

*tur, ingratus essem, si inerti ac turpi otio languescerem, et creditum mihi talentum humi defodiens, iuxta expectatoque fructu dominum defraudarem* [1]).

He recognized, on the other hand, that despite his unremitting efforts all that he had accomplished had really been quite little indeed (*In quo etsi plus omnino conor quam possum, minus tamen praesto* [2]).

He hoped posterity would judge his efforts kindly (*vt longius progressus, quantum in me esset, praesentibus, posterisque prodessem* [4]).

Music, because instinct with rhythm and harmony, describes the very being of God (*Cui enim rei potius seruire Musicam decet, quam sacris laudibus immortalis Dei à quo numerus et mensura manauit?* [4]).

Creation itself testifies to the divine harmony (*cuius opera uniuersa ita sunt admirabiliter suauiterque disposita vt incredibilem quandam harmoniam, concentumque praeferant et ostendant?* [4]).

Music is not man's invention, but his heritage from the blessed spirits (*ante quam homines essent, in beatis illis mentibus esse incepit* [2]).

Music of the right stamp serves not only to enhance the splendor of the cult but also to excite the faithful (*fidelisque Populi deuotionem Hymnis & canticis Spiritualibus dulcius excitandam* [3]).

That which of itself is inherently good can—and often does—deteriorate in man's hands (*Verum, id quod ferme accidit rebus omnibus, vt à bono principio exortae, in deteriorem plerumque vsum torqueantur* [2]).

Nowadays, unfortunately, music does often serve depraved ends (*Quippe ea improbi quidam, ac prauis moribus imbuti homines abutuntur* [2]).

Music can affect for good or ill the body as well as the mind (*in animos influens, non animis solum prodesse videtur, sed etiam corporibus* [2]).

## VICTORIA'S MASSES

Logically, any study of the twenty authenticated masses<sup>131</sup> ought to succeed examination of his motets—Victoria having based seven of the twenty masses on his own motets. He founded the following six

<sup>131</sup>J. Niles Saxton's unpublished Master's thesis, "The Masses of Victoria" (Westminster Choir College, Princeton, N.J., 1951), was supervised by Professor Joseph Kerman.



masses on motets published in his maiden book of 1572: (1) *Ascendens Christus*, a 5 [1592]; (2) *Dum complerentur*, a 6 [1576]; (3) *O magnum mysterium*, a 4 [1592]; (4) *O quam gloriosum*, a 4 [1583]; (5) *Quam pulchri sunt*, a 4 [1583]; (6) *Vidi speciosam*, a 6 [1592]. One other mass—*Trahe me post te*, a 5 [1592]—takes for its source the canonic motet of the same title published in his 1583 *Motecta*.

In five of these seven parodies, the same number of parts are used in the source motet and in the mass. By way of exception, the *Dum complerentur* Mass adds a voice and the *Trahe me post te* subtracts one.<sup>132</sup> Of the source motets, those with titles (1), (2), and (6) in the above list extend to two *partes*—material from both *partes* always appearing in the parody. The 1572 source motets belong to these feasts: (1) Ascension, (2) Pentecost, (3) Circumcision,<sup>133</sup> (4) All Saints, (5) Conception, and (6) Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. As for *Trahe me* in the 1576 motet collection, Victoria designates it as suitable for any feast of the Virgin. Thus, all seven source motets belong to feasts. In our own time Victoria's most frequently performed motets are his *O vos omnes* (with a text from Lamentations) and *Vere languores*. Never, though, did he parody any such languorous or grief-laden motet: only exultant ones. The joyous character of these source motets is etched in all the bolder relief by the climactic word with which each except *O quam gloriosum* and *Vidi speciosam* ends: Alleluia. Both *partes* of *Ascendens Christus* and *Dum complerentur* so conclude.

For a second group of three parody masses, each a 8—the *Salve Regina* [1592], *Alma Redemptoris* [1600], and *Ave Regina* [1600]—he chose as sources not the plainsong Marian antiphons (as one might in advance suspect), but his own polyphonic settings of these same antiphons published in 1572, 1576, and 1581. At one time or another, he published four different polyphonic settings of the *Salve Regina* (1572, a 6; 1576, a 5; 1576, a 8; 1583, a 5). It was the third of these (1576, a 8) which served as the basis for his parody mass of the same name. Although not

<sup>132</sup>Gombert's *Beati omnes* (a 4) and *Media vita* (a 5) Masses each are parodied on his own motets and each reduce the number of voices in the source by one. Reduction, however, occurs only rarely in Spanish parodies.

<sup>133</sup>In the present-day breviary, *O magnum mysterium* serves as the fourth responsory at Christmas matins (versicle added). It has been deleted from the Circumcision office to which it formerly belonged.



so prodigal in providing published settings of the other Marian antiphons, he did leave two settings of each. The dates and number of voices in the paired settings of these other antiphons—*Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina*, and *Regina coeli*—correspond so closely that some plan and forethought can be presumed. Of each, he left settings *a 5* and *a 8*. Those *a 5* were first published in his 1572 *Motecta*, and those *a 8* in his 1581 *Cantica B. Virginis*. Interestingly enough, his *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina* Masses (both of which were published for the first time in his last book of masses) levy material not from just one or the other of his polyphonic settings—the one *a 5*, the other *a 8*—but from both. Here, therefore, in his last book of masses (the only book published in Spain) he tries a new track so far as parody technique is concerned—one which Morales may just haltingly have forecast in his *Benedicta es coelorum* when he extracted material from two different motets (of the same name: one by Josquin, the other by Mouton), but which seems not to have been exploited by any other peninsular composer.<sup>134</sup>

In his last parody—his *Laetatus sum* Mass *a 12* [1600]—Victoria selected for a source the only one of his seven psalms conceived for the same large number of voices, Psalm 121 (= 122 A. V.). For three choirs of four voices each, this psalm was first published as the concluding item in his 1583 *Motecta*. Victoria again chose to parody not one of his psalms on some such plaintive text as “By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept” (Ps. 136 = 137 [A. V.]), nor on a didactic text such as “Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it” (Ps. 126 = 127 [A. V.]). Rather, he chose to parody the one psalm that begins with the words “I rejoiced.” As for his choice of original material to parody, this general rule may be adduced: he uses only material originally conceived in conjunction with joyous or hopeful texts. Even the *Salve Regina* Mass, *a 8*, scarcely violates this principle: for in the parody he echoes those phrases from his original setting which belonged to ameliorative or hopeful petitions; but not the music for such phrases as *gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle* (“groaning and weeping in this vale of tears”).

In each of the following four masses, Victoria adopted as his model a motet or chanson by some

other composer: *Gaudeamus*, *a 6* [1576]; *Pro victoria*, *a 9* [1600]; *Simile est regnum*, *a 4* [1576]; *Surge propera*, *a 5* [1583]. For sources, he chose respectively: Morales’s *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, a festal motet *a 6* composed for the Nice peace parley of 1538; Clément Janequin’s chanson *a 4*, *La bataille de Marignan*, celebrating the French victory over Swiss troops hired by the Milanese (during the battle fought on the northern outskirts of Melegnano—10 miles southeast of Milan—on September 13–14, 1515); Guerrero’s Septuagesima motet *a 4* published in 1570; and Palestrina’s Visitation motet *a 4* published in 1563.<sup>135</sup> Obviously, Victoria’s penchant for parodying joyous sources carried through the whole body of his work: whether his source happened to be his own motet or was a piece by some other composer.

In order to complete a survey of Victoria’s sources, his four paraphrase masses must also be mentioned, each elaborating plainsong: *Ave maris stella*, *a 4* [1576], *De beata Virgine*, *a 5* [1576], *Pro defunctis*, *a 4* [1583], *Officium defunctorum*, *a 6* [1605]. In the first of this group of paraphrases, he availed himself of the plainsong hymn of the same title; in the second, of Mass IX and Credo I; in the third and fourth, of the plainsong Office of the Dead and plainsong Requiem Mass. One mass, only, of the twenty published by Victoria seems to have been freely composed—in the sense that Palestrina’s *Missa brevis* of 1570 or *Papae Marcelli* of 1567 is free—namely, the *Quarti toni* published in Victoria’s third book (Rome: 1592).

Of his 20 authenticated masses it will thus be seen that 15 can be classified as parodies (11 of which are based on his own, and 4 on other composers’ material), 4 as paraphrases, and 1 as a free mass. Palestrina, with whom Victoria is compared most frequently, left some 104 masses—of which 51 are classifiable as parodies, 35 as paraphrases, 7 as tenor, 6 as free, and 5 as canonic masses. Proportionately, parody looms as a much more important category in Victoria’s few masses than in Palestrina’s many. However, of Palestrina’s 43 masses published during his lifetime (in the following years: 1554, 1567, 1570, 1582, 1585, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593/4), twice as many must be called parodies (22) as

<sup>134</sup> Gombert in his *Missa Forseulement* used two models. See Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 347.

<sup>135</sup> For this date, see *Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, ed. by R. Casimiri (Rome: Fratelli Scialera, (1939), Vol. III, p. ix.





paraphrases (11). In 5 of these 22 parodies, Palestrina used secular models—whereas only once did Victoria avail himself of a profane model. In 13 of the 22 parodies published during his lifetime, Palestrina turned to exterior models for source material, and in 5 to his own compositions. For a contrast, Victoria based only 4 on exterior sources but 11 on his own compositions.

As for number of parts, Victoria composed only 7 of his 20 authenticated masses *a 4* and *4 a 5*. The others call for larger groups: he having composed *4 a 6*, *3 a 8*, *1 a 9*, and *1 a 12*. Guerrero, on the other hand, composed but one mass among his total of 18 for so many as six voices—all the rest having been written *a 4* or *a 5*. Of his 104 masses, Palestrina composed only 22 *a 6*, and 4 *a 8*: his other 78 utilizing a smaller number of parts. The fact that so many as 9 of Victoria's 20 masses call for six or more parts contrasts strikingly with both Guerrero's and Palestrina's proportions.

Although Victoria calls for a larger number of parts in his choral ensembles, and is the first important polyphonic composer who published added organ accompaniments, his masses—so far as length is concerned—run considerably behind Guerrero's and Palestrina's. *Dum complerentur, a 6* [1576], his longest mass, reaches a total of only 657 bars. The *Gaudeamus, a 6*, in the same book extends to 655 bars. Standing in third place among his masses, if length is the criterion, would be the *Surge prospera, a 5*, from the 1583 book. Twelve of his masses fail to reach even 500 bars. On the other hand, only 10 among Palestrina's 48 masses published before 1595 fall below 500 bars. The *Ecce sacerdos* in Palestrina's first book even totals 844 bars, and is therefore 180 bars longer than Victoria's lengthiest mass; Palestrina's 45 masses published in 1554, 1567, 1570, 1582, 1585, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593/4, reach on average 612 bars; whereas Victoria's 18 (Requiems excluded) published in 1576, 1583, 1592, and 1600, extend to only 464. The following further breakdown may prove interesting. Palestrina's Kyrie eleison movements average 71 bars; Victoria's, on the other hand, average only 50 bars. Palestrina's Glorias average 120 bars, but Victoria's only 106. Palestrina's Credos average 192 bars, but Victoria's only 170. For the rest: the average length of their Sanctus movements runs 141 against 92; and of their Agnus movements, 88 against 46.

None of Victoria's masses includes so many as three Agnus movements and only seven masses include so many as two.<sup>136</sup> In his 1583 book, the *O quam gloriosum Mass, a 4*, concludes with but a single Agnus movement. In his 1592 book, not one mass among the half-dozen contains as many as two Agnus movements: the *Vidi speciosam* lacking any "miserere nobis" movement and all the others in the same 1592 set concluding without any "dona nobis pacem." Palestrina, on the other hand, only once (*Sicut lilium inter spinas, a 5* [1590]) failed to include at least two Agnus movements.

Such questions as those concerning the number of voices in Victoria's masses, and their over-all and individual-movement lengths, should not be asked merely for the purpose of tabulating general comparisons with Palestrina's usage. Rather, these and like questions should be asked to ascertain what trends, if any, Victoria followed during the quarter-century that elapsed between his first and last books of masses. In Palestrina's repertory, the same number of masses *a 6* are to be found in his 1570 book as in his 1590. If order of publication reflects chronology of composition, then we must assume that toward the end of his career Palestrina's tastes (so far as his preferred number of parts is concerned) still remained quite static. With Victoria, on the other hand, his demands—insofar as number of voices is concerned—mounted steadily toward the end of his career: the 1592 book being the first to contain a mass *a 8*, and the 1600 book being the first to contain masses both *a 9* and *a 12*. For another instance of Palestrina's conservatism: the over-all and individual-movement lengths drop only gradually from book to book. The average length of his seven masses in the 1567 is 606 bars; of the seven in the 1582, 559; of the eight in the 1590, 535. Compared with this gradual descent, Victoria's masses toboggan down a runaway. The average length of the five masses in his 1576 book is 597 bars; but of the six in the 1592, 376; and of the four in the 1600, only 363. Moreover, it was Victoria who after compiling all five masses with two different Agnus movements in his 1583, parsimoniously confined himself to a single Agnus in every one of his 1592 and 1600 masses.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Requiems not counted.

<sup>137</sup> Note also that the Osannas of both the *Pro victoria* and *Laetatus* Masses of 1600 (*VicO*, VI, 52, 54; 95, 97) are identical.



Seen in this kind of light, Victoria's personal procedures (and perhaps tastes) prove not to have remained static, but to have changed significantly during that comparatively short period of a quarter-century which separates his first from his last book of masses. In still other ways, the style of his masses can be seen to have changed just as sharply. Eight of the masses published before 1600 conclude with a canonic Agnus—two of these being such elaborate specimens as an eight-in-four and a three-in-one. None of the 1600 masses, on the other hand, concludes with a canonic Agnus. Furthermore, the 1576 book, and it alone, includes polytextual masses: the *Ave maris stella*, a 4, and the *Gaudeamus*, a 6.<sup>138</sup> Only in his masses published in 1576 and 1583 did he bow to the time-honored custom of beginning each principal movement in a parody mass with the initium of his source motet. After the *Surge propera*, a 5, of 1583 (parodied on the Palestrina motet a 4 published twenty years earlier) he henceforth showed scant respect for the initium of any source motet. In the later parodies he also became more and more cavalier in his treatment of still other material extracted from his sources. Indeed, he used his sources after the 1583 book not as quarries that should be systematically worked from the top downward, but rather as open pits that he could enter at any level that suited his fancy. For another matter, the ratio of free to borrowed material shifts drastically in favor of "free" in his last masses. A comparison of such masses as *Surge propera* [1583] and *Laetatus sum* [1600] strikingly confirms this generalization.

Further proof that Victoria's technique of composing masses did not remain static but on the contrary steadily evolved is to be found in the amount of repetition that he allowed himself in different movements. In his youthful Guerrero parody—the *Simile est regnum coelorum* Mass, a 4—the first six bars of Kyrie I recur at the start of Agnus I.<sup>139</sup> But so long as he contented himself with only a single small patch carried over from one movement into another, he broke no new ground: even Morales in

his *Quaeramus cum pastoribus* having carried over as much material. In his *Gaudeamus*, though not quite so abstemious, Victoria still repeated only the 14-bar passage with which Kyrie I ends during the corresponding final 14 bars of the Qui tollis;<sup>140</sup> and mm. 88–97 of the Credo (Et incarnatus) during the first 10 bars of Osanna II. In the *Dum complerentur* (with which his first book of masses concludes) two passages are repeated in different movements<sup>141</sup>—the last 20 bars of the Qui tollis equaling the last 20 of the Et in Spiritum; and the last 8 bars of Kyrie I equaling the last 8 of Agnus I. In the *Missa Quam pulchri sunt* with which his second book (1583) opens, the first 5 bars of Kyrie I are substantially repeated at the beginning of the Qui tollis.<sup>142</sup> In the *O quam gloriosum* which succeeds in this 1583 book, the last 8 bars of the Qui tollis equal the last 8 of the Et in spiritum;<sup>143</sup> and the last 8 bars of Kyrie II equal the last 9 of the single Agnus.<sup>144</sup>

Skipping over to the *Salve Regina* Mass, a 8, published in 1592, we find, however, that the number of repeated passages begins to rise. Measures 13–17 of Kyrie I equal, for instance, mm. 86–90 of the Gloria; mm. 1–7 of the Gloria equal 1–7 of the Agnus; mm. 34–42 of the Gloria equal 17–25 of the Sanctus; mm. 40–42 of the Gloria equal mm. 66–68 of the Credo.<sup>145</sup> A less exact kind of correspondence, but still an interesting similarity, will be found between the Domine Deus and the Benedictus.<sup>146</sup> Coming next to the masses published in his last book (1600), we discover that still larger blocs of repeated material are carried over from movement to movement. In the *Ave Regina*, a 8, mm. 39–49 of the Kyrie (II) equal mm. 15–24 of the Agnus Dei; and mm. 59–72 of the Gloria vividly recall mm. 26–36 of the Sanctus.<sup>147</sup> In the *Pro victoria*, a 9, mm. 1–8 of Kyrie I equal mm. 1–8 of the Agnus; mm. 36–42 of the Kyrie (II) equal mm. 16–22 of the Agnus; mm. 1–3 of the Gloria equal mm. 83–85 of the Credo; mm. 28–34 of the Gloria equal mm. 83–153 of the Agnus; mm. 59–76 of the Gloria equal mm. 133–150

<sup>138</sup> In Osanna I of the *Ave maris stella* Mass the tenor sings the hymn text, first strophe (*VicO*, II, 15–16). Throughout Kyrie I, at the end of the Gloria, and throughout the last Agnus of the *Gaudeamus* Mass, either altus (= altus II of 1583 edition) or cantus II intones the first word of the plainsong incipit (*VicO*, IV, 1–2, 10, 27–28).

<sup>139</sup> *VicO*, II, 21, 34.

<sup>140</sup> *VicO*, IV, 2, 10.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39, 46–47; 30, 54.

<sup>142</sup> *VicO*, II, 38, 42.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 64.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 68.

<sup>145</sup> *VicO*, IV, 73, 80; 75, 97; 77, 94; 77, 86.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 96.

<sup>147</sup> *VicO*, VI, 4, 25; 9, 21.



of the Credo.<sup>148</sup> In his *Missa Laetatus*, mm. 87-106 of the Gloria equal mm. 160-179 of the Credo.<sup>149</sup>

No account has been taken in the preceding paragraph of repetitions within the same movement. In all his polychoral masses these also figure prominently. To cite repetitions of more than one bar in the *Ave Regina*: in the Kyrie, mm. 1-8<sub>3</sub> = 8<sub>3</sub>-16<sub>1</sub>; in the Gloria, mm. 59-63 = 63-67; in the Credo, mm. 34-37<sub>3</sub> = 37<sub>3</sub>-41<sub>1</sub>, mm. 91<sub>4</sub>-93<sub>1</sub> = 93<sub>2</sub>-94<sub>3</sub>, mm. 94<sub>4</sub>-96<sub>2</sub> = 96<sub>4</sub>-98<sub>2</sub>; in the Sanctus, mm. 26-29<sub>1</sub> = 29-32<sub>1</sub>; in the Agnus, mm. 1-6<sub>3</sub> = 6<sub>3</sub>-11<sub>3</sub>. Or, to cite examples from the *Pro victoria*: in the Gloria, mm. 59-64<sub>1</sub> = 67-72<sub>1</sub>; in the Credo, mm. 133-138<sub>1</sub> = 141-146<sub>1</sub>; in the Sanctus, mm. 21-25<sub>1</sub> = 25-29<sub>1</sub> (= 47-51<sub>1</sub> = 51-55<sub>1</sub>). Such repetitions as those just cited involve harmonic blocs. Always fond of repetitions and sequences in individual melodic lines, Victoria was to become ever more sequential and repetitious, so far as individual melodies are concerned, in his 1592 and especially in his 1600 masses.<sup>150</sup>

His modal preferences shifted strikingly between 1576 and 1600. All five principal movements in every 1576 mass but one end on chords built over G (masses with one flat in the signature: *Ave maris stella*, *Gaudeamus*, and *Dum complerentur*; or without flat: *Simile est regnum*): the exception being the *De beata Virgine*, which—like all other paraphrases of Mass IX—mixes modes. All five principal movements in every 1600 mass, on the other hand, end on F—one flat being always specified in the signature. In the 1583 book, the finals of the five parts of the Ordinary run thus: *Quam pulchri*, F with flat; *O quam gloriosum*, G without flat; *Surge propera*, D without flat; *Quarti toni*, E; *Trahe me post te*, C; *Ascendens Christus*, G with flat; *Vidi speciosam*, G without flat; *Salve Regina*, G with flat. Or, to tally the totals: seven masses in the first three books belong to dorian or hypodorian, three to mixolydian or hypomixolydian, two to ionian or hypoionian, and one to hypophrygian. In the last book all four masses, on the other hand, are unmitigatedly in F Major. Because every mass in this last book is not only polychoral but remains exclusively in F Major

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 55; 29, 56-57; 30, 44; 33, 55-56; 36-37, 48-49.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74, 90-92.

<sup>150</sup> On sequences in Palestrina's masses, see Peter Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913), p. 435.

throughout, we might almost suspect that it was not Victoria himself so much as it was the monarch to whom the collection was dedicated—Philip III—whose preference for bright major music determined the unanimous character of the book.

But, on the other hand, if his last masses are even more uniformly major than Mozart's symphonies, Victoria does shift meter (from duple to triple and vice versa) with considerable frequency in these last masses. Whereas, except for the Osanna, there is not a bar of triple-meter music to be found in such early masses as *Ave maris stella* and *Dum complerentur* (1576), there are 134 bars of triple-meter music among a total of 355 in his *Pro victoria* Mass (1600). These triple-meter shifts enliven every movement of the *Pro victoria* except the Agnus. The *Christe eleison* is in triple throughout; as is also the Osanna; and in the Gloria and Credo, a half-dozen triple-meter passages intrude *in medias res*: thereby creating exactly the mood of "alarums and excursions" which should have been captured in such a battle mass.

In sum: all these many stylistic changes to be seen in Victoria's masses set him apart from the conservative Palestrina, and ally him, rather, with the progressives of the late sixteenth century. Some critics have wished to compare him with El Greco. However overdrawn these comparisons may have been, there is still one unobserved likeness that must here be mentioned. Both artists altered their styles as they matured. The two paintings by El Greco, "Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple"—the early version (with soft lines and conventional figure dimensions) now hanging in the Minneapolis Institute of Art; the later (with agitated lines and elongated figure dimensions) belonging to the Frick Collection—illustrate the shifts that overtook El Greco's style.<sup>151</sup> Art critics now prefer the later El Greco to the earlier, whereas music critics seem to prefer the earlier Victoria to the later: only the *Officium defunctorum* of 1605—which is in part a reworking of the *Pro defunctis* of 1583—escaping the general neglect that has befallen Victoria's later masses.<sup>152</sup> But no matter which is preferred—his later or his earlier style—at least it will be conceded that certain fundamental differences separate his

<sup>151</sup> José Camón Aznar, *Dominico Greco* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1950), I, 114; II, 842.

<sup>152</sup> Collet in *Le mysticisme musical espagnol*, pages 446-447, voiced an opinion that is still current.





**Supra.** *Missa Ave maris stella.*

**Alto.** Thomas Ludouicus de victoria *Missa. Voc. III*

**Tenor.**

**Bassus.**

First Kyrie and Christe in Victoria's *Missa Ave Maris Stella* (1576).

1576 from his 1600 masses. The rapid tempo of his artistic evolution may be said to parallel El Greco's; whereas Palestrina's slower tempo parallels Titian's.

Because of their admitted importance as monuments of Spanish art, Victoria's masses ought to have provoked numerous individual analyses. The most renowned Spanish historian of this century does not mention them individually by name, however, in his "La Música en España" (1943, 1944, 1949). Just as Victoria's first patron was the German cardinal Otto von Truchsess von Waldburg; just as the first publication of his works outside Italy was the Dillingen 1589 edition of his *Cantiones sacrae*; and just as the first modern reprints were those published at Regensburg in Proske's *Musica divina* (1853-1869); so also the first analyses of these masses

seem to have appeared in Peter Wagner's *Geschichte der Messe*, published at Leipzig in 1913.<sup>153</sup>

The first mass in 1576 invites comparison with Morales's like-named *Ave maris stella* Mass (1544).<sup>154</sup> Both masses break off into individual sections at exactly the same places in the wordy movements—Gloria and Credo; both reduce to three voices in the Et resurrexit and return to full choir at Et in spiritum; both again reduce to three voices in the Benedictus; both add an extra voice in Agnus II.

<sup>153</sup> Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-429.

<sup>154</sup> The *Ave maris stella* should be of particular interest to students of music in the Americas. It was copied into the celebrated *Códice del Convento del Carmen* (Osanna II and Agnus II movements excepted) and was reprinted from that Mexican source in Jesús Bal y Gay's edition, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, I, at pages 49-83.





Again, in such interior movements as the *Christe*, the *Qui tollis*, the *Et incarnatus est*, *Et resurrexit*, and the *Benedictus*, both composers choose to develop identical incises of the hymn.<sup>155</sup> Victoria's "original" counterpoint at the opening of his *Agnus II* resembles Morales's at the opening of his *Sanctus* and *Agnus I*. Although none of these clues taken individually seems wholly convincing, in the aggregate they do strengthen the likelihood that Victoria was well acquainted with Morales's mass.

If he was, he chose not to challenge the elder master on his own ground. Morales's mass—except for the solo movements—is canonic throughout. In other masses Victoria too includes formal canons; sometimes even three-in-one specimens: but not anywhere in this mass. Rather, he here elects to alternate paraphrase and *cantus firmus* treatments of the plainsong hymn, thus showing in this first mass his dislike of any too rigorous a scheme pursued throughout. The *Christe* eleison ends with eleven bars of treble breves, and *Kyrie II* closes with eight bars of tenor *cantus firmus*; the *Gloria* at "unigenite," the *Credo* at "Et in unum Dominum," and "Et vitam venturi saeculi," show treble instances; lastly, the *quinta pars* in *Agnus II* remains rather consistently a *cantus firmus* voice. For the rest, however, he paraphrases the hymn, oftenest in the top voice; or he constructs imitative points, using paraphrased incises of the hymn as head motives. No doubt the Victoria mass on this account loses the consistency of the Morales. Victoria—still in his twenties—shows none of the elder master's adroitness at inventing original motifs that can recur as counterpoints to the plainsong hymn in such different movements as the *Patrem omnipotentem* and the *Et in Spiritum Sanctum*—or, over a still larger arch: in *Kyrie I*, the *Sanctus*, and *Agnus I*. Morales's great architectural gifts, displayed in this mass and elsewhere, justly entitle him to comparison with Juan de Herrera; and it was just this talent that enabled him in his much longer mass to unify disparate age-groups of masonry into a convincing and harmonious whole. Victoria, who always chose to work on a smaller scale, did succeed, however, in leaving a much more genial and affable impression with his mass. The very transposition of the hymn up a fourth throws the vocal quartet into lighter and brighter registers. His unwillingness to

commit himself to any single technique, paraphrase or *cantus firmus*, also prevents his manner from ever becoming tedious. A comparison of the number of printed accidentals is not so conclusive as it may seem—Victoria having been the first Spanish composer to specify all, or nearly all, his required accidentals. But for what it is worth, Victoria's *Kyrie* movements contain eight or nine more accidentals than are to be found in the whole of Morales's mass. Above all, his harmonies can always be analyzed in a modern G-minor sense, whatever the key signature; whereas Morales's harmonies, no matter how much *ficta* is applied, remain irretrievably modal in his *Ave maris stella*.

Just as in his first paraphrase Victoria bows to the hymn that was above all others popular in sixteenth-century Spain (Antonio de Cabezón alone contributed six versions of this one hymn to Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva* [Alcalá de Henares: 1557]);<sup>156</sup> so also in his first parody mass he pays tribute to the composer who above all other sixteenth-century peninsulars was honored in the reign of Philip II as the glory of Spain—Francisco Guerrero. *Simile est regnum coelorum*, in two *partes* (2d *pars*: *Et egressus circa horam*), was first published in 1570. Since Victoria would have been still only twenty-two when the source was published, he probably composed his parody after the motet came out in print. Just as Morales honored Gombert, and Guerrero honored Morales, so Victoria pays tribute to his greatest Spanish contemporary when he places the Guerrero parody at the forefront of his first collection. Even if the position of this parody in the 1576 Masses was not a conscious gesture, Victoria pays Guerrero special honor by being the very first of a long line of Spanish composers to publish a parody of a Guerrero motet.

Victoria, always interested in mellifluous sound and harmonic perspicuity, does not here attempt the kind of closely knit parody that Morales and Guerrero usually produced. Only in the *Sanctus* of this particular mass does he so cling to motives from the source as not to lose hold on them for even a moment. The opening points of imitation in *Kyrie I*, *Christe*, *Kyrie II*, *Et in terra pax*, and *Patrem omnipotentem* share a common procedure. During each, he pairs the two lower and two upper voices. In doing so, he follows in Guerrero's footsteps—Guerrero having done the same at the opening of his

<sup>155</sup> Collet's analysis of Victoria's *curieuse correspondance thématique* at pages 431–433 of *Le mysticisme musical espagnol* somewhat loses force by virtue of this discovery.

<sup>156</sup> *MME*, II, 121–131.



# Simile est regnum caelorum

Francisco Guerrero

Cantor: Si mi le est re gnum cae lo -  
 Altus: Si mi le est re gnum cae lo -  
 Tenor: Si mi le est  
 Bassus:

ram hu mi li pa tri fa mi -  
 ram hu mi li pa tri fa -  
 re gnum cae lo - ram hu -  
 Si mi le est re gnum cae lo - ram

li as qui ex iit pri mo  
 mi li as qui ex i -  
 mi li pa tri fa mi li as qui ex i -  
 ho mi li pa tri fa mi li as qui ex i it pri

mo se cos du ce re o pe ra ri os uos  
 it pri mo ma se cos du ce re  
 it pri mo ma se cos du ce re o pe ra ri os  
 mo se cos du ce re o pe

du ce re o pe ra ri os la vi se am so am  
 re o pe ra ri os la vi se am so am Cos  
 ve la vi se am so am la vi se am so am  
 ra ri os la vi se am so am Cos

Cos ve li o se au tem fa -  
 ve li o se au tem fa -  
 Cos ve li o se au tem  
 ve li o se au tem fa - cta cos ve li o se

sta cum o pe ra ri is cum o -  
 cum o pe ra ri is cum o pe ra ri is  
 fa cta cum o pe ra ri is cum  
 au tem fa cta cum o pe ra ri is cum o pe ra ri is

pe ra ri is ex de us ri o di er  
 cum o pe ra ri is ex de us ri o  
 o pe ra ri is ex de us  
 ex de us ri o di er os

so mi sit e os mi sit e  
 di er so mi sit e  
 so ri o di er so mi sit  
 mi sit e os mi sit e os mi sit

us la vi se am so am so am la  
 o os la  
 e os la vi se am so am

so am la vi se am so am  
 vi se am so am la vi se am so am  
 vi se am so am la vi se am so am  
 la vi se am so am

*Grande parte*  
 Et e gros sus cir ca bu ram  
 Et e gros sus cir ca bu ram ter ti am cir  
 Et e gros sus cir ca bu ram ter ti am

ter ti am cir ca bu ram ter ti am  
 ca bu ram ter ti am  
 Et e gros sus cir ca bu ram ter ti am  
 bu ram ter ti am et e gros sus cir ca

vi dit a li os  
 bu ram ter ti am vi dit a li os vi  
 am vi dit a li os vi  
 bu ram ter ti am vi dit

vi dit a li os  
 dit a li os  
 dit a li os vi dit a li os  
 a li os vi dit a li os et a li os

stan tes la fo ro o ti o am et di sit  
 ro o ti o am et di sit li  
 ro o ti o am o ti o am et di sit li  
 ro o ti o am o ti o am et di sit li





Missa Simile est regnum cælorum  
KYRIE

Soprano: li - lis I - te, I - te et vos la  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Alto: vi - no - am me - am, et quod in - stam fa -  
 vi - no - am me - am, et quod in - stam  
 no - am me - am, et quod in - stam fa - e - rit,  
 vi - no - am me - am, et quod in - stam fa - e - rit,

Tenor: - e - rit, da - bo vo  
 fa - e - rit, da - bo vo - bis, da - bo vo  
 da - bo vo - bis, da - bo vo - bis,  
 da - bo vo - bis,

Bass: da - bo vo - bis,  
 bis, da - bo vo - bis, da - bo vo - bis,  
 da - bo vo - bis, da - bo vo - bis,  
 da - bo vo - bis, da - bo vo - bis.

Soprano: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Alto: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Tenor: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Bass: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Soprano: Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Alto: son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Tenor: Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Bass: Chri - ste e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Soprano: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Alto: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Tenor: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

Bass: Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te, I - te et vos, in vi -  
 et di - sit li - lis I - te et vos la

GLORIA

Soprano: Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae

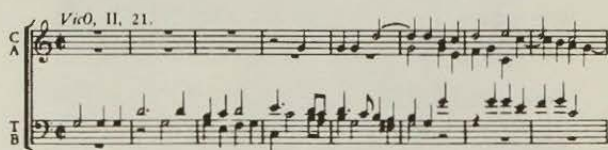
Alto: Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

Tenor: Do - mus  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

Bass: Do - mus  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -



*pars 1*. The first eight bars of Victoria's Kyrie I show how one pair of voices is answered by the other.



Not only at outsets of chief movements but everywhere else throughout his mass, Victoria lavishes care on motives drawn from Guerrero's motet. Kyrie II, Qui tollis, and the Sanctus conclude with the final incise of Guerrero's *pars 2*. However, the order in which motives from the source are brought forward within movements is subject to wide variation. No individual movement of Victoria's mass fails at least somewhere to allude to the motet source. Nor does Victoria limit his allusions to Guerrero's head motive. By way of example, the Benedictus *a 3*, which starts with an imitative point based on one voice from Guerrero's head motive (dBcdG answered by GEFGC) reverts halfway through to another Guerrero motive—the one associated with that part of the motet text at mm. 53–55 which reads “in vineam suam.”

The text of Guerrero's Septuagesima motet (Matt. 20:1–2; 3–4) divides into nine incises for *pars 1*, and seven for *pars 2*. Of some interest is the fact that he should at least twice in his mass have made much of the incise at mm. 82–85 setting *stantes in foro* (“standing in the marketplace”). The last three measures of his *Christe eleison* and mm. 19–21 of the Credo (*unigenitum*) quote this particular phrase.

It was Peter Wagner who in 1913 first pointed to the link that unites the *Missa canonica* (Prague: 1580) of Jacobus Gallus [= Jakob Handl] with Victoria's *Simile est regnum coelorum*.<sup>157</sup> If the breve rests are omitted Gallus's ingenious *Missa canonica* can be performed throughout as a mass *a 8*—the second quartet following canonically, hard on the heels of the first quartet. Gallus, a protégé of the bishop of Olmütz, finished his masses during a two-year period in the latter's service, 1578–1580. The *Missa canonica*, the last of his masses *a 4* in the Prague imprint of 1580, was probably the last composed. If so, the example of Victoria's Agnus II in the 1576 *Liber Primus. Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat . . . Complectitur* may well have fired his imagination to the exploit. At all events, their mutually intimate deal-

ings with the same youthful Society of Jesus would have brought the 1576 publication of the *Collegii Germanici in Vrbe Roma Musicae Moderator* to Gallus's immediate attention.

Victoria concluded both his *Quam pulchri* (1583) and *Trahe me post te* (1592) with Agnuses containing a four-in-two canon; and his *Ascendens Christus* (1592) with an Agnus containing a three-in-one canon. He concluded the following five masses: *De beata Virgine* and *Gaudeamus* of 1576, *O magnum mysterium*, *Quarti toni*, and *Vidi speciosam* of 1592, with Agnuses containing a two-in-one canon. But only in his *Simile est regnum* did he conclude with an Agnus containing so elaborate a feat as an eight-in-four canon. His precedent for such extreme artifice is to be found at pages 61–62 in the same motet collection of 1570 from which he culled his source: the example being Guerrero's own *Pater noster, a 8* (first published, 1555; reprinted, 1566, 1570). The elder master having set the pace, the younger bravely climaxed his tribute to the “sage of Seville” with an eight-in-four canon—and moreover, one which is not thematically independent of the Guerrero *Simile est regnum* motet, but on the contrary constantly weaves fragments into the canonic lacework.

The third mass in Victoria's 1576 book recalls the first in Morales's *Liber primus* of 1544: if for no other reason than because both chose in their *De beata Virgine* Masses to paraphrase plainsong Mass IX and Credo I. However, the similarities extend beyond those merely fortuitous likenesses to which a common source would give rise. Victoria has actually quoted Morales. His Osanna I, for instance, extensively quotes the Osanna II of Morales's *De beata Virgine, a 4*. Also, Victoria's Osanna II takes its cue from Morales's I, in that both draw out a canon based on the same plainsong incise. Significantly, Victoria includes a canon only in the Osanna II of his *De beata Virgine* Mass—no other Osanna containing one, nor for that matter any other movement in his twenty published masses except Agnuses and the Crucifixus of his *Alma Redemptoris* Mass (1600). Another echo resounds at Victoria's “Qui sedes.” Here, both composers simultaneously break into triple meter. Both return to duple for the phrase “Quoniam tu solus.” In his last Agnus, Victoria augments to seven parts. Tenor I follows cantus II in canon at the lower octave (not at the lower fifth, as Pedrell would have us believe).<sup>158</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 424, 336–337.

<sup>158</sup> *VicO*, II, 116–118.





During the first four bars of “Qui sedes” the junior composer’s cantus duplicates the elder’s tenor: both masters notating “Who sittest at the right hand of God the Father” with voids. At *miserere nobis*, on the other hand, Victoria suddenly shifts from voids to blacks in all parts. Since such blacks are by no means a necessary, but merely an optional, method of notating the music that he conceived for “have mercy upon us,” they serve in all likelihood as a means of contrasting the purity of Christ (who sits at the right hand) with the blackness of sinners (who implore mercy). Such an interpretation will by no means seem fanciful to a student who has examined with care any of Victoria’s personally superintended motet publications. Among the many instances of eye-music to be seen in his motets, as telling an example as any will be found at the outset of his “De beata Virgine” motet *a 6* published for the first time in the same *Liber Primus. Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat, . . . Aliaque Complectitur* (1576) that contains the *De beata Virgine* Mass now under discussion. Though headed by the duple signature, C, this motet, *Nigra sum sed formosa* (“I am black but beautiful”), begins with uniform blacks in all parts: only reverting to whites for the last syllable of “beautiful.”

Another *De beata Virgine* Mass with which Victoria’s Lady Mass *a 5* can usefully be compared stands at the head of Palestrina’s 1567 book dedicated to Philip II. Victoria differs from the Roman master on at least one crucial issue: the amount of degree-inflection specified in print. By actual count, Victoria in his Kyries prescribes 24 accidentals; in his Gloria, 60; in his Credo, 91. But the parsimonious Palestrina specified only a meager 2, 8, and 15 in these same movements.

No ingenious application of ficta can turn Palestrina’s melodic lines into a counterfeit of Victoria’s. Throughout his *De beata Virgine* Mass, Victoria insists upon such stepwise progressions as f, g, f $\sharp$ ; or f $\sharp$ , g, f[ $\natural$ ]; or b $\flat$ , c, b[ $\natural$ ]; or b, c, b $\flat$ —in other words, a semitonal ascent followed by a whole-step descent; or vice versa. Below will be seen some eighteen examples chosen at random from Kyrie and Gloria movements of his *De beata Virgine*.

Each shows the same type of melodic progression. Each has been checked against 1576 and 1583 imprints of this mass. These examples can be matched with similarly mannered melodic progressions taken from any early or late Victoria work whatsoever. For those who wish to see the surrounding polyphonic

(1) (e) lei son

(2) Ky ri e e lei son

(3) (e) lei son

(4) (Chri)ste e lei (son)

(5) (e) lei son

(6) (Ky) ri e e lei (son)

(7) (vo) lun ta tis

(8) Ad o ra mus te

(9) tu am Do mi ne De us

(10) (De) us, Rex coe le (stis)

(11) (coe) le stis De us Pa ter

(12) unige ni te, Je su

(13) (De) us Agnus De i

(14) Qui tol lis

(15) (sus) ci pe

(16) (no) bis Quo ni am tu

(17) Al tis si mus

(18) (Al) tis si mus

complex, the following eighteen melodic snatches can be conferred with Pedrell, *VicO*, II, 93-101 (Kyries: beginning at mm. 4, 9, 12, 20, 33, 50; Gloria: beginning at mm. 11, 18, 28, 32, 37, 48, 59, 77, 83, 103, 113, 114).

Victoria’s *De beata Virgine* in both 1576 and 1583 imprints shows one or two niceties not to be surmised from Pedrell’s edition. For instance, Et in terra pax, Domine Deus, and Qui tollis—that is, the movements of the Gloria—carry C instead of Victoria’s customary  $\Phi$  for their mensuration sign. (Morales also employed C, by way of exception to his usual  $\Phi$ , for the signature in certain movements of his *De beata Virgine* Mass, *a 5*.) That Victoria did not choose C haphazardly may be inferred not only from the fact that all Gloria movements carry it, but also from its recurrence in all voices after the momentary shifts into  $\Phi_3$  at “Qui sedes” (mm. 91-102) and “Cum Sancto Spiritu” (mm. 124-126). In contrast with the  $\Phi_3$  proportional signature at both “Qui sedes” and “Cum Sancto Spiritu” of his *De beata* Gloria, he employs  $\Phi_3$  for shifts to triple in such a Gloria as that of his *Surge propera* Mass (the basic meter of the *Surge propera* Gloria is  $\Phi$  instead



of C). One other nicety in his *De beata*: the bassus in Kyrie, Gloria, and Sanctus carries the baritone clef; but in Credo and Agnuses, the bass clef.

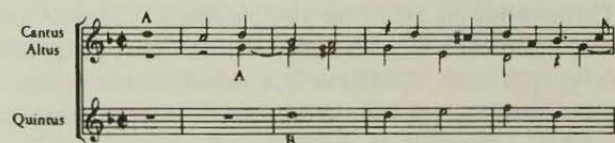
*Gaudeamus*, the fourth mass in Victoria's 1576 set, no longer betrays a mere affinity with Morales but is actually parodied on the elder's 1538 peace motet. This mass and *Surge propera* (1583, Palestrina parody) share the distinction of being his two masses in which all the principal movements open with the head motive from the source. Although both the *Jubilate* motet and the *Gaudeamus* Mass call for six voices, Victoria specifies CCAATB: whereas Morales had called for CAATTB. Such a rearrangement naturally enhances the brilliance of the mass.<sup>159</sup> (Elsewhere, for that matter, Victoria consistently prefers light, high voices. In this 1576 book the "bass" of both *Ave maris stella* and *Simile est regnum* carries tenor clef; and in Kyrie, Gloria, and Sanctus of the *De beata Virgine*, baritone clef.) To afford as much variety as possible Victoria chooses a different vocal combination in each of the *Gaudeamus* solo movements. In the *Christe*, he calls for CCAT, in the *Domine Deus* for ATB, in the *Crucifixus* for CCAA, and in the *Pleni* for AATB. Only in the *Pleni* does he retain the *Gaudeamus* melodic ostinato that gives the mass its name. In the *Benedictus* (the fifth and final solo movement) he reverts to the same CCAA combination already used in the *Crucifixus*.

Not only does he so faithfully follow usual practice as to begin every principal movement in the *Gaudeamus* with the motet head motive, but also he hews to convention in this same mass when he closes both Kyrie I and *Qui tollis peccata* with the seven bars that end *pars 1* of the motet. In the last seven bars of *Et in spiritum* he quotes the concluding seven of *pars 2*. The intermediate material from the motet of which Victoria makes perhaps most telling use will be found at mm. 71–74 in the source. Both the *Et incarnatus* (Credo, mm. 88–97) and the first ten bars of the *Osanna* following the *Benedictus* quote this material (extended by repetition). However, he changes Morales's layout of voices so that CCAATB (Pedrell edition) replaces Tenor-Sextus-Cantus-Altus-Bassus in the source. This particular patch of

quoted music sets the words *O felix Paule, O vos felices principes* (O happy Paul, O you happy monarchs) in the motet.

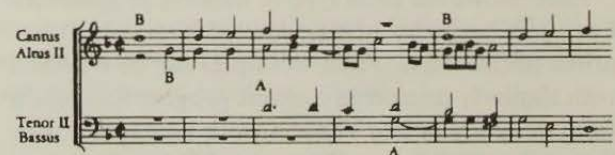
In Morales's *Jubilate*, the ostinato—a voice apart—is not imitated by any of the five other voices. In the mass, the ostinato, though still a voice apart, does occasionally provoke a melodic imitation in such movements as the *Qui tollis* ("Quoniam tu solus") and *Et in Spiritum* ("Qui cum Patre"). In Kyrie I, at the close of *Qui tollis*, and in *Agnus II*, the ostinato-bearing voices break out with the word *Gaudeamus*. At other times Victoria fits the liturgical words to the melodic ostinato. In *Agnus II* an added tenor swells the number of parts. *Cantus II*, followed by tenor I (in canon at the suboctave), sings the plainsong introit during this last climactic movement: both repeating not only the introit incipit (five times) but here also the catchword *Gaudeamus*. Never perhaps in sixteenth-century music has such a merely occasional work as Morales's motet been lifted to loftier heights that in this mass. If for no other reason then because it conjoins the two most celebrated names in Spanish Renaissance music it should be known. Better still, its intrinsic worth does both masters the highest honor.

In *Dum complerentur*, a 6, the mass with which the 1576 book closes, Victoria parodies his own Pentecost motet a 5 published in 1572. In contrast with the Guerrero and Morales motets of two *partes* chosen for earlier parody in this book, Victoria's original 162-bar motet is in responsory form. The amount carried over from *pars 1* into *pars 2* occupies half the motet. *Pars 1* extends to 86 breves, the last 41 of which are repeated at the close of *pars 2*. As is Victoria's practice, he opens both *partes* of his motet with points of imitation combining two head motives. The opening point of his *Dum complerentur* motet (*VicO*, I, 59) reads thus:



Musical notation for the opening of the motet. It shows two staves: Cantus Altus (top) and Quintus (bottom). The Cantus Altus staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Quintus staff begins with a bass clef. Both staves show a melodic line with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket labeled 'A'.

His task at the outset in his mass of the same name (*VicO*, IV, 29) becomes their rearrangement:



Musical notation for the opening of the mass. It shows two staves: Cantus Altus II (top) and Tenor II Bassus (bottom). The Cantus Altus II staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Tenor II Bassus staff begins with a bass clef. Both staves show a melodic line with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket labeled 'A'. The Cantus Altus II staff has a second ending bracket labeled 'B'.

<sup>159</sup> Morales's *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, a 6, composed for the June 1538 peace celebration at Nice between Charles V and Francis I (instigated by Pope Paul III) ranks as a crown jewel among his motets.



The Et in terra pax opens exactly as does Kyrie I. Even when at Domine Deus he reduces to four voices for a solo movement, he still busies himself devising a new ABAB combination (*VicO*, IV, 35):

In the Benedictus, he ornaments his “A” motive; working both “A” and “B” in double harness (*VicO*, IV, 51):

In Agnus I he embellishes both “A” and “B” motives<sup>160</sup>—driving even the ornamented versions as a team, however (*VicO*, IV, 53):

Only at the beginning of the Sanctus does he devise truly free counterpoint to motive “A.”

Four sections begin with conventionally monothematic points of imitation: Christe eleison (= bassus, mm. 19–21 in source), Kyrie II (= cantus, mm. 35–37 in source), Crucifixus (= motive “B,” extended), Pleni sunt. Two movements start with motives from the source riding the waves of freely invented homophony: the Qui tollis (altus II = motive “A,” extended), and Et incarnatus (cantus = cantus, mm. 70–74 in source). Both the Qui tollis and the Et in Spiritum Sanctum close with identical 20-bar passages, expanding the refrain of the source (mm. 70–86 = 146–162 in motet).

In the final Agnus he forgoes canon. But he does epitomize the motet. Motives “A” and “B” intertwine everywhere. Among the transformation of “A,” the following are perhaps the more important:

During the sixteen-bar peroration, this last variant of motive “A” (first heard in the bassus) alternately bolsters the other six voices and floats on the crest of the polyphonic sea (in cantus I and II). The sharpening of the second note in the last variant harks back to mm. 3–4 of the source motet. Victoria, the first peninsular composer to specify precisely the accidentals that he desires, makes it plain throughout both his motet and mass that for him C $\flat$  and C $\sharp$ , F $\flat$  and F $\sharp$ , are freely interchangeable notes in any point of imitation (mm. 4 [tenor II], 11 [bassus], 17 [tenor II], of Kyrie I; and *passim*).

Victoria’s second book of masses (1583) bears the interesting title *Missarum Libri Duo* (“two books of masses”)—the obvious reason being that it contains all five of the 1576 masses, plus four previously unpublished masses. The new additions comprise not just the *Pro defunctis* (which Pedrell wished to list as the only new mass in this 1583 book)<sup>161</sup> but also two parodies *a 4* of original motets—*Quam pulchri sunt* and *O quam gloriosum*; and a superb parody *a 5* of *Surge propera* from Palestrina’s *Motecta festorum totius anni . . . quaternis vocibus . . . Liber primus* (1563).

The three parodies in his 1576 book were modeled on motets of two *partes*; but the three parodies added in his 1583 book are modeled on motets of one *pars*. In the *Quam pulchri* Mass he weaves new material into the opening points of Kyrie I, Et in terra pax, Patrem omnipotentem, Sanctus, and Agnus I. In the *O quam gloriosam*—departing from his custom—he quotes not just individual motives from the source but transfers intact whole blocks of polyphony from motet into mass. In the *Surge propera* he pays homage to Palestrina with a few consistently monothematic points of imitation: the head motives of which derive exclusively from the source without any admixture of freely invented material.

<sup>161</sup> *VicO*, Vol. VIII, p. xxxiii, n. 1; also *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (1918), p. 74, n. 1.

<sup>160</sup> Embellished “b” = motive in bass at mm. 19–20 (source).



Palestrina, senior though he was to Victoria, awaited the example of Victoria's *Dum complerentur* Mass before embarking upon his first parody of an original motet. His *Missarum cum quatuor et quinque vocibus liber quartus* of 1582 is his first book to contain such a parody (the *Lauda Sion* Mass opening this book is based on his own motet published in 1563). Because of the closeness of publication dates, a comparison of Palestrina's parody procedures in the *Lauda Sion* Mass, *a 4*, with Victoria's procedures in masses similarly modeled on original motets should have value. In both the *Christe* and the *Kyrie II* of the *Lauda Sion* Mass, Palestrina, like Victoria, combines newly invented countersubjects with head motives from his source. But thereafter in his mass he dismisses these countersubjects, as if they are merely *ad hoc* matter unworthy of further consideration. Victoria, on the other hand, returns to his countersubjects time and again in later movements. For example, the counter-melody (altus) at the outset of *Kyrie I* in the *Quam pulchri* Mass (*VicO*, II, 38): is not immediately thereafter dismissed from service with an "honorable discharge"; but is instead pressed into duty in

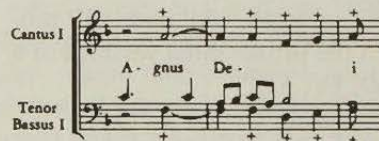


every one of the four voices during *Kyrie I*; and again combined with the same head motive at the outset of both the *Qui tollis* (*VicO*, II, 42) and (minus the first note) the *Patrem omnipotentem*. It is this exalting of his newly invented countersubject to equal dignity with the derived head motive which, for a first contrast, distinguishes Victoria's method from Palestrina's. Second: Palestrina throughout each major movement borrows material from the source in seriatim order. Victoria, while beginning every principal movement with the initial motive from the source motet in such a mass as *Quam pulchri* (*f a b b a*), thereafter does not bind himself to any rigorous plan. In the three sections comprising the *Gloria*, for instance, he cites successively material to be found in the motet at mm. 1-5 (= 1-5, *Gloria*), 9-15 (= 7-11), 70-75 (= 20-25), 58-64 (= 37-43), 78-85 (= 45-52); mm. 1-3 in combination with mm. 78-80 (= 53-55); mm. 1-5 (= 75-80), 29-34 (= 110-115), 72-77 (= 128-136).

In both *Agnuses I* (*a 5*) and *II* (*a 6*) of the *Quam pulchri*, Victoria constructs canons: the first at the unison between the two tenors, the second (of a four-in-two kind) between paired cantus and paired bassus voices. The two canonic *Agnuses* are thus cemented: the *Agnus I* canon, which opens with the derived head motive (tenor I *dux*, tenor II *comes*), is encased within a newly invented countersubject moving in tenths (*VicO*, II, 53):



This countersubject (plus-signs) then in turn becomes the initium of the paired canonic voices in *Agnus II* (*VicO*, II, 54):



During the four-in-two canon, cantus I and bassus I move almost exclusively in tenths. In consequence, cantus II and bassus II (following at the unison) travel usually in tenths. Although this parallel motion inevitably reduces the four-in-two canon to less of a pyrotechnic feat than Guerrero or Lobo might have carried off, such continuously mellifluous motion between pairs of outer voices undoubtedly vivifies the idea of *Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui* ("How beautiful are thy footsteps") better than would a more cerebral solution of the canonic problem. Some might even claim that Victoria never intended by a four-in-two canon to exhibit learning, but instead to illustrate in musical terms the pursuit of "beautiful footsteps."

The *O quam gloriosum*, *a 4*, modeled on the All Saints' motet *a 4* with which his 1572 *Motecta* began, has received as many accolades as any Victoria mass. Tovey chose the motet as "one of the most perfect examples existing," and printed it entire in his article on "Motet" for the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (XV, 851-852). In his article on "Mass" in the same encyclopedia, he inserted short excerpts from *Kyrie I*, *Christe*, *Kyrie II*, the *Et in terra pax*, and the *Osanna* (*ibid.*, XV, 24-





25) to illustrate Victoria's application of the parody technique. Peter Wagner also attested the extraordinary popularity of this particular mass<sup>162</sup>—reprinting excerpts from both Kyrie I and the Patrem omnipotentem. Withal, the mass cannot be called Victoria's most typical. For example, he never once refers to the opening incise of the source anywhere in the mass. For another matter, he transfers the whole polyphonic complex from motet into mass in such movements as Kyrie I, Christe, and Kyrie II; but quotes only individual lines from his source in the other masses described previously. When not availing himself of the whole complex, he composes so independently of his source in *O quam gloriosum* as to give the impression that this is a free, instead of a parody, mass. It also seems less than typical for him to have concluded without a canonic Agnus, especially when the roll is called of those masses that do so conclude—*Simile est regnum, De beata Virgine, Gaudeamus, Quam pulchri sunt, O magnum mysterium, Quarti toni, Trahe me post te, and Ascendens Christus*.

In *Surge propra* (found to have been parodied on Palestrina's motet by Gustave Reese), all the principal movements commence with the head motive of the source; so do certain intermediate sections as well: the Crucifixus, Et in Spiritum, and Benedictus. At the outset of three sections (Kyrie I, Et in terra pax, and the Benedictus) Victoria bandies only Palestrina's head motive in the points. Since the parody calls for five voices, and the source for only four, his abstemiousness in these few opening points recalls the opening points of his Guerrero parody. In the Palestrina parody, he returns to his more usual method in the opening points of Patrem omnipotentem, Crucifixus, Et in Spiritum, Sanctus, Agnus I and II, each of which incorporates original material. He betrays his artistic individuality when he throws a wimple around the Palestrina head motive at its every appearance (except Et in Spiritum Sanctum)—thus softening it:

PW, V, 47. Palestrina  
 Sur - ge pro - pe - ra, a - mi - ca me - a,  
 VicO, II, 119. Victoria  
 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son,

He cites four or five other motives from the source with some frequency. The last of these also becomes more graceful in his transformation:

PW, V, 49. Palestrina  
 74 tem - pus pu - ca - ti - o - nis ad - (venit)  
 [Gloria] (VirO, II, 126.) Victoria  
 121 Tu so - lus Do - - - - - mi - nus

Other motives that find their way into the parody come in the motet at mm. 26–28, altus (“Jam enim hiems transit” = Kyrie II [mm. 47–49], Patrem omnipotentem [mm. 64–67], Et in spiritum [mm. 180–183, 220–223], Agnus I [mm. 1–4]); mm. 29–35, cantus (= Kyrie II [mm. 50–55], Et in terra [mm. 23–27], Patrem omnipotentem [mm. 65–79], Crucifixus [mm. 109–112], Et in spiritum [mm. 221–226]); mm. 42–27 (“imber abiit” = Et in terra pax [mm. 40–44], Et in Spiritum Sanctum [mm. 198–202]); mm. 57–62 (“flores apparuerunt” = Christe [mm. 26–40], Patrem omnipotentem [mm. 31–34], Crucifixus [mm. 132–135], Sanctus [mm. 15–20, mm. 23–29]; Osanna II).

### Surge, propra

In Visitatione Beatae Mariae

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina

<sup>162</sup> Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 424–426.



18

ra, a mi ca me - a. et ve -  
 a. a. a. mi ca me - a. et ve -  
 sar - ge, pro - pe - ra, a. mi ca me - a.  
 sar - ge, pro - pe - ra, a. mi ca me - a.

20

si, et ve - si, et ve -  
 ve - si, et ve - si, et ve -  
 et ve - si, et ve - si, et ve -

22

si.  
 ve - si, lam e - sim hi - eme tra - si - li,  
 si, et ve - si, lam e - sim hi - eme tra - si - li,  
 et ve - si, lam e - sim hi - eme

24

lam e - sim hi - eme tra - si - li, tra - et -  
 lam e - sim hi - eme tra - si - li, tra - lam  
 li, lam e - sim hi - eme,

tra - si - li, lam e - sim hi - eme tra - si -

26

li, lam e - sim hi -  
 e - sim hi - eme tra - si - li, tra - et - li, tra -  
 lam e - sim hi - eme tra - si - li, lam e - sim hi -  
 li, tra - et - li, im - ber,

28

eme tra - si - li, im -  
 et - li, tra - et - li,  
 eme tra - si - li, im - ber ab - li et re - oes

30

ber ab - li et re - oes - mi, im -  
 im - ber ab - li et re - oes -  
 im - ber ab - li

32

ber ab - li et re - oes - ois, et re - oes -  
 - ois, im - ber ab - li et  
 li et re - oes - ois, et re - oes -  
 im - ber ab - li et re - oes - ois:

34

re - oes - ois, Flo - res ap -  
 - ois, Flo - res ap - pa - re -  
 - ois, Flo - res ap - pa - re - e - rnat in ter - ra  
 Flo - res ap - pa - re - e - rnat in ter - ra

36

pa - re - e - rnat in ter - ra no - ois, tra,  
 e - rnat in ter - ra no - ois, tra,  
 no - ois, in ter - ra no - ois, tra, flo - res ap - pa - re -  
 no - ois, flo - res ap - pa - re - e - rnat in ter - ra

38

flo - res ap - pa - re - e - rnat in ter - ra  
 flo - res ap - pa - re - e - rnat in ter - ra no - ois, tra,  
 e - rnat in ter - ra no - ois, tra, in ter -  
 no - ois, in ter - ra no - ois, tra, in

40

no - ois, tra:  
 in ter - ra no - ois, tra, tem - pus pe - ta - ti - o - nis  
 - ra no - ois, no - ois, tra, tem - pus pe - ta - ti - o - nis ad -  
 le - no - ois, tra, tem - pus pe -

42

tem - pus pe - ta - ti - o - nis ad - ve -  
 ad - ve - ois, tem - pus pe - ta - ti -  
 re - ois, ad - ve - ois, ad - ve -  
 la - ti - o - nis ad - ve - ois, ad -

44

ois, tem - pus pe - ta - ti - o -  
 o - nis ad - ve - ois, ois,  
 ve - ois, tra, tem - pus pe - ta - ti -  
 re - ois, ad - ve - ois, ad - ve -

46

ois ad - ve - ois, ad - ve -  
 o - ois ad - ve - ois, tra, tem - pus pe - ta - ti - o -  
 o - ois ad - ve - ois, tra, tem -  
 tem - pus pe - ta - ti - o - nis ad - ve -

48

ois, ad - ve - ois, ad - ve -  
 ois ad - ve - ois, ad - ve - ois, ad - ve -  
 tem - pus pe - ta - ti - o - nis ad - ve - ois, ad - ve -  
 ois, ad - ve - ois, ad - ve - ois, ad - ve - ois.

Taller de grabación y adaptación de música de A. Sotomayor Bascuñán. Proceso 97, Sencor, Chile.



Missa Surge, propera  
KYRIE

p. 107-108

Cantus  
Ky - ri - e

Altus  
Ky - ri - e

Tenore I  
Ky - ri - e

Tenore II  
Ky - ri - e

Basso  
Ky - ri - e

son, Ky - ri - e

lei - son, Ky - ri - e

ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e

ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e

ri - e e - lei - son,

son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

son,

lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

p. 109-110

Cantus  
Chri -

Altus  
Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Tenore I  
Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste

Tenore II  
Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri -

son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, e - lei - son,

Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

lei - son,

son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

son e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

p. 111-112

Cantus  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Altus  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Tenore I  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky -

Tenore II  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Basso  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,









ments opens with a plainsong incipit; none is a cantus firmus movement. Guerrero's *Pro defunctis*, *a 4* (1566) resembles both the Morales and the Palestrina in including only such elements as belonged to a Mass for the Dead (but according to pre-Tridentine Braga usage). Opening with a setting of the introit, the Guerrero 1566 Requiem proceeds thence to the Kyries and to the gradual. Especially fine are his polyphonic settings of John 11:25–26 and Psalm 41 [= 42]:2–3. Then comes a setting of the offertory; next, Sanctus-Pleni-Osanna followed by Benedictus-Osanna; then three Agnuses; and lastly a *communicanda* (= communio), *a 5* (Lux aeterna). As with Morales's 1544 exemplar, and in contradistinction to Palestrina's 1554 Requiem, Guerrero's 1566 *Missa pro defunctis* made a frequent feature of printed plainsong incipits.

Guerrero published a second Requiem in 1582. What distinguishes his second from his first is the insertion not only of a six-voice motet, *Hei mihi Domine*, before the Agnuses; but also his concluding the second Requiem with a responsory and versicles that belong to the *Exsequiarum ordo* (burial service). In the burial service, the Libera me responsory with its three versicles—Tremens factus, Quando coeli movendi, and Dies illa—comes immediately before the last prayers. Victoria, like Guerrero in 1582, closes his *Pro defunctis* (1583) with these same burial service additions. When republishing his 1583 Requiem in 1592, Victoria appended still another two responsories that belong not to the Mass, but to the Office for the Dead. These 1592 additions are to be sung at Matins: Credo quod Redemptor in the first nocturn, Peccantem me in the third. Thus, the 1583 and 1592 imprints both contain more than just music for the Mass of the Dead. These imprints also include polyphony for parts of the burial service and office for the dead.

Throughout his *Pro defunctis* Victoria always confides the borrowed plainchant to his top voice. Morales in 1544 artfully varied his sonorities by giving the plainsong to altus II in the gradual and to supranus II in the offertory. Victoria contents himself with assigning it to the one voice; he also gives all the plainchant incipits and Responsorium interludes (as printed in 1583) to the cantus and to no other voice: whereas Morales on occasion gave the incipits to altus II and supranus II as well; and Guerrero in 1582 the incipit of the burial service versicle *Quando coeli movendi* to a baritone (F-clef on mid-

dle line). As for still other distinctions, Morales set the whole of the *In memoria aeterna* and *Hostias et preces* versicles polyphonically; whereas Victoria left the incipit of the first and the whole of the second in plainsong. Morales set *In memoria* as a trio, except the last two words, "non timebit" (which he set as a separate movement, *a 5*); Victoria follows an opposite course, never atomizing the phrases of a versicle into separate polyphonic movements. Morales set the pre-Tridentine sequence *Pie Jesu*: neither Guerrero (1566 and 1582) nor Victoria, on the other hand, include any sequences whatsoever.

Just as Palestrina's 1554 version of the *Pro defunctis* has been generally considered by Renaissance specialists to be a more hopeful document than Morales's of 1544, so likewise Victoria's of 1583 strikes a more happily expectant note. To take only the matter of pitches: Morales required his supranus to sing A's below Middle C even when "lux perpetua" was being implored (*MME*, XV, 124, mm. 31–32). Only twice in his entire Requiem did he write so high a note as d<sup>1</sup> for his top voice (*MME*, XV, 121, meas. 52; 134, meas. 37). Throughout his offertory, although he specified both supranus I and II and gave the quoted plainsong to supranus II, he submerged the quoted plainchant a fourth below the pitch later to be chosen by Palestrina. In the gradual he submerged the quoted plainsong an octave below the pitch later to be chosen by Victoria. The latter's lighter and brighter registers cannot be construed merely as examples of the trend upward in later sixteenth-century vocal music. (Guerrero so late as 1582 still quotes the plainsong of the gradual and of its versicle a fifth below the level to be chosen by Victoria in 1583; the Agnus plainsong in Guerrero's 1582 Requiem similarly travels a fourth lower than Victoria's.) As if pitch were in itself no sufficient clue, Victoria's brighter colors are also manifest in the amount of sharpening which he requires. After we exclude the numerous notes where Morales's intentions are left in doubt so far as sharpening of the plainsong-bearing part is concerned, there still remain some other places where he unequivocally intended a natural instead of the sharp specified at the analogous moment in Victoria's Requiem. These may be found at the following places in the Morales and Victoria works, respectively: mm. 19<sub>3</sub>, 49<sub>3</sub> = 17<sub>2-4</sub>, 42<sub>4</sub> in their graduals; 98<sub>3</sub> and 99<sub>3</sub> = 77<sub>2-3</sub> in their *In memoria* versicles; 19<sub>3</sub>, 44<sub>3</sub> = 23<sub>3</sub>, 46<sub>4</sub> in their offertories; 45 = 35<sub>2-4</sub> in their Pleni's; 21<sub>1</sub>,



44<sub>1</sub> = 17<sub>3</sub>, 37<sub>3</sub> in their *communio*'s. Moreover, Victoria's harmonic progressions remain so suave and smooth at all times that a "Victorian" composer might have conceived them. So proleptic a harmonic sense as he revealed in the *Dies illa* versicle distinguishes him not only from Morales but also from Guerrero. The whole of the Victoria versicle will not be shown here. But for a preliminary test, his first seven bars can be compared with Guerrero's (*VicO*, VI, 119):



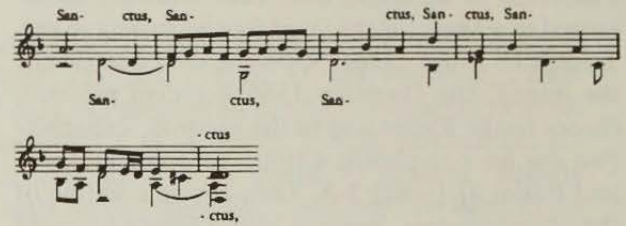
The next six Victoria masses, because they appeared together in his 192-page Roman imprint of 1592, *Missae quatuor, sex, et octo vocibus concinendae*, should be considered as a group. Five are parodies of original motets; whereas the other, entitled *Quarti toni*, appears to be a free mass. The first in the album is based on his own 1572 Circumcision motet of single *pars*—*O magnum mysterium*.<sup>164</sup> The distance that Victoria had traversed in the intervening two decades is admirably illustrated at the very openings of motet and mass. In the motet (*VicO*, I, 11), he was still content to suffer bare fifths and octaves between the two counterpointing voices. But in the mass (*VicO*, II, 69), he insists—even at the sacrificing of the imitation—upon outlining full-blooded triads.






<sup>164</sup> See above, note 133. Palestrina's motet text (*Opere*, V, 184–188) veers off with other words at mm. 38–62.

At the start of the *Sanctus* (*VicO*, II, 77) he again eschews any exact imitation for the sake of outlining triads.



Paradoxically, the one incise of the source which he ignores throughout is the most statically chordal (mm. 40–44: "O beata Virgo"). This passage, like the opening of the *O quam gloriosum* motet, may fail to appear in the corresponding mass because it could only be quoted—not developed.

In the wordy movements he journeys straight through without changing his vocal combination anywhere and without deferring to any motives from the source. True, the *Qui tollis* recalls "jacentem in praesepio," and *Patrem omnipotentem* recalls "ut animalia." But for the rest, he goes his own free way: a way carpeted with sweet-smelling flowers that lack learned thorns to prick one's feet. His sprightliness in such passages as "deprecationem nostram" (*Qui tollis*, meas. 49), "visibilium et invisibilium," "Genitum non factum, consubstantialem" (*Patrem omnipotentem*, mm. 7–10, 27–29), "Et iterum venturus est" (*Et incarnatus*, mm. 71–73), and "et vivificantem" (*Et in Spiritum Sanctum*, mm. 84–85) exceeds any shown hitherto in his 1576 or 1583 masses. Indeed, in such passages as these his "heart dances with delight," much as if he were writing a madrigal to be sung on a summer's day.

His *Missa Quarti toni*, second in the 1592 book, has usually been classed as a free mass because (1) apart from innocuous rising scale-passages such as occur at the openings of *Kyrie II* and *Patrem omnipotentem*, no carryover of motives from movement to movement is discernible; and (2) with the exception of the *Missa pro victoria*, his ascertained parodies all bear titles that lead directly to their sources. Only the *Quarti toni* Mass cultivates the hypophrygian; that he was never at any time overly fond of the "fourth tone" can be confirmed from a study of the motets. Among forty-four motets, only three adhere to it. Those three—*Senex puerum portabat*, *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*, and *Domine non sum dignus*—set texts that deal respectively with the old man, Simeon; the miserable and weak who cry out





for aid; and the unworthiness of the communicant (*VicO*, I, 17, 19, 39). Some critics have sought to compare the opening incise of *Senex puerum* with the *Christe eleison*; and mm. 18–26 with *Kyrie II*; but such remote likenesses, not to mention the slight resemblance between the opening incises of *Domine non sum dignus* and the *Sanctus* (bassus), are hard to take seriously. When his three “fourth tone” motets are studied, it is at once obvious that none of the three exults or leaps for joy. On the other hand, all the original motets that he can be proved to have parodied do so exult.

As in the *O magnum mysterium* Mass, the sole movement of the *Quarti toni*<sup>165</sup> for trio is the *Benedictus*; and the only movement augmenting to a quintet is the single (canonic) *Agnus*. Throughout the single *Agnus* of both masses, *cantus II* follows *cantus I* at the unison. These masses betray still other structural similarities. In the *Glorias* he bursts once, and once only, into triple meter; and at the same words—“*Cum Sancto Spiritu*.” In both *Credos* he similarly interpolates two short passages in triple meter. During these interpolations he contents himself for the nonce with chordal writing.

Although Victoria does, of course, explicitly assign his *Quarti toni* to hypophrygian, it cannot be gainsaid that a perfectly tidy (if anachronistic) harmonic analysis of the whole mass in A minor can be given. Even the crucial cadences at the ends of *Kyrie II*, *Qui tollis*, *Et in Spiritum*, and the *Osanna* yield to such an analysis: if one grants that each ends on a dominant chord. The benefits to be gained from an analysis of this unique mass—the only one he assigned to a “tone”—soon become obvious. If even in this mass he so anticipates the harmonic procedures that a baroque composer writing in A minor would have followed, a fortiori his other masses prove even more amenable to major-minor analyses.

Several tests to prove that Victoria no longer felt himself bound by the old laws of modal usage, and gave allegiance instead to the newer laws of major and minor key, can be applied. First, the mass may be searched for any chordal nexus involving E minor-A minor. This will be a crucial test. If every time an

E-chord happens to be followed by an A-chord, he must sharp the third of the E-chord (G#), then obviously the E-chord has sacrificed what independence it once enjoyed in truly modal music to take on a new role of fetch-and-carry in “key music.”

The A-minor chord follows triads, built over E a total of thirty-three times during the course of the *Quarti toni* (*Kyrie*: mm. 6, 24, 25, 40; *Gloria*: mm. 2, 19, 28, 30, 43, 44, 49, 57; *Credo*: mm. 6, 25, 35, 43, 50, 52, 80, 85, 86[2], 97; *Sanctus*: mm. 9, 18, 20, 22[2], 25, 36; *Agnus*: mm. 15, 16, 21). Four of these places, and four only, involve the progression E minor-A minor (*Kyrie*: meas. 25; *Sanctus*: mm. 35–36; *Agnus*: mm. 15, 16). The others involve E Major-A minor. To vivify these figures, we should compare Victoria’s *Quarti toni* with another “quarti toni” a 4 extending as nearly as possible to the same length. Palestrina’s *Sine nomine*, a 4, from his *Liber secundus* (1567) dedicated to Philip II, comes as close to fulfilling these conditions as any—it being his shortest hypophrygian mass. No less than twenty-five instances, not of E Major-A minor progressions, but of an A-minor chord preceded by an obligatory E minor—obligatory because of skips involving the notes G to C, or for other reasons—have been inventoried in this Palestrina “quarti toni” (*Kyrie*: mm. 7, 10, 20–21, 24–25, 26, 29; *Gloria*: mm. 19, 48–49, 59–60, 73–74; *Credo*: mm. 4, 7, 109, 117, 124; *Sanctus*: mm. 37–38, 40–41; *Benedictus*: meas. 48; *Agnus I*: mm. 11, 42, 42–43; *Agnus II*: mm. 3–4, 19–20, 22, 51). Palestrina’s twenty-five E minor-A minor progressions would be doubled or tripled if Casimiri’s extremely liberal application of *ficta* were not respected. Even so, the comparison between Victoria’s four with Palestrina’s twenty-five obligatory E minor-A minor progressions is most revealing. It demonstrates beyond cavil that as firmly together as they may have stood on other issues, Palestrina still knew how to write genuinely modal music; whereas Victoria with his eyes on the future came no nearer to classic hypophrygian than did Bach in his choral harmonization of *Befiehl du deine Wege*.<sup>166</sup>

The five-part mass *Trahe me post te* succeeds the *Quarti toni* in Victoria’s 1592 book. Like Gombert’s *Media vita* and *Beati omnes* Masses (and also like Palestrina’s *O magnum mysterium*), the *Trahe me post te* Mass calls for one less voice part than the

<sup>165</sup> Because the *Quarti toni* Mass “lays no great stress on imitation, symmetry, or contrast, though it is not without them,” because “external means of giving shape are secondary,” because “the centre of gravity lies throughout in music-making itself,” *Quarti toni* might even remind us of another *Quarti toni*—the *Mi-mi* by Ockeghem.

<sup>166</sup> *Bach Gesellschaft*, XXXIX, 185 (nos. 18, 19). This same melody is, of course, better known as an associate of the *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* chorale text.



motet (1583) on which it is based. The model, a four-in-two canon, differs from all others in being his only mass using the C chord for its finals. Because he needs no accidentals in order to convey the ubiquitous "major" feeling, this mass boasts only 62 flats and sharps. In *O quam gloriosum*, on the other hand, he needed 147 printed accidentals to achieve the same "major" feeling—merely because its finals happening to be G chords, the necessary sharped leading tones could not be indicated in his "key signature."

The *Trahe me* Mass quotes its source exactly in one movement—the Agnus (mm. 25–58 of the source equal mm. 5–38 of the parody). Except for the few slight rhythmic adjustments needed to accommodate different texts, the notes in all six parts are identical. Victoria in the Agnus, *a 6*, therefore violates his rule forbidding the transfer of the whole polyphonic complex from model to parody. His single previous violation of this rule came to view in the Kyries of his *O quam gloriosum* Mass. In both the *O quam gloriosum* motet and the *Trahe me* motet, he set supremely jubilant texts. It may at first strike us as odd that his aesthetic sense permitted him to add "Lord have mercy" and "Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy on us" to music originally conceived for "O how glorious is that realm in which all the saints rejoice with Christ," and for "Draw me: we will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments." The fact that he could so unhesitatingly have transferred blocs from these two joyful motets—not into Gloria or Sanctus of his parodies, but into Kyrie and Agnus—allows us to infer that for him the whole of any Mass was a joyful experience. He never chose to parody any other than a jubilant motet; yet he above every other Renaissance composer was the supreme artist when such grief-laden texts as *Vere languores* and *O vos omnes* were at issue. His quotations in the Kyrie and Agnus of *O quam gloriosum* and of *Trahe me* therefore justify the assumption that these movements, in his esthetic, partook of the generally exultant character of the Mass as a whole. Whatever the explanation, it is at least certain that at the close of his *Trahe me* motet, ten Hallelujahs are shouted exultantly; and that the identical music—down to the last note in the sixth voice—returns to the hearer at the end of the *Trahe me* Mass setting the phrases "sins of the world" and "have mercy on us" (repeated six times).

Just as the *Quarti toni* is Victoria's last mass *a 4*, so the *Ascendens Christus* is his last *a 5*. For his source he returns to his favorite book—his 1572 *Motecta*. The *Ascendens Christus* motet, *a 5*, closely resembles the motet *Dum complerentur* (also *a 5*) so far as form is concerned. Both are in aBcB (responsive) form; in both, the length of "B" very nearly equals that of "a" or "c." In *Ascendens Christus* the "B" refrain extends through mm. 41–71 (*pars 1*); and through mm. 108–138 (*pars 2*). In *Dum complerentur* the "B" refrain extends through mm. 45–86; and through mm. 121–162. Both motets call for the same group of voices (CQATB). In both motets he reverses the roles of cantus and quintus during the "B" refrain at the close of *pars 2*. Both are ostensibly in transposed dorian (= G minor). Even the festivals for which each was written, Ascension and Pentecost, link them together in the church calendar.

The following similarities in the masses deserve mention: (1) Kyrie I, *Christe, Patrem omnipotentem, Crucifixus, and Benedictus* in both the *Dum complerentur* and *Ascendens Christus* masses open with head motives from the source; (2) endings of *Qui tollis* and *Et in Spiritum* in each hark to the "B" refrain; (3) Gloria and Credo break at exactly the same places in each and reduce voice parts in the same sections (*Domine Deus* and *Crucifixus*); (4) no triple-meter passages intrude anywhere in Kyrie, Gloria, or Credo movements of either mass; (5) the lively, spurting rhythms that were encountered frequently in wordy movements of both the *O magnum mysterium* and *Quarti toni* Masses are conspicuously absent from Gloria and Credo of either the *Ascendens* or *Dum complerentur*. Among the dissimilarities, on the other hand, are these: (1) The 1576 mass contains such archaic treatments of dissonance as the incomplete *nota cambiata* and the escaped note (*Et in terra pax*, mm. 31 and 62), but not the 1592;<sup>167</sup> (2) *Ascendens*, in conformity with the other 1592 masses, concludes with a single Agnus; (3) the

<sup>167</sup> The 1572 source motet *Ascendens Christus* (*VicO*, I, 53–58) showed at meas. 105 a "Landini" cadence. Significantly, no such cadence intrudes in the 1592 parody. On the rhythmic side, the persistent use of this figure (found only five times in the source [mm. 74, 78, 80, 84, 86]):



makes a rather interesting feature of the parody. Victoria liked this figure throughout his entire career.





*Ascendens* Agnus includes a *trinitas in unitate* canon: whereas neither of the *Dum complerentur* Agnuses exhibits any canon whatsoever; (4) in *Ascendens*, the head motive at the opening incises of both *Et in terra pax* and *Sanctus* suffers a “sea change” that makes it quite difficult of recognition; (5) in *Ascendens*, Victoria makes no formal attempt to work two motives in points of imitation, although this working in double harness distinguished many such points in *Dum complerentur*; (6) in the *Ascendens* Mass he never, recognizably, alludes to any important new motive from *pars 2* of the motet (such as the one at mm. 96–98); (7) the number of bars everywhere in both masses differs considerably (*Ascendens* movements are in every instance much shorter). To be specific, in *Dum complerentur* the number of bars is 24, 27, 24 in Kyries; 165 in Gloria; 216 in Credo; 70, 58 in Sanctus-Benedictus; and 34, 39 in Agnuses—as against 13, 11, 13; 85; 138; 48, 41; and 31 in the corresponding movements of the *Ascendens Christus* Mass (making a total of 657 measures in the 1576 mass as against only 380 in the 1592 mass).

At the outset of the dedicatory epistle to Cardinal Albert, Victoria avers that the 1592 *Missae* had been newly composed (*hoc opusculum, quod nunc denuo conscripsi*). Whether he means this assertion to cover the entire contents of the 1592 book need not here be argued. Presumptively he did. As has been shown in the preceding paragraph, the *Ascendens* Mass shares numerous “middle-period” traits: of which more up-to-date treatment of dissonance, less rigorous reworking of source material, a single Agnus, and overall brevity are crucial. But, like Beethoven’s *Symphony, No. 8*, this mass does lapse into some significant throwbacks. The deference to the head motive from *pars 1* of the motet, the lack of any madrigalian touches in the wordy movements, and the uniformity of the meter in Gloria and Credo, are each in their way as retrospective as the *Tempo di menuetto* of Beethoven’s *Opus 93*.

The same voices sing the three-in-one canon in the *Ascendens* Agnus as in the last Agnus of Guerrero’s *Missa Inter vestibulum* (1566): namely, cantus II = superius II, altus, and tenor I. In both the Victoria and the Guerrero masses, the same three outer parts surround the three canonic voices: cantus I = superius I, tenor II, and bassus = basis. The intervals of canonic imitation (but not the order of voice-entries) also match—an octave separating tenor I from

cantus II, and a fourth separating the altus from tenor I. Both movements (indeed, both masses) are in transposed dorian. Guerrero, the more dexterous contrapuntist, poses himself more difficult problems: (1) he insists upon beginning his canon with the head motive from the source; (2) he does not introduce rests quite so frequently; (3) his canonic Agnus lasts 47 breves; but Victoria’s, 31. Guerrero during 47 breves specifies a mere 10 accidentals—of which 7 are actual sharplings, and another 2 are precautionary sharps (= naturals) before the note E. Victoria in 31 breves specifies 29 accidentals—none being merely precautionary, and 23 raising the pitch by a semitone. The ratio is striking—almost five times as many obligatory accidentals per breve in the one as in the other composer. This phenomenon would not be so worthy of notice were it to be found only in isolated instances: it is of importance because the ratio will be found to differentiate Victoria’s usage from Guerrero’s in a general sense—just as it separates his usage from Palestrina’s.

Victoria models his *Vidi speciosam* Mass *a 6* upon his Assumption motet of the same name (*a 6*), first published in the 1572 collection. Like the two motets *Ascendens Christus* and *Dum complerentur* the *Vidi speciosam* (2 partes)<sup>168</sup> is in responsory-form—the length of “B” approximating that of “a” or “c” (aBcB = 47, 38: 37, 38). The *Vidi speciosam* motet abounds in archaic dissonance-treatment; and in tantalizing chromaticisms. At meas. 43 the sextus leaps up a fourth from a dissonant escaped note. At mm. 58 (tenor I), 59 (quintus), 69 (bassus), 132 (quintus), 133 (tenor I), and 144 (bassus) a series of ornamental resolutions involve dissonant under-notes approached by leap; of the kind signaled by asterisks in the following example (*VicO*, I, 113):

mm. 58-59 (1572)

(circum) da- bant e- am flo- res ro- sa- (rum)

At mm. 73 and 148 the chromatic cantus cannot be cured by any ficta remedy (*VicO*, I, 114):

<sup>168</sup> *Secunda pars* (*VicO*, I, 114–118) should preferably have been transcribed with beats 1 and 3 of the 4 in a bar interchanged.





Cantus Sextus  
 et li-li-a, et li-li-a con-val-li-um

Alnus Quintus  
 et li-li-a, et li-li-a con-val-li-um

In the mass, on the other hand, Victoria uses no escaped notes. Neither does he ever skip to any dissonant under-note when ornamenting resolutions. The Crucifixus (*a 4*) repeats at mm. 80–83 (“Et iterum”) the same chromatic ascent found at “et lilia” in the motet. Between the antepenultimate and penultimate bars of the Benedictus, the bassus outlines the first three notes of the *nota cambiata* figure: after which the bassus leaps up a fourth. The so-called consonant fourth occurs twice during the Credo in this form (*VicO*, IV, 61, 64):



Cantus I  
 Cantus II  
 Alnus  
 Tenor II

Pa-trem o-mni-po-ten-tem mm. 1-3  
 Pa-trem o-mni-po-ten-tem  
 Pa-trem o-mni-po-ten-tem  
 Pa-trem o-mni-po-ten-tem

(Ponti-o Pi-la-to mm. 62-63)  
 Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to  
 Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to  
 (Ponti-o Pi-la-to

*Vidi speciosam* brings the total of Victoria’s masses parodied after *Canticum canticorum* motets to four; the other masses are *Quam pulchri sunt* (Song of Songs 7:1), *Surge propera* (2:10), and *Trahe me* (1:3). Morales wrote only one such mass—*Vulnerasti cor meum* (Song of Songs 4:9); Guerrero, also, composed only one—*Surge propera amica mea* (Song of Songs 2:10). Because of Victoria’s disproportionate attention to texts from this epithalamium, he occupies a unique position among Spanish composers. His concern with Song of Songs texts allies him with the most celebrated of contemporary Spanish poets, Fray Luis de León (1527–1591): a major cause of whose imprisonment from March, 1572, until December, 1576, was his translation into the vernacular of the book that contains more perfumed language than any other in the canon. The ardor, the

longing, and the ecstasy of this unique book invaded Victoria’s motets; and in turn the masses parodied after Canticles motets.

*Vidi speciosam*, last of the Canticles masses and last of the six-part masses (excluding the 1605 Requiem), is also his last without an organ accompaniment. As in the opening incise of the motet, so also in the mass, he effectively contrasts the lower three voices with the upper three; such antiphony, quoting mm. 1–9 of the source, distinguishes the outset of both Kyrie I and the Sanctus. Although he makes more use of material drawn from *pars 1* than *pars 2* (Kyrie I = mm. 1–9; Christe = mm. 55–62<sub>1</sub>; Kyrie II = mm. 62–70; “in gloria Dei Patris Amen” = mm. 76–85; Sanctus = mm. 1–9; Osanna II = mm. 50–52), he does in this parody—as in the *Dum complerentur* Mass—draw now and then on *pars 2* as well (Qui tollis = mm. 86–90; Patrem omnipotentem = mm. 113–115).

The *Salve Regina* Mass, the omega of the 1592 book, is at the same time the alpha of three based on his Marian antiphons. The fact that only a *Regina coeli* Mass is lacking to complete a cycle of masses based on his original settings of those four Marian antiphons that are to be sung at the close of each day after the office (Advent to Purification: *Alma Redemptoris*; February 2 to Wednesday of Holy Week: *Ave Regina coelorum*; Eastertide: *Regina coeli*; Trinity season: *Salve Regina*) has provoked the interesting speculation that Victoria did project, if not actually complete, such an additional, fourth Marian antiphon mass.<sup>169</sup> Of the three that do survive, *Salve Regina* is modeled on his setting *a 8* of the antiphon published in 1576 (*VicO*, VII, 120–130): each of the other two masses takes for its model both original settings of the corresponding antiphon. The two settings of *Alma Redemptoris*, *a 5* and *a 8*, had appeared in 1572 and 1581, respectively;<sup>170</sup> so had his settings *a 5* and *a 8* of the *Ave Regina coelorum* antiphon.<sup>171</sup> Because each of the Marian antiphon masses calls for eight voices, because these eight voices divide into antiphonal four-part choruses, because each mass has an added organ accompaniment, and because this organ accompaniment always duplicates the four parts of Chorus I; the *Salve Regina*, *Alma Redemptoris*, and

<sup>169</sup>Saxton, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 39a.

<sup>170</sup>*VicO*, VII, 68–72, 73–80.

<sup>171</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 81–84, 85–90.





*Ave Regina coelorum* Masses make a triptych—despite the eight years by which the publication of the *Salve Regina* Mass preceded that of the other two.

These several similarities are not the only reason for studying the three masses conjointly. In addition, they share certain structural likenesses. At the Christe of each, Victoria reduces to five or four parts. In the Glorias of both *Salve* and *Alma* Masses, he breaks at the same places—at the Domine Deus reducing to quartet or trio, and at the Qui tollis resuming eight parts. In the Credos of all three masses he divides at Et incarnatus (without reducing voices), at Crucifixus (reducing to four voices), and at Et in Spiritum (resuming eight parts). During the Benedictus of each mass he reduces to five or four parts. Canon, so frequently found in the final movements of other masses, does not enter the single Agnus concluding each of these three masses. Indeed, only one canon appears anywhere in these three masses; this unison canon involves cantus I and II in the Crucifixus, a 4, of the *Alma Redemptoris*.

In the wordy movements of all three masses Victoria charms the listener with darting, springy rhythms that suggest light *parlando*. He adds zest by changing frequently from duple to triple meter. Because, like Luca Marenzio in his madrigals, he forgoes any attempt at assigning individual voices the whole text, he is able to traverse wide valleys of Gloria and Credo with easy seven-league steps. His more “advanced” treatment of dissonance conforms with the other “modernistic” trends in these masses. He rarely resorts to such archaic dissonance usages as the escaped note,<sup>172</sup> and he eschews the “incomplete” nota cambiata. Nor does he use such dissonances as under-notes, approached by leap, in ornamental resolutions. He does use the consonant fourth and does increase the number of chord-progressions involving cross relations. Although not exceeding the accidentals applied in his earlier works (B $\sharp$  [ $\sharp$ ], F $\sharp$ , C $\sharp$ , B $\flat$ , and E $\flat$ ),<sup>173</sup> he contrives transitory “modulations, from G minor to all the nearly related keys except E $\flat$  Major in the *Salve Regina* Mass; and from F Major to all except A minor in the *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina* Masses.

<sup>172</sup> Escaped-notes at *VicO*, IV, 86 (meas. 66 of Credo), 98 (meas. 16 of Agnus), 102 (meas. 35 of Kyrie).

<sup>173</sup> G $\sharp$  is not used in the polychoral masses, although it is used frequently in the *Quarti toni*.

Among the many interesting snatches in the *Salve Regina* Mass which prove to have been borrowed directly from the 1576 antiphon a 8, the following involve the whole polyphonic complex and not just a single strand. Italicized measure numbers refer to the antiphon: (1) in the Kyries, mm. 1–8 = 37–43, mm. 19–26 = 26–33, mm. 33–41 = 153–163; (2) in the Gloria, mm. 1–9 = 18–26, mm. 24–31 = 87–92, mm. 43–51 = 116–123; (3) in the Credo, mm. 1–6 = 132–137, mm. 54–62 = 78–88, mm. 69–72 = 116–119; mm. 160–168 = 194–201; (4) in the Sanctus, mm. 1–4 = 54–56, in the Benedictus, mm. 1–8 = 116–122; (5) in the Agnus, mm. 1–10 = 18–26, mm. 16–27 = 182–192. Tabulations of the material transferred from 1572 and 1581 antiphons into the *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina* Masses have been undertaken by Saxton,<sup>174</sup> and have revealed similarly high incidences of borrowing. In none of his previous masses did Victoria borrow more freely or more extensively from his 1572, 1576, and 1581 publications than in his Marian antiphon masses.

The slight changes made during transfer from antiphon to mass served various purposes. One such purpose seems to have been the “modernization” of dissonance-treatment; another to have been the tightening of loose cadences. Both these ends were attained in the following transfer from *Salve Regina* antiphon (mm. 18–24) to mass (Gloria, mm. 1–6). In the mass he eliminates the escaped note in the tenor (fifth bar) and halves the penultimate chord in the cadence.<sup>175</sup> In his other changes, Victoria (1) adds muscle and sinew to thin harmonies when he increases the number of dissonant suspensions; or (2) he widens the harmonic spectrum when he injects cross relations. When he borrowed the *Et Jesum* section of the antiphon (mm. 116–123)<sup>176</sup> for use in the Domine Deus of the mass (Gloria, mm. 43–51)<sup>177</sup> he attained both these ends. For every three dissonant suspensions in the model, he injects six into the parody. No cross relations enrich the 1576 antiphon; but these are numerous in the 1592 mass—the Domine Deus in three bars specifying one such cross relation (mm. 47–48) and implying another (meas. 46).

<sup>174</sup> Saxton, *op. cit.*, pp. 37a–40a.

<sup>175</sup> That he deliberately revised the fifth bar of the antiphon in order to eliminate the escaped-note can be further confirmed by examining meas. 5 of the Agnus.

<sup>176</sup> *VicO*, VII, 126.

<sup>177</sup> *VicO*, IV, 78.



*VirO*, VII, 121.

(1576)

*VirO*, IV, 75.

(1592)

Such alterations confirm a thesis already proposed: namely, that Victoria's art by no means remained static; but on the contrary matured steadily. Although his polychoral masses have never received the praise given *Quam pulchri* and *O quam gloriosum*, their polish and refinement can be denied by none who minutely compares them with their models. At the very least they are worthy compeers of Palestrina's eight-part *Confitebor tibi*, *Laudate Dominum*, *Hodie Christus natus est*, and *Fratres enim ego accepi*.

Palestrina's polychoral masses were published without organ accompaniment in 1585 (*Confitebor tibi*) and 1601. All Victoria's polychoral masses, however, were published in 1600 with an organ part duplicating chorus I, except when the middle or lower voices move so swiftly as to make an exact version extremely difficult for two hands. For instance, Victoria simplifies the organ part of the *Salve Mass* at meas. 15 in *Kyrie I*, mm. 37-38 in *Et in terra pax*, during the last nine bars of *Et in Spiritum*, and at mm. 19-20 of the *Sanctus*. Although the *Salve Mass* contains no passages unplayable on manuals alone, the *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina* occasionally include chords that presuppose  $F_1$ ,  $C_1$ , and  $B_1b$  pedal

notes—both hands not being able to grasp the four notes. Such chords appear exclusively in wordy, and presumably loud, movements.

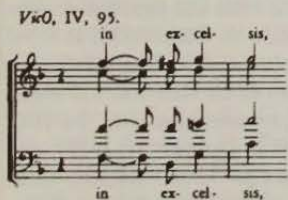
The *tessiture* of all voices (CCCAATBB) lie extremely high, even for Victoria, in his *Salve Mass*. Interestingly enough, the organ part is prefaced by this legend: *Ad quartam inferiorem* ("[sounding] at a fourth lower"). Since all eight voices when transposed down a fourth dwell in regions inhabited more customarily by other Spanish vocal music of the period, this legend in the organ part should perhaps be accepted at face value. In major Spanish ecclesiastical establishments two or more accompanying organs tuned at different pitches were usually available. For proof, the *Relacion dello que declaro Diego del Castillo se devia remediar en los quatro organos de S. Lorenzo el Real . . . 1587 años* may be consulted. Listed as MS 14025.194 at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, this "account of those things that Diego del Castillo said ought to be remedied in the four organs of San Lorenzo [El Escorial] in the year 1587" reveals that the pitch of two organs *fuessen tres puntos mas baxos que los otros dos* ("was a third lower than the pitch of the other two"). Both Castillo, royal organist, and Melchor de Miranda,



first organist in Toledo Cathedral, agreed that it would be preferable to tune the pairs of organs a fourth apart (*havian destar una quarta*) rather than a major third. Victoria may well have been alluding to this practice of tuning one organ in each pair a fourth apart when, only five years after Castillo's *Relación* (1587), he published his *Salve Regina* Mass (1592): heading the organ part with *Ad quartam inferiorem*. But whether or not it is agreed that the *Salve* organ part was intended for an instrument "sounding a fourth lower," it is interesting to observe that (1) the *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina* organ parts are not headed *Ad quartam inferiorem*; (2) the *Alma* and *Ave* masses call for voices of generally lower range; (3) their organ parts presuppose the availability of pedal notes in wordy movements (F<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>, C).

In his *Salve* Mass, Victoria calls for only four accidentals: B<sup>b</sup>, E<sup>b</sup>, F<sup>♯</sup>, C<sup>♯</sup>. These four again comprise his entire repertory in the 1600 masses: A<sup>b</sup>'s are never specified nor implied in Victoria's masses; and G<sup>♯</sup>'s occur in his masses only in the absence of E<sup>b</sup>'s. This last generalization may be confirmed from the *Surge prospera* and *Quarti toni* which do include G<sup>♯</sup>'s. However, the fact that none of the organ-accompanied masses contains any G<sup>♯</sup> cannot be taken as proof that his organ keyboard lacked the note. Both the Marian Litanies and the polyphonic setting of St. Thomas Aquinas's *Corpus Christi* sequence (published in 1585) call for G<sup>♯</sup>'s in the organ-parts (mm. 44-45 in *Litaniae*; meas. 69 in *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*).<sup>178</sup>

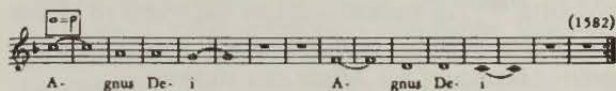
Victoria's fondness for vocal movements that ascend semitonally and then descend immediately by whole-step—or vice versa—did not abate in his Marian antiphon masses. Cantus I of the *Salve* Mass shows examples at Kyrie I, mm. 14-16; Qui tollis, mm. 71-73, 87-89; Patrem omnipotentem, mm. 6-7, 51-53; Crucifixus, mm. 87-88; Et in Spiritum Sanctum, mm. 147-149, 154. Cantus I must sing also this unmistakable chromaticism in the Osanna (mm. 31-32):



<sup>178</sup> VicO, VII, 154, 140.

If the three Marian antiphon masses congregate together, the *Missa pro victoria*—which Victoria referred to as his "Battle" Mass—stands apart from all others in his repertory by reason of its secular model, Clément Janequin's *La bataille de Marignan*; and because of the extremely vivacious and picturesque style adopted in such movements as Kyrie II, Et in terra pax, Patrem omnipotentem, Et in Spiritum Sanctum, and even the Agnus Dei.

Victoria's ebullient parody *a 9* (1600) could not contrast more strongly with Guerrero's *Missa della batalla escoutez, a 5* (1582). A past master of secular as well as of sacred style, Guerrero insisted upon obliterating every whiff of secular aroma from his parody of the chanson. He excluded, for instance, all the repeated note fanfares, the scurrying scales, and the myriad short-lived metrical shifts which vivify the Janequin chanson. For trumpet signals he substituted smoothly flowing lines. When veering to  $\Phi_3^2$  he did so not in the middle of a movement, but at its beginning. (Kyrie II and the Osanna carry such a triple-meter signature.) Only four of his movements failed to begin with Janequin's serious head motive: the *Christe* (= Phifres soufflez), Kyrie II (= *Avanturiers*), the *Domine Deus*, and the *Osanna* (= *Avanturiers*). His *Domine Deus* took for initium not a motive from the chanson but instead the opening incise of Kyrie II in Janequin's own properly casocked parody (published at Lyons, 1532, in *Liber decem missarum a praeclaris musicis contextus*). For these reasons Guerrero's *Batalla* Mass is hard to distinguish stylistically from his 1566 and 1582 parodies based on motets. During *Agnus I*, for instance, he followed the same time-honored course that he took in the *Sanctus* of his *Sancta et immaculata*, the *Osanna* of *Beata Mater*, and *Agnus I* of *Simile est regnum* Masses; enormously lengthening the time values of the Janequin initium and making it serve as this kind of ostinato (in cantus II):



In *Agnus II*, he augmented to eight parts. But even while doing so, Guerrero did not for a moment abandon close imitative writing.

By contrast, Victoria in 1600 includes fewer imitative points than Janequin in his chanson. He fires off salvos of repeated notes in Kyrie II, even daring to use the same colorful music conceived by Janequin for the onomatopoeical *frerelelelan fan*,



*frerelelelan fan* (chanson, *pars* 2). At "Filius Patris" in the Gloria he appropriates Janequin's music for *la la la, tarirarira la reyne* (*pars* 2); at "Et resurrexit" in the Credo, *Bendez soudain, gentilz gascons* (*pars* 1); at "Et iterum" in the Credo, *Et orrez, si bien escoutez, / Des coups ruez de tous costez* (*pars* 1). In his single Agnus he quotes again Janequin's twenty-one-gun-salute music for *frerelelelan fan, frerelelelan fan*. When he fires off his shots during "dona nobis pacem," Victoria anticipates Beethoven. The latter's drum-and-trumpet instrumental prelude to "dona nobis pacem" in the *Missa solemnis* has attracted similar attention because of the military context within which the suppliant prays for peace.

Victoria—whose list of distinguished patrons exceeds that of any other sixteenth-century Spanish composer—dedicated his *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi, & alia* to Philip III. Because his *Pro victoria* beseeches victory, some commentators have surmised that he had in mind a specific battle or campaign. If so, he cannot have besought victory in any engagement during the reign of Philip III. Philip II did not die until September 13, 1598. The complete contents of Victoria's forthcoming volume were at that very moment in a Madrid printer's hands, awaiting a price estimate for the impression. On October 1, Victoria signed the printing contract with Julio Junti de Modesti.<sup>179</sup> Thus, the "Battle" Mass along with everything else in the forthcoming collection will have to be thought of as a work composed while Philip III was still a prince in his minority. That it did signally please the light-minded and pleasure-loving young Philip III can be proved. Victoria wrote from Madrid on June 10, 1603, to the Duke of Urbino. Sometime in the previous year he had sent this duke the several partbooks of his 1600 publication. As yet he had not received payment. In his letter he expressly names the "Battle" Mass as the one item that gave the youthful Philip III greatest pleasure.<sup>180</sup> His understandable eagerness to please the twenty-year-old prince may well account for the unique stamp of his *Missa pro victoria*.

Certainly the work bears all the marks of having been written to gratify the featherweight tastes of this well-intentioned but frivolous young prince. That Philip III lacked all the weightier virtues of both his father and his grandsire has long been ac-

cepted as a historical truism. His musical tastes were known, even before he ascended the throne, to tend exclusively toward light secular songs. So much is attested in Antonio de Obregón y Cerezada's *Discursos sobre la filosofía moral de Aristoteles* (Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603), at pages 182–186. Obregón y Cerezada—a royal tutor—recounts how the young prince called upon Luis Honguero<sup>181</sup> to sing 39 five-line stanzas of the elegant trifle *En la noche serena*. After ascending the throne he wasted hundreds of thousands of ducats on idle show. His favorite composer Mateo Romero ("Maestro Capitán") catered to his taste for bright, major polychoral masses and motets; and never bothered with learned devices. Géry de Ghersem, Philippe Rogier's favorite pupil, should logically have succeeded as director of choral music in the royal chapel when Philip III mounted the throne. Romero, however, gained the post within a month of Philip II's death.<sup>182</sup> The much more erudite Ghersem, after hopefully remaining in Madrid

<sup>181</sup> Obregón y Cerezada eulogizes Luis Honguero [= Onguero] as a paragon who sang with "completely relaxed countenance, unparalleled accuracy, unmatched suavity and sweetness, absolute equality of head and chest registers." This same Honguero enters Victoria's biography at least three times. On August 17, 1604, Victoria authorized him to collect 150 ducats due on his pension from Cordova diocese; and again, on January 16, 1606, to collect his Cordova pension for 1605. Honguero may have come from Cordova, but his income included an annual 150-ducat income from Toledo archdiocese. Sometime before 1605 he ceded Victoria his rights to this Toledo pension. See Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, 520 (item 23), 521 (items 31, 34).

If Obregón y Cerezada's praise was justified and if Victoria and Honguero enjoyed such intimate association as the documentation suggests, Victoria's friendships during his later years were musically more congenial than has hitherto been conceded.

<sup>182</sup> Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (1918), p. 105. Mathieu Romarin [= Mathias Rosmarin = Mateo Romero] was born in 1575 at Liège. His father was apparently the Julián Romero de Ibarrola (native of Torrejuncillo, d. 1575) who captained three companies under the Duke of Alba in the Low Countries. In company with a dozen other new choirboys recruited from the Low Countries, he was enrolled on June 28, 1586, in the royally endowed *Colegio de Cantorcillos* at Madrid. This choir school was, of course, a feeder for the *capilla flamenca* of Philip II. Boys aged eight to twelve of good voice and deportment were received for education in the Colegio de Cantorcillos at royal expense. In return they served at secular as well as at religious festivals. When he entered, Georges de La Hèle was still *maestro* and Philippe Rogier *teniente*, or second master. La Hèle died, however, only two months later (August 27, 1586), and was succeeded by Rogier (b. Arras ca. 1562). Romero spent seven years under Rogier in the Colegio de Cantorcillos—"graduating" on December 1, 1593; at which time his name ap-

<sup>179</sup> *VicO*, VIII, p. lxxxv.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xcii.





for a short time, returned to Brussels in 1604 (died at Tournai, 1630).

The *Missa pro victoria* calls for CCCAATTBB; but none of the three cantus parts ascends above e<sup>b</sup>. For the lowest note in bassus II, he touches D<sub>1</sub> (in the Patrem omnipotentem, meas. 27). Bassus I and II never move in truly independent parts when the

two choruses sing together. Quite often, the upper voices do no more than interchange notes of static chords. In nine-part *tutti* passages (Kyrie II; “simul adoratur” and “Confiteor” of the Credo; Agnus Dei), the harmonic rhythm is especially slow. Just as this mass contains by far his greatest number of staccato repeated notes and of running quavers, so also

appears in the choir school list spelled, not “Mathieu Rosmarin” as heretofore, but “Mateo Romero.” This change may in itself be taken as proof of his decision henceforth to adapt himself as fully as possible to Spanish manners and usage.

Upon leaving the colegio he entered the adult *capilla flamenca*. At the untimely age of thirty-four Rogier died (February 29, 1596). Two years later Philip II died (September 13, 1598). On October 19, 1598, as one of the first official acts in his new reign, Philip III appointed Romero *maestro* of the royal chapel and Géry de Ghersem as *teniente*. The cedula mentioned the fact that both had served previously as royal singers.

During the interim since Rogier’s death, discipline in the Colegio de Cantorcillos had deteriorated. The *capellán mayor* believed the remedy should include a new set of disciplinary rules. On December 16, 1598, he therefore presented for the young king’s approval a much more rigid set of constitutions. Romero, the new head of the colegio as well as *maestro* of the chapel, objected strenuously to certain provisions. But after being threatened with excommunication and loss of six months’ pay he signed on January 17, 1599. The rules in the new *Constituciones del m<sup>e</sup> y niños cantorçillos dela Real cap<sup>o</sup>*, can be summarized as follows: (1) the boys must be taught to read and write, (2) to know their catechism and (3) the elements of Christian doctrine; (4) they must sing a *Salve Regina* every night before Our Lady’s *imagen*; (5) the *maestro* can keep no more than three servants, or two if a relative visits him; (6) the *teniente* [Ghersem] must always accompany the cantorçillos to the palace, or in his stead the *maestro*, should the *teniente* be sick; (7) the *teniente* must teach, but the *maestro* sets up the schedule; (8) the *maestro* is responsible for their cleanliness and their feeding; (9) the *maestro* must give them new clothes when needed; (10) an inventory of everything in the house must be taken, and signed by the *maestro*; (11) no women, except a nurse over forty, are allowed; (12) the door must be bolted every night, at eight (winter), or nine (summer).

On January 21, 1599, the court left Madrid, spending several months first in Valencia, then Barcelona, then Saragossa. In 1600 the court visited Segovia, Ávila, Salamanca, and Valladolid, to which last-named city Philip III transferred his court in 1601. In 1601 Claudio de la Sablonara copied a Mass *a 19*, sixteen Christmas and Epiphany villancicos *a 5, 7, 8, 9, 10*, and *unas completas para los menestriales* (compline for voices and instruments), all by Romero. In 1604 Sablonara copied various masses and motets for 2, 3, and 4 choruses, and sixteen more villancicos *a 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15* and 23: all by Romero. In 1605 he copied a motet *a 10*, *Deus meus respice in me* (Ps. 21), and a parody mass *a 8* based on Lassus’s chanson (1570) for the same number of voices, *Un jour l’amant*. This mass was written to celebrate the birth of the future Philip IV on April 8,

1605. Sablonara also copied in 1605 at least sixteen villancicos by Romero—one *a 12* with eight instruments.

Beginning in 1605, Romero was appointed to a succession of lucrative benefices. At the time of his ordination to the priesthood, April 9, 1605, he was named Capellán de la Casa de Borgoña. On the third anniversary of his ordination he was appointed capellán de banco. On November 18, 1623, he was named Capellán de los Reyes Nuevos at Toledo—an appointment entitling him to an annual income in cash and kind of 3,000 reales. In 1641 João IV named him to a lucrative non-residential chaplaincy in the Portuguese royal chapel. Small wonder, then, that he was able to lend large sums to such subordinates in the *capilla flamenca* as, for instance, Philippe Dubois, who when he died on February 9, 1611, left a will mentioning a 500-real debt to Romero.

Romero taught the future Philip IV not only the musical rudiments but also how to compose, conduct, and play the bass viol. On March 4, 1620, as an example, he signed a receipt for a *contrabaxo bihuela de Arco, que de un xuego de ocho bihuelas . . . y dicho contrabaxo con su arquillo se entrego al dicho Mateo Romero por Mandado de Su Mg<sup>d</sup> para enseñar a tañerle al Principe nuestro señor* (“bass-viol belonging to a chest of eight viols, and the said bass with bow was delivered to Mateo Romero by order of His Majesty so that he might teach Prince Philip how to play it”).

Musical enthusiasm at court knew no bounds during the 1620’s and 1630’s; and Romero, or *Maestro Capitán* as he had long familiarly been known (perhaps because his father had been so famous a Spanish captain in the Netherlands), dominated every festivity. The duke of Neuburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm (1578–1653), arrived at court in October 1624, and at his departure on March 13, 1625, carried back to Munich the song collection in future to be known as the *Cancionero de Sablonara* (copied by Claudio de la Sablonara, royal chapel scribe from 1599).

After thirty-five years as *maestro* of the *capilla flamenca*, Romero retired on February 22, 1634. He continued to draw full pay, however. His successor was Carlos Patiño. Henceforth during the century only native-born Spaniards were to conduct the royal chapel. But even though he was retired, Philip IV, his erstwhile pupil, still found ways to use Romero. Early in 1638, for instance, the king dispatched him to Portugal. There he was instructed to visit the Duke of Bragança (who two years later was to ascend the throne as João IV). The latter’s intentions were already feared. Romero, it was hoped in Madrid, would sound out the duke. The two had first met at Lisbon in 1619 in the course of a state visit of Philip III (Philip II of Portugal). In the meantime the duke had become known everywhere as one of the foremost musical enthusiasts of the epoch. But Romero,



it shows the highest incidence of short exclamatory V-I-V and I-IV-I chordal progressions ("Et vitam in Credo).

For a model upon which to base his *Missa Laetatus, a 12*, Victoria chooses his own Psalm 121 (= 122), *a 12*, first published in 1583. Verses 4-5, 7-12 (*Liber usualis* numbering) are scored full; the others for four or three voices. In this, his only

who had no taste for mixing music with politics, and who was too old to relish traveling, *iba muy contra su voluntad* ("went very unwillingly") [*Noticias de Madrid*, January 5, 1638]. Whatever his instructions, he conducted himself while in Portugal with the utmost discretion. Proofs of the favor he won with his host are found in the lucrative chaplaincy that João IV conferred upon Romero as soon as he was crowned king, and in the enormous quantity of Romero's music which he collected for his private library. No less than seventy of Romero's compositions were inventoried in the *Primeira parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do . . . Rey Dom João IV* (Lisbon: 1649).

The repertory that Romero conducted while royal chapelmaster can be known from a five-page *Conocimiento y cargo de los Libros de canto que se le entregan para servir en la dicha capilla* of November 22, 1612. In this year the active choral library reached thirty-eight books. The printed Mass collections included Morales's Book II of 1544. La Hèle's *Octo Missae* of 1578, Guerrero's Book II of 1582, Rogier's *Missae sex* of 1598, and Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus* of 1602; and in addition various volumes of Palestrina's and Lassus's masses. The other composers whose works were represented in quantity included Cornelius Canis, Rodrigo Ceballos, Clemens non papa, Crecquillon, Claudin de Sermisy, and Victoria.

Romero died at Madrid on May 10, 1647, aged approximately seventy-two. As heir he named Doña Antonia de Ayala. Contemporary tributes of an extremely fulsome nature can be read in Juan Ruiz de Robledo's *Laura de música eclesiástica* (1644), the original of which survives in El Escorial library and a copy of which is preserved in MS 1287 at the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional; in João IV's *Difensa de la musica* (Lisbon: 1649); and in a manuscript account of uncertain provenience by Lázaro Díaz del Valle y de la Puerta first published in the February 24, 1868, issue of the *Revista y Gaceta Musical de Madrid*.

Barbieri collected a dossier of information from which the details in this note have been extracted. See "Papeles del Fondo Barbieri," *MSS 14069* (Biblioteca Nacional). Jesús Aroca, when publishing his edition of the *Cancionero musical y poético del siglo XVII recogido por Claudio de la Sablonara* (Madrid: Tip. de la "Rev. de Arch., Bibl. y Museos," 1916 [1918]), gathered a limited amount of biographical data at pages 327-330. This edition contains the twenty-two secular songs of Romero which Sablonara chose to include among the "pearls and gold" of the songbook presented to the Duke of Neuburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm, at his departure from Madrid on March 13, 1625. Rafael Mitjana, at pages 241-248 of his lengthy "review" of Aroca's edition (*Revista de Filología Española*, VI, 3 [July-Sept., 1919]), offered a few additional details concerning Romero. A somewhat misleading condensation of Mitjana's notes on Romero appeared in the *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, Volume IX,

psalm *a 12*,<sup>183</sup> he alludes nowhere to a psalm-tone. All the more interesting in view of his failure to cite any psalm-tone in the source is the fact that cantus IV, temporarily the highest voice, does sing Tone I (to the mediation) at Et incarnatus in the mass. This plainsong quotation may be pure accident, however.

Again, as in the nine-part *Pro victoria*, tutti passages are rare in both *Laetatus* psalm and mass. Essentially works for three four-part choruses, psalm and mass depend upon antiphony for their most striking effects. Though in the mass such solo movements as *Christe*, *Domine Deus I* and *II*, *Crucifixus*, and *Benedictus* open with imitative points, the other movements lack any. Again, as in the other 1600 masses, (1) his "key" is boldly F Major; (2) four accidentals are employed—B $\sharp$  (=  $\sharp$ ), F $\sharp$ , C $\sharp$ , and E $\flat$ ; (3) the highest note in any of the four cantus parts is e $\flat$ ; (4) the lowest note in either bass part is D $\flat$ ; (5) in tutti passages, the three lowest voices move in octaves or unisons. In the organ parts, the notes D $\flat$ , F $\flat$ , and G $\flat$  support chords not negotiable by two hands: and must be presumed to have been played on the pedal. These pedal notes appear exclusively in such wordy movements<sup>184</sup> as Et in terra pax (mm. 8-19), Qui tollis (mm. 96, 98), Patrem omnipotentem (mm. 7-10), and Et in Spiritum Sanctum (mm. 122, 125-126, 147, 161, 163, 165, 171). Since these pedal notes appear always in loud contexts, the organ was more than an optional "for practice only" part, and had the added virtue of lending weight at climaxes.

Victoria reverses the roles of choruses I and III

Apéndice (1933), at page 388. J. B. Trend, because he translated the Espasa-Calpe article without confirming the dates, contributed a rather unsatisfactory biography to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (5th ed.), VII, 221.

Paul Becquart, who published his transcription that forms the bulk of his article, "Au sujet de Mateo Romero (Rosmarin) Les notes biographiques de Barbieri de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Madrid," in *Anuario Musical*, XXV (1970), 98-103, provided a compendium Romero bibliography in his first footnote. See also Becquart's article "Matheo Romero—Mathieu Rosmarin" in *Bulletin de la Société Liégeoise de Musicologie*, 1983.

Emilio Casares published Barbieri's data on Romero in *Biografías y documentos sobre música y músicos españoles (Legado Barbieri)* (Madrid, Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986), pp. 413-418.

<sup>183</sup>Only one other Victoria work *a 12* (three 4-part choruses) reached print during his lifetime—the *Magnificat Sexti toni* (1600). See *VicO*, III, 95-106. Psalm 104, *Confitemini Domino (a 12)*, sung on Trinity Sunday, 1573 (see *VicO*, Vol. VIII, p. XIX) does not descend to us.

<sup>184</sup>The Sanctus shows such chords at mm. 9 and 13.





throughout—chorus III in the 1600 mass singing what was allotted to chorus I in the 1583 psalm (cf. Kyrie II with “Fiat pax”; and Patrem omnipotentem with “Illuc enim”);<sup>185</sup> and vice versa. In both 1583 psalm and 1600 mass the organist persists in duplicating chorus I. This switching of roles therefore means that the organ part differs also—even though the aggregate of the dozen voices remains identical in such sections as Kyrie II and the opening of Patrem omnipotentem.

Whatever the distinctive merits of Victoria’s 1600 masses, his muse during his late forties would be deemed by some hidebound critics to have drooped (like the muse of certain later-day Romanticists)—were these 1600 masses the only works from his final period in Spain whereupon to rest a judgment. Fortunately, he is spared this judgment by virtue of his “swan song,” the *Officium defunctorum*, published at Madrid in 1605. At another place has been given an account of the circumstances that called forth this “crowning work of a great genius,” as Karl Proske dubbed it.<sup>186</sup> Wholly apart from its more serious subject matter, the *Missa pro defunctis* in the 1605 imprint (folios 1–18) would win greater sympathy than the 1600 masses, (1) because the individual sections are not forever joyously in “F Major”, and (2) because the bright bauble of antiphony does not forecast Baroque glitter.

So far as the parts set polyphonically are concerned. Victoria’s two *Pro defunctis* Masses—the first of 1583 and the second of 1605—resemble each other closely. In the 1583 offertory he requires *Quam olim* to be sung polyphonically after the versicle *Hostias et preces*; though not in the 1605 offertory.<sup>187</sup> The 1583 mass includes polyphony for three

<sup>185</sup> *VicO*, VII, 35 (= VI, 62); VII, 29 (= VI, 75).

<sup>186</sup> *VicO*, Vol. VIII, p. LXIX.

<sup>187</sup> *VicO*, VI, 110–111 (1583); 133–134 (1605). Note also that the text of the 1583 offertory differs from that of the 1605. In the 1583 he set *libera animas fidelium defunctorum* (*VicO*, VI, 108), whereas in the 1605 he inserted “omnium” as an added word—*libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum* (*VicO*, VI, 131).

A German and an English edition of the *Officium defunctorum*—both using only G- and F-clefs and both with all sections transposed—were published in 1962 (*Missa pro defunctis cum responsorio Libera me Domine 1605 6 gemischte Stimmen a cappella*, edited by Rudolf Walter [Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet]) and in 1978 (*Requiem à 6*, edited by David Wulstan [Oxford: Blackwell’s Music Shop]). In both German and English editions, every section is transposed up a minor third, except the

Agnuses; but the 1605 for only I and III. Otherwise, the succession of polyphonic numbers is the same throughout both masses. To turn now to the music added for the Office of the Dead and the Burial Service: both the 1583 and 1605 publications provide polyphonic settings of the *Libera me* responsory. The music for the versicle of this responsory—*Tremens factus sum ego, a 3*—is indeed identical in both publications. The 1605 publication continues with a motet, *Versa est in luctum* (the words taken from Job 30:31 and 7:16b), and a lesson, *Taedet animam meam* (Job 10:1–7), to be sung at the first nocturn of matins.

Just as Victoria becomes ever more concise in his 1592 and 1600 books of masses, so also the 1605 Requiem (as a whole and in most of its individual sections) is shorter than the 1583. Instead of 43 + 35 bars in the 1583 gradual, 109 in the offertory, and 19 + 17 in the Sanctus; 23 + 23 bars comprise the 1605 gradual, 78 the offertory, and 17 + 16 the Sanctus. The 1583 Requiem included polyphony for Agnuses I, II, and III; but in 1605 he sets only I and III.

Throughout the 1583 Requiem, the plainsong was confided uniformly to the highest of the four voices.<sup>188</sup> As a general rule, the paraphrased plain-song is to be found in cantus II of the 1605 version. In the offertory, he gives it to the altus. Victoria sharps several notes in the 1605 plainsong-bearing voices which were obligatorily natural in the 1583. For such natural versus sharp notes, compare graduals: mm. 9–11 vs. 8; offertories: mm. 5 vs. 2, 39 vs. 27, 98 vs. 70; Sanctuses: meas. 11 vs. mm. 11–12; Benedictuses: meas. 16 vs. meas. 12. Examples from the two Benedictuses are shown below. No one can doubt that in the 1583 version the *f* marked with an asterisk must be natural; nor that in the 1605 the *f* must be sharpened: yet the identical plainchant is at stake. After he returned to Spain, did Victoria

Gradual, where voices have been lowered a major second from Victoria’s pitches. Both Walter and Wulstan opt for the standard 2:1 reduction ratio, but Walter bars in 4/2 rather than 2/2. Although Victoria did not specify repetition of the polyphonic *Quam olim Abrahæ* after plainchant *Hostias et preces* in the 1605 imprint, both Walter and Wulstan exercise their editorial prerogative and require it. Walter omits the motet *Versa est in luctum* and also Lectio II, *Taedet anima meam*. Wulstan includes them, and his edition is therefore preferable.

<sup>188</sup> The plainsong incipits at the beginnings of the versicle In memoria (*VicO*, VI, 106, 130) and the offertory Domine Jesu Christe (VI, 108, 131) differ materially.



deliberately accede to local usage, which throughout the sixteenth century always called for far more sharpening in plainsong than was elsewhere customary? Significantly enough, any change of accidental in the plainsong-bearing voice in 1605 involves sharpening: no notes sharpened in 1583 become naturals in the 1605 Requiem.

Benedictus (1583) 189

Benedictus (1605) 190

In no one number of either the 1583 or 1605 Requiem does he call for more than four different accidentals. The introit and opening Kyries of both Requiems carry B $\flat$  in their signatures: B $\flat$ , F $\sharp$ , C $\sharp$ , and E $\flat$  are therefore the accidentals. In the 1583 gradual, his accidentals are F $\sharp$ , C $\sharp$ , G $\sharp$ , and B $\flat$ ; in the 1605, all these except B $\flat$ . Although the accidentals in the remaining pieces of each Requiem never exceed four, the fact that he uses a different set in the introits from the set in the graduals or offertories lends variety. To vary the cadences he chooses A for the finals of the graduals (each Requiem), D for the offertories, A for the Sanctuses, and G for the Benedictuses, the Agnuses, and the Communios. This change of final from number to number—and with it the orbit of cadences surrounding the final—gratifies the ear in a way that none of his other masses (except the *De beata Virgine*) is permitted to assuage the listener.

<sup>189</sup> *VicO*, VI, 113.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

The 1605 Requiem calls for an abundance of low D $_1$ 's in the bass. These are buttressed, however, by D an octave above in tenor II; or if tenor II sings some other note, by two notes, D $_1$  and D, appearing conjointly in the bass part. The bass line, although not unvocal, abounds in fourths, fifths, and octaves. Cantus I reached g $^1$  in the gradual. The disposition of voices, CCATTB, proves of itself that Victoria foresaw the dangers of too thick and muddled a conglomeration of low voices. The addition of a cantus I as a counterpointing voice *above* the plainsong-bearing voice (cantus II) is in itself a masterstroke. The vocal orchestration shows everywhere the most exquisite refinement.

As for dissonance-treatment, he excludes the time-honored *nota cambiata*, but does make considerable use of the consonant fourth in suspensions. On occasion, he even specifies the "consonant" seventh (see Introit, meas. 48).<sup>191</sup>

Were the chord marked by an asterisk in the next example to be met in a later composer's works it would be classed at once as a (secondary) dominant seventh chord (Benedictus, meas. 16):<sup>192</sup>

Throughout the 1605 Requiem he frequently uses for their *Affekt* other inverted "secondary seventh chords." Examples may be seen in the Graduale (meas. 28 [erit *justus*]), Offertorium (meas. 20 $_2$ ), Sanctus (meas. 11 $_4$ ), Communio (mm. 10 $_2$ , 40 $_2$ ); in the motet *Versa est in luctum* (meas. 56 $_2$ ), the responsory *Libera me* (meas. 68 $_2$  [Requiem aeternam]),

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136. See also Graduale, meas. 15 $^2$  (p. 129). However, this latter instance may involve a misprinted f $^1$  in cantus I for d $^1$ .



and in the lesson *Taedet me* (mm. 25<sub>3</sub>, 68<sub>3</sub>). Two examples from *Taedet me* are reproduced here.<sup>193</sup> However frequent their use in the 1605 Requiem,



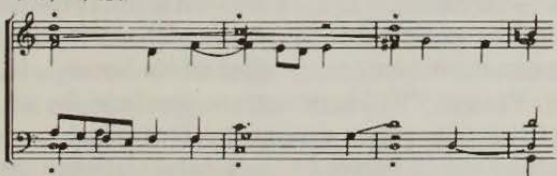
such chords do not figure in the 1583 Requiem. Victoria also makes interesting use of the augmented chord in *Versa est in luctum* (meas. 25) to reinforce in musical terms the idea of *fletium* (“weeping”):

*VicO*, VI, 142.



With six real parts at his disposal, the upper two of which cross freely, he contrives a number of passages that sound as if parallel block-chords were intended. As early as mm. 7–9 of the Introit, the ear is deceived—especially if cantus I stands beside cantus II during performance—into believing that he wrote such impressionistic parallelisms between cantus I and bassus as the following:

*VicO*, VI, 124.



Similarly striking mock-parallelisms mark the outset of Kyrie II. These make their most telling effect when two-octaves separate the outer voices; and when the mock-parallelism involves roots in stepwise relation.

In this Requiem, perhaps more than any of his other masses, Victoria writes “expressive” harmony. As especially telling proofs of his “expressive” powers may be cited the passages at *ne cadant in obscurum* (“nor let them fall into darkness”) in the

Offertorium;<sup>194</sup> after “let light eternal shine upon them” at *Quia pius es* (“because Thou art merciful”) in the Communion;<sup>195</sup> and after “spare me, O God” at *nihil enim sunt dies mei* (“for my days are nothing”) in *Versa est in luctum*.<sup>196</sup> At *obscurum*, he achieves an impressively dark and somber sound, with the first-inversion of G minor standing in phrygian relation to A Major. At *Quia*, a sudden shaft of tenderness overflows the listener when a quite unexpected A-Major chord succeeds a general pause in the six parts. At *nihil enim sunt*, he pushes his cantus I up to e<sup>1</sup> in a shrill lament, juxtaposing the first-inversion D-minor chord with E Major.

The Lectio is a homophonic piece.<sup>197</sup> Imitative play is held to a minimum, for that matter, in all sections of the Requiem, including the Responso-rium for the Absolution.<sup>198</sup> When voices do perchance move independently, he writes faster notes more freely in inner than outer voices. These rapid inner passages cast a haze around the chord changes, much as a painter’s chiaroscuro suffuses a canvas with half-lights in place of sharp outlines.

## MAGNIFICATS

In 1576 Victoria published his first six magnificats—a pair each for Tones I, IV, and VIII. Five years later he published, again at Rome, a complete set of sixteen. The 1581 book contains an odd- and even-verse setting for each of the eight tones. Ten of the 1581 settings (Tones II, III, V, VI, VII) were new. The remainder were reprinted from his 1576 *Liber Primus. Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat, . . . Aliaque Complectitur*. Strange though it may seem when one considers their respective ages, Victoria’s 1581 *Cantica B. Virginis*<sup>199</sup> did not follow, but preceded by a decade, the only such book that Palestrina published in his lifetime—*Magnificat octo tonorum. Liber primus* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1591).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 140.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148–151.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143–147.

<sup>199</sup> Pedrell omitted ten words when he attempted to transcribe the full title (*VicO*, Vol. VIII, p. XXIX; and *Tomás Luis de Victoria* [1918], p. 60). See Casimiri, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 2. Casimiri found no less than forty-five other serious errors in Pedrell’s transcriptions of titles and dedications.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 150.