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Bruno Turner

Spanish liturgical hymns: a matter of time

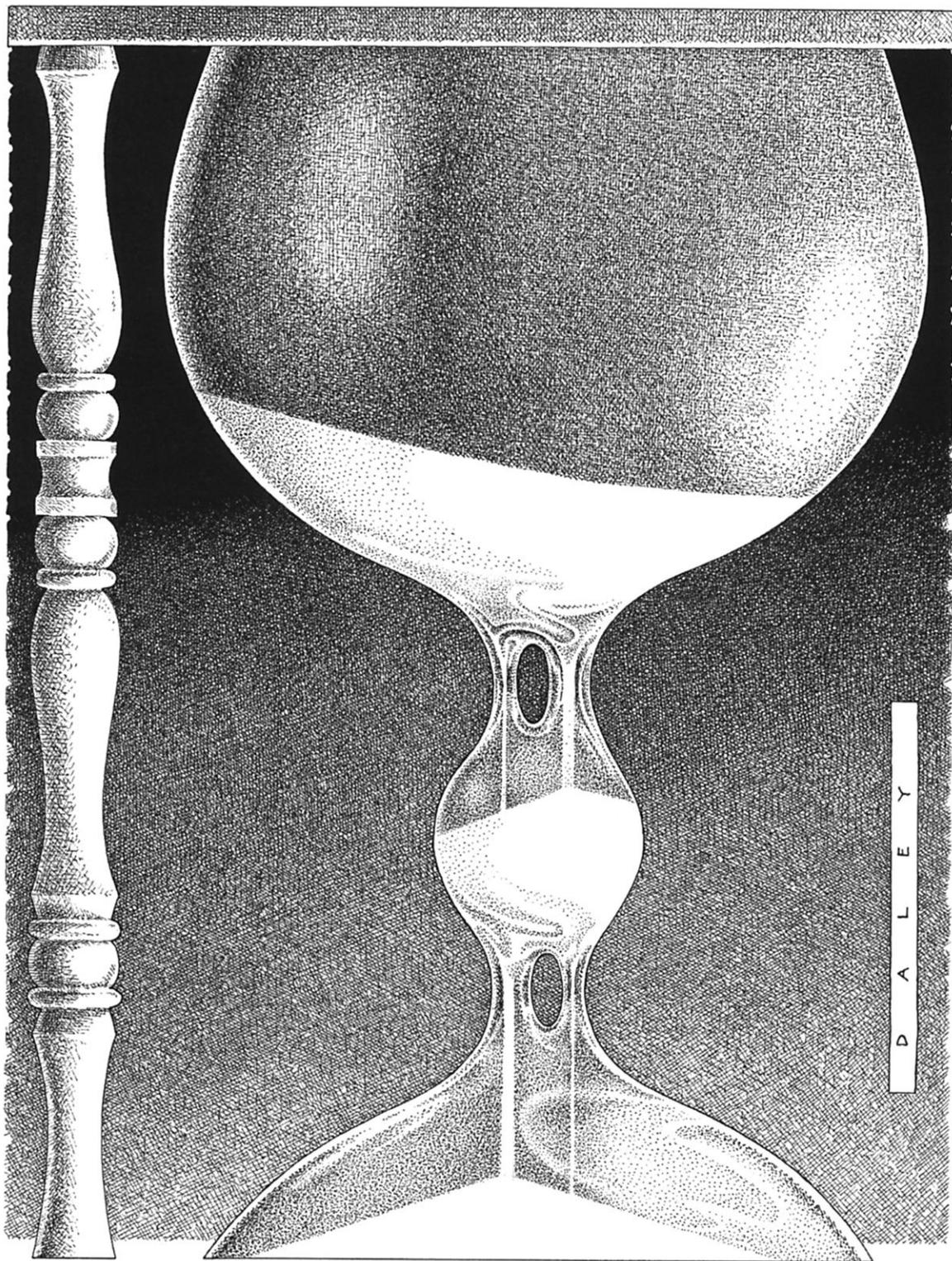
In his article 'Peñalosa on record' (*Early music*, xxii/2 (May 1994), pp.309–318), Kenneth Kreitner beguilingly described the recent flow of recordings of music by his beloved Francisco de Peñalosa. Ken's lightness in his enthusiasm is difficult to emulate. Among other perspicacious remarks, he touched upon a particular aspect of the one hymn by his hero that has entered the world of recording and he paid a compliment to the manner of performance. What he quoted and approved has become the trigger for what follows.

Determined to take up this subject, not to reply to nor to argue with Ken but to explore it, I soon became overwhelmed with sympathy for the proverbial donkey encircled by an array of equidistant carrots. But, as students of 15th- and 16th-century notation know very well, perfect circles contain their imperfections and can be halved, cut, crossed, divided, multiplied and become even a little dotted, confusing numerous matters in and out of proportion, often encouraging 'the fancies of idle men [*commenta otiosorum hominum*] who do nothing except to discover how they may appear busy in their idleness' (Thomas Morley, 1597). So I shall try to keep to the main point, which is a matter of time, but I ask to be excused a few diversions in order to sketch in the background.

Ken Kreitner referred to the hymn *Sacris solemniiis* which Westminster Cathedral Choir had recorded as a filler between two Peñalosa Masses. He approved of the 'reconstruction' of the full seven-verse hymn by alternating chant with the four-voiced polyphony which has survived in a unique manuscript source as just one verse underlaid with the text of verse 1. More unusually the chant was 'a metrical monophonic performance ... based on local sources'. Ken then continued: 'The effect, with the chant moving along rapidly in the monophonic verses and then being slowed threefold, but in the same metre and pitch and distinctly audible in the polyphonic fabric, is persuasive indeed. Clearly this is the way all these hymns should be done.'

Now these are great compliments. I should be gratified by Ken's approval of my edition and I should be happy that James O'Donnell followed my suggestions in that edition (soon to be published with Peñalosa's other hymns by Mapa Mundi); but I feel slightly afraid of that accolade 'Clearly this is the way all these hymns should be done.' Yes, the Westminster performance works well. I think it's right.

Bruno Turner, a Catholic choirmaster until Vatican II, a radio broadcaster since 1958 as conductor and talker, frequent director of Pro Cantione Antiqua since 1968, co-founder of the publishing firm of Mapa Mundi in 1977, is soon to retire from a business career and continue researching liturgical chant and polyphony in Spain.



I actually got Martyn Imrie to add to his liner notes the final sentences in which the manner of performance of this hymn was described. Yet there are at least two notable recordings by very fine groups which contain performances of a very similar hymn (*Pange lingua*) which fly in the face of all Ken's approval of my edition and of Westminster's performance. Far from the metrical tune being three times as fast in the monophonic verses as in its cantus firmus position in the polyphony, the performances attempt to keep the 'tune' at the same speed throughout both the alternating chant and the polyphony: the metrical chant is rendered very slowly and, one has to say, the polyphony really rather quickly.

It is at this point that I must break into the story to provide an interlude, as it were, of background. The subject of the liturgical Office hymn is huge; even narrowed to specifically Spanish hymns during the period c.1450–1630, it is still enormous and (hence my carrot-encircled donkey) multi-faceted. So I propose to alternate some descriptions of the surviving music with more specific references to notation, to time signatures and to the relationships of monophonic chants to the appropriate polyphony, both melodically and rhythmically but, above all, to their possible tempo relationships.

In his article Ken Kreitner mentions 'the clump of 20 hymn settings that open Tarazona 2/3', published in *Das Chorwerk*, lx (1957, not 1953, which was the date of the editor's preceding article on the subject) in editions by the notable authority Rudolf Gerber. Apart from a very few but quite serious errors, this edition suffers from the all-too-frequent fault of omitting not only the chants on which each hymn is based but the hymn texts themselves. Only one verse is printed (that in the manuscript source); not one suggestion is made as to how to perform the music according to the customs of the time and the intentions of the composers.

It is high time that this great body of excellent music—the Spanish hymn repertory from c.1500 to the early 17th century—was released on to the early music scene in editions which present with equal status the contemporary chants and the polyphony composed upon them.

At present the hymns of Victoria, published in

1581, are mostly ignored, despite having their proper chants provided by the composer and despite Pedrell's edition being available for nearly 90 years. Guerrero's 23 Vespers hymns are hardly noticed, but a few have appeared, usually without chant. Navarro's are suffering the undeserved neglect that editions without chant verses continue to cause. Rubio published Navarro's hymn cycle in this way.

Honourably, Professor Robert Snow has devoted attention and great scholarship to the liturgical aspects of the hymns of Guerrero (1584), Navarro (posthumous, 1590) and to the cycle of no fewer than 37 hymns by the Cordoban composer Jerónimo Durán de la Cueva, but we still lack performing editions. The same applies to the cycle by Esquivel (1613) and the lesser numbers of surviving hymns by Ceballos, Torrentes, Gines de Boluda, Alonso Lobo and Vivanco. They remain as minor matters for occasional discussion in articles or dissertations, if at all. One dissertation did at least treat seriously the liturgical hymn cycle of Diego Ortiz (1565) and provided chants (though a more thorough search would have produced better matches). Generally, it is still true that polyphonic vocal hymns, just as with organ verses, are discussed rarely in their proper context. As a result, beautiful music with potentially wide appeal to performers and listeners alike remains neglected.

Our modern problem would seem a strange one to a 16th-century Spaniard. We have the surviving polyphony and we wonder how to find the chant to go with it. Four hundred years ago the reverse was true. The chant was the norm and polyphony was then required to be found or to be newly composed to enhance certain feasts of the church and to 'dress up' and adorn the traditional melodies or, as we shall see, new local ones, especially hymn tunes. You will notice by now that I have eschewed the word 'plainchant' or the Spanish *canto llano*.

Let me quote Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro* (1613), written in Spanish and published in the Spanish kingdom of Naples, regarding hymns: '... los dichos hymnos ... no se pueden llamar con razon cantollano sino de organo ...' More fully, it reads thus: 'The above mentioned hymns ... cannot with reason be called plainchant but mensural music; also understand that in plainchant although the tactus

is named, it is not understood as in mensural music [*canto de órgano*] because there it is controlled by Mood, Time and Prolation and here one has nothing of this.' (I have rendered *los compases* as 'tactus'.) It seems clear to me that Cerone has summed up the distinction that was being made two or more generations earlier by Bermudo (in 1549) and by the Seville Cathedral plainchant master Luys de Villafranca in 1565. The former stated that the *compás* (i.e. tactus) of some hymns is *proporción de sesquialtera* in which three *semibreves* are included in one tactus. He goes on to say that other hymns are in *tiempo de por medio*, requiring now one, now two, now three notes in a tactus. *Tiempo de por medio* is a binary metre, and Bermudo is referring to the division of the *brevis* into smaller notes such as two *semibreves* or one *semibrevis* plus two *minima*. Cerone (1613) included dotted rhythms in his description of binary (*tiempo de por medio*) hymns. Villafranca, teacher and practitioner of chant, colleague of Guerrero, is very clear in his *Breve instruccion de cantollano* (Seville, 1565) when distinguishing the ternary measure used for some hymns as *compás de proporción*, which is the same as Bermudo's *proporción de sesquialtera*, Cerone's term being *proporción ternaria*. As late as 1827 the Jeronymite monk Ignacio Ramoneda (of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial) used the term *ternario menor* for what we would call triple-time hymns notated in black *breves* and *semibreves*. Back in 1548, in the *Ordinarium Urgellinum* (printed in Lyons for the diocese of Urgell in northern Catalunya), no fewer than 52 metrical hymn melodies are to be found, all in black mensural notation, all based on a *compás* of the black *brevis* and, unusually for the 16th century, in a monophonic chant book, prefaced tune by tune with the binary time signature Φ or the ternary $\Phi 3$ in which the *brevis* is perfected, encompassing three *semibreves*. The printing of $\Phi 3$ (or, more often, just 3) increases in use as we progress into the 17th, 18th and early 19th century in Spanish practical and theoretical books of liturgical chant.

At this point I have to remind myself and surviving readers that all this (and more!) has a vital bearing on the aspects of chant which appear to contradict the term 'plainchant', in that there are categories

of Spanish liturgical chant which are neither plain nor, in the full sense, mensural as in the contemporaneous liturgical polyphony. I hope to show that the notation of mensurally notated monophonic chants, especially metrical hymns, has a bearing on the tempo of performance, which in turn relates directly to the matching of these tempos with those of polyphony based on those chants and written for the sole purpose of alternating with them.

I do not intend to stumble into that morass of complexities known as the mensural system of notation with all its 'time' signatures, their evolving and then decaying theoretical and practical meanings, not so much a morass as a 'load of rubbish' (which translates in our vernacular what Athanasius Kircher called, in 1650, 'haec tota farrago'). What we have to investigate are the practical aspects of performance of the music, monophonic and polyphonic, that needs 'remarriage' on a workable basis.

So, let us go back now to the particular chants and polyphonic settings which differ by a huge margin in their tempo matching when recently recorded by highly reputable groups. These are two hymns for the feast of Corpus Christi—*Sacris solemnibus iuncta sint gaudia* (designated in most Spanish liturgical Uses, notably Toledo's, for Matins) and *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium* (assigned to Vespers). Both, especially the latter, became popular for Corpus Christi processions and other eucharistic extraliturgical occasions. *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis* was also used processionally in Holy Week but must never be confused with the original and different *Pange lingua gloriosi prelium certaminis* by Venantius Fortunatus which also occurs in Holy Week. Those unfamiliar with these glorious poems by St Thomas Aquinas may register a flicker of recognition when I mention that *Sacris solemnibus* includes *Panis angelicus* (César Franck's hit tune), and that *Tantum ergo sacramentum* is *Pange lingua's* penultimate verse. (Oh, the nostalgia for the Benediction service; has that gone too?) Greatly loved in Spain until this day, they had their own *more hispano* (local, non-Roman) melodies. They were long-lived (five centuries) and much used, *Pange lingua* more so than *Sacris solemnibus*, Vespers chants being more attended to by composers for polyphonic elaboration. The tunes have a strong family resemblance; they are

Ex.1 The most common version of *Sacris solemniis*, from the *Intonarium Toletanum* (1515), as manually revised in the copy at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

Sa cris so lem ni js iunc ta sint gau di a et ex pre cor di js so nent pre co ni a

re ce dant ve te ra no va sint om ni a cor da vo ces et o pe ra.

notated in the same way with some, but little, variation for at least five centuries. They may go back to the middle or late 14th century, not long after the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi throughout the Western Church. They are nearly always notated in simple triple time with alternating long-short note values, usually *brevis* and *semibrevis* with the *brevis* presumed (without time signature) to be perfect or imperfect according to the mensural rules that would apply under $\text{♩}3$ in the late 15th century and thereafter. They are shown in exx.1 and 2.

Now these are the versions of the tunes that match the *Sacris solemniis* polyphonic verse set by Peñalosa in the unique source (Tarazona, ms.2) and the *Pange lingua* verse as attributed to 'Johanes Urede' (= Wreede) in the so-called Segovia Cancionero (Segovia Cathedral, ms. s.s.). The latter is not the famous multi-sourced *Pange lingua* by Urreda. How strange it is that we have two recordings of the unfamous one, and as far as I know no current one of the much more popular setting which survives in well over 20 sources.

Sacris solemniis appears in between two Peñalosa Masses on a Hyperion CD sung by Westminster

Cathedral Choir. In this performance each hymn tune unit of $\blacksquare\blacklozenge$ is taken at precisely the speed of Peñalosa's (original notation) \diamond , of which there are three to the perfect *brevis* under the *tempus perfectum cum prolatione imperfecta* mensuration (time signature) O , which, when we have halved the values in the forthcoming Mapa Mundi edition (see also Gerber's version, *Das Chorwerk*, lx, p.19), becomes $\frac{3}{2}$ of the modern measure or bar. The Westminster performance, as recommended in my edition, thus makes the monophonic tune—the *canto figurado*—move with three rhythmic units of $\blacksquare\blacklozenge$ in the time of the modern $\frac{3}{2}$ bar. Under James O'Donnell the Westminster choir, a fairly large one in a great building, take the beat (the ♩ of the modern edition) at 54 to the minute, the monophonic 'tune' verses, whose units of $\blacksquare\blacklozenge$ appear in the new edition as ♩ , becoming in effect triplets against the polyphony's ♩ beat. Using the same principle with a small 'early music' group, I would probably take no more than about $\text{♩} = 60$ in music like this.

It cannot be without significance that Ken Kreitner's compliments to Gothic Voices and to Pro Cantione Antiqua are centred on one of Peñalosa's

Ex.2 *Pange lingua*, from the *Intonarium Toletanum* (1515), as manually revised in the copy at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The small bracketed notes represent the most commonly found variants in other sources.

Pan - ge lin - gua glo - ri - o - si _____ Cor - po - ris my - ste - ri - um,

San - gui - nis - que pre - ci - o - si, _____ Quem in mun - di pre - ci - um, _____

Fru - ctus ven - tris ge - ne - ro - si, _____ Rex ef - fu - dit gen - ti - um.

motets, *Precor te, Domine*, recorded by both, in their different ways, but, my stopwatch tells me, at exactly MM62 for the ♩ (modern halved values). The opening of Okeghem's *Salve regina* as recently recorded by the Clerk's Group, one of the most gloriously right performances of such music I have ever heard, is exactly at MM60 for the modern ♩ (Okeghem's ◊ in perfect time ○). Which leads me to say that Peñalosa (and Urreda too) have much the same mixture and density of note lengths and musical activity in their *tempus perfectum* music as Okeghem customarily has. If one were to perform Okeghem's *Missa L'homme armé* at this sort of speed it would be, I feel, just right, not too fast to make the phrases breathless or rushed with blurred detail, not so slow as to lose the excitement of syncopations, ornamental embellishments and the underlying structure of rather moderate triple time. Would anyone, though, seriously suggest that the famous and vigorous monophonic tune *L'homme armé* should be rendered at the speed at which it appears and would be sung in Okeghem's Kyrie for example?

Yet the excellent Ensemble Daedalus in a recording of music from *El Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia* (an Accent CD with that title) performs the *Pange lingua* Spanish tune at the same speed in the monophonic alternate verses as they sing it as cantus firmus embedded by Urreda in the polyphonic (*tempus perfectum*) setting attributed to him in this manuscript. By singing the tune very slowly (I time it at MM29 for the ■◆ unit) and the polyphony (I actually made it MM30 for the modern full bar, original perfect *brevis*) really rather fast, they get the two—monodic tune and complex polyphony—on to the same beat, MM90, for the tune's original black *semibrevis* and the polyphony's original white *semibrevis*. They are treating the tune in its relationship to the polyphony on a theoretical tempo basis three times slower than the Westminster Cathedral Choir did with a very similar tune in an exactly similar situation. Even in the practical result they arrive at polyphony that is well over 50 per cent faster and chant more than 40 per cent slower than Westminster's.

In the Decca CD *Music in the time of Columbus*, the Grupo de Musica 'Alfonso X El Sabio' perform this same Urreda *Pange lingua*, the unique Segovia setting, in exactly the same way at almost precisely

the same speed, with a beat of MM90 for the original *semibrevis* (white) in the polyphony and for the (black) *semibrevis* of the metrical chant.

(I suspect, by the way, that the two Spanish groups were using an edition—possibly the same one, but adapted by the performers—which ignores two obvious errors in the first melodic phrase of the contratenor (altus) part, errors spotted and 'corrected' by Anglès when he published this piece in *Anuario musical*, vii (1952). The nonsense Anglès had noticed is cheerfully sung in both these recordings, but, as the singers rush through the polyphony the crude clashes pass quickly. Although Anglès's correction produces perfect musical sense, I have found a better solution based on my observation that the 'Segovia' scribe wrongly altered one note value and failed to correct another. My 'corrected' version will appear in a forthcoming Mapa Mundi edition.)

My conclusion has to be that a scholar working on the Segovia manuscript 'cancionero' has influenced the performers of both recordings to adopt what I feel is a completely wrong tempo relationship in the alternation of metrical chant and polyphony. I have to ask why it is that in another CD by the Grupo 'Alfonso X' their excellent director, Luis Lozano, erudite specialist in Spanish *canto llano*, expert exponent of its mensural and metrical varieties (*música métrica, canto figurado* etc.), should be able to adopt, with totally convincing results, completely different tempos that are sprightly and swinging in his performances (without polyphony) of the very hymns I have discussed in this article, *Sacris solemniis* and *Pange lingua*, and, also for Corpus Christi, *Verbum supernum*. In the RNE CD *Obras de canto llano*, Lozano has taken the tune unit ■◆ at MM62, 60 and 64 respectively in these hymns. Westminster, a big choir, took *Sacris solemniis* at MM54; I recommend around MM60. Luis Lozano is fractionally faster here, yet, there he was, just like the Ensemble Daedalus, doing the same music, the identical tune at half, yes, exactly half the speed (MM30 in fact) for the tune unit ■◆ when trying to make it match the polyphonic cantus firmus by equating the monophonic and the polyphonic *semibreves*, as though both were in *tempus perfectum*.

Why not?—at least in theory, you may ask. Is it not largely an individual's opinion, a subjective

Ex.3 'Laudamus te' from *Missa de duplicibus maioribus* in original note values; clefs C1, C3, F3, F4; time signature Φ except tenor, which lacks time signature



matter and one that comes within normally admissible margins of difference, applying to music of most periods and affected by acoustics, size of choir, meaning of texts and personal style? After all, it is Westminster Cathedral Choir (under David Hill in 1987) who are still the candidates for the slowest performance on record of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, the fastest being Regensburg Domchor (Archiv LP, 1961). The 'score' was Westminster's Agnus Dei I and II at 9' 20" and Regensburg's same two Agnus Dei movements at 4' 48". I recall once timing this whole Mass in various performances, and, if my memory is correct, Westminster were mostly between MM44 and 66 to Palestrina's original minim, with Regensburg at over MM100, up to 112, for the same note value. If that kind of difference can occur, then have I a right to carp, still less claim right on my side, over the matter of these little known Hispanic hymns? Is it a specious argument to support a personal feeling, for me to argue that the two very good Spanish groups are wrong to slow down the chant and speed up the polyphony to match uneasily in the middle? Well, I do not think it is just personal, subjective and instinctive. While it is reassuring to have Ken Kreitner's support for the rightness of my way as demonstrated by Westminster Cathedral Choir, here is some more objective evidence.

There is an invaluable survey and lucid discussion in the article 'Plainsong and polyphony 1250–1550', John Caldwell's opening contribution to the excellent collection of essays edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Plainsong in the age of polyphony* (Cambridge, 1992). This should be read carefully, of course, but without delay one should skip to the penultimate essay, 'The performance of chant in the Renaissance

and its interactions with polyphony' by Richard Sherr. My present foray into this vast and complex subject cannot include a resumé of all Caldwell's and Sherr's observations, but it does emerge very clearly not only that chant (plain, 'un-plain' of mixed values, the positively mensural, with hymns often completely metrical) and polyphony constantly interacted in *both* directions; they influenced each other. I am quite clear, and these essays seem to support me, that this two-way influence can be traced, especially in hymns, back to the 14th century. As to notation, John Caldwell's discussion is convincing in respect of the chant notation's black *brevis* becoming the temporal equivalent of the mensural (polyphonic) notation's white (void) *semibrevis*. The smaller values follow accordingly. Caldwell quotes the examples of the English 'plainsong' Masses, but I would like to show a very brief illustration of part of an alternatim Gloria from *Missa de duplicibus maioribus* ... *con el cantollano Toledano como se canta en S. Lorenzo [sic]*, the first work in a Spanish manuscript of music as used at the Jeronymite monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, a book now kept at the Library of the Hispanic Society of America. In ex.3 I have scored 'Laudamus te' in the original note values.

In presenting my case, I cannot help but cast some doubts upon Ken Kreitner's compliment, 'Clearly this is the way all these hymns should be done.' But my bundle of evidence does, I believe, vindicate my certainty that striving for the equality of the black and the white *semibreves*, so that the triple time tunes and the perfect time \circ settings go at the same pace, is quite surely wrong.

Ken Kreitner's 'clump of 20 hymns' in Tarazona ms.2/3 consist of eight by Escobar (all in Φ duple time), six by Alonso de Alva (all in Φ except one which, no doubt mistakenly, has C in two voices, Φ in the other two). Sanabria's single hymn has Φ . The four hymns by Peñalosa use his favourite duple signature C2 in two hymns (*Iesu nostra redemptio* and the so-called *O lux beata Trinitas*, a crude contrafactum); *Sanctorum meritis* has three voices under C2 signature with the other voice given Φ . Then our two remaining hymn verses are Peñalosa's *Sacris solemniis* and Urreda/Wreede's *Pange lingua*, both in

tempus perfectum \circ with both containing, bold and clear, the metrical triple-time tunes slowed down in their tenors. Not a sign of a *quick* triple time in any of the polyphonic settings. Most of the chant tunes are mensural, by which I mean that the composers clearly follow and incorporate the tunes as they knew them in practice and as found in the chant sources, using the rhythmic mixtures of long and short notes as in the chant-sources but in white mensural notation. This applies to the binary tunes like *Iste confessor, Ut quæant laxis, Sanctorum meritis* etc., even though some liberties are taken and some decorations added, just as in the two triple-time hymns for Corpus Christi.

We have to move to the other vast source that is broadly of the same period as Tarazona ms.2/3, the manuscript collections now known as Barcelona M.454, and find in it a few hymns mostly in Φ duple, Urreda's *Pange lingua* in \circ (differing only in detail from Tarazona's version), and most interestingly two anonymous versions of *Sacris solemniis*. One is in \circ with the tune embedded and notated as in Peñalosa's, surrounded by busy counterpoint. The other is note-against-note homophonic writing, quite undecorated, an absolutely chordal setting of the melody, now in the top voice, and destined to bounce along just like my proposed metrical chant tempos, for it is in $\square\lozenge$ with the signature $\Phi 3$. Perform this simple composition and the metrical tune in alternation, with a perfect *brevis* beat about MM54–60, and you have something that works (and is fun!). Here we have the beginning, as far as our sources are known, of a tradition that can be illustrated, not just through the 16th century but way beyond to quick-time chordal organ verses such as those by Antonio Martín y Coll (*Flores de musica*, 1708)—there are various versions, notably one in $\Phi 3$ used by Luis Lozano, most effectively, on the RNE CD *Obras de canto llano*. In a manuscript choirbook at Mexico City Cathedral dated 1717, Manuel de Zumaya's *Sacris solemniis* has $\Phi\frac{3}{2}$ clearly intended for alternation on an equal tempo basis between chant and polyphony. So we have to look upon the triple-time tunes as having a fairly brisk 'bouncy' tempo which is matched, when treated to organ or polyphonic choir setting, by equally brisk 'jolly' music that is fairly simple or by a more complex, elabo-

rated setting which incorporates the tune slowed down, a structural girder, a treatment not unlike the more straightforward settings of *L'homme armé* within *tempus perfectum* polyphony at the end of the 15th century.

The way the hymn verse technique evolved during the period 1500–1700 is a massive subject. Let us simply take an overview of time signatures. Then we shall see how right Kircher was in his concluding comments (*Musurgia*, 1650) on a system (his *farrago*) that he finally dismissed as *confusissimam* ('most confused'). Nearly 350 years later, I would like to ask who dares to say when (roughly even), or in which music by which composers, Φ not only ceased to be diminution, became a substitute for C, continued to be shown as Φ (Spanish *compás mayor*) when it was already meaning effectively C (Spanish *compasillo*, the two-beat rapid tactus on the *semibrevis*)? That long-winded question could be expanded indefinitely, and I put it simply to show how knotted up one can get. After all it was Thomas Morley, long before Kircher, who explained the theory very well but, exasperated and with wanton devilment, dismissed a great deal and reminded his readers that *tripla* proportion truly existed only when there were *six* small notes to the tactus, not *three*. My problem with my own decision for the performance of the triple-time metrical chants so liked by Ken Kreitner, is that it works well with Peñalosa's and Urreda's Corpus Christi hymns and it seems to work for most of the Spanish repertory of hymn verses. But in theory I may be wrong if I want matching tempos 1:1 when the polyphony is in (theoretical) *sesquialtera*.

If we move away from c.1500–1530 Spanish sources and turn to the opening hymn of Constanzo Festa's great cycle we find black triple-time metrical chant provided for *Conditor alme siderum* and then three polyphonic settings, verses 2, 4 and 6, which have the same musical figure as a head motif, and have the tune notated $\lozenge\square\lozenge$ etc.; yet each verse has a different time signature, \circ , Φ and $\circ 3$ —an unequivocal indication that Festa wanted three successively faster tempos. There can be no doubt that this is one of the first indications, and a very clear one, of hymns composed as a set of variations upon a tune not only by counterpoint and decoration but by tempo changes. Throughout Europe such practice became common

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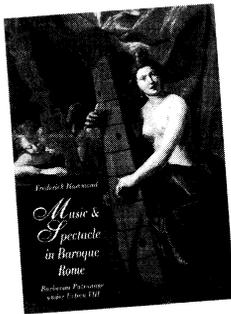
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for a while; after 1600 composers lost interest and mostly reverted to providing just one verse (to be repeated with the words of other verses).

This was certainly true of Spain. The Toledo choirmaster (three times in and out of the job) Andres Torrentes played games with *Conditore alme siderum* using triple-time short–long–short within C duple measures and then in his final stanza displacing the accents within the faster triple-time $\Phi 3$. Rodrigo Ceballos uses Φ and C indiscriminately and contrives to let *Pange lingua*'s tune proceed in its ternary way across the duple measures. The great Guerrero wrote almost all his hymns (1584) in Φ but used \circ in the 'old' (Peñalosa) way for *Conditore alme* and *Pange lingua*. In the latter he goes to Φ in verse 6 but like Ceballos lets the tune go effectively in \circ across it. Guerrero uses fast $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$, then (slowly) \circ , then $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ for his three verses of *Lauda mater* (Mary Magdalen). Navarro's great cycle, published posthumously in 1590, nearly always uses Φ , rarely C (and with no obvious significance), for most hymns (and most are duple anyway), but occasionally mixes verse by verse \circ and $\Phi 3$. Esquivel (1613) never uses Φ , only C for duple; he sets the new (Breviary 1602) Magdalen hymn *Pater superni luminis* in quick triple time using $\circ 3$, and when he wants a slow exposition of a tune he employs, for instance, \circ for St Michael and for Corpus Christi's *Pange lingua*; the Michaelmas hymn unusually has the *Pange lingua* tune in a rare variant. Back in the post-Morales time of Torrentes and Gines de Boluda at Toledo Cathedral the latter used \circ for one hymn and Φ (non-proportionally) for two others when setting hymns that are triple time $\blacksquare \blacklozenge$ in the local chant books. One could (and one must not) go on and on, but it has to be a noteworthy comment that was added into Malaga ms.VIII (misprinted XIII in the relevant paragraph in *Portugaliae Musica*) when 'Cantase a compasillo' (meaning 'sing with a tactus on the *semibrevis*', i.e. beat minims) appears beside one of Estêvão de Brito's 'arrangements' of the century-old Urreda *Pange lingua* which had somehow been given the impossible signature of $\Phi 3$ —impossible because de Brito has made Urreda's piece even busier with little notes than it was. The instruction is in effect to correct $\Phi 3$ to \circ and my comment is that to regard \circ as *compasillo* is significant in itself. This, in turn, is a

comment and reassurance in regard to the several surviving sources of the ubiquitous Urreda *Pange* that from around 1600 begin to be copied out in C (*compasillo*) rather than the virtually obsolete O.

All this serves to undermine any claim (one that I did not make) that there was or is only one way to treat the relationship of Spanish triple-time metrical hymn tunes to the polyphonic settings of them. But equally, and I do claim this, it does vanquish any idea that puts them at the same slow speed as the *tempus perfectum* O settings or the same kind of setting (new or renotated) in C *tempus imperfectum*. Indeed, Guerrero's hymn for Mary Magdalen, mentioned earlier, reinforces my contention that composers regarded the faster triple times as employed in some of their verses as that of the long-short triple-metre hymn tunes and that any verse in O would have the tune slowed down in order to surround it with more elaborate counterpoint.

The subject is a vast minefield and more investigation is required on a practical basis for modern performers. Guerrero's *Liber vesperarum* opens with a series of psalms (alternate verses), provided with black mensurally notated psalm tones for the first monophonic verse. Guerrero's settings have C as their normal time signature, with occasional Φ_2^3 verses. Then quite unexpectedly, uniquely in this book, he ends his final psalm *Lauda Hierusalem* with C3 (*tiempo menor de proporción menor*, the lively measure of villancicos) in which '... se cantan tres minimas en un compas ...' (Andrés Lorente, *El porqué de la música* (Alcalá de Henares, 1672)). Do these three minims have a faster tempo than the three *semibreves* of Φ_2^3 when related to C? What of C3 or O3 as employed by other polyphonic hymn composers as that *proportio tripla* in which three *semibreves* pass for one *semibrevis* in *integer valor* (and which Morley mocks as not true *tripla*, not being three to the beat but to the two-beat tactus)? And just to throw in one more question, let us ask if we can take literally the theorists who in discussing *canto llano* (plainchant) and *canto figurado* (measured chant) attached to the black *brevis* (i.e. square *punctum*) the term *compás*? I question whether they meant a two-beat tactus; there is a good case for understanding that the black *brevis/punctum* is the beat of a liturgical chant. And to cause us more con-

fusion, scribes and printers often continued the older custom of using ■■ rather than or as well as ■◆ (even in the same book and for the same tune).

Whatever *farrago* it may have seemed in 1650, Guerrero in his prime, let us say 1555 to 1590, seemed to attach great significance to his distinctions between the signs. The 1584 *Vespers* book contains ten Magnificats and three bear Φ in nearly all movements, a few are in Φ_2^3 ; but in Guerrero's even-verse *secundi toni* setting the *Sicut erat* is in C. This practice is continued by the later (and still underrated) composer Vivanco, whose 18 Magnificats seem to contain planned tempo indications using a mixture of verses in Φ and in C. Early 17th-century Spanish and Portuguese Requiem Masses do the same. There really is some distinction lingering on, sometimes carelessly, sometimes inconsistently (occasionally quite mistakenly by printer's error), but often planned with a clear intention to retain a real tempo difference between *compás mayor* Φ (tactus on the *brevis*, at least in theory) and *compasillo* C (tactus on the *semibrevis*, i.e. beating the minims). It is not necessarily true, even in the generation or two after Guerrero that '*tactus maior* and *tactus minor* ... indicate not different tempos but different conductor's beats for the same tempo' (Apel, *The notation of polyphonic music* (Cambridge, MA, 1942) discussing the apparent universality of Φ in the middle and late 16th century). A cautionary note must be sounded: although Palestrina, Lassus and a host of others used little else but Φ , almost all Victoria's motets as published under his supervision in Italy bear the *compasillo* C sign; only when republished at Dillingen did they appear with Φ instead.

This diversion has been intended to reinforce my argument that there can be no conclusion that there is only one tempo for a mensural chant when performed in alternation with polyphony based on it. I do believe that the main body of Hispanic settings of polyphonic hymns, at least during the 16th century (and I include the hymns of Peñalosa and colleagues, though a little earlier), are based upon the mensurally notated tunes, ternary or binary, having a unit of tempo either ■◆ that is really Φ_3 , not O, or having ■ (binary) that is really Φ . This is exactly what occurs in the 52 hymns of the *Ordinarium Urgellinum* (1548). It is implied in the many

Ex.4 *Sanctorum meritis*, from the *Intonarium Toletanum* (1515), transposed to match Peñalosa's setting

San - cto - rum me - ri - tis in - cly - ta gau - di - a, Pan - ga - mus, so - ci - i,
ges - ta - que for - ti - a, Nam gli - scit a - ni - mus pro - me - re can - ti - bus Vi - cto - rum ge - nus op - ti - mum.

Ex.5 Urreda/Wreede, *Pange lingua*, unique setting from Segovia Cathedral ms. s.s.

The tenth note of the contraltus should have been shortened, not the third.

[Superius] Pan - ge lin -
[Contraltus] Pan - ge lin - gua glo - ri -
[Revised version of 'Contraltus'] Pan - ge lin - gua glo - ri -
[Tenor] Pan - ge lin - gua glo - ri -
[Bassus] Pan - ge lin -

mensurally notated hymns in the *Intonarium Toletanum* and *Psalterium ... toletane* (both 1515). The black *brevis*, ternary or binary, is the equivalent of the white *semibrevis* of most polyphony when in *integer valor* under O, C or, more often, Φ, the latter not being a proportion but, in that period, being used indiscriminately in the place of C. The fact that C *compasillo* comes back with a vengeance late in the 1500s and dominates all but the most conservative liturgical music in the 17th century is another story.

Since I have now munched a few of the many encircling carrots, please excuse me for not having attempted all. The ramifications of Spanish liturgical chants as practised through the 15th to 19th centuries are material for much more study and for future articles and editions.

Finally, I append two brief musical illustrations. Having shown above two of the most popular ternary hymn tunes in exx.1 and 2, I offer *Sanctorum*

meritis as an example of a popular binary melody (ex.4), one of many that survived in use from the 15th to the 19th century, and which was employed by composers of polyphony, Peñalosa being one of the first.

It is necessary to put on record that Urreda/Wreede's multi-sourced *Pange lingua* is the Tarazona ms.2/3 version published by Gerber in *Das Chorwerk*, lx, and that the one in Barcelona M.454 is the same setting with small variants only. The setting sung by two Spanish groups in the recordings discussed above is the different and unique composition in the Segovia *cancionero*, which should be corrected, in my opinion, as shown in ex.5.

I must thank Tess Knighton, Bernadette Nelson, Owen Rees, Luis Carlos Gago and Wolfgang Freis for sending me, even specially obtaining, information, transcriptions and xeroxed sources, although eventually not all could be used in the present article.