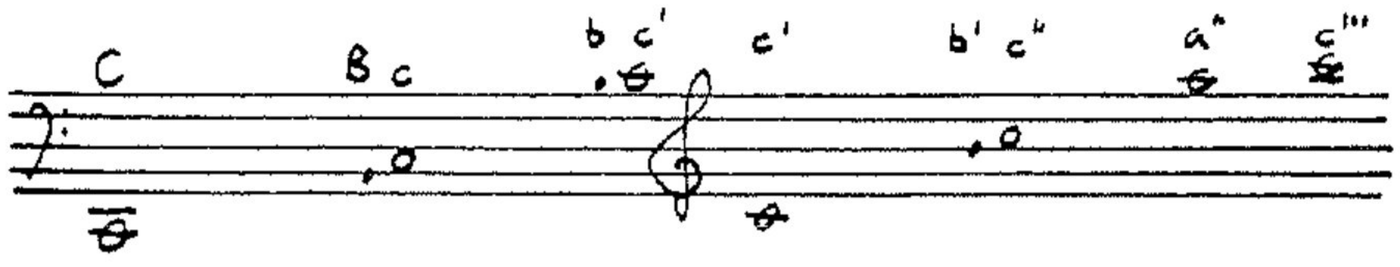
A full reference to the source of each quotation is included with the cited text itself, with Roman numerals for chapters and pages being changed to the Arabic system.

Musical examples, references and abbreviations

The majority of musical examples - both extracts and complete pieces - forming an integral part of the discussion are incorporated within the text itself. These examples are numbered consecutively within each section or subsection of a chapter. In addition to these, references are made to transcriptions of whole pieces which are included in the anthology: e.g. 'See anthology, pp.24-5' or 'Anthology p.10'.

The examples within the text of the thesis are usually transcribed to a modern two-stave system; where pertinent, however, some of these are reproduced in the original scoring. The principles of transcription are explained in the Editorial introduction to volume II (the anthology), under 'Presentation of the music in this anthology'.

References to pitches, and the notes and range of the keyboard are made according to the Helmholtz system. These are confined to the following span:



As indicated on a number of the charts in particular, major and minor chords are distinguished from each other by the use of capital and non-capital letters respectively: e.g. C and D (major) and c and d (minor), etc.

(Note: both pitches and 'keys' in old Spanish theory were frequently indicated by the use of hexachordal names (signos); these terms have been adopted where appropriate.)

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Libraries and sources[1]

Astorga MS	MS preserved in the Astorga cathedral archives.
BBC	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya
BBP	Braga, Biblioteca Pública
BIEM	Barcelona, Instituto Español de Musicología
BOc	Barcelona, Orfeo Català
CBGU	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade
Coll MS(S)	MS(S) compiled by Antonio Martín y Coll now preserved in MBN (q.v.)
Esc	El Escorial
Fel	Felanitz (Mallorca)
Jaca MS	MS from Jaca cathedral archives now preserved in BIEM (q.v)
LBAj	Lisboa, Biblioteca de Ajúda
LBN	Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional
LonBL Eg	London, British Library, Egerton manuscript
MBN	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
MonAM	Montserrat, Arxiu de Música
MonB	Montserrat, Biblioteca
PBPM	Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal

2. Journals, series, etc.

AcM	Acta Musicologia
Analecta Hymnica	Analecta Hymnica medii aevi
AnM	Anuario Musical
ArtB	The Art Bulletin
BBUC	Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra
BEMN	Boletim da Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais
BracA	Bracaria Augusta

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1. A full list of the musical sources in manuscript is included in the appendix.

CEKM	Corpus of Early Keyboard Music
ConM	The Connoisseur: a Magazine for collectors
España Sagrada	España Sagrada. Theatro geográphico - histórico de la Iglesia de España [...]
FAM	Fontes Artis Musicae
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
LU	Liber Usualis
MB	Musica Britannica
MD	Musica Disciplina
MEM	Mestres de l'Escolania de Montserrat
MME	Monumentos de la Música Española
MSD	Musicological Studies and Documents
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia
New Grove	The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians
OHIM	Organa Hispanica Iberische Musik des 16. 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts fur Tasteninstrumente
PM	Portugaliae Musica
PRMA	Proceedings of the Royal Musicological Association
Trad.	Traditio: studies in ancient and medieval history, thought and religion
TSM	Tesoro Sacro Musical

Introduction

Historical studies of Spanish and Portuguese organ music, albeit in itself a comparatively unfamiliar territory, have been largely confined to stylistic appreciations of the large-scale 'repertory' works of such masters as Cabezón in the sixteenth century, Coelho, Correa de Arauxo, Aguilera de Heredia, Ximénez and Bruna in the seventeenth century, and Cabanilles who was active in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is really the pioneer work of Pedrell, Anglés, Kastner and Apel in particular, who have brought out many editions of Iberian organ music, along with a number of historical studies of the subject which has helped towards making any assessment of this music possible.[1] The type of organ for which the Spanish and Portuguese wrote their music has aroused considerable curiosity. This has been due primarily to the idiosyncratic style of instrument which developed during the baroque period, distinguished in visual terms by an elaborate architectural and sculptural form, often featuring a series of reeds protruding horizontally above the console. The usual custom in the large cathedrals of placing two such organs on either side of the coro,[2] the choir occupying a central position in the nave, clearly added to the effect of the overall visual spectacle.[3] Although a number of purely practical reasons are often given to justify the placing

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1. A selection of the most useful modern editions and literature is listed in the bibliography.

2. These organs, occupying the north and south sides of the nave, are usually known as the Gospel and Epistle organs respectively. For an illustration of this characteristic arrangement of the organs, see plate 94 (Seville cathedral) in Williams (repr. 1978).

3. The location of the organ(s) in the many styles and sizes of ecclesiastical institution varied enormously. (See Shanks (1959), pp.74-81, who exemplifies the placement of the organs in a number of Spanish cathedrals; see also 'Restauro de órgãos' in BEMN. no.121 (setembro, 1965)).

of these reeds en chamade,[1] the intense and powerful sounds which they produce are but one instance of a widespread predilection for special effects.[2] A large number of new stops ('registros') were invented during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which, according to Nassarre who was referring in particular to the development of compositions for divided registers (medio registro), encouraged the development of more technically complex organ music. For this reason he encouraged organists to study even harder at their instrument:

---

1. Placed in this horizontal position, the reeds would gather less dust and would therefore be more likely to stay in tune; the cleaning of these particular organ pipes would also be facilitated. In his Reflexiones sobre la arquitectura, ornato, y música del templo (Madrid, 1785), Ureña brought forward these points, stating also that façade trumpets were not found on organs in other countries. In the following passage Ureña points out that horizontal pipes were capable of projecting their sound over large distances and with greater intensity than a flute pipe whose voice depended on the undulation of air within the tube itself.
   En otros paises no se colozan juegos de trompetas en las fachadas de los órganos; y aunque los Maestros de la facultad experimentan que colocadas en ellas mantienen más la afinación, quizá porque la situación orizontal no da tanto lugar al polvo de introducirse entre las lenguas y las canillas, que son las piezas más delicadas, y de que perde la entonación [...] Una trompeta de qualquier clase que sea [...] puesta orizontal propaga el sonido a una larga distancia, y que rechazando en las paredes y / (p.325) postes de la Iglesia, se entiende a todas partes con más intensidad que la voz de un cañon de flautado, que solo pende de la undulación de la columna de ayre que contiene.
   (loc.cit.; Parte segunda, Cap.8 'De los órganos', (§)170, pp.324-5.)

2. Although it is probable that the Spanish influenced the Portuguese in the development of horizontal organ pipes, the arrangement of the series of pipes differed in each country:
   The Spanish examples generally are mounted in order from bass to treble, above the console but apart from the towers, whereas the Portuguese reeds en chamade, expecially those with longer resonators are mounted / around the base of the towers [...]
   (Jordan (1979), pp.27&29.)

> Lo cierto es [...] que es necessaria mayor execución en los Organistas, para la música que oy se práctica, que para la que se usó en los tiempos antecedentes: en que es preciso aumentar el estudio para ser perfectos Músicos en dicho instrumento.
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música II, Zaragoza, 1723; Lib.4°, Cap.17, p.474.)

However, vital as the study of such issues may be in themselves, questions relating more precisely to the raison d'être of the bulk of extant Iberian organ music and to the use of the organ in the liturgy have tended to be overlooked.

A closer study of the subject as a whole, including the investigation of the large collection of organ versets specifically designed for liturgical integration, can be rewarding. It reveals for instance that the repertory of Spanish and Portuguese organ music such as that with which one may have been made already familiar through publication indicates only a relatively minor contribution of the organist in the celebration of the liturgy. The more obvious function of much of the numerous obras, tientos and related large-scale forms, namely as music to be played during processions and at the beginning and end of church services, was really independent of that of the organ versets which were to be thoroughly integrated within the liturgy.

As an overture to the principal interest and argument of this thesis, we may first of all call upon Nassarre's description of the organ as one of the most 'essential' instruments used in church owing to its complete dedication to the 'Culto Divino':

> Uno de los más essenciales es el Organo, por ser el Instrumento, que tan solamente está dedicado al Culto Divino.
> (Ibid., Cap.11, p.437.)

The eighteenth-century theorist substantiates this statement by saying that although the organ, like stringed and wind instruments, may have been used to accompany the voices ('vozes naturales'), its most common function was to alternate with the choir singing plainchant, thus forming a 'choir' apart; in this capacity therefore, the organ was used for exactly the same purpose

as a voice or voices proclaiming sacred texts and, as he put it, 'para pagar las divinas alabanças' (ibid.).

> [El órgano] es el [instrumento] que se usa por sí solo, alternando con el Coro: que aunque se practican los Instrumentos de cuerda, y otros flautulentos, son, porque en las Capillas se haze un agregado de música de vozes naturales, y artificiales; y las que suponen son las naturales, y los Instrumentos tan solamente sirven de acompañar a éstas.
>
> Y aunque el Organo en estos casos haze lo mismo; pero lo más común es, alternar con el Coro quando se canta Canto Llano, haziendo Coro aparte. (Ibid.)

As indicated in the preface, the aim here therefore will be to draw attention not only to a quota of organ versets which are virtually unknown and which would have been used 'para pagar las divinas alabanças', but also to the standard duties of the organist in the liturgy as a whole and, indeed, to the musico-liturgical problems involved in the combination of such organ music with plainchant in an alternatim performance. (The rarer practice of alternating polyphony with organ, one which only normally took effect on major festal occasions, has not been considered in any detail.)

From this it follows that the organist would almost invariably have had to be a competent musician and composer. Indeed, the general musicianship, compositional skills and technical ability of any propective candidate for a vacant organist's post were all tested in a series of rigorous examinations called oposiciones. (The oposición for the post of organist at the Colegio de Corpus Christi, Valencia, in 1677, for instance, is illustrated in chapter two, section (iii), of this thesis.) In a chapter from his Escuela Música - a work which constitutes one of the fullest accounts of liturgical and musical practices in baroque Spain - Nassarre describes the sort of tests which should be ideally demanded of organists applying for posts at institutions ranging from cathedrals, collegiate or parish churches 'donde no ay Capilla' and where the duties were less demanding, to 'Otras Iglesias Parroquiales' where the organist also had to teach boys

how to read (or other similar duties) or where he was also sacristan. In outline these provide the essence of the organist's more practical musical duties in the liturgy (cf. ibid., Cap.20, p.489 seq.). In this and other chapters from the Escuela Música, Nassarre emphasizes that apart from being a master of his instrument the organist should be proficient in the art of polyphony and composition:

> Todos los que han de estudiar la facultad de Organistas, es necessaria aprender a poner en práctica la música de dos modos; el uno en quanto a la inteligencia de el canto, y de la composición; y el otro, en quanto a lo que pertenece a la execución del Instrumento. (Ibid., Cap.16, p.462.)

He argues that, as the organ is the instrument which is used the most frequently in church, the music played on it should be perfectly composed according to the regulations of vocal music. Furthermore, in order not to tire his listeners, the organist should be heard playing with variety, such as would only be achieved if he was a (skilled) composer.

> Importa mucho, que los Organistas sean Compositores, porque, como es el Instrumento más principal de los que se practican en la Iglesia, conviene que la música que se executa en él, sea con toda perfección, ordenando las vozes según arte, como si se huvieran de cantar. Por otra razón conviene, el que sean Compositores [sic], porque es Instrumento muy común en la Iglesia, y muy usado; e importa mucho que se oyga con variedad, para que no canse a los que comunmente le oyen: y el variar mucho la música en él, no puede ser en él que no es Compositor. (Ibid., Cap.11, p.438.) (sic).

With reference to the alternation of the organ with the choral plainchant, Nassarre stresses the necessity of using thematic material from this chant in the organ music, which incidentally would be helpful to the choir in maintaining the pitch of the mode ('tono') being used ('ayuda mucho a mantener en la cuerda del tono con fineza al coro'; ibid., Cap.19, p.481.

> [...] deven aplicarse los Organistas científicos en no apartarse del Canto Llano en todo quanto tocan alternativamente con el Coro. (Ibid.)

He praises in particular 'los magníficos Organistas de la centuria passada' (ibid.) who derived thematic material (passo) for their works from some plainchant hymns, especially the Pange lingua ('algunos Canto Llanos de Hymnos, especialmente sobre él de Pangelingua' (ibid.)), adding that works composed on the psalm tones and other ecclesiastical chants sung by the choir were of no less beauty:

> Y no es menos primor él [el passo][1] que se executa sobre los Canto Llanos de los Psalmos, y otros de los que se cantan en los Coros Ecclesiásticos. (Ibid.)

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1. The term passo (sic), more commonly spelt paso (literally 'step' or 'passage'), referred to a theme, point or subject used for contrapuntal imitation. Lorente (1672) gives an obscure latin verbal derivation of the word, stating that it signified 'sugeción', meaning 'estar sugeto a otro' (to be subject to another [paso]), and that it applied to the opening point for imitation in a work.

> [...] tómase este nombre PASSO, del verbo Pateo, Pates, Patini [sic], que significa sugeción, esto es, estar sugeto a otro; y como en la composición, o co(n)trapunto, las vozes que cantan se sugetan a imitar los puntos, u solfás con q(ue) ellas, u otras vozes començaron, o nuevamente en el discurso en la obra quieren proceder con este orden, por esta razó(n) los puntos primeros de la entrada se llaman passo [...]
>
> (A. Lorente: El Porqué de la música, Alcalá de Henares, 1672; Lib. 3°, Cap.74, p.418.)

(For a further definition of passo, and how it was to proceed in contrapuntal composition, see Nassarre: Escuela música II, Zaragoza, 1723; Lib. 2°, Cap.15, p.234 and Lib 3°, Cap.3, p.273 (seq.)

The term intento was also used for a fugal 'point'; it was however usually applicable to the second one which was introduced during the course of a composition, where it might be combined with the original paso.

In part two of this thesis, the extent to which the greater proportion of the surviving functional organ music from Spain and Portugal was indeed dependent upon both the melody and structure of traditional plainchant for its compositional argument will be made clear. It is true that a number of versets are seemingly independent of chant melodies. However, the thematic content of the bulk of the repertory which uses 'qualquier thema forzoso, especialmente sobre el Canto Llano de lo que se canta' (ibid.) has often been an aid in identifying a function for the music which has not been specified in the source itself.

As with the legislative sources used for this thesis - ceremonials and related constitutional literature - both 'secular' and monastic collections of plainchant have been used in tracing the origins of some of the chants used in the organ music; taken together, these sources were especially useful for collating a repertory of hymns for the liturgical year (see chapter 5, section (iv)). Liturgical plainchant has also been located in a number of other sources including some of the theoretical treatises themselves: Bermudo's Declaración (1555), Lorente's El Porqué (1672) and Martín y Coll's Arte de canto llano (1719) in particular. For the standard plainchant repertory, however, the Liber Usualis has been relied upon; where it has been possible to make comparisons between this source and more ancient ones found in the peninsula itself, it has been found that any melodic variants between them are for the most part barely significant. The mass cycles in the Liber Usualis and those in certain eighteenth-century Portuguese Graduals, for instance, are virtually identical. As the origins of a large proportion of the organ music to which it is referred is uncertain (much of it being anonymous), a comprehensive survey has been attempted of the musical and documentary literature as a whole, without distinguishing between the different practices which may have existed in various ecclesiastical

environments. Such an undertaking would require a detailed investigation into the documentary and musical archives of several institutions in the Iberian peninsula.

The sources of organ music with which this thesis is particularly concerned are those containing examples of music specifically designed to be integrated within the liturgy. As already implied, this does not necessarily include the large-scale forms such as the tientos but rather the shorter versets (called versos) which were generally allied (thematically and structurally) to the plainchant for which they would have substituted in performance. Their precise function was frequently, but by no means invariably, indicated in the source.

The concern here is not to any great extent with important didactic sources such as the practical writings of Diego Ortiz (1553), Juan Bermudo (1555), and Tomás de Santa María (1565), and the musical sources of Venegas de Henestrosa (1557) and Cabezón (1578) in the sixteenth century and Correa de Arauxo's Libro de tientos published in 1626, all of which describe and illustrate techniques of keyboard performance. One may nevertheless bear in mind the importance given to the art of 'glossing' and ornamentation which accounts in particular for the peculiar glosado compositions and arrangements prevalent in sixteenth-century sources. In the strictly liturgical repertory, the fabordón glosado is a characteristic genre which is still found in manuscripts dating from the turn of the eighteenth century (see chapter 5, section (iii)). According to Nassarre's reasoning glossing - the embellishment of a long-held note (or notes) - served on the organ to make the sustained musical periods 'más armoniosos'. (See P. Nassarre, Escuela Múśica II, Zaragoza 1723, Lib.4°, Cap.10, p.432.) Similarly, it has been outside the scope of this thesis to dwell at any length on the subject of contrapuntal composition per se which according to Nassarre

was a sine qua non of a good organist. We refer only to technical compositional procedures and the then current terminology to describe these where relevant. Any of these terms (such as paso or passo) subsequently adopted, therefore, are explained. Theorists devoting chapters to contrapuntal composition in their treatises include Bermudo, Santa María, Lorente, Nassarre and Francisco Valls (1742). Specific techniques are demonstrated in a number of other sources: these include the exercises written for oposiciones; a collection of manuscripts at Coimbra (CBGU MM.52, 236 and 243); and the manuscript at Porto (PBPM M.1576) of which part has been edited and published under the misleading title João de Costa de Lisboa: Tenção (Fernandes (1977)). Despite the opinion formerly maintained, the latter manuscript is not to be regarded as a source of Portuguese organ music: the examples which it comprises are typical of compositional exercises prevalent in Spain and Portugal during the seventeenth century in particular.

Whilst the sources just discussed taken as a group, contain vital information about a musician's and organist's training - 'la composición' and 'la execución del instrumento' (cf. Nassarre above) - it is above all the manuscripts of organ music, particularly those which were compiled during the later seventeenth and during the eighteenth century, which provide essential evidence for an organist's participation in the liturgy. This applies in particular to what may be termed the 'anthological' manuscripts containing organ music by various organists ('de varios organistas'). (See for instance the 'Coll' MSS (MBN M.1357-60) listed in the appendix.) However, the functional organ music in the publications of Bermudo, Venegas de Henestrosa, Cabezón and Coelho (1620) is also drawn upon, primarily for theoretical and statistical purposes.

The most significant manuscripts of liturgical organ music from Spain and Portugal during the period are preserved in Barcelona (Biblioteca de

Catalunya, Orfeó Catala and the Instituto Español de Musicología), Braga (Biblioteca Pública), Coimbra (Biblioteca Geral da Universidade), El Escorial, Felanitz, in Mallorca, Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional), Montserrat (Arxiu de Música), and Porto (Biblioteca Pública Municipal). There is also a manuscript in the Astorga cathedral archives which has been edited by Alvarez (1976). A list of the sources to which it is referred during the course of the thesis is included in the appendix. Here are reproduced any title-pages appearing in the sources, the names of composers represented in each one, and a selection of modern literature and editions of the music which may be consulted for additional information. The physical appearance and the contents of these sources are not described in any detail if, as is usually the case, this information is available elsewhere.

As indicated in the introduction to the anthology accompanying this thesis, the majority of seventeenth-century organ sources - as indeed the two sixteenth-century manuscripts at Coimbra (CBGU MM.48 and MM.242) - are notated in 'open-score': that is, the music is written on three or four staves according to the number of contrapuntal parts. Exceptions are those employing the traditional Spanish cifra system (in particular the first half of one of the 'Coll' MSS (MBN M.1358) and the Libro de cyfra at Porto (PBPM M.1577)) and those which are notated on just two staves (principally the 'Coll' MSS in Madrid). Whilst transcribing from the third 'Coll' MS (MBN M.1359) in particular, it became clear that the music was copied from sources employing an open-score system; the mistakes and inconsistencies which were then incurred during the transference from a four- to a two-stave presentation of the music are briefly described in chapter 5 (section (iii)) and indicated in the footnotes which appear with some of the transcriptions in the anthology.

Many of the prints and manuscripts from this period would have justified

individual detailed study, such as has been undertaken in respect of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century publications by Anglés (1944 and 1966) and Kastner (1948 and 1952, repr. 1974, and 1959, repr. 1976, and 1961), for instance. A few manuscripts have also received similar treatment (see appendix). However, this would have fallen outside the scope of the present study which is concerned rather to draw general conclusions from the sources considered as a whole.

The arrangement of the music - principally the tonal sets and juegos of versets for the psalm tones - in the organ sources is detailed briefly in chapter 5 (section (iii)). The versets were sometimes placed in a sequence according to their particular function and to their compositional character. Similarly, the location and arrangement of versets for movements of the Mass Ordinary, forming 'organ masses', are described in chapter 6. As the discussion has also extended to the organ masses incorporated in the miscellaneous collection of organ manuscripts at Montserrat, of which no modern inventory has as yet been compiled, a very large number of these have been listed on a series of charts. These charts also serve to equate the sequences of versets for the Mass with the phenomenon of liturgical plainchant mass-cycles (see chapter 6, section (i),(c)). Similarly, where sources have included essential information about an organist or group of organists, or indeed where they consist of music by one composer alone, references have been made to these in the first three chapters (forming part one of the thesis) which constitute an historical background to the subject.

Broadly speaking, the anthological sources 'de varios organistas' contain a variety of compositional types which may be divided into the following categories: versets for the psalms and canticles arranged tonally or in juegos (sets); versets for movements of the Mass Ordinary; large-scale

works (tientos, tocatas, etc.); hymn settings and versets (these are usually confined to the two Sacramental hymns Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis); and a number of miscellaneous items such as dances, variations and 'profane' pieces, which may include imported Italian compositions: in the Jaca MS (housed in the Instituto Español de Musicologia, Barcelona) and MBN M.1360, for instance, there are also several violin compositions by Corelli. It is rare to find a manuscript compilation of this sort arranged entirely systematically: more often than not the music is copied into the source somewhat haphazardly in which juegos de versos (jogos in Portuguese) may be freely mingled with groups of tientos and hymns. However, a number of these manuscripts also contain an index (indice) or tabla which sets out to rationalize the contents. These indices may list the music entirely by 'tono' (mode), regardless of compositional genre (cf. MBN M.1357), or by both genre and mode (cf. PBPM M.1577 and M.1607).[1] The items included within a particular modal category may also have been subdivided according to their signo (the transposed or untransposed modal designation); this subdivision normally only applied to a selection of the traditional eight modes (see chapter 5, section (ii), (c)). The mode of a piece of organ music - in particular the versets for the psalms (and canticles) and the movements of the Mass Ordinary - was of course of paramount importance in liturgical practice where the organ was constantly playing in conjunction with plainchant. However, whereas the (modal) transposition of music which

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1. Frequently, however, there were discrepancies between the indices and the contents of the manuscripts themselves: in spelling, foliation (or pagination), and with regards to the identification of the composer of a piece of music. As exemplified by Venegas de Henestrosa's Libro de cifra nueva (1557), a composer might be acknowledged in the index but not with the relevant piece of music in the body of the source itself, and vice versa. Later additions to a manuscript (such as the Italian compositions) were not included in an index.

was played alternately with the singing of plainchant had a purely practical function (see chapter 5, section (ii), (c)), it is less easy to account for the composition of large-scale tientos in transposed modal areas, at least in liturgical terms. It is possible that theoretical considerations prompted the (anonymous) compiler of the hand-written appendix to the copy of Correa de Arauxo's Libro de tientos (1626) preserved in the Ajúda palace library in Lisbon (LBAj 38-XII-27) to add a number of organ pieces in transposed modal positions which he considered were lacking in Correa's compilation:

> Neste livro faltão algu(m)as obras acidentais q(ue) são / muito necesarias, nelle irei acrecentando as que / me pareser mais necesarias, q(ue) comesareis por hu(m)a / Obra de quinto [tom] por de la sol re sobre o paso de pange / lingoa [...] (sic.). (loc.cit., f.205.)

Thus, the work with which he begins his addenda to the Libro de tientos - the obra in the 5th mode transposed to D (de la sol re) based on a subject (paso) from the hymn tune Pange lingua (by Alvarado) - supplements the only other two works by Correa de Arauxo in the 5th mode which are in C (cefaut) and F (fefaut). This tentative discussion is merely a preliminary essay to draw attention to the highly complex and involved question of mode and modal transposition in Spanish and Portuguese organ practice during this period. Although an attempt has been made in this thesis to elucidate the problem in connexion with the psalm-tone versets in particular, the practice of transposing the large-scale works on the organ could merit a more detailed examination.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN ROYAL SERVICE, SIXTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN ROYAL SERVICE, SIXTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

(i)

Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth century: an introduction to artistic currents and cultural contacts

The inspiration and intellectual atmosphere of the arts in Spain during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the reigning years of the 'Catholic monarchs' Ferdinand (d.1516) and Isabella (d.1504), was to a very large extent northern European. Although the Iberian peninsula was ostensibly geographically isolated and has, throughout the centuries, produced an art of a pronounced 'indigenous' quality which was largely due to the Islamic influence of a long Moorish occupation, northern artistic currents had penetrated the country since at least the twelfth century. In architecture this is particularly evident in the Franco-Gothic construction of a number of cathedrals, such as those at Burgos and León from the thirteenth century, in the north of the country. Fifteenth-century Portugal was likewise, if not to a greater extent, subject to an enormous amount of northern influence owing not only to the strong dynastic ties with the court of Burgundy (Philippe de Bon, Duke of Burgundy; married Isabella of Portugal in 1430) but also to the sea-routes opened between Lisbon and Antwerp which encouraged numerous exchanges of trade and culture. In addition, largely through the channels of the Aragonese possessions in southern Italy, a certain degree of the spirit of Italian Humanism was felt in Spain at this stage. This was at first less powerful; it did however gather momentum in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

As a whole, the Portugal and Spain of the late fifteenth and the whole of the sixteenth century was characterized by a tremendous flowering and richness in the arts and culture which was unprecedented. This was due not only to international dynastic contacts and the active interest and participation in the arts on the part of the sovereign rulers, but also to the experiences and riches acquired from the voyages of discovery and colonial expansion.

During the sixteenth century the constant trafficking between the peninsula and other kingdoms of the realm, and the empire of Charles V, inevitably had its cultural repercussions. The musical world of the Spanish royal court for instance was characterized by a long history of collaboration between Flemish and Spanish musicians. (The history and nature of these contacts will form the basis of the discussion below.) Nevertheless, the Spanish and Portuguese generally speaking never completely succumbed to foreign styles and ideas but subtly adapted these to their own heritage, at times creating transformations peculiar to the peninsula. These indigenous artistic traits are particularly evident in the visual fields. With regard to Spain itself it may be borne in mind that the division of the country into provinces governed by separate cortes, each distinguished by its own customs and traditions of organization, long discouraged any inter-regional collaboration in artistic movements on a broad scale.

Despite the political union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, with the marriage of Isabella to her cousin Ferdinand of Aragon, a cultural union was more difficult to realise. Architecturally at least, the two geographical regions remained distinct for a very long time. For instance, whilst Castile in particular continued to develop northern Gothic forms to a certain degree, Aragon and Catalonia, in general, had developed a Romanesque art - both in architecture and in wall-painting - and were

always looking across the Mediterranean to southern Italy (Naples and Sicily) for inspiration. Broadly speaking this geographical bias was to be a constant factor in cultural movements.

It was thus particularly in central Castile, characterized as a whole by numerous cross-currents in architectural styles, that the peculiar 'Isabelline' or Plateresque styles developed, resulting especially from a mixture of Gothic and Mudéjar elements. It was essentially a sculptural style of applied decoration to Gothic and Renaissance architectural forms.

Simultaneously in Portugal there developed a flamboyant architectural style known as Manueline - a name honouring that of King Manuel I (reg. 1495-1521). As in Spain it owed its origins to a mixture of the gothic style with more exotic elements of an eastern inspiration: in this instance, more an Islamic influence which had come over via Morocco and with the 'descobrimentos' in 'India', the Far East. It was one of the most original sculptural-architectural manifestations ever created, finding its most powerful expression in the early sixteenth century, in the ecclesiastical monuments at Tomar, Batalha and the Jeronimytes monastery in Lisbon. Notable exponents of the style were Diego Boytac, João de Castilho and the Arrunda brothers, of whom Diego created the Cristo church at Tomar, a veritable iconography of the Portuguese sea-faring exploits and adventures.

The commercial relations between Castile and León with the Pays Bas during the fifteenth century encouraged cultural contacts and exchanges, nurturing an appeal for Flemish art and painting. Flemish art and ideas, particularly the naturalistic quality of the paintings of the 'primitives', maintained a firm ground during at least the first three decades of the sixteenth century, particularly in central Castile. This led to the development of a peculiar Hispano-Flemish style of painting which, in

the external decoration at least, might also contain elements of Moorish arabesque and geometric design. Early masters of this style working in Spain included Juan de Flandes (d.1519) who was formerly official court painter to Queen Isabella of Castile.

The marriage of Philippe le Bon to Isabella of Portugal in 1430, and the close trading ties between Portugal and the Pays Bas, in addition to the riches gained on the voyages of discovery, were factors conducive to encouraging the expenditure of wealth in cultural pursuits. In architecture, sculpture and painting the period up to the mid-sixteenth century was one of the greatest in Portuguese history. The atmosphere and influence was virtually totally Franco-Flemish with painters being inspired in particular by the example of Jan van Eyck (who had visited Lisbon prior to the Aviz-Burgundian marriage) and his followers, painting in the 'primitive' manner. Important centres of activity were Lisbon, Evora, Viseu and, in the sixteenth century especially, Coimbra where both the ancient university and the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz were flourishing intellectual and artistic institutions.

Coinciding with the Plateresque, Manueline and Flemish artistic currents to the west of the Peninsula, artists in Valencia took the lead in developing a type of 'Mannerism' as a result of contacts with the aesthetic of the Italian Renaissance. Artists such as the Macip family, in particular the younger Juan Vicente known as Juan de Juanes (c.1523-70), produced paintings which suggested intimate acquaintance with the works of Leonardo and Raphael. Valencia was also the home of one of the most influential and internationally inspired courts of the early sixteenth century: that of the Duke of Calabria (see below).

Italian influences were extremely strong in sculpture also. The works of a Castilian, the royal painter and sculptor Alonso Berruguete

(c.1488-1561), who had spent time in Italy where he was in touch with Michelangelo and the works of the quattrocento Florentine sculptor Donatello, are representative of a Mannerist style. The style and form of his reredoses and religious polychrome sculptures, and those of Juan de Juni (c.1507-77), were to be maintained in Spain for one and a half centuries. Berruguete was one of the many artists who flocked to Charles V's peripatetic court which, owing to the Habsburg monarch's numerous Italian campaigns, was constantly looking for opportunities to recreate a Spain in an Italianate manner.

Possibly the most significant Italian artist who was to be directly involved with the Spanish court in the sixteenth century was Titian (c.1487-1576). Charles first met the great Venetian painter in Bologna at the time of his coronation in 1530. As a consequence of the execution of a commissioned portrait of the emperor, Titian was raised to the rank of palatine Count. This was the opening of Titian's relationship with the Imperial court and the start of a long association with the Spanish royal family which lasted until the end of his career. Of particular significance were his series of mythological and religious paintings which he executed for Philip II in the 1550s. During this period Titian exerted a considerable influence on the art of secular portraiture (on Velázquez in particular), as did also his Dutch successor 'Antonio Moro' (1517/20-1576/7), notably in turn on his own successor the Portuguese Alonso Sánchez Coello (c.1531-88).

At the intervention of Charles V, and later Philip II, a number of both civic and ecclesiastical buildings were erected which demonstrated a taste for pure Italianate renaissance styles. The so-called 'Granadine Renaissance' was exemplified by the cathedral designed by Diego de Siloe

(c.1495-1583), which was modelled after the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem, and Charles V's 'summer palace' at the Alhambra which was designed by Pedro Machuco (d.1550). Although the palace remained unfinished it is notable in particular for being the first 'High Renaissance' palace outside Italy. Other significant edifices in the Italianate style include the Alcázar and Tavera's hospital in Toledo, and culminate with Philip II's monumental monastery built at El Escorial in the late sixteenth century, a Spanish expression of some of the most up to date Italian architectural theories (see below, pp.45-50). One of the intrinsic features of sixteenth-century Spain was the close juxtaposition of architectural edifices in varying, even contrasting, ages and styles. Portugal likewise benefited from direct contact with Italian architectural design: the classical works of the Italian Filippo Terzi (1520-97), such as the church of São Vicente da Fora in Lisbon, provided in particular a model for subsequent Jesuit buildings.

Thus with the accession of Charles V (Charles I of Spain) to the Spanish throne not only were northern European contacts revived and intensified, but an even greater upsurge of a wider international influence began. One of the most notable influences in the early years of his reign was the Erasmian movement which was a subversive and also decisive element in intellectual and even political life for several decades, particularly when Erasmus's works became available in Spanish translation - the Enchiridion was translated in 1526. This temporary flirtation with Erasmian ideals not only threatened the stability of orthodox religion in Spain but also caused a break with the Papacy on whose very institution Erasmus and his followers had delivered a number of attacks. A reconciliation was made before 1530.[1]

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1. Erasmus's works were later banned; see below, p.37.

Although traditional forms of the Spanish romance and lyric poetry continued to flourish at this time - notably with the writings of J. Boscán (1492-1552) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-36) and the musician-poets Juan del Encina (1493-1540) and Gregorio Silvestre (1520-69), a Granadine organist of Portuguese origin - the court of Charles I of Spain was really characterized by a broader international outlook in which, through the channels of the viceregal court at Naples, Italian works and styles were disseminated in Spain. At the behest of Garcilaso, for instance, who was living in Naples, Boscán produced El Cortesano in 1534, a translation of Baldassare di Castiglione's Corteggiano. This work was to have many imitations.

The influence of Renaissance Humanism may be instanced in particular by the cultural activities of the literary-musical circle of the Calabrian court at Valencia, especially during the ten years (1526 to 1536) of the marriage of Germaine de Foix to her third husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, the Duke of Calabria. Notable musicians associated with the Calabrian court and chapel were the maestro de capilla Pedro de Pastrana,[1] Mateo Flecha ('el viejo', 1481-1553) and Luys Milán (c.1500-c.1561). The works and writings of the two latter in particular are indicative of general fashions and currents of this Valencian court which was incidentally notable for the variety of languages spoken there. Flecha, well-acquainted with the musical ambience of Valencia as a whole (the formality of the cathedral and the ducal house as well as the life of the streets of the city), is especially renowned for his ensaladas of which several demonstrate his familiarity with several languages: Latin, Italian, Portuguese, Valencian and Castilian. Milán is known for three publications, two literary and one musical, issued in Valencia: the Libro de motes (1535), El cortesano

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1. Pastrana became maestro de capilla in Prince Philip's chapel in 1547; see below, p.32.

(1561) and the Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El maestro (1536) which is the first known instrumental publication of its kind in Spain.

Milán's El cortesano, a manual of 'good conversation' for the 'perfect courtier', was evidently modelled on Castiglione's work. Furthermore, as in the manner of a 'farsa' by Juan Fernández, the characters in this work speak in diverse languages. There is also a notable musical interest in the book with the conversation frequently turning to this subject and even to Milán himself. The vihuela publication El maestro, in addition to its singular use of a Neapolitan system of tablature whose notation differed from that used in subsequent vihuela publications, contains a number of compositions of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese inspiration. The inclusion of the pavanas or fantasias that are 'en su ayre y compostura a las mesmas que en Italia se tañen' (f.Giii^{v}) and the vocal Sonetos indicates a strong Italian connexion. However, besides the Castilian villancicos and romances, there are also three Portuguese villancicos. The whole work is dedicated to King John III of Portugal whose country, Milán declares, 'es la mar de la música' (f.Aiii^{v}) (is the sea of music).

In the following account it has only been possible to draw together cultural and political events and movements to a limited degree. It does however attempt to recreate the international ambience which was evidently characteristic of courtly circles during this period. Although several musicians will be singled out for special interest, and the names of others will recur periodically, it has not been the aim to give any detailed account of their lives and activities. Such information may be gathered from the selection of books and articles listed in the bibliography. We are concerned principally with the masters of keyboard technique and composition who frequented royal circles - many of whom survive by

reputation alone - and the contacts they may have made with musicians of different nations. As a prelude to this discussion, it may be indicated here that the strong Flemish contacts which existed are no more apparent than in the series of publications for vihuela, harp and 'tecla' (keyboard) from the sixteenth century. Succeeding Milán's tablature were those of Narváez (Los seys libros del Delphín, 1538), Valderrábano (Silva de Sérenas, 1547), Pisador (Libro de música de vihuela, 1552) and Fuenllana (Orphenica lyra, 1554) for vihuela, and the Libro de cifra nueva (1557) and the Obras de música (1578) compiled by Venegas de Henestrosa and Hernando de Cabezón respectively which had a multi-instrumental function. Apart from the purely abstract instrumental compositions, these books are a rich source for the type of instrumental intabulation and parody of a large repertory of Flemish polyphony. A similar tradition is preserved in the two sixteenth-century keyboard manuscripts at Coimbra. Such a collection remains unparalleled in the instrumental repertory.

(ii)

Sixteenth-century Spain and the Habsburg dynasty: the contacts made between Spanish and Flemish musicians in royal service

The formation and firm establishment of Philip II's complementary 'Spanish' and 'Flemish' chapels in 1559 - the capilla española and the capilla flamenca-was influenced and preceded by a large number of international musical and cultural exchanges which corresponded with the strong political and dynastic ties between the two nations. The phenomenon of the capillas española and flamenca was to be a characteristic feature of Habsburg Spain during the Philippine régime, causing a considerable amount of trafficking between Spain and the Pays-Bas when musicians and singers were sought to occupy the vacancies which frequently arose in the Flemish chapel. This situation lasted until the 1630s, with the two chapels finally uniting as one in 1637.

The nucleus of the two distinct resident Flemish and Spanish chapels of the mid-sixteenth century was formed when Charles V first arrived in Spain in 1517 to take up his inheritance, being surrounded by his own entourage of courtiers and musicians. Whilst the latter subsequently were to accompany the monarch on all national and international journeys, a strong contingent of Spanish musicians remained at home entertaining the court and chapel of both Charles's mother Juana ('la loca') at Tordesillas and later (1526 onwards) that of his wife Isabella of Portugal. It was Isabella's chapel in particular which absorbed the talent of the most eminent musicians of the first half of the sixteenth century.

It was inevitable that the continued close contacts between Spanish and Flemish cultures, which had already existed since at least the fourteenth century even before the arrival of Philippe le Beau in Spain in

1501, would have their repercussions. We have concrete evidence of the knowledge and execution of fifteenth-century Flemish polyphony in the Toledo and Segovia manuscripts for instance (see Stevenson (1973) and Anglés (1936)), and we know that Philippe le Beau brought with him to Spain musicians such as Agricola, Pierre de la Rue, Divitis and the organist Henri Bredemers. The manifestation of these contacts during Charles V's reign exists in the remarkable series of vihuela, harp and keyboard publications which contain numerous intabulations of Flemish polyphony, both sacred and secular. Although the last significant tablature in this series - Antonio de Cabezón's posthumous Obras de música - was published in 1578 it is likely that the repertory within reflects the musical taste of earlier decades.

Charles V in Spain

Charles and his sisters Eléonore and Catherine, in particular, all of whom were to marry into the Portuguese royal family, were endowed with a considerable musical upbringing themselves, largely under the guidance of their aunt Margaret of Austria. Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, settled in Mechelen when she became gouvernante des Pays Bas at the death of her brother Philippe le Beau in 1506. Charles's brother Ferdinand, however, who was born in Spain remained there with his mother Juana, widow of Philippe le Beau. The fact of Ferdinand's Spanish upbringing was, in King Ferdinand's eyes, to make him an obvious rival to the lawful inheritor of the Spanish throne, his elder brother Charles.

Mechelen at that time was one of the most flourishing centres of the arts, music and letters associated with the Burgundian court. The formative years of Charles and his sisters would therefore have been spent in constant contact with many of the most eminent musicians of that time:

in particular these would have included Josquin, whose music was to be widely diffused in the Iberian peninsula, and other notable composers such as Pierre de la Rue who, unlike Josquin, went to Spain with Philippe le Beau, and the organist Henri Bredemers along with his successor Florent Népotis. Although there is no clear evidence that Bredemers revisited the Iberian peninsula (there is however a document from 1519 attesting his refusal to do so, see Bridgman (1956) p.56), the royal organist was later to accompany Charles on a visit to England (1522)[1] and probably also attended the Emperor's coronation in Aachen in October of the year 1520. There are no examples of Bredemers's musical compositions extant but it is probable that the experience of his musical style and technical performance would have penetrated Spanish royal circles: firstly through direct personal contact when he accompanied Philippe le Beau to Spain on two occasions (1501-3 and 1505-6) and secondly through the musical performance and example of one of his royal pupils, Eléonore, when she came to Spain with her brother Charles on his first visit. His influence would also have been felt in Spain with the arrival of Florent Népotis who was to remain in the service of the Spanish royalty from 1522 until his death in 1537. Although there is little to secure any intimate links or collaboration which might have existed between the royal organists Népotis and Antonio de Cabezón, it may be borne in mind that the Flemish organist's years of royal service in Spain corresponded with the beginning of Cabezón's forty-year incumbency (see below, p.28 seq.).

The reception which Charles and his sister Eléonore enjoyed on their arrival in Spain has been vividly described by Charles's 'aide de chambre' Laurent Vital. Charles and his entourage were first received at Tordesillas,

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1. See Robertson (1960); for a general series of studies concerning Charles V and pageantry, see Jacquot (1960) and Anglo (1969), p.170 seq.

the residence of Charles's insane mother Juana, and at Valladolid, traditionally a royal city and important musical centre. It is through Vital's writings in particular that we learn of Eléonore's fully accomplished instrumental (lute and keyboard) playing and of her singing all of which thoroughly impressed the court.

> [...] celle belle josne princesse, avec sa bonne grâce, estoit si avenante, que tout luy séoit bien ce qu'elle faisoit, et est ung plaisir que de la veoir et oyr, soit de jouer de plusiers instrumens, comme du lut, du manicordium, de chanter sa partie avec - que aultres, de danser, de deviser â entretenir puis l'ung, puis l'aultre.
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> (L. Vital: Collection, t.II; quoted in Straeten/Lowinsky (repr. 1969), vol.VII (in Vol. 4), p.287.)

We may surmise that it was on occasions such as this and during her subsequent years of marriage to King Manuel I of Portugal that Eléonore would have transmitted Flemish keyboard styles and composition to the royal courts of Spain and Portugal.

Although musically speaking Spain under Charles V and his Habsburg successors enjoyed a certain vitality, politically the country was characterized by a degree of unrest and struggle resulting ostensibly from the incompatibility of an ambitious Imperialist programme with an insular Mediaevalism. Owing to the pressing demands of his status as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V made only periodic visits to Spain. (See Elliott (repr.1985), p.164.) It was during his first absence from the Iberian peninsula that Spain saw the revolt of the Castilian comuneros (1520-21) and the Valencian Germanías (ibid., pp.151-59); the ultimate defeat of both however was vital to Charles's broader imperialist projects. Conversely, the Habsburg monarch's second and longest visit to Spain, which lasted for exactly seven years (July 1522 to July 1529), witnessed a greater political stability with Francisco de los Cobos (d.1547), an

Andalusian of humble origins, acting virtually as sole governor of Spain's affairs; Cobos retained this position until his death.

It was during Charles's second stay in Spain that a number of significant events relating to musicians and musical circles in the employ of the royal family took place. Not least of these were the preparations (in Toledo) and marriage of Charles to Isabella of Portugal which took place in Seville in 1526. (See Anglés ed. (1944), p.24.) It was also during this period in Spain that a number of Flemish musicians, both polyphonists and organists, came to the fore; some of their music was arranged by Spanish musicians for instrumental performance. Whilst Charles was resident in Spain, not only was he surrounded by his Flemish musicians, but the Spanish musicians normally serving his mother Juana at Tordesillas were also at his disposal. Those employed at the royal court of Castile at this time included the ageing Juan de Anchieta (capellán and cantor in the chapel) who was formerly with Ferdinand and Isabella, Martín de Salzedo (Salçedo) 'capellán et organista',[1] by whom no organ works have been recorded, and the above-mentioned Florent Népotis (De Neve, Neefs, etc, also referred to as 'Floriquin' in a record at Simancas)[2] who was the first Flemish organist to be employed in the Spanish capilla real. Another Spanish instrumentalist, Martín Sánchez 'tañedor de vihuela',[3] is recorded as serving the royal court from about 1518 onwards. He was still employed in the 1540s and would therefore have come into contact with the leading vihuelistas of the time.

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1. Simancas, Casa Real, O.y B., leg.43; quoted in Anglés ed (1944), p.19.

2. Simancas, Casa Real, O.y B., leg.36, ff. 2 & 6; see Anglés ed. (1944), pp.17-18.

3. Simancas, Casa Real, leg. 15; quoted in Anglés ed. (1944), p.18.

It was then also that Nicolas Gombert (c.1495-1560) made his first documented visit to Spain, remaining in the Emperor's service until about 1540. Like that of Josquin, Gombert's music (notably a number of motets) was intabulated in virtually every vihuela and keyboard source dating from the sixteenth century. Although considerably fewer of his compositions were intabulated than those of Josquin and Gombert's successor Crecquillon (there is only one motet by Gombert included in Cabezón's Obras)[1], Gombert's intimate association with Spain and its musical traditions was unparalleled. As court composer, albeit unofficial, Gombert wrote a few works commemorating important events in the Emperor's life: these included a motet for the birth of Prince Philip in 1527 (Valladolid), 'Dicite in magni', and the 'Missa sur tous regretz', designated 'for the coronation', which may well have been performed in Bologna in 1530.

The capilla real of Queen Isabel, 1526-39, and the formation of Philip II's capilla española

The year 1526 may be regarded with particular significance in Spanish musical history as it marked the formation of Queen Isabel's musical chapel in Spain, comprising both Spanish and Portuguese personnel, and the start of Antonio de Cabezón's forty uninterrupted years of royal service.

When Isabel of Portugal, daughter of Manuel I and sister of King John III, came to Spain to marry the Emperor she brought with her a large number of Portuguese courtiers and musicians. These included the then mestre da capela Mateo Fernández (d.1541) who was subsequently chosen to accompany Charles to Italy for the coronation in 1530. Many

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1. Obras de música (1578), f.146: 'Triste de par'.

Spaniards also joined her Portuguese chapel in 1526, notably 'Antonio Caveçón' who was initially employed as one of her cantors;[1] later that year he was also appointed organist. (See Anglés ed. (1944), pp.30-31.) This collaboration of Spanish and Portuguese musicians in royal service was to be a constant feature in the sixteenth century owing largely to the succession of interdynastic marriages. Furthermore, during the period of the annexation of Portugal (1580-1640), the capela real at Lisbon during the first half of the seventeenth century was dominated by Spanish organists (see below, chapter 3, section (ii)). Although Isabel and her court were somewhat itinerant whilst Charles was abroad, the personnel was enlarged to include the organist and 'afinador' (tuner) Francisco Gómez in 1529. (See Anglés ed. (1944), p.36.) He was allocated the task of tuning all her keyboard instruments of which, according to the Recámera de la Emperatriz, an inventory compiled at the time of her death and kept in the Simancas archives, she had a large collection.[2] This included a clavichord 'hecho en Barcelona' and a 'claviórgano grande', both of which would doubtless have been played by Cabezón and his life-long companion Francisco de Soto who was first enlisted as 'músico de cámera', being one of Isabel's ministriles, in 1528. (See Anglés ed. (1944), pp.34 and 35.)

It is curious that neither Cabezón nor Soto accompanied the King on his journey to Italy in 1529 (and later Germany and Flanders) where he was crowned emperor by Pope Clement VII with whom the Habsburg monarch was now reconciled. They remained in Spain with Queen Isabel. As already

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1. Simancas, Casa Real, O.y B., leg.45, f.8: 'Memorial'; see Anglés ed. (1944), p.29.

2. Simancas, Contaduría Mayor, 1ª época, leg. 464, f.11; see Anglés ed. (1944), pp.55-57.

stated, Mateo Fernández did however travel with him as also did Juan Tavera, 'capellán mayor', who was then Archbishop of Santiago (ibid., p.35). As future cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, Tavera was to maintain one of the most important musical courts and chapels of the time.

At Isabel's death in 1539 Charles took charge of the affairs and organization of her suite, ordaining that the best of her musicians should now be at the service of the Infantas María and Juana, at their house at Arevalos, and of his son Prince Philip. Likewise, various of her musicians passed to the influential Cardinal Tavera's court in Toledo which already included Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, compiler of the Libro de cifra nueva (1557).

According to the documents which Anglés cites, notably the series entitled Libro de la Veeduria, we learn that the Infantas' chapel, in addition to Francisco de Soto, comprised one bishop, two chaplains, four cantors, one organist and six 'mozos de capilla'; the maestro de capilla was Mateo Flecha, from the Calabria household. There were no instrumental players. (See Anglés ed. (1944) pp.62-3.) Interestingly enough it is clear that the highly esteemed Soto ('músico de cámera') and his blind companion Cabezón ('músico ciego y organísta') in fact shared their time between the households of the infantas and that of Prince Philip. It is evident that music and dance formed an extremely important feature in the court-life of the royal children. In Philip's court, for instance, a certain Diego Hernández was employed as dancing master and there were three others in the court of the infantas (ibid., pp.83, 86 and 62).

It was at this time then that Tavera's chapel, albeit for a brief period, came to the fore. It is not certain whether Venegas de

Henestrosa entertained a particularly musical function whilst in the service of the Cardinal; all that is known is that he was a priest in the parish. (See Moll Roqueta (1951).) However, important musicians in Tavera's service included García de Basurto as maestro de capilla, the Portuguese Mateo Fernández as cantor, Cristóbal de Santiago, Sebastián Mir and Pedro de Arze, cantor and life-long friend of Cabezón. (See Móll Roqueta (1951), pp.167-74.) Arze was to be attached to the royal court until at least 1548 when, according to the records (see Anglés ed. (1944), p.78), he was not required to accompany Prince Philip on his first northern European journey, el felicísimo viaje. Tavera's chapel and court, like that of Isabel, employed a wide variety of instruments and players of several nationalities; these included many Flemish flute players and, in 1526, 'un flamenco que tanya el laúd'. (See Moll Roqueta (1951), p.175.) In 1543, two years before his death, Tavera is recorded as having offered his musical chapel to Prince Philip ('[...] ofreçió su capilla a su alteza'(Moll Roqueta (1951), p.167), a year after the heir to the throne's marriage to his first cousin María of Portugal (1542), daughter of King John III and Charles V's sister Catherine.

When Tavera's chapel mingled with that of the Prince, Philip entertained the best musical chapel in Spain. It now included such prominent musicians as the maestro de capilla G. de Basurto from Tavera's chapel, Pedro de Arze, who had previously shared his time between Tavera and the Infantas, the vihuela player ('tañedor') Martin Sánchez, and the notorious keyboard players Soto and Cabezón. The presence also of the organist Francisco Gómez demonstrates that Cabezón must have shared his time with other organists. This group was soon to be joined by

three more extremely talented musicians: Juan de Cabezón, brother of Antonio and also 'músico tañedor de tecla', in 1546; Pedro de Pastrana, former chaplain to Charles V and maestro de capilla in the Calabria household (see above, p.10), who succeeded Basurto on his death in 1547; and Luys de Narváez, virtuoso vihuela player, who was now to instruct the 'mochachos [sic] cantorçicos tiples de la capilla', a duty formerly assigned to the residing maestro de capilla alone. (See Anglés ed. (1944), p.104.)

From the nucleus of this group of musicians, which had been gradually formed by the amalgamation of personnel emanating from several important musical chapels - that of Queen Juana, the Duke of Calabria, Queen Isabel, Cardinal Tavera and Philip himself-was to be instituted Philip II's capilla española, traditionally presided over by the maestro de capilla of his inherited capilla flamenca. Before this took place, however, a selection of these musicians would enjoy, for the first time in Spanish musical history, the experience of direct contact with the music and musicians of other European countries when they travelled with Prince Philip to northern Europe.

El felicísimo viaje

Philip made his first long trip to the north of Europe, to the Netherlands and Germany, via Italy, when he inherited the Netherlands from his father in 1547; his intention was to acquaint himself with his Flemish subjects. El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Felipe was chronicled and published by J.C. Calvete de Estrella in Antwerp in 1552. It contains vivid accounts and descriptions of Philip's journeys and the ceremonial receptions which he enjoyed. It is from this source, as well as from the series Libro de la Veeduría,

that may be gleaned the movements and activities of the musicians in royal service: those who accompanied the Prince as well as those who remained behind. (See Anglés ed. (1944), pp.107-116.)

Whilst Philip was away, his sisters and Maximilian II, who was married to María, acted as regents; Francisco de los Cobos and cardinal Tavera were both now dead. It was during this period that Juan Martínez Siliceo exerted his influence. Formerly Philip's tutor in the 1530s and now, on the death of Tavera (1546), Archbishop of Toledo, Siliceo came to the fore as the promulgator of limpieza de sangre - a statute instigated in 1547 - which specified that any appointments of dignitaries and prebends (and this was to include that of organists) were to be made only on the condition of racial purity. (see Elliott (repr.1985), p.222.) The position was particularly embarrassing for the aristocracy of whom few were untainted, as it were, by Jewish blood. This movement, together with the relentless persecution of the Inquisition, met with royal approval. It was a particularly fearful and uncertain time in Spanish history. Despite this, however, Valladolid, the home of Maximilian II and María, enjoyed an especially splendid musical and artistic period. This was to continue until about 1559 when the royal court under Philip settled in Toledo. The musicians in the service of the acting regents included the more ageing members of the royal court and chapel who were unable to join Philip's train. These included P. de Pastrana, P. de Arze, C. de Santiago and F. de Soto. It was at this time that another exchange or contact of Spanish and Portuguese musicians was made. In 1552 the Infanta Juana married João Manuel of Portugal; her entourage on this occasion included Francisco de Soto and his son Cipriano. Whereas Francisco stayed for just a few months in Portugal, his son remained there even after Juana's return to Spain on the death of her husband in 1554. On this visit, the Sotos would have come into close contact with two organists employed in the Portuguese royal chapel: the German João Brigomão (Johannes Brummann), organist between 1543 and 1571; and the distinguished Antônio Carreira (c1525"c1590) by whom several compositions for the

organ are extant. (See Kastner (1979), pp.11-12.) It was probably at this time in particular that Cabezón's music was made known to Portugal and that a tiento by Soto himself was to be preserved in a Portuguese manuscript (GBGU MM.48, ff.120-120v). King John III, father of João Manuel, was a great amateur of music and especially of the vihuela de mano. It was to this monarch that Luys Milán, in 1536, dedicated his publication El maestro. It is possible, therefore, that the Spanish vihuelist Fernando de Jaén, who was in his service, was originally in the service of the Spanish royal court. (See Kastner (1979), p.12.)

Philip's journey abroad surrounded by an entourage which included many of the leading musicians of the time is possibly one of the most significant events in Spanish musical history. It would however be difficult to judge whether or not these international contacts exercised any lasting effects on individual national musical developments. The latter possibility, particularly as regards the contacts made with England, has caused considerable speculation.

With the exception of 'Maestre Jorge, trompeta ytaliano', the musicians who accompanied Philip on his felicísimo viaje were all Spanish. (See Anglés ed. (1944), pp.108-110.) The most prominent instrumentalists in his entourage were Antonio and Juan de Cabezón and Luys de Narváez. Calvete (1552) described Philip's reception at Genoa drawing particular attention to the liturgical service where 'Antonio de Cabeçón, otro Orfeo de nuestros tiempos' was playing.[1] There is little doubt that the Cabezón brothers, also the organist Cristóbal de León, would have come into contact with many of the leading keyboard players of the time, particularly when they were in Louvain where Charles and Philip spent the winter of the years 1549-50 together. Such would have included Rogier Pathie, organist to Queen Mary of Hungary and also respected composer of polyphony, and Michel de Bocq who was later to

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1. J.C. Calvete de Estrella: El felicísimo viaje (Antwerp, 1552), 1.c., 1, p.48; quoted in Anglés ed. (1944), p.111.

be employed as organist in Philip's capilla flamenca in Spain. Crecquillon, whose music was to feature so prominently in the subsequent Libro (1557) and Obras (1578) publications, was at that time Charles V's maître de chapelle.

Philip to England, July 1554 to January 1556

Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor in 1554 was one of Charles's final ambitious efforts at making the Empire a more viable unit embracing England, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy and the Americas. However such aspirations were aborted when Mary, childless, died in November 1558, two months after his own death. Andrés Muñoz was chronicler of the royal visit on this occasion and has left descriptions of such important events as Philip's entry to Winchester and his reception at the palace, and the style of music which was performed for which both Spanish and English musicians collaborated. (See Anglés ed.(1944), p.128.) The later Ecclesiastical monuments by John Strype (London, 1816) may also be referred to for a vivid account of these events. (See Kastner (1977), pp.242-3.) The Libro de la Veeduría from this time continues to list the movements of important personnel in the royal household. From this source in particular one learns that both Antonio and Juan de Cabezón, as well as the organist Cristóbal de León and Antonio's young son Agostino, travelled with the Prince to England. (See Anglés ed.(1944), pp.124-36.) However, a number of prominent Spanish musicians remained in the service of the royal family in Spain: these included Miguel Fuenllana who, in the approbation to his 1554 publication for vihuela Orphénica lyra, nevertheless commemorates Philip's journeys by dedicating the volume 'Al muy alto y muy poderoso señor Don Philippe, príncipe de España, Rey de Inglaterra, y de Nápoles etc, N(uest)ro señor' (f. iiv).

The extent to which the English and Spanish composers may have influenced each other during this eighteen-month visit remains debatable and insufficiently verifiable. It is unlikely, for instance, that Tallis and Cabezón who were then in their mid- to late-forties would have had any profound influence on each other; but it is possible that a younger generation which included William Byrd would have been impressed by the Spanish contact. In all events, the proposal that Cabezón may have provided the 'missing link' between Tallis and Byrd with regard to the sudden flowering of the variation form <u>per se</u> may be pertinent (See Kastner (1952), p.79.). It is well known that Spanish composers of the sixteenth century had a special predilection for variation <u>(diferencias)</u> long before its popularity amongst Elizabethan and Jacobean composers for instance. To argue in favour of this proposition would require the authority of thorough and detailed investigation into the music of composers working at this time, particularly the Gentlemen of the Royal Chapel; in the 1550s these included John Sheppard and John Blitheman, contemporaries of Cabezón. Organ music by both these composers is included in the Mulliner Book which was compiled between 1560 and 1575. (See Stevens ed. (Repr. 1954).)

<u>Philip II (reg. 1556-1598) in Spain, 1559 seq</u>.

In 1556 Charles V (Charles I of Spain), having abdicated the previous year (29th August 1555) in favour of his son Philip, returned finally to Spain to retire in the Jeronymite monastery at Yuste with his sisters Eleanor and María. At the beginning of his reign King Philip remained in Flanders with his court and musicians, making but one brief visit back to England in 1557 (March to July) where his wife was to die the following year. Many of his Spanish musicians, including the Cabezón

family, weary of their prolonged sojourn in northern Europe, were granted leave of absence to rejoin their families in Spain for varying lengths of time.[1] Several Flemish musicians, many of whom had previously been in the service of Charles V, therefore joined Philip's entourage, replacing the Spaniards who had returned to Spain. After the departure of the Cabezón family Philip's chapel included at least one Spanish organist, Cristóbal de León, and two Flemish organists: Ludolf Volemont and Henri Van Vorst. It was with these that Philip II ultimately returned to Spain to take up his inheritance; the chapel master at this time, Nicolas Payen, who had succeeded Crecquillon and Canis, did not survive his transfer to Spain, dying later on in the same year (1559).

For the first two years back in Spain Philip II and his court settled in Toledo in preference to Valladolid (previously a popular place for royal residence) which like Seville was now tainted by the presence of a number of heretics - 'Protestants' who were sent to the stake in 1559. Castile during this time was very restless; the Inquisition was steadily continuing to persecute the Erasmians - the indexes of 1551 and 1559, and the 1558 law prohibiting the import of foreign books (instigated by Philip's sister Juana), were successfully putting an end to the availability of Erasmus's writings which had been available in the vernacular since the first translation of the Enchiridion in 1526. Spain was also now in the midst of the insular 'Counter-reformation' which, characterized by reforms in religious orders and the formation of new ones - saint Teresa founded the discalced Carmelites at Avila, for instance - and a generally intense religious activity which was to be visually expressed in the paintings of 'El Greco' (1541-

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1. See Anglés ed. (1944), p.137 seq., where documentary material relating to these movements is cited.

1614), was in part a response to the ideals of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). (See Elliott (repr. 1985), pp.224-31 and 243.)

In 1561 Philip and his court moved from Toledo to Madrid which, although initially regarded as a temporary home, was to become a permanent capital of the kingdom. It was thus inevitable that despite Philip's equal interest in the states of the crown of Aragon, to which he made but infrequent visits, his court would rapidly assume a Castilian 'complexion'. In effect, Philip virtually neglected the courts of the crown of Aragon; this was not conducive to a reconciliation of the antagonism which had long existed between Aragon and Castile.

The existing royal castle at Madrid, the Alcázar, served as the King's residence during the reigns of Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV. It was here that Philip II assembled his series of councils which were charged with various responsibilities. Gradually Madrid expanded in size, population and grandeur in accordance with its acquired status, culminating with the construction of Philip IV's Buen Retiro palace in the 1620s and 1630s (see below, pp.59-60).

Philip II may indeed be regarded as the greatest Maecenas of Spanish music and the arts in the sixteenth century; it was under his protection and patronage, particularly in the 'Flemish' and 'Spanish' chapels, that many subsequently important musicians flourished. Philip virtually created the phenomenon of two independent chapels in which were employed a steady stream of excellent Spanish organists and Flemish maestros de capilla and cantors. This tradition was to continue unabated until the Flemish chapel finally changed character and emphasis when in 1634 a Spaniard, Carlos Patiño, was appointed maestro de capilla. Furthermore, Philip was to create the monastery of El Escorial, a veritable athenaeum of culture and learning in central Spain (see below, pp.45-50).

However, although Philip, unlike his father, barely left his kingdom for matters of state, his tenure was by no means politically peaceful: most disruptive was the rebellion of the Alpujarras (1568-71) which underlined the continuing presence of Islamic factions in Spain and the force of circumstances which led to the annexation of Portugal in 1580.

Philip II and the 'capillas reales'

The most vital distinguishing feature between the two chapels was their very construction and administration: the capilla flamenca, maintained by the King from the benefaction of the Burgundian court, was dominated by Flemish singers (cantors and 'cantorçicos') and directed by a Flemish maestro de capilla; the capilla española, maintained by the finances of the 'Casa de Castilla', was dominated by Spanish organists and instrumentalists. (See Becquart (1967), p.XXII.) This of course does not preclude the fact that there were (Spanish) singers in the Spanish chapel and a number of (Flemish) eminent organists, organ-tuners and organ builders within the ranks of the Flemish chapel. Both chapels were however presided by the Flemish maestro de capilla. A number of the organists were to advise and play a part in the organisation of music in El Escorial.

The majority of musicians employed in the capillas reales, particularly the Flemish one, spent their formative years in royal service and were therefore continually in contact with Flemish and northern-European musicians. However, with the successive appointment of members of the Castillo family of organists between 1583 and 1637 - notably Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo who in fact spent his early and maturing years in the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples - and the influx of organists

from Zaragoza in the late seventeenth century, the royal chapel was to be characterized by a number of mature and well-formed organists who would already have acquired considerable experience and performance practice outside Madrid and the capilla real. Sadly, however, we now have only scant knowledge of the style of keyboard music practised in the capilla real during the whole of this period. There is little doubt for instance that Cabezón's posthumous Obras, compiled by his son Hernando and published in 1578, represents a repertory enjoyed during the Emperor's reign, in the tradition of the vihuela publications.

As stated above, Philip's entourage which accompanied him to Spain from the Netherlands in 1559 included several organists and the maestro de capilla Nicolas Payen. Payen, dying later the same year, had long been associated with royal musical circles, entering Charles V's chapel as a choirboy before 1525 and succeeding Canis as maître de chapelle in 1556. Both Payen and his successor Pierre de Manchicourt would thus, along with the Flemish organists M. Bocq (who arrived in 1562)[1] and Van Vorst, have coincided with the remaining years of the employment of the Cabezón brothers (d.1566) and F. de Soto (d.1563). They would also have known Hernando de Cabezón whose initial years of his long association with the royal chapel began in 1559 when he was appointed substitute organist; he left for the post of organist at Sigüenza cathedral in 1563, returning to the royal chapel as organist when his father died in 1566. (Hernando was succeeded by Diego del Castillo at Sigüenza who was later to join him at the royal chapel after a short

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1. Straeten cites a document from 1562 recording Bocq's arrival in Madrid with eight choirboys: 'Maestro Miguel, organista, con los ocho niños, a veinte y uno d'octubre, llegó a Madrid'; see Straeten/Lowinsky (repr.1969), vol.VIII (in vol.4), p.49.

spell as organist at Seville cathedral, 1581-83).

It is probable that the Flemish organist Henri Van Vorst held equal or at least secondary status with Hernando de Cabezón for in a letter dated 1561 he stated 'Yo Enrique Van Vorst, official organista del Rey, nuestro señor [...]'. (This letter was connected with some repair work he had to undertake on the portable organs of the royal chapel which had been temporarily transported to Toledo; (see Straeten/Lowinsky (repr.1969), vol.VII (in vol.4), pp.56-57.).) Whereas it is recorded that M. Bocq was pensioned in 1576 after about thirty years of royal service in the courts of the Habsburgs (ibid. p.417), little more is known about Van Vorst, predecessor of Gaspar Brebos 'templador'.[1] Gaspar Brebos, the first member of the family of famous organ builders to arrive from the Netherlands, came to Spain with Gérard de Turnhout who was the newly-appointed maestro de capilla in 1572. (Turnhout succeeded Jean Bonmarchais who in turn succeeded Manchicourt as maestro de capilla in about 1565.) Turnhout also brought with him a vice maestro de capilla (Jean Flamen or Vlamen), three cantors and four boy trebles of whom one was Philippe Rogier.[2] Rogier was to become maestro de capilla during the last eight years of Philip II's life and was one of the most influential musicians of the century.

Like his father Antonio before him, Hernando de Cabezón (c.1530-1602) was highly esteemed at court and accompanied the King on various trips within the peninsula. There is speculation that he, like Fuenllana, may even have gone to France in 1565, when the Queen, Isabelle de Valois, Philip's third wife, was assigned by Philip to lead some quite delicate

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1. Van Vorst is not included in the list of personnel forming the capilla Real dated 1572 which does however include Brebos and Bocq. See Straetan/Lowinsky (repr.1969), vol.VIII (in vol.4), pp.78-79.

2. Ibid., pp.98-99; see also Becquart (1967), pp.5-7.

and complex negotiations with her mother Catherine de Medici in Bayonne. (See Kastner (1955), p.104.) Furthermore, it may have been on this mission that Antonio de Cabezón's music was heard and disseminated; some of his music was later incorporated into Pierre Trichet's Traité des instruments de musique dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century. (Kastner (1955), p.105; see also Lesure (1955 and 1956).)

Although only a handful of works by Hernando have been recorded - these largely consist of intabulations which the composer included in the Obras de música in 1578 (ff.73, 82, 148 and 152) - it is inevitable that he would have broadcast his father's own music and ideas. For instance, when the King made a brief visit to his newly acquired kingdom, Portugal, in 1581, he apparently summoned Hernando to join him in Lisbon having been disappointed by the inferior quality of the organists in the Portuguese royal chapel. At this time António Carreira was officially mestre da capela, having been nominated by the ill-fortuned Dom Sebastião; it is not known who were the royal-chapel organists. The route from Madrid to Lisbon passed through Badajoz (Spain), and Elvas and Evora in Portugal. Although there is no documentation to substantiate the fact, it is virtually certain that en route Hernando would have come into contact with Manuel Rodrigues Coelho (c.1555-c.1635) who was at first substitute organist at Badajoz cathedral (1573-77) and subsequently organist at Elvas cathedral from the early 1580s until 1602 when he transferred to Lisbon; Coelho was organist at the cathedral in Lisbon (1602-03) and finally at the royal chapel for a period of twenty years (1603-33). Coelho's Flores de música (1620), though not didactic in nature, is nevertheless in the tradition of the compilation of Antonio de Cabezón's music in the Obras, a type of opera-omnia-collecta. With regard to the connexion with Hernando

de Cabezón, it may be significant that the Flores de música contains a number of glossed 'Susanas' (based on Orlando Lassus's 'Susanne un jour') - 'Quatro Susanas grosadas sobre a de cinquo' (ff.132-48) - which may have been inspired by Hernando's own compositions, contributions to his father's Obras (ff.148-51v). (See Kastner ed. (repr. 1976), pp.250-79, and Ester Sala ed. (1974), pp.204-12.)

Diego del Castillo (c.1544-1601), like his contemporary Hernando de Cabezón, was 'músico de tecla' or organist at the royal chapel in Madrid under the maestros de capilla George de la Hèle and then Philippe Rogier (c.1561-96). Before his appointment at the royal chapel in 1583 he enjoyed a distinguished career at Sigüenza and Seville where he had succeeded a certain H. Tapia, having failed at the competition for the organ post at Toledo, won by his rival Jerónimo Peraza I (see below, p.74). He was apparently an extremely talented musician and composer who was also frequently called upon for advice in technical matters relating to organs and organ construction.[1] Once more, it is merely his great reputation which survives: a book of Tentos para orgão which was once housed in John IV of Portugal's remarkable library, also containing music by the royal organists Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo (Diego's brother) and Juan de Arratia,[2] was lost with the 1755 earthquake in Lisbon. Castillo was also frequently lauded in contemporary literature. It has been suggested that he may have assisted at the wedding in Zaragoza (1585) of Philip II's daughter Doña Catalina

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1. In 1587, for instance, he gave some practical advice for the tuning of the organs at El Escorial; see below, p.48 n.1.

2. See Vasconcellos (1874), p.112; (Caixão 16°), (item) 455 [c]: 'Tentos para Orgão de João de Arratia, Bernardo Clavijo, and Diogo del Castillo.'

to Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie, an occasion which was described by Henrique Cock. At the wedding the music which was sung was composed by de la Hèle and possibly also Rogier. (See Becquart (1967), pp.17-18.)

There is little doubt that the last decade of the sixteenth century, when the royal chapel was led by three of the most competent musicians of Philip II's reign - Hernando de Cabezón, Diego del Castillo and Philippe Rogier - was characterized by a particularly brilliant period of musical activity, possibly the height of one which was ostensibly dominated by Flemish music (vocal) and musicians. The last group of Flemish choirboys to come to Spain, at Philippe Rogier's instigation, arrived in Madrid in 1594. Only a small proportion of Rogier's music now remains; a vast quantity of his works which included masses, sacred chansons and villancicos were once in John IV's library. He was however honoured by two publications and eulogized by his famous contemporary Lope de Vega in his poem Laurel de Apolo, 1630. Of some significance for the connexion which must be made between Rogier and the organists H. Cabezón and Castillo, and possibly other organists (Flemish) who were working for the royal chapel at the same period, are his vocal works containing obligato organ accompaniments for up to three organs. These are, in particular, the 'Misa á 12 vozes, en 4 coros, con 3 órganos continuos [...]' and 'Verbum caro, motete a 12 voces, en 3 coros, con acomp(añamien)to de arpa y dos órganos'; both works are preserved in manuscripts at the library in El Escorial.[1] It is of course not inconceivable that these works were commissioned for the royal monastery where Philip II eventually spent a great proportion of his later life as a recluse.

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1. Arch. Vic. Plut., 51, leg^{o} 5; Arch. Vic. Plut., 56, leg^{o} 59-a. References to these manuscripts are also cited in Becquart (1967), pp.52-53.

One of the most distinguishing features of the royal chapel during the reign of Philip II was its accommodation of a large contingent of Flemish musicians who came over to join the capilla flamenca. When Philip retired to El Escorial more than one hundred of these musicians had passed through his service. His patronage was even greater than that of his father.

There were several other important royal foundations in Madrid at this time which also absorbed a large number of musicians; many of these shared their time between the establishments. In particular there were the convents of the Descalzas Reales, the Encarnación and the Jerónimos. The Descalzas Reales was founded by Philip's sister Juana (d.1573) in 1559 as the Convento de monjas Clarisas and it provided the final retreat for his other sister María (d.1603). It held an important royal status and attracted several prominent composers. In particular these included Tomás Luis de Victoria, organist and maestro de capilla, who had been called over from Rome in 1578 to serve the royal princess Doña María. José Elias, from Barcelona, was appointed organist at the Descalzas Reales in 1725. (It was during this period that he compiled the Obras de órgano; see below, p.69.)

Philip II and El Escorial

The Jeronymite monastery constructed at El Escorial, dedicated to Saint Lawrence (San Lorenzo), is of immense historical and cultural significance. Destined to become, like Yuste in 1559, a refuge for the retirement of the reigning monarch, it also assumed great importance as a thriving religious and artistic centrum.

The idea of its conception, in some ways parallel with that of John V of Portugal when he commissioned the convent at Mafra in the

first half of the eighteenth century, was the result of a vow made by Philip in 1557, on the day in which the Spanish troops won the battle of Saint Quentin which was the feast-day of Saint Lawrence. Not only was the monumental structure of paramount interest in itself - it demonstrated a complete adoption of Roman theory (Vitruvius) and was built in a totally 'plain style' ('desornamentado') which vied with the current popularity of the more lavish plateresque - but the monastery also was to be associated with a school of mannerist painters and sculptors (both Italian and Spanish) and an important musical tradition whose organists enjoyed the privilege of playing the famous Brebos organs.

Briefly, El Escorial also demonstrates Philip II's direct intervention in the course of architecture in Spain. We are told that certain documents dating from 1556 in Flanders show that Philip was not only concerned with the question of renovating a number of royal residences in Spain which had fallen into disrepair but also in creating an edifice which embodied such as S. Serlio's (1475-1564) ideas and theories and the ancient Roman writings of Vitruvius. Philip had already considered Villalpando's translation of Serlio's third (1537) and fourth (1540) books in 1552 (Tercero y quarto libro de arquitectura) of great import, actually stating that these were to be of 'much advantage in the edifices to be built in Spain'. (See Kubler (1982) p.15) Philip had commissioned Juan Baptista de Toledo (d.1567), a Spaniard currently working in Naples and thoroughly acquainted with modern Italian idioms, for the plan: there is speculation that the gridiron-system plan was intended to be a symbol of the Saint's (Lawrence) martyrdom. (See Bayon (1967), p.141.) On Toledo's death the work on the monastery was undertaken by G.B. Castello of Bergamo and Genoa, but finally associated

with Juan Herrara (c.1530-97) who completed the building in 1584. The 'Herraran' style, as demonstrated in the latter's own work at Valladolid cathedral (c.1585) and El Pilar in Zaragoza, was to dominate Spanish architecture for nearly a century.

Again, in a way not unparalleled in Mafra, the monastery at El Escorial nurtured an important 'school' of painting and of sculpture. Where the artists were not of Italian extraction (Tibaldi, Zucarro and the Leonis) they would at least have had considerable contact with Italy, perhaps even studying there. This accounts for the strong mannerist artistic tradition at El Escorial, manifesting itself notably in the altar-pieces and large frescoes in the church, cloisters and library. These large frescoes were very largely inspired by the late work of Michelangelo (the Last Judgement in the Sistine chapel) and the dramatic paintings of 'Tintoretto'. This style of painting was popular with all artists working for the court in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is interesting, however, that the works of 'El Greco' (1541-1614), who is now considered as the most significant and individual mannerist painter of the period working in Spain, were to a large extent rejected by Philip II for their overtly dramatic style which was incompatible with the King's austere and stoic temperament.

In the history of organ music at least, one of the most significant features of this monastery was the church, in cruciform plan, with its seven organs which were largely the fruits of a commission made to the famous Brebos family, organ builders from Antwerp. As previously mentioned, Giles Brebos's brother Jasper ('Gaspar Brebos') was already employed at Philip's court and chapel as 'templador' since at least 1574. Giles's reputation was thus already well accounted for before his arrival in Spain in 1579: not only through his brother but also

through the recognition he had received for the organs he built between 1567 and 1573 for the church of Our Lady (which became the cathedral) in Antwerp. (He had also worked with Mors, organ builder for Charles V; see Straeten/Lowinsky (repr.1969), vol.VII (in vol.4), p.204.) It was the four larger organs for which Brebos was responsible of which, unfortunately, only the organ cases have survived; the monastery was ransacked at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries in 1874. However, there is a document dating from about 1700 (Declaración de los órganos que ay en el Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real) which describes these instruments in intimate detail. This not only gives a list of stop names but also indications of their pitch and tuning; one of the larger and one of the smaller organs were apparently tuned about a third below the other pair.[1] Significantly also, this Declaración gives suggestions for transposition for the performance of canto de órgano (polyphony) and canto llano (plainchant). The bulk of this text has been quoted in Straeten's study La musique aux pays bas (edited by Lowinsky, 1969). The author unfortunately omits the suggestions which were made for the playing (and transposition) of the hymns for the liturgical seasons and year.[2]

We learn also from Straeten's monograph, through other documents and accounts which he cites, that in addition to the two organs in the choir (coro) with one manual and those placed on either side of the nave with two manuals and pedals there were three realejos, or portative organs, which were placed on three balconies of the church.

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1. In the Relación delo que declaró Diego del Castillo se devía remediar en los quatro órganos de S. Lorenço el Real [...] 1578 años (MBN MS. 14025.194), Diego del Castillo (with Melchor de Miranda, first organist at Toledo cathedral) recommended that the pair of organs should be tuned a fourth below the others. See Stevenson (repr.1974), p.303 (n.3) and p.409; there is however a slight discrepancy in the information given on these two pages.

2. See Straeten/Lowinsky (repr.1969), vol.VIII (in vol.4), pp.263-84. The Declaración also includes suggestions for organ registration; see below, p.105

There was also an even smaller style of realejo which was used for special processions such as on Corpus Christi; being 'made' apparently entirely of silver ('todo de plata') it was normally kept in the sacristy. The writers of these documents attribute the work of all these organs to Giles Brebos ('Masegil, flamenco de nación') excepting the one made of silver of which the builder remains unknown. Despite their inevitable intrinsic value, these organs did not exert any major influence on future organ building in Spain. This may in part be attributed to the fact that geographically El Escorial existed in semi-isolation. (See Wyly (1964), p.45.) There would however have been considerable movement between this monastery and the royal chapel in Madrid.

There is very little concrete evidence of the uses to which the organs were put, the organists who played them and the style of music produced on these organs. Only a handful of organists who flourished in the latter half of the seventeenth century - Pedro de Tafalla, Diego de Torrijos and Cristóbal de San Jerónimo - and of course Antonio de Soler, who is credited especially for his two-organ concertos from the eighteenth century, are known to have been associated with the monastery and its music. A number of names of organists who were playing there at the beginning of the monastery's creation have been located in a few documents which Rubio cites.[1] These are Jerónimo de Zaragoza (d.1573), apparently one of the most loved and best pupils of Cabezón ('buen organista, de los mejores discípulos de Cabezón, de los más queridos suyos'); Lorenzo de Sevilla ('buen músico de tecla'); Miguel Romero ('buen músico de tecla y diestro en el canto'); Francisco de Santa Ana and Diego de la Concepción (d.1590) who was apparently criticized by the royal organist Diego del Castillo for his style of

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1. See Rubio (1974), p.71; no documentary sources, however, are acknowledged in this article.

playing; this fact is recorded by Sigüenza. In the first half of the seventeenth century there was a Flemish organist at El Escorial, Carlos de Lile (d.1631).

Although precise documentation is lacking or missing - there once existed two Libros de música de cifra de tecla which apparently provided details of playing in both 'natural' and transposed modes[1] - there are a few descriptions of how the organs were used in a very general way. The organs in the coro were, as would be expected, used to accompany the choir and were therefore used the most frequently. It is however intimated that on major feasts, all seven organs were used; whether indeed, as it has been suggested on one occasion, they were used all at once as for example at the Gloria on Holy Saturday is not clear, particularly as at least two of these organs were pitched differently from the others.[2] In all events it is clear that some two to four organists would have been required to play on a regular basis in the monastery. However, it is apparent that, owing to the paucity of regular organists within the monastery itself, the community was obliged to call upon secular organists to fulfil the heavy duties at El Escorial 'para que tañese los días principales y diese lección a algunos hermanos de la escuela' (quoted in Rubio (1977/4), p.118).

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1. This is mentioned in the Declaración of 1700 which Straeten cites in Vol. VIII of La Musique; see Straeten/Lowinsky (repr.1969), Vol VIII (in vol.4), p.270.

2. This is suggested in a study by F. de los Santos cited by Rubio (1974/3), p.70.

(iii)

Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century and the royal patronage of Philip III (reg.1598-1621) and Philip IV (reg. 1621-65)

One of the most notable features of the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV was the constant reliance of both these monarchs in matters of government and responsibility upon certain court 'favourites': the Count of Lerma during Philip III's tenure and the even more impressive Count-Duke Olivares during the greater part of the reign of Philip IV. Both these Counts held an equal interest in the glorification of the monarch (taking care also of their own interests) and the cultivation of the arts, intervening for instance, in the creation of architectural monuments, notably the palace of the Buen Retiro in Madrid which was supervised by Olivares. It is often stated that Olivares played an extremely influential role not only in matters of state and the realm but also in the nurturing and actual creation of a King ('el grande Felipe') whose own active interest and participation in the arts and cultural events was to be matched by an extraordinary patronage. (See Brown and Elliott (1980) and Orso (1986).) It was during Philip IV's reign that the court attracted the greatest poets and painters of the first half of the seventeenth century: Lope de Vega, Quevedo, Velázquez and temporarily Rubens who, coming to Spain on a diplomatic mission (August 1628 to April 1629), greatly inspired both Velázquez and the King himself.

However, Philip IV's reign (1621-65) was preceded by a period of 'desengaño', depression and disillusion, which had succeeded a series of political failures, the wars in the Netherlands, the invincible Armada, and the sack of Cadiz, for instance, and finally the onslaught of plague in the 1590s. This particular period was characterized by an atmosphere of national introspection led, in the greater part, by the so-called

arbitristas. (See Elliott (repr.1985), p.300.) Yet some of the most characteristic expressions of Spanish literature and art were produced at this time: the picaresque novel, Cervantes's Don Quixote (I, 1605 and II, 1614), and the works of Góngora ('culteranismo'), Lope de Vega Carpio, Espinel (1550-1624) and Espinosa (1578-1650); and the remarkable series of naturalistic still-life bodegón paintings, notably by J. Sánchez Cotán (1561-1627) in a Caravaggesque style - these were to exert an enormous influence on subsequent Spanish painting which may be seen, for instance, in the works of Zurbarán. The court and the church provided the greatest source of revenue for cultural activity. Although in the earlier part of the seventeenth century the Count of Lerma encouraged the remodelling of the small town of Lerma on Herraran principles, incorporating a palace to which he was to retire gracefully (the architect was Francisco de Mora), the wealth of the aristocracy was used more for literature and painting than for architecture. The church continued to build in the austere Herraran tradition.

In the early seventeenth century the court and government divided their time between the Alcázar in Madrid and that at Valladolid (between 1601 and 1606) when the royal city temporarily revived its former artistic glory. It was here that Philip IV was born in 1605.

At the beginning of Philip III's reign the royal chapel was characterized by a rapid changeover of leading musical personnel: Mateo Romero succeeded Philippe Rogier as maestro de capilla in 1598 (after an interval of two years), and, at the deaths of Diego del Castillo in 1601 and Hernando de Cabezón in 1602, the much-travelled Bernardo Clavijo (del Castillo) became official organist in 1603;[1] both he

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1. 'El Maestro Bernardo en lugar y por vacación de Hernando de Cabezón'; see Erdozain (1966), p.201.

and Romero were to outlive Philip III, transferring to the service of Philip IV.

Mateo Romero - 'el maestro capitán' - (1575/6-1647) was one of the most successful and prolific composers working in Spain during the first half of the seventeenth century, directing the music in the royal chapel during the reigns of both Philip III and Philip IV. He was also considerably revered in Portugal, being particularly admired by Dom João, eighth Duke of Bragança, who was the reinstated King of Portugal in 1640 (see below, pp.60-61 and chapter 3, section (i)). Romero initially came to Spain at an early age as a choirboy singing under the leadership of George de la Hêle and his teacher Philippe Rogier. Mateo Romero is an hispanized version of his original name, Matthieu Rosmarin, which took effect in the 1590s.[1] The title 'el maestro capitán' or sometimes just 'capitán', was given to him probably as a mark of respect for his great musical ability, distinguishing him from others of Rogier's pupils who included Gery de Ghersem (1572/3-1630). Romero, a superior rival to Ghersem, was appointed Rogier's successor after a brief spell of Adrien Capy's leadership. On Capy's abdication in 1598 Ghersem was nominated 'teniente de capilla', or vice-maestro, leaving Spain for his own country in 1605.

Philip III then inherited an excellent royal chapel which consisted of many followers of Philippe Rogier. To a greater degree than his father perhaps this monarch loved music above all else and endowed his musicians with considerable encouragement and patronage. It was during his reign that the great repertory of 'música profana' was to develop, with numerous villancicos, 'tonos humanos', 'folías', sonnets,

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1. Becquart (1967), p.150, estimates that the change of name took place in about 1594.

'tonadas' and madrigals. He was also a practising musician himself; in describing Philip's great love of music Cerone (1613) declared: 'mostrose muy afficionado a ella y a los professores della' (El Melopeo, Lib. I, Cap.53, p.150). It was under his instigation that Alvaro de Caravajel, in 1598, set about reorganizing the musical chapel, revising the ancient statutes promulgated by Charles V which emanated from a Burgundian etiquette just three months after his accession to the throne. (See Becquart (1967), p.94.) However, Philip III's reign saw the end of the systematic recruitment of Flemish musicians, notably young choirboys, to the capilla real. Inevitably this was to lead to the virtual extinction of a capilla flamenca per se which had been characterized by a long-standing attachment to the Burgundian traits of the first two Habsburg monarchs in Spain. Thus by 1616 the 'cantorçicos' enlisted in the capilla flamenca are all, without exception, Spanish and, in comparison to Rogier's chapel, the number of personnel as a whole had dropped considerably.

At the beginning of the year 1606, when the court and chapel returned to Madrid from Valladolid, the chapel royal (Flemish and Spanish) included Romero as maestro de capilla, a 'teniente de maestro de capilla' who was Gabriel Díaz (succeeding Ghersem), the organists Bernardo Clavijo (del Castillo) and a certain Juan de Arriata (de/y Guevara), and two more officials who performed the duty of 'templador de los órganos' - these were Juan Leonardo and 'Juan Brevos'.[1] Little is known about Arriata beyond the fact that he may have succeeded Francisco Fernández Palero, a contributor to Venegas de Henestrosa's 1557 Libro de cifra,

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1. See Subirá (1959), p.213. Subirá quotes from the document Casa Real, Lista de distribuciones de la Capilla Real, Desde el año 1606 hasta el de 1613.

as organist at the capilla real in Granada.[1] However, it is clear that some of his music was included in the above-mentioned book of Tentos de orgão, once in John IV's library, which also contained works by the royal chapel organists and brothers Diego del Castillo and Bernardo Clavijo. It may be established then that at least two organists continued to officiate in the capilla española and that these were probably assisted by a number of Flemish organists who may still officially have been employed as organ- tuners.

Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo: royal chapel organist, 1602-26

In the history and development of Spanish organ music considerable significance is generally attached to Bernardo Clavijo (c.1549-1626) on the strength of his one extant organ composition, the tiento por gesolreut, tono 2°. (See Apel ed. (1971), pp.46-49.) This is preserved in one of the two Escorial MSS (Esc. M.2187, ff.104v-105) for which a concordance has been identified in the fourth Coll MS (MBN M.1360 (ff.181v-183) where it is entitled Obra de 2° tono por Gsolreut. (In the seventeenth century the terms tiento and obra were used synonymously to indicate a fugally-constructed organ composition of moderate length.) The date of this composition is not known; it was probably the first of its type to include a passage in the falsas vein - a dissonant contrapuntal and harmonic genre which was to become a characteristic style in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century organ composition. The first actual use of the term 'falsas' in connexion

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1. See Solar Quintes (1957) p.168 seq. Juan Arriata was the son of the copyist ('apuntador') Gaspar de Arriata who, along with the copyist Isaac Bertout, was active in the capilla real in the early 1590s until about 1600. See Becquart (1967), pp.24, 26, and passim; also pp.250-251.

with particular organ pieces occurs in three tientos by Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia (1561-1627), contemporary organist at Zaragoza; these pieces are included in the same Escorial manuscript. The 'falsas' texture was particularly exploited in the works of the Valencian organist Juan Cabanilles a century later. Whether indeed Clavijo should be credited as being the first exponent of this style is difficult to ascertain, particularly when Cabezón's music also contains chromatic passages. Moreover, there are apparently no contemporary accounts witnessing a 'new' organ style of Clavijo's.

Nevertheless it is of immense significance that Clavijo's formative years were spent in Palermo, possibly also Naples, where he would have been in close contact with the changes and developments which affected keyboard music in southern Italy and Sicily, notably Naples. When Clavijo returned to Spain in 1589, where he was appointed organist at Palencia cathedral, moving to Salamanca in 1592, he was already about forty years of age having spent twenty years of his life both as maestro di cappella of the palatine chapel in Palermo and as organist of the viceregal chapel. By this time too he had achieved the publication of his book of Motecta (Rome, 1588). It is therefore probable that a number of his organ works were recorded in Italian manuscripts at the time though none of these has as yet been identified.

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Palermo and Naples were flourishing musical centres, Palermo being particularly renowned for its 'academies' during the sixteenth century and for a large number of musicians who published profusely - madrigals in particular. Bernardo Clavijo was not the only Spaniard employed at the royal palatine chapel - he was succeeded for instance by Sebastián Ravel (c.1550-1604), who was nominated maestro in 1595. It was Naples

in particular which was renowned for its 'school' of organists and composers; these were active especially in the royal chapel and the Chiesa dell'Annunziata, a church largely dominated by Flemish and Spanish musicians. These included Salinas, Harlem, Macque, Diego Ortiz and Lorcos. Distinguished Italians in Naples were Rodio, Valente and Mayone, and later Trabaci. When the Oratorio di S. Filippo was established in 1586, Naples was exposed to a degree of Roman influence, particularly in polyphonic music. It is possible that the works of Morales and Victoria, who had been working in Rome, were transmitted to Naples at this time also.

It is with the Neapolitan school of organists in particular that may be associated the style of organ writing known as 'durezze e ligature' which is remarkable for its exploration of chromatic harmonies and unprepared dissonances. This experimental style was indicative of general musical currents in Naples at this time which are associated in particular with the madrigals of the Prince Carlo Gesualdo (c.1561-1613).[1] Gesualdo was also renowned for his musical evenings. Organ music written in the 'durezze e ligature' vein may be exemplified by Macque's 'Intrada d'organo; durezze e ligature; consonanze stravaganti', his pupil Mayone's 'Toccata 5 per il cimbalo cromatico', Trabaci's 'Durezze e ligature' (1603) and in a number of E. Pasquini's works (ed. Shindle (1966)); Pasquini was in fact organist at St. Peter's Rome from 1597. It is with this style of organ writing that a parallel may be drawn with the Spanish 'falsas'. The Spanish variety is however in a milder vein in which dissonances are rarely unprepared.

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1. There is a piece of organ music by Gesualdo, edited by Jackson (1967), pp.37-45.

In addition to his association with the capilla real in Madrid, Bernardo Clavijo was also known for the musical evenings which he held in his house; these may have emanated from similar sessions held in Palermo and Naples. Vicente Espinel, musician and poet, in his Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón (1618) refers specifically to these events, praising in particular the playing of Clavijo and that of his daughter Bernardina on both the harp and 'tecla', and the performance of a certain Lucas de Matos on a seven-course vihuela (de mano).[1]

It is not known in which year Arriata died or left his post as royal chapel organist; however, in 1626, on the death of Bernardo Clavijo himself, Francisco Clavijo del Castillo, Bernardo's son, was nominated.

> Clavijo del Castillo Francisco, organista de la R(eal) Capilla, Recibido en 11 de Agosto [de 1626] en la Cátedra que vacó por muerte de Bernardo Clavijo, padre.
>
> (MBN, Fondos 'Barbieri', Mss.14.069, [folder] Clavijo Francisco; quoted in Erdozain (1966), p.207.)

In another document we learn that in 1628 Sebastián Martínez el Moço was also serving as royal chapel organist with Francisco. (See Subirá (1959), p.211.). Francisco Clavijo was succeeded by Juan del Vado in 1637.

The last years of Bernardo Calvijo's tenure, as also those of Mateo Romero, coincided with the first few years of the reign of Philip IV. Romero had a considerable role to play in the formation of the King's tastes and indeed technical abilities in music just as Olivares, who entered the court as early as 1615 as one of the gentlemen of the chamber, became Philip's mentor. Romero not only taught the young King the

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1. See Erdozain (1966), p.205; Erdozain quotes the relevant passage and source of the text. See also Russell (1973), p.332.

vihuela but also elements of composition. (See Becquart (1967), p.167.) After Romero's retirement in 1633 the organist and composer Juan del Vado continued the King's musical education. It is therefore not surprising that Philip IV took a special interest in his musical chapel. As a whole, Romero was an extremely influential member of the court and had an enormous amount of responsibilities. However, by about 1628 numbers in the capilla flamenca had greatly diminished and the capilla española, as an individual institution, began to come to the fore, comprising as many singers as instrumentalists. It was soon after this period that projects for the alternative royal residence, and so-called Palacio del Buen Retiro in Madrid, began to be made.

Madrid, already a great centre of literary and artistic life where nobles and courtiers were particularly anxious to engage distinguished artists and writers in their service (Lope de Vega became secretary to the Duke of Sessa and Quevedo worked with the Duke of Osuna), and Andalusian customs of pageant and spectacle were through Olivares's influence to bring an added zest to Madrilenian life, was soon to experience one of the most monumental symbols of providential rule which was extended far beyond the idea of a conventional palace for the King. The creation of the Buen Retiro was ostensibly one of Olivares's enterprises. The project (in the 1630s) to enlarge upon the already existing royal apartment of San Jerónimo, which was attached to the monastery built by J.B. de Toledo at Philip II's instigation (1561-3), was to mark the swearing of allegiance to Prince Baltasar Carlos (b.1629). The chief designer of the Buen Retiro was probably Alonso Carbonell (fl.1620-d.1660), and the whole was one of the grandest and most ambitious projects undertaken on Spanish soil. (See Brown and Elliot (1980).)

Although sculpture played a minor role in the decoration of the palace, painting held the spotlight with numerous artists, notably Diego Velázquez - official portrait painter ('pintor del rey') - commisioned for works. It was in this setting that musical plays and the 'zarzuelas' by the leading dramatists of the century were performed; on Corpus Christi day in 1634 the allegorical drama by Calderón - El nuevo palacio del Retiro - was performed (ibid., p.100). Although in fact the King spent only limited periods at the Buen Retiro (perhaps forty days a year on average), the palace was evidently frequented by the royal artists and writers and the musicians of the 'Cámera de Su Magestad' whose numbers were increasing in quantity. (See Becquart (1967), p.179.) The presiding maestro de capilla, Mateo Romero, would have been responsible also for the instrumentalists and the music performed on these occasions to a very large degree. There is a Libro de Tonos Humanos extant, which includes some songs by Romero in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (MBN M.1262).

Towards the end of his career as maestro of the capilla real in Madrid Mateo Romero began a long series of negotiations with the great Portuguese Maecenas Dom João de Bragança (exact contemporary and rival of Philip IV and the future King John IV of Portugal) through the latter's desire to obtain exemplars of Romero's works for his library. Dom João had inherited the casa ducal at Vila Viçosa at the death of his father Dom Teódosio, seventh Duke of Bragança, in 1633, being at that time still fifth Duke of Guimarães and third Duke of Barcelos. Dom Teódosio II (grandson of Dom Teódosio I), an avid collector of manuscripts, had already acquired a vast international musical collection which Dom João was to inherit and enlarge upon. If this royal library had not been destroyed in the 1755 earthquake our knowledge of Spanish

and Portuguese music, in particular, from this period would be greatly enhanced. Musician and composer himself and pupil of Roberto Tornar (Robert Turner, an Englishman (c.1587-1629)) who had been appointed mestre da capela at Vila Viçosa by Dom Teódosio in 1609, Dom João's own compositions were apparently also performed at the royal chapel in Madrid. In 1644, shortly after the wars of independence, John IV nominated the retired Romero non-residential chaplain to the Portuguese crown. With Romero's death in 1647, and with the Count of Vidigueira acting as intermediary, John IV eventually managed to acquire many of Romero's works (in manuscript) including his much coveted treatise El porqué de la música in 1652. (See Becquart (1967), pp.186-88.)

Other items of music emanating from the Spanish capilla real were absorbed into the Portuguese King's library at this time; these included works by M. Correa, P. Rogier and Romero's successor and rival the Spaniard Carlos Patiño. To this period of constant exchange of music and musical ideas between Spain and Portugal may be assigned the compilation of the contrapuntal manuscript at Porto (PBPM M. 1576) which has frequently been categorized as an organ source. (See Fernandes ed. (1963).) In the tradition of the fashion of composers basing their works on themes or ideas from an external source - John IV supplied themes for masses by Duarte Lobo for instance - this manuscript contains several compositions or exercises of João da Costa, Gaspar dos Reis and others, worked from a short four-note idea which had apparently been supplied by an eminent Castilian composer, possibly Patiño himself. The manuscript also includes a textless composition by Mateo Romero ('Tensão q(ue) se deu a 4; Capitán. La sola de mi querida', ff.40-40v; Fernandes ed. (1963), p.13).

With the appointment of Carlos Patiño as maestro de capilla the capilla flamenca became completely hispanicized. Furthermore, at the beginning of 1637, the year in which Juan del Vado succeeded Francisco Clavijo as organist, the two ancient institutions were united as one and the name 'capilla flamenca' disappears. The lists of personnel of the royal chapel were now entitled 'Gages de la Capilla Real del Rey Nuestro Señor' or 'Gages de las personas que sirven en la Real Capilla del Rey Nuestro Señor'. (See Becquart (1967), p.183, n.(2), and Solar-Quintes (1957), p.20.)

(iv)

Spain in the second half of the seventeenth century: the final years of the Habsburg dynasty

The 1640s in Spain were critical years: broadly speaking this was a period in which both Olivares's ambitious policies and his own career were thwarted. His ruthless attempts to unite the Iberian peninsula - the so-called 'Union of arms' (see Elliott (repr.1985), p.330 seq.) - were strongly resisted by Catalonia in particular. Moreover, on 1st December 1640, Portugal eventually reclaimed its independence. This was only finally recognized by Spain in 1668. With the rebellions in Sicily (1646-47) and Naples (1648), the recognition of Dutch independence with the peace treaty of Westphalia (1648), notwithstanding the defeat of Rocroi (1643), the Spanish monarchy was in danger of having its constituent parts divided.

However, following about twenty-five years of continuous conflict with France, Olivares's successor (and nephew) Don Luis de Haro (1598-1661) negotiated a peace treaty: the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). (The marriage of Philip IV's daughter María Teresa with her cousin Louis XIV at that time was a factor which led to the eventual accession of a Bourbon to the Spanish throne in 1700.) A great supporter of the mutual understanding achieved between Spain and France from this time onwards was Philip IV's illegitimate son Don Juan José of Austria. He was a particularly influential force during the early years of Charles II's reign (1665-1700) before the young (cretinous) monarch came of legal age. However, Juan José's interests and those of the Regent Mariana of Austria, who supported the Austrian connexion of the Spanish monarchy, was the cause of continuous conflict at this time. (Don Juan, for instance, arranged a French marriage for Charles

with the niece of the French King, Marie-Louise of Orleans; ten years later, however, following the young Queen's mysterious death, the Queen Mother married her son to Mariana of Neuberg, sister of the Empress of Austria.) During the Count of Oropesa's ministry (1685-91) began the problem of the 'Spanish succession'.

Apart from the great flowering of the visual arts in Andalusia at this time, especially in Seville and Granada (Alonso Cano), much of the artistic and cultural activity of the second half of the seventeenth century was centered on the royal court and the palace of the Buen Retiro (Madrid). It was a theatrical age dominated by such masters as Calderón who wrote dramatic masterpieces which were performed at the Buen Retiro in particular and set to music by the best musicians of the royal court: Hidalgo, Patiño and Sebastián Durón.

Vado and Patiño, organist and maestro de capilla respectively of the royal chapel where they worked together for about fifty years, were also contemporaries of the court favourite Juan Hidalgo (c.1612/16-1685). Hidalgo was appointed as both harpsichord and harp player at the royal court in 1631, a few years before the arrival of Vado and Patiño (see above). He is particularly associated for his collaboration with Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-81) with whom, for instance, he created the first extant Spanish opera: 'Celos aun del aire matan' (1660). This is the oldest Spanish opera extant complete with music; it is however indicative of the influx of Italian operatic style, prevalent at this time, being constructed largely from recitatives and arias, and sections for chorus. He also contibuted to the creation of the so-called zarzuela which was the name eventually adopted for a musico-poetic genre of entertainment which had often been performed in 'la

Zarzuela', a hunting-lodge near the Pardo palace.[1] Hidalgo had an extremely long career at the court; he was still listed as 'Músico y Arpista de la Real Capilla' in about 1674. (See Solar-Quintes (1957), p.198.)

Considering the length of time which Vado spent at the royal court and chapel in Madrid,[2] not a great deal is known specifically about his activities there. There are however a number of vocal and organ works extant: four 'obras' (two for divided registers) in the Porto Libro de cyfra,[3] a parody mass on a motet by Ghersem ('Ave virgo sanctissima') and the six masses and the canons in the Libro de misas de facistor (MBN M.1323 and M.1324).[4] Vado is also reputed to have written at least one, if not two, theoretical works. Ribayez, in his

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1. For the history of the development of the zarzuela see Sage's article 'Zarzuela" in the New Groves (1980), Vol.20, pp.649-50.

2. It is recorded, in about 1680, that as violinist, he was one of the last to survive the rapidly depleting numbers in the court orchestra; see Subirá (1959), p.213.

3. PBPM M.1577:
'Obra de 1° tom de D. João del Vado', (ff.127v-9v);
'Obra de 2° tom de D. João del Vado', (ff.129v-31v);
'Obra de 2° tom de cheo de D. João del Vado', (ff.169-71);
'Obra de 2° tom de cheo de D. João del Vado', (ff.171-74).

4. MBN. M.1323 is entitled:
Libro / de misas de facistor / compuesto / por /
Don Iuan del Vado / Organista de la R(ea)l Capilla /
de Palacio / y maestro / de el [sic] rey n(uest)ro
Señor / que Dios guarde muchos años / a quien le
dedica. (Title page.)

work Luz y Norte (1677), refers to a treatise by Vado (which had not yet been published) about the harp. (This notice appears in the same context as one of Lorente's Melodias músicas; see below, chapter 2, section (v).) Some years later (1702) Torres states that Vado had also compiled a manuscript of 'reglas de acompañar' which included an explanation of the qualities of just eight of the possible 'twelve' modes ('tonos'). (J. de Torres: Reglas generales, Madrid, 1702; Tratato 1°, Cap. V, p.8.)

There is no clear record of the other organists who may have assisted Juan del Vado during the first thirty or forty years of his tenure as organist of the royal chapel. There may have been some change of personnel around the year 1654 when José Ximénez was offered a position at Madrid (see chapter 2, section (ii)). However, in the long list of musicians attached to the royal chapel during the seventeenth century which Solar-Quintes (1957) cites from the Archivo de Palacio (leg.M.26, Real Capilla), appears a certain Pedro de Aldao.[1] According to a marginal note in the manuscript he was 'capallán y organista' having been received as 'capellán' in August 1673. (Solar-Quintes (1957), p.197.)

In the following chapter (chapter 3, section (ii): 'The Aragonese 'school' of organists, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries') we draw attention to the fact that owing to Don Juan José of Austria's connexions with Zaragoza, where he resided in his capacity as governor of Aragon, several organists from this vicinity who had received the whole or part of their early training in Zaragoza were called to the capilla

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1. See Solar-Quintes (1957), pp.181-98.
It is possible that Aldao was Portuguese [Pedro de Aldão].

real in Madrid. The first of these was Pablo Bruna's nephew Diego Xaraba y Bruna: Xaraba succeeded Vado and remained in the service of the King for thirty-eight years until his death in 1715. (He had previously divided his time between El Pilar in Zaragoza and the household of Juan José itself; see below, chapter 2, section (ii).) He did not accept the invitation to return to Daroca in 1679 as successor to his uncle at the cathedral. Diego Xaraba is now remembered by three 'obras' (two are entitled 'Obra accidental') in the Jaca MS (pp.78-81) and the first Coll MS (MBN M. 1357, pp.244-9). Diego was soon joined by José de Torres in 1686 (a pupil of Nassarre) and a year later (1687) by his own brother Francisco Xaraba y Bruna who was to play 'para los días ordinarios'.[1] Francisco Xaraba remained in Madrid for the rest of his life, dying in 1690. Sebastián Durón arrived in 1691, in succession to J. Sanz and F. Xaraba, and was organist under Torres until 1702 when he was appointed maestro de capilla in the royal chapel.

José de Torres y Martínez Bravo (1665-1738), organist, composer and theorist who was attached to the capilla real throughout his working career, founded an important Imprenta de música in 1700. There are twenty-six publications extant from his print-shop which included a revised edition of his master Nassarre's 1683 Fragmentos músicos (1700). Torres's own Reglas generales (1702, revised in 1736) and Canciones (1705) were printed here, the latter being the first known example in Spain of printed vocal music with a basso continuo line. (Rebelo's Psalmi tum Vesperarum, Rome 1657, was the first of its kind to be printed of Portuguese music.) In 1734, Torres reissued Francisco de Montanos's

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1. Archivo Palacio Real, Madrid. Capilla Real, Personal, C.ª 590/25; quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1977), p.71.

Arte de canto llano (Salamanca 1610 - in itself a revision of the original 1592 Arte de música published in Valladolid), appending a number of vocal compositions. These included some of his own works: motets for solo or duo, and a 'Cantata al Santissimo, al estilo Italiano' (pp.221-28). The appendix concludes with a 'Salve a duo, a tres, y a quatro'(pp.235-68) which, like his other vocal compositions, includes a figured-bass accompaniment. With regard to his organ music, there is only one canção in the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM M. 1577, ff.113v-114); this is similar in style to Martín y Coll's own canciones in MBN M.2267.

Sebastián Durón (1660-1716) worked at the capilla real from 1691 until 1706 when, owing to his support of the Austrian line in the Wars of the Spanish succession, he was sent to France in exile. Before this period, however, Durón's career as organist had been somewhat itinerant: after spending his formative years in Zaragoza, where he was employed at the cathedral under Andrés de Sola (1679), Durón became second organist at Seville under Francisco de Medina between 1680 and 1685, and 'racionero organista' at Palencia, 1686 to 1691, after spending a year (1685) at Burgo de Osma. He had therefore made contact with a large number of musicians and had gained a considerable national reputation. Although Pedro Vaz Rego, mestre da capela at Evora cathedral (Portugal), called him 'the wonder of his time', Durón was later criticized by B.J. Feijóo in the Teatro crítico of 1725-40 (tom.I, dis.14, para.8) for his promotion of Italian ideals and styles in his music. Durón is especially known for his cantatas, which were among the first in Spain to include da capo arias and recitatives, his zarzuelas and operas.

Unfortunately Durón's organ music is barely recorded: there are just two works for divided registers in the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM

M.1577, ff.128v-144) and a gaytilla in the Jaca MS (pp.186-191). (These are edited by Siemens Hernández (1967).) It is possible that the music by Durón in the Libro de cyfra which also contains works by his master at Zaragoza Andrés de Sola dates from his years in Zaragoza.

Incidentally, the final years of Torres's long incumbency at the royal chapel coincided with the beginning of Domenico Scarlatti's association with the Madrilenian royal family. Scarlatti had come to Madrid from Lisbon in 1729 in the company of his pupil Maria Bárbara de Bragança for her marriage to Ferdinand, later King of Spain (reg.1746-59). José Elías from Barcelona was also working in Madrid at this time where he was attached to the Descalzas Reales convent from 1725 until the year of his death, and it was during this period that he produced his Obras de órgano entre el antiguo y moderno stilo (BBC M.709; ed.Lloréns (1971)).

CHAPTER 2

ORGANISTS IN SPAIN,

SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

2

ORGANISTS IN SPAIN,

SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

(i)

Seville and Toledo,

Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries:

centres of activity for the Peraza family

and Correa de Arauxo

The cities of Seville and Toledo may be associated with a number of organists who were renowned in particular for a virtuoso style of playing and musical compositions idiomatic to the Spanish organ. Between 1573 and 1618 two generations of organists called Peraza were active in these cities, all being descended from a famous Seville shawmist Juan de Peraza. As the two generations shared the Christian names Jerónimo and Francisco, each will be distinguished here by the figures I (Jerónimo and Francisco, sons of Juan de Peraza) and II (Jerónimo and Francisco, sons of Francisco de Peraza I) respectively. Diego del Castillo was also circulating at the same time as the first generation of Peraza brothers before being employed as royal chapel organist, Madrid, in December 1583 (see above, pp.43-4). With the exception of Francisco Correa de Arauxo, who published a Libro de Tientos in 1626, the reputation of the organists of Seville and Toledo from this period rests almost entirely on documentary evidence alone. However Francisco de Peraza I is also credited with one of the most significant pieces of sixteenth-century Spanish organ music: his (tiento de) 'Medio registro alto' (ESC.M.2187, f.21) is generally conceded to be the first extant example of music written for an organ with divided registers. (See Apel ed. (1971), pp.43-6.) In addition to Correa de Arauxo the following account concerns the first generation of Peraza

brothers and Francisco de Peraza II. Jerónimo de Peraza II was principally active in Palencia, likewise an extremely important cultural centre, where he succeeded Bernardo Clavíjo as organist at the cathedral in 1594; his rival had been Sebastián Verdugo.[1]

The Peraza family at Seville, 1573 - 1598

From about the mid-sixteenth century onwards until the period of economic depression towards the end of the seventeenth century Seville, being the centre of Spain's New World trade monopoly and the carrera de las Indias, was the richest and most prosperous city in Spain. The exploitation of the gold and silver mines in Mexico and Peru yielded vast bullion consignments which arrived at Seville in relentless succession. The population of the Andalusian city expanded dramatically during the sixteenth century attracting numerous foreign merchants (Italian, Flemish and Portuguese) and northern Castilians who were continually seeking wealth and benefit. Nevertheless commercial activity was not drained from the northern provinces and there were great links and exchanges between Seville and the northern cities of Burgos and Medina del Campo. (Elliott (repr. 1985), p.187.) The crown of Aragon, moreover associated with Mediterranean markets, was unsuccessful in its bid for some share in the trading with the New World.

Complementing a healthy economic situation were Seville's thriving cultural achievements, the visual arts in particular. Apart from the strong Moorish contribution, Seville's monuments included a fine cathedral which, though begun as early as 1405, was largely the product of Diego de Riaño (d.1534), being substantially complete by 1549. Seville also

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1. See Preciado (1973/3), p.71. Sebastián Verdugo subsequently became royal chapel organist in Lisbon; see chapter 3, section (ii).

witnessed the principal movements of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish painting and was the home of several of Spain's leading painters. Contemporary with the Perazas and Correa de Arauxo was the famous painter and scholar, and indeed chief censor of the Inquisition in Seville, Francisco Pacheco (1564-1654). He is renowned in particular for his treatise El arte de la pintura (1649) and the Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos (Seville, 1599) which contains a series of 'portraits' of notable 'varones', especially painters and musicians. It includes one of the most famous accounts of Francisco de Peraza I's encounters with Francisco de Guerrero, maestro de capilla at the cathedral, during his tests for the post of organist (see below). With regard to Pacheco's painting itself, the naturalism of his portraits exercised a considerable influence on his pupil and son-in-law Diego Velázquez (1599-1660) as well as on Alonso Cano (1601-67). Other famous Seville painters included Velázquez's contemporary Zurbarán (1598-1664), later commissioned by Philip IV for works in the Buen Retiro palace, and Murillo (1617-82) who remained in Seville all his life founding an academy there in 1660.

During the sixteenth century music in the cathedral was led principally by Francisco Guerrero (1528-99) who, apart from various trips away and abroad, spent 55 years there from 1544 until his death. (He was appointed sole titular maestro de capilla in 1574 at the death of his predecessor Pedro Fernández.) Guerrero's activities, and the contacts he made with other musicians (especially those connected with the cathedral itself), may be gleaned from the selection of documentary material from the Actas Capitulares published by Stevenson. (See Stevenson (repr.1974), pp.148-73.)

Guerrero's long incumbency coincided with that of Alonso Mudarra

(c.1510-80) - famous for his vihuela publication Tres libros (Seville, 1546) - who, as canon (1546/7 seq.) and later major-domo of the cathedral (1568 seq.), played a vital role in the management of the cathedral's affairs as well as being responsible for several musical appointments. These included the nomination of the Fleming Juan Jox ('Mestre Jox') as organ builder in 1566. Mudarra was probably one of the adjudicators at the organ trials leading to Jerónimo de Peraza I's appointment in 1573 three or four years prior to the completion of the new organ. (As early as 1575 J. de Peraza I was asked to prepare a description of the instrument; see Stevenson (repr.1974), p.159.)

The organ built at Seville cathedral by Jox between about 1566 and 1576/7 was evidently of some grandeur and importance. Jox, who had already built up a reputation for himself, was commissioned as the result of proving himself superior to his rival Juan Sensein (also a Fleming) in a trial which involved building an 'organillo pequeño'. (See Jarne (1974), p.34.) He was apparently slow with his work at the cathedral and caused the authorities a great deal of consternation. (See Stevenson (repr.1974), p.159 seq.)

This organ, played and possibly immortalized by the first Peraza generation and Castillo, was restored and renovated as early as the seventeenth century. Fortunately however a description of Jox's 'nuevo órgano de la catedral', complete with a list of its 'registros' (stops), was included in Alonso Morgado's Historia de Sevilla (Seville, 1587). (See Jarne (1974), pp.38-39.) According to the sixteenth-century historian the instrument had two manuals - the 'órgano grande' and the 'cadera' or 'órgano por asiento y espaldar' - each of which had divided registers ('medios registros'). There is no mention of pedals as an independent division. The two manuals were probably of discrepant

lengths and tuning owing to the fact that the 'grande' was of 16 palmos and the 'cadera' of 14. The 'órgano grande' incorporated a number of new stops (there were 24 'medios registros' altogether) many of which, according to Jarne, were unusual for organs from this region of the peninsula of the time, being more characteristic of Catalan models (ibid., p.41). There were also two tremolos ('dos temblantes').[1]

The post of organist at Seville was evidently a prestigious one, sharing equal status with that at Toledo. J. de Peraza I (c.1550-1617) for instance, organist at the cathedral from 1573, severely deceived the chapter by forsaking his post in favour of an appointment at Toledo in 1579 where he spent the rest of his career. The 'Obra de Perasa' in the appendix to the copy of Arauxo's Libro at the Ajúda palace library, Lisbon (LBAj 38-XII-27, ff.215v - 16v), is probably by this organist. (See Apel ed. (1971), pp.37-9.) Diego del Castillo, who had also contested for the Toledan post, was elected to be organist at Seville in 1581 (August 28th) where he stayed for a brief period prior to his royal chapel appointment in 1583. (H. Tapia served as organist in the interim period between J.Peraza I's abdication and the arrival of Castillo.) Little is known precisely about Castillo's activities in Seville. The book of Tentos para orgão from John IV's library in Portugal (see above, p.43), which contains works by 'Diogo Castillo', probably dates from his Madrilean years. However, in a similar way to J. de Peraza I before him, Castillo was asked by the chapter to prepare 'libros de las mixturas y tonos del hórgano grande'. (See Stevenson (repr.1974), p.164.)

Following a series of severe tests issued by Guerrero, Francisco

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1. Jarne (1974), p.41, suggests that the 'cadera' (or cadereta) would have been pitched about a fourth higher than the principal manual.

de Peraza I (1564-98), Jerónimo's younger brother, was eventually installed as Castillo's successor in 1584 (ibid., p.165). According to Pacheco's popular description, F. de Peraza I thoroughly impressed Guerrero who, along with Philippe Rogier, maestro de capilla at the royal chapel in Madrid, declared that the young organist 'had an angel in each finger'.

> [...] al gran maestro Guerrero [Francisco] le obligaba a abrazarlo, a tomarle las manos y querérselas besar. Y lo mismo sucedía con Felipe Rugier, famoso maestro de capilla del rey Felipe II en Madrid. Y ambos afirmaban que tenía algún ángel en cada dedo.
>
> (F. Pacheco: 'El racionero Francisco Peraza' in Libro de descripción (Sevilla, 1599); quoted in Preciado (1973/2), p.35.)

Beyond the general duties of the organist discussed in part two of this thesis little as yet is known specifically about more localized customs which may have prevailed in the cathedral at Seville during Peraza's time. However one fact that is recorded is that Peraza was asked to transcribe for the organ and play 'some motets appropriate to diverse feasts'. (See Stevenson (repr.1974), p.166). There is comparatively little practical evidence for the practice but it is clear that the ability to transcribe and play polyphonic music on the organ, presumably for liturgical purposes, was widely expected of the organist. (There are numerous copies of polyphonic compositions in the two Coimbra MSS for instance: CBGU MM.48 and MM.242.) A precocious player, F. de Peraza I frequently annoyed the authorities by participating in other musical events, especially the romerías, which took place in and around the city. (See Stevenson (repr.1974), p.172.) Although Peraza was for a while often granted leaves of absence the chapter eventually (1595) admonished him to reduce his external engagements (ibid., p.171).

The Peraza family at Toledo cathedral, 1579 - 1618

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Toledo cathedral possessed a flourishing musical establishment complementing Cardinal Tavera's musical court and chapel in the first half of the sixteenth century (see above, pp. 30-1), extending its traditions into the following era. Cardinal Siliceo, Tavera's successor, declared the cathedral to be the 'richest' and 'most splendid' of institutions in Spain surpassed only by St. Peter's in Rome. (See Stevenson (repr.1974), p.29.) Maestros de capilla included Peñalosa, Morales (1545-7), Andrés de Torrentes and, at the turn of the seventeenth century coinciding with J. de Peraza's incumbency as organist (1598-1617), Alonso Lobo.

The presiding maestro de capilla, who took his instructions from the cathedral canons, was expected to confer and collaborate with the organists of which there were normally two (ibid., p.32). There is documentary evidence for the custom of accompanied singing, both by the organ and by instrumentalists. This is included in the Summi Templi Toletani per quam graphica descriptiõ (1549)[1] by the Canon Blas Ortíz and the later Memorial del estilo of 1604.[2] The text, dating from the time of Lobo and Peraza, demonstrates the extent to which polyphony was sung on major feast days and the use to which the organ was put in relation with the choir. There is also a reference to a portable organ which was 'lowered into the coro to accompany the singers' at solemn compline on Holy Saturday.

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1. LonBL Eg.1882, Cap.8, f.40. This book, also entitled Descripción gráphica y elegantíssima de la S(an)ta lglesia Mayor de Toledo, has parallel texts in Latin and Spanish.

2. A summary and selected passages from the Memorial are quoted in translation in Stevenson (repr.1974), p.337, n.99.

Toledo cathedral is associated with the famous 'órgano del emperador' contracted and built in the 1540s. (See Williams (repr.1978), p.237.) It was apparently one of several in the building which included an 'órgano mediano', likewise in the choir, which was rebuilt by Brebos in 1592 during J. de Peraza I's time as organist. This smaller organ was later known as the 'órgano mediano de las trompetas' indicating that Brebos probably added a substantial quantity of reeds to the instrument. It has been suggested that the main object for rebuilding the organ was to make it sound 'louder' than before.[1] There is no certain proof that either instrument was converted to incorporate divided registers.

J. de Peraza I remained at Toledo as organist for some 37 years until his death in 1617. He was succeeded by his pupil and nephew F. de Peraza II who had defeated his rival Correa de Arauxo from Seville at the trials in 1618. There was a book of Tentos de tecla, recorded in the index of John IV's library, which had been compiled by 'Francisco de Peraça tangedor, Racioneiro da Sé de Toledo'.[2]

F. de Peraza II resigned from his post at Toledo in September 1621 and served briefly at Cuenca and the royal Encarnación convent in Madrid before being appointed organist at Segovia in 1628. (On the feast of All Saints, 30th October 1628, Peraza played for Philip IV at El Escorial; see Preciado (1973/1), p.7.) He disappears from the Segovia records after August 1629, and his subsequent activities are not known.

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1. See Wyly (1964), p.46. Some of the stops included on this particular organ have been listed in Williams (repr.1978), p.243.

2. Primeira parte do index, anno 1649, Caixão 16°, (item) 435: 'Tentos de Tecla, treslados de hum livro, que Francisco de Peraça tangedor, and Racioneiro da Sè de Toledo trouxe a Villa Vicosa de various Autores'. See Vasconcellos (1874), p.109.

The reputation of the Peraza family of organists as outstanding performers was eulogized by Lope de Vega:

> Puede doña María de los Cobos
> Mover las piedras otra vez en Tebas
> Con los Peraza, singulares hombres.
>
> (Lope de Vega: 'Loa del Hijo Pródigo', in El Peregrino en su patria, lib.IV. Quoted in Preciado (1973/1), p.9.)

Francisco Correa de Arauxo: organist at Seville, Jaén and Segovia.

Although it is frequently speculated that Arauxo's (sometimes spelt Araujo[1]) origins may in fact have been Portuguese there is little doubt that he spent his formative years in Seville. (In particular, this may be gleaned from the introduction to his 1626 Libro de tientos; the relevant passage is quoted below.) As already indicated, the wealth of sixteenth-century Seville attracted many foreigners and foreign merchants of whom a large representative were Portuguese. Diego Velázquez's family for instance, who settled in Seville, were very largely of Portuguese extraction. By the seventeenth century however, whatever his true national origins, Arauxo had a Spanish nephew, Juan Arias, who substituted for him at Segovia cathedral in the 1650s (see below).

It is likely that Arauxo would have gained much of his musical experience through the example and possibly teaching of his forebears at Seville cathedral: these were the organists 'Peraza' and Diego del Castillo whom he credited for the introduction of 'accidental' (transposed) music. In the following passage taken from the introductory text of the Libro de tientos the precise identity of the 'Peraza' organist

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1. The orthography of Francisco Correa's second family name varies. See Preciado (1972/4).

he mentions is ambiguous even though the name here appears before that of Castillo. It is likely that he was referring to Francisco de Peraza I who succeeded Castillo as organist in 1584 since Arauxo, having been born only around the year 1575, would scarcely have known Jerónimo de Peraza I who was organist from 1573 to 1579.

> Quando comencé a abrir los ojos en la música no avía en esta Ciudad rastro de música de órgano accidental: y la primera que vide puntada en cifra después de algunos años fueron unos versos de octavo tono por delasolrre de Peraza y luego de ay a pocos más otros de Diego de el Castillo [sic] , razionero organista q(ue) fue de la cathedral de Sevilla, y despúés de la capilla Real, y todos assí, unos como otros tenía(n) puestos sustenidos [...]
>
> (F. Correa de Arauxo: Libro de tientos, Seville, 1626, Advertencias, 5° y 6° punto, f.(3)v.)

Arauxo's years at Seville, where he was organist at the church of San Salvador (the exact date of his appointment is not known), are associated in particular with his Libro de Tientos - one of the two extant seventeenth-century organ publications in Spain and Portugal. (M.R. de Coelho's Flores de música was published six years earlier in 1620.) The two other works which he would have liked to have published - a 'libro de versos' (ibid.) and a (theoretical) book about 'los casos morales de música' (Advertencia 1°, f.2) - have not come to light.

With the possible exception of the two homophonic-style settings of plainchant at the end of the book, there are no pieces in the Libro specifically designed for liturgical integration. As the title implies the publication is devoted entirely to larger-scale tientos. It is ostensibly a didactic work in which besides the theoretical explanation of such issues as tablature, ornamentation and fingering, in the manner of several sixteenth-century treatises and instrumental publications, the music is arranged by degree of difficulty and compositional genre.

In addition to a large number of tientos with 'registro entero', special consideration is given to the 'tientos de medio registro' which Arauxo declares are a 'célebre invención, y muy versada en los Reynos de Castilla, aunque en otros no conocida' (Libro f.65; see Kastner ed. (repr.1974), vol.I, p.140, n.(1)).

Arauxo includes four- and five-part 'medio registro' compositions which are written for either one or two ('dos tiples' or 'dos baxones') solo parts. In the text accompanying a five-part 'tiento de medio registro de dos tiples de séptimo tono' (Libro ff.139v-42v; Kastner ed. (repr.1974), vol.II, pp.106-11) the composer suggests a suitable registration for this piece: he states that the solo parts 'de dos tiples' should be played 'en el lleno del órgano' and the lower parts 'en el flautado'. In the same passage he indicates that in the event of the two solo parts being 'de dos baxones' these should be played 'en el lleno o trompetas' with the upper (accompanying) parts 'en el flautado' ('los tiples en el flautado'; ibid.).

The Libro de tientos would have been the result of at least 30 years organ playing. Although Arauxo would have spent the greater proportion of his term in Seville at the organ of San Salvador, his publication was apparently directed to a wider range of instruments - a consideration which complements the inclusion of organ music of varying technical difficulty. For instance, he considers organs of different sizes (ff.90v and 230), 'órganos antiguos' ('que su primer signo es fefaut grave', f.189v) and even instruments with stiff keyboard action ('rezios de juego'). He indicates that the music he includes for the latter type is equally suitable for players with only moderate technical skills and ability. For example the 'Tiento de medio registro de tiple de octavo tono' (ff.122v-4; Kastner ed. (repr.1974), vol. II, pp.69-73)

he suggests 'Es acomodado para órganos rezios de juego, y para medianos tañedores'; similarly, the 'Quarto tiento de medio registro de tiple de septimo tono' (ff.73-75; Kastner ed. (repr.1974), vol.I, pp.160-5) 'Es acomodado para tañedores que no tienen mucha soltura de manos, y para órganos muy rezios de juego'. Furthermore, Arauxo also suggests that one of the tientos (the 'Tiento de medio registro de baxón de treinta y dos números al compás, de segundo tono' (ff.163-6v; Kastner ed. (repr.1974), vol.II, pp.157-65), is to be played on the realejos (portative organs) rather than on larger instruments. He states that the latter's deeper registers ('las contras' in this context) are not able to respond quickly enough and that on such instruments the manual action is very stiff, with the keys pressing down deeply:

> [...] el qual más es para tañido en realejos que en órganos grandes; por no poder responder las contras de los tales con tanta velocidad como es necessario; y por ser los juegos de teclas muy rezios, y hundir mucho.
>
> (Ibid., f.163; Kastner ed. (repr.1974), vol.II, p.157.)

Arauxo's final years at San Salvador were tainted with discord between himself and the chapter owing largely to the clergy's ideas on liturgical and musical reform at the church, with which he did not agree, and their refusal to accept any nominations for substitute organists made by Correa de Arauxo himself. This led to the organist's temporary imprisonment and a lawsuit. (See Jacobs (1973), pp.2-3.) (Sometime before 1633 he was offered a position at the Real Convento de la Encarnación; this he declined.)

After Seville, Correa de Arauxo spent four years as organist at Jaén cathedral, though initially as a composer of 'chanzonetas', before succeeding Juan de Soto at Segovia cathedral in May 1640. (See Preciado (1974/2), pp.52-4.) Soto had left his Segovian post in favour of one

offered to him at the Encarnación convent in Madrid in September 1639; after his abdication four organists presented themselves as candidates for the vacant post during the seven months before Arauxo was eventually tested at the oposiciones. (See Preciado (1972/3, p.71.) A document witnesses the Segovian cathedral chapter's decision to nominate Correa de Arauxo from Jaén above the other four candidates:

> [el cabildo] eligió y nombró de los dichos cuatro opositores al maestro Francisco Correa por racionero de la ración entera del órgano de esta santa iglesia, racionero organista que vino de la santa iglesia de Jaén.
>
> (Archivo capitular de la catedral de Segovia, Actos capitulares de señores canónigos, 1636-1661, f.41., miércoles, 2 de mayo de 1640. Quoted in Preciado (1972/3), p.71.)

During times of illness and increasing old age Correa de Arauxo was frequently substituted for by other organists: these included Juan Sanz and his nephew Juan Arias. (Preciado 1972/3), pp.72-3.) He was eventually relieved of a number of duties normally assigned to the principal organist and seven months before his death he was excused from attending church altogether; he died in poverty. Arauxo was succeeded by Antonio Brocarte in 1655, the composer of four works in the Porto Libro de cyfra - two of these are for divided registers.[1] (Brocarte was organist at Segovia until 1676; he died in 1696 in Salamanca.)[2]

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1. PBPM M.1577: 'Rigisto alto de 2° tom de D. Antonio Brocate' (sic), ff.94-6; 'Registo de dois tiples de 7° tom por E, de D. An(ton)io Brocarte', ff.157v-61.

2. Antonio Brocarte is not to be confused with Antonio de la Cruz Brocarte (d.after 1716), theorist and organist, who was active principally in Zamora and Salamanca.

(ii)

The Aragonese 'school' of organists, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

A distinctive feature of music at the cathedral of the Aragonese city of Zaragoza during the whole of the seventeenth century was that the post of principal organist was passed successively from master to pupil or to the assistant organist. This was a singular phenomenon for a cathedral or indeed any major secular ecclesiastical institution: as instanced in the previous chapter organistships were normally acquired by winning the competitive oposiciones which were open to candidates from any region of the peninsula. The situation at Zaragoza cathedral was in keeping with the traditions of a more enclosed monastic environment. One would expect, therefore, that to a very large extent musical styles and traditions would be inherited. At La Seo Zaragoza the musical line may be said to have begun with Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia and continued by José Ximénez and then by his nephew Andrés de Sola who had several pupils active in the early eighteenth century.[1]

Both chronologically and stylistically the Aragonese organ school as a whole, which also includes Pablo Bruna 'el ciego de Daroca' (the blind man from Daroca), may be regarded as constituting a link between the sixteenth century of Cabezón and the later seventeenth- to eighteenth-century developments of Cabanilles and his contemporaries in Valencia and Barcelona. Broadly speaking the composers here may be associated

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1. L.G. Siemens Hernandez's articles 'La Seo de Zaragoza, destacada escuela de órgano en el siglo XVII' (1966 and 1968) were the first to trace the relationships between these cathedral organists; the following account however draws upon a wider variety of primary and secondary material.

with a solid contrapuntal style and idiom which gradually allows for more idiomatically inspired writing finding particular expression in the medio registro compositions (sometimes called partido, though the two are not necessarily synonymous (see below, p.380)), the batalla and the variation - the latter style is found particularly in the 'glossed' (glosado) Pange lingua settings (see below, chapter 5, section (iv)). As already mentioned, the first use of the term 'falsas' is used in a number of tientos by Aguilera de Heredia. In our discussion about the organ versets and hymns by these composers in part two of this thesis (chapter 5), Bruna emerges as the one who most successfully combines the art of contrapuntal writing with that of idiomatic phraseology.

Despite this apparently 'insular' existence, it is clear that by the 1650s the reputation of seventeenth-century Aragonese organists had spread. In 1654, for instance, Ximénez was offered a post at the royal chapel in Madrid (see below). Furthermore, in the later seventeenth century when Philip IV's (illegitimate) son Juan José of Austria was governor of Aragon, close contacts were made with the royal court and chapel and many organists from this region were called to Madrid. These included Bruna's nephews Diego and Francisco Xaraba y Bruna, Sebastian Durón and Pablo Nassarre's pupil Francisco de Torres who became an important theorist and publisher in Madrid; he was also a close friend of Antonio Martín y Coll who at the turn of the eighteenth century compiled a significant series of collections of organ music. Tangible evidence then of the reputation of the Aragonese school of organists - notably Aguilera de Heredia, Ximénez, Bruna and Sola - exists in the principal manuscript sources of seventeenth-century Spanish organ music: the major Barcelona (BBC) MSS, the Escorial MSS, the

Porto Libro de cyfra and the Coll MSS at Madrid. It is probable that much of this music was broadcast by Durón and those who came to Madrid towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The city of Zaragoza was rich in ecclesiastical institutions: not only were there two cathedrals - La Seo ('el templo del Salvador') and El Pilar (Nuestra Señora del Pilar) - but also numerous churches and as many as ten monasteries (notably San Francisco where Pablo Nassarre spent his life and career) and seven convents of nuns. The principal interest of the following account concerns the organists at La Seo for although El Pilar (substantially rebuilt as a baroque edifice in 1681 ff.) enjoyed an equally strong musical tradition, there is comparatively little known about the organists who would have been contemporary with Aguilera de Heredia and Ximénez. The first distinguished organist to be associated with El Pilar was actually Diego Xaraba y Bruna who spent just three years there (1674-77) prior to his long association with the royal chapel.

Sebastian Aguilera de Heredia: organist at Huesca and Zaragoza 1585 - 1672

Aguilera de Heredia (c. 1565-1672) was appointed organist at Huesca cathedral in 1585 where he was to enjoy a distinguished eighteen-year incumbency prior to his appointment as first organist at La Seo, Zaragoza, in 1603. Aguilera in fact had spent his early life in Zaragoza and was ordained priest there in 1584. In this capacity he was appointed to the church of San Pablo (Zaragoza) but it is not known whether he also played the organ there.

Huesca cathedral, already associated with strong musical traditions (from the fourteenth century), became a flourishing institution

from about the mid-fifteenth century onwards ever since Pedro de Bolea, archdeacon of Serralbo, had formed a music school there in 1450 - this specialized in polyphonic music. (See Durán Gudiol (1964).) From this time also dates the first recorded presence of two organs in the building (1465). In the sixteenth century Huesca cathedral's fame as an important musical establishment must have been widespread as candidates for the posts of cantors, who were appointed by examination, came from various parts of the country. There was also a substantial number of instrumentalists forming 'la copla de ministriles' who were equally active in the music of the cathedral. It is recorded that Victoria sent a book of his Magnificats to Huesca in 1593. Durán Gudiol cites two important texts dating from the early seventeenth century which outline both the duties of the organist and those of the maestro de capilla and the cantors.[1] The text 'Cuando ha de tañer el órgano' is standard of its type; above all it indicates the heavy commitment of the organist on days primae classis.

Directly relating to Heredia's years at Huesca is a document (Capitulación) dated 25th February 1588 in which the stipulations for the construction of a new organ to be undertaken by the organero Gasper Marín from Logroño ('el maestro logroñés'). It is likely that Aguilera was directly involved in the supervision of Marín's commission - this may have had bearings on his future activities in Zaragoza (see below). According to this Capitulación del nuevo órgano construido por Gaspar Marín en 1588 the instrument was to be a consciously 'modern' one ('hecho a lo moderno') and it was to be inclusive of divided registers, comprising a manual of forty-two keys ('un juego de cuarenta y dos puntos'), and three large wooden bellows 'a uso de Italia'. (See Calahorra Martínez

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1. Archivo de la Catedral de Huesca (=ACH), Libro de Resoluciones; See Durán Gudiol (1964), pp.50-52. The text of the organist's obligations is also included in Doderer (1975), p.220.

(1977), pp.187-89.) The knowledge that Aguilera was to have such an instrument at his disposal whilst at Hueca gives a context for his medio registro compositions. It is likely that the organ at Zaragoza also had divided registers but, as revealed below, there is insufficient documentary proof.

Aguilera de Heredia's subsequent appointment at the organ of Zaragoza cathedral in 1603 (29th September), following the death of the principal organist Juan Oriz, marked the beginning of the long association between master and pupil which characterizes the organ 'school' at La Seo. Initially Aguilera's 'ayudante' was Diego Gascón who, just six and a half months previously, had originally been employed as J. Oriz's assistant. (There are no organ compositions extant by Gascón.) In 1620 Gascón was succeeded by Ximénez who, besides being a member of the cathedral chapter since 1619, was also a pupil of Aguilera de Heredia. Ximénez was to succeed his master as principal organist in 1627.

According to various documents Aguilera's interest in the state and repair of the cathedral organ was constant. However, although there are frequent references to the adjustments and improvements made to the instrument, there is no record of its precise size and specification. The original instrument, built in about 1525 by Pedro Serrano, had already been reconstructed by Guillaume de Lupe, an organero who was employed over quite an extensive geographical region. (See Calahorra Martínez (1977), pp.232-40.) Among other requirements Guillaume had been asked to make the organ 'más rico, suave, sonoro y mejor de lo que ahora, añadiendole las quincenas y vendidosenas necessarias'. (The Capitulación para rehacer el órgano por Guillaume de Lupe en 1577 is cited in Calahorra Martínez (1977), pp.157-9. There is no reference to

registros partidos in this text.) One may only speculate that when in 1605 Aguilera required some alterations to be made to the organ that he desired the introduction of divided registers. However, judging from the extant organ music from organists at La Seo, there is little doubt that the instrument catered for 'medio registro' compositions. Little else is recorded specifically about the organ until Andrés de Sola's time when in 1681 the organero José Serma introduced trompetas reales. The reference occurs in the Libro de fábrica in connexion with Serma's remuneration for his work: '[...] 160 libros a José Serma, maestro de órganos, / por añadir en el órgano el registro de las trompetas reales [...]' (quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1977), pp.164-5).

It is apparent that a number of dispensations were granted to Aguilera de Heradia during his incumbency at La Seo: it would be difficult, therefore, to gauge precisely just how much his duties in practice complied with the text 'Del oficio y obligaciones del organista' issued by the chapter in 1607.[1] Briefly, the text issues a few general prescriptions regarding the days and times when the 'organist' (in the singular) was expected to play as well as the procedure to be adopted in an alternatim performance with the choir. It concludes with a reference to the second organist (an unusual addition to such texts) stating that the latter should undertake the same obligations in the event of the absence or sickness of the principal organist; furthermore, neither of them should be absent at (midnight) Matins on solemn days when the Te deum, a hymn and the Benedictus were sung, 'so pena de la distribución de aquel dia todo'.

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1. The text is reproduced in Calahorra Martínez (1977), pp.23-4, and in the appendix to this thesis (pp.525-6).

As early as 1605, for instance, recognizing that he was a 'persona eminente en el ministerio de organista y que la iglesia la dessea acomodar en lo que pudiere', the chapter excused Aguilera de Heredia from being present for the horas canónicas excepting those on solemn days.[1] The assistant organist's duties were evidently heavy and augmented in 1618 when Aguilera asked to be excused from being present in the coro on the days when polyphony was not sung. (Siemens Hernández ed. (1978), p.10.)

It is clear then that Aguilera would have worked closely with the presiding maestro de capilla who for the greater proportion of his time at Zaragoza was Francisco de Silos. (The date of Silos's initial appointment is not known, but apparently because of his unpopularity he was replaced by Escudero in 1611 who was succeeded by Berge (1612), with Silos resuming his position in 1614. He retired in 1632.) It was during Silos's second tenure that Aguilera de Heredia published his book of polychoral Magnificats, the Canticum Beatissimae Virginis (1618). It was dedicated to the cathedral chapter in gratitude for the constant favours granted to him; he also sent a copy to Huesca. (See Calahorra Martinez (1977), pp.33-9.)

On Gascón's death in 1620 Aguilera recommended to the chapter that they appoint his pupil José Ximénez (1601-72) as official ayudante. Ximénez spent eight years as second organist before succeeding Aguilera in 1627. (The precise date of his appointment after Aguilera's death is not known.)

Unlike his predecessor Ximénez was for many years obliged to perform

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1. See Siemens Hernández (1966), p.152. Siemens cites from the Zaragoza cathedral archives, Actas 1593-1610, f.172v, dated 22nd April 1605.

his duties as organist alone: it was only in 1644 that his nephew Andrés de Sola became his assistant. (The cathedral chapter, however, did ask Ximénez's contemporary at Daroca, Pablo Bruna, to come to La Seo as assistant organist in 1639. Bruna was obliged to decline owing to the intervention of the clergy at the Collegiate church where he was organist (see below).) Ximénez's salary was augmented on several occasions as a mark of respect for his eminence and as a reward for his enormous responsibilities. (See Siemens Hernandez (1966), p.161 seq.) It was revised again (in his favour) in 1654 following the decision of the chapter to forbid him from accepting the invitation from Madrid to the post of organist at the capilla real. (Calahorra Martinez (1977), p.44.)

On Ximénez's petition, Andrés de Sola (1634-96) was nominated 'segundo organista' at La Seo in 1644, automatically succeeding his uncle as principal organist in 1672. Sola's entire musical career was associated with La Seo where, on Sebastián Afonso's retirement, he was also appointed maestro de capilla. There is just a 'Jogo de versos de todos os ton(s)' and three larger scale works in the Porto Libro de cyfra by Sola and one identified piece is the 'first' Coll MS (MBN M.1357). (See Lloréns Cisteró ([1981]), pp.87-8.) Sola is particularly noted for his role as teacher to a large number of distinguished organists including the all-round musician and composer Sebastián Durón (1660-1716) who was later to spend sixteen successful years at the royal court and chapel in Madrid (see above, pp.68-9). Durón assisted Sola for just nine months in 1679.

In 1674 Jerónimo Latorre ('el cojo', the lame one) became Sola's assistant for three years prior to his appointment as principal organist at El Pilar where he succeeded Diego Xaraba (1677). The oposición

for this took place at La Seo in 7th August 1677 where Sola was one of the adjudicators (Siemens Hernández (1968), p.144).) Latorre returned to La Seo in 1695 as maestro de capilla, a post he was to renounce in 1699 (ibid., p.146).[1]

The precise date of Miguel Soriano's employment as second organist to Sola at La Seo is not known. However, as pupil and eventual successor to Sola in 1699, he continued the unbroken line of succession from first to second organist which had existed from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Pablo Bruna: organist at Daroca, 1631 - 79

José Ximénez's blind contemporary Pablo Bruna (1611-79) remained at Daroca throughout his career where he was organist at the Colegiata de Santa María la Mayor y de los Corporales - a pilgrimage centre since a miracle occured there in the thirteenth century - for nearly half a century. Although the collegiate chapter was already anxious to employ him as early as 1628, when he was only sixteen years of age, he was officially appointed in 1631. Thenceforth he was jealously guarded. Following the invitation from La Seo in Zaragoza (1639) the chapter raised his salary declaring that Bruna should in future neither leave the church nor ask for any further augmentation of payment:

> [...] obligar a no salir de la igl(esi)a a ningún otro órgano por ningún género de interés y que no ha de pedir en ningún tiempo otro ni mayor salario ni augmento del que se dice arriba [...]
>
> (Actas de la Colegial de Daroca (=ACCD), Libro 2 de Gestis desde 1610 hasta 1660, f.234, dated 30th December 1639. Quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1967), p.180.)

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1. For the controversy regarding the identity of the 'La tore' in the Jaca MS see below, pp.98-9.

However, according to Núñez (Antiqüedades, 1691), Bruna did in fact divide his time between a number of other churches in Daroca. (See Calahorra Martínez (1967), p.180.) Furthermore, in addition to his organ playing, the blind organist also acted as maestro de capilla from at least 1669 onwards (succeeding Juan Baraca) being officially nominated in 1674. (Calahorra Martínez (1967), p.181.)

The instrument which Bruna would have played was one which Guillaume de Lupe completely reconstructed from about 1569 onwards - there is an important contract dating from that time. (See Calahorra Martínez (1977), pp.193-4.) The work was finished in 1573. One of the stipulations was that the main organ was to be augmented by some reeds (dulzainas), stopped flutes (flautas tapadas) and a nazar in the manner of that at La Seo in Zaragoza:

> [...] el dicho Guillaume de Lupe sea tenido de hacer en el juego de dentro, un secreto en el cual ha de hacer unas dulzainas y unas flautas tapadas y un nazar, que es un camusado, que ha de ser dicho nazar a manera del que está en el órgano de La Seo de Zaragoza.
>
> (Not(ici)o F. Torreluenga, 18 enero 1569. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza (=AHPZ), Sección Daroca, no.1382). Quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1977), p.193.)

(De Lupe was concurrently engaged on adjusting the 'pedestal' of the small organ (see below) and the cadereta.) In 1597 Guillaume de Lupe and his son Gaudioso realtered the instrument once more; on this occasion much of the work was supervised by Juan Oriz, organist at La Seo Zaragoza.

In 1657, a certain canon Rodríguez y Martel praised the instrument as 'one of the best' in existence: it had two manuals and a small organ to the right wing which had to be played by a second organist ('lo ha de tañer segundo organista') - this may have offered the possibility of dialogue between two players. (See Calahorra Martínez (1977), p.196.)

Apart from the medio registro compositions, there are generally no instructions for registration in Bruna's music. The 'Registro de tiple de clarín, tono 8.°' in the Porto Libro de cyfra (ff.89-93v) is the one exception - the indication here may have been a later addition on the part of the copyist, for clarín stops were not common until at least the 1670s.

In 1669 Bruna petitioned that on the event of his death his successor as organist at Santa Maria should be his nephew and pupil Diego Xaraba y Bruna ('Diego Jaraba'). The chapter's agreement to this request was recorded in the Libro de Gestis desde el año 1660:

> En 16 de Agosto de 1669 de cabildo ordinario nomine discrepante se hizo la gracia de la futura sucessión del órgano a Diego Jaraba por haverlo pedido Pablo Bruna, su tío, al Cabildo, en remuneración de 40 años que tenía de servicio.
>
> (Libro de Gestis desde el año 1660, Actas de la Colegial de Daroca (=ACCD), 1660-1693, f.76. Quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1967), p.181.)

However, it transpired that Diego Xaraba, who became organist at El Pilar in Zaragoza for three years (1674-77) (he succeeded José Muniesa), when he shared his time between this cathedral and Juan José of Austria's household, was subsequently called to the capilla real in Madrid; he remained there for the rest of his career (1677-1715 : see above, p.67) He declined the invitation to Daroca in 1679 (when Bruna died) being substituted by his brother Francisco Xaraba y Bruna (d.1690).

Apart from the activities of the brothers Xaraba y Bruna little is known specifically about Bruna's numerous pupils. One of these however was the famous musician and theorist (also blind) Pablo Nassarre (1664-1724) who, a few years after his master's death, was to be associated for the rest of his life with the convent of San Francisco in Zaragoza. Nassarre's musical education is acknowledged in Diego Xaraba's preface

to Nassarre's Fragmentos Músicos published by J. de Torres in Madrid in 1700:

> [...] es discípulo de otro ilustrísimo, Pablo Bruna, que por ser mi maestro, no se diga apasionado [...] dexando en mi condiscípulo el Padre Fray Pablo Nassarre un vivo y perfecto retrato de la ciencia que tuvo.
>
> (P. Nassarre: Fragmentos Músicos, Madrid, 1700, f.3.)

(The first edition of Fragmentos was published in 1683 in Zaragoza.) Nassarre is particularly renowned for his two-volumed treatise Escuela Música (Zaragoza, 1723-24). It is probably the most complete work of baroque musical theory written in Spain and it provides insight into liturgical musical practices. There are only a few organ works by Nassarre extant: three tocatas in BBC M.1011 (published by Lloréns Cisteró (1974)) and a few versets in the Astorga MS (Alvarez ed. (1976)).

(iii)

Organists in Valencia,
seventeenth to eighteenth centuries

In the history of Spanish organ music the city of Valencia is associated above all with Juan Cabanilles (1644-1712) who was organist at the cathedral from 1665 until his death. Unlike many other famous organists in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, Cabanilles's fame and brilliance may be substantiated and appreciated not so much by mere documentary accounts of his activities as by the enormous quantity of his organ music which was copied down during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Cabanilles's output completely dwarfs that of other composer-organists working in the same city.

There were two important ecclesiastical foundations in Valencia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the Gothic cathedral, which had always been associated with a flourishing musical tradition, and the Colegio de Corpus Christi - a seventeenth-century Jesuit foundation - which was sometimes also affectionately referred to as 'El Patriarcha'. From articles written by Climent (1962/b and 1982) and Piedrà (1962) it becomes clear that these two churches in particular entertained extremely high musical standards, with the posts of organist and maestro de capilla for instance usually being obtained by very stiff oposiciones. By way of contrast with Barcelona cathedral, for instance, where the organists chosen to fill vacancies at the cathedral were usually of local origin (from Barcelona itself or from other places in Catalonia), the cathedral had been known to employ musicians from a wider geographical area: prior to the time of Cabanilles several organists came from Aragon, even Zaragoza itself, there being many connexions between the two provinces at that time. Although the posts

at Valencia were highly regarded they did not however attract musicians from such widely dispersed origins as did those at Palencia, Segovia, Toledo and Seville, for example, where it was relatively unusual for a local musician to remain in the same situation throughout his career.

In addition to the documentation which has been gathered from extant archival material by Piedrà and Climent, relating in particular to the succession of musicians who performed in these two institutions, the manuscripts of organ music at Barcelona (BBC) provide considerable insight into the style of music which was practised in Valencia (and indeed Barcelona) during the time of Cabanilles. Only a certain proportion of this music has been published - interest having been centred hitherto on the tientos and large-scale compositions. Anglés's four-volumed edition (1927-56) of a selection of Cabanilles's tientos, though an important publication in itself, contains only a small percentage of the cathedral organist's total output; the repertory of music by Cabanilles as a whole demonstrates the extent to which the organist normally contributed to the liturgy. It may be considered as representative of liturgical organ music practised in Valencia during this period.

There is very little precise information about the instruments used by Valencian organists during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The majority of references to these relate chiefly to the dates of their construction and renovation. However, we may hope to gain some knowledge about their scope and nature from the organ compositions themselves. Prior to the eighteenth century, music, very generally speaking, was built on a contrapuntal framework that only occasionally allowed for variety in the disposition of the parts and their registrational differentiation (the medio registro compositions). However, in the wake of some of Cabanilles's pieces, music from the early

eighteenth century onwards was more alive to the technical possibilities of the instrument, and some compositions included instructions for registration.

In addition to the cathedral and the Colegio at Valencia there were several other ecclesiastical institutions with musical traditions: one of these was the Jeronymite monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes (dating from the sixteenth century) where it is known that Fray Juan de San Agustín was active during the later seventeenth century. San Agustín's music is contained in one of the later (eighteenth-century) substantial manuscripts at Barcelona (BBC M.1011) which is dominated by the music of Antonio Tormo by whose pupil the manuscript was compiled. Along with that of Vicente Rodríguez, Cabanilles's successor at the cathedral who is famed in particular for his 1744 Libro de tocatas para címbalo (published by Climent in 1978), the music of the organists represented in BBC M.1011 may be regarded as characteristic of Valencian organ composition in the period after Cabanilles. A predominant feature of their music is the use it makes of imported Italian styles and forms along with more traditional seventeenth-century Spanish idioms. (Aspects of their music are discussed in part two of this thesis.)

Juan Bautista José Cabanilles: cathedral organist, 1665-1712.

Although the records indicate that from the fifteenth century onwards at least there were two organs in the cathedral,[1] there were not necessarily always two organists officiating at once. For at least

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1. One of these was a three-manual instrument dating from 1520. See Anglés ed. (1927-56), vol.I, p.xxiii seq, and Wyly (1964), pp.11-12.

thirty-five years, except of course when he was absent from the city, Cabanilles apparently performed his duties unaided, in spite of the fact that notice of the presence of two organists in the cathedral can be attested as early as 1645 when Jerónimo *de la* Torre was nominated second (or assistant) organist to the then presiding blind organist Andrés Pérez, 'el ciego de Valencia':

> [...] nominarunt in adiutorem, sive ajudant de organista de la Seu, Hieronimum de la Torre, cum reservatione omnium jurium et emolumentorum Andrea Peris [...]
>
> ((Archivo de la Catedral), Vol.3117, f.188v; quoted in Climent (1962/b, p.185.)

At least one occasion has been recorded when both organs were played at the same time: in 1655 it was stipulated that on receiving the Archbishop at solemn (first) Vespers on Christmas day 'tócanse los dos órganos [...]'. (See Climent (1982), p.60.)

Torre always served as assistant organist to Pérez until his own retirement in 1665 when he was briefly succeeded by Cabanilles. Cabanilles remained but one year in this capacity, succeeding Pérez (after he had died) as official organist in May 1666. There is a certain amount of controversy regarding the true identity of the 'Hierónimo la Tore', composer of the organ mass which appears in conjunction with a 'Misa per annum' (sic) by Cabanilles in the Jaca MS (pp.278-300).[1] It could be either by Pérez's assistant in Valencia or indeed by a contemporary organist at Zaragoza bearing the same name. (The Jerónimo Latorre at Zaragoza became organist at El Pilar in 1677 (see above).) Whilst Siemens Hernández (1968) favours the latter possibility for a number of reasons, including the consideration that this was essentially

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1. For a discussion of the organ mass see below, chapter 6, section (ii).

an Aragonese manuscript, it may be borne in mind that the Jaca MS is a major original source of Cabanilles's organ music in which other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century organists are barely represented.[1] (There are two works by Xaraba and a tiento by Sebastián Durón; see the index to this manuscript listed in Anglés (1962/a).)

Only a handful of works are extant by Cabanilles's predecessors at the cathedral: there is a tiento by Juan Sebastián (organist between 1628 and 1639) in an Escorial manuscript (Esc. M.2186, ff.103v-104; published in Anglés ed. (1965-68), vol.II, pp.41-44) and just two Pange lingua settings by Pérez himself (BBC M.729, ff. 191-3); the Pange linguas by Pérez are included in the anthology (pp.351-5). There are no works extant by Sebastián's predecessors M. Ximeno (organist 1602-26) and J. Albano (organist 1626-27). The latter, like Jerónimo de la Torre after them, were musicians coming from Aragon. In the oposiciones competed for by Albano in 1626, this Aragonese organist was referred to as 'racionero de Caragoça'. (See Climent (1982), p.181.)

Only a very few facts relating to Cabanilles's life and career as organist may be obtained from archival material owing to the fact that a large proportion of the cathedral archives was destroyed by fire. However, Cabanilles was only ordained priest (in 1668) a few years after he had been nominated organist at the cathedral in 1666 - this situation was relatively unusual. (He had been appointed second organist in 1665.) Whilst he was organist he also briefly took charge of the education of the cathedral choirboys between 1675 and 1677. It is clear that in addition to the responsibility of providing organ music, Cabanilles made contributions to the composition of vocal music

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1. Lloréns Cisteró ([1981]), p.89, assigns the organ mass in the Jaca MS by 'Hierónimo la Tore' to the Valencian organist, Jerónimo de la Torre.

for the liturgy: eight choral works of his survive which are written for two- and three-part choirs in polychoral style; the music includes a part for basso continuo. (See Querol Gavaldá (1962) and Climent (1962/a); the works are edited by Climent (1971).) According to hearsay evidence Cabanilles was also well-known in France where he was frequently asked to provide music in certain cathedrals on important occasions. This fact was apparently stated in a manuscript, which has now been lost, by Cabanilles's most famous pupil José Elías. (See Anglés (1962/b), p.5.)

It is evident that in the event of his absence from the city, substitute organists would have been called upon to replace him. However, it was only due to increasing ill health late in his career that a second organist was officially appointed to assist Cabanilles in his duties. In a document dating from 1703, the year in which the harpist and organist Jorge Rodríguez was nominated as second organist, we learn that Rodríguez's duties were not only to replace the principal organist if necessary but also to play a second organ in conjunction with the first on very special occasions such as the performance of the Te deum:

> Attenent denique que en moltes funcions del chor com son Te Deum y atres extraordinaires, es de molt luiment y augment del cult diví tocar dos orguens, per ço [...] (el 15 de feb. de 1703) nomenen en segón organiste [...] y arpiste [...] a Jordi Rodríguez que actualmente es troba organiste y arpiste de la Iglesia Colegial de Alacant.
>
> ([Valencia cathedral archives], prt.3183, ff.379 & 655; quoted in Climent (1982), p.60.)

Although no specific constitutional text emanating from this cathedral has been lighted upon, the manuscript sources themselves bear witness to the full extent to which Cabanilles would have contributed to the liturgy. However, there is curiously little testimony to the organist's

participation in the Mass: the organ mass per se is barely represented in Cabanilles's output.

The extent of Cabanilles's fame and respect both during and after his lifetime is proven by the enormous quantity of his music which was copied down. Six manuscripts in particular are devoted to his music: BBC M.386, M.387, M.1328 the Jaca MS and the two 'Felanitz' MSS in Mallorca. There are also a number of other manuscripts in Barcelona and Madrid (the Coll MSS), as well as the Astorga MS which contain examples of his compositions for organ. (Needless to say, concordances exist between some of these sources.) Cabanilles may be credited with over 250 large-scale compositions, some 75 hymn settings (mostly Pange linguas) and nearly one thousand individual psalm-tone versets.[1] It is not without some foundation that the eighteenth-century copyist (a pupil of Elías) of one of the principal sources of Cabanilles's tientos, the Libro de obras de órgano copied in 1722 (BBC M.386), should inscribe at the outset of the collection: 'Ante ruet Mundus quam surgat Cabanillas / secundus' (sic) - the world will fall to ruin before a second Cabanilles arises. (BBC M. 386, f. [ii].)

Stylistically speaking, Cabanilles's music as a whole demonstrates remarkable contrapuntal ingenuity, in which for instance various procedures of thematic transformation (inversion, diminution, augmentation and metrical variety) may constitute the interest of an entire structure, as well as incorporating textures and figurations which were especially idiomatic to the Spanish organ. Several studies of Cabanilles's music have already been made. It may be pointed out here that any feats of contrapuntal composition (both fugal and cantus firmus techniques) were prerequisite skills of all employed organists and

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1. For a complete listing of Cabanilles's organ music see Lloréns Cisteró ([1981]), pp.41-62.

musicians working in important ecclesiastical institutions in Spain at this time. These received considerable emphasis in the competitive oposiciones undertaken by candidates for musical vacancies. One such oposición, for which two of Cabanilles's contemporaries competed at the Colegio de Corpus Christi in Valencia in 1677, is illustrated below. For the purposes of this thesis, Cabanilles's contrapuntal skills are discussed in connexion with the small scale versets and hymns illustrated below in chapter 5, sections (iii) and (iv).

Just a few facts about the organ which Cabanilles would have played at the cathedral may be gleaned from the extant musical compositions themselves. It is not certain for instance whether or not the 1510 instrument, with its three manuals, was subsequently substantially reconstructed before the seventeenth century. However, in 1632 (to 1634) Fray Antonio Lloréns renovated the organs, his work being supervised by the then principal organist Juan Sebastián (see above). There are no documents or contracts which describe Lloréns's work; however, it is known that the subsequent tuning of the instruments in 1637 (supervised again by Sebastián) took as long as seven days - this in itself suggests that the organs were large models. (See Climent (1962/b), p.183.)

It is only rarely that Cabanilles's music is provided with a verbal indication of registration and realization. The few cases which may be instanced appear to be indicative of newer technical advances on the Spanish organ. Generally speaking the music demonstrates the more traditional attributes of a large seventeenth-century Spanish organ: two manuals with divided registers, and a pedal division.

There are a wide variety of partido compositions - in the repertory of both the tientos and the versets - which are either strictly for

divided registers (medio registro) or written for two manuals. In the latter variety, although the interest may be directed to one or other of the hands as a traditional medio registro composition, the solo, which may be in two (contrapuntal) parts ('dos tiples' or 'dos baxos'), is not necessarily restricted to the ambitus of the upper or lower half of a divided manual. Furthermore, the disposition of sound suggested by the opening of a piece is not necessarily integral throughout; there may be ample opportunities for changes in registration and manual. In the tientos for instance the change of texture might be included in the title of the composition. For example, in the 'Tiento de 6° tono, partido de mano d(e)recha con un pedazo de dos tiples [...]' (BBC M.386, pp.256-60) the texture changes towards the end of the piece (p.259) from three-part to four-part writing where it is indicated 'A dos tiples'.

There are just a very few compositions by Cabanilles specifically written for a performance using the echo (eco) division of the organ: two verses and an incomplete tiento 'de ecos' are included in BBC M.387 (ff.26-26v, 421v-2v, and 256v). These pieces rely entirely upon rapid alternations of echo and contrast for their construction. One of the two versets is included in the anthology. Organ music written specifically for the eco division is only rarely encountered: other examples include a 'Pangelingua de ecos' by V. Hervás (BBC M.1011, f.79v; anthology p.364) and Miguel López's pedagogical exercise 'Para que los muchochos [sic] aprendan a tañer con eco y contraeco' which he composed at Valladolid in 1705. (See Pujol ed. (1934), pp.262-70.)

As indicated in their title, a few of Cabanilles's organ compositions include pedal parts: in one piece the first bass note is given the instruction 'A pia' (sic) (BBC M.386, pp.86-92) - this 'Tiento

de contras' has been edited by Anglés. (Anglés ed. (1927-56), vol. IV, pp.70-88). More frequently than not the pedal note is long and sustained, acting as a drone. However, at least one instance may be cited of a verset 'de quontras' (sic) in which the pedal part outlines a cantus firmus of an entire psalm-tone, inclusive of the intonation formula. In the 'Verso p(rimer)o tono de quontras [...]' (BBC M.387, f.421), which is included in the anthology (pp.63-4), the cantus firmus part in the pedals is notated in such a manner as to accommodate for the relatively limited span of the pedals. (A verset for the hymn Ave maris stella in MBN M.1359 (pp.99-101) is constructed according to the same principles.) Finally, in one psalm-tone verset by Cabanilles (BBC M.387, f.421) the pedals are liberated from a role of mere drone or sustained cantus firmus to one where both feet are required to outline a basic contour of parallel octaves and tenths in the final bars of six-part counterpoint.

Two instances may be cited of compositions which call for a specific registration: the 'Tiento para la corneta magna de Cavanillas, 8vo tono' (BBC M.387, ff.372-3v) and the 'Tiento de 5to tono de clarines de mano d(e)recha [...]' (BBC M.387 f.386-8v). It is conceivable that the latter was directly inspired by the new stop which the organist ordered to be installed on the cathedral organ in 1693. This was a half-stop of clarines on the façade of the organ. (Anglés ed. (1927-56), vol.I p.xxix). We are told that clarines were only invented by J. de Hechevarría in about 1670: Hechevarría included such a stop on the organ of San Diego in Alcalá de Henares in about 1680. (See Williams (repr.1978), p.251, and below, p.125.)

Wyly has suggested that the c.1700 Declaración de los órganos que ay en el Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real (Esc. MS. IIIb) provides a

very good indication of the style of registration which was used in Spain during Cabanilles's time.[1] Although there were no divided chests on these Brebos instruments, the author of the Declaración provides various combinations or registration for medio registro compositions which would have been played on two manuals, crossing the hands if necessary. The author àlso recommends the alternation of manuals for the playing of 'dialogues and echoes'. (Wyly (1964), p.138.) As a whole, enormous emphasis is placed on the reeds which were freely combined with the llenos and flautados.

Vicente Rodríguez Monllar (1690-1760), younger brother of the second organist at the cathedral, Jorge Rodríguez, was eventually appointed Cabanilles's successor after having served as interim organist for a period of nearly three years. (See Climent (1962/b), pp.195-6.)

> Ab acte rebut per lo escriva del Ill(us)tre Capitol, en 1 de Abril 1715, dit Illustre Capitol nomená y provey en la plaza y offici de organiste, vacant per mort de Mosén Joan Cabanilles, a Vicent Roderíguez, ab salaris, drets y emoluments assignats y acostumats.
>
> ([Valencia cathedral archives], vol.1631, f.148; quoted in Climent (1962/b), p.196.)

According to the cathedral archives Rodríguez was responsible for augmenting the organ with several new stops: '[...] en lo orgue gran se han añadit molts registres de música moderna [...]' (ibid., vol.3204, f.483; quoted in Climent (1962/b), ibid.). Although Climent was unable to locate any precise records of these, it is evident from the few

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1. See Wyly (1964), pp.136-41, where the text is introduced in translation. This Declaración has already been referred to in chapter 1, p.48.

organ compositions preserved by Rodríguez in BBC M.1011 (ff.106-8 and 112v-19v) that the organist placed considerable emphasis on registrational colour in his music. For instance there are three sectionally constructed toccatas of which each receives the registrational clarification 'para' or 'con' clarines. The most unusual additional instruction occurs in the third piece which is entitled: 'Tocata para clarines de Batalla con un pedaso para timbales, Rodríguez' (BBC M.1011, ff.115v-19v). Pedal notes ('contras') are already used, albeit to a limited degree, in the 'Ayroso' section of the first movement of this three movement composition. The 'timbales' refers to the pedal notes ('timbal' is marked by the first bass note) of the last 'Con ayre' movement. (Timbales (or tambores) were two 'drum' pedals, usually tuned to DD and AA, which admitted air to two large pipes each; when these pipes sounded together they produced a strong drum-like beat. They were found on many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish organs.) In Rodríguez's piece (in D) the A pedal is used only at the final cadence; the D pedal is sounded at each bar throughout the piece. Contras are also used in the first (albeit incomplete) tocata by Rodríguez where their role and scope is very limited (BBC M.1011, ff.106v-8).

The 'Italian' idiom of these works by Rodríguez is symptomatic of a great proportion of the music by the Valencian organists San Agustín, Antonio Tormo and Vicente Hervás, all of whom feature in the eighteenth-century manuscript BBC M.1011. It is probable that Fray Juan de San Agustín was á closer contemporary of Cabanilles, as it is recorded that he collaborated as examiner for the 1679 oposiciones for the post of organist at the Colegio de Corpus Christi (see below). Like Rodríguez and other contributors to BBC M.1011 San Agustín made use of the 'contras' both in his one extant 'Tiento de 1° tono partido de mano d(e)recha

[...]' (BBC M.1011, ff.66-7v) and in a number of his versets. A slightly more unusual verset in this manuscript, whose composer remains unidentified, has a double pedal part in which the feet are required to play in fifths (DD and AA) or in unison (AA). This verset which is entitled: 'V(er)so partido de mano d(e)recha [de 1° tono] con contras, de suerte q(u)e los dos baxos se han de tocar con las contras' (BBC M.1011, f.92v.), has been included in the anthology (p.229).

A selection of versets and hymns by the composers in BBC M.1011 are discussed and illustrated in part two of this thesis and in the anthology. As a general observation, the music of these Valencian organists demonstrates an admixture of a traditional contrapuntal idiom and more transparent textures in which instrumental (rhythmic) figurations frequently emphasize the notes of the tonic or dominant triad. Tormo, who may be regarded particularly as a 'transitional' figure, is never entirely predictable in the phraseology of his musical language. His four 'falsas' compositions (BBC M.1011, ff.42-42v) for instance are neither characteristic of the seventeenth-century 'tiento de falsas' idiom nor of the blander variety by eighteenth-century Catalan composers such as J. Tomás.

The Colegio de Corpus Christi, Valencia, seventeenth to eighteenth centuries

Built by Guillén del Rey at the turn of the seventeenth century (1590 to 1608) and consecrated in 1605, the Colegio de Corpus Christi, 'El Patriarcha', was to become an extremely important establishment in Valencia, to some degree rivalling the more ancient cathedral. The Archbishop of Valencia and Patriarch of Antioch (San) Juan de Ribera founded the institution as well as the Capuchin convent in Valencia with which the musical chapel of the Colegio participated on particularly solemn occasions.

Piedrà's article (1962) on this institution provides documentary evidence for two centuries of a successive line of organists. There were apparently normally two officiating organists at El Patriarcha; however the records do not clearly define the names of the second of these. Two large organs were placed on either side of the coro (evidence for the two being used in dialogue is included in the text of the oposición below) and there were also two portatives in the Colegio which were normally kept in each of the two chapels dedicated to the Virgin - the Capilla de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua and the Capilla de la Inmaculada (Concepción). Substitutes were called in whenever there were less than two organists available for duty at everyday services. These even included musicians from the cathedral itself: Andrés Pérez assisted R. Sesse in the 1630s for instance and Jorge Rodríguez came on two occasions (1715 and 1717) whilst Francisco Vicente y Cervera was official organist from 1712 until his death in 1749. (See Piedrà (1962), pp.145 and 161.) (F. Vicente, who was an exact contemporary of Vicente Rodríguez at the cathedral, normally had to perform his duties alone as there was no assistant organist at the Colegio during this time.)

Owing to the loss of archival and musical material emanating from the Colegio there is no particular organist or musician from this establishment who may be singled out for special historical interest. Yet, as already mentioned, the survival of textual and musical material relating to an oposición for the organist's post in 1677 may be regarded as an important indication of the kind of standard required of musicians from this period. As testified by Cerone (1613) important musical posts in Spain, by way of contrast with Italy, were gained for the

most part by 'oposición y examen' and not by 'favores tan extraordinarios' (El Melopeo, Naples, 1613, vol.I, Lib.I , Cap.63, p.183.)

The 1677 oposición, won by Joseph Montserrat, was also competed for by Valero Barrachina who had previously been Montserrat's rival for the position of second organist in the Colegio in 1665. (Montserrat became second organist to F. Castello from 1665 until 1675 when he spent two years as organist at Murcia cathedral.) Ironically, Montserrat served for just one year (1677-78) as organist at the Colegio and, as the result of another oposición was succeeded by Barrachina in 1679 who remained in this post until 1712. (See Piedrà (1962), pp.157-8.) Barrachina was succeeded in his turn by Francisco Vicente.

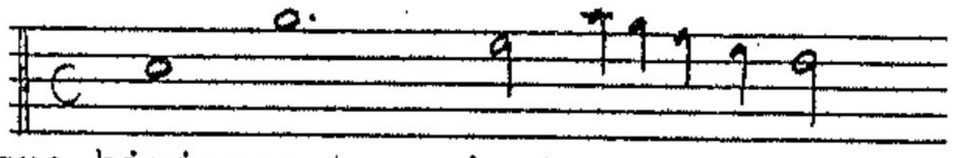
The text of the 1677 oposición, along with the comments and decisions of the adjudicators (published by Piedrà (1962), pp.153-56) can be linked with an organ composition in a manuscript at Barcelona: 'Tiento 1° tono de oposisión a las 24 del M(aestr)o Monserrat' (sic) (BBC M.729, ff.163v-8). (See Hoag (1980), pp.72-5.)

This written composition (the tiento) was just one of the several tests given to the competitors. In outline, the others included the following: the improvisation of counterpoint over a cantus firmus; the improvisation of organ versets on themes derived from a polyphonic mass by Lobo, including their transposition; the three-part accompaniment of a tiple part and then a bass part from a piece of polyphony in four parts, after which the tiple version was to be transposed 'dos puntos baxos'; quarter of an hour's improvisation on the organ demonstrating such styles as batalla, duos and partido. Finally both competitors were asked to play in dialogue, one on each of the two organs.

For the composition of the tiento, the candidate was required to write three hundred bars of music on a given theme ('paso'). During

the course of the piece the theme ('intento') was to appear in breves (ie augmented) in each of the four voices in turn. The candidate was then also expected to be able to play the composition from memory.

A las veinte y quatro sobre un paso de primer tono que dice así:



Se pidió que hiziesen trescientos compases siguiendo el intento y que en el discurso de los trescientos compases llevase el paso en Breves cada voz una vez y táñese de memoria.

([Archivo Patriarcha]; quoted in Piedrà (1962), p.154.)

The tiento and its subsequent execution caused a certain amount of consternation owing to the fact that Montserrat, in addition to making a series of compositional errors, failed to play the piece perfectly both from memory and from two written copies (his own and that given to the jury). V. Barrachina on the other hand, despite taking similar liberties in the contour of the paso at the various fugal entries (see Piedrà (1962), p.155) played the piece well. However, as Montserrat had composed the better piece he was nominated the winner. This caused no end of 'pleitos y diferencias' which delayed considerably the moment when he was finally able to take up his duties as organist at the Colegio. (A copy of Montserrat's tiento, in open score, is included in the appendix, pp.545-50.)

It is evident that in this particular oposición and the subsequent one in 1679 when Barrachina was ultimately the winner, the bias of the adjudicators was towards the candidate who demonstrated better overall musicianship - in the functional exercises and in the composition - rather than to the more skilful and dextrous performer. In the context of his extremely illuminating account 'De el orden que se ha de guardar en los examenes de toda especie de músico' Nassarre makes precisely the same observation: he states that if the candidates ('opositores')

perform equally well, it should be the one who has produced the better composition who should be preferred above the others. Furthermore, if the more adept performer has composed a piece which is inferior to that of the less skilled organist the same principle should apply.

> Quando los opositores son dos, tres, o más, se han de graduar las habilidades, de modo, que si en la execución de las manos fueren iguales, el que fuere más en la composición, ha de ser preferido. Si uno fuere en la execución más que otro, y en la composición fuere algo menos, se han de graduar igualmente [...]
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música II, Zaragoza, 1723; Lib. 4°, Cap.20, p.490.)

This chapter in the Escuela Música as a whole is a very good indication of the type of programme undertaken by candidates in oposiciones; Nassarre also outlines the requirements of maestros de capilla and instrumentalists (ibid., pp.486-93).

(iv)

Organ traditions in Barcelona, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries

In Barcelona there were at least four important ecclesiastical institutions which had strong musical traditions: the Gothic cathedral or La Seo (La Seu in Catalan) itself; the church of Santa María Del Mar - popularly known as the 'Catedral de Llevant'; and the parish churches of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes ('El Pino' or 'El Pí') and that of the saints Justo y Pastor. Although it is clear from documentary sources relating to organ building in Barcelona that these churches were associated with a long history of organ playing, the musical sources at Barcelona only account for organists active in the later seventeenth and in the eighteenth century. In particular these were Gabriel Menalt (d.1687), Francisco Espelt (fl.1685-96), Francisco Llusá (fl.1687-1738), Francisco Valls (1665-1747) and José Elías (fl.1715-51). Apart from Francisco Vilar (d.1770), Elías's younger contemporary and a leading composer of the succeeding generation of eighteenth-century organists, very little is know about the activities of the organists whom we would associate with the eighteenth-century organ mass and who also contributed to the long Pange lingua tradition. (See below, chapter 6, section (ii) and chapter 5, section (iv).)

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular Barcelona and a number of cities and smaller towns in the vicinity were the centres of a thriving organ-building industry. Catalonia is extremely rich in documentary material relating to this activity, with earliest references dating from the mid- to late fourteenth century. Most of this has been collated and published in a series of articles by Baldelló (1946, 1949 and 1962), Madurell (1947, 1949 and 1951) and, more recently, Pavia i

Simó (1978-80). There have also been a number of general studies regarding the Spanish organ in which the contribution and significance of organ building in Catalonia has been assessed.[1]

In keeping with the international cultural atmosphere of Habsburg Spain it is scarcely surprising that a very large number of organeros (organ builders) were of Dutch and German extraction. The documentary records witness the succession of northern European organ builders employed in the building, renovation and tuning of the instruments. The technical advances of Dutch and German organ construction exercised a considerable influence in this corner of the Iberian peninsula in particular. Without dwelling upon the more technical aspects of the instruments themselves, this section aims to give an indication of the more salient and obvious features of the organs which would have been played by the organists in Barcelona of the late seventeenth century and of the eighteenth century.

It would appear that any major reconstructions or alterations made to the organs in the leading churches of Barcelona were made at more or less the same time. With the exception of the organ at SS. Justo y Pastor, which was completely rebuilt in 1632 by Francisco Bordons (it is not known what type of organ existed before), the organs in the other three churches listed above were reconstructed around the year 1540.

Although the precise details of the organ constructed at the cathedral between 1538 and 1540 by the reputable Fleming Pedro Flamench with Antonio Carbonell are now not known, this instrument evidently served as a model

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1. See Shanks (1958), Wyly (1964) and Hoag (1980).

for a number of others, including that at El Pino and the one in Lérida. (See Williams (repr.1978), pp.238-9.) The contract for the cathedral organ stipulates both the size of the pipes and the material to be used for them as well as specifying that the manual ('lo joch') was to have as many as 54 keys inclusive of the semitones:

> En lo joch y a de aver comesant e cessant cínquanta e quatre tecles contant los cemitons.
>
> (Copia de la capitulatió del orgue maior, [5 June 1538], pp.83-84; quoted in Pavia i Simó (1978-80), p.84.)

It is likely that the organist Vila (senior) was largely responsible for the reconstruction of this instrument. However, it was his nephew, the well-respected 'mossen Perot Alberch y Vila organista de la dita yglesia' (1517-83), who would have played the instrument. (See Pavia i Simó (1978-80), p.84.) Despite Bermudo's recommendation that Vila among other organists, who included Soto and Cabezón, should be taken as a model for keyboard playing, there is very little to attest to his superiority: there are only two tientos included in the 1557 Libro de cifra (ff.23-24; ed. Anglés (1944), pp.43-6). A collection of Tentos de Orgão. De Petro Villa Doctor (sic) was once kept in King John IV's library in Lisbon.[1]

The requisites of the 'orgue nou' at El Pino in Barcelona, to be built by the three famous 'maestros' Flamench, F. Granollers and R. Rabassa, were that it should comprise a chest and three bellows ('manxes') in the manner of those of the cathedral organ ('[...] fer lo salmer y tres manxes, fetas en la manera de las que vuy son fetas en l'orgue de la Seu [...]') and that likewise it was to have 54 keys.[2]

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1. Primeira parte do index, anno 1649, Caixão 16°, (item) 443. See Vasconcellos (1874), p.110.

2. Archivo Notarial de Barcelona; contract dated 22nd November 1540. See Baldelló (1949), p.158.

The organs in all these churches were evidently large one-manual instruments to which, certainly by the end of the sixteenth century, a cadereta (or cadera) was later added. This (secondary) division generally had a foundation pitch of one octave higher than the main manual. For instance, a mid- to late sixteenth-century document pertaining to the organ at Santa María del Mar refers to a cadera of 42 keys which is in addition to the principal manual of 54 keys: 'Tendrà lo joch de la cadira, quaranta y dos tecles, comptant los semitons'.[1] Documents relating to the restoration and tuning of the cathedral organ in 1616 refer to the 'orgue maior y cadireta'. This work was undertaken by a notable organero Francisco Bordons who was later to construct the organ at SS. Justo y Pastor (1632). Of interest is the fact that in due course Bordons was also required to play the instrument upon which he was still working for a large proportion of the church services; he would therefore have had an intimate knowledge of the sound and effects of the organ. (See Pavia i Simó (1978-80), p.86.)

Coinciding with the period during which later seventeenth-century organists such as Menalt and Espelt were active in Barcelona, important renovations and transformations were made on many of the organs in the leading churches of the city. In 1691, for instance, the Flemish organ builder Andrés Bargere (Andreu Bargero), 'mestre de fabricar órgans' (sic), undertook a complete reconstruction of the organ at Santa María del Mar where Ignacio Vidal was organist. An interesting feature stipulated in the contract was that the cadereta should include a completely new cornet stop: 'tot nou un registre de corneta magna'.[2] In the same year

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1. Archivo Capitular de Urgel (=ACU); undated contract. See Madurell (1947), p.207.

2. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Barcelona (=AHPB), Rafael Albiá, leg. 33, man. año 1691, f.177. This document is published by Madurell (1951), pp.215-16, and Baldelló (1962), p.237.

(1691) Agustín Llinás (Agustí Llinàs) was working on the organ at El Pino where he was renewing the keys of the main organ and the cadereta as well as placing a number of new stops on the latter division. (See Baldelló (1949), pp.163-4.) Five years later (1696) A. Boscá (senior) completely transformed the cathedral organ. (See Pavia i Simó (1978-80), p.90.)

There is nothing known specifically about the Santa María del Mar organ as it was in the seventeenth century prior to the Bargere's renovations in 1691. It is probable that some rebuilding would have taken place around the turn of the seventeenth century following the partial devastation of the instrument in 1591. (See Baldelló (1962), p.236.) However, a few general points relating to the scope of the instrument may be gained from the music of organists associated with Santa María del Mar prior to Vidal's incumbency (1687-1706): these were Menalt and Espelt whose organ compositions are preserved in two important manuscripts in the Bilioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona - BBC M.729 and M.751.21. There is nothing to show in the extant organ pieces by Vidal and those by his successor Clauselles for any further technical advances which the instrument may have offered following Bargere's work.

Although Menalt was official organist at Santa María del Mar between 1679 and 1687, the year of his death, there is strong evidence for his collaboration with Espelt, particularly during the last few years of his incumbency, when the latter was acting as interim organist. (Menalt succeeded Francisco Milà having failed at the oposiciones for the organship at SS. Justo y Pastor in 1678.) Espelt made a substantial contribution to the repertory of strictly functional liturgical organ music: in BBC M.751.21, he is represented by three sets of 'Psalmodia' and four organ masses. It is of great significance that the 'Psalmodia' are

specifically dated 1685 and 1687, the years in which he was interim organist. It is likely that the organ masses date from the same period: these immediately follow the psalm-tone versets in the manuscript. Furthermore, the entire collection of Espelt's versets for the psalm tones is headed by the inscription: 'Aquí enpiesan tres salmodias de / Fransica Espelt mestra de Santa / María' (sic: BBC. M.751.21, p.22). It is clear, therefore, that Espelt's music was composed for the organ at Santa María del Mar; there are even great similarities between Espelt's music and that of Menalt. (See part two of this thesis where their contribution to the verset repertory is discussed.)

From the extant compositions by organists at Santa María del Mar one may surmise that the organ had at least two manuals with divided registers which may have comprised equally-tuned semitones; there was probably also a rudimentary pedal board. Registration was not indicated in the manuscripts at this stage; there is just the general (but standard) indication 'para el flautado' in the eighth verset of the Gloria in Espelt's organ masses (see below, chapter 6, section (ii)).

The distribution for divided registers or two manuals is paramount in the Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis compositions. With the exception for the most part of the sixth ('partido') verset in each tonal sequence in Espelt's psalmodia collections, and the partido versets by Menalt, the versets on the psalm-tones and for the Mass are however for undivided registers. It would appear that the majority of hymn settings were written for two manuals, especially those by Menalt which are entitled 'dos tibles' or 'dos bajos'. As distinct from other pieces in medio registro style the parts for the right and left hands are not necessarily restricted by a division at the centre of the keyboard.

The indication that the Santa María organ may have been tuned equally

occurs predominantly in both Menalt's and Espelt's versets 'por elami'; in these, particularly at (final) cadential points, the accidental d# is freely used in several octaves. It is however the succeeding generation of organists at Barcelona - notably Elías, Llussà and Vilar (also Miguel López from Montserrat) - who freely employ accidentals which were previously prohibited on an unequally tuned keyboard instrument.

During Vidal's incumbency of nearly twenty years as organist at Santa María del Mar, Espelt returned as maestro de capilla in 1690, remaining until 1696. After Vidal's death in 1706, the post of organist passed to Gregorio Clausells.

Appointments to the organistships at Santa María del Mar were strictly by oposición. (See Baldelló (1962), pp.212-18.) In the 1706 oposiciones which were won by Clausells Baldelló records that the other candidates were Agustín Jofre and Juan Saló (ibid., pp.215-16); Saló was to become organist at the cathedral in 1709 where the maestro de capilla, and composer of the controversial 'Missa Scala Aretina' (1702), was Francisco Valls. However, Baldelló makes no mention of a certain Domingo Texidor by whom compositional exercises, apparently for the same oposición, comprise BBC M.593.15. The first composition, a tiento, in this manuscript is inscribed:

> Tiento de Domingo Texidor, echo sobre el paso q(u)e se dió en la oposición del órgano de S(an)ta María / del Mar el año de 1706. (BBC M.593.15, f.[1].)

In this particular oposición the 'paso' not only forms the basis of a four-part tiento but also a series of short contrapuntal exercises demonstrating the 'trocado' technique (invertible counterpoint); 'fugas' or canons; and cantus-firmus writing. Unlike the 1677 oposición from Valencia which we have illustrated, there is no documentary material relating to this particular event.

José Eliás (fl.1715-51) and organ music in eighteenth-century Barcelona.

José Elías, organist at SS. Justo y Pastor between 1715 and 1725, is the outstanding figure in the generation of Catalonian organists who were active during the first half of the eighteenth century. There is no documentary proof that Cabanillas ever taught Elías personally, but the fact that one of Elías's pupils, Estevan Naronda, made a copy of Cabanilles's tientos (BBC M.386) whilst his master was 'presbítero y organista de la Parroquial de SS. Justo y Pastor de Barzelona [...] (sic) indicates that he was acquainted with the Valencian organist's music. Much of Elías's organ music, particularly the style and structure of his versets, is reminiscent of that by Cabanilles.

There are a number of manuscripts containing music by Elías dating from this period: the Musicha de órgano del S(eño)r Joseph Elías (MBN M.812), dated 1717, is an important collection of Elías's more functional organ music, consisting of a substantial repertory of versets for the psalm-tones as well as versets for movements of the Mass. This manuscript was copied by another of his pupils, Antonio Català. It is probable that another major source, BBC M.450, was also compiled by one of his pupils as one of the pieces is inscribed 'Tiento 1° tono lleno de Elías Mi Maestro' (pp.6-9). BBC M.450 contains eleven of Elías's twelve piezas which are in each of the 'twelve' modes. These are long multi-movements works which frequently begin with a prelude and fugue and conclude with a 'tocata partido'.[1] There are many tientos, tocatas

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1. BBC M.450, p.35 seq. A complete copy of the twelve piezas by Elías is included in two nineteenth-century manuscripts at Montserrat: Mon AM M.2486 and M.2999.

and versets by Elías scattered amongst the manuscripts at Montserrat (Arxiu de música). Their present location is a strong indication that the music presented in these sources was composed whilst Elías was working in Catalonia. (An inventory of the majority of his works is included in an article by Lloréns Cisteró (1962).) A particularly significant manuscript at Montserrat - one which has never been mentioned before (it is not listed by Lloréns (1962) for instance) - contains a 'Juego de Pangelinguas' by Elías which is inclusive of specific organ registrations and is dated 1729 (MonAM M.1637). The date itself is somewhat problematical as by 1729 Elías was working at the Descalzas Reales convent in Madrid. However, we propose (albeit tentatively) that owing to the provenance of the manuscript and the fact that it also includes three Pange linguas by Francisco Vilar, organist at SS. Justo y Pastor from 1745 until his death in 1770, these Pange linguas date from Elías's Barcelona years; 1729 being the date when the music was copied into this manuscript. (There are no other Pange linguas by Elías extant.)

Stylistically, Elías's Pange linguas may be grouped with similar examples by his older contemporary Francisco Llussà, organist at El Pino from 1687 until his death in 1738, and those by Francisco Vilar. (see below, chapter 5, section (iv)). As a group these represent some of the finest examples of idiomatic organ hymn variations.

There are no documents relating to the transformations made to the organ at SS. Justo y Pastor in the 1720s. (See Lloréns Cisteró (1962), pp.129-30.) Boscá did however add a number of new stops including a nazardo. The registration indicated in Elías's Pange linguas consists of 'trompetas reales' (a powerful reed on the façade of an eighteenth-century organ) in the first 'lleno' setting; 'bajoncillos y címbalo' for the second 'dos bajos' arrangement (the bajoncillo was a principal

4' façade reed for the left-hand division - in this context it was combined with the címbalo, a mixture stop of several ranks); 'orlos' (reeds) and a combination of 'orlos y corneta' for the ninth verset.

Elías's music, as well as that of Llussà from the church of El Pino, is symptomatic of an equally tuned instrument of at least two manuals and pedals. As instanced in particular by the Pange linguas, the twelve piezas, the 'Obra gromatica' (sic) (BBC M.1468, pp.20-32), the music requires enharmonic changes on all the 'black' notes of the keyboard and, more specifically, 'e#' and 'b#'.

Broadly speaking, composers of the eighteenth century gradually abandoned contrapuntal tiento forms in favour of lighter and more sparsely textured sonatas and tocatas (the terms were usually synonymous). Francisco Valls, maestro de capilla at the cathedral, describes this stream of development in the following passage from his Mapa Armoñico (1742):

> De algunas (sic) anyos a esta parte, se adultero en el órgano el methodo / antiguo; pues la que antes era música trabajada, y solida en los tientos / llenos, y de Falsas, destreza de manos en los Partidos de mano d(e)recha, / e izquierda; invención de ídea en los coreados: mucha de la que se oye / son Tocatas, y Sonatas cuya composición consiste en dos vozes solas, / que más son un jugete que adula al oído, que música Magestuosa, que / excite a la devoción, ni satisfaga al scientífico. (Sic.)
>
> (F. Valls: Mapa Armónico, 1742; MBN M.1071 f.229v.)

It is clear that Valls, in his complaint of the lack of spiritual quality in the tocatas and sonatas, held a conservative point of view. There are numerous examples of two- and three-part textured compositions by organists such as Vilar, J. Vila, F. Mariner, D. Mirosa and A. Mestres

(to name but a few of the more prolific composers working in Catalonia at this time), in the manuscripts at Montserrat. No complete catalogue of eighteenth-century organ sources has yet been compiled and biographical details of these organists are extremely scanty.

However, in addition to these larger-scale works, eighteenth-century Catalonian organists are represented by an enormous amount of music specifically designed to be integrated within the liturgy. Of particular relevance to this thesis are the versets they composed for the Mass: these form the basis of the discussion in the final chapter (see below chapter 6, section (ii)) where we conclude that the organ mass per se may be regarded as a formal structure in its own right. The music is a curious blend of Italian styles and idioms, along with a language and indeed structure, which is still bound to its origins in a long-standing tradition of liturgical plainchant.

(v)

Alcalá de Henares:

Andrés Lorente and Antonio Martín y Coll.

Alcalá de Henares was the seat of Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros's (1436-1517) famous university which he founded in 1508. An important centre for Spanish humanism in the early sixteenth century, it remained a prosperous city until 1837 when the university was transferred to neighbouring Madrid. The organist and theorist Andrés Lorente (1624-1703) spent all his life in Alcalá dividing his time for the most part between the Iglesia Magistral of SS. Justo y Pastor (founded in 1136), where he was organist from about 1670 onwards, and the university itself. Graduating as 'Magister artium' he later became professor in the faculty of arts. His most famous pupil, Antonio Martín y Coll, organist at the Franciscan convent of San Diego (de Alcalá), is associated in particular with his compilation of four manuscripts of organ music 'de varios organistas' which date from the turn of the eighteenth century. These volumes constitute an extremely significant proportion of extant organ music from seventeenth-century Spain. After Alcalá, Martín y Coll became organist at the Franciscan convent in Madrid where he published two treatises.

Little is known about Lorente's early career beyond the fact that in 1648 he competed for the organistship at Toledo cathedral along with Luis de Torres from Astorga. (The records of organists at Toledo at this time are hazy and the results of the oposición are not known.) The archives of SS. Justo y Pastro have largely been destroyed. However, Jambou publishes two relevant documents which indicate in a broad way

the style of Lorente's commitment at the Iglesia Magistral. (See Jambou 1976/3), p.72 n.42 and n.44.) These are a Tabla de notas (Archivo Histórico Nacional (=AHN), Sección Clero, leg. 3583, [unnumbered folder]), which indicates that the style of vocal music performed must correspond with the importance and class of feast, and one entitled Organo (ibid., Organo) which gives a general, albeit standard, outline of the organist's duties; the latter corresponds very largely to other constitutions discussed in part two of this thesis.

Lorente also took an active interest in organs and organ building, supervising the repairs made to the organ in the chapel of San Ildefonso in the university in 1669 (Jambou (1976/3), p.73) and those in the parish church of Maria Magdalena in his home village of Anchuelo in 1664/5 and again in 1684/5. Of particular importance was the organ of SS. Justo y Pastor itself which, being built by Juan de Andreza in c.1670, was praised by Lorente in his treatise El Porqué (Alcalá, 1672): it was unusual and advanced for its time, incorporating the additional accidentals of d♯ and a♭, and an eco division. This organ was to be matched by that built at San Diego in Alcalá in 1680.

In his 1672 publication, Lorente promised to issue his own 'libro de zifra de órgano' which he entitled Melodías músicas (El Porqué, Lib.I, p.18). However, although a reference was subsequently made to this work in Ribayaz's Luz y Norte musical (1677) in the same paragraph as his notice about Vado's treatise for the harp (see above, p.66), there is no secure evidence that it was ever published.[1] Jambou (1976) nevertheless claims that the initial portion of one of Martín y Coll's

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1. The relevant passage from L. Ruiz de Ribayáz's Luz y Norte Musical (p.31) is quoted in Jambou (1976), p.262.

collections (MBN M.1358, ff.1-80) constitutes a copy of the missing work by Lorente. This section of the manuscript is notated in traditional Spanish cifra (number) tablature; indeed it is the only portion of the entire collection of Martín y Coll's MSS to use this system of notation.

Lorente's pupil Antonio Martín y Coll (d. after 1734) was to spend the greater proportion of his professional career in the monastery of S. Francisco el Grande in Madrid. Whilst at Alcalá, Martín y Coll would have known and played the organs at SS. Justo y Pastor and at San Diego, the latter of which also included the new clarín stop added by Hechevarría. (See Williams (repr.1978), pp.251-52.)

Details of Martín y Coll's personal career may only be gained from the title pages of his five compilations of organ music and the two theoretical publications which he brought out in Madrid: the Arte de canto llano (1714 and reissued in 1719 and 1728) and the Breve suma de todas las reglas de canto llano (1734). No records of his dates of birth, death or even entry into the Franciscan convent in Madrid have been found.

It is clear that the first two compilations were made whilst Martín y Coll was organist at Alcalá: both the Flores de música (MBN M.1357) and the Pensil deleitoso de suabes flores de música (MBN M.1358), dated 1706 and 1707 respectively, acknowledge Martín y Coll's position as 'organista de San Diego' (de Alcalá) (see appendix, pp.576-7). Although the music in these two manuscripts is almost exclusively 'anonymous', some compositions have been identified as the work of Cabezón from the sixteenth century and of Diego Xaraba, the first of the Aragonese organists contemporary with Martín y Coll to work in the capilla real, Madrid.

(See Lloréns Cisteró ([1981]), p.93 seq.) As already mentioned there is also the speculation that the first half of the 1707 manuscript is by Martín y Coll's master Andrés Lorente. It is interesting therefore that the next two collections of organ music (MBN M.1359 and M.1360), both entitled Huerto ameno de varias flores de música and dated 1708 and 1709 (which do not however indicate Martín y Coll's current occupation), include a larger quantity of compositions which may be indentified with organists from the Aragonese 'school' and by Cabanilles, his elder contemporary at Valencia. There were several organists working at Madrid during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century who had spent their former career in Zaragoza; no doubt this would have encouraged the circulation of Aragonese organ traditions.

The fifth of Martín y Coll's organ manuscripts, entitled Ramillete oloroso, suabes flores de mússica [sic] para órgano and dated 1709, consists entirely of a collection of his own compositions. Apart from a quantity of larger-scale works and canciones there are five juegos of psalm-tone versets. In the appendix to the manuscript there is also a set of instructions for tuning ('templar') the organ and other instruments: 'Modo de templar el órgano, clavicordio, y Arpa' (MBN M.2267, pp.407-410). Unusually for this period, the manuscript includes some instructions for registration and there is particular emphasis on the clarines. It is highly probable that much of this music was composed whilst the organist was still at Alcalá. One particular feature in the manuscript, which reflects the span or ambitus of organ keyboards from this period, occurs in his only extant Pange lingua arrangement. In this 'Pange lingua a dúo' (MBN M.2267, pp.87-90), in which the hymn tune is notated in the treble register starting on c", the composer states that in the middle section of this ternary structured melody

(where the tune would normally attain high c'" in this context) this line may be transposed an octave down to accommodate organs lacking the required high pitch. Martín y Coll indicates the lower alternative by using black notation in order to distinguish it from the white notation which is normally used. (This Pange lingua is included in the anthology, p.379.) It has in fact been suggested that the organ at San Diego (Alcalá), with its 58 note span may have reached high c'". (See Williams (repr.1978), p.251.) It is possible that the organ he used in Madrid only attained high a". It is not clear whether Martín y Coll was already in Madrid at this time (1709); the alternative notation in this particular piece may indeed have been added later. However, he was certainly in Madrid before the publication of his Arte de canto llano in 1714 as the title page indicates his position as 'organista del Real Convento de Madrid'. (He dedicated this edition to 'S. Diego de Alcalá'.)

Although details of his own career are lacking, Martín y Coll's historical position is of immense significance: it is through his four compilations of organ music that considerable insight into seventeenth-century organ practice may be gained. For the purposes of this thesis, the third manuscript (MBN M.1359) in particular has provided ample evidence of the style of organ verset which were designed for liturgical integration.

CHAPTER 3

MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH - CENTURY PORTUGAL

3

MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH - CENTURY PORTUGUAL

(i)

An introduction to cultural activities and to the musical patronage of John IV (reg. 1640-56)

The general instability which characterized seventeenth-century Portugal was necessarily the result of a large number of interrelated factors. In this period, fraught with economic and political difficulties, also heavily oppressed by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Portugal was to exist in a continual state of struggle and depression. Described by one historian as 'uma época apagada' (Saraiva (1981), p.212), this time, broadly speaking, may be regarded as one in which efforts were continually made to reinstate a national identity, which became somewhat thwarted during the Philippine régime (1580-1640).

A dramatic prelude to this predicament was the sudden death of the young crusader king Dom Sebastião (reg. 1557-78), 'o desejado', who in 1578 led an abortive attack on the Moroccans at al-Ksar al-Kabir (Alcácer-Quibir in Portuguese). Sebastian was succeeded briefly by his great-uncle the Cardinal - Prince Henry (d.1580) upon whose death, the throne was left vacant once more. After a series of disputes as to who was the rightful claimant of the Portuguese throne, it was Philip II of Spain, nephew and son-in-law of King John III of Portugal (reg. 1521-57), who finally obtained the Portuguese dominions. The rapid succession of these events resulted in one of the most curious myths in Portuguese history: the cult of 'Sebastianismo'. The belief that Dom Sebastião would return from Africa, reflected a mentality of nostalgic nationalism of a rather mystical quality. Superstitions surrounding this Messianic figure long

persisted and they were reflected on numerous occasions in Portuguese literature.[1] Sebastianism was indicative of the general theme of historical patriotism which permeated the Philippine period. Compensating for their present predicament, perhaps, the Portuguese often looked to the past for inspiration: Luis de Camões's epic poem Os Lusiadas (1572), for instance, was republished as many as twenty-four times between 1580 and 1640.[2]

Although Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal) had promised a degree of political autonomy to the Portuguese, such guarantees were barely conducive to spiritual freedom. A secret battle for independence was continually waged and troubles intensified during the reigns of Philip II's less strong-minded successors, Philip III and Philip IV. The appointment by Philip IV (III of Portugal) of the tyrannical Duke of Olivares as governor of Portugal, was a prelude to the disruption which eventually culminated in the dramatic return of a Portuguese monarch. Olivares had been ruthless in his attempts to unite the Iberian peninsula; he had also wished to overthrow the Portuguese aristocracy and to enforce a general military service. In 1640, at a time when Castile was left temporarily vulnerable, owing, to a large extent, to the timely revolt of the Catalans, the Portuguese rebelled and succeeded in reinstalling their own king, Dom João from the House of Braganza.

During the Philippine régime, direct patronage in Portugal was no longer available: 'os tristes Portugueses tinhão de ir buscar fortuna

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1. Even in this century, J. Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877-1952), a poet renowned for his patriotism was to write:
   O Bandarra do amor! Bruxo da profecia!
   Eu creio, como tu, em Dom Sebastião!
   Eu creio, como tu, no seu regresso! Eu creio!
   (From Painel, quoted in Mourão-Ferreira (1979), p.17.)

2. One episode in this work, Canto X, Stanza 152, has been cited as being prophetic as regards both the impending political situation as well as that of the arts in general. See Smith (1936), p.274 .

na Corte de Hespanha'.[1] Several Portuguese artists, such as the sculptor Manuel Pereira (d. 1683), were consequently absorbed into Castilian culture. On the other hand, Spanish artists and musicians were employed at the royal court in Lisbon. On recognizing, for instance, that there were no organists in Lisbon of the same calibre as Hernando de Cabezón, whom he called over to Portugal on his first visit there in 1581 (see above, p.42), Philip II of Spain appointed a number of Spanish musicians to perform the duties of first and second organist at the royal chapel in Lisbon - these were Lacerna and Verdugo, followed by Diego de Alvarado (see below, this chapter, section (ii)).

Furthermore, this era was aggravated by the horrors of the Inquisition and the continued energetic activities of the Jesuits. Their direct intervention may be witnessed in both political activities and in the discouragement of the arts. The most famous and controversial of them, Padre António Vieira (1608-97), was to have an enormous influence on the Braganzian monarch, John IV, and the Portuguese people. Broadly speaking, it may be said that artistic creativity was repressed and censored in much the same way as during the more recent 'estado novo' of Salazar, prior to 1974. It has in fact been suggested that the Jesuits did not actively prevent creation so much as just suppress thought and new ideas: 'E deu resultado, porque os Portugueses do seculo XVII creram muito e pensaram pouco'. (See Saraiva (1981), p.213.) Thus, in the arts one observes no progression of style and form but a temporary hiatus and stagnation.

Philip II had been particularly influential in encouraging Jesuit activity in Portugal. In retrospect one may appreciate a reflection

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1. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, Collecção de memorias, Lisboa, 1823, p.20; quoted in Smith (1936), ibid.

of this somewhat grim period in the austerity and in a certain static quality of the art and architecture. Filippo Terzi (1520-97) from Bologna, initially called to Portugal by Dom Sebastião in 1577, became official court architect to Philip II. Terzi was responsible for indoctrinating the Portuguese with contemporary Italian principles of style and design. He rebuilt the twelfth-century Augustinian monastery of São Vicente de Fora in 1593: it may be cited as an example of the 'estilo Jesuitico' which was to dominate church architecture for at least a further century. In contrast to that of the Renaissance and Manueline periods, this mannerist style featured plain, flat surfaces, it advocated severe linear effects and emphasized verticality. This structural austerity was, however, softened by the Portuguese partiality for decoration: the combination of the polychrome azulejos and the gilt wood carvings of the retables and pulpits, gave all churches an unmistakable national character. It was a manifestation which reached a peak during the eighteenth century. (See Smith (1968).)

As distinct from the decorative arts from this period which, with their successful adaptation of oriental motifs and styles, constitute possibly the most original manifestation of Portuguese artistic expression, the painting is disappointing. There were no painters at this time who equalled such masters in Spain as Velázquez and Zurbarán. However, during the 'Restoration' period a school of portrait painters which included Domingos Vieira (c.1600-78), 'o escuro', temporarily revived the art. Vieira had in fact already worked in Madrid where he was highly regarded by the monarchs Philip III and Philip IV; his style and technique were heavily influenced by Dutch and Spanish mannerist paintings which employed 'tenebroso' lighting effects.[1]

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1. For an account of portrait painting in Portugal see Azevedo (1956) and Smith (1968).

The period of Spanish domination had also been marked by a serious literary decline. Although the Jesuits did attempt a considerable role in linguistic direction, and such figures as Padre Vieira, in their desire to purify the language, produced some excellent prose, all forms of literature were really affected. The Portuguese theatre virtually disappeared to be replaced by Spanish drama and also by Jesuit drama in Latin. In addition, very few Portuguese poets of outstanding merit emerged at all. An exception, however, was Francisco Rodriguez Lobo (c.1580-1622), indeed possibly the foremost national literary figure of the early seventeenth century; he was, nevertheless, influenced by the Castilian tradition and was greatly indebted to the writings of Góngora and Quevedo. The Portuguese literary tradition was later to be redeemed by the works of the most prominent figure of the seventeenth century, Francisco Manuel de Mello (1608-86). (See Bell (repr.1970), p.251 seq.)

Jesuit influence in Portugal was to persist well into the eighteenth century. Their churches, built like huge auditoriums, emphasized the central and dogmatic role of this teaching Order. The dramatic style and content of the oratory declaimed in these environments may be studied in the Sermoens of Padre Vieira which also reflect the times and the society in which he lived.[1] His popularity was enormous: it is said that the citizens of Lisbon would queue outside the churches ('lançar tapete de madrugada a São Roque,' see Boxer (1957), p.10) in order to hear his sermons which apparently also became a sounding-board for political propaganda. He was highly regarded by John IV who called him 'o primeiro homen do mundo' (ibid., p.11), and by whom he was treated as confidential advisor.

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1. Sermoens do P. António Vieira da Companhia de Iesu, Prégador de Sua Alteza, 15 vols, Lisboa, 1679-1748.

This privileged position was however denied to the Jesuit by Dom Pedro[1] (King Peter II, reg. 1683-1706), who acted as regent from 1667 until the death of his brother King Alphonso VI in 1683 (reg. 1656-67) whom he had deposed.

From the point of view of musical patronage in particular in seventeenth-century Portugal, following the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy, attention should be centred on John IV: his own interest in the arts was only really to be transferred to his grandson John V, some fifty or so years after his death (see below), being less evident in the reigns of Alphonso VI and Pedro II.

In a very broad way, John IV's historical position may be likened to that of Charles II of England - both Kings assumed their status in a programme of monarchical restoration and both showed considerable interest in culture generally and in music in particular. It was even declared that John IV was 'tam versado em todas as Artes, & Sciê(n)cias, & tam sabio na música que nella não admitte hoje igual em todo a Europa'.[2]

As already indicated (see above, pp.60-1), John IV was renowned for his participation in things musical and was no mean composer. One may gain knowledge of this not only from tangible documentary evidence, such as in the form of printed works and letters, but also through eye-witness accounts. Whilst still at his Ducal palace in Vila Viçosa, he is recorded as occupying his leisure in 'the chase and musical composition' and '"adjusting the consonance of the solfa"' (sic).[3] On his visit to Portugal in 1648, the lutenist Richard Flecknoe described him personally as

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1. Nevertheless, Vieria apparently remained singularly optimistic regarding the future of Portugal:
   > Vivei, vivei, Portugueses, vos os que merecais viver neste venturoso século! See Cantel (1960), p.133.

2. P^e^ Alvarez Frouvo, Encomio sobre o papel [...] 1662, p.72; quoted in Ribeiro (1965), p.xxiv.

3. See Livermore (1966), p.173. There is no identification of the rather curious second quotation.

> [...] an honest man, changing nothing of the Duke of Braganza by being King of Portugal [...] his ordinary Exercise is / Hunting, and Musick, never omitting the first every Monday, nor the second every day after dinner, for any businesse.
>
> (R. Fleckno(e): A relation of ten years travell, London, [1658]; Letter xxi 'To the Countesse of Berlamont, Anno 48 [....], p.56.)

His wide knowledge of music is demonstrated in his own somewhat anachronistic treatise, Defensa de la Música Moderna (1649) and his equally reactionary Respuestas a las dudas que se pusieron a la missa Panis quem ego dabo de Palestina (sic).[1] Both works were originally written in Castilian, which was indicative of the coexistence of both the Portuguese and Castilian languages during the Philippine régime, a situation which persisted up to the beginning of the eighteenth century.[2] During the course of his argument in the Defensa John IV refers to a large number of composers ranging from 'Okenein' and 'Jusquin', Palestrina and later Italians, to such prominent composers employed at the royal chapel in Madrid as Felippe Rogier and the latter's pupil 'Mateo Romero' ('El Capitán') in whom John IV took enormous personal interest (see above, ibid.).

During the course of the chapters above, several references have been made to the Braganzian's famous music library which he maintained following his father's death in 1633, and which was destroyed in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake (see above, ibid.). It is clear that its extinction was one of the many serious losses in Portuguese cultural history. This may be established by a study of a printed catalogue pertaining to John IV's library, the Primeira Parte do Index da Libraria de Música (1649). (See

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1. There are facsimile editions of these two works by M. de Sampayo Ribeiro published in 1965 and 1958 respectively.

2. With regard to the Defensa, the nineteenth-century novelist Camilo Castelo Branco attributed this fact to an act of patriotism: 'para dar bom exemplo de patriotismo aos escriptores coevos'. (O Regicida, 5th edn, 1916, p.20; quoted in Ribeiro (1965), p.xxvii.) See also 'John [João] IV, King of Portugal' in the New Groves, vol.9, p.671, and Vasconcellos (1905).

Vasconcellos (1874).) This volume lists a vast quantity of music by composers from many European countries. A large proportion of this collection consisted of vocal music, both sacred and secular: this included works by composers from the royal chapel in Madrid who were active during the Philippine régime in particular; the secular compositions of Crequillon, Jannequin and Willaert, for instance, written in French; music by English composers such as William Byrd, Gibbons and Weelkes; and motets and madrigals by Striggio, Monteverdi and other Italians. There was also a substantial quantity of theoretical works (see Vasconcellos (1874), 'Caixão 18°', p.115) and as already inferred, a range of instrumental music in both printed and manuscript form (ibid., 'Caixão 16°', p.108-13). In addition to a number of sixteenth-century Spanish prints, Correa de Arauxo's Libro de tientos (1626), and the manuscripts containing works by Francisco de Peraza II, and the organists from the capilla española, Arratia and the brothers Diego Castillo and Bernardo Clavijo, there were organ works by Merulo and Titelouze.

Of the number of eminent composers and musicians who were in close contact with John IV, three in particular should be singled out: Duarte Lobo (d.1646), mestre da capela at Lisbon cathedral; Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650), prolific composer and also organist; and Felipe de Magalhães (d.1652). Before he came to the throne Dom João de Bragança is reputed to have provided all three with musical material on which to compose polyphonic Masses. (See Joaquim (1947), p.20.) Cardoso and Magalhães dedicated several of their publications of choral music to Dom João, both in his capacity as Duke and as King, as indeed also to 'El Rey Catholico Filippe IV'.

A series of letters between the monarch and various, usually musical, dignitaries such as António de Britto de Sousa and Romero 'Deão de Capella de Villa Viçosa' (sic) give further instance of John IV's active musical

interests. (See Vasconcellos (1905).) A great favourite was João Lourenço de Rebelo (1610-61) 'Fidalgo de la Casa del Serenissimo Rey D.Iuan el Quarto de Portugal', to whom the monarch dedicated his Defensa. It was at John IV's own expense that Rebelo's Psalmi pro Vesperis was published in Rome in 1657. This publication is significant in the history of Portuguese music for it contains the first examples of vocal composition with a part for basso continuo to which a date can be given.

In the light of John IV's musical preoccupations, it is not surprising that by 1649, the capela real in Lisbon was deemed to be the best in all Europe. It boasted a fine selection of singers and instrumentalists. With the exception of Manuel Rodriques Coelho, generally considered to be the most significant national organist of the early seventeenth-century in Portugal, the organists who had been employed during the Spanish domination all came from Spain. One in particular, Diego Alvarado, a Basque, enjoyed an extremely long incumbency of forty-three years which overlapped the early years of the Restoration.

As has been said, it was, however, only when it came to the reign of John V (reg. 1706-50) that Portugal reentered a period of relative peace, prosperity and cultural richness. Somewhat in imitation of the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV whose splendid style of life exuded a benevolence to the arts, the happy patronage of 'that most magnificent of modern Solomons, King John the Fifth'[1] produced a Portugal equal in spiritual vitality to that of the Manueline period. Owing once more to wealth acquired from colonial exploitations, on this occasion gold and diamonds from mines in Brazil, the arts were to thrive under a monarch

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1. W. Beckford: Recollections of an excursion, 1835, p.17; facs. ed. Alexander (1972).

who continually sought to promote culture and learning. The few political tremors, such as those leading up to the peace pacts with Holland (Utrecht, 1713) and Spain (1777), were too slight to disturb the Monarch's more immediate cultural concerns.

In this period, all the arts were heavily indebted to foreign intervention. Like his equally successful predecessor Dom Manuel in the sixteenth century, John V attracted and employed large numbers of architects, craftsmen and musicians from abroad. These helped to enrich his kingdom which was temporarily somewhat lacking in native talent. France and Italy played a large role in the revitalization of Portuguese culture and resulted not only in the literal imitation of 'Rococco' and 'Baroque' styles, but also in the adaptation of these to national heritage - the French, for instance, were significantly instrumental in introducing rococo elements to the field of painting, sculpture and the decorative arts.

Artists and musicians alike were encouraged by John V to travel to Rome for their education, as likewise talent in Italy was brought over to Portugal. The architectural achievements at this time were designed and influenced in particular by two foreigners who were trained in Rome: the German goldsmith João Frederico Ludovice (Johann Friedrich Ludwig, 1670-1752) and the Tuscan Nicolo Nasoni (d.1773) who were working in the south and north of Portugal respectively.

Domenico Scarlatti arrived in Lisbon in 1720 where he served as mestre in the capela real for a period of nine years, before transferring to the royal court in Madrid. At Lisbon, Scarlatti knew and worked with the young José Antônio de Seixas (1704-42), one of the leading and more original keyboard composers of the period. The music of Seixas, both orchestral and for the keyboard, may be linked to Italian and French

traditions of style and form; but there are also a few examples of keyboard sonatas, in a sustained and imitative _tiento_ (_tento_ in Portuguese) idiom suitable for organ performance, which do not employ advanced harmonic idioms.

Vivid contemporary accounts of the Portugal of John V occur in the diaries and letters of Merveilleux and César de Saussure, for instance (see Chaves (1983)), and in the writings of William Beckford the impact of his reign is still felt.

(ii)

Portuguese organ music of the seventeenth century

Apart from Coelho's 1620 Flores de música there is very little music extant to account for the activities of organists working in the royal chapel in Lisbon during the first half of the seventeenth century whilst Portugal was temporarily annexed to Habsburg Spain. As already mentioned it is not known who were the official organists at the capela real in the 1580s when Hernando de Cabezón was called over to Lisbon; during that particular period the organist António Carreira (c.1525-c.1590) was employed as mestre da capela. However, at Philip II's behest, a number of Spanish musicians were appointed to the posts of first and second organist at the end of the sixteenth century: Lacerna (or Estacio de la Serna (c.1575-1626) was nominated first organist in 1595 and Sebastián Martines Verdugo (d.1654), rival of Jerónimo de Peraza II at Palencia in 1594, became second organist in 1596. Neither Lacerna nor Verdugo remained for long in Lisbon - Lacerna left in 1604, eventually becoming choirmaster in Lima cathedral in Peru (1612-14), and Verdugo returned to Spain as early as 1600. (He was eventually employed at the royal court in Madrid.) Lacerna and Verdugo were succeeded by M. Rodrigues Coelho and Diego de Alvarado (c.1570-1643), a Basque, as first and second organists respectively.

The hand written appendix to the copy of Correa de Arauxo's Libro de tientos (Alcalá de Henares, 1626) preserved in the Ajúda library in Lisbon (LBAj, 38-XII-27) is the only known source for organ works by Spanish organists employed at the royal chapel in Lisbon during the Philippine regime: there are two tientos by Lacerna (ff.207v-8v and 209v-10v) and two by Alvarado (ff.206 and 212v-14v). The 'Obra de quinto [tom] por de la sol re sobre o paso de Pange lingoa' (sic) by Alvarado (f.206)

is also included in the Porto Livro de obras (PBPM M.1607, f.126v) where the music appears without any indication of the composer or title. A vocal work by Verdugo, a Christmas villancico, was formerly preserved in John IV's library (see Vasconcellos (1874), p.254). The Index to this library also includes two motets by Alvarado (ibid., pp.459 and 472). There are no identified works extant by Lacerna.

Beyond the fact that Manuel Rodrigues Coelho (c.1555-1635) is the sole Portuguese organist of the seventeenth century known to have compiled and published an anthology of his own works, he is also the only one of whom any details relating to his career are known. (See Kastner (1979).) Briefly, Coelho probably began his musical education at Elvas, his birth-place, where he was to return as organist in the 1580s after having served as substitute organist at Badajoz cathedral (Spain) between 1573 and 1577. (At Elvas he was frequently replaced by Diogo Francisco and João Alvarez: see Kastner (1979), p.49).) From Elvas, Coelho finally moved to Lisbon where, after a brief period as organist at the Sé catedral (1602-3), he was appointed 'organista e capelão' at the capela real in 1604 where he joined Alvarado. He also officiated as mestre da capela during his twenty-year incumbency.

Coelho claimed that his Flores de música (1620) was the first of its kind to be produced in Portugal: '[...]é o primeiro de Música pera Tecla & Harpa, que nestes nossos Reynos tem saido [...]'. (Flores, 'Prologo'; see Kastner ed. (repr.1976), p.XL). However, it is apparent that as early as 1536 (on 19th June), a certain Gonçalo de Baena had received a license to print 'Uma obra e arte para tanger' (see Kastner (1955), p.97); but this project may not have been fulfilled. Although Coelho's work is not ostensibly didactic, being directed rather to the already accomplished player ('deve ser não principiante, mas arrezoa do tangedor [...]' (Flores,

'Advertencias'; ed. Kastner (repr.1976), p.XLI)), the Flores de música clearly lies within the tradition of Cabezón's Obras de música (1578). It contains a number of tentos, hymn settings and versets (some for solo voice and accompaniment), and arrangements of the Susanna chanson by Lassus; there are however no intabulations of Flemish polyphonic music. The purpose of Coelhos' compilation is not especially functional (there are no complete jogos of versets for instance); rather it consists of a selection of his finest works which would then be suitable for dedication to a king (Philip III of Spain). (See Flores,.'Dedicatoria'; ed. Kastner, ibid., p.xxvii.)

After Coelho's Flores de música (1620) and the appendix to Correa de Arauxo's Libro de tientos in the Ajúda library, there are just two sources of organ music in Portugal which may be regarded as testimonies of seventeenth-century Portuguese organ practices: the Livro de obras, dated 1695, which was compiled by Roque da Conceição (PBPM M.1607), and the voluminous organ manuscript at Braga (BBP M.964) which consists of a miscellaneous assembly of manuscripts of varying dates and sizes. A number of concordances exist between these two sources, and the Braga MS also contains copies of music from Coelho's Flores de música. (The second source of organ music at Porto, the Libro de cyfra (PBPM M.1577), contains music by Spanish organists. However, owing to the 'Portuguese' text (there are many orthographical errors), which indicates that the anthology was probably copied down in Portugal itself, it is possible that the abundance of registrational indications in the music reflects Portuguese organ practices. The precise origin of this particular manuscript still remains a mystery .

By way of contrast with Spain and Spanish musical history, there is little documentary material available in Portugal which might provide

a background for the origins of the extant repertory of Portuguese organ music. There is only scant information about the few composers whose names are acknowledged in these sources and about the instruments and institutions for which they wrote their music. Conversely, however, as instanced in particular by Nery's publication (1981) of a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (BNL Cód. 8942), there is an abundance of biographical information available of composers from this period whose music has not survived. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to go beyond a purely stylistic appreciation of Portuguese organ music and to reconstruct its precise genesis. It is however important to recognize that up until at least the eighteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese organ music developed along similar lines: they were both subject to exactly the same traditions of contrapuntal composition and liturgical legislation - the latter consideration is illustrated in part two of this thesis in particular where passages from Portuguese ecclesiastical constitutions have been used several times to illustrate the organist's role in the liturgy.

However, a few documentary studies of certain ecclesiastical institutions in Portugal have been made: Alegria's account (1973) of Evora cathedral, which may be associated with such musicians as Magalhães, Melgas and Vaz Rego, and Pinho's monograph (1981) on the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, may be taken as exemplars of musical traditions in secular and monastic environments respectively. The latter institution is especially important as it was an outstanding centre of culture, music and learning; indeed the city of Coimbra as a whole experienced some of the most important artistic developments in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portugal.[1] In the field of organ music, Santa Cruz is now remembered in particular for two important sixteenth-century organ manuscripts (CBGU MM.48 and

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1. For example, see Kubler and Soria (1959), pp.183 seq. and 331 seq.

MM.242) which, besides containing examples of music by the most famous organist from Santa Cruz, Heliodora de Paiva (1502-52), and the royal chapel organist António Carreira, may be regarded as testimonies of an organist's training at this monastery. (According to Pinho there were a large variety of keyboard instruments - referred to generically as tecles in the sources - at Santa Cruz (Pinho (1981), p.126); these were used not only for liturgical purposes but also for rehearsal and as teaching instruments.) However, despite the names of seventeenth-century 'compositores' and 'tangedores' which Pinho lists (see, for example, ibid. , pp.248-9), and the two constitutions - the 1579 Ordinário and the 1693 Economicon Sacro (see below, p.151) - which indicate the organist's role in the service of the liturgy, there is scarcely any organ music emanating from Santa Cruz during this period. The only organ piece which has been identified as the work of an organist from Santa Cruz during the seventeenth century is a tento by Agostinho (da Cruz) (1570/90-1643) in the Porto Livro de obras (f.115-7).[1] Nevertheless, one of the 'compositores' listed by Pinho, Pedro de Esperança, who was also 'insignis pulsator organorum' (see Pinho (1981), p.187), has left a number of vocal compositions including four Responsos (sic) for Christmas which represent just a small proportion of the enormous quantity of choral music extant from seventeenth-century Santa Cruz.[2] Of particular relevance is the fact that these compositions also instance the large accompanying role assigned to the organist and to instrumentalists. Two styles of choral or vocal music in particular were practised during this period at Santa Cruz: a type of accompanied monody in the style of Coelho's Magnificat versets

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1. See Kastner (1946), p.148; Pinho (1981), p.185, states that Agostinho da Cruz had compiled two collections of organ music which he offered to King John IV.

2. CBGU MM.18 ff.41v-8. These are settings of the second, fourth, fifth and seventh responsories for Matins on Christmas night; see Faria (1977).

'para se cantarem ao orgão' (Flores de música (1620), f.174=94v)), and a polychoral style which also required instrumental support. The term guião (or guiam) was commonly used to indicate the accompanying instrumental bass line to vocal compositions. The instrument to be used was not necessarily specified; a further qualification such as 'Guião para o órgão' was however sometimes added.[1] With regard to the former style - that of 'accompanied monody' - it is apparent from the Ordinario (1579) that this was only practised sparingly. In the following passage, it is advised that 'religiosos' (monks) who know how to sing to the organ (or other instruments) may do so with special concession from the prior:

> E he de notar, que avendo religiosos na casa que saibam cantar aos Orgãos ou instrumentos, se poderaa fazer com especial licença do prior [...]
>
> (Ordinário, Coimbra, 1579); 2ª Parte, Cap.33, f.81v.)

There is a setting of the responsory 'Ascendo ad Patrem meum' (CBGU MM.51 ff.33-33v), dating from about the mid-seventeenth century, which is an example of this type of music for voice and instrumental accompaniment. Immediately following this responsory in the same manuscript is a setting of the antiphon 'Regina caeli' which combines both vocal styles (ibid., ff. 33v-4v).

With regard to the two principal sources of Portuguese organ music themselves, the repertory contained in these manuscripts must be taken

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1. The term guião in Portuguese, guión in Spanish, may be interpreted as 'guide' in this context: it was widely used in seventeenth-century manuscripts to indicate the supporting instrumental bass line accompanying vocal compositions. In his 1742 Mapa Armónico, Valls lists the various terms used for this musical line: '[...] Baxo continuo, Partitura, Guión, y Acompañamiento [...]' (loc.cit. (BBC M.680), Cap.19, p.183).

as applying generally to all ecclesiastical institutions in Portugal during the seventeenth century at least. As illustrated in part two of this thesis there is ample evidence in these sources for an integrated role of the organist in the celebration of the liturgy, a role which may be substantiated by numerous legislative texts. Of the few names of composers acknowledged in the Livro de obras (PBPM M.1607) and the Braga MS, that of Pedro de Araújo (1610/20-84?) features the most prominently: it occurs however only in association with the longer compositions such as the obras and batalhas, the large verset repertory being entirely anonymous. Other composers in these sources include Carlos de São Joseph, J. Leite da Costa, D. da Conceição, Agostinho (da Cruz), A Correa Braga, João de Christo and Luis Coutinho. The 'Pedro de San Lorenzo' in the Braga MS is probably Castilian, being associated with the monastery of San Lorenzo, El Escorial. (See Doderer ed. (1974), p.X, n.26.)

Kastner has identified P. de Araújo as mestre de coro and professor de música at the Seminário Conciliar in Braga who was working there between 1662 and 1668. (See Kastner (1979), p.117 seq.) He deduces that Araújo must also have been cathedral organist at Braga owing to the fact that such institutions as the Seminário were very much affiliated with the cathedral. In all Araújo's works, from those with a more traditional contrapuntal bias to such as the comparatively more freely constructed works such as fantasias, and batalhas, the origins of the music in an idiomatic approach to keyboard performance is fully evident. Many pieces, such as the 'Phantasia de 4° tom' (PBPM M.1607, ff.27v-34 and BBP M.964 ff.22-4v; ed. Kastner (1978), no.V [pp.21-6]), have an essentially improvisatory character in which virtuoso passage-work freely intermingles with contrapuntually construed phrases. Kastner even detects 'características do estilo italiano' in Araújo's music - elements which

did not penetrate the music of his forebear Coelho. (See Kastner (1979), p.119.) This influence may also be appreciated in the sacred choral music at Santa Cruz in Coimbra which has been described as 'o estilo concertante'. (See Faria (1974)).

Pedro de Araújo may be regarded as the representative figure of (northern) Portuguese organ music of the mid-seventeenth century. Although it is not certain whether he in fact contributed to the extant verset repertory, all the principal forms and styles of organ music are exemplified: meio registo (sic: this style however occurs with less regularity in Portuguese organ manuscripts), large scale obras or tentos (equivalent to the Spanish tiento), the batalha and the phantasia (sic). With the possible exception of a tento by Coelho (Flores, ff.100v-2v; ed. Kastner (repr. 1976), no.12, pp.187-91), the falsas per se does not feature in Portuguese sources.

Apart from the abundance of registrational indications in the Porto Libro de cyfra, which may or may not have some bearing on Portuguese organ practices during this period, there are scarcely any suggestions for performance interpretation in the Portuguese sources. However, 'clarins' are specified during the course of two of the (anonymous) batalhas in the Braga MS: these virtually identical pieces also include a few verbal suggestions for rhythm and tempo. (BBP M.964, ff.34-8v and 56-9; ed. Doderer (1974), nos.54 and 55, pp.177-192.) It is possible that these instructions were added at a later date to the manuscript; the 'Obra de 6° tom sobre a Batalha' (ff.34-8v) is also included in the Porto Livro de obras (PBPM M.1607, ff.49v-55). Little is known specifically about the state of Portuguese organs during the seventeenth century; it appears that, owing to economic reasons, not many instruments were built at that

time. (See Azevedo (1972), p.9). More significant developments in Portuguese organ building however took place in the eighteenth century, when it is likely that the instruments, probably largely through Spanish influence, acquired the characteristic horizontally mounted reeds.[1] The stops indicated in the Libro de cyfra, the trombeta alta, trombeta baixa, and the clarim in the versets by B. de Olague (PBPM M.1577, ff.11-45v) and by M. Garcia de Olague (ibid., ff.73-88v) for instance, and the clarim in Pablo Bruna's 'Regizto alto de clarim' (ibid., ff.89-93v), only existed on organs of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century (see chapter 2, sections (iii)-(v)). As has been said, the genesis of the Libro de cyfra is uncertain; it is therefore difficult to gauge whether the stops listed here were characteristic of any particular Portuguese organ.

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1. See Jordans (1979). For an appreciation of the more visual qualities of the Portuguese 'baroque' organ see Azevedo (1972).

PART TWO

MUSIC AND THE LITURGY

CHAPTER 4

ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTIONS

IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

4

ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTIONS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

(i)

An introduction to documentary sources relating to the organ and its music

The main aim of the second half of this thesis is to draw attention to the ways in which the Church exercised a supreme role in regulating and influencing both the extent to which the organ was permitted to participate in the celebration of the Divine Offices and the very nature of the liturgical organ music itself. For the purposes of reconstructing the function of organ music in the service of the liturgy, a variety of ecclesiastical documentary literature has been consulted. Of particular interest in this context are the chapters or sections included in a number of ceremonials which are specifically devoted to the organ and the organist. In addition to these, chapters directed to other important musical officers such as the maestro de capilla and the cantor mayor also provide useful information, as indeed chapters which outline the structure of particular liturgical Offices and occasions. The latter are especially valid as they frequently supplement and expand upon the information given in those describing the 'Officio del que tañe el Organo', for instance.

The majority of ceremonials dating from the seventeenth century onwards are subject to the Caeremoniale Episcoporum which was promulgated by Pope Clement VIII and published in Rome in 1600.[1] Although this work then became a statutory source in its own right, it was in fact the outcome

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1. For a history of the origins of the Caeremoniale Episcoporum and an analysis of the passages in this work which refer specifically to the use of the organ in the liturgy, see Higginbottom (1978), Part one, Chapter I, pp.16-57; see also Chapter II 'Roman legislation after 1600', p.59 seq.

of a long evolution: the nucleus for this type of legislation may be found largely in a series of Roman Ordinals (Ordines Romani), in manuscript form, which were produced at the instigation of pontifical decrees. Of considerable significance was the provision of the 1600 Caeremoniale Episcoporum of directions for episcopal functions and the formulae for the daily liturgy in cathedrals and collegiate churches.[1] This was one of a series of new editions published by Clement VIII which largely adhered to the dictates of the Councils of Trent (1545-63): these included a revised Pontifical (1596), Breviary (1602) and Missal (1604).[2]

Although the Caeremoniale Episcoporum underwent a series of revisions, none where so radical as to create any major divergence from the first edition of 1600. In 1744, J. Catalanus made an elaborate commentary on the third edition (1729) of this work; from a practical point of view, his annotations are extremely useful as they frequently clarify the somewhat broad statements contained in many portions of the original text. Thus, for example, the majority of the thirteen 'paragraphs' which constitute the chapter 'De Organo, Organista [etc]' (Lib.I, Cap.28) are considered individually, each receiving further, even historical, explanation.[3] These commentaries frequently include comparisons with prescriptions in similar legislative sources, particularly where these are shown to depart from those contained in the Vatican text.

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1. See 'Liturgical books of the Roman rite' in NCE, vol. 8, p.890.

2. See 'Clement VIII, pope' in NCE, vol.3, p.933.

3. In the 1600 publication of the Caeremoniale Episcoporum, the chapter 'De Organo, Organista, et musicis, seu cantoribus, & norma per eos servanda in divinis' (Lib.I, Cap.28) is presented in continuous prose. During the course of this thesis, any quotations from this chapter will not, therefore, be accompanied by a precise reference to a particular 'paragraph' but rather to the chapter as a whole. Neither will specific page references be included as the work was issued in several different formats. The text from the Caeremoniale is included in the appendix (pp.521-2).

Most of the ecclesiastical documumentary sources consulted for this thesis, pertaining to a number of both 'secular' and monastic foundations in Spain and Portugal, date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although it is clear that the Caeremoniale Episcoporum constitutes the principal source of information for the various prescriptions which they issue, other prominent 'autores referidos' include M. Bauldry whose Manuale Sacrarum (1637, revised in 1646) was evidently regarded as an equally authoritative work. Some of the directives included in the Iberian ceremonials are accompanied by a reference to a specific clause in Bauldry's book which may have provided a clearer indication of the organist's duties than did the Caeremoniale itself; it is clear, however, that Bauldry's Manuale was indeed also based on Caeremoniale.[1]

In addition, it may be observed that a few of the post-1600 texts in Spain and Portugal consist of adaptations of pre-existing formats to ones which also embrace the 'reforms' of the Caeremoniale. In the case of the Burgos Ceremonial Romano nuevamente reformado (1603), edited by J. Zamora, for instance, this produces some rather interesting results, possibly demonstrating that the authorities were unwilling to abandon certain local customs. The Burgos Ceremonial Romano is evidently based on the style of ceremonial, dating from before 1600, of which those from Toledo (Ceremonial de los officios divinos, 1591) and Seville (Ceremonial y Processionario, 1593), for instance, form a precedent. (These sources in themselves may indeed have been based on earlier Roman ceremonials distributed by Pope Urban VIII.) A comparison between the chapters

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1. For a discussion and analysis of Bauldry's Manuale (Paris, 1637), and its subsequent revision, see Higginbottom (1978), Part two, Chapter II, pp.111 seq. and 140 seq. A revised (8th) edition of the Manuale, from which passages are quoted in the following discussion, was published in Venice in 1734.

directed to the organist in the Burgos Ceremonial and those in the constitutions from Toledo and Seville reveals this clearly.[1] In referring to the stipulations of the Roman text, the Burgos Ceremonial frequently qualifies these by stating 'como lo manda el Ceremonial Romano nuevamente impresso'. It is almost as if there was the wish to distinguish them in some way from previously accepted customs. As illustrated in the following chapters, the fact that the Burgos text may diverge from the Caeremoniale Episcoporum at times is probably indicative that a certain degree of flexibility was exercised in Spanish churches, at least with regard to musico-liturgical practices and formalities. Apart from the chapter directed to the organist in this particular ceremonial, the chapter describing 'las ceremonias del choro' in solemn Mass (Lib.4°, Cap.6°) has been particularly useful. In the latter, reference is also made to Paris de Grassis ('Paris Crass.', sic) whose own work formed the basis of the Caeremoniale Episcoporum itself.[2]

A sixteenth-century ceremonial from the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, the Ordinário dos Canónicos Regulares (Lisboa, 1579), was in a similar way rewritten to embrace the information given in a number of later legislative sources: the 'autores referidos' in the Economicon Sacro from Santa Cruz (Lisboa, 1693) include the 'Concilio Tridentino', the 'Ceremonial do Papa', João Campello and Michael Bauldry. Both chapters from these ceremonials pertaining to Santa Cruz are included in the appendix (pp.518 and 535-7).

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1. These chapters from the Toledo and Seville ceremonials are reproduced as one in the appendix (pp.519-20), where they may also be compared with the relevant chapter from the Burgos Ceremonial Romano.

2. See 'Ordinals, Roman' in NCE, vol.10, p.726, and Higginbottom (1978), Part one, loc.cit.

Of particular interest in this study as a whole is the substantial Benedictine Ceremonial Monástico (Salamanca, 1635) which, although frequently referring to the musico-liturgical prescriptions contained in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum (the 'Ceremonial Romano'), consciously, on occasion, contrasts its own customs with those in the episcopal source. These differences largely occur in connexion with the performance of certain musical items, though in one instance there is some discrepancy with regard to the formalities surrounding the penitential Lenten season (see below). Before the appearance of the Ceremonial Monástico, which was also subsequently reissued,[1] there were in existence several Constituciones dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which were written from the Benedictine House at Valladolid and later from Montserrat in Catalonia: the latter constitutions (from Montserrat itself) were produced with the reforms of the Abbot García Jiménez de Cisneros,[2] first cousin of the Archbishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517). (Some information from the earlier manuscript constitutions is included in the discussion below.) The 1635 Ceremonial Monástico may be lauded for its thorough description of the integration of the organ in liturgical services; it is possibly also the first of its kind to include recommendations for the timing of musical items.

The following discussion is frequently illustrated by quotations from the eighteenth-century Portuguese Ceremonial Seráfico (Lisboa, 1730), which constitutes one of the most significant documentary sources in the

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1. A later edition of this work, published in Madrid in 1774, was reproduced in exactly the same format as the seventeenth-century edition. In one or two instances, however, the spelling was modernized.

2. There are three particular manuscripts preserved at Montserrat itself: MonB M.39 ([Constituciones del Monasterio de Montserrat]); MonB M.46 ([Ceremonial de Montserrat]) and MonB M.74 ([Ceremonial de la Congregación benedictina de Valladolid]). The two latter manuscripts are bound together in one volume. The information contained in these sources is also found in Baraut's (1965) edition of the complete works of Cisneros, vol. II, which are written in Spanish and Latin.

peninsula owing to its strong bias towards the role of the musician in the celebration of the liturgy and to several other musico-liturgical issues. (The fact that this Franciscan ceremonial was printed at an Officina da música in Lisbon may have some bearing on this.) The section directed to the organist in this work is short and very general, evidently serving merely as an introduction to the 'segunda parte' of the Ceremonial which includes chapters describing in full the rituals to be observed in the celebration of the Offices on solemn feasts in particular. In these, ample reference is made to a large number of musical matters: manner of performance, both from the point of view of the singers and of the organist; organ registration; the timing of musical items and even the required mode ('tom') of organ pieces which are quite independent from the plainchant itself. The author of this Ceremonial Seráfico, e Romano, which is directed in particular to Franciscan Orders in the 'Província dos Algarves', alludes to a large number of authoritative sources: these include the 'Decretos, e repostas de Sagrada Congregação de Ritos',[1] the Caeremoniale Episcoporum, M. Bauldry, Zamora and several Rubricas previously issued by the Franciscan Order.

A further Portuguese source dating from the eighteenth century which contains detailed descriptions of the duties of the various ecclesiastical and musical officers, as well as minutiae of the liturgical services themselves, is the Ceremonial Ecclesiástico (Lisboa, 1743) pertaining to the Congregation of Bare-footed Augustinian friars in Portugal. The reasons for this are given in the chapter 'De quando se ha de cantar, entoar, ou rezar no Coro o Offício Divino' (Trat.II, Cap.17, pp.172-6).

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1. The Congregation of Sacred Rites was established in 1588 under Pope Sixtus V. See 'Rites, Congregation of' in NCE, vol.12, pp.518-19.

Here it is stated that as it was only after the edict of Pope Benedict XIII that, on 20th June 1726, Gregorian chant was adopted by this Congregation, it was necessary to explain a large number of issues which were not previously included in other constitutions pertaining to this particular Order.

> E como as nossas Constituições não declarão expressamente o que se ha de nelles cantar, se faz preciso expor, e determinar neste capítulo com individuação em que dias, ou festas, e que Horas do Officio Divino se hão de cantar, seguindo os usos, e costumes desta nossa Congregação de Portugal; e também em parte a direcção dos Ceremoniaes das Congregações Descalças da nossa Ordem de Italia, e de Hespanha [...] (Loc.cit., (§)2,p.1.)

This ceremonial likewise refers to an enormous number of authoritative sources which again include the Caeremoniale and M. Bauldry. The substantial chapter 'Do offício do Organista' (Trat.I, Cap.12, pp.42-4), from which extracts are quoted in the ensuing account, is included in the appendix (pp.540-4).

Both the Ceremonial Seráfico and the Ceremonial Ecclesiástico frequently refer to the increasingly popular custom of performing plainchant with organ accompaniment - this undoubtedly affected the extent of the organist's solo contribution to the liturgy (see below). In this respect, therefore, the book of Accompanhamentos de Missas, Sequencias, Hymhos [sic] , e mais cantochão (Lisboa, 1761) from the royal Joanine convent of Franciscan friars at Mafra in Portugal may be regarded as a complementary source which gives practical evidence for this style of performance. The Index and Advertências of this work also provide many details relating to musico-liturgical customs and the duties of the organists at this particular institution.

There are a number of other vital ceremonial sources from the Iberian peninsula which are used to illustrate liturgical and musical customs

in the discussion below. Owing to the wide spread of both documentary and musical material it has not been the aim to account for the practices which may have existed in any particular ecclesiastical establishment, nor to give any detailed descriptions and analyses of the sources. A number of non-legislative sources, musical treatises such as Nassarre's Escuela Música (1723-4) in particular, are also extremely valuable for the practical information they provide for the integration of organ music within the liturgy.

The substance of the chapters devoted specifically to the duties of the organist in the ceremonials dating from the end of the sixteenth century onwards becomes standard. This covers a number of topics which range from the general to the more particular. The general ones tend to more practical issues relating principally to the care of the instrument itself (an issue, incidentally, which is not mentioned in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum), and to recommendations of style in which the organ music was to be played. The music was to be neither 'profane' nor give cause for amusement, but rather it should be 'grave', 'honest' and 'devout':

> [...] y por ningún caso tañ cosa que no sea muy grave, y devota, y que no cause risa [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.1, Sec.2, Cap.6, (§)17, p.64.)

In one instance it is specifically recommended that the organ music played should be 'fundada en canto llano'. (Estatutos, Zaragoza, 1607, Cap.27.)[1] However, with regard to the liturgically more vital issues, these chapters form the nucleus for a more keen comprehension of the precise role of the organist in liturgical context. These consist chiefly of reminders

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1. The chapter 'Del oficio y obligación del organista' from the Zaragoza Estatutos, quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1977), pp.23-4, is included in the appendix (pp.525-6).

to the organist of the seasons and days within the liturgical calendar when he should or should not provide music, and the Offices, and items therein, which may require musical contribution and interpolation: the extent of this depended very much upon festal category. The provision of more specific details relating to the precise manner of musical integration, with regard in particular to alternatim performance, varies considerably from source to source; as it is inferred above, it is more frequently within the body of the ceremonials themselves, or within some musical treatises, that these are encountered.

A succinct account of the essential rules to be observed by the organist is conveniently provided by Catalanus at the opening of his commentary on the entire chapter 'De Organo, Organista' from the Caeremoniale Episcoporum:

> Organa in Ecclesia adhibentur in omnibus Dominicis, et Festis per annum. Pulsari non debent in Adventu, et a Quadragesima ad Pascha, exceptis Dominica tertia Adventus, et quarta Quadragesimae, ac Festis quibusdam per ea tempora occurrentibus. Pulsantur in ingressu Episcopi ad Ecclesiam, quoties ille solemnitur celebrat. Item in ingressu Legati Apostolici, Cardinalis, Archiepiscopi, et alterius Episcopi copi, ubi primum ad Ecclesiam accedunt, donec orant. Quando, et quomodo tangenda sint in Matutinis solemnibus, in Vesperis, et in Versibus Hymnorum, et in Missa. Num adhibenda sint in Horis Canonicis. Sonus Organi, et cantus modulatio, ne levitatem, aut lasciviam praeferant. Nec Musica, nec Organum in Officiis, et Missis Defunctorum adhibeatur. [1]

(J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1744; Lib. I Cap.28, p.373.)

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1. Catalanus's summary may be translated as follows:
The organs are played in church on all Sundays and Feastdays throughout the year. They should not play during Advent and during the period of Lent up to Easter, with the exception of the third Sunday of Advent and the fourth Sunday of Lent and again with the exception of some Feasts which occur during these periods. The organs are played at the entry of a Bishop to church whenever he is making a solemn celebration. Likewise at the entry of an Apostolic delegate, a Cardinal, an Archbishop and another Bishop when they first enter the church and when they pray. When and how they play at solemn Matins, Vespers, the verses of hymns and in Mass, and when they are included in Canonical Hours. The sound of the organ, and the modulation of the singing voice should not introduce frivolity or lasciviousness. Neither music, nor the organ should contribute to the Offices and Mass for the dead.

Whilst a consideration of the seasons and days during which organ music was officially permitted, with particular regard to the somewhat controversial question of the extent to which it was actually played during the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent, forms the basis of the ensuing section (ii), chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis will be totally devoted to a discussion of the organist's contribution to the Canonical Hours and the Mass respectively.

(ii)

'Em que tempo e horas se tangem os órgãos':[1]

the liturgical seasons and times when organ music was permitted

With regard to the general rule that the organ should be played on all Sundays and feast-days throughout the year ('In omnibus Dominicis, & omnibus festis per annum [...]'), as expressed in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum (Lib.I, Cap.28), excepting those which occur during the seasons of Advent and Lent, few sources diverge from this stipulation. As indicated in Catalanus's summary of the organist's obligations outlined in the Caeremoniale, which has been quoted above, the restrictions imposed on the two penitential periods were lifted for two Sundays in particular: the third of Advent, commonly referred to as Gaudete Sunday, and the fourth of Lent, Laetare[2] Sunday, 'qui sunt dies laetitiae'. (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum (1744), Lib.I, Cap.28, § II, comm.II, p.375.) However, there were a number of other special feasts and occasions which, even if these occurred during

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1. This title is taken from the heading of the chapter directed to the organist in the Ordinário dos Canónicos Regulares (Lisboa, 1579) from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra (1ª Parte, Cap.34, ff.80v-81v).

2. These names are taken from the first words of the Introits of the Masses on these particular Sundays.

Advent and Lent, could be celebrated with organ music. The 1600 Caeremoniale only makes specific mention of the feast of the Annunciation, Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday; yet in Catalanus's publication, in which the information is derived from the third (1729) edition of the Caeremoniale, the text is expanded at this point and a further selection of Saints' days are listed (these are also mostly specified in the 1743 Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Trat.I, Cap.12, (§)3, pp.42-3). In his commentary on this paragraph from the Caeremoniale, Catalanus states that whereas previously only Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday (and the feast of the Annunciation) were singled out as solemn days during the Lenten season, there have since been added so many other feasts during this time that there is scarcely a single day which is not celebrated with organ and choral music (loc.cit., comm.XVIII, p.378). (In many Iberian texts it is also specified that ordination Masses ('Missas nuevas' or, in Portuguese, 'Missas novas') should be celebrated with especial solemnity, even when they occur during a penitential season.) Although the 1600 Caeremoniale itself gives no further indication as to the precise role of the organist on Gaudete and Laetare Sundays, later texts stress that he should only play during the Mass; this dictum is in fact inserted in the revised edition of the Caeremoniale where it is stated that on these days the organ was to be played 'sed in Missa tantum'.

In the following account two areas in which the ceremonial texts are apparently at variance will be considered: firstly, the question of the observance of the penitential seasons in general, and the extent to which organ music was permitted during these times; and secondly, the celebration of, and the organist's contribution to, the liturgy on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday in particular.

Despite the prescription that the organ could be played on Gaudete and Laetare Sundays, it is apparent from Iberian texts dating from both before and after 1600 that this rule was not necessarily universally upheld. For instance, quite apart from the sixteenth-century Consueta from Granada cathedral which fails to refer to these particular liturgical seasons, the 1579 Ordinário from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, though forbidding the use of the organ in the Lenten season in a general way (without, however, making an exception of Laetare Sunday), does not mention Advent at all.

> Em todos os Domingos do anno se tangem os orgãos aa missa & cântico da Magnificat, excepto que da dominga da Septuagesima inclusive, té a pascoa exclusive, se não tangeram, salvo em a missa de quinta feira de cea, & Sábbado santo, em que se tangeram.
>
> (Ordinário dos Canónicos Regulares, Lisboa, 1579; 1ª Parte, Cap.34, f.81)

(The question of the precise duration of the Lenten season during which the organist was normally requested not to play will be discussed below.) On the other hand, in advising that the organ should not be played at Vigils on fasting days, the 1647 Ceremonial from Coimbra states that an exception should be made of all Sundays during Advent, the fourth Sunday of Lent as well as Maundy Thursday, on which days the organ was to be played only at Mass:

> [...] & em todos os dias do anno em que se rezar de Vigilia de jejum universal da Igreja, se não tange órgão nem a Missa, nem nas Horas do Offício divino; tira(n)do todas as Domi(n)gas do Advento, & a Quarta da Quaresma, & a Quinta Feyra mayor, nos quaes dias se tange órgão só a Missa.
>
> (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647; Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap. 7, (§)8, p.16.)[1]

In his commentary on this paragraph in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Catalanus refers to an Ambrosian Caeremoniale (n.d.) which in fact permits

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1. This chapter from the 1647 Ceremonial is included in the appendix (pp.532-4).

the use of the organ during Lent, Litany processions, and even in Offices for the dead. (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum (1744), Lib.I, Cap.28, § II, Comm.II, p.375.)

It is however probable that as a rule the Roman statutes were generally adhered to. In the Index to the Acompanhamentos (Lisboa, 1761), from the royal convent at Mafra, for instance, the following unambiguous statement is made:

> Na Quaresma, e Advento não se toca Orgão, excepto na Dominga quarta da Quaresma Laetare; e na Dominga terceira do Advento Gaudete, e isto he só a Missa [...]
>
> (J. de Santo António: Acompanhamentos, Lisboa, 1761; Index, p.[14].)

Apropos the question that on Gaudete and Laetare Sundays the organ should only be played at Mass (' sed in Missa tantum'), an apparently unusual custom regarding Lenten Sundays is advocated in the sixteenth-century Estatutos from the cathedral at Elvas in Portugal. Here, having prescribed that the third and fourth Sundays of Advent and Lent respectively are exempt from the prohibition of the organ on Saturdays and Sundays during these periods as a whole, the author nevertheless states that, with the exception of Palm Sunday (Domingo de Ramos), the organ should be played at Compline on all Sundays during the Lenten season.

> § 4° He obrigado a tanger em todos os domingos, e sábados a tarde, excepto em advento a quaresma, porém no 3° do avento, e 4° da quaresma haverá órgão [....]
>
> § 6° Deve tanger às completas dos Domingos da quaresma, excepto no de Ramos, sob penna de 100 r(éi)s.
>
> (Estatutos [...] de Elvas (n.d.), EBM M.12765 F.G., f.[96].[1] Quoted in Kastner (1979), p.38.)

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1. This text is quoted in both Doderer (1975), pp.217-8, and Kastner (1979), pp.37-8. Whilst in Doderer's version a few words are apparently omitted, the precise foliation is not indicated in Kastner's publication.

A further discrepancy in the ceremonial texts consulted concerns the number of Sundays to be included within the long season of preparation for Easter, and for how many of these the organ was officially to be excluded from the musical celebration of the liturgy on these days. In the Caeremoniale Episcoporum, and indeed in many other constitutions based on this work, just three Sundays preceding Laetare Sunday are specified - in other words, only those which occur during the period known as Quadragesima (Quaresma in Spanish and Portuguese). However, as demonstrated for instance in the quotation above from the Ordinário from Santa Cruz, this period was extended back to include Septuagesima Sunday, and forward to Easter (exclusive). (This particular prohibitive time is also evinced in the Toledo (1591) and Seville (1593) ceremonials, though these two in fact apparently make no allowance for Gaudete and Laetare Sundays.)

It is perhaps curious that the Caeremoniale Episcoporum should not refer to the three Sundays preceding the official Lenten season in the chapter 'De Organo, Organista [etc.]', when it is stated on more than one occasion in this publication that the special purple vestments worn by the clergy during this time should first be worn on Septuagesima Sunday.[1] For instance:

> Parame(n)ta tamen altaris, celebrantis, & ministrorum sint viridis coloris exceptis Dominicis Adventus, & à Septuagesima usque ad Pascha exclusive [...]
>
> (Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1600; Lib.II, Cap.31.)

It could be suggested, albeit tentatively, that the custom of observing restrictive practices with regard to the playing of the organ during the Lenten season which begins on Septuagesima Sunday was peculiar to a number

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1. An admission of this apparent incongruity was made in a Roman decree in the eighteenth century. (See Higginbottom (1978), Part One, Chap.II, p.64.)

of ecclesiastical institutions in the Iberian peninsula. This proposal is at least supported by a paragraph in the chapter 'Del Organo y Organista' in the Ceremonial Monástico where, after reiterating the Roman dicta regarding the seasons when organ playing was permitted, it is written:

> 3 No se acostumbra tañer Organo en la Dominica Septuagesima, Sexagesima, y Quinquagesima, aunque no las excepta el Ceremonial Romano.
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.I, Sec.2, Cap.6, (§) 3, p.59.)

Incidentally, in his commentary on this issue in the Caeremoniale, Catalanus refers to a custom (indicated in a work by Macryus), apparently exercised in Spain, where statues in the churches were covered during Advent, Vigils, the quatuor temporum and from Septuagesima Sunday until Holy Saturday.

> Macryus in suo Hierlexico, verbo, Icona, ait, in Hispania cooperiri ipasas Imagines in Ecclesiis tempore Adventus, Vigiliarum, quatuor temporum, et a Dominica Septuagesimae usque ad Sabbatum sanctum.
>
> (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1744; Lib.I, Cap.28, § II, comm.I, p.375.)

The two special feast days in Holy Week, Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday, which were treated with especial solemnity, are frequently described in the ceremonials: either within the general context of the organist's duties or, in a more extended fashion, as part of an overall account of the Offices during Holy Week. Whilst the 1600 Caeremoniale does not specify the organist's precise contribution on these days, other ceremonials indicate that the organ should only be played during the Mass. This is also substantiated in the revised editions[1] of the Caeremoniale Episcoporum where it is stated that the organ should play at Mass on the Thursday, and at both Mass and Vespers on the Saturday. Catalanus explains this as follows:

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1. *See above, p 149.*

> Ita sane antiquiora Caeremonialia, recte autem nostrum majoris explicationis gratia, de Organo Feria quinta in Coena Domini pulsandi addidit, ad Missam tantum; & Sabbato sancto, ad Missam, et ad Vesperas.
>
> (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1744, Lib.I, Cap.28, § II, comm.XVIII, p.378.)

As to the extent of the organist's participation during these services, only a few sources give any indication regarding the Ordinary of the Mass. Bauldry clearly states that the organist should play during the Kyrie and the Gloria on Maundy Thursday and from the Gloria onwards on Holy Saturday:

> In festis quae tempore Adventus & Quadragesimae occurunt, organa cessant; excipiuntur tamen aliquae festivitates solemnes, videlicet festum Annunciationis in Quadragesima, & aliae similes, & feriae, quae solemnitier celebrantur in quibusdam feriis, ut Romae dies stationum in propria Ecclesia, iis enim pulsantur feriis, sicut in Missa feriae 5. in Coena Domini ad Kyrie eleison, & ad Gloria in excelsis tamtum, & Vigilia Paschae, incipiendo ab Hymno Angelico tantum, ut & ad reliquum officium, ut in aliis Missis solemnibus [...]
>
> (M. Bauldry: Manuale Sacrarum (8th edn), Venice, 1734; Cap.8, (§)III, p.21.)

The documentary sources which describe the ceremonies on Maundy Thursday reflect a number of varying musico-liturgical traditions. It is a matter of conjecture whether indeed most ecclesiastical institutions heeded to the above dictum of Bauldry. However, there are two relatively late Portuguese sources which accord on this point. In the following extract from the Ceremonial Seráfico, it is stated that whilst this Mass should be sung in a very solemn manner as a whole, all bells and instruments should cease after the Gloria, and that any further items should be sung in (unaccompanied) plainchant. It is also advised that no more instruments should be played until the Gloria (Hymno Angélico) on Holy Saturday.

> No Coro se cantará esta Missa com muita pausa, e solemnidade, quando fôr possível; e tendo o Celebrante cantado Gloria in excelsis Deo, se repicarão os sinos grandes, e pequenos com som festivo, e da hi até o Sábbado Santo, ao cantar o dito Hymno Angélico, se não tornarão a tanger: Infra Officium, nec ad

Officium, aut sermonem; porque o contrario he abuso, nem ha Rubrica que conceda tal permisso: Campanae deinde silent, ut excelsa nostra, et turrium nostrarum taceant in humilitate Christi Gav. Part.4,tit.8 num.2 e o mesmo se observará com o Orgão, não se tangendo mais depois de cantada a Gloria toda; porque tudo da hi para diante deve ser sómente o canto chão da Igreja sem instrumento algum [...]

(Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte,Trat.VII, Cap.6, n.334, p.349.)

The Mafra source likewise demonstrates this custom:

> Em Quinta Feira Santa, Duples da Primeira Classe, acompanhão os Orgãos os Kyrios da Missa; e no fim do leventamento da Gloria, toca hum Orgão só por hum brevíssimo espaço, e depois acompanhão todos a Gloria até o fim; e não tocão mais os Orgãos até Sabbado Santo na Missa depois de levantada a Gloria.
>
> (J. de Santo António: Acompanhamentos, Lisboa, 1761; Index ('Festas mudáveis'), p.[1].)

However, contrary to the majority of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts, the ceremonials from Toledo and Seville suggest that it was customary to play all four 'movements' of the Mass Ordinary. As indicated here, this Mass was to be sung in as solemn a manner as if it were Easter:

> [...] a de dezierse todo con gran pausa y solennidad, como si fuesse Pascua, el órgano se tañe a los Kyries, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus (como es costumbre) pero no se tañe después de la Epístola, sino inmediatamente en acabando la, los dos teñetes Choro comiençan el Gradual [...]
>
> (Ceremonial y Processionario, Sevilla, 1593; Cap. 8°, p.152.)

Similarly, in the Ordinário from Santa Cruz, the Maundy Thursday Mass is of the highest solemnity 'a qual se canta solennemente ao modo de quatro cantores, & com orgãos [...]'. Here, the final response 'Deo Gratias' is also to be substituted by organ music:

> [...] & cantada, em o choro a post-comunicanda, [...] se acabaraa a missa de todo per Ite Missa est, respondendo os órgãos.
>
> (Ordinário, Lisboa, 1579; 2ª Parte, f.128v.)

The speciality of the Mass on Holy Saturday afforded a wealth of elaborate ceremonies of which some texts have provided ample illustration. In the more explanatory sources, it is generally made clear that this Mass should reflect something of its anticipatory immediate stage between the Passion and the Resurrection. As indicated by Bauldry, for instance, it is only generally after the intonation of the Gloria that the organ may begin to play. Authors describe the peal of bells both from within the building and from the belfry which occurs at this moment, and the rejoinder of the organ which is henceforth called upon to resume its supportive role in the sung items of the liturgy. The result is a burst of sound and music 'de tal sorte que se mostre em tudo a mayor alegria, e festa que fôr possível [...]'. (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 1ª Parte, Trat.VIII, Cap.6, n.375, p.410.) The following vivid account of this event is again from an eighteenth-century Franciscan text from Portugal:

> [...] e ahi o Celebrante com os Diaconos dirá rezados os nove kyrios; ao dizer o Côro o último, hirá para o meyo do Altar, e os Diaconos unus post alium, levantarão solemnemente a Gloria, que a rezará com os Diaconos[..]e se irão sentar. No mesmo tempo responderá o Orgão, e se tocarão as compainhas que estiverem na Igreja, e os sinos menores, e os mayores da torre [...] e se descobrirão todos os Altares, e se correrão todas as cortinas, apparecendo tudo festival. No Coro prosiguira o Hymno alternativamente com o Orgão.
>
> (Director Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1755; Cap.24, n.329, p.386.)

Although most texts suggest that the organ plays at all subsequent items of the Ordinary of the Mass, a few state categorically that the Agnus Dei should be omitted. This particular illustration from the Mafra source also demonstrates the importance attached to the number of organs used in this royal convent in order to reflect the nature and importance of the festal occasion or category.

Em Sábbado Santo, Duples da Primeira Classe, na Missa depois de levantada a Gloria, toca hum Orgão só por hum breve espaço, e depois todos juntos acompanhão a Gloria. Depois da Epístola não toca o Orgão, como he costume; nem tem Agnus Dei: porém tudo o mais, como he uso nas outras Missas.

(J. de Santo António: Acompanhamentos, Lisboa, 1761; Index ('Festas mudaveis'), p.[1].)

CHAPTER 5

MUSIC FOR THE CANONICAL HOURS

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5

MUSIC FOR THE CANONICAL HOURS

(i)

Introduction:
the extent of the organist's participation

Aside from the more general issues relating to the seasons and days within the liturgical calendar when the organist was or was not permitted to play, the chapters in the ceremonials directed to 'el órgano y organista' also given an outline of the extent to which the organist should contribute to the celebration of the individual Canonical Hours. To a very large degree, this participation depended upon both the importance of the liturgical occasion, or feast, and the class of the Hour of Office. Allowing for the fact that a large number of local customs would have prevailed, which might have provided a number of variations to a universal scheme, it is clear that the more solemn the feast the greater would be the musical elaboration of the Office in question. The practice, for instance, of varying even the performance of the psalms and canticles 'según la solemnidad de las fiestas' was widely adopted (see below, this chapter, section (ii), (b)).

Although the majority of ceremonial texts from Spain and Portugal dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards are subject to the 'Ceremonial Romano reformado', some of these are more lucid and explanatory than others with regard to their prescriptions to the organist, for instance, and there may even be one or two discrepancies between them. However, viewing the matter from a general level, it is more than likely that the musico-liturgical customs in the majority of at least the larger ecclesiastical institutions were similar; but it would be difficult to

ascertain whether indeed a precise and unvarying procedure was characteristic of one or more monastic or secular foundations. One has only to bear in mind, for instance, some of the customs of the Benedictine communities as described in the Ceremonial Monástico which are consciously contrasted with those decreed in the 1600 Caeremoniale Episcoporum - two of these in particular will be reviewed below.

The following discussion principally concerns the extent to which the organist was permitted to replace some of the items normally sung in plainchant, concentrating on those frequently associated with an antiphonal arrangment, in which verses or phrases were performed alternately with the organ. These items may be grouped within two categories: psalms and canticles, and hymns and related poetical forms such as the Marian antiphons. In addition to a number of other plainchant items, such as the antiphons (Proper), responses, and responsories of Matins which may also have been performed by or in conjunction with the organ, the organist was also expected to play at other points during these services. These included the processions which often preceded and concluded the most solemn liturgical occasions, and other given moments when the organist would have provided a musical accompaniment to formalities such as the incensing of the altar and the congregation, and sometimes at the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Allusions to these occasions are to be found in the context of chapters devoted to a description of particularly important services such as solemn Vespers. (Much of the incensing took place at the Magnificat for instance.)

As already inferred, references to the Hours of Office and the items in these to which the organist was expected to contribute are generally made in accordance with their particular solemnity. Although some texts such as the sixteenth-century Consueta from Granada cathedral distinguish

between each feast in a very detailed way (see Doderer (1975), p.216), the majority merely differentiate between first- and second-class feasts, as also between these and the lesser categories of semidobles, infra octavas and simples, for instance, and ordinary Sundays of the year which fall between Easter (excluding those of Advent) and Septuagesima. Specific mention is also made of major liturgical occasions such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost which called for particularly special celebrations. As indicated in chapter 4 above, these feasts were also in some instances distinguished one from the other by the number of cantors required for their celebration; this in itself is indicative of the nature of the musical elaboration. In the exceptional case of the book of Acompanhamentos from Mafra in Portugal, even the number of organs required (from one to six) for the celebration of services within each festal category is specified.

As a general rule, it is apparent that of the eight Canonical Hours it was the Greater Hours - Matins, Lauds and Vespers - which more consistently required musical elaboration and the services of the organist. Vespers in particular, being the service which anticipated the solemnity of the ensuing day, most frequently called for special celebrations:

> [...] sempre as Vesperas de qualquer festa que sejão se celebrão co(m) mayor culto, e ostentação que todas as outras Horas, por serem as Vesperas as que dão princípio àquella tal, ou qual solemnidade [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.III, Cap.4, n.177, p.106.)

Many of the ceremonials devote an entire chapter to the description of solemn Vespers; it is in this context that more explicit details relating to musical performance may be found. The Ceremonial Seráfico is particularly illuminating.

Whereas Vespers almost invariably inspired a more extensive musical elaboration, it would appear that in Matins and Lauds the organist might

only be asked to contribute to the main musical items normally sung during these services and then perhaps only on the more solemn feasts. The Ceremonial Monástico states that the only significant celebrations of Matins took place on Christmas Night, Corpus Christi and the last three days of Holy Week ('[...] la noche de Navidad, y en la Fiesta del Corpus [...] y los tres días últimos de la semana Santa [...]'). (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.1, Sec.4, Cap. 6, p.162.)

Interestingly enough, the Hours of Matins and Lauds are almost invariably coupled together in the ceremonials as a single entity. Indeed the author of the Ceremonial Seráfico, in alluding to the 'seven Hours', points out that Matins and Lauds are commonly regarded as 'one Hour' owing to the fact that, of the Canonical Hours as a whole, Matins is the only one which lacks a 'Capítula, e Oração'. (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.I, Cap. VI, n.51, p.30.) Furthermore, two significant issues are raised in the 1743 Ceremonial Ecclesiástico: first of all, the author states that if on first-class feasts it so happens that it is not feasible for both Hours to be sung in their entirety, then Matins should be recited and Lauds sung; secondly, if on any feast Matins was to be sung, then without question Lauds was to be sung as well:

> [...] pois he regra geral, que cantando-se as Matinas de qualquer festa, ou Offício que seja, se hão de cantar infallivelmente também as Laudes [...]
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.II, Cap. 17, (§)6, p.174.)

If this rule was generally upheld, then it may be inferred that any references made to musical performances of just Matins in the ceremonials should probably be taken as being applicable to Lauds as well. The organist's contribution to both these Hours would no doubt have been affected by

the extent to which these were to be sung, in particular Matins, on any given occasion.

It would not be possible to make any generalization about the extent to which Compline and the Lesser Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext and None normally required the services of the organist. Clearly this was to an enormous extent dependent upon the solemnity of the occasion on which they were celebrated and the traditions of the particular ecclesiastical institution; on the whole, the monastic legislative sources provide the most evidence of the organist's participation in these particular Hours.

Spanish and Portuguese ceremonials from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries frequently paraphrase the Caeremoniale's somewhat non-committal statement in the chapter 'De Organo [etc]' regarding the role of the organ in these Hours. In the Roman text it is written that although it is not usual for the organ to be interpolated in 'the other Canonical Hours', if on the other hand in 'other places' it is customary to do so - as for instance at the Hour of Terce which is celebrated with especial solemnity - then this tradition may be kept.

> In alijs autem Canonicis, quae in choro recitantur, non est consuetum interponere organum. Sed si in aliquibus locis consuetum esset organa pulsari inter horas Canonicas, aut aliquas earum, ut est hora Tertia; praesertim quando cantatur, dum Episcopus solemniter celebraturus capit sacra paramenta, poterit talis consuetudo servari [...]
>
> (Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1600; Lib.I, Cap.28.)

It is not entirely clear whether this reference to 'the other Canonical Hours' embraces Compline as well for in various Iberian texts the phrase 'los demás horas' generally refers to just Prime, Terce, Sext and None. (Compline is not specifically mentioned in this chapter from the Caeremoniale.)

In the following passage, for instance, which is included in both the legislative sources from Toledo and Seville dating from the 1590s, although the organist's contribution to the 'other Hours' depended upon the authority of the prelate, Compline is specifically singled out:

> Quando se tañere en Completas, tañerse á solamente al hymno y cántico y en las demás horas se tañerá quando el prelado lo dispusiere [...]
>
> (Ceremonial, Sevilla, 1593; Cap.5°, (§) 6, p.40.)

As might be expected, the Burgos Ceremonial interprets the information given on this issue from both the Seville Ceremonial and the Caeremoniale Episcoporum itself; in so doing it does provide a few more details with regard to which items in Compline the organist may contribute. Nevertheless, despite the indication that the organist may play at the 'other Hours' only when permission is given for him to do so, it is also conceded that this practice is not especially called upon by the 'Ceremonial' (ie the Caeremoniale Episcoporum).

> A Co(m)pletas se tañerá, solamente al Hymno, Responsos breves, y Cántico: en las demás horas se tañerá quando el Vicario del choro ordenare, que se taña a algún Psalmo, o Psalmos, alternativamente con el órgano: porq(ue) aunque esto no ma(n)da expressamente el Ceremonial, pero advierte, q(ue) si en algunas horas (fuera de las en q(ue) ha dicho que se toca el órgano) se tocare, q(ue) no lo prohibe, sino q(ue) esto lo dexa según la costumbre que en cada parte se tiene [...]
>
> (J. Zamora: Ceremonial, Burgos, 1603; Lib.4°, Parapho.V, f.120v.)

The clearest indication of the flexibility which was exercised with regard to the organist's participation in these particular Hours is included in the 1743 Ceremonial Ecclesiástico. Referring to Bauldry in particular, it is stated that 'Authores' insinuate that, with the exception of solemn Compline, and Terce before High Mass, it is not usual to interpolate the organ in the other Hours. The Hour of Prime at Christmas Vigil

is also exempted from this restriction.

> 7 Nas mais Horas do Offício Divino, insinuão os Authores, não se ha de interpor o orgão, salvo nas Completas, quando se cantão nos dias solemnes; e na Hora de Terça antes da Missa solemne; (9) e também em Prima da Vigilia do Natal [...] [1]
>
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.I, Cap.12, (§) 7, p.43.)

The Portuguese text then refers to the Caeremoniale's original statement regarding the role of the organ in the other Hours:

> Porém o Ceremonial dos Bispos reformado lib.I, cap.28, § 7 permitte, se em alguns lugares houver costume de interpor o órgão nas outras Horas, ou em alguma dellas, como he a Hora de Terça, se possa guardar o tal costume. (Ibid.)

It is evident, therefore, that the degree to which the Lesser Hours might have been celebrated with particular solemnity depended upon local or regional customs. The Hour of None on the feast of the Ascension, for instance, was an important occasion in many Portuguese communities:

> 9 Noa se cantará no dia da Ascenção de nosso Senhor Jesu Christo, em quanto se está celebrando a Hora deste Sacratíssimo Mysterio, como entre Nós he antigo costume.
>
> (Ibid., Trat.II, Cap.17, (§)9, p.174.)

The Ceremonial Seráfico, moreover, describes this service in a very detailed way, including several musical instructions which are also applicable to the organist.[2]

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1. The number in brackets (9) corresponds with a reference in the margin to the relevant passage in Bauldry's Manuale ('Mich. citat. § 6'). Bauldry's text reads as follows:
   > VI Ad reliquas horas non pulsantur regulariter, solemnibus tamen diebus ad hymnum Tertiae, & Completorii, & ad Canticum Nunc dimittis, si sit consuetudo, poterunt pulsari, & praecipue ad Antiphonam B. Mariae in fine Completorii.
   >
   > (M. Bauldry: Manuale Sacrarum (8th edn) Venice, 1734; Pars Prima, Cap.8, (§) VI, p.22.)

2. Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.VII 'De algumas festas, e Procissoens solemnes', Cap.1 'Da gloriosa Ascensão de Christo na Hora de Noa', (n). 302-9, pp.232-42.

It would not be feasible to state categorically which and how many of the Offices were normally entirely or partly sung, therefore frequently calling upon the services of the organist, or merely recited. As already inferred, this of course would have depended not only on the festal categories but also on the traditions exercised within the various ecclesiastical institutions. A full description of the Hours, the extent to which their musical elaboration should match the quality of the liturgical occasion, is included in the Augustinian Ceremonial Ecclesiástico (1743) from Portugal, in the chapter 'De quando se ha de cantar, entoar, ou rezar no Coro o Offício Divino' (Trat.II, Cap.17, pp.172-6.) Although it is noticed that the Hour of Sext is omitted ('A Hora de Sexta nunca em os nossos Coros se canta') (ibid., § 8, p.174), the traditions listed here should only strictly speaking be viewed as pertaining to this particular order of Bare-footed Augustinians, and possibly others of the same Order in Italy and Spain.[1] As previously explained, the ample liturgical details exposed in this particular ceremonial arise out of the fact that liturgical chant was only instituted in this congretation at a very late date. However, it is clear from this chapter that on first-class feasts at least, all the Hours, with the exception of Sext and None (unless it was the feast of the Ascension) were to be sung.

The aim of the following account is to give an indication of the various ways in which the organist might have contributed to a celebration of the Offices, bearing in mind that it is unlikely that a set pattern would have generally prevailed. The multifariousness of both the prescriptions to the organist and the descriptions of the ways in which the items themselves might have been performed, which are contained in

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1. See quotation above, p.154.

the ceremonials, is clearly symptomatic of this. The organist's participation in a musical performance of the liturgical Offices from a more practical point of view, however, will not be considered at this stage. Aspects of alternatim practice and the compositional structure of the musical items played on the organ, with particular regard to the psalms and canticles, will form the basis of ensuing sections of this chapter.

The distinction which the author of the Ceremonial Monástico makes between the duties of the organist as outlined in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum ('Ceremonial Romano') and those exercised in the Benedictine congregation is a clear indication that there must have existed a number of varying traditions in the Iberian churches with regard to the organist's participation in the Offices. In the two relevant paragraphs from the chapter 'Del órgano y organista', which are quoted below, it is apparent that the most significant divergencies between the Roman and Benedictine traditions lay with the psalms in particular and the question of the repetition of the antiphons pertaining to the psalms and to the canticles.

> 10. Limita el Ceremonial Romano, que se taña el Organo en oficio que se usa, sino es a los Hymnos, y Cánticos de Vísperas, y Laudes, donde se dize(n) co(n) solemnidad, y al Te Deum laudamus, y en lugar de la repetición de las Antíphonas, que se dizen después de los Psalmos de Vísperas, y Laudes, y de los Maytines solemnes, como el día de Navidad, y después al Benedicamus Domino, respondiendo el Organo en lugar de ca(n)tar el choro Deo gratias; y permite se taña a los Psalmos de Tercia, quando el Prelado se viste / (p.61) para celebrar de Pontifical, y al Hymno, y Cántico de Completas solemnes.
>
> 11. En nuestra santa Congregación se acostumbra loablemente tañer el Organo, no sólo a todos los Hymnos, y a los Cánticos Magnificat, y Benedictus, sino también a los Psalmos, y Cánticos de Maytines, y de las demás horas en que se ha de tañer, según lo dicho arriba, y se cantan todas las Antíphonas por el choro, sin que supla el Organo por alguna dellas.
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.1, Sec.2, Cap. 6 , (§) 10-11, pp.60-1.)

The first of these two paragraphs from the Ceremonial Monástico ((§) 10) consists of a summary of the items in the Canonical Hours to which the organist could contribute, as permitted by the Caermoniale Episcoporum taken as a whole; the information here given is not limited to a paraphrase of that merely contained in the chapter specifically devoted to the organist in the Roman source (see below). The second paragraph ((§) 11), on the other hand, sets out to draw attention to the areas in which the two legislative texts diverge.

The Ceremonial Monástico's view expressed at the outset that the Roman source is somewhat restrictive in its prescriptions ('Limita el Ceremonial Romano') is already an earnest of the Benedictine Ceremonial's more liberal attitude towards the role of the organist in the musical celebration of the liturgy. However, the Hours and the items in each one during which, according to the Ceremonial Monástico's interpretation of the Caeremoniale, the organist was permitted to play may be listed as follows:

Matins (solemn)

(hymn of the first Nocturn)
antiphons after the psalms
Te deum
℟: 'Deo Gratias'

Lauds

antiphons after the psalms
hymn
canticle (Benedictus)

Vespers

antiphons after the psalms
hymn
canticle (Magnificat)

Compline

hymn (Te lucis)
canticle (Nunc dimittus)

Terce (Pontifical)

(hymn)
psalms

The Ceremonial Monástico indicates by marginal references accompanying this text that the information about the organist's contribution to the Canonical Hours was obtained not only from 'Libro I, cap.28' ('De Organo,

Organista [etc]'), but also from two other chapters in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum: 'Cere.lib.2. cap.1' ('De Vesperis solemnibus episcopo in crastinum celebraturo') and 'Cere.lib.I.cap.4' ('Quomodo se gerere debeat Episcopus [etc]'). The latter reference is curious in that there is little in this particular chapter in the Caeremoniale which provides any indication of the organist's duties in the liturgy. It is proposed here, therefore, that this could well be a misprint (see below).

In this paragraph, the Ceremonial Monástico is referring in particular to 'Maytines solemnes, como el día de Navidad'; however, the indication in the Caeremoniale that the organ may be played 'à principio' of Christmas Matins is omitted. With regard to the antiphons succeeding the psalms in Matins, this practice in 'Libro I.cap.28' is only specifically mentioned in connexion with solemn Vespers; nevertheless, an indirect reference to this may be gleaned from the chapter 'De Matutinis presente episcopo' (Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Lib.II, Cap.5). The indication that the organ substitutes for the response 'Deo Gratias' may have been obtained from the chapter specifically devoted to the celebration of Matins at Christmas included in the Caeremoniale (Lib.II, Cap.14 'De Vigilia Nativitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, & de matutinis [etc]').

The information for the organist's participation in Lauds was probably obtained from the chapter 'De Laudibus, reliquisque horis Canonicis' in the Caeremoniale (Lib.II, Cap.7) where it is unambiguously stated:

> Organum quoque ad Hymnum, & Canticum Benedictus etc.
> & in fine Psalmorum poterit adhiberi [...] (loc.cit.)

The organist's contribution to Vespers is already outlined in the chapter 'De Organo, Organista [etc]' in the Caeremoniale; these details are however substantiated in the chapter specially given to a description of solemn Vespers which was mentioned above.

The possibility that the reference 'Cere.Lib.I,cap.4' is a misprint, and that it should read 'Cere.lib.2.cap.4', was prompted by the fact that the only reference to the canticle of Compline (the Nunc dimittis) occurs in the latter chapter which is entitled 'De Completorio'. Here it is stated that the organ may play at this item if and when this Hour is celebrated with solemnity. Finally, the indication in this text ((§)10) that the organist may play 'a los Psalmos de Tercia, quando el Prelado se viste para celebrar de Pontifical' is really only somewhat loosely given. In the chapter 'De missa solemni episcopo celebrante' in the Caeremoniale (Lib.II, Cap.8), it is suggested that the organ may be played actually between the psalm sequences and, one is led to understand, in place of the antiphon at the very end.

> Chorus autem admoneatur, ut Psalmos Tertiae lente prosequatur, interposito etiam, si opus videbitur, post quemlibet Psalmum organo, ita ut eodem te(m)pore illos perficiant, quo Episcopus suos Psalmos cum suis versiculis legerit, & paratus fuerit, ut infra. (Loc.cit.)

In the ensuing paragraph ((§) 11) in the Ceremonial Monástico, two points are raised in particular: first, that in contrast to the 'Ceremonial Romano', it was permissible to play not only at all the hymns (this point is not however clearly stated in the Caeremoniale) and the canticles Magnificat and Benedictus, but also at the psalms and canticles of Matins and the other Hours during which the organ could participate;[1] second, that the antiphons (of the psalms and canticles) should be sung by the choir and never played on the organ. Whereas there is little doubt that

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1. The other Hours ('las demás horas') during which the organ could be played are outlined in four earlier paragraphs in this chapter (numbers 4-7), hence the phrase 'según lo dicho arriba'. According to these paragraphs, the extent of the organist's contribution varied according to the category of feast: thus, whilst he was to play at 'all Hours' (including the Lesser Hours) on feasts of the first and second 'order' ((§)4), on feasts of the third 'order', however, he was to play at first and second Vespers, Compline, Terce and the sung items of Matins and Lauds ((§)5). This chapter from the Ceremonial Monástico is reproduced in its entirety in the appendix (pp.527-31)

the hymns and the canticles (the Magnificat in particular) were often performed with the organ (there is ample musical evidence to prove this) the question of the psalms is less clearly defined. The discussion which follows is an attempt to clarify the two principal issues with which these ceremonials, in particular, were evidently at variance. At a later stage, some consideration will also be made of the Te deum, traditionally sung at the end of Matins, and the Marian antiphons; it is curious that the Caeremoniale Episcoporum omits any reference to the latter when these chants were evidently performed in day to day worship.

The psalms

Although it is evident from the musical sources in particular that in fact many of the psalms were frequently performed by both voices and the organ, usually therefore in an alternatim arrangement, it is clear from the ceremonials in general that for various reasons this was by no means an invariable practice. The Ceremonial Ecclesiástico in fact states specifically that in accordance with the 'ceremonias da Igreja Romana' the psalms should never be alternated with the organ, whatever the category of feast:

> Também os Psalmos, (e especialmente de Vesperas, Matinas, ou Laudes de qualquer festa, que seja) não se alternarão com o órgão; pois tal costume não ha nos Coros, onde se observão perfeitamente os rites, e ceremonias da Igreja Romana.
>
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.I, Cap.12, (§) 9, p.44.)

However, although the Ceremonial Monástico clearly advocates that, contrary to the prescriptions contained in the 'Ceremonial Romano', the psalms could indeed be performed with the organ on most occasions - the extent of this depending upon both the category of feast and the importance of the Hour in question - references made to the playing of the organ during the psalms in the majority of ceremonials occur almost exclusively in connexion with the Greater Hours, Vespers in particular. However,

the odd remark such as 'Na Prima, Terça & Completas em que se Psalmea com orgão', albeit made in another Benedictine ceremonial (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647, Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap.VII, (§) 4, p.16), and stated in connexion with the playing of the organ during the introductory prayers Pater noster and Kyrie eleison, is in itself suggestive of a greater involvement of the organist in the Hours as a whole than is otherwise generally prescribed. Furthermore, a handful of eighteenth- to nineteenth-century manuscripts at Montserrat may provide important evidence for the more general role of the organist in at least this Benedictine foundation: these contain sequences of versets which were specifically composed for the Lesser Hours. Apart from the general indication 'para horas menores' with one set of versets included in the appendix to A. Codlar's Examen Musical, dated 1773 (MonB M.990, p.285), there are examples of versets for Terce, None and Compline.[1]

Generally speaking, it would seem that a restriction was imposed on the organist's contribution to the psalms in the Canonical Hours which could however be lifted at the prelate's authorization:

> En las festividades dobles mayores se taña el órgano a ambas Vísperas y Completas: en Maytines y Laudes a solos los hymnos y cánticos. Podrase también tañer quando el prelado ordenare que se taña algún psalmo o psalmos, alternativamente con el Choro [...]
>
> (Ceremonial, Sevilla, 1593; Cap.5°, (§) 6, p.39.)

With regard to the psalms of Matins and Lauds in particular, the Benedictine Ceremonial from Coimbra provides a few more details. Although implying that on double feasts ('Festas duplices') the psalms and canticles

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1. For example: 'Versos para Organo para los tres Salmos de Tercia', MonAM M.2430; 'Para el segundo Psalmo de Nona. Versos 8° tono compuestos por D(o)n Fran(cis)co Rodríguez, año 1780', MonAM M.481, p.15; 'Ad Completorium, 8$^{V°}$ tonus: Cum Invocarum', MonAM M.1421, pp.31-2 - the first verset from the latter collection is included in the anthology (p.177).

may be sung alternately with the organ, it is written in this context that the first psalm of Matins ('Domine quid multiplicanti'), and the psalm 'Deus misereatur nostri' of Lauds should be sung alternately between the choirs alone without the organ ('que se dirão a choros sem orgão'). (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647; Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap.VII, (§) 2, p.15.) Yet in the same passage, it is stated that the psalms 'and canticles' of the Nocturns of Matins should be performed without the organ; an exception, however, is made for Matins at Christmas, traditionally an occasion of especial solemnity, in which the psalms of 'both Nocturns' (meaning the first two) and the canticles of the third (Nocturn) should be sung alternately with the organ.

> Também se cantarão se(m) orgão os Psalmos, & Cânticos dos Nocturnos das Matinas, tirando as Matinas de Natal, em que assim os Psalmos de ambos os Nocturnos como os Cânticos do terceyro se alternão com o orgão.
>
> (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647; Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap.VII, (§)2, p.15.)

As for the Vesper psalms, the 1693 Economicon Sacro from the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra states that on first-class feasts, certainly, and sometimes those of second-class, the psalms are sung alternately with the organ:

> Observa-se em o nosso coro nas Vesperas das festas da primeira Classe, & às vezes da segunda, cantar os Psalmos alternativamente com / (p.18) Orgão, repetição das Antíphonas, no fim de cada Psalmo [...]
>
> (Economicon Sacro, Lisboa, 1693; Cap.I, Tit.4, § VI, pp.17-18.)

(The question of the organist playing at the repeat of the antiphons after each psalm, as indicated here, will be discussed below.)

However, there is evidently some discrepancy in the earlier ceremonials as to how many of the Vesper psalms should be performed alternately with the organ. In the sixteenth-century Consueta from Granada, for instance, it is stated that on certain first-class feasts, the organ should only

play during the first, third and fifth psalms:

> [...]e en las fiestas Domini Sabaoth y de nuestra Señora de guardar tañe a versos el primero y tercere y quinto psalmos de las vísperas [...]
>
> (Consueta, (n.d.), f.34v; quoted in Doderer (1975), p.216.)

Yet in the Huesca Consueta (1603), it is intimated that the organ in fact plays at all five psalms at both First and Second Vespers on these feasts, and, indeed, all the psalms at Compline; this reference to the Compline psalms is rare.

> En los dias primae classis se ha de tañer el órgano en los cinco psalmos de vísperas primeras, y segundas, al hymno, al Magnificat y Deo gratias y en las completas en todos los psalmos, himno e In manus tuas, Nunc dimittis y Salve.
>
> (Consueta de la capilla de música, 1603; quoted in Doderer (1975), p.220.)

But in Vespers on second-class feasts, the same text states that besides the hymn, canticles and the final response ('Deo Gratias'), the organ may only play during the fifth psalm:

> Secundae classis, se ha de tañer el órgano en vísperas quinto psalmo, himno, Magnificat, Deo gratias. (Ibid.)

(There is no reference to the psalms of Compline in this context.)

No other statements regarding the precise role of the organ during the Vesper psalms were to be found in the other ceremonial texts from Spain and Portugal; it may, however, be reasonable to suppose that the Vesper psalms, moreover on the important feasts, were the most frequently performed by the choir and the organ in an alternatim arrangement. The Portuguese Ceremonial Seráfico (1730), although in general the only source to provide the most complete musical descriptions and directions, offers no clear statement regarding the use of the organ at the Vesper psalms despite the reference to the customary 'repeat' of the antiphon by the voices with the organ: 'Para os Cantores repetirem às sobreditas Antífonas

se ha de tocar o Orgão pausadamente, como he costume' (loc.cit., 2ª Parte, Trat.III, Cap. 4 , n.182, p.114.)

However, in the chapter describing the celebration of Solemn Vespers, it is indicated that these five psalms did in fact afford some comparable variety in their performing arrangement(s). In this instance, the author, Conceição, describes the rendering of the five psalms by the alternation of the differing vocal forces:

> Os Psalmos se leventarão da maneira siguinte: o primeiro todos os Cantores juntos, quando assistem no Coro, (e estando no Altar, o farão dous Religiosos do mesmo modo) o segundo, e quarto os dous Cantores menos antigos, e o terceiro, e quinto os Cantores mayores, ou mais dignos; (no caso que sejão quatro) [...] (Ibid., p.113.)

A similar arrangement is then advocated for the occasions when there are six cantors (ibid.).

Clearly the last (fifth) psalm of Vespers was treated with especial solemnity; in his commentary, Catalanus singles it out as being one which could indeed be performed in alternation with the organ:

> [...] ad Vesperas pulsari solet Organum alternatim in Versiculis ultimi Psalmi.
>
> (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1744; Lib.I, Cap.28, §VIII, comm.II, p.382.)

The antiphons

The contrasting prescriptions in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum and the Ceremonial Monástico with regard to the question of whether or not the organist was permitted to play at the Proper antiphons (of the psalms and canticles) is indicative of the various musical customs surrounding this item which are described in the ceremonials as a whole. Nevertheless, despite the Benedictine Ceremonial's stand on this issue, it is apparent that the 'repeat' of the antiphon after the psalms and canticles was frequently assigned to the organist; this did not, however, necessarily

preclude that the text of the antiphon at this point was omitted (see below, section (ii) of this chapter, (a)). Again, it is likely that the extent of the organist's participation depended greatly upon the category of feast and the importance of the Hour which was being celebrated.

One of the earliest references to the organ playing in connexion with the antiphon occurs in the 1579 Ordinário from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. In outlining the duties of the organist on particularly important feast days ('dias de quatro cantores'), it is merely stated that at Vespers the organist was to play after the antiphon had been 'announced' for the first time:

> Em as vesperas tangeram as antíphonas depois de a primeira vez serem annu(n)ciadas [...]
>
> (Ordinário, Lisboa, 1579; 1ª Parte, Cap.34, f.81.)

Although as it stands the implication of this phrase is somewhat ambiguous, it is possibly reflecting a practice in which the organ played an interlude between the singing or the intonation of the antiphon and the performance of the psalm or canticle itself. This apparently unusual custom is in fact advocated in the Ceremonial Monástico itself in a chapter devoted to solemn Vespers where the formalities surrounding the Magnificat are described:

> Dicha la Antíphona, se podrá tañer el órgano, y luego los dos Caperos que dixeron el Verso, y faltando ellos los dos Cantores, entonan el Cántico, Magnificat [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.1, Sec.4, Cap.5; (§) 15, p.158.)

Nevertheless, it is of great significance in this context that the copy of the Ordinário consulted in Coimbra itself (CBGU R-11-21) has a hand-written note in the margin[1] of the text cited above which sets out

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1. The added note is unfortunately incomplete owing to the fact that the edges of the pages were evidently trimmed when this book was rebound at a later date. The orthography itself is only barely decipherable due in part to a large number of abbreviated words.

to contradict the prescription in the printed text. Having underlined the phrase 'Em as Vesperas [etc]' in the text itself, the author of the note states first of all that this practice in which the organ plays after the first time an antiphon is 'announced' should in fact never be adopted: 'Primame(n)t[e] / isto não se[gue] / em n(en)hu(m) ca[so] / [...]'. He adds that on the other hand it is better to play the organ after the 'Gloria Patri' of the psalm whilst the 'convent' recites the antiphon and for the cantor not to take up the intonation. This in itself implies that the repetition of the antiphon succeeding a sequence of psalm-verses, whether these were performed by the voices and the organ or just the voices alone, may, nevertheless, have sometimes been intoned.

> [...] E m(ui)to mel[hor] / paraceme [to]/mar o órg[ão]/ a a(n)tífona a/cabado o gl[oria] / p(at)ri do psal[mo] / e tangelo [em] / quanto o c[on]/ve(n)to a rez[a] [e] / q(ue) não toma [a] / aleva(n)ta(n)da o ca(n)tor [...]
>
> (Ordinário, Lisboa, 1579; 1ª parte, Cap.34, f.81 (CBGU R-11-21).)

In the seventeenth-century ceremonial pertaining to the same convent - the 1693 Economicon Sacro - the practice of playing the repetition of the antiphon after each psalm, at least on first-class feasts, is specified. It is however also implied that in addition the texts were indeed to be recited.[1]

The most explicit instructions regarding the question of the organist's role at the antiphons, particularly on double-feasts, occur in the 1647 Benedictine Ceremonial from Coimbra. In this instance, the practice of either singing or playing the antiphon depended to a great degree upon whether the antiphon pertained to the psalms or to the canticles. For instance, it is stated that with the exception of the last antiphon of the psalms of each Nocturn (in Matins), and the last antiphon of the psalms of Lauds and Vespers, the organ should play after each psalm whether or

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1. See §s VI and IX from the section 'Do Orgão, & Tangedor' (Economicon Sacro, Lisboa, 1693, Cap.1, Tit.IV) which is reproduced in the appendix (pp. 535-7).

not the sequence as a whole was performed with the organ in any case, or just by the choir. By way of contrast, however, it is instructed that the organ should never play after the canticles of Lauds, Vespers and Compline. Furthermore, even if the psalms of the Lesser Hours of Prime, Terce and None are performed with the organ, neither should the antiphons of these be played.

> 3. Em todas as mesmas festas duplices, nas Matinas, Laudes, & Vesperas depois de cada Psalmo, ou seja cantado a choros, ou com órgão, se tangerá em quanto se reza a Antíphona que antes do tal Psalmo se cantou; tirando a última de cada Nocturno, & última das Laudes, & Vesperas, que depois do Psalmo se cantará toda; o que se guardará também quando os Nocturnos te(m) hu(m)a só Antíphona. Assim mesmo nunca se tangerá a Antíphona depois do Benedictus, Magnificat, & Nunc dimittis; nem a da Prima, Terça, ou Noa, ainda que se psalmeem com o órgão.
>
> (Ceremonial, Coimbra 1647; Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap.VII, (§)3, p.15.)

Finally, referring specifically to the antiphons of the psalms of solemn Vespers, the Ceremonial Ecclesiástico alludes to the custom of reciting the text of the antiphon whilst the organ plays:

> [...] e no fim de cada Psalmo das mesmas Vesperas se costuma também tocar o órgão, em quanto pelos Cantores, (ou outro Ministro, a quem pertence) repetem entoando toda a Antíphona do precedente Psalmo [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.I, Cap.12, (§) 5, p.43.)

However this source also indicates that in the customs of that time it was more usual for the choir to recite or sing the antiphon without the organ and, for the hymns and canticles to be accompanied:

> [...]se adverte ser estylo hoje dos Coros, principalmente nas mayores solemnidades, não se tocar o órgão no fim dos Psalmos, como assima se diz, mas dizer, e repetir o mesmo Coro todas as Antífonas em canto intelligível; nem também tocar-se alternativamente com o Coro nos Hymnos, a Cânticos Evangélicos, mas sim acompanhando o Coro em todos os Versos dos Hymnos, e Cânticos sobreditos. (Ibid., (§) 6, p.43.)

It would necessarily be impracticable to record a series of organ versets pertaining to the Proper antiphons of the year; evidence, therefore,

of the type of verset which might have been played at this point is virtually non-existent. The one exception, a verset 'para a antífona' which succeeds a series of versets in the 6th tone in PBPM M.1607 (f.16), whose significance must in this context be purely historical, consists merely of a brief excursion in fugal style.[1]

The Te Deum

'O Hymno mysterioso, e Cântico festivo do Te Deum' was by long tradition and with only a few exceptions performed at the end of the last Nocturn of Matins on Sundays and on solemn feast days outside the pentitential seasons of Advent and Lent. As a general rule, the Iberian ceremonials indicate that the hymn should replace the last responsory after the ninth lesson; but on the occasions when the Te Deum was not included, the ninth (or third) responsory was to be recited.

> O Hymno mysterioso e Cântico festivo do Te Deum se diz depois da última lição de Matinas em todas as festas do anno, salvo na dos Innocentes, não vindo em Dominga. E nas Domingas se diz desde a Pascoa até o Advento, e da Natividade do Senhor até a Septuagesima. Como também no Offício Ferial desde a Pascoa até Pentecostes. E nas occasioens em que se não diz, se ha de pôr nono, ou terceiro Responso.
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.II, Cap.3, n.78, p.47.)

However, as it is indicated in the Regimento from Braga Cathedral, the more ancient custom of performing the Te Deum after the last responsory of the said ninth lesson was preferred:[2]

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1. See Speer ed. (1967), p.25; there is a concordance of this verset in the Braga MS (BBP M.964, ff.10v-11).

2. This may be a reflection of certain liturgical customs which were peculiar to Braga; see Corbin (1952), p.140 seq.

> Acabado o último, & nono res- /ponsorio comessará
> o sobchantre o Te Deum Laudamus [...]
>
> (Regimento do Coro (n.d.), BBP M.726, f.2-2v.)

There were also a number of other occasions for which the Te Deum was prescribed. Besides the somewhat unusual instance of its use during Compline on the first-class feast Dominica in Albis (Low Sunday) in a late Portuguese source,[1] it was traditionally performed on very special celebrations as a hymn of thanksgiving ('em acção de graças') such as at a royal birth or at the entry to the church of a Primate or 'otra persona insigne'. Similarly it was performed in processions during the celebrations connected with the election of a new General to a particular religious order. Some of the more expansive ecclesiastical constitutions, such as the Ceremonial Monástico and the Ceremonial Seráfico, have included chapters which describe the style of these occasions.[2] Evidently, each event would have occasioned a number of varying customs with regard to the performance of this hymn: some of these will be viewed in connexion with the general discussion in this chapter concerning the integration of the voices and the organ in alternatim performance (see below, section (ii), (a)).

It is unfortunate that despite the universally recognized participation of the organ in the Te Deum of solemn Matins, only a few settings have been encountered in the organ sources. With the possible exception of a series of versets for the Te Deum which is incorporated in the sixteenth-century manuscript of organ music at Coimbra (CBGU MM.242, ff.98v-9v),

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1. 'Dominica in Albis Prima Clase [...] Completa Cantada Tedeu(m) Com orgão' ([Ceremonias do Coro], (n.d.), LBN Cod.8372; the folios in this manuscript are unnumbered); 'Desde Dominica in Albis athé o Espiritu S(an)to [...] as completas e Te deum sempre Com órgão' (ibid.).

2. See Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730, 2ª Parte, Trat.VII, Cap. 6 'Das ceremonias, com que se deve cantar o Te Deum no nascimento dos Principes', n.326, p.261, for instance, and Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635, Par.2, Sec.5 'De la Processión que se haze en la elección de nuevo General, y quando visita los Monasterios; y para recebir Abad, Obispo, o Rey, o otra persona insigne', p.510 seq.

anthology pp.430-6), there is no counterpart to those by English composers of the sixteenth century[1], for example, and the sequence included in Attaingnant's 1531 collection.[2] There are just a few settings dating from the late eighteenth century in manuscripts at Montserrat,[3] one in the Astorga MS,[4] and one by A. Soler in a manuscript at El Escorial which has recently been transcribed by S. Rubio.[5] There is, however, also an 'Entrada de Te Deum' by José Elías (MonAM M.1205, pp.5-6), which is included in the anthology (pp.437-8), and, on a chart inserted into a manuscript at Montserrat (MonAM 1529) 'Per tocar las Missas de Añy', a reminder to the organist of the pitches of the first and last notes of each verset of the Te Deum. (The details given in this chart as a whole are included in the appendix, pp.553-4)

The Marian antiphons

From a consideration of relevant passages within ceremonial literature which refer to the Marian antiphons and their performance with the organ, it remains unclear as to whether or not each of these was in fact assigned

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1. There are settings by Burton, Blitheman and Redford, for instance. See Caldwell (1973), pp.25-6, 29 and 38.

2. See Rokseth ed. (1925), pp. 51-8.

3. 'Te deum, Punt natural, a 3 de Pare Ramon Pedro, lleno o Clar(ine)s', MonAM M.1120, pp.15-21; 'Te deum, 6° tono [...] del P. Fr. Juan Tort', MonAM M.1806, pp.11-29, and 'Te deum punt Natural', ibid., pp.60-8. All these settings begin in F (major).

4. See Alvarez ed. (1976), pp.118-22; these versets are transposed and begin in D (major).

5. The manuscript is inscribed 'Aquí yace / el R.P. Antonio Soler / Ramos / monje en este / Real Monasterio / religioso de vida ejemplar / compositor y / organista insigne / de reputación universal / Nacio en Olot el 3-XII-1729 / Murió en El Escorial / el 20-XII-1783'. See Rubio (1972/4), p.109 seq. (The numeration of the twenty pages of music included in this article by Rubio is independent from that of the text.)

to specific liturgical seasons such as is customary in modern usage. (See Apel (1958), p.23.) Nevertheless, Nassarre certainly intimates that this was the practice:

> Hállanse las Antíphonas en distintas partes del Oficio Divino, unas que sólo se dizen al fin de las Horas, que son las de nuestra Señora, que en distintos tiempos se mudan, como son Salve Regina, Alma Redemptoris Mater, Ave Regina Coelorum, y Regina Coeli laetare.
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.II, Cap.17, p.180.)

The Marian antiphons were traditionally sung at the end of Compline, but also on a number of other occasions such as at Vespers pertaining to Marian feasts and, at the monastery of Monserrat, after Mass.[1] A passage in the Huesca Consueta (1603) for instance states that the Salve regina should be performed

> En todos los sábados del año, excepta la víspera de Pasqua de Resurreción y todas las vísperas de Nuestra Señora se ha de tañer el órgano a la Salve, terminando el choro.
>
> (Consueta de la capilla de música, quoted in Doderer (1975), p.220.)

References are also made to the inclusion of the Marian antiphons at the end of Lauds: For example:

> [...] si uvo a Laudes Organo, y se acostumbra cantar esta Antíphona de nuestra señora por punto, se tañe ta(m)bién.
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.1, Sec.2, Cap.6, (§) 8, p.60.)[2]

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1. An early reference to the use of the organ in a performance of the Salve at the end of Compline occurs in the 1500 [Constituciones] from Monserrat: 'A las completas / la Salve se diga siempre con los órga- / (f.76v) -nos a ℣sos [...]' (MonB M.39, Cap.10, f.76-76v.) The same source specifies that the Salve should be said after Mass: 'Acabada / la missa, el preste co(n) los ministros diga al / (f.72) altar de rodillas la Salve Regina [...]' (Ibid. Cap.4, ff.71v-2).

2. This chapter from the Ceremonial Monástico, as a whole, is included in the appendix (pp.527-31).

Despite the fact that the Ceremonial Monástico (1635) from Benedictine foundations such as Montserrat in fact provides an alternatim scheme for all four antiphons in the chapter 'Del Organo, y Organista' (ibid. (§) 14), an early rubric from Montserrat, refers only to the Salve. In the following extract it is suggested that the Salve was to be performed with the organ all the year round with the exception of the penitential season between Septuagesima Sunday and Easter (when the organ was in any case not officially permitted), when it was restricted to voices alone.

> Después de las Co(m)pletas accabadas dígase la Salve Regina / por singular devoción de n(ues)t(r)a Señora la qual se ha de dezir con órganos a versos, salvo de la / Septuagesima hasta la pascua que no se tañen los órganos que entonçes la canta todo el convento. [1]
>
> ([Ceremonial de Montserrat] (n.d.), MonB M.46; Cap.51, f.52v.)

The Monastery of Montserrat is, of course, a centre for Marian devotion: this has inevitably resulted in numerous forms of liturgical and musical traditions. Of the infinite number of musical compositions to be performed by the capilla and escolania which are entirely based on Marian poetical texts, the Salve features the most strongly.

Although the Salve regina itself is the antiphon most frequently referred to in the ecclesiastical constitutions, it is possible that, as a term, it may have been applied generically to embrace all the Marian antiphons. In the organist's chart inserted in an organ manuscript at Montserrat (MonAM M.1529), 'Per tocar las Missas de Añy (appendix, pp.553-4) for instance, all these antiphons are in fact grouped under the heading Salves.

In the organ repertory, versets for the Salve regina feature virtually exclusively, although there is an isolated 'Tiento Partido de dos bajos

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1. This text is also included in Baraut (1965), p.783.

sobre Regina Caeli' by Juan Vila in a manuscript at Montserrat (MonAM M.1873, pp.10-16). There are several versets for the Salve in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359), in particular, which are arranged into two groups: the first a series of fourteen ('Los catorze versos siguientes son para la Salve', pp.76-80), and the second a series of twenty, which were deliberately together owing, apparently, to their greater length ('Siguense otros 20 versos más largos para la Salve', pp.83-117/a). There are also four 'V(er)sos para Salve', probably by Cabanilles, included in BBC M.387 (ff.1-2), and a set of three in the cifra portion of the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358, ff.67v-8) which are entitled 'Salve 1° tono Baxo'.[1] (A selection of these versets for the Salve as a whole are included in the anthology, p.439 seq.) A number of the Salve settings 'más largos' in the third Coll MS, with their incorporation of a cantus firmus based on the first phrase of the chant, within or above a semi-contrapuntal harmonization, are similar to passages found in the larger-scale obras based on the Salve by Aguilera de Heredia. Furthermore, the introduction of one verset in the Coll MS (MBN M.1359, V.116, pp.93-4) clearly shares a common origin with a 'Salbe de lleno' by Aguilera in an El Escorial manuscript (ESC M.2187, f.89v, 'Salbe de lleno 1° tono, aguilera'.)[2]

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1. Whereas the majority of Salve versets in the organ sources are notated in their 'natural' Dorian position, those in the second Coll MS are most unusually transposed down to C. For details about transposing the modes on the organ, with particular regard to the psalm-tones, see section (ii), (c), of this chapter.

2. The opening bars of these 2 Salve compositions are reproduced for comparison in the anthology following the transcription of MBN M.1359, V.116: anthology pp.446-8.

(ii)

The integration of the voices and the organ in alternatim performance, with particular regard to the psalms and canticles

(a)

Rules to be observed in alternatim performance

Although the organist was permitted to play alternately with the voices in several items of the Canonical Hours - in particular the strophic chants such as the hymns, psalms and canticles - there were in fact a number of special verses within these which were officially excluded from his domain. It is probable that it was primarily for special religious reasons that this prohibitive practice was ideally to be upheld. Broadly speaking, the verses for which the substitution of organ music was forbidden occupied a somewhat 'privileged' position in a sequence. Ceremonials dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which give a summary of these regulations, generally refer to the 1600 Caeremoniale Episcoporum as the authoritative source for their dicta; it is however likely that these prescriptions had their origins in longer standing conventions.

First of all, there was a general stipulation that the organ should not be played during the first verse of any alternatim sequence, and secondly, attention was drawn to a few particular verses - for example those which referred to the Holy Trinity - which were always to be sung and never to be played.

Apart from the Caeremoniale's outline of these issues in the chapter 'De Organo, Organista [etc.] (Lib.I, Cap.28), the earliest reference encountered in Iberian sources to the practice of withholding the first verse from the organist's sphere occurs in both the Toledo (1591) and the

Seville (1593) texts. In this particular instance it is stated that the cantors should open the performing sequence in order that the congregation should recognize that this had indeed begun; according to both texts it was the Chapter of the 'Iglesia de Toledo' which had recently authorized this rule:

> [...] pero [...] los hymnos, cánticos/(p.40) y Te Deum Laudamus, no los comie(n)ce el órgano solo, sino los tenentes choro, para que el pueblo eche de ver quando se comie(n)çan, como el cabildo de la insigne Iglesia de Toledo agora nuevamente, con mucha advertencia y consideración a ordenado.
>
> (Ceremonial, Sevilla, 1593; Cap.5°, (§) 6, pp.39-40.)

In the discussion below, attention will in general be drawn to the cantor's responsibility in setting the 'tone' of a chant sequence; his manner of performance would have varied according to the solemnity of the occasion - in the case of the psalms and canticles, this solemnity may even have been recognized by the very opening melodic formula of the intonation (see below, this section, (b)). It was from the way in which the first verse was sung that the style for performing the sequence as a whole, both from the point of view of the choir and of the organist, could be gauged. That this custom was not invariably followed to the letter is shown by the fact that there are actually a number of entradas evidently designed, where this was found to be of practical necessity, for the playing of the organ of an introductory verset which would set the tone (mode) and pitch of the plainchant to be sung in alternatim with the organ. (See below, section (iii) of this chapter, (b).)

In the chapter directed to the organist in the Burgos Ceremonial which, as has already been mentioned, is recognizably based on the Toledo and Seville precedent as well as being indebted to the Caeremoniale itself, a paraphrase of the essential procedures to be observed in an alternatim

performance is included. Apart from reiterating the clause in the Seville Ceremonial that the organ should not play the first verse of the hymns and canticles, the Burgos Ceremonial indicates a number of special verses as examples of the times during which the organ should also be silent: those such as 'Te ergo' in the Te Deum, when the participants are genuflecting or kneeling down; 'Tantum ergo' (the fifth verse of the hymn Pange lingua), when the Blessed Sacrament was exposed; those such as the lesser doxology ('Gloria Patri') when everyone lowers his head in reverence to the Holy Trinity; finally, the last verses of the hymns were also to be sung and not played. Zamora, however, omits two clauses from the Caeremoniale: the first being that which states that these particular verses are those in which the choir sings in a deliberate manner ('in tono intelligibi') and the second being that which states that the 'Gloria Patri' was not to be played on the organ even if the verse immediately preceding it was sung.

> Pero el primer Verso de los hymnos y cánticos, y Te Deum laudamus, y en los versos en que se han de hincar los frayles de rodillas, como el, Te ergo quaesumus, etc. y Tantum ergo Sacramentum, quando el Sacramento está descubierto, y en que se ha(n) de inclinar, como es el Verso de Gloria Patri, nunca los ha de tañer el Organo, sino que siempre los ha de cantar el choro: y lo mesmo se ha de guardar en los últimos versos de los hymnos.
>
> (J. Zamora: Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; Lib.4°, Parrapho.V, f.120.)

In a choral rendering of these items, as described in an eighteenth-century text from Barcelona, the cantors and choir might also uncover their heads for these solemn moments:

> Al verso Gloria Patri, y en las últimas strophas de los Hymnos, en que se hace mención de las tres Divinas Personas, todos se descubren, sin inclinar se quando andan. Los Cantores también se descubren, quando solos empiezan, o cantan alguna cosa; mas aunque comienzan todas las strophas de los Hymnos, sólo se descubren a la primera.
>
> (Sagrado Ceremonial, Barcelona 1768; Cap.14, (n).17, p.171.)

In the following extract from the 1647 Ceremonial from Coimbra, specific mention is made of a few more verses ('ramos') during which organ music was not permitted: coupled with the 'Gloria Patri', the verse 'Benedicamus Patrem, et Filium', and, besides 'Te ergo' and 'Tantum ergo', the hymn verses 'O Salutaris Hostia' (the fifth verse of Verbum Supernum) and 'O Crux ave spes unica' (the sixth verse of Vexilla Regis) are singled out.

> Advirtase que os Versos Gloria Patri, & Benedicamus Patrem et Filium, & os últimos Ramos com q(ue) se acabão os Hymnos, nunqua se tanjão com orgão, mas sempre serão cantados, por reverência da Sanctíssima Trindade, ainda que o Verso antecendente também fosse cantado. O mesmo se guardará nestes Ramos. Tantum ergo Sacramentum, etc. O Salutaris Hostia, & O Crux ave spes unica quando se reze da Cruz. E o Te ergo quaesumus, etc. do Te Deum.
>
> (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647; Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap.VII, (§) 5, p.16.)

Beyond these general rules for an alternatim performance for voices and organ in which specific attention is nevertheless drawn to a number of exceptional verses, detailed descriptions of how selected items might have been divided between the two forces are only rarely included in the legislative sources. It is clear that an even distribution of verses was not necessarily guaranteed if these rules were strictly observed and it is probable that in practice a degree of flexibility was exercised. Even Catalanus states that it was not 'reprehensible' for the organist to play during the 'privileged' verses, his condition being that these should nevertheless still be sung.

> Ceterum non puto reprehendendum quarumdam Ecclesiarum morem, in quibus etiam in Versiculis ipsis privilegiatis Organum interponi solet, cantante tamen eosdem Choro, tono intelligibili, quo populus ad devotionem excitetur.
>
> (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1744; Lib.I, Cap.28, § V-VI, comm.III, p.381.)

Be that as it may, the Ceremonial Seráfico does indeed outline a few

alternatim performance patterns for the Te Deum, and the Ceremonial Monástico, in the chapter specifically directed to the organist, most unusually describes procedures for the Marian antiphons; illustrations from both these sources will be interpreted below.

Applying the rules outlined above to the three main canticles, each of which consists of an even number of verses, it is probable that six versets would be required for a performance of the Magnificat, seven for the Benedictus and just three for the Nunc dimittis. If the organ plays from the second and each of the succeeding even-numbered verses, the penultimate verse, the 'Gloria Patri', would thus in any event always be sung. (It is not, however, clear whether indeed the last verse ('Sicut erat') was in practice embraced with the 'Gloria Patri'.) There are several sets of Magnificat versets numbering six in each, in the manuscript sources and in the prints of Cabezón (1578) and Coelho (1620). In the third Coll MS, there is even a set in the 1st tone which indicates a specific liturgical function: '[...] p(ar)a Magnificat solemne sive Classica' (MBN M.1359, pp.19-26). It is extremely rare to find the Benedictus of Lauds associated with any verset sequence. There are however a few sets of versets found in both the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM M.1577) and the Braga MS (BBP M.964) which have the dual function 'para Magnificat e Benedictus'. Since these particular sets only contain six versets each, it is probable that in an alternatim performance of the Benedictus an extra verset would have been included.[1]

As stated earlier, there is very little tangible evidence in the organ sources for sequences of organ versets specifically designed to be alternated with the psalms; exceptions, of course, are those for

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1. For details of the concordances between these two manuscripts see Doderer ed. (1974), pp.xii-xiv. These particular versets are edited by Speer (1967).

the Lesser Hours amongst the manuscripts at Montserrat mentioned above. The term 'psalmodia' which is often encountered with the juegos of versets in the Barcelona manuscripts, for instance, simply refers to the sets of versets which could be alternated with either the psalms or the canticles. (The question of the juegos of psalm-tone versets is outlined in section (iii), (b), of this chapter.)

It is clear, however, that patterns for performing the psalms and canticles in alternation with the organ would have varied considerably and the compositional structure of some of the versets found in the sources may even be an indication of this (see below, ibid.) Although the majority of fabordones and organ versets reflect the two-part structure of the psalm-tone itself, therefore suggesting that the organist normally substituted for whole verses at a time, there is some evidence that the verse itself of a psalm or canticle may even have been divided between the voices and the organ. In the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358), for instance, there are a number of versets which are indicated 'en la mediación'; in these, the root of the final chord of the verset consists of the last note of the mediation phrase which terminates the psalm-tone. (Examples of this style of verset from MBN M.1358 are included in the anthology, pp.197-8. For an explanation of the characteristic chordal structures of psalm-tone versets, see below, this section, (c).) Similarly, a number of brief versets of which some represent just the first half of the psalm-tone are included in the Braga MS (ff.245-6v).[1] As described in section (iii) of this chapter, there are an enormous number of versets with

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1. Unfortunately, there are a number of serious discrepancies between this manuscript and the edition prepared by Doderer (1974). For this particular series of versets (BBP M.964, ff.245-6v), the following items in Doderer's publication should be consulted: nos.4 (f.245); 14 (f.245); 30 (f.245-5v); 36 (f.245v); 39 (f.245v); 46 (f.[246]); 56 (f.[246]); and 63 (f.[246v]). (Erroneous foliation and titles are given for the last three items.)

undivided structures which merely allude thematically to the saeculorum, or second half of the psalm-tone. Whether or not these invariably indicated that the verse of a psalm or of a canticle might similarly be shared between the voices and the organ is open to question as the tonal structure of these, in which the last chord represented the end of the saeculorum, did not preclude a wider application than just the second half of a psalm-tone. Indeed, as indicated below, 'sets' of versets might freely mingle versets with both bipartite and undivided (saeculorum) structures. Finally, bearing in mind that the chords terminating each half of organ versets for the psalm-tones with bipartite structures are not compatible, it is curious that in the 1578 Obras de música it is indicated that Cabezón's versets may be split into two should shorter ones be required. (See Anglés ed. (1966), vol.I, p.31 seq.) It is possible, however, that these were to be adapted, as necessary, to an alternatim pattern in which each verse of a psalm or canticle was divided between the voices and the organ.

With regard to the Te Deum in particular, the great length of this hymn necessarily demanded a sequence of alternatim performance such as was readily adopted in other items of the Divine Offices. The performers involved would have differed according to the style of the ecclesiastical institution, with the larger ones offering greater variety in the forces involved and therefore manners of performance; these would have allowed for the options of the alternation of plainchant and polyphony, plainchant and organ or instrumental ensembles, or merely the simple alternation between the two sides of the main choir.

The question of precise procedures of alternation will remain debatable; however, following the general principles of alternatim outlined above, let it be assumed that the cantors, or other suitable dignitaries, would at least have intoned the first verse, 'Te Deum laudamus'.

Nevertheless, as with the psalms and canticles, it is evident that the cantor or cantors would have required the correct pitch to be sounded on the organ beforehand, whether in the form of a short verset or merely a single note. Owing to the paucity of organ music connected with the Te Deum, it has not been possible to find parallels to the psalm-tone entradas. The style and length of the sole example encountered however, the magnificent 'Entrada de Te Deum' by José Elías, lends itself to a more splendid function such as the celebration of a Prince's birth described in the Ceremonial Seráfico:

> [...]e o Organista do Convento já tocando no Orgão alegre, e festivalmente, pelo mesmo tom do Te Deum, ira entrando a communidade em silêncio pela parte debaixo da Igreja em linea recta [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Serafico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat. VII, Cap.6, n.326, p.261.)

Interestingly enough, although both the Ceremonial Monástico and the Ceremonial Seráfico describe alternatim performance patterns for the Te Deum in which, following the dictum in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum, the verse 'Te ergo' in particular was to be sung by the choir and not played on the organ, both sources provide a slightly different interpretation of the distribution of the verses between the opposing forces at the very beginning of the hymn. In either case, however, sixteen organ versets at least would be required for a performance of this hymn. The context of these descriptions are the chapters in each of the two ceremonials devoted to solemn Matins.

In the 1635 Ceremonial Monástico, first of all, it is indicated that after the first verse, which is to be sung in its entirety by the celebrant, the second verse ('Te aeternum') is either to be sung by the choir or, in the event of the organ being used in the performance of this hymn as a whole, to be played on the organ. However, at the 'Sanctus'

verses, normally constituting numbers five, six and seven, the final 'Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth' (verse seven) is in fact to be distributed between the choir and the organ, with the choir merely singing the opening 'Sanctus'. Thenceforth, it may be assumed that the organ plays during the remaining uneven-numbered verses; the 'Te ergo' (verse 22), therefore, when all kneel down, falls naturally to the voices. (This passage constitutes an expansion of the details in the chapter 'De Organo y organista' (Par.1, Sec.2, Cap.6) in which it is merely stated: 'Al Hymno Te Deum, se dize Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, alternando con el Organo' (loc.cit., (§) 12, p.61).)

> 7 Dichos los Nocturnos, el Cantor mayor encomienda el Hymno Te Deum laudamus, al Abad, señalándoselo en el libro, aunque no haga oficio de Celebrante, y cantará todo el primer Verso, y el siguie(n)te se cantará en el choro contrario al q(ue) tiene la tabla, o se tañerá el órgano si se usare, y en su ausencia lo entonará el que celebra, encomendándoselo el Cantor a quien tocare. El Verso Sanctus, se cantará en esta forma: canta el choro Sanctus, luego se tañe el órgano por breve espacio, depués el choro ca(n)ta otra vez Sanctus, y entretanto todos estarán inclinados; luego el órgano suple por estas palabras, Dominus Deus Sabaoth: y lo demás se canta a Versos, y por el órgano. Al Verso Te ergo quaesumus, todos se ponen de rodillas.
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.1, Sec.3, Cap.6, (§) 7, p.165.)

In the chapter 'Das Matinas solemnes' in the Ceremonial Seráfico, one of the clearest indications of an alternatim performing pattern for the Te Deum is provided. In this particular instance a marginal reference ('Caerem. Rom. lib.1.cap.28') specifically demonstrates that the recommendations for the performance of this hymn follow the dictates of the Caeremoniale Episcoporum; acknowledgement is also made to 'other authors'. On this occasion, however, it is clear from the very beginning that the organ plays during the uneven-numbered verses throughout the entire hymn.

> [...] os Cantores [....] levantarão Te Deum laudamus (sómente) com toda a solemnidade, continuando se logo dahi para diante alternadamente com o Orgão, segundo a determinação do Ceremonial Romano, com outros muitos Authores [...] o Cantor mayor, que ficará no meyo do Coro entoando os Versos ao Orgão, principiando logo Te Dominum confitemur, e depois ira proseguindo o Coro Te aeternum Patrem, etc. e logo outra vez entrará o Orgão para o Verso que se segue, continuando-se deste modo até o Te ergo [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte,.Trat.III, Cap.5, n.200, p.136.)

The performing procedures surrounding the 'Te ergo' are particularly illuminating in the Ceremonial Seráfico, both in this chapter and in that describing Matins on Christmas Day. A detailed account is provided of the required manner of delivery both from the singers and from the organ during the preparation for this solemn moment:

> O Organista, depois de cantado o [...] Verso Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes, etc. entrará a tanger com o Orgão flautado, e temblado com tal suavidade, e consonância, que mova, ou incite os coraçoens a huma devotíssima adoração, como sempre foy costume na Província. (Ibid., n.201, p.137.)

The verse 'Judex crederis' (verse 21) is then to be said by the Cantor mayor 'pausadamente, e brando' (presumably whilst the organ plays), after which the verse 'Te ergo' is intoned by the Vigairo do Coro who is joined by 'os mais Religiosos, com muita pausa, e melodia [...]' (ibid.).

In the description of Matins on Christmas Day, the organist is even asked to provide a verset in a suitably searching style, at this point, of some ten- or twelve-bar's duration, which allows for the anticipation of this particular 'privileged' verse:

> [...]e tanto que se chegar ao verso immediato ao Te ergo, flautará o Organista o Orgão, e tangendo com muita suavidade, e doce consonância cousa de dez, ou doze compassos (em quanto os do Coro tirão os mantos, e todos huns, e outros ajoelhão) fazendo cláusula, se cantará o Te ergo com muita pausa por ambos os Coros [...]
>
> (Ibid., Trat.V, Cap. 3., n.261, p.194)

As already stated, these alternatim performing arrangements of the Te Deum would normally require at least sixteen versets from the organist - this is indeed the number included in the majority of the few settings encountered in the manuscripts (see above). The set of Te Deum versets in the Astorga MS, however, comprise as many as seventeen and in the Coimbra MS, there are only fourteen versets extant. In the latter collection it is clear from the verbal incipits which are provided with each verset that the one which would have been played at the verse 'Miserere nostri' (verse 29) is missing; furthermore, in this rare instance, the organ apparently substitutes for the entire 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus [etc]' sequence. A transcription of the Te Deum from Coimbra MM.242 is included in the anthology.)

Of the liturgical documentary sources from Spain and Portugal consulted for this thesis, the Ceremonial Monástico is the only one to include prescriptions for alternatim performances of all four Marian antiphons between the voices and the organ. These constitute a single paragraph in the chapter 'Del Organo, y Organista' which, as a whole, is included in the appendix. Along the lines of traditional alternatim patterns, the common feature of all these prescriptions is that, after the Cantor's intonation, the first verse or phrase should always be continued by the choir; thereafter, the antiphon may be alternated between the two musical forces. In the case of the Regina caeli, however, the organist is requested to interpolate the verses rather than replace any lines of the text.

> [...] Quando se cantare Regina Caeli, tras cada Verso se tañerá el Organo (ca(n)tandolos todos) mas no despues de averse cantado el último.
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Par.1, Sec.2, Cap.6, (§) 14, p.62.)

and in the Ave regina the organist is to play an interlude before the final two (sung) verses of the antiphon.

Another general observation made in this particular passage is that on more solemn occasions, such as on Saturdays, the organist should provide a suitable prelude to each performing sequence:

> Qua(n)do se dize alguna de las Antíphonas [...] con mayor solemnidad como los Sábados, se tañerá el Organo antes que se comiençe. (Ibid.)

From the patterns indicated here, it emerges that in the Alma redemptoris mater and the Ave regina, the organist is to replace just one verse of the text; in the Salve regina, four. Furthermore, in the former three antiphons both the first and second verses in each one are in fact to be sung. The alternatim schemes of all four Marian antiphons recommended in the Ceremonial Monástico may be interpreted as follows:

1. Alma redeptoris mater

organ	voices
(prelude)	
	℣.1 Alma redemptoris [...];
	℣.2 Et stella maris [...];
℣.3 Tu quae genuisti [...];	
	℣.4 Virgo prius [...] miserere.

2. Ave regina caelorum

organ	voices
(prelude)	
	℣.1 Ave regina caelorum,
	℣.2 Ave domina Angelorum;
℣.3 Salve radix [...],	
℣.4 Ex qua mundo [...]:	℣.5 Gaude virgo gloriosa,
	℣.6 Super omnes speciosa.
interlude	
	℣.7 Vale o valde decora,
	℣.8 Et pro nobis Christum exora.

3. Regina caeli

organ	voices
(prelude)	
	℣.1 Regina caeli [...] alleluia;
interlude	
	℣.2 Quia quem [...] alleluia;
interlude	
	℣.3 Resurrexit [...] alleluia.

4. Salve regina

organ	voices
(prelude)	
	℣.1 Salve regina [...];
℣.2 Vita dulcedo [...];	
	℣.3 Ad te clamamus [...];
℣.4 Ad te suspiramus [...];	
	℣.5 Eia ergo [...];
℣.6 Et Jesum [...];	
	℣.7 O clemens;
℣.8 O pia;	
	℣.8 O dulcis Virgo Maria.

As already stated, the organ sources appear to cater only for an alternatim performance of the Salve regina itself. With the exception of the 'catorze versos [...] para la Salve' in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359, pp.76-80), in which the individual versets consist of very brief harmonic passages with only touches of passage-work, the vast majority of Salve versets in the manuscripts are characterized by fugal writing derived almost solely from the distinctive opening of the chant. A set of four versets for the Salve, which may have been performed according to the scheme outlined above, is included in a manuscript at Montserrat: these are entitled 'Versos p(ri)m(er)o tono / por la Salve Regina / del R.^{do} Antonio / Mestres, 1765' (MonAM M.1875, pp.20-8). The thematic

material in each of these extremely long versets, however, may once again be linked only with the beginning of the Salve chant. (The third verset (ibid. pp.24-6) is written in partido style.)

As previously mentioned, the role of the organist as accompanist became more marked during the course of the eighteenth century. This may be witnessed not only in the number of treatises on accompanying from this time as well as the books containing specific accompaniments for plainchant, but also in ecclesiastical constitutions which even acknowledge the growing popularity of this practice. Thus for instance, with regard to the performance of the Salve, of which a precise alternatim scheme is not however given, the author of the Ceremonial from the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça stresses that the final invocatory clauses of the organ should be sung with organ accompaniment.

> A Antíphona, Sal-/ve Regina, que se costume cantar todos os dias, se / tocará o Orgão alternatim com o Coro, mas as / últimas palavras, ô clemens, ô Pia, ô Dulcis, Vir-/go Maria, Cantarã o Coro juntamente com / o Orgão.
>
> ([Ceremonial Cisterciense], (n.d.), LBN Cod.6038; Liv.II, Cap,1, (§) 4, p.377.)

Likewise, although it is stated in the Ceremonial Seráfico that the Salve should be sung 'alternadamente com o Orgão' (whereas other antiphons were all to be sung by the choir alone), the description given of the performing scheme of this antiphon is ambiguous. It is not clear as to whether the organ should accompany the Cantor's phrases, which alternate with those of the choir, or whether, indeed, the organist should interpolate the Cantor's and choir's phrases in the manner indicated above regarding the performance of the Regina caeli described in the Ceremonial Monástico. If it were not for the phrase 'the organ having finished (playing)' ('tendo acabado o Orgão') which anticipates the choir's 'Vita dulcedo [etc.]', the former conclusion might more readily be credited; the precise

participation of the organ is not indicated.

> 212 Esta Antífona de Nossa Senhora se ha de dizer sempre em todo o anno solemnemente, como Dobres, não obstante que o Offício do dia seja de differente Rito, e sendo a Salve, se ha de cantar alternadamente com o Orgão do modo seguinte (porém as outras Antífonas serão todas cantadas pelo Coro). Postos os dous Cantores no meyo do Coro principiarão ao tom do Orgão Salve, e logo os mais Religiosos irão proseguindo Regina, depois o Cantor mayor no meyo do Coro entoará Mater misericordiae, logo o Coro, tendo acabado o Orgão, continuará Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve, depois o Cantor Ad te clamamus exules, filii Hevae, logo o Coro Ad te suspiramus [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.IV, Cap.1, n.212, p.149.)

The final phrase 'O clemens, o pia, o dulcis Virgo Maria' is once more assigned to the choir (ibid., p.150); this again contrasts with the scheme outlined above from the Ceremonial Monástico.

Finally, despite the fact that the organ frequently replaced verses of the psalms, canticles and hymns, as well as items such as the antiphons and responses, it is stated categorically on several occasions that these texts should still be supplied and not omitted. (References to this practice have already been encountered in the preceding section in connexion with the repetition of the Proper antiphons of the psalms and canticles.) The legislative sources which advocate this practice are clearly alluding to the phrase in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum which recommends that these verses should be recited by someone in the choir in an 'intelligible voice'. (In this particular instance the Roman text actually only refers to the verses of the hymns and canticles.)

> [...]sed advertendum erit, ut, quandocumque per organum figuratur aliquid cantari, seu responderi alternatim versiculis Hymnorum, aut Canticorum, ab aliquo de choro intelligibili voce pronuntietur id, quod ab organo respondendum est.
>
> (Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1600; Lib.I, Cap.28.)

The compiler of the 1693 Economicon Sacro from Coimbra reiterates and

emphasizes strongly this 'infallible' dictum of the Caeremoniale, even stating that there was absolutely no excuse not to observe this rule:

> [...] sendo regra geral, & infallível, q(ue) tudo o que se ta(n)ger pelo Orgão, & perte(n)ce a orde(m) do Offício divino, se dirá no Coro por hu(m), ou dous em voz intelligível, & clara; & não poderá haver escuza algu(m)a para deixar de observarse inviolavelmente esta regra, como ordena o Ceremonial [...]
>
> (Economicon Sacro, Lisboa, 1693; Cap.1, Tit.IV, § IX, p.20.)

In the following extract from an eighteenth-century Cistercian ceremonial from Portugal (probably from the monastery of Alcobaça),[1] in which the same issue is discussed, it is even recommended that in order to avoid any confusion either the (principal) cantor should proclaim the texts clearly from his stall 'em voz alta', or else the cantors should recite them from the middle of the choir:

> Advirtase; que tudo aquillo, a que responder o Orgão, assim Versos, como Cânticos, Hymnos, / &ª, o deve dizer (2) [2] o Cantor na sua Cadeira em voz / alta, clara, e intelligível, ou os Cantores no meio do / Coro, paraque a este se satisfaça, e se evite a con/fuzão.
>
> ([Cerimonial Cisterciense], LBN Cod.6134; Liv.I, Cap.46, p.465.)

Furthermore, in the same paragraph from the Economicon Sacro, where a marginal reference is made to the relevant passage in the revised edition of Bauldry's Manuale,[3] it is stated that reciting the texts in this fashion

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1. There are several references made to the 'Mosteiro de Alcobaça' both in this text and in the companion ceremonial [Tratado de cerimonias religiosas], LBN Cod. 6038.

2. A corresponding marginal reference indicates '(2) / Rit.Cist. cit. [=lib.1. c.14] / n.5 et alli / communiter'.

3. The reference is to the eleventh paragraph in the eighth chapter 'De Organistae, et musicorum officio' in M. Bauldry's Manuale Sacrarum which was revised in 1646. The following is taken from the eighth edition of the Manuale (1734).

   > XI. Notandum autem est, quod quandocumque per organum versiculis Hymnorum, aut Canticorum respondetur, semper idem proferendum esset ab aliquo de choro intelligibili voce, nisi sit aliquis, qui cantet cum eo: quod videtur intelligendum tantum de officio Canonico, non de Missa, aut aliis hujusmodi.
   > (M. Bauldry: Manuale Sacrarum (8th edn), Venice, 1734; Pars 1a, Cap.8, § XI, p.22.)

would ensure the 'completeness' of the Canonical Hours. This point is also taken up by Catalanus who states in his turn that unless the texts are pronounced in this way, the Hours are not 'sung' in their entirety:

> Ratio est, quia pars illa a choro non percipitur, quae ad Organum psalliter, & ita Horae non canuntur integrae, nisi aliquis saltem deputetur, qui in Choro distincte, & alte pronunciet, quae ab Organo cantari figurantur [...]
>
> (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1744; Lib.I, Cap.28, § VII, comm.III, p.381.)

Catalanus also alludes to a certain Trullench who, whilst in his turn was referring to two other authorities,[1] likewise opined that these verses normally substituted by the organ should not only be well-articulated, but also linked, or sewn together ('resarciendum') by a singing voice ('non solum articulata / voce, sed etiam in cantum flexa resarciendum' (ibid., pp.381-2)). This also mirrors the original statement in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum where, following on from the passage cited above, it is written:

> Et laudibile esset, ut aliquis cantor coniunctim cum organo voce clara idem cantaret. (Loc.cit., ibid.)

---

1. '[...] Trullench in Decalogum Lib. 1. De Horis Canonicis, Lib.II, Cap. XXVIII, Num. XII, ubi citat Navarrum, & Suarez [...]', (ibid.). (The works by Navarre and Suarez are also referred to by Catalanus on p.381.)

(b)

The psalm-tones:
melodic differentiations and manner of performance
according to function and festal category

The class of Office and the solemnity of the particular occasion had considerable bearing on both the melodic formulae of the eight (or nine) psalm-tones - whether they were performed in connexion with the psalms or the three main canticles (Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis) - and the manner in which they were sung. From the general rule outlined above, that the first phrase of any sequence of plainchant verses performed in alternation with the organ should be sung and not played, it follows that the main cantor, or precentor, held the responsibility of setting the tone and style of these chants. (In an alternatim performance with the organ, however, the pitch for the intonation was probably set by a preludial verset, 'para dar el punto fixo' (see below).)

In the following passage from a seventeenth-century Portuguese ceremonial, it is stated that the cantor had control over the pitch even ('Pode [...] o Cantor abayxar, ou levantar mais o tom'), as well as the speed at which the chant was to be sung; it is advised, however, that in accordance with the solemnity of the situation, Terce and Vespers should be sung more slowly than the other Hours and Nocturns (of Matins).

> Pode também o Cantor abayxar, ou levantar mais o tom, & fazer que se cante com mais pressa, ou mais vagar, advertindo q(ue) a Terça, & Vesperas se digão co(m) mais vagar que as mais Horas diurnas, & nocturnas, conforme a solemnidade; porém nu(n)qua poderá sem licença de quem presidir, rezar, ou tomar co(m) o órgão o q(ue) se ha de cantar.
>
> (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647; Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap.II, § 11, p.10)

With regard to various regulations concerning the celebration of the Divine Offices in general, the author of the Ceremonial Seráfico states specifically, moreover, that the chants of the Mass and the Offices on solemn feasts - in particular the three main canticles and the Te Deum - should be sung in an especially deliberate manner; a distinction was to be made between these items and the other chants of the Offices, as well as a general one between the chants on festive and ferial days.

> Nos dias solemnes pelas suas festividades, deve ser o canto mais pausado, e vagoroso, tanto na Missa, como no Offício Divino, e especialmente nos Cânticos de Magnificat, Benedictus, Nunc dimitis, e Te Deum, que tudo requere mayor solemnidade; pois ha de haver differ nça destas cousas ás mais do Offício Divino, como também dos dias feriaes aos festivos [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.III, Cap. 3, (n.)175, p.104.)

Cerone similarly refers to the contrast in performance of plainchant on solemn and ferial days: on the latter occasions it was to be sung more rapidly and in a detached manner, whilst on the former it was to be sung with greater breadth and 'gravity', with some of the notes 'ligadas':

> [...] los feriales cantan de presto sueltos y desatados: y los solennes van más de espacio, y con más gravedad; usando algunas notas ligadas.
>
> (P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.V, Cap.20, p.422.)

In this connexion, Thalesio (1628) merely states that on solemn days 'se ligão os pontos' and on ferial days 'não se ligão pontos' (Arte de Canto chão, Coimbra, 1628, p.71). (The solemn occasions to which he refers include Double (major and minor) and Semidouble feasts.)

Evidently, such issues were also applicable to the organist and his contribution to the celebration of the services:

> El Organista ha de tener cue(n)ta con la solemnidad que se celebra, y la hora del oficio que es para q(ue) no sea demasiado de breve, no prolijo.
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca 1635; Par. 1, Sec.2, Cap.6, (§)17, p.63.)

In a number of Portuguese ceremonials, for instance, it is recommended on several occasions that whereas the psalm versets were ideally to be played in the same style ('o mesmo ar') as the plainchant versets, and to occupy the same length of time as these, the verses for the Magnificat and the Benedictus could be played in a more protracted manner in order to allow time for the incensing to take place. The following passage from the Ceremonial Ecclesiástico is indicative of such recommendations:

> Deve o Organista [...] tocar [...] com o mesmo ar, e compasso, com que se está cantando no Coro, sem intrometter mais, ou menos compassos naquelles Versos, que se tocão alternadamente com o Coro; mas ha de regularmente gastar o mesmo tempo, que gastou o Coro em cantar o seu Verso, (excepto nos Cânticos Magnificat, e Benedictus, que então se deterá mais, em ordem a incensação) e sómente fazer as cláusulas finaes demoradas, e graves, para se conhecerem, e o Coro entrar a cantar.
>
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.I, Cap.12, (§)2, p.42.)

Moreover, the Ceremonial Seráfico specifically states that in order to reflect sufficiently the solemnity of the Magnificat and to allow time for the formalities which took place at this point, the organist should play in a leisurely manner, varying the registers of the organ, using the flue stops:

> [...] neste Cântico se ha de dilitar mais do costumado, variando os registros, e flautados nos Versos com bastante tempo, e mediação, de tal sorte, que no Altar, e no incenso do Coro, se faça huma cousa, e outra com todo a perfeição, sem pressas; e da mesma maneira / (p.118) irão cantando os Religiosos os Versos, que lhes tocão pausadamente com melodia, e religiosa gravidade.
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.III, Cap. 4, n.184, pp.117-118.)

However, it is of great significance that in addition to these contrasting ways of performing the canticles in particular, it is clear that the psalm-tones were subject to a variety of melodic permutations which reflected the category of feast on which they were performed. This applied to both the psalms and the canticles. The principle behind such distinctions is, of course, already familiar from the present-day practice of Gregorian chant. Nevertheless, as will be seen from the ensuing account derived from a number of treatises containing chapters devoted to an explanation and consideration of these issues, there were certain performing traditions which are at variance with those of today; furthermore, there are a few idiosyncracies which some theorists claim to be 'Spanish' (as distinct from 'Roman') and variations in the melodic formulae as found and described in these sources. According to Bermudo: '[...] cada yglesia tenga su modo en entonar los psalmos, y su canto distincto' (Declaración, 1555; Lib.2°, Cap.14, f. [24]).

The main purpose here, therefore, is merely to broach the subject of the differing practices which evidently existed between the churches and in various geographical regions. Owing to the relatively small number of plainchant sources consulted for this discussion, it is not possible to prove which of these practices was the most widespread.

The Italian theorist Cerone, who nevertheless spent the greater part of his career in the Spanish royal service, provides in his treatise El Melopeo y Maestro (Naples, 1613) the clearest indication of musico-liturgical practices in Spain. He is the only author to state categorically that the psalm-tones, for instance, may vary - both in format and melodically - according to their use in conjunction with either the psalms on both ferial and solemn days or with the canticles on days in these two festal categories. It is in accordance

with these distinctions, and indeed much of Cerone's argument, that the following discussion is arranged. Bermudo (and the Portuguese theorist Thalesio (1628) after him) is among those who distinguish between the varying functions of the psalm-tones somewhat less precisely; however, valuable material has been drawn from their writings as also from Villa-Lobos whose treatise, Arte de Canto chão (Coimbra, 1688), is clearly based on El Melopeo - Villa-Lobo's treatise includes some examples of plainchant which, though described by Cerone, are omitted from the 1613 publication.

Although Bermudo, for instance, writes that the use of the solemn 'entonaciones' and the 'simple' ones was to be decided by the cantor, he also recognized that it was customary for the 'simple' tones to be used for the psalms and the solemn ones for the canticles - this solemnity could be identified at the beginning of the first verse and not at the mediation.

> Quando se deve(n) usar las entonaciones solennes, y quando las simples: a la disposició(n) del ca(n)tor queda. Los curiosos usan las e(n)tonaciones simples en los psalmos de David: y las solennes en los cánticos de Magnificat, Benedictus, y Nunc dimittis. Esta solennidad entie(n)do al princípio del verso primero, y no a la mediació(n) [...]
>
> (J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.2°, Cap.14, f.23v.)

Precisely the same reasoning is reproduced by Thalesio in 1628 in the chapter 'Das entoações dos Psalmos, & Cânticos (loc.cit., Cap. 28, pp.54-5). The Portuguese theorist nevertheless acknowledges the source of his information in the margin of the text (p.55) where he mentions not only Bermudo, but also Montanos and Monserrate.

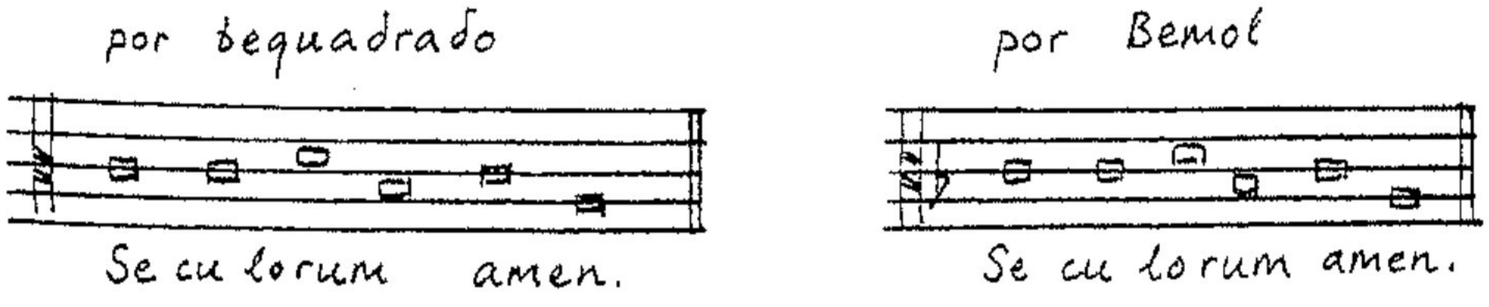
However, in the next chapter in the Declaración (Cap.15, f.[24]-[24]v.) Bermudo also draws attention to the melodic distinctions between the solemn and simple psalms themselves, and between these and the

canticles on solemn occasions; he does not however make any clear statements regarding the performance of the canticles on ferial days. Thalesio, in his turn, omits any reference to the performance of the psalms on solemn days (loc.cit., p.54 seq.).

Be that as it may, there is little doubt that differentiations were made in a performance of the psalms and canticles in accordance with their respective uses on both solemn and ferial days. At this stage it is important to realize that the melodic distinctions which applied to the psalm-tones were made in the first half (of the psalm-tone) only - at the intonation in particular and sometimes at the mediation. The termination, or second half of the psalm-tone - commonly referred to as the saeculorum in Iberian terminology - varied only in accordance with the Proper antiphon with which it was associated; as disclosed below, there were only a very limited number of these which were used in the organ verset repertory. why? It is significant, however, that the saeculorum of the 5th tone was either sung 'por bequadrado' (b♮) or with a flattened fourth (b♭) 'por bemol' - this had considerable bearing on the overall modality of an organ piece associated with this tone (see below). One may suppose that the two practices varied according to geographical region. Santa María (1565), for example, claims that 'en el Arçobispado de Toledo [...] el seculorum se canta por Bemol', and he illustrates both versions as follows:

(Ex. 1)

T. de Santa María: Libro (1565), 1ª Parte, f. 65.



'De las entonaciones feriales para los Psalmos':[1] the simple tones for the psalms.

It is clear in this case that each verse of the psalms (even the first) was intoned directly on to the reciting note of the particular tone. This is described by Cerone in the following passage where, according to the particular terminology he uses, the psalms were to begin on the first note of the saeculorum:

> [...] los Psalmos simples y feriales Gregorianos ([...]) comiençan su entonación ygualmente sobre de la primera nota del Saeculorum. (Sic.)
>
> (P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.41, p.353.)

Contrary to present-day performances of the psalms in which it is customary to begin the first verse with a special intonation formula, whilst only subsequent verses begin with the tenor (see Apel (1958), p.209), there is here, apparently, no question of the first verse being intoned differently: this was the preserve of the solemn tones of the psalms and canticles (see below). Thus, Cerone continues, the 1st, 4th and 6th tones are intoned on a ('por el La de A la mi re'), the 3rd, 5th and 8th on c' ('por el Fa de C sol fa ut'), the 2nd on f ('por él [el Fa] de F fa ut'), and the 7th on d' ('por el Sol de D la sol re', ibid.). In fact, all the treatises consulted, from Bermudo (1555) to Martín y Coll (1719), illustrate the eight simple tones (generally in connexion with the text of the psalm 'Dixit Dominus') as beginning with the note of recitation. The simple tones for the psalms cited by Cerone 'que se usan en estos Reynos' (ibid., Cap.42, p.354) are reproduced here. At the start of each one Cerone gives the note of the appropriate modal final and the pitch of the

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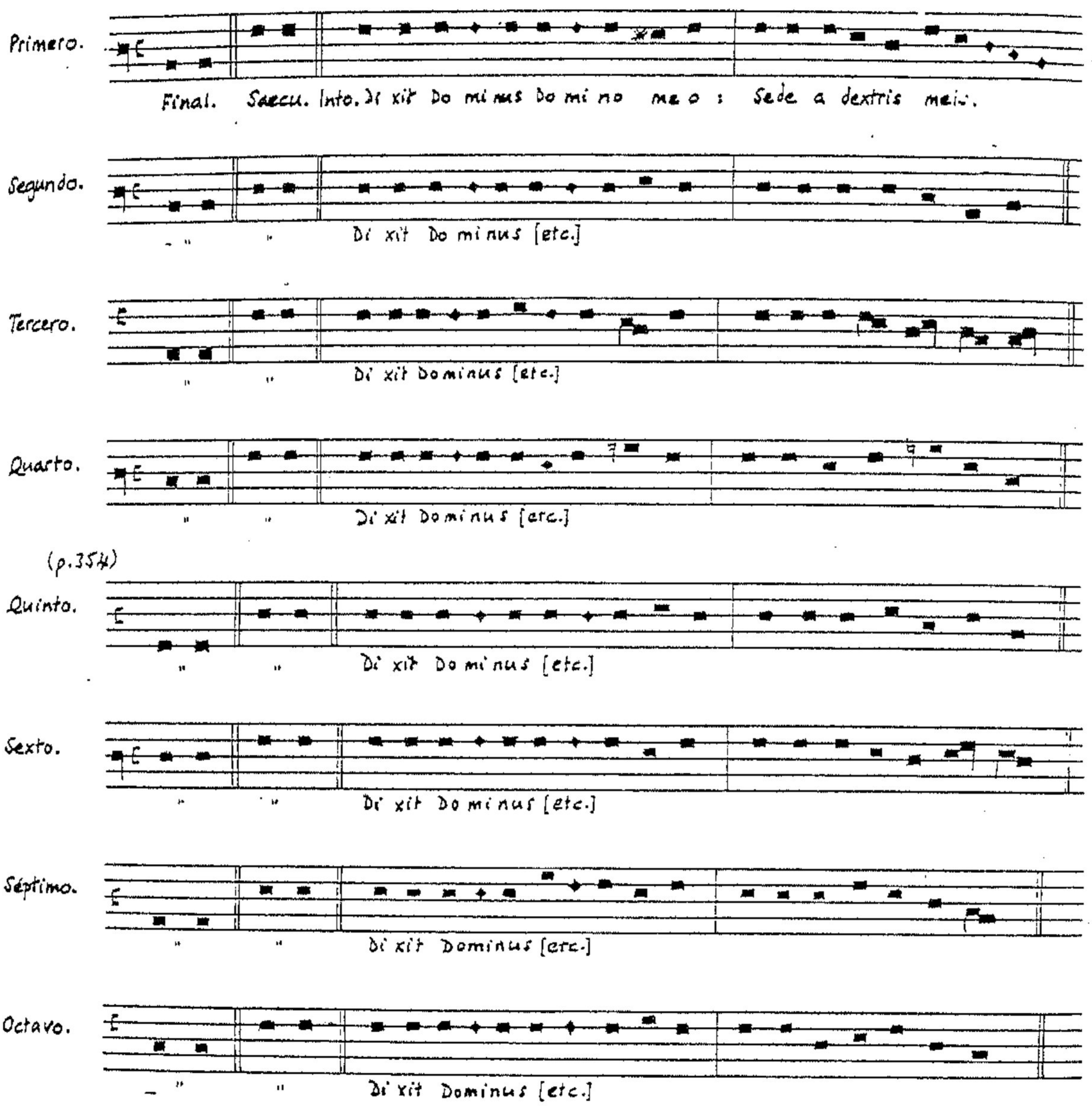
1. P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.41, p.353. This is the heading of Cerone's chapter.

intonation and reciting note ('Saecu.').

I *Simple tones for the psalms.* P. Cerone: *El Melopeo* (1613). (pp. 353-4)



It will be noticed that in the 1st tone, in Cerone's examples, the lowered flex at the mediation is sharpened; this also occurs in the version produced by Fernandes (1626) for the Magnificat on ferial days (see below). However, with the exception of Martín y Coll's

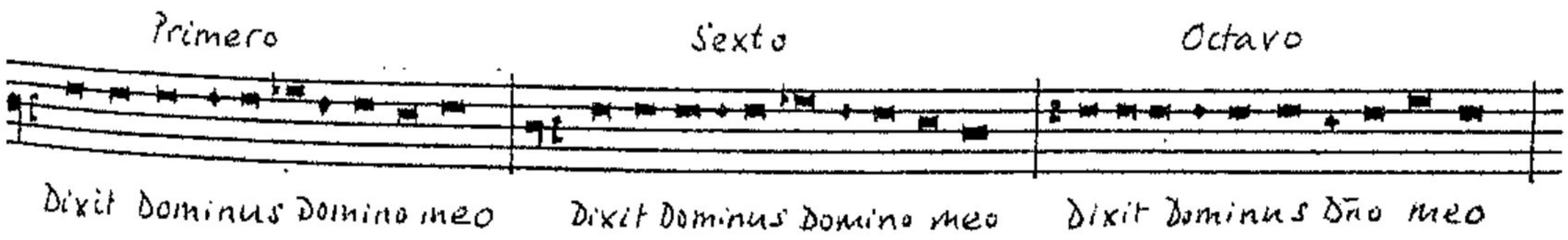
4th-tone intonation for the simple psalms (Arte de canto llano (1719), Lib.2°, Cap.8°, p.84) and indeed Fernandes's 4th-tone Magnificat for ferial days, these simple tones for the psalms are generally free of such accidentals. These would in any case only occur with the tones which lowered one note at the flex of the mediation. According to Thalesio this practice was derived from polyphonic music ('como clausula de Canto d'orgão'). (See Thalesio (1628), Cap.33, pp.65 & 66.) (These accidentals also crept into the lines of organ versets, where these alluded to the psalm-tones, usually for the establishment of 'perfect' cadences.)

It is interesting that in the succeeding chapter of El Melopeo Cerone draws our attention to the fact that the versions of the 1st, 6th and 8th tones which he includes on his table (see above) are incorrect ('no son verdaderas') as they differ from those used in the Roman church (in Italy):

> Las sobredichas entonaciones, son puntualmente las que se usan en estos Reynos; pero adviertan, que no son todas verdaderas, digo las que compusò el bienaventurado S. Gregorio, y las que después reformó el Santo Papa, León Segundo, para uso de la Yglesia Romana; que particularmente el Primero, Sexto y el Octavo Tono son differentes en un punto.
>
> (P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap. 42, p.354.)

(He also mentions that a 'corrupt' version of the 8th tone prevails in many parts of Italy: 'También en muchos lugares de Italia de la misma manera está corrompido el Octavo', ibid.) Cerone illustrates the three tones which differ from those practised 'en estos Reynos' as follows:

(Ex.2) P. Cerone: El Melopeo (1613), ibid.,



As a general observation, Cerone's simple tones for the psalms, albeit in versions which do not include a special intonation formula, are with only a few exceptions similar to those in the Liber Usualis. The most striking observation to be made is that the 1st and 6th tones in El Melopeo (and indeed other comparable sources such as Bermudo's Declaración) are much simpler than their renderings in the Liber. The same applies to the 8th tone. With regard to the 'Gregorian' psalmodic formulae which Cerone produces for these three tones, the 1st tone, with a rise to, and fall from, a b♭ at the mediation, is now similar to that in the Liber; the 6th and 8th tones, however differ considerably. Nevertheless, it transpires that the more elaborate version of the 8th tone which Cerone cites in this context resembles that given by both Cerone and the Liber for the solemn canticles (see below).

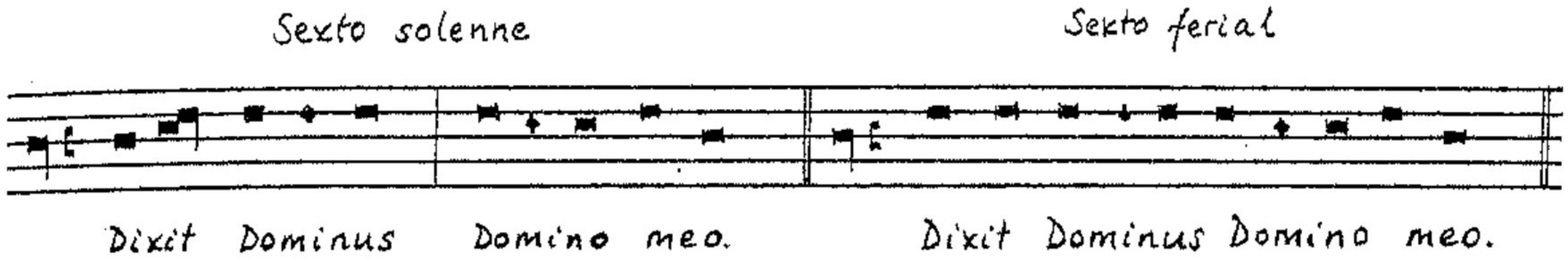
Whilst neither of these two versions of the 6th tone are comparable with the psalm-tones in the Liber, it is of some interest that when at a later stage Cerone cites yet another version of the 6th psalm-tone, not only does it concord with the Liber version of the 6th psalm-tone (the distribution of the syllables of the text, however, differ) but that it is also one which he claims to be derived from 'monastic' practices also current in Rome.

> Adviertan que oydia en Roma se canta otró Sexto Tono assí solenne como ferial, muy differente en la mediación: y tiene del monástico [...] (*Sic.*)
>
> (P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap. 44, p.356.)

He then exemplifies this psalm-tone in formats appropriate to its use both on ferial and solemn days; it will be noticed that the solemn version is inclusive of a special intonation formula - the distinctions

which were made between psalm-tones as sung on ferial and solemn days will be explained in the following section.

(Ex.3) P. Cerone: El Melopeo (1613), ibid.

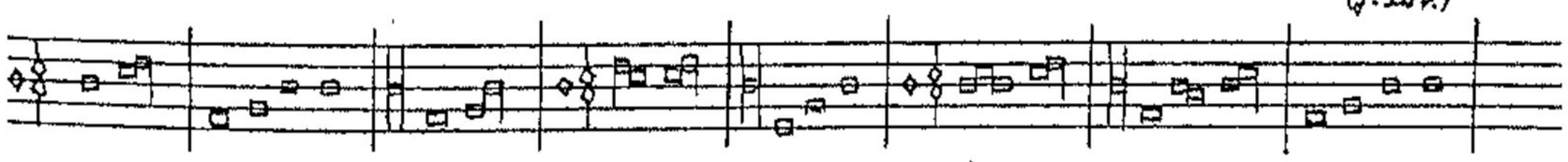


'De la entonación de los Psalmos solennes y festivos, que es para los días dobles y semidobles':[1] the solemn tones for the psalms

Bermudo (1555) and Cerone (1613) are the only theorists to describe and, indeed, exemplify the melodic distinctions which should be made between a performance of the psalms on ferial days and that on more solemn occasions such as double and semidouble feasts ('días dobles y semidobles'). Each author, however, gives a very slightly different interpretation of this distinction.

Bermudo, for instance, writes that it is only at the beginning that the solemn and simple psalm-tones differ: 'Las entonaciones de los psalmos solennes no diffieren de los simples, sino es en el princípio [...]'. (Declaración, Lib.2°, Cap.15, f.24.) On solemn occasions the psalm-tone incorporates a special intoning formula which precedes the reciting note. Bermudo cites each of these formulae alone, divorced from the psalm-tones themselves.

(Ex.4) Solemn tones for the psalms. J. Bermudo: Declaración (1555). (f.24v.)



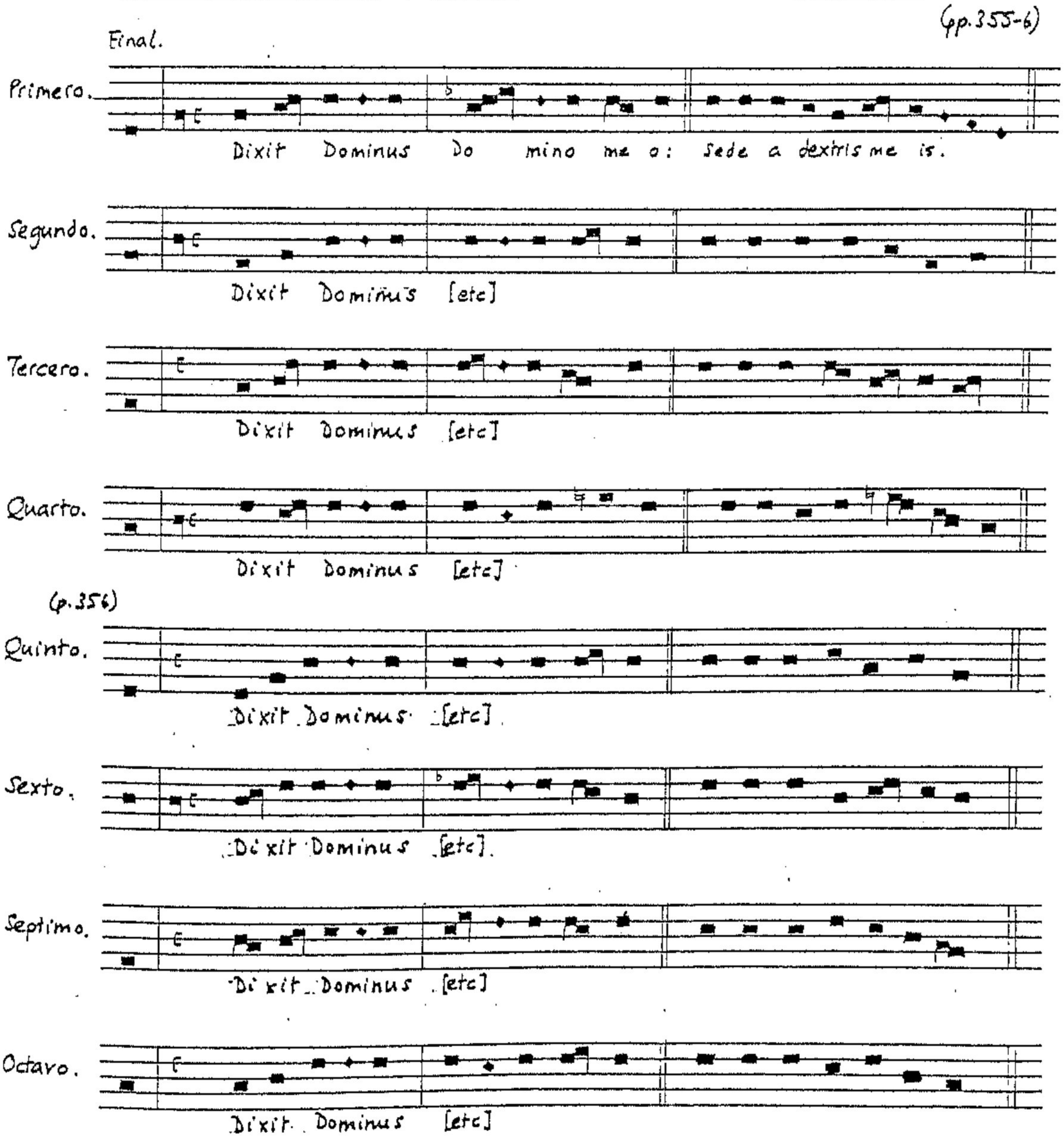
1. P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.44, p.355. This is the heading of Cerone's chapter.

Cerone, however, holds that the solemn psalm-tones differ in the mediation as well as in the opening formula, the latter in his view being of particular importance:

> La entonación de los Psalmos festivos es muy differente de la passada de los feriales; porque (demás de la mediación) comiençan con un princípio más solenne y de mayor gravedad [...]
>
> (P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.44, p.355.)

He exemplifies each of the solemn forms inclusive of this intonation and the saeculorum.

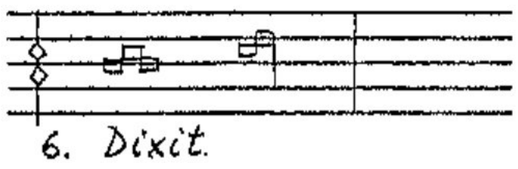
II Solemn tones for the psalms. P. Cerone: El Melopeo (1613). (pp.355-6)

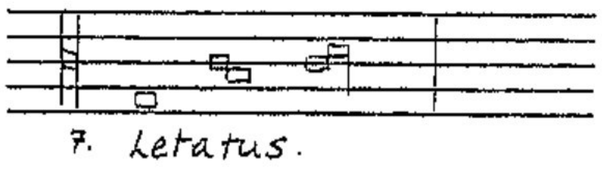


(It is at this juncture, incidentally, that Cerone illustrates the 'monastic' version of the 6th psalm-tone.)

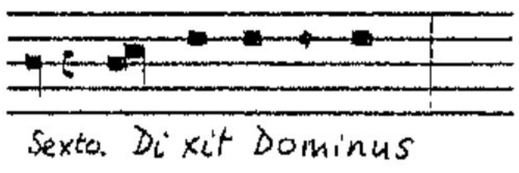
With the exception of those for the 6th and 7th psalm-tones, the intonation formulae cited by Bermudo and Cerone are similar. In both instances, Bermudo's are slightly more elaborate. (Ex. 5)

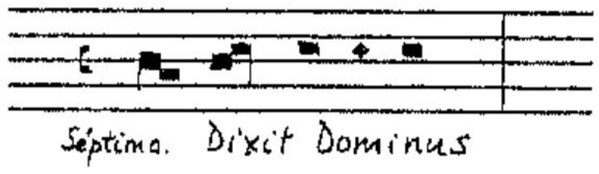
Declaración (1555), f. 24v.





El Melopeo (1613), p. 356.





With regard to the mediations which, Cerone implies, are different from those of the simple psalms, only three of these - the 1st, 6th and 8th tones - show a greater degree of elaboration. In fact, with the exception of that for the 1st tone, which contains an extra note, these particular formulae strongly resemble those which Cerone had previously cited in order to exemplify the 'correct' Gregorian intonations for the simple psalm-tones.

It is curious that none of the other treatises, even that by Villa-Lobos (1688) which clearly borrows from El Melopeo, draw attention to the melodic distinction which was evidently made between a performance of the psalms on ferial and solemn days. The only illustrations of psalm-tone formulae to be used on solemn days in such treatises are made in connexion with the (solemn) canticles.

'De la entonación de los tres Cánticos principales':[1] the tones for the three major canticles

A number of interesting factors emerge when a comparison and consideration is made of the references to, and descriptions of, the psalm-tones pertaining to the canticles on ferial and solemn days. Not least of these is the contention that the practice of providing particularly elaborate 'entonaciones' in imitation of the Introit verses of the Mass is a peculiarly 'Spanish' trait.

However, it is made quite clear that the canticles on ferial days were to be intoned in exactly the same way as the 'simple' psalms. Cerone, for instance, states this fact on two separate occasions:

> Los Cánticos se entonan de la mesma manera que los Psalmos en los días simples, que no son solennes [...]
>
> (El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.41, p.354.)

and

> Estos tres Cánticos en los días feriales, se entonan como los Salmos [sic] feriales [...]
>
> (Ibid., Cap.45, p.356.)

Although Cerone himself does not choose to exemplify these tones in connexion with the canticle texts, they are included in Fernandes's (1626) and Villa-Lobos's (1688) treatises. (Villa-Lobos reiterates Cerone's dictum: 'A entoaçam da Magnificat sendo a festa simples, ou semiduples, sempre vai pella mediaçam do psalmo.' (Arte, Coimbra, 1688; Cap.48, p.128.))

---

1. P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.45, p.356. This is the heading of Cerone's chapter.

III

The simple tones for the canticles: intonation.

1. A. Fernandes: Arte de Música (1626).

(tom) (simplex) (f.66v)

1°

Magni fi cat

(f.67)

2°

Magni fi cat

(f.67v)

3°

Mag ni fi cat

(f.68)

4°

Mag ni fi cat

(f.68v)

5°

Mag ni fi cat

(f.69)

6°

Mag ni fi cat

(f.69v)

7°

Mag ni fi cat

(f.70)

8°

Mag ni fi cat

2. M. de Sousa Villa-Lobos: Arte de canto chão (1688).

(tom) (simples x semiduples)

(p.128)

1°

Magni ficat; Anima mea Do minum.

(p.129)

2°

Ma gnifi cat

(p.131)

3°

Mag nifi cat

(p.132)

4°

Mag nifi cat

(p.135)

5°

Magnifi cat

(p.135)

6°

Magnifi cat

(p.136)

7°

Magnifi cat

(p.138)

8°

Mag ni fi cat

Bermudo, in describing the formulae to be used for solemn canticles, states that these differ from the simple psalms not only at the intonation (as with the solemn psalms) but also at the mediation.

> Quando la magnificat y el benedictus quieren algunos cantar solennes, no tan solamente los dize(n) differentes a los psalmos simples en los principios: pero también en las mediaciones.
>
> (J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.2°, Cap.15, f.24v.)

Interestingly enough, he then states that these differences were 'Spanish' and not customary in Roman practices: 'Au(n)que esta[s] differe(n)-cias no es de ordinario romano: sino de uso de España' (ibid.). From Bermudo we also learn that some are seeking with dubious authority to imitate the tones used for the psalm-verse at the Introit of the Mass.

> Algunos curiosos quisieron en esto imitar, o contrahazer a los versos de los yntroytos: aunque no sé si para ello tuvieron sufficiente authoridad. (ibid.)

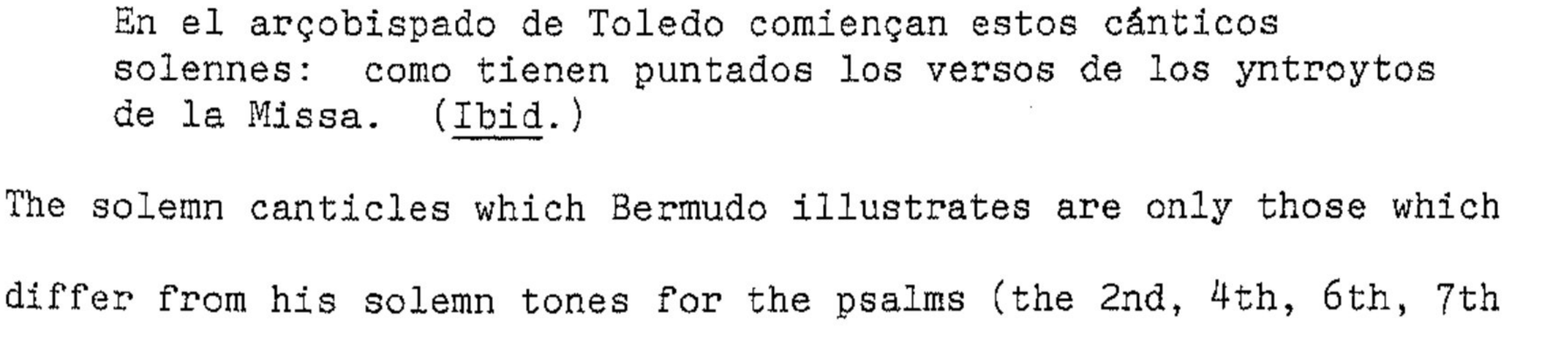
He then draws attention to the practices in the Archbishopric of Toledo:

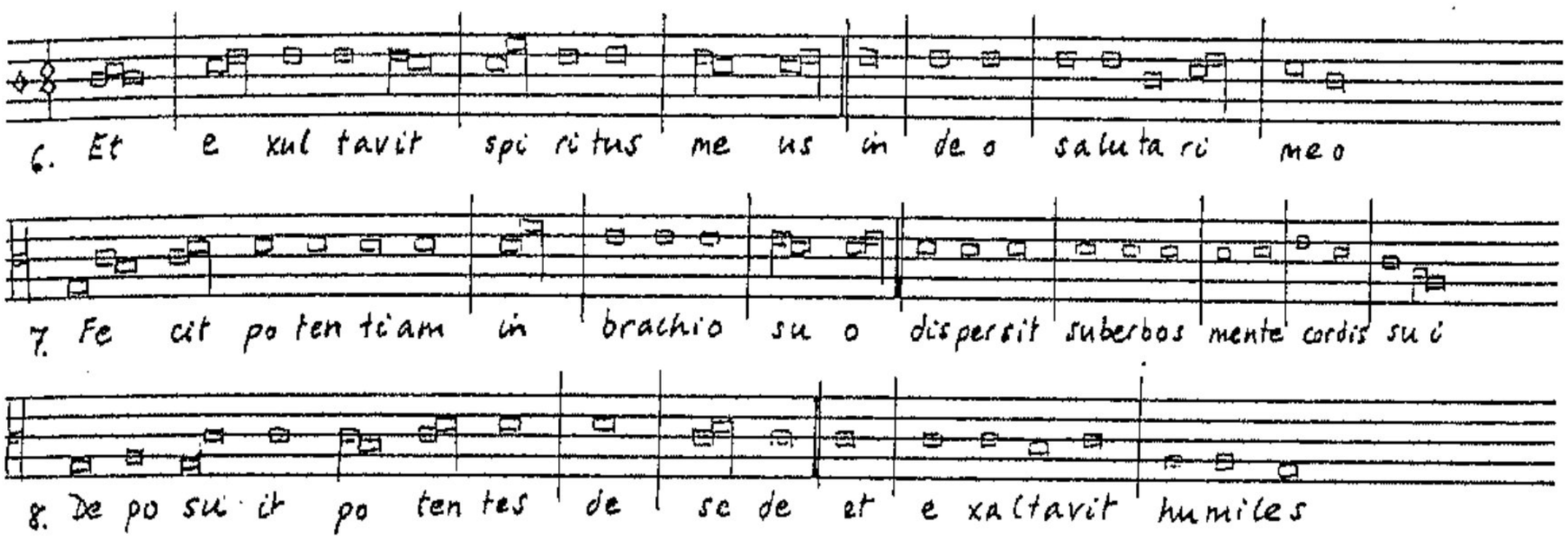
> En el arçobispado de Toledo comiençan estos cánticos solennes: como tienen puntados los versos de los yntroytos de la Missa. (Ibid.)

The solemn canticles which Bermudo illustrates are only those which differ from his solemn tones for the psalms (the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th tones). (It will be recalled that Bermudo's versions of the solemn psalms differ from his simple ones at the intonation only.)

IV

Solemn tones for the canticles. J. Bermudo: Declaración (1555), (f.24v.)





In El Melopeo (1613), Cerone likewise states that the solemn canticles are characterized by a (special) intonation and a particular mediation:

> '[...] en los festivos y solennes, [los tres Cánticos] tienen su entonación y particular mediación: la qual camina con mayor magestad y más gravedad, que la de los Salmos festivos'
>
> (P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.45, p.356.)

Similarly, he advocates that the verses of the solemn canticles must be intoned in the same way as those for the Introit and not like those of the solemn psalms. He deplored the latter practice which was apparently exercised in some regions of Italy.

> [...] los Cánticos en los días / (p.357) solemnes, se entonan en los principios de todos los versos, de la mesma manera que los versos de los Introytos de la Missa: y no como la entonación de los Salmos solennes (sic), como acostumbran en Italia los Cantollanistas mal práticos
>
> (Ibid., pp.356-7.)

Cerone exemplifies the intonation and mediation formulae of the eight tones; 'todo lo demás' (the saeculorum formulae), he says, conform with those of the psalms (ibid., p.357).

V

Solemn tones for the canticles.

P. Cerone: El Melopeo (1613).
(p. 357)

[final]

Primero. Ma gni fi cat. Et e xul ta vit spi ri tus me us.

Segundo. Ma gni fi cat. [etc]

Tercero. Ma gni fi cat. [etc]

Quarto. Ma gni fi cat. [etc]

Quinto. Ma gni fi cat. [etc]

Sexto. Ma gni fi cat. [etc]

Septimo. Ma gni fi cat. [etc.]

Octavo. Ma gni fi cat. [etc.]

(A comparison between these and the ones included in the Declaración reveals that there are a few minor discrepancies in the 6th and 7th tones.)

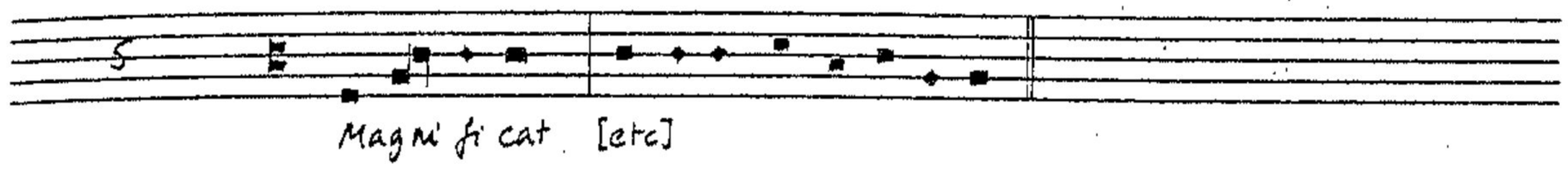
Although Cerone clearly said that the solemn tones for the psalms and those for the canticles differ, it transpires that only half of the eight tones (the 2nd, 6th, 7th and 8th) display any melodic variation. Cerone's statement that these psalm-tones should be substantially different in performance, therefore, probably also refers to the manner in which they should be sung. (See above, p. 226.)

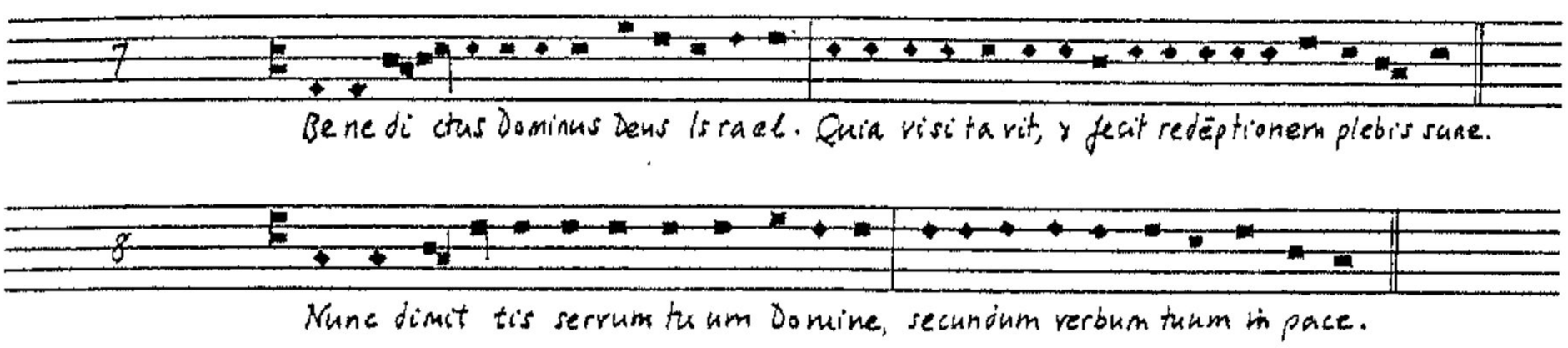
Comparing these formulae with those cited by the Portuguese theorist Thalesio, for instance, whose treatise (Arte de canto chão, 1628) is ostensibly based on the Declaración, once more reveals a few divergencies. Thalesio's intonation for the solemn canticles in the 3rd tone is unique and his intonation for the solemn canticles in the 6th tone merely resembles that for Cerone's solemn psalms in the same tone.

VI

P. Thalesio: Arte de Canto chão (1628). (pp. 57-58)

Intonaciones Canticorum Solemnium.



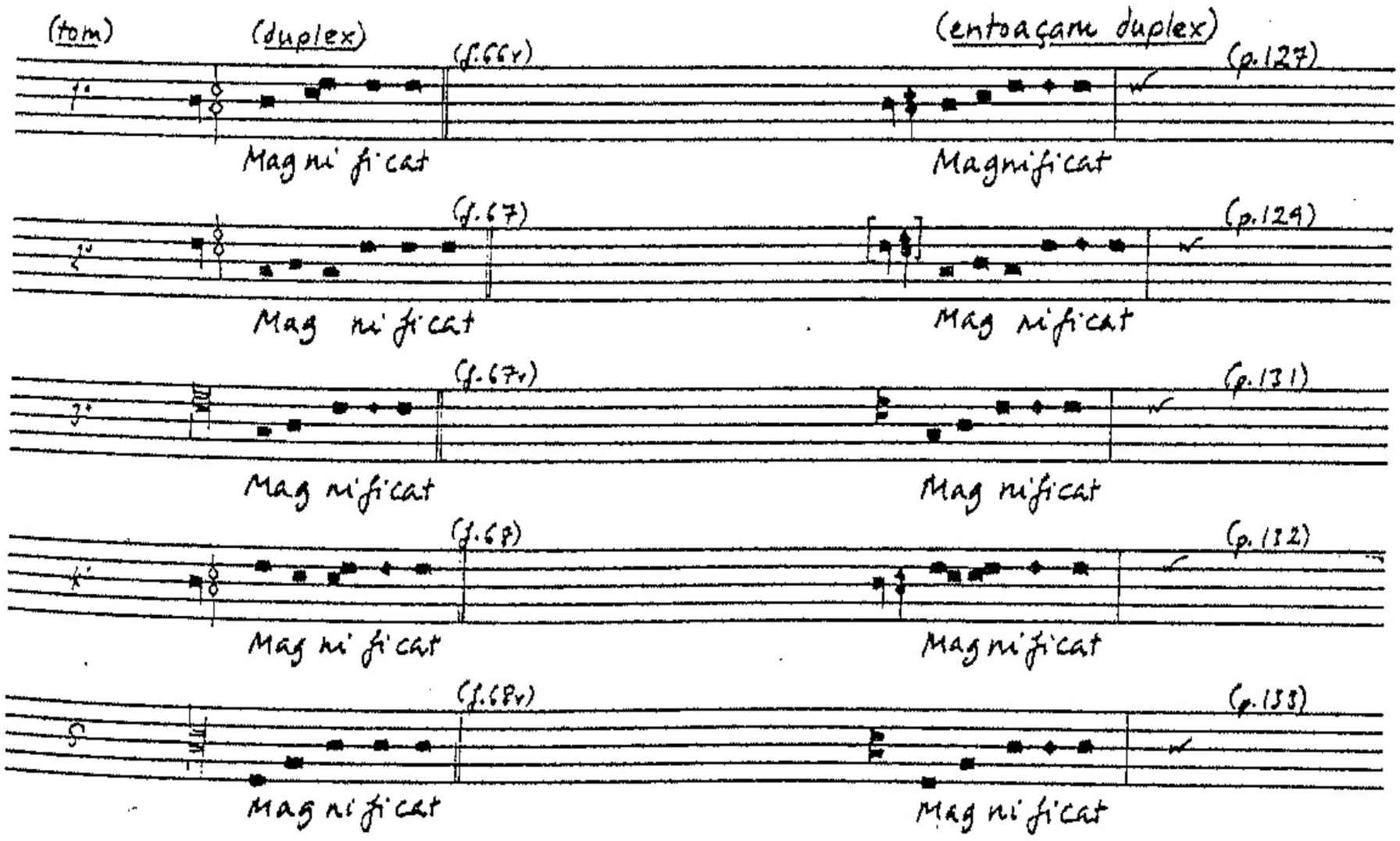


Similarly, in the following examples which reproduce the solemn intonation formulae for the canticles given by Fernandes (1626) and Villa-Lobos (1688), it will be seen that the intonation for the 6th tone does not differ from Cerone's intonation for the solemn psalms either.

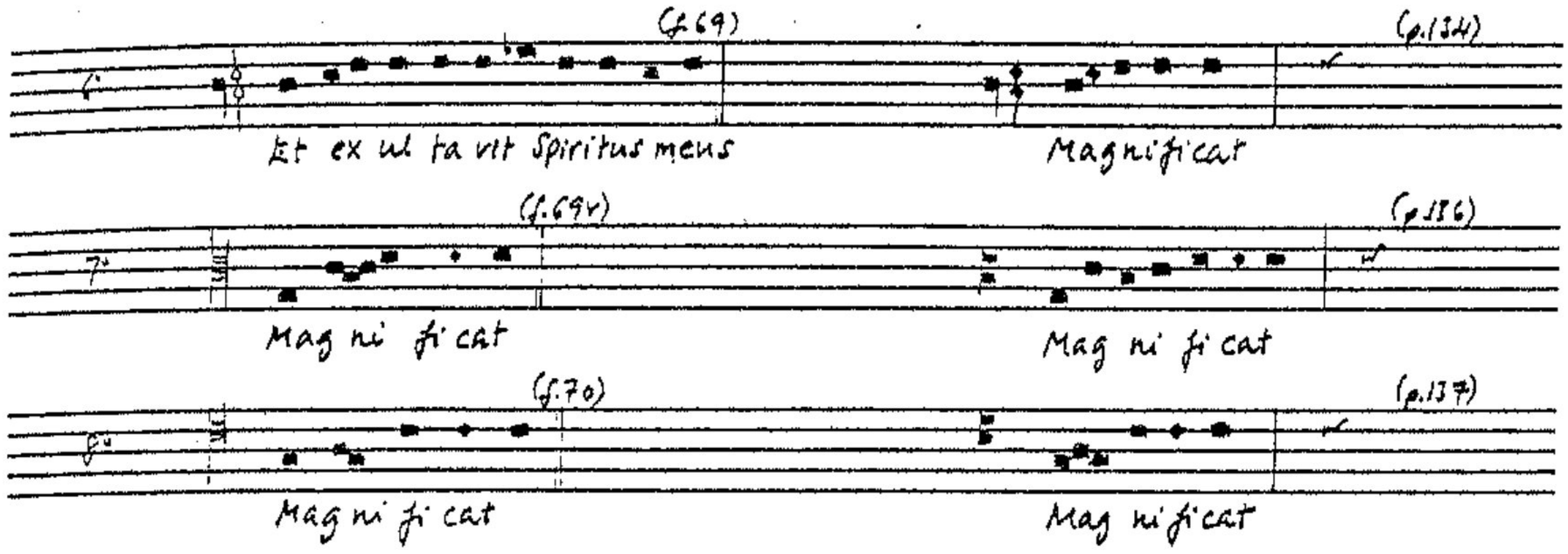
VII

The solemn tones for the canticles: intonation

1. A Fernandes: Arte de Música (1626).



2. M. de Sousa Villa-Lobos: Arte de Cantochão (1688)



However, despite these various claims that the practice of providing more elaborate tones for the solemn canticles (which resembled the Introit verses) was 'Spanish', the versions of these as exemplified by Cerone in particular barely differ from those included in the Liber Usualis.

From the treatises taken as a whole, therefore, it is evident that the psalm-tones for the canticles were subject to at least two performing patterns: one for simple feasts and one for solemn. The latter was characterized by a greater degree of elaboration and included a special intonation formula not present in the former variety. Whether or not this elaboration was a particularly 'Spanish' trait is a matter of conjecture. Yet, as may be gleaned from the following extract from Nassarre's Escuela Música, no absolute rule could be enforced regarding the performance of the canticles, and differing practices evidently persisted - Nassarre describes three of these. Firstly, the practice of providing the first verse only with the intonation formula; secondly, on more important feasts, that of providing all verses with the intonation;

and thirdly, on especially important feasts, the inclusion not only of the intonation for each verse but also of a more elaborate mediation. He makes no reference apparently to the simple tones for the canticles which according to Cerone (as already cited) 'en los días feriales, se entonan como los Salmos feriales [...]'.(Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.I, Lib.III, Cap.45, p.356.)

> Cantanse con más, y menos solemnidad estos tres Cánticos, según el estilo de las / (p.187) Iglesias, y según la solemnidad de las Fiestas. Ay muchas que tienen el estilo de cantar el primer verso del Cántico con la entrada, y los demás los prosiguen sólo con el saeculorum. En otras partes usan el cantar todos los versos con la entrada, quando son las Fiestas de primera, ó segunda classe, y dobles; y aun por mayor solemnidad en algunas Religiones especialmente, no sólo entonan todos los versos con la entrada, sino es aun añaden canto hasta la mediación, aunque de la mediación adelante prosiguen solo con él del saeculorum. (Sic.)
>
> (Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.II, Cap.17, pp.186-7.)

(c)

The psalm tones in alternatim practice:

mode and transposition

Having established that the psalm-tones, both in connexion with the psalms themselves and in particular with the three main canticles were frequently performed in alternation with the organ, one should consider how indeed it was that the contrasting forces of voices and organ could be successfully integrated in practice. Although at this point some of the more technical considerations involved in the composition of the psalm-tone versets themselves may be outlined, there are a number of somewhat more complex issues to be taken into account.

The majority of versets designed for alternation with the psalm-tones were normally transposed from the 'natural' written pitches associated with each psalm-tone. A number of conclusions regarding the purpose of this practice may be gleaned by observation; an attempt has been made in this section to equate these with the information and indeed recommendations provided in a few key treatises. These have included Bermudo's Declaración (1555), Martín y Coll's Arte de canto llano (1719), Nassarre's Escuela Música (1723-4) and Valls's Mapa Armónico (1742).[1] Generally speaking, owing to an overall consistency in both musical and theoretical sources regarding the interval of transposition to be exercised in each tone, a definite pattern may be traced. This is particularly evident in the versets dating from the seventeenth century onwards. The prime consideration underlying any principle of transposition was necessarily practical.

---

1. Two manuscript copies of Vall's Mapa Armónico have been consulted for this thesis: one at Madrid (MBN M.1071) and one at Barcelona (BBC M.680). The passages cited in this section are extracted from the copy in Madrid.

A description of the various types of verset structures, with particular reference to those compositions which may be related thematically to their plainchant counterparts, will form the content of the next section (iii). At this point therefore, the requirements of an organ verset, primarily from a musico-liturgical point of view, may be considered.

In an alternatim arrangement of the psalms and canticles, organ versets, in effect, replaced the normal singing of a pre-arranged quota of verses. In this capacity, therefore, it was evidently vital that these pieces of organ music should adhere, if not thematically, at least to the inherent 'modal' characteristics of the particular psalm-tone. Moreover, the organ verset was supposed to provide the singers with a 'punto fixo' from which could be gauged the appropriate reciting note. With regard to the latter requisite Coll recommends that the organ itself should begin an alternatim sequence of the psalms (and hymns) as it is likely to give this pitch more securely than would the cantor:

> [...] en los Psalmos, y Hymnos, de las horas, quando se canta con el Organo: Este ha de començar antes que el Cantor, para dar el punto fixo; que puede darle con más propiedad, que dicho Cantor.
>
> (A. Martín y Coll: Arte de canto llano, Madrid, 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.16°, p.58.)

Apart from the question of overall modality, the determining 'punto fixo' was the last chord of the verset. The root of this chord was usually taken from the last note of the most standard saeculorum formula associated with the particular psalm-tone; this note was then the final for the psalm-tone formula.

Before proceeding any further, two related issues should be clarified at this point. First of all, although the treatises exemplify the various differentiae (the saeculorums) pertaining to each psalm-tone (usually in connexion with an explanation of how these are used to match a Proper

antiphon), illustrations of the psalm-tones per se almost invariably comprise just one saeculorum formula for each tone - hence, in this context, 'standard saeculorum'. Although Cerone's version of the 3rd psalm-tone formula is somewhat more elaborate than is usually the case in Iberian sources (see above), his illustrations of the eight psalm-tone formulae, inclusive of the appropriate 'standard' saeculorums, are an indication of this practice. In his chapter concerning the transposition of the psalm-tones on the organ, Coll (Arte de canto llano) likewise only reproduces the 'standard' formulae of the psalm-tones (see below, p.259 seq.). This leads to the second issue: the final of the psalm-tone - strictly in connexion with playing the psalm-tones on the organ - is formed precisely from the last note of the standard saeculorum formula. At the start of each transposed example of the psalm-tone in question in Coll's Arte, the (new) final of the psalm-tone is notated and indicated 'órgano'; this note clearly corresponds with the last one of the saeculorum.[1]

Thus the application of the (Spanish) term final in this particular context is not to be confused with the traditional use of the term (as in finalis) in modal theory, for it was this final which provided the appropriate hexachordal name (signo) to which the music as a whole could be assigned; it also reflected any transpositions. (Indeed the 'modes' of the psalm-tone versets were frequently substantiated by the name (signo) given to the position of the final. These finals, however, were not necessarily compatible with the final of a mode per se.[2])

Thus it was from this chord (of which the final formed the root)

---

1. An exception is the interpretation of the 5th tone 'por bemol' and its transposition to the signo of C sol fa ut. See below, pp.265-71.

2. It may however be borne in mind that this term final (also finis) in Spanish plainchant theory alone (outside the context of performance with the organ) was also used as an equivalent to the use of the term finalis.

that the pitch of the reciting note was to be gauged, and it was the duty of the cantor (or precentor) to ensure that this was done correctly.

> Los que rigen los cantos en los choros: estén avisados, que en la psalmodia, o cánticos simples tomen donde el órgano dexa [....] tengan consyderación quantos puntos está más baxo, o más alto el punto primero de lo que cantan: que el final del dicho canto. Pues tantos puntos abaxarán, o subirán de adonde el órgano dexó (sic.)
>
> (J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.4°, Cap.46, f.86.)

With regard to this final chord in particular we also have vital evidence for the importance of ending each verset with one which was compatible with the intonation of the succeeding verse of the psalm or canticle. Bermudo, in connexion with the 1st solemn tone for the Magnificat, describes quite clearly the confusion which arises when the organist ends his verset on a chord, final on D sol re, which includes the major third. (In this context he in fact refers to the 'major tenth' ('dezena mayor').) He says that the intonation of this solemn tone ('fa sol la') begins a minor third ('ffaut') above the final. Thus, when the final chord includes an f♯ ('mi') the choir will not intone correctly; instead, beginning on the third of this chord, they will sing either 'mi-fa-sol' (f♯-g-a) or 're-mi-fa' (f♯-g♯-a).

> El modo primero solenne de magnificat dize el principio fa sol la, que ꝯ(m)miença en ffaut. Si el órgano el modo primero dexa en Dsolre: no do(n)de el organo dexa: sino tercera menor arriba tomaran. En este caso se haze un yerro, y no pequeño: y es causado de los tañedores. Quando tañen este modo, tienen por uno de los finales la tecla negra que está entre Ffaut y Gsolreut: con la qual hazen dezena mayor. Pues como el choro ha de tomar tercera menor, para dezir fa sol la, y halla el órgano en el mi, en la tecla negra: toma(n)do en ella dize mi fa sol, o re mi fa. (Ibid., f.86v.)

He then suggests that this problem could be alleviated by organists omitting the third ('tenth') of this chord:

> Puede se esto remediar: con quitar los tañedores en este caso aquella dezena [...] (Ibid.).

(In a performance of the 'simple' psalm-tone, which began on the reciting

note ('la'), this juxtaposition of 'major' and 'minor' third would not be an issue.)

Whether or not this information may be regarded as valuable criteria for transcribing the organ versets is a matter of conjecture: in the majority of the practical sources the final chords of these versets are invariably 'major', regardless of their strict compatibility with the solemn intonation, indeed scale formation of the particular psalm-tone. G. Reese (1960) has examined this 'problem' in connexion with the polyphonic Magnificat. His argument in favour of raising the third (in spite of the 'sharp contrast of tonalities' which arises (loc. cit., p.73, n.5)) may therefore only possibly be justified in connexion with his thesis of regarding the Magnificat as a genre in its own right, characterized by definite tonal schemes. This, of necessity, conflicts with its more functional capacity.

However, in addition to providing a 'punto fixo' (defined by the last chord) for the succeeding plainchant verses, an organ verset might also include a medial cadence representing the end of the mediation. Although one or two exceptions may be encountered, the root of the resolved chord at this medial cadence would generally be that of the reciting note (tenor). The virtually 'water tight' tonal structure which arose from a strict adherence to these two focal points of the psalm-tone, as well as a 'tonal' realization of the opening of the 'simple' psalm-tone, will be considered in connexion with the fabordón (see below, in this chapter, section (iii),(a)).

Thus, regardless of whether or not the psalm-tone itself receives its 'simple' or solemn (melodic) interpretaion and under the premise that a verset will normally reflect the most characteristic, or standard, differentia of each tone, one may reduce the essential chordal behaviour

of versets in their 'natural' diapasons to the following schematic pattern.

Chordal schemes of psalm-tone versets VIII

Tone	Final & Signo	Reciting note	Mediation chord	Final chord	Interval between final and reciting note
1	d D la sol re	a	a	d	5th
2	d D la sol re	f	F	d	3rd
3	a A la mi re	c'	C	a	3rd
4	e E la mi	a	a	e	4th
5	a A la mi re[1]	c'	C	a	3rd
6	f F fa ut	a	a/F[2]	F	3rd
7	a A la mi re	d'	e[3]	a	4th
8	g G sol re ut	c'	C	G	4th
T.P.[4]	d D la sol re	a & g	F	d	5th

(Note: the small and capital letters used for the chords of the mediation and at the end of the psalm-tone (final chord) indicate whether these are formed with either a minor or major third respectively. In theory, accidentals are not included in untransposed psalm-tones.)

---

1. For a discussion of the scale-formation of the 5th tone see below, pp.265-71.

2. Although plainchant sources vary as to whether the last note of the mediation in the 6th tone remains on the tenor (a) or falls to f (the first note of the solemn intonation formula), the organ versets almost invariably incorporate a medial cadence on a (even A).

3. Normally, the last note of the mediation in the 7th tone is e', one above the tenor (d'). In the first verse of the Magnificat, however, owing to the brevity of the text the mediation ends on the tenor note itself (d'). It is therefore theoretically possible to encounter versets with either chord (d or e) at the mediation.

4. T.P. = Tonus peregrinus. The two reciting notes denoted on this chart (a & g) correspond to the first and second halves of the psalm-tone respectively.

The following charts represent an aggregate of chordal schemes forming the majority of fabordones (see below, p.274 seq.) and versets in sources dating from the sixteenth century onwards. Comparing this with the scheme above it transpires that in the sixteenth century, and with the fabordones by Lorente from his El Porqué, very few fabordones and versets are transposed from the 'natural' positions at all. With those from the seventeenth century, however, as represented chiefly by the Barcelona and Madrid manuscripts, there is a remarkable consistency both in the choice of tones transposed and the signo with which they became identified. With regard to the seventeenth century in particular it is clear that the 1st, 4th and 6th tones remained untransposed whilst each of the remaining ones (2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th) were almost invariably transposed to at least one if not two signos. Furthermore, it is of considerable significance that whilst the untransposed tones retained their 'natural' (written) pitch for the reciting note on a, at least one of the alternative signos in the transposed tones provided for a reciting note on g. Thus, even without seeking a rationale for this state of affairs amongst the writings of the theorists, it is evident that the sine qua non of transposition in this context was to ensure that a more or less uniform pitch for the reciting notes could be retained.

In fact we learn from Martín y Coll that even without the presence of the organ, whose 'fixed' tuning ensured a consistency of pitch, the condition of maintaining a comfortable one for the recitation of the psalm-tones was ideally to be upheld. In assigning the task of regulating the pitch ('cuerda fixa') to the cantor,[1] Coll states that the tenor note (represented in his terminology in this context by 'saeculorum') of each tone must be the same, neither lowered nor raised:

---

1. The context of Coll's information is a chapter entitled 'De algunas advertencias que el Cantor debe observar' (Arte, Madrid, 1719; Cap. 16°, pp.56-60).

IX An outline of chordal schemes in versets for the psalm-tones

SOURCES	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8	
	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r
CBGU MM.242																
[Fabordãos] (ff.118v-19v)	D	a	D	♯	D	♯	E	a								
L. Venegas: Libro (1557)																
i) Fab. llanos. (ff. 13-13v)	D	a	A	c'	A	c'	E	a	A	c'	F	a	A	d	G	c'
ii) Fab. glosados (ff. 14v-15v)	D	a	D	♯	A	c'	E	a	A	c'	F	a	D	g	C	♯ c'
															G	
Cabezon: Obras (1578)																
i) Fab. llanos/glos.s (ff. 13-20v)	D	a	D	♯	D	♯	E	a	D	♯	F	a	A	d	G	c'
ii) Versos (ff. 9-12v)	D	a	G	b♭	A	c'	E	a	A	c'	F	a	D	g	G	c'
iii) Magnificat Vs. (ff. 29-40v)	D	a	D	♯	D	♯	E	a	A	c'	F	a	D	g	G	c'
Santa María: Libro (1565)																
Fabordones (ff. 43-8)	D	a	D	♯			E	a			F	a	D	g	C	♯
M.R. Coelho: Flores (1620)																
i) Magnificat Vs. (ff. 194v-216)	D	a	G	b♭	A	c'	E	a	A	c'	F	a	A	d	G	c'
ii) Canticle Vs. (ff. 184-94v) (voice + organ)	D	a	A	c'	A	c'	E	a	A	c'	F	a	A	d	G	c'
A. Lorente: El Porqué (1672)																
Fabordones (pp. 567-71)	D	a	G	b♭	A	c'	E	a	C	g	F	a	A	d	G	c'
(Incl. 7° [Difuntos]: D | d + Ton. Pereg.s : D | a/g)																

Key: S = Signo
r = reciting note
(For convenience, the hexachordal names for the Signos are abbreviated.)

IX (Cont.)

SOURCES			1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8	
			S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r
PBPM M.1577: Libro de cyfra					2 dillo		2 & 3											
i) B. de Olague: Ms. (ff. 1-21v; 23v-34; 39-45v)	D	a	G B♭	b♭	E	g	E	a	C	g	F	a	E D	a g	G	c' g
ii) M. Garcia de Olague: Fabordões & Ms. (ff. 73-88v)	D	a	G B♭	b♭	E	g	E	a	C	g	F	a	E	a	D	g
iii) A de Sola & Urros: Ms. (ff. 100-6v; 121-5v)	D	a			E	g	E	a	C	g	F	a	D	g	G	c'
MBN M.1357 (1706)					2		2, 3 & 5											
Juego de Ms. (pp. 24-44)	D	a	G	b♭	E	g	E	a	C	g	F	a	E	a	D	g
MBN M.1358 (1707)							3											
i) Fabordones (ff. 1-3) (Incl. Ton. Peregf: D | a/g)	D	a	G	b♭	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	E	a	D	g
ii) Ms. (ff. 3-9v; 40v-63)	D	a	G	b♭	E	g	E	a	E C	g g	F	a	A	d	G	c'
iii) Ms. (f. 80 seq.)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	A E	d a	D F	g b♭
MBN M.1359 (1708)																
i) Fabordones (pp. 1-13)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	E	a	D	g
ii) Ms. (p. 13 seq.)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E C	g g	F	a	D E	g a	D	g

IX (Cont.)

SOURCES	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8	
	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r	S	r
BBC M.387																
Ms. (ff.1 seq.)	D	a	E G	g b♭	E	g	E	a	E C	g g	F	a	D	g	D G	g c'
BBC M.729																
i) Cabanilles: Ms. (ff.109v-49)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	D	g	D	g
ii) Cabanilles: Magnificat Ms. (ff.148v-60)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	D	g	D	g
BBC M.751.21																
i) Espelt: Psalmodia (1687) (pp. 23-79)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	E	a	D	g
ii) Espelt: Psalmodia (1685) (pp. 80-114 v 115-40)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	D	g	D	g
iii) Menalt: Ms. (pp. 204-71)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	E	a	D	g
iv) Cabanilles: Psalmodia (pp. 355-413)	D	a	E	g	E	g	E	a	E	g	F	a	D	g	D	g
BBC M.1011																
Misc. Ms. (f.1 seq.)	D	a	G E	b♭ g	E G	g b♭	E	a	C	g	F	a	D	g	D	g
			2 diito		2 x 3											
			G	b♭	G	b♭										

> En las entonaciones de los Psalmos, ya sean de Vísperas, Laudes, o Maytines, se ha de llevar la cuerda fixa, para todos los tonos, tengan el saeculorum, en un mismo punto, y entonación, sin baxarse, ni subirse [...]
>
> (A. Martín y Coll: Arte, Madrid, 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.16°, p.56.)

Then, taking 'la' (A la mi re) as the pitch for the reciting note of the 1st tone, he describes how this note must serve as the reciting pitch for, and be appropiated into the scale-formations of, the remaining tones, reiterating his dictum 'que jamás baxe, ni suba el cantor el saeculorum' (ibid.). Apropos this recommendation, he suggests that when 'la Comunidad es numerosa' (ibid., p.57) the cantor should lower the (reciting) note accordingly. (He also states that in 'Ofícios de los Difuntos' everything should be sung at a lower pitch, anyway (ibid.).)

By extension, therefore, the same principle would apply when singing these chants in conjunction or in alternation with the organ. The impracticability (for the voices) of performing the psalm-tones at the written pitch associated with each one is self evident; owing to their diversity of pitch it was necessary to 'transpose' them. Valls, inferring that the main object was not to strain or tire the voices in any way, provides the following brief summary of arguments in favour of transposition:

> Haviendo introducido en la Iglesia el Organo, fue necessaria la transportación de los tonos, para que el Coro, sin fatigarse pudiesse cantar el Canto llano; pues sin ella algunos tonos por baxos, y los más por muy altos, no eran practicables, y assí se dispuso que los Organistas acomodandose à la conveniencia de las vozes, que componen el Coro, transportassen los Diapasones de los más de ellos, assí en las Missas, como en la Psalmodia [...]
>
> (F. Valls: Mapa Armónico, 1742; Cap.V, § III, f.31.)

However, owing to a number of idiosyncracies pertaining to the organ , the choice of convenient pitch for the reciting note could be no haphazard affair. Two interrelating factors had to be taken into account: firstly, the size and (therefore) pitch of the organ itself;

and secondly its tuning - the majority of organs and keyboard instruments dating from this period were tuned according to the system commonly known as 'mean tone'.

Mendel has already pointed out that there is no absolutely reliable information available regarding the pitches of the organs of Spain (and in this we may also include Portugal) from this period. (See Mendel (1978), p.35.) We may surmise, however, that there were, indeed, enormous discrepancies between these instruments, even when they were placed within the same building. (The organs at El Escorial are a case in point; see above, p.48.) Bermudo, for instance, in response to a request for some positive rules regarding transposition on the organ in connexion with playing in conjunction with a choir, owned to the difficulty 'porque todos los órganos no son yguales, y e(n) todos los choros no cantan ygualmente'. (Declaración, 1555; Lib.4°, Cap.44, f.85.) Thus in his discussion about organs and transposition he refers to at least two or three different types of organ which are distinguished from each other by their measurement in palmos. (These palmos indicate the length of the longest pipe on the organs ("C" or "c"): see Mendel (1978), p.40.) In the first group he classes 'los órganos co(m)munes de choros donde no ay capilla de canto de órgano' (ibid.), which are instruments of 7/14 palmos and of 7/13½ palmos, and also those of 6½/13 which are pitched a little higher. The second group to which he refers are the organs of 9½ or 9 palmos (ibid., f.85v.).[1] (He also mentions in passing a third type which are 'de [..] mala entonación' (ibid.).) It is the organs in the first group to which he directs his recommendations for transposition - these will form the basis

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1. The calculation which Bermudo gives of the proportion between these and the organs of 13 and 14 palmos is curious. See Mendel (1978), p.40.

of the discussion below. To those in the second group, he suggests, should be applied the rules he outlines for the first but at the interval of a 4th below:

> En tales órganos, todo lo ya dicho dexaran un diatessarón abaxo, de lo que mandan las dos reglas superiores. (Ibid.)

Nevertheless, owing to an evident consistency in both theoretical and practical sources (as we shall see) regarding transposition, a hypothesis emerges that, by the seventeenth century, there may indeed have been a (certain) uniformity in the size and tuning of peninsular organs.

As it is well known, despite the very early experiments in equal temperament such as expounded (in theory) in B. Ramos de Pareja's Musica Practica (1482), keyboard instruments (notably the organ) continued to be tuned 'unequally' well into the eighteenth century. Descriptions and illustrations of these keyboards, their system of tuning, and the problems encountered in transposing the modes formed the basis of lengthy sections in several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treatises; these included, for instance, Cerone's El Melopeo (1613), Barradas's Flores Musicaes (1735) and Nassarre's Escuela Música (1723-4).

The limitations imposed by a keyboard whose black notes were so tuned that no 'enharmonic' option was available to any one of them (in a diatonic system) is clear. In the terminology employed in these treatises the 'flat' notes (e♭ and b♭) were referred to as 'fa' and the sharpened ones (c♯, f♯ and g♯) 'mi'; they could not be interchanged - 'Ninguna de las teclas negras que fuere fa, puede ser mi: y la que es mi, no puede ser fa'. (Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.4°, Cap.34, f.76v.) In transposing modes from their 'natural' to an 'accidental' position it was vital that their inherent 'diapasón' remained intact.

Todos los doze Tonos, se pueden componer accidentalmente por otras muchas partes, pero con tal condición, que los accidentales en todo y por todo, lleven y guarden todo aquello, que llevan y guardan los naturales: para lo qual, es necessario que cada Tono accidental, lleve la misma Especie de Diapasón, que llevare su Tono natural, al qual representa.

(P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.II, Lib.XVI, Cap.20, p.908.)

There were thus a limited number of signos to which a 'tono' could be referred. Nassarre, for instance, explains in some depth that there were about five transpositions which were theoretically possible in each of the modes.[1] However, the psalm-tones were subject to slightly different criteria: this will be discussed below in connexion with the transposing tones on the organ. One of the most important principles to be taken into account was that, in each mode, the transposition up of the interval of a third was forbidden:

> Ningún modo accide(n)tal se puede tañer tercera arriba de su final: ahora sea tercera mayor o menor [...]
>
> (Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.4°, Cap.33, f.76.)

This in itself posed many problems for it meant that the 1st mode, for instance, could never be played with a final on F fa ut. Referring in particular to polyphony ('canto de órgano'), Bermudo recognized that to be able to play 'el primero tono por Ffaut', which required an a♭ on the keyboard ('el fa entre Gsolreut, y alamire, y todas sus octavas'), would give greater comfort to the singers - most choirs were incapable of singing at the higher pitch of 'Gsolreut', and 'Dsolre' was practicably too low ('faltan los contras baxos').

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1. See Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.III, Cap.17 'De los términos, por donde se pueden transportar los ocho tonos accidentalmente en el Organo', pp.323-30, and Cap.15 'Del conocimiento de los ocho tonos naturales en Canto de Organo, assí para lo que se canta, como para el Organo', pp.307-15. Material from both these chapters is used in this discussion.

Una de las grandes necessidades que los tañedores de capillas de canto de órgano tienen: es tañer el modo primero por Ffaut. Por Gsolreut e(n) muchas capillas no tienen tiple para cantarlo: y si lo tañen por Dsolre: faltan los contras baxos. Piden los maestros que se tanga este modo por Ffaut. Por Gsolreut en muchas capillas no tienen tiple para cantarlo: y si lo tañen por Dsolre: faltan los contras baxos. Piden los maestros que se tanga este modo por Ffaut. En los órganos como están no se puede tañer: porque le falta el fa entre Gsolreut, y alamire, y todas sus octavas.

(J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.4°, Cap.52, f.89v.)

Bermudo then mentions that during the time of a certain musician called Velanuñez, the organs in the royal chapel at Granada incorporated this 'fa' (a♭) (ibid.). (This particular chapter in the Declaración also suggests a way of accommodating for both 'mi' and 'fa' by having two organ pipes for this black note (ibid). See also Hoag (1980), p.202.)

However, it is probable that by the mid- to late seventeenth century there would have been a number of instruments with equally tuned semitones. In his El Porqué (1672), for instance, Lorente praises the organ ('el Fénix de los Organos') which had been built in 1670 by Juan de Andueza in the 'Iglesia Magistral de San Iusto y San Pastor', Alcalá de Henares, where he was organist, particularly for its Ecos and the addition of two essential accidentals, d♯ and a♭.

> Dese noticia de el órgano, sin segundo, q(ue) hizo D. Juan de Andueza [...] en la Iglesia Magistral de S. Justo y Pastor [...] por la magnitud, y hermosura de su Fábrica, por lo particular de sus Ecos; por las Teclas añadidas sobre lo común de los demás Organos (aviendo puesto sustenidos en Delasolre; y Bemoles en Alamire) por lo nivelado, lo igual, y lo dulce de sus voces [...] y por otras muchas particularidades [...]

(A. Lorente: El Porqué, Alcalá de Henares, 1672; Lib.2, Cap.52, p.218.)

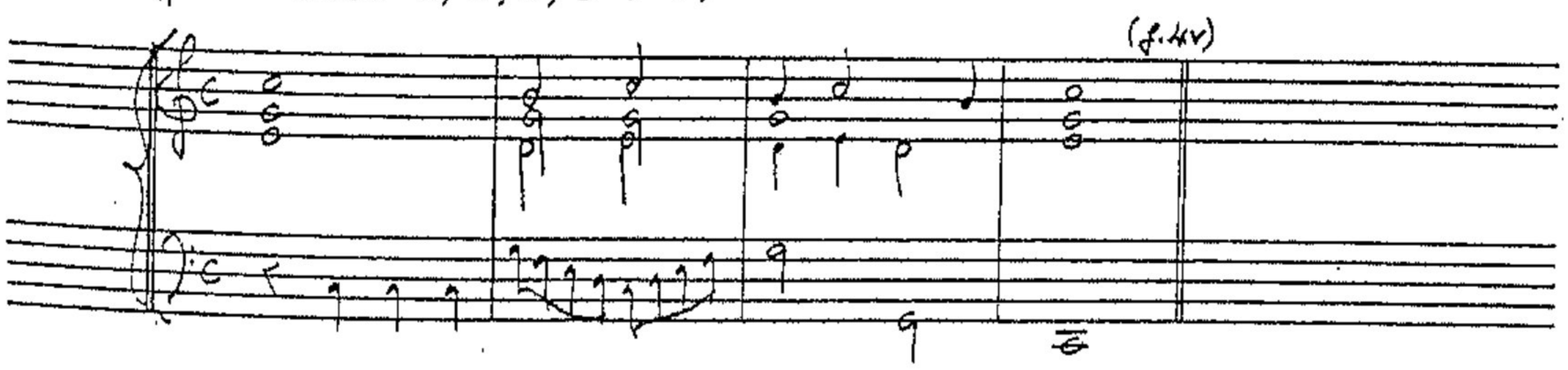
Nonetheless, the clause 'sobre lo común de los demás Organos' does indicate that the advantageous features of this organ constituted a relatively new phenomenon. There is in fact also evidence of another organ in Alcalá, that of the church of S. Diego built c.1680 by J. De Hechevarría, where

A. Martín y Coll (Lorente's pupil) was organist (d. after 1734), which was remarkable for its addition of a number of accidentals which included a♭'s, d♯'s and even d♭'s. (See Williams (repr.1978), p.251.)

Further evidence for the gradual evolution toward the adjustment of the psalm-tones to a wider 'tonal' (as opposed to modal) sphere may be encountered in the seventeenth-century Libro de cyfra from Portugal (PBPM M.1577). In the introductory material to the Libro de cyfra, which is primarily theoretical, the editor classes the eight modes into three groups: in the first, the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th and 8th modes; in the second, the 1st and 7th and again the 2nd and 3rd modes, and in the third, merely the 4th mode. For each of these three groups, a brief cadential phrase is notated (in cifra) and transposed to each one of the twelve possible keys on an equally tuned instrument.[1] Interestingly enough, the music in the first group is 'major' whilst that in the second is 'minor'; the phrase for the 4th mode, however, retains a phrygian quality. The function of these formulae, apparently, is to serve as a reference to the organist for modal transposition 'assim para mani/ficas, como psalmodia; himnos, e responsos [...]' (sic, f.4v.). Transcriptions of the first cadential phrase in each of the three groups of modes are as follows:

(Ex. 1)

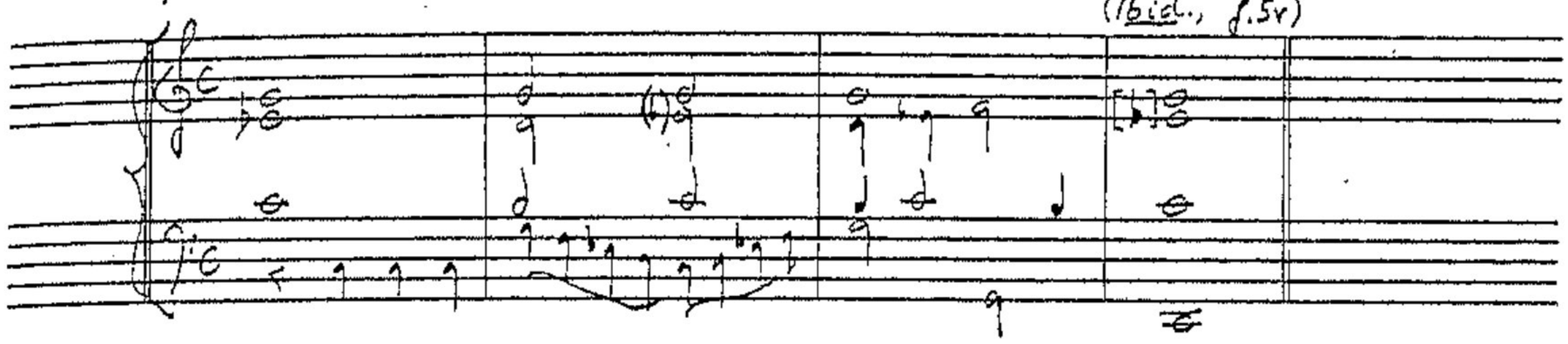
(Group 1: modes 2, 3, 5, 6 & 8) PBPM M.1577



1. The editor has retained the old cifra system for the notation of all the music in this manuscript, in which the numbers running from 1 to 7 (f to e) in the various octaves, strictly speaking, only accommodate for the accidentals of a mean-tone system - c♯ (5♯), e♭ (7♭), f♯(1♯), g♯ (2♯) and b♭ (4♭). Curiously enough, therefore, these examples which are written for an equally tuned instrument are notated entirely by sound, with d♭, d♯ and a♭, for instance, being represented by '5♯', '7♭' and '2♯' respectively.

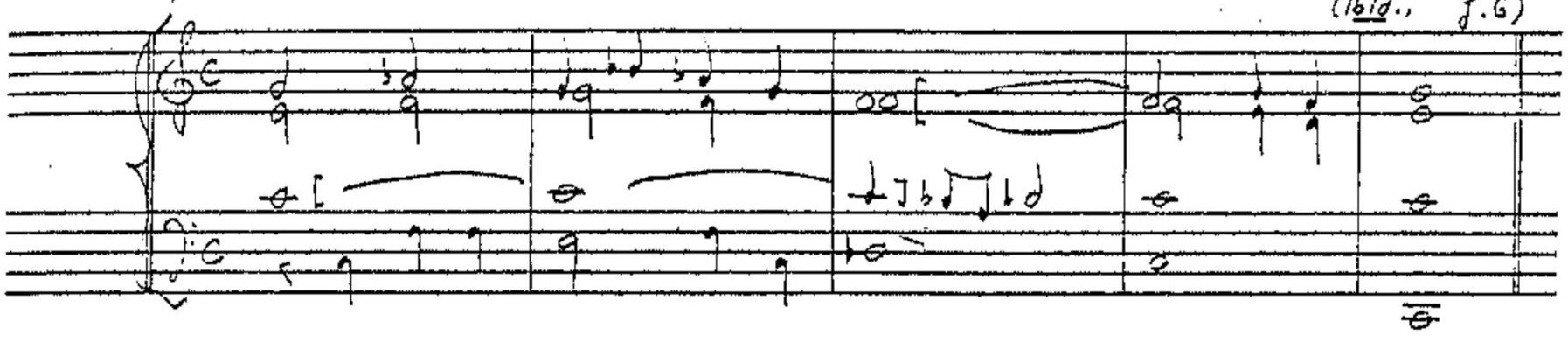
(Group 2: modes 1, 2, 3 or 7)

(Ibid., f.5v)



(Group 3: mode 4)

(Ibid., f.6)



Transposition of the psalm-tones in theory and practice

Bermudo devotes a substantial portion of the fourth book of his treatise to the problems of transposing music, composed according to the modal system, on keyboards with unequal tuning. Of particular interest in this context is the chapter which concerns the problems encountered in performing plainchant in conjunction with the organ: 'Donde dexará el tañedor para que tome el choro' (Declaración (1555), Lib.4°, Cap.44, ff.85-85v). Unfortunately a somewhat ambiguous terminology renders a precise interpretation of Bermudo's recommendations for the transposition of psalm-tones difficult. Mendel (1978) similarly recognized the challenge presented by Bermudo's instructions. However, it emerges that owing to the fact that Mendel concentrated solely on Bermudo's recommendations for psalmody, without the context of those for the solemn canticles, his remarks remain only partially valid. Moreover, the apparent obscurity

of Bermudo's text diminishes slightly when it is viewed in relation to similar, albeit later, recommendations for transposition.

First of all, with regard to (simple) psalmody (and indeed the 'simple' tones for the Magnificat and other canticles) Bermudo provides the following recommendation for transposing on 'los órganos co(m)munes' which ranged from between 7/14 and 6½/13 palmos. His criteria for this, it would seem, depend largely upon his division of the psalm-tones into two categories determined by whether the chant, at the mediation, rises or falls from the pivot note of recitation. Those which he classes in the former category are the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th tones, in the latter the 1st, 4th and 6th. (Strictly speaking, the 4th psalm-tone also rises at the mediation.) Bermudo proposes that each of these two groups of tones ('modes') should be played 'in' one of two signos: the first 'por ffaut' (sic) and the second 'en Gsolreut'. (Throughout the Declaración, and in Spanish theoretical and musical sources generally, it is evident that the prepositions 'por' and 'en', with regard to certain signos (the hexachordal names), are used indiscriminately. In this particular context, there is no apparent distinction to be made between the signos beginning with a capital letter or not; as a rule, however, specified signos normally do begin with a capital letter.) In this passage Bermudo also states that even where the (transposed) psalm-tones are to share a common signo, the organist should ensure that he differentiates between each one of them. (This he reiterates at the foot of the same page.)

> Si los psalmos quisiere(n) tañer: guarden este orden. Todos los modos que suben a la mediació(n) (como son sedundo [sic], tercero, quinto, séptimo, y octavo) tánganse por ffaut. Y los que abaxan (que son primero, quarto, y sexto) en Gsolreut. Aunque los psalmos vayan por los dichos dos signos: entienda el tañedor la differencia de cada uno para guardarla en el dicho modo. (Sic)
>
> (J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib. 4°, Cap.44, f.85v.)

Applying the most common use of the term signo (as described above) - that denoting the final chord, or 'key', of an organ piece - it would appear, at first glance, that Bermudo was recommending the psalm-tones to be played in just either one of these two signos. By deduction, and with the knowledge that a final chord of a psalm-tone verset has as its root the last note of the standard saeculorum formula proper to each tone, this would only be feasible for the second group of tones (1, 4 and 6) 'por el órgano que ahora tenemos', (f.74) as each of the tones in the first group 'por ffaut') would necessitate an a♭. Furthermore, the reciting notes would range from between a♭ and d'.

However, there is a second interpretation. Signos, or hexachordal names, were also used to refer to individual notes or pitches ('puntos') and in this instance Bermudo could be referring to two reciting notes - f ('ffaut') and g ('Gsolreut'). This being the case, there would still be one incongruity: the 7th tone would require an a♭. Nevertheless, the reciting note would remain at a more or less constant pitch (an ideal, incidentally, recommended by Coll in the eighteenth century: see above) and only three different signos as such ('keys') would be entailed: Cfaut, Dsolre and Elami negro.[1]

Mendel has also attempted to elucidate the meaning of this particular passage. However, his extremely succint précis of the implications of this text according to the two interpretations which have just been put forward is not only rather confusing in itself, but it is also written under the premise that the 'natural' scale-formation of the 1st tone includes a b♭ and, furthermore, that the term 'final' is invariably equated

---

1. The word 'negro' in conjunction with a signo, meaning literally 'black', denoted a flat 'key': in this instance, e♭.

with the finalis of a mode; as explained above, however, the finalis of a mode is not necessarily compatible with that of a psalm-tone, at least when the latter was transposed for, and used in conjunction with, the organ. For instance, in referring to the possibility of the 3rd tone (amongst others) being played 'with final on f ', Mendel conjectures that an f♯ would have to be used as 'fa' (=g♭). (In fact a transposition of the 3rd psalm-tone to 'final on f ' would incur the accidentals b♭, e♭ and a♭. For a discussion of the special diapasón of the 3rd tone, see below, p.261 seq.) Finding neither of these interpretations satisfactory, Mendel concludes, albeit tentatively, by saying that '[...] "por ffaut" must mean with a flat in the signature, and "en Gsolreut" with a sharp'. The issue is then left somewhat in the air. (See Mendel (1978), p.56.)

Nevertheless, from a consideration of the further recommendations for transposition made by Bermudo in the same chapter, which Mendel omits in his study, it will be proposed that the second interpretaion outlined above, in which the two signos specified by Bermudo should be taken to refer to reciting notes, was indeed intended by the sixteenth-century theorist.

For instance, there is a second recommendation which, this time, actually specifies an alternative reciting note for the simple psalm-tones. Maintaining the previous categorization of the psalm-tones he suggests, quite clearly on this occasion, that the (second) group of tones - the 6th, 1st and 4th - may be performed in their untransposed position, with a reciting note on a, if the choir is happy to sing at this higher pitch:

> Si pareciere al choro, que puede(n) subir sexto, primero, y quarto hasta alamire, y llevarse sin trabajo: el tañedor los dexe en sus finales. Esto último entiendo en la psalmodia y cánticos de Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, y de Benedictus simples.
>
> (J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.4°, Cap.44, f.85v.)

The verb 'subir' in this context is possibly a vital clue to the understanding of the previous passage: it implies that the reciting note originally recommended by Bermudo for tones 1, 4 and 6 was lower than a. Thus, the interpretation that 'por Gsolreut' refers to the reciting note for these tones is valid; the alternative one, in which this refers to the final (on G) not only necessitates an a♭ for the 4th tone but also gives reciting notes for tones 1, 4 and 6 on d', c' and b♮ respectively, which are higher than a (alamire).

In addition, Bermudo makes specific reference at this point to a few of the solemn tones for the Magnificat. (It will be remembered that an Iberian practice, one of the essential differences between the solemn and the simple tones lay in the intonation formula.) Bermudo writes that with regard to these solemn tones the first rule (of transposition) ('la primera regla') will apply, except that the 3rd and 8th (tones) should be played 'ut en Dsolre':

> Si el cántico de Magnificat fuere solenne, guárdese en él la primera regla: excepto que el tercero y octavo tañerán ut en Dsolre. (Ibid.)

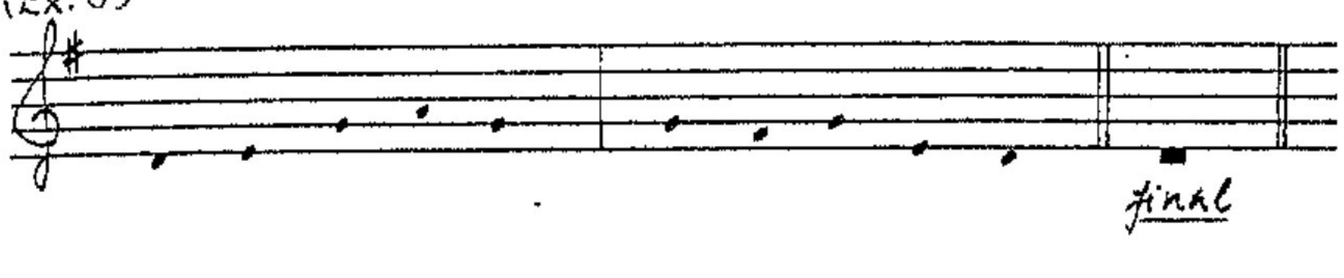
In the case of the 3rd tone, if the reciting note (c') is represented as 'fa' here, 'ut' on d will require the downward transposition of a fourth to give g as the reciting note; the accidental f♯ will be required for this transposition and, taking the last note of the saeculorum as the final for the psalm tone, the whole may be associated with the signo E la mi. An interpretation of Bermudo's description may be notated as follows.

(Ex. 2)



Simlarly, 'ut en Dsolre' for the 8th tone requires the downward transposition of a 4th; the reciting note, therefore, is also a g. The signo for this transposition is D sol re, requiring the accidental f♯.

(Ex. 3)

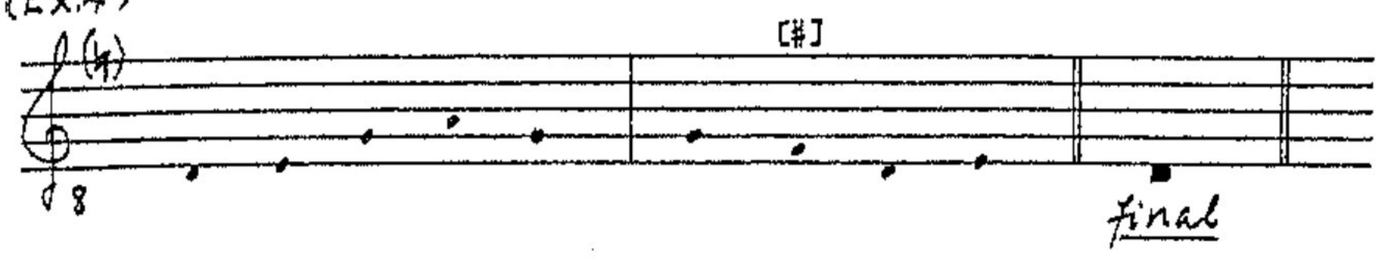


Bermudo then provides another clue as to how one should have interpreted his initial recommendation for transposition:

> ACcerca del segundo modo deste cántico de Magnificat solenne se haze un yerro no pequeño. Co(m)munmente tañen este modo re en Dsolre: Y el choro toma en el dicho signo ut. Si tañesse ut en Dsolre: algún tanto se suffriria tomar el choro allí, y formarían al final de la seqüencia re en Elami. Lo que en este modo se avia de hazer, es tañer segundo en Dsolre: y que el choro tomasse ut en Cfaut. (Ibid.)

First of all, Bermudo states specifically that it is customary to play the 2nd tone 're en Dsolre'; for the 2nd tone, this is in fact an untransposed position and accommodates a reciting note on f ('ffaut') - this again, therefore, complies with our second interpretation of Bermudo's initial recommendation. His reason for mentioning this particular tone, and the position of its final, is to pinpoint a rather serious error, apparently commonly made, in which the choir pitches 'ut' (the first note of the intonation formula for this solemn tone) on the root of the final chord rather than on the note immediately below it. He not only points out that the choir will find this difficult but also that by failing to observe his precept they will end the psalm-tone on the wrong note, e. From this description, the following version of the psalm-tone, which was sometimes mistakenly intoned, may be notated.

(Ex.4)



Bermudo then says that although the choir may find the position of this tone ('re en Dsolre') a little low, they should bear it as it conforms to the correct behaviour of this particular mode:

> Aunque desta manera fuesse un poco baxo, se avia de suffrir: porque se guardasse el modo, viniendo el choro a fenecer en el dicho Dsolre. (Ibid.)

However, he also recognizes that to play this tone in E la mi would give greater comfort to the choir.

> El tañedor que este segundo modo supiesse tañer en Elami: daria descanso al choro, y a los buenos oydos melodia [...] (Ibid.)

This would, therefore, also render a psalm-tone with a reciting note on g as follows:

(Ex.5)



From an examination of this passage from the Declaración it has been possible to detect a definite pattern in which the priority in any transposition of the psalm-tones was to produce a reciting note at a near-constant pitch. This conclusion is clearly supported by these examples of three of the solemn tones for the canticles. Bearing in mind Bermudo's

second suggestion for performing the 1st, 4th and 6th psalm-tones, it is probable that his initial recommendation, in which he refers to two signos - ffaut and Gsolreut, is applicable for pitching the reciting notes rather than to the final of each psalm-tone. As already stated, the only flaw in this argument concerns the 7th psalm-tone: a reciting note on f ('por ffaut') would necessitate an a♭.[1] Despite this apparent inconsistency, we may finally reduce this interpretation of Bermudo's proposals for transposition to the following scheme.

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1. One could argue however, albeit somewhat tentatively, that in recommending 'ffaut' for the 7th tone (which we have interpreted as meaning the reciting note), Bermudo was in fact applying these transpositions to his own (keyboard) instruments which, we learn, were apparently without the limitations of 'el órgano que ahora tenemos'. He refers to 'mis instrumentos' in the second book of the Declaración; here he infers that contrary to 'el órgano que se usa en este tiempo', his instruments, like polyphonic music, could accommodate a large number of transpositions. (Ibid., Lib.2°, Cap.29, f.27v.) .

X

An interpretation of Bermudo's recommendations for psalm-tone transposition

(Declaración, 1555, Lib.4°, Cap.44, f.85v.)

1. The 'simple' tones for the psalms and canticles ('la primera regla')

First recommendation:

> Todos los modos que suben a la mediació(n) (como son [segundo], tercero, quinto, séptimo, y octavo) tanganse por ffaut. Y los que abaxan (que son primero, quarto, y sexto) en Gsolreut.

Tone	Reciting note	Final & Signo	Signature
1	g sol re ut	[C fa ut]	b♭ & e♭
2	f fa ut	[D sol re]	-
3	f fa ut	[D sol re]	b♭
4	g sol re ut	[D sol re]	b♭ & e♭
5	f fa ut	[D sol re]	b♭ (e♭)
6	g sol re ut	[E la mi negro]	b♭ & e♭
7	f fa ut	[C fa ut]	b♭, e♭ & a♭
8	f fa ut	[C fa ut]	b♭

Second recommendation, concerning tones 1, 4 and 6 only:

> Si pareciere al choro, que puede(n) subir sexto, primero, y quarto hasta alamire [...] el tañedor los dexe en sus finales.

1	a la mi re	(D sol re)	-
4	a la mi re	(E la mi)	-
6	a la mi re	(F fa ut)	-

2. The solemn tones for the canticles

> Si el cántico de Magnificat fuere solenne, guarde se en él la primera regla: excepto que el tercero y octavo tañeran ut en Dsolre. [...] A cerca del segundo modo deste cántico [....] Co(m)munmente tañen este modo re en Dsolre [....] El tañedor que este segundo modo supiesse tañer en Elami: daria descanso al choro.

Tone	Reciting note	Final & Signo	Signature
1	('la primera regla': see above)		
2	[f fa ut]	D sol re	-
	[g sol re ut]	E la mi	f♯
3	[g sol re ut]	[E la mi]	f♯
4	('la primera regla': see above)		
5	(" : ")		
6	(" : ")		
7	(" : ")		
8	[g sol re ut]	D sol re	f♯

(Note: the accidentals in the column 'Signature' are editorial)

It is primarily with regard to our interpretation of Bermudo's recommendations for the solemn canticles that a link can be made with practical evidence for transposition in psalm-tone versets from the seventeenth century. In the light of Bermudo's discussion, it is curious that there is little practical evidence for transposition in the sixteenth-century literature; indeed, even with Coelho's Magnificats (Flores de música 1620, f.174 seq.) there is at first sight absolutely no indication that composers were taking the needs of the voices into consideration. Unfortunately, Cerone's (1613) chapter[1] on transposition is directed on a very general level, throwing no light on the subject of playing the organ in conjunction with the psalm-tones.

The following discussion, therefore, relating chiefly to seventeen-century practices of transposition, draws largely upon the writings of three eighteenth-century theorists: Martín y Coll, Nassarre and Valls. Significantly enough, their theories and examples conform to the pattern which we have already noted from practical evidence. Unlike Bermudo, however, they choose not to make any particular distinction between the 'simple' and solemn versions of the psalm-tones.

Thus, in accordance with our findings, Valls states that it was the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th 'modes' which are normally transposed: 'Los tonos 2°, 3°, 5°, 7°, y 8° por ordinario se componen transportados [...]'. (Mapa, 1742; Cap.V, § III, f.31.) However he also concedes that the 'natural' positions of the 3rd, 5th and 8th modes (in general) would render more 'brilliant' compositions: '[...] mas no tiene duda que el 3°, 5°, y 8° si son trabajados por el Diapasón natural, serian más brillantes sus

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1. P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.II, Lib.XVI, Cap.20: 'De la transportación ordinaria de los Tonos', p.907 seq.

composiciones' (ibid.). (In this context, this statement applies to all types of plainchant; although we shall concentrate here on the psalms and canticles, Valls also includes directives for transposition in the Masses and hymns.) In fact it transpires that for each one of these 'transposed' tones (as applicable to the psalm-tones) he normally presents two possibilities (of transposition): at least one of these, as may be gauged from the signos he specifies, provides for a reciting note on g. This, in combination with a for the untransposed tones, was most commonly encountered in the practical sources (see chart IX above).

Martín y Coll likewise provides confirmation of this practice. He states clearly that, apropos his previous recommendations to the cantor that he should regulate the pitch of the reciting notes, the priority of transposition lay in placing the reciting notes on either a (Alamire) or g (Gsolreut).

> En el Organo: el primer tono, quarto, sexto, séptimo, y octavo irregular, tienen su cuerda, o entonación en A. la mi re. El segundo, tercero, quinto, y octavo, en G. sol re ut: y para que vaya la cuerda fixa con el Organo, es preciso observar lo mismo que queda dicho, quando se canta sin él [...]
>
> (A. Martin y Coll: Arte de canto llano, Madrid, 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.16°, p.57.)

The following discussion, therefore, relates primarily to the tones which were normally transposed in performance: the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th. With regard to the theoretical evidence, where Valls provides no musical illustrations himself for his recommendations these are taken from Martín y Coll's Arte. Some consideration will also be made of organ versets which apparently entertained a multi-modal function. This phenomenon is related to the question of the diapasones of the psalm-tones which, being formed from an upward scale beginning on the last note of the saeculorum formulae, were often subject to their own laws, not

necessarily affiliated to their companion mode in the same modal 'species'.

> En quanto al conocimiento del diapasón diré, que son quatro las especies de diapasón, por donde se rigen los ocho tonos, aunque algunos de ellos ([...]) usan de dos diapasones, siendo el uno fuera del número de los quatro.
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.III, Cap.15, p.307.)[1]

(Charts indicating the recommendations made by both Coll and Valls for playing and transposing the psalm-tones on the organ is included at the end of this section (see below, p.278).)

The 2nd tone

Valls recommends two transpositions for psalms in the 2nd tone: 'el 2° tono [...] en Psalmos [se transportará] por Elami, o por Gsolreut' (loc.cit. f.31). It transpires, in fact, that the diapason of only one of these - that 'por Gsolreut' - is strictly in keeping with this (the 1st) modal 'species'. However, as represented by the Coll MSS and those at Barcelona, the Elami transposition (reciting note on g) was the most frequently employed; it is the only one to be illustrated in Coll's Arte de cantollano.

(Ex. 6)

A. Martín y Coll: Arte (1719); Lib. 2°, Cap. 10°, p. 93.

Segundo [por Elami]



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1. During the course of this discussion the term 'diapason', derived from diapasón, meaning scale-formation (of a mode), will frequently be used. Similarly, the expression 'modal species' has been taken from Spanish modal theory and, as implied by this passage from Nassarre, it applies to the four groups of 'authentic' and 'plagal' modes.

It is Nassarre who correctly points out that the Elami transposition, which merely incorporates an f♯ accidental, is not 'proper' to this (psalm) tone: it uses the diapason of the 3rd (psalm) tone which is a scale formed from the last note of the 'standard' saeculorum formula upwards.

> El segundo tono natural, transportado accidentalmente en el órgano , tiene su final en elami, y aunque su diapasón es el mismo que el del primero, úsase ordinariamente, como el diapasón del tercero, diziendo re, mi, fa, re, mi, fa, sol, la, aunque no es propio, y debe dezir re, mi, fa, sol, re, mi, fa, sol.
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.III, Cap.17, p.324.)[1]

Strictly speaking then, the Elami transposition of the 2nd psalm tone should also comprise a c♯ ('mi'):

> Como se usa ordinariamente, no passa más que por el sustenido de fefaut; pero debe passar también por él de cesolfaut. (Ibid.)

Nevertheless, the use of the same diapason (in transposition) for at least two different modal species is significant for its bearing on the practice of composing organ versets with a multi-modal function. (This will be discussed below.)

Despite the consistency of the G sol re ut transposition (reciting note on b♭) with the inherent diapason of the 2nd psalm-tone ('re, mi, fa, sol, re, mi, fa, sol'), with one flat (b♭) in the signature, there are only a few versets using this signo. These are included in sources dating from Coelho's Flores de música (1620) to those compiled at the turn of the eighteenth century (the Coll MSS). Interestingly enough, however, it is a transposition which features strongly in the seventeenth-century repertory of fabordones in Spanish and Portuguese sources. Generally speaking, these fabordones have a clear bipartite structure, incorporating

---

1. This particular chapter in the Escuela Música - 'De los términos, por donde se pueden transportar los ocho tonos accidentalmente en el Organo' (loc.cit., pp.323-30), not only explains 'los términos de los tonos' when transposed on the organ, but also incorporates some useful information about the keyboards in Spanish organs, including a consideration of mean-tone tuning.

a cadence at the mediation to B♭ (the reciting note) and a final chord on G. However, the versets using this transposition are generally very short and are called by the diminutive 'segundillo' ('segundilho' in Portuguese). Even where these may be interpreted as providing for a b♭ reciting note, their precise function remains somewhat ambiguous as the final chords may, in fact, be on either G or B♭. In the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM M.1577) these 'segundillo' versets are grouped together at the end of each 'Jogo de versos' on the psalm-tones by B. de Olague and M. Garcia de Olague; here they are headed 'Versos de 2° tom q(ue) chamão segundillo'(*sic*) (ff.33v-4; 45-45v; 87-8v).

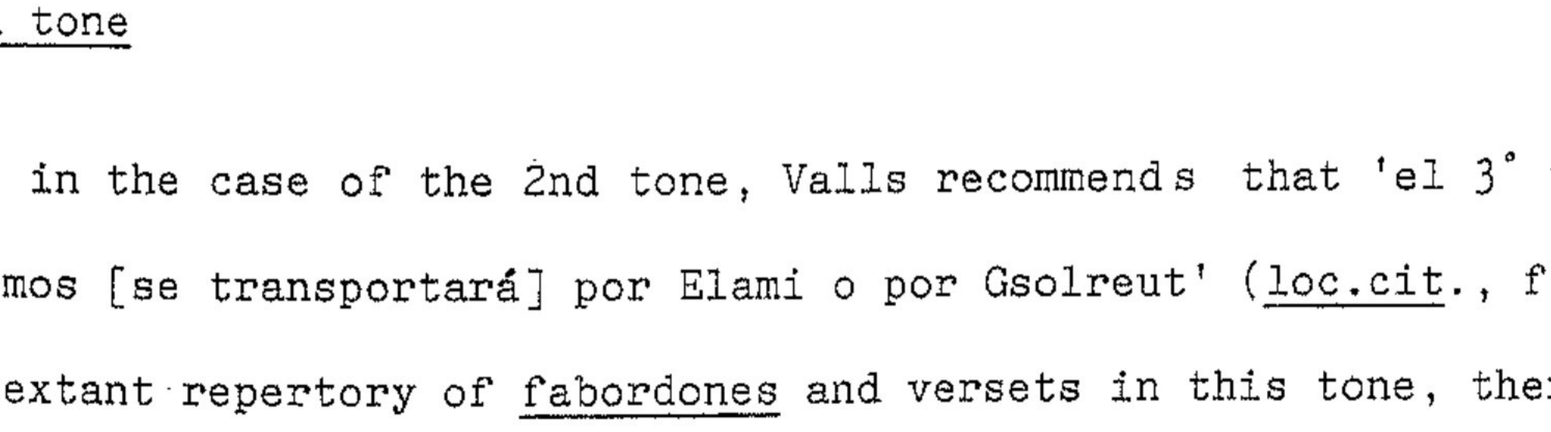
The sixteenth-century fabordón repertory largely remains untransposed. It is curious, therefore, that the fabordón 'llano' included in the 1557 Libro (anthology p.6) should have been transposed to A la mi re reciting note on c), a fourth below its companion glosado arrangement. This is the only example of this particular transposition.

The 3rd tone

As in the case of the 2nd tone, Valls recommends that 'el 3° tono [...] en Psalmos [se transportará] por Elami o por Gsolreut' (loc.cit., f.31). In the extant repertory of fabordones and versets in this tone, there are in fact no examples of the Gsolreut transposition (reciting note on b♭) but a preponderance of 3rd-tone versets 'por elami' (reciting note on g). Furthermore, Coll again only illustrates the Elami transposition:

(EX. 7) A. Martín y Coll: Arte (1719), ibid., p. 94.

Tercero [por E la mi]



This 'transposition' of the 3rd tone to a diapason beginning on E (la mi) with f♯ is curious. An explanation is provided by Nassarre who says that compositions in the 3rd mode may be formed from one of two diapasons: firstly, that which is indigenous to the mode (sharing the same modal 'species' as the 4th mode) proceding from elami to elami, using white notes (of a keyboard) only; and secondly, that which is formed from a diapason beginning on 'alamirre'. The first one, he says, is frequently used by 'los antiguos'; the second one, however, is that favoured by 'los modernos' and it is one which Cerone (1613) classifies as the '9th' tone.

> Las composiciones de tercero [tono] se hallan de dos modos en la variedad del diapasón; porque unas le tienen como él de quarto, de elami a elami, diziendo mi, fa, sol, re, mi, fa, sol, la, [...] Su final lo tienen en elami [...] Estas composiciones las usaron / (p.309) los antiguos con mucha freqüencia por este diapasón; pero ya se hallan muy pocas, y los modernos todas las composiciones del tercer tono las hazen por el diapasón, que ay de alamirre a alamirre, que es a quien Cerone llama tono nono [...]
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, 1724; Lib.III, Cap.15, pp.308-9.)

He goes on to say that this particular diapason is in fact derived from the (3rd) psalm tone ('[los modernos] lo toman de la entonación de los Psalmos, que tiene su terminación propia en alamirre' (ibid.)) and how, for instruments, it is transposed to a fourth below, to elami.

> Transpórtase en los Instrumentos quarta abaxo el tono natural de modo, que el tono de alamirre es en elami. (ibid.)

As previously stated then, it is this elami transposition which is the most commonly used for organ versets in the 3rd tone. In the (older) repertory of fabordones, as represented in the sixteenth-century sources and in Lorente's El Porqué (1672), however, the music is either untransposed ('alamirre') or written in D la sol re. If our interpretaion of Bermudo's recommendations for transposition is accurate, this D la sol re transposition,

providing for a reciting note on f (ffaut), is appropriate.

The 2nd and 3rd tones por Elami

During the course of the discussion above concerning the 2nd tone, it was disclosed that the E la mi transposition for this tone was in fact formed from the diapason of the 3rd psalm-tone. In actual fact, this transposition is only prevalent amongst versets (and fabordones) dating from the seventeenth century onwards. The other transposition used for 2nd-tone versets (G sol re ut) complied with the diapason of the first modal 'species', per se, and the diapason of the 2nd psalm-tone whose scale begins on the last note of the standard saeculorum formula.

By implication, therefore, this phenomenon of crossing modal boundaries was completely foreign to musicians of the sixteenth century. This may explain Bermudo's insistence that in transposition ('tañendo accidentalmente') the organist should retain the characteristics of each of the modes, in order that they may be distinguished, one from the other:

> En todos los modos que he dicho averse de mudar, o salir de sus letras finales: se entiende, que los tañedores han de guardar los diapassones de los dichos modos tañendo accidentalmente.
>
> (J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.4°, Cap.44, f.85v.)

However, Valls reiterating this admonishment in 1742 ('[...] en esto vaya por cuidado [...] en no perder de vista el Diapasón natural en los Psalmos, Missas, y en qualquier música, que se transportare' (loc.cit., f.31v)) declared that he had, nevertheless, heard a number of transgressions to this rule which included the 3rd (psalm-)tone's diapason used in a transposition of the 2nd psalm-tone: 'el 2° transportado con el Diapasón del 3° tono' (ibid.). In theory therefore, it is possible that his recommendation for the 2nd tone to be transposed to E la mi should in fact be realized

with two sharpened accidentals (f♯ and c♯) in the diapason (see above).

It is surprising, too, that Valls should apparently hold this relatively conservative point of view when Nassarre, some fifteen to twenty years previously, had fully accounted for this phenomenon. As already described, Nassarre states quite specifically that, when performing the psalms with the organ, it was usual for the 2nd tone to be formed from the same diapason as that for the 3rd tone, transposed from 'a la mi re' down a fourth to 'e la mi'.

> El segundo tono, su natural es ir por elami, quando canta el Coro Psalmos alternativamente con el Organo, y ordinariamente es el mismo orden de diapasón, que el del tercero [...] se formava / (p.314) de alamirre a alamirre, que puesto quarta abaxo, como se necessita para el Canto llano, se forma de elami a elami en el Organo [...]
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Musica I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.III, Cap.15, pp.313-4.)

It transpires in fact that, judging solely from the chordal scheme of versets in the 2nd and 3rd tones transposed to E la mi, there can be no distinguishing features between versets in these two tones: both mediations fall on g (the reciting note) and the final (derived from the last note of the saeculorum) is, of course, on e (la mi). Thus, in theory, unless the thematic material adheres to the individual psalm-tones, these versets could entertain a dual-modal function. It is interesting therefore that in each of the 'Jogo de versos' in the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM M.1577), versets for the 2nd and 3rd psalm-tones are presented as a single entity ('Versos de 2° e 3° tom') transposed to E la mi. Significantly enough, the material used in the versets in this source as a whole bears no special relation to plainchant melodies. However, in the light of our interpretation of the fabordón, which will be discussed below (section (iii),(a) of this chapter), not only is it curious that there is also a fabordão with this dual-modal function (f.75), which is therefore

inconsistent with the characteristics of the genre per se, but also that it should prove to be primarily related to the (fabordón) formula for the 3rd tone.

Apropos these versets with an apparently dual-modal function in this Porto MS, one may refer to a small group of versets in the first Coll MS to which the same principle applies. However, in this instance the versets, once again 'por elami', may be used for three different tones: the 2nd, 3rd and 5th. These are inscribed 'Versos de 2°, de 3° y 5° (tono) por E la mi' (MBN M.1357, pp.28-31). As will be revealed in more detail in the ensuing account of the 5th-tone versets, Nassarre stated that the 5th tone shared the same final as that of the 3rd; their diapasons (in the E la mi transpositions) were therefore identical and the only distinguishing feature was the plainchant itself ('No se distingue del tercero, si sólo en el Canto llano', Ibid., p.310).

The 5th tone

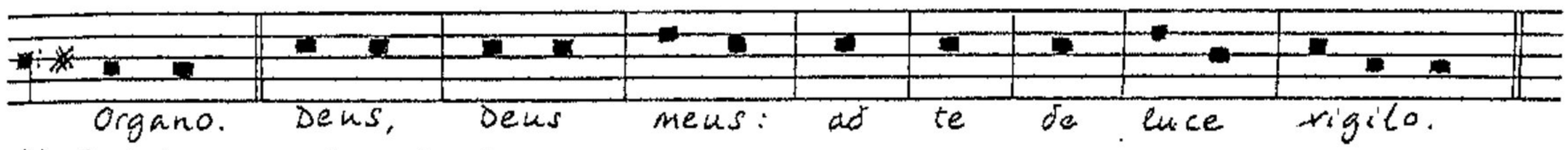
With regard to the transpositions of the 5th tone for organ versets, Valls's statement that 'el 5° tono [...] en Psalmos [se transportará] por Elami, o según los modernos en Csolfaut [...]' (loc.cit. f.31) requires explanation. There is the implication that the second transposition (Csolfaut) defies a more standard presentation of this tone into figured music. It transpires that a number of somewhat complex issues related principally to different interpretations of the melodic scale-formation (or diapason) of the 5th tone per se have contributed to this question. We have already described how the saeculorum formula was sung either 'por bemol' or, according to its indigenous state, 'por bequadrado' (see above, p.215). There was an apparent discrepancy between the formation of the 5th mode as used in plainchant as a whole and that employed for the psalm-

tone; both Cerone and Nassarre refer specifically to this but they do, however, prove to be at variance as to the main issue - the question of whether the fourth note of the diapason (in its natural position) may be flattened.

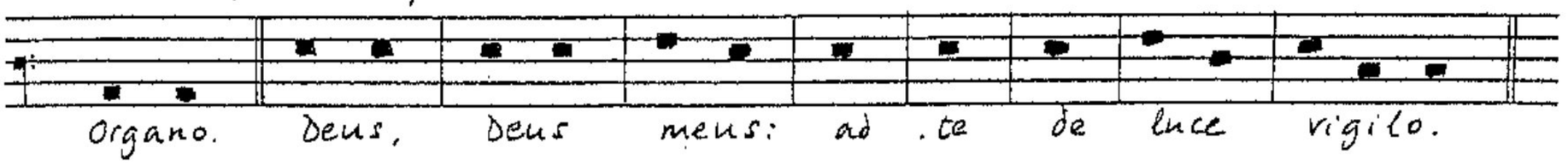
However, before considering this point, it is clear that the two transpositions suggested by Valls accommodated either melodic interpretation of the saeculorum while keeping the psalm-tone at the same pitch (g), a fourth below its 'natural' notated position (c'). Coll illustrates the two concurrent transpositions as follows:

(Ex. 8) A. Martín y Coll: Arte (1749); ibid.

(a) Quinto por Ela mi



(b) Quinto por C sol fa ut



Turning now to Cerone's discussion of the 5th mode, he states clearly that this mode had two finals; these varied according to the style of music which was sung.

> [...] el Quinto Tono tiene dos finales, una para los Motetes, Missas y otras composiciones, que es de F faut; y otra para los Psalmos solamente, que es de A lamirre [...]

(P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.II, Lib.XVI, Cap.11, p.892.)

(The Alamirre position for the final pertains to the last note of the saeculorum.)

Nassarre makes the same distinctions and identifies the diapason formed with Alamirre as the final as being common with that of the 3rd

tone.[1] He then also refers to the standard transposition of this particular diapason to elami, a fourth below:

> Múdase el tono natural quarta abaxo también, como él de tercero; y assí van en el Organo, y otros Instrumentos por elami [...]
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.III, Cap.15, p.310.)

(At a later stage, he describes this transposition to elami, stating that it required the accidental f♯ and that its mediation was on g: 'Tiene su passage por el sustenido de fefaut, y su mediación la tiene en gesolreut ' (ibid., p.314).) Under the premise that the 5th mode, as used solely in musical composition, commonly entailed a flattened fourth in its diapason (b♭ in the 'natural' F fa ut position), Nassarre refers to its transposition down a fourth to C sol fa ut:

> En éste se transportá el tono natural en los instrumentos quarta abaxo que es por cesolfaut.
>
> (Ibid., p.309)

However, he also recognizes that Cerone in fact classed this particular diapason as the '11th' tone (mode) ('undécimo tono'). It is significant that Nassarre does not elaborate on Cerone's argument for this classification as he (Nassarre) maintains that the 11th mode is formed from the same diapason as that of the 5th.

In fact Cerone's discussion of this subject is interesting for not only does he state that the use of a b♭ in the 5th mode is a mistake made by many composers, especially 'los más modernos', but that, in his opinion, they are using the diapason proper to the 11th tone in transposed position.

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1. Nassarre, loc.cit., Cap.15, p.310. This was also applicable to versets in the 2nd tone transposed to E la mi (see above).

> [...] muchos Compositores, particularmente los más modernos, le añaden el bemol en la posición de Befabemi, cantándole todo por bemol; y no caen en la cuenta del engaño que ay; y es que piensan formar un Quinto Tono, al qual comunmente llaman Quinto por b mol [sic] , y forman el Onzeno trasportado [...]

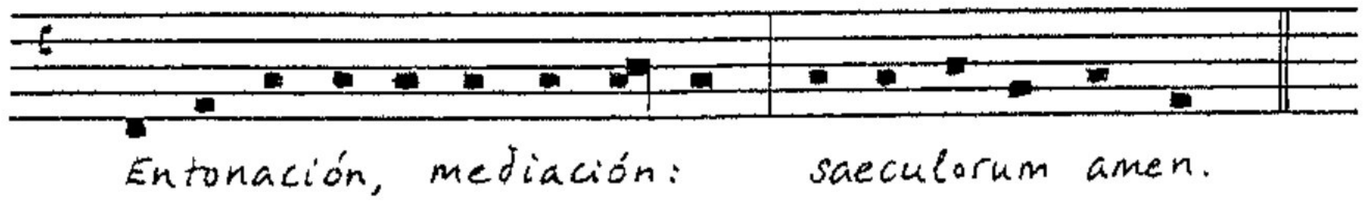
(P. Cerone: El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.II, Lib.16, Cap.11 . p.893)

At a later stage, Cerone gives a full account of the characteristics of the 11th mode. As regards the psalm-tone (pertaining to the 11th mode) he states that it was indeed formed from that of the 5th tone but with 'great imperfection' for it did not observe the correct melodic intervals.

> Se sirve de la entonación y Seculorum del Quinto, pero con imperfección grande, pues no observa los verdaderos intervalos [...] (Ibid., Cap.18, p.904)

He exemplifies the '11th' psalm-tone as follows:

(Ex. 9) — P. Cerone: El Melopeo (1613), ibid



However, apropos Cerone's 11th psalm-tone, it is possibly significant that, despite his premise that the 5th mode usually incorporated a flattened fourth, Nassarre does not seem to recognize it as a transposition for the 5th psalm-tone. We may surmise however, that despite this 'corruption' of the 5th ('11th') psalm-tone with a flattened fourth, it was widely practised and accepted by the eighteenth century. Coll, albeit somewhat indistinctly, suggests that the C sol fa ut transposition for the psalms (strictly the property of other types of music in this mode) was only sometimes used. He describes how the reciting note ('la cuerda') remains constant whether the chant is sung with a flattened fourth or not.

> El quinto tono suele tener su final en el Organo, en C.sol fa ut, para las Missas, y alguna vez para la Psalmodia, quando se canta por Natura, y B.mol, pero la cuerda es la misma.
>
> (A. Martín y Coll: Arte, Madrid, 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.14°, p.54.)

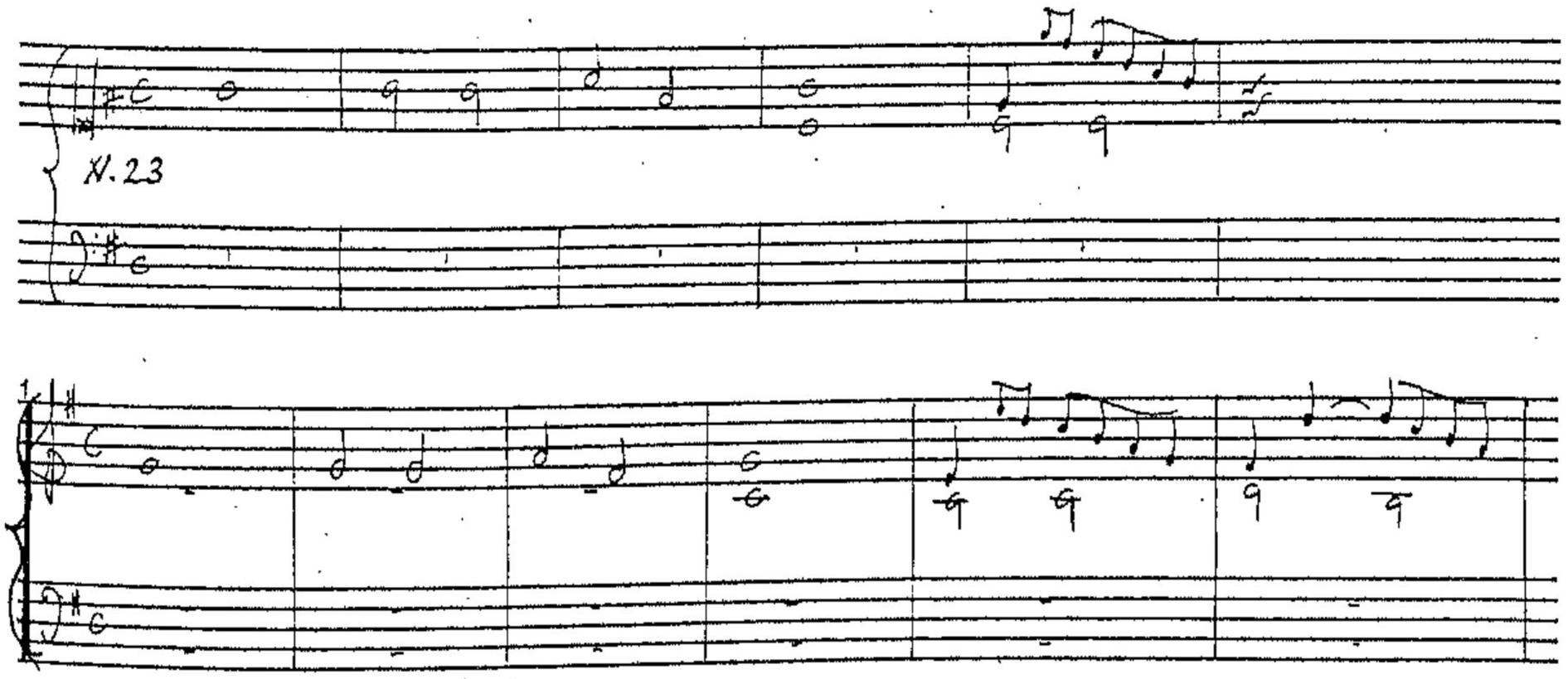
In the repertory of fabordones and versets, those dating from the sixteenth century and the fabordones by Lorente are written almost exclusively in their 'natural', untransposed modal regions; these have their final chord on a (la mi re), and the reciting note is on c'. The only exception is a fabordón by Cabezón in the 1578 Obras (f.17) which, with its transposition down a fifth to (final on) D la sol re, conforms with our interpretation of Bermudo's first recommendation (described above) for a reciting note on f (ffaut). In all these instances therefore, the chant would have been performed 'por bequadrado'.

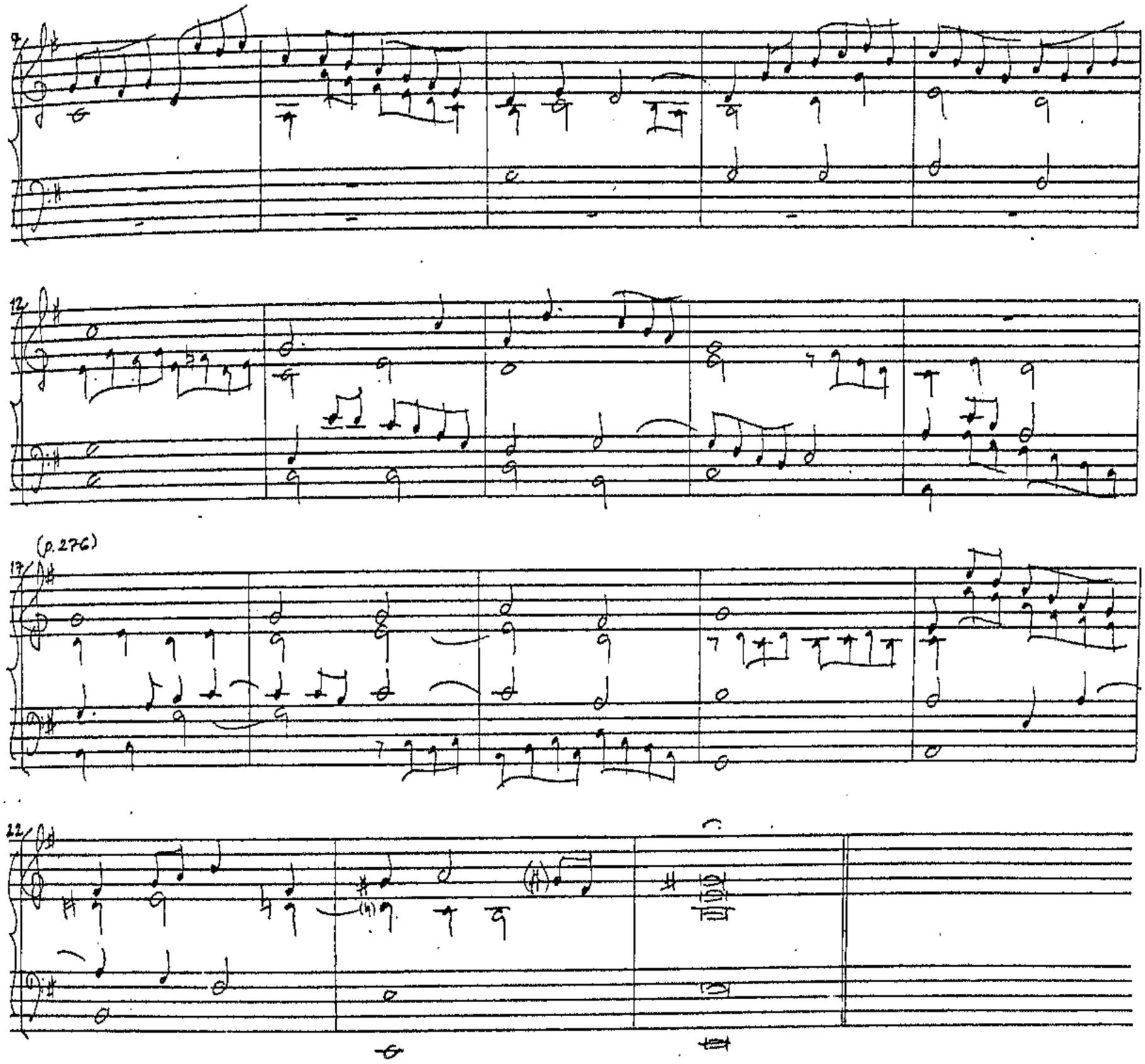
In the sources containing seventeenth-century organ music there is concrete evidence for the practice of both transpositions (and interpretations) of the 5th tone to finals on E la mi and C sol fa ut. However, as may be gleaned from the remarks above, the C sol fa ut realization is comparatively rare.

The E la mi versets usually incorporate recognizable thematic allusions to the psalm-tone; however, although these versets respect the correct diapason of the 5th tone, they normally call for an incongruous d♯ accidental in the final cadences. This verset from the third Coll anthology (MBN M.1359), based entirely on the saeculorum formula, may be regarded as a characteristic example.

(Ex.10)

Verso, 5° tono [por Elami] MBN M.1359 (pp. 275-6)



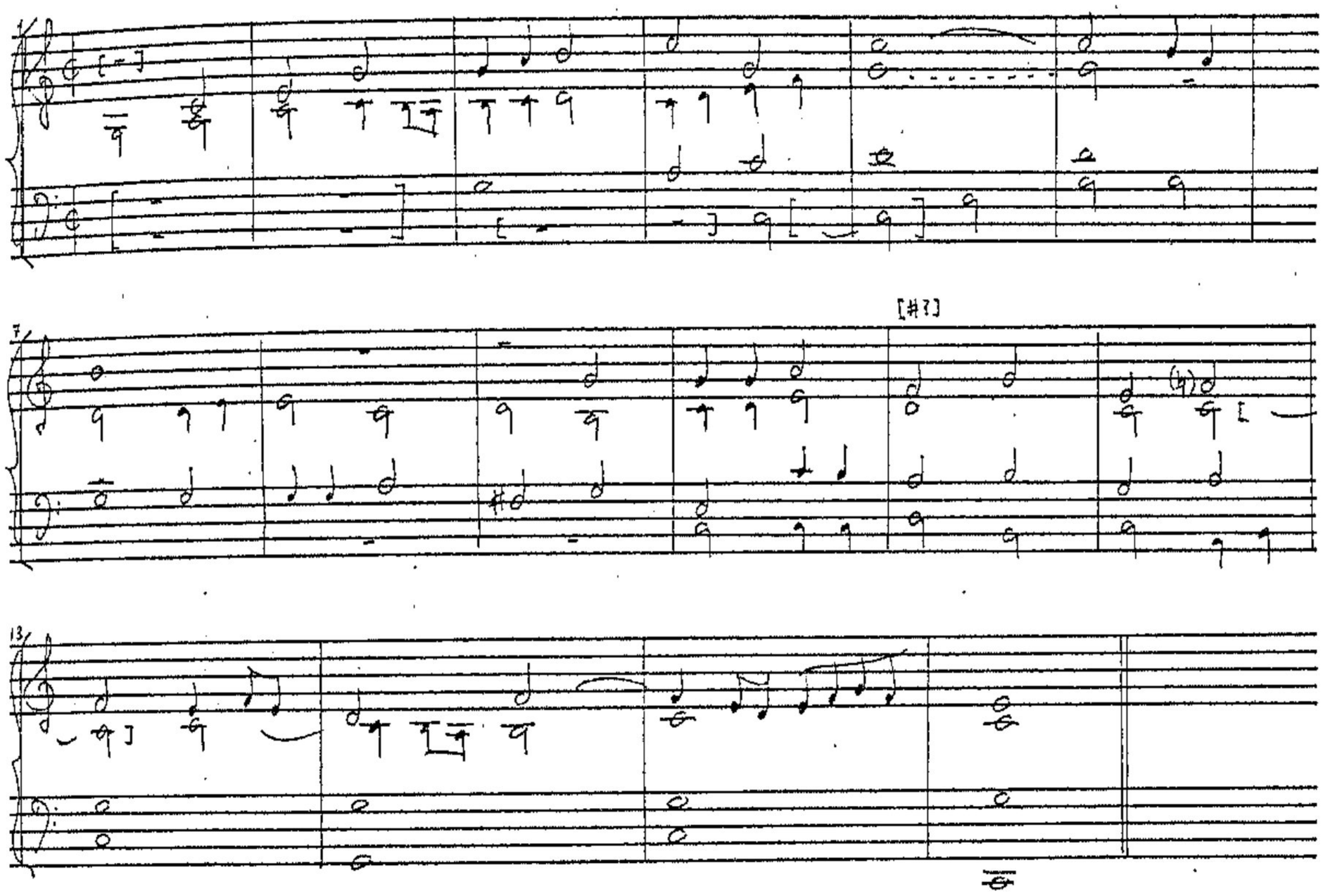


Relatively few manuscripts include versets in the C sol fa ut transposition and it is possibly significant that in these it is difficult to trace thematic allusions to the 5th psalm-tone: this may in fact indicate that, despite their physical position in the manuscript, they were not necessarily in tended for psalmodia. However, the following example from the second Coll anthology (MBN M.1358), which is based on the solemn psalm-tone, is a very rare exception.

(Ex. 11)

[1° verso, 5° tono por Csolfaut]

MBN M.1358
(f.52)



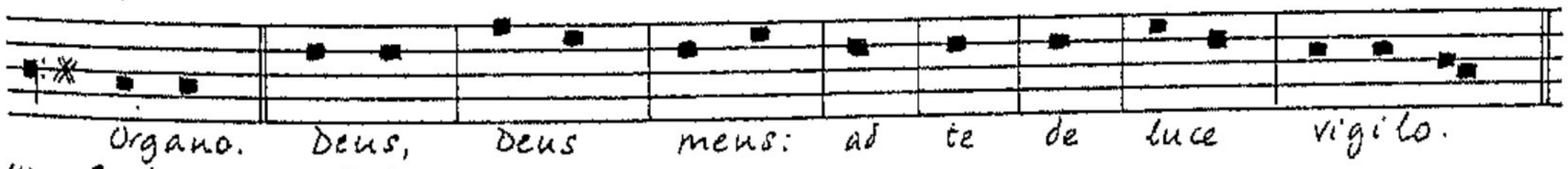
The 7th tone

Valls recommends that 'el 7° tono [...] en Psalmos [se transportará] por Elami o [por] Dlasolre' (loc.cit., f.31). These two transpositions, presenting the reciting notes on a and g respectively, are also illustrated in Coll's Arte and are the ones which are the most frequently encountered in the practical sources.

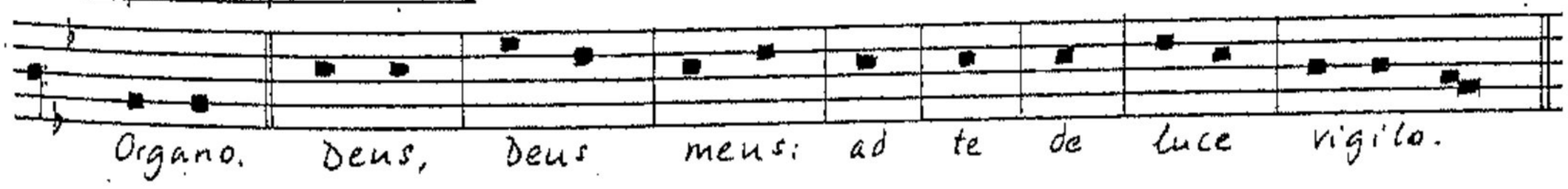
(Ex. 12)

A. Martín y Coll: Arte (1719); ibid., pp. 94-5

(a) Séptimo [por Elami]



(b) Septimo punto baxo



Nassarre provides some explanation of these transpositions. First of all, with regard to the 7th mode in general, as used in musical compositions, Nassarre explains that the diapason starting on alamirre, similar to that of the 3rd, was derived from the 7th psalm-tone and was used in order to distinguish it from the 8th mode. (The final of the 7th and 8th modes, or 4th modal species, is normally on G sol re ut.)

> El séptimo tono, según se compone ordinariamente, observa el mismo diapasón, que dixe del tercero, tenía de alamirre a alamirre [...] La causa de componer el séptimo tono por este diapasón, que es él de la entonación de los Psalmos, que termina en alamirre, es por distinguirlo del de octavo [...]
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.III, Cap.15, p.310.)

In performing the psalms in the 7th tone with the organ, Nassarre says that it was normal to transpose the diapason (final on a la mi re) down a fourth to elami; this would then incorporate an f♯ and the mediation would fall on a.

> El séptimo tono, ya dixe arriba, usava de dos diapasones, el uno semejante al de octavo, y el otro, que se forma de alamirre a alamirre, tomado del Canto llano del Psalmo; pues para los Psalmos, quando se canta Canto llano en el Coro, se usa de éste, y tiene su diapasón de elami a elami, passando por el sustenido de fefaut. Tiene su mediación en alamirre [...] (Ibid. p.314.)

He then suggests that if this is too high for some choirs, it may be performed a note lower ('se toca punto baxo') in order to embrace the diapason 'delasolre a delasolre'. This diapason, he explains, includes a b♭ and the mediation is on g.

> [...] en los más Coros, por venir este término alto para el Canto llano, se toca punto baxo, que es, teniendo su diapasón de delasolre a delasolre, y allí mismo su final. Su passage es por el bemol de befabemi, y tiene mediación en gesolreut. (Ibid.)

Coll also says that to sing this tone 'a note lower' (than the Elami transposition) would be more comfortable:

Si el séptimo tono se cantasse un punto más baxo; Sería más acomodado para cantar el Canto Llano; porque assí lo manifiesta la experiencia.

(A. Martín y Coll: Arte de Canto llano, Madrid, 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.14°, p.54.)

From the charts above (pp.239-41), it is evident that the 'punto baxo' transposition was in fact already quite common in sixteenth-century versets and it persisted throughout the seventeenth century. That for E la mi was, however, definitely a seventeenth-century innovation; in several instances, in fact, the d♯ accidental was liberally employed at the final cadences. This accidental, as we have noted in versets in the 5th tone 'por Elami', was not excluded from the tuning of the mean-tone keyboard but was also entirely foreign to the 7th tone in this transposition.

Finally, there is a small group of versets incoporated towards the end of the group in the 7th tone in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359) which, the copyist has inscribed, 'tienen el final en Ce sol fa ut' (pp.390-3). Again, as with the case of the 5th-tone versets with this signo, it would be tempting, largely owing to their physical position in the Coll anthology to assign them also to a psalmodic function. However, neither do they include a medial cadence which might suggest the mediation nor do they make any thematic allusions to the 7th psalm-tone. In fact, despite Bermudo's somewhat ambiguous recommendation for the transposition of this tone, with a reciting note on f ('ffaut') necessitating a final on C sol fa ut, it is not one suited to it on an unequally tuned organ. It is however suitable for other types of plainchant and, for this purpose, it is recommended by Nassarre. As already stated, the transposition of the 7th psalm-tone to C sol fa ut would necessitate the accidental a♭: there is none included in these particular versets.

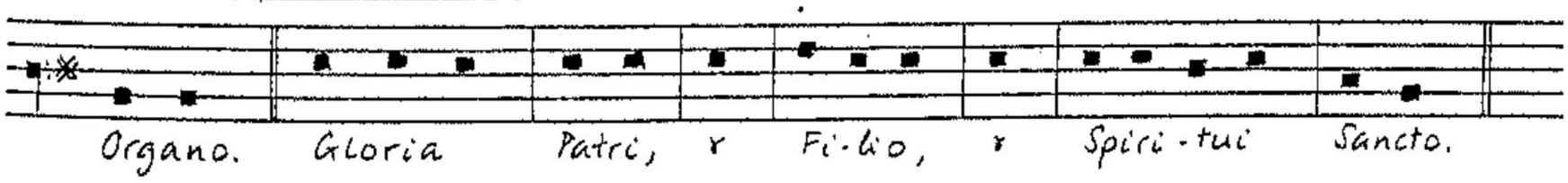
The 8th tone

Although Valls considers that compositions in the 8th tone which keep to their 'natural' diapason are 'más brillantes', he also recognizes, and indeed recommends a transposition to D la sol re (reciting note on g) as well as, curiously enough in the light of practical evidence, that to F fa ut (reciting note on b♭): 'el 8°tono [...] en Psalmos [se transportará] por Dlasolre, o por Ffaut' (f.31). The only practical examples encountered of the F fa ut signo are in José Elías's Músicha de órgano (1717): it is evident that these versets, 'por término de ministriles' (ff.158-61), were specifically designed to accommodate the pitch and tuning of some instruments which might have replaced the organ in an alternatim performance. Although this transposition is feasible on the mean-tone organ it is not one recommended by Nassarre for this function.

As may be gauged from the charts above (pp.239-41), the 8th tone, in sources dating from the sixteenth century onwards, was in fact generally kept in its natural position of G sol re ut (reciting note on c'). However, as Valls infers, this was gradually ousted in favour of the lower D la sol re. Coll exemplifies the latter:

(Ex.13) A. Martín y Coll: Arte (1714); ibid., p.95

Octavo [por D la sol re]



Although there are no examples dating from the sixteenth century of this particular transposition, Correa de Arauxo (1626) claimed that Jerónimo de Peraza (in Seville) was the first to have intabulated versets in the 8th tone with D as the final (see above, p.79). In the seventeenth-century sources it is not unusual to encounter versets in this tone in both their

transposed and natural positions in the same source; these are also distinguished by a subtitle indicating the final. In the Porto Libro de cyfra, for instance, there are a selection of versets 'de 8° tom Natural' (ff.43v-44) by B. de Olague which are therefore distinguished from his succeeding 'Versos de 8° tom por D' (ff.44-45). Similarly, in the cifra portion of the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358) versets in the 8th tone are composed with finals on both G and D.

The Tonus peregrinus

Finally, in addition to the eight psalm-tones which, as described in the previous section, were subject to both elaboration and curtailment (at the intonation) according to function and use, mention should be made of the psalm-tone which is now usually known as the tonus peregrinus. It is the tone traditionally connected with the 113th Psalm 'In exitu Israel de AEgypto' which is generally sung at Sunday Vespers throughout the year. There are of course a few other occasions on which this psalm-tone was used: these were in connexion with antiphons whose melodic behaviour defied a more traditional tonal classification, requiring the ambivalent nature of this tone. Whilst in standard sources of 'Gregorian' chant (such as the Liber Usualis) the associated antiphon at Vespers is 'Deus autem noster' (L.U., p.254), the Spanish sources frequently indicate the antiphon 'Nos qui vivimus'; the melodies of both antiphons, however, are alike.

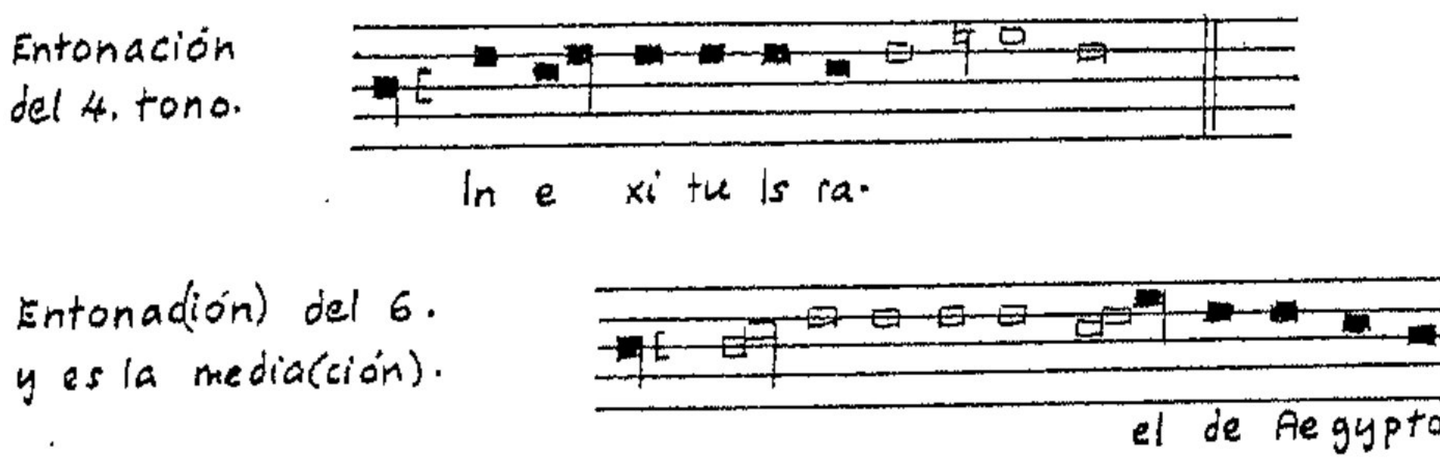
Owing to the singular modal behaviour of this psalm-tone, considerable speculation was aroused in the treatises as to its origins and tonal classification. Although it was frequently referred to as the '9th' psalm-tone - 'a verdade hé que hé nono tom natural (em Alamire)' (Thalesio (1628), Cap.33, p.63) - or as an 'irregular' version of one of the standard psalm-

tones, Cerone on the whole preferred to give it the somewhat more non-commital 'definition' of mixta or mezclada, even though he also acknowledges the description Tono peregrino.[1]

In stating that this was a 'mixed' tone, Cerone produces an interesting analysis of its constituent parts which he says are formed from elements of the 4th, 6th 7th and 3rd psalm-tones. He illustrates his discussion as follows:

XI

Cerone's analysis of the Tonus peregrinus. El Melopeo (1613) (p.424)



1. For example, see the discussion in Cerone's chapter in El Melopeo (Naples, 1613) 'Del tono y de la entonación mixta del Inexitu dominical' (loc.cit., Vol,I, Lib.V, Cap.21, pp.423-5).

The final version which Cerone gives of this psalm-tone ('todo junto') is but one of the many different renderings found in treatises dating from Durán's Lux bella (1509) onwards.

Although there is very little practical evidence for the use of the organ in connexion with this psalm-tone - there are a few fabordón settings, for instance, which may in any case originate in a vocal performance (see below, section (iii), (a), in this chapter) - it clearly would not have escaped the organist's repertory of versets. In his chapter on transposing the psalm-tones on the organ, Coll recommends that the Tonus peregrinus ('Octavo irregular') should in fact be performed at the same pitch as the 1st psalm-tone, which is left untransposed. He writes that the cantor will pitch the reciting note (of the first half of the psalm-tone) at the interval of a fifth above the final chord of D la sol re:

> Quando se canta [el tono que llaman Octavo irregular] con el Organo, ha de tocar el Organista, por término de primer tono, dexando el final en D.la sol re. Y el cantor tomará su entonación, o cuerda en el la, de A.la mi re, cinco puntos más arriba.
>
> (A. Martín y Coll: Arte de Canto llano, Madrid, 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.14°, p.54.)

Having established that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at least the principle behind transposing the psalm-tones for performance with the organ was to ensure that the reciting notes were kept at a comfortable and near-constant pitch, the recommendations made by both Coll and Valls for transposition may be reviewed on the following charts.

XII

1. Martín y Coll's recommendations for psalm-tone transposition

(Arte de Canto llano, Madrid, 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.14°, pp.53-4,[1] and Lib.2°, Cap.10°, pp.93-6.)

Tono	'Organo'	Final & Signo	Reciting note	Interval between final and reciting note	Signature
1	(d)	D la sol re	a	5th	-
2	e	E la mi	g	3rd	f♯
3	e	E la mi	g	3rd	f♯
4	(e)	E la mi	a	4th	-
5	e	E la mi	g	3rd	f♯
	c	C sol fa ut	g	5th	-
6	(f)	F fa ut	a	3rd	b♭
7	e	E la mi	a	4th	f♯
		D la sol re 'punto baxo'	g	"	b♭
8	d	D la sol re	g	4th	f♯
T.P.	d	D la sol re	a (& g)	5th	-

2. Valls's recommendations for psalm-tone transposition.

(Mapa Armónico, 1742; Cap.V, § III, ff.30-31v (MBN M 1071).)

Tone	Final & Signo	Reciting note	Interval between final and reciting note	Signature[2]
(1	[D la sol re]	a	5th	-)
2	'E la mi'	g	3rd	f♯
	'G sol re ut'	b♭	"	b♭
3	'E la mi'	g	3rd	f♯
	'G sol re ut'	b♭	"	b♭
(4	[E la mi]	a	4th	-)
5	'E la mi'	g	3rd	f♯
	'C sol fa ut'	g	5th	-
(6	[F fa ut]	a	3rd	b♭
7	'E la mi'	a	4th	f♯
	'D la sol re'	g	"	b♭
8	'D la sol re'	g	4th	f♯
	'F fa ut'	b♭	"	b♭

---

1. This chapter from Coll's Arte is reproduced in the appendix (pp.551-2).

2. The accidentals in the column 'Signature' in Valls's chart are editorial.

(iii)

Organ versets based on the psalm-tones

There is a wide variety of compositional procedures used in the construction of organ versets designed for alternatim performance with the singing of the psalms and canticles. They range from those which may be regarded as ostensibly straightforward 'harmonizations' of the psalm-tones (the fabordones), to those employing definite contrapuntal techniques associated with compositions based on plainchant, and finally to those in a freer style whose position in the repertory of psalm-tone versets is largely gauged by their conformity to a general modal (or tonal) scheme. The latter type which have largely eschewed any thematic links with the psalm-tones, are nevertheless written in various styles: homophonic, fugal and one with an idiomatic bias both as regards figuration and organ colour. The principal interest of this section rests with the versets whose form and thematic material are derived from the psalm-tones themselves. It is clear that the first category of verset - the fabordón - was the nucleus for the development of the more sophisticated contrapuntal genre which was made manifest in the seventeenth century in particular. The sources containing the most significant proportion of the (contrapuntal) verset proper, which form the basis of this study, will be described at the outset of the second part of this discussion (see below, (b) 'The organ verset: contrapuntal techniques of composition', p.312 seq.).

(a)

The fabordón

In the sources of instrumental music (vihuela and organ) of Spain and and Portugal dating from the sixteenth century onwards may be encountered a number of quite short pieces bearing the inscription fabordón. (Alternatively the term may be spelt favordón and in Portuguese, fabordão.) In the collections of organ music dating from as far back as the seventeenth century at least, these pieces are generally integrated within a larger corpus of versets destined for alternatim performance with the singing of the psalms; they are, in short, essentially a type of psalm-tone 'verset'. However, their actual physical position in these collections suggests that they were regarded as separate entities, entertaining a particular function or association. In earlier (fifteenth- and sixteenth-century) sources they are usually grouped according to the modal series, with one example per tone: of particular significance is a late fifteenth-century manuscript from Barcelona which 'presents the falsobordoni [sic] in an entirely new kind of way, namely without text and arranged tonally, starting with tone I and going through tone VIII' (Bradshaw (1978), p.19): it is precisely this type of arrangement which occurs in the majority of Iberian sources. In the later sources of organ music (seventeenth- and eighteenth-century) the fabordones are either similarly grouped according to the modes or may be found at the start of each series of versets in a particular tone, in the manner of the entrada. Furthermore, in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources of instrumental music, two stylistic categories emerge: the fabordón llano and the fabordón glosado. However, the actual term fabordón in association with a special type of verset appears with

less regularity in the later sources. The explanation for this may be deduced from the observations made below where it will emerge that, as a category of musical composition, the fabordón had very little scope for expansion or development. It was a genre which owing to its origin would necessarily retain distinctive characteristics of form and style. It is of particular significance that it was originally conceived as a vocal composition for liturgical use which was later, or perhaps simultaneously, assimilated into the instrumental repertory. To a certain degree, therefore, it may be compared with the numerous intabulations of polyphonic motets, chansons and masses which were made for instrumental performance.

However, before considering the fabordón as a compositional genre per se, one should attempt to distinguish between the use of the term as used in association with a musical style or idiom and that as used in connexion with the ostensibly formal manifestation which arose from singing the psalm-tones in harmony.

Clearly, in a manner which may be likened superficially to the fauxbourdon, the term fabordón was used to refer to a style of choral singing which in addition to the psalm-tones was associated with the performance of other items of plainchant such as verses and responses. Apparently the earliest Spanish reference to fabordón as a style occurs in Juan de Lucena's Libro de vida beata dating from the mid-fifteenth century; in this work, Lucena mentions fabordón as a traditional way of singing ('por uso') which he contrasts unfavourably with that of the more refined art of polyphonists.[1] Although we have no practical

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1. See 'Fauxbourdon' in the New Groves (1980), vol.6, p.434.

examples to illustrate this style of fabordón it was clearly one which was simple enough to be improvised. In the 1730 Ceremonial Seráfico, for instance, one learns that in the church services for more important feast days, including such first-class feasts as the Ascension, Corpus Christi and the '40 horas do Lausperenne', various items, usually sung in plainchant, are to be performed in fabordão style 'como hé uso na Provincia'. In Noa (None) on the feast of the Ascension, for instance, certain responsories including 'Paravit sedem suam, alleluia', and likewise the versicle ('Gaude et laetare Virgo Maria, alleluia') which follows the antiphon 'Regina caeli' are to be sung in fabordão style:

> [o] Coro se cantará a Antífona Regina caeli laetare com o verso de fabordão'.
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730, 2ª Parte, Trat.VII, Cap.I, (n.) 309, p.241.)

Evidently it was a term used in conjunction with any (four-part) chordal sequence in the overall sense of 'consonant' harmony, such as was described on one occasion by Lorente: 'las vozes entren juntas a Fabordón, o consonancias [...]' (El Porqué (1672); Cap.46). Furthermore, in the same chapter describing the celebration of Noa on the feast of the Ascension in the Ceremonial Seráfico, specific reference is made to an alternative performance of the tonus peregrinus or '9th' psalm-tone ('nono tom') in fabordão. Although this particular psalm-tone is generally associated with the 113th psalm 'In exitu', in this instance it is the Psalm 'Mirabilia testimonia tua' which is to be sung 'com muito pausa, e solemnidade' to the '9th' tone in alternatim fashion. In this arrangement, the choir of the 'Capella Môr' sings in plainchant whilst the choir in the 'coro alto' responds, as a 'crowd' ('de chusma'), in fabordão style to the accompaniment of the organ:

> [...] e dando logo o Orgão o tom, levantarão todos juntos os da Capella môr o Psalmo Mirabilia testimonia tua do mesmo modo, que se canta o nono tom, ou Psalmo In exitu Israel de AEgypto com muito pausa, e solemnidade, observendo-se no Coro da Capella môr os pontos do Canto chão, e no Coro alto respondendo-se de chusma com o Orgão de Fabordão, como he uso na Provincia [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.VII, Cap.I, (n.) 30, p.23.)

Examples of this style of performance in which the choir with the organ, in fabordón, alternates with the plainchant may be encountered in the musical archives of the royal convent of Mafra, in manuscripts dating from the mid-eighteenth to the nineteenth century.[1]

Although this documentary evidence for vocal performance in fabordón style dates from a relatively late period, it is nevertheless indicative that this was a long-standing practice ('hé uso') and that it was applicable to various types of plainchant. Of considerable significance in this context is the reference to the singing of psalms 'de fabordão' for it was evidently from this tradition that the fabordón as a genre in its own right emerged, acquiring, as we shall learn, a definite form and (harmonic) pattern. It is made clear from the instrumental sources in particular that the name was adopted for specific compositions which demonstrated or originated in a particular style of psalm-tone setting. Generally, though, documentation relating to this practice is scanty. However R. Stevenson has drawn attention to a few relevant texts: these include an oposición for the post of maestro de capilla at Toledo cathedral in 1545 in which the candidate is required 'to write a fabordón'. (See Stevenson (repr. 1974), p.29.) There are also a few references

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1. There is also documentary evidence for the singing of fabordones to the accompaniment of the organ(s) at El Escorial quoted in Rubio (1974/3), p.70.

to the singing of the psalms in fabordón style at compline in some cathedrals (ibid., p.337, n.99 and Durán Gudiol (1964), p.51).

Evidently the terms fabordón and fabordão may be linked etymologically with the French equivalent fauxbordon, the Italian falsobordone and the English faburden. However, despite their common root, these terms in their appropriate linguistic guises applied to essentially differing musical styles and even genres of composition. As already mentioned, the Spanish fabordón may only be linked with the French fauxbordon by virtue of the fact that both featured chordal or 'consonant' harmonies; however, the fifteenth-century Burgundian style, characterized essentially by successions of chords in their 'first-inversion', had little connexion with the Iberian manifestation - for one thing, the fabordón was constructed from chordal progressions in root position. However, with regard to the fabordón as a compositional genre based on the psalm-tones, it may be related to the falsobordone which at an early stage was generally applied to 'a psalm-tone composition consisting of two four-part recitations each followed by a four-part cadence.' (Bradshaw (1978), p.35.)

The use of the same term, or derivations of the same, for apparently differing musical styles has led to controversial speculation regarding its origin - a situation which Bradshaw, for instance, has attempted to clarify in his monograph The Falsobordone (1978). The author makes a fairly detailed study of the falsobordone as a genre and style of musical composition, viewing the Iberian and Italian types in the same line of development from the beginning until the seventeenth century and even employing the term falsobordone generically. In his monograph, Bradshaw suggests that, owing to the location of the earliest

examples of the falsobordone as a genre in sources from areas in southern Europe, this style of psalm-tone performance may indeed have originated in the Iberian peninsula or possibly the then Aragonese kingdom of Naples.

Although we already have practical evidence of what we will regard as the 'standard' fabordón in late fifteenth-century manuscripts from Spain and Portugal, it is possible that the 'pruning' activities associated with the reforms of the Council of Trent (1545-63) played no small part in encouraging a style of concerted psalm-tone performance in a straightforward harmonic idiom. The 'new' falsobordone style adopted by Paolo Isnardi in 1585 for a set of Vesper psalms ('con nova maniera de consonanza, over come dicono falsobordone' (Bettley (1976-7), p.1)) may possibly be regarded as a reflection of this. Speaking of Spanish practices Cerone explains how in fact polyphonic settings were ousted in favour of this type: '[...] en estos Reynos de España, no es en uso el cantar los Salmos en Música, si no a Fabordones' (El Melopeo, Naples, 1613; Vol.II, Lib.XII, Cap.14, p.689).

However, whilst Bradshaw's thesis largely depends upon the tracing of an 'ideal' (sic) cantus firmus (that is to say, implied) derived from the psalm-tones in the musical lines of the compositions exemplified, embracing even the Venetian Intonazione and the toccata whose origins 'lay in the singing of Vesper psalms in a 4 harmony' (Bradshaw (1972), p.86), it is proposed here that although the fabordón and the falsobordone may as musical genres share the same origins, their proper evolution should be considered separately. In the present study, therefore, any characteristics of the fabordón which are outlined should be viewed as pertaining almost exclusively to the Iberian counterpart.

On the basis of their respective intended realizations in performance the musical sources relevant to this account may be divided into two

categories: first the vocal settings (with or without text), and second the instrumental arrangements (mostly for organ) which are generally entitled fabordón. However, apart from the glosado manifestations which are especially idiomatic to keyboard instruments and some of the (later) examples in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century organ manuscripts, the fabordón, whether vocal or instrumental, consisted of virtually unvarying musical characteristics. These will be described below.

The common factor of the fabordón and the falsobordone (as opposed to the fauxbordon) lies in their respective presentation of psalm-tones in a four-part chordal context in which a fundamental bass-line, with its leaps of fourths and fifths, outlines a succession of root-position chords. It is the present thesis that the two may be distinguished, one from the other, by the fact that the Iberian type may be consistently identified with a series of recognizable harmonic patterns peculiar to each psalm-tone. It is the bass-line itself which is the salient feature of the fabordón, even though the psalm-tone may be traced in one of the upper three parts. It may be reiterated here that in this respect our analysis differs from that of Bradshaw (1972 and 1978) who chose to trace the evolution of this genre, through related vocal and instrumental compositions in Italy and Spain, by asserting the relevance of a musical composition to a psalm-tone on horizontal terms alone. (In Bradshaw's Origin of the toccata (1972) this view even embraced the Iberian fabordones glosados 'which served as models for the more assured and brilliant intonazioni of the two Gabrielis' (op.cit. p.22).)

The Iberian fabordón, then, may be defined as a through-composed, four-part, setting of a 'simple' psalm-tone in which a bipartite structure reflects that of the psalm-tone itself. According to the style and, to some extent, degree of elaboration, as also the signo chosen for their

presentation, these settings were either intended for vocal performance (in place of monophonic plainchant) or for the organ (or other instruments such as the vihuela) presumably as a type of alternatim verset. Evidently it first arose as a straight-forward, unsophisticated, four-part rendering of the psalm-tone for voices alone - the 8th tone 'Cum invocarem' setting in CBGU MM 242 (f.172), which is included in the anthology (p. 1), is a typical example; in time it acquired a life of its own whereby it could be identified not so much with a melodic formula as with a particular chordal progression. Apropos the discussion above concerning the requisites of an organ verset for alternatim performance with the psalm-tones, the fabordón should at least feature two focal points in the chordal scheme: the last chord of the cadence at the mediation and that of the final cadence of the saeculorum. (As already stated, these would usually consist of chords whose roots were derived from the reciting note at the mediation and the last note of the standard saeculorum formula of the particular psalm-tone respectively.)

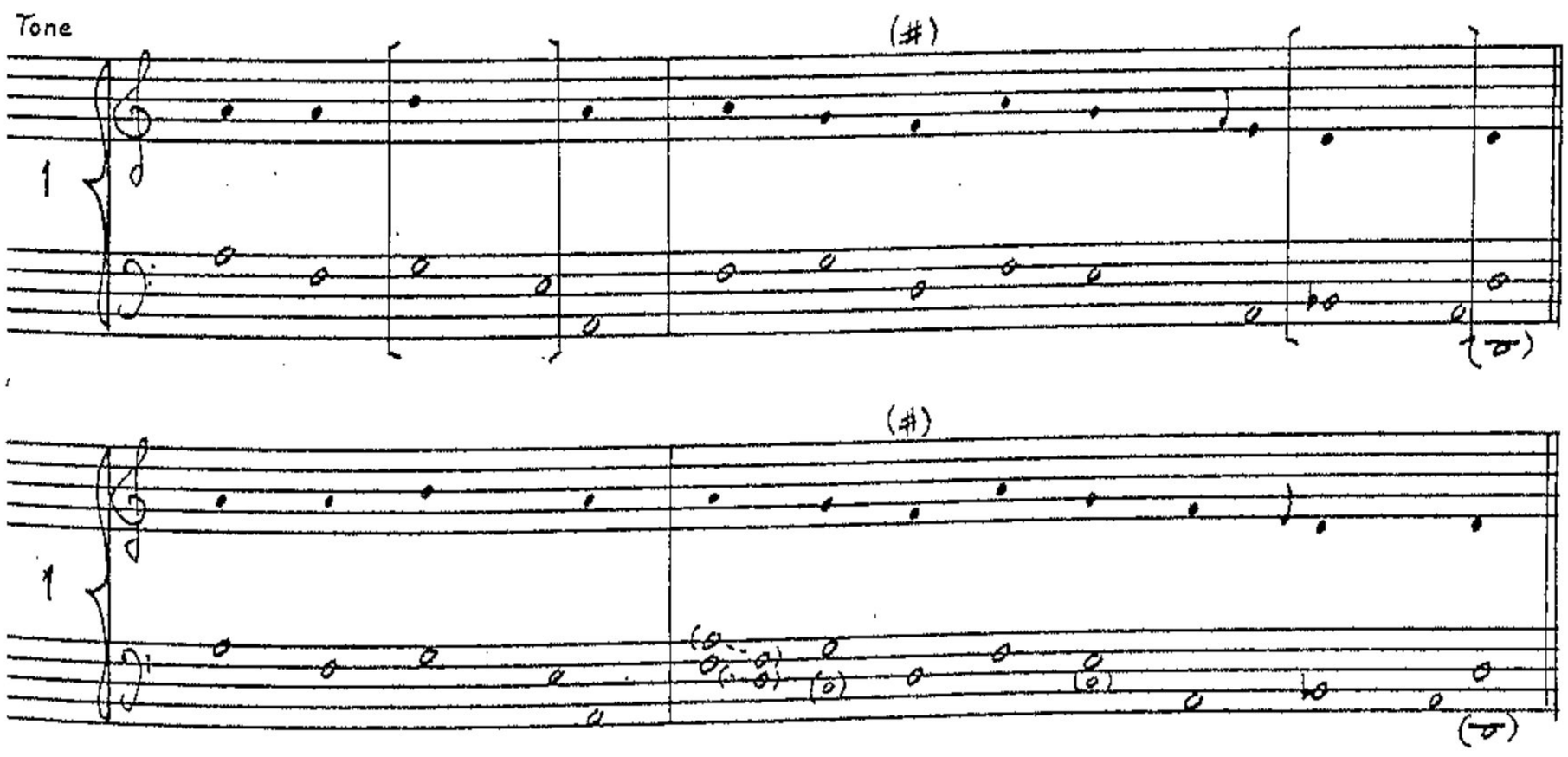
The emphasis of the fabordón on a clear cadential structure with a real accompanying bass-line supporting root-position chords inspired a quaint metaphor by Lorente who, in his definition of the fabordón, likened the fundamental bass to a walking stick or staff which man may use as a prop.

> Dizse Fabordón, de la dicción, palabra u voz Música, FA; y Baculus, i, que significa el Bordón, o Báculo (que todo es uno) porque assí como el Bordón o Báculo, es de alivio al hombre, sirviendole su arrimo (en el movimiento local) de sustento al Edificio corpóreo, supliendo (la fortaleza) su debilidad; de la misma manera el Fabordón sirve en la Composición de cada uno de los Tonos (con los puntos firmes en el Baxo, que en la sonora harmonía les han sido aplicados) de sustento, y fortaleza en lo solido de la consonancia, hallando patrocinio en los intervalos, ó movimientos locales, sustentando el Canto Llano de cada uno de los tonos [...]
>
> (P. Lorente: El Porqué, Alcalá de Henares, 1672; Lib.2, Cap.46, p.566.)

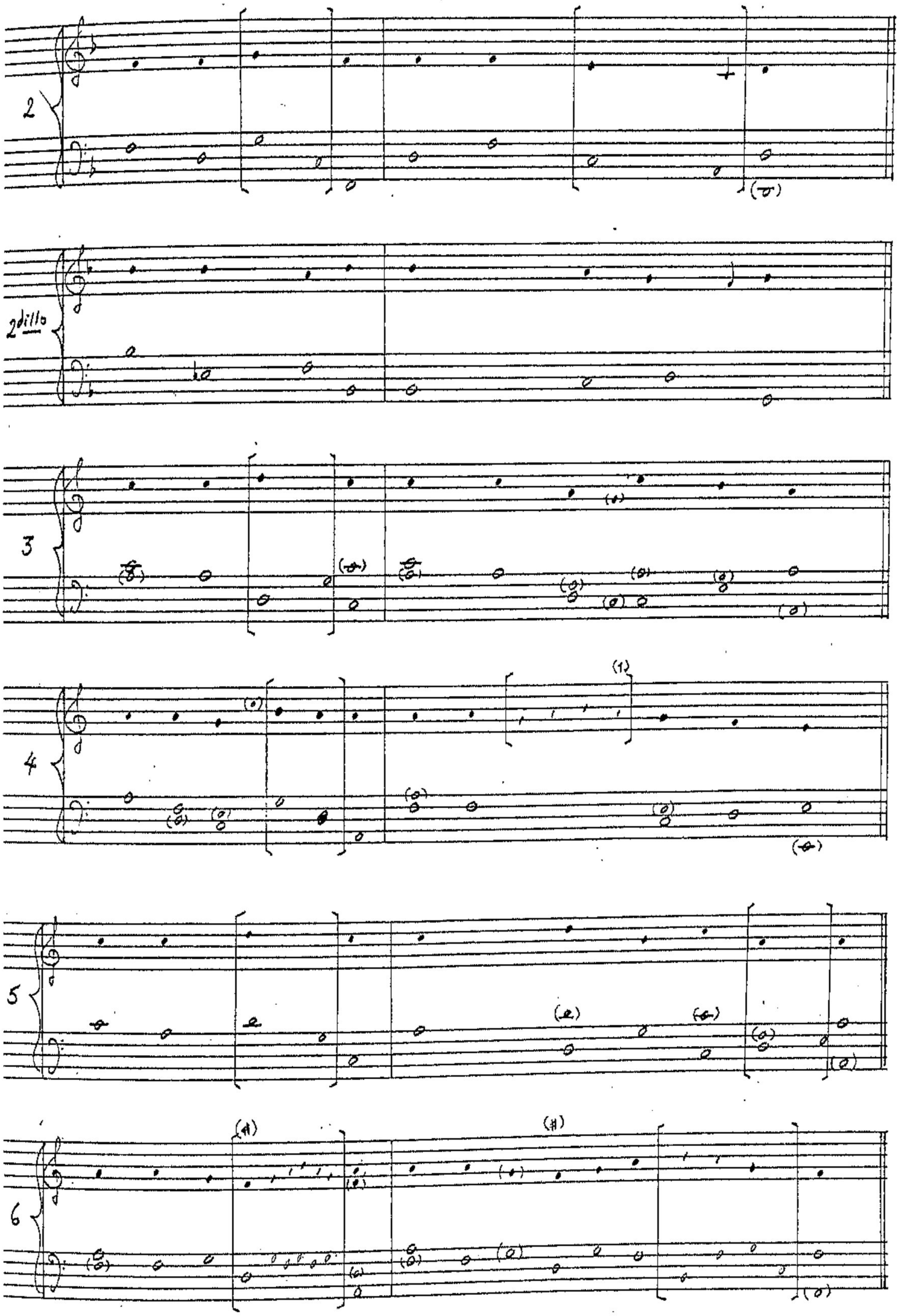
Furthermore, the proposition that it is with an 'harmonic' pattern that a fabordón may be identified is confirmed by the chapter in Torres's Reglas generales (1702) entitled 'De las cláusulas con que se acompañan los versos solos en canto de órgano' (Cap.21, pp.134-7). Here, the author states that the psalm-tones ('tonos') have proper cadential formulae which the accompanist should retain by memory: '[...] tienen sus cláusulas proprias, que son las quales debe tener en la memoria el acompañante' (loc.cit., p.134). He exemplifies the bass-lines only of the 2nd, 5th, 7th and 8th tones (which illustrate his statement that these are the ones which are regularly used for 'versos solos'), following each with a slightly shorter formula inscribed 'su fabordón'.

As may be gauged from the following examples which have been derived from an analysis of both vocal and instrumental fabordones dating from the late fifteenth century onwards, it has indeed been possible to reduce the harmonic outlines of these psalm-tone compositions to just one or two simple formulae for each of the (nine) tones. Torres's own examples conform with each of the relevant formulae.

XIII The fabordón: harmonic outlines.



XIII (Cont.)



1. BBC M.454 only: see Bradshaw (1978), p. 37.

XIII (Cont.)

7

7
[Difuntos]

8

8vilio

T. P.

(*)

It has been possible as a result to ascertain the 'function' or at least the origin of a number of other organ versets in the repertory which bear no particular verbal designation. Similarly, these harmonic outlines have provided a key to the understanding of the underlying principle of late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century fabordones included in BBC M.1011, by Hervás and Tormo; superficially, the stylistic features of their fabordones do not always resemble the 'plain' (llano) type which persisted from the late fifteenth-century vocal examples even to the fabordones llanos found in the Coll MSS at the turn of the eighteenth century. The bass-line formulae also played a vital role in the instrumental fabordones glosados which first emerged in the sixteenth century.

The examples of fabordón compositions which form the basis of the present study have been drawn from a selection of both primary and secondary sources: these include Bradshaw's The falsobordone (1978) in which are contained a few transcriptions from two early Spanish sources (BBC M.454 and SBC M.7-1-28[1]); two manuscripts from Coimbra (CBGU MM.12 and MM.242) dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively; Venegas de Henestrosa's Libro de cifra (1557); Santa María's Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasía (1565); Cabezón's posthumous Obras de música (1578) as edited by Anglés (1966); the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM M.1577); Lorente's El porqué (1672) as noted in BBC M.417; Torres's Reglas generales (1702); and some of the seventeenth- to eighteenth-century manuscripts of organ music at Madrid and Barcelona (MBN M.1358 and M.1359, M.2267 (Martín y Coll's

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1. The number cited for this particular manuscript from the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville varies in Bradshaw's monograph (1978): cf. pp.30 and 159.

Ramillete, 1709) M.1187, and BBC M.1011). (A selection of these are included in the anthology.)

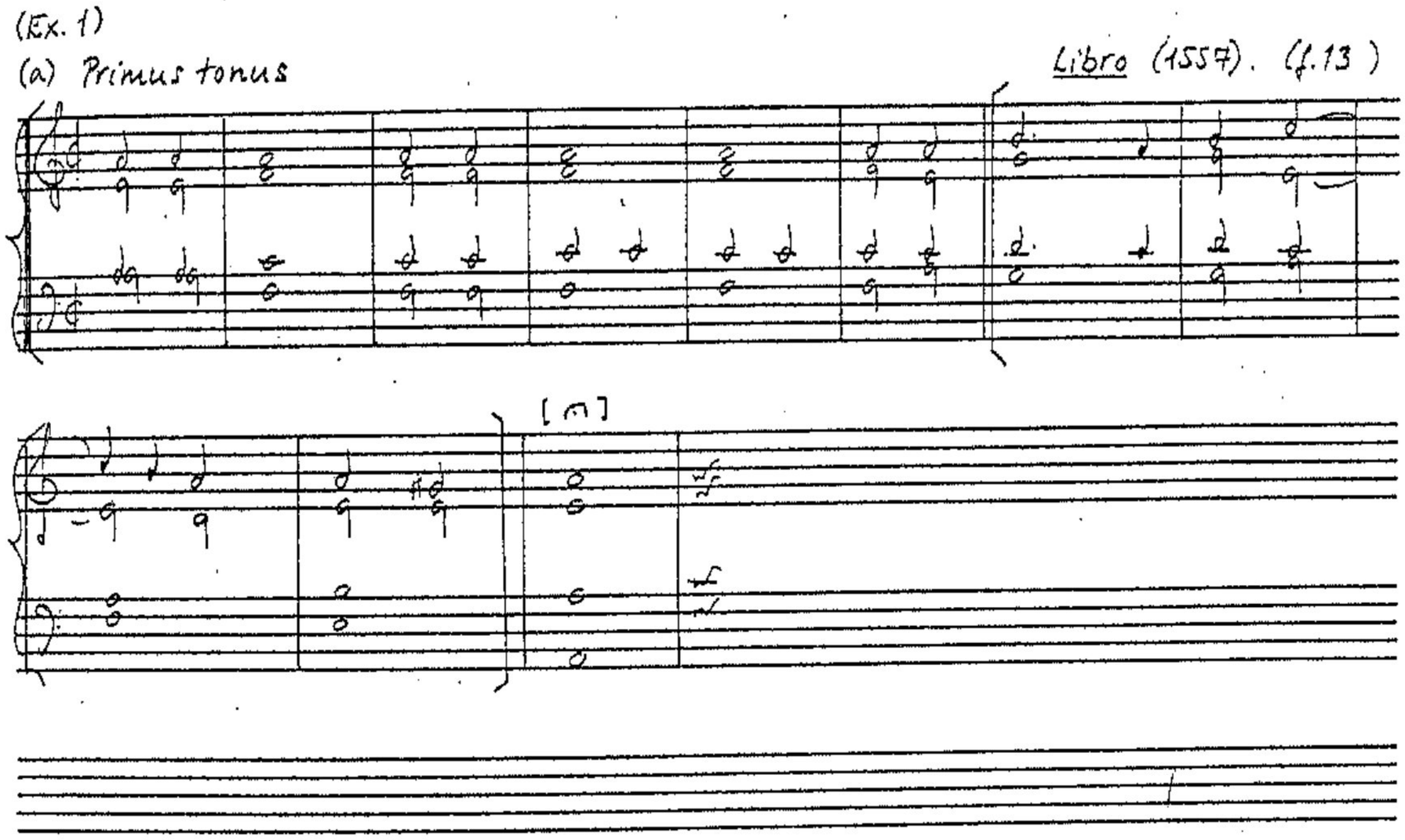
In the traditional fabordón, the harmonic scheme as a whole follows a very definite pattern: the movement in each half of the psalm-tone setting proceeds from one chord (of which the reciting note generally constitutes the equivalent of the root or the third) to a final cadential phrase, usually embracing a 'perfect cadence'. Possibly in order to provide variety for the somewhat static quality of a persisting reciting note, the first half of the fabordón frequently commences with a drop of a third in the bass-line, giving the composition a characteristic 'modal' quality. (Although this movement sometimes occurs at the beginning of the second half of the setting, the latter portion is more likely to open with this interval of a third below the reciting note already present in the bass-line.) In the chart above, the bass notes which have been included in round brackets indicate alternatives to the basic scheme; these variants were not considered sufficiently significant to warrant a separate illustration - an exception, however, was made of the 7th tone which, according to Torres's treatise, may have accommodated for a particular saeculorum associated with services for the dead ('Difuntos'). One of the most striking features of the 'standard' fabordón, as represented first by the later fifteenth-century vocal examples and the majority of those in sixteenth-century collections, is the articulation achieved by the rhythmic transformation and impetus of the lines with many of the cadential periods, particularly those punctuating the mediation. It transpires that the hemiola-like rhythm which occurs is largely the result of a decoration of the notes of a psalm-tone which 'rise' at the mediation. As indicated by the square bracket in many of the examples on the chart, this characteristic is

particularly evident in the 1st, 2nd (not segundillo), 3rd, 5th and 8th tones. The following extracts from the fabordones in the 1st tone from the 1557 Libro and the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359) demonstrate how this trait was virtually a permanent feature of the fabordón (llano) for at least two centuries.

(Ex. 1)

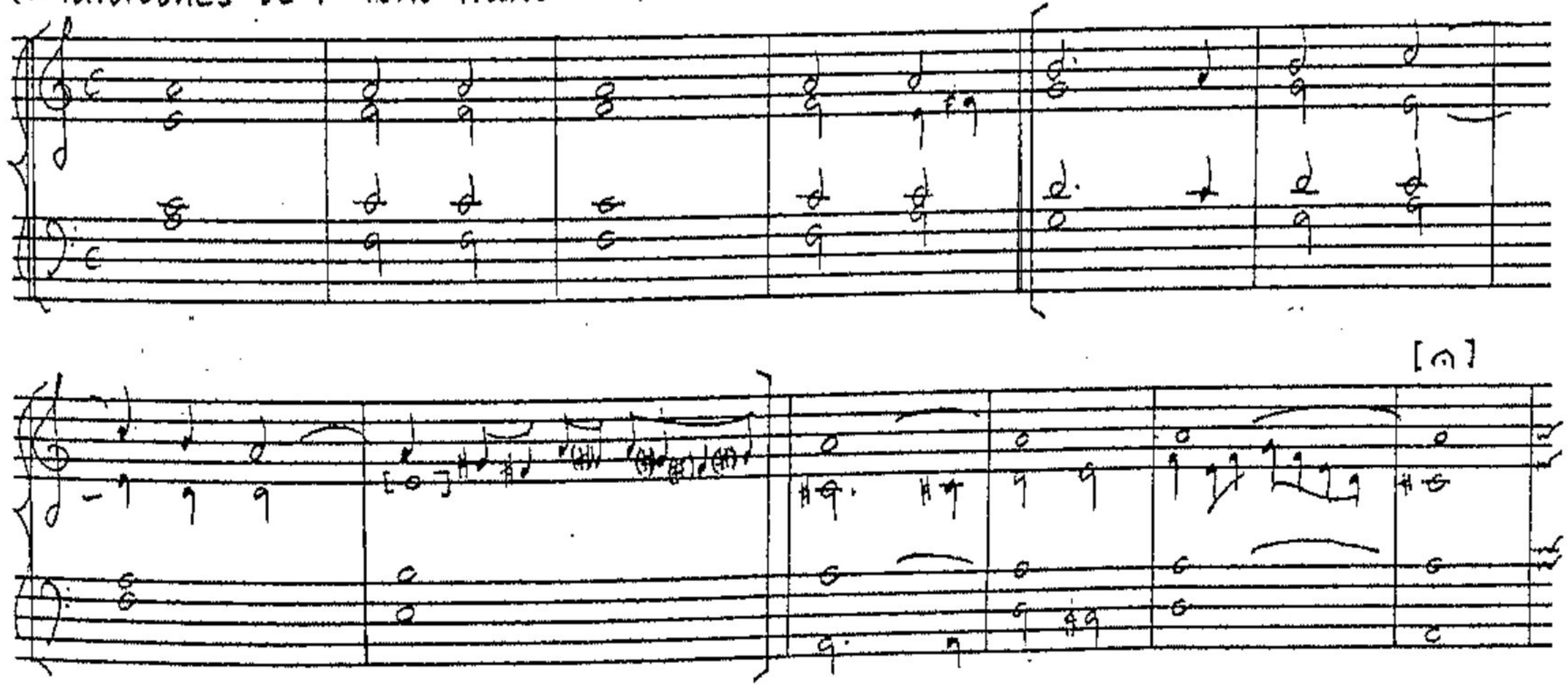
(a) Primus tonus

Libro (1557). (f.13)



(b) Fabordones de 1° tono llano

MBN M.1359 (p. 1)

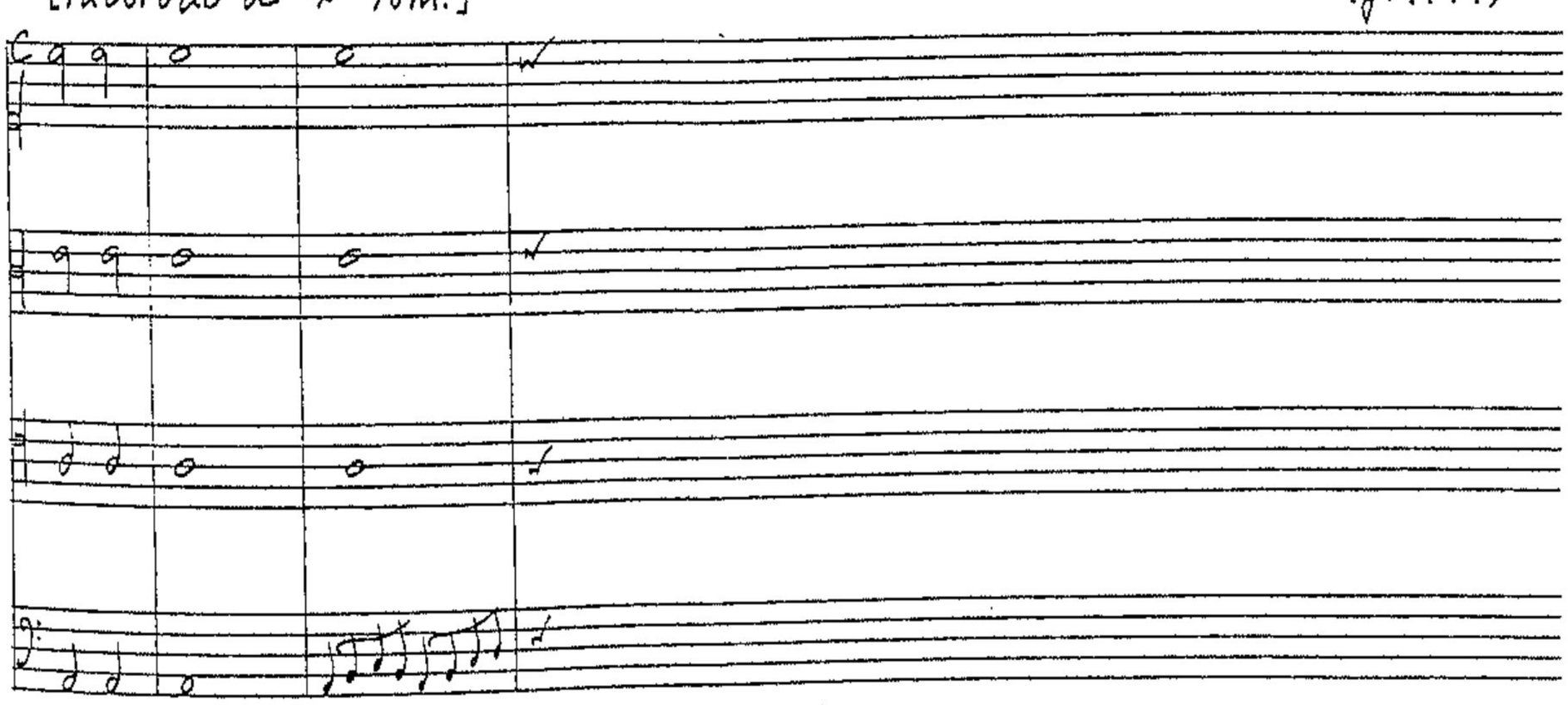


In the llano versions in particular, and to some extent in the glosado arrangements, the voice which carries the psalmodic outline is easily distinguishable. In the most traditional fabordones, the psalm-tone is contained in the top part or tiple; in those in the 7th tone, however, the psalm-tone is invariably placed in the tenor part. The exceptions to this rule are normally encountered where there is more than one setting for any tone in the same source. It is clear for instance that Santa María's settings were for the most part deliberately designed as alternatives to the 'norm', as regards both contrapuntal composition and cantus-firmus writing, in which the psalm-tone was placed in the tiple: he includes examples 'por el contralto' and 'por el tenor'. (See Libro (1565), Lib.2°, Cap.16, ff.42v-8.) The same varying principle applies to Carreira's settings in CBGU MM 242; moreover, most unusually, his sole fabordão in the 4th tone comprises a 'migrating' cantus firmus which, corresponding with the bipartite division of the composition, is transferred from the tenor to the tiple. (The change of voice for the psalm-tone frequently affects the choice of harmony for the opening chord.)

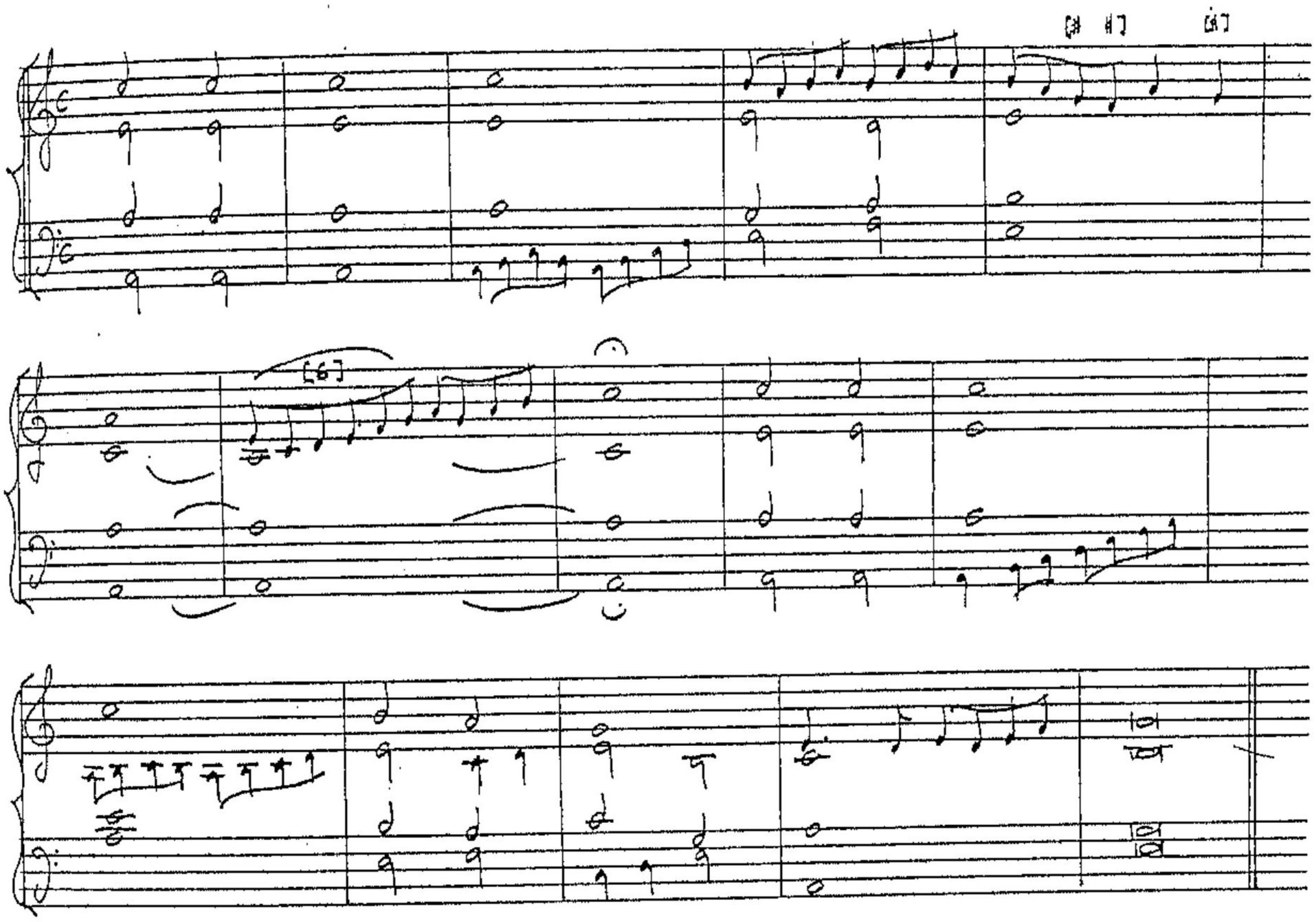
(Ex. 2)

CBGU MM.242
(f.119r.)

[Fabordão de 4° tom.]



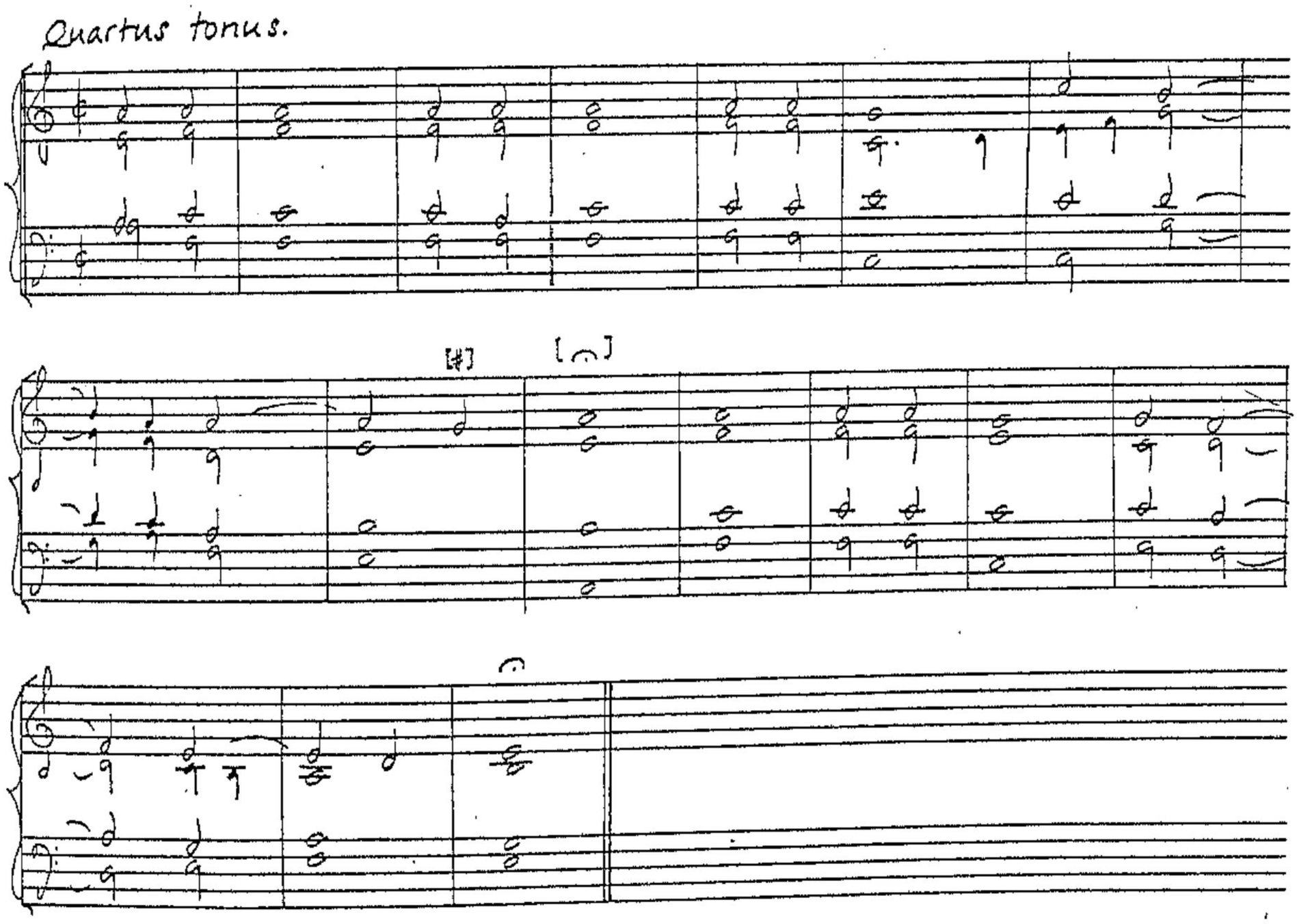
(Ex. 2 cont.)



Generally speaking the 'simple' version of the psalm-tone, albeit elaborated at the cadential periods in particular, is complete and presents the 'standard' saeculorum formula associated with each tone (the 'Difuntos' version of the 7th psalm-tone is the notable exception). Each note of the psalm-tone is usually harmonized individually. In the 1st tone, however, as illustrated by the examples from Venegas's Libro (1557) and MBN. M.1359 above, the f or the e of the characteristic five-note descent from a for the saeculorum is used as a passing note, thus varying the harmonic progression slightly at this point. In either

case, however, the distinctive almost 'phrygian' cadential preparation in the bass - A-B♭-A - is consistent. By way of contrast, it is extremely surprising to see that in all the 4th tone settings, with the exception of the vocal arrangements in BBC M.454, the saeculorum has been abbreviated and excludes the familiar rise from the reciting note a to b♮ which normally initiates the melodic formula. The llano setting in the 1557 Libro de cifra may be instanced.

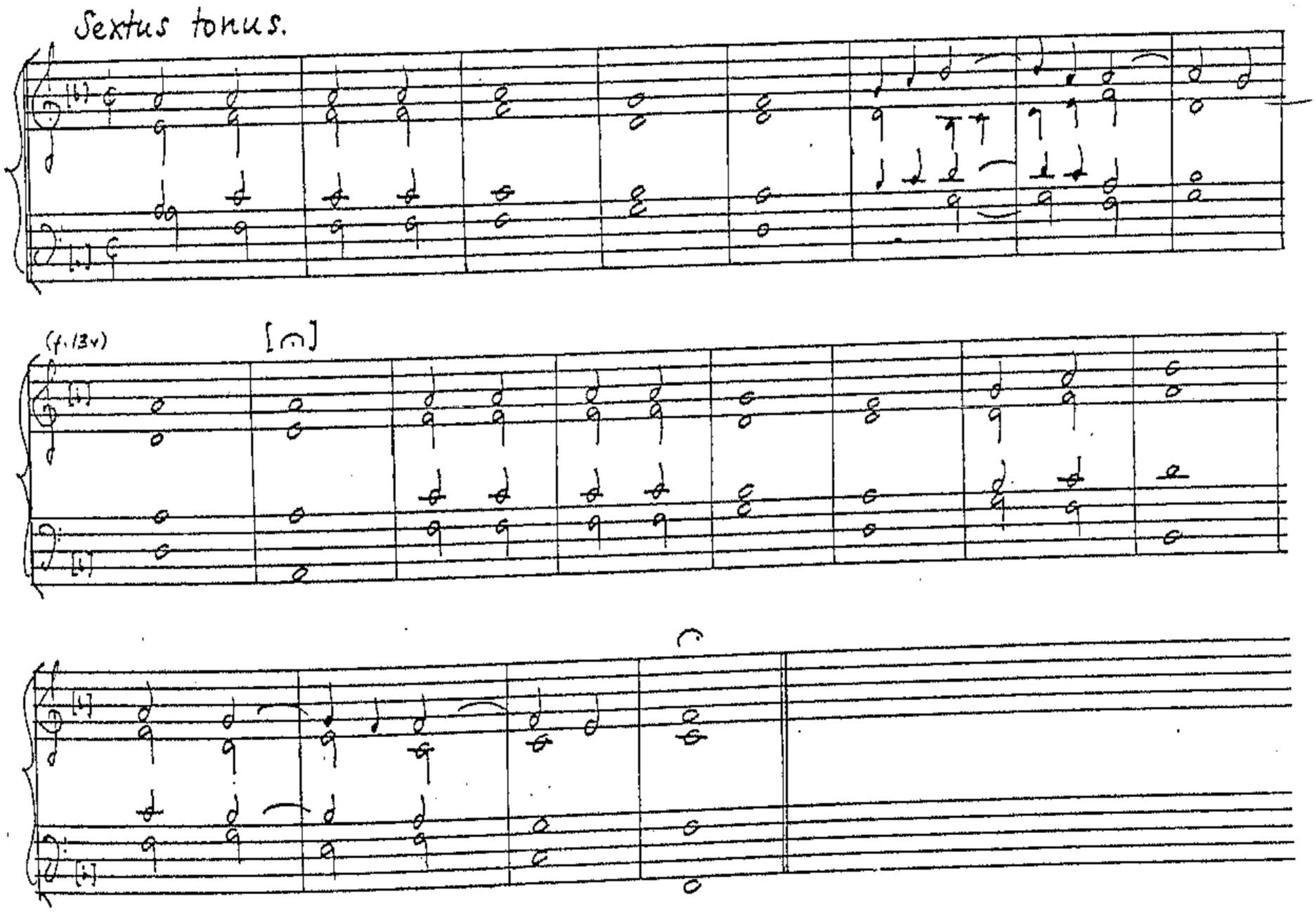
(Ex. 3) Libro (1557) (f.13)



Finally, it may be noticed that composers freely added accidentals to the lines carrying the psalm-tones particularly where one of these notes formed the 'third' of a resolving chord of an 'imperfect' cadence: the progression a-g-f♯ in the 1st, 6th and '9th' tones were frequently

interpreted harmonically in this way. Historically, however, these may be late accretions of which Bermudo would doubtless have disapproved. The 6th tone (llano) settings in the sixteenth-century Libro and Obras publications may be compared; although these two are virtually indistinguishable, the essentially more modal character of the Libro settings as a whole may be appreciated not only by their more frequent omission of (written) accidentals but also by the very opening chords which never include a third.

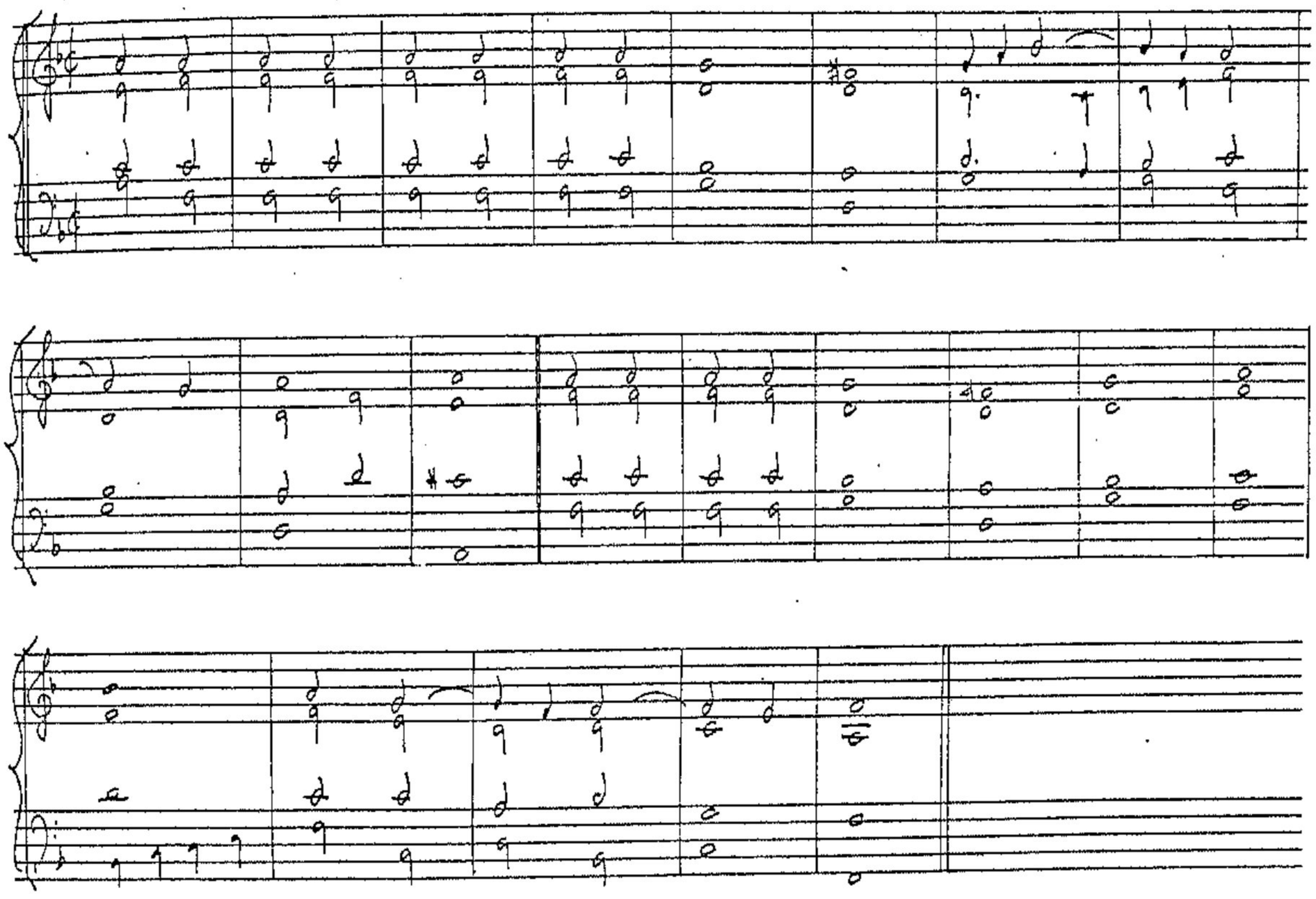
(Ex. 4) Libro (1557) (f. 13-13v)



(Ex. 5)

Cabezón: Obras (1578) (f. 13)
(Anglés ed. (1966).) -

(Fabordón de 6° tono llano.)



These characteristics of the fabordón are applicable to a very large extent both to the vocal settings of the ('simple') psalm-tones in this style (from the ones in later fifteenth-century manuscripts to a number dating from the eighteenth century) and to the instrumental arrangements, principally those which are distinguished as fabordones llanos. The above-mentioned manuscript from Barcelona (BBC M.454) presents (vocal) fabordones as evidently well-established genres which, along with the early Coimbra examples (CBGU MM.12), demonstrate a degree of sophistication not apparent in other early settings such as the

'Cum invocarem' in the 8th tone from CBGU MM.242. Indeed, it was this type especially which accounted for the form and behaviour of the instrumental settings for at least two centuries: the llano settings in the Libro (1557) and Obras (1578), for instance, barely differ from the vocal prototype and the series included in the second and third Coll MSS are probably the ultimate vestiges of this particular style - it has been described how the hemiola cadential period, a recognizable feature of the fabordón, was an integral part of the llano versions in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359).

Of even greater significance with regard to the organ verset repertory, however, was the style of fabordón which emerged with organists and composers exploiting the possibilities of adapting an ostensibly vocal genre to the keyboard. These fabordón arrangements may have incorporated a greater degree of contrapuntal movement and decorative figuration, particularly at the cadences, or have been even more self-consciously transformed into a more fanciful yet genuinely idiomatic glosado manifestation. However, even where the psalm-tone may have been temporarily submerged by elaborate contrapuntal writing, the music as a whole remained firmly attached to an identifiable bass-pattern and the 'cláusulas proprias' of each tone. It was evidently in these, rather than in the more straight-forward llano genre, that a composer's individuality might emerge.

The set of anonymous and untitled pieces for organ in CBGU MM 242 (ff.118v-20v), which bear all the characteristics of the present definition of fabordón (or fabordão), have more recently been identified by Kastner as being the work of the royal chapel organist António Carreira (1525-89) who was a Portuguese contemporary of Antonio Cabezón (1510-66). Stylistically speaking, Carreira's fabordãos are neither

strictly llano nor glosado in the vein of Cabezón's own examples, but are characterized by freely distributed embellishing figurations which might, as in the case of the second setting in the 2nd tone (anthology, p.13) feature a recurring rhythmic pattern. Generally, the traditional pause at the mediation is marked by a cessation of the contrapuntal movement.

Similarly, Santa María's (1565) settings consist of a more elaborate llano realization. However, these examples which are invariably accompanied by an appropriate psalm-text, fall midway between a vocal and an instrumental interpretation. Santa María is consciously demonstrating different contrapuntal techniques which include varying the voice that carries the psalm-tone (cantus firmus) and, in the case of those settings 'por el contra alto', the interval between this part and the one above (the 'tiple'). Of particular curiosity are the fabordones in the 1st tone, unique for their individual treatment of the itial 'flexo' of the psalm-tone. It may also be noticed that some very slight variations on the 'standard' harmonic patterns may occur in Santa María's examples. (See anthology, p. 18 seq.)

The first appearance of the term fabordón glosado occurs in two instrumental sources from the sixteenth century: Venegas de Henestrosa's Libro de cifra nueva (1557) and Cabezón's Obras de música (1578). In the Libro the fabordones glosados are grouped according to the eight tones (there are two examples in the 8th tone) as a separate entity from the llano settings, whereas in the Obras each fabordón llano is succeeded by three glosado arrangements in the same tone. Unlike the Obras collection also, the llano and glosado settings in the Libro are not necessarily affiliated by signo. (The llano settings in the Libro are included in the anthology, pp. 6-9.)

Somewhat in the manner of Carreira's examples, the glosado settings

in the Libro clearly reflect a somewhat improvisatory performing style in which the chordal outline of a llano intabulation may be discerned beneath the idiomatic figurations; these are again freely diffused among the parts. Cabezón's examples, on the other hand, are systematically constructed: in the three successive fabordones glosados for each tone, each line of the original four-part framework, including that of the psalm-tone, is taken in turn, or in pairs as is the case of every second glosado arrangement, and transformed by means of embellishment into an entirely new style of composition. (See Anglés ed. (1966), Vol.I, pp.48-70.) In this way, therefore, Cabezón's fabordones glosados may be regarded compositionally in the same light as his glosado arrangements of northern European polyphonic music. Their grouping as a set of four pieces also recalls the diferencias for which sixteenth-century Spanish organ and vihuela composers had a special predilection. Indeed, bearing in mind that these fabordones as a whole are conspicuous for their adherence to an almost invariable harmonic pattern, one is also tempted to draw comparisons between them and the diferencia repertory of the vihuelistas and keyboard composers. These composers were remarkably adept at transforming popular tunes, usually distinguished by ground-bass patterns, into ingenious compositions characterized by varied and skilful idiomatic phraseology. Songs such as 'Guárdame las vacas', 'Conde claros' and 'La folía', became subject to endless transformation.

The fabordón glosado, as exemplified by the sixteenth-century manifestations in particular, is characterized by the strict observance of the length, harmonic pattern and compositional structure of the llano precendent. However, unlike the llano which was strongly allied to the periodic structure of the psalm-tone, the glosado virtually

disregards the traditional pause which punctuates the mediation; although a pause mark might be indicated above the stave at this point of the composition, continuous figuration provides a linking passage between the constituent 'halves' of the psalm-tone setting.

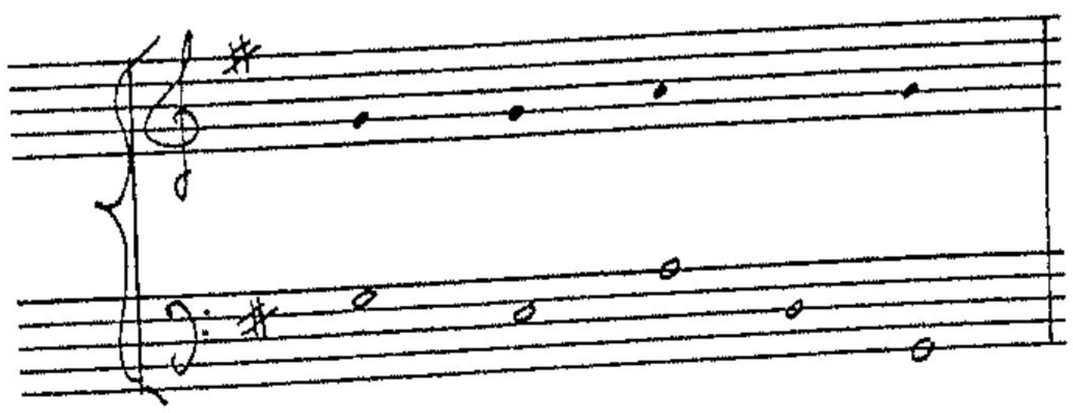
The llano / glosado association of fabordón compositions was still retained in the seventeenth century: a complete tonal series is included in each of the second and third Coll MSS. However, whereas those included in MBN M.1358 may stylistically speaking be identified readily with the sixteenth-century type, in which in the glosado version the figurations are generally characterized by rhythmically even patterns of crotchets and quavers, the variety in MBN M.1359 demonstrate a number of different concerns. Not least of these is the greater rhythmic variety in the glosado patterns and the more conscious use of recurring ideas and phrases; in many aspects the textures are reminiscent of the innumerable Pange lingua variations dating from this epoch.

Although the most salient characteristics of the standard fabordón outlined above account for the fundamental behaviour of at least the llano arrangements in these manuscripts, the seventeenth-century examples as a whole are equally indicative of the subtle yet gradual metamorphosis of the fabordón as a genre from one retaining the essential modal traits of each of the psalm-tones to one accommodating for the pressing demand for more 'tonal' priorities. As already inferred, the reference to a common signo for modal transposition in the versets would necessarily encourage a certain weakening of individual modal characteristics. The phenomenon of psalm-tone versets entertaining a multi-modal function, for instance, has already been accounted for (see above, p.263 seq.) Thus, although the fabordón retained its essential formal and even harmonic characteristics for several centuries; its modal integrity

was to be challenged. This was to occur not only where the psalm-tones were transferred to a uniform or near-uniform pitch on the organ, frequently necessitating a common signo, but also where the instruments themselves were subject to equal temperament and an evolving harmonic language was to threaten previously accepted modal syntax.

One of the most striking features of the llano settings in MBN M.1359 as a whole, apart from their generally more sophisticated stance, is the common ground shared between the first half of each of the compositions in the 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 8th tones. In all of these, the psalm-tone has been transposed to the uniform reciting note of g: the signos of the 2nd, 3rd and 5th tones are 'por elami' and the 8th 'por dsolre'. Owing to the fact that the melodic phrase for the mediation in all these psalm-tones is virtually identical (they all 'rise' at this point), the first half of the fabordones in these transpositions are barely distinguishable one from the other. The overall structure for this half of the fabordón in each one of these tones follows exactly the same harmonic pattern:

(Ex. 6)

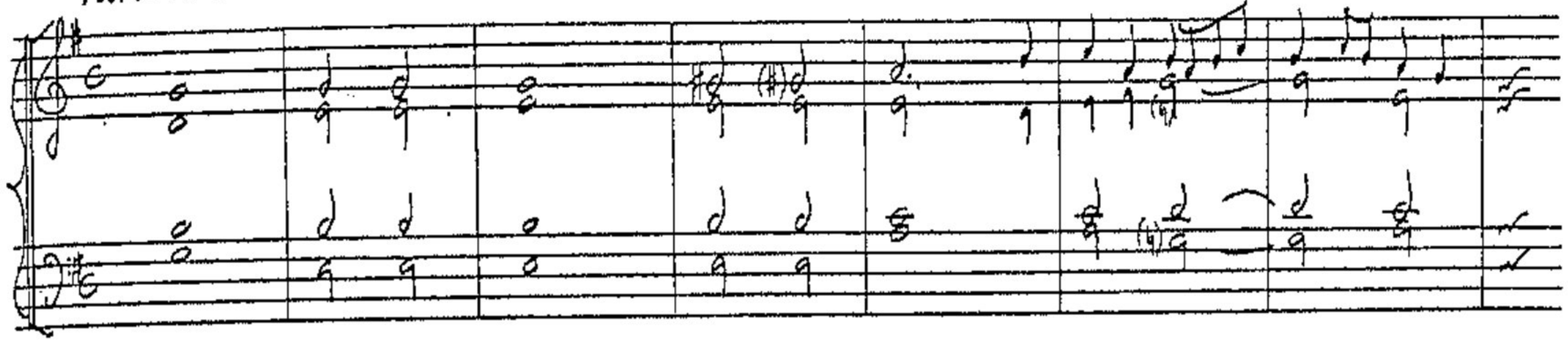


It is only the saeculorum settings in these fabordones, therefore, which display harmonic (and melodic) variety. However, although this uniformity of behaviour at the mediation was of course true of these particular tones in their 'natural' modal positions, the additional curiosity of this group in MBN M.1359 concerns the chromatic alteration

of the melodic (reciting) line (g♮ -g♯) to embrace a swift 'modulation' to the chord of a (minor) - this progression is, however, immediately contradicted by a return to the chord of g (major) in the next bar.

(EX.7)

Fabordón de 2° tono llano. MBN M.1359 (f.3)



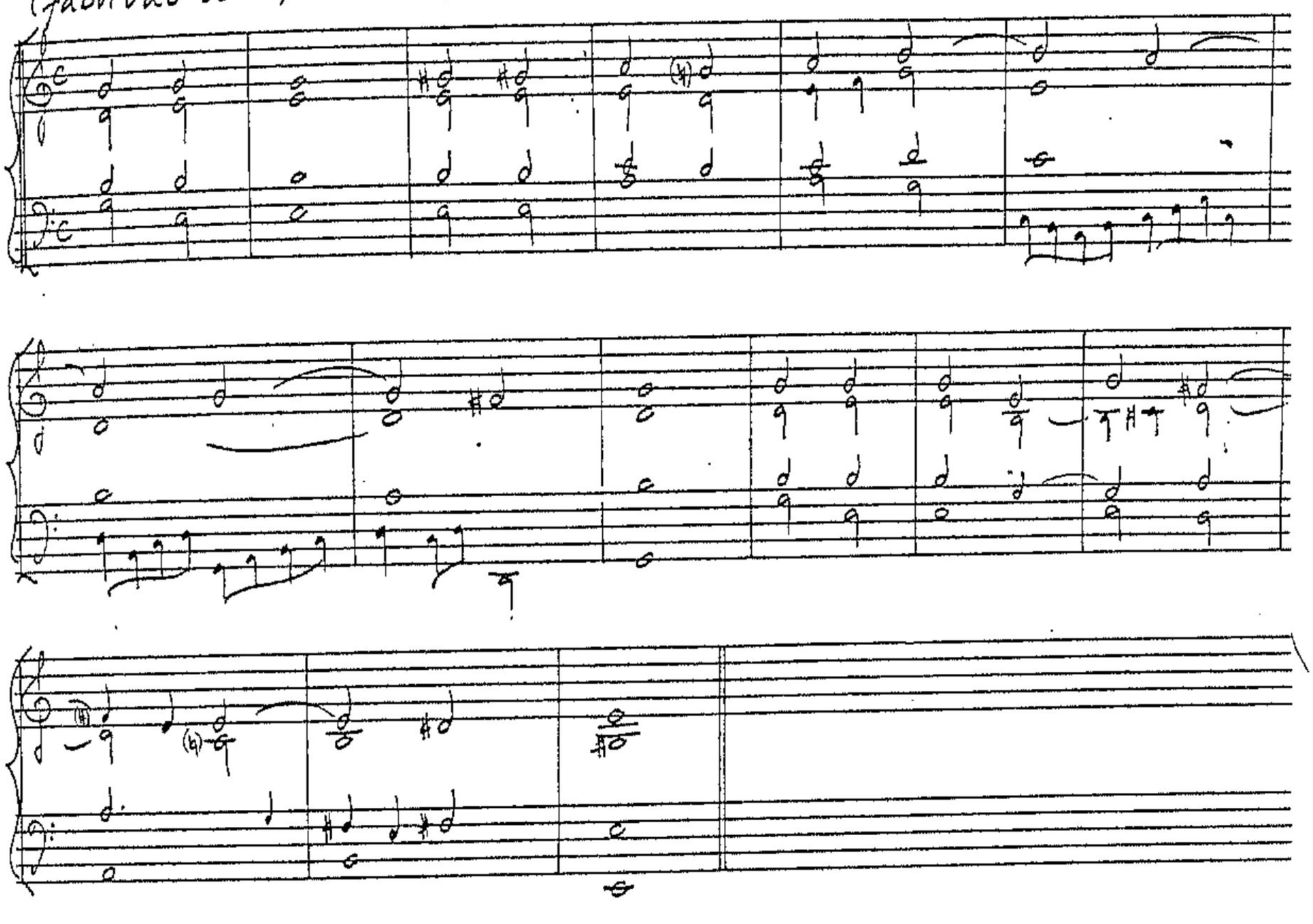
This chromaticism was also an issue in the 3rd-and 8th-tone settings in MBN M.1358 in both the llano and glosado arrangements, all of which likewise provided for a reciting note on g; the same is true of Lorente's 3rd-tone setting, notated however in its 'natural' signo. The precise significance of Lorente's ostensibly vocal setting remains debatable. By way of contrast, the settings in MBN M.1358 and Lorente's El Porqué lack the hemiola rhythmic pattern which distinguishes each one of the fabordones llanos in MBN M.1359.

As already mentioned, the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM. M.1577) is remarkable for its actual presentation of a fabordón entertaining a dual-modal function. This setting, 'fabordão [...] de 2°, e 3° tom' (f.75), occurs in the 'Jogo de versos de todos os 8 tons de fr. Martinhu Garcia de Olague (ibid., ff.73-88v). Curiously enough, this particular fabordão in E la mi is again characterized by the chromatic alteration of the melodic (reciting) line in exactly the same manner as the Coll examples.

PBPM M.1577
(f.75)

(Ex. 8)

(fabordão de 2°, e 3° tom)

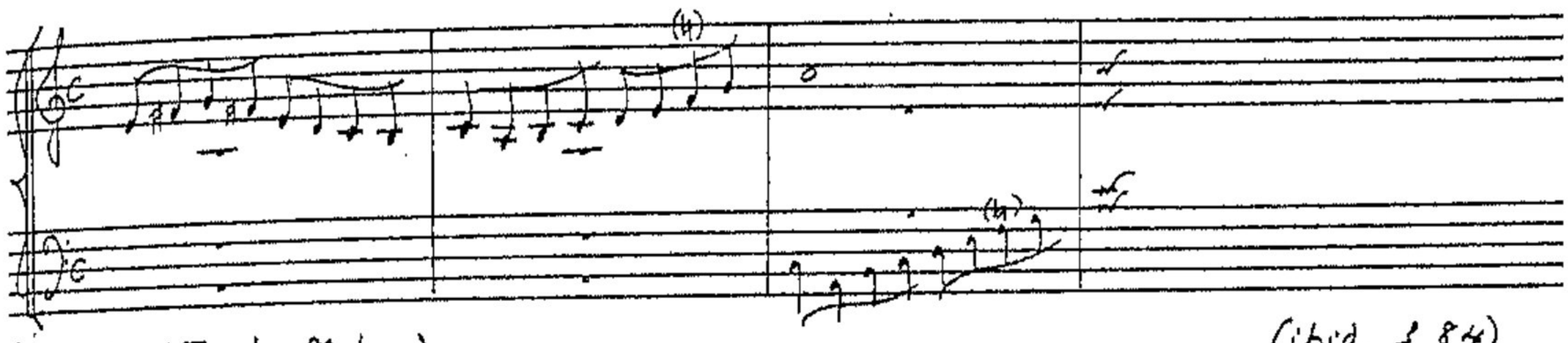


Although non-thematic versets with a dual- or even multi-modal function are entirely feasible, this particular fabordão must be regarded as incongruous for it is evidently allied to the 3rd psalm-tone: the second half of this setting incorporates the saeculorum of the 3rd psalm-tone. However, possibly to compensate for this, an additional 'segundillo' fabordón (ff.87-87v) is added to this collection as a whole.

Stylistically, however, Olague's fabordãos are a curious mixture of free improvisatory writing and an attempt, in some way, to retain the essential 'consonant' character of the fabordón tradition. The opening flourish, of 'redoble' figure, of the 7th-and 8th-tone fabordãos recalls a similar unusual beginning to the 'Obra ou consonâncias de primeiro tom' by Araújo which is included in both Braga M.964 and the Porto Livro de organo (PBPM M.1607). (See Kastner ed. (1978), pp.[4-6].)

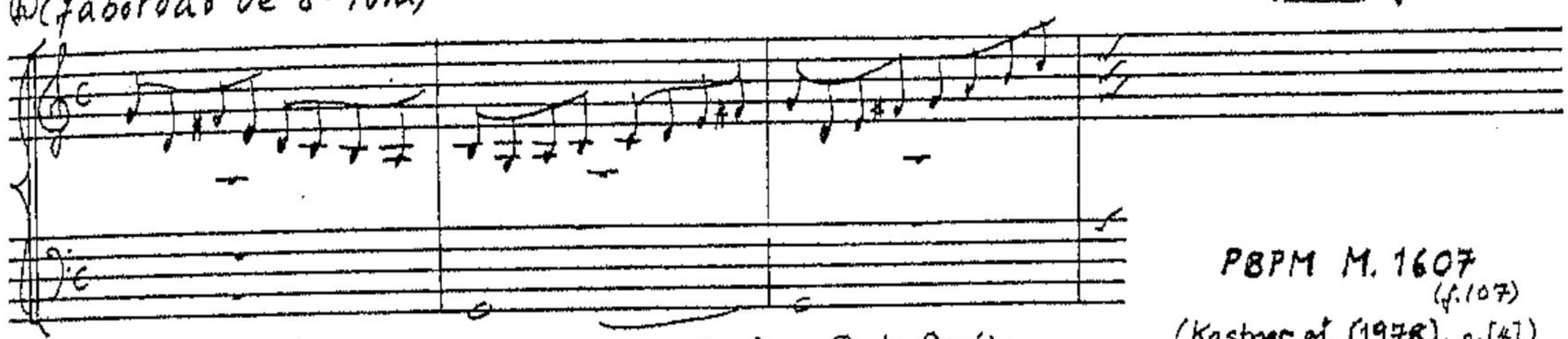
(Ex. 9)

(a) (fabordão de 7° tom) M. Garcia de Olague PBPM M. 1577 (f. 82v)



(ibid., f. 84)

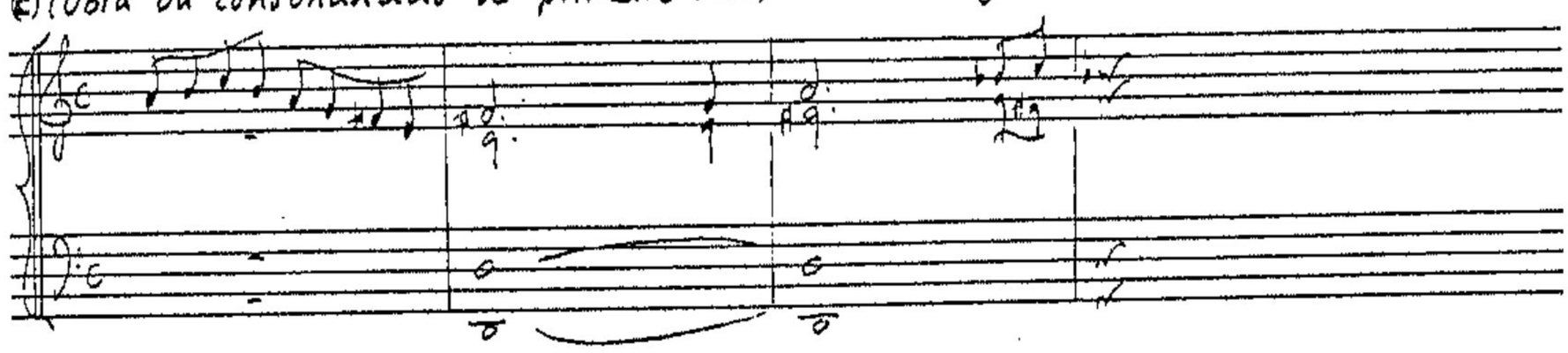
(b) (fabordão de 8° tom)



PBPM M. 1607 (f. 107)

(Kastner ed. (1978), p. [4])

(c) (Obra ou consonâncias de primeiro tom) P. de Araújo

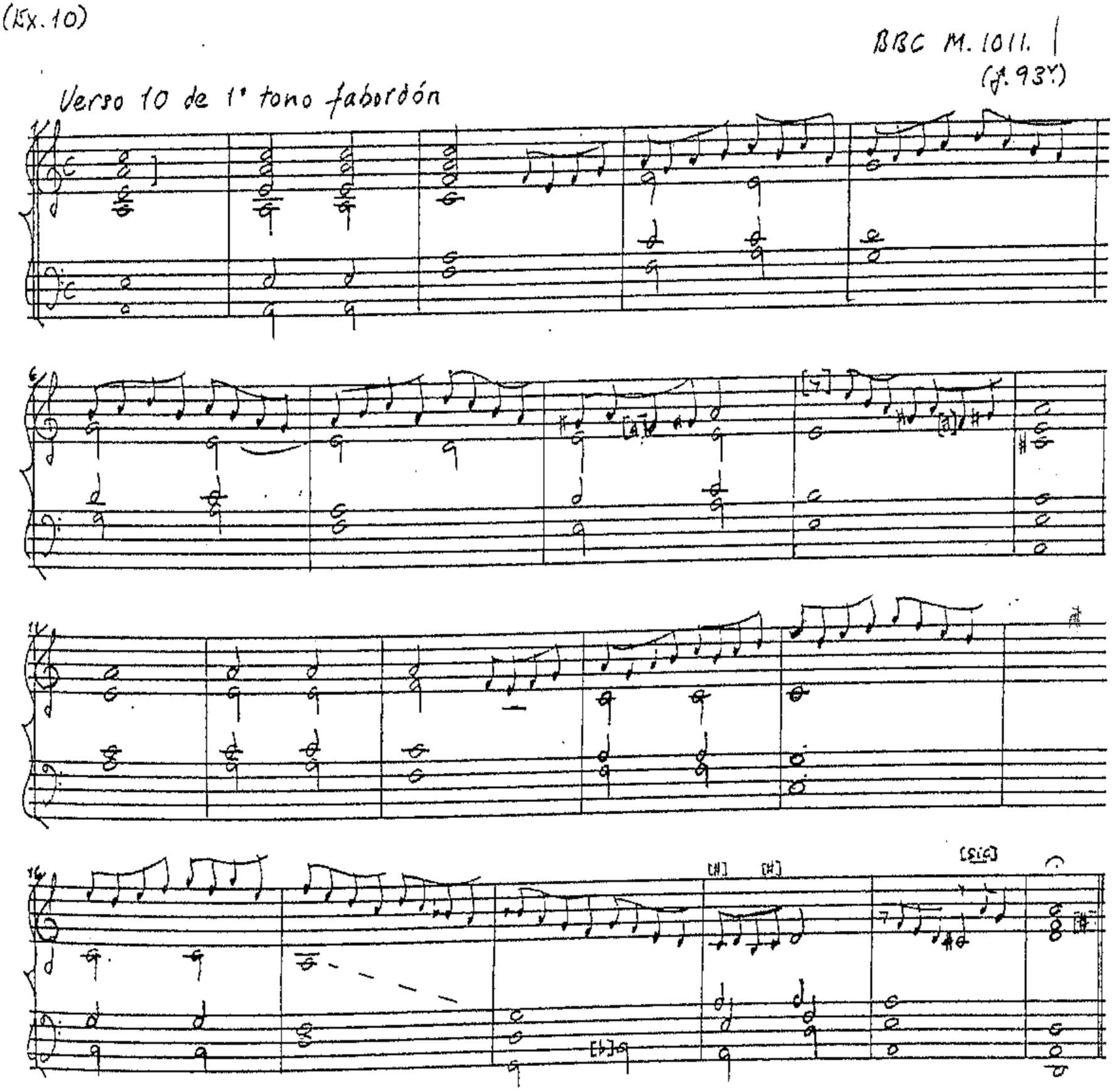


The fabordón compositions included in BBC M.1011, dating from the early eighteenth century, demonstrate a form and style which was not only heavily indebted to the fundamental harmonic pattern of the standard fabordón but was also indicative of a newer stylistic idiom, characterized in general by a certain transparency of texture and the use of strong rhythmic patterns. The type of composition which emerged, like the pure glosado versions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrates even further the variable decorative possibilities of such an apparently inflexible harmonic framework. The fabordones and versets in this manuscript as a whole vary in their presentation; but where there is a bipartite structure, the mediation is clearly articulated by a strong cadence and cessation of movement.

A characteristic and striking feature of these psalm-tone compositions occurs at the very outset where one or more sustained chords, which may consist of as many as seven notes distributed between

the two hands, provide an unambiguous 'punto fixo'. A sharp contrast of texture frequently ensues where, as is illustrated by the following fabordón in the 1st tone, swiftly moving glosado figurations in the right-hand are executed over a plain chordal accompaniment. In this particular setting the gently undulating decorative patterns, in the manner of sixteenth-century examples, are consistent throughout. A more static chordal phrase, like that of the introduction, announces the second half (or saeculorum) of the fabordón.

(Ex. 10)

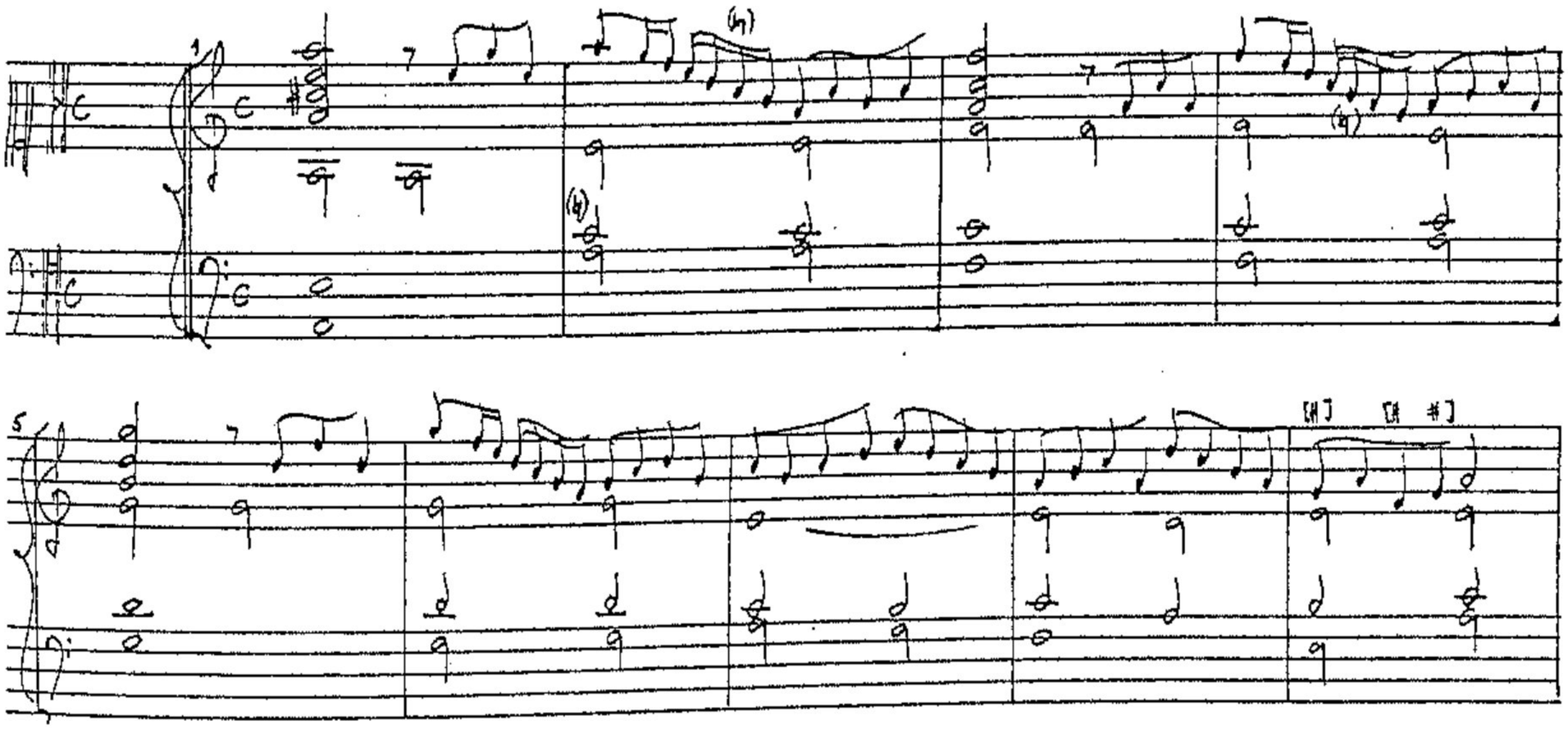


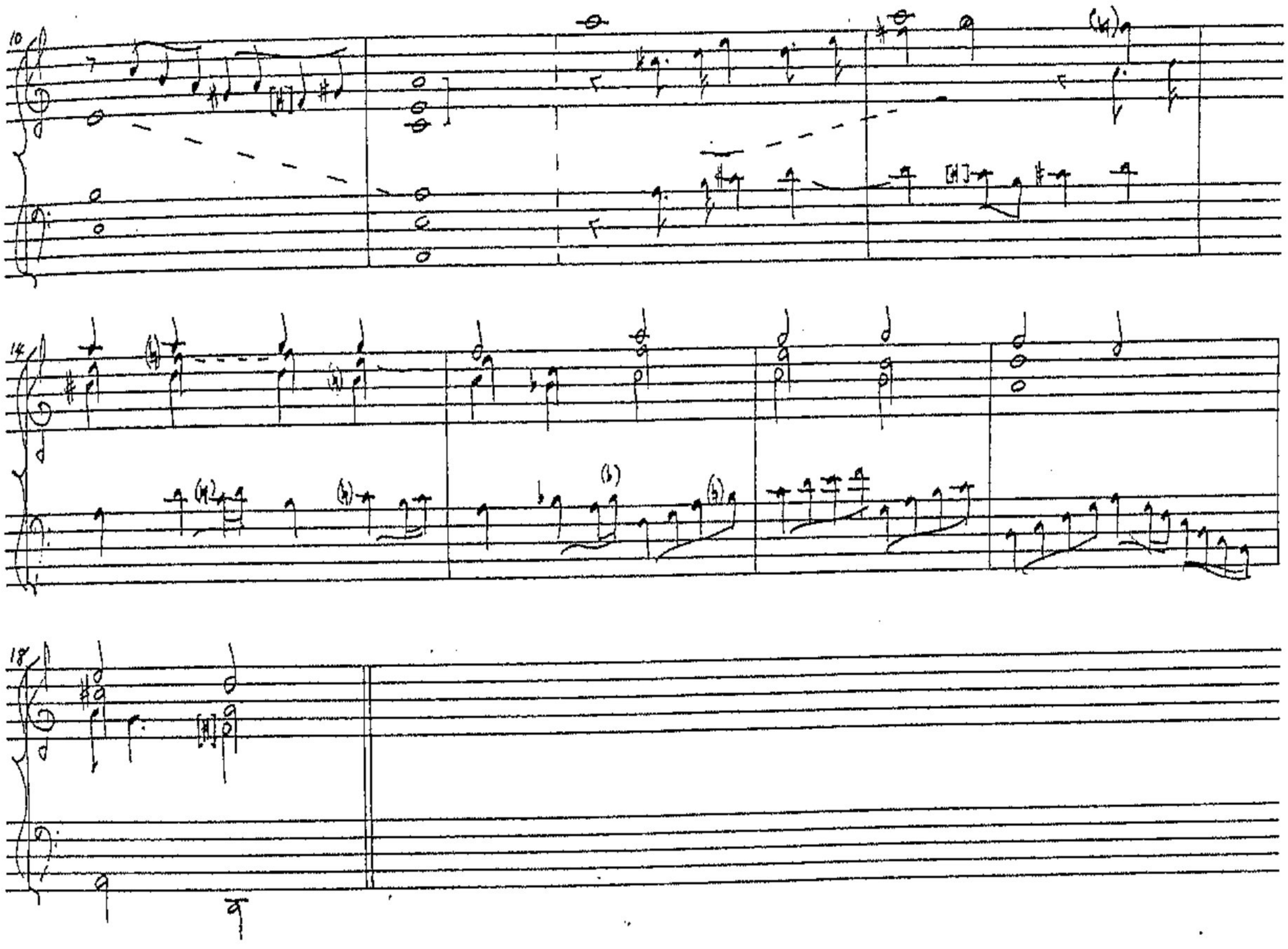
As distinct from this more traditional (glosado) genre, there are a number of fabordones which, like many of the versets, make a feature of definite rhythmic motives. In the first half of the following example of a fabordón the composer (Tormo?) has treated each of the basic chordal progessions of the 1st-tone fabordón scheme not only as a separate harmonic unit but also as the basis for the repetition of a particular rhythmic idea. Thus, although the logic of the familiar bass is adhered to in the first seven bars, the flow of the whole is somewhat disrupted owing to the heavy punctuation of each phrase. The texture of the second half is strongly contrasted: as in such compositions as Tormo's entrada on the hymn 'Sanctorum Meritis' (ibid., ff.34v-35) the saeculorum, as a cantus firmus, is placed in a high register in the tiple. Below this, the three lower parts reinforce the sequential descent of the saeculorum by the repetition of short rhythmic patterns.

(Ex. 11)

Verso 8º de 1º tono, fabordón

BBC M.1011 (f.93)





Although the fabordón as a style of verset composition may have changed character over a period of some two hundred years, emerging from a straight-forward llano intabulation through a glosado variant to one which might accommodate more idiomatic keyboard figurations, it is clear that it never entirely lost sight of its idiosyncratic formula. However, it is possible that by the end of the eighteenth century the formerly invariable harmonic pattern was less consistently revered. The following fabordón by López (or Lidón)[1], for instance,

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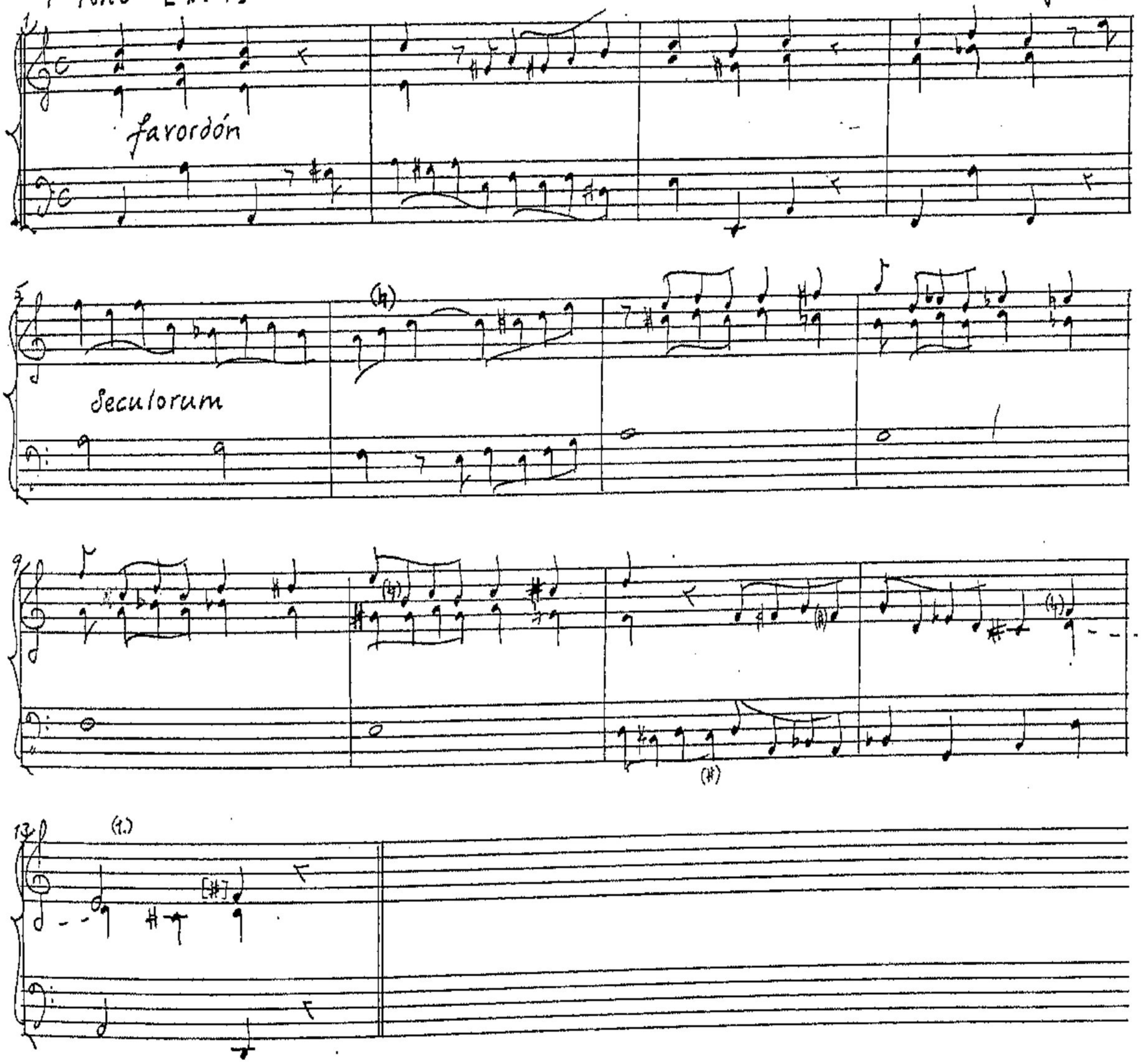
1. In MonAm M.1029, this series of versets for the psalms is identified as the work of Lidón: 'Juego de versos de Dn. Josef Lidón, organista de S(anta) M(aría)', pp.11-27. This particular verset is clearly introductory: it precedes a group of six versets which are numbered from 1 to 6. The words 'favordón' and 'seculorum' are not included in 'Lidón's' verset in the Montserrat manuscript.

displays in its now more 'tonal' guise a curious mixture of the fabordón (the harmonic sequence of the first half) and the entrada (the 'seculorum' where the psalm-tone is placed in the bass-line, supporting chromatic sequential writing in the two upper parts).

(Ex. 12)

(Juego de versos para todos tonos de Dn. Feliz Máximo López.) MBN M. 1187 (f. 19)

1º tono [V. 1]



1. (Bar 13):



This combination of fabordón and entrada styles requires some comment. First of all, although the physical position of fabordón versets indicates that they were frequently employed as introductory versets to the alternatim performance of the ('simple') psalm-tones, it is our contention that those compositions dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at least should not be equated with the entrada per se (see below). The entrada was distinguished from other versets by two features in particular: firstly, although it was essentially a cantus firmus composition with a bipartite structure, the cantus firmus line, frequently in protracted note values, was invariably placed in the bass; secondly, and again in contrast to the fabordón, this cantus firmus of the psalm-tone included the solemn intonation. It is evident therefore that this style of composition, the entrada, would not be characterized by a harmonic scheme corresponding to the opening of a 'simple' psalm-tone and hence beginning with the fall of a third in bass line. On the basis of this distinction, therefore, we consider that Elías's so-called 'Fabordón, 8° tono (por término de ministriles)' (MBN M.812, ff.160v-161), which bears all the characteristics of at least the seventeenth- to eighteenth-century entrada, has been wrongly titled. (Anthology pp.175-6). Lorente's definition may be reiterated:

> [...] el Fabordón sirve en la Composición de cada uno de los tonos [...] de sustento, y fortaleza en lo solido de la consonancia [...] sustentando el Canto Llano de cada uno de los tonos [...]
>
> (P. Lorente: El Porqué, loc.cit.)

(b)

The organ verset:

contrapuntal techniques of composition

In the previous section it was established that the instrumental fabordón, as a genre, retained a number of distinctive characteristics over a period of some two to three centuries: it may also be regarded as the source from which most other types of versets emerged. The foregoing conclusion, that the fabordón ultimately became associated with sequences of modal progressions initially derived from the 'harmonization' of the psalm-tones themselves, is a key to the distinction which may be drawn between the fabordón and the organ verset proper. Owing to the harmonic aspect of the fabordón, this style of psalm-tone composition was free to abandon precise descriptions of the chant's melodic contour: it provided the basis for innumberable melodic and figurative variations. From the sixteenth-century fabordón glosado, the fabordón eventually developed into a free idiomatic genre which, although connected with a psalm-tone structure was only loosely tied to the original melody.

With regard to the standard organ verset, a few structural aspects familiar in the fabordón were retained; however, a number of characteristics strictly associated with the 'form' of the psalm-tone gradually disintegrated and the verset followed an individual path. In accordance with the bipartite structure of the psalm-tone itself,

which was strictly observed in the fabordón compositions, the organ verset was also normally in two sections. However, whereas the fabordón easily dispensed with melodic references to the chant in favour of a modal-harmonic progression, the verset would usually retain the psalm-tone itself, either as a cantus firmus or as the basis for imitative contrapuntal strands. The fashion arose too of combining both compositional processes in the same verset. In versets with a bipartite structure, the only predictable chordal progressions would occur at the mediation and the final cadence. Moreover, the greater freedom of the verset, as already apparent in Cabezón, became manifest also in the adoption of an undivided structure; in such , therefore, any formal association with the mediation of the psalm-tone was abandoned. The thematic material used may or may not be derived from the plainchant; however, enormous emphasis was placed on the saeculorum portion of the psalm-tones, and the majority of these shorter versets are in fact based solely on the termination formulae of the chants - either fugally, or in cantus firmus style.

The ensuing discussion is intended as a guide to the compositional patterns of seventeenth-century versets which have more obvious links with the inherent formal and melodic characteristics of the psalm-tones. It is a survey largely based on a study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts at Barcelona and those supposedly compiled by António Martín y Coll (the 'Coll' MSS) at the turn of the eighteenth century (see below). A cursory glance at the contents of the third major collection of seventeenth-century Spanish organ music, the manuscripts at El Escorial, did not reveal any outstanding variations

on the compositional patterns established in the former two sources. The two 'Felanitz' MSS from Mallorca have not been consulted. As versets by the composers in these manuscripts, such as Cabanilles and Bruna, are well distributed in the Madrid and Barcelona collections, one may safely assume that if no concordances are found at least the styles encountered there will be already familiar. The Portuguese source of Spanish organ music housed at Porto, the Libro de cyfra dating from about the mid-seventeenth century (PBPM M.1577), similarly contains an important collection of organ versets: the bias in these is essentially idiomatic.

Although many of these sources present the versets in tonal sets or juegos, in which the quantity of versets in each may sometimes be linked with a particular function such as the performance of the canticles, those chosen for the anthology of this thesis, drawn from a number of sources, have been arranged tonally and according to compositional type. The consideration of the juegos as separate entities is not an issue here, particularly as the grouping of the versets was frequently the responsibility of the compiler of a manuscript: where concordances exist between the manuscripts, a different sequence of versets is usually revealed. Furthermore, the juegos are often compiled from versets with varying musical structures (see below). This is also indicative of the fact that any distinctions which may have been made between the 'solemn' and 'simple' psalm-tones in performance, was not necessarily reflected in the arrangements of the versets in the sources.

The manuscripts at Barcelona (Biblioteca de Catalunya), which contain music dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,

are largely dominated by the music of Juan Cabanilles and his contemporaries both at Valencia and at Barcelona. The largest single source of music by Cabanilles is (BBC) M.387: this contains an enormous number of psalm-tone versets and the majority of his Pange lingua settings. The versets in this source are written in a wide variety of compositional styles and are grouped according to the eight tones. However, with the exception of a few cantus firmus settings of which the majority, grouped in sets of four, are acknowledged to be by Ximénez, there is little systemization in the arrangement of these versets. This contrasts with the two other major verset sources in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.729 and M.751.21, in which the versets have evidently been copied according to a deliberate plan.

In M.729 there are two collections of versets by Cabanilles: the first one (ff.109v-49), which has no specified function, generally comprises six or seven versets per tone (there are in fact twelve in the 8th tone); the second one, entitled 'versos de todos los tonos para Magnificat' (ff.148v-50), has only four versets in each tone of which the majority are in cantus firmus style. All the versets by Cabanilles in this manuscript demonstrate highly sophisticated contrapuntal techniques in which fluent linear combination is generally contained within a clearly articulated bipartite construction.

The third manuscript, M.751.21, which incorporates music by Cabanilles, Menalt, Espelt and Bruna, likewise includes several series of juegos. In all these, there is a definite numerical arrangement in which there are from between four to six versets per tone. The 'Versos para psalmodia de Cabanillas' (pp.355-413), for instance, albeit incomplete, embraces six versets in each tone with nine for first tone. It was this set which constituted the most important

concordance for the identification of the 'anonymous' versets in the third Coll MS, MBN M.1359: most of these bipartite versets are copied into the Coll MS but with a varying numerical sequence.[1] There are three sets of 'psalmodia' by Espelt in M.751.21. As already mentioned, these hold an additional historical significance as they are among the rare examples of seventeenth-century organ music to be recorded with an actual date of composition. The first set (pp.23-79) is dated 1687 ('etcha en el año 1687') and the second and third sets (pp.80-140) were both composed in 1685 ('etcha en el año 1685'). The versets in all three sets by Espelt follow a predictable compositional pattern: four out of every set of six for the tones of the 1687 collection are in strict cantus firmus style, observing a clear bipartite design (with the exception of the 7th-tone versets these are all based on the solemn psalm-tone formula); the sixth verset in each tone is invariably in partido style, whilst the remaining one (usually the second of the six) is fugal, consisting of an undivided structure. The other two groups of versets (1685) contain just five versets in each tone. Unlike the 1687 compilation, only one verset of the five in each juego employs a cantus-firmus; the remaining four are fugal. There is just one set of 'versos para psalmos' by Menalt in M.751.21 (pp.204-49): each tonal group comprises five versets, and there are an additional 'Otcho versos partidos de mano d(e)recha', in each one of the eight tones, appended to this collection (pp.250-71). It is likely that they would

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1. The versets in MBN M.1359 which correspond with those in the 'Versos para Psalmodia de Cabanillas' in BBC M.751.21 (pp.355-413) are as follows: ℣s.37-42 in the 1st tone; ℣s.32-7 in the 2nd tone; ℣s.31-3, 35-6 in the 3rd tone; ℣s.35-9 in the 4th tone; ℣s.36-41 in the 5th tone; ℣s.39-44 in the 6th tone; ℣s.18-23 in the 7th tone and ℣s.38-9, 41-2 in the 8th tone. In addition to the slight discrepancies in the ordering of the material in these two manuscripts, the final verset of the group of six in the 3rd tone (elami) in BBC M.751.21 (pp.378-9) reappears as ℣.32 of the 2nd-tone versets (elami) in MBN M.1359 (pp.135-6).

all form part of the same sequence in an alternatim performance scheme. Stylistically and formally, Menalt's versets are similar to those by Espelt. The unfinished juego by Pablo Bruna (pp.419-32), of which some from the 1st tone are also found in MBN M.1359 (pp.44-8), likewise demonstrates an admixture of compositional styles employing both cantus firmus and fugal principles within bipartite and undivided structures.

The final most significant source of organ versets in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona, (BBC) M.1011, was copied, as has already been mentioned, around the mid-eighteenth century by a pupil of A. Tormo. It was compiled from the music of several seventeenth- to eighteenth-century organists from Valencia in particular who included Cabanilles, Hervás, Tormo, San Agustín and Vicente Rodríguez. This manuscript, again largely arranged according to the eight modes (or tones), comprises an assortment of versets which are interspersed with a few toccatas and other large scale compositions. Several versets, apparently, were applicable for more than one function: one group, for example, is headed 'para Cánticos y Salmos y para misas e himnos' (f.91 seq.). A selection of the versets contained in this manuscript, including a few fabordones and hymns, are included in the anthology of this thesis. Broadly speaking, the music here portrays a variety of idioms which are characteristic both of modal writing and of a newer style which is suggestive of Italian influence.

The three Coll MSS (in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid) vary in their formal layout; the third of these (M.1359) may be regarded as the most significant compilation of organ versets from the seventeenth century. There is only one 'Juego de versos de todos tonos' included in MBN M.1357 (pp.24-44): these versets are quite loosely constructed and only occasional thematic references are made to the chants themselves.

There are also a number of other versets for the psalm-tones in this manuscript of which some are associated with a particular liturgical function: the (four) 'V(erso)s de 4° tono baxo para las Laudes' (pp.124-5), for instance, and the (seven) 'V(erso)s de 8° tono para vísperas de primera classe' (pp.189-98). There are three collections of versets in MBN M.1358: two of these are included in the initial cifra portion of the manuscript (ff.3-9v and 40v-63), whilst the third, similar in style to that in M.1357, is notated in closed score (ff.81-185v). As previously mentioned, the first juego of versets in M.1358 is preceded by a series of fabordón settings in both 'llano' and 'glosado' style. The third 'juego de versos de todos tonos de varios authores' consists of a wide variety of versets composed for both the psalms (and canticles) and the Mass; there are also four Ave Maris stella settings in the first tone by Cabezón which were copied from the 1578 Obras.[1] (The anthology of this thesis incorporates only a few versets from these two Coll MSS.)

The third Coll MS, M.1359, may be regarded as a practical testimony of seventeenth-century contrapuntal practices exercised in the construction of organ versets as a whole. Although the main body of this manuscript consists of versets designed to be performed with the psalms and canticles, there are also, as in M.1358, a number of hymn settings, and versets pertaining to the organ mass (see below, chapter 6). This collection is also preceded by a sequence of fabordones in 'llano' and 'glosado' style (pp.1-13). A study of the main body of these versets reveals that Coll deliberately grouped the majority according

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1. MBN M.1358, ff.101-6 (Vs.38-41). These concordances were identified by C. Stella and T.M. Jennings. See Lloréns Cisteró ([1981]), p.100.

to compositional type. Each tone contains a number of definite styles and forms: these are cantus firmus, fugal, medio registro and fabordón, of which the later two are invariably included at the end of each tonal group. There are also a number of miscellaneous versets which combine both homophonic and fugal elements but which bear little thematic relation to the psalm-tones. The versets in each tone may consist of undivided or bipartite structures. Although a precise function is rarely indicated in this manuscript, it is possibly significant that the versets with bipartite structures usually appear in groups of four. Where these are in cantus firmus style, the traditional sequence, already encountered in Cabezón's Obras, of placing the chant in each one of the 'voices' in turn (ie tiple, alto, tenor, bass) is observed. We have identified a number of isolated versets in each tone as the work of Cabanilles which are independent from those concording with the 'psalmodia' in BBC M.751.21 (see above). As already mentioned, a verset in the 3rd tone from this 'psalmodia' (M.751.21), has been copied by Coll into the sequence of those in the 2nd tone. As the elami transposition holds for both, and the verset is totally lacking in thematic reference to either the 2nd or 3rd psalm-tones, the inconsistency is less surprising. It may be recalled that a number of versets and fabordones in other sources, transposed to elami from their 'natural' positions, had a dual or even triple modal role (see above, p.263 seq.).

Finally, as previously stated, the significance of the Portuguese source of Spanish organ music, the Porto Libro de cyfra (PBPM M.1577), lies in its being the only one to contain a large quantity of purely idiomatic versets. The many 'jogo(s) de versos' by the obscure composers B. de Olague and M. Garcia de Olague include several specific registrational instructions. However, thematic relation to the psalm-tones

themselves is minimal though the versets in the final jogo by M. Garcia de Olague (ff.73-88v.) are preceded by a fabordão in each tone. Although this manuscript is dominated by the music of these two composers, there is also a number of larger scale works by more familiar composers such as Aguilera de Heredia, Juan del Vado, J. Torrelhas, Bruna, and his pupil and successor A. de Sola by whom a 'jogo de versos' in cantus firmus style is also included (ff.100-6v.).

The fact that a significant proportion of versets in the Spanish sources have been identified as the work of Cabanilles, and that an even larger quantity are stylistically akin to these, provides a valid reason for discussing the organ verset from an overall point of view as it is represented in all seventeenth-century sources taken together rather than from any single source.

Versets with bipartite structures

Like the fabordón, a great many seventeenth-century organ versets consist of a direct translation of the two-part structure of the psalm-tones and their performance, whereby reverence is made to the mid-way mediation. These versets are often divisible into two distinct sections by way of a pause and double bar: this point of repose is sometimes indicated 'mediación'. However, in the manner of Cabezón's versets in the Obras, the dual structure of some bipartite versets is merely reflected rather than clearly articulated: in these, the traditional cadence for the mediation is reached, and there is often a subtle change of figuration, but the counterpoint often overlaps this point of division.

Two types of bipartite verset may be distinguished: one in a traditional cantus firmus style, and another which combines both cantus firmus and fugal principles of design. The latter type, in which a cantus firmus features in just the second half of

the verset, proves to be the most characteristic in the seventeenth century. The lack of direct reference to the chant, by way of a cantus firmus, in the fugal section of versets with this hybrid structure, is sometimes compensated for by thematic allusions made to the chant within the pasos themselves. However notwithstanding those few bipartite versets which are composed entirely fugally, the pasos employed for imitation are generally abstract. There are a number of versets in MBN M.1358 which do not strictly fall into either category: in many of these, although it is frequently the first half of the verset which contains a cantus firmus, these versets as a whole could be considered more as loosely interpreted cantus firmus structures which may have recourse to fugal writing. The chant itself may even be ornamented or glossed over in a manner which, like the fabordón glosado in particular, places an emphasis on the sequence of chordal progressions.

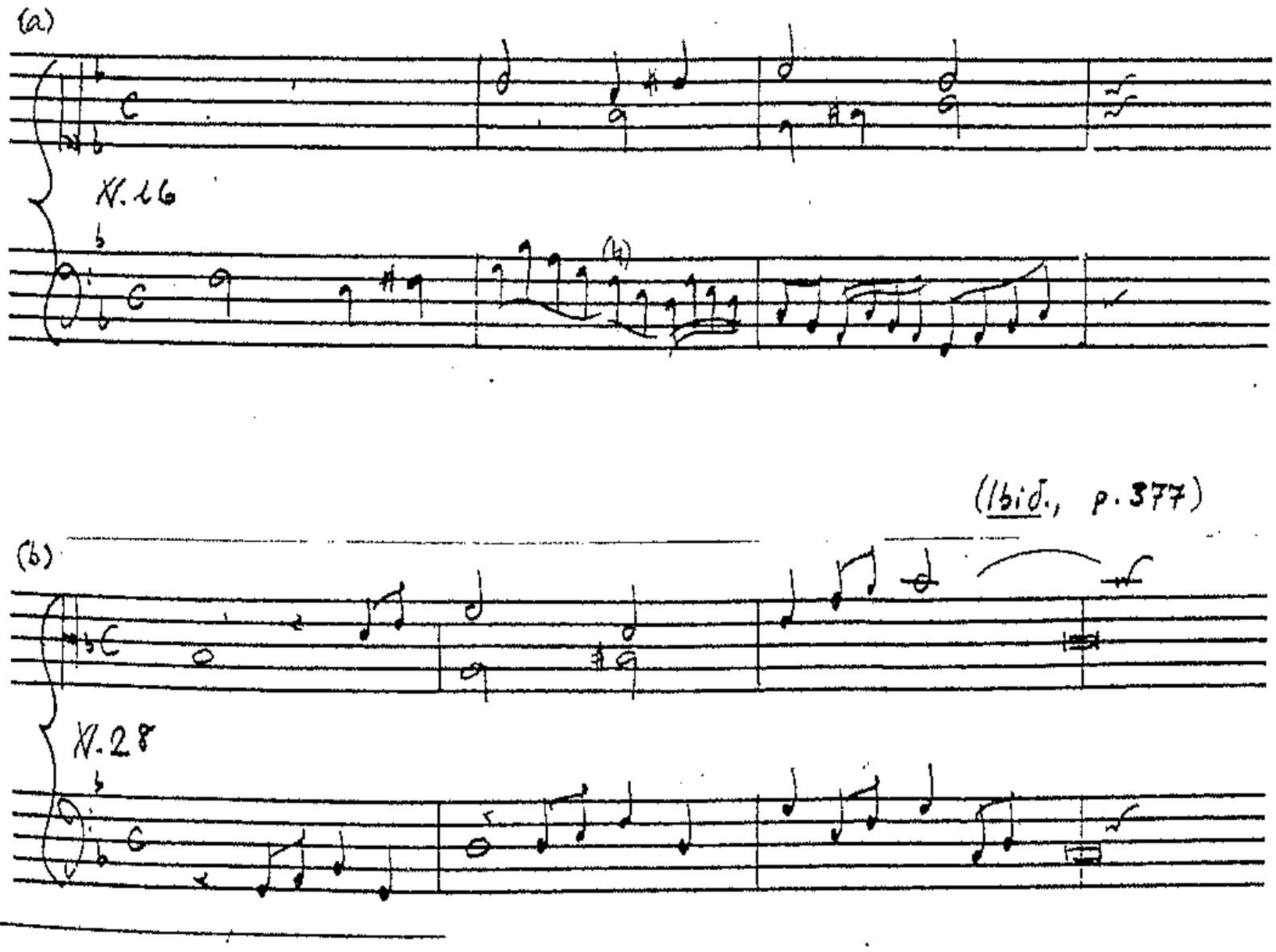
As already mentioned, the cantus firmus versets are frequently grouped in sequences of four or even six in which the chant is placed in each one of the four 'voices' consecutively, generally in descending order from tiple to bass. There are examples of Ximénez, Bruna and and Sola from the seventeenth-century Aragonese school, Cabanilles, Espelt, Florcadell, Fabuenca and Tormo from the north-east coast (seventeenth to eighteenth centuries), and several anonymous settings in the second and third Coll MSS of which many in MBN M.1359 may in fact be by Cabanilles.

The presentation of the chant in these versets varies considerably: this may determine the overall structure. For instance, in MBN M.1359 it is demonstrated that although the majority of the cantus firmus versets are grouped in 'sets' of four, in which the cantus firmus voice changes with each verset, there is no consistency as to whether or

not the psalm-tone in these is quoted in its entirety. Where the whole psalm-tone is reproduced, with or without the solemn intonation formula, the verset consists of a bipartite structure; in these, the chant may in fact consist of an elaborate version peculiar to the solemn canticles, but this is unusual. (For an example, see a 6th-tone verset from this manuscript (p.342) which is included in the anthology, p.146.) However, where the cantus firmus consists merely of the mediation flex and the saeculorum (the majority in MBN M.1359) and of course just the saeculorum alone,[1] the structure is not divisible.

Accidentals are frequently used in the cantus firmus line at cadential points such as the flex at the mediation. However, they also appear on a number of other more unusual occasions in which the chant, in a somewhat chromatic guise, may temporarily lose its identity. The following examples illustrate three different occasions on which the intonation of the 7th psalm-tone was chromatically altered:

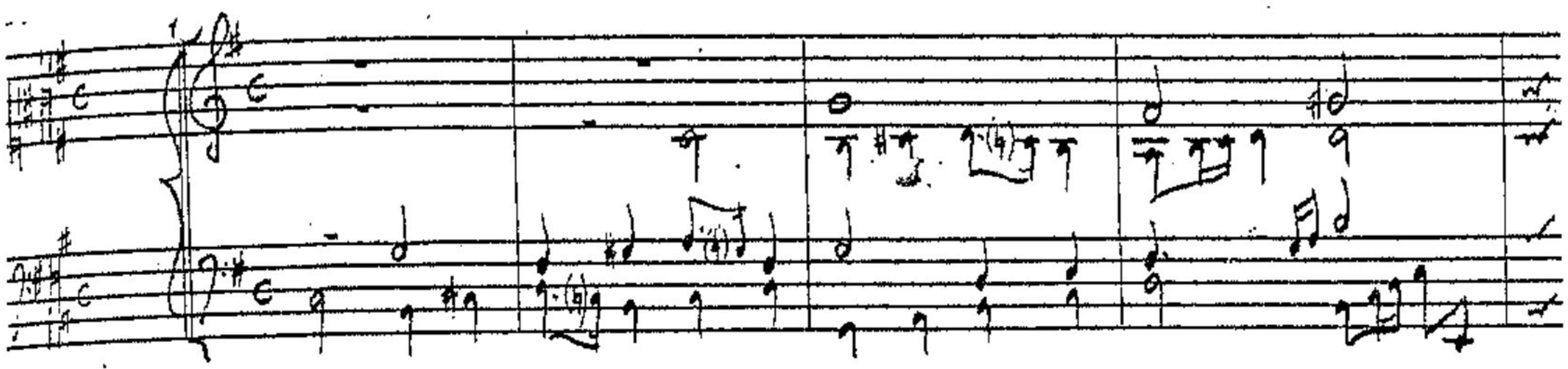
(Ex. 1) MBN M.1359 (p.366)



1. A set of (eight) 1st-tone versets in this style in MBN M.1359 (pp.70-5, Vs.74-81) is entitled 'Los ocho siguientes son sobre cantollano'.

(c) [Verso de 7° tono, por elami, de Espelt, 1687]

BBC M.751.21
(p. 64)



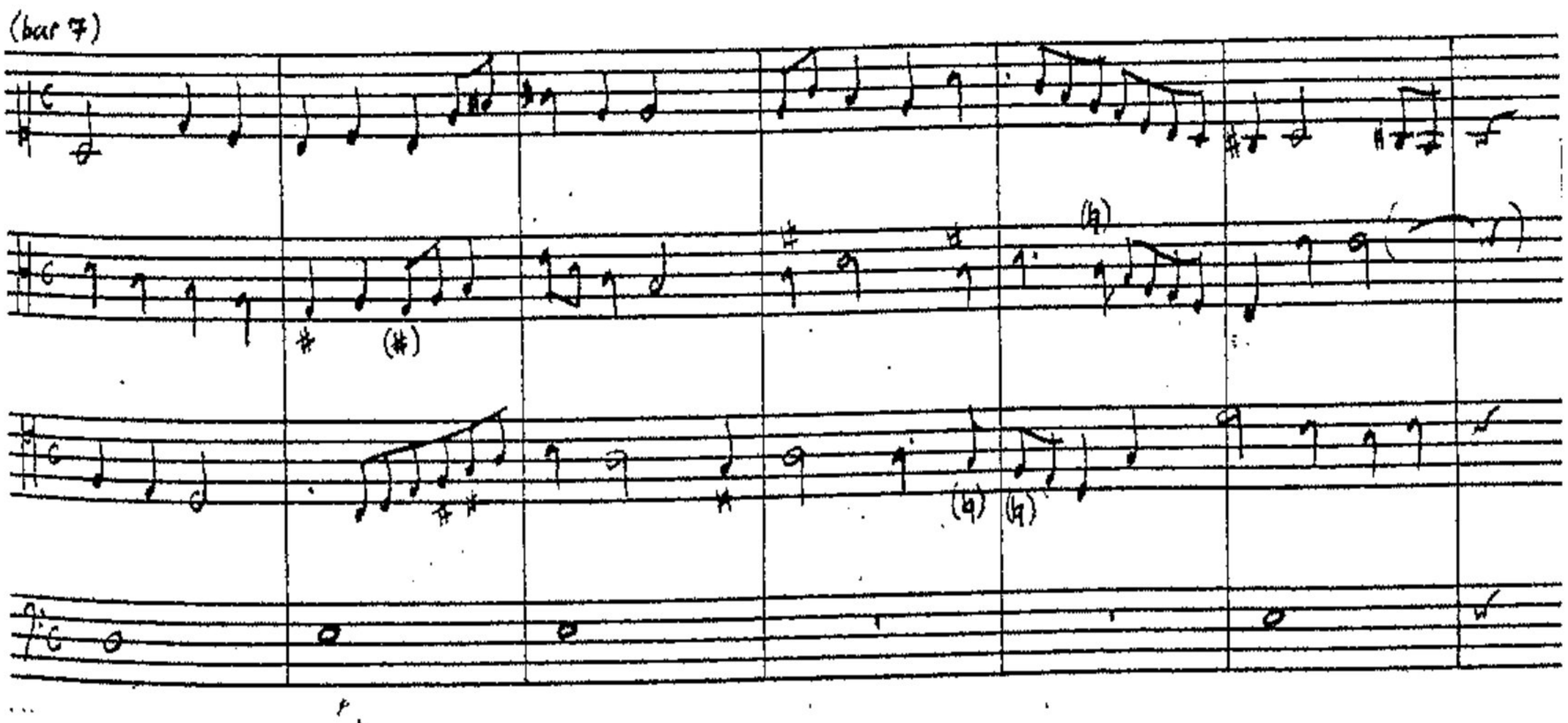
The alternative presentation of the saeculorum of the 5th tone, with the 'sharpened' ('por bequadrado') or flattened ('por bemol') fourth, has already been discussed (see above, p.265 seq.).

Although cantus firmus versets with a bipartite structure are not necessarily clearly articulated at the mediation by way of a cadence and double bar, this division may be reflected by the musical writing itself. In some rare instances, the cantus firmus has a few bars rest at this point whilst the accompanying counterpoint continues. The following extract (reproduced in open score) is taken from a 'verso para Magnificat' in the 1st tone by Cabanilles (BBC M.729, ff.150v-151). (This set of versets in the 1st tone for the solemn tone of the Magnificat is included in the anthology (pp.65-7).

(Ex.3)

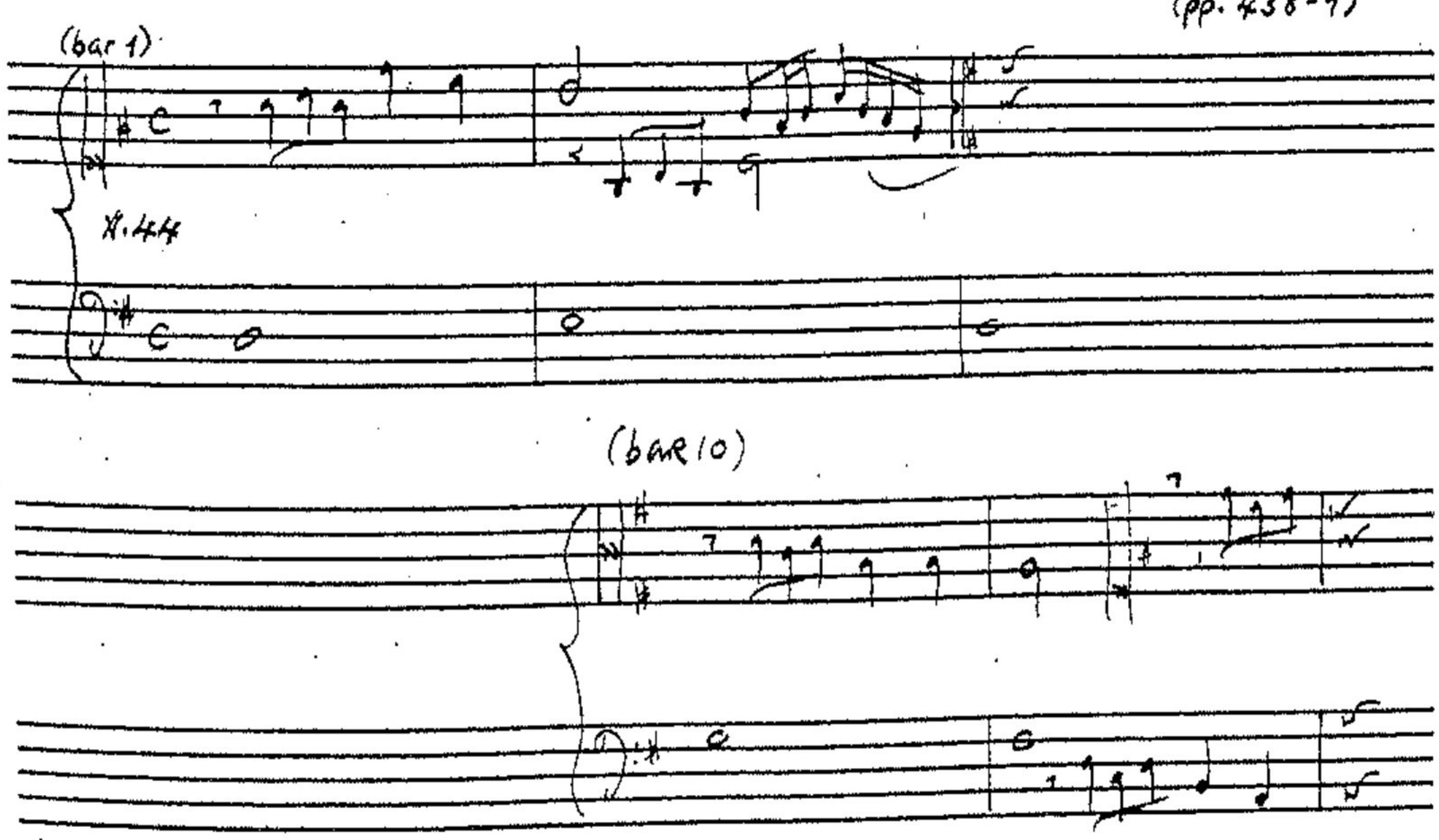
[Verso para Magnificat, 1° tono, de Cabanilles]

BBC M.729
(f.150v)



The general procedure in these versets is for the pause at the mediation to be reflected by the chordal progression which incorporates the standard mediation cadence and a change of figuration or paso. This is well illustrated by the Magnificat versets by Cabanilles (BBC M.729) and the comparatively straightforward settings by Ximénez (BBC M.387): some of these are included in the anthology. Apart from the few isolated versets in cantus firmus style in MBN M.1359 which have a bipartite form, the last 'set' of four in the 8th tone is the only one to observe this divisive structure and, moreover, to quote the entire psalm-tone formula in each one of the four versets (MBN M.1359, pp.436-40, ℣s.42-5). In the example chosen for the anthology (℣.44), it may be observed how the composer has on this rare occasion ingeniously converted the intonation and saeculorum portions of the chant into two rhythmic pasos. Owing to the inherent shape of the psalm-tone itself, which describes an arc, the verset as a whole gives the additional appearance of a monothematic structure in which the initial theme (the intonation) is inverted in the second half. The following examples are taken from the openings of the first and second halves of the verset respectively. For the whole verset, see the anthology, p.174.

(Ex.4) [Verso de 8° tono] MBN M.1359 (pp. 438-9)

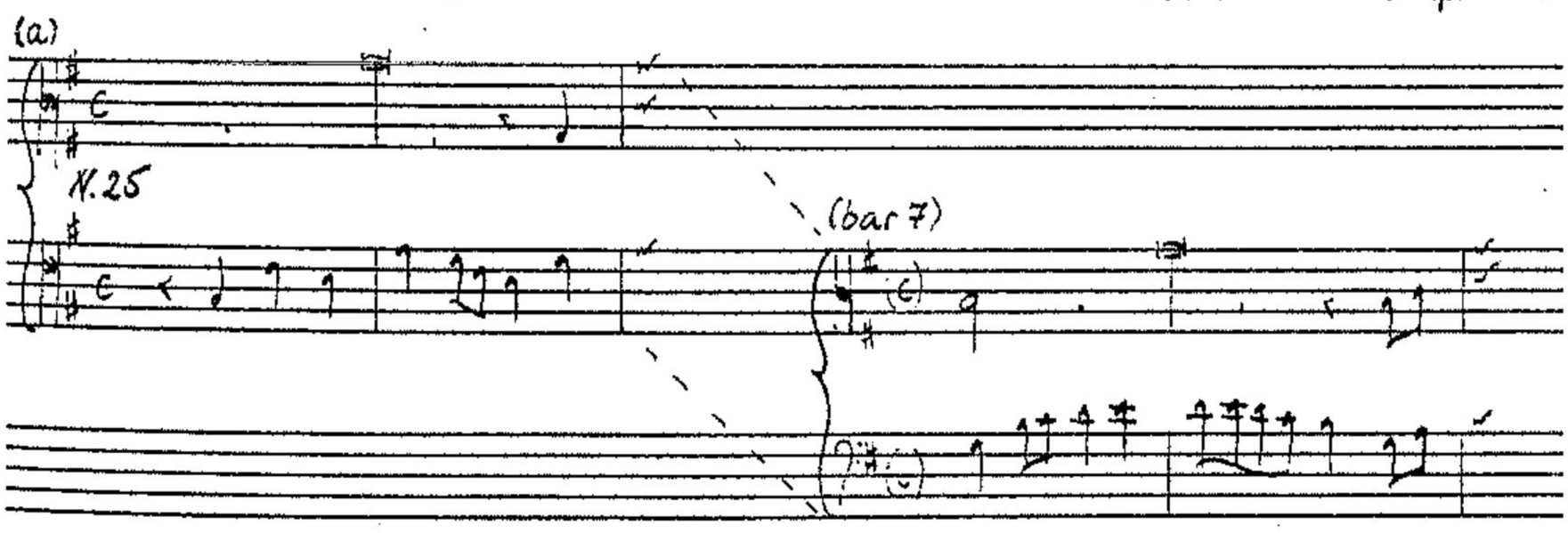


A verset by Espelt, also in the 8th tone, is comparable. (BBC M.751.21, pp.71-2. This verset from the 1687 'Psalmodia' is included in the anthology, p.171.)

The presentation of a new paso after the mediation may be determined by the nature of the initial one and the period of time which lapses between each successive point of imitation. For instance, a succinct paso is more quickly dispersed with than a protracted one, making the introduction of a second one appropriate. This new paso may be either totally independent from that of the first or, in fact, related to it. In the following extracts from two 2nd-tone versets in MBN M.1359 (Vs.25 and 26) and a 7th-tone verset by Espelt for instance, it will be seen that the second paso in each verset is entirely new. In Espelt's verset, however, the first paso temporarily recurs as a challenge to the new one. (These versets are also included in the anthology, pp.80-1 and 155-6)

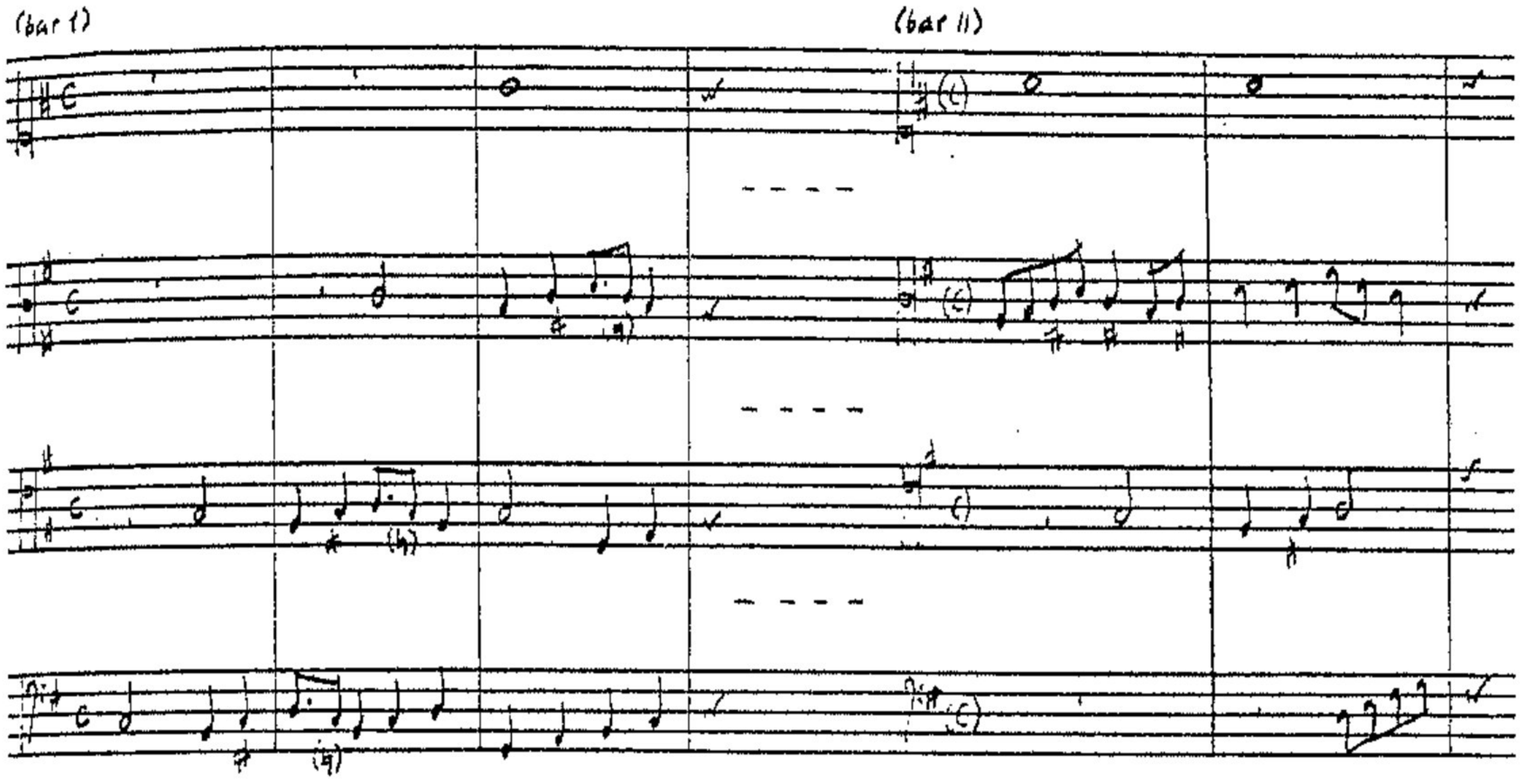
(Ex.5)

[Versos de 2° tono] MBN M.1359 (p.130)



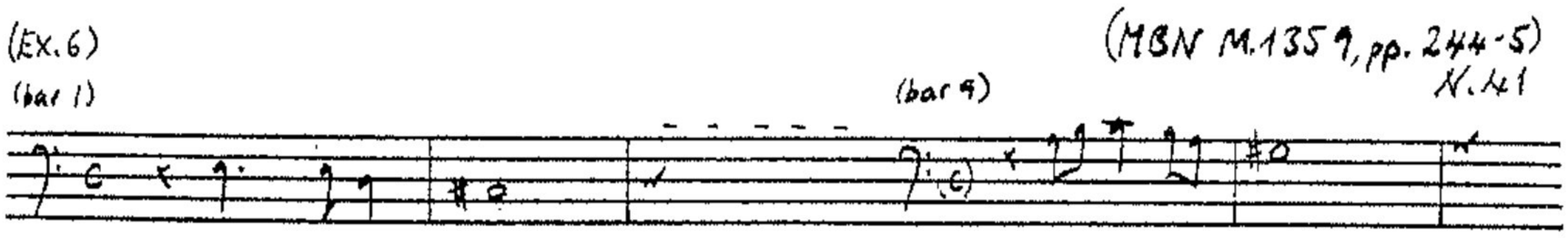
(c)
[Verso de 7° tono, por elami, de Espelt (1687)]

BBC M.751.21
(pp.64-5)



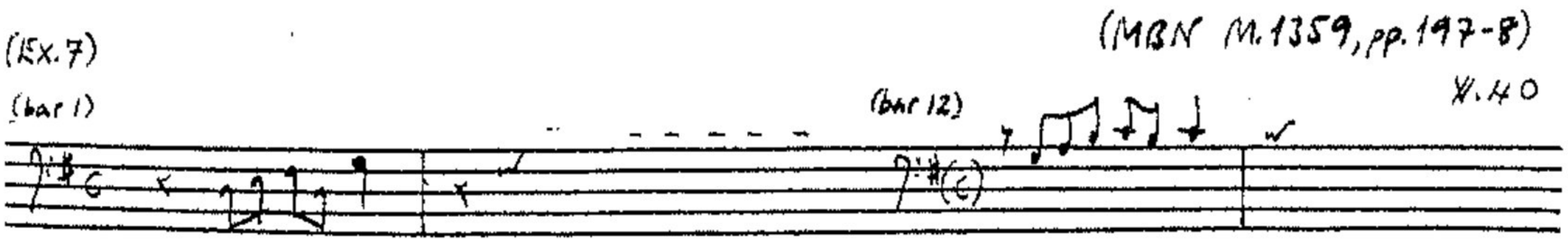
However, the two <u>pasos</u> of a verset in the 4th tone in the same Coll MS (anthology p.104) may be related by a falling minor third:

(Ex.6)
(MBN M.1359, pp. 244-5)
N.41



Similarly, the second <u>paso</u> of a verset in the 3rd tone (anthology p.98) is related to the first by virtue of the rising fourth:

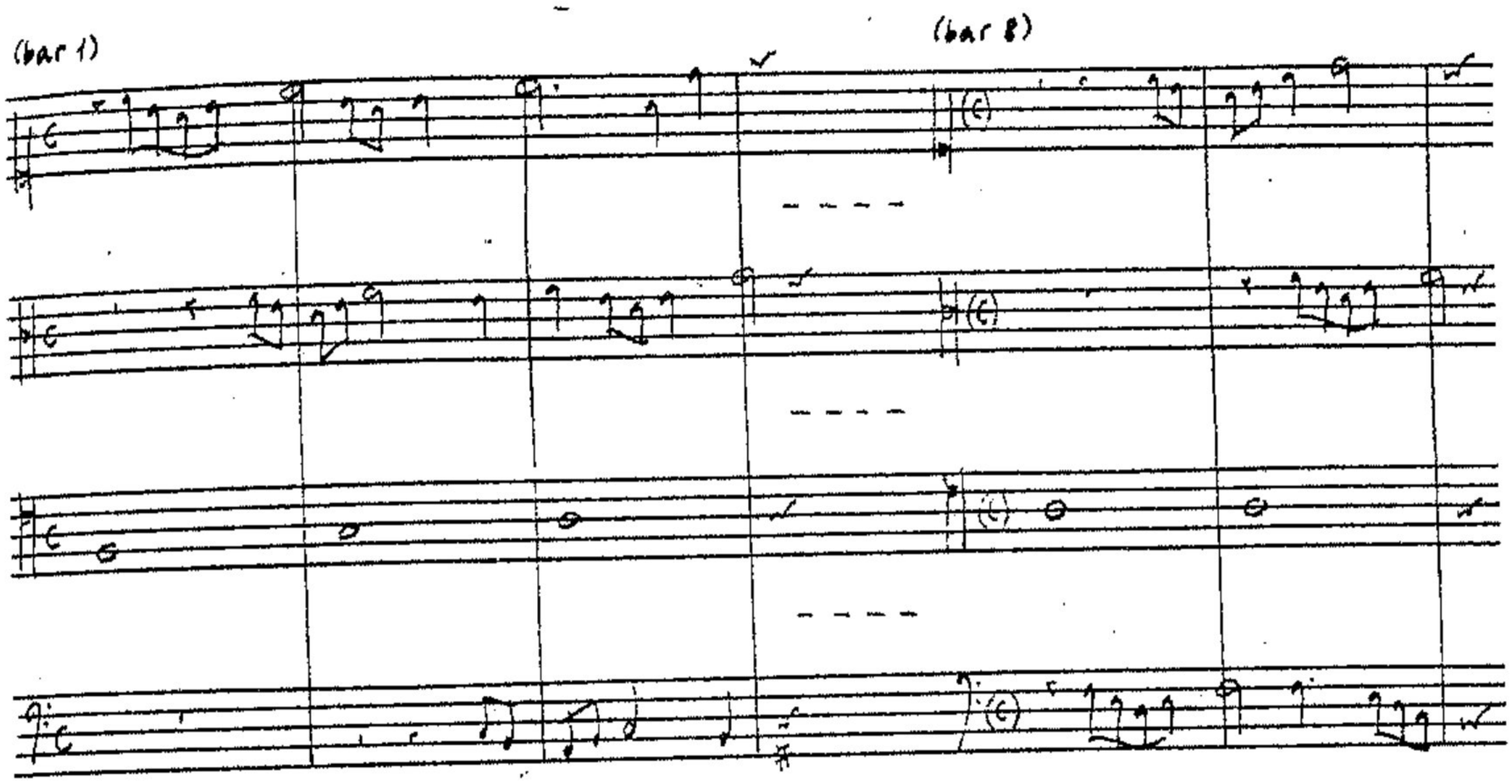
(Ex.7)
(MBN M.1359, pp.197-8)
N.40



Furthermore, as illustrated by this extract from a verset by Espelt in his 1687 collection (BBC M.751.21, pp.25-6), a cantus firmus verset in bipartite form may also be purely monothematic:

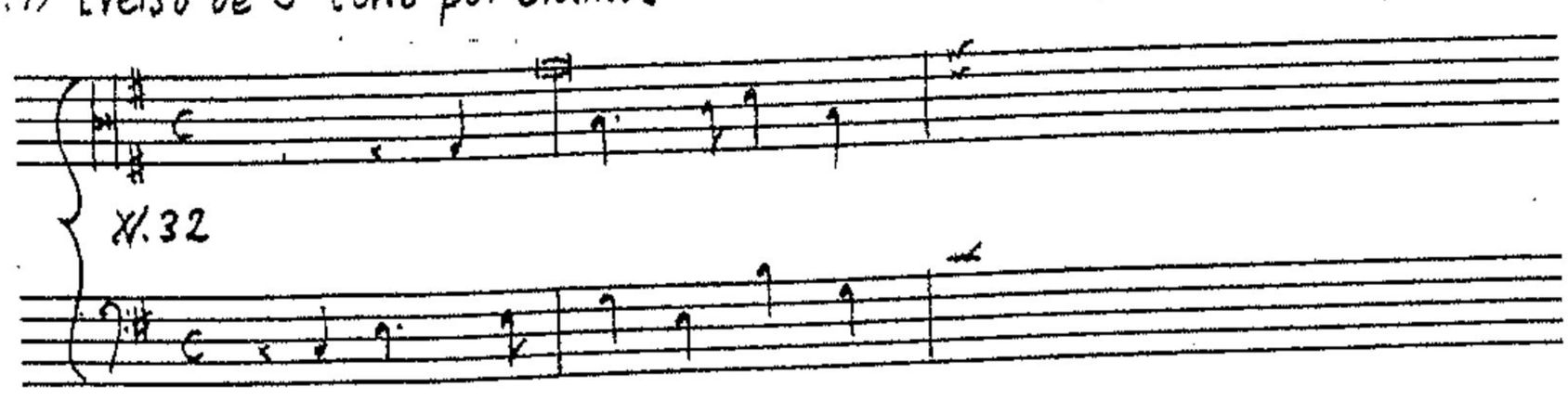
(Ex. 8)
[Verso de 4° tono de Espelt (1687)]

BBC M.751.21
(pp. 25-6)



With the cantus firmus versets in MBN M.1359 which may be defined as consisting of undivided structures owing to the limited portion of the psalm-tone cited, there is only one 'exposition' of a paso. Generally speaking, the pasos used are totally independent from the chant itself. However, in a sequence or set of four versets in the 5th tone from M.1359 (pp.273-6, Vs.32-5), there is one verset (V.32) in which the paso is evidently based on the solemn intonation:

(Ex.9) [Verso de 5° tono por elami] (MBN M.1359, p. 273)



A psalm-tone verset which, in this instance, presents a cantus firmus of the saeculorum in conjunction with a paso on the intonation may be interpreted as presenting a completed thematic structure. The fourth

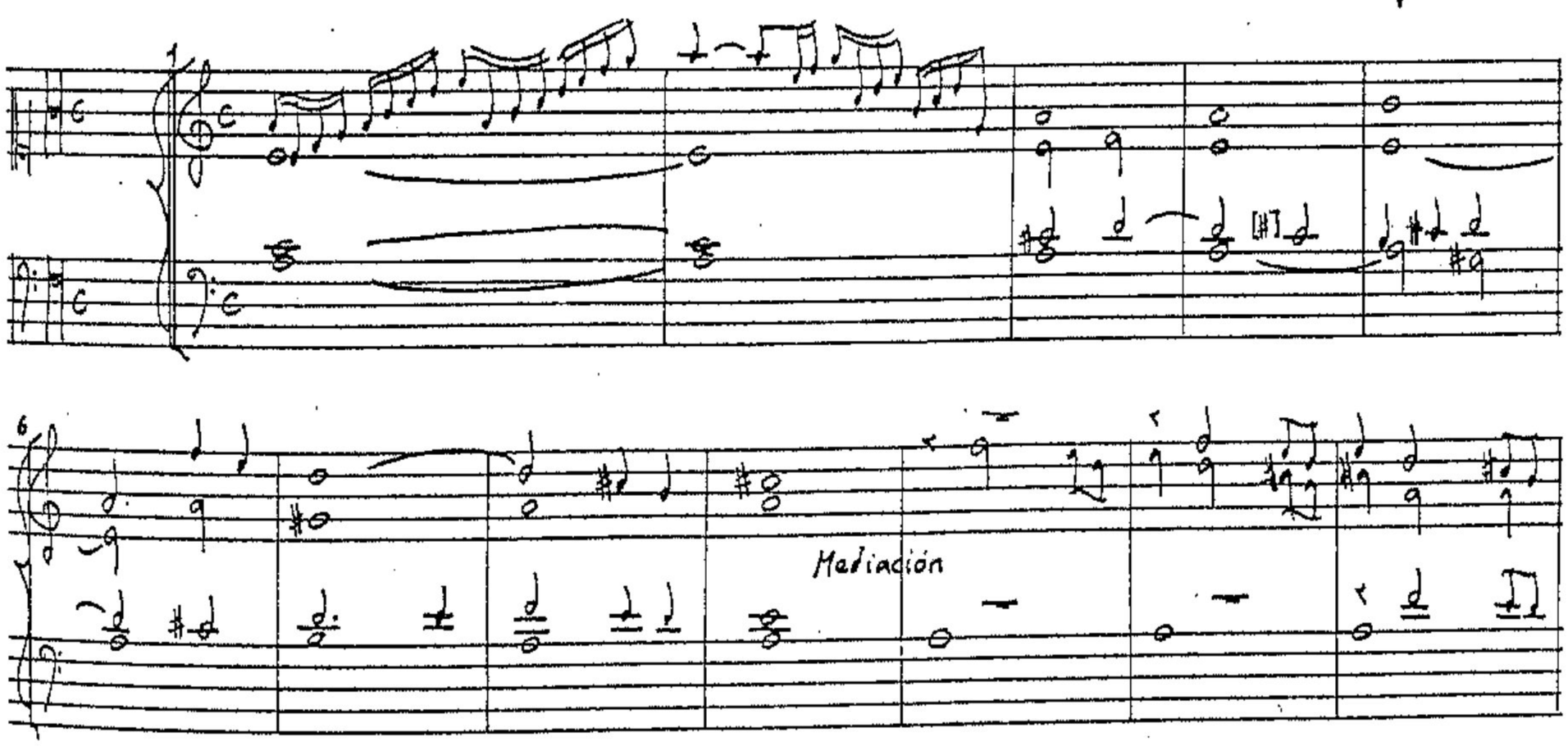
verset in this set (V.35) has a paso based on the saeculorum formula.

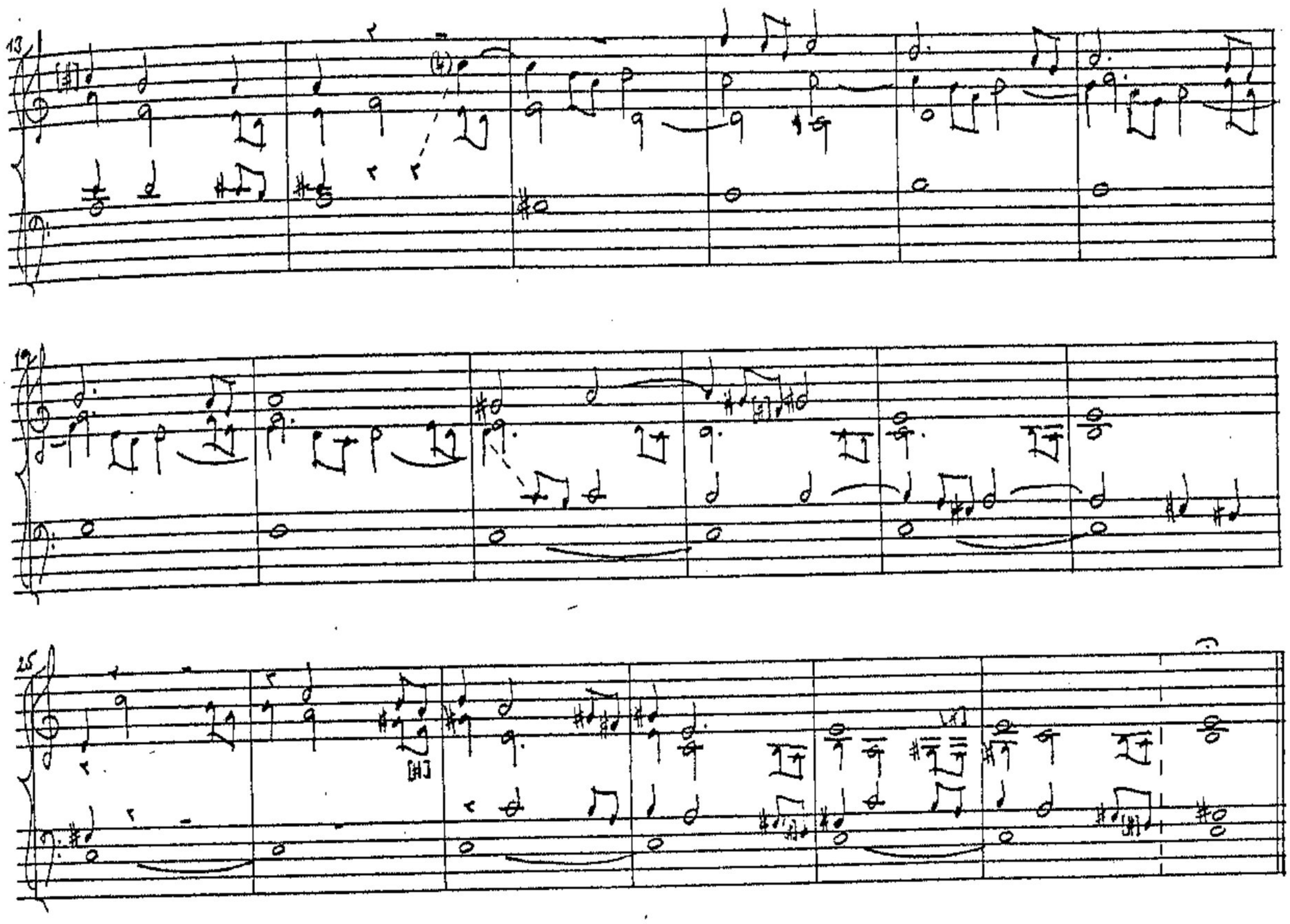
Finally, a special style of bipartite verset which usually incorporates a cantus firmus, is that indentified as the entrada in two Barcelona manuscripts (M.387 and M.1011). As indicated above, its function was inevitably to introduce an alternatim scheme, setting the pitch and tone of a psalm-tone sequence.

As already described, the distinctive feature of the most typical versets of this genre was that the cantus firmus, on the 'solemn' psalm-tone formula, was invariably placed in the bass line, acting as a kind of drone. The first section of this bipartite verset would generally consist of florid passage work and scales proceeding in an improvisatory, totally idiomatic, fashion; this was succeeded by a section featuring a more gentle style of imitative writing. There are a number of variants of this basic scheme and many other versets called entradas are totally different. However, the following example by Cabanilles is typical.

(Ex. 10)

Entrada de Magnificat de 4° tono [de] Cabanilles BBC M.1011 (f.121)





The bipartite versets which may be appreciated as adhering to both cantus firmus and fugal principles of design, can be interpreted as performing a satisfactory compromise between both an archaic structural device and one whose growth and expansion relied more upon codified artifices of contrapuntal manipulation. The most usual compositional procedure consisted of two events: first, a four-part fugal discourse on a given subject or paso; then a rendering of the particular saeculorum formula (in the second half of the verset) which would be heard in conjunction with a now three-part contrapuntal imitation of the first paso. At times, however, the dividing line between the chant having

been transformed into a plain cantus firmus or a more rapidly moving paso becomes blurred. This occurs when a more rhythmically construed cantus firmus, combined with the original paso (now a contrapaso), is restated in a manner which at times resembles sixteenth-century paired imitation. Examples of this, as well as the methods employed for extending the first half of the verset, will be illustrated in the ensuing discussion.

Although the sources present a number of variants to this scheme, documentary evidence exists to prove that this was probably one of the most standard types of verset composition over a period of at least two centuries. The oposición designed for the competitors for the post of first organist at Lérida cathedral in 1833, for instance, still stipulated that this compositional structure should be exercised.

On the first of this four-day exam, apart from playing a verset in the 5th tone ('por B♮') which was to comprise 'su entrada, mediación, y saeculorum' (BBC M.593.21, f. [1]), the competing organist was required to play a verset 'que compondrán de un paso, y le juntarán luego con el Saeculorum' (ibid). On the third day he was asked to guess the mode of an antiphon which had just been sung, play a verset suitable for the canticles in the same mode and, furthermore, improvise another verset in the same manner as the second one prescribed on the first day of the oposición:

> [...] cantarán los Capiscoles una Antífona; los Opositores procurarán adivinar el tono, y sobre el mismo tocarán un Verso de Cántico, otro V(ers)o que formarán de un Paso, y le juntarán con el saeculorum del tono.
>
> (BBC M.593.21: 'Plan de oposición para la de primer Organista dela S(an)ta Iglesia Catedral de Lérida, empezadas el 24 [de] Julio de 1833', f. [2] .)

It is curious that in José Elías's 1717 Músicha de órgano (MBN M.812), the composer has apparently provided the option of performing some of his versets in the 1st tone without the saeculorum portion. In the third set of versets in the 1st tone (ff.5v-9), which immediately follow the first and second sets in this tone at the beginning of the manuscript, there are eight versets. The first of these (anthology p.73), in a free ('lleno') style, is succeeded by seven versets which the copyist specifically states 'are for the psalms': '[...] los demás q(u)e se siguen son para Psalmos' (ibid., f.5v). These consist of (undivided) fugal structures which close on the final of the mode (or tone), D. The issue is then confused by the statement that the eighth verset 'es el primero para Psalmos' (ibid., f.9). Furthermore, after the eighth verset itself, a series of seven saeculorum cantus firmus structures are copied into the manuscript in which the counterpoint corresponds thematically with versets 2 to 7: 'Siguense los seculorums de los versos / antesendentes' (f.9v seq.). (The second verset (f.5v), and its corresponding saeculorum (f.10), is included in the anthology, p.74)

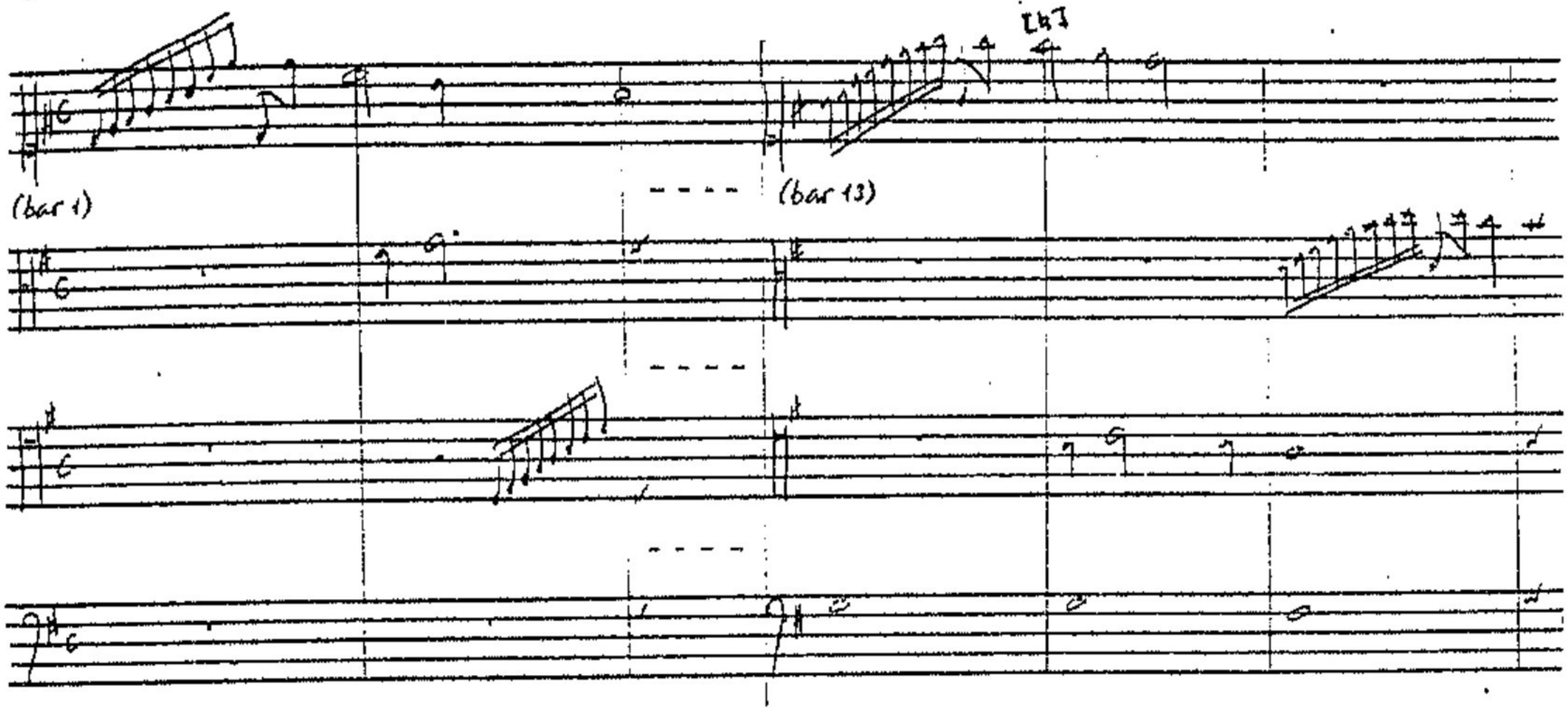
The anthology of this thesis includes several examples of the most standard fugal/cantus firmus verset structures in which the four-part 'exposition' of a paso, which constitutes the first half, is succeeded by a restatement of this material in conjunction with the saeculorum, usually in cantus firmus style. As may be seen in the following three examples from versets in the 8th tone from BBC M.387, of which two are by a certain Florcadell, the note values of the saeculorum may vary considerably: these are at times protracted, proceeding in semi-breves or even breves in the true manner of a cantus firmus; they may be more rhythmically interpreted, employing a basic minim pulse; or they may even be quite succinct, in which case they are barely

distinguishable from the surrounding counterpoint. These examples, reproduced in open-score in order to demonstrate clearly the contrapuntal procedures, consist of extracts from the opening bars of both the first and second halves of each verset. (The versets by Florcadell are included in the anthology, pp.180-1.)

(Ex. 11)

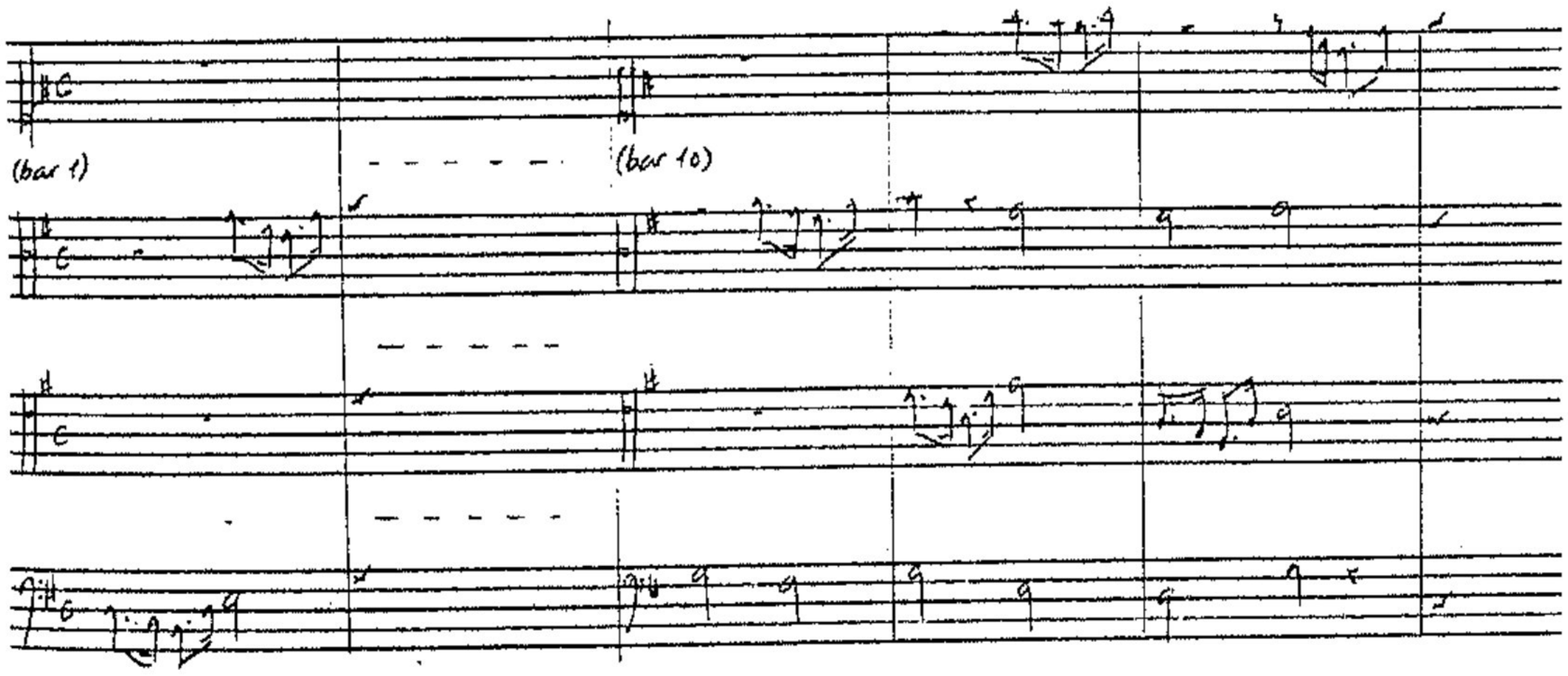
(Florcadell) BBC M. 387 (f. 101v)

(a)



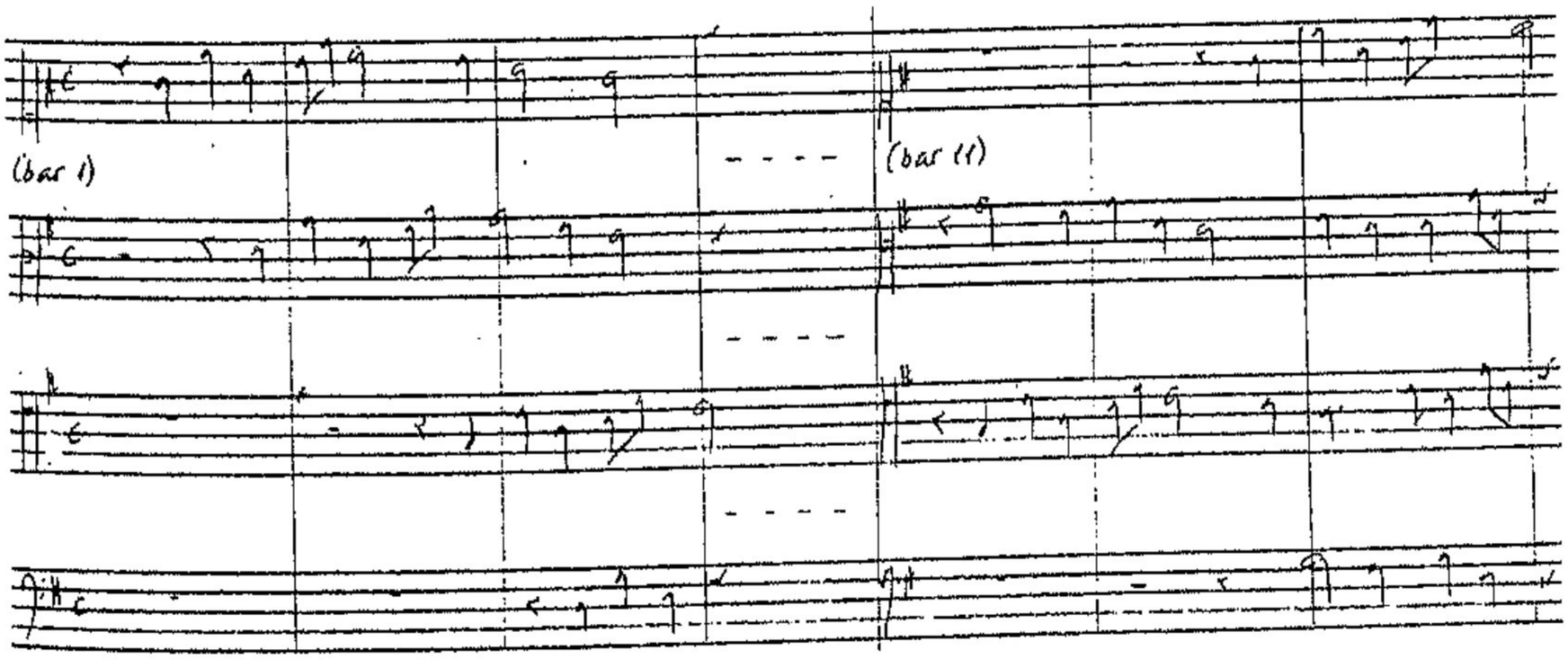
(Florcadell) (Ibid., f. 101)

(b)



(Ibid., f. 96v)

(c)

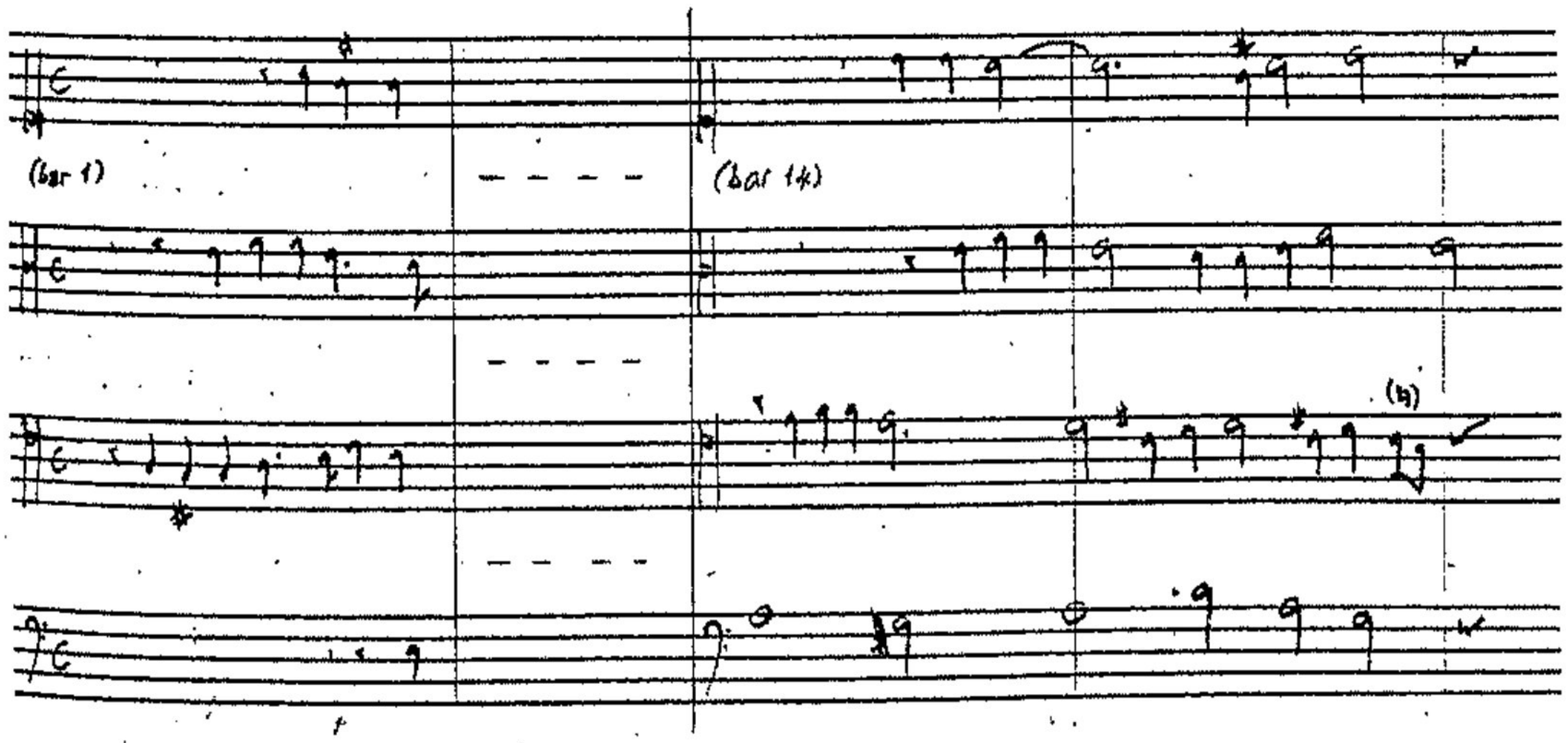


The relationship between the two 'halves' of versets of this type is generally established by the deployment of the same paso. However, there are a few exceptions to this rule: in the second half of the verset, the original paso may be inverted, transformed, or, alternatively, an entirely new paso may be introduced.

For instance, in a few of Cabanilles's versets from a juego in BBC M.729 (ff.109v-49), the first half of the verset may incorporate a paso and its own inversion, either simultaneously or successively, in which case the subsequent imitation of the inverted paso acts as an extending device. In either case, it is the inverted version of the paso which is carried over to the second half of the verset. The following example from a verset in the 4th tone demonstrates the simultaneous imitation of a paso and its inversion and how the latter is used in the second half of the verset. It will also be noticed that the paso itself may be related to the saeculorum formula of the 4th tone which, in the second half, appears in the bass line. This verset as a whole then could be regarded as a monothematic structure. (Anthology p.109.)

(Ex. 12) (Versos de 4° tono [de Cabanilles]: X.4)

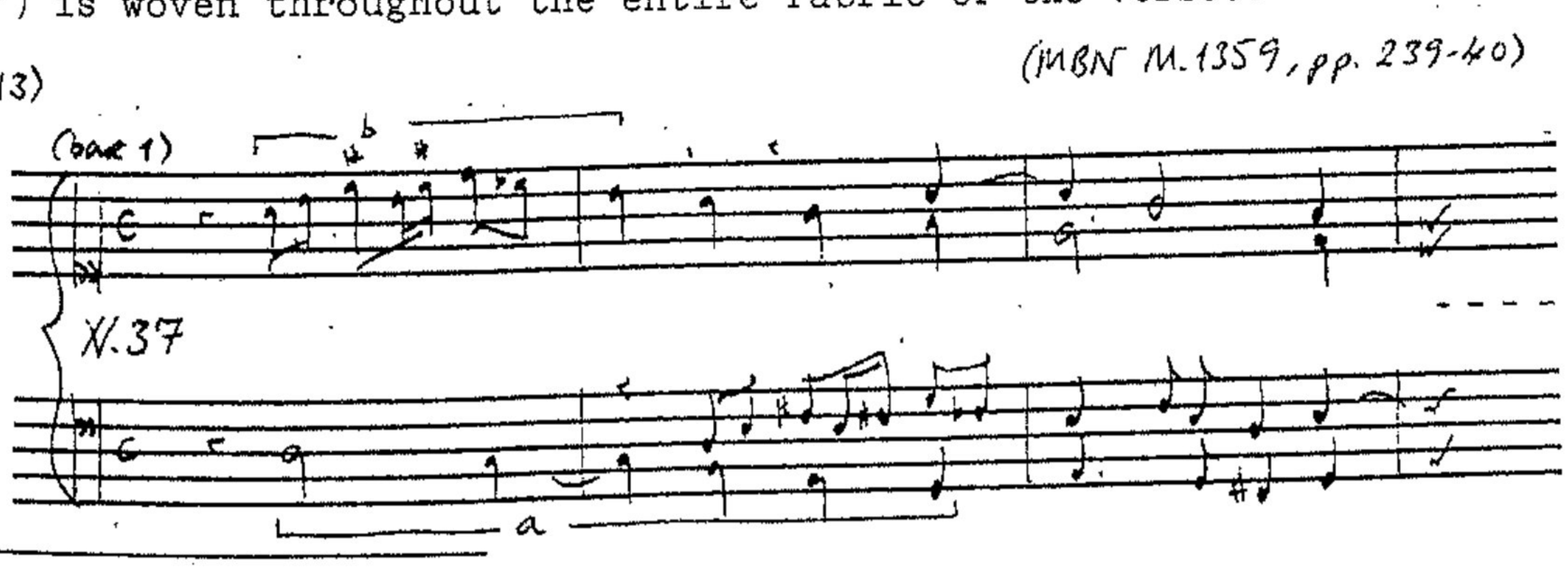
BBC M.729
(f. 126 x 25v)



There are one or two examples of versets which, with their double paso opening, give the superficial appearance of bithematicism. However, in these, the slower moving of these two pasos may become extended and transformed in the second half of the verset so as to embrace the saeculorum formula. A relatively straightforward instance occurs in a 1st-tone Magnificat verset from MBN M.1359 (pp.25-6). It is the sixth of a series of similarly constructed bipartite versets 'p(ar)a Magnificat solemne', and in this instance, the first (slow) paso is based on the solemn intonation. The second half of the verset begins with a transposition of the opening material and, as a whole, this verset may be seen as an elaborate cantus firmus setting of the entire psalm-tone. (Anthology, p.69.)

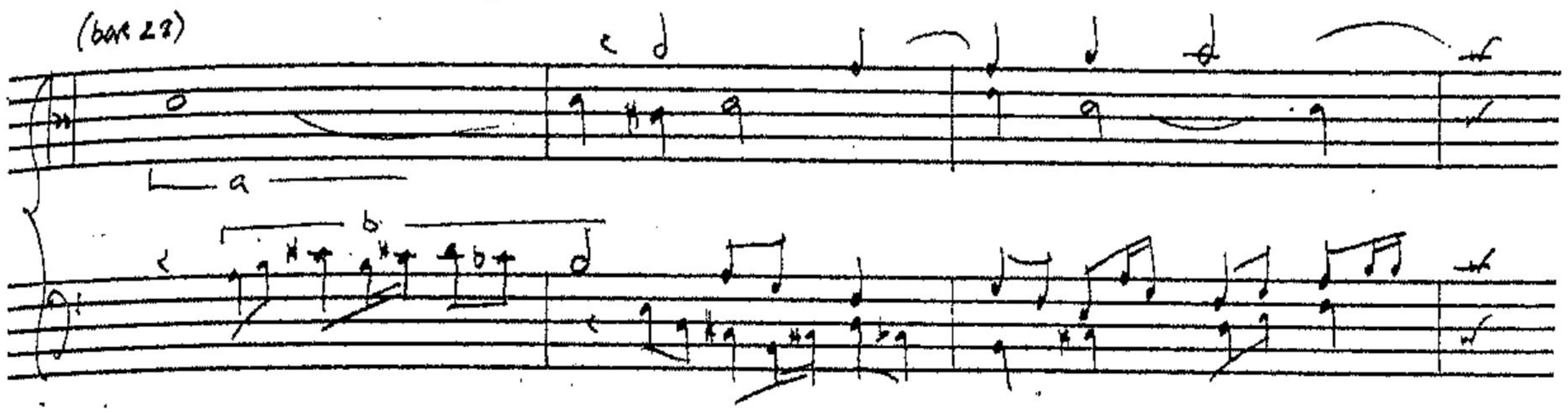
The following example from the versets in the 4th tone in the same Coll MS, which concords with one of Cabanilles in BBC M.751.21, demonstrates a more subtle version of this process.[1] In this case, a paso ('a') from the first half is completely transformed into a new contrapuntal strand which outlines the saeculorum. Moreover, in the second half of this verset, this paso on the saeculorum is imitated, in canonic fashion, at a fifth degree higher in the tiple which therefore presents the saeculorum at its 'natural' pitch. The second paso ('b') is woven throughout the entire fabric of the verset.

(Ex.13) (MBN M.1359, pp. 239-40)



1. MBN M.1359, pp.139-40, V.37; BBC M.751.21, pp.383-4, V.5. The concordances which were found between selected versets in M.1359 and the 'Versos para Psalmodia de Cabanillas' in BBC M.751.21 (pp.386-94) have been listed above (p.316).

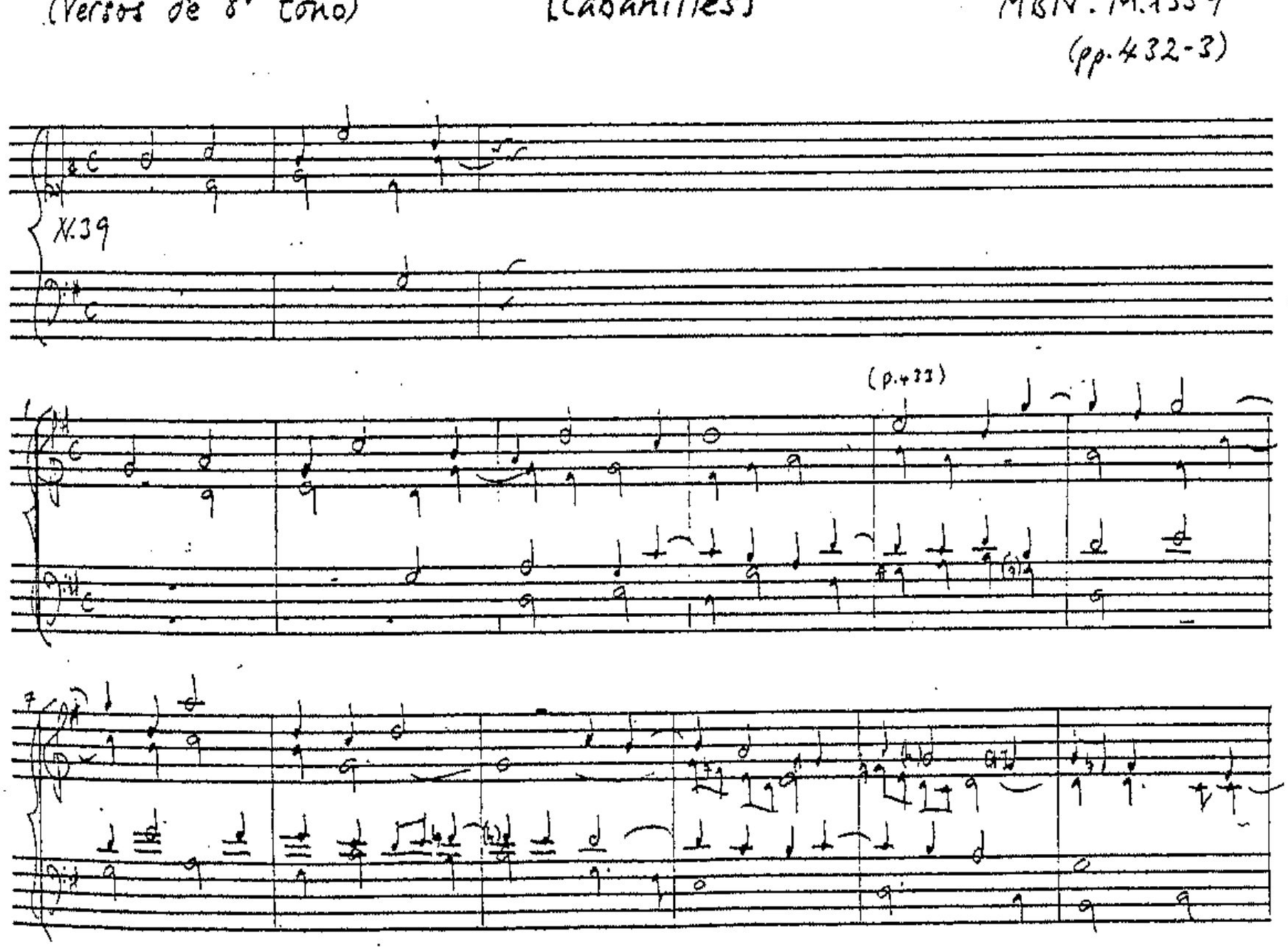
(Ex. 13, cont.)

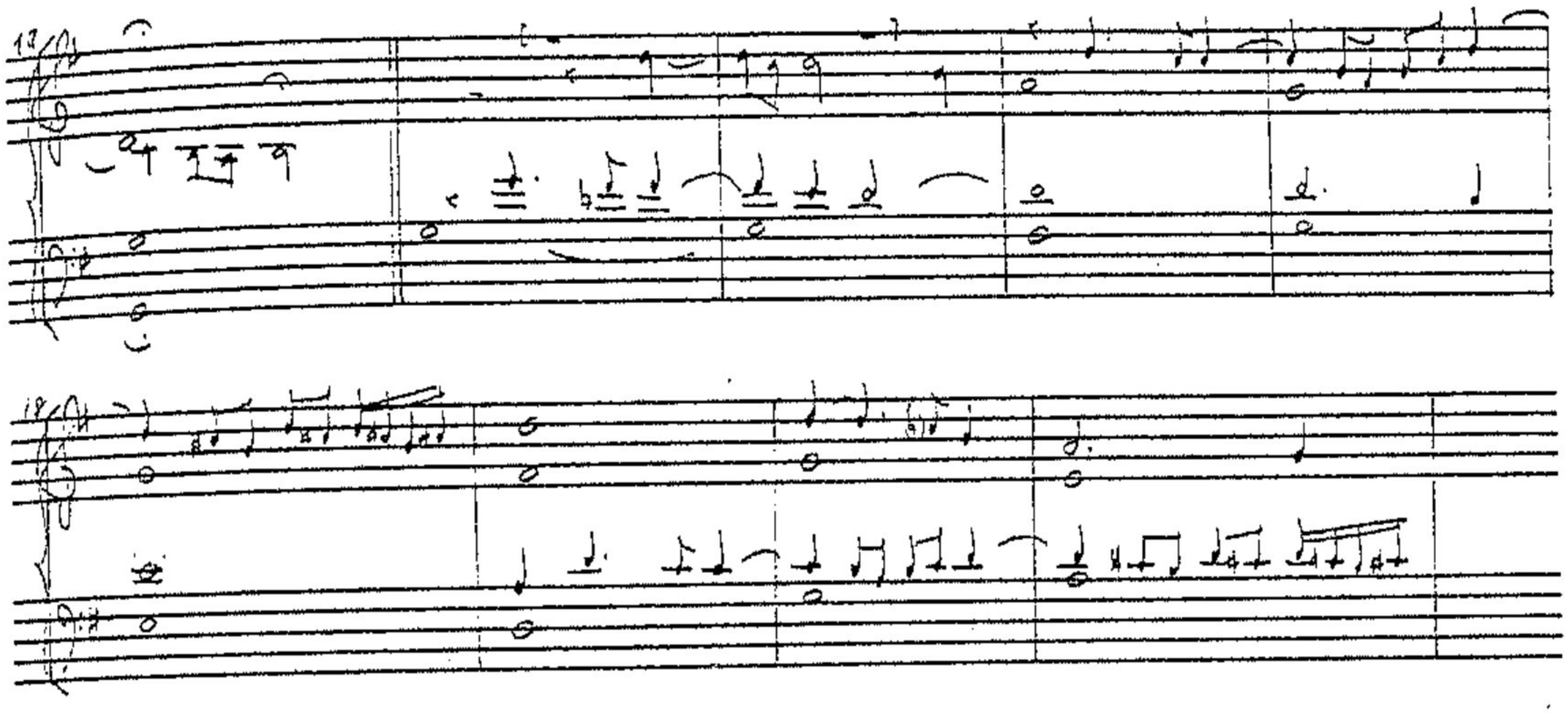


In one or two cases, a new paso is used in conjunction with the saeculorum. In the following 8th-tone verset by Cabanilles, however, the choice of a new paso in the second half is accounted for by the fact that the first is (unusually) based on the intonation.

(Ex.14)

(Versos de 8° tono) [Cabanilles] MBN. M.1359 (pp. 432-3)





Although these versets may be said to be divided into two parts, it is in fact extremely rare that these equalled each other in length. Generally speaking, the first half of a bipartite verset in this style is considerably longer than that of the second. This of course depends on the nature of the initial paso itself, its subsequent imitation, and the additional means by which this particular section was expanded. The main issue here concerns the various ways in which composers, especially Cabanilles, succeeded in extending the material in the first half of the verset. The most usual method employed, other than by merely appending a passage of free contrapuntal writing, was by a sectional process: either the music was reiterated in the manner of

a second 'exposition', or a new paso, or succession of these, was introduced, resulting sometimes in an elaborate sectional construction.

With regard to the first process, one may instance an extended 67-bar 'verset' in the 7th tone from MBN M.1359 (pp.355-6, ℣.5) in which there are two 'expositions' of the paso in the first half (anthology pp.156-7). On second hearing (bar 19 seq.), the interval between each entry and the distribution of the 'voices' remains, but the whole is notated at a pitch an octave higher. There is no break between these two blocks of entries. In some versets in which the first half is also extended in this fashion, however, the composer has presented the possibility of curtailing the music by ending the first 'exposition' on the same cadence as that traditionally employed at the mediation. For example, in a 4th-tone verset contained in MBN M.1359 (pp.219-20, ℣.18), the exposition of the paso which proceeds in the voice pairs tiple/alto and tenor/bass ceases at bars 17-18 after the bass entry; at this point there is a full cadence on A which is the standard cadential point for the mediation for 4th-tone versets in 'natural' position. The second exposition likewise closes on A (bar 39) where the mediation is not only made clear by the pause and double bar, but in this case is actually indicated 'mediación'. Other similar instances could be cited. The composer's intention in these was most probably to provide the option of shortening the versets in performance without actually abbreviating the fugal material itself; a clear bipartite structure could also be retained.

There are a number of versets in MBN M.1359 and by Cabanilles in BBC M.729, for instance, in which the first half is expanded other than by the usual means of continuous imitation of a paso or by a more formal 'second exposition'. In a 5th-tone verset in M.1359 (pp.267-9,

W.19), for instance, the material of the first half is extended not only by a second exposition but also be the addition of a new paso (bar 27 seq.) and its subsequent imitation. (Anthology pp.132-3) First appearing in parallel sixths between the tiple and alto lines, it is this paso which brings the music to a close at the mediation (bar 37). In the second half of this verset, which contains a very free adaptation of the material as a whole, the composer has on this rare occasion presented the initial paso in diminution as an accompaniment to the saeculorum which, as a cantus firmus, is notated in breves.

The most elaborate type of versets are those which may be termed 'sectional'; in these, a succeeding section, or sections, may be constructed either from a new idea (as illustrated by the above example), or from an inversion of the initial paso, or by the introduction of a succession of new events. In some instances, a 'rondo' like unity of ideas might be imposed: the following examples illustrate this procedure of verset expansion. All these are characterized by an increasingly elaborate style strongly resembling the form of some of the tientos.

A verset in the 2nd tone from BBC M.729 (ff.117v-19) by Cabanilles consists of an extremely long first half, of some 50 bars, which completely dwarfs the second: in this instance, the appearance of the saeculorum at this juncture is virtually subservient to the question of thematic unification. By virtue of the distribution of the material, the first half of this verset may be divided into three sections: the first of these ('a')[1] consists solely of the exposition of an

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1. The symbols 'a', 'b', etc., which are used in this analysis, are indicated in the transcription of the verset which is included in the anthology (pp. 84-6).

undulating quaver theme (bars 1-6); the second ('b'), a more rhythmic motif (bars 6-14); and the third ('c'), a brief sequential-like episode which leads to a restatement of the opening idea (bar 23 seq.). In the manner of the 'dos tiples' style, this material ('aa') is expanded largely in the upper region of the keyboard in the tiple and alto parts with only a small participation of the tenor and bass; a dotted rhythm transforms this theme slightly at bar 37 where there is a brief reminder of the second motif ('b'). After the cadence and pause at the mediation, a four-part imitation of the saeculorum formula is blended with the opening paso ('a') which now assumes the guise of a contrapaso. The entire verset may thus be analysed as a rondo-like a-b-c-a-aa-b-a(+ saeculorum) structure.

A similar form occurs in an 8th-tone verset in the same juego of versets by Cabanilles (BBC M.729, ff.145v-7v) in which the sections are further articulated by recurring metric changes: 3 - 6 - 3 - 6 - 3. The material of the second half of this verset consists of a return to the opening paso, with the saeculorum placed as a cantus firmus in the tenor line; the paso, however, soon dissolves into free semi-quaver passagework in the right hand. (Anthology pp.184-6). However, the binding of thematic ideas in these sectional constructions is not always observed: in a 4th-tone verset in this juego (ibid., ff.126v-7v), the sections are articulated by a succession of independent pasos in which even the saeculorum section bears little relation to any fore-going material. (Anthology pp.110-11)

Finally, to consider briefly the second half of these versets as entities in themselves, there is also a variety of interpretations on the basic scheme described above. It is, moreover, in the methods

employed for expanding the material of this section that the role of the saeculorum as cantus firmus or (second) paso is challenged, particularly when it is presented in a more succinct rhythmic guise. Examples in which the saeculorum is literally transformed into a paso for four-part imitation in the second half of the verset will be illustrated below in connexion with those bipartite versets which have been constructed entirely fugally.

Apart from those in which the second half may be extended by a free contrapuntal coda, there are a number in which the saeculorum may be stated twice or even four times. In these cases, because the original paso supports the saeculorum each time in paired imitation style, it assumes the character of a contrapaso. Where the saeculorum is heard four times successively, it may in fact be seen to 'migrate' to each of the parts or voices in the manner of a paso. (For an example, see the anthology pp.94-5 .)

This style of verset writing represents, possibly, a distintegration of more standard cantus firmus principles; it may have encouraged the growth of bipartite versets which are constructed entirely fugally. In these, the material used for the pasos in both halves of the verset corresponds to the appropriate portions of the psalm-tones. Thus, a discourse on a paso derived from the (solemn) intonation formula would constitute the argument of the first half of the verset whilst a paso on the saeculorum would be imitated in the second. Although a precedent may be found once again in Cabezón's Magnificat versets (see Anglés ed. (1966), vol.II) this style of verset is in fact only rarely encountered: the majority happen to be confined to the 5th and 8th tones. Generally speaking, fugal versets are non-bipartite and are based on pasos derived from the saeculorum only (see below).

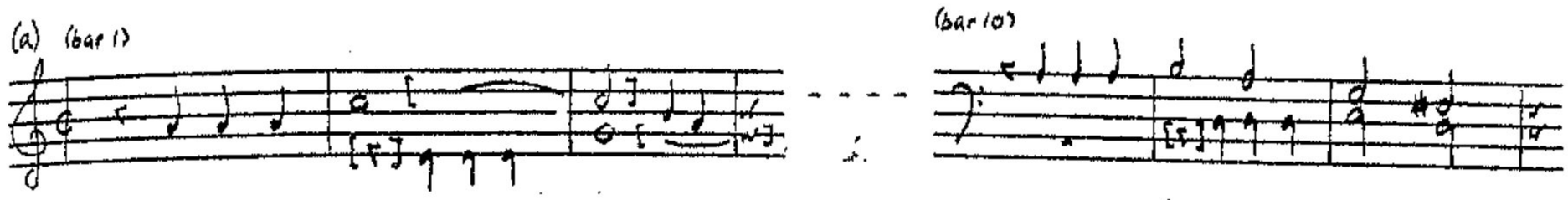
The most simple examples of this genre are found with two 5th-tone versets [por c sol fa ut] included in MBN M.1358 (ff.7v and 52). The compositional ideas in these are virtually identical: neither of them may be regarded as strictly bipartite, but the standard cadential point for the mediation (on G) is reached after a brief four-part exposition of the paso imitated in stretto fashion. This leads swiftly on to the imitation of a saeculorum paso. (Anthology p.140.)

The two examples in the 5th tone ('por elami') selected from MBN M.1359 (℣.36, p.287 and ℣.39, pp.290-1), which are by Cabanilles, display a higher degree of sophistication in their conception than those in M.1358. The second of these versets (℣.39) is a slightly more elaborate version of the first one (℣.36). These are distinguished from their counterparts in the second Coll MS for several reasons: not only by their clear bipartite structures (double bar and pause at the mediation cadence on G) and their more fully worked contrapuntal textures, but also by the use of what may be termed in this context a climactic element. The final entry of the intonation paso in the tiple resolves on to a high-pitched cantus firmus rendering of the continuation of the recitation up to the flex at the mediation. With regard to the pasos themselves, ℣.39 displays an interesting example of the imitation of a paso and its inversion at close proximity: in the first half, the second voice from each pair of entries proceeding from the bass upwards consists of an inversion of the first; in the second half, the paso and its inversion are heard simultaneously. (℣s.36, and 39 from this particular set of versets in the 5th tone by Cabanilles are included in the anthology, pp. 137-9)

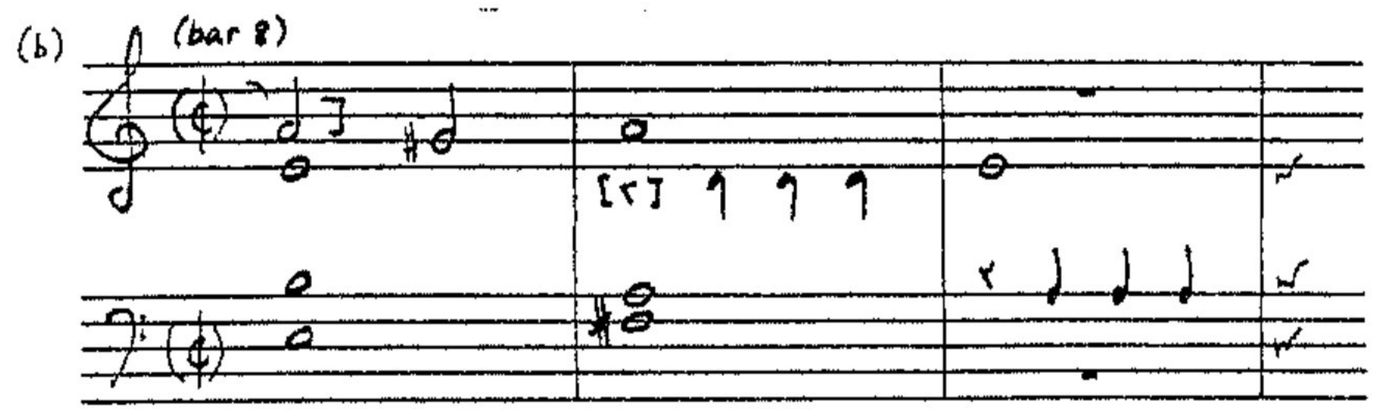
In fugal versets of this kind, the two pasos may be connected by their rhythmic transformation. In the verset in the 7th-tone from

M.1358 (f.8), for instance (anthology p.164), the pasos are related by a canzona-like rhythm:

(Ex.15)



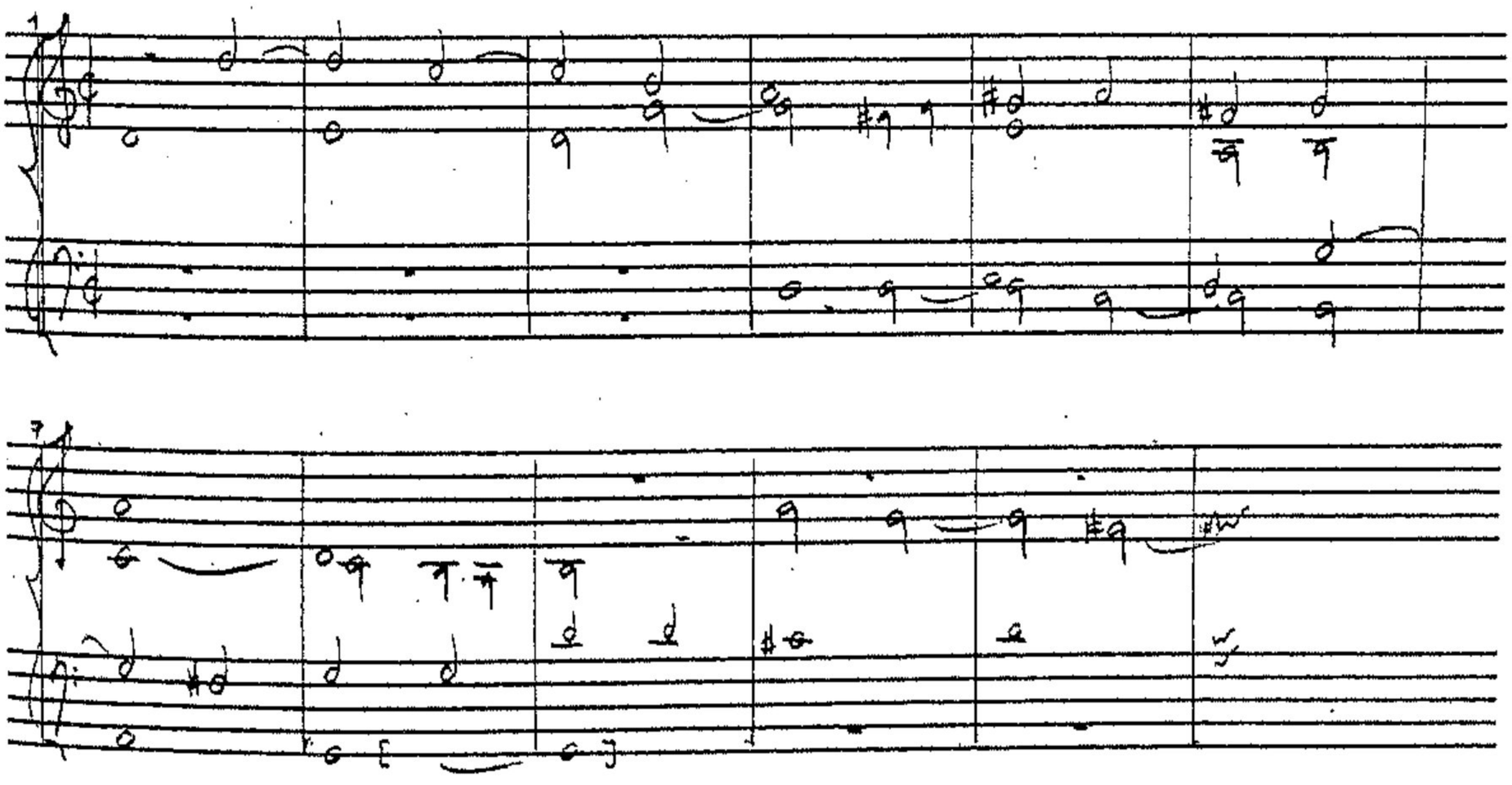
In this verset, there is an unusual 'interrupted' resolution of the cadence at the mediation on to an inverted d major chord:



One further method of binding the two halves of a verset of this genre may be illustrated again from M.1358. In an 8th-tone verset (f.59v), besides the pasos on the intonation and the saeculorum, there is an additional contrapaso which accompanies the fugal material throughout the entire structure. It is used as a complement to each paso entry which is confined to the alto and tenor parts.

(Ex.16)

MBN M.1358
(f.59v)



Versets with undivided structures

The following observations regarding the use of the psalm-tones, in particular the saeculorum formulae, as pasos for contrapuntal imitation, relate largely to organ versets with undivided (as opposed to bipartite) structures. There are, however, many issues raised here which are also applicable to bipartite versets employing an admixture of fugal and cantus-firmus principles in their construction.

The use of the psalm-tones in composition was clearly widespread in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music in particular and we have already commented upon Nassarre's dictum that the organist should ideally never depart from plainchant themes when playing in alternation with the choir (see above, p.5). Apart from the fact that pasos based on the psalm-tones were of 'no less beauty' than those based on other species of plainchant, versets using themes from the psalm-tones performed the additional practical function of maintaining the pitch of the chant whilst the choir rested.

There are only one or two instances in which the contour of the whole psalm-tone (inclusive of the intonation) was employed as a paso in the versets and, apart from the contrapuntal exercises in PBPM M.1576 'sobre o princípio' (see Fernandes ed. (1977)), the solemn intonation formula was only usually transformed into a paso when a bipartite verset was constructed entirely fugally. This discussion, therefore, concerns the use made of the saeculorum formulae.

It may be reiterated here that organists only ever used the 'standard' saeculorum formulae associated with the eight psalm-tones; there was apparently never any question of observing the differentiae which would be used to match the psalm-tone with the antiphon of the psalm or canticle in question. Of particular significance, as already stated,

is the fact that the signo (or 'key') of any psalm-tone verset was determined by the final chord (of the verset) whose root consisted of the last note of one of the eight 'standard' saeculorum formulae.

As the psalm-tones performed such an integral part in the organist's day to day commitments, it is clear that the saeculorum assumed a position of high importance as a formula to be used in contrapuntal phraseology. There are several tientos such as the 'Obra de 7° Tom sobre o Seculorum' in the Braga MS (BBP M.964, ff.120-22; see Doderer ed. (1974), pp.202-8), for instance, which are entirely based on a particular saeculorum,[1] and a number of tientos (or tentos) by Cabezón and Coelho whose contrapuntal fabric might combine strands derived from the saeculorum formulae.[2] There is even a piece dating from around the turn of the seventeenth century, Aguilera de Heredia's 'Discurso sobre los seculoruns' (see Siemens Hernández ed. (1978), pp.124-7), which is wholly constructed from the 'standard' formulae of each of the eight saeculorums. A brief exercise by José Elías, a century later, demonstrates a similar concern. As indicated in the title to this piece, the saeculorum of the 1st psalm-tone, notated as a cantus firmus in the bass line, is 'accompanied' by the saeculorums of the remaining seven tones:

---

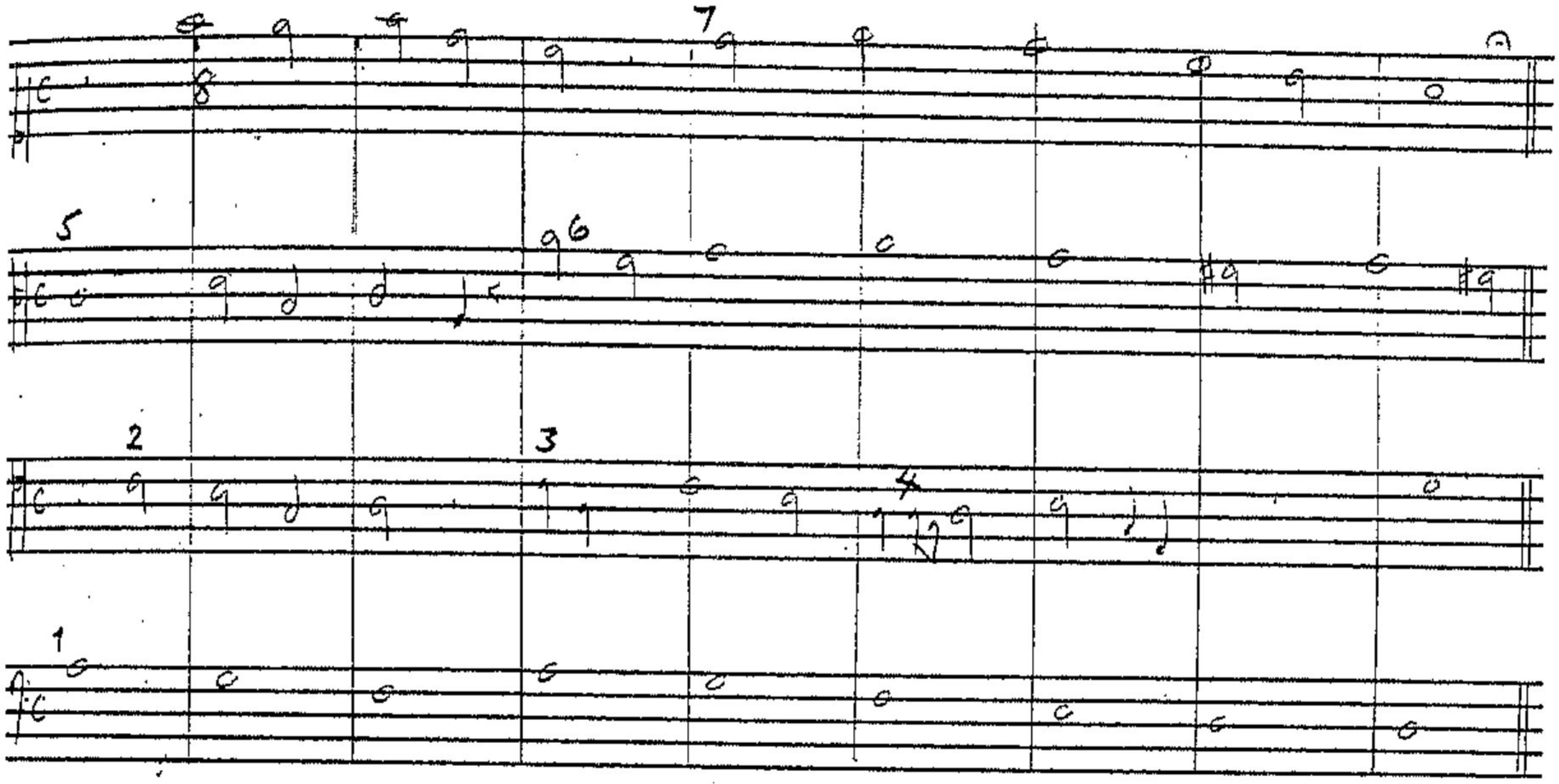
1. For further examples of tientos based on the saeculorum formulae see Aguilera de Heredia's 'tiento de 8° tono por delasolre' (ESC M.2187, ff.91-2) and 'Dos vajos de 8° tono' (ibid., ff.180-1) which are both edited by Siemens Hernández (1978), pp.100-4 and 119-23; and Ximénez's 'Dos vajos de 8° tono' (ESC M.2187, ff.78-80), edited by Apel (1975), pp.80-8. The 'Dos vajos' compositions by Aguilera and Ximénez, incidentally, are both based on the entire (8th) psalm-tone formula.

2. For example, see Cabezón's tiento in the 4th mode in the Libro de cifra nueva (ff.26v-7v), edited by Anglés (1944), pp.54-6; and tentos 2, 3, 10, 13 and 15 in Coelho's Flores de Música (1620), edited by Kastner (repr.1976).

(Ex. 17)

J. Elías: Música de Organo (1717)
(MBN M. 812, f. 176)

Seculorum primero tono, acompañada con los seculorums de los demás tonos



Turning now to the quantity of fugal versets constructed from the termination formulae of the psalm-tones, a large number of similar stylistic traits and compositional procedures may be discerned. Once more, the examples chosen for illustration have largely been drawn from MBN M.1359.

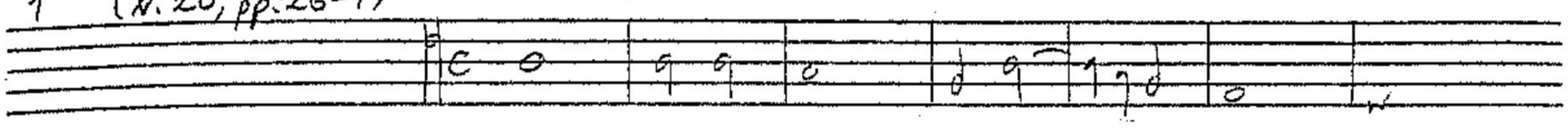
With regard to those written in tempus imperfectum (C), the majority use the slow-moving 'vocal' type of paso familiar from the motet and many sixteenth-century instrumental compositions. The most common rhythmic transformation of the chant was to a semibreve followed by two minims: C 𝅝 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 |

The initial (reciting) note may or may not be repeated. Several examples may be found in the eight tones.

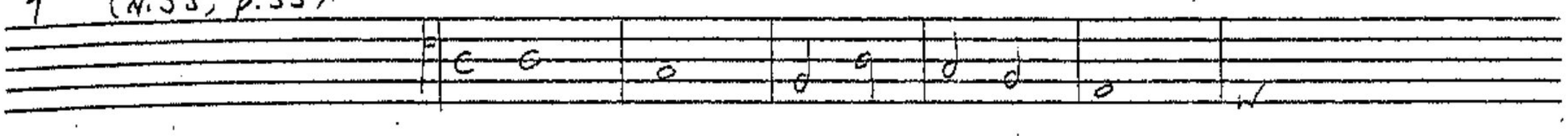
XIV Examples of pasos based on the saeculorum formulae of the psalm-tones, in versets from MBN M.1359

TONES:

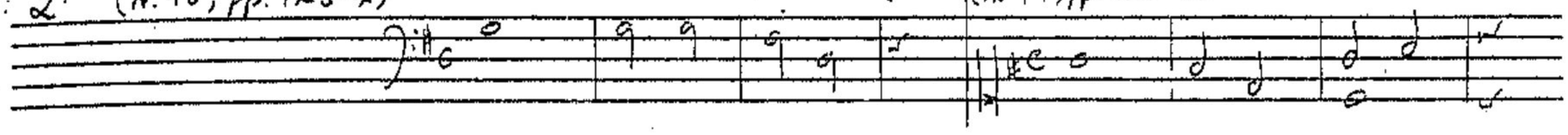
1 (V. 20, pp. 26-7)



1 (V. 53, p. 55)

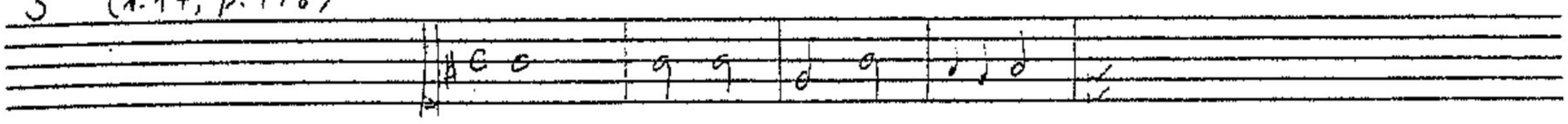


2 (V. 15, pp. 123-4)

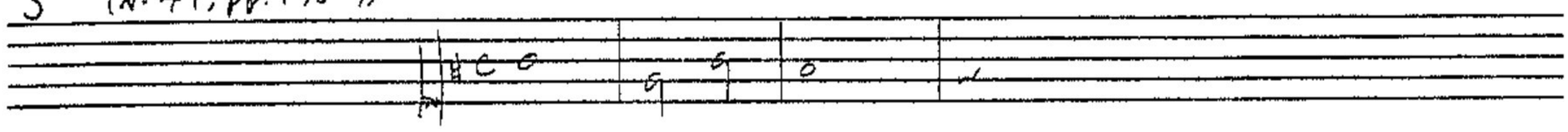


(V. 17, pp. 124-5)

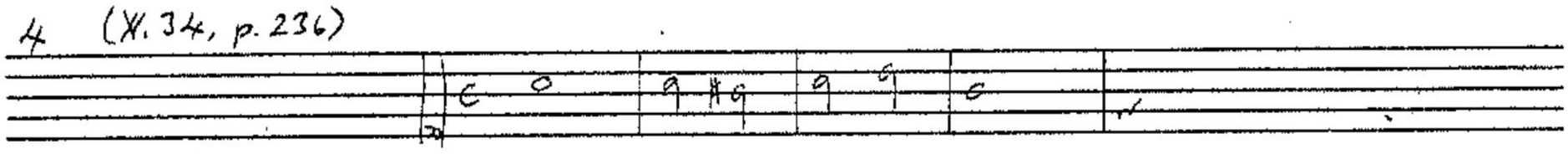
3 (V. 17, p. 178)



3 (V. 41, pp. 198-9)



4 (V. 34, p. 236)



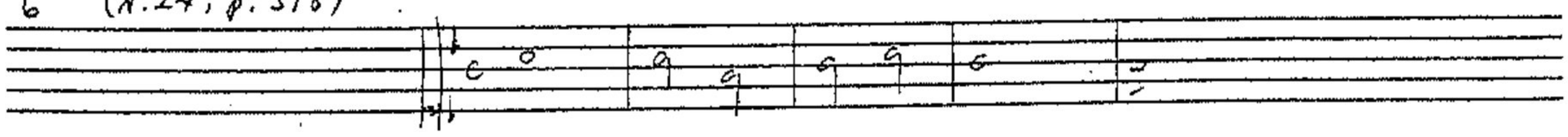
5 (V. 23, pp. 275-6)



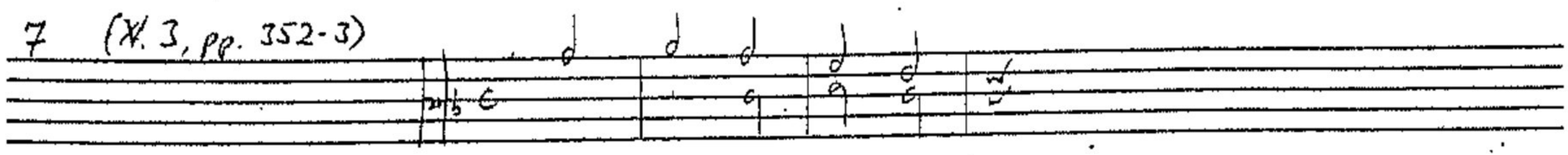
5 (V. 25(b), pp. 277-8)



6 (V. 24, p. 318)



7 (V. 3, pp. 352-3)



7 (V. 6, p. 357)



8 (V. 24, pp. 419-20)



The repeated-note rhythm, as illustrated in some of the above examples, also occurs in diminution, thus resembling a canzona-like motive:

(Ex. 19)

(tone 2, V. 1)

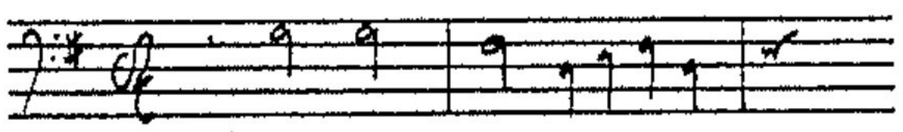


MBN M.1359 (p. 111)

With the versets in tempus perfectum (C3), the chant is frequently transformed into a paso which not only begins on the second beat of the bar, thus giving it a slightly syncopated character, but also includes a decorative crochet turn for the second and third beats of the second bar. In this particular example, the crochet turn emphasizes the penultimate note of the standard saeculorum of the 2nd psalm-tone:

(Ex. 20)

(tone 2, V. 54)



MBN M.1359 (p. 150)

A paso of this kind lends a highly rhythmical quality to the verset as a whole.

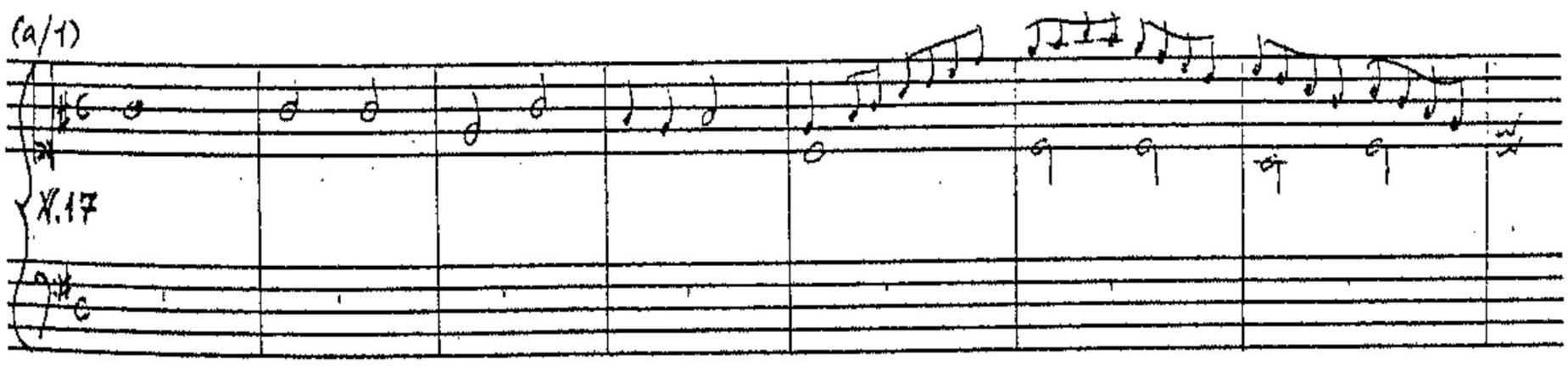
By way of comparison it may be noticed that in Espelt's versets, the pasos frequently consist of more succinct rhythmic transformations of the chants. (A number of versets by Espelt have included in the anthology; for a typical example of this type of paso, see p.217.) The universal application of these rhythms to the psalm-tone subjects suggests a longstanding tradition in verset construction; it is not necessarily indicative of common authorship - this is more likely to be detected from the combination of these strands and the development of the composition as a whole. The choice of rhythm for the paso usually defines the character of the verset; momentum may only be acquired

as each fugal part succeeds the other. There are also a number of pasos based on the psalm tones which are constructed from more idiomatic rhythmic patterns: these include the use of quaver patterns, dotted rhythms and off-beat syncopated motives such as the characteristic 'Spanish' rhythm C ♩ ♪♩ ♪♩ |~ . The latter rhythm, however, is only rarely used in the psalm-tone versets. (For an example, see the anthology, pp. 182-3.)

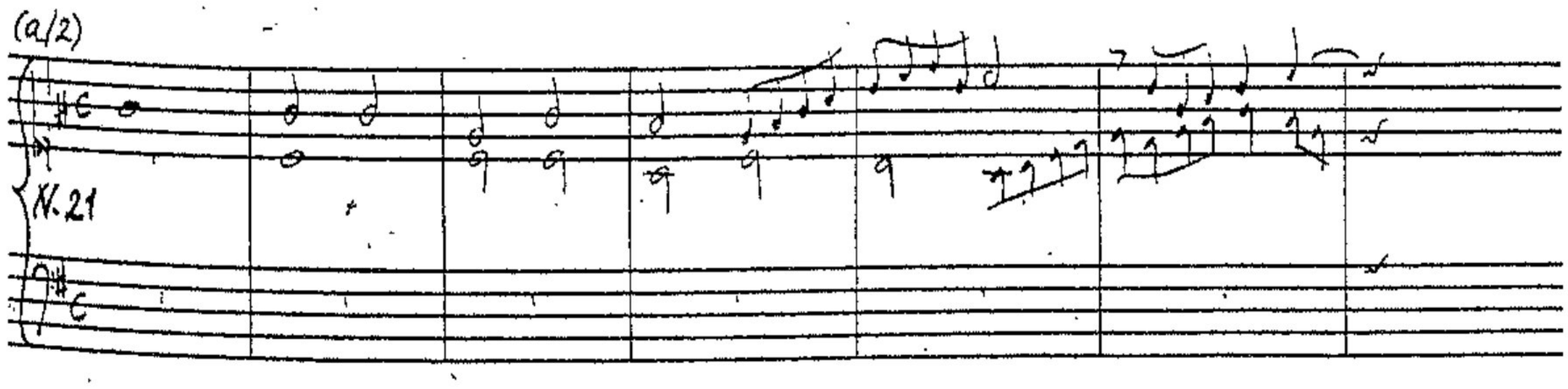
Inevitably, there are some versets which, owing to the use of a common paso (both melodically and rhythmically), resemble each other, at least in the openings. However, through the combination and imitation of the contrapuntal strands, these versets may in fact be distinguished one from the other: either by the nature of the contrapasos which accompany subsequent entries of the original paso, or by the closer time interval between these entries, resulting sometimes in a stretto like texture. To illustrate these procedures, the opening bars of four versets in the 3rd tone which employ similar pasos (from MBN M.1359) may be studied. (Transcriptions of all four versets are included in the anthology, pp. 202-5)

(Ex. 17)

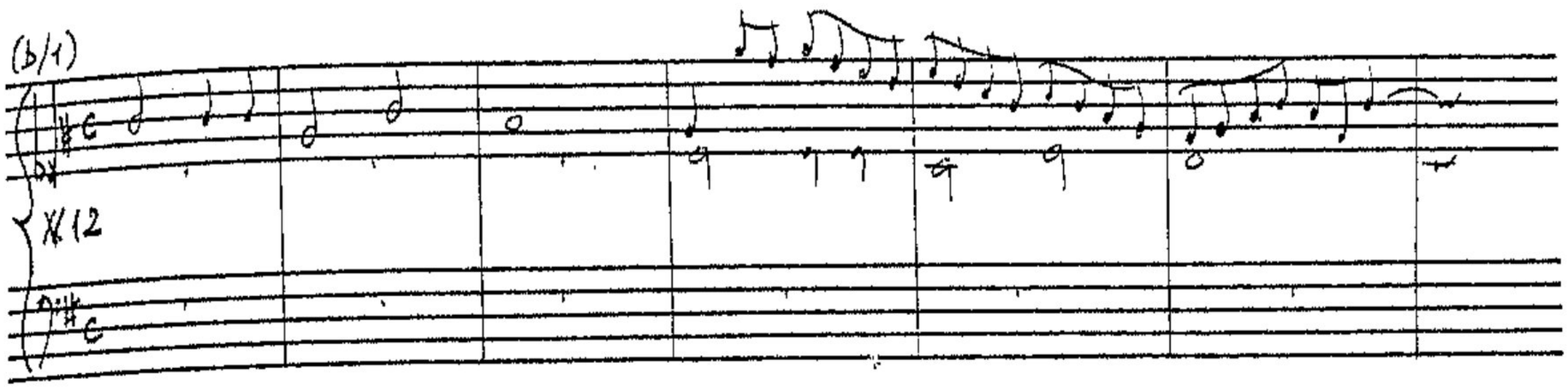
MBN M.1359
(p. 178)



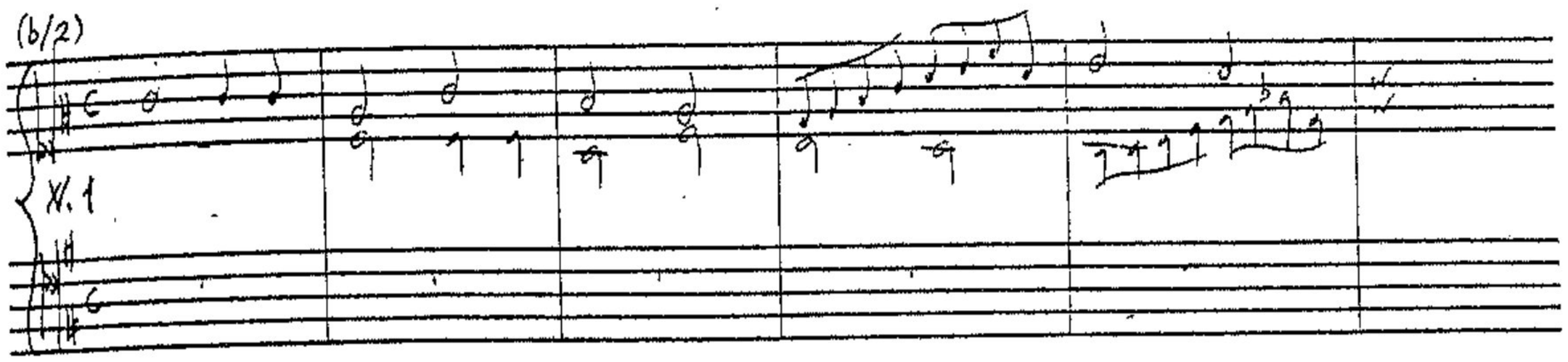
(Ibid., p. 181)



(Ibid., p.170)



(Ibid., p.163)



In the two groups of examples above, it is apparent that the composer either presents the paso (on the saeculorum) in full before the second entry (exx.a/1 and b/1), or overlaps the first two entries in stretto fashion (exx.a/2 and b/2). These particular versets also vary in the methods employed for extending the material. Where the composer does not merely present a straightforward four-voiced exposition of the paso for the entire structure of the verset (℣s.17 and 21), the composition is lengthened either by means of a brief extension in free counterpoint (℣.1) or by means of further entries of the paso in a more random manner than the style of formal second 'exposition' which has been described above (℣.12). In ℣.12 (anthology, pp.203-4, the four-voiced exposition, which closes with a cadence on D (bar 18), is succeeded by a further entry of the paso in the tiple, at a new pitch, accompanied by counterpoint in the alto line. The tenor and bass parts proceed in stretto fashion (at a bar's interval) and the verset concludes with a final entry in the alto, accompanied by free contrapuntal writing in the other three parts.

Finally, there are two other versets in the 3rd tone in the same manuscript whose 23-bar structures consist, apparently, of identical

components: even the contrapasos reveal great affinities. However, the principal distinction between them lies in the fact that whereas ℣.41 consists of a four-part exposition followed by a brief contrapuntal extension, ℣.45 consists not only of this exposition (with the tenor entering a bar earlier in ℣.45) but also of an extension which incorporates two more entries of the paso in the tiple and alto lines. (See the anthology, pp.207 and 208.)

The foregoing discussion has been based on observations made on the contrapuntal behaviour of organ versets designed for alternatim performance with the psalms and canticles. The principal objective of these versets was to present the psalm-tone material in a recognizable format, either as the basis of pasos for imitation, or in the guise of a more protracted cantus firmus. Apart from the bipartite cantus firmus versets, the composers did not always strictly observe the inherent formal and melodic components of the psalm-tones; even the cantus firmus versets themselves were not necessarily based on the entire psalm-tone inclusive of the 'solemn' intonation formula. It was important, however, that the versets should always adhere to the basic modal scheme of the psalm-tones in both their 'natural' and transposed positions.

(iv)

The hymn in Iberian sources

(a)

An introduction to the historical contribution of the hymn to the liturgy and its application in organ music

It is now well documented that from at least the time of Visigothic Spain, the Hispanic Church enjoyed a rich tradition of hymnody. The 13th Canon of the 4th Council of Toledo (A.D.633)[1] is often cited as containing the seeds for the rapid growth of hymn-writing which flourished in the seventh century.

> Componuntur ergo hymni sicut componuntur missae, sive preces, vel orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos nullus nostrum ulterius improbet sed pari modo Gallia, Hispaniaque celebret: excommunicatione plectendi qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.
>
> ([Toledo IV], Canon 13, Mansi 10, pp.622-3; quoted in Messenger (1946), p.164, n.71)

It is said that from this time onwards, special hymns began to be composed which honoured the Saints and the Apostles; in the old tradition, apparently, the hymns had been derived from passages in the Holy Scriptures. Many of these Saints were of local origin and the texts featured in particular those who had suffered under Roman persecution. The author of España Sagrada (Tomo III, 1754), however, maintains that there must have existed several hymns to the Apostles before the Council's dictum 'In laudem Dei, atque Apostolorum et Martyrum triumphos', supporting

---

1. For an outline of the Canons of Toledo IV, see España Sagrada, Tom.VI (1751), Trat.6, Cap.6 'Del Concilio Quarto de Toledo. Nacional. Año de 633', pp.160-6. The entry for this particular Canon is briefly: 'El 13, que no se omitan los Hymnos en el Oficio Divino' (loc.cit., p.161).

his contention by referring to the writings of Saint Isidore (De Officiis), who, as Archbishop of Seville (599-636), played an important role in this particular Toledan Council.[1] Nevertheless, the dictates of Toledo IV encouraged a radical departure from previous Councils at Braga in which poetical texts were completely banned from liturgical use.(See Messenger (1946), p.164.) It is believed that Saint Isidore, along with a large number of other ecclesiastical dignitaries such as Maximus (Bishop of Zaragoza, 592-614), Eugene (Archbishop of Toledo, 646-57) and Julian of Toledo, was responsible for a quantity of these new texts which remain anonymous (ibid).

Owing to their rich literary content the Mozarabic hymns are of immense value. F.J.E. Raby suggests that they 'form the raw material for an important research which would help to elucidate the state of religious and intellectual culture during the obscure centuries of the early Middle Ages'. (Raby (1927), p.128.) It is just this thesis which R. Messenger expounds in her article 'Mozarabic hymns in relation to contemporary culture in Spain', where she writes that these hymns 'reflect the changing scenes of Roman, Visigothic and Moslem rule, united by the continuing and unchanging faith which pervaded them'. (Messenger (1946), p.164.)

It is therefore not surprising to encounter in Spanish and Portuguese sources a corpus of unfamiliar hymn texts and indeed melodies whose origins prove to be obscure. It is in most cases uncertain which melodies were originally associated with the texts of the Mozarabic hymns. Out of the 200 or so surviving texts which H. Blume has identified as being Mozarabic in origin, a mere handful are recorded with neumatic notation.

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1. See España Sagrada, Tom.III (2/1754) Cap.3, §8 'De la antigüedad de los Hymnos en España [...]', p.81 seq; the reference to Saint Isidore is on p.92 (n.114).

(See Analecta Hymnica, vol.XXVII, and Brockett (1968), p.150.) However, the first appearance of a collection of hymn tunes possibly connected with an ancient, Mozarabic, tradition, occurs in Cardinal F.J. Cisneros's Intonarium Toletanum (1515) which was one of the fruits of this Toledan Archbishop's attempted restoration or revival of the Mozarabic rite. (See Anglés (1967).) Although its true reflection of an old heritage of hymns will remain debatable, its historical significance is undeniable: the music, which includes tunes derived from a universal repertory as well as others of local origin, is notated in both square and mensural notation. Thus it also gives an indication of the ways in which a number of these were performed rhythmically. In order to distinguish the hymn tunes of national character associated with a particular poetic text from their Roman equivalents, many were inscribed 'more hispano'. Where these texts were of a late date, such as those associated with the feast of Corpus Christi, in particular the Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis (see below), it is difficult to determine whether or not these melodies were newly composed, adapted from an oral tradition, or even derived from a lost sequence of sources.

Considering the somewhat ambivalent origins of Iberian hymns and the large number of local practices which long persisted in the peninsula (that of Toledo being the most obvious example), it is evident that there would have existed vast discrepancies between the chants themselves and their performance. Bermudo, for instance, referring in this particular instance to the inherent ternary meter of certain hymns, complains that these were at times badly notated:

> El compás de algunos hymnos es a proporción de sesquialtera, que entra(n) tres semibreves en un compás. Los tales hymnos en pocas partes están bien puntados: porque tienen todos los puntos quadrados. Los hymnos que se cantan al compás ternario, o de sesquialtera son

> los siguientes. El del adviento que dize Ad cenam agni, Rex eterne, y Aurora lucis, del sacramento Pange lingua gloriosi, y Sacris solemnijs y otros semeja(n)tes.
>
> (J. Bermudo: Declaración, 1555; Lib.1°, Cap.18, f.17v.)

Furthermore, Coll, writing in the early eighteenth century, was aware not only of this problem but also of the variants which crept into the poetic texts:

> [...] es raro el Hymno, que se canta en una Iglesia, que tenga uniformidad con los que se cantan en las otras; y aunque los Escriptores del Arte los escriven, también en esto están discordes.
>
> (A. Martín y Coll: Arte de canto llano, Madrid 1719; Lib.1°, Cap.4°, p.17.

It is clear, therefore, that hymnals and other sources containing chants for the hymns originating from various corners of the Iberian peninsula and dating from different periods will be indicative of the diverse performance practices which must have existed. A comparison of these would make a fascinating study in itself; it is, however, outside the scope of this thesis to elaborate upon this subject. Nevertheless, in the comparatively few sources which have been consulted, one or two prominent features emerge: firstly, that a number of minor melodic variants creep into the hymn melodies, including, in some instances, accidentals; secondly, that different tunes may be sung to the same poetic text at an identical liturgical function. The latter issue is connected especially with the practice of singing a particular hymn-tune for the duration of a certain liturgical season (see below).

As a brief indication of the former tendency, the guise of two well known hymn tunes which are included in a seventeenth-century hymnal from

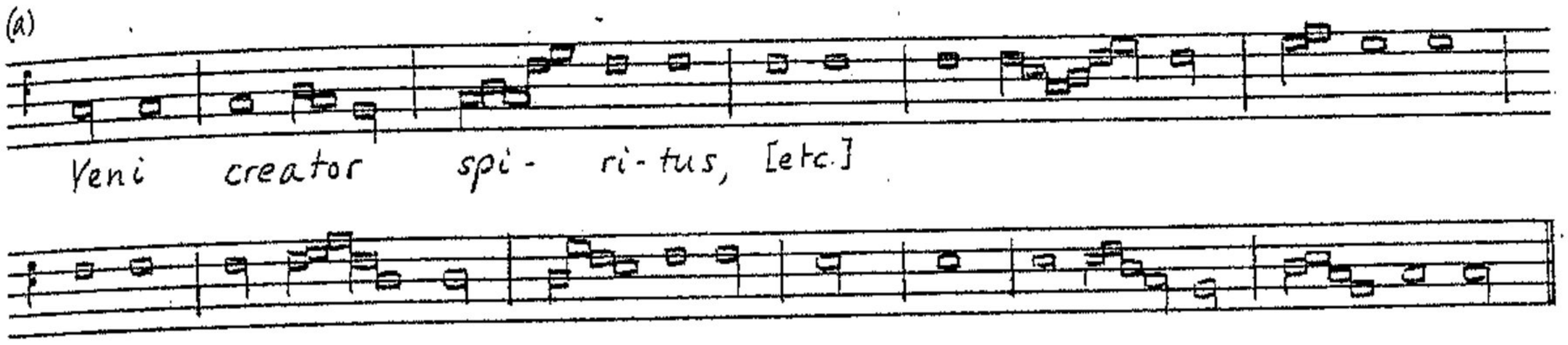
the 'Sancta See de Coimbra' may be instanced.[1] The following versions from this Livro dos Hymnos (1640) of Veni Creator and Ave maris stella are somewhat elaborate:

(Ex. 1)

CBGU MM. 1

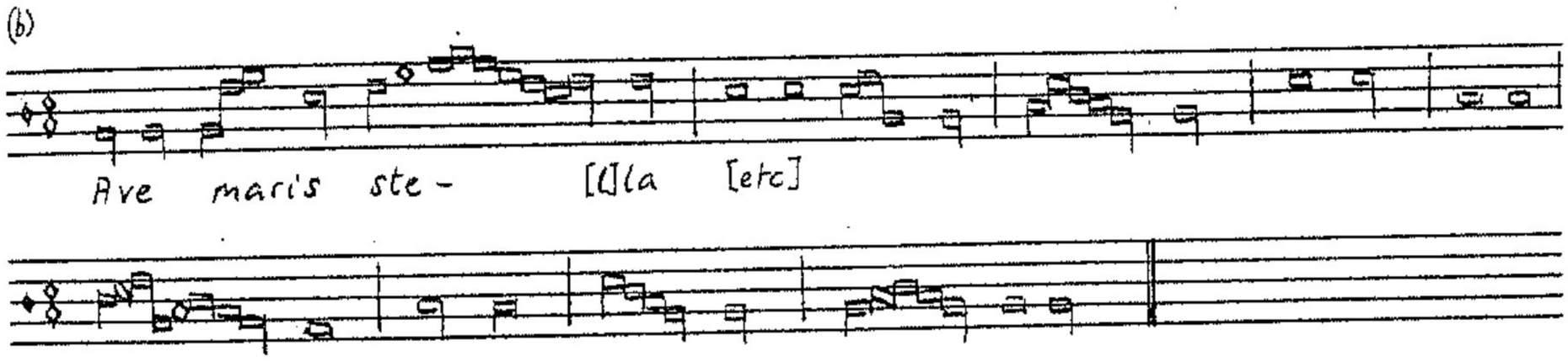
(In festivitate Pentecosti's / ad resp: Hymnus) (f. 17)

(a)



(In Conceptione Beatae / Virginis Mariae ad / vesp: Hymnus) (Ibid., f. 25v)

(b)



With regard to the second characteristic, it will be seen in the following examples from sources dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that a number of different melodies were associated with the same (Vespers) hymn for Trinity Sunday. Whilst Lorente, surprisingly perhaps, presents the original text for this hymn - O lux beata Trinitas -

---

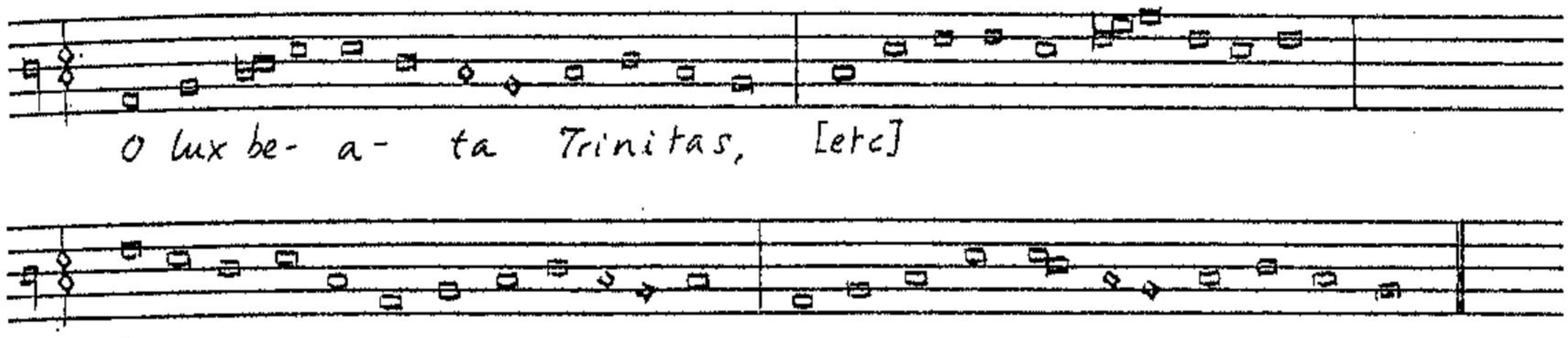
1. There are two cathedrals at Coimbra: one dating from the Romanesque period (the 'Sé velha') and the other from around the turn of the seventeenth century (the 'Sé nova'). This hymnal is entitled: Livro dos Hymnos que se costumam cantar na Sancta See de Coimbra [...] Anno de 1640 (CBGU - MM.1). The fact that certain unique musico-liturgical traditions existed at this See is testified in Villa-Lobos's Arte de canto chão (1688); Villa-Lobos, mestre da capela, refers for instance to a particular Doxology which was used during Advent (loc.cit., Parte 1ª, pp.171-2).

the Coimbra hymnal and the Mafra Acompanhamentos (1761) indicate the revised and, indeed, current text Jam sol recedit.[1]

(Ex.2) A. Lorente: El Porqué (1672) (p.118)

(In Festo Sanctissimae Trinitatis, ad Vesperas Hymnus, / & per Horas Cantus.)

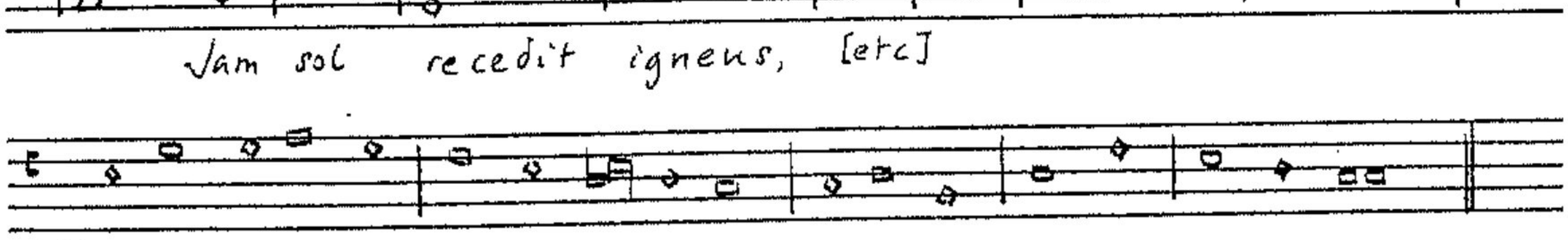
(a)



CBGU MM. 1 (f.21)

(In festo Sanctissimae Trini-/tatis ad vesp: Hymnus.)

(b)

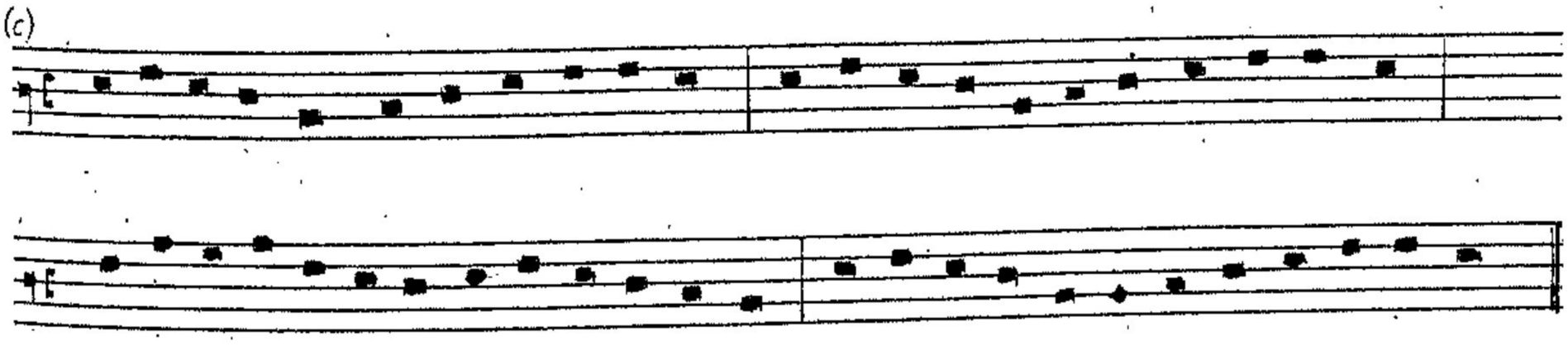


J. de Santo António: Acompanhamentos (1761)

(Festa da SS. Trindade. Hymno das primeiras, e segundas Vesperas.) - (p.65)

Jam sol recédit igneus.

(c)



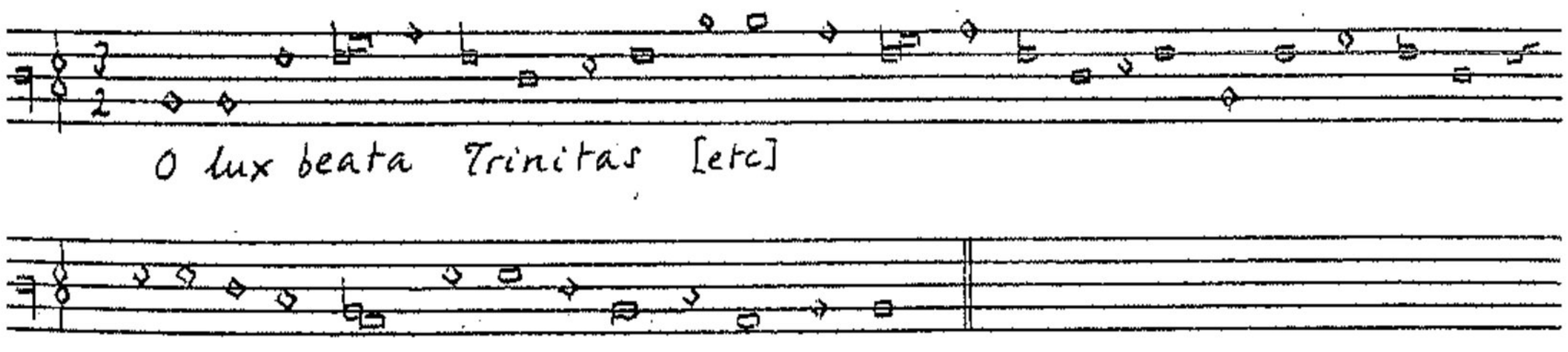
1. In the Coimbra hymnal, the same tune is also used for the hymn for Lauds on Trinity Sunday - Tu Trinitatis unitas (CBGU MM.1, f.21v).

Interestingly enough, the tune given in El Porqué strongly resembles that for Christmas Matins (Jesu Redemptor) in the Liber Usualis (p.365), whilst the tune for Jam sol recedit in the Mafra source is virtually identical with that for Trinity Sunday (Jam sol) in the Liber Usualis (p.915). Another feature of these hymns (O lux beata and Jam sol) is that the texts were also generally to be used at Saturday Vespers. However, whereas both the Liber Usualis and the Mafra Acompanhamentos indicate that the same tune for Jam sol recedit is to be used for Saturday Vespers (L.U., p.312) and Sunday Vespers respectively ('O Hymno das primeiras Vesperas das Domingas, he o da Festa da Santíssima Trindade: Jam sol recédit igneus', loc.cit., p.[2]), both Lorente and the Coimbra Livro dos hymnos include a different tune for the various occasions.

(EX.3) A. Lorente: El Porqué (1672) (p.119)

(In omnibus Sabbatis per Annum, [ad Vesperas] Hymnus.)

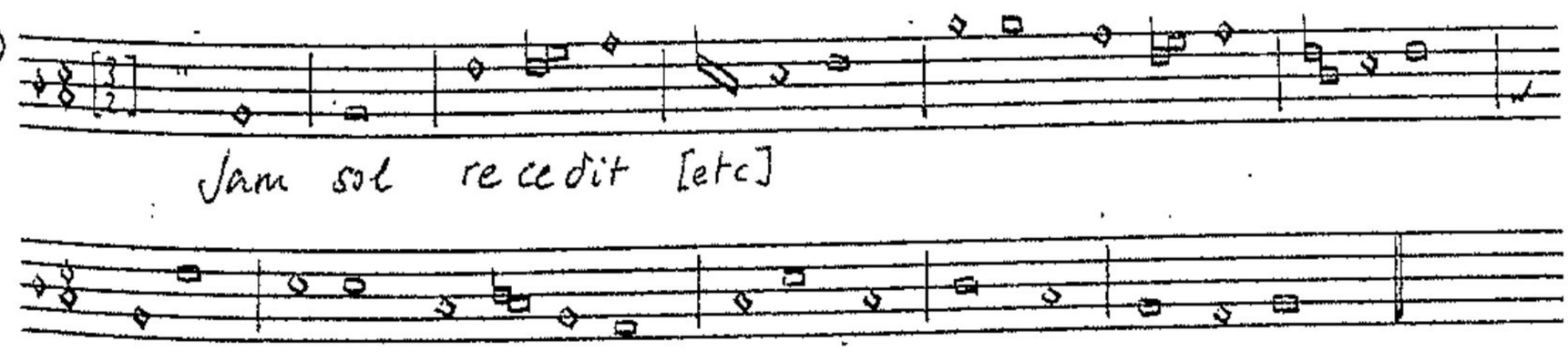
(a)



CBGU MM.1 (f.8)

(Ad Sabbatho ante Dominicam 2am post Epiphani-/am usqe ad Sabbatum ante Dominicam / quinquegessimam ad Vesperas / Hymnus.)

(b)



It is precisely the latter triple-metre tune that is used in the two versets in MBN M.1358 (ff.65v-6) designated '[H]inno o lux beata. 1° tono' (anthology, pp.304-5), and, indeed, in Cabezón's setting in the Libro de cifra (f.50).[1] With regard therefore to the study of how such hymn melodies might have been employed in 'figured' music, for instance, it is clear that more than just one source of plainchant should be consulted for their identification. There is absolutely no guarantee of the universal application of an invariable melodic formula nor indeed of its rhythmic interpretation.

In traditional fashion, the hymn sources are generally arranged, as far as possible, according to the liturgical calendar which begins in Advent. Besides a reflection of the succession of feasts in the texts themselves, it is important to observe that a selected number of tunes also came to be associated with each liturgical season. Thus, where individual texts were apparently lacking an original melody, these were sung to 'standard' tunes whose normal text was constructed from the same poetic metre. (Evidence for this is encountered, for instance, in the hymnal from Coimbra Cathedral cited above.)

This practice was evidently widespread and consciously adopted in a number of ecclesiastical institutions. The Ceremonial Seráfico includes a summary of the procedure in which a few 'key' hymns (many in the revised poetical form) are cited as melodic models for others which had no associated tune ('não havendo Hymno com canto próprio'): the entire passage is included in the appendix, pp.538-9.[2]

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1. See Anglés ed. (1944), p.134; Anglés, however, was unable to locate a source for Cabezón's O lux beata Trinitas (cf. ibid., text, p.176.)

2. The source for this summary in the Ceremonial Seráfico was A. Arbiol y Diez's (1651-1726) (In) Manuale sacerdotum (Zaragoza, 1693); Arbiol was a highly respected Franciscan spiritual writer who spent most of his working life in Zaragoza. (See 'Arbiol y Diez, Antonio' in NCE, vol.1, p.740.)

Further practical and theoretical evidence may be encountered in the 1761 Acompanhamentos from the convent at Mafra: here, rather than repeat a tune in the corpus of the work, the editor has chosen, where necessary, to indicate in the Index (which outlines the musico-liturgical customs of fixed and moveable feasts) that the appropriate hymn tune for a particular feast may in fact be found associated with another, usually more important, occasion. For instance, by a page reference, the author of this compilation infers that the hymn (Ad regias Agni dapes) normally performed on Low Sunday (Dominga in Albis), may also serve for other feasts, including that for the Apostles and Martyrs, during Eastertide:

> Os Hymnos dos Apostoles, e dos Martyres no tempo da Paschoa, são pelo methodo dos Hymnos da Dominga in Albis. [p.]62.[1]
>
> (J. de Santo Antônio: Acompanhamentos, Lisboa, 1761; Index, p.[2].)

Similarly, the melody of the hymn (Salutis humanae sator) for Vespers (and Lauds[2]) on the feast of the Ascension is also to serve for all the hymns in that particular Octave:

> Na Festa da Ascensão de Nosso Senhor, Duples da Primeira Classe. Neste Oitavario todos os Hymnos são pelo methodo do Hymno das Vesperas. [p.]63. (Ibid.,[p.]1 .)

These particular recommendations also occur in the Ceremonial Seráfico:

> Da Dominga in Albis até a Ascensão do Senhor, todos os Hymnos, e também dos Santos, em quaesquer Horas que sejão, tendo mesmo metro, se cantarão pelo tom Ad regias Agni dapes, etc. Das primeiras Vesperas da Ascensão até a Vigilia de Pentecostes; pelo tom Salutis humanae Sator, etc.
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat. III, Cap. 6, n.206, pp.141-2.)

---

1. Another reference to this hymn occurs with the feast on May 1st:
   > A 1. [de Mayo] S. Filippe, e Jacob, Apostoles, Duples da Segunda Classe; os Hymnos são da Paschoa na Dominga in Albis. [p.]62. (Loc.cit., p.[4].)

2. In the corpus of the Acompanhamentos (p.63), it is indicated that the hymn Salutis humanae sator is to be sung at 1st and 2nd Vespers, and Lauds.

This system of cross-references in the Acompanhamentos is accounted for in the Advertências:

> As Festas, que tiverem Hymnos próprios, e se não encontrarem no corpo desta obra, hé porque os ditos Hymnos tem a mesma solfa de outros, que já estão escriptos em outros Festas; os quaes se acharão apontados no Index em o seu próprio dia pela ordem dos mezes [...]
>
> (Loc.cit., Advertências, XX, p.[14].).

The fact that many hymn tunes may have been associated with their liturgical function rather than with a particular poetic text provides a vital clue for the indentification of some of the organ hymns versets, found in the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358) in particular, which were sometimes merely distinguished by their festal connexion (see below).

However, it is disappointing that the extant repertory of organ versets does not provide a more positive reflection of the extent to which the organist was involved in the performance of hymns in the Canonical Hours. The sources are dominated by settings of the two Corpus Christi hymns, Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis, which would appear to have gained more of an intrinsic significance than an overtly functional one: their evident speciality among composers provides ample material for tracing the evolution of cantus firmus writing through a period of at least three centuries; this will be discussed below.

In order to attempt a reconstruction of liturgical practices regarding the performance of hymns with the organ according to the principles outlined above, it is necessary to piece together a variety of scattered sources.. As yet, it is only the two substantial collections of organ accompaniments from Santa Cruz in Coimbra (1747)[1] and the convent at

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1. The source from Santa Cruz (in manuscript) is entitled: 'Jesus Maria / Joseph / assectamentum / chori ad / organum / monasterii / Santae Crucis. / Collimbriae / MDCCXXXXVII' (CBGU MM.46). Only an accompanying bass line, with a few figures, of each of the liturgical (chant) items is included - the melodies of the chants themselves are omitted from this source.

Mafra (Acompanhamentos, Lisboa, (1761) which provide real tangible evidence. The small collection of hymn versets incorporated within the cifra portion of the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358, ff.63-8) does however betray an origin in a functional arrangement appropriate for major feasts of the year. It contains versets constructed from hymn tunes used during the Hours of Office, notably Vespers, from important feasts such as Christmas and the Epiphany, and also a number of Marian hymns. Likewise, a proportion of the Astorga MS contains organ versets associated with festal hymns. However, owing to the fact that it has been feasible to consult only a somewhat insubstantial edition of the latter manuscript, it has not been attempted, at this point, to reach definite conclusions regarding the apparently unusual customs presented here. (See Alvarez ed. (1976), pp.109-17.) Other settings are to be encountered only sporadically in the organ sources.

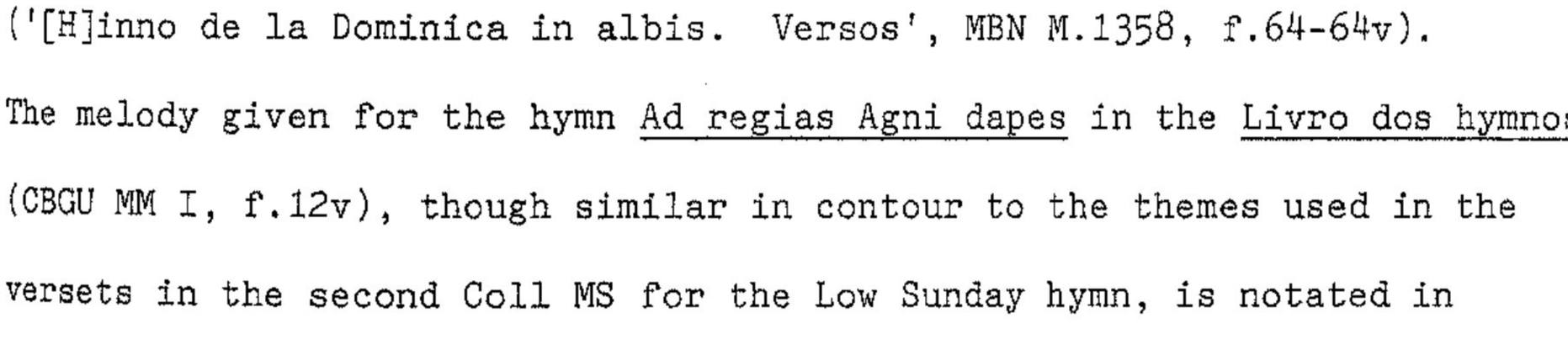
With regard to the representation of hymn versets, a number of problems have been met concerning their identification or relation to a specific hymn tune. The two principal issues with which one contends have already been touched upon in the previous discussion: firstly, that many tunes used in the peninsula during this period are now outside the current repertory; and secondly, that many of these, rather than receiving textual identification, were more often seen as pertaining to a particular feast - similarly, the precise liturgical occasion was not necessarily understood by a reference merely to a poetical text. However, by way of a series of comparisons made of hymn sources and liturgical texts, it has been possible to identify the appropriate melodic and functional sources of many of these. For example, in addition to the versets for hymns in the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358) which, as in the case of those for the hymn O lux beata, are connected with a particular poetic text, there

are a number which are merely associated with a liturgical feast. The versets designated '[...] para [e]l hinno de la natividad de xpto (=[Christo]). 8° tono (MBN M.1358, f.63-63v), which are all based on a descending four-note theme, may be traced to the melody for the hymn Christe Redemptor omnium in Lorente's El Porqué ('In Nativitate Domini ad Vesperas, & per Horas; & in Festis infra Octavam', p.110). (There is also a version of this hymn tune in the Coimbra Livro dos Hymnos (CBGU MM.1, f.4v) where it appears with the revised text Jesu Redemptor.) There is no resemblance between this tune and that for Jesu Redemptor in the Liber Usualis, for instance, which, as has already been mentioned, may in fact be likened to Lorente's version of the hymn for Trinity Sunday, O lux beata (see above). For a transcription of the versets from MBN M.1358 which may be identified with a number of hymns from the liturgical calendar, see the anthology, p.289 seq. Unfortunately, however, no tune has yet been found to match the versets for the hymn for Low Sunday ('[H]inno de la Dominica in albis. Versos', MBN M.1358, f.64-64v). The melody given for the hymn Ad regias Agni dapes in the Livro dos hymnos (CBGU MM I, f.12v), though similar in contour to the themes used in the versets in the second Coll MS for the Low Sunday hymn, is notated in a different mode:

(Ex. 4)

CBGU MM. 1 (f.12v)

(Dominica in Albis ad vesperas / Hymnus.)



The aim of the following chart of hymns is to provide as close an approximation as possible to the musico-liturgical practices in the Iberian Church. The material has been ordered according to the liturgical calendar, and it is largely according to this sequence that the hymn versets have been placed in the anthology, regardless of their compositional chronology. The transcriptions in the anthology do not however include pieces otherwise normally available in modern editions of the music; suitable references to the latter are made on this chart.

XV Hymns in the liturgical calendar and in sources of organ music

LITURGICAL FUNCTION, HYMN & ORGAN SETTING	No. of Hymn Vs.	No. of organ Vs.	Location of transcription
1. ADVENT: Creator alme siderum (olim: Conditor alme)	6		
Bermudo: Declaración (1555) 'Cantus de Conditor alme siderum' (f.118r)		1	Anth.: Hymn 1
L. Venegas: Libro (1557) 'Conditor alme de Gracia Baptista monja' (f.56v)		1	Angles ed. (1944)
2. CHRISTMAS: Jesu redemptor omnium (olim: Christe red.)	7		
L. Venegas: Libro (1557) 'Veni redemptor quaesumus', Palero (f.50)		1	Angles ed. (1944)
[See below, no. 15: All Saints: Christe redemptor]			
MBN M.1358 (1707) '(Ver)sos para (e)l himno de la natividad de (Chris)to, 8° tono' (f.63-63v)		4	Anth.: Hymn 2
3. EPIPHANY: Crudelis Herodes (olim: Hostis Herodes Impie)	5		
MBN M.1358 (1707) '(Hi)nno de Reies' (f.170)		4	Anth.: Hymn 3
4. PASSION SUNDAY: Vexilla Regis prodeunt	7		
Bermudo: Declaración (1555) 'Ca(n)tus Vexilla Regis prodeunt a cinco dozes' (f.119)		1	Anth.: Hymn 4

LITURGICAL FUNCTION, HYMN & ORGAN SETTING	No. of Hymn Vs.	No. of organ Vs.	Location of transcription
5. LOW SUNDAY: [Ad Regias agni dapes]	(8)		
MBN M. 1358 (1707)			
'(H)inno de la Dominica in albis. Versos' (f. 64-64v)		3	Anth.: Hymn 5
6. ASCENSION: [Salutis humanae]	(5)		
Astorga MS			
'Tres versos In Ascensione Domini'		3	Alvarez ed. (1976)
7. PENTECOST: Veni creator spiritus	7		
Bermudo: Declaración (1555)			
'Cantus. Veni creator spiritus' (f. 119v)		1	Anth.: Hymn 7
Cabezón: Obras (1578)		1	Anglés ed. (1966)
'Veni Creator' (f. 23-23v)			
MBN M 1358 (1707)			
'Veni Creator acompa(ñad)o' (f. 63)		1	Anth.: Hymn 7
'Otro Veni Creator' (f. 65v)		4	Anth.: Hymn 7
8. TRINITY: Jam sol recedit igneus (olim: O lux beata Trinitas)	3/6		
L. Venegas: Libro (1557)			
'O lux beata Trinitas' (Cabezón: f. 50)		1	Anglés ed. (1944)
MBN M. 1358 (1707)			
'(H)inno o lux beata. 1° tono' (ff. 65v-6)		2	Anth.: Hymn 8
9. CORPUS CHRISTI: Pange lingua gloriosi[1] (Vespers)	6		
Bermudo: Declaración (1555)			
'Cantus). Pange lingua gloriosi [etc]'		1	Anth.: Hymn 9
L. Venegas: Libro (1557)			
[6 settings by Cabezón]		6	Anglés ed. (1944)
Cabezón: Obras (1578)			
[5 settings by Cabezón]		5	Anglés ed. (1966)
Sacris solemniis (Matins)	7		
L. Venegas: Libro (1557)			
[3 settings by Cabezón, Morales & anon.]		3	Anglés ed. (1944)

1. A large selection of Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis settings in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources is included in Appendix II, pp. 555-9.

LITURGICAL FUNCTION, HYMN & ORGAN SETTING	No. of Hymn Vs.	No. of organ Vs.	Location of transcription
10. SATURDAYS (Vespers): Jam sol recedit (olim: O lux) [See above, no. 8: Trinity]			
11. SUNDAYS (Vespers): Lucis creator optime	5		
MBN M.1358 (1707)			
'(H)inno Lucis creator. 6° tono' (f. 66)		2	Anth.: Hymn 11
12. S. PETER'S CHAIR (18 Jan): Quodcumque in orbe in terris	2		
MBN M.1358 (1707)			
'(H)inno de S. Pedro. 1° tono' (f. 64v)		2	Anth.: Hymn 12
13. CONVERSION OF S. PAUL (25 Jan): Egregie doctor Paule (olim: Doctor egregie Paule)	2		
MBN M.1358			
'(H)inno de la conber(s)ión de S. Pablo. 4° tono' (ff. 64v-5)		2	Anth.: Hymn 13
14. S. JOHN BAPTIST (24 June): Ut queant laxis	5		
Cabezón: Obras (1578)			
'Ut queant laxis' (f. 24-24v)		1	Anglés ed. (1966)
15. ALL SAINTS (1 Nov.): Jesu redemptor (olim: Christe red)	7		
Cabezón: Obras (1578)			
'Christe redemptor' (2 settings: ff. 23r-4 & 25-25v)		2	Anglés ed. (1966)
16. APOSTLES: [Christo profusum] (olim: Aeterna Christi munera)	(5/8)		
BBC M.387			
'Siguense un juego de versos de Joseph Ximénez para el himno de los Apostles' (sic) (ff. 66v-7)		9	Apel ed. (1975) [incompl.]
		--	Pedrell (1908-9) [incompl.]
BBC M.1011			
'Versos para las Fiestas de los SS.tos Apostoles sobre el Cantollano. 3 de Fr. Juan de S.n Agustín' (f. 36-36v)		3	Anth.: Hymn 16 [Tune unknown]

LITURGICAL FUNCTION, HYMN & ORGAN SETTINGS	No. of Hymn Vs.	No. of organ Vs.	Location of transcription
17. MARTYRS: [Sanctorum Meritis]	6		
BBC M. 1011			
'Otro verso para las fiestas de los Stos Martires, Fiesta de la Cruz y Dominicas y otras Fiestas del Tiempo Pasqual' (f. 31v)		1	Anth.: Hymn 17(a) [Tune unknown]
'Verso 1x de 7° tono p(a)ra la entrada del Himno de Sanctorum Meritis' (ff. 34v-5)		1	Anth.: Hymn 17(a) [Tune unknown]
18. B.V.M. (i): Ave maris stella (Vespers)	7		
Bermudo: Declaración (1555)			
'Ave maris stella' (f. 114)		1	Anth.: Hymn 18 (i)
L. Venegas: Libro (1557)			
[1 setting by Palero, and 6 by Cabezón: ff. 46v-9v		7	Anglés ed. (1944)
Cabezón: Obras (1578)			
[11 settings: 1 by Hernando de Cabezón]		11	Anglés ed. (1966)
M.R. Coelho: Flores (1620)			
'Quatro Ave Maris stellas sobre o canto chão de semibreves em cada voz' (ff. 160-3v)		4	Kastner ed. (1961)
'Sinco Versos sobre os paços do canto chão da Ave Maris stella' (ff 164-73v)		5	(Ibid.)
MBN M. 1358 (1707)			
'Ave maristella sobre el canto llano' (f. 40)		2	Anth.: Hymn 18 (i)
'Ave maris stella. 1° tono' (f. 66-66v)		2	Anth.: Hymn 18 (i)
'Para el hymno Ave Maris Stella' (Vs. 38-41, ff. 101-6) [by Cabezón]		4	Anglés ed. (1966), I, pp. 70-
MBN M. 1359 (1708)			
'Sobre el Ave MariStella' (Vs. 118-21, 123 [de 1° tono] pp. 96-101, 105-9)		5	
B.V.M. (ii): Quem terra pontus sidera (olim: Quem t. p. aethera) (Matins)	4		
L. Venegas: Libro (1557)			
'Quem terra pontus. Antonio [Cabezón]' (f. 55-55v)		1	Anglés ed. (1944)
MBN M. 1358 (1707)			
'(H)inno quem terra. 4° tono' (f. 67)		2	Anth: Hymn 18 (ii)
B.V.M. (iii): O gloriosa Virginum (olim: O gloriosa Domina) (Lauds)	4		
L. Venegas: Libro (1557)			
'O gloriosa' (ff 49v-50); 'O gloriosa Domina' (ff. 53v-4)		2	Anglés ed. (1944)
MBN M. 1358 (1707)			
'O gloriosa Domina' (f. 67-7v)		2	Anth.: Hymn 18 (iii)

(b)

The Pange lingua

The Pange Lingua enjoys a unique position in the Iberian hymn repertory: it is the only tune which has become an integral part of the peninsula's musical heritage by virtue of the fact that it formed the basis of an infinite number of both vocal and instrumental compositions over a span of some three centuries. Its additional curiosity, along with that of its companion hymn the Sacris solemniis, is that the melody itself was peculiarly national, bearing no relation whatsoever to the familiar Gregorian equivalent. Commonly identified as 'more hispano', the tune has several distinctive qualities, which contributes to its great historical significance.

The text of the six-stanza hymn, 'Pange lingua, gloriosi Corporis mysterium', was among those composed by St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-74) for the feast of Corpus Christi officially instituted by Pope Urban IV in 1264[1] - however, it was not until the early fourteenth century that the keeping of this feast became universal in the western church.[2] As with two other Corpus Christi hymns by Aquinas, Sacris solemniis and Verbum supernum, the text of the Pange lingua was in fact adapted from an earlier one - the hymn for Passiontide, 'Pange lingua, gloriosi praelium certaminis', which is generally ascribed to Vernantius Fortunatus.[3]

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1. This was under the Bull Transiturus de hoc mundo ad patrem; see 'Corpus Christi' in NCE, vol.IV, pp.345-7.

2. Clement V confirmed the Bull of his predecessor at the Council of Vienne, and in 1317 John XXII published and inserted it in the Clementine collection (cf. ibid.)

3. It is sometimes attributed to Claudiamus Mamertus (fl. fifth century). The earlier hymn consists of ten stanzas of unrhymed trochaic tetrametre verse; see Analecta Hymnica, vol. II, p.44 (no.40). For a history and the sources of the Pange lingua hymns, see Julian (repr. 1957), vol.II, pp.878-81. See also 'Pange lingua gloriosi' in NCE, vol.10, p.945.

Although it is clear that the singing of the Pange lingua was not confined to the feast of Corpus Christi itself and its Octave - it was performed during a number of particular processions, for instance, such as those honouring and bearing the Holy Sacrament, particularly in the elaborate celebrations associated with the Quarenta Horas de Lausperenne,[1] and in the Colegio de-Corpus Christi in Valencia, it was performed every Thursday (see Piedrà (1962), p.150) - it is possible that the special 'more hispano' version of the hymn-tune was specifically composed for, or at least adapted to the thirteenth-century text by Aquinas. As suggested earlier, origins in the Mozarabic hymn tradition cannot be proven; nevertheless, it may also be borne in mind that the melody may have sprung from a popular, non-liturgical repertory. A practical consideration of the tune can only really be realized from musical material dating from the late fifteenth century onwards where it is already embedded in a wealth of polyphonic settings. Curiously enough, perhaps, the majority of these were composed by Juan de Urreda (fl. mid- to late 1400s), a musician of Flemish extraction; on becoming Spanish by 'adoption', Urreda was frequently lauded by such theorists as B. Ramos de Pareja who referred to him as 'carrissimus noster regis Hispaniae capellae magister'.[2] (The importance of Urreda's polyphonic arrangements of the Pange lingua in the history of the organ Pange lingua will be considered below.)

The first known appearance of the hymn-tune in a hymnary was apparently in Cardinal Cisneros's 1515 Intonarium toletanum. As already stated, the initial portion of this publication contains an abundance

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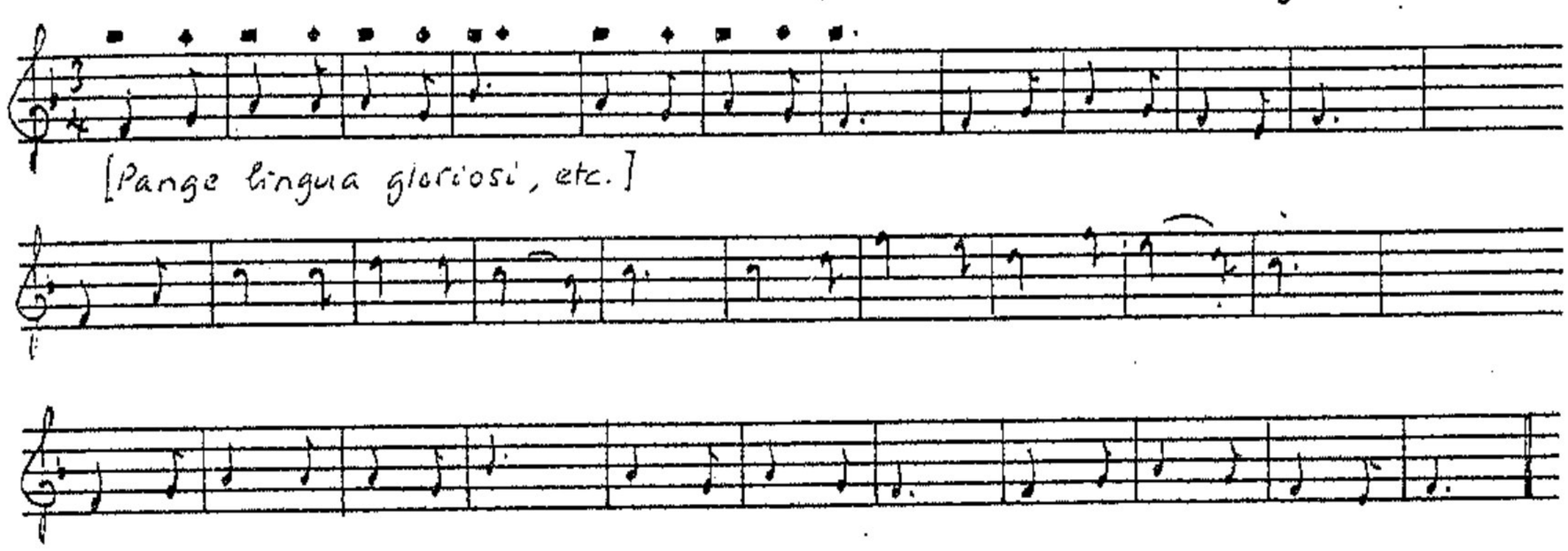
1. This cult in honour of the Holy Sacrament was only established in Rome in 1592 by Clement VIII. See 'Forty Hours devotion' in NCE, vol.5, p.1036.

2. B. Ramos de Pareja, Música practica, Milan, 1498, p.42; see 'Urreda' in the New Groves, vol.19, pp.467-8.

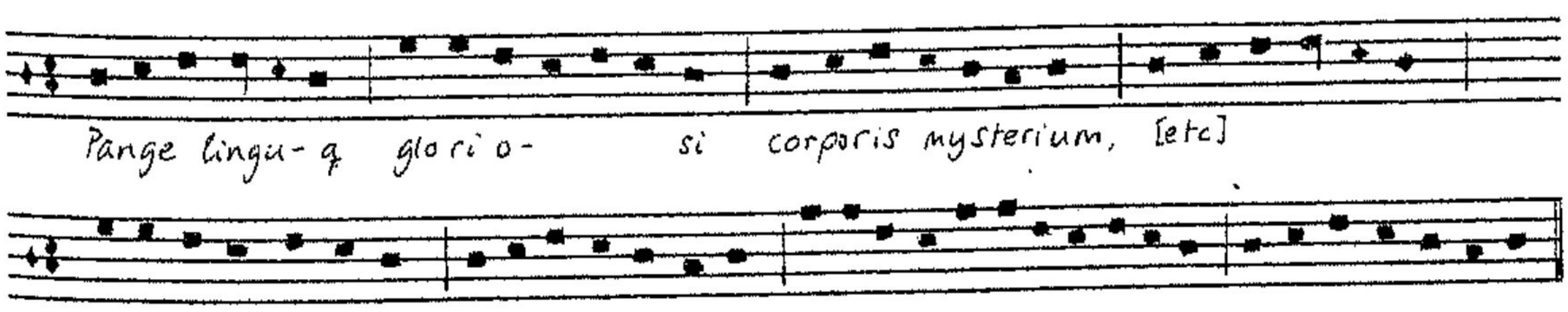
of hymns in square, mensural, or even a mixture of both types of notation. It is probable that the version of the Pange lingua included here, in tempus perfectum, is a near record of its performance in the mediaeval Spanish church. It is certainly this rendering which occurs in Urreda's music and which regularly appears in plainchant sources and theoretical works (from Spain and Portugal) dating as far as the nineteenth century.

(Ex. 1) Cisneros: Intonarium toletanum (1515)
(source: Anglés (1967), p.15)



However, it is likely that subtle variations to the melody and its performance would have co-existed in the different regions of the Iberian peninsula. In the instrumental (organ) sources dating from the seventeenth century onwards, for instance, the tune is sometimes notated in duple time (see below). Furthermore, in a seventeenth-century Processionarium from Lisbon (1610) the familiar ternary-form melody appears in a different guise: in this particular instance, the repetition of the first melodic phrase occurs immediately after its first appearance, creating the phrase pattern A-A-B; nevertheless, it is significant that the contours of the openings of all these hymns are virtually identical.

(Ex. 2) Processionarium (1610)
(ff. 81v-2)



It would appear that Juan de Urreda (= Johannes Wrede) unwittingly played an enormous part in the dissemination of this tune throughout the peninsula and its official adoption into the Iberian organ repertory. As witnessed in Cabezón's music and in a few anonymous organ pieces in the Coll MSS, the name of Urreda (sometimes spelt Ureda or Urea) was intimately connected with settings of the Pange lingua. At least two of Cabezón's compositions consisted of intabulations and glosado arrangements of a polyphonic model by Urreda. These pieces, entitled 'Quarta [Pange lingua] de Ureda glosado de Antonio' (Libro, ff.45v-6v) and 'Pange lingua de Urreda' (Obras, f.28-28v) may be compared with copies of the original polyphonic conception: this will reveal an interesting adaptation of the contrapuntal strands to idioms more suitable for instrumental (keyboard) performance (see below). It is well known that the practice of intabulating polyphonic music, notably by Flemish composers, was popular in sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal. There were two pieces in particular by Urreda which became sources of inspiration for a wide variety of vocal and instrumental compositions: the Pange Lingua and the villancico 'Nunca fue pena mayor'. Both have been widely distributed and the villancico was even included in Petrucci's 1501 Odhecaton (ff. 6v-7).[1]

It is probable that there were at least two different settings of the Pange lingua by Urreda in circulation - these have been located in a variety of widely dispersed sources and have formed the basis of articles by Anglés (1952) and Rubio (1966), for instance, and have also been included in a number of modern publications. (See Gerber ed. (1957) and López-Calo ed. (1963).) Although the tenor in these settings consistently

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1. The editor of the Odhecaton was Petrus Castellanus, a Castilian, and the text of the villancico was by García Alvarez de Toledo, the first Duke of Alba. This villancico is included in several other sources, including the Cancionero Musical de Palacio; see Anglés ed.(1941), vol.1, p.95 seq.

presents the hymn-tune in ternary rhythm, the music in most cases is notated in tempus imperfectum. (See Rubio (1966), p.45 seq.) The text of the first verse of the Pange lingua was not always presented with the music: other versions have included settings of the second ('Nobis datus') and fifth ('Tantum ergo') verses.

As already mentioned, apart from the arrangements of Urreda's Pange lingua for the organ, there were also a number of vocal parodies of this work. Like his villancico, which was used in polyphonic Masses by Pierre de la Rue and Francisco de Peñalosa,[1] Urreda's hymn setting also became the source of a number of parody Masses - there is a seventeenth-century 'Missa sobre la Pange lingua de Urea', with continuo, in a manuscript at Segovia, for instance. (See Anglés (1952), p.198.)

Sixteenth-century settings: Antonio de Cabezón

There are ten Pange linguas by Cabezón extant and these are divided between the 1557 Libro de cifra and the (posthumous) 1578 Obras de música.[2] There is one concordance in these two sources, and this reflects the differing editorial principles of Venegas de Henestrosa and Hernando de Cabezón (see below). A further sixteenth-century source, the manuscript from Coimbra (CBGU MM.242), also contains one concordance with the Libro.

As represented by these Pange linguas, two stylistic categories which were to diverge to a more marked degree in the seventeenth century may already be detected. In the first instance, an idiom which was based on conjunct principles of vocal polyphony; in the second, an idiom which demonstrated a freer adaptation of these to meet instrumental considerations.

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1. See Stevenson (1976), p.217, and, for Peñalosa's Mass, see Anglés ed. (1941), vol.1, p.99 seq.

2. Libro de cifra, ff.11, and 43v-6v; Obras de música, ff.7-8v, and 26-8. See Anglés ed. (1944), pp.1-2 and 111-20, and Anglés ed. (1966), vol.I, pp.26-31 and 87-9, vol.II, pp.1-7.

In Cabezón's settings as a whole, the hymn tune is in fact virtually submerged, becoming a shadowy supporting background, as it were, to the pervading interest of the surrounding counterpoint: the music, advancing in a faster moving tempus imperfectum, obscures a protracted presentation of the triple-metre cantus firmus. It will be seen that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, composers preferred a more succinct rendering of the hymn tune, with its melodic and harmonic rhythm strongly influencing that of the surrounding figurations.

With the exception of the Pange lingua 'de Ureda glosado' in the Libro (ff.45v-6v), one may assign the four other settings, and the unique 'Dorian'[1] setting in the Obras, to the former category. The degree to which contrapuntal principles are applied in these varies considerably. Interestingly enough, the essentially monothematic construction of the Pange lingua which is included in both publications is more distinctly observed in Hernando's intabulation. There are as many as seven occasions on which Henestrosa has failed to acknowledge the presence of the principal theme in his counterpoint. According to modern-day standards, Henestrosa exercised considerable editorial licence. Where pieces in the Libro can be compared with their original conception, the editor's sometimes bizarre methods are revealed. (See Ward (1952).)

Attention should be drawn to the most original of Cabezón's Pange linguas: the 'Dorian' setting attains an additional poignancy owing to the modal ambiguity which is created by presenting the 5th-mode hymn-tune in the context of music in the 1st mode. In some respects, this compositional approach is akin to examples of settings of the Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis by Cabanilles and others in the late seventeenth

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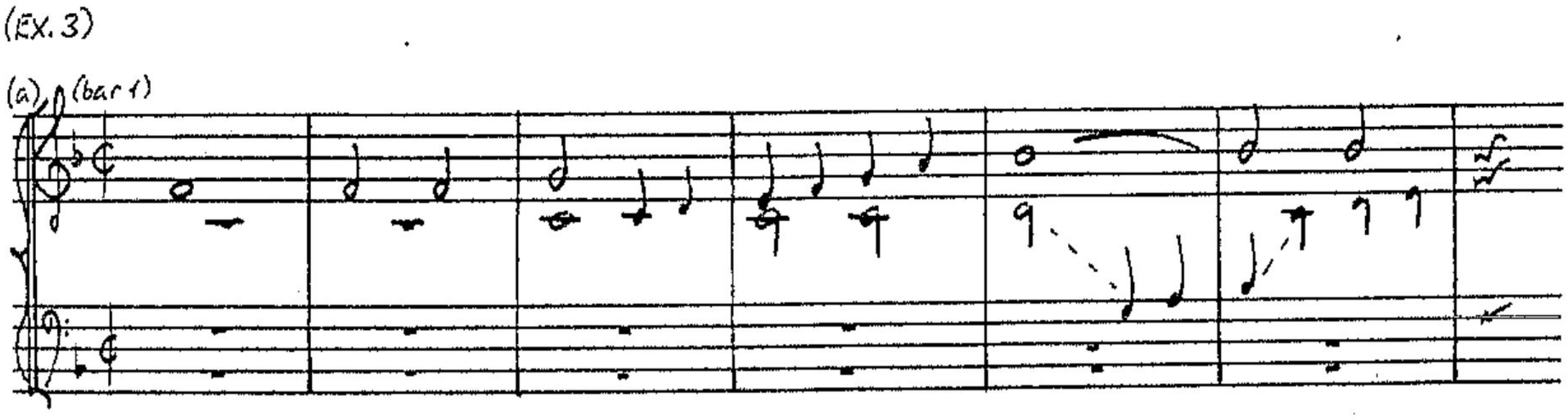
1. 'Otra pangelingua canto llano tenor, y la música es primer tono', Obras, f.8-8v; ed. Anglés (1966), vol.I, pp.29-31.

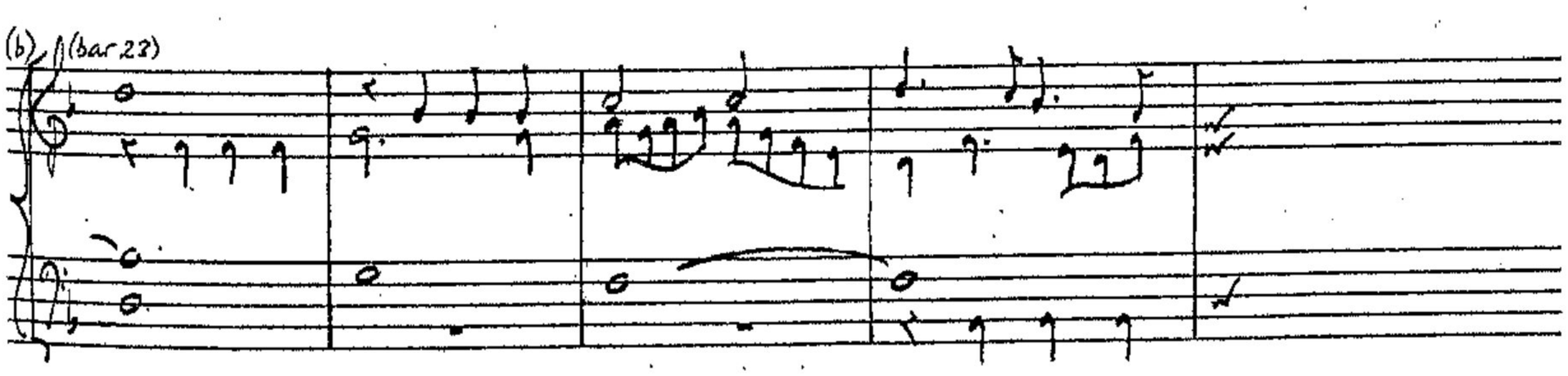
century in which the cantus firmus of the hymn-tune is reinforced throughout the piece by a line moving below in parallel thirds (see below).

With regard to the idiomatic genre, to which the two glosado arrangements are evidently assigned, there is one setting in which Cabezón has also applied monothematic principles indicating the composer's concern with more than just a relatively straightforward cantus-firmus construction. In the fourth Pange lingua in the Obras (ff.26v-8), a compositional technique is employed which is quite unlike that in his other hymn settings: the idea of thematic unity and transformation encountered here may be likened to compositional methods characteristic of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tiento. (The following analysis is based on Anglés's (1966) transcription of this piece, vol.II, pp.1-4.)

A canzona-like motif, announced at the outset in 'paired imitation', (Ex.3)

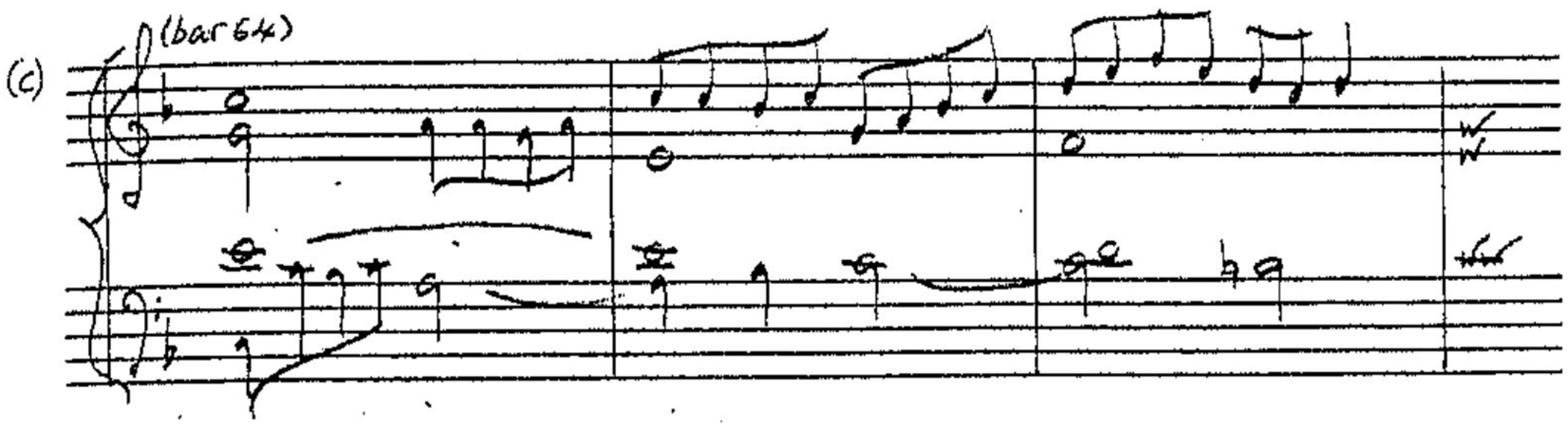


reappears further on in two-fold diminution:

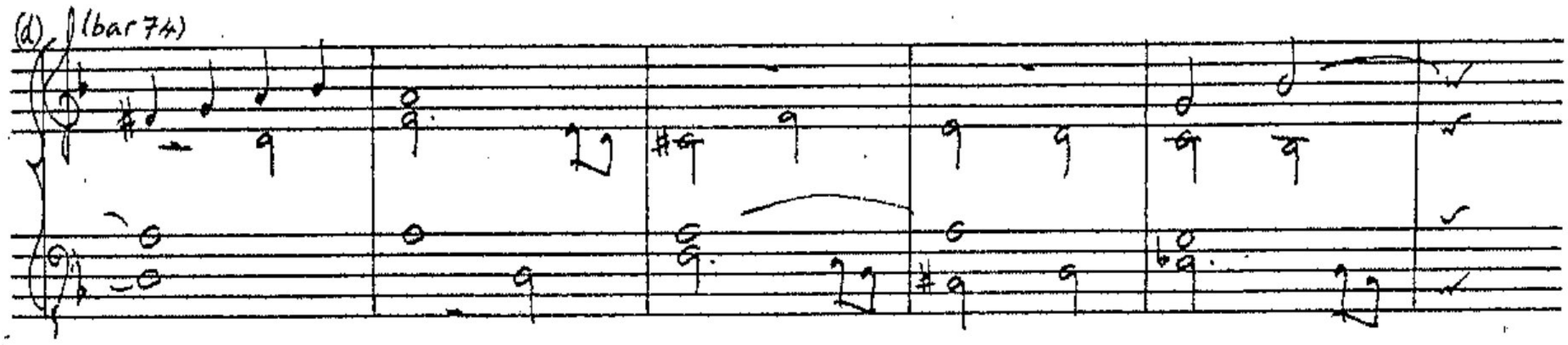


Then a variant of the end of the intial motif may be distinguished in another

imitative passage in which the downward interval is stressed briefly in yet greater diminution:



Towards the end of the piece, an unusual chromatic passage is introduced, being created from overlapping entries of a more searching theme:



It is not customary for such episodes to be inserted during the course of a generally diatonic idiom. As in the tiento de falsas genre of the seventeenth century in particular, and indeed Cabezón's arrangement of the hymn Ut queant laxis, chromaticism would generally characterize the piece as a whole.

Although Cabezón's two glosados are based on the same Pange lingua setting by Urreda, the arrangements differ quite considerably. Whilst the Obras interpretation remains faithful to its model, consisting moreover of an embellished transcription of the original four-part counterpoint, the setting in the Libro, it has been suggested, 'constitutes a most resourceful application of the parody technique on a small scale'. (See Reese (repr.1959). p. 628.) A comparison between the opening

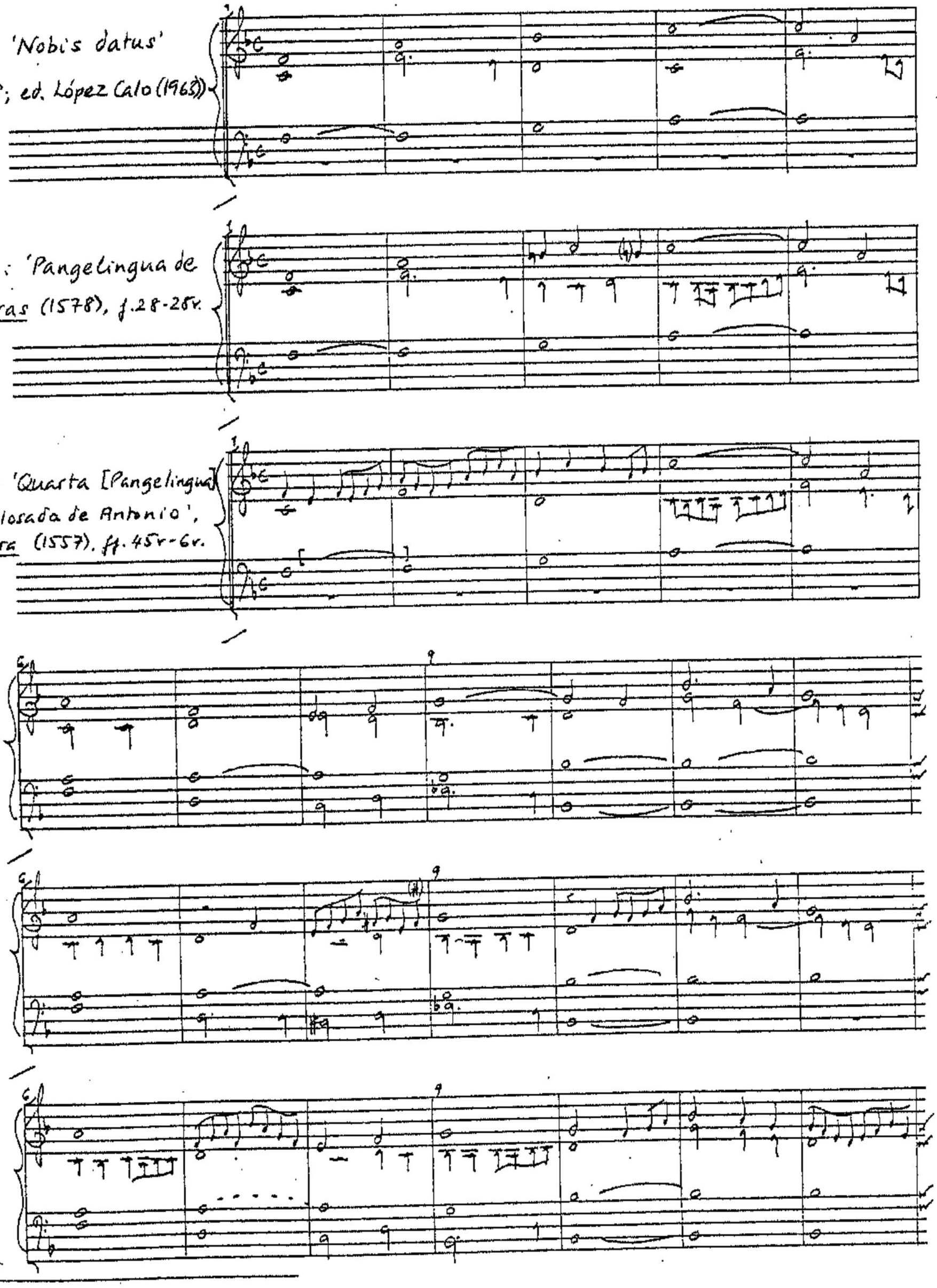
of the fifteenth-century polyphonic setting and those of the instrumental adaptations of Urreda's music by Cabezón illustrate the contrasting methods of composition.[1]

(Ex. 4)

(a) Urreda: 'Nobis datus' (Granada MS; ed. López Calo (1963))

(b) Cabezón: 'Pangelingua de Urreda', Obras (1578), f.28-28v.

(c) Cabezón: 'Quarta [Pangelingua] de Ureda glosada de Antonio', Libro de cifra (1557), ff. 45v-6v.



1. It will be noticed that there is one harmonic difference between the versions in the Obras and in the libro (see bars 8-9). The resolution to e♭ in the bass (bar 9) in the Obras arrangement conforms with the original setting. Rubio, (1966, p.56) suggests that Venegas deliberately adapted this piece for an instrument lacking an e♭ in this region.

The type of figuration exposed here is maintained throughout, with the Libro piece being characterized by this almost relentless succession of ornamental quavers, passing freely between the parts, pervading the entire texture. It is moreover this latter style which distinguishes the two settings in the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358). The somewhat more ambitious conception of the Coll examples, as described below, supports the contention that these were probably composed at a later date ; similarly, both are transposed.

Seventeenth-century settings of the Pange lingua and the Sacris solemniis: Aguilera de Heredia to Cabanilles

In the seventeenth century, composers virtually always adhered to the strict cantus firmus principle in their settings of the Pange lingua and the Sacris solemniis melodies. In this later period, however, the hymn tune was placed in any one of the voice parts in the predominantly three-part texture: this was a departure from the traditional tenor compositions of the fifteenth- and most of the sixteenth-centuries. One significant variation in the presentation of the Pange lingua melody was that of its appearance in plain, non-metrical note values or duple time as opposed to the widespread triple metre. This is first encountered in the four settings of M.R. Coelho in his 1620 Flores de Música (ff. 148v-60v) which are entitled 'Quatro Pange linguas sobre o ca(n)to chão de breves em cada voz'. (See Kastner ed. (1961), pp.1-26.) These compositions by the Portuguese royal chapel organist, represent one of the more successful attempts at combining purely instrumental figurations, in more than one voice, with a protracted cantus firmus. However, non-metrical presentations of the hymn tunes were little in evidence until Cabanilles and his eighteenth-century successors. Generally, therefore,

the Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis settings of the seventeenth century are predictable for their incorporation of the hymn tunes in triple time: this in itself varied between a protracted breve-semibreve metre to one in a more succinct semibreve-minim; the choice of either of these necessarily affected the style of the surrounding counterpoint. The more straight-forward homophonic renderings are in a style already familiar in the fabordones; the chant or hymn is largely harmonized by root-position chords.

The breaking-up of these hymns into a series of pasos for imitation and glosado renderings of the melodies themselves were contrapuntal techniques rarely applied in this context. Although a precedent is encountered in Coelho's Flores de Música, with the 'Sinco versos sobre os paços do canto chão da Ave Maris stella' (sic)[1], the few examples of hymns in this style date only from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; a Sacris solemniis by Cabanilles will be considered below.

Very few settings of these hymns were written in the 'natural' position of the 5th mode; the two (untransposed) Pange linguas by Bruna in BBC M.751.21 (pp.341 and 344-5) and the series in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359) 'por Fe fa ut' (pp.527-40) are rare exceptions.[2] The music for both Corpus Christi hymns was now constantly transposed to C sol fa ut and D la sol re. There is even a two-part Pange lingua by Cabanilles in the Jaca MS (p.213) which is transposed to Bb: this is intended for

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1. Flores de Música (1620), ff.148v-60v; ed. Kastner (1961), pp.36-55. A version of Coelho's 'Ave Maris stella' versets are included in Braga M.964, ff.184-9v; see Doderer ed. (1974), pp.20-32.

2. There is a concordance between the first of the 'Juego de Pange linguas por Fe Fa Ut' in MBN M.1359 (pp.527-40) and a setting by Bruna in BBC M.751.21 (pp.344-5). Owing to the similarity in style between all these settings in 'Fe Fa Ut' in MBN M.1359, it is probable that the remaining versets in the Juego are also by Bruna. *(One setting is included in the anthology, pp. 376-7.)*

performance in conjunction with other instrumentalists ('Pange lingua a duo. Punto de ministriles'). It is very unusual to encounter music in the organ sources which was to be performed with the instrumental players; as already mentioned the only other examples are included in J. Elías's Músicha De Organo, and these are the 'Versos, 8° tono para Psalmodia. Por término de Ministriles' (MBN M.812, ff.158-61).

Apart from the Pange linguas by Coelho, the period from about 1600 to 1675 may be illustrated by hymn settings springing largely from the Aragonese 'school' of organists dominated by Aguilera de Heredia, Ximénez and Pablo Bruna. It is to this period and school also that the Pange linguas in the Coll MSS may tentatively be assigned. Thereafter, a selection of the manuscripts at Barcelona provides a continuation of the development, with the music by organists from the east coast of Spain who were largely active towards the end of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century - in particular Menalt and Espelt from Barcelona and Cabanilles from Valencia.

In the seventeenth-century hymn compositions, two main streams of development from the sixteenth-century genre may be traced which initially, in its turn, was very largely indebted to the polyphonic models by Urreda. In the first instance, the sixteenth-century glosado style naturally encouraged the development of a more instrumental idiom to which the possibilities of the divided keyboard may have been exploited in partido style. Secondly, and equally characteristic of Iberian organ composition, an idiom which relied more upon the refinement of contrapuntal principles for architectural success; these were also necessarily interlinked with practical considerations of keyboard performance.

From the sixteenth to about the mid-seventeenth century, the glosado idiom became gradually emancipated from its original conception as the

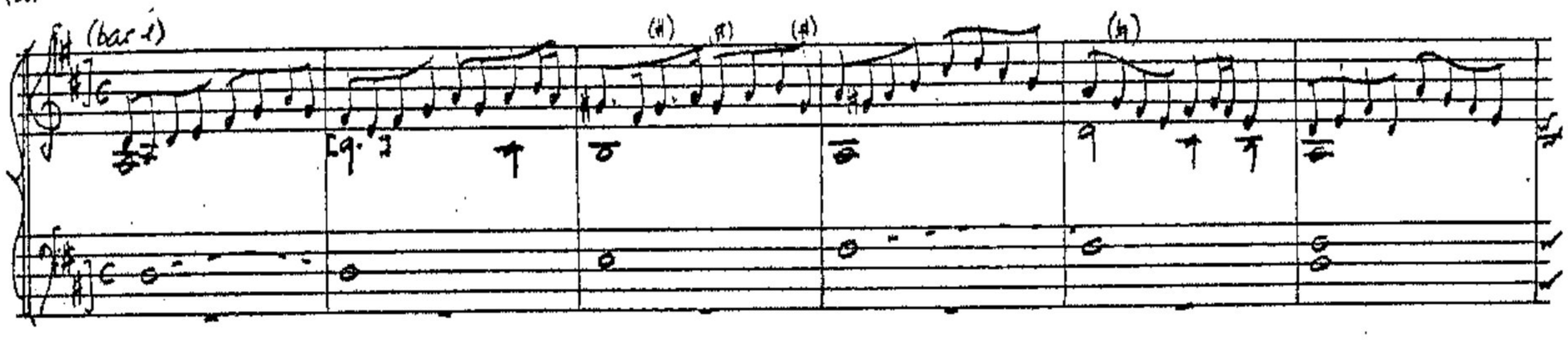
embellishment of a pre-existing polyphonic line. However, as with Cabezón's music in the Libro, the style of the glossed 'Pangelingua de Urea de 5 tono por delasolre' and the 'otro [Pange lingua] por 5° tono de C.solfaut' in the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358, ff.38v-40) was still essentially ornamental; here the figuration does not venture much beyond a series of oscillating patterns.

MBN M.1358 (f.38v)

(Ex.5)

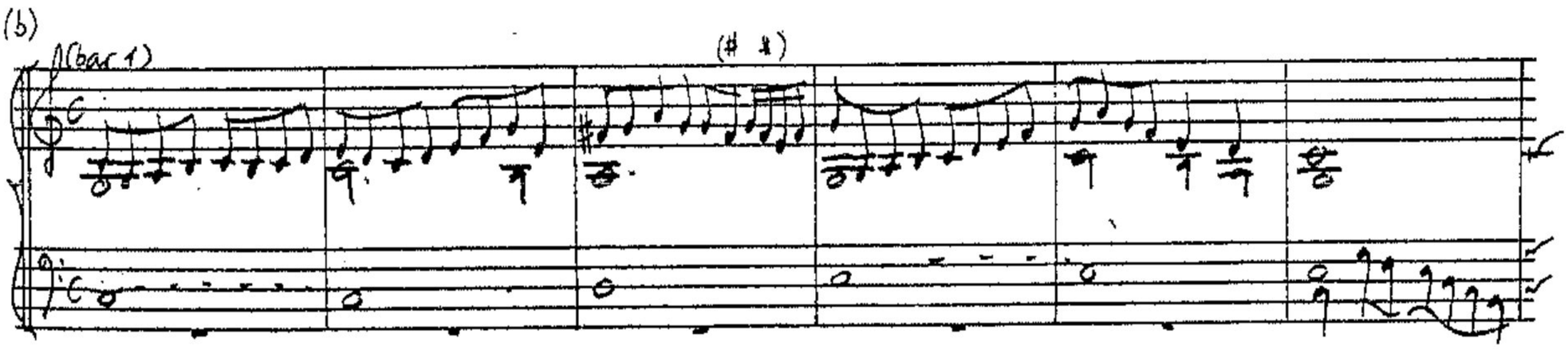
Pange lingua de Urea de 5° tono por delasolre

(a)



Otro por 5° tono de C solfaut (Ibid., f.39)

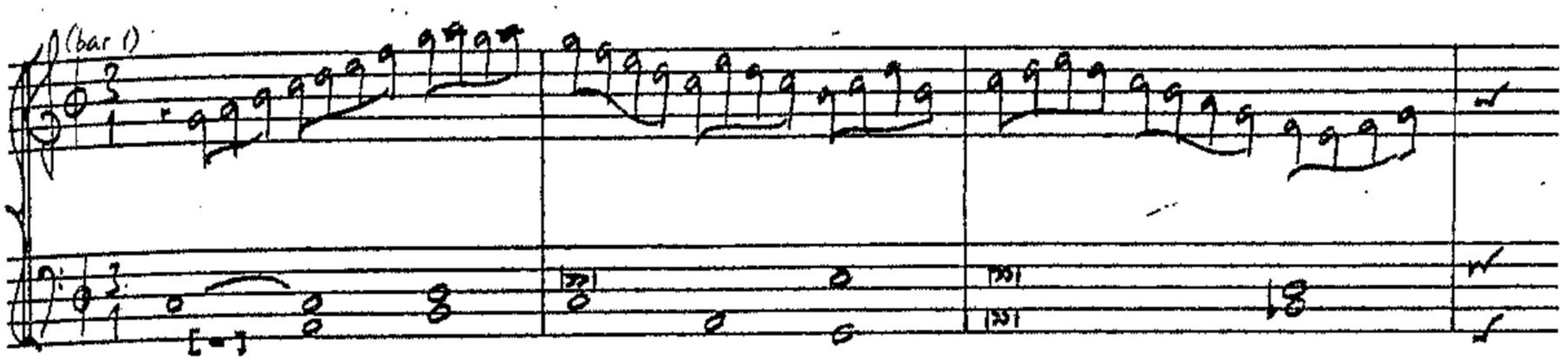
(b)



Yet in the last two Pange linguas in the first Coll MS in particular, of which the group of four is headed once more by a piece entitled 'Sobre el pangelingua de Urreda' (MBN M.1357, pp.68-73) the ambitus of the 'glossing' voice is vastly extended. Although the figurations here still feature a large number of turns which cascade in a continuous flow of quarter notes, the music describes a number of scale-like passages. The following example is taken from the opening of the third setting which, like the fourth, is clearly intended for divided registers.

(Ex.6) MBN M.1357 (p.71)

Otra [Pange lingua] a 3 glosada



With the two Pange linguas which are definitely by Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia and other settings in like style from the Coll MSS, the 'glossing' or, now, soloistic part(s) has attained greater individuality with a closer resemblance to true instrumental writing. The inscription 'la Reina' of one Pange lingua by Aguilera de Heredia (BBC M.450, p.11) may bear more than a passing significance: this exemplar may be regarded as one of the first hymn settings to combine a cantus firmus with contrapuntal strands which increasingly sought to exploit the resources of the keyboard, leading to the characteristic partido style.[1]

It may be recalled at this juncture that the term partido was frequently used in a wide sense to imply that the area of figurative interest was to be found in the musical writing for one or other of the hands. However, it did not necessarily indicate a strict observance of the medio registro; not many hymn settings adhere rigidly to this division at the centre of the keyboard.

The title of the hymn may refer to the partido style with such inscriptions as 'de mano derecha' and 'de dos baxos' for instance. The

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1. The 'Pangelingu[a] de Aguilera la Reina de los Pangelinguas' is published in Ife and Trudy ed. (1986), vol.II, pp.10-11.

latter term, 'with two bass parts', would describe a piece in which the cantus firmus was to be accompanied by two lower contrapuntal lines, normally to be played by the left hand. An example is the ninth setting ('Dos Bajos') in the collection of Pange linguas in the third Coll MS entitled 'Juego de Pange Linguas por Ce sol fa ut' (MBN M.1359, pp.503-4; anthology, pp.370-1.) However, neither is there consistency in these titles. Aguilera de Heredia's second setting '[Pange lingua] a tres sobre vajo [...]' (Esc. M.2187, f.18v, ed. Siemens Hernández (1978), pp.37-8), for instance, consists of a two-part counterpoint in the upper region of the keyboard over the cantus firmus in the lower; yet in what may be identified as a copy of this piece in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359, pp.501-2), the music is entitled 'mano derecha'. In both versions, there is no observance of the c'♮/c'♯ division at the centre of the keyboard. (Anthology, p.369.)

In the 'Juego de Pangelinguas por De la sol re', in the same Coll MS (ibid. pp.507-27) a number of the pieces are in true medio registro style. (A selection from these nine settings is included in the anthology.) The sixth in this collection, 'Dos Tiples' (ibid. pp.519-22), has the additional interest of being one of the few Pange lingua settings to incorporate a glossed version of the hymn tune itself in place of the traditional cantus firmus. Here, the glossed melody migrates between the alto and tiple parts, and the phrases are sometimes interspersed with writing which incorporates an echo of the preceding phrase. In the manner of the 'Sacris glosats de mano d(e)recha de Ignasi Vidal' (BBC M.751.21, pp.18-19, anthology, p.421), the fourth Pange lingua setting (MBN M.1359, pp.515-17) presents a disguised version of the hymn tune in a series of ornamental patterns. In this piece (see anthology, pp.372-3), which could be entitled 'glosado de mano derecha', the right hand solo concludes with a four-fold repetition of the final phrase of

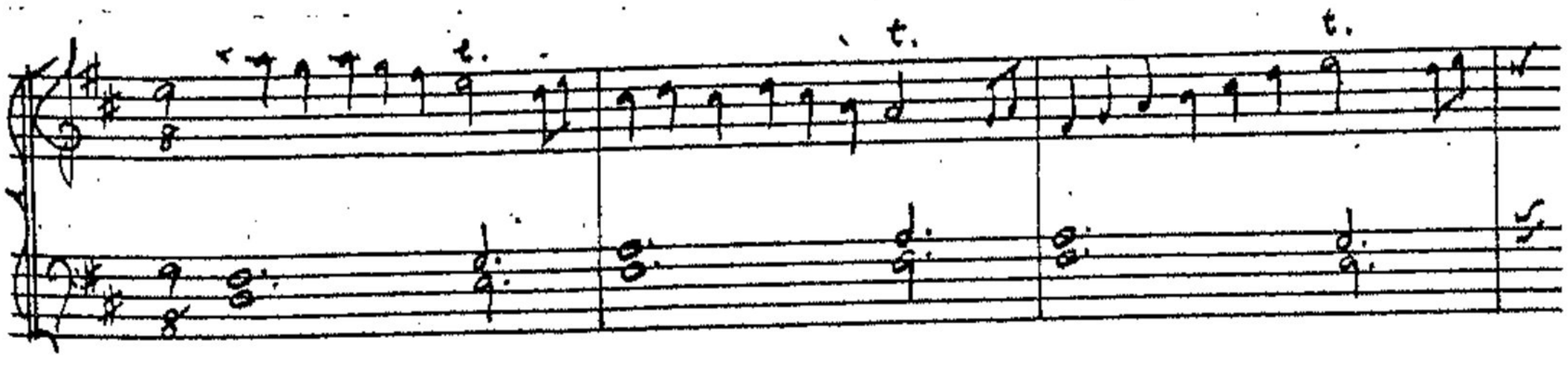
the hymn melody in a successive variation of glosado patterns. Such free adaptations of hymn settings in which the phrases of the hymn undergo a series of repetitions and are passed from part to part, are an earnest to departures in which the bonds of a pre-determined cantus firmus are considerably loosened. Examples on a grander scale are the 'Obra de quinto (tono) por delasolre sobre o paso de pange lingoa' (sic) by Diego Alvarado (LBAj 38-XII-27, f.206, and PBPM M.1577, f.126v) and the later 'Tiento de Pange-lingua, 5to tono, punto alto' by Cabanilles (BBC M.387, ff.157-9). The ninth Pange lingua in the juego from the third Coll MS (pp.525-7), 'Dos tiples y dos baxos', which on account of the smooth contrapuntal style may be attributed to Pablo Bruna, is one of the few four-part settings in medio registro style to provide an equal interest in the writing for both halves of the keyboard.

Judging from the extant repertory of hymn settings by the organists who flourished at the end of the seventeenth century in Catalonia, these compositions in partido style display far lighter textural idioms. In the majority of these compositions, the cantus firmus (in breves and semibreves) is usually accompanied by a line moving in parallel thirds; a rapidly moving solo part is then given to the hand not playing the hymn tune. The fluency of these betrays a far greater response to key-board idioms; a Pange lingua by Espelt (BBC M.729, ff.177v-8v), for instance, even includes trills in the right-hand passage work. (This work is also included in the anthology, pp. 356-7.)

(Ex. 7)

BBC M.729 (f.177v)

Pange lingua a 3. Partido de mano derecha. Fran(cis)co Espelt.



The registrational indications in a Pange lingua 'de Ecos' by Vicente Hervás (BBC M.1011, f.79v, anthology pp.364-5) is unusual: such variations in organ colour were not fully realized until well into the eighteenth century The use of the eco division in this piece may be likened to a psalm-tone verset in the 2nd tone by Cabanilles (BBC M.387, f.26-26v).

These late seventeenth-century Pange linguas, together with the settings of the Sacris solemniis, provide a closer link with those of the early to mid-eighteenth century by Llussà, Elías and Vilar than the more contrapuntally biased compositions by Elías's 'teacher', Cabanilles. It is in these that a definite idiomatic style emerges finally, making frequent recourse to both registrational and instrumental effects.

With the few Pange linguas by Bruna and the later Cabanilles, there is a distinct contrast in compositional approach to those tending more to the virtuosic partido idiom. In the wake of Bruna, who exercised a refined, smoothly-flowing contrapuntal style, Cabanilles may be regarded as the foremost exponent of idiomatic keyboard writing, happily incorporating some of the most sophisticated fugal techniques. It is evident that Cabanilles consciously experimented in these: as indicated by their general title several styles are explored in his set of 'Versos de Pange lingua de todos generos' (BBC M.729, ff.180v-9). Although superficial similarities between Cabanilles's music and the Juegos in the Coll MSS exist, one may, with some certainty, distinguish a somewhat greater ingenuity in the combination of contrapuntal strands in the Valencian organist's hymn settings in the Barcelona manuscripts. His music becomes extremely dense at times owing to the strong bias toward pervasive imitation, frequently resulting in a medley of part-crossing.

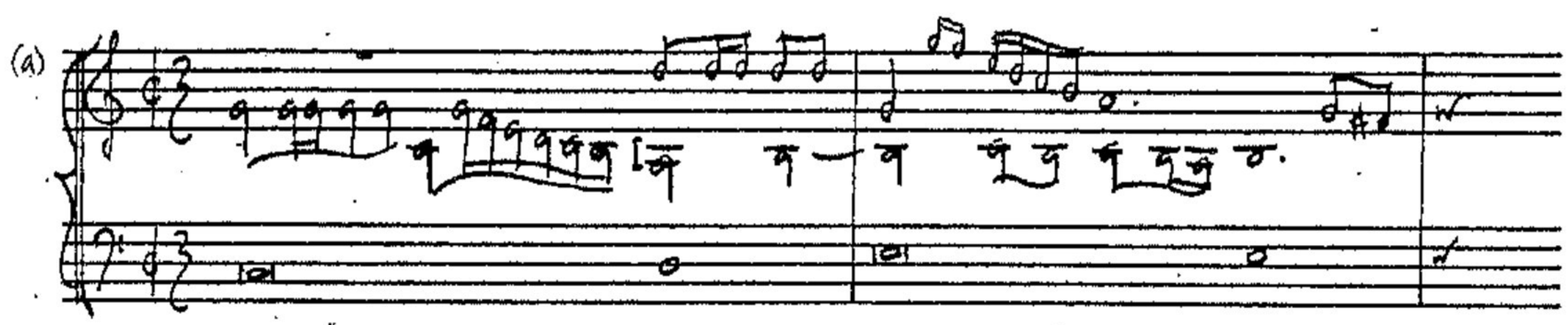
Where the simple technique of presenting the cantus firmus in parallel thirds (on one occasion leading to modal ambiguity) is not employed,

such as was much favoured in the partido compositions, the contrapuntal strands in Cabanilles's compositions are concerned with the manipulation of a single motif or idea. However, unlike the material used in some of the psalm-tone versets for instance, these nuclei are generally quite independent of the hymn melody.

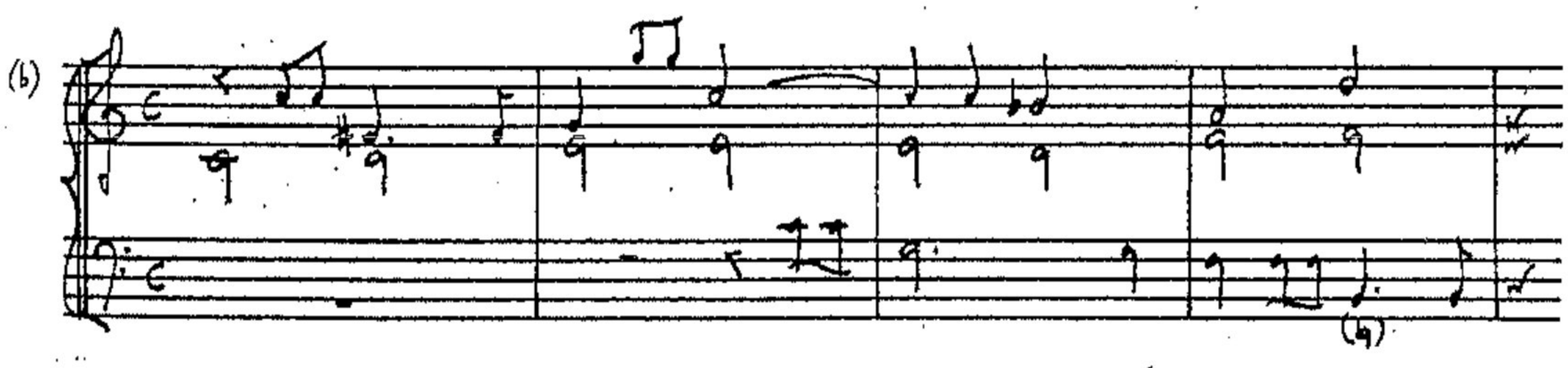
The ideas in Cabanilles's monothematic compositions may be extremely succinct, originating in a simple rhythmic pattern or distinctive melodic interval. Two examples may be cited:

(Ex. 8) Jaca MS (p.214)

Otro pangelingua 5° tono de Cabanillas



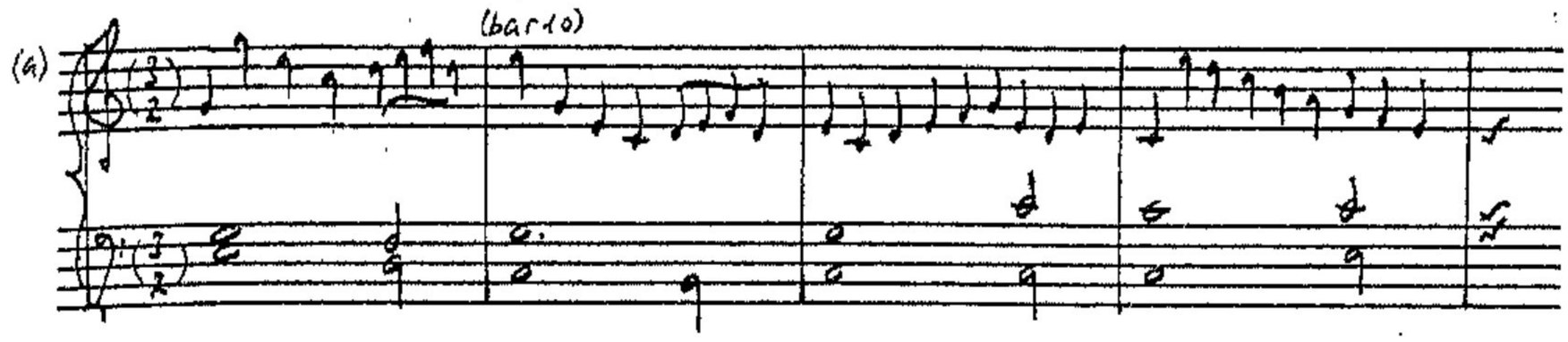
Otro pangelingua de mosen Juan Cabanillas (Ibid., p. 219)



Only on very rare instances does he present a subtle diversion from the main idea in order to provide a contrast for the middle section of the ternary hymn tune. It was in fact a practice already encountered in Aguilera de Heredia and a selection of other Pange lingua settings in the Juego in 'ce sol fa ut' in the third Coll MS. Much in the same manner as Aguilera's second setting, the counterpoint of the middle section of the second of Cabanilles's five Pange linguas in D la sol re ('punto alto') in BBC M.387 (f.216v.) introduces a new triple rhythm.

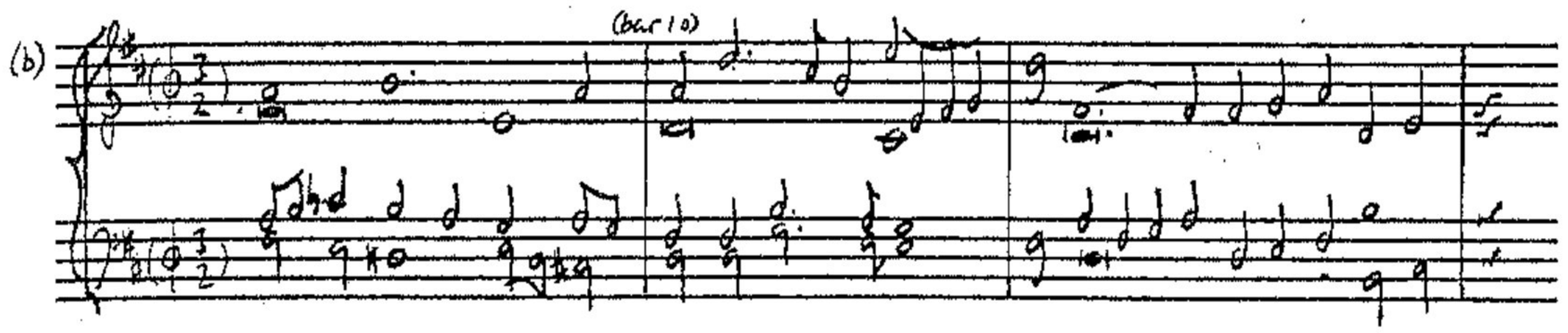
(Ex. 9) MBN M.1359 (p.502)

[Pange lingua de] Mano d'(ere)ha [Aguilera de Heredia?]



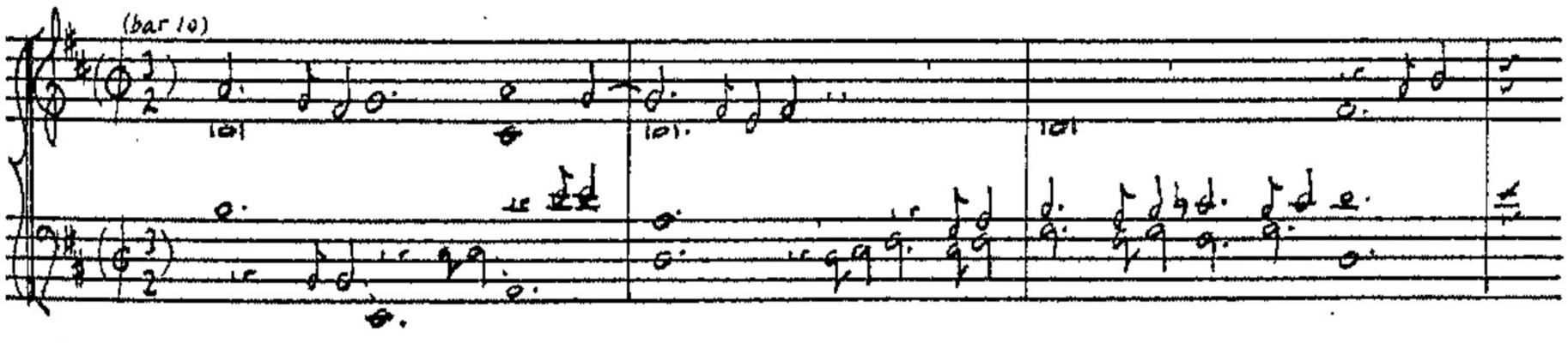
BBC M.387 (f.216)

Otra [Pange lingua] de Cavanillas



In the fourth of this particular set (ibid., f.217-7v) the initial motif featuring a leap of a 4th or a 5th is replaced by a more lilting pastoral figure at this point.

(Ex.10) Otra [Pange lingua] llena de Cavanillas (ibid., f.217)

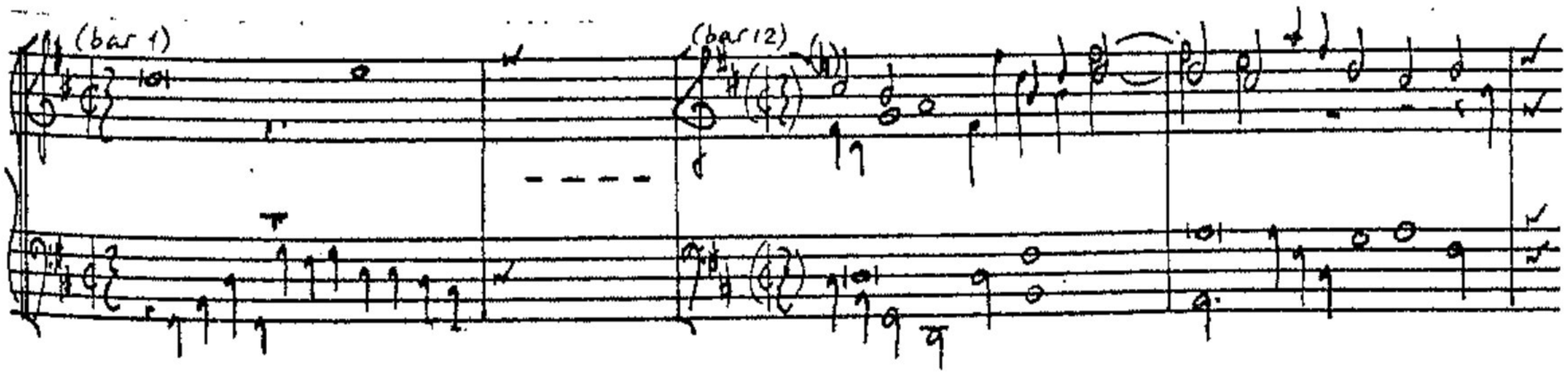


In the last of his 'Versos de Pange lingua de todos generos' (BBC M.729, ff.188-9), which features a migrating cantus firmus, Cabanilles has merely inverted the initial motif for the purposes of this contrast.

(Ex.11) BBC M. 729 (f.188v-88v)

(Versos de Pange lingua de todos géneros de Cabanillas)

XV. 14



On just one occasion, Cabanilles has ingeniously applied strict canonic principles for the entire structure. In his 'Pange lingua llena en fuga' (BBC M.387, f.409v.), canonic imitation is used to unify the upper two contrapuntal strands which accompany the hymn tune which this time is notated in duple time. Here, the canonic intervals vary during the piece and, similarly, variety is achieved toward the close of the middle portion of the hymn by the reduction of the time interval between the entries, from a half bar to a quarter bar; this latter feature performs a climactic anticipation for the (da capo) return to the first section. (See the anthology, p.349-50).

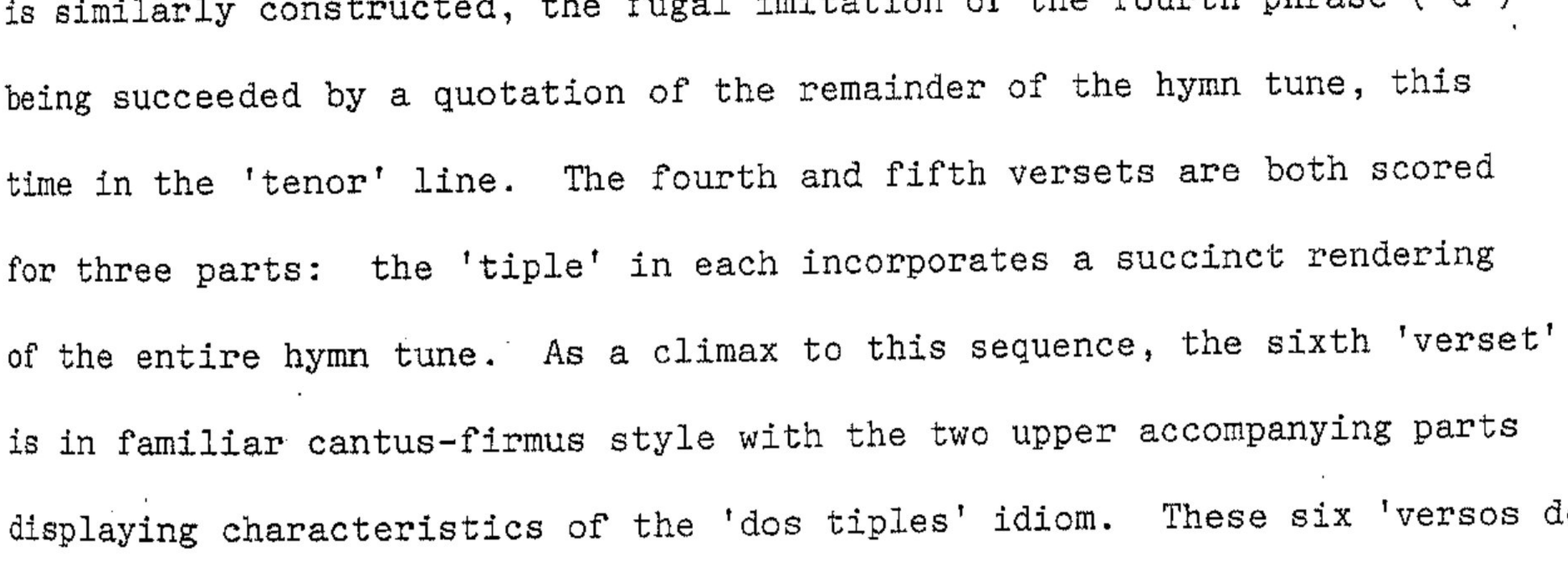
Finally, one curious sequence of (anonymous) Pange linguas are the three D la sol re settings in BBC M.387 (ff.364v-5) which were presumably destined to be performed together owing to their deployment of what may be interpreted as the trocado technique. In these three-part settings, the strands are placed in three successive different combinations with very little alteration of the counterpoint. The result is perhaps not always the most satisfactory and in the second version, the 'mode' of the cantus firmus is disturbed by the bass moving in parallel thirds below the tiple, which starts on d'!

It was stated above that there is a surprising lack of hymn compositions (notwithstanding the large scale tientos based on certain hymn tunes) based entirely on fugal principles without a cantus firmus. The fashion of deriving a 'point' (or paso) for imitation from the melodic strands of the hymn tune itself was encountered in the somewhat perfunctory selection of hymns incorporated within the cifra portion of the second Coll MS; it is also applied in a large number of Salve regina settings or versets. The common feature of the latter in particular is that the material is derived merely from the opening of the chant. Coelho's

'Sinco Versos sobre os paços do canto chão da Ave Maris stella' remain unique in their deliberate attempt to treat each phrase of the chant fugally in systematic fashion. Within the vast repertory of organ Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis arrangements, Cabanilles's 'Versos de Sacris' (BBC M.729, ff.189-92) may be instanced as containing examples of this fugal genre.

Evidently designed to be performed in (alternatim) sequence, the first three versets of Cabanilles's 'Versos de Sacris', taken together, consist of a fugal paraphrase of this Corpus Christi hymn. The opening verset is concerned with the four-part imitation of the first two phrases of the melody in succession ('a' and 'b' in example 12). The second verset begins with a fugal imitation of the third phrase ('c'), followed by the 'alto' part citing the remainder of the melody. The third verset is similarly constructed, the fugal imitation of the fourth phrase ('d') being succeeded by a quotation of the remainder of the hymn tune, this time in the 'tenor' line. The fourth and fifth versets are both scored for three parts: the 'tiple' in each incorporates a succinct rendering of the entire hymn tune. As a climax to this sequence, the sixth 'verset' is in familiar cantus-firmus style with the two upper accompanying parts displaying characteristics of the 'dos tiples' idiom. These six 'versos de sacris' by Cabanilles may be studied in the anthology (p.415 seq.)

(Ex.12)



In this outline and discussion of seventeenth-century Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis settings for the organ, of which the majority are composed according to a cantus firmus principle, two distinct stylistic tendencies emerge: first, an idiomatic, glosado-based technique, and second, one which adhered to more academic contrapuntal considerations. The two styles co-existed; there was no question of the contrapuntal idiom being ousted by the more virtuosic style, and both persisted well into the eighteenth century.

The Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis in the eighteenth century

Although it is true to say that composers in the eighteenth century never entirely abandoned traditional principles of contrapuntal composition in their organ music, their settings of the two seemingly immortal Corpus Christi hymns acquired an individuality which was clearly symptomatic of a very long and popular tradition of performing these on the organ. Whilst the style and musical argument of these settings is in many respects predictable, their complete fluency of expression puts them in a class of their own. In this later period, the Spanish predilection for variation technique is made manifest in a series of compositions contrasting with one another in figuration, texture and, in many cases, registration. This brief survey covers the period from the time of Elías and Llussà from Barcelona at the beginning of the eighteenth century to the time of the royal chapel organists working in in Madrid at the very end of the eighteenth century.

The settings of these hymns by Elías and Llussà in particular are arranged in juegos comprising a varying number of individual versets - there is no apparent correlation between these units and the verses of the hymns themselves. In keeping with the versets for the individual movements of the organ mass composed during this period, the Pange lingua

and Sacris solemniis sequences comprise versets in contrasting styles and idioms, usually beginning with a homophonic four-part setting in lleno style.

In the wake of the hymn settings by Espelt and Menalt in particular, which taken as a whole contrast with the prevailing contrapuntal density and complexity of Cabanilles's examples (cf. his 'Versos de Pangelingua de todos generos [...]', BBC M.729, ff.180v-9), the textures in the juegos by Elías and Llussà are generally light and transparent, with a preponderance of settings in duo style. The latter are clearly intended to be realized on keyboards with divided registers as the bass and treble parts are invariably separated by the c♮/c♯ division at the centre of the keyboard. In most cases, the hymn tune is played in the bass; when this begins on d (as in a D la sol re setting), the higher middle phrase of the Pange lingua melody, which would normally reach d', is transposed down an octave. (For examples, see the transcription of Llussà's Pange lingua versets in the anthology: pp.380-6 .) However, as distinct from the initial lleno setting in each of these juegos, and the 'Sacris a 4' with which Llussà's Sacris solemniis variations conclude, there is also a large number of settings written in three contrapuntal parts. Whilst the majority of these are also written for divided registers, Llussà's 'Pangelingua Partido a dos Baxos' (BBC M.736.5, f.7v) could only effectively be realized if a particular registration was integral to the manual as a whole: in this piece it is necessary for both hands to partake in the 'dos baxos' accompanying figurations. (Anthology, pp. 382-3.)

In many respects, the Pange lingua and Sacris solemniis arrangements dating from this period require a perhaps even greater agility on the part of the player, than did those of the seventeenth century. Nassarre's observation that greater technical demands were made on the organists

of his time has already been cited (see above, p. 3). This is particularly evident in the settings of the Pange lingua by Elías and his younger contemporary from Barcelona, Francisco Vilar, which comprise a manuscript at Montserrat (MonAM M.1637). (Mention of this particular manuscript has already been made in chapter 2, section (iv), of this thesis, where attention was drawn in particular to the organ registration indicated in Elías's 1729 'Juego de Pangelinguas'.) The most unusual arrangement in this juego is the 'Pang^{a} de medio registro con el Cantollano dissimulado' (loc.cit., ff.5v-6) for it is the only setting of a Pange lingua which has been encountered in which the hymn tune is disguised in a series of ornamental glosado figurations: in this piece, marked 'muy vivo', there is no traditional cantus firmus rendering of the familiar hymn tune. *(See anthology, p. 388 seq.)*

With the exception of Elías's 'Juego de Pangelinguas', registration is not commonly encountered in the organ music dating from the first half of the eighteenth century. However, with the organists who were working for the royal chapel at the end of that century, the music composed was evidently far more dependent upon contrasts of registration. Directions for dispositions of organ sound abound in F.M. López's two-volumed Piezas al Organo (MBN M.769 and M.770), for instance, and only rarely does the composer allow for a 'Registro ad libitum' (MBN M.769, f.13v). (The '6 Pangelinguas a 4' presented in the first volume of the Piezas al Organo (loc.cit., ff.45v-8), however, are without any special instructions.) The '24 Glosas con yntenciones sobre el Himno de Sacris solemniis' by José Texidor, who became second organist at the royal chapel in about 1786, may be singled out, as each one of these settings of the Sacris solemniis is written for a particular organ sound. This set of hymn variations, written in a now entirely classical vein, has some very

fine moments, with the 'Glosas' each demonstrating figures and patterns idiomatic to the choice of registration. Like Elías's 'Juego de Pangelinguas', considerable emphasis is placed on the reeds. (See Rey Marcos (1978/3).)

Whilst López's Pange linguas in the Piezas al Organo are written in traditional cantus firmus style, his settings of 'Todos los Hymnos de la Iglesia' in the Escuela Orgánica (MBN M.2291), dated 1799, are presented in a slightly different fashion. In all these hymn settings, an introduction of motivic interest which might allude to the hymn tune itself is followed by a rendering of the hymn (usually in the bass) within counterpoint which is related thematically to the very opening of the composition. A final section might recapitulate the ideas from the introduction. In one particular instance the composer combines two hymn tunes in this manner ('Pieza de 2 himnos', loc.cit., f.87v). In the example of a Pange lingua from this manuscript (anthology, pp.412-14) the middle section of the piece also incorporates a restatement of the opening phrase of the hymn in the 'dominant' of the key.

To a certain extent, similar procedures of composition are employed in the two 'Preludio y Fuga's by José Lidón (1746-1827) which are based on each of the two Corpus Christi hymns. (See the transcription of this music in Rubio (1973/2).) These particular compositions, however, should really be regarded as the final vestiges of cantus firmus and contrapuntal writing in this context, which was now being challenged by the more vertically orientated phraseology of the 'classical' style.

CHAPTER 6

MUSIC FOR THE MASS

6

MUSIC FOR THE MASS

(i)

Introduction: the use of the organ in the Mass

As has already been inferred, ceremonial and related legislative texts vary considerably as to the extent to which they provide guidelines for the organist's contribution to the celebration of the religious services. With regard to his duties in the Mass - particularly on feasts and days of greater liturgical importance - there is really no one documentary source which lists these completely. However, the sixteenth paragraph in the chapter 'Del órgano y organista' in the Ceremonial Monástico (Par.1, Sec.2, Cap.6) provides what is perhaps the fullest listing, being an amplification of the brief details contained in the preceding paragraph (no.15); the latter is ostensibly a paraphrase of the appropriate passage in the 1600 Caeremoniale Episcoporum.[1] (This chapter from the Ceremonial Monástico has been included in the appendix to this thesis, pp.527-31.) Much useful information may also be gained from the chapter 'De las ceremonias del choro, en las Missas [etc.]' in the Burgos Ceremonial Romano of 1603 (Lib.4°, Cap.6°, parrapho.I, ff.143v-8). From a survey of this literature as a whole, it is evident that in addition to contributing to the movements of the Mass Ordinary (the invariable framework of the rite of Mass) the organist was expected to play at a number of other junctures which are normally associated with the Mass Proper (the variable parts). The following account, therefore, consists principally of a consideration of the style of

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1. A marginal reference to the Caeremoniale Episcoporum, however, is made alongside paragraph no.16: 'Cere. lib.I.ca.28'.

evidence provided by selected documentary material for the use of the organ in both these constituent parts of the Mass, and a comparison of the various prescriptions for this practice, supported wherever possible by concrete musical examples.

Owing to the fact that both documentary and musical sources are widely dispersed, both geographically and historically, no attempts will be made to provide any *definitive* statements regarding the organist's traditional role in the celebration of Mass. Furthermore, as musical evidence is relatively scant, it has been absolutely vital to rely upon relevant documentation, however variable in date and provenance. Indeed, unlike perhaps the use of organ music in the Canonical Hours, it would not even be possible to give a fair evaluation of that which was normally played during the Mass from the musical evidence alone. Such an attempt, with regard to sixteenth-century practices in particular and in relation to Cabezón's Obras de música (1578) where music for just the Kyries of the Mass Ordinary is included, has already led to such (false) assumptions as 'Spain, more than other countries, resisted the invasion of the organ into the Mass'. (See Apel (1972), p.129.)

At a later stage, having considered such evidence for the use of the organ in the Mass including an evaluation of how the extant musical examples themselves may have been used and integrated in the service, we shall describe the 'organ mass' per se and individual versets for the Mass from a purely musical point of view. In this instance, Spanish and Portuguese sources containing relevant musical material are discussed separately because of the curious fact (perhaps in the wake of Cabezón's Obras) that it is only music for the Kyrie of the Mass (Ordinary) which may be identified within the repertory of versets in the Portuguese manuscripts.

(a)

The Mass Proper

Following the broad outlines provided by the Caeremoniale Episcoporum (1600) and the above-mentioned paragraph from the Ceremonial Monástico (1635), it is apparent that the organist was normally expected to play at the following points of the Mass and the Mass Proper: the beginning of Mass; after the Epistle; at the Offertory; at the Communion and at the end of Mass, following the final blessing. There is no evidence that the organ may also have been played at the Introit.[1] Taking these items at face value, there is no indication as to how precisely the organist was expected to contribute. Nevertheless, whereas some texts do indeed merely allude to these items by name others provide more insight as to their musical interpretation.

It is with regard to the three main issues with which the majority of texts are concerned - the musico-liturgical events succeeding the reading of the Epistle, those at the Offertory and at the Communion - that the following account has been arranged: there are several conflicting descriptions and prescriptions which may be compared. As for the possibility of music being played after the Gospel, it is apparent from references encountered in a few sources that this only succeeded when a sermon was to ensue. As exemplified by the following statement from a Franciscan ceremonial from Coimbra, the organist is permitted to play during the interval between the end of the Gospel ('Evangelho') and the very beginning of the sermon:

---

1. The clause 'in principio Missae' from the Caeremoniale Episcoporum is not included in the Ceremonial Monástico. It may however be taken to mean that the organ was to play during the procession preceding the singing of the Introit.

> Também se pode tanger o órgão quando ha Sermão desde que se acaba o Evangelho athé que comessem a pregar.
>
> (Manual, Coimbra, 1675; 'Ceremonias do choro', p.360.)

In the 1730 Ceremonial Serafico, in the context of a chapter describing the 'ceremonias do Coro nas Missas classicas', the organist is instructed to play for an extensive period at this point in order to give the preacher time to settle in the pulpit:

> Dito o Evangelho, e havendo Sermão, se tocará o órgão por hum largo intervallo, até que o Pregador esteja já descançado no pulpito [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.VI, Cap.1, n.281, p.212.)

(Other references to this practice occur in some of the ceremonial texts included in the appendix.)

Post-Epistle; Gradual and Alleluia; the Sequence.

The direction in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum that the organ should be played 'finita Epistola' is too ambiguous to be taken at its face value. It could be interpreted in two ways: either that the organist provides an independent postlude to the reading of the Epistle, thus fulfilling no further function; or that organ music should substitute for the traditional singing of the Gradual and possibly the Alleluia. Indeed, it is precisely on these two issues that the ceremonials prove to be at variance with one another.

Turning to Catalanus's commentary and qualification of this phrase ('finita epistola') from the Caeremoniale (Lib.I. Cap.28), it is clearly advocated that although the organ may be played after the Epistle the Gradual, or at any rate the verse,[1] should in fact be sung by the choir:

---

1. The possibility that the organ normally played for just a portion of the Gradual, taking the respond and not the (solo) verse for instance, remains unclear.

> Pulsator item finita Epistola; sed Graduale, vel saltem aliquis illius Versiculus cantari debet a Choro juxta usum omnium fere Ecclesiarum, in quibus etiamsi occurat Sequentia, alternatim ipsa a Choro, & ab Organo cantatur.
>
> (J. Catalanus: Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Rome, 1744; Lib. I, Cap,28, § IX, comm. 1, p.382.)

In this passage, it is also stated that on the occasions on which the Sequence[1] is sung, it may be performed alternatim with the choir. This will be discussed more fully below. A similar statement is included in a later edition of M. Bauldry's Manuale ('Item finita Epistola, sed Graduale cantandum videtur à choro: Sequentia alternatim') and it was from this source that the following statement from the eighteenth-century Portuguese Ceremonial Ecclesiastico was derived:

> [...] se ha de tocar o órgão acabada a Epístola; porém o Gradual se ha de cantar pelo Coro [...] 2
>
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743, Trat.I, Cap.12, (§).40,p.44.)

Without however specifying whether the Gradual or Tract was to be sung, a nineteenth-century Portuguese legislative text refers several times to the practice of playing a 'verso' or an 'obra' after the Epistle. For instance, at Mass on the third Sunday of Advent (Gaudete) '[...] dipois q(ue) o p(adr)e acaba de cantar a epístola, se tange hum verso no orgo [...]' (sic).[3]

---

1. This reference to the Sequence was omitted in the 1600 edition of the Caeremoniale Episcoporum.

2. A shoulder-note at this point acknowledges the source of this statement - the chapter 'De Organistae' in Bauldry's [revised] Manuale Sacrarum (I.Cap.8). The phrase 'Item finita Epistola' (etc), which I have quoted, was extracted from the 8th edition of Bauldry's Manuale (Venice, 1734); Pars Prima, Art.II, Cap.8, (§) 7. For a further reference both to the singing of the Gradual in this context and to M. Bauldry, see below, p.426.

3. [Ceremonias do Coro], (n.d.); 'Do advento'. (LBN Cod.8372. The folios in this manuscript are unnumbered.) Curiously enough, the author of the text then refers to the singing of the Tract ('trato', sic): '[...] e acabado se cante o trato [...]' (ibid.).

In the ceremonials as a whole, there are also a number of references made to the alternative practice in which it was advocated that the organ should be played during the Gradual itself (when this was not sung); the Alleluia, however, was to be sung. Such is stated clearly in the Ceremonial Seráfico, for instance, where reference is also made to the practice of reciting the 'missing' text whilst the organ is playing:

> Finalizado a Epístola, se levantarão, todos para a Estante, e os Cantores, indo com a ordem costumada ao meyo do Coro, dirão rezado o Gradual em quanto o Orgão está tangendo.
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.VI, Cap.1, n.281, p.212.)

The text then also refers to the use of the organ at the Gradual in Lent ('No tempo da Quaresma') and other occasions when the Tract (which was sung) rather than the Alleluia followed the Gradual (ibid).) In the chapter to which we have referred above from the Burgos Ceremonial a similar practice is recommended. In this instance, however, the author suggests that the organ should be played (during the recital of the text) only if time allows:[1]

> Si fuere tiempo en que se dize Gradual, el órgano lo ha de dezir, y los cantores lo lean estando en medio del choro, en voz intelligible [...] (Scc)
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; Lib.4°, Cap.6; Para. I, f.145.)

According to the Toledo (1591) and Seville (1593) texts the organist was permitted to play during the Gradual and Alleluia only on rare occasions ('raras vezes'). The Seville text, however, omits a clause in the Toledo version which specifies that these occasions consisted solely of Major feasts, and that of the two Alleluias, the first one was to be played by the organ:

---

1. No specific mention of this practice is made in the section 'Officio del que tañe el Organo' (Lib.4°, parrapho.V, ff.119v-20v) in the same Ceremonial. (Appendix, pp.523-4)

> [...] y solamente en las fiestas muy principales, al Gradual, y quando huviere dos Alleluyas, táñese la primera.
>
> (Ceremonial de los officios divinos, Toledo, 1591; Lib.4°, parrapho. 5, f.143v.)

In the Burgos Ceremonial, however, it is implied that the Alleluia should normally be sung. Yet an exception was to be made at Easter when 'there are four Alleluias with two verses'. Here it is recommended that the 'first' with its appropriate verse be substituted by organ music whilst the 'second' is to be sung by the cantors.

> En tiempo Pascual, quando ay quatro Alleluyas, con dos Versos, diga la primera el Organo, con su Verso, y la segunda los Cantores [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid., f.145.)

(By 'first' and 'second' the author is probably referring to the initial 'Alleluya', its repeat and the ensuing verse (one), and the following ('second') sequence of 'Alleluya', verse (two), 'Alleluya', respectively.) Furthermore, it is recommended that on the occasions when a Sequence (prosa) is sung at this juncture, either the cantors may repeat the Alleluia (after the Sequence), or the organ may play appropriately according to the precentor's discretion.

> Y adviértese, que en las festividades que traen prossa [sic], no se repite el Alleluya, hasta acabada la prossa, y entonces podra dezirla el órgano, o los cantores, según la disposición del Vicario del choro. (Ibid., f.145v.)

However, before considering the question of the Sequence itself and the extent to which the organist may also have contributed to its performance in the alternatim manner prescribed above by Catalanus, attention should be drawn to the few versets evidently designed to be played at this juncture. A number of brief pieces, generally assigned to be played after the Epistle ('después de la Epístola') are included in the Astorga MS and amongst the manuscripts of eighteenth-

century music at Montserrat. It is clear that the length of these would have varied according to the occasion: the Astorga MS for instance, includes examples of both short (8 to 9 bars) and more lengthy ones. (See Alvarez ed. (1976).) Music from this later period was almost invariably extended by means of sequence and repetition rather than by any real contrapuntal development. The ideas expressed in any of these versets are therefore somewhat embryonic. A verset, 'Después de la Epístola', is included in the 'Missa [de] 5° tono de J(ose)ph Galles' (MonAM M.1205, pp. [1-4]). (Anthology, p.558.)

Apropos Catalanus's recommendation above, only a very few texts actually make specific reference to the use of the organ in a performance of the Sequence. Normally the organ was only permitted to play when the Sequence itself was a particularly long one, such as that for Corpus Christi ('Lauda Sion'). In the following (relatively unusual) prescription from the Burgos Ceremonial, the organist is instructed to continue playing after the first two verses had been sung alternately between the cantors and the choir; during this period, the texts were nevertheless to be recited 'en voz inteligible' so that nothing was omitted.

> Las prossas [sic] se digan enteras en el choro, sin dexar Verso, diziendo uno los cantores, y otro el choro: pero si fueren muy largas como la de Corpus Christi, puédese dezir a Versos con el órgano, començando primero los cantores, y otro el choro: y después de aver cantado un pedaço dellas, pueden tañer con el órgano lo demás: y mientras el órgano tañe, digan los cantores lo que resta de la prossa, en voz inteligible, de manera que rezada, o ca(n)tada no dexe de dezirse cosa en el choro.
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid.)

The Toledo/Seville texts likewise recommend an alternatim performance between the voices and the organ for the longer Sequences ('las prosas muy largas'). In this case, however, although the first verse was to be sung by the cantors, the remainder of the text was to be shared between

the choir and the organ.

> [...] las prosas muy largas se podrán tañer a versos: de tal manera que los comiençen los [cantores] tenentes choro, y los prosiga [el órgano] alternativame(n)te con el choro. 1

The brief reference to the Sequence made in the Ceremonial Monástico (§ 16) does not make this distinction between the long Sequences and the shorter ones. Nevertheless, in keeping with the procedures recommended for the alternation of the choir and the organ in a performance of the items of the Mass Ordinary, which will be discussed below, it is directed that the choir should start the proceedings in an alternatim arrangement ('[...] y si se cantare Sequencia se mezclará el Organo començándose / en el choro.'; loc.cit., pp.62-3).

Although there are no organ versets extant relating to alternatim performances of the Sequences, the organist's chart from Montserrat ('Per tocar las Missas de Añy' (etc.)) which was found inserted in an eighteenth-century organ manuscript (MonAM M.1529), also includes a reminder for the tones of the 'Seguencias' (sic).[2] Similarly, the book of Acompanhamentos (1761) from the royal (Joanine) convent at Mafra includes a few Sequences.[3] Interestingly enough whereas the latter source includes three important Sequences which are to be used for four different liturgical occasions (the Sequence Lauda Sion was to be used for both Corpus Christi and the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus),

---

1. The Toledo/Seville texts are reproduced as a single text in the appendix (pp.519-20). The words underlined in square brackets in this extract occur in the Toledo version only.

2. A reproduction of the chart is included in the appendix (p.553-4). In this list of 'Seguencias' the tones (with transpositions) given for the chants do not always tally with those in the Liber Usualis.

3. These are listed in the Index (p.[i]) as follows: 'Sequencia da Festa do Santíssimo Nome de Jesus, a 14 de Janeiro- (p.)45' [Lauda Sion]; 'Sequencia da Dominga da Resurreição, e Oitavario - (p.)50' [Victimae Paschali Laudes]; 'Sequencia da Dominga do Espirito Santo, e Oitavario - (p.)52' [Veni Sancte Spiritus]; 'Sequencia da Festa do Corpo de Deos, e dias, em que se rezar da mesma Festividade - (p.) 55' [Lauda Sion].

the Montserrat chart, indicating the Sequences by the feast on which they were sung rather than the names of the chants themselves, apparently lists five different Sequences which are sung at Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Holy Name and the feast of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin Mary ('Septem Dolorum'). Whereas the Sequences for the feasts listed above (Victimae Pachali , Veni Sancte Spiritus , Lauda Sion) were retained by the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, the Sequence for the Marian feast, Stabat Mater , was only reinstated in 1727 by Benedict XIII. (See 'Sequence' in NCE, vol.13, p.100.)

Thus it is clear that one of two distinct musico-liturgical practices involving the organist might take place immediately after the Epistle: first, the interpolation of a (short) verset between the Epistle and the Gradual (when this was to be sung); and second, the actual substitution of the Gradual (but not the Alleluia) by organ music. Furthermore, as suggested by the Burgos Ceremonial Romano (1603), there may also indeed have been occasions when the Alleluia (or at least part of the Alleluia sequence) was replaced by organ music, and when the organist was required to contribute in an alternatim performance of some of the longer Sequences. (It is not clear, however, whether the references to 'long' and 'short' Sequences, particularly in the earlier texts, are any indication that some of the Sequences officially banned at the Council of Trent were in fact still used in some institutions in Spain.)

The Offertory

According to the legislative texts, the organist was clearly expected to play at some point during the Offertory. The Caeremoniale Episcoporum's broad direction to the organist that he should play 'ad offertorium' is not qualified in this case by Catalanus and this brief statement is also included in a number of other texts. Yet from a survey of the more ample details included in these texts as a whole, it emerges once again that more than one performing tradition existed: either the organist played during the Offertory antiphon itself (in which case the text would nevertheless normally be recited) or he was to play after the antiphon, as an accompaniment to the various liturgical ceremonies and prayers which took place at this point, until the Preface; he might even have been called upon to provide music for both these things.

Although a number of the ceremonials do actually state that the organ may be played during the antiphon itself, they do not always indicate whether it should continue afterwards. In the chapter on the Mass in the Burgos Ceremonial, for instance, only the following direction is included:

> El Offertorio le dize el órgano, y los cantores lo han de leer en voz inteligible, para que todo el choro le perciba [...]

(Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid., f.146v.)

Although this passage continues with the recommendation that the cantors should 'begin' the antiphon 'donde no huviere órgano' (ibid.), there is never any indication in the ceremonials that the organ, like the choir in a sung performance, should only proceed after the intonation had been sung. However, one Portuguese ceremonial indicates that not only should the organist play during the Offertory (antiphon) but also from the moment the priest utters the invocation as far as the start of the Preface:

> O Offertorio toma-se com o Orgão; e depois que o Sacerdote disser, Dominus vobiscum, tocar-se lâ athé se principiar o Prefácio.
>
> ([Ceremoniale Cisterciense] (n.d.), LBN Cod.6038; p.381.)

Generally, though, the length of time during which the organist may have played from the Offertory antiphon onwards (whether or not this was also in fact played by the organist) seems to have varied considerably. Usually the texts state (as we have already seen in the preceding quotation) that he may continue playing up to the start of the Preface only: '[...]e depois de se cantar o Offertorio, até que se comece o Prefácio [...]'. (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.I, Cap.12, (§)10, p.44.) Yet in one early text, curiously enough, it is written that following the Credo which is to be played (see below, p.425), the organ should not only be played 'at the Offertory' itself but also, afterwards, as far as the Sanctus: '[...]ao [o]fertorio, q(ue) durará athé se diserem Sanctus [...]'. (Regimento [...] de Braga (n.d.), BBP MS.726; Tit.11°, f.28.) [1] In this particular case it is unclear whether 'at the Offertory' comprises the antiphon as well.

Finally, in a few instances in the Ceremonial Seráfico a particular style of organ performance is recommended for 'the Offertory'. In connexion with the Solemn Mass offered for the Forty Hours, or Lausperenne, the author of the Ceremonial Seráfico, Conceição, prescribes either that the organ was to be played with a full sound ('cheyo'), or that a verse, honouring the Sacrament, could be sung at this point. (Again, the precise implication of 'Offerenda' remains ambiguous.)

> [...] O Orgão tocará à Offerenda cheyo; ou também se poderá cantar hum verso do Sacram(n)to ao mesmo Orgão.
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 1ª Parte, Trat.V, Cap. 3, n.220, p.218.)

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1. The whole of this text from the Braga Regimento is included in the appendix (p.517).

However, in the celebration of Solemn Mass on the occasion of 'renovating' the Holy Sacrament (the chapter as a whole is entitled 'Das Cerimonias, com que se ha de renovar o Divinissimo Sacramento Solemnemente'), it is clear that following the singing of the Offertory (antiphon) the organ was to be played in a particularly devotional manner. In this instance it is recommended that the organist should play on the flautado register, using the tremolo, and should avoid any 'profane sounds' such as sarabands.

> [...] ca(n)tado o Offertorio, se tangerá o Orgão flautado, e temblado com suave consonancia de tal sorte, que incite os corações à devoção, e ternura, e não com sarabandas, ou sons profanos, inquietando as Almas Religiosas, e o povo [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 1ª. Parte, Trat.IV, Cap. 6, n.202, p.196.)

Once more, the author also suggests that a suitable verse such as 'O Salutaris Hostia' or 'Panem Caeli debit eis, etc.' could be sung to the organ as an alternative (ibid.).

Despite these prescriptions for a type of organ sound or registration there is on the whole only the occasional indication in the documentary and musical sources as to the style of organ music which might have been played at this point of the Mass. In one instance, it is suggested that the organist should play 'huma obra' and in the c.1700 Declaración preserved at El Escorial it is apparently recommended that tientos should be played here (as also during the Graduals). (See Hoag (1980), p.39.) None of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources of organ music indicate the precise function of the numerous tientos which they contain; it is, however, entirely feasible that many of them were used for this end.

The only tangible evidence of music for the Offertory is contained in a few mid- to late eighteenth-century sources: these include José

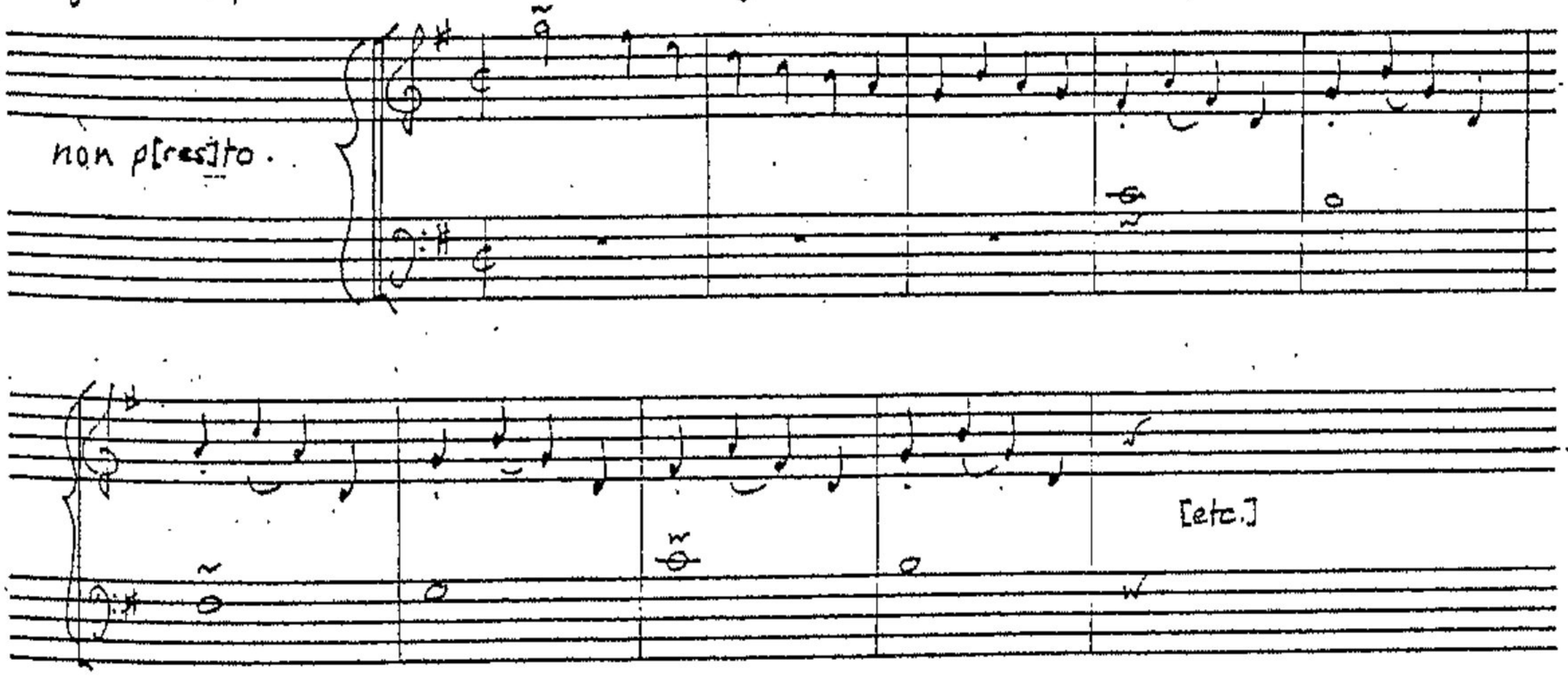
Elías's Obras de órgano (1749) and F.M. López's Escuela orgánica (1799); there is also an 'Ofertorio' by Antonio Soler in the Montserrat archives. Interestingly enough, all these pieces are based on familiar chants, each normally associated with a different liturgical function. In the Obras de órgano, Elías includes six pieces 'sobre los Cánticos de Nuestra Señora para los Ofertorios, whilst many of López's 'Sonatas pa(r)a el Oferto(rio)' (MBN M.2291, f.26v seq.) largely prove to be based on a number of hymn-tunes. Before describing the characteristics of these compositions by Elías and López, which may have some bearing on their functional interpretation, some mention should be made of the 'Ofertorio', identified as the work of Soler, in MonAM. M.1292b (pp.44-8). It reappears in a few other manuscripts where it might be entitled 'Paso' (MonAM. M.82) or 'intento' and with an attribution to N. Casanovas (1747-99). (MonAm M.23, for instance, it appears as 'Paso 12' (pp.66-70) of the 'Obras de P.M.F. Narciso Casanovas M(ae s)tro de Capilla de N(uestra) Señora) de Monserrate'.) However, its transcription in MonAM M.1292b is particularly significant as it is equated with the Offertory and the copyist has indicated that the music should be played 'ligado'. In this instance it is to be observed that the music is entirely based on the saeculorum formula of the 2nd psalm-tone. The following incipit is taken from MonAM M.1292b.

(Ex. 1)

Ofertorio para qualquier especie de lleno: se ha de tocar al[le]gretto ij todo como si estuviere ligado y muy seguidito q(ue) tocándolo assí suena a gloria.

MonAM M.1292b

P. Antonio Soler. (p.44)



It is probably significant that both Elías's Piezas and López's Sonatas are cast in a form of prelude and fugue. In the composition by López which is included in the anthology (pp.564-5), the opening section, marked 'preludio ad libitum', may be interpreted as slow and somewhat chromatic whilst the succeeding fugal portion ('paso') is by contrast quick and rhythmical. It may well be that the organist would have played the improvisatory prelude during the recitation of the antiphon, continuing with the 'paso' as an accompaniment to the prayers and ceremonies of the Offertory as far as the Preface. Elías's 'paso' sections are extremely lengthy and repetitive; it is conceivable that they would have been curtailed in performance according to the requirements of the liturgical occasion. (See Lloréns Cisteró ed. (1971-75), vol.I , p.1 seq.)

Although we have identified only a few examples of organ music to be played at the Offertory, they do turn out to be fairly substantial. This in itself probably indicates that, in some institutions at least, it was the practice to perform organ music not only instead of the singing of the antiphon but also as a background to a considerable proportion of the liturgical ceremonies at this point in the Mass.

> [...] lo común, y ordinario es llenar con el Organo èste intervalo de tiempo, dexando de cantar el Ofertorio por el suplemento de él [...]
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.II, Cap.16, p.177.)

The Communion

Although the 1600 Caeremoniale Episcoporum prescribes that the organ should be played 'in versiculo ante orationem post Communionem' the references made in the ceremonials to the organist's duties at the Communion specify more frequently than not that the Communion antiphon was to be sung and not played. Interestingly enough, however, the paragraph (no.15) in the chapter 'Del Organo, y Organista' in the Ceremonial Monástico which, as has already been mentioned, normally consists of a paraphrase of the relevant portion in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum gives the option for the organ to be played either during the Antiphon ('la comunicanda') or after this has been sung:

> [...] en lugar de la comunicanda, o después de averse cantado como se acostumbra [...] (loc.cit., p.62).

In the ensuing paragraph (no.16) in the Ceremonial Monástico the second option is more fully explained.

In view of the fact that the Ceremonial Monástico is one of the few legislative sources to advocate an arrangement in the alternatim practice of the items of the Mass Ordinary in which the odd-numbered verses are to be sung and not played by the organ (see below), it is not surprising that the same source (with regard to Masses inclusive of the distribution of the Sacrament) recommends that the organist should resume playing after the final Agnus verse has been sung, until the distribution. (It is not entirely clear whether the organ was to play throughout the distribution). Having reached this point, however, the organist is requested to cease playing in order to allow for the Communion antiphon to be sung and not to play again until the priest says 'Dominus vobiscum'. (This pattern was also to apply in Masses which did not include a distribution of the Sacrament.)

> [...] después si uviere comunió(n) tañerá hasta que se dé al primero, y luego cessará para que cante el choro la Comunicanda, y depués tañerá en cantando la Comunicanda, assí como en las Missas que no uviere comunión, hasta que el Celebrante se llegue al medio del Altar para dezir Dominus vobiscum. [1]
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.I, Sec.2, Cap. 6, p.63 (§)16 .)

The Burgos Ceremonial likewise claims allegiance to the Caeremoniale Episcoporum ('Ceremonial Romano'). However, in this instance again it is stated that the antiphon is to be sung. Here the organist is instructed to play briefly (some six to eight bars of music) after the Agnus whilst the priest takes his communion.

> Y en el intervalo que ay desde el último Agnus, hasta que se cante la Post communica(n)da, se tañe el órgano brevemente, (quiero dezir) que se tañá solamente seys, o ocho compases atento que la Post communicanda, se ha de cantar luego immediatamente que se huvieren dicho los Agnus, y mientras el Sacerdote toma la communión, como lo manda el Ceremonial Romano nuevamente impresso. (Scc)
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; (ibid., f.147v.)

This pattern in which the organist is asked to play after the Agnus (during the distribution) and after the (sung) Communion antiphon up as far as 'Dominus vobiscum' recurs frequently in the ceremonials. The most lucid account occurs in the 1743 Ceremonial Ecclesiástico:

> [se toca o órgão] depois do último Agnus, etc. e em quanto se ministra a Sagrada Communhão, quando a houver: e também se toca o órgão depois de se cantar o Verso, ou Antífona, chamada Communio, até que o Celebrante haja de dizer Dominus vobiscum [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.I, Cap.12, (§).10, p.44.)

There is, unfortunately, no specific musical evidence in the organ sources for the Communion.

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1. In a more detailed description of the Mass in a later chapter in this ceremonial it is prescribed that the organ should cease playing in order that the antiphon may be sung 'muy de espacio' and to resume afterwards. (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.I Sec.3, Cap. 11, p.184 (§) 4.)

In considering, then, the type of evidence relating to the organist's role in at least three important junctures in the Mass, it has become clear that, in each case, one is confronted with similar dilemmas regarding their interpretation. These are due largely to the fact that each of these items - the Gradual, the Offertory and the Communion - involved not only ceremonial formalities but also the singing of suitable plainchant. It is evident that the organist's duties were variable: either the organist was asked to play as an accompaniment to the ceremonies and preparations; or he replaced the singing of the plainchant itself; or he may even have performed both functions. It is unfortunate that the musical sources themselves bear so little witness to the use of the organ in the Mass Proper at all.

(b)

The Mass Ordinary,

with particular regard to alternatim performance

Compared with the Mass Proper, there is a greater quantity of documentary and musical material reflecting the use of the organ in items of the Mass Ordinary. However, contrary perhaps to expectation, there is no invariable and unambiguous scheme regarding the organist's contribution. Indeed one may deduce that there must have existed at least two alternative performing arrangements of the shorter items (Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei), along with varying treatments of the longer Gloria movement and even the Credo which was traditionally, or at least as decreed in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum of 1600, sung by the choir alone ('Sed cum dicitur Symbolum in Missa non est intermiscendum Organum, sed ea per chorum cantu intelligibili proferantur'). A further item - the final response 'Deo Gratias' - was also usually assigned to the organ; musical evidence for this exists principally in the eighteenth-century manuscripts housed at Montserrat, Spain. (Two examples from the MonAM M.1421 are included in the anthology (pp. 536-7).)

Before considering each of the items of the Mass Ordinary in turn, it is to be borne in mind that the subject on which the legislative texts principally diverge, with regard to the procedure of alternatim, involves the question of whether it was the organist or the choir which should commence. The majority of these texts, without always, however, necessarily indicating precisely which portions or verses of the chant should be replaced, state that the organ was to begin the sequence. Such documentation will be cited during the course of the discussion below. Yet the Ceremonial Monástico, in particular,

presents the alternative scheme in which the choir or cantors sing the first phrase.

> [...] ha de começar el choro primero lo que se uviere de mezclar con el Organo, como es Kyrie eleison, Sanctus, y Agnus Dei, pero en la Gloria, basta averla começado el Celebrante [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; ibid., (§)16,p.62.)

Similarly, in the ensuing paragraph from an eighteenth-century ceremonial from Portugal, in addition to stating that two items of the Proper should be sung on the days when the organ was used in Mass, it is implied that the first verses of the items of the Mass Ordinary, notably the Kyries, should be sung:

> 13. Se houver órgão, e a Missa, que se ha de cantar, o permittir, sempre com tudo se cantará pelo Coro, o Gradual, e o Offertorio; e quando com o órgão se alternarem os Kyrios, Gloria, Sanctus, e Agnus, sempre os Cantores, e o Coro cantarão o primeiro, e último Kyrie eleison, ou Verso; e depois o segundo dirá, ou tocará o órgão, entoando juntamente hum Ministro para isso deputado, ou os dous Cantores o tal Verso.
>
> (Ceremonial Ecclesiástico, Lisboa, 1743; Trat.II, Cap.20, (§)13, p.183.)

The Kyrie

The following quotation from the Burgos ceremonial is typical of many in which, without further qualification, the organ is instructed to 'begin' an alternatim arrangement of the Kyries:

> Los Kyries comiença el órgano, y dízelos con el choro alternativament [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid., f.144.)

It could be interpreted in one of two ways: either that the organ begins by replacing the first 'Kyrie' supplication, to be succeeded by the choir singing the second and so on alternatim or that the organ, in order to give the tone (or signo) of the plainchant, begins with a preludial type of verset, before the choir enters with the first

Kyrie. In either case, at least five organ versets would be required; this is in fact the number normally encountered in the musical sources. (However, in the light of subsequent alternatim recommendations in this ceremonial, it is quite probable that the first performing arrangement was intended (see below).)

In the following passage from a seventeenth-century Portuguese Benedictine ceremonial, it is clear that the first alternative is definitely recommended:

> 3. Nos dias que se tange órgão, se cantarão os Kyrios alternativamente tangendo o órgão o primeyro, & último. (*sic*)
>
> (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647; Liv.I, Tit.IV, Cap.X, (§) 3, p.46.)

The organist is requested here to play the first and last Kyries, thus presumably leaving the even-numbered verses for the choir.

However, the reverse procedure is distinctly recommended in the Ceremonial Monástico: substantiating the statement (quoted above) that the choir should begin this item, it is indicated that the choir should sing the last Kyrie somewhat quicker than the others in order to show that it is the final one:

> [...] en los Kyries dize el choro el último, q(ue) cantará algo aprisa, para que se entienda ser el último;
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; ibid.)

As already mentioned, the author demonstrates that he is apparently alluding to practices recommended in the chapter 'De organo, organista [etc]' from the Caeremoniale Episcoporum (see above, p.392,n.1).

With this second performance scheme in which the organ was played in the even-numbered verses of the Kyrie, a supernumerary preludial verset would practicably be required in order to provide the mode (and pitch) of the chant. In the following passage from Villa-Lobos's Arte de cantochão (1688), a treatise particularly related to the customs at Coimbra cathedral, the author gives several reasons for adopting

this arrangement in an alternatim performance. Referring to the Kyrie in particular, Villa-Lobos writes that the organ serves not only to rest the choir but also, when it is played before the choir sings, to give the 'tone' ('serve de lhe dar to(m)'). He also points out, however, that after the organ has been played (for the first time) the mistake is sometimes made of singing the second rather than the first Kyrie verse. Instancing the Mass for Our Lady, he insists that it is through the (sung) first Kyrie and its style of performance that the solemnity of the particular feast may be gauged; furthermore, it is this melody which will later be used for the (final) dismissal, the 'Ite Missa est' or the 'Benedicamus'. According to Villa-Lobos who was mestre da capela at Coimbra, this rule was also to be observed in polyphonic mass settings.

> A quarta advertencia seja para quando cantar alternativamente com o órgam, advertindo que quando o órgam tange depois do coro, serve de descanço ao mesmo coro, & qua(n)do o órgam tange antes q(ue) entre a ca(n)tar o coro, serve de lhe dar to(m), para q(ue) entre a ca(n)tar nelle, & aqui errão alguns Subcha(n)tres, principalme(n)te nos Kyrios das missas v.g. qua(n)do a missa he de N(ostra) Senhora deve o coro quando entra a ca(n)tar depois do órgam cantar o primeiro Kyrio, & não o segundo, por quanto o primeiro Kyrio de qualquer festa, tem /(p.210) tal força que pella sua entoaçam, & cantoria conhecemos a selebridade da festa que a Igreja canta na quelle dia, & por elle se canta o Ite missa est, e o Benedicamus, da mesma festa; & se o Subchantre o não cantar, imaginado que o órgam o tem dito (como erradame(n)te cuidão muitos) falta a perfeição do culto divino, & não só nas missas de N(ostra) Senhora se deve observar isto, mas em todas as mais, & nam só as que se ca(n)tão de canto cham, mas tambem nas de canto de órgão observando o thema sobre que estam compostas [...] (*Sic*)
>
> (M. de Sousa Villa-Lobos: Arte de cantochão, Coimbra, 1688; Parte 1ª, Cap. 60, pp.209-10.)

Supporting documentary evidence for an alternatim arrangement in which the organist might provide a preludial verset to the Kyrie sequence occurs in Nassarre's Escuela Música. In this instance Nassarre draws attention to a practice apparently exercised in many churches in which the mode of the Kyries is set by that of the (sung) Introit; on hearing

this, the organist may be sure of the chord ('la cuerda') with which he should begin the alternatim sequence:

> [...] sabe el Organista, con aver oído el Introito, la cuerda por donde ha de pulsar el Organo, para alternar en los Kyries con el Coro. [1]
>
> (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.II, Cap.16, p.170.)

Turning now to the extant musical evidence for alternatim Kyrie versets, one is presented with a preponderance of these grouped in sequences of five. This fact strongly suggests that these were employed in an arrangement, such as that described at the beginning of this section, whereby the organ at least initiated the sequence. As previously suggested, this could have meant either that organ music replaced the first 'Kyrie' verse and each of the subsequent odd-numbered verses, or that by introducing the sequence in a preludial fashion organ music would henceforth replace the even-numbered verses.

In theory, the most satisfactory way of interpreting the intended alternatim scheme would be by tracing the themes of the substituted plainchant verses in the contrapuntal strands of the organ versets. But, although, as will be demonstrated in some detail below, several of the Kyrie versets in Portuguese sources (notably those by Coelho in his Flores de Música (1620) and several in the Braga and Porto (PBPM M.1607) manuscripts) may indeed be thematically linked to several plainchant Kyries, the arrangement of this material is rarely consistent enough to suggest an adherence to the performance schemes outlined above. Conversely, the reverse is true of the extant Kyrie versets

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1. For the context of this passage and its implications from the musico-liturgical point of view, see below, p.441.

from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain, in which a number of the predominately five-verset sequences betray a distinct pattern. The first and last of these versets are often in the style of prelude and postlude in which the music, in 'lleno' style, consists of a full texture with little, if any, thematic manipulation; the fifth and last verset may however be fugal in style and, like the central three versets, derive some of its thematic material from the plainchant. By the eighteenth century, as will be mentioned below in connexion with the organ mass as a composite form, it is apparent that many composers frequently unified the movements of their organ masses more by a monothematic process than by one in which the versets were based on the equivalent plainchant material. In these, the intended alternatim scheme remains ambiguous (see below, section (ii)).

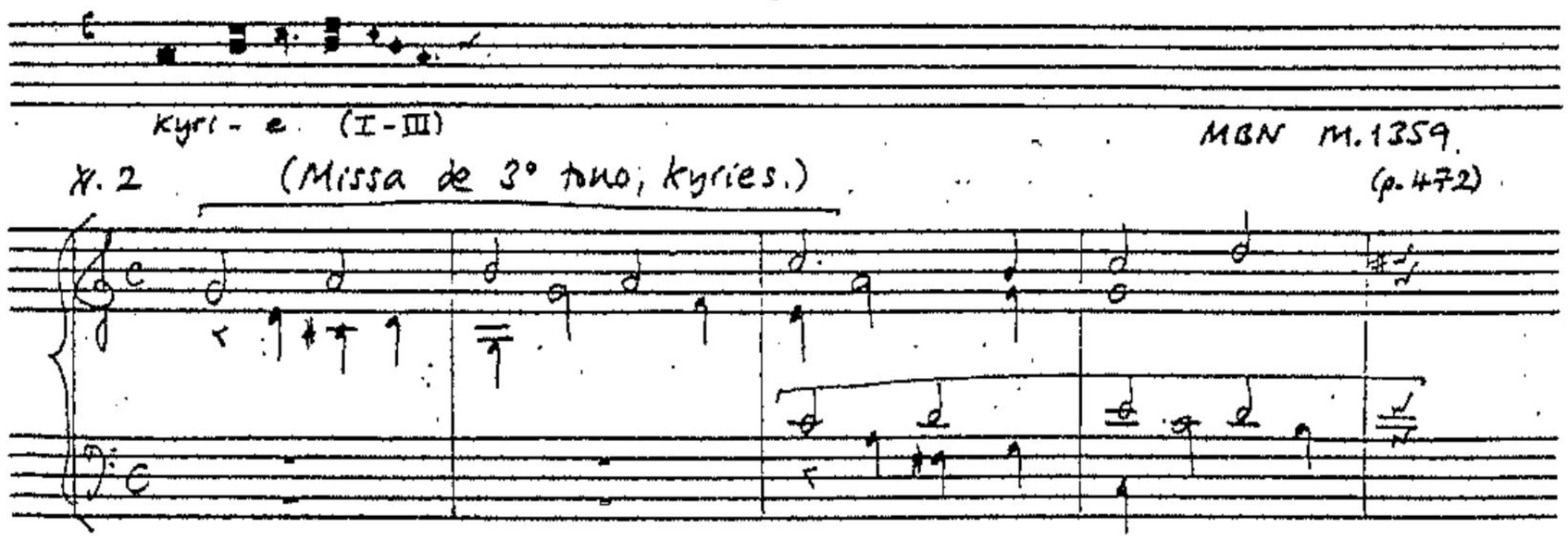
In a number of individual movements of the five organ masses in the third Coll MS, MBN M.1359, it has been possible to trace themes from the plainchant repertory. In one Kyrie movement, for instance, the style of performance instigated by Villa-Lobos in particular, in which the organ was to replace the four even-numbered verses, is clearly presented. Using the Liber Usualis as a comparative source, the Kyrie versets from the 'Missa de 3° tono' may be linked to the Kyrie commonly known as 'fons bonitatis', owing to the recognizable plainchant strands in versets two to five. The first verset is in a preludial, 'lleno', style whilst the remaining four versets are based on the second plainchant Kyrie, the first and third Christes and the fifth Kyrie respectively. The performing order was presumably thus:

organ:	choir:
(preludial verset)	
	Kyrie I
Kyrie II	
	Kyrie III
Christe I	
	Christe II
Christe III	
	Kyrie IV
Kyrie V	
	Kyrie VI.

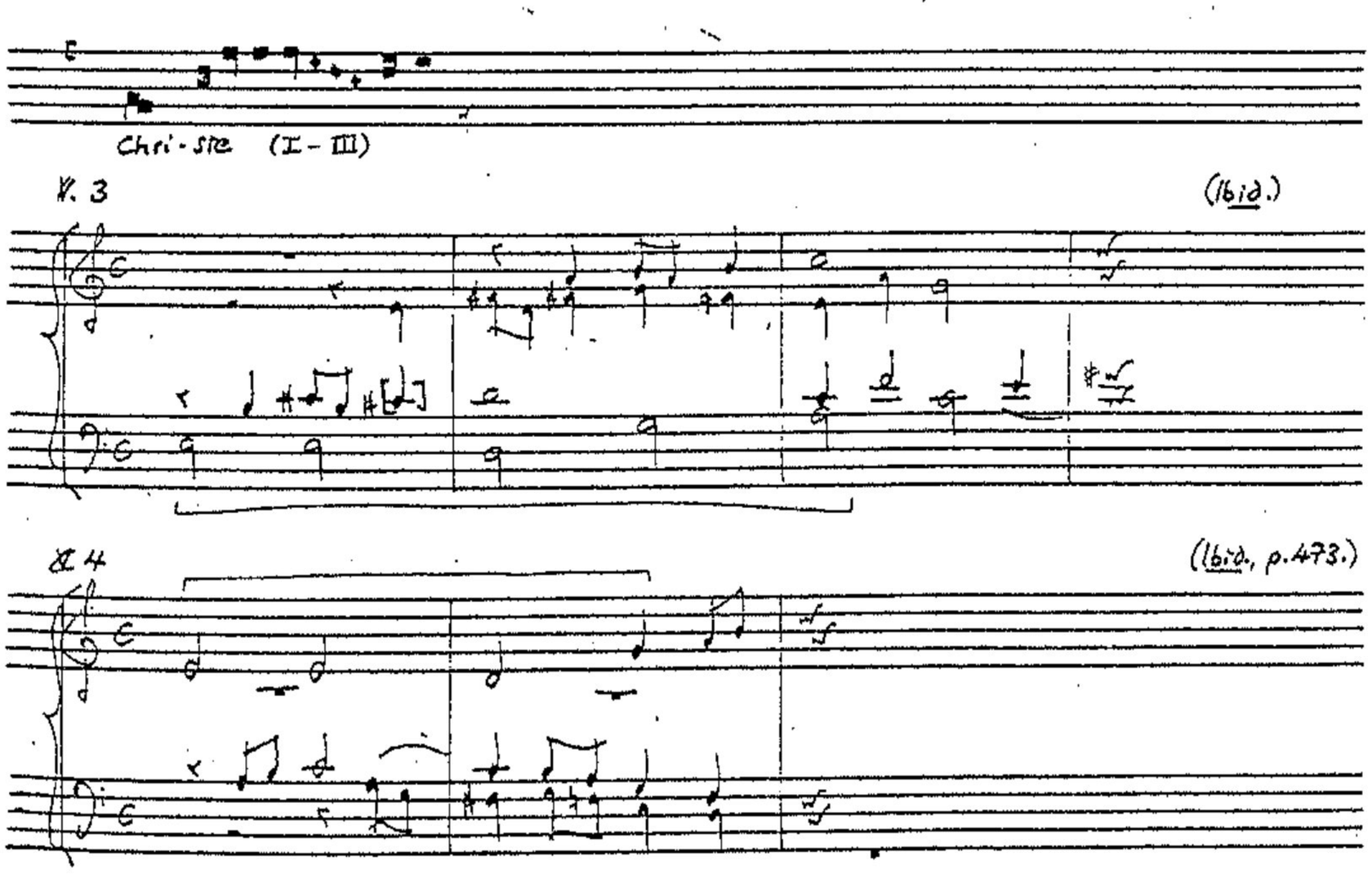
The following examples taken from this organ mass demonstrate the manner in which the opening phrases of the plainchant verses were paraphrased in the contrapuntal strands of the versets. (*The complete organ mass is included in the anthology, p. 492 seq.*)
(Ex. 1)

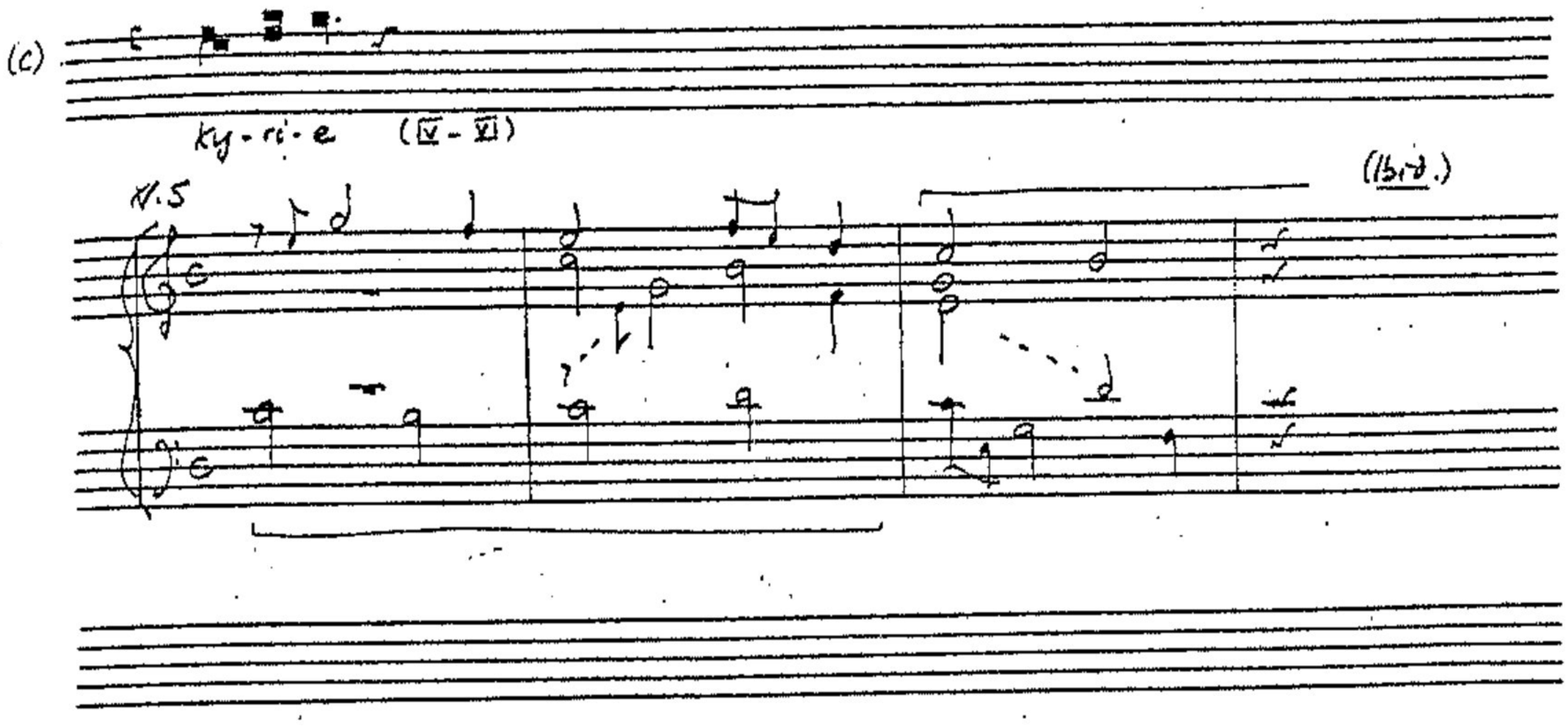
(*Kyrie fons bonitatis, L.U., Mass II, p.19.*)

(a)



(b)



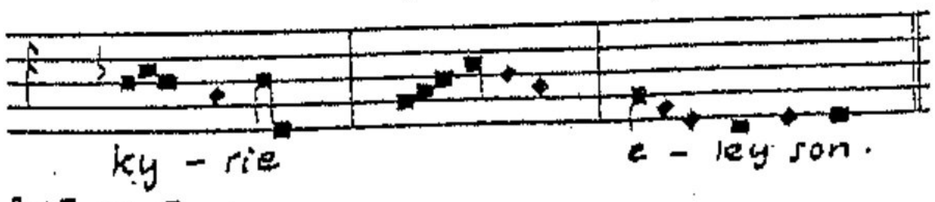


A similar procedure was adopted by Anton Coll in the Kyries from his 'Dominicals Mass, dated 1765 (MonAM M.1072) in which the plainchant of the Kyrie 'Orbis factor' (L.U. Mass XI) may be traced in versets two to four. In these examples, taken from the second and third versets, the composer's approach to thematic and rhythmical tranformation of the chant for the purposes of a more lively counterpoint is demonstrated. The plainchant cited here is taken from a Graduale Romanum (in manuscript), also dating from the mid-eighteenth century, preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (LBN Cod.9517).

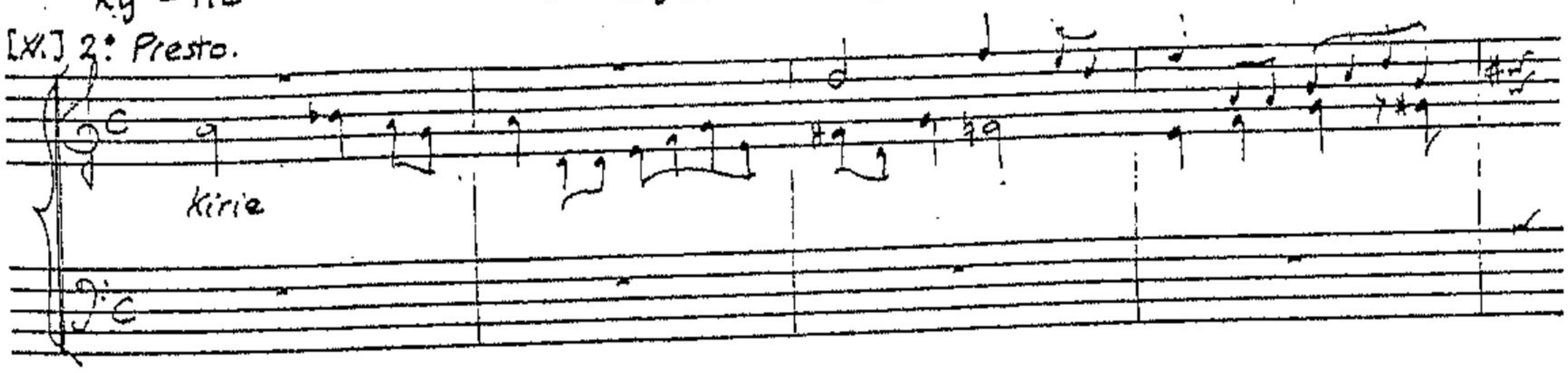
(Ex. 2)

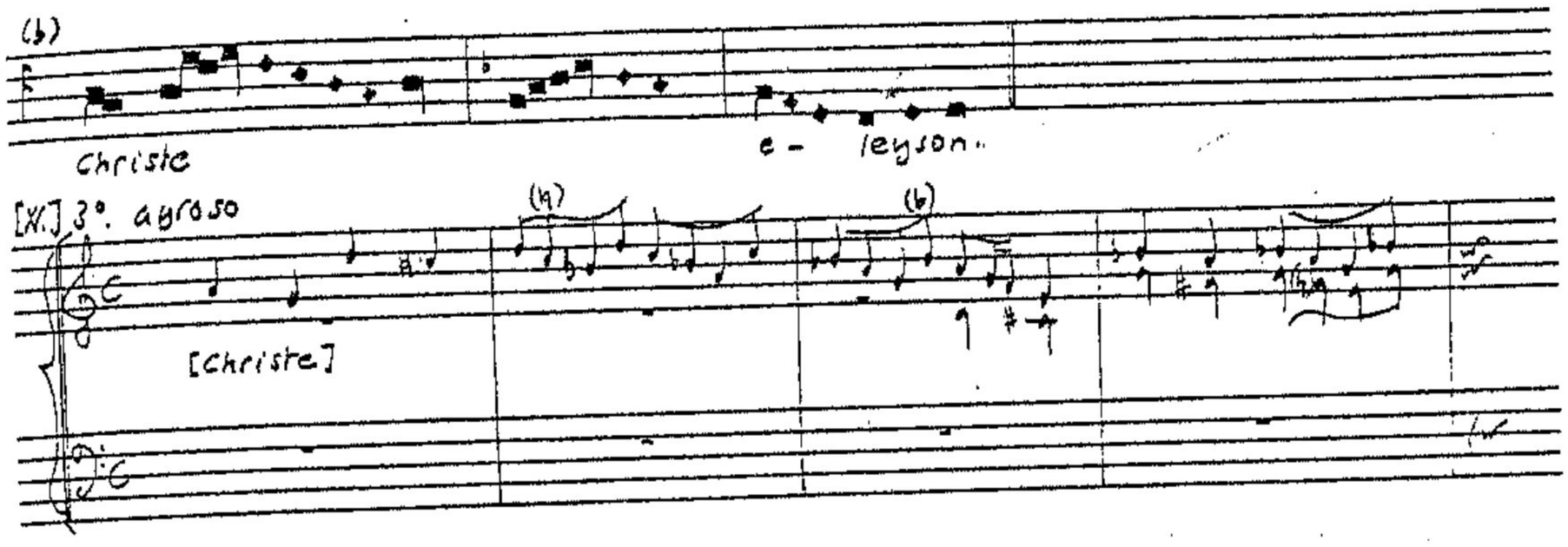
(a) In Dominicis per annum.

(Graduale Romanum (1756); LBN Cod. 9517, p. 111.)



(Versos de 1° tono para kirres de Anton Coll, pe. 1765. Dominicals; MonAM M.1072, p.27.)





On the other hand, the fourth and fifth versets of this Kyrie movement are lacking any direct quotations from the plainchant; however, the recurring motif in each suggests affiliation with the 'eleison' phrase of both the Kyries and the Christes. (For a complete transcription of this organ mass see the anthology, pp.538-45.)

The pattern in these two Kyrie movements is indicative of that adopted in the majority of known organ masses from the seventeenth century. The fact that two Kyrie movements have been located in which there are as many as six versets in the sequence, the 'Missa de N(uest)ra Señora' in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359, pp.484-93) and the Kyries (in the 1st mode) by Francisco Vila in the Astorga MS (ed. Alvarez (1976), pp.84-5), is also indicative of this alternatim scheme; the additional verset would presumably act as a postlude. (The 'Missa de N(uest)ra Señora' from MBN M.1359 is included in the anthology, pp. 514-24.)

Regardless of the fact that it has not been possible to trace the themes used in all these masses it is unfortunate that, with the exception of the Kyries by Cabezón arranged in sequences of just four versets, there is no apparent evidence for the scheme in which the organ was to replace the odd-numbered verses of the Kyrie. As there

are only four versets in the majority of Cabezón's Kyrie sequences it is possible that a fifth verset was improvised or that it consisted of a repeat of the fourth. Exemplifying those entitled 'Rex Virginum'[1] (See Anglés ed. (1966), vol.II, pp.40-1), an analysis of the thematic material which is derived from the plainchant Kyrie commonly known as 'Cunctipotens Genitor Deus' (L.U. Mass IV) reveals the following distribution:

verset	chant	compositional style
1.	Kyrie I (verses 1-3)	fugal
2.	Kyrie I (verses 1-3)	cantus firmus
3.	Christe (verses 4-6)	fugal
4.	Kyrie II (verses 7-9)	fugal

(This particular Kyrie chant is constructed from just three melodic phrases: Kyrie I, Christe and Kyrie II (i and ii).)

---

1. In Spain and Portugal the name 'Rex Virginum' was associated with the Kyrie chant in the 1st mode commonly sung on double feasts (L.U. Mass IV). (See Bermudo: Declaración, 1555, Lib. 3°, Cap.21, f.42v.) A troped Kyrie using the text 'Rex Virginum amator deus' (=Cunctipotens) is used in a plainchant mass sequence for the Purification ('In purificatione(m) beatae Mariae') in a sixteenth-century manuscript in Lisbon (LBN Cod.6207).

The Gloria

Where, as is apparent in some of the earlier ceremonials - that from Braga and the 1500 [Constituciones] by Cisneros, for instance - the Gloria was not completely substituted by organ music, it was frequently performed alternatim between the choir and the organ. Unlike the other, shorter, items of the Mass Ordinary, where more often than not it was stated that the organ should 'commence' the alternatim sequence, the majority, but not all, of the ceremonials imply that the organ may enter only after the intonation of the Gloria. In these cases it is probable that the first verse (inclusive of the intonation) was divided between the priest, or precentor, and the organ, in which case the second and subsequent even-numbered verses were sung. In fact, where themes from the plainchant may be identified in the organ versets comprising a Gloria movement, it is without question that these have been taken from the odd-numbered verses of the plainchant including in at least one instance the intonation itself. Furthermore, no documentary evidence for an alternatim performance of the Gloria in which the organ was played for the even-numbered verses has been encountered.

In the following passage from the Burgos Ceremonial, for instance, the organ is instructed to provide music for the first verse of the Gloria whilst the choir should sing the second, and so forth, in alternation:

> '[...] el órgano (donde lo ay) ha de dezir el primero Verso de la Gloria: el segundo el choro: y assí los demás alternativamente, entre el choro y el órgano.
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid., f.144v.)

Furthermore, in the 1675 (Franciscan) Manual from Coimbra it is suggested that the organ did indeed substitute for the odd-numbered verses. It is moreover prescribed that the phrase 'in gloria Dei Patris', the

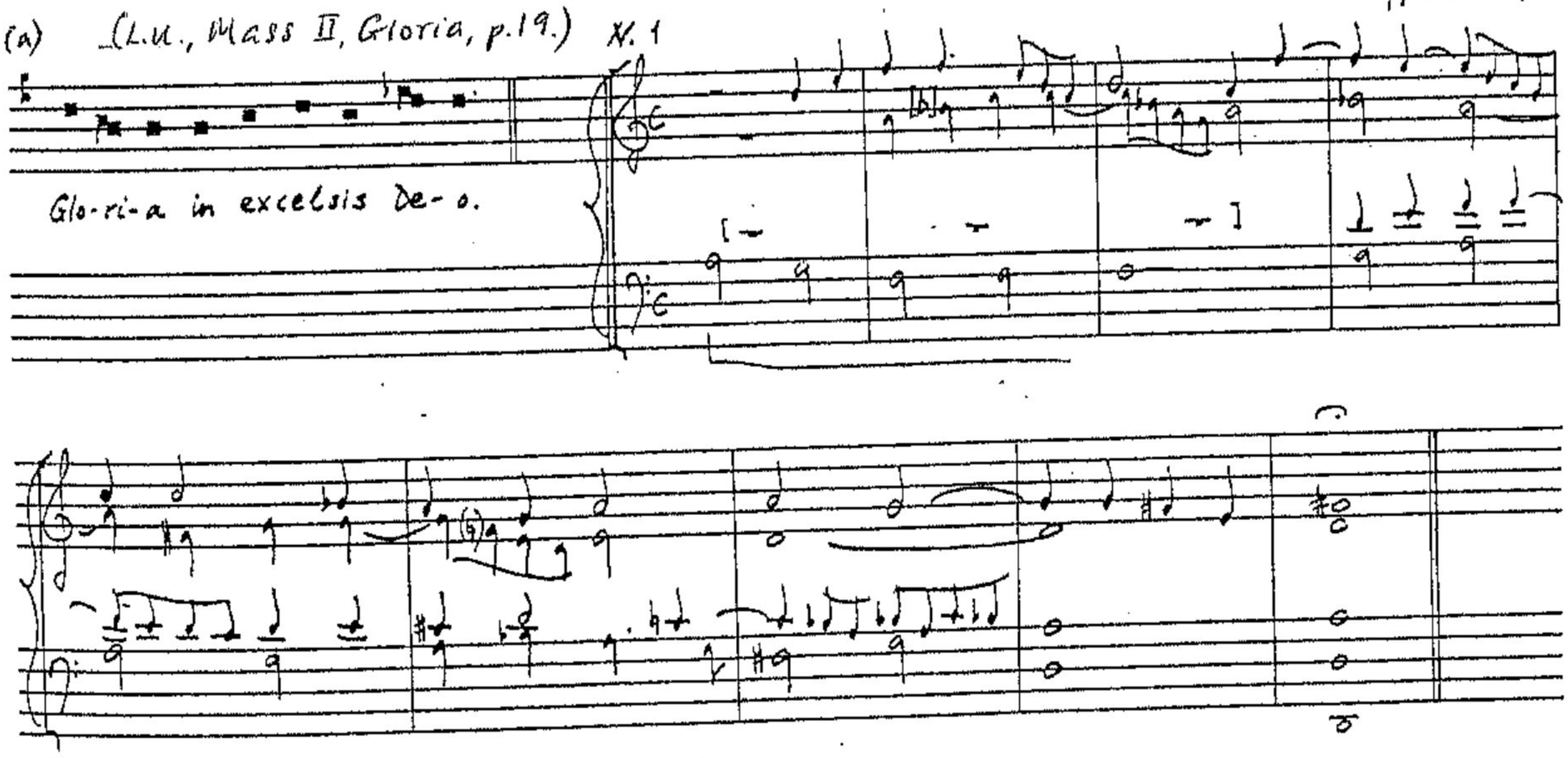
second half of the seventeenth verse, 'Cum Sancto spiritu', be sung by the choir, presumably as opposed to the organ: 'em a Gloria o orgão a comessa, mas o choro acaba in gloria Dei Patris, etc.' (Manual, Coimbra, 1675; 'Ceremonias do Choro', p.361.)

Possibly the clearest example of a set of organ versets for the Gloria in which the thematic material contains recognizable allusions to phrases from the plainchant itself is once again included in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359). In the Gloria movement from the organ mass in the 1st mode the versets are based on the chant from the odd-numbered verses: the first verset incorporates the melodic phrase of the intonation, and was probably used as an entrada. Only eight out of the standard nine versets were copied into the manuscript: the sixth, which would have replaced the verse 'Qui tollis peccata mundi', is missing. (Anthology, pp.476-9.)

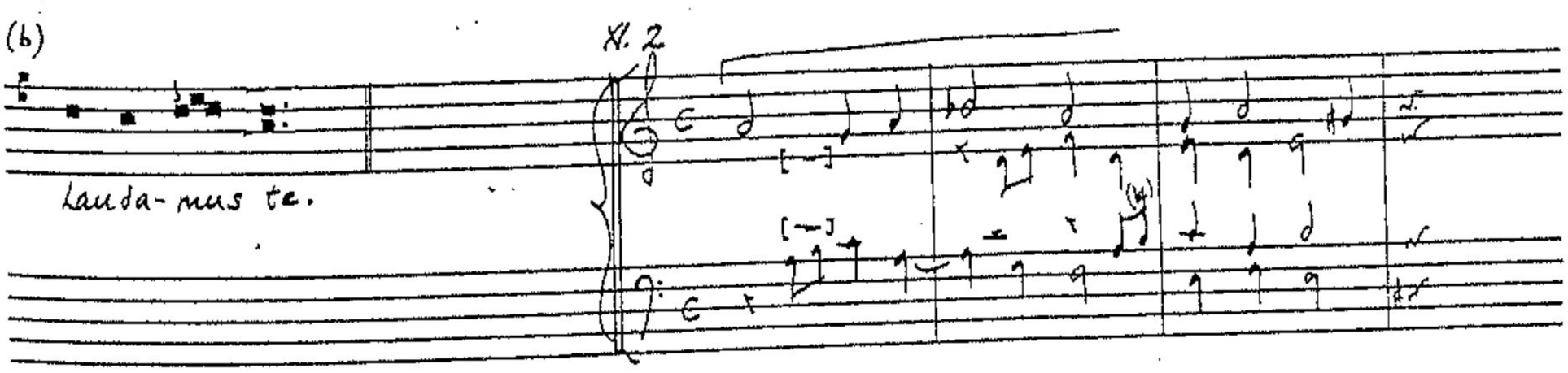
In the following examples, the plainchant themes, on which the versets are based, have been quoted in conjunction with extracts from these versets.

(Ex. 3) (Missa de 1° ton(o), Gloria) MBN M.1359 (pp.457-62)

(a) (L.U., Mass II, Gloria, p.19.) V. 1



(b) V. 2



(c)

N.3

Ado - ramus te.

(d)

N.4

Gra-ti-as agimus ti-bi (etc)

(e)

N.5

Do - mine Fi-li (etc)

[Qui tollis peccata mundi, etc.: no verset in MS.]

(f)

N.6

Qui sedes (etc)

(g)

N.7

Tu so-lus Dominus.

(h)

Cum Sancto Spiritu, (etc)

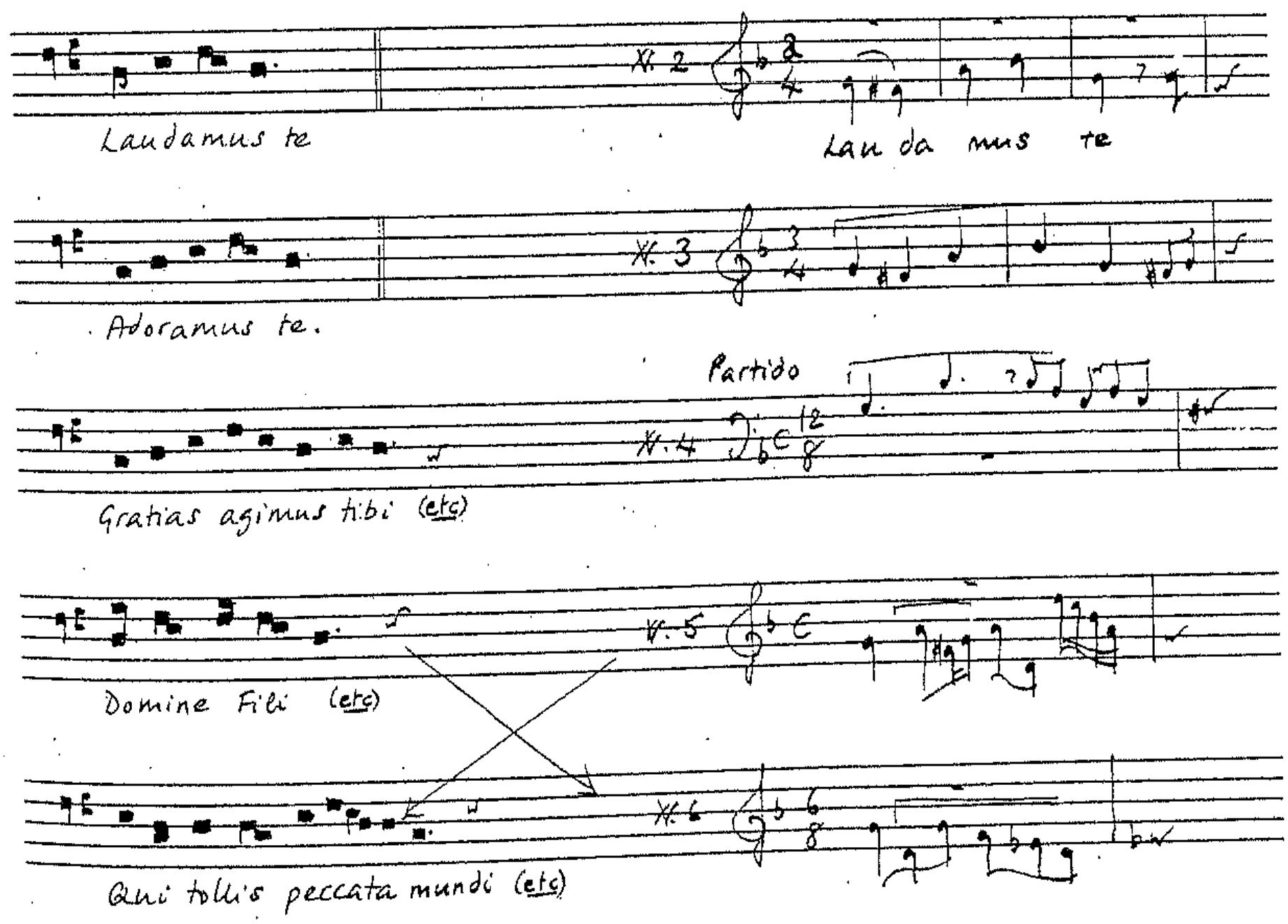
Similarly, the two existing movements - Kyrie and Gloria - from the above-mentioned 'Dominicals' Mass by Anton Coll, dated 1765 (MonAM M.1072), may be thematically linked to Mass XI in the Liber Usualis. The copyist of this manuscript underlines the thematic derivation by providing textual incipits for the second versets in both these movements. Once again, the versets have been based on the chant from the odd-numbered verses of the Gloria; the second verset includes the verbal incipit 'Laudamus te'. The procedure of thematic transformations in versets two to eight is demonstrated by the following examples. As indicated here it is possible, owing to the distribution of the thematic material, that the order of the fifth and sixth versets should be reversed. *(See anthology, p. 540 seq.)*

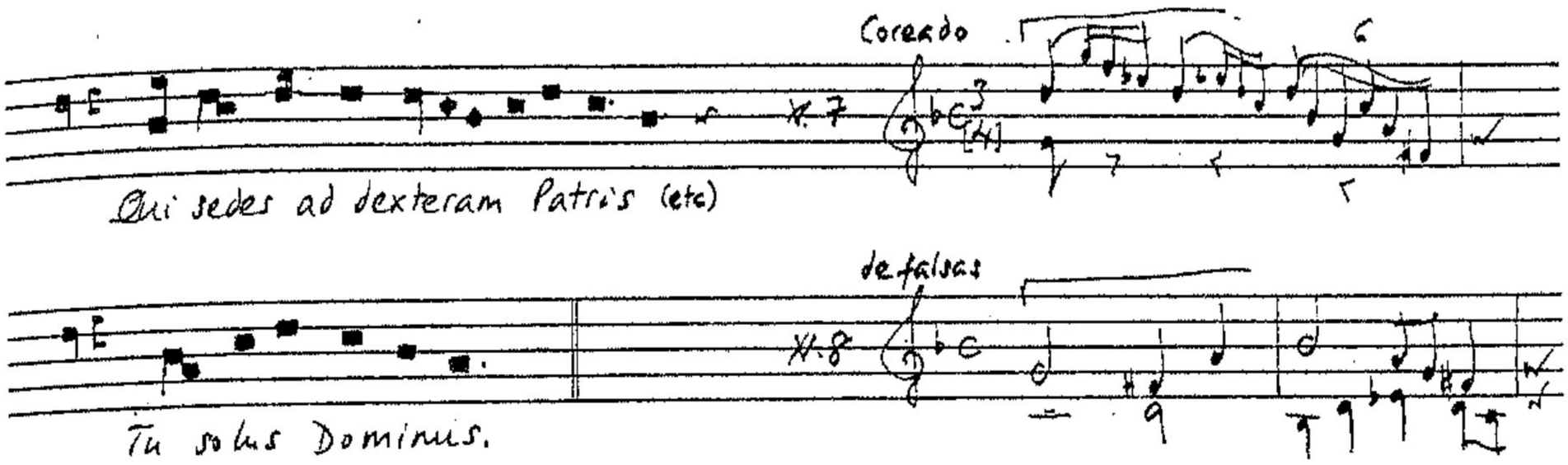
(Ex. 4)

(L.U., Mass XI, pp. 46-7)

MonAM M. 1072 (pp. 29-33)

([Versos de 2° tono para Gloria] de Anton Coll pe. 1765. Dominicals.)





However, whether the organ was played in lieu of the odd- or the even-numbered verses, there was one particular problem inevitably encountered in an alternatim performance of the Gloria which was not present in any of the other movements: the individual verses of the plainchant (Gloria) do not always end or begin on the same note.

As in the psalm-tone versets, those for the Mass - and in this case the Gloria - were to a large extent designed to provide a 'punto fixo'. Thus in adhering to this principle in the Gloria versets the organists did not always necessarily produce versets which were compatible with the melodic material of the actual plainchant sequence. Nassarre, aware of this problem, advised the cantors (or those directing the choir) to listen to the final chord of the organ (for each verset) in order that they might gauge the melodic interval between this and the succeeding plainchant verse.

Para los que goviernan el Coro advierto, atiendan al final del Organo para regular el tono en que deven entrar, cantando cada verso, porque muy de ordinario sucede, no entrar el verso que se sigue, donde acaba él de antes, y no entrando en el mismo tono, que fina el Organo, deve saber si es uno, u dos puntos más alto, o más baxo, para regular la entrada de modo, que no pierda la cuerda del tono.

(P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.II, Cap.16, p.171.)

The Credo

Although the 1600 Caeremoniale Episcoporum and various subsequent ceremonials strongly insist that the Credo should always be sung throughout, and although there are no extant versets pertaining to the Credo in Hispanic organ sources, it is not to be assumed that, on the major feast days when this item was included in the Mass, it had invariably been sung or recited. It is possible that the 1600 decree 'Sed cum dicitur Symbolum in Missa, non est intermiscendum Organum, sed ea per chorum cantu intelligibili proferantur' (Caeremoniale Episcoporum, Lib.I, Cap.28) was heeded only from the seventeenth century onwards. There are a number of pre-1600 Iberian ceremonials which made no exception to the use of the organ in the Credo: indeed several instances could be cited where it is clearly stated that the organ could be used for this item; generally speaking, such texts indicate that the entire chant may be substituted by organ music.

In the Braga Regimento (n.d. [c.16th century]), for instance, with regard to 'Missas dos dias duplex' the participation of the organist was required to the extent of replacing whole items including the Gloria, the Credo, and the Gradual and Offertory of the Mass Proper (BPB MS.726, Tit.11, f.28v). Similarly, in an earlier ceremonial from Montserrat (1500), it is indicated that on those days when the Credo was permitted 'tangase todo con los órganos sin cantar' (MonB M.46, Cap.6°, f.18).

It is interesting, therefore, that a comparison of the relevant portions in two constitutions pertaining to the same ecclesiastical institution dating from before and after 1600 should reveal that the musical customs surrounding this item of the Mass Ordinary underwent a revision. In the 1579 Ordinário from the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra it is stated that on the occasions when it was not sung the Credo,

like the Gloria, could be played by the organ:

> Aa missa, os Kyrios alternatim com o choro, a gloria, se se não ouver de cantar. O gradual, o Credo, qua(n)do se não cantar: a offerenda, os Sanctos & Ag(n)us alternatim com o choro, & o Deo gratias.
>
> (Ordinário, Lisboa, 1579; 1ª Parte, Cap.34, f.81.)

In a similar listing contained in the 1693 Economicon Sacro (also from Santa Cruz), a conscious revision is made of the above passage, referring specifically to the Caeremoniale ('como ensina o Ceremonial dos Bispos'). It will be noticed that not only does the author state that the organ should not be interpolated during the singing of the Credo but that also the Gradual was no longer the property of the organist.[1]

> Nas Missas solemnes se tange Orgão quando se cantão os Kyries alternativamente, & Gloria in excelsis Deo, & acabada a Epístola; porém o Gradual, o deve cantar o Coro, & assi mesmo todo o Credo sem interposição de Orgão, como ensina o Ceremonial dos Bispos, & com elle outros muytos.
>
> (Economicon Sacro, Lisboa, 1693; Cap.I, Tit.IV, § VIII, p.19.)

Nevertheless, even where the organ did not participate in the Credo, it is apparent that following the singing of the Credo the organ would have been played. In a late Portuguese ceremonial, for instance, referring in particular to the ceremonies in Mass on the third Sunday of Advent (Gaudete), it is stated:

> [...]e como se acaba dė cantar o Credo se tange hu(m)a obra como nas mais misas de c(anto) xão [...]
>
> ([Ceremonias do Coro], (n.d.); LBN Cod. 8372, 'Do advento'.)

---

1. A shoulder-note ('Mich. c.8 de Organista n.7.' (sic)) indicates the source of this revision. A reference to the original statement by Bauldry concerning the singing of the Gradual has been made above (p.396).

Sanctus, elevation and Benedictus

As in the Kyries, various procedures were apparently adopted in an alternatim performance of the Sanctus verses with the organ; furthermore, the customs surrounding the elevation, the most strategic part of the Mass, and the ensuing Benedictus were widely variable. It is probable that the manner and sequence of these events would have varied according to the particular occasion: the Burgos Ceremonial (1603) refers to at least two or three circumstances which might have affected the participation of the voices and the organ (if, indeed, it was to be played). As these three musical and liturgical events were inextricably bound, they will be discussed here in sequence..

Fortunately, several of the legislative sources demonstrate quite clearly the manner in which the text of the whole of the Sanctus movement (without the Bendictus) might be distributed between the contrasting musical forces.[1] Although the alternatim procedure itself may vary (with the Ceremonial Monástico and even the Zaragoza Estatutos (1603) advocating that the choir should sing the first verse), those texts which describe the Sanctus are consistent in their division of the initial portion into four verses or phrases: Sanctus; Sanctus; Sanctus; Dominus Deus Sabaoth. According to these particular texts, there is never any question of the latter phrase ('Dominus Deus Sabaoth') being appended to the third Sanctus in alternatim performance. One may cite the brief description in the Burgos Ceremonial: in this instance, the organ initiates the performing sequence.

---

1. It is only comparatively recently that the Sanctus and Benedictus have been amalgamated - these being said (or sung) at the end of the Preface, preceding the Canon of the Mass.

> Si se dixeren con órgano, el primer Sanctus, dixe el órgano, el segu(n)do el choro, el tercero el órgano: y Dominus Deus Sabaoth, el choro [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid., f.147.)

Thereafter the legislative texts vary as to the distribution of the concluding lines of the Sanctus. Although as many as three different arrangements of these verses are described, the remaining text is normally divided into two phrases. The following arrangements are recommended in the Seville (1593), Braga (n.d.) and Burgos (1603) constitutions respectively; these texts also prescribe that the organ should initiate the verse distribution of the entire Sanctus movement.

organ	choir
(1) Pleni sunt caeli et terra Gloria tua,	Osanna in excelsis.[1]
(2) Pleni sunt caeli et terra Gloria tua, Osanna	in excelsis.[2]
(3) Pleni sunt caeli et terra Gloria tua, Osanna in excelsis.[3]	

It is evident from these examples, therefore, that three versets were required from the organ for the entire Sanctus movement and, with the exception of the third ('Pleni sunt') arrangement (as described in the Burgos ceremonial), three sung phrases. For those advocating an arrangement in which the organ began, by sustituting for the first 'Sanctus' verse, the distribution of versets was as follows:

organ	choir
(℣.1) Sanctus (I)	Sanctus (II)
(℣.2) Sanctus (III)	Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
(℣.3) Pleni sunt caeli (etc.) (see above)	(see above)

---

1. Ceremonial, Seville, 1593; Cap.7°, (§)16, p.109.
2. Regimento [...] de Braga, (n.d.); Tit.II, f.28v.
3. Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid.

Apart from the general direction in the Ceremonial Monástico and the Zaragoza Estatutos (1603) that the choir should commence the Sanctus sequence ('[...] adviertiendo que la Capilla, o Coro han de comenzar el primer Sanctus y no el órgano [...]' (quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1977), p.23), these two constitutions provide no further details as to the ensuing distribution of the text between the two musical forces in an alternatim arrangement.

Although it is apparent that organ music may also have been played during the Benedictus (as will be revealed below) there is never any indication in the texts that the organist was to play a particular structured verset at this point: following the elevation, the Benedictus was more frequently assigned to the cantors or the choir. In the musical sources, three versets are (almost) invariably allotted to the Sanctus movement in the organ masses; in theory, therefore, this conforms with the above analysis of the distribution of the verses. However, amongst the manuscripts at Montserrat, an organ mass from the late eighteenth century includes as many as four versets for the Sanctus.[1] It was not clear from these brief, somewhat perfunctory, versets how they might have been interpolated in performance; it is possible however that the fourth verset was intended for the Benedictus.

Unfortunately, a thematic analysis of the material used in a sequence of versets from a Sanctus movement in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century organ masses has not revealed an entirely satisfactory correlation with the alternatim scheme in which the organ was expected to commence with the first verse. For example, relying once again upon those included in the third Coll MS, the Sanctus from the 'Missa de N(uest)ra Señora' may be thematically related to the Sanctus from Mass VIII in the

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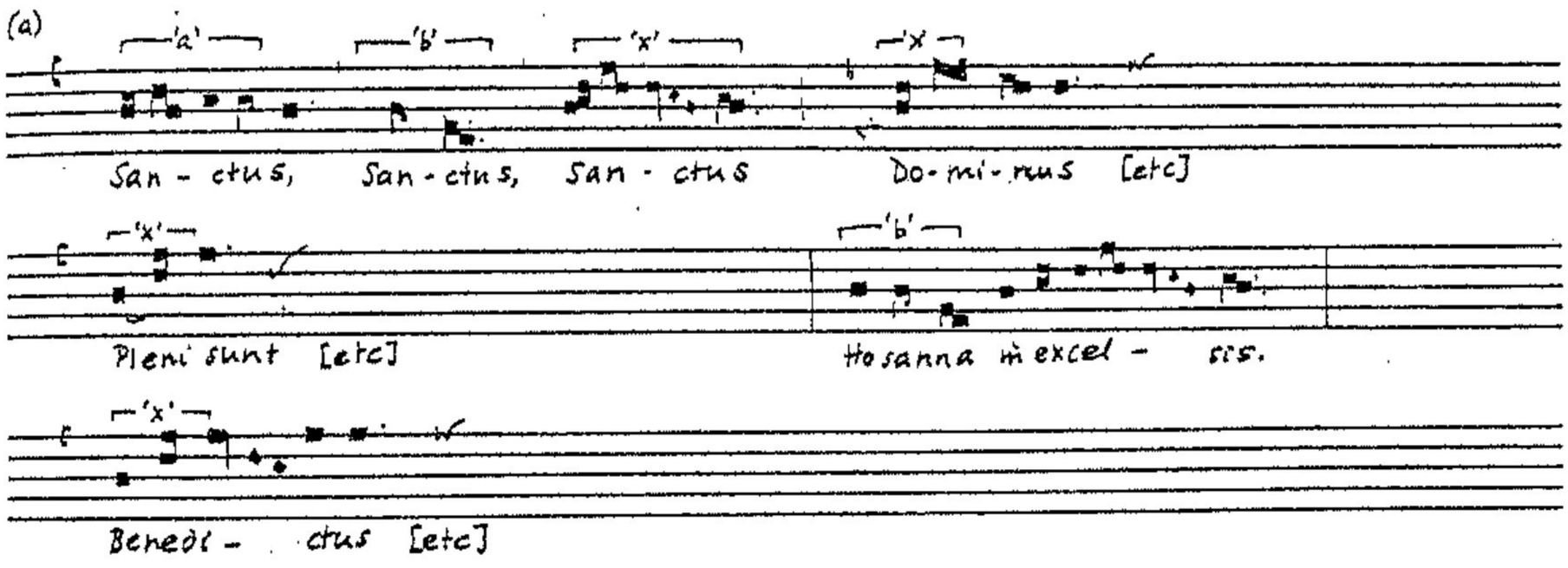
1. MonAM M.1421, pp.35-7. The brief three-bar verset which concludes the sequence of versets for the Sanctus (in the 5th mode) is headed '4°. Y ultim desobra es' (sic).

Liber Usualis commonly known as 'de Angelis'. Comparing the chant with the music of the versets, from which extracts are given below, it would appear that the first and second versets, curiously enough, are based on the second Sanctus phrase (marked 'b'). The third verset, with its opening triad, is related to the phrase marked 'x' which occurs not only in the third Sanctus but also with the Dominus Deus, Pleni sunt and the Benedictus. (See anthology, pp. 521-2.)

(Ex. 5) (L.U., Mass VIII, pp. 38-9.)

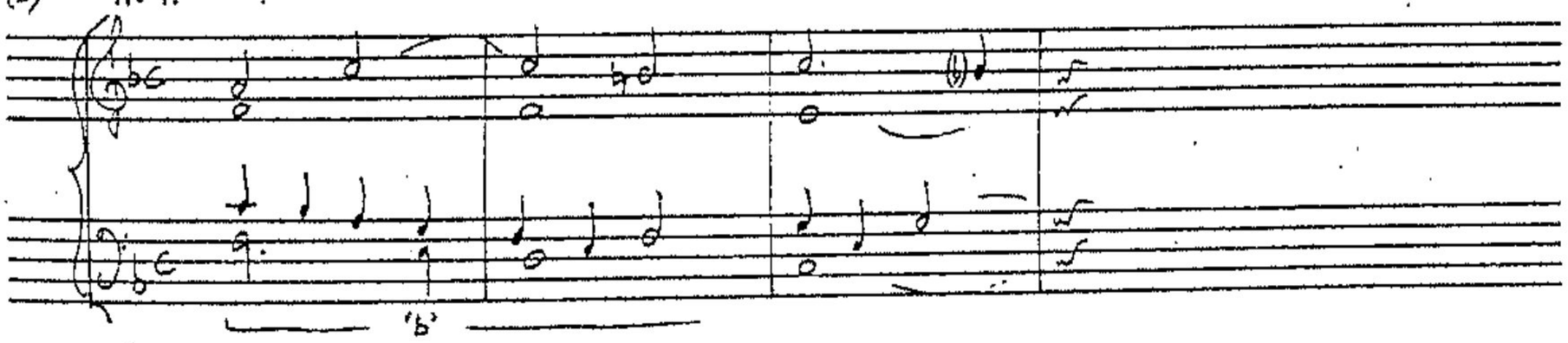
(a)



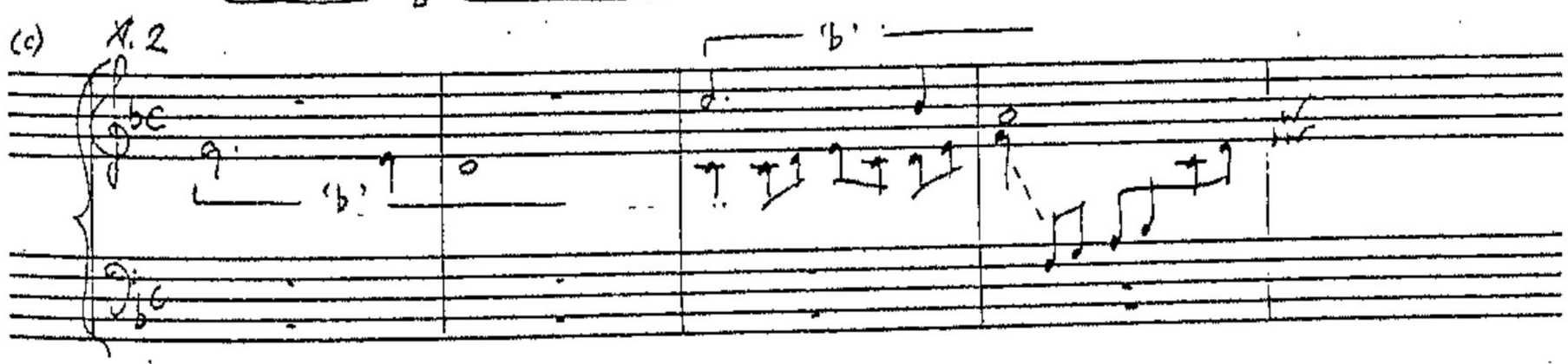
MBN M.1359 (pp. 490-1)

(Missa de Nuestra Señora, Sanctus.)

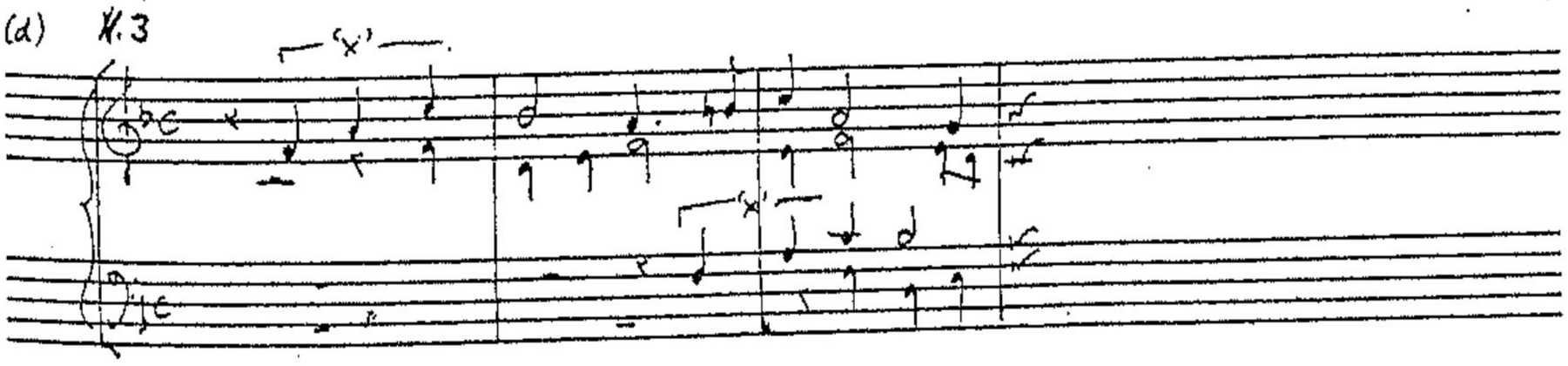
(b) K. 1.



(c) K. 2



(d) K. 3



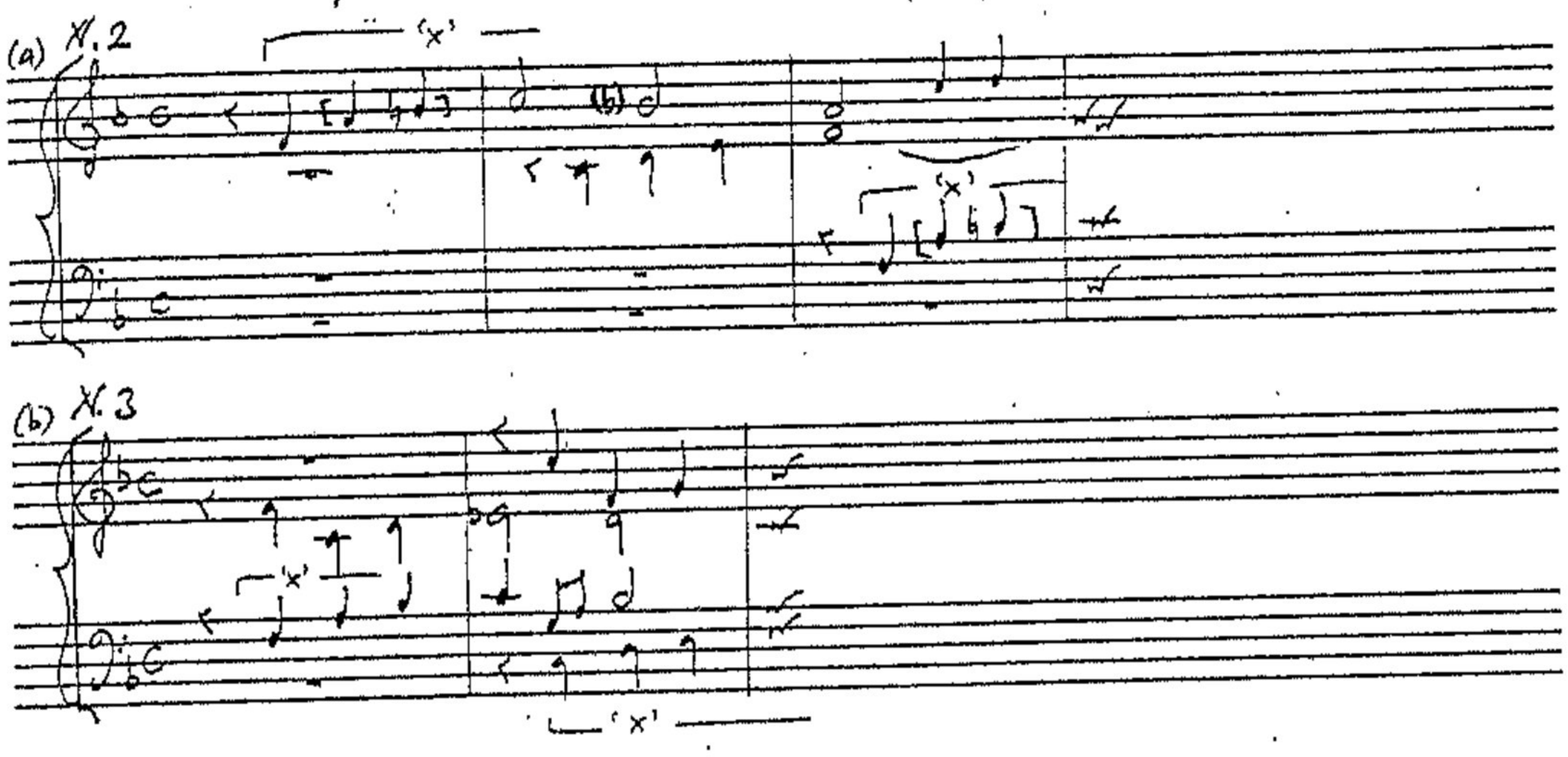
It is however conceivable that these particular versets were designed to conform with the alternatim scheme in which, as advocated by the Ceremonial Monástico, for instance, the organ entered after the intonation of the Sanctus, substituting for the even-numbered verses. This being the case, the second and third of these organ versets should be reversed for the 'third' verset alludes to phrase 'b' which occurs in 'Sanctus' (II) and the 'Hosanna'. The alternatim performing pattern could therefore be interpreted as follows:

choir:	organ:
Sanctus (I)	
	Sanctus (II) (℣. 1)
Sanctus (III)	
	Dominus Deus Sabaoth (℣.'3')
Pleni sunt caeli (etc)	
	Hosanna in excelsis. (℣.'2')

The Sanctus movements in the two organ masses included in the Jaca MS (the 'Mis(s)a per annum' by Cabanilles and that by La Tore ('Gloria Dominical')) may also be linked with this chant in the sixth mode. In fact, as may be gauged from these examples the themes of the second and third versets by Cabanilles may conceivably be related to phase 'x'. One could therefore interpret these versets as conforming to the alternatim scheme outlined above, in which the organ replaced these, the third and fifth, phrases of the chant (the third Sanctus and the Pleni sunt). The emphasis on the notes of the triad also feature in the first two versets of La Tore's Sanctus movement; an inversion of this theme is used in the third verset.

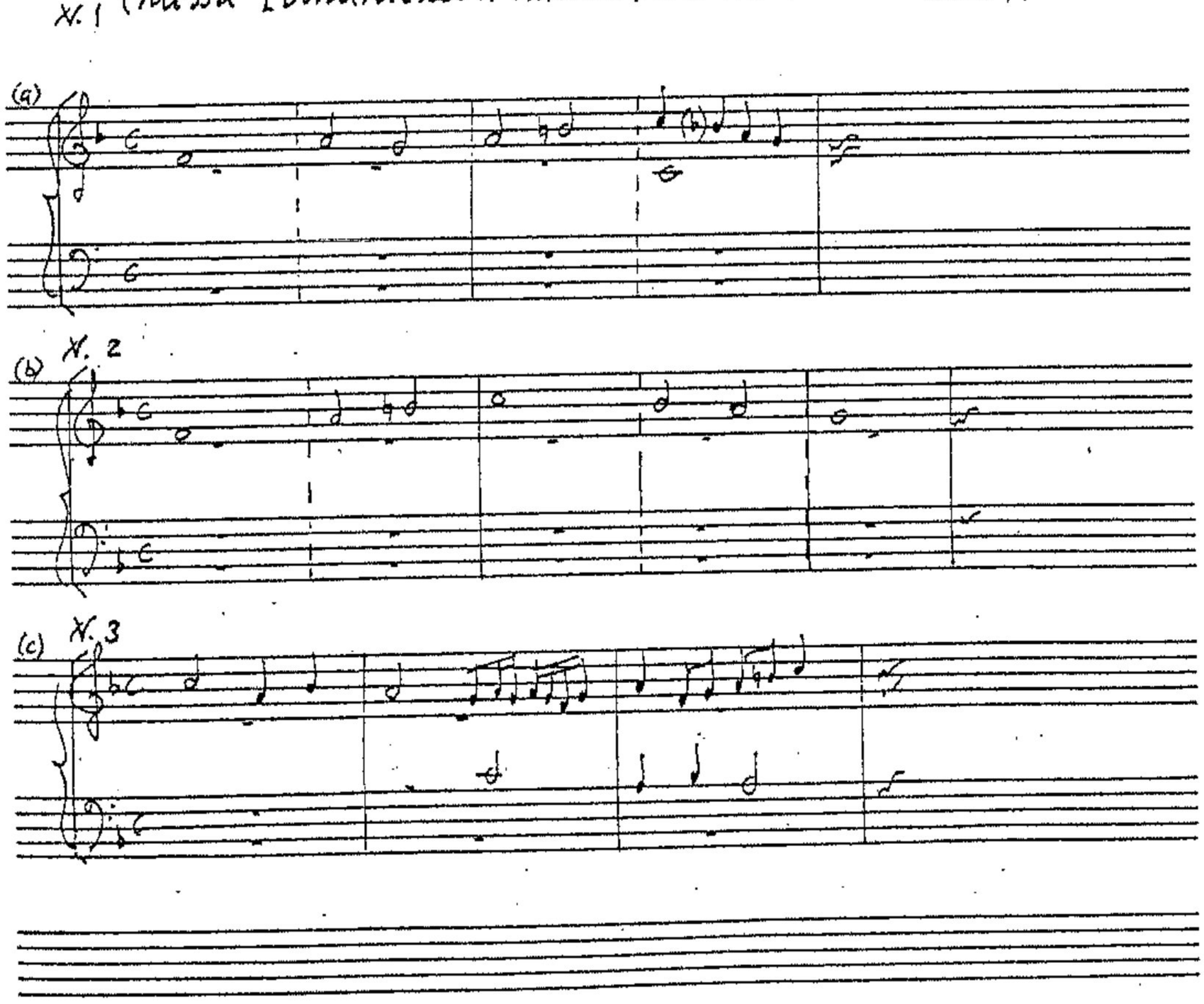
(EX. 6)

(Missa per annum, Sanctus.) Cabanilles · Jaca MS. (p.288)



(EX. 7)

N. 1 (Missa [Dominicals], Sanctus) J. de la Torre (Ibid., pp. 299-300)



With regard to the elevation and Benedictus which succeeded the Sanctus verses it is evident that a large number of different customs must have prevailed at this point. The fact that the Burgos Ceremonial in particular was aware of at least two or three of these, in itself shows that a set pattern was rarely adhered to. First of all, without apparently requiring any further participation on the part of the organist, the majority of texts merely indicate that the organ may be played at the elevation itself. In the Economicon Sacro (1693) from the monastery of Santa Cruz (Coimbra), for instance, the author even prescribes the style of the organ music to be played at this point: '[...] ao levantar a Deos, com som grave, devoto, & suave, que provoque a devoção [...]'. (Economico Sacro, Lisboa, 1693; Cap.1, Tit.4, § VIII, p.19.) The 1650 Tractat (from Barcelona) likewise specifies a style of playing:

> [...] mentre se alse la Hostia, y Calfer, calle lo Chor y toque lo Orgue ab gran melodia, y gravedat (en lo temps que y ha Orgue) y en havent alsat lo Calfer, cante lo Chor, Benedictus qui venit.
>
> (Tractat, [Barcelona], 1650; Cap.47, f.77.)

In these cases presumably, as indicated in the Tractat, the Benedictus was to be sung. In the following passage from the Burgos Ceremonial, taken from the chapter specifically devoted to the Mass on major feasts, not only is this custom referred to, but also one in which the organ music (at the elevation) might have continued (possibly accompanying a sung verse) during the period normally allotted to the singing of the Benedictus; in this instance, therefore, the Benedictus was to be recited ('se dirá rezado') over the organ music. After the description of the Sanctus and its verse-distribution in an alternatim arrangement (cited above) the author continues:

> [...] y se tañe hasta aver alçado el sa(n)tíssimo Sacramento, y luego todo el choro después de aver adorado el Sacramento, dize: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, osana in excelsis: el qual Benedictus, etc. si algún día después de la Elevación del santíssimo Sacramento se cantare en el órgano alguna cosa, se dirá rezado. (Sic)
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid., f.147.)

In the Toledo/Seville texts it is implied that the organ should play continuously after the Sanctus, even as far as the 'Per omnia saecula' before the Pater noster. The same is recommended in the Estatutos from Zaragoza (1607): '[...] y después de los Sanctus taña música suave hasta el per omnia secula seculorum exclusive [...]'.[1]

It is apparent that the author of the Ceremonial Seráfico did not approve of the practice of omitting the singing of the Benedictus after the elevation. In the ensuing extract he specifies that when the Benedictus was not in fact sung the cantors should recite the words whilst the organ continues to play:

> Concluido / isto tudo, principiará o Orgão flautado com suavissima consonância, e no caso que em alguma occasião aconteça não se cantar o Benedictus depois da elevação do Caliz (o que não deve absolutamente acontecer) dirão os Cantores antes que se vão para as cadeiras a pôr de joelhos: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Hosanna in excelsis em tom baixo, e brando pelo mesmo Orgão, como hé uso.
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª Parte, Trat.VI, Cap.1, n.183, pp.214-5.)

However, the author also describes the third possibility (related to the first) in which organ music may be played at the elevation and resumed only after the Benedictus has been sung. This occurs in the context of a somewhat different arrangement in which it is the choir and cantors who alternate the phrases of the Sanctus, the organ providing the third

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1. The Toledo/Seville texts and that from the Estatutos (1607) (quoted in Calahorra Martínez (1977), pp.23-4) are reproduced in the appendix (pp.519-20 and 525-6).

element in a three-fold alternatim scheme. In this instance, therefore, the organist plays after the Benedictus and may continue just as far as the Pater noster (exclusive):

> 284. Continuada a Missa, tangerá o Orgão ainda flautado depois do Benedictus com a mesma suavidade, e doçura até se tanger a compainha da Missa para o Sacerdote cantar a Oração do Paster noster [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; ibid., n.284, p.215.)

This latter procedure is also recommended in the Ceremonial Monástico; furthermore, it is suggested that should anyone wish to sing at this point it should be a Benedictus verse:

> [...] mientras se alça el cuerpo, y sangre del Señor, y luego cessa, y después de aver cantado Benedictus, osanna in excelsis si uviere tiempo hasta el Pater noster, y si alguno quisiere cantar a este tiempo sea el Verso Benedictus qui venit, dando lugar para que el Celebrante diga a su tiempo Per omnia secula [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par. 1, Sec.2, Cap.6, (§) 16, p.63.)

Finally, with regard to the third possible procedure mentioned in the Burgos ceremonial, it is feasible, owing to the fact (one is led to understand) that the Benedictus may have succeeded the Sanctus immediately, that the elevation was to take place after the Benedictus; in this instance, again, the organ could be played until the 'Per omnia' preceding the Pater noster.

> Y si en la Missa huviere órgano, si después de aver los Religiosos dicho el Benedictus, no se huviere alçado la Hostia postrera, se podrá tañer hasta el Peromnia saecula del Pater noster.
>
> (Ceremonial Romano, Burgos, 1603; ibid., f.147v.)

Judging from these prescriptions, therefore, it is apparent that any musical contribution on the part of the organist at this juncture would have been fairly lengthy. This may be verified by the few examples of organ music specifically designed for the elevation. As with music for the Offertory the evidence is provided by music included in Elías's

Obras de órgano (1749) and López's Escuela órganica (1799).

Whereas Elías's six 'pathetic' pieces 'para quando se alza a su Divina Magestad' (Obras de órgano, 1749 (BBC M.709); ed. Lloréns Cisteró (1971-75), vol.II) are extremely long and somewhat meandering, those by López, on the other hand, are more specifically designed for their function. As may be seen in the example chosen for the anthology below (pp.562-3), López's 'elevación' compositions consist of two definite sections: the first is slow ('despacio'), forming a prelude to the ensuing 'allegretto'. A possible interpretation of López's examples in performance would be for the 'prelude' to accompany the actual moment of elevation, and the subsequent (quicker) section to be played during the remaining ceremonies and preparations which may also have included the reciting of the Benedictus.

Apart from these pieces by Elías and López, there are also some 'ligaduras de 3° tono para la elevación' in the first Coll MS (MBN M.1357, ff.249-50), a long 'Obra de 6° tom para o Levantar [a]o Deus' in the Braga MS (BPB M.964, f.116-17v, ed. Doderer (1974), pp.155-8) and some shorter examples amongst the Montserrat manuscripts.

With the Sanctus, elevation and Benedictus sequence in particular, therefore, it is evident that there were a large number of performing traditions, especially where the organ was involved. However, it is surprising that no especial musical traditions employing the organ were apparently attached to the Benedictus verse: from a consideration of both documentary and musical evidence it would seem that this was either sung independently (in plainchant) or subsumed by organ music, serving as an accompaniment to the elevation or subsequent liturgical formalities.

The Agnus Dei

At least two (possibly three) distinct performing practices were apparently adopted in an alternatim arrangement of the three Agnus Dei invocations. The ceremonials describe procedures similar to those encountered with the Kyrie: first, that in which the organ begins, in this instance actually replacing the first 'Agnus Dei' verse; and second, that in which the choir was to begin, singing the first verse. These alternative patterns may be illustrated by the following quotations taken from the Seville Ceremonial (1593) and the Ceremonial Monástico.

> El Agnus primero y tercero le a de dezir el órgano (si le uviere) y el segundo el choro [...]
>
> (Ceremonial, Seville, 1593; Cap.7°, (§)17, p.110.)

(This paragraph also indicates an alternatim arrangement without the organ, in which each of the three verses is to be divided between the cantors ('los tenentes choro') and the choir; the cantors were instructed to intone each verse ('Agnus Dei') (ibid.). In the Ceremonial Monástico the organist is instructed to play briefly between the sung phrases of the first and third verses:

> [...] a los Agnus en cantando una vez Agnus Dei, tañerá breve, porque ha de cantar tercera vez Agnus Dei [...]
>
> (Ceremonial Monástico, Salamanca, 1635; Par.1, Sec.2, Cap.6, (§)16, p.63.)

In the musical sources there is no direct evidence for the latter arrangement which apparently called for just a single verset. The former arrangement, however, involving two versets, is well represented in the the organ masses included in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359). In the organ masses by Espelt (BBC M.751.21) and the 'Missa per annum' by Cabanilles in the Jaca MS there would appear to be yet a further alternatim option, which involved as many as three versets. Judging from the character of these, in which two fugal-style versets are

succeeded by one with a fuller ('lleno') texture, it could be surmised that they would have been played after each one of the three sung verses as opposed to replacing any of them; a perhaps more protracted Mass movement would have resulted. *(See anthology pp. 471-2 and p. 458.)*

In all events, although each of the ceremonials prescribe just one performance scheme in an alternatim sequence as a rule, it is probable that in the sixteenth century at least - as witnessed in a statement by Bermudo concerning alternatim practice and transposition in the Agnus Dei in particular (see below, p.449) - a degree of flexibility was exercised in these patterns.

(c)

Musico-liturgical aspects of organ versets for use in an alternatim performance of the Mass Ordinary

In the previous section, in order to substantiate directives encountered in the ceremonials for alternatim procedures in movements of the Mass Ordinary, illustrations were taken from 'organ masses' whose versets betrayed thematic links with their plainchant models. Frequently, but not invariably, these 'organ masses' could be referred to by a festal category with which they were evidently associated. Titles such as 'Missa de Nuestra Señora' and 'Missa per annum' were also presumably derived from a plainchant 'mass cycle' with which the organ music corresponded. It is also significant that, even where such an inscription was lacking and no themes from the plainchant could be detected in the contrapuntal material of the versets, it is nevertheless frequently possible to indentify the liturgical function of an 'organ mass' merely by the modal sequence of the movements concerned. Some documentary material has been encountered which was aimed to guide the organist as to the choice of such modal sequences as well as, where necessary, the signos for suitable transpositions. Before considering the latter, more practical, issue, which is necessarily linked to that discussed at some length in connexion with a performance of the psalm-tones with the organ, some attention should be paid to this question of mass cycles and the extent to which they were reflected in the Spanish 'organ masses'.[1]

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1. Charts listing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century organ masses are inserted at the end of this section (pp. 453-8).

Mass cycles and the Spanish organ mass

Although an exception must be made of four of the organ masses included in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359), each of whose movements have been arranged according to a uniform modal sequence ('Missa de 1° tono', 'Missa de 2° tono', and so on), seventeenth- and eighteenth-century organ masses surely owe their origins to plainchant mass cycles. However, as it is well known, the organization of the chants for the movements of the Mass Ordinary into fixed cycles, as encountered in the Liber Usualis for instance, is a comparatively late phenomenon; thus, when dealing with musico-liturgical literature in Spain and Portugal dating from the sixteenth century onwards, one is bound to encounter a number of variations in the organization of such cycles. Unfortunately it has not been practicable to consult more than a very few Graduals or similar books containing plainchant originating in ecclesiastical institutions in the Iberian peninsula. These would presumably provide valuable comparative sources for the mass cycles, as represented by the organ masses themselves, which were apparently used in association with different liturgical feasts and festal categories. It is abundantly clear that the practices in the various churches and regions of the peninsula must have varied. This may be gauged from the variations which occur in the modes chosen for a sequence of movements, to be connected with a particular festal category in the musical sources consulted as whole, and in the prescriptions contained in the documentary sources.[1] The following statement made by Nassarre in the eighteenth century in connexion with the Gloria of the Mass gives some indication of this state of affairs:

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1. It is interesting, however, that the indentification of the chants used in the plainchant masses encountered in three eighteenth-century Roman Graduals preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (of which at least one (1792) originated in Lisbon), reveals a close correlation with those in the Liber Usualis.

Las composiciones de este cántico, o Hymno, ordinariamente assí en las Iglesias Cathedrales, como en todas las demás, suélense cantar de quatro, o cinco modos, y siguen en esto la solemnidad de las Fiestas; pues ay unas dedicadas para las de María Santíssima, otra[s] para dobles, y otras para semidobles, y otras para Santos simples; pero no es esta regla tan general, que en una, o en otra Iglesia aya más variedad y en otra menos.

(P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, Zaragoza, 1724; Lib.II, Cap.16, p.171.)

Curiously enough, in a passage immediately preceding this one Nassarre appears to favour the practice of performing the Kyries according to the tone of the particular Introit rather than, apparently, to the festal category of the chant. The advantage of this, he writes, was that in an alternatim performance the organist would be able to choose the right chord for opening the Kyrie sequence. (He does not mention the problems involved in connecting the sung pitch of the Introit tone with the organ; this may indeed have necessitated transposition.)

> En muchas Iglesias los [Kyries] usan con las composiciones de los ocho tonos, para que según el tono, que fuere el Introito, se cantan; [...] paréceme estar bien ordenado assí; porque a más de ir todo por una misma cuerda, sabe el Organista, con aver oído el Introito, la cuerda por donde ha de pulsar el Organo, para alternar en los Kyries con el Coro. (Ibid., p.170.)[1]

However, despite this statement by Nassarre, it is more probable that the choice of mode and plainchant for the movements of the Mass Ordinary would have depended upon the 'solemnity of the feast'; yet it is unlikely that this was ever uniform between the geographical regions as the various provinces would have used their own Missals to a very large extent. The Ceremonial Seráfico, in relation particularly to 'Missas classicas', indicates this as follows:

> O Canto chão dos Kyrios será segundo a solemnidade da festa, que se celebra; e assim sendo da primeira classe, se dirão os Kyrios clássicos, ou dos Anjos, como hé costume na Província; e sendo da segunda se dirão os Kyrios da segunda classe; mas notando se, q(ue) sea a festa fôr de Nossa Senhora, em qualquer

---

1. An interpretation of an alternatim (Kyrie) scheme which may be gleaned from this passage has been suggested above, pp. 413-14.

tempo que seja, se hão de sempre cantar os seus Kyrios proprios; e da mesma maneira se ha de observar com as festas dos Anjos, como também em todo o tempo da Pascoa, que infallivelmente se cantarão os Kyrios Pascaes em todas as festas; exceptuando o que temos dito dos Kyrios de Nossa Senhora, e dos Anjos.

(Ceremonial Seráfico, Lisboa, 1730; 2ª. Parte, Trat.VI, Cap.1, n.280, p.221.)

Similar recommendations are made in connexion with Masses on double feasts, as well as on semidouble feasts and Sundays when the author makes a specific reference to the Missal ('of plainchant') which contained these mass cycles:

> Os Kyrios, e Gloria nestas festas hão de ser sempre os Semidobres, como estão apontados no Missal do Canto Chão [...]
>
> (Ibid., Cap.III, n.288, p.220.)

Nevertheless, despite such variations and discrepancies which are bound to occur between the choice of chants for the movements of plainchant mass cycles, the sources which contain the organ masses may themselves be regarded as valuable evidence for some degree of systemization of the movements of the Mass Ordinary into recognizable modal patterns.

Thus, as may be gauged from the accompanying charts of the organ masses in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish sources, definite patterns may be traced. Even where verbal inscriptions are lacking, it is clear that most organ masses were written in association with a mass cycle commonly referred to as 'Dobles' (cf Nassarre) or 'per annum' (Cabanilles and Espelt, and numerous examples in the Montserrat manuscripts): in this mass cycle, the movements were in the 1st, 4th, 6th and 6th modes respectively, remaining in their 'natural' signos. The next most frequent mass cycle was that known as 'Angels' ('Anjos' in Portuguese sources) or 'Doble mayor' (Espelt) in which all the movements were in the 5th mode (usually 'por C sol fa ut'). Although a complete four-movement mass cycle does not appear each time, the Marian Mass, 'Nuestra Señora' (modes 1, 7, (5 & 6)), and that for 'Dominicals' (modes 1, 2, (2 & 1)) are also

found in the repertory of 'organ masses'; it is in fact rare to encounter four movements of versets for these two mass cycles - indeed, merely the Gloria movement may be represented.

Interestingly enough, with the possible exception of the Marian mass cycle, each one of these masses exemplified here, and the sequence of modes comprising each one., is included on the chart 'Per tocar las Missas de Añy' from Monserrat. This chart, written on a loose folio inserted into MonAM M.1529, consists of a list of reminders to the organist of the sequence of modes (and transpositions) for various plainchant mass cycles and the liturgical occasions with which they were associated. As already described, this chart also contains useful information for the organist concerning the Te deum, Marian antiphons and a selection of Sequences. The list of mass cycles it contains is reproduced below. Unfortunately, even amongst the manuscripts at Montserrat, no correlation could be found between the extant organ masses and the remainder of those cycles listed on this chart; the majority of these evidently reflect particular local practices. It is surprising moreover that the mass cycle for Easter ('Pasquals') is entirely absent from the sources of organ music. (The modal sequence specified here, however, differs once again from that in the Liber Usualis.)

XVI Organist's chart from Montserrat [MonAM M.1529]

Per tocar las Missas de Añy	Kiries	G^a	S^s	A^s
De 1ra y 2ª Classe	3e	5D	1e	5
De la Mare de Deu	1	5	6	2G
Dobles	1	4	6	6
Dominicals	1	2G	2G	1
Semidobles	6	1	5	5
Matinals	6	4	1	6
Angels	5	5	5	5
Pasquals	6	5	5	5
Franciscanos	1	1	1	1
Austriachs	6	6	6	6
Paduanos	5	5	5	5
Reals	1	1	1	1
Jerosolimitans	4	4	4	4
Glorias Simple	0	4	0	0
Pastoril	0	5	0	0
Toledana	0	4	0	0
Ambrosiana	0	5	0	0
Cartusiana	0	1	0	0
Benedictinos	6	=	=	=
De la Verge	4	=	=	=
Bergadons	6	6	6	6

(Note: the signos specified here, represented by lower- or upper-case letters after the tonal designation in some chants (eg. 3e, 5D), will be explained below.)

Modal transposition of the chants for the Mass in an alternatim performance with the organ

Before considering the signos generally chosen for transposition in the movements of the Mass, and the organ versets themselves, one may outline briefly the more universal recommendations for transposition regarding this category of plainchant as presented by Bermudo (1555) and Valls (1742).

Bermudo's directives occur in the chapter already alluded to in connexion with the psalms in which he provides valuable information for transposition, notably on organs of 6½/13 to 7/14 palmos in size - 'Donde dexará el tañedor para que tome el choro' (Declaración (1555), Lib. 4°, Cap.44, ff.85-5v). As we shall learn, these conform to a large extent with the more particular ones he issues in connexion with specific 'mass cycles' in the succeeding chapter.

In keeping with psalm-tone transposition, Bermudo states that the 1st, 4th, and 6th modes are left untransposed ('quedar en sus finales', f.85v); an exception however, is made with the 1st mode which, if the chant rises eight notes and the organ of 6½/13 palmos is being used, may be played 'en Cfaut'.

> Se el tal primero [tono] subiere ocho pu(n)tos, y fuere(n) los órganos de seys palmos y medio, o de treze: puede quedar primero e(n) Cfaut. (Ibid., f.85.)

For the 2nd mode, Bermudo states that a transposition to elami is the more desirable; however, should the chant lower no further than c, and the organist is not able to play in elami, he suggests that the mode may also be left (untransposed) 'en su final' (ibid.). The greatest error of course, owing to the lack of an a♭ on most organs at this time, would be to attempt to play this mode 'en ffaut': 'Es grande yerro, cantando

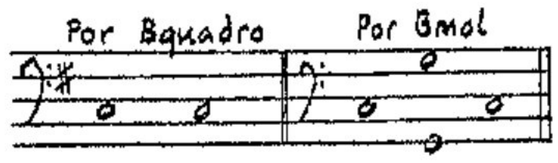
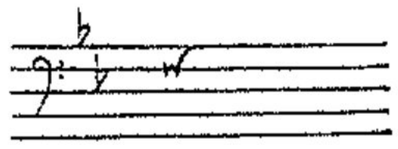
el choro segundo modo: dexar el tañedor en ffaut' (ibid., f.85v). For the 3rd mode he recommends that this should be played in (the lower) Dsolre whilst the 5th and 7th modes 'tañer se han por Cfaut' (ibid.). Finally, with regard to the 8th mode he makes two suggestions which are to be carried out as the occasion demands: firstly, if the chant does not rise more than five notes, it may be played 'en ffaut'; secondly, however, should it rise six or seven notes, 'en Dsolre viene bueno' (ibid.).

A schematic interpretation of Bermudo's transpositions are as follows. (The suggestions for the accidentals which would be required are editorial.)

Mode	Signo	Signature
1	[D sol re]	-
	'C fa ut'	b♭ & e♭
2	[D sol re]	-
	'E la mi'	f♯ & c♯
3	'D sol re'	b♭ & e♭
4	[E la mi]	-
5	'C fa ut'	f♯
6	[F fa ut]	(b♭)
7	'C fa ut'	b♭
8	'F fa ut'	b♭ & e♭
	'D sol re'	f♯

Valls's recommendations for transposition on the organ in connexion with a performance of 'Missas y Hymnos' occur, as has already been mentioned, in the same section from the Mapa Armónico (1742) as those issued for the psalm-tones. It will be recalled that, in keeping with Bermudo, he recognized that with both categories of chant it was normally the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th modes (or tones) which were transposed: 'Los tonos 2°, 3°, 5°, 7°, y 8° por ordinario se componen transportados [...]' (Mapa (1742); § III, f.31). The remaining modes were to be left in their 'natural', untransposed, positions. An outline of Valls's suggestions for transposing the modes in a performance of the Masses and Hymns with the organ is as follows.

XVII Valls's recommendations for modal transposition (loc.cit.)

Mode	Signo	Signature
(1	[D la sol re]	-)
2	'G sol re ut'	b♭
3	'D la sol re'	b♭ & e♭
	'B fa mi'	f♯
(4	[E la mi]	-)
5	'C sol fa ut [por♮ & por♭]'	
(6	[F fa ut]	(b♭))
7	'D la sol re'	f♯
	'C sol fa ut'	b♭
8	'F fa ut'	 (sic)

(With the exception of the 5th and 8th modes, the accidentals suggested in the column 'Signature' are editorial.)

With regard to the modes in which organ versets should be played in a composite cycle of Mass movements only two significant texts containing such prescriptions have been encountered. As already mentioned these occur in Bermudo's Declaración (1555) and on the organ chart cited above from the archives at Montserrat. They are of course invaluable as they give further evidence of the existance of plainchant mass cycles per se which must have enjoyed at least a far-reaching application, failing a universal one. Furthermore, of particular importance to alternatim performance between voices and the organ, these documents indicate a number of transpositions to be exercised with the modes of some of the Mass movements. Unlike the psalm-tones, the chants for the Mass vary considerably in contour and ambitus; it was possible, therefore, that the signo recommended for one chant in a particular mode was not necessarily applicable for another in the same mode. This situation has already been encountered in the discussion of Bermudo's general recommendations for transposition, above.

The chapter in Bermudo's Declaración - 'De otra manera más clara para lo mesmo' (Lib.4°, Cap.45, ff.85v-6) - which succeeds that referred

to above, sets out to elucidate the somewhat general rules ('reglas universales') for transposition he had made for performing 'chyries, sanctus, agnus y hymnos' (f.85v). His recommendations for the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus movements for specified mass cycles, distinguished by their festal designation, are reproduced here.

	Kyrie	Sanctus	Agnus
Doble mayor	4° Dsolre	1° Dsolre	5° Cfaut
Doble menor	1° Dsolre[1]	8° Ffaut	8° Dsolre or Ffaut
Semidoble mayor	7° Dsolre or Ffaut	5° Cfaut	5° Cfaut
Semidoble menor	8° Ffaut	6° Ffaut	2° Elami or Dsolre
Domingo	1° Dsolre	1° Dsolre	1° Dsolre
Solemnes	8° Ffaut	2° Dsolre	8° Ffaut
Nuestra Señora	1° Dsolre	('según se dixeren': variable)	
Angeles	5° Cfaut	5° Cfaut	5° Cfaut

As this shows, Bermudo's text includes a number of alternative signos for some of the movements. First of all, those which he suggests for performing the Agnus Dei of the 'Doble menor' mass cycle are significant on several counts, primarily in their implication that performing procedures in an alternatim arrangement must have varied. Although it is not clear as to which Agnus chant in the 8th mode he may be referring, it is evidently one in which the chant of the second supplication reaches higher than the first and the third; he recommends that if this (the second) Agnus is indeed to be sung, the Agnus sequence of versets as a whole should

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1. The kyrie chant for the 'Doble menor' mass cycle is probably that referred to in Spain as 'Rex Virginem'. See above, p.419, n.1.

be played in the lower D sol re; on the other hand, if the first (and third are to be sung the organist may play in F fa ut (the second alternative). (This complies with his general suggestions for this mode.)

> [...] los Agnus [tañerán] octavo en Dsolre. Esto entiendo si cantan el segundo agnus. Porque si dizen el primero: quedará octavo en Ffaut. (Ibid., f.85v)

From this passage, one gleans that there may have occurred one of two alternatim arrangements in which the organ may have substituted for either the odd- or the even-numbered verses of the Agnus Dei. The same rationale would apply to the alternative transpositions given for the Kyries 'Semidoble mayor' in the 7th mode. In this instance, Bermudo refers to a chant which might have ascended as many as eight notes: this was to be played in the lower D sol re.

> Los chyries del semidoble mayor dexarán séptimo en Dsolre, o en Ffaut. Si cantan alguno que sube ocho pu(n)tos: quedará en Dsolre, y sino en Ffaut. (Ibid.)

(Neither of these transpositions feature in the 'reglas universales' discussed above.) The following commentaries regarding the 'Semidoble menor' and 'Domingo' Masses demonstrate the same concern and problems involved in transposing the first modal 'species' (modes 1 and 2) to F fa ut on an unequally-tuned organ. In the 'Semidoble menor' Mass, for instance, Bermudo points out that some organists attempt to play the Agnus movement, which is in the 2nd mode, in F fa ut (the reason for this is, presumably, for the sake of modal uniformity as both the Kyrie and the Sanctus are also to be played in this signo). As stated earlier, the 2nd mode is not strictly possible in this transposition on organs with a mean-tone tuning. Bermudo then suggests that organists who find it difficult to play this mode in E la mi should in fact leave it untransposed. With regard to the Sanctus of the 'Domingo' mass cycle which is in the 1st mode, Bermudo once more draws attention to the error of playing this

in F fa ut. In this particular instance Bermudo states that beyond the fact that it was not possible for the 'common' organ to play the 1st mode 'por ffaut' a clash between 'fa' (=a♭) in the choir and 'mi' (g♯) on the organ would certainly occur at 'Dominus Deus Sabaoth'.

> No poco yerran los que dexan estos sanctos en ffaut. Porque allende de no poderse tañer en el órgano común primero por ffaut: ay otro particular inconviniente, que tomando el choro Dominus deus forman fa: donde el órgano dixo mi, y no ay buen oydo que lo pueda suffrir. (Ibid., f.86, sic.)

On the whole these particular recommendations, comply with the more general ones which Bermudo outlined in the preceding chapter of the Declaración for this style of plainchant. However, besides his somewhat unusual prescription for the Kyries of the 'Doble mayor' Mass - the 4th mode in D sol re - there is only one discrepancy between the two sets of recommendations: this concerns the 7th mode. In the Kyries (7th mode) for the 'Semidoble mayor' Mass Bermudo suggests that these may be played either in D sol re or in F fa ut; neither of these signos for this mode are included in his initial, albeit general, prescription where in fact he suggests that these should be played in C fa ut. (The D sol re ('D la sol re') transcription does, however, feature in Valls's set of recommendations for the Masses and hymns.)

Turning now to the eighteenth-century organist's chart from Montserrat, 'Per tocar las Missas de Añy' (MonAM M.1529), it will be noticed that just one or two relatively unusual transpositions are recommended: the 1st mode in e (la mi) (the Sanctus from the Mass 'De 1ra y 2ª Classe') and the 5th mode in D (la sol re) (the Gloria from the same Mass). Although these signos are entirely feasible for these two modes on mean-tone organs, they are not recommended by either Bermudo or Valls for the performance of this style of plainchant with the organ. These particular transpositions for these modes were however encountered amongst the Portuguese Kyrie

versets and it may be remembered that D la sol re for the 5th mode was one of the additions made to Correa de Arauxo's Libro de Tientos (1626) by the compiler of the appendix to Arauxo's book which is now preserved in the Ajúda library in Lisbon: the appendix includes an 'Obra de quinto [tom] por de la sol re sobre o paso de pange / lingoa [...]' (LBAj 38-XII-27, f.205 seq). This work based on the Pange lingua (more hispano) is by Alvarado.

Having considered theoretical possibilities of modal transposition on the organ where these pertain to the chants of the Mass (albeit largely from the point of view of two theorists who were writing two centuries apart), one is perhaps in a position to assess their validity in relation to the extant evidence of organ music for the Mass. As previously stated, most of the versets and organ masses encountered in the sources appertain to four evidently important festal categories or mass cycles: 'Dobles per annum' (In festis duplicibus), 'Angels' or 'Doble mayor' (De Angelis), 'Nuestra Señora' (In festis B.M.V.) and 'Dominicals' (In Dominicis). It would thus be pertinent to consider these in their respective groups in order to ascertain whether the transpositions in these, if any, are consistent throughout the sources.

Firstly, there is nothing further to add concerning the 'Dobles' cycle as the modes (1,4,6 and 6) consistently remain untransposed. A possible exception, encountered in a manuscript at Montserrat, will be reviewed below. Secondly, with regard to the 'Angels' Mass, the modal sequence (5,5,5, and 5), though usually transposed to C (sol) fa ut as recommended by both Bermudo and Valls is also transposed to D la sol re (punto alto). The latter signo, as already observed, was also recommended on the Montserrat chart for a Gloria in the 5th mode ('De 1ra & 2^{a} Classe'). However, it is still relatively unusual in organ music from this period. Thirdly,

two signos appear with the Gloria of the Marian Mass in the 7th mode: C sol fa ut and D la sol re; these are represented in both seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources of organ music. Valls in particular apparently recognized the feasibility of both transpositions for chants in the 7th mode whereas Bermudo allowed only for that in (C (sol) fa ut. However, as demonstrated above, Bermudo also gave the D (la) sol re signo option for the Kyries, in the 7th mode, of the 'Semidoble mayor' Mass. Finally, and briefly, the transposition of the 2nd mode to G sol re ut for the Gloria of the 'Dominicals' Mass is standard and recommended by Valls.

Apart, then, from these particular mass cycles, there are a few unusual transpositions which were encountered with a group of organ masses in one of the Montserrat manuscripts (MonAM M.1421, pp.38-46). The Kyrie of a two-movement ['Dobles'] mass by Thomas (ibid., pp.38-41) in the 1st mode is indicated 'punt baix': ostensibly '1° por Cfaut'. The Gloria of the same mass, and the Kyrie and Gloria movements of the anonymous organ mass which follows (ibid., pp.41-43), which are all in the 4th mode, are likewise indicated 'punt baix', which is D sol re. The unusualness of these transpositions is in some way acknowledged by these subtitles; as already discussed in connexion with the psalm-tone versets, these signify transpositions which are a note lower ('punto baxo') than their respective finals. Both are accounted for by Nassarre in a general chapter on transposition. Concerning the 1st mode, for instance, he wrote that this could be transposed 'Por Cesolfaut, que es punto baxo de su natural'; with regard to the 4th mode '[...] se puede transportar por de la sol re, q(ue) es punto baxo [...]'. (P. Nassarre: Escuela Música I, (1724); Lib.III, Cap.17, pp.325 & 328.)

XVIII Modal schemes of organ masses in Spanish sources

SOURCES AND MASS-CYCLES		KYRIE	GLORIA	SANCTUS	AGNUS
MBN M. 1357					
para Gloria Doble	(pp. 32-6)		4		
MBN M. 1358					
Para Gloria doble	(pp. 160-1)		4		
Para otra Gloria [doble]	(ff. 161r-3v/4)		4		
MBN M. 1359					
Missa de primer ton	(pp. 455-62)	1	1	1	1
Missa de 2° tono por delasolre	(pp. 462-71)	2	2	2	2
Missa de 3° tono	(pp. 471-80)	3	3	3	3
Missa de 4° tono	(pp. 480-3)	4	4 [incomplete]		
Missa de Nra Señora	(pp. 484-93)	1	7 (c)	6	5 (c)
Gloria dominical [J. delaTorre; cf. Jaca MS, pp. 292-8]	(pp. 156-9)		2 (G)		
Jaca MS.					
Gloria de Dominica [& Sanctus] J. de la Torre ('Hieronimo la Tore')	(pp. 292-300)		2 (G)	6	
Missa per annum Cabanilles	(pp 278-91)	1	4	6	6
BBC M. 387					
Gloria de la Virgen Cabanilles	(ff. 85-6)		7 (C)		

SOURCES AND MASS-CYCLES	KYRIE	GLORIA	SANCTUS	AGNUS
BBC M. 751. 21				
Missa para Doble Mayor, 5° tono (pp. 140-53) Espelt	5 (c)	5 (c)	5 (c)	5 (c)
Missa de Nª Srª, Kiries 2° tono (pp. 154-67) Espelt	2	7 (D)	5 (c)	6
Missa doble per annum, Kiries 1° tono (pp. 168-76) Espelt	1	4	6	6
Missa [Dominicals], Kiries 1° tono por delasolrre (pp. 177-89) Espelt	1	2 (G) [incompl.]	6	6
Astorga MS				
Cabanilles			6	5 (c)
Nassarre			1	
[Doble mayor] Andreu	5 (c)	5 (c)		
[Doble mayor] Andreu	5 (c)	5 (c)		
[Doble per annum] Andreu	1	4		
[Doble per annum] Saló	1	4		
[Doble per annum] Vilatrosa	1	4		
[Doble per annum] Vila.	1	4	6	6

SOURCES AND MASS-CYCLES		KYRIE	GLORIA	SANCTUS	AGNUS
J. Elías: Música de órgano, 1717. (MBN M. 812)					
[Gloria de la Virgen]	(ff. 30v - 2)		7 (c)		
[Gloria ———]	(ff. 32 - 5v)		7 (c)		
[Doble per annum]	(ff. 35v - 7)	1	4		
[Gloria dominical]	(ff. 37 - 8)		2 (G)		
[Gloria ———]	(ff. 42v - 4)		2 (G)		
[Gloria doble]	(ff 44 - 5v)		4		
Kiries de la Virgin Gloria Beatae Mariae Virginis	(f 58) (ff. 58v - 9)	1	7 (c)		
[Doble per annum]	(ff 59 - 60v)	1	4		
[Doble ———]	(ff. 60v - 2)	1	4		
[Gloria dominical]	(ff. 70v - 5)		2 (G)		
Gloria de la Virgen	(ff. 117 - 21)		7 (c)		
[Doble per annum]	(ff. 121v - 6v)	1	4		
MonAM M. 713					
[Doble per annum]	(pp. 5 - 7)	1	4	6	6
[Nuestra Señora]	(pp. 8 - 9)	1	7 (D)		
[Doble per annum]	(pp. 25 - 6)	1	4		
Tomás					

SOURCES AND MASS-CYCLES		KYRIE	GLORIA	SANCTUS	AGNUS
MonAM M. 1072					
[Missa] Anton Coll (1782)	(pp. 1-10)	6	4	6	5 (c)
[Missa] Anton Coll (1782)	(pp. 12-25)	6	4	6	5 (c)
Dominicals Anton Coll (1765)	(pp. 26-33)	1	2 (G)		
[Missa] Anton Coll (1766)	(pp. 34-43)	6	4	6	
MonAM M. 1073					
[Doble per annum]	(pp21-5)	1	4		
Nuestra Señora Vilar	(p.25)	8			
[Doble per annum]	(pp.26-7)	1	4		
[Missa] Junca	(pp. 27-32)	8	4	6	6
[Doble per annum] Junca	(pp. 32-3)	1	4		
[Doble per annum]	(p. 35)	1	4		
MonAM M. 1205					
Missa [doble mayor] 5° tono Galles	(pp 1-4)	5 (c)	5 (c)	5 (c)	5 (c)
[Doble per annum]	(pp. 7-10)	1	4		

SOURCES AND MASS-CYCLES		KYRIE	GLORIA	SANCTUS	AGNUS
MonAM M. 1205 (cont.)					
[Doble per annum] Mariner (1742)	(pp. 16-23)	1	4	6	6
[Doble per annum] [Mariner?]	(pp. 23-7)	1	4	6	6
[Nuestra Señora.] Mariner	(pp. 32-6)	1	7 (D)		
[Doble per annum] [Mariner?] (1735)	(pp. 45-50)	1	4	6	6
Nuestra Señora Mariner	(pp. 58-61)	1	7 (D)		
[Doble mayor] [Mariner; cf. MonAM M. 1419, pp. 23-9]	(pp. 62-70)	5 (C)	5 (C)		
MonAM M. 1419					
[Doble mayor] Mariner	(pp. 23-9)	5 (C)	5 (C)		
[Doble mayor]	(pp. 29-34)	5 (C)	5 (C)		
MonAM M. 1421					
[Doble per annum] Mariner	(pp. 5-7)	1	4	6	6
[Doble per annum]	(pp. 8-9)	1	4		
[Gloria Dominical] Mariner	(pp. 9-10)		2 (G)		
Kirieş y Gloria de Angels, 5to Vilar	(pp. 17-21)	5 (C)	5 (C)		
Dobles,	(p. 22)	1	4		

SOURCES AND MASS-CYCLES		KYRIE	GLORIA	SANCTUS	AGNUS
MonAM M.1421 (cont.)					
Dobles	(pp.23-4)	1	4		
Kiries [& Gloria] de dominica Vilar	(pp. 30-1)	1	2 (G)		
[Missa]	(pp. 33-5 & 36-7)	1 (C) 'punt baix'	8 (E neg)	8 (F) 'punto baxo'	1 (C) 'punt baix'
[Missa]	(pp. 35-6)	1 (C) 'punt baix'	4	5 (C)	
[Dobles] [Tomás]	(pp. 39-40)	1	4		
[Missa]	(pp. 43-6)	5 (D) 'punt alt'	1 (D) 'natural'	5 (D	5 (D)
[Dominical]	(pp. 46-8)	1	2 (G)		
[Dobles] Junca	(pp. 48-50)	1	4		
[Dobles] (Junca)	(pp 50-3)	1	4	6	6
Dobles Mariner	(pp 53-7)	1	4	6	6
[Dobles] Mariner	(pp. 58-60)	1	4	6	6
MonAM M. 1529					
[Doble mayor] Mirosa	(pp. 3-12)	5 (D) '5 to no #'	5 (D) '#'	5 (D)	5 (D)
MonAM M. 1583					
[Dobles] Pagueras	(pp. 5-13)	1	4	6	6
[Doble mayor]	(pp. 13-25)	5 (c)	5 (c)	5 (c)	5 (c)
[Dobles] Mestres	(pp. 26-36)	1	4	6	6

(ii)

The Spanish organ mass, seventeenth to eighteenth centuries: construction and stylistic characteristics

As a musical genre comprising from two to four movements corresponding with those of the Mass Ordinary, the organ mass may be considered from several points of view: firstly from that of its purely functional capacity whereby it consisted of a sequence of versets, grouped in movements, to be alternated with the plainchant verses; secondly with regard to its thematic and modal relationship with plainchant mass cycles; and thirdly as a musical form in its own right in which, according to their physical position in the movements, the individual versets were apparently associated with a particular compositional style. Having already considered the first two issues, it is with regard to the third, that of the organ mass per se, that the ensuing discussion is conducted. We shall concentrate on the eighteenth-century repertory as it is only with the organ masses of that period, and in particular those from Catalonia, that a characteristic, even predictable, form may be distinguished. The smaller repertory of seventeenth-century organ masses, however, are notable for their more overt thematic adherence to plainchant models.

(a)

The organ mass in the seventeenth century

As may be seen from the charts above, there are relatively few organ masses dating from the seventeenth century to complement the ample documentary evidence. Although the sequences of organ versets forming 'organ masses', may be equated with the phenomenon of mass cycles, the want of a more

substantial body of suitable material may indeed reflect a variability exercised in the choice of chant for a plainchant mass. The fact that it is rare to encounter a 'complete' four-movement cycle of versets for the Marian or 'Dominicals' Masses, Bermudo's recognition for instance that the choice of the chants and modes of the Sanctus and Agnus movements of the Marian Mass may have been subject to deviation ('según se dixeren'), is possibly indicative of some flexibility.

Thus in the sources of seventeenth-century organ music, principally those at Barcelona and Madrid, there are only half a dozen or so 'organ masses' which may be associated with a particular festal category. There are also a number of isolated verset sequences comprising mass movements, which in some cases may also be identified with a liturgical function, and four 'tonal' organ masses in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359) of which the individual movements, although ostensibly based on plainchant, have been linked together on the basis of modal uniformity. However, despite this scant repertory, all four of the principal mass cycles are represented, Espelt, for instance, providing an example of each one in his series of organ masses included in BBC M.751.21.

In addition to the third Coll MS, and BBC M.751.21, both of which contain the most complete organ mass cycles (comprising four movements), the Jaca MS is particularly notable for its inclusion of the only complete organ mass known to be by Cabanilles: his 'Missa per annum' (pp.278-91). The Jaca MS also includes the organ mass 'de dominical' by la Tore[1] (pp.292-300) of which only two movements are extant; concordances with the Gloria were encountered in the third Coll MS, proving to be invaluable

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1. There is some controversy regarding the indentification of the composer 'la Tore' in the Jaca MS; see above, pp.98-9.

in a reconstruction of this particular organ mass. (Transcriptions of these masses are included in the anthology, pp.449-465.)

With regard to the presentation of the organ masses in the third Coll MS in particular, it is somewhat curious that Martín y Coll has for the most part numbered the sequence of versets for an entire organ mass consecutively. Thus in the 'Missa de 3° tono' (MBN M.1359, pp.471-80), for instance, the versets comprising all four movements are numbered from 1 to 20, each movement being distinguished from the other by an appropriate subtitle such as 'para Gloria' and so on. However, with regard to the 'Missa de 1° tono' (ibid., pp.455-62), the numerical sequence recommences at the Gloria, following on from the five versets of the Kyrie, with versets numbered 1 to 13 constituting the remaining three movements of the organ mass. Furthermore, as indicated in the transcription of this mass in the anthology (pp.473-81), it is clear that the copyist in fact omitted one of the versets in the sequence for the Gloria movement: only eight were included. As it was possible to detect which of the plainchant masses was used for the construction of these versets, it was revealed that the (6th) verset which should have replaced the verse 'Qui tollis peccata mundi' was missing. The Sanctus movement ('para Sanctus') which succeeds the Gloria would normally, therefore, have begun at '℣.10' and not ℣.9 (sic). Conversely, the Marian organ mass, 'Missa de N(uest)ra Señora' (ibid., pp.484-93), contains four movements of which the sequences of versets follow an independent numeration. With regard to the seemingly incomplete 'Missa de 4° tono' (pp.480-3), which includes the five versets of the Kyrie and the first two versets of the Gloria, the copyist of the manuscript has indicated that the remainder may be found in an earlier source. At the start of the Gloria movement it is stated: 'Lo q(ue) resta a esta missa se hallará en el tomo 1.Flores de la música fol.160

a 162' (p.483). The relevant folios were in fact found in the second Coll MS (MBN M.1358) where a 'Gloria Doble' fulfilled this function (ff.160-1). Both manuscripts are therefore required for a reconstruction of the Gloria of this organ mass. (See anthology, p. 505 seq.)

The version of J. de la Torre's 'Dominicals' organ mass, which was found in MBN M.1359 within the group of versets in the 2nd tone, has also revealed a number of careless omissions and vaguely phrased inscriptions. In addition to some minor notational discrepancies between this version and the one in the Jaca MS (it would appear that the copyists of the respective manuscripts had recourse to two different sources), there are more serious divergencies.

A problem arises with the inscription at the 'start' of the anonymous verset-sequence where it is proposed that from this point (℣.61), as far as the versets in the 3rd tone, the versets pertain to the 'Gloria' of the 'Dominical' Mass: 'Desde éste verso asta [sic] el 3° tono son para Gloria Dominical' (MBN M.1359, p.156). There are in fact sixteen versets remaining in the 2nd tone (numbers 61 to 76) and it transpires that only the first eight of these are comparable with the Gloria sequence in the Jaca MS; there are no concordances between Torre's Sanctus, also in the 2nd mode (Jaca MS, pp.298-300), and any of the others. Furthermore, not only are the first two versets in M.1359 in a reverse order to those forming the Gloria in the Jaca MS but also the '6th' verset in the sequence of nine has once again been omitted from the version notated in the Coll MS. Other points of interest which arise concerning this organ mass, principally in connexion with the notational variants between the two concording sources, may be found in the notes accompanying the transcription of Torre's organ mass in the anthology (pp. 459-65).

Generally speaking, versets for the Mass dating from the seventeenth

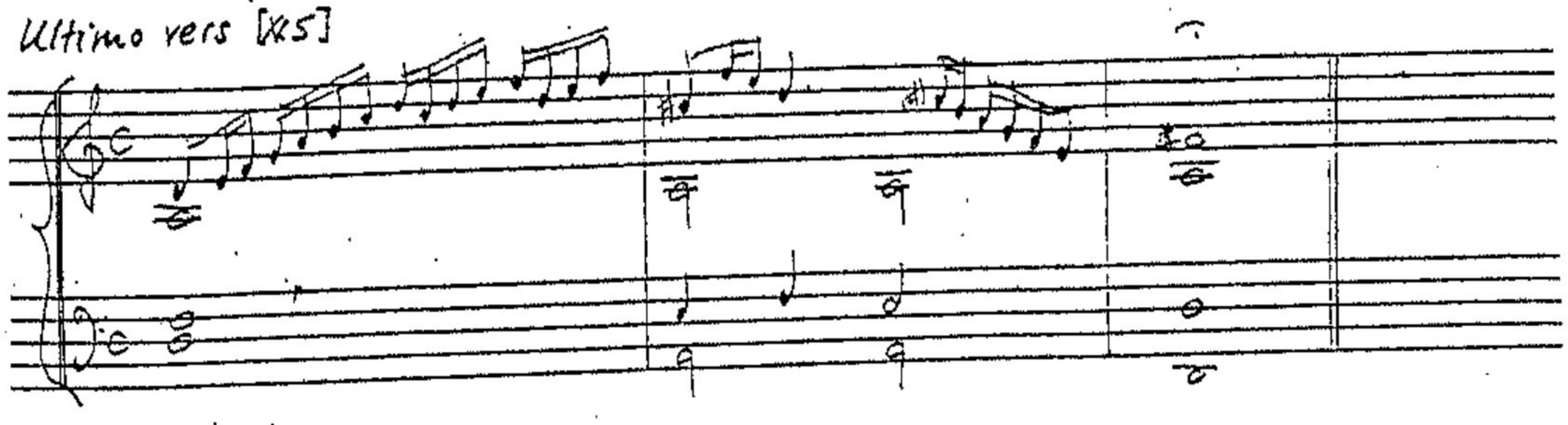
century are predominantly contrapuntal in style, frequently adhering thematically to the plainchant of the verses for which they substitute in an alternatim performance. However, unlike the psalm-tone versets, those for the Mass are rarely constructed on a cantus-firmus. We have seen how, owing to the overt thematic construction of the individual versets, the organ masses in the third Coll MS in particular could be interpreted as demonstrating a definite alternatim scheme (see above, p.415 seq.). Although this is also true of a number of eighteenth-century organ masses the movements of the latter tend rather to be constructed from versets in contrasting musical styles and idioms which may bear but a small relationship to the plainchant mass which they represented (see below, p.475 seq.).

Nevertheless, seventeenth-century organ masses may to a certain extent be regarded as composite forms in their own right in being comprised of sequences of versets, arranged in movements according to a stylistic pattern. The opening verset of a sequence forming one of the Mass movements may usually be distinguished owing to a non-fugal, preludial, construction. With the Kyrie and Agnus movements in particular, the musical texture, in 'lleno' style, might feature scale-like figurations and passage-work idiomatic to the keyboard. The same is applicable to the last versets of these two movements, while this brief verset from the Kyrie of Espelt's 'Missa doble per annum' (BBC M.751.21, pp.289-97) is characteristic of shorter versets in this style.

(Ex. 1)

BBC M.751.21 (p.290)

(Missa Doble per annum, Kiries (1° tono) Espelt



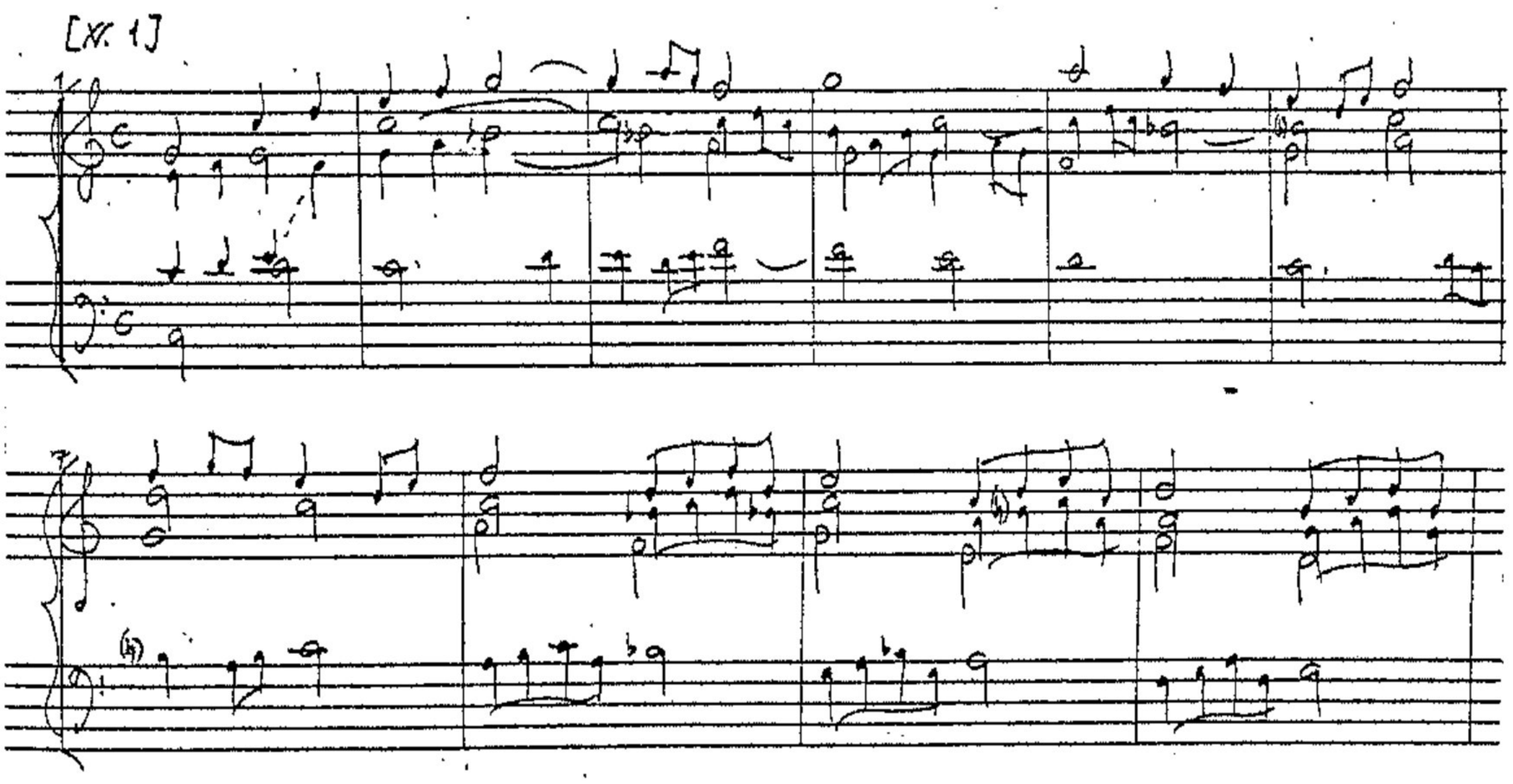
It will be remembered, however, that in the majority of the organ masses in the third Coll MS only two versets were included for the Agnus movement; with these, the music is consistently contrapuntal.

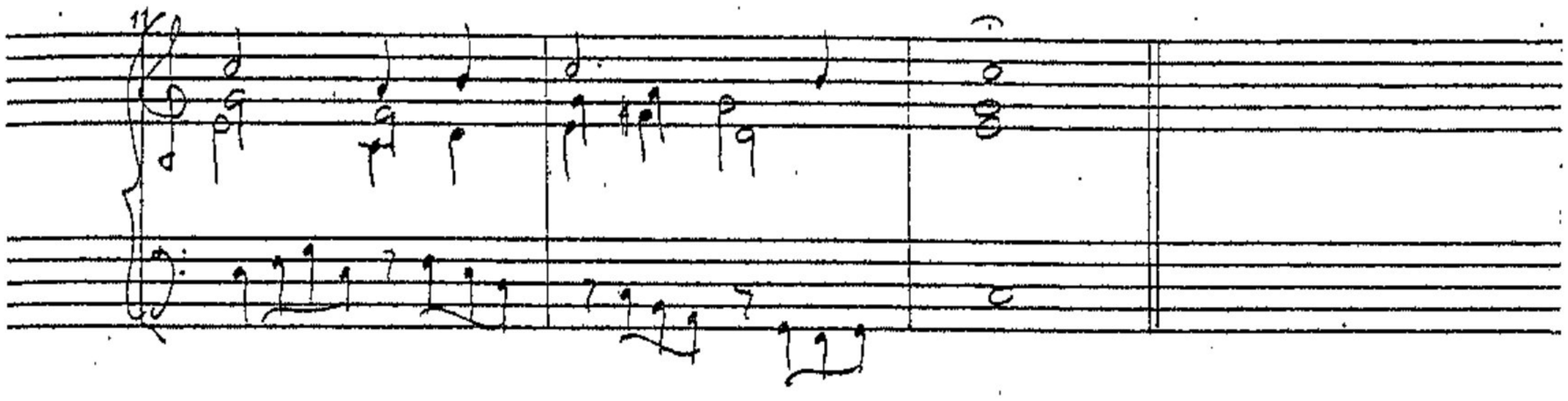
The longer Gloria movement is characterized by a succession of fugally conceived versets, though usually beginning and ending with one in a contrasting 'lleno' texture. However, whereas the Glorias in the third Coll MS open with a verset which also incorporates a specific thematic reference to the intonation of the Gloria, the Glorias of the organ masses by Cabanilles and J. de la Torre, as notated in the Jaca MS, each begin with a relatively unusual verset in a 'consonant' homophonic idiom. The Gloria of Espelt's 'Missa para Doble mayor, 5° tono' (BBC M.751.21, pp.140-53) likewise opens quietly in a 'flautado' style which is charateristic of some of the falsas pieces by composers of the eighteenth century. As demononstrated by this particular verset, this music features parallel movement between the parts, and sequential writing.

(Ex. 2)

(Missa para Doble mayor; Gloria de 5° tono) Espelt BBC M.751.21 (p.143)

[Ex. 1]



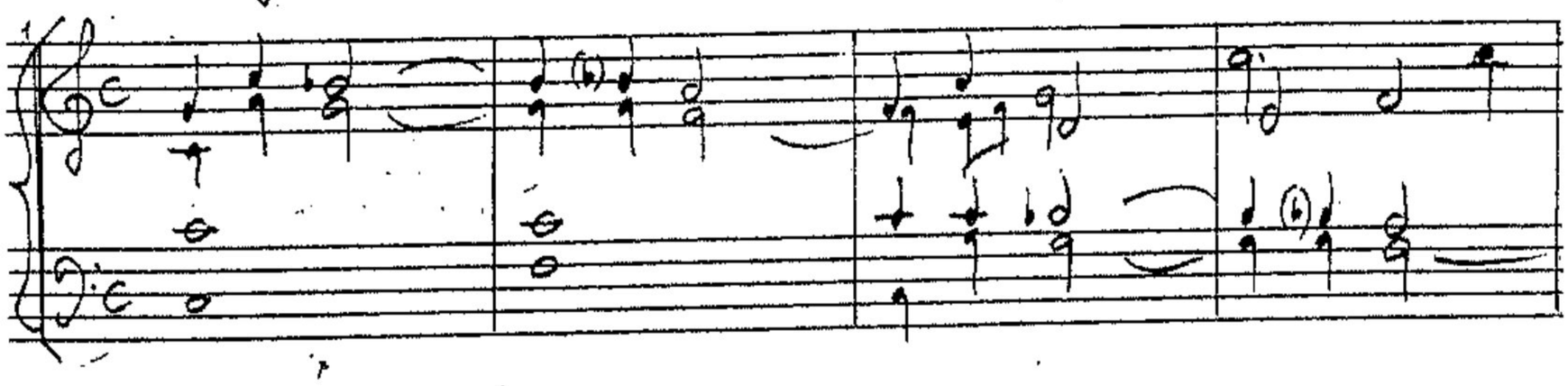


The remaining versets of a Gloria movement in a seventeenth-century organ mass are merely contrapuntal - though perhaps employing a triple rhythm in some of the versets for the sake of contrast - and do not normally exploit any special effects or figurations suggesting an affiliation with a particular organ sound or registration. (As we shall learn, the reverse was true in the case of eighteenth-century organ masses.) However, it is evident that an exception was made of the eighth verset. If indeed the organ versets substituted for the uneven-numbered verses of the Gloria, this verset replaced 'Tu solus Dominus', preceding the sung verse 'Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe'. It always had a distinct character which was often chromatic and in 'falsas' style; it was the only one in the sequence to be designated a particular registration, or distribution or organ sound, such as 'para el flautado' and even 'de mano derecha'.[1]

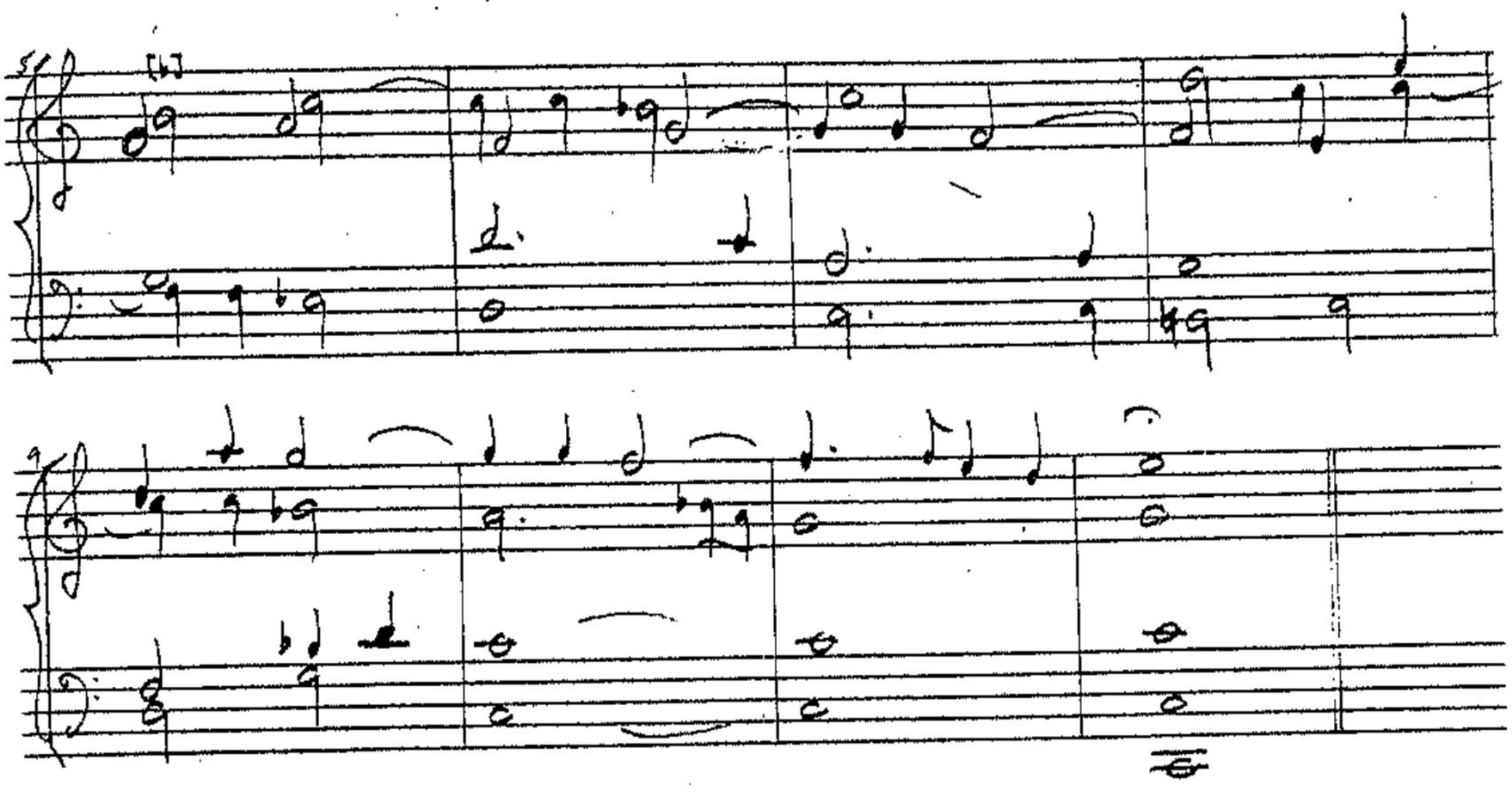
(Ex.3) (Missa para Doble mayor, Gloria de 5° tono.)

BBC M.751.21 (p.149)

8° Para el flautado Espelt



1. The eighth verset of the Gloria in Espelt's 'Missa de Nuestra Señora' (BBC M.751.21, pp.154-67), for instance, is entitled 'Verso 8°. Partido de Mano d(e)recha'.



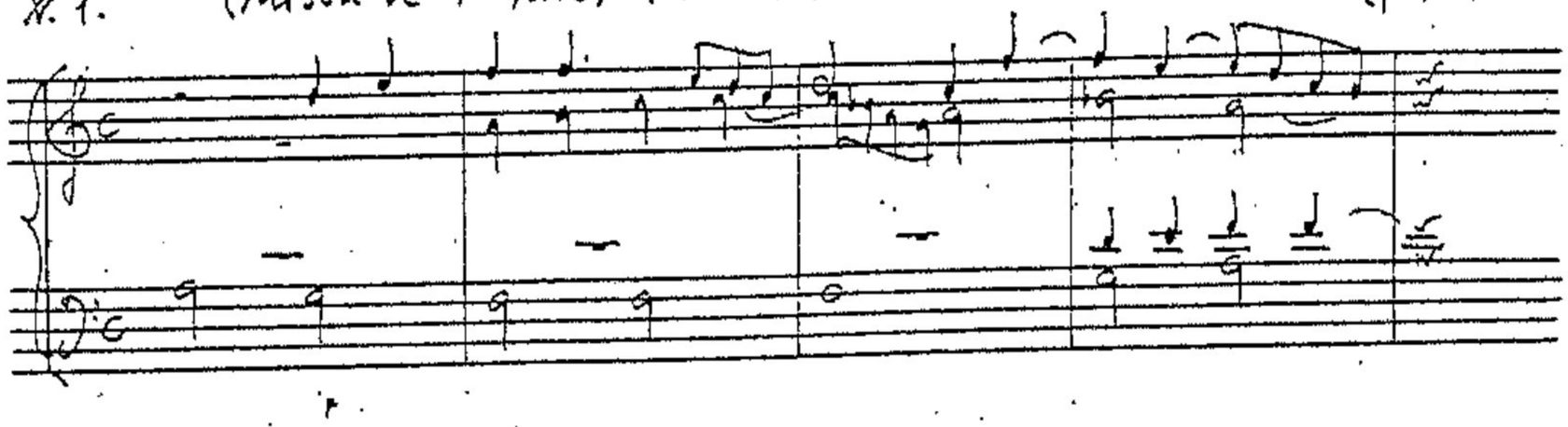
The versets of these masses in general are of varying but moderate length. Where these are not in 'lleno' style, such as those commencing each Kyrie sequence, the versets are constructed fugally: as previously mentioned, the majority of these incorporate subjects, or pasos, which have been derived from the plainchant. The treatment of the themes from the plainchant varies considerably and each organ mass contains a mixture of several procedures. Three different examples may be illustrated from the versets forming the 'Missa de 1° tono' (MBN M.1359, pp.455-62).

In the first instance, the chant may be treated in the manner of a cantus firmus; in such a case, the interest shifts to a three-part imitation of a faster-moving paso above the chant. The following example from the Gloria is typical:

(EX. 4)

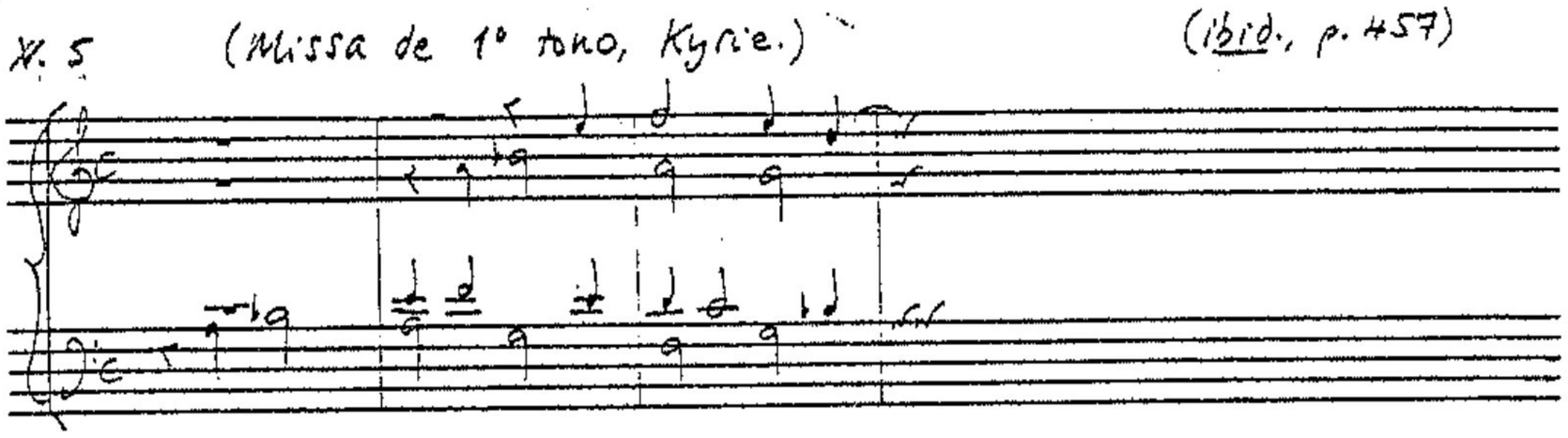
MBN M.1359

K. 1. (Missa de 1° tono, Gloria.) (p.457)

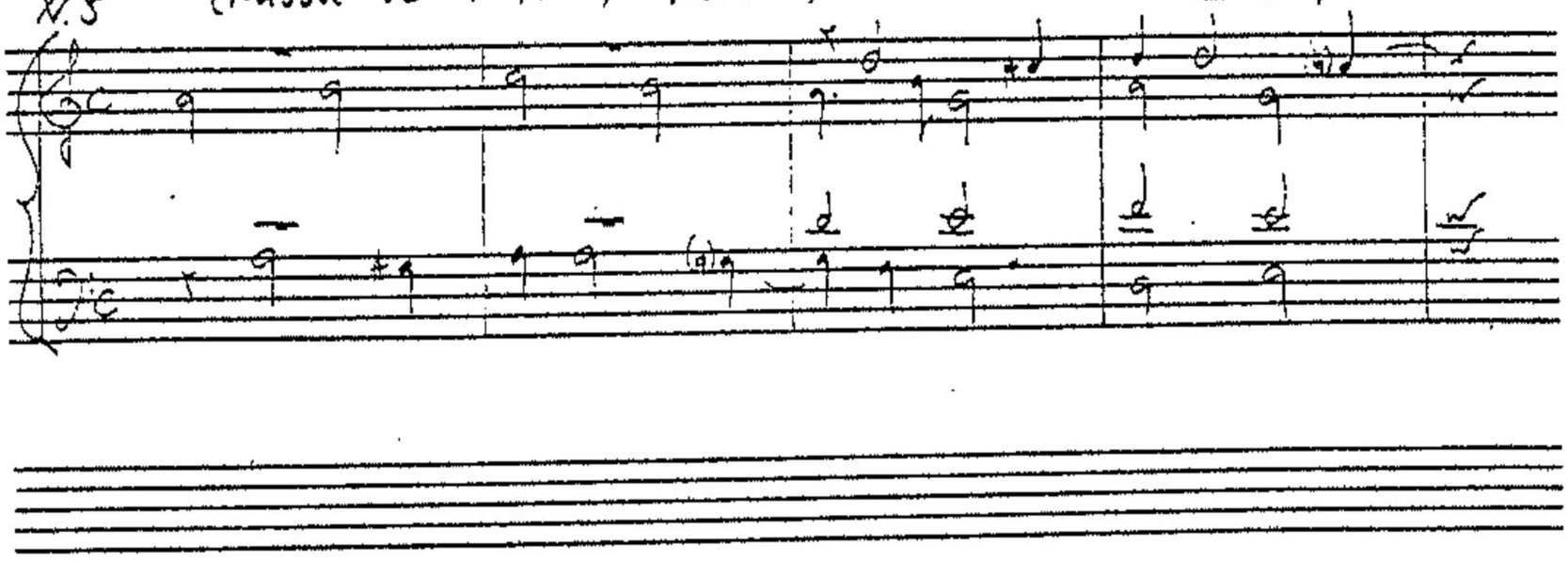


However, the chant may also in fact be interpreted as a paso for imitation: either as the basis for a monothematic verset or for a bithematic one in the event of a second subject having been introduced. These processes may be exemplified as follows:

(EX. 5)

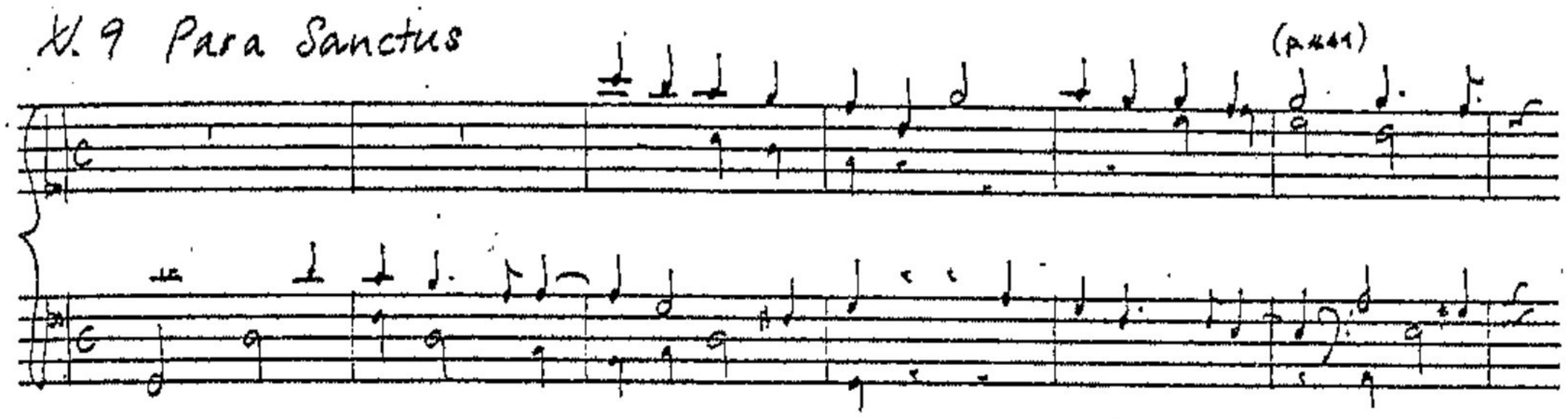


(EX. 6)



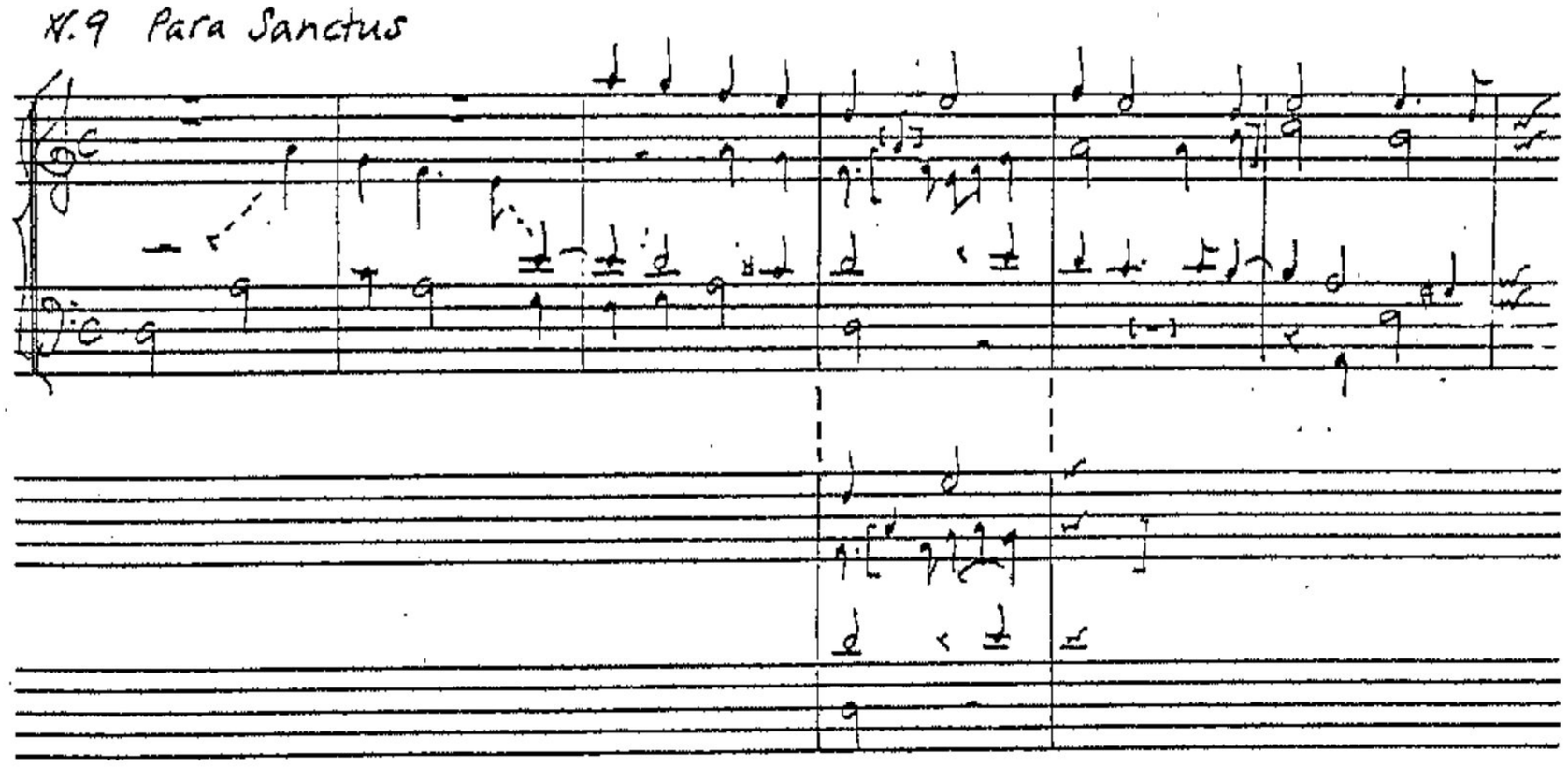
However, despite the apparent careful construction of such versets, the group of 'tonal' masses in the third Coll MS in particular, all similar in style and composition, are occasionally characterized by a rather sparse texture. Although the music is frequently punctuated by written-in rests the part-writing seems at times to be incomplete. In the following verset from the Sanctus movement in the 1st mode, for instance, there is a hiatus at bars 3 and 4 where the alto part, at least, fades:

(Ex. 7) (Missa de 1° tono)



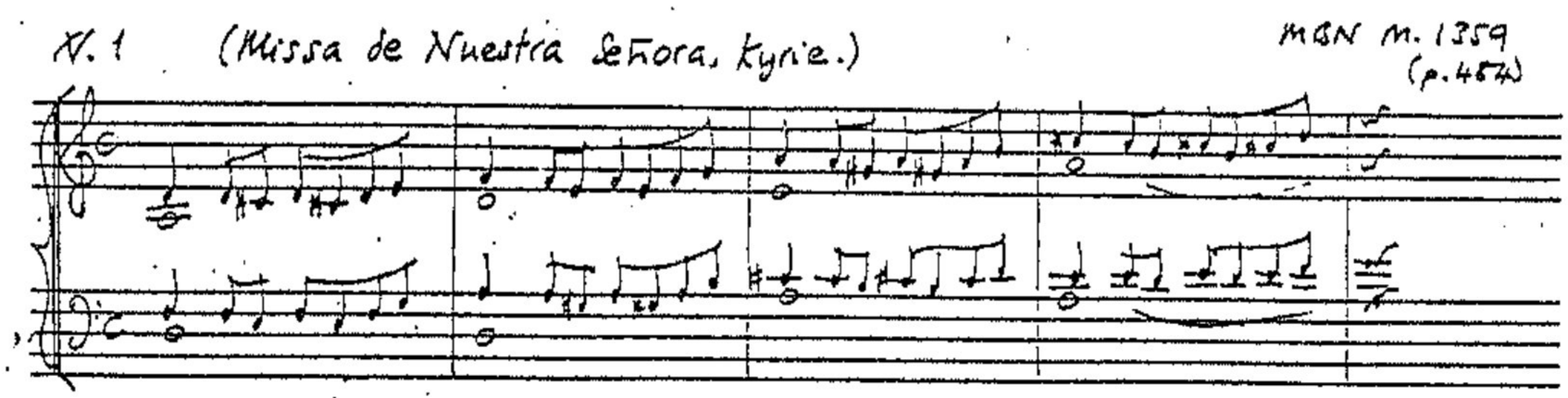
In the light of our detection of a confusion in the part-writing made by the copyist of this manuscript as a whole, it is of course possible that, in this case, such errors were also prevalent in this portion of the manuscript. A reconstruction of the opening bars of this verset may be offered as follows:

(Ex. 8)



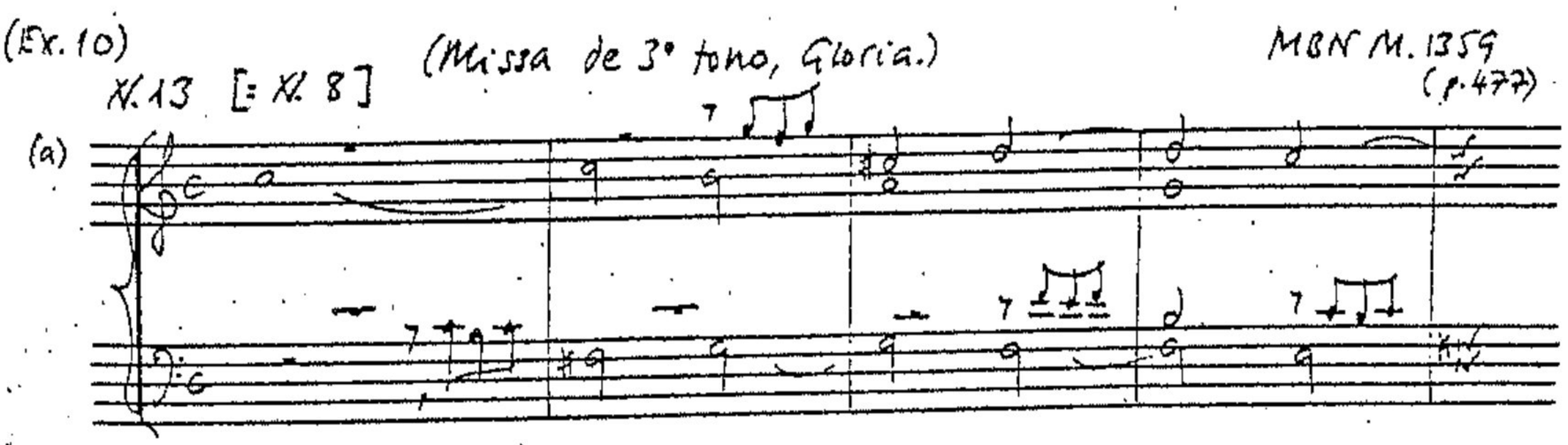
Nevertheless, these masses in the Coll MSS may be appreciated in their own right as constituting some of the most satisfying examples of fugal writing on a small-scale in this period, particularly where these combine elements of cantus-firmus writing and paraphrase technique. There are even moments which are reminiscent of the musical style and contrapuntal techniques of Cabanilles. For instance, the movement in parallel thirds and sixths over a sustained (pedal) note which was often encountered in the psalm-tones versets is characteristic:

(Ex. 9)



With regard to particular 'hall-marks' of style, a motif adopted in the eighth verset of the Gloria from the 'Missa de 3° tono' (MBN M.1359, pp.471-80), with its emphasis on the descending interval of a diminished fifth, is strongly akin to one which constitutes the main interest in a Pange lingua by Cabanilles found in both the Jaca MS (pp.219-20) and in BBC M.387 (f.367v).

(Ex. 10)



(Pange Lingua) Cabanillas Jaca MS. (p.219)

(b)

Finally, and most significantly, the opening verset of the Gloria in the 'Missa de Nuestra Señora' (MBN M.1359, pp.484-93), with its emphatic dotted rhythms, is similar to that of the 'Gloria de la Vírgen' by Cabanilles in BBC M.387 (f.85).

(Ex.11)

[Ex.1] (Missa de Nuestra Señora, Gloria.) MBN. M.1359 (pp. 484-7)

(a)

[Ex.1] Versos 7mo tono por Golfaut para la Gloria de la Virgen Cabanilles. BBC. M. 387 (f.85.)

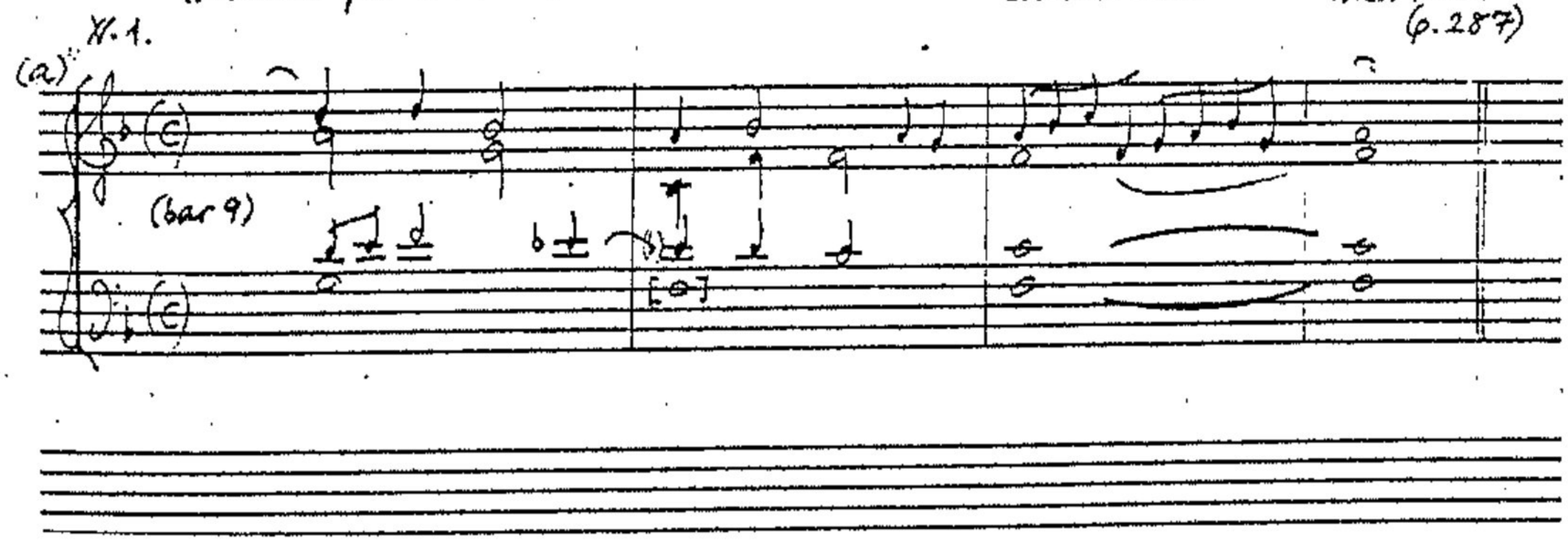
(b)

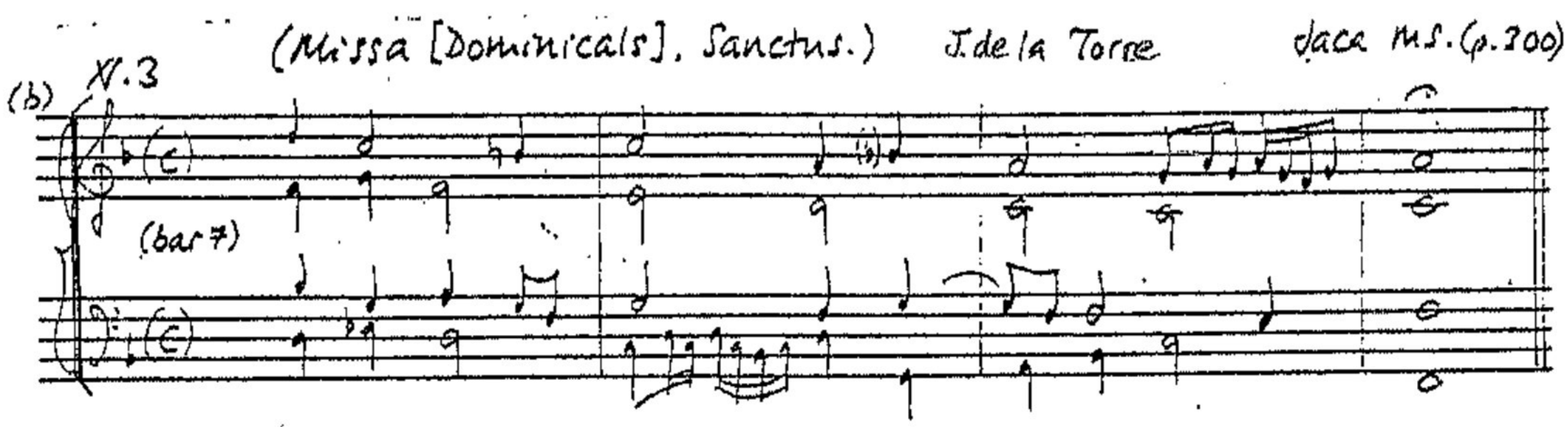
In fact, as a whole, the Marian Mass (indeed the only organ mass in the third Coll MS to have a specific liturgical function) may be regarded as the most sophisticated of all the 'Coll' organ masses.

One is hesitant, however, to attempt an identification of the authorship of the music in the Coll MSS (with regard here in particular to the organ masses) owing to a number of discrepancies in musical syntax between these organ masses and the 'Missa per annum' by Cabanilles in the Jaca MS (pp.278-91). With regard to cadence structures, for instance, as demonstrated in one particular mode, there is in the first place a striking contrast even between the two Jaca organ masses themselves. In the 6th-mode Sanctus movements, the final cadences in Cabanilles's versets are characterized by the insistent use of the flattened seventh (e♭), and the avoidance of the 'sharpened' seventh, whereas those in Torre's organ mass, with their 'sharpened' sevenths, may be termed 'perfect cadences'. (Cabanilles's three Agnus versets in the 6th mode also incorporate flattened sevenths in the final cadences.) The following extracts are taken from the concluding bars of the first Sanctus verset by Cabanilles and the third Sanctus verset by Torre, respectively.

(Ex. 12)

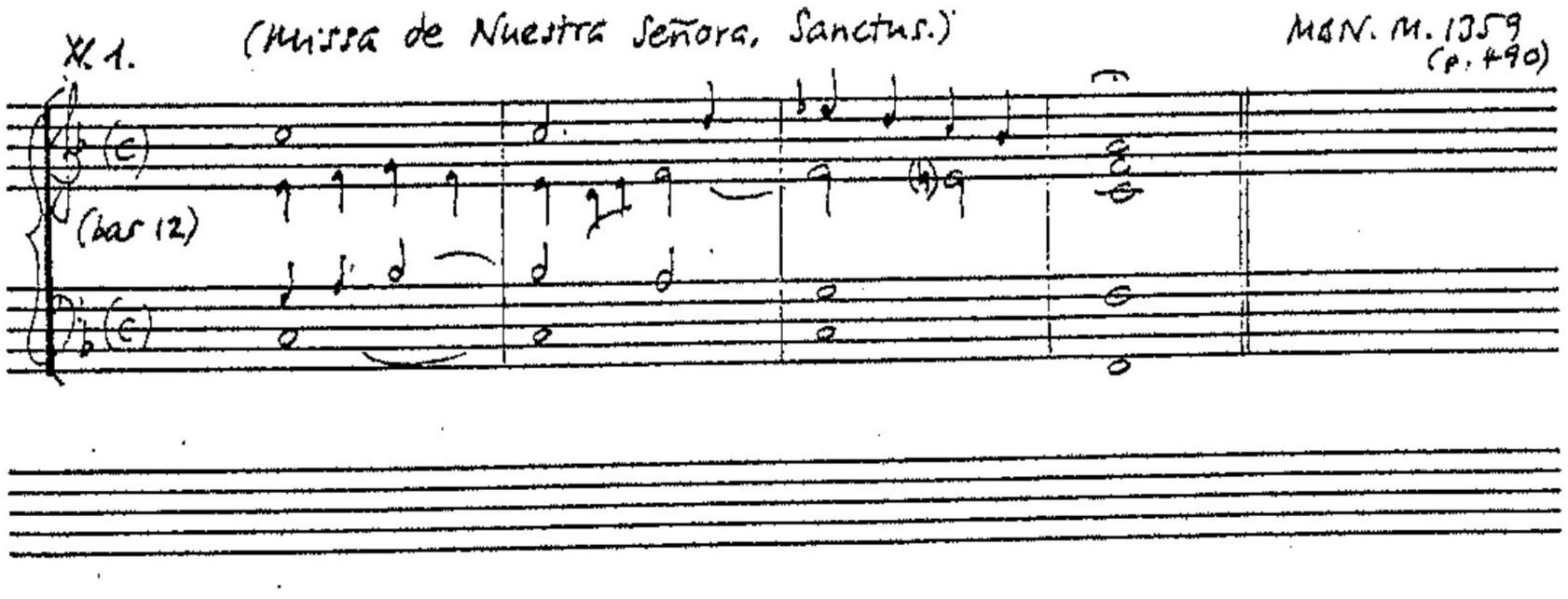
(Missa per annum, Sanctus.) Cabanillas Jaca MS. (p.287)





By comparison, however, the final cadences of the versets comprising the Sanctus movement of the Marian organ mass in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359) and an isolated Sanctus movement by Cabanilles in BBC M.387 (f.76v), also in the 6th mode, vary somewhat. For although each of these is in fact characterized by a basic V-I progression in the bass, indicative of a so-called 'perfect cadence', this may also support the typically 'Spanish' false-relation in which a flattened seventh is immediately contradicted by a 'sharpened' one in one of the other contrapuntal parts.

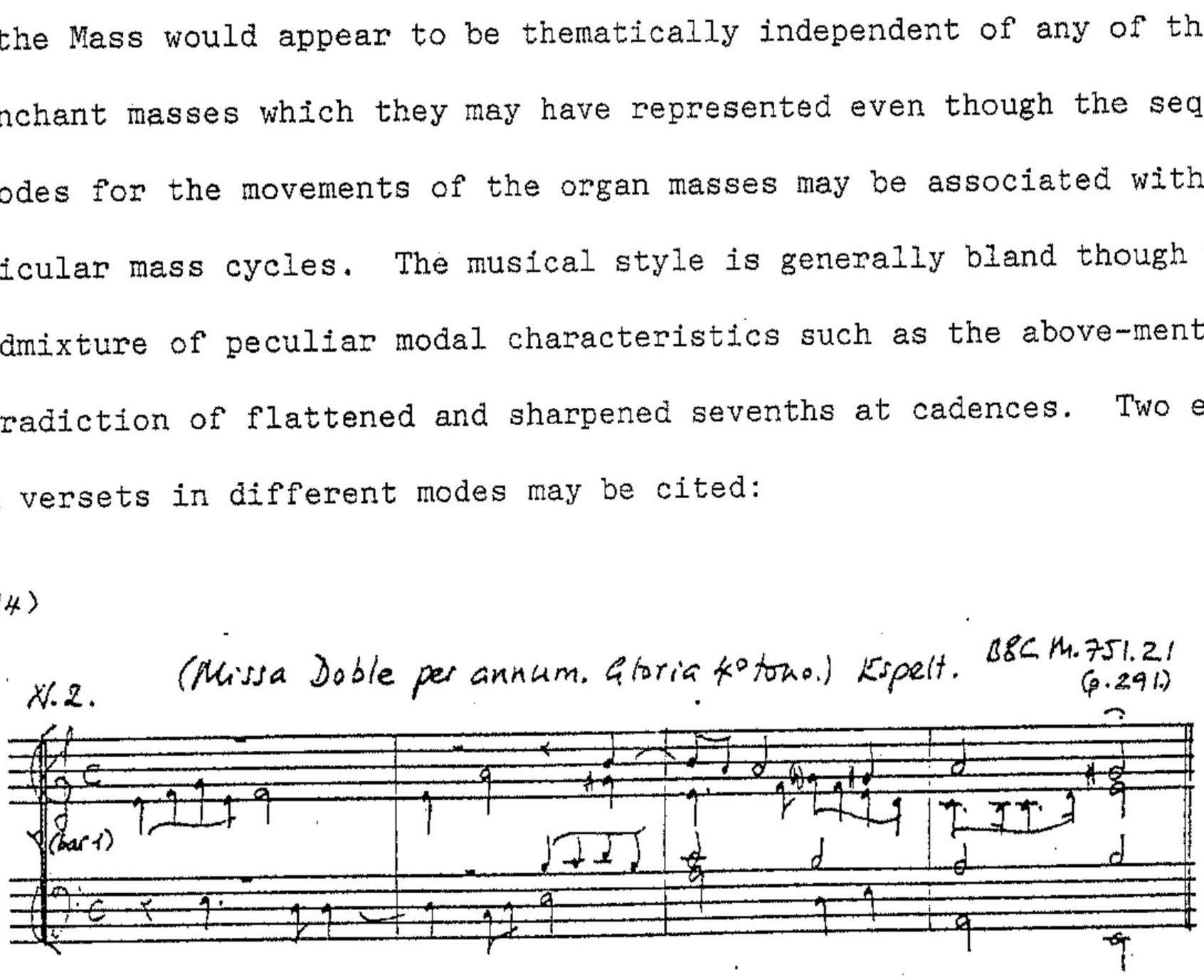
(Ex. 13)



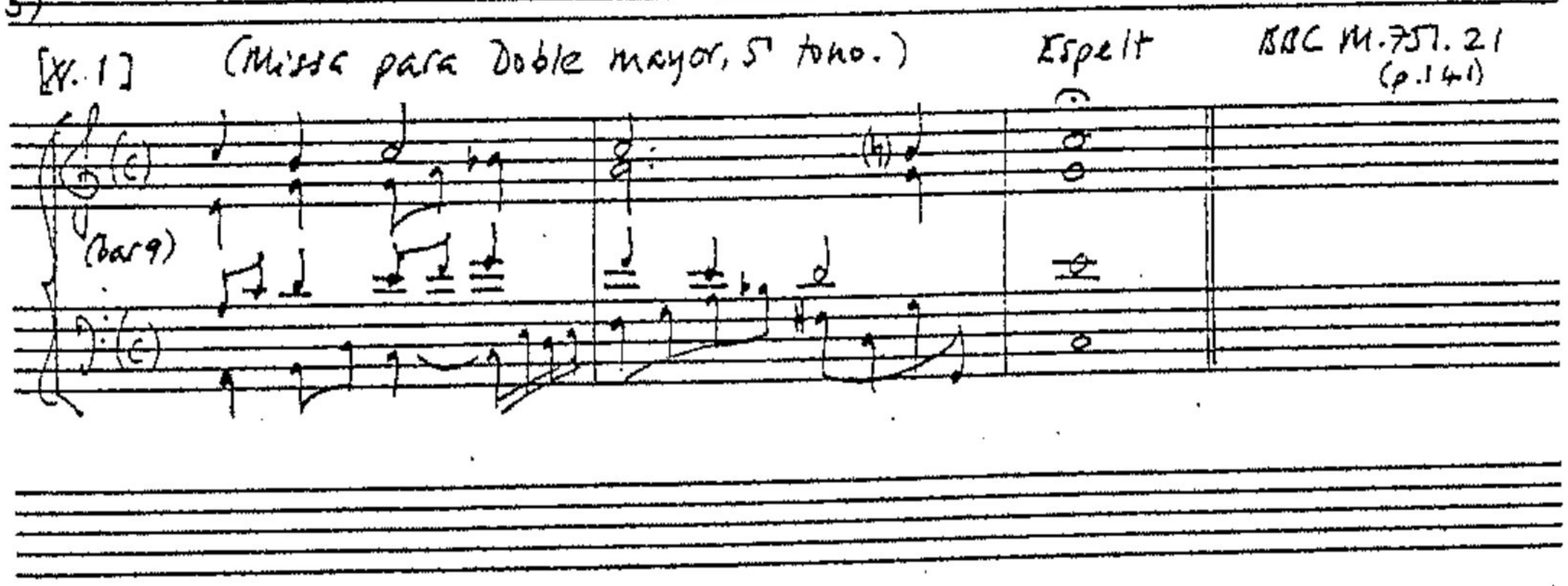
Thus, stylistic evidence alone is insufficient for a claim to be made for the authorship of the organ masses in MBN M.1359. It is to be hoped that more concrete evidence for the hand of Cabanilles in the composition of thes organ masses will eventually be discerned.

Finally, although Espelt may be credited with five organ masses (one of them incomplete) which above all are associated with a definite festal function, his outlook may be regarded as particularly functional. These masses consist of short, somewhat perfunctory, versets whose musical ideas are brief and economical. In this respect, they are less remarkable than the 'Coll' and Jaca organ masses. Unlike the organ masses in MBN M.1359 again, and even the majority of Espelt's psalm-tone versets, these versets for the Mass would appear to be thematically independent of any of the plainchant masses which they may have represented even though the sequence of modes for the movements of the organ masses may be associated with particular mass cycles. The musical style is generally bland though with an admixture of peculiar modal characteristics such as the above-mentioned contradiction of flattened and sharpened sevenths at cadences. Two examples from versets in different modes may be cited:

(EX. 14)



(EX. 15)



Apart from these examples of 'complete' organ masses in the sources of seventeenth-century organ music, there is a large number of isolated verset sequences which may be identified with single movements of the Mass Ordinary. These are generally found interspersed with the versets based on the psalm-tones in the more comprehensive manuscript sources such as BBC M.387 and the three Coll MSS. (Some of these movements have already been identified in connexion with the preceding discussion of some of the stylistic features of these versets as a whole.) In the second half of the 'second' Coll MS (MBN M.1358) for instance, the 'Juego de versos de todos tonos de varios authores' (ff.81-185v) contains several versets for the Mass of which one sequence at least may be identified as constituting the continuation of the incomplete 'Missa de 4° tono in the third Coll MS (MBN M.1359, pp.480-3). Likewise, versets for the Mass (notably by Cabanilles) are scattered amongst those (arranged in modal groups) in BBC M.387. As already mentioned, the 7th-mode versets, for example, include a sequence of 'Versos [de] 7mo tono por Csolfaut, para la Gloria de la Virgen [de] Cabani[llas]' (f.85).

On other occasions, however, composers (or indeed the copyists of the manuscripts) did not necessarily specify the precise function of their versets. In BBC M.1011 (copied by a pupil of A. Tormo), for instance, V. Hervás offers a series of 'Versos de pr(imero) tono para misas y tanbién para Salmos' (sic: f.96v seq.).

With regard to BBC M.387 and the second and third Coll MSS in particular, it is conceivable that many of the versets which appear to bear little if any relation with any recognizable chant were also intended for an alternatim performance of the Mass. In fact the function of some of these versets may be deduced from the signo in which they were written: the distinction of signo or transposition, which theorists such as Bermudo

and Valls recommended should be made when versets are alternated with the plainchant of the Masses and hymns and that of the psalm-tones, has been described above and in the previous section. Thus there are a number of versets in the third Coll MS which, by virture of their lack of thematic relationship with the psalm-tones and their peculiarity of transposition which has more in common with the signos of the Masses and hymns, may have been intended for use in the Mass (see above, p. 273).

(b)

The eighteenth-century organ mass

The greater proportion of organ masses dating from the eighteenth century were encountered within the numerous manuscripts forming the Arxiu de Música (AM) at Montserrat in Catalonia; a large selection of these has been listed on the charts above (pp.453-8) which have already been discussed in connexion with the question of liturgical mass cycles and modal transposition. The composers of these organ masses include Anton Coll, F. Vilar, D. Mirosa, B. Junca, F. Mariner, J. Elías and A. Mestres. Once again, not all 'organ masses' in these manuscripts comprise sequences of versets for each movement of the Mass Ordinary - the 'Dominicals' organ mass by Anton Coll (MonAM M.1072, pp.26-33) which is included in the anthology (pp.538-45), for instance, consists of music for the Kyrie and Gloria only. On the other hand, another organ mass by Coll in MonAM M.1072 (pp.12-25), whose precise liturgical function remains uncertain (the sequence of modes for the four movements is unfamiliar), is augmented by versets for the 'epístola', the 'ite missa' and an 'adagi' for the elevation. An organ mass by Galles (MonAM M.1025, pp.1-4), also included in the anthology (pp.552-61), includes a verset for 'Después de la Epístola'.

It is only really with the eighteenth-century sources that compositions substantiating prescriptions issued by the ceremonials for organ music to be played during items of the Mass Proper are to be found. The Astorga MS also includes a number of organ mass movements dating from the eighteenth century; according to Alvarez's edition (1976), the majority of these are by F. Andreu. There are also a few organ masses and movements for the same included in Jose Elías's 1709 Músicha de órgano (MBN M.812).

With the eighteenth-century organ masses, outnumbering by far those extant from the seventeenth century, the question of movements being grouped according to the modes of plainchant mass cycles is much in evidence. It is therefore from this repertory in particular that the organ mass may more readily be connected with a precise liturgical function. Furthermore, the principal distinguishing feature of the eighteenth-century organ mass, which evidently arose from a generally evolving musical language, is the formal arrangement of the versets of the individual movements. These succeed and contrast with one another according to an almost predictable stylistic pattern. This feature is particularly evident in the longer Gloria movement which comprises nine versets. Although the characteristic is to be seen to some extent in seventeenth-century organ masses, it now becomes more intimately bound with an apparently increasing desire for contrast, prompted by a new departure, the unification of the versets in an organ mass by a monothematic process. The common musical motif or phrase deployed may or may not have been connected with the plainchant mass which the versets represented, being transformed or varied according to the stylistic needs of any particular verset.

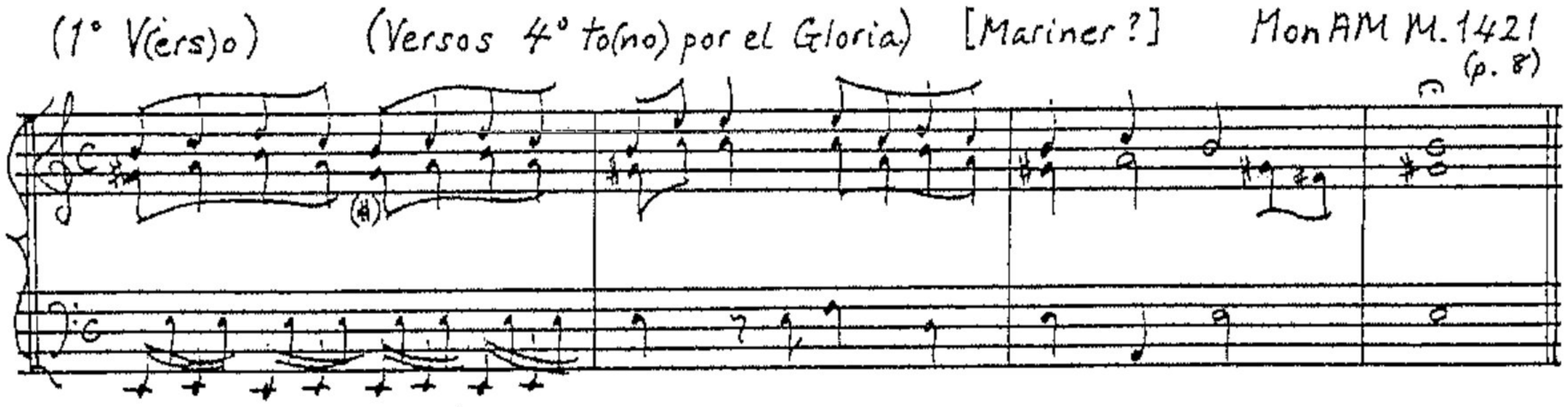
With the movements of the eighteenth-century organ mass, the two outer versets frequently took the guise of prelude (or entrada) and postlude, in their 'full' ('lleno'), non-imitative, textures. This was particularly

true of the Kyrie movement which normally comprised five versets. The inner versets on the other hand consisted of thinner three- or four-part textures in which there was a degree of contrapuntal, imitative, interest. The style in which these versets were written now displayed a far greater rhythmic interest than was hitherto apparent, employing patterns more suited to the keyboard. In some instances, the figurations employed even veered towards a style one might associate with eighteenth-century harpsichord music.

The outer movements were frequently quite short, consisting perhaps of little more than a cadential formula extended over a four-bar period; in this respect, therefore, they might resemble written-out improvisations. The following example, the first verset of a Gloria in the 4th mode [Dobles] (possibly by Mariner), is typical: the emphatic pattern of repeated octave E's in the bass is also characteristic.

(Ex. 1)

(1° V(ers)o) (Versos 4° to(no) por el Gloria) [Mariner?] MonAM M.1421 (p. 8)



(These versets for the Gloria are included in the anthology, pp. 530-2.)

However, such versets could also be quite lengthy. Where (as was usual in the inner versets) the material was not extended by means of successive points of imitation in true seventeenth-century style, composers frequently resorted to repetition. Vilar and Mariner particularly excelled in an almost insistent application of this device; this may be seen in some of their larger-scale tientos in particular. Thus, in many of the longer 'lleno' versets, the material may have been constructed from

repeated periods, the first of which might be heard in an emphatic fashion at the opening, in modal or tonal regions a third apart. Similarly, this material could be repeated in the 'dominant' region or even in periods a tone apart. An extremely long example of this type is the first verset for the Agnus movement in Vilar's organ mass contained in the Astorga MS. Owing to the sequence of modes employed for the four movements (1, 4, 6 and 6), this organ mass may be identified as one for double feasts (Dobles). In this instance, the chordally-accompanied scale-like material which constitutes the principal interest of this verset is not only repeated in alternation between the two hands in the same modal region of F, but is also then reiterated in a descending cycle of thirds: it proceeds from F, through d, B♭, g, and E♭ to C which then acts as a 'dominant' preparation for a return to F.

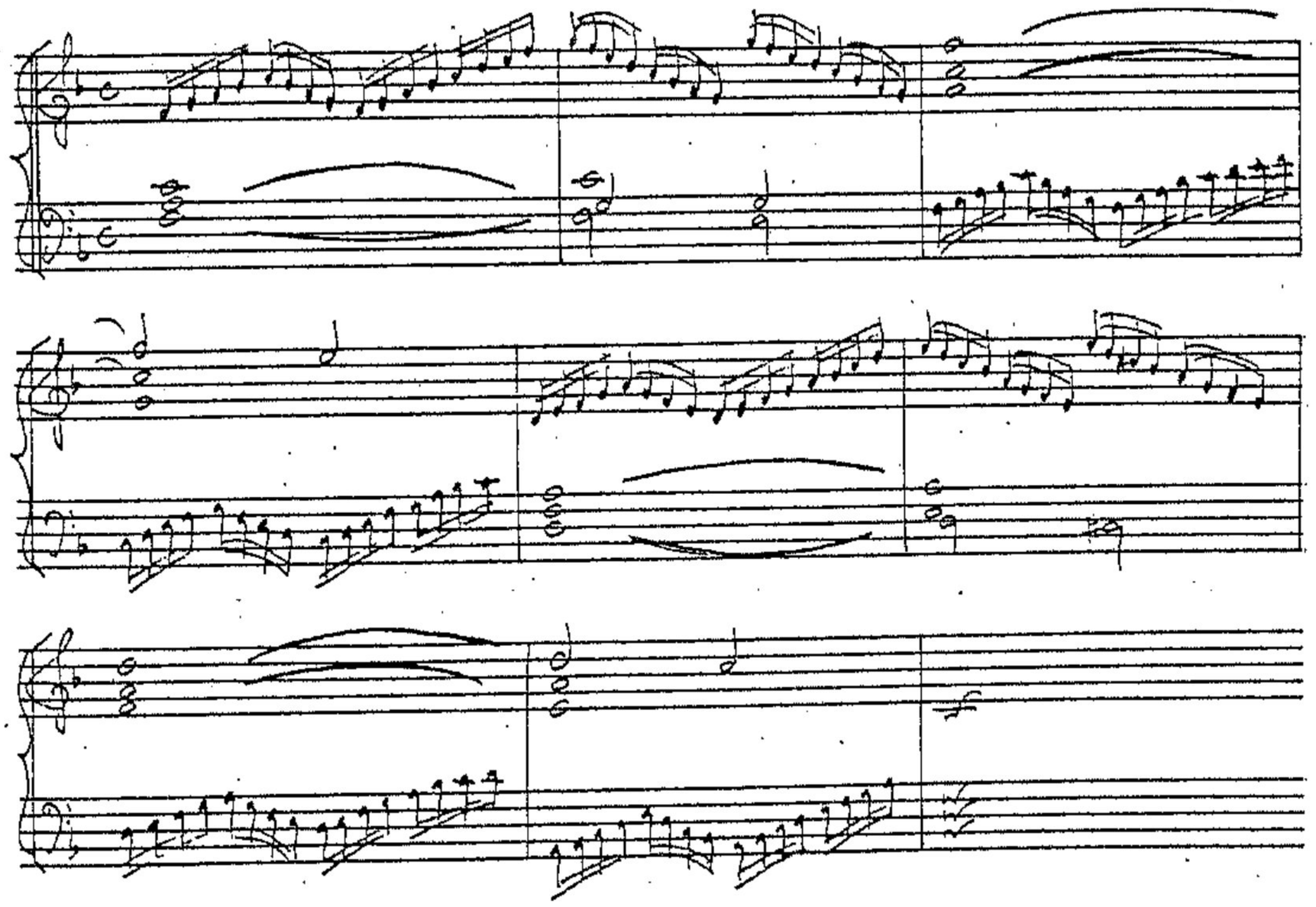
(Ex. 2)

(Tres versos de 6° tono para Agnus Dei: N. 1)

Astorga 1715

Franc'sco Vi'la[r]

(Alvarez ed. (1976), pp. 88-9)



Interestingly enough, in the 'Versos de 5° tono para Kiries (de Angels)' (sic : MonAM M.1421, p.17) by F. Vilar, the compositional technique of extending the material by its repetition in the 'dominant' region was used not only in the first and last versets, but also in the inner, more fugally-orientated, versets. This will be discussed below.

In general, the inner versets contrast with the fuller textures of the outer versets and are characterized by lighter, contrapuntal, writing. Even where these versets contain an amount of thematic interest - such as the use of plainchant themes, or a melodic phrase which is used to unify the movement as a whole - a number of these versets exploit characteristic styles or sound-dispositions such as 'falsas', 'flautado', 'partido', and a new idiom 'coreado'. This is particularly evident in the longer Gloria movement where, evidently for the purposes of variety, the succession of versets are written in a medley of contrasting styles and tempi; these are sometimes delineated by appropriate subtitles.

In the Gloria movement in particular, the choice of styles for the organization of the inner versets becomes virtually predictable: for instance, where the fourth verset was not in partido style it was, like the seventh verset, written in coreado style; as in the seventeenth-century organ mass, the eighth verset was traditionally assigned a special position in the Gloria sequence and was frequently a short excursion in falsas or flautado style.

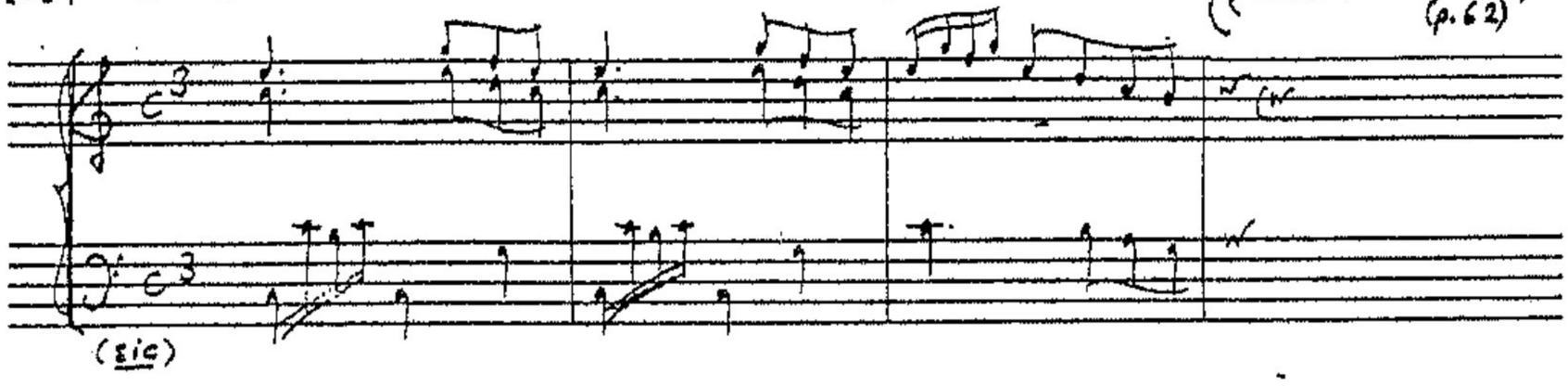
A precise definition of the term coreado, as applied to the new stylistic idiom, is hard to come by as the characteristics of the music associated with it were rarely uniform. However, as may be seen in the examples below, it would appear to refer to music which featured a number of idiomatic figurations employing semiquavers, in both duple and triple metre. These either took the form of octave ostinato patterns thus:



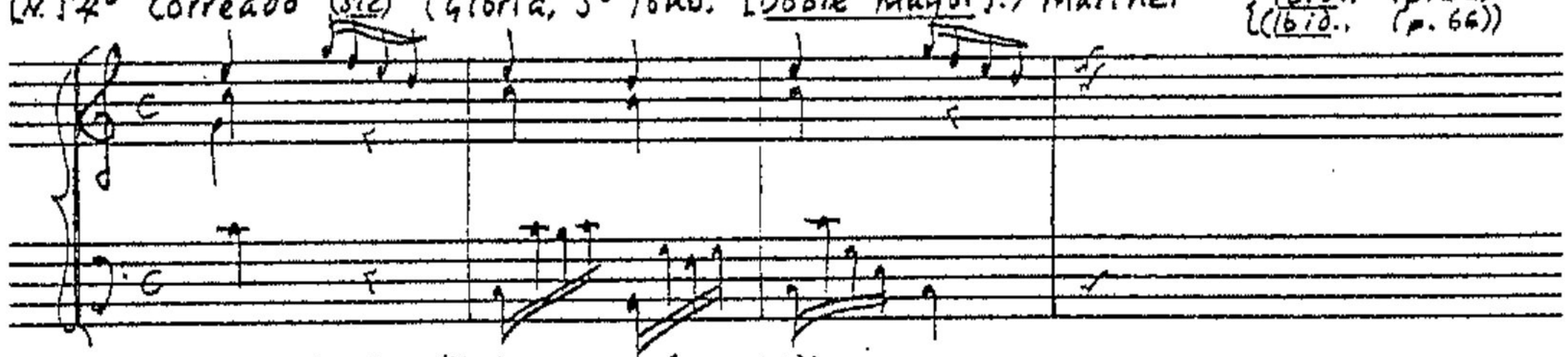
or rapidly moving scales and arpeggios.

(Ex. 3)

(a) [V.] 4° Correado (sic) (Kiries, 5° tono, [Doble mayor].) Mariner { (MonAM M. 1419 (p. 24)) / (MonAM M. 1205 (p. 62)) }

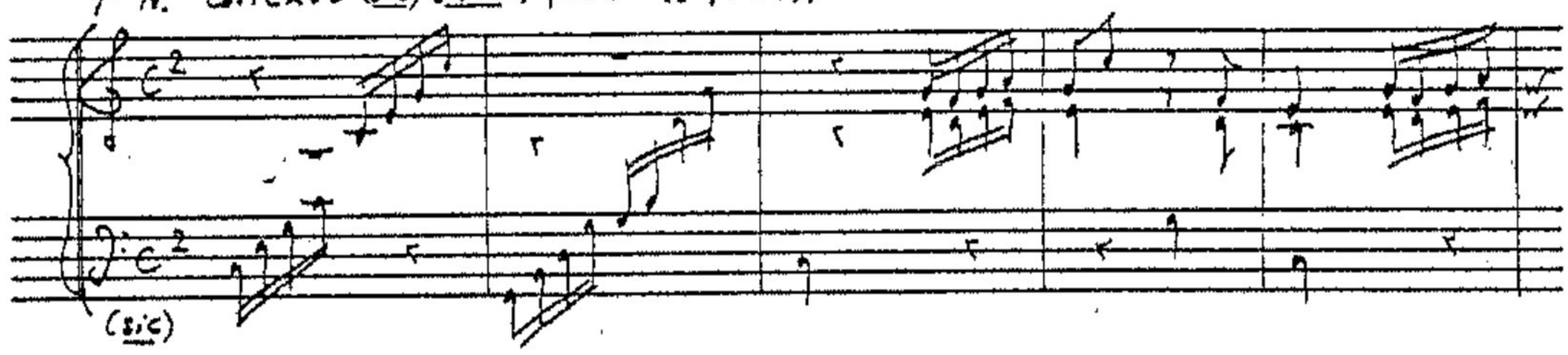


(b) [V.] 4° Correado (sic) (Gloria, 5° tono. [Doble mayor].) Mariner { (Ibid., (p. 26)) / ((Ibid., (p. 66)) }



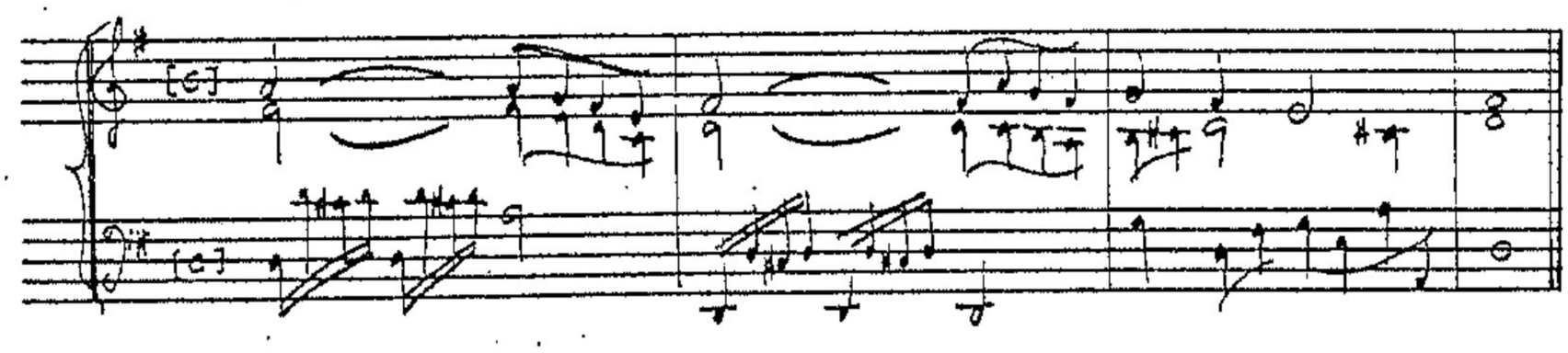
7° V.° Correado (sic) (Ibid., p. 27 (y p. 69))

(c)



5° Verso [coreado] (Gloria, 7° tono, [de Nuestra Señora].) Vilar MonAM M. 713 (p. 9)

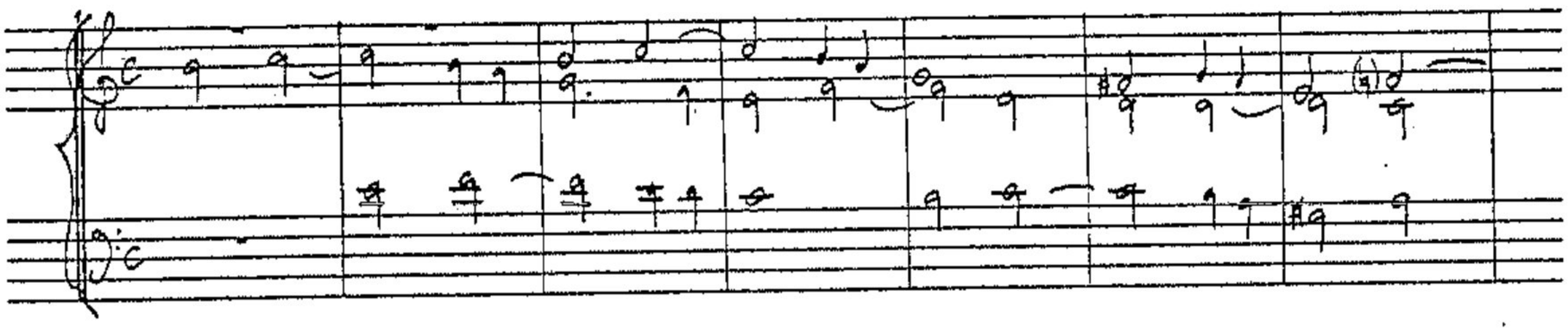
(d)

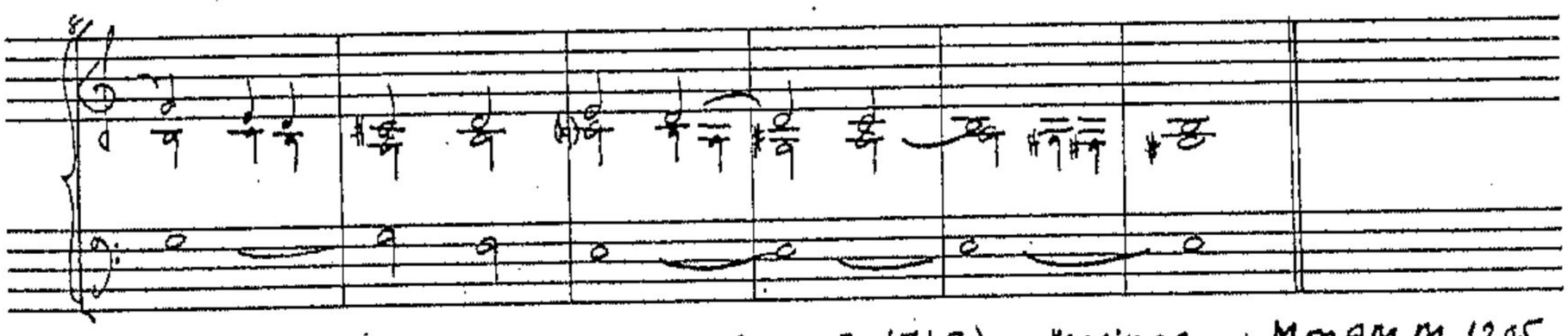


The eighth verset of the Gloria was always associated with a more searching musical style; it therefore contrasted dramatically with the textures of the seventh verset, when this was in coreado style, and the concluding (ninth) 'lleno' style verset. It may have been in the already familiar falsas vein, consisting moreover of chromatic melodic and harmonic progressions, or in a blander one which featured progressions in parallel thirds and sixths. The latter idiom was frequently designated flautado as an indication of the type of registration required. This particular style of writing was, of course, not confined to this context; examples of flautado textures are encountered in the psalm-tone versets from this period and in some of the tientos. Several examples of the falsas and flautado styles, forming the basis of the eighth verset of the Gloria, may be cited.

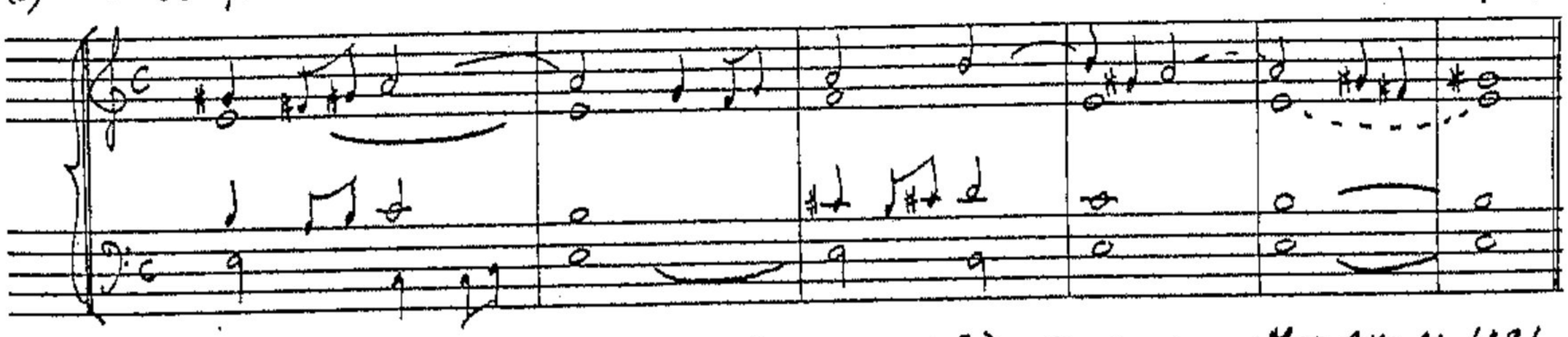
(Ex. 4)

(a) 8° de Falsas (Gloria, 4° tono, [Dobles].) MonAM m1205 (p 9)

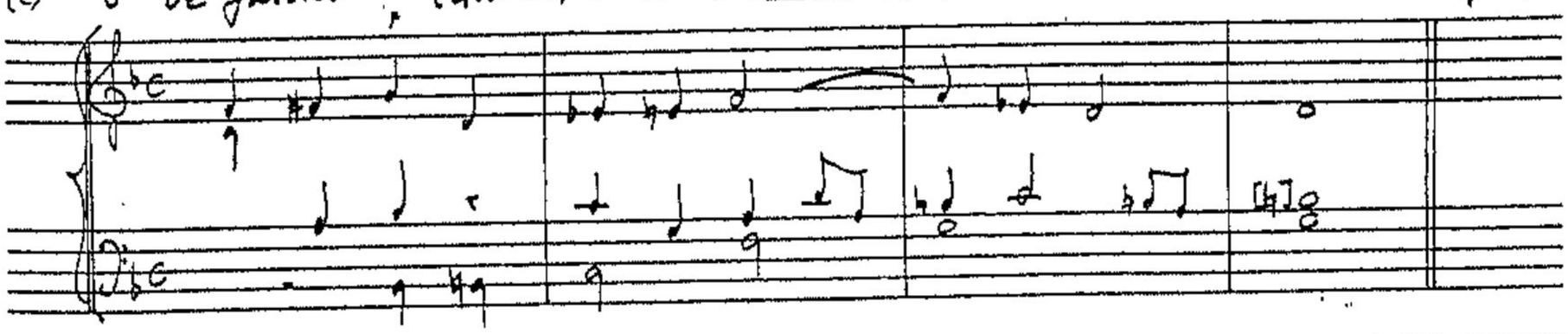




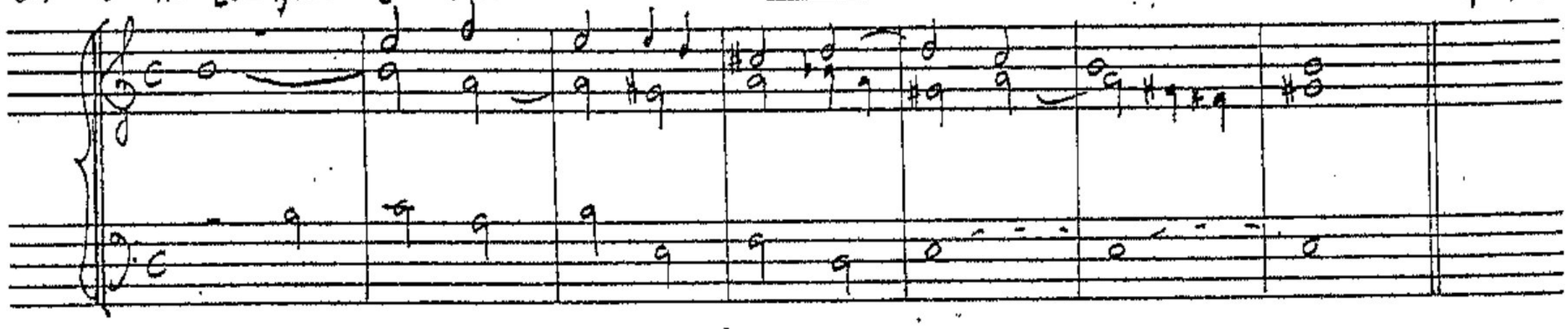
(b) 8° de falsas (Gloria, 4° tono, [Dobles], 1742.) Mariner MonAM m. 1205 (p.20)



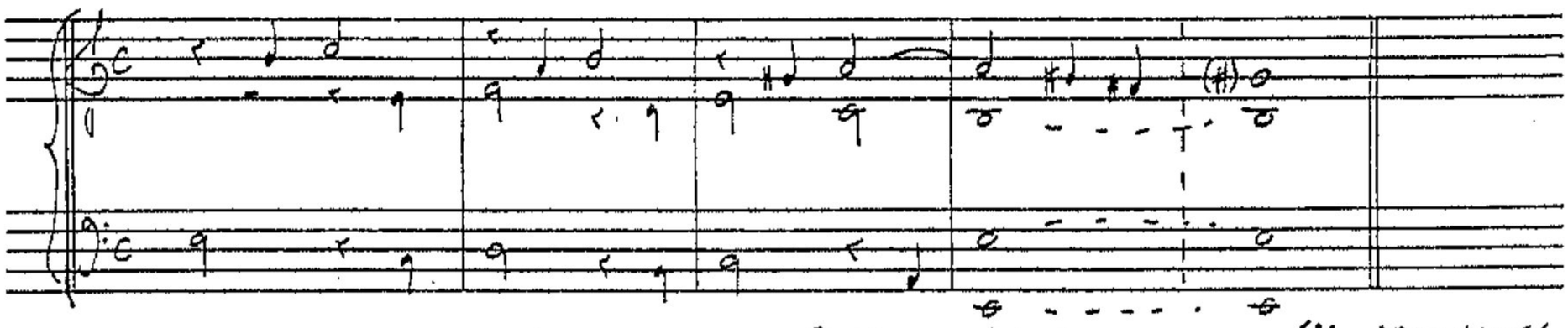
(c) 8° de falsas (Gloria, 2° tono, [Dominicals].) Mariner MonAM m. 1421 (p.10)



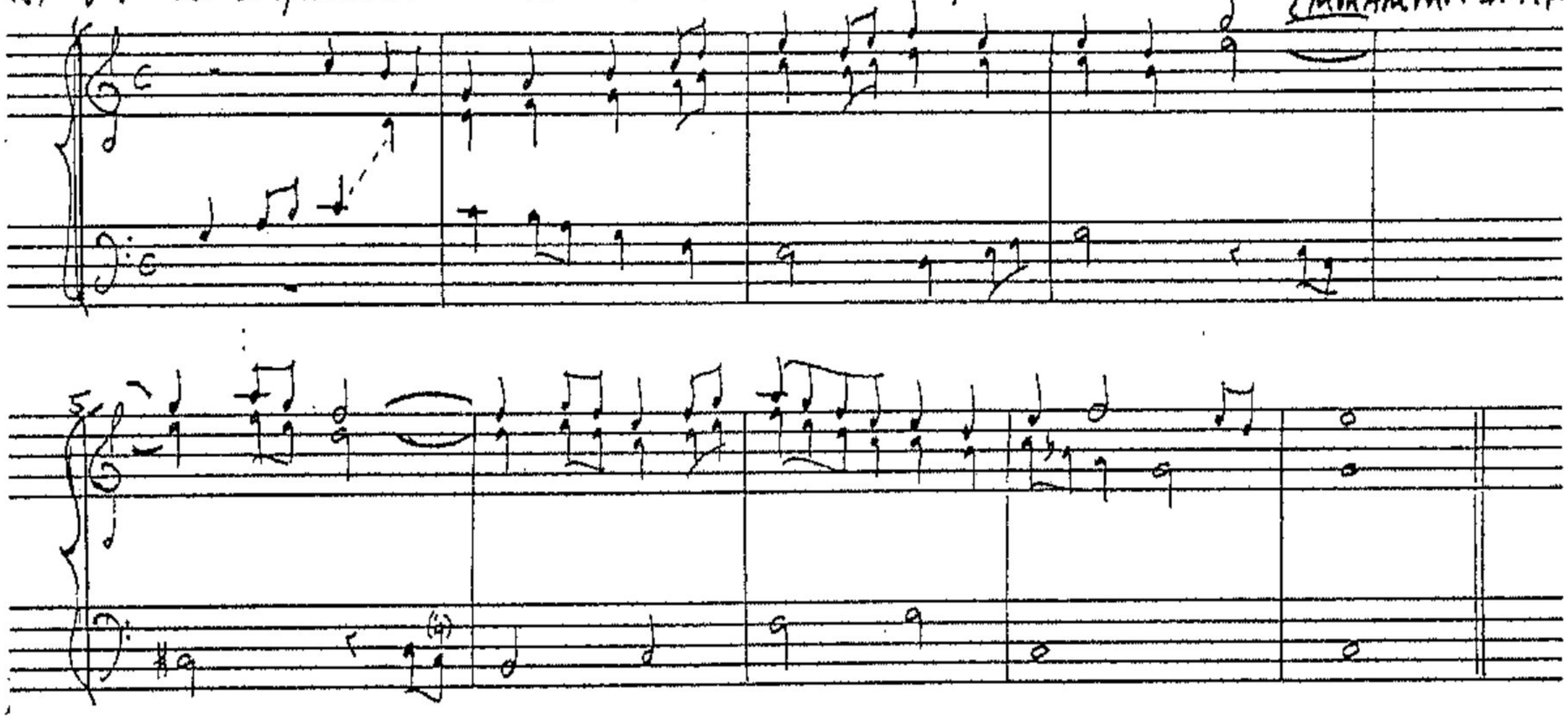
(a) 8ª V. [de falsas] (Gloria, 4º tono, [Dobles], 1755.) Mariner MonAM M.1205 (p.48)



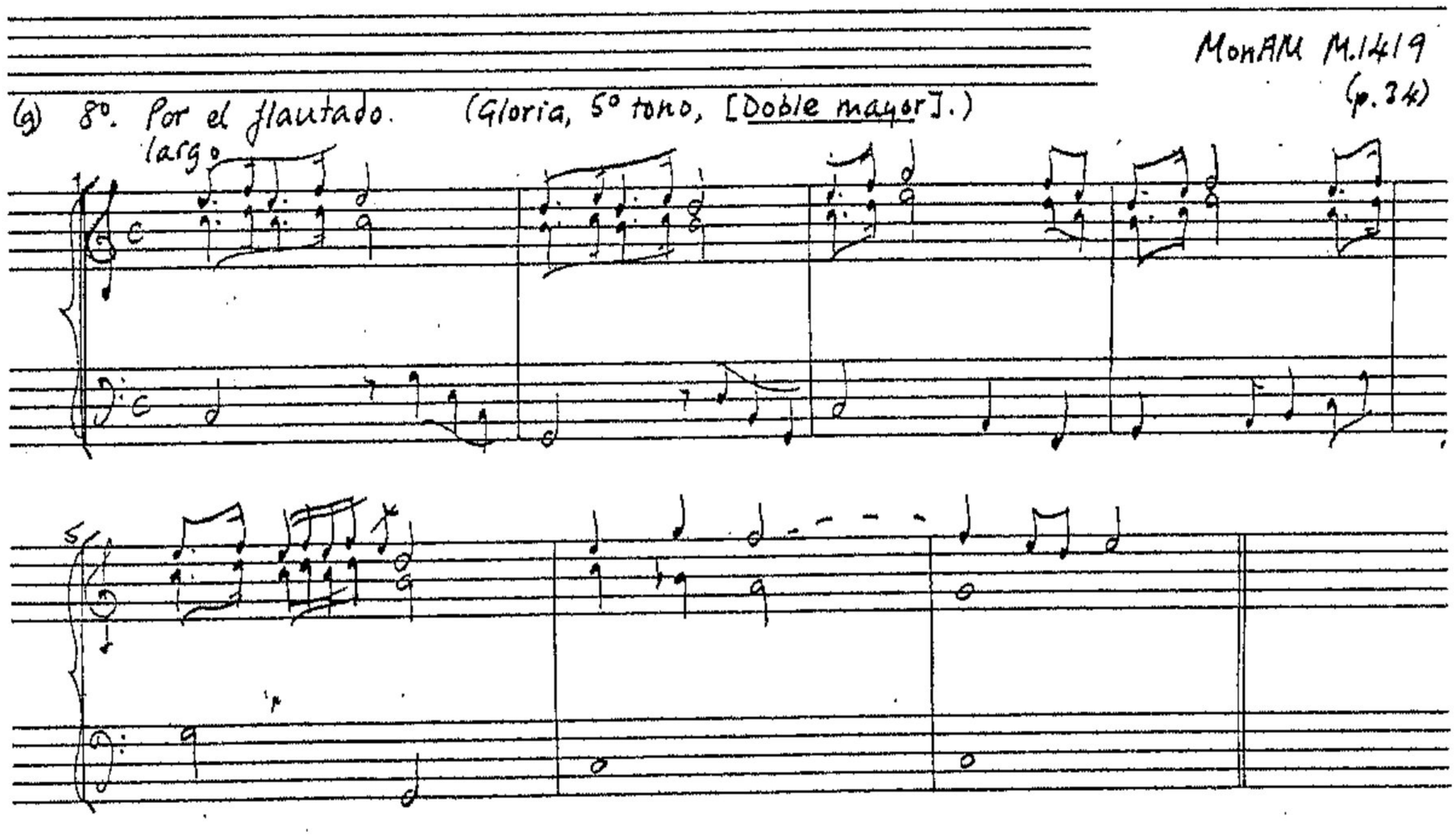
(e) 8º Vº por flautado (Gloria, 4º tono, [Dobles].) Mariner MonAM M.1421 (p.6)



(f) 8º. Por el flautado (Gloria, 5º tono, [Doble mayor].) Mariner (MonAM M. 1205 (p.70) MonAM M. 1419 (p.28)



(g) 8º. Por el flautado. (Gloria, 5º tono, [Doble mayor].) MonAM M.1419 (p.34)



Despite the evident delight which organists and composers from this period took in exploiting new exciting sounds and idioms in their organ music, they were reliant, as a basis for their musical argument, upon traditional phraseology and syntax. Their writing was still to a large extent contrapuntal, and thematic transformation was one of the devices used for extending and varying the musical material. It may be recalled here that standard rules of counterpoint and compositional procedures were still applicable in the heavily competitive oposiciones.

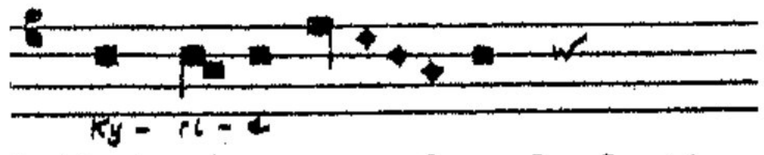
Thus, as evinced by the Dominicals organ mass by Anton Coll (MonAM M.1072, pp.26-33) in particular (and discussed above in connexion with alternatim procedures), it is apparent that the question of basing versets for the organ mass on the plainchant masses themselves was still adhered to in the late eighteenth century. Coll's procedure of thematic transformation in this organ mass was illustrated by the extracts shown above (p. 417 seq.) It will be remembered that in this particular organ mass, the composer (or compiler of the manuscript) underlined the thematic derivation of one or two of his versets by including a verbal incipit of the 'missing' verse.

As further evidence of organ versets for the Mass adhering thematically to the plainchant, a number of Kyrie movements from this period which were designed to alternate with the Kyrie commonly referred to as 'de Angelis' (Mass VIII in the Liber Usualis) or 'de Angels' in Spanish terminology could be exemplified: in particular, Vilar's 'Versos de 5° tono para Kiries (de Angels)' (MonAM M.1421, pp.17-21), which are included in the anthology (pp.532-5), and Mestres's Kyrie versets in the 5th mode edited by Civil (1974). In common with the versets by Mestres (which do not however indicate a specific liturgical function (see Civil ed. (1974), pp.27-33)), Vilar's versets feature an ascending and descending scale-like figure which may be related to the plainchant Kyrie 'de Angelis'.

The first verset of the Kyrie movement by Vilar has already been discussed in connexion with the procedures composers employed for extending their musical material, particularly in the opening and closing versets of a sequence. However, unusually perhaps for an opening verset in a Kyrie movement from this period, a version of the initial phrase of the Kyrie chant itself is quoted in the manner of a cantus firmus in the bass line, first in the 'tonic' and then in the 'dominant'. As already mentioned, this feature of 'tonic' and 'dominant' periods in fact characterizes every one of the five versets. In the plainchant itself, the nine invocations of the Kyrie are sung to three melodic phrases: the first for the first three Kyries, the second for the Christes and the third for the last three Kyries. In this movement of the organ mass then, the first two versets correspond thematically with the first phrase of the chant, the third verset with the chant for the Christe, whilst the fourth and the fifth versets remain thematically independent; the final verset does, however, retain the 'tonic' - 'dominant' element. Interestingly enough therefore, with regard to alternatim structure, this would seem to indicate the more unusual scheme in which the organ substituted for the odd-numbered verses, including the first.

However, it is not always clear whether it was indeed the intention of the composers to adhere rigidly to a compositional process in which each verset would in some way represent (or cite) the plainchant verses which were substituted. In some instances it would appear that a purely musical, as opposed to a musico-liturgical, interest directed the construction of these versets. In a few movements of the organ masses the sequence of versets were even unified by a monothematic process. The theme or motif used in these may or may not have been derived from some phrase of the plainchant; where it was related to the chant, it would appear

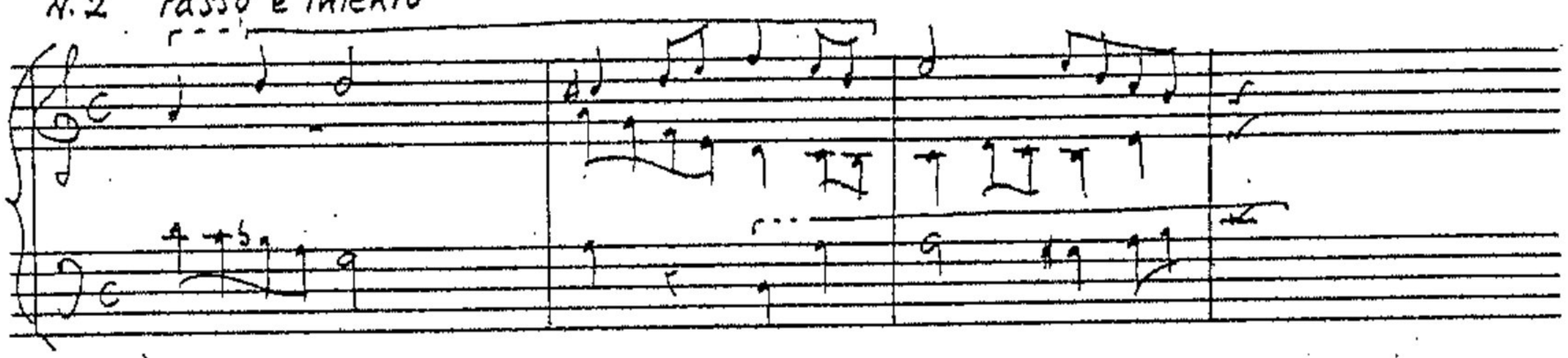
that the composer's intention was not one which adhered rigidly to an invariable alternatim scheme. By its very nature, a monothematic sequence of versets could not preclude a set performing pattern. Thus in the 'Versos de Nostra S(eño)ra por kiries' (sic) by Mariner (MonAM M.1205, pp.58-9, anthology, p.525 seq.) for instance, each verset may in fact be related to the familiar opening phrase of the 'Cunctipotens' Kyrie:



In the second verset it will be noticed that, by way of underlying the compositional style adopted, Mariner has inscribed 'passo é intento' (sic); the passo, we learn clearly refers to the 'Cunctipotens' theme, whilst the intento consists of the scale-like countersubject.

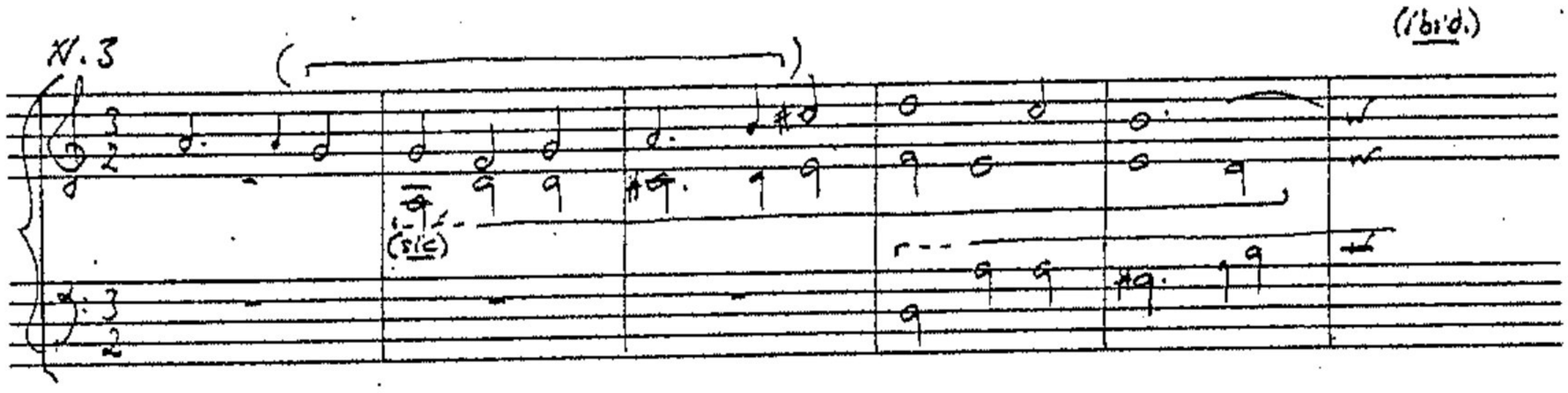
(Ex.5) MonAM M.1205 (p.59)

(a) N.2 Passo e intento



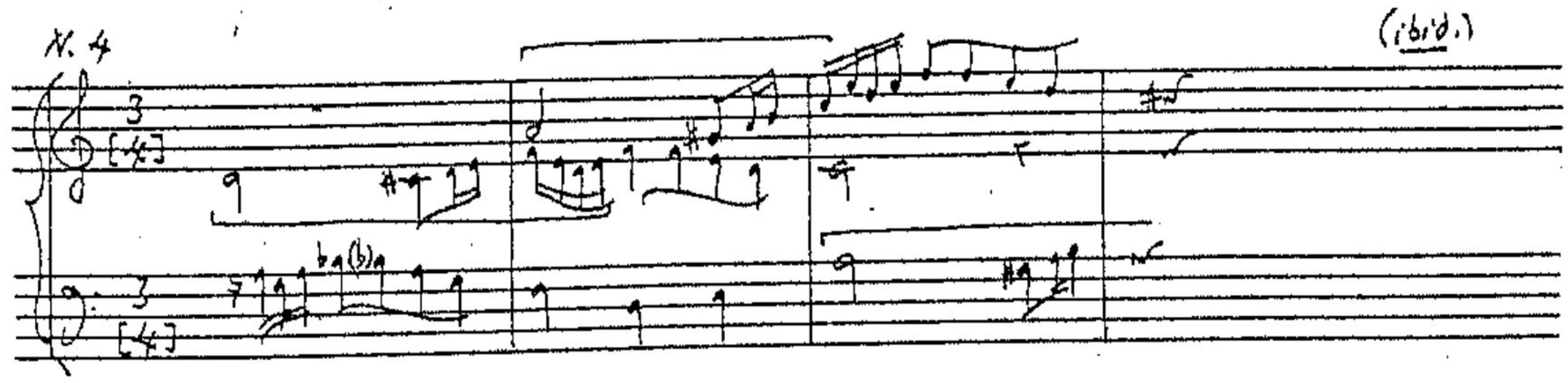
(ibid.)

(b) N.3



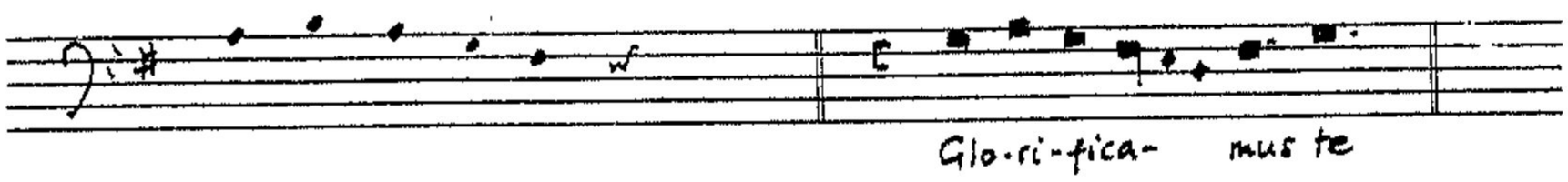
(ibid.)

(c) N.4



The versets of the 7th-mode Gloria of this organ mass are also constructed from a recurring theme. In this instance it is not entirely clear whether it was conceived independently from the plainchant mass or whether it was deliberately related to the chant for the phrase 'Glorificamus te' from the Gloria in the 7th mode normally associated with Marian feasts (Mass IX in the Liber Usualis).

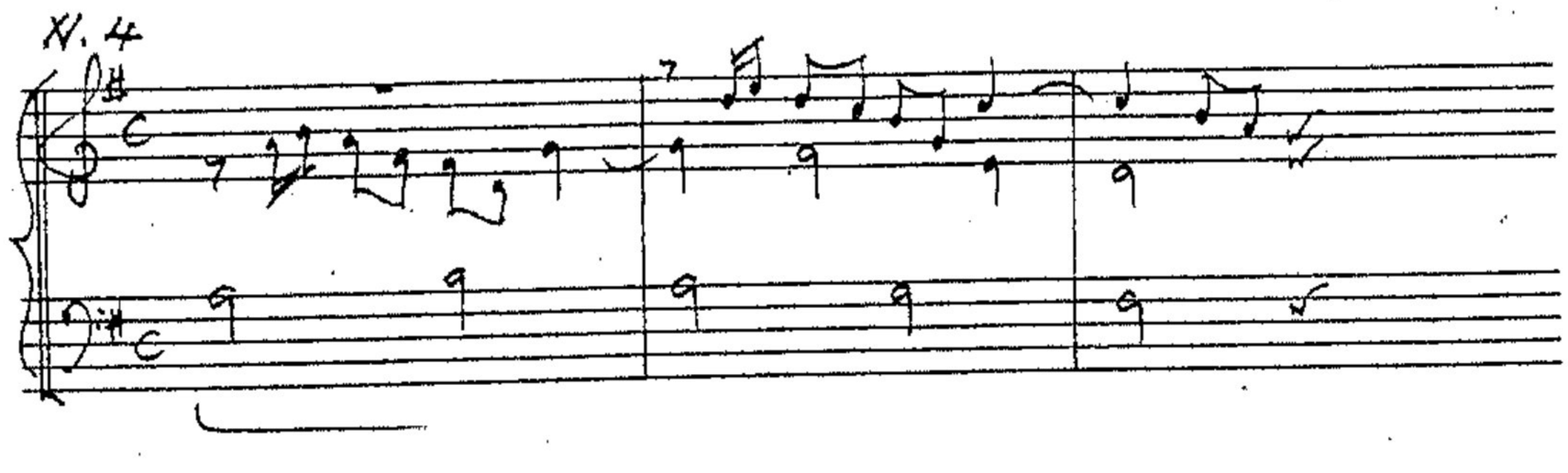
(Ex. 6)



However, this movement as a whole is an excellent example of how composers might transform a theme to meet the stylistic demand of any particular verset in the sequence: it was frequently rhythmically altered and employed as a point (or paso) for imitation, or used melodically in the manner of a cantus firmus. In the fourth verset, for instance, it appears as a quasi cantus firmus in the bass, in conjunction with a diminutive version imitated between the two upper parts:

(Ex. 7)

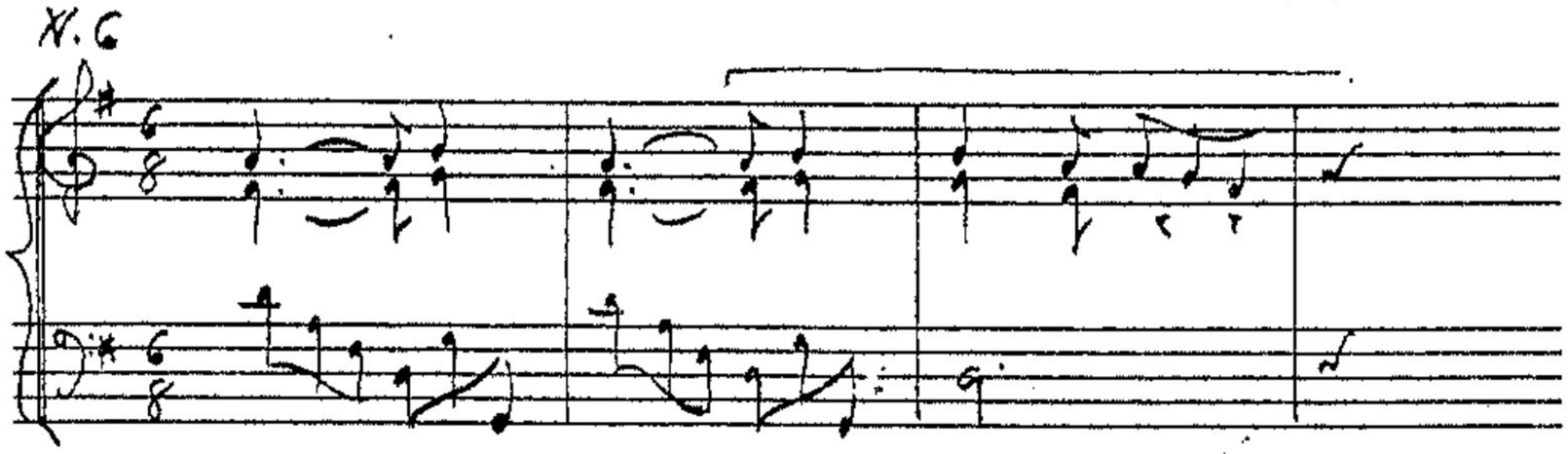
MonAM M. 1205
(p. 60)



In versets which involve perhaps only sporadic imitation, the theme may be traced in the contrapuntal lines where it may be incorporated as part of the melodic phrase:

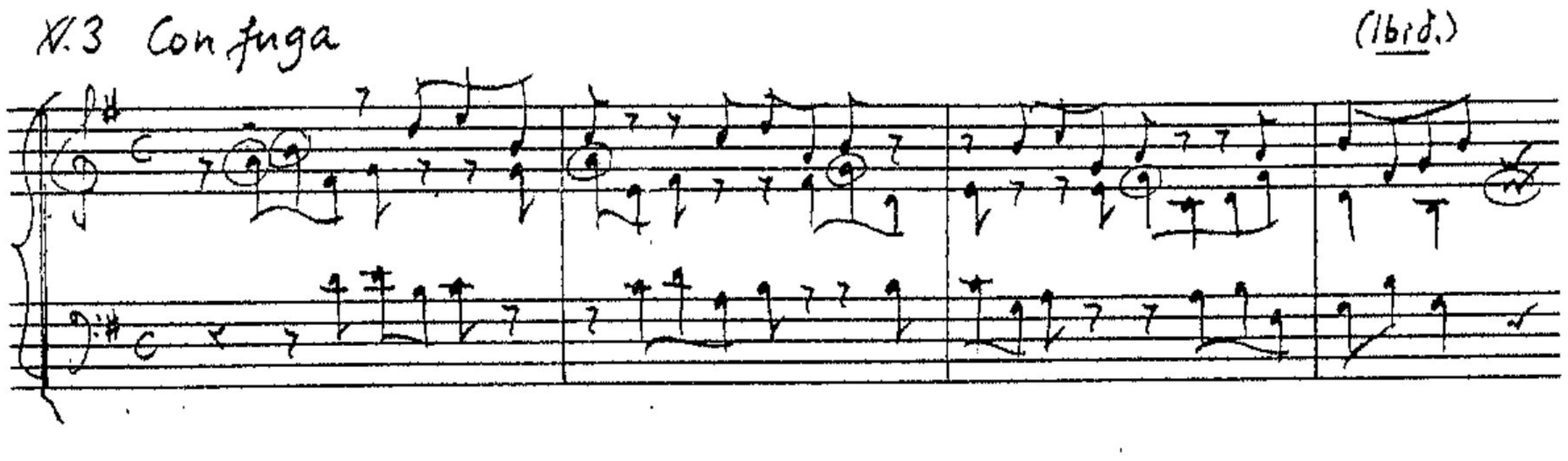
(Ex. 8)

(Ibid., p. 60)



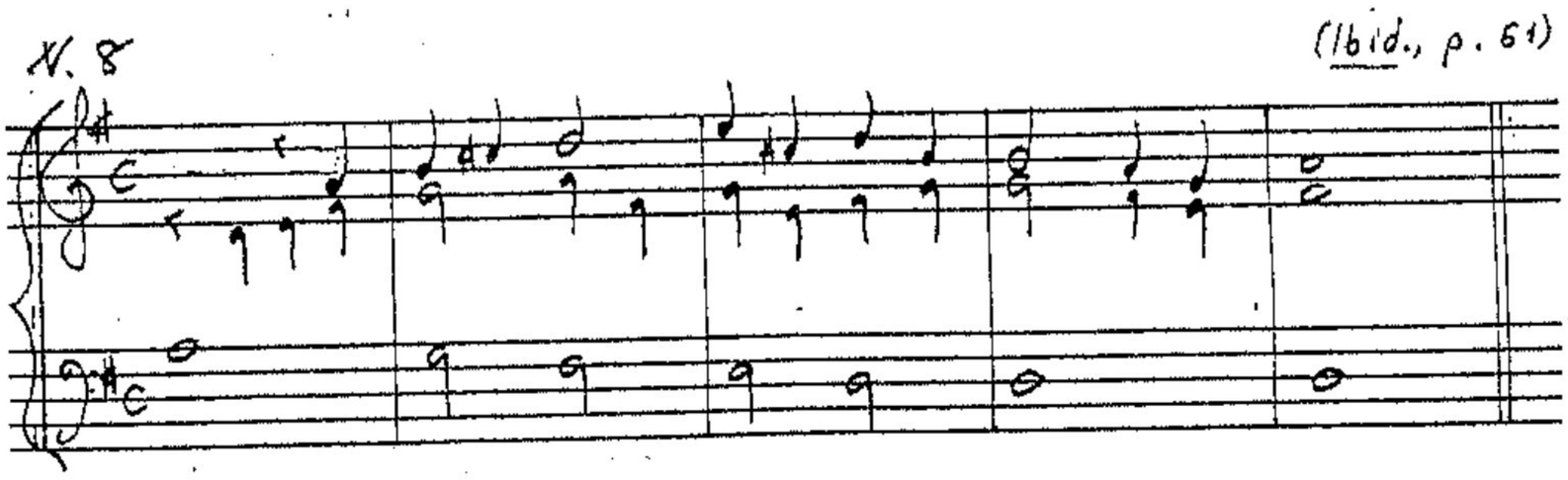
In the third verset, entitled 'Con fuga', the six-bar piece consists of canonic writing (â 3) at the octave and at the fifth; this also incorporates the main subject in the descending sequential writing:

(Ex. 9)



Finally, the eighth verset, in its <u>falsas</u> or <u>flautado</u> idiom, contains the theme in the bass-line in the manner of a cantus firmus.

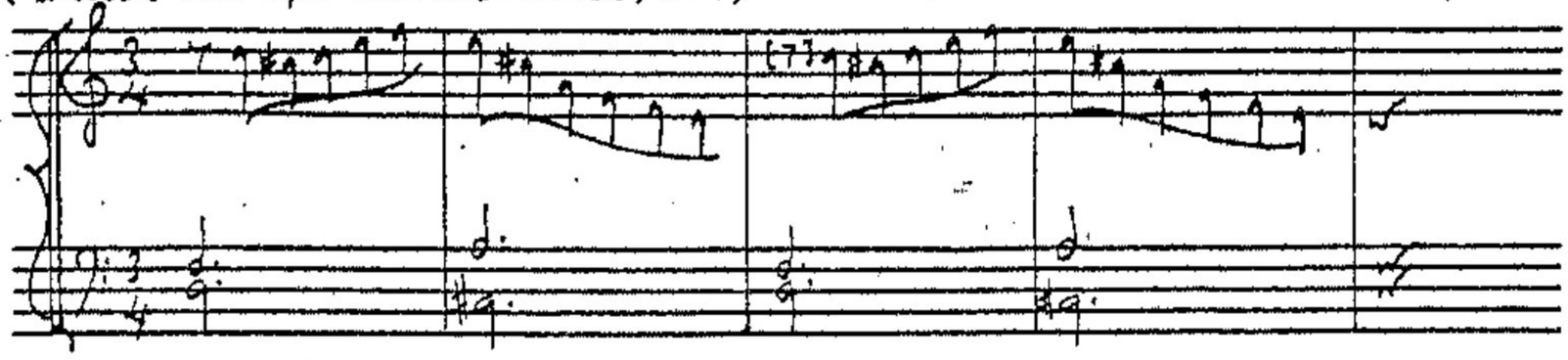
(Ex. 10)



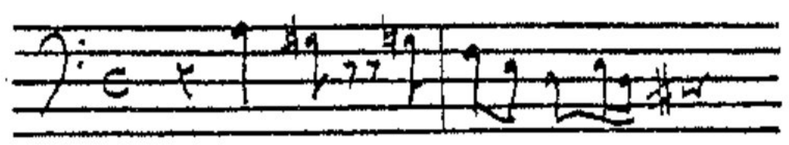
An organ mass by A. Mestres ([<u>Dobles</u>]) in MonAM M.1583 (pp.26-36), of which just the Kyrie and Gloria movements have been included in the anthology (pp.546-51; there is in fact no Agnus movement), provides another clear example of how each verset in any movement might be constructed from just one brief motif. The Kyrie features a chromatic idea, which could be interpreted as being derived from the opening of the Kyrie 'Cunctipotens', and the Gloria one of a falling (minor) third.

The theme in the Kyrie, in the first verset, is announced simultaneously in the bass and top part:

(Ex. 11) ([Missa Dobles per annum]: Kyries, N. 1) A. Mestres MonAM M. 1583 (p. 26)



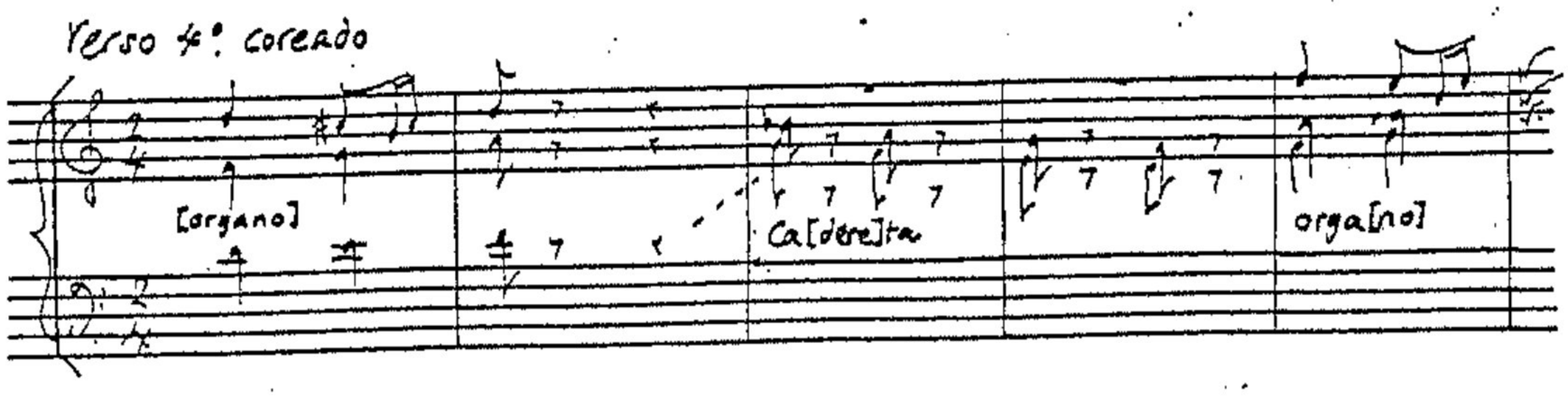
The theme is subsequently transformed into a chromatic paso for imitation

 serving as the main idea for both versets two and three; in fact, for the most part, the third verset consists of a reconstruction of the second, employing the trocado technique of contrapuntal composition in which the two upper parts exchange roles.

The third verset is also designed to contrast with the second, being written in a partido style which is clearly to be realized on two manuals. The fourth verset, this time in coreado style, is again based on this theme and exploits the antiphonal organ sound by alternating the cadereta with the main organ ('orga'). As exemplified by the following extract, verbal instructions are included in the music:

(Ex. 12)

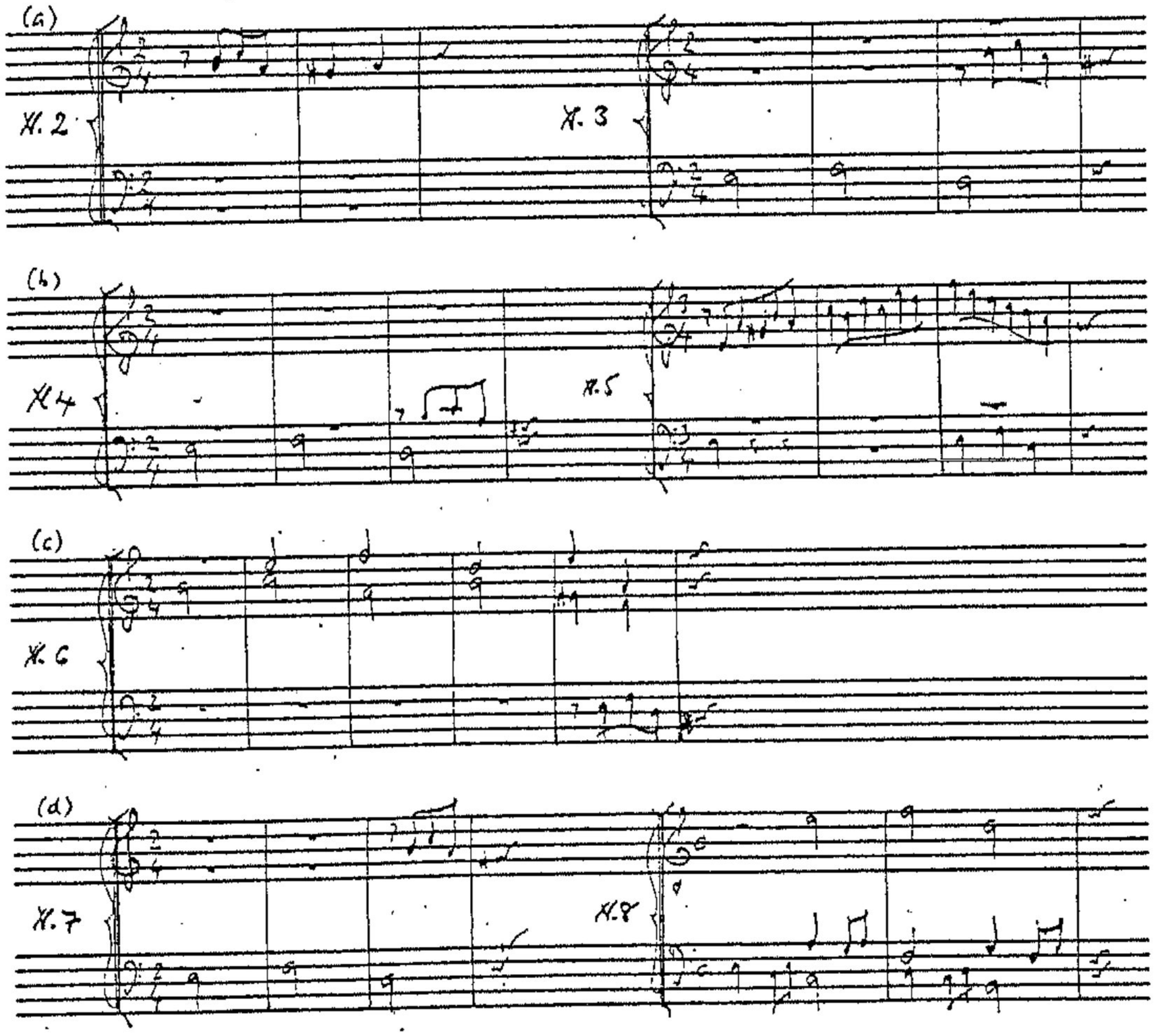
(Versos para Kyries y Gloria [Dobles]) A. Mestres (Ibid., p. 28)



In the fifth and final verset, the theme returns to the bass-line, once more dictating the chordal changes. With regard to the Gloria, the following musical incipits of versets two to eight are sufficient to demonstrate the extreme economy on the part of the composer, Mestres, of musical theme and construction.

(Ex. 13)

(Mestres) (Ibid., pp. 30-36)



From a consideration then of the Spanish organ mass, as represented by the main seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources, two issues strongly emerge as a result of viewing the development or evolution of this compositional genre from a retrospective angle. Firstly, the gradual abandonment of the restraints necessarily imposed when versets were thematically compatible with the verses they replaced - this inevitably preordained an alternatim scheme; secondly, arising from this, the exploitation of the possibility of treating each verset in a sequence as one of a series of musical variations which may be thematically unified, exploring new idioms or particular organ registrations. The latter issue is especially symptomatic of eighteenth-century organ masses.

(iii)

Organ music for the Mass Ordinary in seventeenth-century Portugal: a question of identification

The necessity of taking documentary evidence for the use of the organ during the Mass into account should never be underestimated. It has already been noted how the surprising lack of purely musical material pertaining to the Mass in sixteenth-century Spanish organ sources has already lead to at least one false assumption regarding musico-liturgical practices in the Spanish church. Similarly, and to an even further degree, any attempt to draw definitive conclusions regarding seventeenth-century Portuguese practices involving the organ in the Mass from the organ sources alone would be entirely misleading. Unlike seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Spanish organ manuscripts, those of seventeenth-century Portugal are remarkable for their total lack of musical material resembling a standard four-movement 'organ mass'. Curiously enough, then, there is nothing which might consolidate such prescriptions as

> Nas Missas de Festa semiduplex, Infraoctava, simplex, ou de Dominga ordinaria, se dirá o Gloria, Kyrios, Sa(n)ctus & Agnus Dei alternatim co(m) o órgão [...]
>
> (Ceremonial, Coimbra, 1647; Liv.I, Tit.II, Cap.7, n.7, p.16.)

and other pertinent extracts from Portuguese constitutions attesting to the evidently traditional use of the organ in Mass. Such of these were cited in the section above specifically devoted to an appraisal of the extent of the organist's participation in the celebration of Mass.

The fact that the main sources of Portuguese organ music - Coelho's Flores de música (1620), the Porto Livro de obras (PBPM M.1607) and the Braga MS (BBP M.964) - like Cabezón's Obras (1578), contain no versets for the Mass other than those which we may identify with the Kyrie, therefore, is without significance. In the case of the Braga MS, the lack of suitable inscriptions accompanying most of the versets

has prompted a series of investigations as to the possibility of their function within the context of the Mass. As a result of these, Braga M.964 has proved to be the most significant source for the organ Kyrie and, indeed, all categories of alternatim versets. Furthermore it contains concordances with both Coelho's 1620 Flores and the Porto Livro de obras compiled by Roque da Conceição.[1]

Before examining the Braga MS and the procedure adopted for the identification of the function of many of the versets, including a description of those found in both the Braga and above-mentioned Porto sources, some consideration may be made of the series of 'Kyrios' which Coelho included in his Flores de música. Apart from their more superficially obvious function, their singularity from a musico-liturgical point of view rests with the actual presentation and arrangement of this series of organ versets. They are inscribed: 'Kirios ou versos por todos os sete sinos, começando de se sol fa ut até b fa negro' (Flores, f.216 seq.). From this specification alone, it is clear that in compiling these the organist was primarily concerned to provide a series of organ compositions (versets in this case) on each note of a seven-note sequence extending from C to B♭: each of these notes would be used as the signo ('sino') or final for a particular mode. In the context of this particular publication, this question could be said to override any of the more liturgically functional issues involved with a series of Kyrie versets whose conception is necessarily ostensibly practical.

In the formation of this series 'por todos os sete sinos', only two modal transpositions were required to accommodate the two signos

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1. For details of these concordances and a list of contents in Braga M.964, see Doderer ed. (1974), p.XII seq. The Porto Livro de obras is edited by Speer (1967). A chart listing the versets in sources of Portuguese organ music which may be identified with plainchant Kyries is inserted at the end of this section (pp.512-513).

normally outside the modal series in 'natural' position: the 1st mode was transposed down to C sol fa ut ('se sol fa ut') ['ponto baixo'] and the 6th was transposed to B fa negro. In both cases, the accidentals required were b♭ and e♭. The 'sete sinos', therefore, are represented not so much by seven different modes as by five modes in both 'natural' and transposed positions:

Signo	Mode	Signature
C sol fa ut	1	b♭ & e♭
De la sol re	1	-
E la mi	4	-
F fa ut	6	b♭
G sol re ut	8	-
A la mi re	3	-
B fa (negro)	6	b♭ & e♭

With regard to the untransposed modes Coelho, in keeping with the traditions implicated by the theoretical recommendations of Bermudo (and later Valls) and the practical examples of Cabezón's Kyrie versets, has chosen the finals associated specifically with the psalm-tones in each mode, rather than those actually proper to each modal species. This can be deduced from the location of the 3rd mode on A (la mi re). (This is in fact common practice in the entire repertory of organ versets.)[1] However, as already discussed in connexion with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish organ mass, the C sol fa ut transposition for the 1st mode is extremely rare; it was only encountered in a group of organ masses in one of the eighteenth-century Montserrat manuscripts (MonAM M.1421, pp.38-46) which, we may surmise, were composed at the lower pitch for a particular choir. The B fa (negro) transposition for the 6th mode in this context, however, is unique. It was recognized by Bermudo as one of the possible 'modos accidentales en teclas negras',

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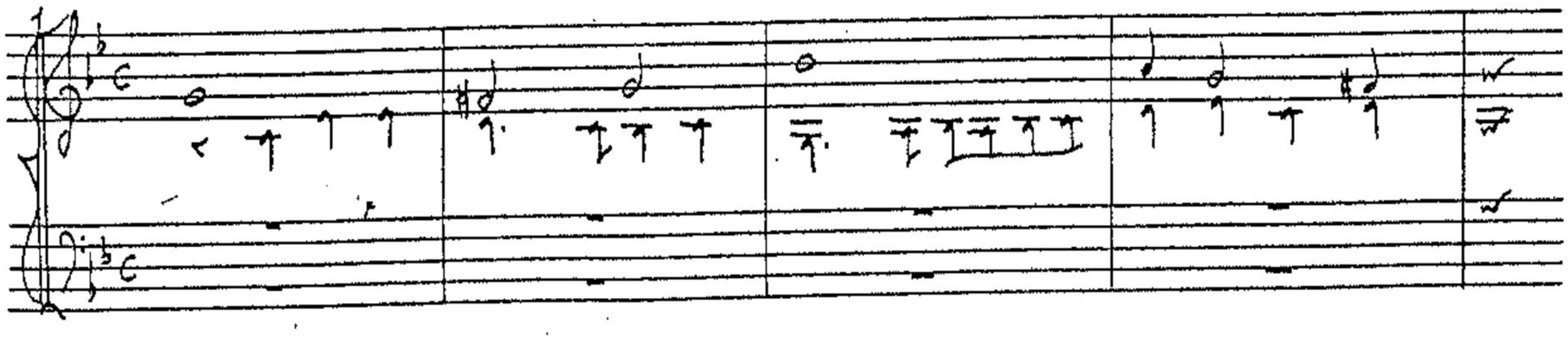
1. For a discussion on modal transposition with particular regard to the psalm-tones, see Chapter 5, section (ii),(c).

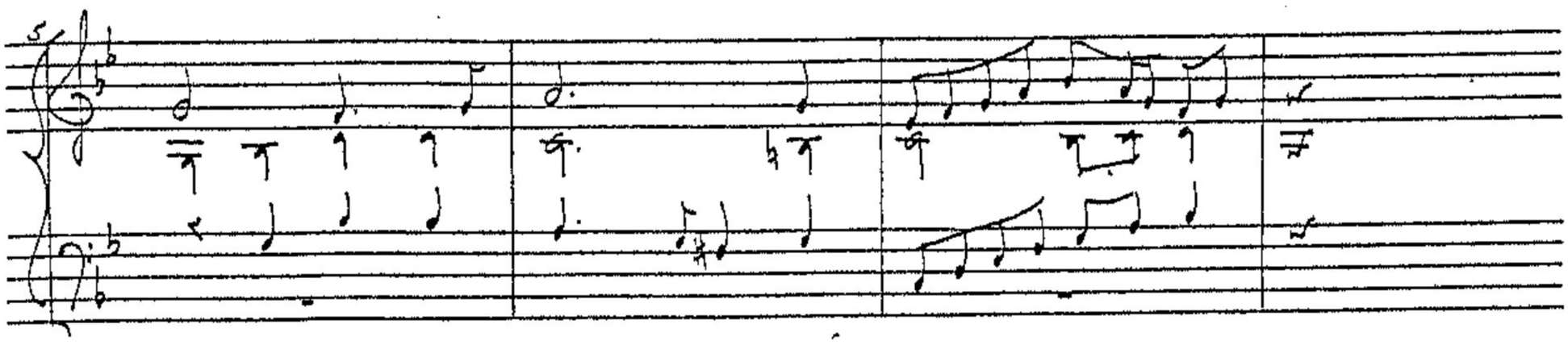
to which he devotes one chapter in the fourth book of the Declaración (Cap.32, ff.75v-6). Strictly speaking, in keeping with the indigenous scale-formation of this mode in which the fourth is not flattened, the 6th mode which uses the B fa signo should merely comprise one accidental: 'El que este modo quisiere puntar: usará de una señal de bmol, en el dicho signo de ♮mi.' (ibid., f.75v.). however, as is illustrated here by Coelho's Kyries, it became standard practice to flatten the fourth in the diapason, or scale-formation, of the 6th mode.

Stylistically, Coelho's Kirios may be regarded in the same light and tradition as those by Cabezón included in the Obras, though of course there is a numerical discrepancy between their respective sequences of versets (Coelho's Kyries comprise five versets whereas the majority by Cabezón no more than four). Like most of Cabezón's Kyries, these fugally-conceived versets are frequently constucted from a sustained-note style of subject (or paso) which, where identifiable, is frequently and unambiguously derived from a plainchant Kyrie. For instance, as may be observed in the following verset from the C sol fa ut Kyries in the 1st mode, the chant - 'Kyrie Cunctipotens' (or 'Rex Virginum') - has been virtually treated as a cantus firmus, highlighted by the presence of a more swiftly-moving countersubject. In this aspect, therefore, Coelho remains close to the compositional methods of Cabezón. It was this style of composition in particular which led to the identification of many of the fugal versets included in the Braga MS (see below).

(Ex. 1) M.R. Coelho: Flores de Música (1620) (f.216)

Primeiro Kyrio do Primeiro Tom por C Sol Fá Ut (Kastner ed. (1961), p.165.)





Thus in addition to their purely functional aspect, the significance of Coelho's group of Kyrie sequences may be considered from the following two levels. These are their association with an essentially more theoretical discipline, in which the composer exemplified music in each one of seven consecutive signos, and their traditional compositional outlook which also links them with a collection of versets in Braga M.964.

In the Braga MS, besides the copies made of Coelho's Kyrie versets themselves (ff.204-11), albeit abbreviated and exclusive of the set in the 6th mode 'por F fa ut', there are some three groups of versets which may be associated with the Kyrie of the Mass. These consist of the somewhat rudimentary examples in fugal style found at the beginning of the manuscript (ff.1-5), secondly a group which, like a number of versets for the canticles, are found also in the Livro de obras, and thirdly a corpus incorporated towards the end of the manuscript (ff.247-52v) of which the first sequence of versets (in the 1st mode) is entitled 'em fuga'. Finally, there are also the isolated 'Chirios de 1° tom' (ff.44v-5v) which, like the first group (ff.1-5), are unique to this source; their interest in this context lies precisely in their functional specification.

The ensuing discussion consists mainly of a description and evaluation of the versets in fugal style which are unique to this source. It is proposed that these were probably conceived as alternatim versets for

the invocations of the Kyries for a number of reasons. These include the number of versets forming each modal set within the stylistic groups distinguished above, the presence of a significant number of thematic allusions to plainchant Kyries and the recurrence of thematic cells (which necessarily incurred compositional similarities) within each mode, and finally the more theoretical concept which concerns the signos chosen for each mode.

Before this, however, the anonymous versets normally referred to as 'Chirios' which are to be found in both the Braga and Porto manuscripts may be described briefly. In both sources these particular versets are intermingled with a number of versets for the psalm-tones, some of which are specifically designated 'p(ar)a Magnif(icat) e Benedict(us)'. As there are a number of inscriptional inconsistencies between the sources, the identification of the intention or function of these versets (as indicated by one or other of the scribes) depends upon comparisons made between them. It transpires that only on two occasions do the two sources concord with their inscriptions. These occur with two groups of versets in the 5th mode which could, apparently, be alternated with either plainchant or polyphonic music. Thus the versets '5° tom p(ar)a canto cham o música, hum ponto alto, fa em D la sol re' in the Braga MS (ff.13v-14), for instance, are similarly inscribed in the Porto MS where there is also a reference to their particular liturgical function: 'Chirios de 5° tom p(ar)a música e cantocham hu(m) ponto alto' (ff.16-16v).

As a whole, these particular (Kyrie) versets in fugal style are generally quite short: more often than not they consist of just one fugal 'exposition' of a subject (paso) which may or may not be related to a plainchant Kyrie. The pasos themselves are usually succinct, moving in crochets or even quavers, contrasting considerably with the 'em

fuga' versets of the Braga MS. The links which may be made between some of the plainchant Kyries in the Liber Usualis (which has generally been chosen as a comparative source) and these pasos have been indicated on the accompanying chart. With the exception of the 3rd., all modes are represented in this selection of versets. There are, however, a few unusual transpositions, including that of the 1st mode, up a tone, to elami ['ponto alto']. This particular signo is unique for this mode and it certainly does not feature in the general recommendations for the modal transposition of this category of plainchant made by either Bermudo or Valls. It was however indicated for a Sanctus on the chart 'Per tocar las Missas de Añy' found at Montserrat (see above, p.444). Apart from the 'ponto alto' transposition of the 5th mode to D la sol re, again relatively unusual, it is interesting that the two sets of Kyrie versets in the 5th mode 'por C sol fa ut' provide the alternative of performing the plainchant either 'por bequadrado' (♮) or 'por bemol' (♭). (Both these interpretations are in fact recognized by Valls.) However in the first, second and sixth versets of the sequence '5° tom por ♮.' (BBP M.964, ff.13-13v; PBPM M.1607, ff.11-11v), a degree of ambivalence is introduced when the apparently conflicting b♭ occurs in the contrapuntal lines.

Turning now to the versets in fugal style which are unique to the Braga MS, it is of some interest that the modal designations of the versets from the beginning of the manuscript (ff.1-5), all untransposed, are precisely the same as those in Coelho's Kyrios. There are also a number of thematic links between these and Coelho's versets and indeed the plainchant Kyries themselves (see below). With the exception of those in the 6th mode, the liturgical function of the 'em fuga' versets in the Braga MS (ff.247-52v) is not indicated. However, a consideration of their general presentation

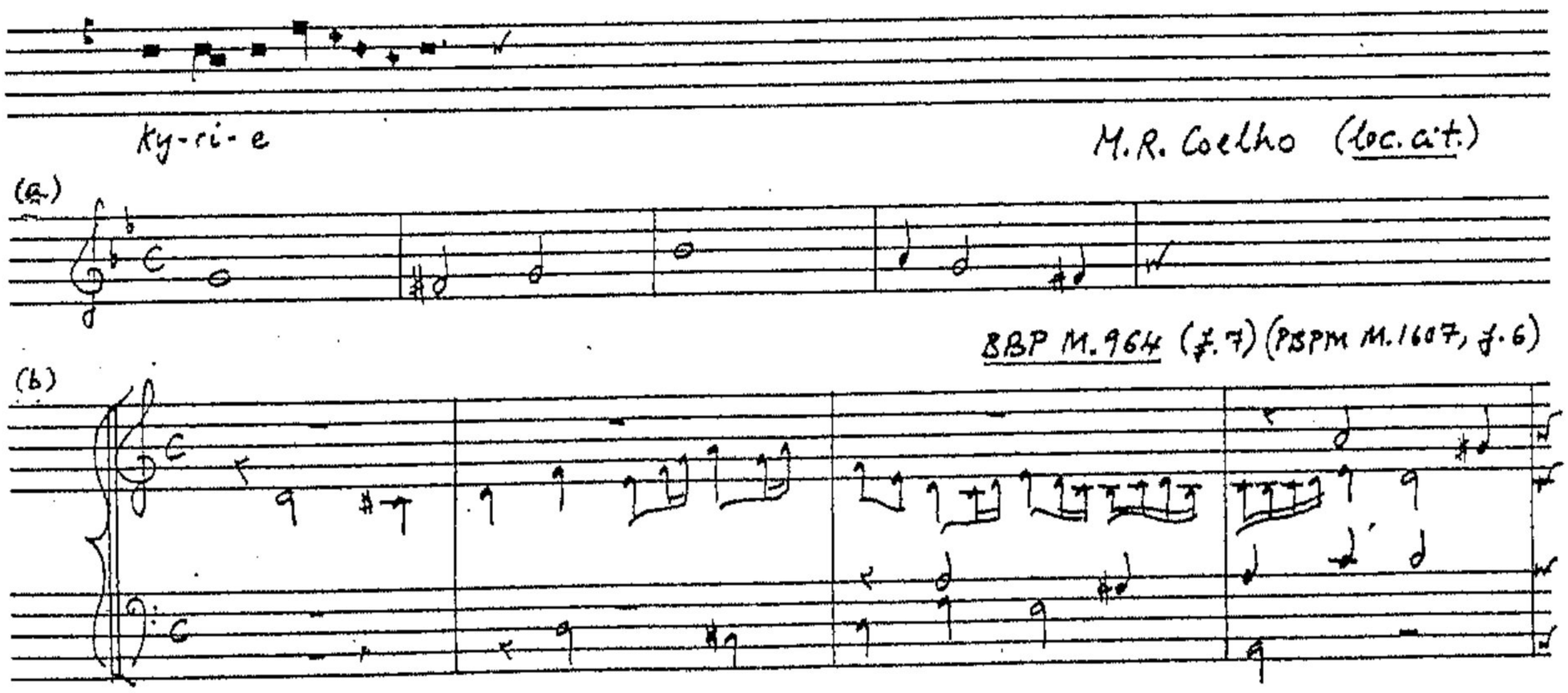
and an analysis of the thematic material used in these has confirmed that they were probably intended for an alternatim performance with the Kyrie of the Mass. In his edition of this source Doderer (1974) has even entitled the whole of this particular set 'Kyrios'; he does not, however, provide any explanation for this gesture. Although the ensuing discussion is based for the most part on Doderer's own transcriptions, a comparison between his edition with the original source as a whole reveals that a number of inexplicable omissions from this portion of the manuscript in particular have been made in the modern publication.

The question of establishing the function of these groups of versets as a whole is by no means straightforward. Where the versets do not feature the sustained-note type of (fugal) subject characteristic of the Kyrios by Coelho in particular, it is difficult to ascertain precisely whether the thematic material was intended to paraphrase elements of the plainchant. There are even many versets in which the contrapuntal material would appear to be entirely devoid of any association with liturgical chant; the emphasis in these is more upon the manipulation of material which is idiomatic to keyboard instruments. Furthermore, even where themes may be linked to the Kyrie chants, the composition and presentation of these versets is not necessarily systematic. In Coelho's Kyrios, for instance, the same thematic phrase might be used in several of the set of five versets consecutively: with the above-mentioned 'Cunctipotens' Kyrie sequence ('do primeiro tom por C Sol Fa Ut'), it is only the fourth verset which departs thematically from the chant's familiar opening phrase. However a deliberate systemization is apparent in the 6th mode 'em fuga' versets (ff.250v-51) which are

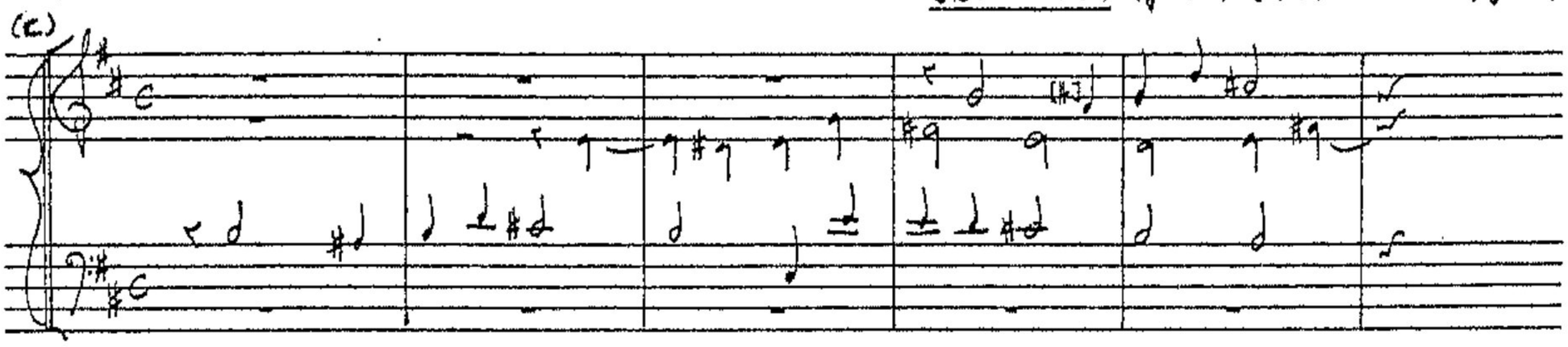
the only ones in this set to be specifically designated 'Chirios'. These versets which are based on the Kyries associated with Mass XVII(2) in the Liber Usualis (p.61) follow the three-fold melodic pattern of the plainchant. The first two versets may be connected with the first Kyrie chant, the next two with the Christe and the fifth with the final Kyrie. This scheme may be interpreted as conforming to the alternatim pattern in which the organ replaced the even-numbered verses, as well as setting the 'tone' of the sequence with a supernumerary preludial verset.

Thus, as may be observed from the chart below which shows the feasible links which may be made between the fugal subjects of the versets and the Kyrie chants in the same mode, it is only in a few instances that the sequences of versets may be unequivocally connected with a particular plainchant mass. In the sequences of versets associated with the 1st tone, for example, it is possible to trace thematic links between these and the Kyries 'Cunctipotens' (Mass IV) and 'Cum jubilo' (Mass IX). As demonstrated by the following examples, three sets of versets may be related to the Kyrie 'Cunctipotens' and two to the Kyrie 'Cum jubilo'.

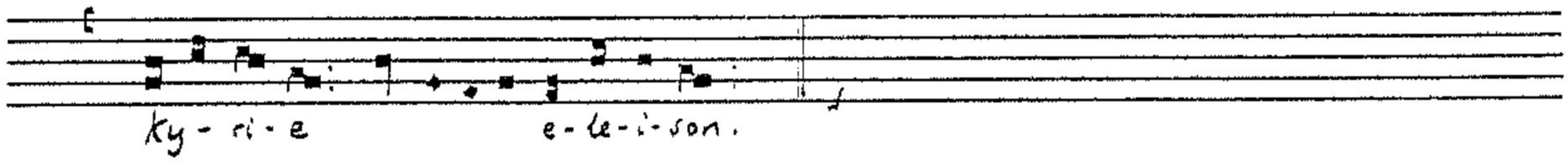
(Ex. 2) (Kyrie 'Cunctipotens', L.U., Mass IV, p. 25)



BBP M.964 (f.7v) (PBPM M.1607, f.14v)



(Ex. 3) (Kyrie 'Cum jubilo', L.U., Mass IX, p. 40)



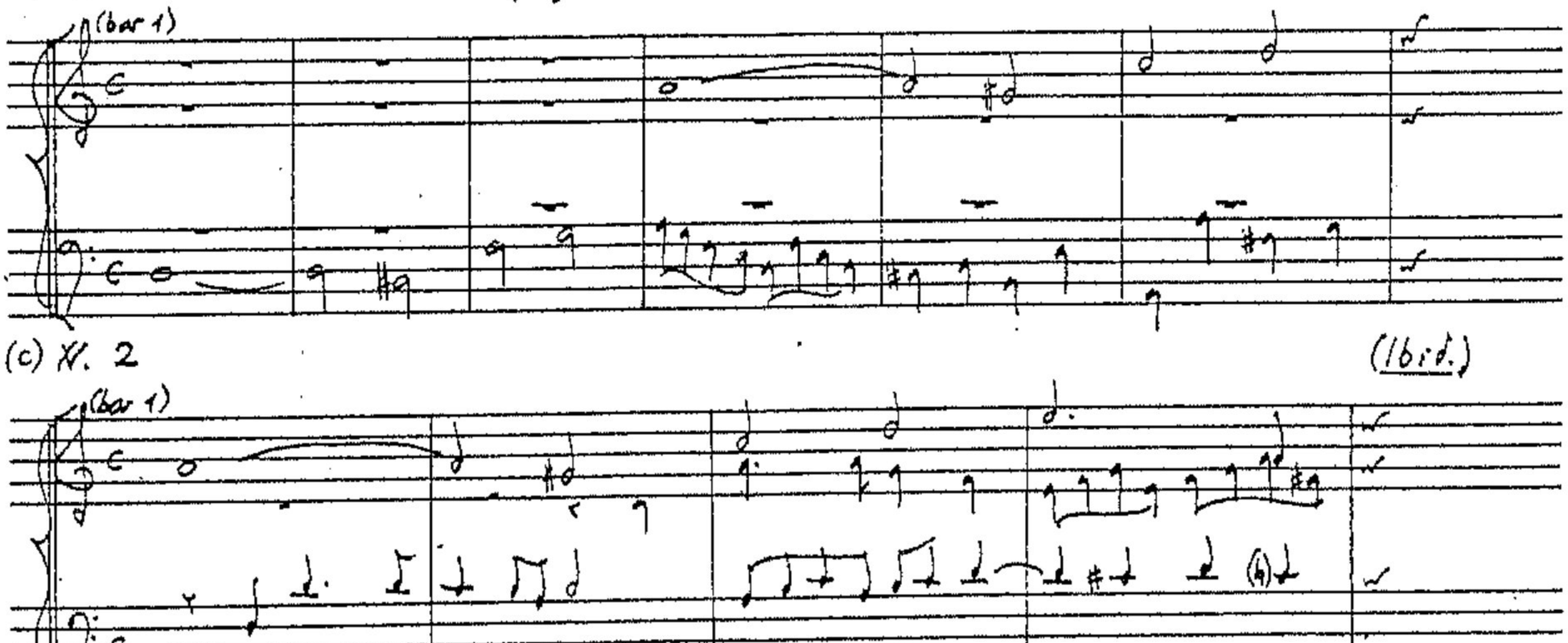
M.R. Coelho (loc. cit., f. 219)

(a) (Primeiro Kyrio do Primeiro Tom por De lá Sol Ré) (Kastner ed. (1961), p. 173)



BBP M. 964 (f. 247)

(b) V. 1 (1º tom em fuga)

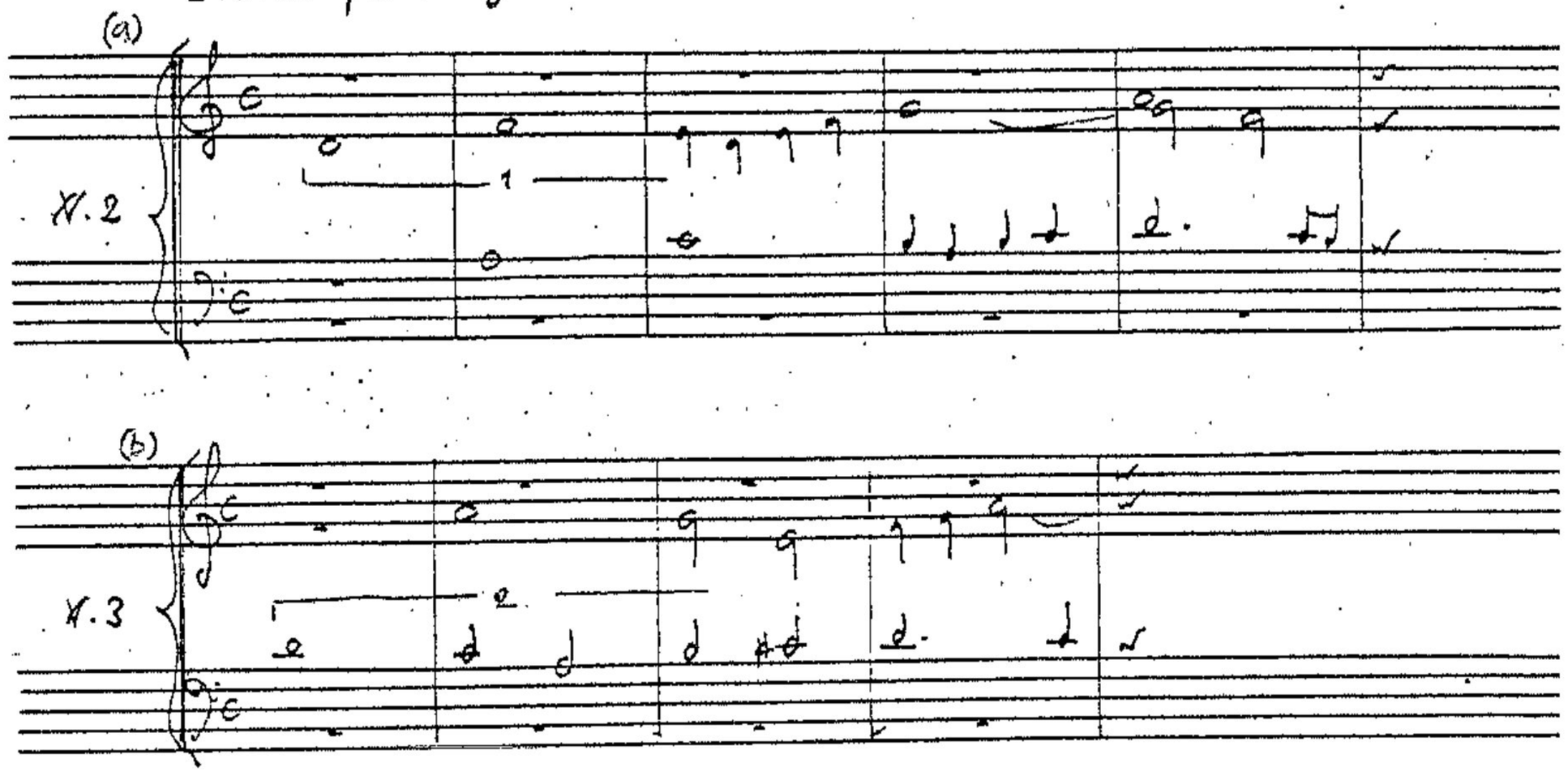


(c) V. 2 (Ibid.)

However, where the themes in the versets are not obviously tied to phrases in the plainchant, it is apparent that composers drew upon a common source of material associated with a particular mode rather than with a particular plainchant. In the following examples, three fugal subects have been taken from the shorter versets in the 1st mode found at the beginning of the Braga MS (ff.1-1v.)

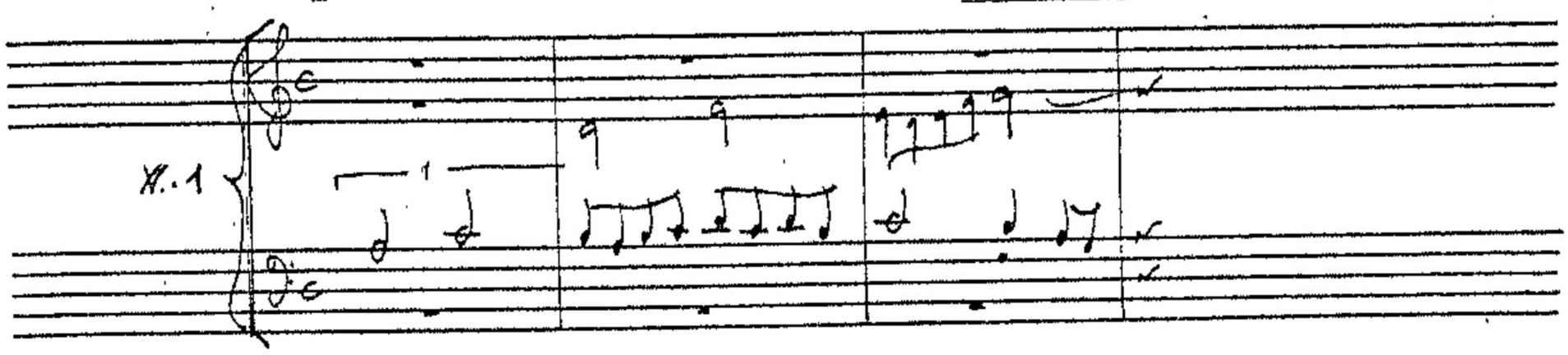
(Ex. 4)

[Versos para kyrios] BPB. M.564 (f.1-1v)



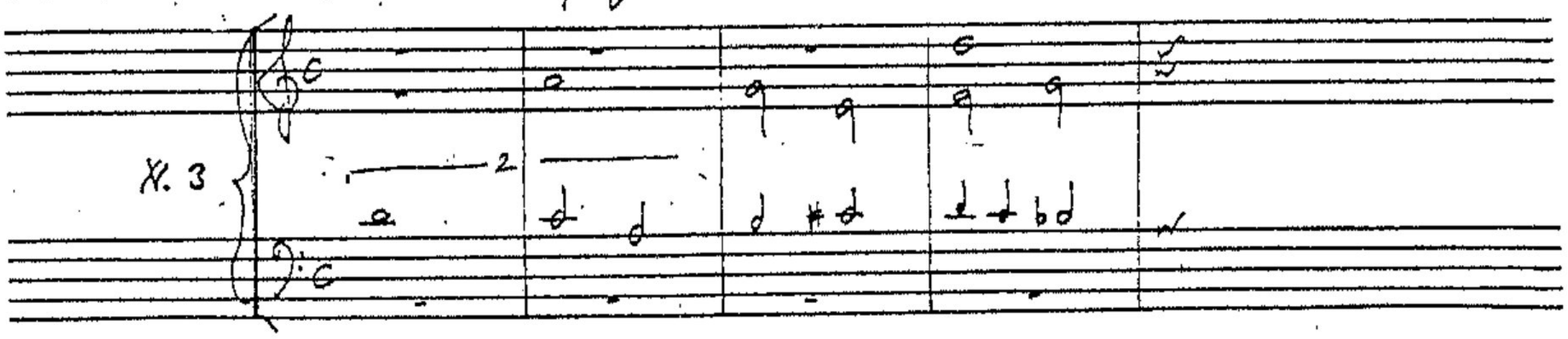
None of these may be specially linked with either of the two Kyries cited above; however, all three themes are employed in other sets of Kyrie versets (in the 1st mode) which may as a whole be identified with the Kyries 'Cunctipotens' (Mass IV) and 'Cum jubilo' (Mass IX). The first subject is also found in the third of the three sets of versets in the 1st mode found in the concording Braga and Porto sources:

(EX.5) [Chirios] BBP M.964 (f. 8) (PBPM M.1607, f.7v)



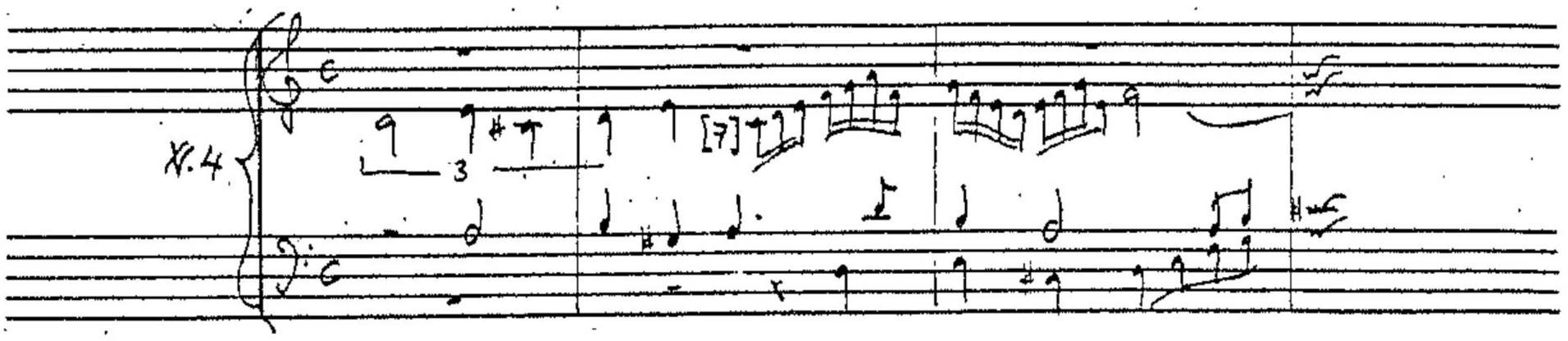
the second subject is used in the 'em fuga' set of versets, normally identified with the Kyrie 'Cum jubilo':

(EX.6) (1° tom em fuga) BBP M.964 (f.247)



and the third subject is similar to that used in one verset from the first of the concording sets of versets in the 1st mode which, as a whole, may be linked with Kyrie 'Cunctipotens'.

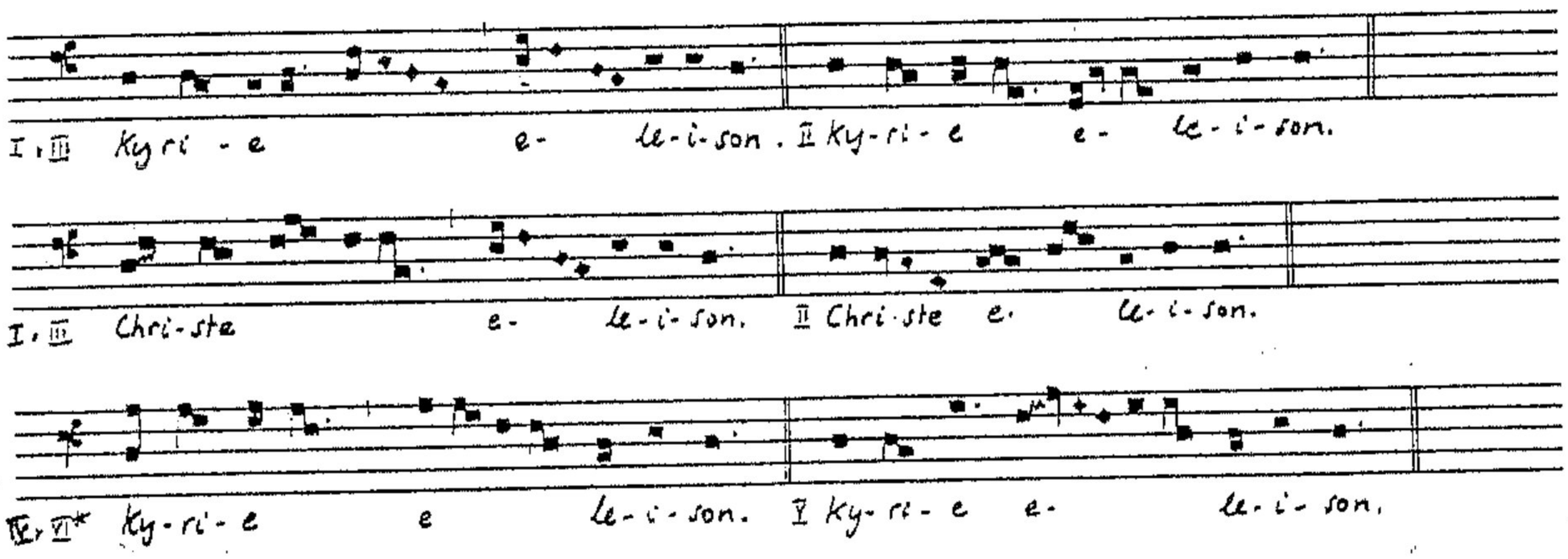
(EX.7) (Chirios) BBP M.964 (f. 7) (PBPM M.1607, f.6v)



To all intents and purposes, therefore, this particular set of versets in the 1st. mode (Braga M.964 ff.1-1v) may have been employed for either of these plainchant Kyries.

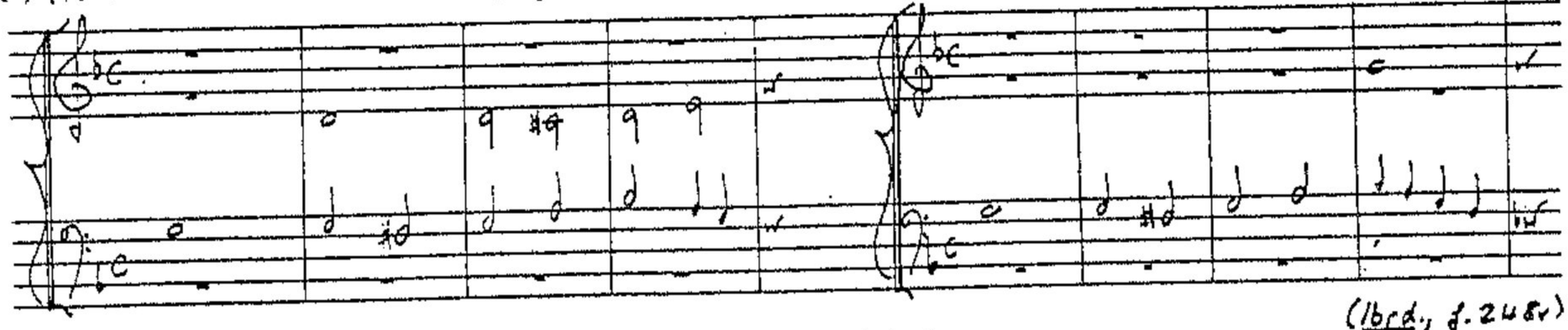
With the comparatively few sets of versets in the 2nd mode in fugal style, which in the Porto MS are clearly designated 'Chirios' (PBPM M.1607, ff.8-8v), it has been possible to identify the plainchant source as being that which in the Liber Usualis is associated with the troped Kyrie 'Rector cosmi pie' (ad libitum, III, p.81). It is also the Kyrie used by Cabezón for his 'Kyrie del segundo tono' in the Obras de música (ff.43v-44v). Unlike Cabezón's settings, all three sets of Kyries in the Braga and Porto manuscripts are transposed to G sol re ut. As may be observed in the following examples, it is the versets in the 'em fuga' collection in the Braga MS which more blatently betray their thematic origins. It is by virtue of the sustained-note style of fugal subject in all these versets 'em fuga' that a positive identification of the plainchant is possible.

(Ex. 8/i) (Kyrie 'Rector cosmi pie', L.U., p.81.)



BBP M.964 (f.248)

(a) V. 1 (2° tom [em fuga]) (b) V.2



(Ibid., f.248v)

(c) V. 3 (d) V.7



(Ex. 8/ii)
[Versos de] 2° tom

BBP M. 964 (ff. 9v-10)
(PBPM M. 1607, Chirios de 2° Tom, ff. 8-8v)

V. 1
(a)

V. 2
(b)

V. 3
(c)

V. 4
(a)

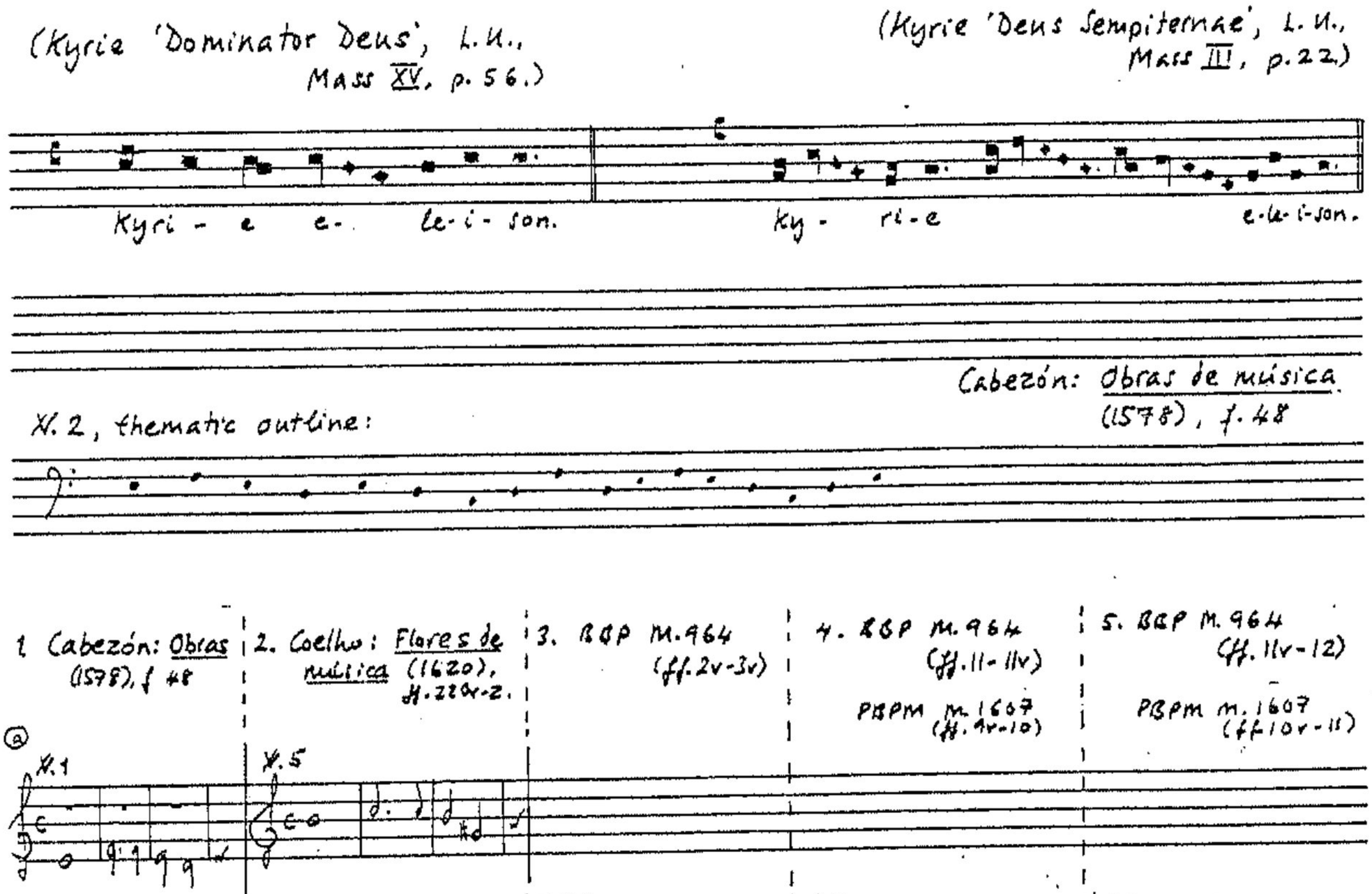
V. 5

(Ex. 8/iii)
Chirios de 2° Tom

(Ibid., ff. 8v-9v)
(PBPM M. 1607, ff. 8v-9)

With the (Kyrie) versets in the 4th mode, however, several thematic links may be made between the various sets of versets: in fact several of the fugal openings are virtually identical. In the following examples it is demonstrated that like Cabezón, Coelho and the anonymous composer(s) in the Porto and Braga manuscripts were probably composing versets to be alternated with the Kyrie 'Dominator Deus' (L.U. Mass XV). The emphasis in the thematic subjects, a rising semitone generally followed by a return, is distinctive of the opening of the Kyrie 'Dominator Deus' as well as being characteristic of the Kyrie 'Deus sempiterne' (L.U. Mass III).

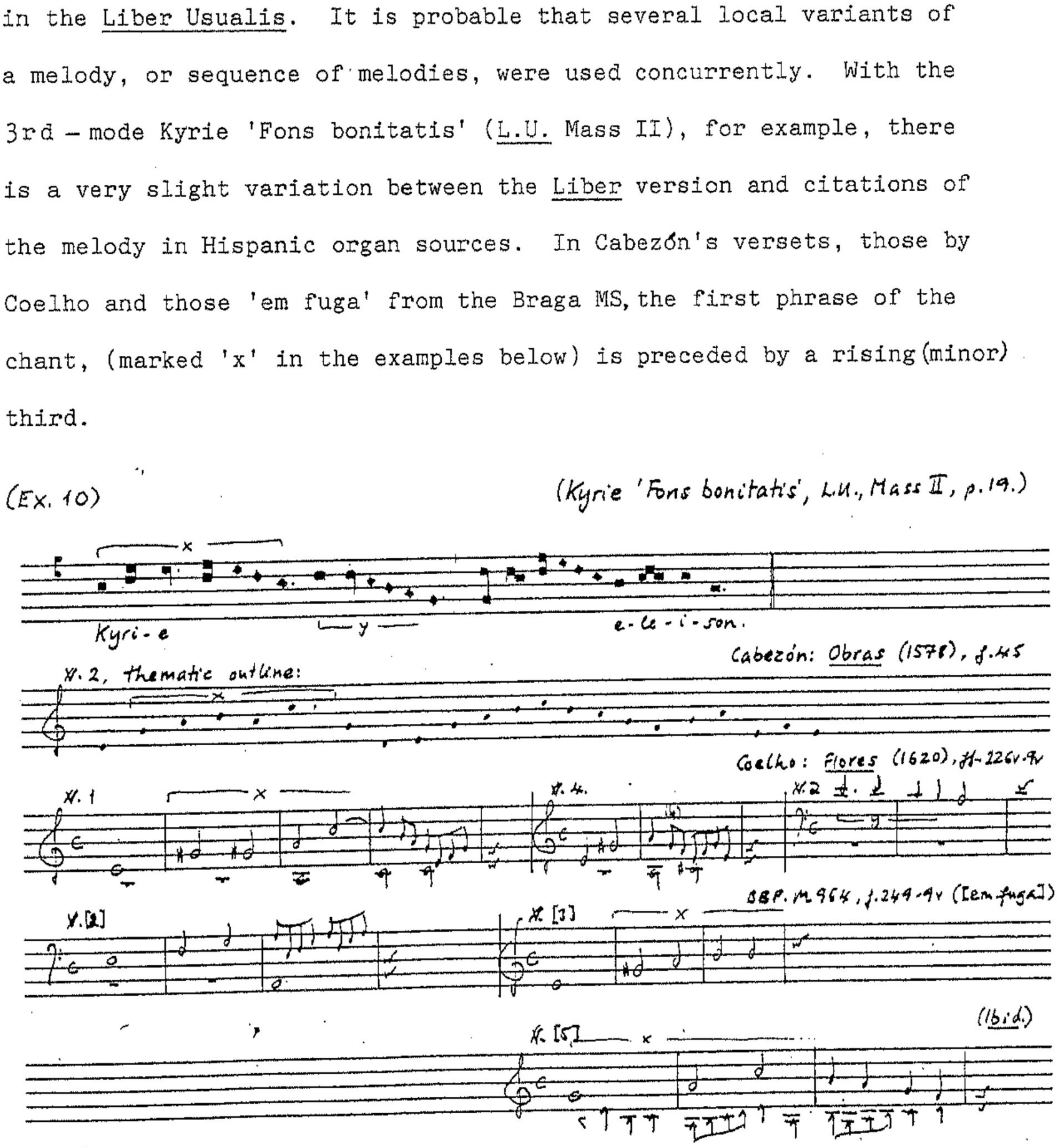
(Ex. 9)



As may also be seen in these examples, the fugal openings of two of Coelho's versets in the 4th mode are virtually identical with those in the 4th mode versets found at the beginning of the Braga MS. It was similarities such as these which strengthened the hypothesis that the short fugal versets in Braga M.964 (ff.1-5) were intended for an alternatim performance of the Kyrie.

One cannot, however, always expect to find exact correlations of theme between the plainchant repertory and the organ versets, particularly when such a study is largely confined to comparisons made with the chants in the Liber Usualis. It is probable that several local variants of a melody, or sequence of melodies, were used concurrently. With the 3rd-mode Kyrie 'Fons bonitatis' (L.U. Mass II), for example, there is a very slight variation between the Liber version and citations of the melody in Hispanic organ sources. In Cabezón's versets, those by Coelho and those 'em fuga' from the Braga MS, the first phrase of the chant, (marked 'x' in the examples below) is preceded by a rising (minor) third.

(Ex. 10) (Kyrie 'Fons bonitatis', L.U., Mass II, p.19.)



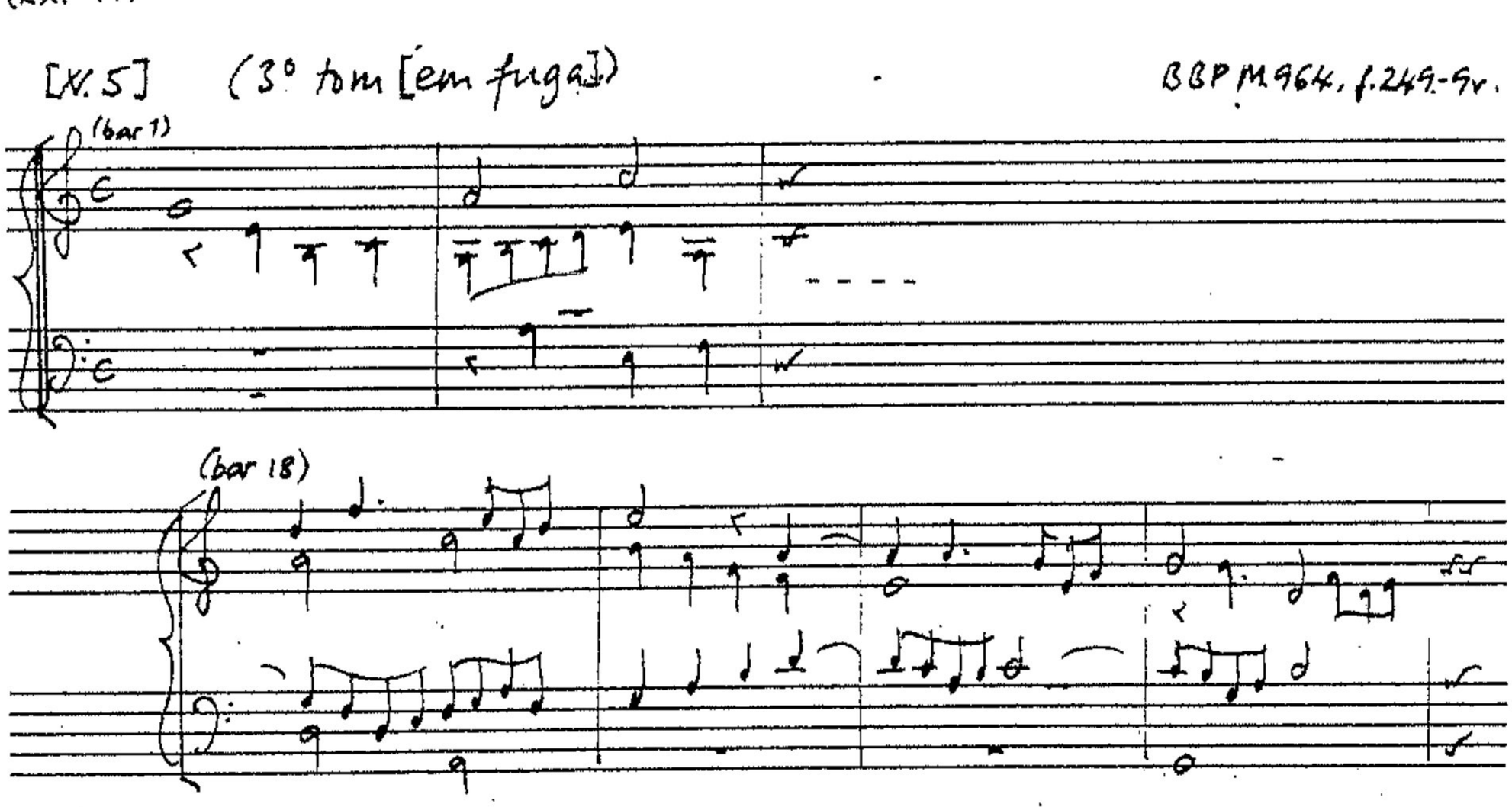
Stylistically speaking, the 'em fuga' versets in the Braga MS are far more sophisticated than many of the comparatively more perfunctory examples encountered in parts of the same manuscript and in Porto M.1607. The music demonstrates the ingenuity and imagination of an evidently skilled and imaginative composer-organist who was well versed in the art of thematic manipulation and counterpoint, combining this with idiomatic keyboard figurations. In fact there are many similarities with the music of Coelho in these versets, both in style and presentation. The average number of versets in each modal sequence is five; this would conform with a standard alternatim scheme in which the organ may have replaced either the odd- or the even-numbered versets. However there are in fact as many as seven versets for the 1st mode and only four for the 4th. In each group of versets the composer has used just three (or four in the case of the 2nd mode) themes on which to base the compositional material and these are frequently identifiable with relevant plainchant phrases. It is not, however, always easy to detect a consistency of arrangement between these and a particular alternatim pattern. As already stated, an exception may be made of those in the 6th mode which readily fall into a scheme in which the organist would have provided music for the even-numbered verses.

Unlike many other versets of this nature, the music is rarely confined to a mere (three- or) four-voiced exposition of the particular fugal subject. The means used for lengthening these versets was frequently by further imitation or even by a complete restatement of the opening fugal exposition. (It may be recalled that a number of the lengthier psalm-tone versets in MBN M.1359 in particular were characterized by a similar means of development and extension.)

Many of these versets 'em fuga' contain two (or more) subjects for

imitation. The principal subject at the opening is invariably in long-note values where it is combined with a second one which initially assumes a more subsidiary role. However, somewhat in the manner of Coelho's versets, it is frequently the second or 'counter' subject which, by virtue of its generally more rhythmic drive, is developed further. Illustrations may be taken from the versets in the 3rd mode of which there are five and not four, as would be apparent in Doderer's edition. The first, fourth and fifth versets adopt this procedure, for instance, and it is notable that in the fifth verset the composer introduces a feature which may also be encountered in Coelho's versets: after a cadence-point in the second half of the verset the interest is shifted to a new off-beat quaver motif which may feasibly be linked to the opening 'counter' subject.[1]

(Ex. 11)



Such concluding passages feature in other versets in this series 'em

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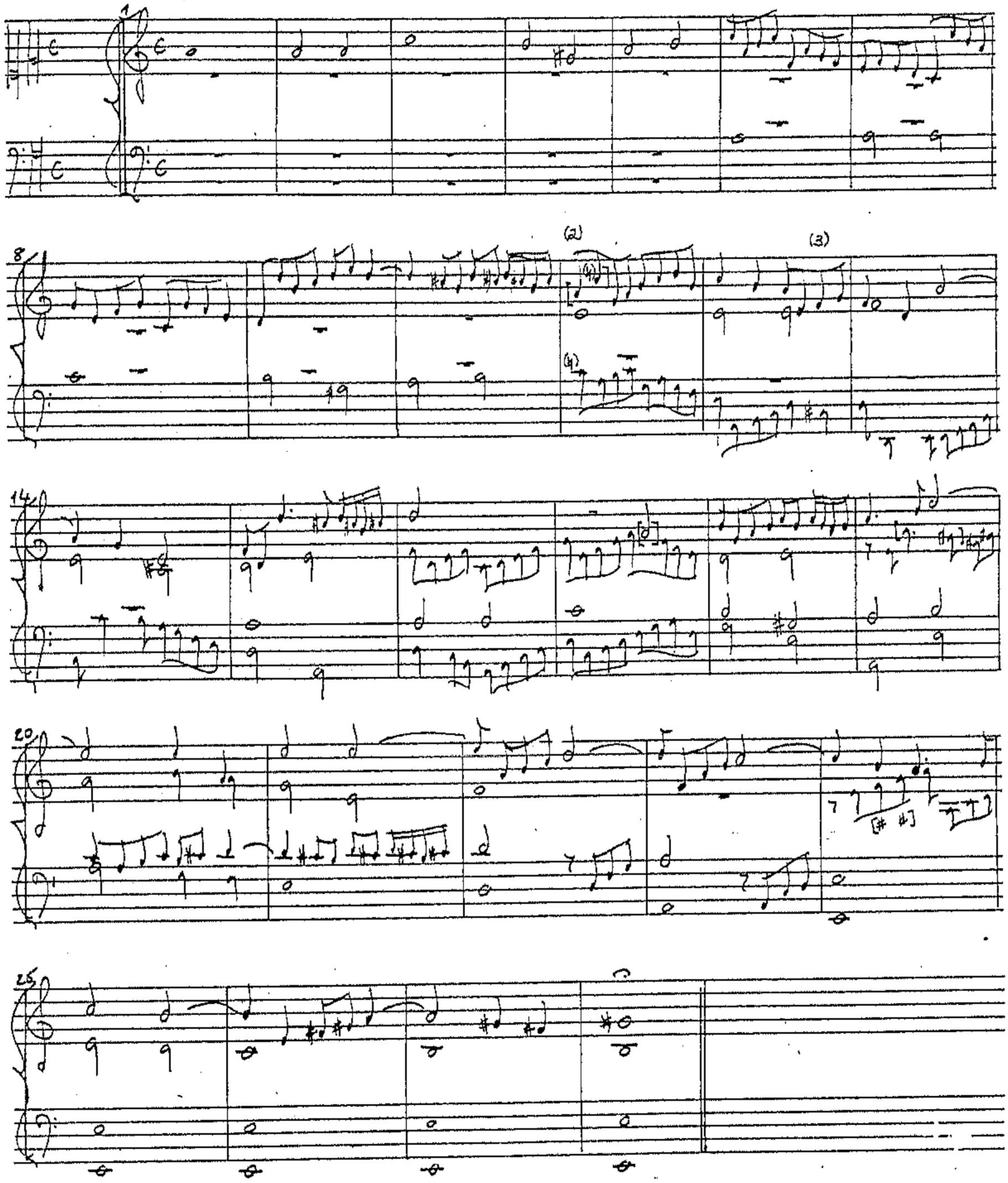
1. This is the fourth verset in Doderer's edition (1974), pp.117-20. The editor omitted the first verset from the original sequence (BBP M.964, f.249).

fuga' - the following verset in the 4th mode which was omitted in Doderer's edition is characteristic.

(Ex. 12) (4° tom [em fuga]) BBP M. 964 (f. 249v)

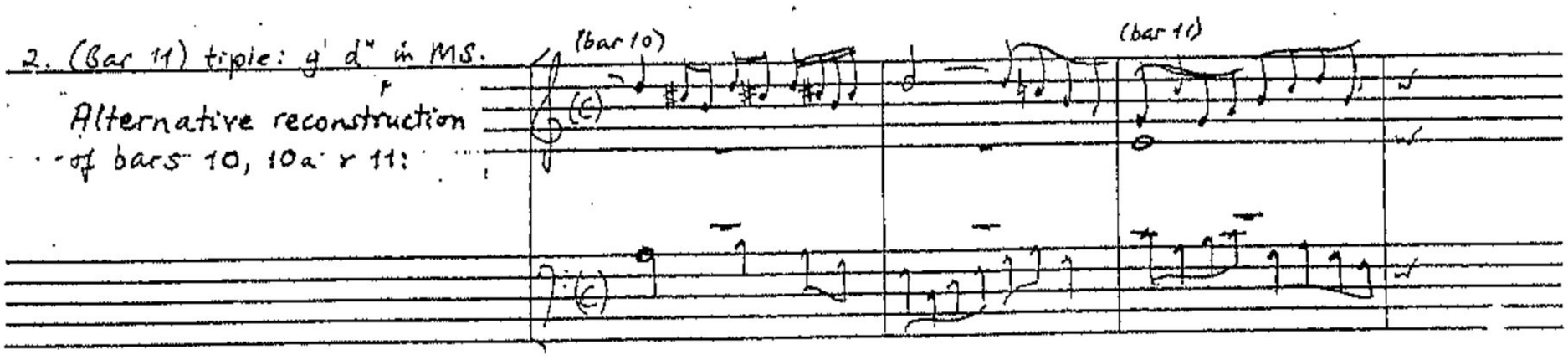
X. [3] (1)



1. The '3rd' verset in Doderer's edition (1974), p. 130, is really the 4th in the sequence.

2. (Bar 11) triple: g' d'' in MS.

Alternative reconstruction of bars 10, 10a & 11:

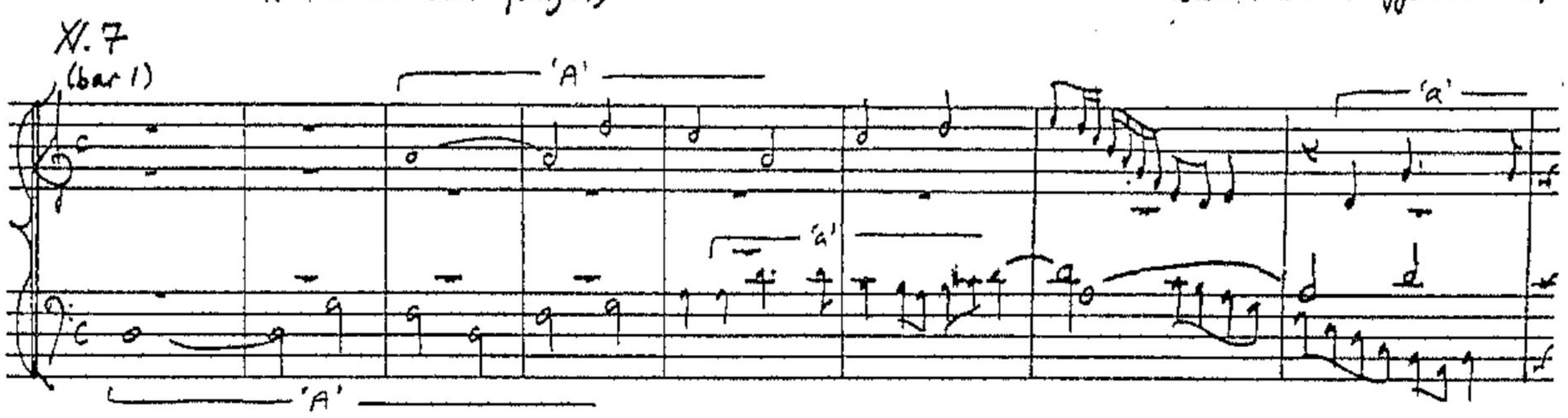


a (Bar 12) triole: f# in MS.

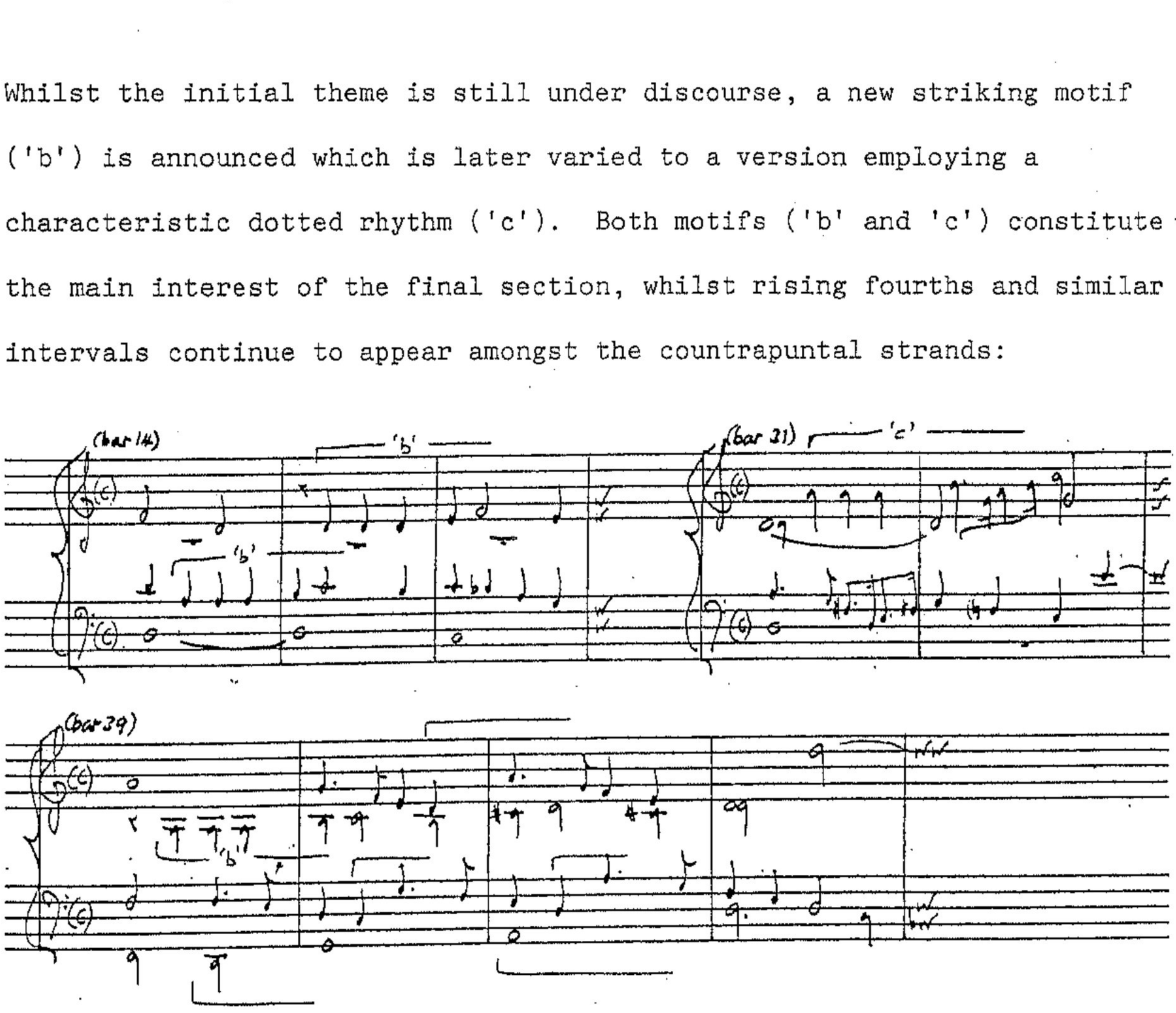
In another example from the 'em fuga' versets, although a series of musically varied events is incorporated during the course of this particularly long verset in the 1st mode, the ideas announced in the first few bars are never entirely forgotten. The notion of a 'correct' four-voiced exposition of the main theme ('A'), characterized by a rising fourth (which is incidentally identical to that in the sixth verset) is virtually disguised by virtue of an immediate diversion caused by the introduction of a motif representing 'A' in diminution ('a')

(Ex. 13)

(1° tom em fuga) BBP M.964 (ff.247v-8)



Whilst the initial theme is still under discourse, a new striking motif ('b') is announced which is later varied to a version employing a characteristic dotted rhythm ('c'). Both motifs ('b' and 'c') constitute the main interest of the final section, whilst rising fourths and similar intervals continue to appear amongst the countrapuntal strands:



This is possibly the longest and in many ways the more complex of this particular series of versets 'em fuga'. The dotted-rhythm motif would appear to be a characteristic 'hallmark' and it is often used in the final sections. It even accounts for the entire fabric of the final verset in the 4th mode. (See Doderer ed. (1974), p.130.)

Finally, one interesting feature about the 'em fuga' versets is that, apart from the sequence in the 2nd mode (G sol re ut), these remain untransposed. Furthermore, quite exceptionally, the 7th mode is in the position proper to the 4th modal species, sharing its signo G sol re ut whith that of the 8th mode. Unfortunately there are no practical examples of organ versets for the Mass in the 7th and 8th modes in Spanish sources from the seventeenth century with which to make comparisons. However, as indicated above, sixteenth- to eighteenth-century theoretical sources present both these modes 'transportados'. With the signos used in Portuguese versets as a whole, there is a slight degree of inconsistency with regard to the scale-formation adopted for each modal species: the 5th and 6th modes in particular (the 3rd modal species) vary as to their use or not of the flattened fourth -B♭ in 'natural' position.

Having thus considered the repertory of versets offered in Portuguese sources, one can only reiterate the curiosity of the apparent total lack of versets pertaining to other movements of the Mass Ordinary apart from the Kyrie. However, the evident musical quality of the Kyrie versets must place them on an equal footing with versets for the Mass in the Spanish sources.

XIX Versets for the Kyrie in Portuguese sources

SOURCES AND TITLES OF VERSETS		MODE	SIGN'O	SIGNATURE	N°. of Vs.	KYRIE in L.U.
M.R. Coelho: Flores de música (1620)						
Kyrio	(ff. 216-9)	1	C sol fa ut	b^b x e^b	5	IV
——	(ff. 219-20)	1	D la sol re	-	5	IX
——	(ff. 226v-9)	3	A la mi re	-	5	II
——	(ff. 220v-2v)	4	E la mi	-	5	XV?
——	(ff. 222v-4)	6	F fa ut	b^b	5	XVII/2?
——	(ff. 230-3)	6	B fa negro	b^b x e^b	5	——?
——	(ff. 224v-6)	8	G sol re ut	-	5	V/XII?
BBP M. 964						
	(ff. 1-1v)	1	D la sol re	-	5	IV/IX
	(ff. 1v-2v)	3	A la mi re	-	5	II?
	(ff. 2v-3v)	4	E la mi	-	6	XV
	(ff. 3v-4)	6	F fa ut.	-	5	XVII/2!
	(ff. 4v-5)	8	G sol re ut	-	5	V/XII?
Chirios	(ff. 44v-5v)	1	D la sol re	-	4	?
em fuga	(ff. 247-8)	1	D la sol re	-	7	IX
	(ff. 248-8v)	2	G sol re ut	b^b	[7]	ad lib. III
	(ff. 249-9v)	3	E la mi	-	[5]	II
	(ff. 249v-50)	4	E la mi	-	[4]	XV?
Chirios	(ff. 250-50v)	5	F fa ut [pars]	b^b	5	VIII?
	(ff. 250v-1)	6	F fa ut	b^b	5	XVII/2
	(ff. 251-2)	7	G sol re ut	-	5	?
	(ff. 252-2v)	8	G sol re ut	-	4/5	V/XII?

SOURCES AND TITLES OF VERSETS				MODE	SIGNO	SIGNATURE	No. of Vs.	KYRIE in L.U.
BBP M. 964 & PBPM M.1607								
Chirios	(ff. 7-7v)		(ff. 6-7)	1	D la sol re	-	5	IV
	(ff. 7v-8)		(ff. 14v-15)	1	E la mi [ponto alto]	f# & c#	5	IV
	(f. 8)		(f 7v)	1	D la sol re	-	2	IV/IX
Chirios	(ff. 8v-9v)		(ff. 8v-9)	2	G sol re ut	b♭	5	ad lib. III?
	(ff. 9v-10)	Chirios	(ff. 8-8v)	2	G sol re ut	b♭	5	ad lib. III
	(ff. 11-11v)		(ff. 9v-10)	4	E la mi	-	5	XV
	(ff. 11v-12)		(ff. 10v-11)	4	E la mi	-	5	XV/III?
	(ff. 12-12v)	Chirios	(ff. 12v-13)	5	C sol fa ut [por b]	b♭	5	VIII/ad lib. IV?
para música e para o choro	(ff. 13-13v)		(ff. 11-11v)	5	C sol fa ut [por 4]	-	6	VIII?
Canto cham e música	(ff. 13v-14)	Chirios para música a canto cham	(ff. 16-16v)	5	D la sol re [ponto alto]	f# & c#	4	VIII
	(ff. 15-15v)	Chirios	(ff. 11v-12)	6	F fa ut	b♭	5	XVII/2?
Chirios	(ff. 15v-16)		(ff. 13-13v)	7	D la sol re	f# & c#	5	?
	(ff. 17-17v)		(ff. 13v-14)	8	G sol re ut	-	5	?

Organ music for the Mass in Iberian sources, albeit lamentably sparse, reflects a tradition in the evident intimate participation of the organist in the celebration of this liturgical service, especially on the more important feast days. Unlike versets for alternatim performance with the psalm-tones, those for the Mass apparently gave more scope for developing an ostensibly functional musical genre into a format which was able to enjoy an almost purely musical, even extra-liturgical, significance. This may be appreciated in particular with the composite organ masses which evolved in the north-east of Spain, in Catalonia, during the eighteenth century.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

As indicated in the Preface and in the Introduction to this thesis, the overall aim of this discussion has been to draw attention to both a collection of music and a general field of study which has hitherto received only little recognition. However, in writing this thesis, it has become increasingly clear that one study alone could only do little justice to the innumerable facets of Spanish and Portuguese liturgical organ music, particularly as the documentary and musical sources employed witness the traditions of at least two centuries. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the present account succeeds in demonstrating that this subject has endless possibilities as one to be explored at several gradations of depth.

Having but based this study on what must be a relatively small number of sources, there is of course the danger of presenting an unbalanced picture, perhaps in view of my personal responsibility for selecting and arranging the material. There has been not so much an attempt to make any general summaries, but rather one to show that there was clearly an immense variety of traditions in which music and the liturgy were performed and celebrated together throughout the Iberian peninsula - this from the most humble of parish churches to the royal chapels and large ecclesiastical institutions, such as cathedrals and monasteries, in which music was regularly played and sung.

Clearly it has not been feasible to answer in depth every question arising from the examination of this subject: to have done so might have led to an inordinate amount of detail which could only detract from the general purpose of this thesis which is to provide an introduction to the liturgical use of Spanish and Portuguese organ music. However,

two particular themes emerge strongly: first, that the music composed for the organ was both shaped by the demands of the liturgy and indebted to the ancient tradition of monophonic plainchant; and second, and in some respects arising from this, that thematically as well as structurally the music was also subject to preconceived and traditional patterns of composition.

This type of investigation requires the consideration and assimilation of a multifarious yet related selection of both documentary and musical material. For general purposes, it is sufficient to base one's research on a relatively limited number of key sources. If, however, this was to be conducted on a more detailed level, concentrating perhaps on just one or two ecclesiastical institutions, it is doubtless that more local records and other sources of information would present themselves as being vital tools in the reconstruction of liturgical and musical practices in these particular places.

Moreover, whilst this particular inquiry has for practical reasons been confined to the organist and organ music, the type of concepts involved are equally applicable to other types of music and musicians - in particular the maestro de capilla, the cantors and the other instrumentalists - who performed a vital part in liturgical and musical celebrations. Indeed, the concentration on one chosen aspect - the all-important role of the organ and the organist - can, by its very nature, only present part of the history and traditions of musico-liturgical practices in the Iberian church.