Leading Notes

JOURNAL OF

THE NATIONAL

EARLY MUSIC

ASSOCIATION

Spring 1998

Philippus Rex Hispaniae
1598–1998

Leading Notes

Editor: Richard Lawrence

Issue 15

Spring 1998

Single copy price: £2.50

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Note from the Editor:

Philip II has had a bad press in northern Europe. This is not surprising: through his captain-general, the Duke of Alva, he inflicted unspeakable cruelties on the population of the Netherlands. He regarded Protestant heresy as an affront to the established order, to be stamped on as ruthlessly as Ottoman aggression or Morisco apostasy. Ultimately, though, it was a question of *Realpolitik* – and did not Queen Elizabeth herself, the year before the Armada, seek an alliance with Sultan Murad III against him?

To say that Philip lived simply, loved his daughters and had a sense of humour is no more than to bracket him with many another monster. But in our relief at his failure to invade these islands we can at least rejoice that, unlike Napoleon and Hitler, he did preside over a golden age. Bruno Turner sets the scene for the musical manifestations of this *Siglo de Oro*. For the general reader, to complement the books cited in the various articles, I commend Andrew Wheatcroft's *The Habsburgs: embodying empire* (Viking and Penguin), a fascinating study of, *inter alia*, Habsburg iconography.

I would like to have included something on Philip II as seen by Schiller and Verdi, but this issue is already threatening to burst at the seams. Another time, perhaps. Here is plenty to engage heart and mind; and my heartfelt and mindful thanks are due to Bruno Turner for all his help at the planning stage.

—RICHARD LAWRENCE

Published twice a year by NEMA, and issued free to members.
Enquiries about membership or subscriptions, as well as submissions for publications, should be directed to the administrator:
18 High Street, Caythorpe, Grantham, Lincs NG32 3BS · 01400 273795 (Tel. & Fax)

ISSN 0960-6297
Registered Charity No. 297300

Produced for NEMA by Duane Lakin-Thomas
Set in Palatino, 9.5/12

Nema
NATIONAL EARLY MUSIC ASSOCIATION

GLIMPSES OF P-REX:
Aspects of the gentle art of music in the reign of Philip II

BRUNO TURNER

It would be a rash person who would set about a lighthearted article, still less a flippant one, upon the person and the rule of Philip of Spain. Yet, in his youth and young manhood, he chased the ladies and generally cut a dashing figure. All his life he loved to ride and hunt, until his health prevented him; even in middle age he could be something of a prankster, though only within his family. His underlying seriousness and his undoubted sense of duty, as he saw it, gradually overwhelmed other aspects of his personality. Increasingly, he saw himself as the moral guardian of his people, a bulwark against the infidels of Islam and the heretics of northern Europe, answerable more or less directly to God. Rigid in some ways, concerned with minute detail, taking immense care over quite minor church appointments, this complex man never doubted his right to tell the Papacy its job in great matters and in small. Yet, it was Pius V who accused Philip of taking so long to come to decisions that the events themselves had often passed by.

Ruling the greatest empire since Rome (historians reckon it contained almost one fifth of the world's population), Philip was an autocratic ditherer who seemed all powerful. He said of himself, some twenty years before his death, 'I do not know if they think I am made of iron or stone. The truth is that they need to see that I am mortal like everyone else.' In due course they did.

Philip has been portrayed as a great ogre, the villain of the black legend. Attempts to white-wash him have been rare. Balanced views have appeared more recently. Here, we are concerned with some aspects of music, mainly sacred, connected – sometimes directly – with Philip's life and with some significant historical events. Inevitably this article is rather brief and selective. In it, I hope to focus a little light on particular pieces of music and on who sang them, on Philip's influence on musical taste, indeed upon his personal preferences.

In 1516, the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united in the person of Charles of Ghent, the Habsburg grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1519 he was elected Holy Roman Emperor as Charles V – Charles I of Spain (or of the Spains, to be more accurate) – and it is worth remembering that his son became Philip II of Castile, but Philip I of Aragon. Musically, there is some significance in these matters. Charles brought his Flemish Chapel with him when he inherited the Spanish domains. Unlike any other European ruler, he had, at first, three royal chapels. The Spanish chapels of Castile and Aragon were merged into one, usually referred to as the *capilla española* by modern scholars. This did not retain the status of the Royal Chapel, that function being the privilege of the larger and highly organised *capilla flamenca* (the Chapel of the House of Burgundy). Charles had brought with him not simply an army of Flemish officials but also the traditional customs and elaborate ritual of the Burgundian Court.

Philip, born in 1527 (by coincidence the very year his father's mercenaries sacked Rome), heir to the throne, had his own chapel by 1541. Two years later he was already acting frequently as regent in Spain, Charles spending most of his time travelling in various parts of his empire. Philip's chapel had evolved through the transfer of singers, added to the Castilian nucleus, from the successive private chapels of Cardinal Cisneros and Cardinal Tavera, archbishops of Toledo.

The chapel of a king or prince consisted of a number of chaplains (*capellanes*), priests who celebrated mass and performed the liturgical offices (Vespers, Matins, etc.). They included confessors, spiritual advisers, and were headed by a senior chaplain, who was usually almoner. He was in overall charge and responsible to the royal person. There was an administrator, in effect master of ceremonies in the chapel building itself or wherever the liturgy was performed when the court travelled. There was a group of men (and youths) with specific functions other than singing: altar boys (*mozos de capilla*), a teacher of Latin, a furrier, a tuner of instruments (organs in particular) – the *templador* – and a music copyist, the *apuntador*.

In 1574, the list of the *capilla flamenca* (officially the *capilla de la casa de Borgoña* – Burgundy), based in Madrid, shows Gérard de Turnhout, as *maestro de capilla*, heading some twenty adult singers (*cantores*) and five *niños* (boy singers, often called *cantorcillos*). The latter were trained in polyphony, unlike the *mozos de coro*, children who learned plainchant in addition to their altar-serving duties. The *niños de coro* would become expert and were expected to sing solo not only in chant but to hold their parts alone without the adult *tiples* (falsettists and, increasingly, *castrati*). Pieces survive which require 'three boys and their master' to sing music in specified parts of the chapel or church, apart from the main *coro* (choir enclosure). This would occur particularly in the Holy Week services. We would describe the scoring of such music as for SSABar.

In that list of 1574, among the *cantorcillos*, were Philippe Rogier and Cornelius Verdonck, newly arrived from the Spanish Netherlands. Rogier rose to become *maestro* himself, succeeding the excellent composer

George de la Hèle in 1586, after being deputy for two years. Rogier was outstanding; the inventory of his works is very extensive and, despite great losses, we still have enough to fill three big volumes (*Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae [CMM]). His boyhood colleague Verdonck was also a composer of competence and remained many years in the Flemish chapel.

In 1586, Rogier's choir was at its peak of excellence. It had been expanded to include some twenty-two adult singers, a *bajonista* (bass dulcian player) and fifteen boy singers. We presume that these were trained in polyphony as they are listed separately from the altar boys, the *mozos* who learned only chant. From this we can conclude that although much polyphony was sung by groups of solo voices there must have been some music, perhaps on great occasions, when a very full choral sound was produced, something not so different from the big sonority of our present Westminster Cathedral Choir. Even allowing for leaves of absence, vacations, illness and the taking of some members on special court journeys, there must have been a frequent use of several voices to a part and an emphasis on boy trebles.

This view is supported by the evidence that exists in the music that was being written at that time and through into the next century. Going back to the beginning of the sixteenth century and earlier, one may observe something that plagues modern choirmasters. The music of Peñalosa (around 1490–1520), Morales (around 1520–1550) and even of Guerrero (certainly his music from, say, 1555–1590) has almost equal voice ranges for the inner parts of Altus and Tenor. Invariably the lowest notes of both are the same. The Altus usually has a compass extending to a third beyond the Tenor's highest note. There is little doubt, allowing for the *chiavette* – the high transposing clefs – that the music is based on the assumption that the singers were adult males. Falsettists (and, later, *castrati*) sang the Cantus (Superius) parts; the Altus was sung by high tenors, the Tenor being for the medium male voice, the 'natural' compass of plainchant (light baritone in our terms), and the Bassus being for bass voices normally going down to F below the stave...all being at a pitch standard not far from our A = 440 Hz. Bear in mind that recitation notes of psalmodic chants and magnificat tones were always thought to be ideally rendered at a constant pitch throughout a service (e.g. Vespers) and should be normally *A la mi re* or *G sol re ut*.

The problem that has made life difficult for modern groups and 'mixed' choirs is that, if the music is sung transposed a third higher, the tenors have to hit their roof and the trebles (sopranos) too. Untransposed, the altos (women, boys or falsettists – countertenors so-called) are simply growling or unheard; alternating chants get pushed to unseemly pitches.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the inner parts were composed more separately and distinctively. Choirs began to use boys and *cornetas* (*cornetti*) for the top lines as a genuinely independent alternative to the *falsetti* and *castrati*. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Juan del Vado (of the Madrid Royal Chapel) wrote (we have his autograph mss.) that if one wide-ranging work of his (the *Missa El Labyrintho*) proved too taxing for the adult *tiples*, then 'the boys of the college may be used together with the *cornetas*'; he added that, alternatively, it could be performed a tone lower.

My opinion is that in the increasing numbers of choirboys trained and employed in the great chapels, such as the *capilla flamenca*, we see these changes reflected. Under Philip III, who reigned from 1598 to 1621, an enthusiast for brilliant display, polychoral works flourished and the separation of vocal ranges developed rapidly, as music became more chordal, homophonic and polarised between treble melody and bass progressions.

Which takes us back to Philip II. His favourite and his father's, the *capilla flamenca* evolved on a splendid scale. They sang much Franco-Flemish polyphony: Josquin, above all, and Gombert, and Clemens, and their followers, some of whom were active in Spain as directors of the Flemish chapel like Manchicourt. They sang, increasingly, Spanish works; the music of Morales, then of Guerrero was heard along with the masses of De la Hèle and the music of Lassus and Palestrina. Yet, there was also the *capilla española*. Smaller, it went down to just eight singers at one point in Philip's reign. It revived later, and, at Philip's exequies in 1598, it provided the quartet of soloists who sang important parts of the Office of the Dead at the Jeronymite monastery church of S. Jerónimo el Real, Madrid, on the 18th and 19th October. More of that later.

The Spanish tradition, as practised in cathedrals, collegiate churches, in some ducal chapels and, surely, in the *capilla española*, relied upon a small number of adult male singers, at times supplemented by the unbroken voices of boys. There are warnings issued from time to time (Nasarre did so, soon after 1700) not to castrate too many of the boy singers, otherwise there would be a shortage of the lower adult voices for the choirs. Such fears had been expressed before 1600. Groups of one-a-part men certainly went to the great lectern, *in medio chori*, to sing polyphony, sometimes with two or three boys, as depicted in the mid-sixteenth century bronze plaques still fixed to the great lectern in the choir area of Seville Cathedral. These plaques also depict the typical Spanish group of *ministriles*, playing *chirimías*, *cornetas* and *sacabuches*, usually in groups of five players. They appear also to be performing 'in medio chori'.

Our knowledge of these combinations of players and singers is limited, but it is reasonable to deduce that a great deal of the liturgical music was shared between chant (*canto llano*), sung polyphony (with or without instrumental participation) and purely instrumental

rendition of verses (of hymns, psalms and canticles) by the organ or by wind instruments. The participation of the *bajón* (curtal, bass dulcian) is another matter. Evidence has piled up showing that the *bajonista* was expected to double the voices in plainchant, in mensural chant (hymns and some other metrical forms like sequences) and in polyphony, doubling the bass line. When we move into the next century – in the reign of Philip III – we are confronted with new *basso seguente* lines: one choir may have harp continuo, another the *bajón*, another a small organ, and then an over-all continuo bass called *guión*, holding the lowest sounding part of the music, figured, partially figured or simply left plain. But that is to take us into the age we call Baroque.

Philip II would have found these new developments strange and too showy. When he turned, as his father had done in old age, to the Jeronymite order of monks for the satisfaction of his spiritual needs, he required them to conduct the strictest and fullest liturgical celebrations. That meant 99% plainchant (or, in hymns and the like, monophonic chant of the metrical, mensurally notated variety known to have been used by Jeronymites and throughout Spain from, certainly, the early 15th century). Polyphony was to be marginalised.

In practice, despite the apparent strictures of his statutes, Philip allowed, and even encouraged, the use of simple *fabordón* and chant-based polyphony of a simple and austere nature. The music that has survived, notably that by the monk Martín de Villanueva, is a clear pointer to Philip's personal taste in the use of music in the services at S. Lorenzo de El Escorial. In passing, one might mention that Martín de Villanueva was Philip's *relicario* – the keeper of his huge collection of holy relics, gathered from all over Europe. It may seem strange to us, but Philip, in his collector-manic zeal, bought up discarded relics from newly-Protestant areas of Germany almost by the cart-load, as job lots. Villanueva was driven to distraction by Philip's dying wishes constantly to be brought relics of all kinds to his bedside in his last few agonized months.

During his active life, Philip kept to a routine that confined him in Madrid, at the nearby Escorial monastery-palace or in smaller palaces and hunting lodges in the same area.

We can build up a picture of his use of his musical forces. At El Escorial he had his monks singing and reciting the full liturgy in chant and austere polyphony. This was his spiritual retreat, his summer centre of government, one rarely used for state occasions, though we know that prelates such as the Archbishops of Toledo would occasionally bring their singers to join with the Royal chapels. This was more frequent in the establishments in Madrid.

Philip was much devoted to his Jeronymite monks and it was S. Jerónimo el Real that served as his residence in the capital. He stayed in a palace next to it. The church, somewhat altered, is still there, behind the Prado museum of art. The old palace has gone. Many years later Philip IV built the sumptuous new palace of Buen Retiro. Now the public park is where the monks once had their orchards.

Here Philip would have had more elaborate music, using his chapel singers and players as appropriate to great Church feast days, to royal and state occasions. The later Chapel Royal was burnt out completely in a fire in 1734 and the loss of music must be regarded as a catastrophe. Philip's personal chapel library contained two hundred and four massive choirbooks of polyphony listed in an inventory of 1597.

The extent of Philip's patronage of music made him pre-eminent in his time. The establishments of the Escorial, of S. Jerónimo in Madrid, the Flemish Royal Chapel, the Spanish singers of the royal household (the unofficial *capilla española*, so-called), were increased by yet another when Philip took possession of the Portuguese royal *capela* in 1582.

Among those who dedicated books of music to him were Palestrina (his second book of masses, 1567), Guerrero (Magnificats, 1563) and Victoria (his *Missarum libri duo*, 1583). He certainly was a patron and financial supporter of many musicians, notably of Victoria who was sent as a 'scholarship boy' to be educated as a priest-musician at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum in Rome.

Philip was not above interfering in Rome. His strong opinions were conveyed by Fernando de las Infantas (who had alerted the king), to prevent the drastic 'modernisation' of the chant books of the Roman liturgy. He had already been active in making sure that the acceptance in Spanish diocesan cathedrals and churches of the revised Roman Breviary of 1568 and the Missal of 1570 – Pius V's triumphant achievement after the reforming Council of Trent – should be, in Spain, a revision and standardisation of liturgical texts and forms, but not the music. Spain retained most of its own varieties of plainchant formulae and melodies well into the nineteenth century. But that's another story.

It would be a great temptation to claim that Philip's coronation mass has survived. Alas, those who like to contrive liturgical reconstructions will be disappointed. In the first place, Philip did not have a coronation in our sense; he was away in the Spanish Netherlands and in England (as Mary Tudor's King Consort) during the abdication process of his father in 1555 and 1556. Charles V died in his monastery retreat in Yuste in September 1558. Secondly, Philip's return to Spain, his final acceptance as king at Valladolid in 1559, is not at all documented as to musical matters.

The existence of a grand polyphonic mass for six voices by the Spanish singer and composer Bartolomé Escobedo is no new discovery; Robert Stevenson described the *Missa Philippus Rex Hispaniae* in some

detail in his ever useful book (1961). But, at last, it has been published in a performable edition. The manuscript Capella Sistina 39 (Vatican Library) is very difficult to read from the Gloria on. This is due to severe ink corrosion. Anthony Fiumara and Paul Raasveld spent some years getting this valuable work into shape and now it is available from Mapa Mundi (at mixed-choir and male voice pitches).

Escobedo had been in the service of the Sistine Chapel, as one of the many Spanish singers of the Papal Choir, from 1536, when he was in his mid-twenties, to 1554 (with a four-year break before 1545). He then retired to Spain and died there in 1563, the very year in which his grand mass was copied by Johannes Parvus into what is now Capp.Sist.39 (signed and dated by Parvus). There is no other source.

This work is notable for its *cantus firmus* which is a *soggetto cavato*, a theme based on the notes represented by the solmisation syllables (of a hexachord) derived from the words Philippus rex Hispanie (original spelling), thus *Mi Mi Ut Re Mi Fa Mi Re*. Escobedo is clearly following the model of Josquin's famous mass on *Hercules Dux Ferrarie*; Escobedo knew it well. It cannot be proved that Escobedo wrote it for a ceremony, still less for one of regal accession, at which Philip was present. It cannot be shown to have been performed anywhere. But there it is in the Vatican choirbook that is its sole resting place. Now, starting in February 1998 it is 'booked', as it were, by a succession of groups and choirs, often as the centre-piece of a concert. There are plans to record it.

Escobedo may not be the equal of his near contemporary and one time Sistine chapel colleague, Cristóbal de Morales, but his 'Philippus' mass, clearly a work of homage, is vigorous and sonorous. It is an important addition to our knowledge of that generation of composers who flourished between Josquin and Palestrina.

Escobedo's 'homage mass' must have been composed around 1559, certainly between 1556 and 1560. He may have tried to get the favour of additional benefices to keep him in his retirement.

Towards the end of Philip's reign, one of his best chapel choirboys, Philippe Rogier of the *capilla flamenca*, had developed into a brilliant young assistant to the maestro George de la Hèle. The latter died in 1586 and Rogier took over. Ten years later, he too died, aged just thirty-five. He is known to have composed at least 250 works. Most of them perished in the Lisbon earthquake, when John IV's great music library was destroyed in 1755; already much of his surviving music must have gone in the flames when the Madrid Royal Chapel was gutted in 1734. All the same, we still have enough to fill three volumes of his (surviving) *Opera Omnia* in the CMM series. In pride of place, in the modern edition and in the original print of 1598, is Rogier's own 'homage mass' – based upon solmisation syllables, in the manner of Escobedo's work, this time to the text: *Philippus Secundus Rex Hispanie*.

Compared with Escobedo's, it is a modest setting for four voices. The Agnus Dei expands to six parts. I have to say that I do not think it is one of Rogier's best pieces. His motets are very good indeed and well worth reviving.

Do we have any idea of an occasion for which Rogier may have written his 'Philippus' mass? I think not; the most likely reason would be Rogier's own appointment as *maestro* of the *capilla flamenca* in 1586 or, later, as doing homage to Philip as dedicatee of Rogier's planned publication. Géry de Ghersem, Rogier's deputy, carried out his colleague's wishes, given in his will, that de Ghersem should oversee the publication. In the event, it was not printed until after Philip too had died, and so, at the end of 1598, the *Missae Sex* came out, now dedicated to Philip III. It opens with Rogier's 'Philippus Secundus' mass, contains four more by Rogier and ends with Ghersem's amazing canonic mass for seven voices upon Guerrero's famed 'Ave virgo sanctissima'. But all that is, once again, another story. What is certain is that Rogier's homage, like Escobedo's, will get quite a few hearings during 1998.

A number of occasional pieces were written specifically to celebrate events during Philip's reign, and there is one that is clearly addressed to his person and family. One musician, who never held a professional position, felt it incumbent to pay a great deal of homage to the king. Don Fernando de las Infantas certainly dedicated more books of music directly to Philip than any other composer. In fact, he did so with all his extant music. Infantas was an educated man: born in Córdoba, a member of the lesser nobility, he was well trained in music, a contrapuntal expert. He seems to have had enough inheritance to keep him comfortably, to travel and to live in Italy, a musical amateur until his later years. He appears to have abandoned composition after publishing a great deal, and eventually he died a humble parish priest, in trouble with the authorities for theological indiscretions, in a poor district of Rome.

Not only did Infantas dedicate to Philip three collections of printed part-books of motets and a set of textless contrapuntal exercises (all four publications date from 1578 and 1579), but he also arranged earlier to have two handsome choirbooks of his music copied by the Papal scribe Johannes Parvi (usually known as Parvus). These manuscript books – surviving, it seems, from Philip's library – have found their way to safekeeping in Montserrat (Mss. 774 and 775). They must have been produced before 1576 (Parvus died that year). The books bear similar dedications to those in the printed collections. Among the works in them, only three were not published, so the presentation

choirbooks remain their sole extant source. One of these is very unusual.

Quasi stella matutina splendet pater inclytus...

'As the morning star, so shines the renowned father...'

This is addressed to St. Jerome, patron of the monastic order of Jeronymites (an exclusively Iberian order, founded in 1373). It is presented with elaborately executed calligraphy, ornate borders to the opening pages, with miniatures of Jerome at study and at prayer set in the large decorative letters Q at the start of the first Superius and Altus parts. The text is from a prayer that scans and rhymes like a hymn or *prosa*. The opening words are in common with the *capitulum* (chapter) of Vespers of the two Feasts of St. Jerome (9th May and 30th September). After praising the saint for his learning ('teacher of teachers') this Jeronymite text breaks off, in Infantas's motet, to honour the patron as 'helper to Philip II, our true Catholic King, in his troubles'; it goes on to beg help for Queen Anne, his consort, and for 'the princes' (*principibus* includes the princesses).

I speculate that this work may have been written by Infantas for an occasion (a patronal feast?) when Philip and his family were present at the monastery church of San Jerónimo in Madrid. This has to be after 1570 and before 1576. *Quasi stella* is a splendid motet for six voices, quite long, in three *partes*, with sub-sections in lilting triple time. Lynne Gamblin has published this and other Infantas motets with Cantiones Press; yet more are available from Mapa Mundi.

Celebrating events, Infantas wrote a motet commemorating the death of Philip's father, Charles V, in 1558 – the composer would have been twenty-four years of age at the time if this piece was written then for the exequies at Valladolid. He went on to compose a plea for the lifting of the Turkish siege of Malta (1565) and another to celebrate the Spanish-led Holy League's naval victory at Lepanto in 1571. His last datable piece (probably too late for inclusion in the ms. choirbooks) is the *Jubilate Deo* for Pope Gregory XIII's Holy Year which was declared in 1575.

Infantas was a real 'one-off'. Even his musical style is distinctive. No expressive genius, certainly not a Morales, nor a Guerrero, he exhibits an extraordinary gift for flowing and very wide-ranging lines, combined in expert counterpoint. His *Parce mihi* in memory of Charles V is dark and sad; his *Loquebantur variis linguis* is a *tour de force* of canonic mastery and bi-tonal trickery, yet it glows with splendid sonority in eight real parts – no double-choir 'ping-pong match'. Whether Philip really took much notice of this possibly sycophantic hidalgo we shall never know. More than a few of his many motets are worth reviving, and very singable.

Philip died at dawn on Sunday, 13th September, 1598. The monks of San Lorenzo de El Escorial buried him the next day, having performed the Office and Mass of the Dead. Nearly five weeks later the Royal Exequies were conducted in Madrid at the church of San Jerónimo el Real, next to the small palace that had been Philip's city retreat. We have the order of service as it was proposed some days before the ceremonies took place on the 18th and 19th October. This document and a plan of the church, with seating and placing arrangements, will be found in Luis Robledo's article in *Early Music*, May 1994.

It is specified that Vespers of the Dead shall be sung very slowly in both the antiphons and the psalms. Magnificat shall be *fabordón* to Tone VII. This could mean simple homophonic recitation based upon the chant, but *fabordón* was a term often used loosely and may well refer to more elaborate polyphony based on the Magnificat Tone VII. We learn of the variety and rank of persons who must chant the lessons and responds of Matins and Lauds. The only composer and composition that is mentioned is Morales and his *Regem cui omnia vivunt*, the Invitatory for Matins.

All this takes place from early evening into the small hours after midnight. The officiating monks and clergy are enjoined to be present at 6 a.m. for the succession of three pontifical masses to be celebrated through the morning. First, there was a Mass of the Blessed Virgin, the Bishop of Gaudix presiding, celebrated in white vestments. The second was a mass of the Holy Spirit, in red vestments, the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo the celebrant.

There was a pause; all the notables assembled and the new king, Philip III, made his unseen entrance to his place, hidden from view, close to the colossal candlelit catafalque. The *Missa pro defunctis* was then celebrated by the Archbishop of Toledo; the vestments were of black with gold or silver embroidery, the designs ordained by Philip II himself. Two thousand five hundred new unbleached wax candles were lit before the requiem began, a similar number having been used up during the night services.

Frustratingly, we have very little information about the polyphonic music, but we have some hints in the proposed order of service. 'El gradual y el thracto de Guerrero' may well indicate that Francisco Guerrero's Gradual: *Requiem aeternam* and his Tract: *Absolve me* were to be sung. If so, that would refer to his second (post-Tridentine) setting of the *Missa pro defunctis* printed in 1582. The item before that entry in the proposals is intriguing. 'La misa de difunctos sera la de Çircundederunt a seis o la de Çerton a cinco'...'The mass of the dead is to be that of "Circumdederunt" for six voices or that of Certon for five'. What can this mean? If one by Certon was used, was it the setting for four voices which is the only one now known, or was there another? What could a 'requiem' called 'Circundederunt' (*sic*, an old variant spelling) be? The possibility exists that the work was the extraordinary six-voice *Missa pro defunctis* by Jean Richafort, which survives in the sixth of Attaignant's mass books

printed in 1532. This has two inner voices (tenors) in a canon based on chant to the text, *Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me.* This uses the form and theme employed by Josquin, apparently a favourite one, and well known to the generation of Richafort. Richafort also employs the phrase and melody of *C'est douleur non pareille* from Josquin's chanson *Faulte d'argent,* also in canon, in the Offertory as well as in the verse *Virga tua* of the Gradual: *Si ambulem.* This latter movement would not have been sung if Guerrero's was; besides, the *Si ambulem* text was rendered obsolete in the Tridentine reforms enshrined in the Roman Missal of 1570. But it is hard to think of any other work than Richafort's that the proposed order of service could mean.

What of the now famous *Versa est in luctum* by Alonso Lobo? The 1602 print (Lobo's *Liber primus missarum*) includes it among the seven motets for 'devout singing at solemn mass'. The superscription with the title of this piece is *Ad exequias Philip. II. Cathol. Regis Hisp.* It could have been written for the occasion and performed at San Jerónimo during Philip's requiem mass; the order proposes 'a motet shall be sung at the Elevation (of the Sacrament)'. Lobo was *maestro de capilla* at Toledo Cathedral and he and his choir would have been present with the Archbishop of Toledo, the officiant of the Exequial Requiem.

To speculate more riskily (but an idea for those who might plan a concert or 'reconstruction'), there is the final *responsorium.* The order states that it shall be *Libera me.* That would be standard practice, being sung in the presence of the symbolic catafalque (the burial having taken place a month earlier). It could mean simply that it was to be plainchanted. It is well worth mentioning the existence of a setting for alternating chant and five-voice polyphony by Lobo. This survives in Toledo Cathedral's *Libro de Coro* no. 24. An edition by the present writer is available to special order from Mapa Mundi.

Elsewhere in this issue of *Leading Notes,* Ivan Moody describes the fine *Mortuus est Philippus Rex* by Ambrosio Cotes, Valencia *maestro* at the time. There is also another setting of *Versa est in luctum* which is for the same six-part vocal combination as Lobo's (and Victoria's later setting for Philip's sister's exequies), this one by Sebastián de Vivanco, in 1598 *maestro* at Avila Cathedral.

I leave these somewhat speculative remarks simply as suggestions for building programmes that may centre around the figure of Philip II. Many concerts and recordings are planned; most of the music I have mentioned is already incorporated into the plans of groups and choirs certainly in Spain, Britain and France, to my knowledge.

I will conclude this selective survey with some recommended reading rather than any kind of formal bibliography. If you wish to go beyond the written or printed notation and try to construct a context for at least some of the music that we so easily 'cherry-pick-and-package', then my suggestions may prove helpful.

Philip is well studied as a man, not simply as a monarch, and certainly not with the prejudice that he was a monster, in Geoffrey Parker's *Philip II* (Cardinal paperback, Sphere Books, 1988).

Newly published is *Philip of Spain* by Henry Kamen (Yale U.P., 1997). This has been reviewed in Spain as resuscitating Philip, warts and all, as 'el rey prudente', the prudent king; it has had at least one review in Britain which assessed the book as an unconvincing white-wash. I happen to disagree. None the less, whilst respecting Kamen's many other Hispanic studies and international renown, I am somewhat bothered by some surprising errors. The city of Toledo does not have the river Duero winding around it, the Rio Tajo (Tagus) was still there a few months ago. The dowager Empress Maria, Philip's sister, Victoria's employer, did not die in 1606 (Parker's book has the same error) but in 1603; the dates of death and of the exequies are well documented. Tomás Luis de Victoria did not come back with the Empress, as her 'chapelmaster', from Vienna to settle at the convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid. He had never been to Vienna; the Empress came back from Prague, went to meet her brother, Philip, in Lisbon and then settled in Madrid. Victoria returned from Rome to an appointment as a personal chaplain and chapelmaster to Maria. The Jesuits did not 'come flocking into Spain from Italy'; they flocked the other way. Ignatius de Loyola would be offended. Nevertheless, Kamen's book takes us reliably and interestingly through Philip's life.

Quite the best book I've read since Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale U.P. 1992) is Carlos M.N. Eire's strongly titled *From Madrid to Purgatory* (Cambridge U.P. 1995). Despite the rather academical and daunting subtitle 'The Art and craft of dying in sixteenth century Spain', this stylish and eloquent book held me in thrall, fascinated and absorbed. It illuminates for us a world of ideas and beliefs that may well repel some, especially those of northern protestant or agnostic background. It is a major foothold on the stepping stones that must be braved if we are to comprehend and come to terms with the cultural habits, the deepest thoughts and beliefs, and with the array of public gestures and ceremonies out of which the music of the time was born. It is the central part of this fine book that is essential reading for anyone concerned with Philip II and his era; it concerns the king's death and the royal paradigm of 'the king's many requiems'.

Useful background will also be found in Steven N. Orso's *Art and Death at the Spanish Hapsburg Court* (though the main subject is the exequies of Philip IV); this study is published by the University of Missouri Press (1989).

Specifically upon the musical aspects of the period, composers and compositions, no general study has overshadowed Robert Stevenson's *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (University of California Press, 1961; reprinted by Greenwood Press, 1976). This is now available, revised and expanded, translated into Spanish: *La música en las catedrales españoles* (Alianza, Madrid, 1993). One hopes that this may be a precursor to a new English 'update' (see also the Note to Noel O'Regan's article in this issue, page 29).

In French, I recommend Paul Becquart's *Musiciens Néerlandais à la Cour de Madrid: Philippe Rogier et son école* (Bruxelles, Palais des Académies, 1967); there is no comparable study of the *capilla flamenca* in English.

There is a great book by Robert Snow, a monument of scholarship not to be ignored. *A New World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music ms.4* – that's quite a title – has a series of introductory chapters filled with unrivalled details of description and an overview of Spanish musical impact in the Hispanic-American colonies that is magisterially informative and authoritative. This seems to me indispensable. And that is before you get to the music itself, utterly rewarding though it is. It is published by Chicago U. P., and is reviewed in *Early Music*, August, 1997.

Recently published is Michael Noone's study of *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563–1700* (Rochester U. P., 1998).

There are many relevant Hispano-musicological studies scattered over the years and through the world's learned journals. Here, I briefly recommend to non-specialists the extraordinarily varied selection of compact studies contained in three notable issues of *Early Music* (O.U.P.) entitled Iberian Discoveries I, II and III of November 1992, May 1994 and August 1995 respectively. These include subjects that range from Hispanic varieties of liturgical chant, sacred polyphony and its baroque developments, through the performance of the *cancionero* repertory, vihuela music and related matters of notation and national style. They cover the spectrum of music making in Philip's era.

Of outstanding interest is Douglas Kirk's contribution, based on his ground-breaking doctoral dissertation, in *Instrumental music in Lerma, c.1608* (*Early Music*, August 1995). We are really getting somewhere now – at last – in understanding the role of instrumental musicians and the music they played in the church establishments of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Spain.

I conclude with a personal hope that as we pass the 400th anniversary of an autocratic monarch, using him as yet another peg on which to hang musical garments, we may pause for thought. It is obvious and inescapable that things have changed. Who would wish back the times of Philippus Rex Hispaniae? Trying in our own way to get a little under the skin of those times may be difficult. Unless we try, we shall continue our own worst fault, the churning out of pallid reproductions, well-scrubbed and sanitized, serving up the musical survivals as *objets trouvés*, morsels ripped from their context and meaning. ❖

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PHILIP II AND MUSICAL PATRONAGE AT THE ESCORIAL

MICHAEL NOONE

> There has, perhaps, been no personality in modern history, not even Napoleon or Stalin, who has been both as enigmatic and controversial as Philip II of Spain. Neither his own contemporaries nor later historians have been able to agree on his character, his aims or even the degree of success he achieved.[1]

Given the strong disagreement which has characterized historians' judgments of Philip II, it is perhaps surprising to find a comparatively less turbulent consensus among those music scholars who have concerned themselves with Philip's relationship to music and musicians. In his *La Música en la Corte de Carlos V,* Anglés repeatedly and emphatically styles Philip II as the monarch 'who most protected music in Spain' and 'the true mecenas of Spanish music'.[2] For Stevenson, Philip II was 'the leading international music patron of his age' who 'at the end of his reign, just as at the beginning...outdistanced every contemporary sovereign in his support of music'.[3] Nevertheless, one dissenting voice has been raised, and it represents a view which deserves serious consideration. 'As a patron of music', writes Louise Stein, 'Philip II deserves attention in the history of Spanish music not for his energy but for his passivity...it is striking...that Philip II contributed so little to the cause of Spanish music.'[4]

It is my purpose here to examine some of the evidence upon which these conclusions are based and, to some extent, the underlying assumptions upon which these statements depend. Before doing so, however, we should consider the large body of historical literature concerning Philip II since, taken together, the various biographies and histories of his reign present a persistent but unreliable historiographical tradition attributing musical knowledge, and even talent, to the king.[5] If we conflate these extracts, ignoring the grosser absurdities and inaccuracies, we find a view of Philip II which comprises the following recurrent themes: he enjoyed a musical education, whether formal or informal, and possibly played the vihuela; like his father, Charles V, he loved music and employed a very large number of musicians; he was especially fond of Antonio de Cabezón; he supported the publication of works by important composers; decisions he made about music and musicians were guided by his personal tastes and preferences; he sought out the best foreign musicians; his reign coincided with a period of extraordinary florescence for the musical arts in Spain and this was, in some measure, due to the protection he offered music and the other arts. It is against the considerable weight of this background of received opinion that musicologists find themselves working. Even the most recent and authoritative biography of the King tells us, quite inaccurately and without substantiation, that 'around 1540 the Granada composer Luis Narváez was his music tutor and taught him to play the guitar *(vihuela).*'[6]

Within the musicological literature, a particular view of Philip II has been projected by Wagner and, to a lesser extent, by Becquart. In a series of articles based upon his work in editing the works of Philippe Rogier, Wagner develops a scenario in which 'Philip II acquired from his father, Charles V, a taste for the finest music of the mid-16th century. He learned, too, that the Low-Countries were a prime source of excellent musicians. Therefore, after Philip II established his court in Spain in 1559, he had a succession of chapelmasters from this area of northern Europe.'[7] On the basis of the premise – one rendered untenable by Robledo's[8] findings – that Philip II supported two independent musical chapels in Madrid, one Spanish and the other Flemish, Wagner has suggested that the 'evident favoritism of the king must have contributed to the general unpopularity which the foreigners, as representatives of a people who vexed Spain mightily during the sixteenth century, suffered in his service.'[9] If Wagner presents Philip as a champion of Flemish music and musicians to the detriment of Spanish music and musicians, Anglés just as vigorously presents him as a champion of Spanish music who went so far as to promote it in his travels abroad. In order to account for this contradiction we must return to a closer examination of Anglés's findings. Stevenson, by stating that 'at his court foreign and domestic music mixed on impartial terms'[10] remains aloof from this polemic. When the evidence is so tantalizingly scant, it is subject, or so it seems, to a wide variety of interpretations.

Anglés bases his conclusions upon a study of payment records to musicians at court before 1556, the year in which Philip assumed the crown. These findings are compromised not only because they are restricted to Philip's first 28 years, but also because Anglés seems to have allowed a nationalistic fervour to guide his conclusions. Although he was not the first to invoke the impressive list of music publications dedicated to Philip II as evidence of his patronage of music, he did so without questioning the crude assumptions which link dedications to patronage.[11] The relationships between composer, dedicatee, patron and printer-publisher during the reign of Philip II have

yet to be studied and the point at which a dedicatee becomes a patron remains unclear. In fact we know very little about the precise mechanisms of music publication under Philip II.

Stevenson similarly invokes musical publications. He saw Philip II's support of two royal chapels as evidence not only of extravagant financial support for the musical arts, but also as evidence of an impartial attitude to the cultivation of foreign and indigenous music. But if Anglés ignores evidence from the Escorial, to which the sovereign, after all, obsessively dedicated his last 35 years, Stevenson does not. The monastery palace of El Escorial, nestled in the rocky foothills of the Sierra de Guadarrama, 48 kilometres north-west of Madrid, was founded by Philip II in 1563. As well as functioning as a monastery of the Jeronymite order, the Escorial was also a basilica, a dynastic mausoleum, a library, a seminary and a college. From the moment of its inception in the mind of its founder, music and the liturgy were central to the Escorial's role as a showcase of Catholic orthodoxy in the age of Reform.

In brief but perceptive comments on Philip II's monastery-palace, Stevenson points to the unique notational and stylistic characteristics of Escorial composer Martín de Villanueva's *Misa de Nuestra Señora* and suggests that 'the best proof of Philip's tastes is the character of this very music'.[12] Although Stevenson does not elaborate upon this intriguing observation, it does pave the way to one of my chief observations: that an understanding of the Escorial and music-making within its precincts is central to an understanding of Philip II's patronage of music.

The importance of the Escorial is widely acknowledged by art historians, among whom Philip II's status as an important patron is secure. Wilkinson reads Philip II's 1559 appointment of Juan Bautista de Toledo to the hitherto unknown position of 'nuestro arquitecto' as a decisive moment in what she refers to as Philip's 'peculiar style of artistic patronage'. Wilkinson demonstrates that, in architecture at least, Philip's understanding of the mechanisms of patronage was sophisticated and innovative and she credits him with integrating the ideal of a humanist patron of architecture into the institutions of the state before this was to occur elsewhere in the seventeenth century.[13]

A similar picture emerges from Mulcahy's study of the decoration of the Escorial basilica. 'It is here in the basilica', she writes, 'that we can come closest to Philip II as a patron...he closely supervised every detail of the work.'[14] Mulcahy shows Philip to be an involved patron intensely interested in detail, who sought advice as far as afield as the Florentine academy, who was in touch with contemporary art trends, who felt no hesitation in expressing displeasure with works he had commissioned and who visited artists in their workshops. She demonstrates the overriding importance to Philip II of conformity to post-Tridentine ideas on sacred images and shows how Philip's objections were made consistently on iconographic, rather than aesthetic grounds. The decoration of the basilica was guided by an unambiguous iconography which emphasized piety, decorum and the strictest orthodoxy in accordance with Counter Reformation ideas. Philip's judgments, it seems, were never made on aesthetic grounds alone.

The work of these scholars has both elucidated the mechanisms of Philip II's patronage of the non-musical arts and clarified his guiding principles. Given the huge volume of surviving documentation, the colossal scale of the project, the rapidity of its construction and the coherence of its design, the Escorial itself provides a unique case study of royal patronage of art and architecture in the Renaissance. Indeed, because of the extraordinary coherence of its conception and execution, the Escorial stands as much an expression of an ideological programme as the expression of an individual's taste.

Checa's detailed exposé of the patronal mechanisms employed by Philip II, mechanisms which he characterizes as 'the most remarkable and peculiar in sixteenth-century Europe', emphasizes the King's strong predilection for detail and his involvement with every phase of the process.[15] Checa argues that every aspect of the Escorial was subservient to the *traza universal*, the ideological programme devised by Philip which, briefly put, affirmed orthodox Catholicism and legitimated the Habsburg dynasty.

If Philip made any contribution to music, it is more likely to be found at the Escorial than anywhere else. Although it is not a contribution which earns Philip the kind of reputation which Anglés and his followers were so keen to bestow upon him, it is nevertheless a fascinating and perhaps unique attempt to press music into the service of an ideological programme in the service of political and religious goals. At the Escorial, Philip II found himself unencumbered by inheritance, unfettered by the inertia and resistance to innovation of established institutions and relatively unimpeded by vested interests. It is in the ritual life of the Escorial, more than anywhere else, that his patronage of music can be observed and interpreted.

In paragraph 38 of the Escorial's letter of foundation, issued in 1567, we find one of Philip's few directives concerning music. Its prohibition of polyphony has perplexed modern writers not only because it contrasts so directly with received notions of Philip II as a great patron of music, but also because of the body of evidence which seems to prove that the prohibition was routinely ignored at the Escorial even in Philip II's presence. It seems possible that Philip, keenly aware of the representational and symbolic significance of the Escorial and its foundational statutes, sought to enshrine within them a musical policy that was even stricter than what he himself was prepared to tolerate

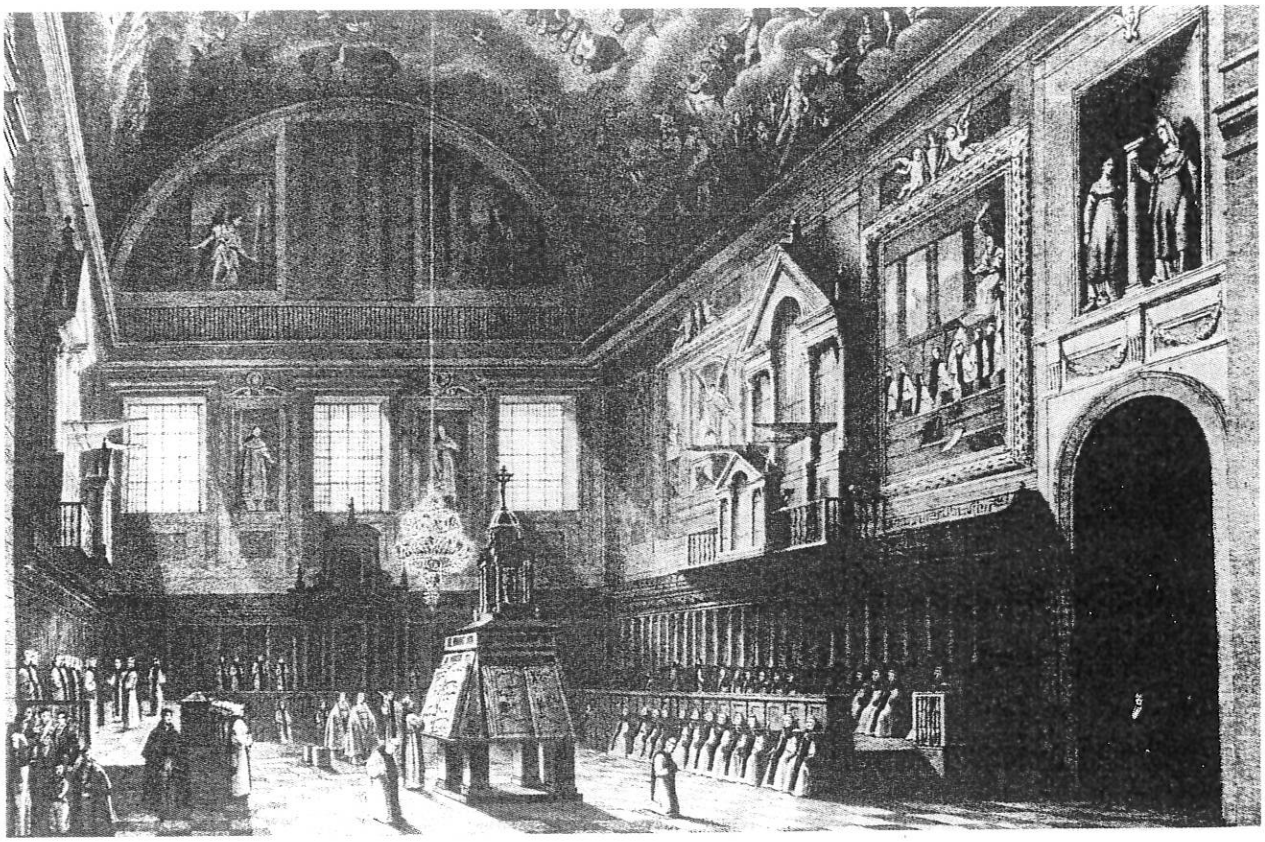

Figure 1: View of the monks' choir by F. Brambilla, from *Colección de las vistas del r[eal] sitio de s[a]n Lorenzo* (Madrid, 1832).

and that even the most extreme Tridentine reformers would find faultless. There is nothing in the small body of evidence we have concerning Philip's attitude to music which suggests that he had any particular musical knowledge or ability, or that he took a special interest in music or musicians.

In Martín de Villanueva (d. 1605), we find a composer who was brought to the Escorial in 1586 specifically because of his musical talents and at Philip II's request. We know that in 1587 he was one of a small group of skilled singers who sang polyphony, possibly of his own composition, at the King's command. If Philip II's support for liturgical polyphony is to be found anywhere, it is, as Stevenson suggests, in the rather uninspired, but thoroughly orthodox style cultivated by Villanueva. If the plain style of Villanueva's music does not fit modern notions of what a King of Philip II's status ought to have commissioned, then such ideas obscure rather than aid the understanding and explanation of the appearance of such a style so late in the sixteenth century. It seems that Philip II reserved for Villanueva a special affection, even naming him in his last will and testament. And the evidence suggests that the musical style which Villanueva developed at the Escorial most closely approached the King's wishes for his monastery-palace.

Villanueva's nine works survive only in Escorial sources. The two masses which can be securely attributed to him are *alternatim* pieces scored for four voices in which the tenor voice quotes a plainsong *cantus firmus* in notes of equal duration at about the same tempo as we know plainsong was sung at the Escorial. The other three voices surround the tenor in a manner which results in a kind of imitatively-motivated homophony in which imitation is strictly controlled. At all times the structure is determined by the ever-present plainsong-bearing tenor voice. The voice ranges rarely exceed an octave and imitation is cast in a subservient and decorative role. These pieces are unlike anything else being composed in Spain at the time. In addition, they employ a notational device which is similarly rare: the *cantus firmus*-bearing tenor voice is written in black neumes which despite their arrangement in ligatures must be read as semibreves. This style of music seems to have arisen in direct response to the wishes of Philip II.

Like the so-called *estilo desornamentado* perfected by Philip II's architect Juan de Herrera, Villanueva's style is, to use Wilkinson's perceptive judgment, 'idiosyncratic precisely in its impersonality'.[16] Just as the adornment of the basilica was informed by an unambiguous iconography of the strictest orthodoxy, so too the liturgical music which was to be performed in the basilica had to conform to the most exacting post-Tridentine ideas of liturgical decorum. Viewed in this way, a remarkable coherence emerges in both conception and execution between the architectural, decorative, liturgical, musical and symbolic aspects of the

Escorial. Here architects, artists and musicians give aesthetic shape to an ideological programme devised by the patron.

In any other comparable royal or ecclesiastical foundation of the time, the best musicians were actively sought after in order to add splendour, magnificence and legitimacy to the foundation. In the same way as other Renaissance princes lavishly endowed their palaces and chapels, Philip II spared no expense in equipping the Escorial musically. In fact, the sums paid for the copying of the plainsong choirbooks and the building of the organs were unprecedented anywhere in the world. Yet he insisted that the personnel responsible for the Escorial's music be drawn entirely from the monastery. No secular musicians were employed and it was therefore not possible for the monastery to compete for musicians of the highest calibre with such institutions as cathedrals and the royal chapel which advertised salaried positions on their musical staffs.[17] In addition, the participation of instrumentalists, one of the most characteristic features of sixteenth-century Spanish church music, was expressly forbidden. And since there was no formally constituted *capilla*, there was no need of a position such as a *maestro de capilla*. Whilst all the monks were involved in the performance of plainsong, a smaller number of skilled singers were available to perform polyphony. The polyphony they sang was of a type developed at the Escorial in direct response to the wishes of Philip II.

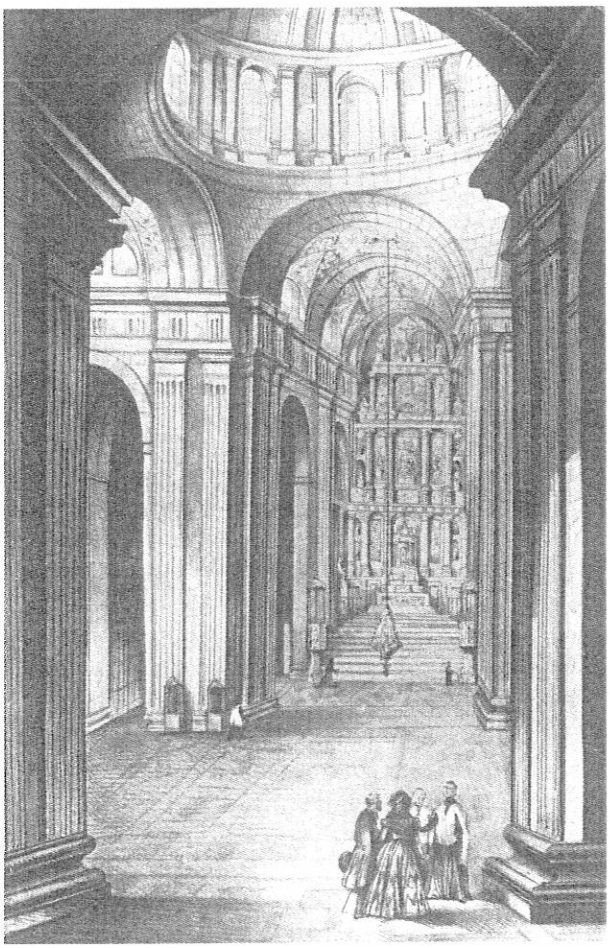

Figure 2: Interior of the basilica of El Escorial, from Francisco de Paula Van Halen, *España pintoresca y artística.*

In legislating for a strict interpretation of Tridentine orthodoxy in the liturgical and musical observance of his monastery-palace, the 'most Catholic King' created conditions which nurtured practices more rigidly orthodox than those embraced anywhere else in Catholic Christendom. ❖

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Footnotes

1 H. G. Koenigsberger, 'The Statecraft of Philip II,' *European Studies Review* 1 (1971), p.1.

2 The following quotations from Anglés, *La música en la corte de Carlos V* illustrate the insistence of Anglés's views: 'Nadie había sospechado que el verdadero mecenas de la música nacional fuera Felipe II y no Carlos V, como se venía repitiendo.' (p.*x*); 'El monarca por antonomasia mecenas de la música nacional no fué Carlos V, sino Felipe II.' (p.84 and again on p.141); 'Hemos dicho anteriormente que Felipe II debe ser considerado como el monarca que más protegió la música en España' (p.117). In addition, the first section of his chapter IV is entitled 'Felipe II fué el verdadero mecenas de la música española' (p.83).

3 *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* p.241 (p.274 in Spanish ed.).

4 L. K. Stein, 'Musical patronage: the Spanish royal court,' *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993) pp.616–7.

5 For a full list of citations of writings about music from the general and musical literature concerning Philip II and his reign, see M. Noone, *Music and musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563–1700* (Rochester U.P., 1998) pp.70–1.

6 H. Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1997) p.4

7 L. Wagner, 'Music of composers from the Low-Countries at the Spanish Court of Philip II,' *Musique des Pays-Bas Anciens. Musique Espagnole Ancienne (c.1450–c.1650) Colloquia Europalia III* (Louvain: Peeters, 1988), p.193. See also P. Becquart, *Musiciens Néerlandais à la Cour de Madrid: Philippe Rogier et son école, 1560–1647* (Brussels, 1967).

8 L. Robledo, 'La música en la corte madrileña de los Austrias. Antecedentes: las casas reales hasta 1556,' *Revista de Musicología* X (1987), pp.753–96.

9 Philippe Rogier, *Eleven Motets.* Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance Vol. 2. Ed., L. Wagner, p.9. See I. Pope, 'The 'Spanish Chapel' of Philip II' and N.

Alvarez Solar-Quintes, 'Nuevas noticias de músicos de Felipe II, de su época', p.195.

10 R. Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, p.241 (p.274 in Spanish ed.).

11 See, for instance, J. Fernández Montaña, *Felipe II, el prudente, Rey de España, en relación con artes y artistas, con ciencias y sabios* (Madrid, 1912), pp.153–4. A list of some of the most important musical publications dedicated to Philip II follows: Diego de Pisador, *Libro de música de vihuela* (Salamanca: Diego de Pisador, 1552); Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphénica lyra* (Seville: Martín de Montesdoca, 1554); Francisco Guerrero, *Canticum Beatae Mariae* (Louvain: Phalèse, 1563); Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missarum Liber Secundus* (Rome: Dorico, 1567) and *Missarum Liber Tertius* (Rome: Dorico, 1570); Antonio de Cabezón, *Obras de música* (Madrid: Francisco Sánchez, 1578); Georges de la Hèle, *Octo Missae* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1578); Fernando de las Infantas, *Sacrarum varii styli cantionum liber 1* (Venice, 1578), *Sacrarum varii styli cantionum liber 2* (Venice, 1578) and *Sacrarum varii styli cantionum liber 3* (Venice, 1579); Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Missarum libri duo* (Rome: Basa, 1583) and Philippe Rogier, *Missae Sex* (1598).

12 R. Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, p.332.

13 See C. Wilkinson, *Juan de Herrera. Architect to Philip II of Spain* (London, 1993), pp.12–13.

14 R. Mulcahy, The decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial (Cambridge, 1994), p.11.

15 F. Checa, *Felipe II Mecenas de las artes* (Madrid, 1992), pp.302–21.

16 C. Wilkinson, *Juan de Herrera. Architect to Philip II of Spain* (London, 1993), p.*vii*.

17 The advertising of vacant chapelmasterships and the intense competition which this involved is described in Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos*, p.94.

PHILIP II AND THE PORTUGUESE ROYAL CHAPEL, 1580–98

BERNADETTE NELSON

In June 1581, some ten months after succeeding in his claim to the Portuguese throne, Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal) entered for the first and only time Lisbon, the city he considered 'the princess of all cities of the world'.[1] He returned to Spain just over eighteen months later in early 1583. Preferring to govern Portugal's affairs from a distance, neither Philip II nor either of the two succeeding Habsburg monarchs spent any great length of time in Portugal. The next royal reception at Lisbon took place in 1619 when Philip III made his triumphal entry into the city.[2] This state of affairs, characterized by the 'ruling' of Portugal by the Spanish Kings *in absentia*, continued until 1640 when the House of Braganza finally succeeded in restoring its claim to the Portuguese throne with the accession of Dom João, eighth Duke of Braganza, as King João IV.

Although Philip II was initially enthusiastically received in Lisbon,[3] we are led to believe that from then onward there was little incentive for members of the aristocracy who had previously played an important part in life at the royal court to remain in Lisbon. Instead, many of them returned to their estates in the country where they entertained their own courtly and cultural activities.[4] In particular, the court of the Braganza family, the rightful heirs to the Portuguese throne, was to become one of the leading and influential cultural centres in Portugal, entertaining numerous writers, musicians, architects and artists. According to the early eighteenth-century historian Caetano de Sousa, their court chapel and its liturgical ceremonies assumed a justifiably regal character. High standards of music performed there during the liturgical Offices were, in the first instance, particularly encouraged by Duke Dom João I (1543–83):

> The Duke determined the way his chaplains should celebrate the Office in the choir, singing Mass as it was sung at the Portuguese Royal Chapel, so that the functions would be performed with magnificence and the solemn Processions of Palm Sunday, Candlemas and Corpus Christi would follow the norms of the Chapel of the Kings; and thus [his chapel] appeared in every way like that of a great King in its precious decorations, in the authority of its ceremonies, in its many Ministers and in its music, which was the best in the kingdom because he would hire the most distinguished musicians at any expense.[5]

Under Dom João I's successor, Dom Teodósio II (1568–1630), seventh Duke of Braganza and father of the future King João IV (d.1656), music continued to be highly cultivated at the court of the Braganzas in Vila Viçosa, attracting the attention of some of the most eminent musicians in the Iberian peninsula. In October 1590, for instance, Philippe Rogier, *maestro de capilla* in Philip II's royal chapel in Madrid, received 10,000 *reis* for some music which he had sent to Dom Teodósio at the ducal palace at Vila Viçosa.[6]

The strong preservation of royalist energy and patronage in Vila Viçosa may well have contributed to the apparent decrease in importance of Lisbon as a cultural centre during the Philippine regime, and possibly to the depletion of musical standards at the Lisbon Royal Chapel, at least in the 1580s. We learn, for instance, that when Philip II first heard the Lisbon Royal Chapel musicians performing during church services, he was somewhat dismayed. A series of letters that he addressed to his daughters Isabel and Catalina between 1581 and 1596 gives a rare and important glimpse of the King's personal impressions and opinions of various events, including processions and musical ceremonies, which he attended both on his travels and in his monastery-palace El Escorial.[7] They also witness the great attention and care which he bestowed upon members of his family, demonstrating a conscientiousness and meticulousness which one imagines was also indicative of Philip's concern for affairs of State. The letters written from Portugal between April 1581 and January 1583 are especially revealing. Particularly striking from the musical point of view are his reports stating that not only was there no organist in the Royal Chapel of competence, with the result that he sent for Hernando de Cabezón from Madrid, but also (on one occasion at least) the Royal Chapel choir was not very good ('no es muy buena').[8]

The various other musical references that Philip makes in these letters give us the strong impression that he was by no means indifferent to dancing and music and its performance, but, moreover, that he had a fine and critical ear, was very observant, and had a well-developed musical taste and knowledge.[9] He was always careful to qualify the occasions when he attended any sung liturgical Offices with such comments as 'On Sunday we heard sung Mass...'.[10] Every so often we receive a very colourful and humorous personal impression of musical performances (besides those of the Royal Chapel). He reports of a singer who

sang extremely well, but who was so tall and large that she could scarcely pass through the doorway.[11]

In the light of the current controversy regarding Philip II's attitudes to and the extent of his involvement in music and musical activities (especially in Spain),[12] these few first-hand accounts of musical performances by various musicians are important. In fact, Philip II's evident concern with musical standards and organization of his Portuguese Royal Chapel in the 1580s and '90s is an issue which, owing largely to the scarcity of documentation, has hitherto been only tentatively addressed. The nature of Philip II's musical patronage is far more complex than one can hope to encapsulate, given the vast disparity both of information available and of opinions proferred by other scholars. In the light of the unquestionable involvement in music of Philip II's father Charles V, of his mother Queen Isabella of Portugal, and that of his successors Philip III and Philip IV, whose patronage in music and the arts is well documented, it is rather difficult to envisage Philip II as a monarch who by way of exception, as one scholar has recently suggested, 'contributed so little to the cause of Spanish music'.[13] All too frequently, Portugal and Portuguese cultural events escape the attention of scholars in their assessments of the tendencies and evolution of the arts in the Iberian peninsula as a whole. In this context in particular, the question of Philip II's close family ties with Portugal, and the possible influence that this may have had on his attitudes, even affections, towards the western region of the Iberian peninsula, practically never enters the equation. Rather, more emphasis is placed on his Habsburg lineage and on his inheritance of Burgundian dynastic traditions, including that of his so-called *capilla flamenca* and its system of organization.[14] By way of summary, therefore, the following facts about Philip's Portuguese lineage and relationships through marriage may be reviewed: Philip's mother was Queen Isabella, daughter of King Manuel I of Portugal, and sister to King João III of Portugal (Manuel's successor) who married Charles V's sister Catherine (Philip's aunt). Philip's first marriage (in 1543) was to his cousin María of Portugal (d.1545), daughter of João III and Catherine. Philip's sister Juana, in her turn, was then to marry her cousin Prince João Manoel, son of João III and Catherine. Had both Philip's first wife and, through this liaison, his first son Prince Carlos (1545–68) survived, these ties with the Portuguese royal family might well have been further strengthened and have had important subsequent political repercussions.

Philip and his two younger sisters Doña Maria and Doña Juana spent much of their early childhood in the company and court of his mother, Isabella of Portugal, which, certainly in the later years of her life, was based principally in the city of Toledo in central Spain. Hers

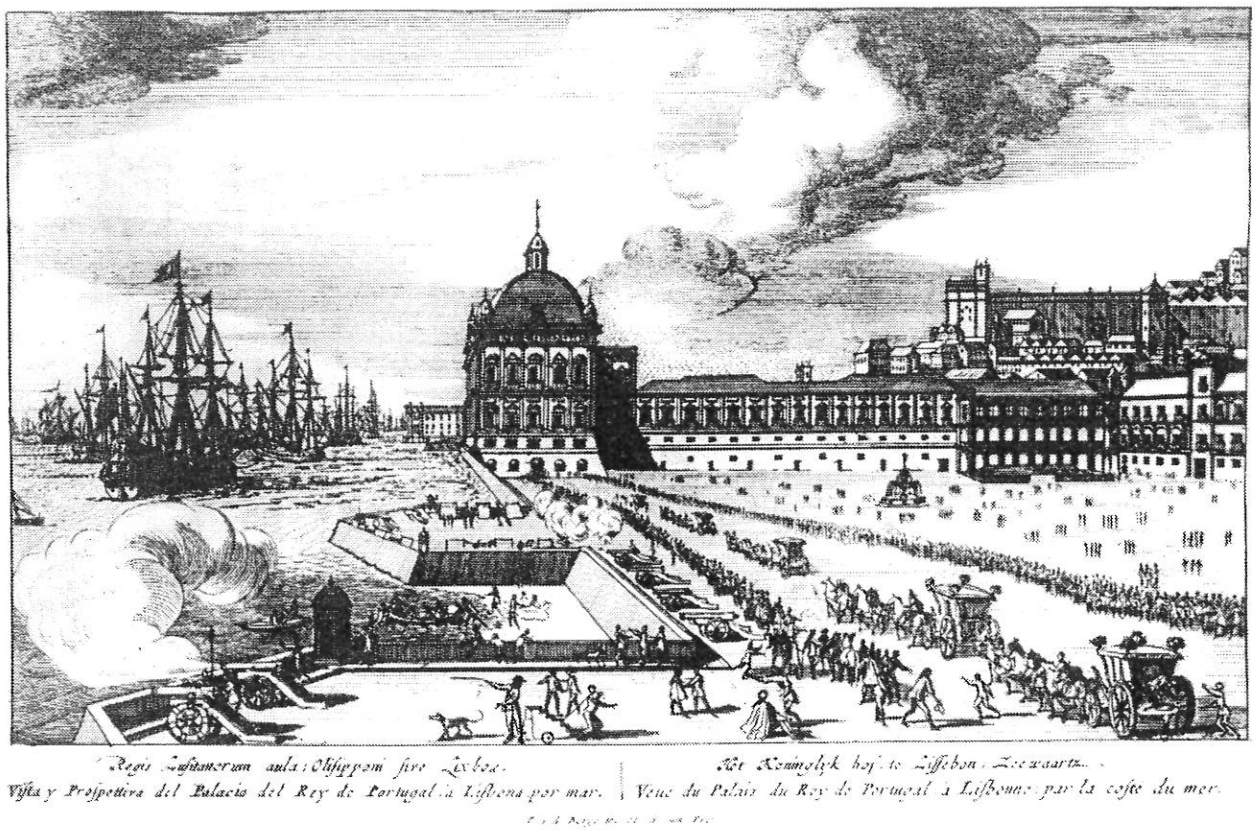

Figure 1: A view of the Royal Palace in Lisbon, before its destruction in 1755, showing the Royal Chapel to the right and the extension added in *c.*1586 by the royal architect, Felipe Terzi, to the left.

was a flourishing cultural establishment, and she patronized an important musical chapel which was frequented by some of the leading musicians of the day. These included Pedro de Pastrana (later to serve as Prince Philip's *maestro de capilla)*, the chapel master Mateo Fernandez, and the organists (or keyboard players) Francisco de Soto and Antonio de Cabezón, as well as a number of Portuguese musicians who followed Isabella to Spain on her marriage to Charles in 1526. On her death in 1539 many of these musicians were distributed between the households of her children Juana and Maria in Arévalo and that of Prince Philip, with Cabezón being instructed to play for periods of about six months a year in each royal establishment. The extent and style of the musical interactions between the prince, the princesses and these various musicians is of course almost impossible to gauge. Nevertheless, the impressive lists of payment documents of these royal musicians presented to us by Anglés give every indication of flourishing and well patronized institutions. When Princess Juana married Prince João Manoel in 1552, a number of her court musicians travelled with her to Portugal where she remained until her husband's death just two years later.[15]

Unless we are given indisputable evidence of a person's active involvement in and appreciation of any musical enterprise, conclusions drawn about such a person's tastes and aptitudes must be speculative. Michael Noone has demonstrated how Philip's creation of a monastery-palace, El Escorial, in 1563, gave the King the opportunity to lay down conditions regarding the style and type of music to be performed there, thus providing us with at least one interpretation of the King's musical patronage. Noone even suggests that 'an understanding of the Escorial and music-making within its precincts is central to an understanding of Philip II's patronage of music'.[16] The truth is that we do not yet know enough about this monarch's musical and aesthetic inclinations on a broad perspective, or of the extent to which his preferences may also have been informed by personal views of function, context, necessity or appropriateness. Nevertheless, it is with Philip's brief appearance in Lisbon, and his apparent concern with musical standards at the Portuguese Royal Chapel at that time, and for at least the next ten years (precisely during those years of his involvement with El Escorial), that we are for once given at least some indication of his appreciation of music and its performance.

Unfortunately there are only scanty records of the names of musicians who may have been employed at the Portuguese Royal Chapel during the early 1580s and who may have performed before the King on his visit to Lisbon.[17] There is also uncertainty as to the identity of the organist (or organists) who did not impress Philip, although there is some evidence to suggest that an English recusant may have performed that role for a while.[18] Of those whose names have come down to us, the only one of any stature is the composer and organist António Carreira who was employed as *mestre da capella* at that time, and who had been employed as a singer in the chapel since at least 1551.[19] However, aside from his illuminating observations recorded in the letters to his daughters, Philip II's participation in the organization of the Lisbon Royal Chapel may be evinced by the *Regimento da Capella Real,* a set of statutes largely formalizing the method of recruitment of members of the chapel, their prerequisites and the scale of their salaries, drawn up at his instigation in January 1592 by the *Capellão môr,* Dom Jorge de Ataide.[20]

Information about the Portuguese Royal Chapel and its organization prior to this set of statutes is far from complete. Indeed, the main reason for its introduction in 1592 was because no such document had previously existed in the Portuguese Royal Chapel (see quotation below). The only other evidence we have regarding the protocol and system of remuneration afforded to members of the Portuguese Royal Chapel prior to this date consists of a fairly detailed letter written by King João III in 1533.[21] The series of documents collected and published by Sousa Viterbo in the late 19th and early 20th century concerning the series of chapel masters employed there gives us every reason to believe that, from at least the time of King João III, this was once a flourishing institution exercising the highest of standards, and employing the very best musicians of the day. However, there is only little evidence of musical repertories composed for and performed in the Lisbon Royal Chapel before the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[22] By implication, the introduction of this set of statutes, or *Regimento da Capella Real,* at the behest of Philip II in the early 1590s gives us some indication that he was anxious to preserve and maintain the musical traditions at the Lisbon Royal Chapel which he had inherited from at least the time of his grandfather King Manuel I.

> I the King [would like to] make known to those to whom this *Regimento* is addressed that as in my Chapel up until now there has been no [such] *Regimento* written about the form and way in which [it] should be administered and ruled, nor of the roles of the Chaplain *(Capellão môr),* the Dean, the number of chaplains, singers, and other ministers in its [the chapel] service, and ordinands that it should have, and that things in it [the chapel] are only governed by tradition and custom (an uncertain [mode of] governing, and which could be varied according to the whim of the superiors) [...], I order that this *Regimento* [be followed] according to the things declared in it; the which [the *Regimento*] I order that one fulfills and

maintains from henceforward according to the following form and mode.[23]

The 1592 document was divided into twenty chapters (actually, quite short sections), each of which principally was concerned with one type of 'officer' (or group) of the chapel, giving information as to the number of musicians and clerics (ideally) to be employed there, and the scale of their salaries *per annum*. It is particularly informative about the prerequisites of the chaplains, of which there were to be thirty in total, stipulating that these should be of pure lineage (not New Christians or Moorish[24]), and of genteel manner. In particular, it states that 26 of these must have good voices, be proficient in Latin and its pronunciation, and be skilled at singing plainchant.[25] These chaplains were instructed to recite the Canonical Hours, and other Divine Offices, according to Roman Usage, as perfectly as possible.[26]

As for the principal musical forces involved in contrapuntal music, the *Regimento* categorizes and enumerates the following: one *mestre da capella*, a choir of 24 (male) singers (allowing for six in each of the main voice parts – *tiple, contralto, tenore & contrabaixo)*, two organists, two *baixões* (bass bassoons), and one cornettist. The chapel was also to be attended by 22 boys of 'good breeding', of whom four – the *moços da estante* – were to be in continual training for their future employment as singers in the chapel.[27] The document stipulates that all singers must have excellent voices, and be skilled in counterpoint (or polyphony) and *contraponto* (improvised counterpoint), and, as far as possible, both the chapel master and members of the choir should be already ordained clerics. The scale of salary for these officers were designated as follows: 80,000 *reis* for the *mestre da capella*, 50,000 *reis* for an organist, 50,000 *reis* for each of the *cantores*, 40,000 *reis* for each of the chaplains, and 20,000 *reis* for each of the *moços da capella*. From that point on, the royal *Chancellaria* documents *(Doações)*, in their record of appointments, refer to the *Regimento* as authority for the allocation of a salary to a newly-appointed *mestre da capella*. It is significant that a number of musicians employed in the Portuguese Royal Chapel (organists included) from the late 16th century onwards were professional Spanish musicians.[28] The document recording the appointment of Francisco Garro as *mestre da capella* in September 1592, who had come from a similar prestigious position at Sigüenza Cathedral in Spain, specifies an annual salary of 80,000 *reis* as 'declared in the *Regimento*'.[29]

To conclude, evidence would seem to suggest that the impetus provided by Philip II to the Portuguese Royal Chapel, particularly with the introduction of the *Regimento*, and the subsequent appointment of a number of distinguished musicians, resulted in the solid formation of one of the leading musical establishments in late 16th-century Portugal. This situation continued until well into the 17th century under the direction of Garro's successor, the Portuguese chapel master Filipe de Magalhães (appointed in 1623), who had been employed in the Royal Chapel as one of the chaplains since 1596. While for the six decades marking the 'Philippine regime' in Portugal, 1580–1640, the court of the House of Braganza, particularly under the patronage of Dom João before his accession to the royal throne, maintained its importance as one of the leading cultural centres in Portugal, Lisbon was to distinguish itself for cultivating a curiously 'mannerist' and harmonically extravagant musical style in the works of the three most prominent Portuguese composers of the first half of the 17th century: Filipe de Magalhães, Manuel Cardoso and Duarte Lobo. ❖

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Footnotes

1 See J.V. Serrão, *Historia de Portugal, IV: Governo dos Reis Espanhois, 1580–1640,* (Lisbon [1979]), p.19.

2 See Serrão, *Historia de Portugal, IV,* pp.86-88. There is also a number of contemporary accounts of Philip III's reception in Lisbon. See in particular, J.B. Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade d'el-Rei D. Filipe II nosso senhor ao reino de Portugal, e recepção do solemne recibimento que n'elle se lhe fez* (Madrid, 1622).

3 Serrão, *Historia de Portugal, IV,* pp.19-21. For a contemporary account of the festivities entertained in Lisbon in 1581, see Affonso Guerreiro, *Das festas que se fizeram na cidade de Lixboa na entrada del rey D. Philippe* (Lisbon, 1581).

4 See R.F. Vieira Nery, *The music manuscripts in the Library of King João IV of Portugal, 1604-1656: A study of Iberian music repertories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,* unpubl. diss., (University of Texas at Austin, 1990), pp.54–57.

5 Translation by Nery, *The music manuscripts...,* pp.63-64, from A. Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1739-40), vol.VI, p.124.

6 *Segundo livro das mercês que faz o Duque Dom Teodósio II, Nosso Senhor, começou a XVII de Janeiro de 1587,* Ms. 136 of the Arquivo da Serenissima Casa de Bragança, Vila Viçosa, f.216, quoted by P. Becquart, *Musiciens Néerlandais à la Cour de Madrid: Philippe Rogier et son école, 1560-1647,* (Brussels, 1967), p.25, and by Nery, *The music manuscripts...,* p.66, pp.88–90, n.43. It was particularly with Dom Teodósio that the Dukes of Braganza began to collect manuscripts and prints of music from all over Europe, culminating in João IV's famous music library which was transferred from Vila Viçosa to Lisbon when he became King. See M. de Sampayo Ribeiro, *Livraria de Música de El-Rei D. João IV: estudo Musical, Histórico e Bibliográphico.* Vol. I: *Primeira Parte*

do Index da Livraria de Música de El-Rei D. João IV: Reprodução Facsimilada da Edição de 1649. (Lisbon, 1967). A study of this collection comprises Rui Nery's *The music manuscripts...* From 1584 to 1609, the chapel choir at Vila Viçosa was led by António Pinheiro by whom a number of musical works are preserved in the Ducal Palace Library. The documents (the series of *Mercês)* dating from this period record numerous musicians in the service of the Dukes of Braganza. I am grateful to Michael Ryan for providing me with lists of musicians recorded as being at Vila Viçosa between 1583 and 1630.

7 This series of letters is edited by F.J. Bouza Alvarez, *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas* (Madrid, 1988).

8 The reference to organ playing in the Royal Chapel occurs in Philip's first letter from Lisbon dated 10 July 1581: 'Y no sé si habréis sabido que, por no haber aquí quien tañese bien los órganos en la capilla, hice venir aquí a Cabezón.' See Bouza Alvarez, *Cartas...*, p.49. Philip refers to the quality of the chapel choir when he hears it singing Mass in the monastery of Madre de Deus: 'Oímos misa, en la iglesia de mi capilla de aquí, que no es muy buena, y la iglesia es bonita.' See Bouza Alvarez, *Cartas...*, p.51; this letter is dated 21 August 1581.

9 According to the only statement made by a contemporary, Philip's biographer Cabrera de Córdoba, in 1619, the King "had perfect eyesight and a keen ear for music ... [and] he judged it knowledgeably." Translation by M. Noone in *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563–1700* (Rochester, 1998), p.71, with original text and full reference given in n.9.

10 'El domingo oímos misa cantata...'; letter dated 2 October 1581. Bouza Alvarez, *Cartas...*, p.52.

11 '...y se llama Marifernandez...canta muy buen, sino es tan gorda y tan grande que casi no cabe por la puerta.' See Bouza Alvarez, *Cartas...*, p.58; this letter is dated 15 January 1582. For further extracts from the series of letters to his daughters which relate specifically to the geography of the Royal Chapel, see B.M. Nelson, 'A plan of the *Capella Real*, Lisbon, in 1649', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, vol. 8 (forthcoming, 1998).

12 See M. Noone, 'Philip II and musical patronage at the Escorial', this journal, pp.9–13.

13 L.K. Stein, 'Musical Patronage: the Spanish Royal Court', *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993), p.617. M. Noone first cites this opinion by Stein in *Music and Musicians...*, p.69.

14 See L. Robledo, 'La música en la corte madrileña de los Austrias. Antecedentes: las casas reales hasta 1556, *Revista de Musicología* X (1987), pp.753–96, and 'Sobre la capilla real de Felipe II', *Nassarre* IV/1–2 (1988), pp.245–48. See also B.M. Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony in Philip II's *Capilla Real*' (forthcoming).

15 Among these musicians were Francisco de Soto and his son Cipriano. Francisco soon returned to Spain but Cipriano remained in Portugal. An account of music and musicians in the courts of Charles, Isabella, Juana, Maria and Philip, including numerous citations from contemporary documents, is given by H. Anglés in *La música en la Corte de Carlos V,* vol. I (Barcelona 1944, R/1984).

16 Noone, 'Philip II and musical patronage...', this journal, pp.10.

17 A. Latino has, however, traced about 100 documents which refer to musicians of the Lisbon Royal Chapel between the whole period 1580 to 1598. See Latino, 'Os Músicos da Capela Real de Lisboa, *c.*1600', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, vol.3 (1993), p.12.

18 An anonymous document written in *c.*1612, in a section entitled 'A Relation of those severall consulls that hath bene made by the Spaniards since the death of the Queen's majestie', mentions a certain John Pickford as having served as organist in the Lisbon Royal Chapel sometime during the last two decades of the 16th century: "John Pickforde an Englishman was admitted to be consull at Sivell [Seville] by the assistens of the saide cittie on the 8th daie of October 1605...and it is said that the said John Pickforde had made proof that he with three of his bretherine departed out of England about 30 yeres past for beinge Romish Catholicks...and the forenamed John Pickforde was maried to a Spanish woaman and has served as organist, or player of the organies, in the Kings roiall chappell at Lisbourne..." (London, BL Cotton Ms. Vespasian C. XIII, f.314). See also, A.J. Loomie, 'Thomas James: the English Consul of Andalucia, 1556–c.1613', *Recusant History,* vol.11/4 (January 1972), pp.165–78. I would like to thank Martin Murphy for drawing this information to my attention and A.J. Loomie for providing me with his transcription of the document.

19 See A. Latino, 'Os Músicos da Capela Real...' p.23.

20 A number of copies of this document (made in the 17th and 18th centuries) are preserved in the following libraries: Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, and Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Citations from the copy preserved in the BN Lisbon (Cod.10981) are included in A. Latino's article 'Os Músicos da Capela Real...'. Copies consulted by the present author also include Cod.10981, which includes the revisions made in August 1608 by Jorge de Ataide at the instigation of King Philip III, and Biblioteca da Ajuda, 50-V-26, ff.1–11v.

21 See F. Marques de Sousa Viterbo, 'Os Mestres da Capela Real de D. Joâo III e D. Sebastião, *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vol.4 (1906), pp.31–33. This document is preserved in the Torre de Tombo, Lisbon: *Chancellaria de D. João III*, vol.19 of *Doações, f.90v.*

22 Music by Carreira, for example, is largely preserved in manuscripts housed in the library at Coimbra University. Concerning Carreira, see O.L. Rees, 'Carreira, António', in *The Revised New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (forthcoming).

[23] *Regimento da Capela Real*, BN Lisbon, cod.10981, ff.1–1v.

[24] '...e serão limpos de geração, sem raça de christão novo, né mourisco...', *Regimento..., cap.VII*, f.26.

[25] 'e os vinte e seis delles serão de boas vozes, resoados latinos e de pronunciação expedita, e destros no canto chão.' *Regimento, cap.VII*, f.26.

[26] '...e todos juntamente rezarão na Capella as horas canonicas, e farão os mais officios diuinos, segundo o uso, e ceremonias romanas, e regras do Breuiario, Missal, e Pontifical, e co(m) a mais perfeicão que possiuel.', *Regimento, cap.VII*, f.26. The origin of the clause ordaining that Divine Offices in the Royal Chapel should observe the Roman Rite may be traced to the early 16th-century *Estatutos de la Capilla del Emperador Carlos quinto*. See Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony...'.

[27] '...averá quatro moços da estante dos mesmos requisitos dos moços da Capella, e de boas vozes, e habelidade de q(ue) se possa esperar q(ue) venham a ser cantores...', *Regimento, cap.II*, f.6v.

[28] Besides Francisco Garro, musicians of Spanish origin employed at the Portuguese Royal Chapel around this time included Sebastián Verdugo, Estácio de Lacerna and Diego de Alvarado. See A. Latino, 'Os Músicos da Capela Real...', pp.10–41.

[29] This, and several other documents from the *Chancellaria* of Philip II, is reproduced in F. Marques de Sousa Viterbo, 'Os Mestres da Capela Real desde o dominio Filipino ate D. José I', *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vol.5 (1890), pp.5–8. For those dating from 1582 which refer to António Carreira, see Viterbo, 'Os Mestres da Capela Real de D. João III e D. Sebastião, *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vol.4 (1906), pp.27–29.

AMBROSIO COTES: MORTUUS EST PHILIPPUS REX

IVAN MOODY

Ambrosio Cotes is one of those Spanish composers (like so many until recently) who has slipped through the 'early music' net to be found only in a few footnotes in specialist publications. The indefatigable archivist José López-Calo inevitably referred to him in the article on the Granada Royal Chapel archive which he published in 1958, and thirteen years later, José Climent wrote at somewhat greater length about Cotes's time at Valencia.

It was with the publication of José Maria Soler García's book *El polifonista villenense Ambrosio Cotes (1550–1603)* in 1979 that Cotes finally emerged from the dusty shelves of cathedral libraries, however. Soler García wrote an extensive biographical study with full documentation and included transcriptions of Cotes's music by López-Calo, Climent, Joaquin Piedra and Luis Hernández Navarro, a number of which were reproduced from previous publications. Though these transcriptions are frequently unreliable, this hardly explains the neglect which Cotes has suffered on the part of performers; it is to be hoped that the publication (and the various performances which are planned in commemoration of the death of Philip II) of *Mortuus est Philippus Rex* will encourage vocal groups to explore the rest of his output and instrumentalists to try the four textless pices which López-Calo attributed to Cotes and which are included at the end of Soler-García's book.

Cotes was born in Villena (Alicante) in about 1550. His earliest musical instruction was received at the 'Colegio de Teatinos' in his native town. From 1573 onwards he was *maestro de capilla* at the church of Santiago in Villena, but the music he composed during this time has unfortunately disappeared. In 1581 he was appointed *maestro* of the Royal Chapel in Granada, in succession to Rodrigo Ceballos, and his surviving music is to be found there and at the Colegio de Corpus Christi ('del Patriarca') and Cathedral in Valencia. So outstanding was he (in spite of considerable difficulties with the organist, the ambitioous Francisco Palero) that in 1596 he was appointed, without the necessity of competing for the post, *maestro de capilla* at the Cathedral of Valencia. Four years later he assumed the equivalent position at Seville Cathedral, where he remained until his death in 1603.

The surviving works of Cotes include a series of motets and Lamentations for four and five voices, a four-part setting of the lesson for Matins of the Dead, *Parce mihi*, a five-voice Advent Mass, and a series of four textless works which are attributed to him. There are also various works for five and six voices from the archive of the Royal Chapel in Granada which have parts missing. However, there survive one complete motet for six voices, *O lux et decus Hispaniae*, and two for seven, *Vidi angelum* and *Mortuus est Philippus Rex*. All three have specifically Spanish connections: the first is for the feast of St Vincent Ferrer, the second for St James, and the third was written in commemoration of the death of Philip II. On the death of the monarch there would of course have been memorial services held throughout Spain, and it is important to realize that Cotes's work would have been one of these; it is a commemorative piece, and would not actually have been sung at the royal exequies.

Mortuus est Philippus Rex (which is to be found in Valencia, Colegio del Patriarca Ms 20, a series of part-books containing motets by various authors) may be claimed as Cotes's finest work. As might be expected, it is more expansively melismatic than either *O lux et decus* or *Vidi angelum*, and makes great play both melodically and harmonically with semitonal progressions, the other two motets being rather more straightforward in this respect. *Mortuus est* not only possesses that radiant intensity which may also be found in the now relatively familiar settings of *Versa est in luctum* by Victoria and Alonso Lobo, but is part of a great tradition of Iberian funerary music, reaching back to the responsories by Francisco de la Torre and the setting of *Versa est in luctum* by Peñalosa, and having a definite link with the music written and performed on such solemn occasions by composers in neighbouring Portugal and across the Atlantic in Spanish America.

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Ambrosio Cotes
(ca 1550-1603)

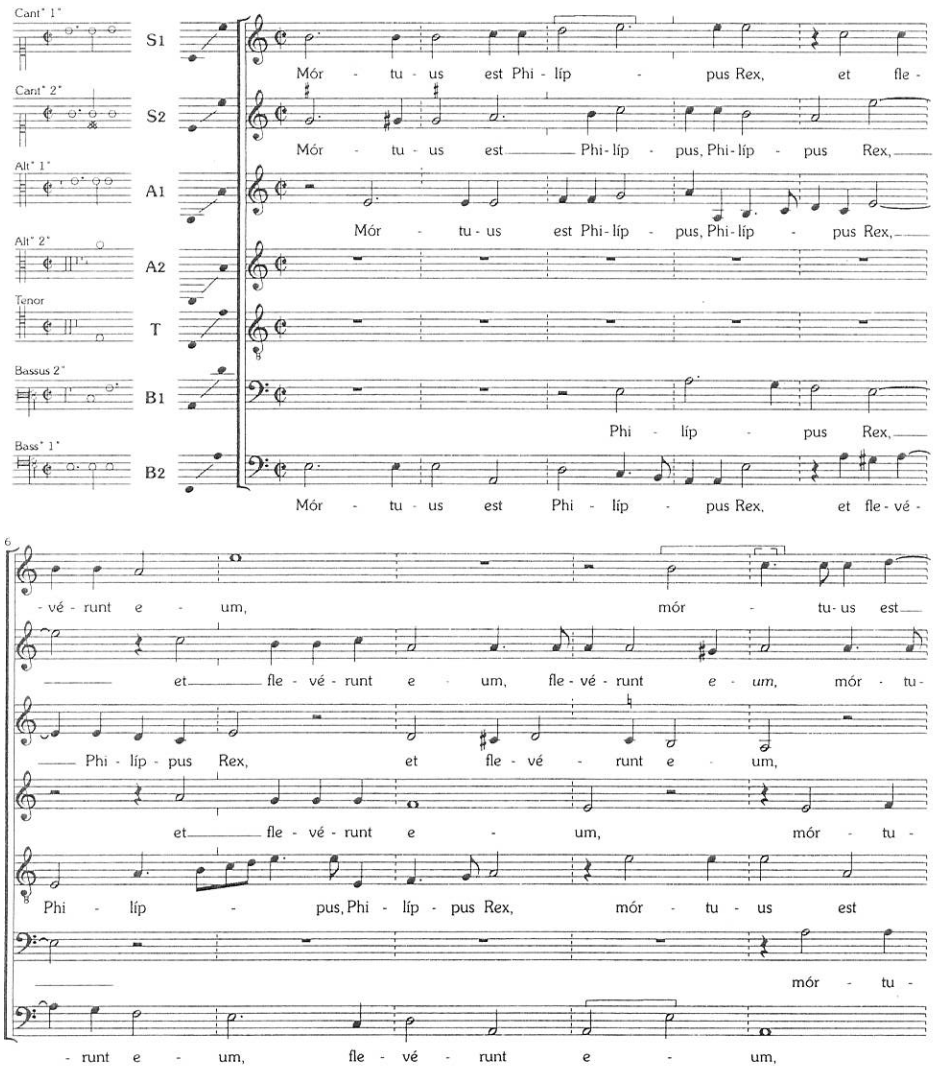
Mortuus est Philippus Rex

In ex{s}equiis Catholici Regis Philippi ij

King Philip is dead and all the people wept for him with great lamenting, and they mourned for many days and said: How is the mighty one fallen, who was the saviour of his people.

Source: Valencia, Colegio de Corpus Christi (del Patriarca), Ms.20 (partbooks)

Transcribed & edited by Ivan Moody



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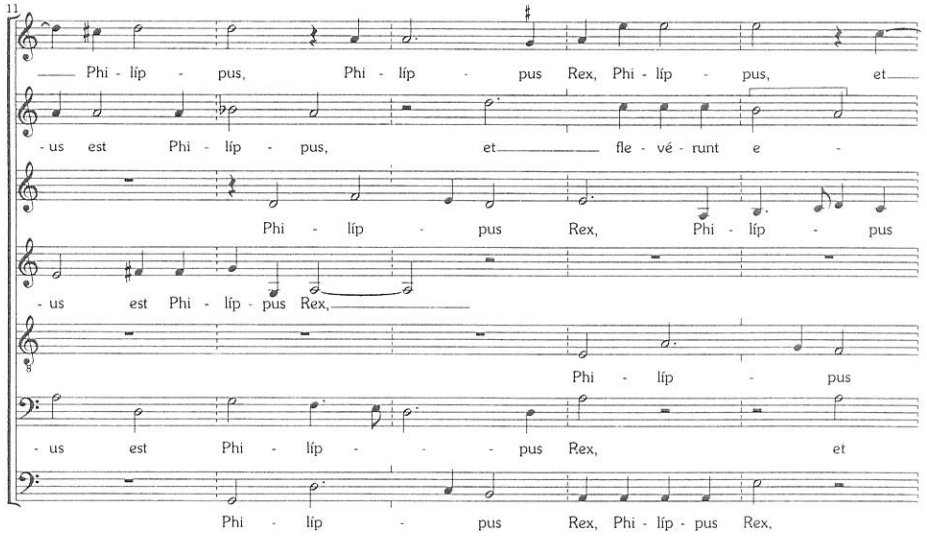

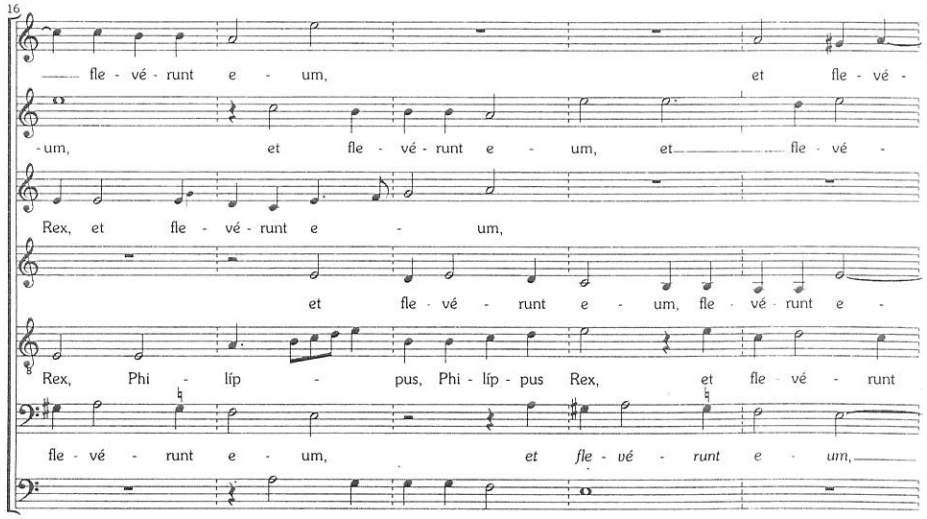

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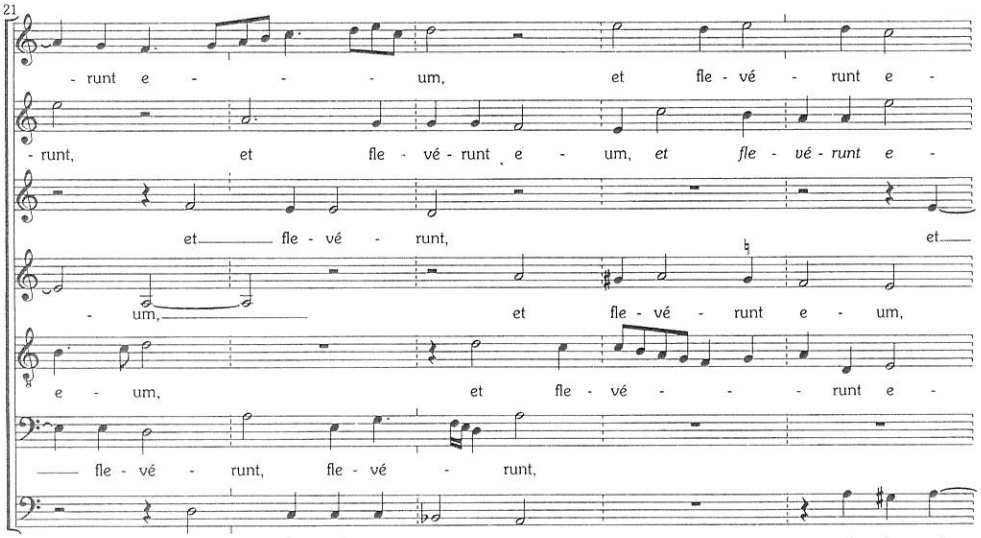
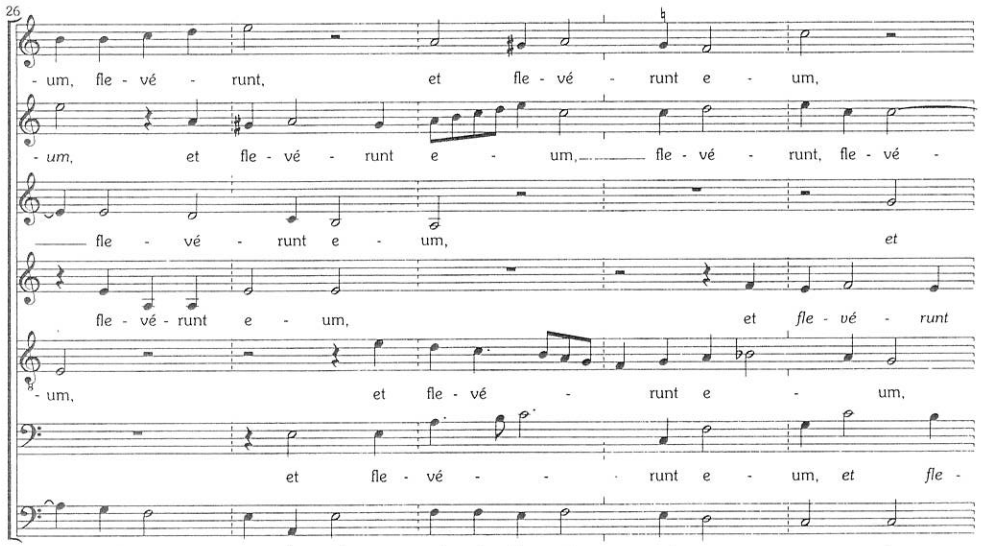
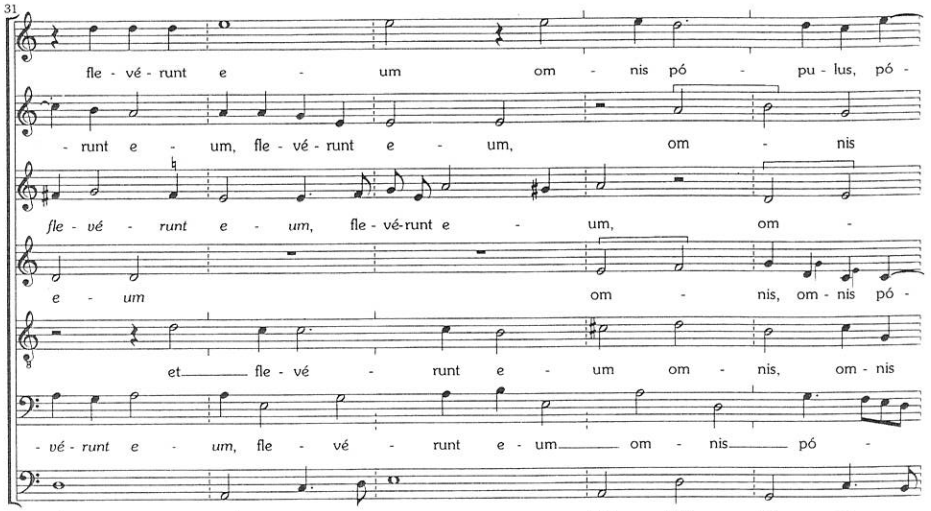
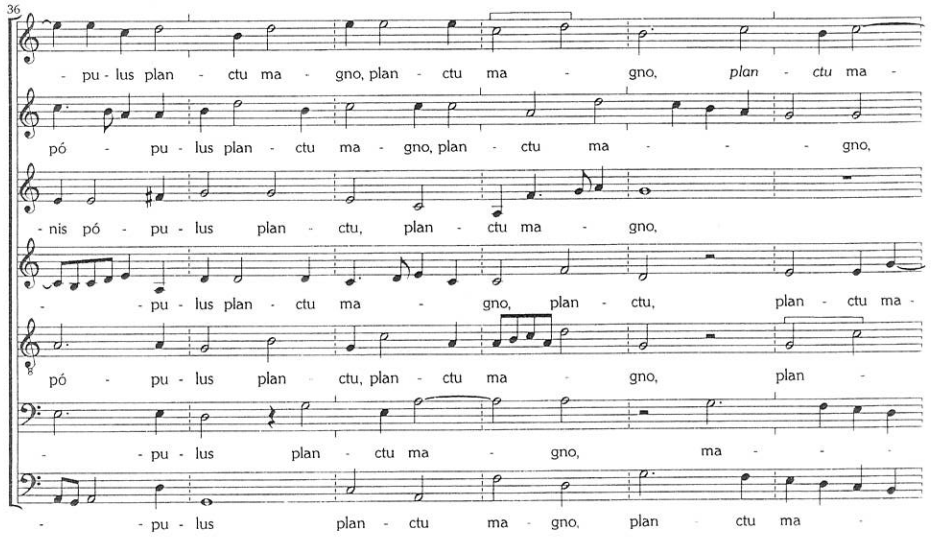
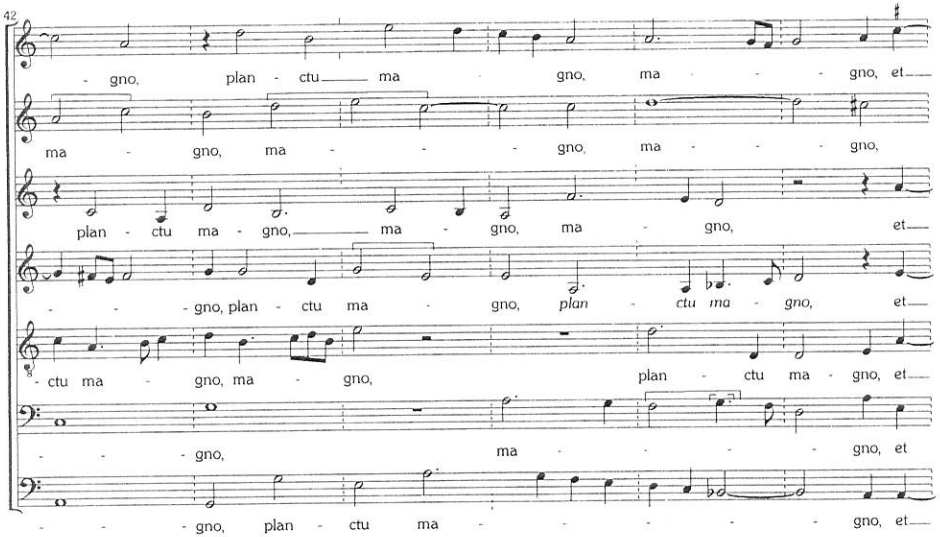


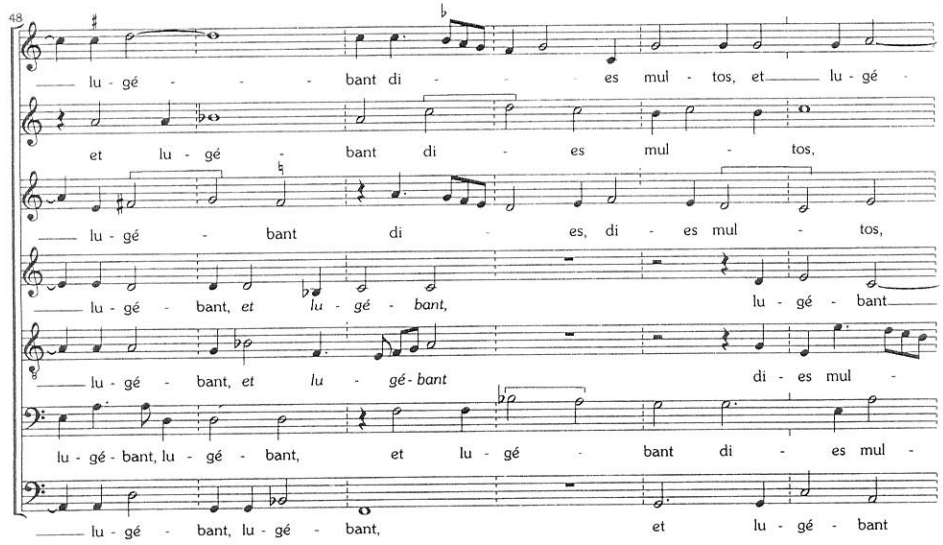


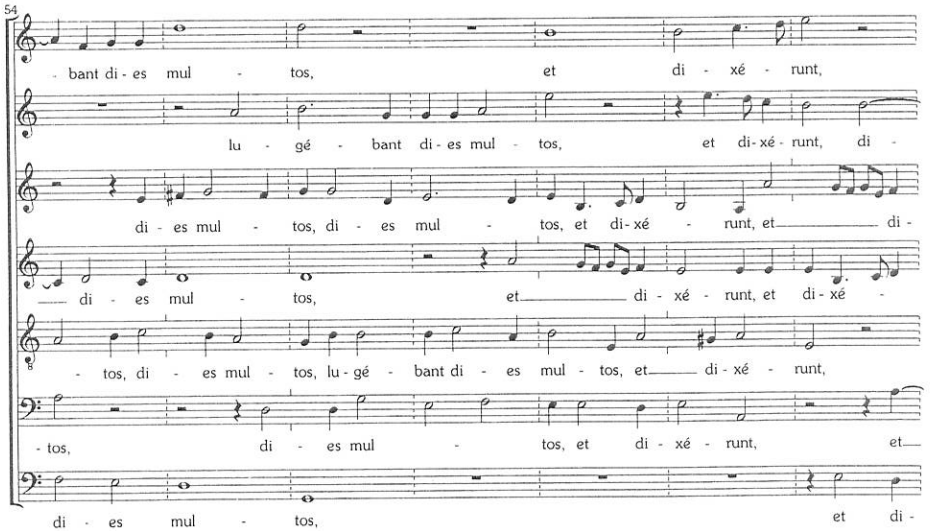


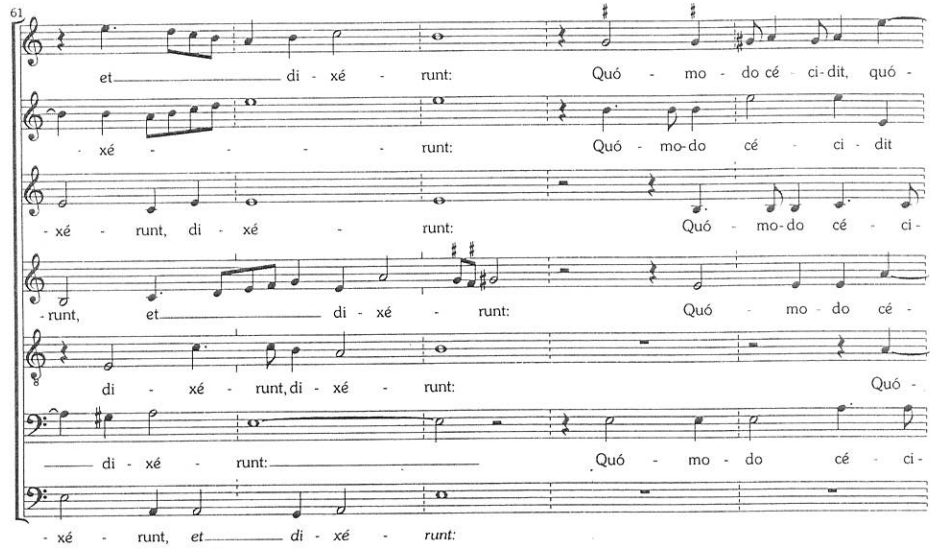


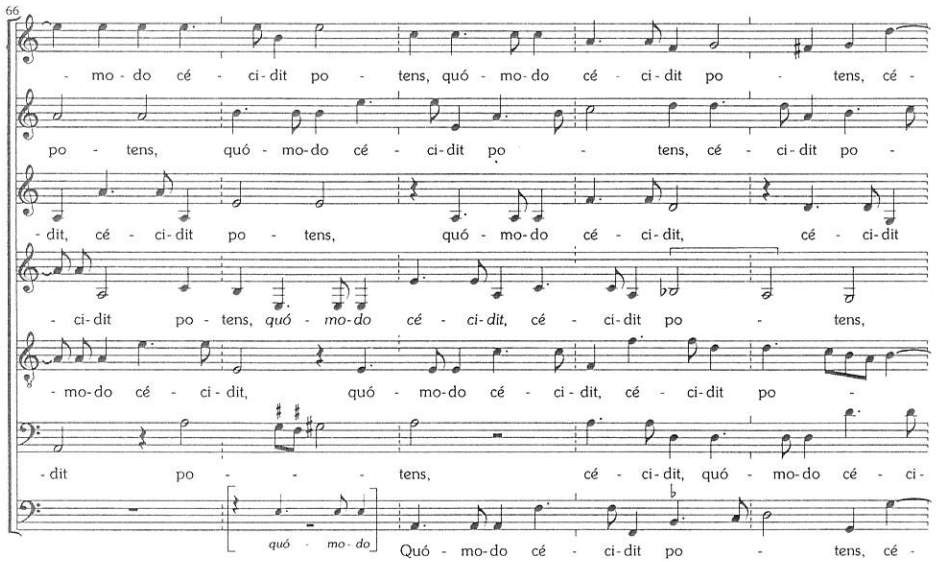
A2, m35: consecutives with S1; the small notes are a possible correction.


42
- gno, plan - ctu ma gno, ma - - - gno, et
ma - gno, ma - - - gno, ma - - - gno,
plan - ctu ma - gno, ma - gno, ma - gno, et
- - - gno, plan - ctu ma - gno, plan - ctu ma - gno, et
- ctu ma - gno, ma - gno, plan - ctu ma - gno, et
- - - gno, ma - - - - gno, et
- - - gno, plan - ctu ma - - - - gno, et

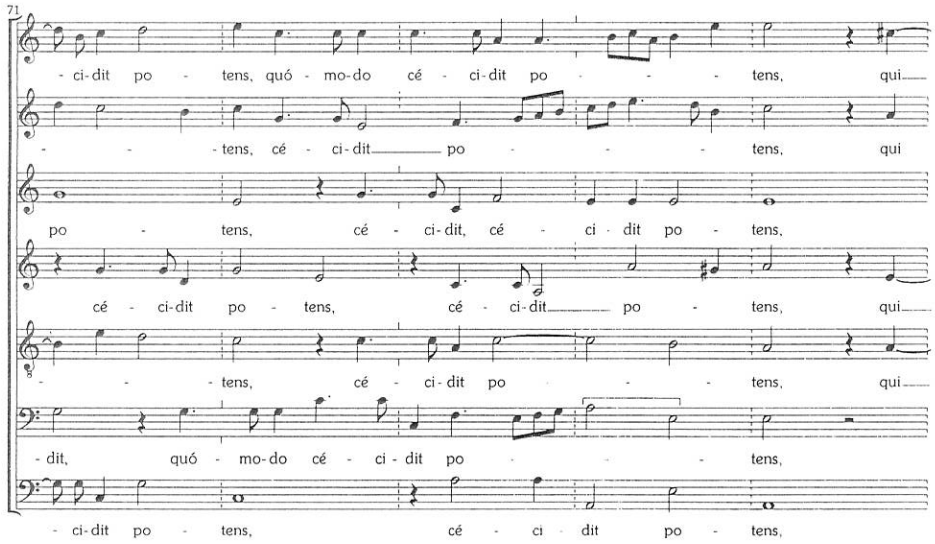

48
lu - gé - - - bant di - - es mul - tos, et lu - gé -
et lu - gé - bant di - es mul - tos,
lu - gé - bant di - es, di - es mul - tos,
lu - gé - bant, et lu - gé - bant, lu - gé - bant
lu - gé - bant, et lu - gé - bant di - es mul -
lu - gé - bant, lu - gé - bant, et lu - gé - bant di - es mul -
lu - gé - bant, lu - gé - bant, et lu - gé - bant

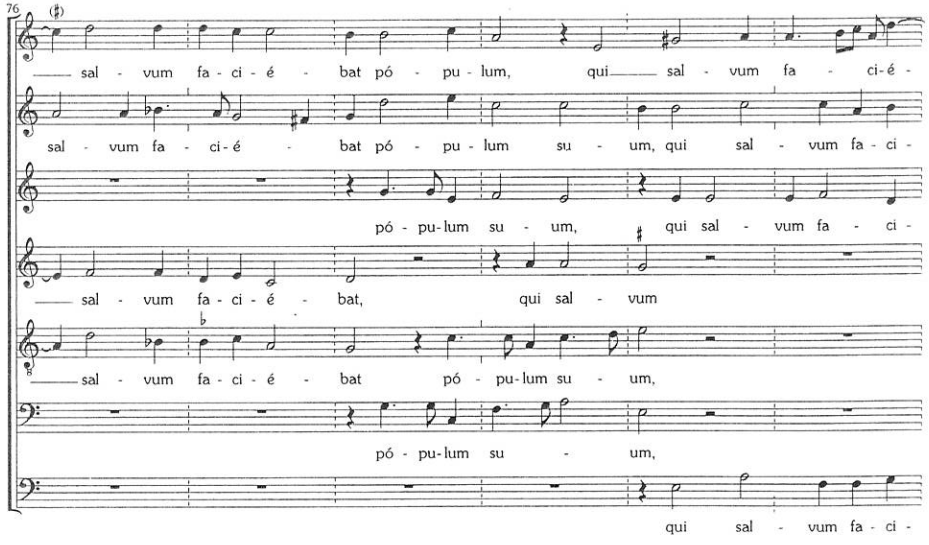

54
- bant di - es mul - tos, et di - xé - runt,
lu - gé - bant di - es mul - tos, et di - xé - runt, di -
di - es mul - tos, di - es mul - tos, et di - xé - runt, et di -
di - es mul - tos, et di - xé - runt, et di - xé -
- tos, di - es mul - tos, lu - gé - bant di - es mul - tos, et di - xé - runt,
- tos, di - es mul - tos, et di - xé - runt, et
di - es mul - tos, et di -

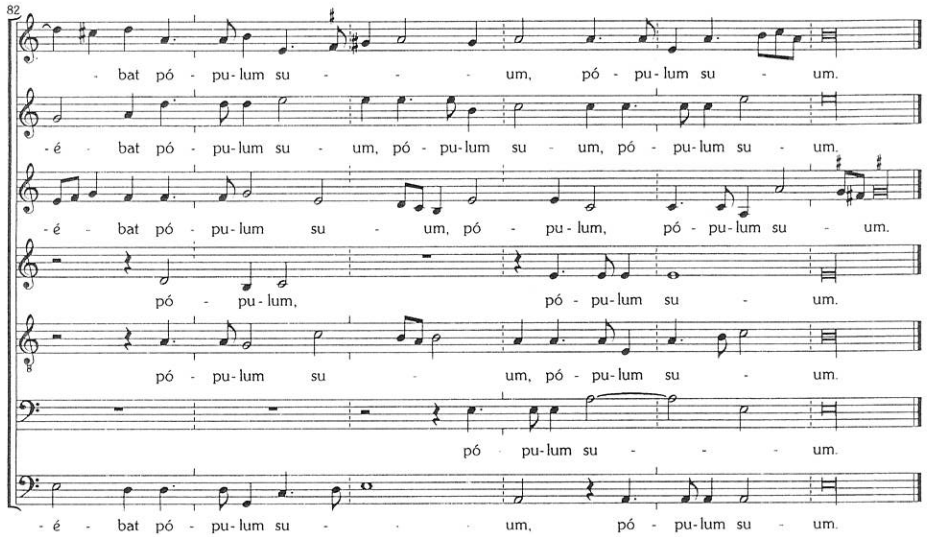

61
et di - xé - runt: Quó - mo - do cé - ci - dit, quó -
- xé - - - - runt: Quó - mo - do cé - ci - dit
- xé - runt, di - xé - runt: Quó - mo - do cé - ci -
- runt, et di - xé - runt: Quó - mo - do cé -
di - xé - runt, di - xé - runt: Quó -
di - xé - runt: Quó - mo - do cé - ci -
- xé - runt, et di - xé - runt:



B, m67: support may be given to A2 here, if required.







VICTORIA IN ROME

NOEL O'REGAN

1998 sees the putative 450th anniversary of the birth of Tomás Luis de Victoria – putative because we do not know the exact year of his birth. The year 1548 has been deemed the most likely (or, at least, the latest possible) date of birth because he entered the German College in Rome to study for the priesthood in either 1563 or 1565 and, by the constitutions of that college, had to have been at least fifteen years of age at that stage. The College had been founded by Ignatius Loyola with papal approval in 1552 in order to train missionaries to be sent to those parts of Germany which had become Lutheran. To secure its financial security the college took in a number of paying students from other nationalities, as well as young members of the German Catholic nobility not destined for the priesthood. Among the other students present at this time were two young Englishmen, one of whom was to be executed at Tyburn with Edmund Campion in 1582. As Robert Stevenson has pointed out, Victoria was unique among Spanish composers of the period in benefiting from such a cosmopolitan environment at an impressionable age.[1]

In the realm of sacred music the years 1563–65 were exciting times in Rome, probably the most momentous years of the century. The Council of Trent ended in 1563, having discussed liturgical music during its final session. In the end it simply laid down some general recommendations and left the detailed implementation of these to diocesan synods. In Rome a commission of senior churchmen was set up, headed by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, papal Secretary of State and nephew of the reigning Pope Pius IV. Among its members was another influential Cardinal, Vitellozzo Vitelli, who had some singers in his private employ. These men had a serious interest in preserving polyphony in church services, provided it could be modified to comply with the mind of the Council: all things 'lascivious and impure' had to be excised from the music (i.e. secular influences) and the texts being sung should be intelligible to listeners. New mass settings were commissioned and tried out by the papal singers at Vitelli's palace in 1565; these might have included Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* though there is no direct evidence for this. At the same time a clean sweep was made of the papal singers, with reports being prepared on the vocal quality and lifestyle of each one: fourteen (out of thirty-seven on the books) were pensioned off. The positive effect of all this was to be felt on the repertory used in major Roman churches. The existing body of music, dominated by Franco-Flemish composers, or by those such as Costanzo Festa and Morales who had followed in that style, was deemed inappropriate and the way was clear for composers such as Palestrina and Giovanni Animuccia to begin a thorough overhaul of the repertoire.

It was into this melting pot that the young Spaniard arrived and this was to be crucial to Victoria's development as a composer. He was a child of the Catholic Reformation and, in many ways, its most committed and successful exponent. He never, as far as we know, wrote any secular music but concentrated on cycles of works directly appropriate for the liturgy (especially for the office for Vespers and for those of Holy Week), as well as a highly refined corpus of motets covering the major feasts of the church year, written in a pithy but affective style in which detailed attention to the text was all-important.

While a student, Victoria would have attended lectures at the Roman Seminary, where he must have come into contact with Palestrina, who served as *maestro di cappella* there from 1566–71 and who was charged with teaching plainchant to the students and perhaps some polyphony to the more talented. This was a task that Victoria himself later undertook at the Collegio Germanico after it ceased to be simply a residential institution for a variety of students in 1573 and became more of a seminary in its own right. We do not know any precise details of the young composer's musical training, apart from the fact that he had been a choirboy at Avila Cathedral during the 1550s. Nor do we know why he came to Rome: it was more likely as a gifted student being sent to study for the priesthood at the centre of the Catholic Church, which was just emerging with new confidence, than specifically as a student of music, which he could as successfully have followed in his native country. One figure who might have played a role in organising the move was the German aristocratic Cardinal Otto, Truchsess von Waldburg, who was the representative of the emperor at the papal court, protector of the German nation and patron of the Collegio Germanico. He is known to have visited Spain in 1564. While there is no direct evidence that Truchsess coordinated Victoria's move to Rome, the composer did dedicate his first publication to Truchsess in which he acknowledged his indebtedness to the cardinal, who certainly took a keen interest in the young Spaniard once he had arrived. Although not a member of the Commission of 1565, Truchsess had a keen interest in the survival of polyphonic music in the liturgy. He too, like Vitelli, had his own private *cappella*, though financial problems had led to its

demise in 1565. It had been headed by the Flemish Jacob de Kerle from whom the cardinal had commissioned settings of some *Preces Speciales* to be sung in Trent during the Council in 1562. These were in a modified polyphony geared towards word-intelligibility and might well have provided a model for future Roman composers, in particular Victoria.

In 1569 the young composer obtained his first job, a part-time one as organist and cantor at S. Maria di Monserrato, the Roman church of the Aragonese/Catalan expatriate community. Although he was Castilian, Victoria's musical talents were obviously appreciated and he continued to hold this position up to his ordination to the priesthood in August 1575 (in the chapel of the English College). Although the church did not have professional singers on its payroll, like all other Roman churches at the time it employed a number of chaplains to sing plainchant and look after the liturgical needs of the church. Some of these may well have been able to sing simple polyphony; for major feasts, outside singers and instrumentalists would have been brought in. Victoria's duties were confined to Sundays and important feastdays, playing the organ and leading the plainsong. It is possible, however, that some of the simpler motets from his first publication in 1572 could have been written for use in this church, particularly those with Marian texts. It was this first book of motets, published as we have seen with the help of Cardinal Truchsess, which established Victoria's name as a composer with a distinctive voice and the ability to combine musical interest with clarity of word-declamation in settings for from four to eight voices. His particularly significant achievement was to do this for four-voice motets, where the smaller number of voices meant that variety of texture was more difficult to accomplish. By contrast, Palestrina's *Motettorum liber secundus* of the same year contained no four-voice settings, though the five- and six-voice motets included there (including such favourites as *Canite tuba* and *Tu es Petrus*) are texturally very similar to those for such numbers of voices in Victoria's 1572 *Motecta*. While one hesitates to say that Palestrina was at this time incapable of composing pieces like Victoria's *O quam gloriosum* or *O magnum mysterium* for four voices, it is certainly true that the former did not publish any pieces in this style until 1584. Victoria's employment conditions may have made him more sensitive to the need of institutions with limited vocal resources to have access to good four-voice music. In fact, four of the motets are set *a paribus vocibus*: these were suitable for performance by adult male, or indeed female, choirs, such as those in male and female convents. The final piece in Victoria's 1572 *Motecta* was an eight-voice *Ave Maria*. Like the four eight-voice psalm-motets in Palestrina's *Motettorum liber secundus*, this is not a consistently double-choir piece: different combinations of voices group and regroup across the eight. All five pieces, together with some in Giovanni Animuccia's *Il secondo libro delle laudi* of 1570 represent the first stages of Roman experimentation with what was to become a medium of major importance for all Rome-based composers, including Victoria. The influence of Animuccia's music, written for the less formal surroundings of Philip Neri's oratory gatherings, was crucial here.

In the meantime, Victoria had continued his connection with the German College: when his own studies were completed he was employed as a part-time teacher of music and organiser of the student choirs. In April 1575 the College obtained the exclusive use of the adjacent church of S. Apollinare and from then on its liturgical life increased manifestly, with Victoria designated 'Moderator Musicae' and given responsibility for a wide-range of musical activities. The Jesuit rector, Fr. Michele Lauretano, had something of an obsession with liturgy and music and worked closely with Victoria and his successors in ensuring the highest standards. The College became one of Rome's major musical centres, experimenting with new styles such as using multiple choirs, or singing with one or more solo voices and organ. Victoria stayed there for a further two and a half years, leaving sometime before February 1578. It was the German College which provided the background to Victoria's second publication, his *Liber primus qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat...aliaque complectitur* of 1576. Its title page presented the composer as 'Collegii Germanici in Urbe Roma Musicae Moderatoris', the only one of his publications before 1600 to include such an official position; his other publications simply referred to him as 'Abulensis' (i.e. from Avila). It was dedicated to Duke Ernest, younger son of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and bishop of Freising and Hildesheim. It was quite a different type of publication from that of 1572: while the latter had contained only motets, organised according the feasts of the church year (together with one setting of the *Salve Regina*), that of 1576 included five masses, six settings of the Magnificat, seven Marian antiphons, one Vespers psalm, one hymn and seven miscellaneous pieces (three of which had already been published in 1572). The collection presumably presents music which Victoria had written for performance by the more advanced students at the College; its inclusion of a number of items for Vespers and Compline, many of which are for two distinct choirs, is a clear indication of the increasing importance which large-scale polyphony at the office of Vespers was taking on at the College and in Rome generally. Victoria continued to feed this market in subsequent prints. Such a hybrid publication as that of 1576 was most unusual in an industry which normally concentrated on one genre per print; after his return to Spain, Victoria was to publish another such hybrid in 1600 in Madrid.

During the 1570s Victoria also had a sporadic involvement with the other major Spanish church in Rome, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli on the Piazza Navona, frequented by the Castilian expatriate community. During 1573 he sang there on an unspecified number of occasions and from 1573–77 and 1579–80 he provided music for their annual Corpus Christi procession, celebrated with particular solemnity in the wonderful amphitheatre provided by the Piazza, built as it was on the ruins of the ancient Roman Stadium of Domitian. Details are sparse but this would have involved organising a number of choirs singing polyphony, plainchant and, probably, *falsobordone*, as well as providing music for the Vespers which followed the procession. Another opportunity for freelance work came in 1573 when the Archconfraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini employed him to organise the festal music for their patronal feast on Trinity Sunday. Again, we do not have any details but the sum of money involved (five *scudi*) would have been sufficient to pay for up to eight singers or instrumentalists to provide music for both first and second Vespers and Mass.

We do not know why Victoria left the German College in late 1577 or early 1578, nor do we know whether or not he moved immediately to another appointment. Sometime between then and 1583 he took up a position as a chaplain in the church of S. Gerolamo della Carità and around the same time became a member of the Arciconfraternita della Carità, which was based in that church and in effect ran it. The archconfraternity had been set up by the future Pope Clement VII in 1519 for foreign noblemen resident in Rome. It retained its exclusivity though, presumably, encouraged foreign-born clergy such as Victoria to join its ranks. From the beginning it concentrated its charitable endeavour on Rome's overcrowded prisons, ministering to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the prisoners. Other charitable activities included giving alms to the most deserving poor, burying paupers and governing a convent for repentant prostitutes. While there is no direct evidence for Victoria's involvement in these good works it seems likely that he did take part. The position of chaplain was a professional one, but not one specifically linked to music. Chaplains had to be able to sing plainsong, take their turns in intonations, prayers and readings, as well as organising the chanting of the divine offices. Their other main responsibility was the saying of masses for the intentions of those who gave money or had left legacies for that purpose; this money provided the mainstay of the upkeep of the church. As at S. Maria di Monserrato, some of the chaplains would have been able to read and sing polyphonic music and Victoria may have encouraged the singing of simple polyphony, as well as organising larger-scale music on one or two major patronal feasts. At the same time it is clear that Victoria preferred this priestly appointment to that of a full-time *maestro di cappella* charged with purely musical duties. He could certainly have had such an appointment at one of a number of Roman churches had he so wanted and we must see his choice of S. Gerolamo, which had little or no regular music at this period, as a deliberate seeking after a quiet regulated life devoted to priestly duties and to composition. There was certainly no let-up in his output of compositions over this period. While at S. Gerolamo, Victoria overlapped with St. Philip Neri, who held a supernumerary chaplaincy there. There is no evidence, however, that the composer was a member of the fledgeling Congregation of the Oratory which Neri was building up at the nearby church of S. Maria in Vallicella. It is recorded that Neri hoped Victoria would write music for his Oratory gatherings, as had the composer's fellow Spaniard, the castrato papal singer Francisco Soto de Langa, but that Victoria returned to Spain instead.

The early 1580s were Victoria's most productive publishing years. In 1581 he brought out two linked prints, one of Magnificat settings in all tones and the other of Vesper hymns. The former also reprinted and expanded to eight his settings of the four Marian antiphons, often sung at the end of Vespers when not followed by Compline, while the latter included double-choir settings of the four most commonly prescribed Vespers psalms. In 1583 came an expanded version of his 1572 motets, but with the addition of the double-choir Vespers music from 1581 and a triple-choir setting of a further Vespers psalm. 1583 also saw a reissue of the masses from 1576 in an expanded book of masses. All four of these publications were issued by Roman printers, rather than the Venetians to whom he had entrusted his first two prints. 1585 saw yet another expanded and reissued book of motets, as well as his *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*. Victoria's penchant for reissuing his most successful pieces in subsequent publications has been commented on, as has his constant revision of his music. He was not a prolific composer like Palestrina or Lassus; rather he seems to have been a careful progenitor and scrupulous reviser of his compositions, as well as a highly successful marketer who knew how achieve widespread circulation through selective publication.

Victoria's thoughts seem to have been turning increasingly to Spain during the early 1580s. In 1583 he dedicated his *Missarum libri duo* to Philip II, expressing in the dedication his wish to return home to Spain. Philip had quite recently issued instructions that all Spanish expatriates should return to their native land, fearing presumably for their spiritual welfare in foreign parts, as well as wishing to keep tighter control on their lives. In the same year, or perhaps earlier, he joined the Archconfraternity of the Resurrection, founded in 1579 and based at S. Giacomo. He attended its annual general meeting in 1582 and again in 1584 and during that

year filled one of its offices as visitor of the sick, being the channel through which regular payments were made to the deserving sick and poor of the Spanish nation. Such personal involvement with his fellow Castilians may have increased a sense of exile and of not belonging in Rome. He did after all continue to use the appellation 'Abulensis' on his publications. It may be that his original intention had been to come to Rome for priestly training, followed by a quick return; the blandishments of Fr. Lauretano at the German College and the opportunity to be in at the start of what was to become a great musical institution could well have delayed him. Then the opportunity of a chaplaincy at S. Gerolamo with its close proximity to Philip Neri, whose charismatic personality had a profound affect on all who came into contact with him, must have appealed to Victoria's spiritual side. In any case, in or before May 1585 he resigned his chaplaincy at S. Gerolamo and sometime between then and 1587 he returned to Spain, becoming chaplain and *maestro* to the dowager Empress Maria of Austria in the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. Subsequently, Victoria returned at least once to Rome: in November 1592 he signed the dedication of another Book of Masses in the city, to which he would have returned to supervise its printing. He may also have been there in early 1594 at the time of Palestrina's death.

In all, Victoria spent at least twenty years of his life in Rome, years which were undoubtedly his most productive. Apart from the *Officium Defunctorum* of 1605 (itself a reworking of a *Missa pro defunctis* composed in Rome), some masses and a scattering of other pieces, the vast bulk of his compositions was composed in Rome. Although he was only about thirty-nine when he returned to Spain, the great creative impulse seems to have been over – or to have slowed to a trickle. Is Victoria, then, to be counted more a Roman than a Spanish composer? Undoubtedly the major influences on his musical style were centred in Italy: the Council of Trent and the great shake-up of sacred music which came in its wake. Composers who might have provided models were Palestrina, Kerle almost certainly, and Morales. Morales had been perhaps the most influential of the previous generation, whose music prefigures much that is to be found in Palestrina and in Victoria. He too was a Spaniard who spent the most significant part of his career in Rome, as a singer in the papal chapel. Of course Victoria would have absorbed indigenous Spanish music as a choirboy at Avila, and commentators have always seen a distinctively Spanish tinge to his music, particularly in his music for the *Tenebrae* offices. Certainly his style was much imitated in the Iberian peninsula but, apart perhaps from the Holy Week music there is little to connect Victoria's individual voice with Spanish music. When a comparison is made, for instance, with Guerrero, a near-contemporary who remained in Spain, the differences are clear. Guerrero's music is, on the whole, thicker in texture, more concerned with contrapuntal techniques, particularly canons, and less harmonically directed than Victoria's. Guerrero writes longer lines for individual voices and often seems more concerned with sonority than with putting across the nuances of the text. That this has militated against the popularity of Guerrero's music is regrettable; he was a very fine composer. At the same time, Victoria's clarity mirrors much more the trends in Roman sacred music after the 1560s, as well as a keen awareness of what would achieve the most popularity in the post-Tridentine church. Having established a successful formula in his youthful 1572 *Motecta* and in the 1576 double-choir psalms, Victoria continued to re-publish these, reworkings of them or similar works, for the rest of his life. He exercised a considerable influence on Iberian composers of the next and subsequent generations, especially after his return to Spain. Even before that point, but even more so afterwards, he served as a conduit by which newer Roman styles were transmitted to Spain. He himself said as much in a letter to the chapter of Jaén Cathedral in 1593 accompanying a copy of his 1592 Masses which he calls 'misas breves como se cantan en la capilla de Su Santidad' (short masses such as are sung in the chapel of His Holiness [the Pope]). In particular, Victoria's espousal of the polychoral idiom was much imitated, as was the sort of pseudo-polyphony found in his six-voice *Officium Defunctorum* of 1605. Paradoxically this imitation gave rise to a new Iberian style, and later music historians have tended to see Victoria as a part of this style, rather than its instigator. Some of the traits seen as typically Spanish are actually more Roman, introduced into Spain and Portugal through the influence of Victoria. The same is true, if to a lesser extent, in the north of Italy and in southern Germany, where Victoria's music was published and widely circulated. The Roman years of Victoria were thus of crucial importance, not only for the composer himself, but for the subsequent development of sacred music in a wide span of countries which adopted the Catholic Reformation. ❖

Noel O'Regan is senior lecturer in music at the University of Edinburgh. His Oxford D.Phil. dissertation was written on polychoral music in late sixteenth-century Rome and his research since then has centred on Roman sacred music and the musical patronage of the city's institutions, particularly confraternities, in the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods. He is the author of the RMA monograph, Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650.

Footnote

[1] Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961). The section on

Victoria in this book has recently been updated and reissued as: Robert Stevenson, 'Tomás Luis de Victoria: Unique Spanish Genius', *Inter-American Review*, xii (1991), pp. 1–100. Stevenson has also written the articles on Victoria in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *The New Grove*. The earliest comprehensive study of Victoria's Roman years was: Raffaele Casimiri, '"Il Vittoria" nuovi documenti per una biografia sincera di Tommaso Ludovico de Victoria', *NA*, xi (1934), pp. 111–197. For Victoria's period at the German College see: Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music, i: A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome, 1970). For a more recent study of another of Victoria's institutional involvements see: Noel O'Regan, 'Tomas Luis de Victoria, Francisco de Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome', *Early Music* xxii (1994), pp. 279–295. For a more detailed survey of the composer's employment at S. Maria di Monserrato, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli and S. Gerolamo della Carità see the present author's 'Tomás Luis de Victoria's Roman churches revisited' in *Early Music* (forthcoming).

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Review

Johann Schenck: *Uitgevondene tyd en konst-oeffeningen* (Opus 2), Alamire, 1997.
August Kühnel: *Sonate ô Partite ad una ô due Viole da Gamba*, Alamire, 1996.
Carel Hacquart & Dirck Buysero: *De Triomfeerende Min*, ed. Pieter Andriessen and Tom Strengers, Alamire, 1996.
Georg Philipp Telemann: *Essercizii Musici*, Alamire, 1996 (Brussels Royal Conservatory of Music Series, No. 12).

The seventeenth-century German or, perhaps, Dutch composer Johann Schenck is chiefly remembered for his evocatively titled collections 'Le nymphe di Rheno' (Op. 8) and 'L'Echo di Danube' (Op. 9). While this last-mentioned anthology contains his most important work for viola da gamba, the earlier collections, though less even in quality, contain much that is both challenging to the player and of fascination to their audience. The Belgian publishing house, Alamire, has reprinted in its facsimile series for scholars and musicians Schenck's complete Opus 2, 'Uitgevondene tyd en konst-oeffeningen' (1688). It contains fifteen 'sonatas' for viola da gamba and continuo though, notwithstanding the term, all but four of them are conventionally laid-out dance suites. This new reprint of a source held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains two part-books, for viola da gamba and basso continuo. The impression is clear enough, by-and-large, though occasional faint printing requires closer scrutiny. Small misprints in the Introduction do not impair its meaning, though there is some inconsistency in the spelling of the composer's first and second names.

Contemporary with Schenck was the German gamba player and composer August Kühnel (1645–*c.*1700). Alamire has reprinted in facsimile Kühnel's only published work, the 'Sonate ô Partite ad una ô due Viole da Gamba'. Issued in 1698, it consists of fourteen pieces, eight of which are for a single bass viol with continuo and the remaining six for two such instruments, with optional bass in three of them and obligatory bass in the other three. Kühnel is freer with his terminology than the title would imply, and we encounter in this set not only 'sonatas' and 'partitas', but also 'sonatinas' and a sub-heading, 'serenata'. There is, in fact, a rich formal variety amoung the pieces, ranging from light-hearted dances to chorale variation. The three part-books, each with its identically engraved title-page, are clearly reproduced from the original printed edition. In addition, the first viola da gamba part includes both preface and dedication to Kühnel's patron, Landgrave Carl von Hessen, himself an ardent amateur of the instrument.

The re-edition by Pieter Andriessen (music) and Tom Strengers (text) of Dirck Buysero and Carel Hacquart's play 'De Triomfeerende Min' (Love Triumphant) is altogher on a more esoteric plane, and must present problems in performance for all but those fluent in Flemish. Buysero's play, for which Hacquart wrote incidental music, was performed in 1678 to mark the signing of the Treaty of Nijmegen, and published two years later. The scholarly apparatus applied to this new edition of the work is both systematic and thoroughgoing. Not only are biographies provided for playwright and composer alike, but there is also a detailed background note on the complex historical events leading to the signing of the Treaty itself. There are also carefully annotated essays relating to the literary background to Buysero's play and to Hacquart's score, all this happily in English as well as in Flemish. There is a fascinating account of the editorial processes by which play and music have, once more, been brought together and, lastly, there is a clearly laid-out critical annotation to the transcription of the music, and a comprehensive bibliography which readers will find both useful and, if they pursue it, fascinating. A pity, then, that similar pains have not been taken to translate those passages of Buyser's text which Hacquart set to music. The task would be tricky, but even singers accustomed to foreign language texts will find this one daunting. As an editorial exercise, however, the project is commendable, and it is to be hoped that an enterprising Belgian record company will take up the challenge and record this 'Play of Peace, incorporating Songs and Music for Strings, Flyers and Ballets'. The edition is sponsored by the

Alamire Foundation for the study of music in the Low Countries, and forms the first part of the series 'Monumenta Flandriae Musica' under the general editorship of Eugeen Schreurs.

During the 1720s and 1730s Georg Philipp Telemann prepared and, to a large extent, oversaw the printing and publication of a wide diversity of his compositions. The high-water-mark of his chamber music publications came in the late 1730s with the set of six 'Nouveaux Quatuors' (Paris Quartets), and the 'Essercizii Musici' (1739/40). These were the last works which he published himself, shortly after offering for sale the copper plates of all previously issued music. 'Essercizii Musici' consists of twenty-four pieces, subdivided into twelve each of solos and trios for recorder, flute, oboe, violin, viola da gamba, harpsichord and basso continuo. To each of these melody instruments Telemann allotted two solo Sonatas with bass, while incorporating them in various combinations in the remaining twelve Trios. The music is satisfying on two levels since not only do they provide a listener with unflagging entertainment, but also furnish the performer with part-writing which betrays exceptional inside knowledge on the composer's part of the instrument in question. Telemann was proud of his versatile talent in the playing of instruments of a widely differing character. He knew well their strengths and weaknesses and, consequently, his means of accommodating them is almost invariably rewarding. In the 'Essercizii Musici' we are confronted with music both of an intrinsically high calibre and of a cast which effortlessly explores the most alluring range of each instrument. It is music, in short, that fulfils one of Telemann's fervently pronounced tenets, of giving each instrument what suits it best, thus delighting performer and audience alike.

This facsimile of the three part-books of the 'Essercizii Musici' is reproduced from a source held in the Brussels Royal Conservatory of Music, and forms part of an ongoing series. Alamire have done a serviceable job on the printing but it has not invariably been reproduced as clearly as it might have been. Nevertheless, the issue is of great value to performers since it is both complete and free from the often dated ideas of past editors which dog so many of the separately issued Sonatas and Trios in older publications. Not all the pieces are, perhaps, of equal distinction but, in Trios such as that in C minor (No. 1), A major (No. 4), B flat (No. 8) and E flat (No. 12), Telemann reveals a refinement of ideas and an expressive depth, contributions to mid-eighteenth century chamber music that are both inspired and of some historical significance.

NICHOLAS ANDERSON

Letter

Dear Sir:

Further to Simon Hill's review of Peter Giles' fascinating if at times maddening book in your Autumn 1997 issue, I should like to say what a pity it is that Mr Giles, although rightly stressing that the male alto – under whatever name – was a European and not a peculiarly English phenomenon, has so little information on the decline of the voice in continental Europe. The non-specialist reader is more likely to be interested in when male altos were replaced by female or juvenile ones, and why, than in the subtleties of vocal technique. There is for instance an abundance of historical testimony about the French *haute-contre*. Mr Giles is apparently aware of this, since he mentions two witnesses, A.E. Choron and Florido Tomeoni; but his brief references do scant justice to the importance of their observations.

While in England the high male voice was subject, in Mr Giles' words, to 'a slow slip from fashion', its counterpart in France was officially abolished, if not by act of Parliament, at least by a *diktat* from the Conservatoire. Bernardo Mengozzi, principal teacher of voice at that institution from its foundation to his death in 1800, laid down in his *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire* that:

> Il y a certains ténors qui vont au *La* et au *Si* bémol avec la voix de poitrine, c'est ce que les Français appellent Haute Contre; mais les Ténors qui ont cette étendue sont si rares, qu'on ne doit pas en faire un genre de voix particulier.[1]

The same account appears word-for-word under the heading 'Ténor' in Castil-Blaze's *Dictionnaire de la musique moderne*. Under 'haute-contre' the reader is simply referred to the articles under 'ténor' and 'Contralto'.

Under the influence of the Conservatoire the French musical world adopted the Italianate *soprano, contralto, tenor* instead of the traditional *Dessus, Haute-contre, Taille* as names for the categories of human voice. It seems to have been universally believed that the use of high male voices for the alto part was peculiar to France. Thus Berlioz could write:

> On sait que la classification naturelle des voix humaines est...*soprano* et *contralto* pour les femmes, *ténor* et *basse* pour les hommes...On prétendait, il y a trente ans encore, que la France ne produisait pas de contralti...en consequence,...[ils se] trouvaient remplacés par une voix criarde, forcée et assez rare, qu'on appelait haute-contre, et qui n'est, a tout prendre qu'un premier ténor.[2]

Even the scholarly Julien Tiersot attributed the French use of high male voices to 'très-anciens errements'.[3]

To A.E. Choron, however, the two high male voices were quite distinct:

> Nous venons d'assigner pour étendue à la voix de ténor les intervalles d'*ut* a *sol*, l'exercice rend la plupart des ténors capables d'aller au delà, *sans qu'on doive pour cela confondre cette voix avec la haute-contre*, dont nous allons parler tout à l'heure...[4] [emphasis mine]
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> ...Les véritables hautes-contre, telles qu'on les rencontre fréquemment dans le midi de la France, ne possèdent pas seulement un diapason beaucoup plus élevé que les hauts ténors, elles ont un timbre qui les rend tout à fait distinctes. Ce timbre n'est pas toujours fort agréable, et il a besoin d'être poli par le travail: son caractère consiste principalement dans un son nasal, qui semble le résultat d'un mélange des sons de poitrine et des sons de tête...[5]
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> Les roles qui appartiennent au premier ténor étaient, dans les anciens opéras français, écrits pour de véritables hautes-contre dont la voix semblait clouée dans la région aigüe. Cette habitude s'est heureusement perdue, et l'on emploie aujourd'hui le ténor ainsi que dans le reste de l'Europe...6
>
> Autrefois la voix de haute-contre était employée en France dans la plupart des cathédrales: on lui donnait dans la musique la partie d'alto...[7]

Florido Tomeoni, like Mengozzi an Italian teacher working in France, acknowledged the existence of a male alto voice:

> Les hommes reçoivent de la nature quatre sortes de voix que l'on nomme, basso, baritono, contralto et tenore c'est-à-dire basse-taille, concordant, ténor ou taille, et haute-contre...[8]

He is disparaging about the male contralto or *haute-contre*, which he describes as 'nasillard' and continues:

> En Italie ces sortes de voix sont exclues des théâtres et bannies des concerts; elles ne sont admises que dans les cathédrales, où les ont reléguées le bon goût et les principes naturels de la musique. Mais en France, où l'on suit encore une tout autre marche, ce sont au contraire les voix chéries...elles y occupent...le premier rang que l'on accorderait avec plus de justice à la voix de ténor.

He describes the tenor as

> La plus belle voix que l'on puisse avoir parce qu'elle est la plus naturelle, et ceux qui la possèdent peuvent se regarder comme des êtres privilegiés de la nature: c'est à elle que l'Italie accorde le rang suprême et la prédilection la plus marquée. En France à peine s'en sert-on dans les choeurs; il est a désirer pour le bon goût...qu'elle ne soit pas plus longtemps proscrite et méconnue.[9]

Castile-Blaze, though he tried to argue the *haute-contre* out of existence in the *Dictionnare de la musique moderne*, was inconsistent. In *De l'opéra en France* he wrote:

> Les accents du ténor rendent à merveille la tendresse d'un amant et la fierté chevaleresque d'un jeune guerrier; mais je voudrais que ce fut réellement un ténor, et non pas une haute-contre...cette voix claire et flutée, qui convenait parfaitement aux Colins, aux Pierrots, aux Sylvandres, et au chant maniéré des héros de Lulli et de Rameau, s'accorde mal avec notre musique passionnée, véhémente, et dont le rhythme suit avec fidélité la déclamation théâtrale. Je reconnaîtrai les accens l'éclat étourdissant d'une haute-contre.[10]

It is reasonable to suppose that the male contralto described by Tomeoni is essentially the same as the *voce bianca* or *naturale* which according to W.S. Rockstro was 'similar to the English countertenor of the seventeenth century or the modern male alto.'[11] Charles Burney credited the *haute-contre* Joseph Legros with 'a very fine Counter Tenor voice'. The *haute-contre*, in fact, was not a peculiar French aberration. The question arises why Italian singers like Mengozzi ignored it. Presumably they disliked its quality. Still, it is one thing to say, with Tomeoni, that male contraltos sound terrible; it is quite another to dismiss them, with Mengozzi, as a musical *vice français*.

René Jacobs has suggested that the *haute-contre* and the English countertenor were 'close to the old tenor voice that was...very different from the modern "Tenore robusto" '.[12] But if Tomeoni is to be believed the two voices were as different as chalk and cheese. Choron's reiterated phrase 'la véritable haute-contre' hints at a desire on his part to counter the Conservatoire line that the voice was simply a tenor of exceptional range. Castil-Blaze's observations suggest that even the pre-Duprez tenor was distinguishable from the *haute-contre* by its more robust quality. Jacobs' main authority for his position is Garcia, but is Garcia, born in 1805, likely to have much first-hand knowledge of a voice-type which was no longer employed in the opera house or recognised by the Conservatoire?

The *haute-contre* might have survived, as its English counterpart did, in church use, had it not been for the revolutionary régime, which seized the Church's assets and forced cathedral and collegiate choirs to disband. The refusal of Italian singing teachers to recognise it, and the French belief that it was a peculiar local aberration, were powerful additional influences in its decline. Perhaps if Tomeoni, not Mengozzi, had been head of the Conservatoire, its history might have been different.

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Footnotes

1 Mengozzi, Bernardo, *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire* (Paris, 1803).
2 Berlioz, Hector, *A travers chants*, ed. L. Guichard (Paris, 1971), pp.180–181 (originally published Paris, M. Levy Frères, 1862).
3 Tiersot, Julien, article 'tenor', *Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, Lamirault, 1886–1902).
4 Choron, A.E., *Manuel complet de musique* (Paris, 1836). Pt. 2, t. 3, p.11.
5 *ibid.*, p.12.
6 *ibid.*, p.13.
7 *ibid.*, p.13.
8 Tomeoni, Florido, *Théorie de la musique vocale* (Paris, An VII [1799]), pp.55–6.
9 *ibid.*
10 Castil-Blaze, *De l'opéra en France* (Paris, 1820), pp.237–38.
11 Rockstro, W.S., article 'Sistine Choir' in *Grove*, eds. I–V.
12 Jacobs, René, 'The controversy concerning the timbre of the countertenor' in *Alte Musik Praxis und Reflection* (Basel, 1983), pp.288–306.