



es Petrus also “pays tribute” to Cristóbal de Morales, in a musical sense. As Snow observes (page 17, note 22):

Esquivel’s *Missa Tu es Petrus* has so many features in common with Morales’s *Missa Tu es vas electionis* that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he used the earlier composer’s mass as a model. Morales’s mass also was dedicatory in nature—and opened his *Missarum liber secundus*, which was published at Rome in 1544 and dedicated to Pope Paul III. The pre-existent material on which Morales based his mass also consisted of but a single phrase of music sung to a text containing the name of the dedicatee—*Tu es vas electionis, Sanctissime Paule*—and was utilized in the same manner as the opening phrase of the antiphon *Tu es Petrus* in Esquivel’s mass: sometimes as a cantus firmus or as an ostinato sung with its original text, and sometimes as a source of motival material which could be treated imitatively when the composer so desired.

To illustrate the contents of the 1613 imprint, Snow allots pages 39–88 to 29 musical examples. In the opinion of Iain Fenlon, who reviewed Snow’s present opus in *The Musical Times*, cxx/1641 (November, 1979), 917–919, these excerpts are the core of the book. Despite their lacking initia in original clefs or page-cuing, Fenlon especially appreciated Snow’s including these whole excerpts: *Dixit Dominus Sexti toni*, pages 39–42; *Veni Creator Spiritus*, 43–45; *Pater superni luminis*, 46–48, verses 2, 4 (both in triple meter); verses 1, 7, and 11 [Superius 1: “Altus secundus in subdiatessaron retro canit”; Altus 1: “Tenor secundus in subdiatessaron”] of *Magnificat Secundi toni*, 49–55; Sanctus of *Missa Tu es Petrus*, 57–60; Kyrie I of *Missa Quarti toni*, 61–62; Kyrie of *Missa de Beata Virgine in Sabbato*, 65–66; Kyrie, Et incarnatus, Agnus II of *Missa Hoc est praeceptum meum*, 69–70, 72, 73–74; Kyrie I of *Missa Quasi cedrus*, 76; Kyrie I and Sanctus-Pleni of *Missa Hortus conclusus*, 83, 84–85; Sanctus of *Missa pro defunctis*, 87.

G. Edward Bruner’s “Editions and Analysis of Five *Missa [de] Beata Virgine Maria* by the Spanish composers: Morales, Guerrero, Victoria, Vivanco, and Esquivel,” University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Ph.D. dissertation, 1980, contains at pages 71–80 an analysis and concludes at 308–325 with a transcription of Esquivel’s votive *Missa de Beata Virgine in Sabbato*, a 4. The shortest Mass in the 1613 volume, this Mass lacks Credo, Pleni sunt and Osanna movements. The mensuration remains

throughout; only Agnus II expands to five voices and vaunts a canon: “Bassus supra cantus, Qui se humiliar exaltabitur, Duodecim” (bass part inverts Soprano II at the interval of a twelfth). Successive movements debouch on chords built over DAD; DG; C; FF. Kyrie and Gloria movements cite Mass IX material, Sanctus and Agnus movements use ornamented material from Mass XVII. The lowest note in the bass part is B₁b, the highest in the soprano is g². Even when not citing chant Esquivel much prefers scale steps to even small skips.

Summarizing Esquivel’s style, Snow writes:

His technical skills were considerable, as can be seen from his handling of the great variety of canonic devices utilized in the final verses of his Magnificat settings containing odd-numbered verses and in his reworking of the borrowed material on which he based his parody masses. His sensitivity to the Latin of his texts, although not that of a Guerrero or a Ceballos, usually enabled him to write highly distinctive and expressive melodic lines for the beginnings of the various phrases of a text, particularly in his motets, but it must be added that his extensions of these lines into accompanying “countersubjects” occasionally are somewhat less felicitous in their relationship to the text.

SACRED POLYPHONY IN REVIEW (1550–1611)

The still limited amount of sacred music in print,¹⁴⁹ not to mention the still incomplete documentation in the hands of musical historians, warns us against offering any set of generalizations without insisting upon their provisional character. However, for what such a set of a dozen may be worth, the following are submitted.

I Sacred vocal polyphony was sung at court by a Flemish choir led by Flemish masters. But the presence of such a choir, which was more the result of a political accident than of any derogation from Spanish talent, did not for a moment preclude the

¹⁴⁹ Still lacking in 1992 were the *opera omnia* of Rodrigo de Ceballos, Alonso Lobo de Borja, Bernardino de Ribera; a concluding volume of Cristóbal de Morales’s works; and another several volumes of Francisco Guerrero’s works. Sebastián de Vivanco’s compositions need to be edited in a reliable edition. Juan Esquivel’s *opera omnia* cannot be published until the 1608 printed volume known to Albert Geiger is again found.



singing at court of masterworks by Morales and Guerrero.

II Throughout Spain, Josquin des Prez seems to have outdistanced all other foreigners in popularity, even as late as 1586. Morales remained by all odds the most esteemed peninsular composer even in 1601.¹⁵⁰

III Unlike England and France, Spain in the sixteenth century was dotted with more than two dozen vigorous local centers, each with its own liturgical traditions (until 1575) and own particularistic cultural pride. The least "Spanish" of these local centers was Barcelona. Composers in one locality disseminated their works by sending (usually on their initiative) manuscript or printed copies to performing organizations in other centers.

IV The two areas in which sacred music flourished most vigorously were Andalusia, and Old and New Castile. If any one city is allowed preëminence above all others, Seville must be given the palm.

V In the various cathedrals, the direction of music was always vested in a chapelmaster whose rank hardly ever rose to that of a canon. He was, instead, a mere prebendary. Vila at Barcelona and Mudarra at Seville did become canons. But Mudarra was no chapelmaster, and neither Mudarra nor Vila produced sacred masterpieces. High quality was arrived

¹⁵⁰At Ávila (A.C., 1572-1575, fol. 247), for instance, on December 23, 1575, the chapter ordered that two books of polyphonic music—one by Josquin—be repaired so that his music could still be sung: *que adereço dos libros de canto de organo uno de Jusquin*. For an exhaustive account of his impact and influence in the Iberian peninsula, see Robert Stevenson, "Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal," in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 217-246.

Although Des Prez remained the most popular intermural composer, Morales remained the intramural composer most frequently copied—and presumably most popular. As late as March 20, 1586—sixty-five years after Josquin's death—the Sevillian cathedral chapter decided to undergo the expense of having his music copied anew for choir use. Equally significant is the fact that the Sevillian chapter on January 26, 1601—forty-eight years after Morales's death—decided to underwrite the high cost of transcribing Morales's work anew—this time *en pergamino* (on vellum). See Seville Cathedral, *Libros de autos capitulares de los años de 1599-1600-1601-1602*, fol. 62^v.

at and maintained because individual prelates and chapter members could discriminate; not because this or that chapelmaster was given much power or rank.

VI The chapelmasters, organists, and important singers were chosen in open competitions, publicly announced throughout the realm and rigorously staged. Except in the most unusual circumstances, the chapelmaster was personally responsible for the boarding, lodging, clothing, education, health and welfare of from six to a dozen choirboys. He also trained the rest of the singers. In actual performances he was expected to beat time—speed being determined by such variable factors as the solemnity of the feast and the character of the texts sung.

VII In addition to singing personnel, who were usually celibate clergymen, the major cathedrals hired six or eight instrumentalists to eke out their musical staffs. These were family men, and passed on their craft from father to son. Their favorite instruments were *chirimías*, *cornetas*, *flautas*, and *sacabuches*—in other words, wind instruments. They were as a rule expected to double on winds other than their principal instruments. When glossing, they were not allowed to add improvised ornaments merely at random but were required to adhere to plan and to gloss at predetermined moments. The more "artful" the music, the less scope was offered for their glossing. Though on occasion individual parts were copied for them, they often read their parts from the same large choirbooks used by the singers.

VIII From a foreigner's viewpoint, the most distinctive aspect of Spanish sacred music was the role of instruments.¹⁵¹ According to Marguerite de Valois,

¹⁵¹Manuscript 14018.19 at the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) is a "Consulta del bureo sobre lo de los menestres de su magestad" dated July 26, 1589. *Vajones y cornetas* (bassoons and cornets) were, according to this *consulta*, entitled to extra pay for their services in the royal chapel "on very solemn days." A *Memoria de los ministriles de Su Magestad* dated May 13, 1592, reveals that the number of royal instrumentalists had swollen on that date to twenty-two. Seven of the veterans wanted the newcomers dismissed so that their own pay might be increased. Information from such sources as these proves that in the royal chapel, as elsewhere, instrumental accompaniments and interludes were the rule on solemn days in the church calendar—even though Philip's own tastes inclined toward liturgical austerity.



une messe à la façon d'Espagne (a mass in the Spanish manner) meant in 1577 a mass with *violons et cornets*.¹⁵² In France, on the other hand, instruments began to invade church ceremonies only at the very end of the century, and even then were usually reserved for state occasions. Not until the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV did instruments become rife.¹⁵³

IX Learned devices continued to link, almost always, with expressive purpose. The exaltation of of expressivity to a principle—more than the framing of such local melodies as the Spanish *Pange lingua* in a polyphonic context, or the composition of Lamentations and Passions “in the Spanish manner,” or even excessive accidentalizing—gives Phillipic sacred music its individual flavor.

¹⁵² *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs a l'histoire de France*, ed. by M. Petitot (Paris: Foucault, Librairie, 1823), p. 117: “Le matin estant venu, dom Jean nous fit ouïr une messe à la façon d'Espagne, avec musique, violons et cornets.”

¹⁵³ Michel Brenet, “Notes sur l'introduction des instruments dans l'églises de France,” *Riemann-Festschrift* (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1909), p. 283. She records as an exceptional event a Christmas Mass celebrated at Rouen in 1596, “en musique, cornetz, bucines et autres instruments musicaux, par les chantres de la chapelle du Roi avec ceulx de l'église et enfans de choeur.”

Despite Victoria's greater fame at the present moment, the true “guru” during the reign of Philip II was Francisco Guerrero. The latter was, moreover, the only one of the Spanish trinity who made his career in Spain, whose versatility enabled him to compose with equal success in all current genres—sacred and secular—and who adapted successfully to the demands of a chapelmastership. He it was above all others whom his contemporaries and successors—Victoria, Alonso and Duarte Lobo, Géry de Ghersem, Esquivel—delighted in honoring by composing parody masses based on his motets.

XI Not all the principal Spanish composers wrote masses. All did compose magnificats. Nearly all composed Marian antiphons. Music for Vespers looms relatively larger in the Spanish sacred repertory than in the French or Italian.

XII Relatively speaking, fewer of the principal Spanish sacred composers reached print than did their major French and Italian counterparts. From the beginning, the paucity of music presses has been a lamented but universal fact in Spanish musical history. Fortunately, however, we need not believe that during the sixteenth century the number of Spanish musical imprints was coterminous with the sacred repertory.