

## ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: MY HARP IS TURNED TO MOURNING:  
TOMÁS LUIS DE VICTORIA, ALONSO  
LOBO, AND THE RECORDING HISTORY  
OF THE SPANISH RENAISSANCE CANON

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Until the 1961 publication of *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* by the American musicologist Robert Stevenson, the music of the Spanish late Renaissance masters Juan Navarro (ca. 1530-1580), Alonso Lobo (1555-1617), Sebastián de Vivanco (c. 1551-1622), and Juan Esquivel (fl. 1608-1613) was unknown to all but a small number of specialists. Their music remained largely unrecorded until the late 1970s, and since then, each of the four composers has followed a different trajectory in the world of Renaissance music. Where does their music stand today, and what forces have played a role in shaping the reception of their music? To answer this question, the historiography of Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611), the most widely

renowned Spanish Renaissance composer, is explored, through music history survey texts, early editions from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the recording history of his music, particularly in England. Additionally, a “meta-discography” of Victoria’s works, which compiles statistics detailing and how frequently each work by Victoria appears on disc, is constructed and analyzed. After musical analysis of some of Victoria’s most widely-recorded works, a similar meta-discography and analysis are made and applied to the music of Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel, with the hope of better understanding which works have become canonical or are in the process of entering the canon. The historiography and recording history of Victoria’s music, as well as the association of the vague idea of “mysticism” with his music, has had some effect on the recording history of Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel. The appendices include complete discographies of the music of Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel, as well as the meta-discographies of those four composers as well as Victoria.

MY HARP IS TURNED TO MOURNING:  
TOMÁS LUIS DE VICTORIA, ALONSO LOBO, AND  
THE RECORDING HISTORY OF THE SPANISH RENAISSANCE CANON

by

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## Chapter I: Introduction and Biographical Information

In his pioneering 1961 book, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, musicologist Robert Stevenson wrote extensive chapters on the biographies and compositions of the three most influential composers of the Spanish Renaissance: Cristóbal de Morales (1500-1553), Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599), and Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611). In addition to this traditionally recognized trio of Spanish Renaissance masters, Stevenson included a chapter entitled “Other Church Masters,” which included shorter sections on four composers: Juan Navarro (ca. 1530-1580), Alonso Lobo (ca. 1555-1617), Sebastián de Vivanco (ca. 1550-1622), and Juan Esquivel (fl. 1608).<sup>1</sup> Additionally, he listed thirty-five other Spanish composers active during the Spanish Golden Age, the period of flourishing arts in Spain that roughly encompasses the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. Stevenson’s publication opened doors for countless musicologists and musicians to explore the rich repertoire of Spanish Renaissance polyphony. When Stevenson’s book was published, no music by any of these composers had been recorded on a major label, only a few of their works had been recorded in Spain, and few if any performing editions of this music had been published. In the intervening years, however, their music has appeared on at least 90 albums.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 239-299.

Almost six decades have passed since the publication of *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, and much has changed in the landscape of early music. Ever-improving recording technology and the changing nature of media and platforms for listening to music have made recordings of early music more widely available to anyone who might want to listen. In the last decade alone, the development and widespread use of internet streaming services such as Spotify, Apple Music, Amazon Music, and YouTube has made listening to early music easier than ever. Websites such as the International Music Score Library Project ([imslp.org](http://imslp.org)) and the Choral Public Domain Library ([cpdl.org](http://cpdl.org)) have made hundreds of thousands of scores available to download for free, many of these scores by Renaissance era composers. There has been a proliferation in ensembles dedicated to performing and recording early music, including the Hilliard Ensemble, the Tallis Scholars, the Oxford Camerata, Stile Antico, The Sixteen, Ensemble Plus Ultra, and the Gabrieli Consort, to name just a tiny fraction of them. These kinds of groups flourish not just in metropolises like London, New York and Amsterdam but also in far-flung locations all across the world. Likewise, early music concert series and festivals have been established not only in important cultural and academic hubs like Utrecht, Boston, and Berkeley, but also in rural Western Massachusetts, Western Maryland, and suburban Washington state.

Choral singing culture itself has changed in the past few decades. Trends in choral composition, such as the persistent use of cluster chords as exemplified by the music of Morten Lauridsen and Eric Whitacre, have popularized choral singing with

high school and college students, leading to a wider interest in the genre as a whole. Moreover, there are now more viable career paths than ever before for singers wishing to specialize in ensemble singing, which has resulted in a surge in interest in early music. An increasingly wide variety of Renaissance works have made their way into the concert programs and recordings of choral ensembles whose scope of repertoire extends to music from the present day.

In light of how early music's place in our culture has evolved over time, it is worth revisiting the list of "Other Church Masters" laid out by Stevenson. Where does the music of Juan Navarro, Alonso Lobo, Sebastián de Vivanco, and Juan Esquivel stand today? How has their music been received by modern performers of early music and choral music more broadly? What accounts for some of their music being more widely performed and recorded than others?

A study of the reception history and recording history of the music of Tomás Luis de Victoria can help us to answer these questions. Victoria is widely recognized as the greatest Spanish composer of the Renaissance, and therefore works by other Spanish composers of that time are by default placed into dialogue with his music. Many writers have described Victoria's music as having "mystical" qualities. Is it possible that the reception history of Victoria's music has created a template to which the music of other Spanish composers is compared? By understanding the context in which Victoria's music came to be known and heard, we can gain insight into the extramusical factors that have played a role in shaping Victoria's stature in the canon, and by extension, have influenced the reception of other Spanish Renaissance

composers associated with him. In Chapter 2, this history is investigated through editions of Victoria's music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, music history surveys, and the recording history of his music. A discussion of canon formation in music provides an intellectual framework for assessing the establishment of the "Victoria canon." Special attention is paid to Victoria's music in England, due to that country's famous choral tradition and its role at the center of the early music recording industry.

As a framework for comparing the recording history of Victoria to that of Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel, I have created a "meta-discography" of Victoria's music, which lists how many recordings have been made of each of his works. Chapter 3 presents information from this meta-discography, as well as historical and musical analysis of some of Victoria's most prominent works. Extensive musical analysis is then provided to determine the musical qualities most closely associated with Victoria's most well-known music, qualities to which the music of Stevenson's "Other Church Masters" will be compared. Chapter 4 tells the recording history of music by Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel, first in narrative form, and then through the device of the meta-discography. That recording history is followed by musical analysis of some of their most frequently recorded works, as well as a few works that have never been recorded. By unpacking the historiographical framework of Spanish Renaissance music, examining recording histories, and musical analysis, I aim to demonstrate a correlation between the written and recording histories of Victoria's music and the reception of music by Navarro,

Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel. Further, I hope that reflecting upon the importance of recordings and investigating the many factors that shape our repertoires will instigate critical thought on how we choose our repertoire for performance and construct our canons.

### *The “Other Church Masters”*

As Stevenson explains in his chapter on “Other Church Masters,” there was an abundance of excellent composers working in Spain for a number of reasons. Instead of one or two major musical centers, as was the case of London’s stature in England, over two-dozen musical centers thrived during the Spanish Golden Age. The different cathedrals publicly competed with one another for the most talented chapelmasters, composers, and singers, giving opportunities for numerous composers to rise to prominence.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the four composers of the present study, Stevenson lists of thirty-five other Spanish composers from the Golden Age are accompanied by substantial endnotes.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, he chose to focus on Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel in the main body of his text. Stevenson describes his choice to focus on the lives and works of these composers as being somewhat arbitrary, but he goes on to provides sufficient justification for it:

“The criteria for this selection includes: (1) extensive publication before 1611 (the year of Victoria’s death and the terminal year adopted for the present study); (2) activity in Spain rather than in Italy; (3) centralization of activity in the sacred rather than in the secular field.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 239-241.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 239, 301-333.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

My choice to focus on those same four composers stems primarily from a desire to revisit the status of their music over half a century after Stevenson's publication. Additionally, the recording histories of these specific Spanish composers show four distinct trajectories. Juan Navarro's music has been largely unrecorded, and seems to be referenced more than actually heard or analyzed. Likewise, Juan Esquivel's music, though more frequently recorded than Navarro's, has remained marginal, despite the existence of an entire book devoted to his life and music.<sup>5</sup> Sebastián de Vivanco's music has been recorded more widely than that of the previous two composers, though with a few exceptions, his music has remained within the realm of Renaissance specialists. Alonso Lobo's music, on the other hand, has reached far more listeners than the previous three composers, with recordings by specialist groups and more mainstream ensembles alike, appearing on disc alongside other Renaissance works as well as with beloved choral classics from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

### *Juan Navarro*

Juan Navarro (c. 1530-1580) was born in the town of Marchena, roughly thirty miles east of Seville. His name is written on his posthumously published *Psalmi, Hymni ac Magnificat* of 1590 as “*Joannis Navarri Hispalen.*”, the word *Hispalensis* meaning “Sevillian,” since Marchena falls within the province of Seville. Navarro

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<sup>5</sup> Clive Walkley, *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2010).

sang in Marchena under the direction of Cristóbal de Morales (c. 1500-1553), at Jaén Cathedral, and later at Málaga Cathedral, once again under Morales. He served as *maestro de capilla* at the collegiate church in Valladolid (1562-64), Ávila Cathedral (1564-66) in Victoria's hometown, Salamanca Cathedral (1566-74), the cathedral in Ciudad Rodrigo (1574-78) where Juan Esquivel was among his pupils, and finally at Palencia Cathedral from 1578 until his death in 1580. He was highly respected in his time, as shown by the Salamanca Cathedral chapter's invitation for him to take over the vacant position of chapelmaster without undertaking a formal audition and without the customary public advertisement of the position.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, he is alone among Spanish Renaissance composers to have been honored with a posthumous publication of his collected works in the formidable *Psalmi, Hymni ac Magnificat* (Rome, 1590) of 177 leaves, "engineered not by the composer himself, but by an admirer willing to defray the costs."<sup>7</sup>

The 1590 print contains a total of fifty-three works: twelve vespers psalms, twenty-seven hymns, one setting of the Te Deum, nine magnificat settings, and four Marian antiphons (dissertation, 26-29).<sup>8</sup> Additionally, a number of manuscripts and choir books contain additional works that can securely be ascribed to Navarro, bringing the total number of his works to ninety-one.<sup>9</sup> The contents of the 1590 print exist in a hand-written modern edition by Samuel Rubio from 1978, though this

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<sup>6</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 243.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Howard Thomas, "The Music of Juan Navarro Based on Pre-Existent Musical Materials," PhD diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1990, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, 26-29.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

edition is not commercially available and only select libraries hold copies. Timothy Howard Thompson's 1990 dissertation on Navarro's music based on pre-existing material contains in its appendix hand-written editions of works not included in Rubio's edition. The popularity of Navarro's vespers music in the century after his death can be deduced by manuscript copies of his music that survive in Puebla, Mexico and Vila Viçosa, Portugal, as well as throughout Spain, albeit sometimes with changed texts to accommodate liturgical revisions.<sup>10</sup> Stevenson ascribes the widespread use of Navarro's music to, among other qualities, its succinctness, "his ability to capture a mood immediately," his "fidelity to the plainchant source," and "his preference for rational rather than esoteric devices."<sup>11</sup>

### *Alonso Lobo*

Alonso Lobo (1555-1617) was born in the town of Osuna, just east of Seville, where he rose to the level of canon and chapelmaster in the collegiate church before the age of thirty-five.<sup>12</sup> In 1591, he became assistant to Francisco Guerrero at Seville Chapel, one of the largest and most extravagant Catholic institutions in Spain at the time. After two years working under and learning from Guerrero, he was elected in 1593 as chapelmaster at Toledo Cathedral, another of the most prestigious cathedrals in Spain. It was in Toledo that he wrote the majority of his surviving music. In 1604, Lobo returned to Seville Cathedral to become chapelmaster, and remained there until

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<sup>10</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 258-259.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 261 ff. for a detailed biography and summary of Lobo's compositions.

he died in 1617. He was regarded as an equal by Victoria, and worn copies of his *Liber primus missarum* found in Mexico City, Puebla, and Coimbra show that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he was regarded in Mexico and Portugal as well as in Spain as “one of the finest Spanish composers.”<sup>13</sup>

Lobo’s only publication, the *Liber primus missarum*, was published in 1602 with the help of his friend, none other than Tomás Luis de Victoria, who acted as Lobo’s proxy in Madrid during the publication process. This collection contains six mass settings (five parody masses based on motets by Guerrero, and one based on a Palestrina motet) followed by seven motets. Additional manuscripts and choirbooks found in Seville transmit other works, including the Lamentations of Jeremiah for Holy Saturday. One short book has been written, albeit in Spanish, about Lobo’s life and music, and also contains a hand-written edition of his Lamentations, *Christus factus est*, and *Miserere*.<sup>14</sup> Despite the relatively small number of surviving works, we shall see that of the four composers investigated in Stevenson’s book and in the present study, Lobo has enjoyed a much richer recording history than the other three composers combined.

Lobo’s music exhibits a more understated form of contrapuntal mastery than some of his contemporaries in Spain and elsewhere. Stevenson cites his use of “rather subtle types of imitation such as by contrary motion, or to the type that involves a change of time values in the head motive,” and his “reluctance... to repeat or to

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<sup>13</sup> Robert Stevenson, “Lobo, Alonso,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 15 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001): 37.

<sup>14</sup> Cardenas Servan, *El polifonista Alonso Lobo y su entorno*, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1987,

sequence a head motive in any single melodic line,” as hallmarks of his style. Additional characteristics of Lobo’s music include the frequent use of printed sharps and flats, “a liking for successions that involve cross relations and for linear movements that oppose an accidental to its opposite in quick succession (e.g., b ♮ c b ♭ , f♯ g f ♮ ),” and a “skillful use of modulations to closely related keys as a structural device.”<sup>15</sup> However, pointing to these specific stylistic tendencies does not account for the music’s “spiritual qualities” and “the yearning emotional intensity of his best work.”<sup>16</sup>

### *Sebastián de Vivanco*

Sebastián de Vivanco (c. 1551-1622) was born in Ávila, the hometown of his contemporary, Tomás Luis de Victoria. In 1576 he was dismissed from his position as *maestro de capilla* at Lérida Cathedral “for just causes, which do not however affect his honor.”<sup>17</sup> In 1577 he became chapelmaster in Segovia, where he remained until 1587, when he accepted the position of *maestro de capilla* at Ávila Cathedral. That his skill was well known throughout Spain is proven by the attempts by Seville Cathedral to steal him away from Ávila in 1587 to become Francisco Guerrero’s assistant; Vivanco visited Seville in February, though he decided to remain in his post in Ávila after negotiating a higher salary and position in the cathedral. He then became *maestro de capilla* at Salamanca Cathedral in 1602, and subsequently in

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<sup>15</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 274.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

1603, professor at Salamanca University, one of the largest and finest universities in the world at the time. He remained in Salamanca until his death in 1622, having retired from his chair the previous year.<sup>18</sup>

Vivanco published three collections of his works while in Salamanca: the *Liber Magnificarum* of 1607, containing eighteen magnificat settings (one setting each for both odd and even verses in each of the eight church modes, plus additional eight-voice settings for modes I and VIII) as well as two settings of the closing salutation *Benedicamus Domino*; a group of ten masses in the *Liber Missarum* of 1608; and a collection of some thirty-six motets, published in 1610, which survive in a mutilated copy of a choir book at Toledo Cathedral, Codex 23, the subject of a 1925 study by Felipe Rubio Piqueras.<sup>19</sup> Several other motets survive in manuscript form and have been edited and published. Two dissertations, one from 1967 on the *Liber Magnificarum*<sup>20</sup> and one from 1971 on Vivanco's masses,<sup>21</sup> contain handwritten editions of their respective subjects.

Stevenson lists several qualities that distinguish Vivanco's style and skill, particularly as exhibited in the collection of magnificats, including:

“(1) the canons approach the outer limits of adroitness and complexity; (2) for the first time a polytextual magnificat is encountered—the Gloria Patri *a 8* of one fourth-tone magnificat combining, for instance, four different texts; ... (4) he proves to be the first and apparently the only composer who made a foray into ‘polytonality’—the Gloria at

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 274-287.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>20</sup> Montague Cantor, “The Liber Magnificarum of Sebastián de Vivanco, Volumes I and II,” PhD diss., New York University, 1967, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

<sup>21</sup> Enrique Alberto Arias, “The Masses of Sebastian de Vivanco (circa 1550-1622): A Study of Polyphonic Settings of the Ordinary in Late Renaissance Spain,” PhD diss., Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1971, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

pages 170-171 inscribed *Super octo tonis cum octo vocibus* consigning a different tone to each of the eight different voices... (6) his dexterity as a contrapuntist is such that on occasion he can even produce a four-voice *Benedicamus* in quadruply invertible counterpoint.”

Further, says “His contrapuntal resource never masters him. Rather, he is completely the master of device that astonishing feats seem no more difficult than the composition of a free fantasia.”<sup>22</sup> In Stevenson’s estimation, then, Vivanco was one of the greatest Spanish polyphonists of the period. “Anyone who has ever taken time to examine their works cannot in conscience hail Victoria as so vastly superior that he should be called the greatest of all Spanish composers while Vivanco’s name begs admittance to such exhaustive works of reference as *Grove’s Dictionary*.”<sup>23</sup> Vivanco has since been added to Grove, with an entry by none other than Stevenson himself.

### *Juan Esquivel*

Of the four composers in Stevenson’s chapter and in the present study, Juan Esquivel is the most mysterious. The scant documentary evidence that does survive does not give enough information to accurately hypothesize birth and death dates. There is a brief reference from the capitular acts of October 22, 1568 at the cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo, his birthplace, stating that Juan Esquivel was received by that institution as a *mozo de coro*, a term which usually referred to older altar boy, but could also refer to the younger choir boys (also called *seises*); the ambiguity of the term makes assigning an age to Esquivel difficult.<sup>24</sup> He became the *maestro de capilla*

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<sup>22</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 278.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.

<sup>24</sup> Walkley, *Juan Esquivel*, 41.

at Oviedo Cathedral in 1581, at Calahorra in 1585, and in Ciudad Rodrigo sometime after 1591.<sup>25</sup>

Esquivel's music survives in three publications: his *Liber primus missarum* of 1608, *Motecta festorum* (1608), and *Tomus secundus, psalmorum, mynmorum ... et missarum* (1613), the third of which was thought lost until it was rediscovered in 1973 by the musicologist Robert Snow. Compared to Alonso Lobo, who worked at two of the largest and most important cathedrals in Spain (Toledo and Seville) and only published one collection of works (*Liber primus missarum*, 1602), it is remarkable that Esquivel was able to publish three collections; in fact, Esquivel's publications are three of only twelve volumes of sacred polyphony published in the regions of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. His success was probably due to the support of his patron, Don Pedro Ponce de León, bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo from 1605 until 1609, as well as his proximity to Salamanca, the center of the book trade.<sup>26</sup> The sum of the works in these three publications adds up to 12 masses (including two masses for the dead), over 70 motets, 8 vespers psalms, 30 vespers hymns, 16 magnificats, 5 Marian antiphons, and several other miscellaneous items, including antiphon settings and a setting of the Te Deum. For a composer who spent his career on the margins, he was astoundingly prolific. Given the sorry state of some of the surviving copies of these publications, it is nothing short of a miracle that almost all of this music is preserved in some form or another, with the exception of a few masses from the first publication.

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-52.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-54.

As of now, Esquivel is the only composer of the four “Other Church Masters” to be the subject of a full-length monograph, Clive Walkley’s *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age*. In his analysis and appraisal of Esquivel’s body of work, Walkley acknowledges that not all of the composer’s work is “consistently of the highest quality,” but that he was, “undoubtedly, a fine craftsman.”<sup>27</sup> However, Robert Snow recognizes an aspect of Esquivel’s musical personality that differed from his contemporaries, stating that “The technical vocabulary is, of course, that of the late Renaissance but the expressive intent frequently seems to be that of an incipient Baroque spirit, particularly in a number of the motets.”<sup>28</sup>

### *Tomás Luis de Victoria*

Tomás Luis de Victoria was born in Ávila and was reared as a choirboy in the Ávila Cathedral, where he sang under a number of renowned chapelmasters, including Juan Navarro, and probably met the famous organist and composer Antonio de Cabezón (1510-1566).<sup>29</sup> In 1565, he moved to Rome to enroll in the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum, where he eventually took up a post teaching music in 1571. He was briefly the chapelmaster at the Roman Seminary from 1571 to 1573, where he may have met the most important composer of the late Renaissance, Giovanni

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>28</sup> Robert J. Snow, “*The 1613 Print of Juan Esquivel Barahona*,” Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1978, 36; Walkley, *Juan Esquivel*, 251.

<sup>29</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 352.

Pierluigi da Palestrina.<sup>30</sup> There is no evidence, however, that the two composers were friends, or that Victoria studied with Palestrina, as some earlier biographers have suggested.<sup>31</sup> While in Rome, Victoria was ordained to the priesthood, and he served as an organist and singer at a variety of churches, but unlike many of his contemporaries, he never held a full-time post as *maestro di cappella*. He returned to Spain sometime in 1585, and in 1587 he began his service as chaplain to the Dowager Empress María at the Descalzas Reales convent one of the richest and most prestigious in Spain. Victoria served there until his death in 1611. He made little money at Descalzas Reales, but, having secured multiple benefices while in Rome, Victoria did not need to be fully employed, and in fact turned down offers to serve as chapelmaster at Toledo and Seville, two of Spain's wealthiest and most prestigious cathedrals.<sup>32</sup>

Victoria published his first book of motets in 1572, and subsequently fifteen more books of his music were printed between 1576 and 1605 in Venice, Rome, Milan, Dillingen, and Madrid.<sup>33</sup> Included in these publications are 20 masses, 44 motets, numerous hymns, a complete set of music for Holy Week (the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* of 1585), 18 Magnificats, 7 psalms, 10 Marian antiphons, and 3 sequences.<sup>34</sup> If he wrote any secular music, none of it survives. Victoria is often

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 354.

<sup>31</sup> Kelly Huff, "Demystifying the Life and Madrid Works of Tomás Luis de Victoria" PhD diss., University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 2015, 45.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, 182.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 196-197.

included with Palestrina, William Byrd, and Orlande de Lassus as one of the greatest composers of the late Renaissance.

## Chapter II: Historical Framework

This chapter provides a historical perspective on Victoria's music in editions and scores, in historical and musicological texts, and in recordings. Additionally, this chapter includes a discussion on the nature of canon and repertory, followed by an investigation into the performance and recording of Victoria's music in England. The discussion of Victoria's music in England is an important piece in the puzzle, largely because England's elite cathedral and chapel choir tradition has provided the training ground for singers to learn this music. Moreover, a majority of the recordings of Spanish Renaissance polyphony from the past fifty years have been made by English choirs. The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the multiple factors and forces at play in the construction of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century performing and recording tradition of polyphony by Victoria and his Spanish contemporaries.

### *Editions of Victoria's music from the 19th and early 20th centuries*

Whereas eighteenth century studies of Renaissance music took on an antiquarian nature, treating the pieces of music as historical curiosities, the nineteenth century investigations of the music were more interested in how the music actually sounded “as artistic creations with their own stylistic norms and esthetic appeal.”<sup>35</sup> A number of editions and anthologies of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music by musicologists in Europe reflect this growing interest. Concurrently, the Caecilian movement of the

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<sup>35</sup> Leeman L. Perkins, “Published Editions and Anthologies of the 19th Century: Music of the Renaissance or Renaissance Music?” in *La Renaissance et sa musique au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck: 2000), 95.

nineteenth century sought to reform musical practices associated with Catholic liturgy, focusing primarily on the use of plainchant and polyphony by Palestrina and others of the Roman school.<sup>36</sup> It is in this context that we see the earliest modern editions of music by Victoria, often Italianized as “da Vittoria,” reflecting the composer’s Roman association. Some collections include just a few examples of Victoria’s works, such as the *Collection de morceaux de chant, tirés des maîtres qui ont le plus contribué aux progrès de la musique et qui occupent un rang distingué dans l’histoire de cet art, choisis et arrangé chronologiquement* (Mainz: Schott, 1838-40) edited by Friedrich Rochlitz (1769-1842); *Musica sacra: Cantiones xvi, xvii saeculorum* (Berlin: 1839-1842) by Franz Alys Theodor Commer (1813-1877); and the *Recueil des morceaux de musique ancienne exécutés aux concerts de la Société de musique vocal religieuse et classique, fondée à Paris en 1843*, (Paris) by Joseph Napoléon Ney, prince de la Moskowa (1803-1857).<sup>37</sup> The titles of these collections illustrate their intended purposes: whereas Rochlitz, the co-founder and editor of the pioneering music journal *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, frames his anthology in historical and educational terms, the title of Ney’s collection reflects the activities of a performing group in Paris.

The four-volume anthology of Charles Proske (1794-1861) *Musica divina* (Regensburg: 1853-86) includes five Masses, fifteen motets, six hymns, the Tenebrae

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<sup>36</sup> Perkins, 97-99.

<sup>37</sup> Perkins, 115-121. Rochlitz’s edition contains the motet *Jesu dulcis memoria*, falsely attributed to Victoria. Commer’s collection includes Victoria’s *Popule meus* for Good Friday. Ney’s collection includes *Jesus dulcis*, *Pueri hebraeorum*, *O vos omnes*, a Gloria patri setting, *O quam gloriosum*, and *Vere languores*.

responsories, and several other works by Victoria.<sup>38</sup> Proske, an ardent Caecilian, organized the music in his anthology by liturgical function and season. The full title of Proske's anthology, *Musica divina sive Thesaurus concentum selectissimorum omni cultui divino totius anni juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae catholicae inservientium*, makes clear its intended use as a reference guide ("Thesaurus") for Catholic liturgical music.<sup>39</sup> That "Vittoria" is the only Spanish composer present in Proske's anthology, which primarily features Italian composers centered in Rome (Palestrina, Nanino, Anerio, Marenzio, Croce, Porta) as well as certain composers who worked primarily in Germany (Hassler, Handl, Lassus), illustrates that Victoria's identity as a composer of the Roman school of polyphony outweighed his Spanish origin; moreover, the presence of primarily Italian and German composers reflects the libraries and archives where Proske spent years doing his research and copying music.<sup>40</sup> The four-volume anthology is enormous, including in total 28 Masses, 180 motets, over 70 vespers psalms, 18 vespers hymns, 31 Marian antiphons, and a host of responsories, litanies, and other devotional music.

Although Victoria's works aren't represented here as prominently as many of his Roman contemporaries, Proske presents the complete cycle of Victoria's Tenebrae responsories, while another complete cycle of Tenebrae responsories is comprised of selections by a patchwork of Italian composers (Viadana, Croce, Handl, Zoilo). Also

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<sup>38</sup> Tess Knighton, "Victoria and the English Choral Tradition" in *Victoria: Estudios. Tomás Luis de Victoria. Studies*. Javier Suárez-Parajes, Manuel de Sol (eds.). Madrid: Ediciones del ICCMU, 2011. 466-467; and Perkins, 121-127.

<sup>39</sup> Perkins, 103.

<sup>40</sup> Eugene Casjen Cramer, *Studies in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), 164.

noteworthy is the presence of works by two other Iberian composers: the Spanish composer Diego Ortiz (c. 1510-c. 1570) and the Portuguese composer Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650).<sup>41</sup> Proske regarded Victoria's music as extremely important in the history of music, and was planning his own *Opera omnia* of his works before 1850, though the project never materialized. He wrote effusively about Victoria's music:

Without interfering in the least with the clearness of his melody or harmony, an earnest, sublime mysticism marks his chants, springing from his pure, innate piety, breathing reverent devotion, untainted by worldliness, and making him incapable of composing any but sacred music. Warmth and life, sweetness and tenderness, smoothest flow of the most intricate and strict compositions, a festive grandeur and majestic dignity, all combined in this priestly Spaniard, form a constellation, which from out the starry firmament of the past sheds a wondrous radiance upon our own time.<sup>42</sup>

Another important and influential edition was the *Anthologie de maîtres religieux primitifs* (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1893-?) of Charles Bordes (1863-1909). Bordes was trained as a composer, organist, and choirmaster. Through his work as organist and choirmaster at St Gervais-St Protais in Paris and through the Schola Cantorum, a society for sacred music that he formed with the composers and pedagogues Vincent d'Indy and organist Alexandre Guilmant, Bordes spent his life advocating for the performance of Renaissance polyphony.<sup>43</sup> He brought the music of Victoria, Josquin, Palestrina, and others to wider audiences by performing with his choir all over France

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<sup>41</sup> Perkins, 121-127.

<sup>42</sup> Karl Proske, translated by Karl Weinmann, in Cramer, *Studies in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria*, 165-166.

<sup>43</sup> Pierre Guillot and Elaine Brody, "Bordes, Charles" in *Grove Music Online*. Accessed February 2, 2019.

and in neighboring countries.<sup>44</sup> His *Anthologie* includes 21 masses and over 75 motets, of which five masses and 21 motets are by Victoria. In fact, Victoria is more prominently represented in Bordes's *Anthologie* than both Palestrina and Lassus, despite the latter composers' comparatively much greater outputs than Victoria's. One mass each by the Spanish composers "Christophorus" (Cristóbal de) Morales and Francisco Guerrero are included in Bordes's anthology.

Bordes's occupation as an organist and choirmaster show in his editions, which are clearly meant for performance rather than for study. They are written in common performing clefs (treble and bass clef as opposed to various C-clefs), and they contain Bordes's own rather subjective and romantic performance indications for tempo, dynamics, and articulation, as well as transpositions to unlikely keys, such as the edition of Victoria's *O vos omnes* in B-flat minor (Figure 2.1).<sup>45</sup> Prices are listed next to each selection in the table of contents, indicating that each item could be purchased separately (Figure 2.2). Additionally, smaller collections were available, including collections of Marian motets, music for specific saints, music for equal voices, music for All Saints, music for the office of the dead, and a separate collection of Victoria's Tenebrae responsories (Figure 2.3). Evidently, Bordes thought highly of Victoria's music, and his editions were used throughout the European continent and in England.

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<sup>44</sup> Perkins, 102.

<sup>45</sup> Charles Bordes, *Anthologie de maîtres religieux primitifs*, Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1893-?. Petrucci Music Library. <http://www.imslp.org> (Accessed Jan. 31, 2019)

**O VOS OMNES TRANSITIS PER VIAM**  
**MOTET A 4 VOIX**

pour les offices de la Semaine Sainte  
 et la fête du Sacré-Cœur

O vos omnes, qui transitis per vi-  
 am, attendite et videte: \* Si est dolor si-  
 milis sicut dolor meus.  
 \* Attēdite universi populi, et vidē-  
 te dolorem meum.

O vous tous qui passez par le che-  
 min, considérez et voyez: \* s'il est une  
 douleur semblable à la mienne.  
 \* Peuples de la terre considérez  
 mon affliction, et voyez:

OFF. MAJ. HEBD. AD NAT.  
 GRADUALE OFF. S. S. CORDIS JESU.

TOMAS LUIS DA VITTORIA

**10**

Très lent. *ppp*

SOPRANI.  
 ALTI.  
 TÉNORS.  
 BASSES.

Réduction  
 des  
 Voix.

**11**

*Poco accel. Cresc.* *Molto rall.*

- tis per vi am, at - ten - di - te et vi - dé - te:  
 vi - am, at - ten - di - te et vi - dé - te:  
 - tis per - vi - am, at - ten - di - te et vi - dé - te:  
 - tis per - vi - am, at - ten - di - te et vi - dé - te:

Repertoire des Chanteurs de St Gervais annoté par Ch. BORDES, Directeur de la Société. (Tous droits réservés.)

1896

Figure 2.1, Victoria, *O vos omnes*, from *Anthologie de maîtres religieux primitifs, Livre des motets: première année*, ed. Charles Bordes (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1896), transposed to the key of B-flat minor, full of Bordes' editorial dynamic and tempo indications.

**RÉPERTOIRE**  
des Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais et de la Schola Cantorum  
**Anthologie des Maîtres Religieux Primitifs**

DES XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup> & XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES

*Edition Populaire à l'usage des Maîtrises et des Amateurs*

En notation moderne, avec Clefs usuelles, Nuances, Indication d'exécution et réduction des voix au clavier

par **Charles BORDES**

Directeur-Fondateur des Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais

| N <sup>o</sup> |  | Prix<br>net | N <sup>o</sup> |  | Prix<br>net |
|----------------|--|-------------|----------------|--|-------------|
| 1              | VITTORIA <i>O quam gloriosum</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                | 1.25        | 36             | VITTORIA <i>Jesu dulcis</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 2              | PALESTRINA <i>Peccantem me</i> à 5 voix mixtes.....                    | 1.25        | 37             | AICHINGER <i>Regina caeli</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 3              | CLEMENS NON PAPA <i>Tu es Petrus</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....            | 2.00        | 38             | VITTORIA <i>Iste Sanctus</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 1.25        |
| 4              | VITTORIA <i>O Magnum mysterium</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....              | 1.50        | 39             | GABRIELLI <i>Sacerdos et Pontifex</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 5              | NANINI <i>Hodie Christus natus</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....              | 1.50        | 40             | PALESTRINA <i>Veni Sponsa Christi</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.50        |
| 6              | PALESTRINA <i>Cantantibus illis</i> , à 5 voix mixtes.....             | 1.25        | 41             | SCHUTZ <i>Verba mea auribus</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.75        |
| 7              | d <sup>o</sup> <i>Repons, du Jeudi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....    | 2.00        | 42             | VITTORIA <i>Veru languores</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 1.25        |
| 8              | VITTORIA <i>Repons, du Vendredi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....       | 2.00        | 43             | CLEMENS NON PAPA <i>Erravit sicut</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 2.00        |
| 9              | JOSQUIN DE PRÉS <i>Ave Christe</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....              | 2.50        | 44             | PALESTRINA <i>Repons, du Samedi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 2.00        |
| 10             | VITTORIA <i>O Vos omnes</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                     | 1.25        | 45             | ASOLA <i>Christus factus est</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 1.50        |
| 11             | ANERIO <i>Christus factus est</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....               | 1.00        | 46             | LASSUS <i>Timor et tremor</i> , à 6 voix mixtes.....   | 2.00        |
| 12             | CORSI <i>Adoramus te</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                        | 1.25        | 47             | VITTORIA <i>Domine non sum dignus</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 13             | PALESTRINA <i>Repons, du Samedi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....       | 1.50        | 48             | RICHAFORT <i>Christus resurgens</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.75        |
| 14             | PITONI <i>Christus factus est</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....               | 1.50        | 49             | PALESTRINA <i>Stabat Mater</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 2.50        |
| 15             | VITTORIA <i>Estote fortes in bello</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....          | 1.25        | 50             | d <sup>o</sup> <i>Dextera Domini</i> , à 5 voix mixtes.....  | 1.50        |
| 16             | d <sup>o</sup> <i>Dum complerentur</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....          | 2.50        | 51             | d <sup>o</sup> <i>Ave Maria</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.50        |
| 17             | NANINI <i>Diffusa est gratia</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                | 1.25        | 52             | JOSQUIN DE PRÉS <i>Ave verum corpus</i> à 2v. ég. et 3 m.....  | 1.25        |
| 18             | VITTORIA <i>Repons, du Jeudi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....          | 2.00        | 53             | PALESTRINA <i>Assumpta est Maria</i> , à 6 voix mixtes.....  | 2.50        |
| 19             | GABRIELLI <i>Angeli, Archangeli</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....             | 1.25        | 54             | LASSUS <i>Nos qui sumus</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 20             | JOSQUIN DE PRÉS <i>Ave Maria</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                | 2.00        | 55             | CLEMENS NON PAPA <i>Beata es Virgo</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 1.25        |
| 21             | PALESTRINA <i>Repons, du Vendredi saint</i> , à 4 v. mixtes.....       | 2.00        | 55bis          | d <sup>o</sup> <i>Ave Maria</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 22             | VITTORIA <i>Gaudet in caelis</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                | 1.25        | 56             | LASSUS <i>Pauper sum ego</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 1.25        |
| 23             | AICHINGER <i>Factus es repente</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....              | 1.50        | 57             | PALESTRINA <i>Loquebantur variis</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 1.75        |
| 24             | d <sup>o</sup> <i>Assumpta est Maria</i> , à 3 v. ég. ou 3 mixtes..... | 1.25        | 58             | VITTORIA <i>Duo Seraphim</i> , à 4 voix égales.....  | 1.50        |
| 25             | VITTORIA <i>Repons, du Vendredi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....       | 2.00        | 59             | LASSUS <i>Domine convertere</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 26             | JOSQUIN DE PRÉS <i>Miserere Mei</i> , à 5 voix mixtes.....             | 4.00        | 60             | VITTORIA <i>Pango lingua</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....  | 1.75        |
| 27             | BRISSIO <i>In medio ecclesiae</i> , à 3 v. égales ou 3 mixtes.....     | 1.25        | 60bis          | d <sup>o</sup> <i>O Salutaris</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 1.25        |
| 28             | VITTORIA <i>Repons, du Samedi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....         | 2.00        | 61             | CLEMENS NON PAPA <i>Tristitia obsedit</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 2.50        |
| 29             | LASSUS <i>Pulvis et Umbra</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                   | 1.50        | 62             | VIADANA <i>O Sacrum convivium</i> , à 4 voix égales.....   | 1.00        |
| 30             | AICHINGER <i>Salve Regina</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                   | 1.25        | 63             | <i>Psalmodie Vespertinae</i> , pour les Vêpres des Dimanches<br>et Fêtes, et des Communs des Saints, à 4 voix<br>mixtes..... | 2.00        |
| 31             | VITTORIA <i>Repons du Samedi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....          | 2.00        | 63bis          | ANDRÉAS <i>Magnificat</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....   | 0.75        |
| 32             | PALESTRINA <i>Exultate Deo</i> , à 5 voix mixtes.....                  | 1.50        | 64             | PALESTRINA <i>O admirabile commercium</i> , à 5 v. mixtes.....   | 1.50        |
| 33             | VITTORIA <i>Repons du Jeudi saint</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....           | 2.00        | 65             | LASSUS <i>Domine ne in furore</i> , à 5 voix mixtes.....   | 3.00        |
| 34             | PALESTRINA <i>Alma Redemptoris</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....              | 1.25        |                |  |             |
| 35             | AICHINGER <i>Ave Regina</i> , à 4 voix mixtes.....                     | 1.50        |                |  |             |



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Figure 2.2, Table of Contents of Charles Bordes's *Anthologie de maîtres religieux primitifs, Livre des motets: première année*, (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1896).

# ÉNUMÉRATION DES PIÈCES

CONTENUES DANS LES DIVERS RECUEILS

## Le Livre I des Antiennes et Motets à la T.-S. Vierge

1. *Alma Redemptoris Mater* (n° 34) . . . . . PALESTRINA.
2. *Ave regina caelorum* (n° 35) . . . . . AICHINGER.
3. *Regina caeli* (n° 37) . . . . . AICHINGER.
4. *Salve Regina* (n° 30) . . . . . AICHINGER.
5. *Diffusa est gratia* (n° 17) . . . . . NANINI.
6. *Ave Maria* (n° 51) . . . . . PALESTRINA.
7. *Ave Maria* (n° 20) . . . . . JOSQUIN DES PRÉS.
8. *Ave maris stella* (n° 73 bis) . . . . . ANERIO.

## Le Livre du Commun des Saints

1. *Estote fortes in bello* (n° 15) . . . . . VITTORIA.  
pour les Apôtres et Évangélistes, hors du Temps pascal.
2. *Iste sanctus* (n° 38) . . . . . VITTORIA.  
pour un Martyr, hors du Temps pascal.
3. *Gaudet in caelis* (n° 22) . . . . . VITTORIA.  
pour plusieurs Martyrs; hors du Temps pascal.
4. *Filii Joannae* (n° 74) . . . . . A. GABRIELI.  
pour les Apôtres et Évangélistes, un et plusieurs Martyrs,  
pendant le Temps pascal.
5. *Sacerdos et Pontifex* (n° 39) . . . . . A. GABRIELI.  
pour un Confesseur Pontife.
6. *In medio Ecclesiae* (n° 27) . . . . . F. BRISSIO.  
pour un Docteur.
7. *Hic vir despicuus* (n° 70) . . . . . VITTORIA.  
Pour un Confesseur non Pontife.
8. *Veni Sponsa Christi* (n° 40) . . . . . PALESTRINA.  
Pour les Vierges et les saintes Femmes.

## Recueil des Pièces de chant à voix égales

1. *O sacrum convivium* (n° 62) . . . . . VIADANA.
2. *Duo Scaphium clamabant* (n° 58) . . . . . VITTORIA.
3. *Verbum caro panem verum* (n° 79) . . . . . ROL. DE LASSUS.
4. *Ave Maria* (n° 83) . . . . . PALESTRINA.
5. *Ave Maria* (n° 88) . . . . . VITTORIA.
6. *Adoramus te Christe* (n° 87) . . . . . PALESTRINA.
7. *Cantate Domino* (n° 89) . . . . . LEO HASLER.
8. *Ego sum pauper et dolens* (n° 90) . . . . . GIOV. CROCE.
9. *Tantum ergo* (n° 92) . . . . . PALESTRINA.
10. *Psalmodie* (n° 86) . . . . . Diversi.  
*Disce, Laudate, Misereere, De profundis, Magnificat.*
11. *Messe à 3 voix égales* (XVII) . . . . . ANT. LOTTI.
12. *Messe à Regina caeli* n° (XII) . . . . . JACOBUS KERLE.

## Le Livre I des Motets au Très-Saint-Sacrement

1. *O quam gloriosum est regnum* (n° 1) . . . . . VITTORIA.
2. *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam* (n° 10) . . . . . VITTORIA.
3. *Jesu dulcis* (n° 36) . . . . . VITTORIA.
4. *Domine convertere* (n° 59) . . . . . ROL. DE LASSUS.
5. *O sacrum convivium* (n° 62) . . . . . VIADANA.
6. *Tantum ergo* (n° 72) . . . . . PALESTRINA.
7. *Ave verum* (n° 52) . . . . . JOSQUIN DES PRÉS.
8. *Pange lingua* (n° 60) . . . . . VITTORIA.  
*Nobis datus et Tantum ergo.*

## Le Livre des Morts

1. *Messe des Morts à 4 voix* (XVI) . . . . . VITTORIA.  
*Requiem, Kyrie, Offertoire, Sanctus-Benedictus, Agnus, Communion et Libéra me.*
2. *Pie Jesu* (n° 78) . . . . . ANERIO.  
Extrait de la prose
3. *Pulsis et umbra sumus*, motet (n° 29) . . . . . ROL. DE LASSUS.
4. *Psalmodie vespertine* (n° 69).  
Choix de Faux-Bourçons de NANINI, ANDREAS, GUIDETTI et VIADANA pour les Vêpres des défunts.
5. *De profundis* et *Dies irae*, Faux-Bourçons du dix-septième siècle, en usage à Paris pour les funérailles.

## Selectissima Modulationes

- Aux Matines du Jeudi saint*, 2<sup>e</sup> nocturne (n° 33).  
Amicus meus osculi.  
Judas mercator pessimus.  
Unus ex discipulis.
- Aux Matines du Jeudi saint*, 3<sup>e</sup> nocturne (n° 18).  
Eram quasi agnus.  
Una hora non potuistis.  
Seniores populi.
- Aux Matines du Vendredi saint*, 2<sup>e</sup> nocturne (n° 8).  
Tanquam ad latronem.  
Tenebrae factae sunt.  
Animam meam dilectam.
- Aux Matines du Vendredi saint*, 3<sup>e</sup> nocturne (n° 25).  
Tradiderunt me.  
Jesum tradidit impius.  
Caligaverunt oculi mei.
- Aux Matines du Samedi saint*, 2<sup>e</sup> nocturne (n° 28).  
Recessit pastor noster.  
O vos omnes qui transitis.  
Ecce quomodo moritur justus.
- Aux Matines du Samedi saint*, 2<sup>e</sup> nocturne (n° 31).  
Aspirant reges terra.  
Estimatus sum.  
Sepulto Domino.

Figure 2.3, from Charles Bordes's *Anthologie de maîtres religieux primitifs* (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1896), listing different collections, including Victoria's Tenebrae responsories, bottom right.

In Spain, the publications of two men, royal chapelmaster<sup>46</sup> Hilarión Eslava (1807-1878) and the composer, musicologist, and teacher Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922) had profound impacts on the revival of Spanish polyphony from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Eslava's ten-volume anthology of sacred Spanish vocal music, *Lira sacro-hispana* (Madrid: 1852-60), contains music ranging from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. The first three volumes include works by Morales, Guerrero, Victoria, Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and several other Spanish composers. Pedrell's most significant contributions were the anthology *Hispaniae schola musica sacra* (Barcelona: 1894-98) and his *T.L. de Victoria: Opera omnia* for Breitkopf & Härtel (Leipzig: 1902–13). Eslava's and Pedrell's editions are printed using C-clefs, in line with Breitkopf & Härtel's formatting of the *Opera omnia* of Palestrina and other composers; they were meant to be studied, not performed. While none of these publications circulated widely outside of Spain, they provided important source materials for scholars, editors, and musicians interested in exploring the Spanish cathedral repertory.

*Victoria and the historiography of "Spanish mysticism"*

Spain barely registers in early music historical texts. English music historians Sir John Hawkins (1719-1789) and Charles Burney (1726-1814) refer to Victoria as a Spaniard, but considered him part of the Italian school of composers.<sup>47</sup> In Raphael

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<sup>46</sup> Jack Sage, "Eslava (y Elizondo), (Miguel) Hilarión," *Grove Music Online*, Accessed February 2, 2019.

<sup>47</sup> Tess Knighton, "Victoria and the English Choral Tradition" in *Tomás Luis de Victoria: Estudios = Studies* (Madrid: Ediciones del ICCMu, 2013), 456.

Georg Kieseewetter's (1773-1850) influential *Geschichte der europäischen-abendländischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik (History of the Modern Music of Western Europe)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1834), the chapter on the "epoch of Palestrina" (1560-1600) first discusses the Italian master in great detail, then Lassus, then brief discussions of French, English, and German composers, with no mention of Spanish composers. Kieseewetter's nephew, August Wilhelm Ambros (1816-1876), recognizes the importance of Morales and Victoria but denies the existence of a Spanish school of polyphony in his 1862-1868 multi-volume *Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart), treating Morales as part of the Franco-Flemish lineage and Victoria as part of the Roman school.<sup>48</sup> He writes of Victoria's "passionateness of feeling, kept in check by devotion and humility."<sup>49</sup>

In English-language surveys of music from the Renaissance, the words "mystical" and "mysticism" are often attached to music by Spanish composers. To further illustrate this quality, especially in the music of Victoria, many authors draw upon connections to the mystic St. Teresa of Ávila (1515-1582), whose birthplace was the same as Victoria's, and to the paintings of El Greco (1541-1614). In the entry on "Vittoria" in the first edition of Sir George Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, J.R. Milne writes of Victoria and St. Teresa, "The mystic-ascetical spirit peculiar to Spain is common to both."<sup>50</sup> In his revised article for the fifth edition in

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<sup>48</sup> Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "Cristóbal de Morales: A Problem of Musical Mysticism and National Identity in the Historiography of the Renaissance" in *Cristóbal de Morales: Sources, Influences, Reception* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2007), 220-221.

<sup>49</sup> Rev. J.R. Milne, "Vittoria, Tommaso Ludovico Da," in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. IV*, Sir. George Grove (ed.) (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1900), 315.

<sup>50</sup> Milne, 314.

1954, he writes, comparing Victoria to Palestrina, “in Victoria there is often a greater immediate warmth or tenderness of devotional feeling, an ascetically restrained ardour of mystical rapture.”<sup>51</sup> In Paul Henry Lang’s 1941 *Music in Western Civilization*, the author writes that Spanish composers “shared the same ecstatic mysticism, the same sobriety and austerity, the same emotional fantasy of Spanish Catholicism that characterizes Spanish painters of the period.”<sup>52</sup> He later writes that the music of Morales and Victoria “glows with the visionary power which emanates from the mystics; they discover in the text dramatic moments which they illustrate with poignant music, without dropping for an instant the perfect fluid polyphonic style of the Roman school.”<sup>53</sup> He subsequently uses the word “glow” two more times and the word “mystic” four more times. After referencing Victoria’s connection to St. Teresa of Ávila, Lang later writes about Victoria’s Passion settings: “This is not the world of the serene Madonnas of Raphael, but that of the elongated figures of El Greco, distorted by the dramatic intensity of religious passion.”<sup>54</sup>

In his 1941 survey of Spanish music from all eras, Gilbert Chase introduces the idea of “mysticism” in Spanish Renaissance music with a sense of remove. He states: “Higinio Anglès, who discovered most of this music... emphasizes its marked quality of religious mysticism. This is a quality that the world has not been slow to recognize in Spanish religious music of the sixteenth century. In fact, it has sometimes been

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<sup>51</sup> Rev. J.R. Milne, “Victoria, Tomás Luis de,” in *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th Edition, Vol. VIII* (Eric Blom, ed.) (New York: St. Martin’s Press Inc., 1954), 767.

<sup>52</sup> Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1941, 2/1997), 265.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

overstressed by certain commentators to the point of obscuring all other qualities.”<sup>55</sup>

But later, he gives in to the ambiguous but evocative label of mysticism:

“He makes use of the madrigalesque style and of all the musical symbolism then current in Italy, in order to express mystical emotions of such poignancy and tragic grandeur as none before him had attained... The Passions in the Office for Holy Week (1585) are perhaps the works that reveal the most characteristically the vehement and passionate genius of Victoria. Already, by their vigour and realistic detail, they announce the Passions of Bach, which they often surpass by the intensity of their mystical emotion.”<sup>56</sup>

He finishes his section on Renaissance masters with the oft-repeated trope:

“Palestrina is the Raphael of music, Victoria the El Greco. Each is great and unique in his own way.”<sup>57</sup>

The effect of Paul Henry Lang’s flowery language and liberal use of the word “mystical” is to exoticize Spanish Renaissance music. It set the tone for discussing Spanish music in many other general surveys of Renaissance music, though other authors aren’t as effusive as Lang. In his survey *A History of European Music* from 1974, David G. Hughes writes of Morales and Victoria that, in comparison to their counterparts from the Low Countries and Italy, “each achieved individuality and, besides, seemed to impart a particular Spanish flavor to the northern idiom. This often, but by no means always, was expressed in a style of mystical, somber intensity.”<sup>58</sup> Hughes’s “but by no means always” saves him from a purely subjective conjecture. In his 1976 text *Music in the Renaissance*, Howard Mayer Brown writes of Morales: “In some of his motets he shows a dramatic flair and a penchant for

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<sup>55</sup> Gilbert Chase, *The Music of Spain* (New York: Dover Publications, 1941, 2/1959), 76.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-85.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>58</sup> David G. Hughes, *A History of European Music* (USA: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1974), 164.

pungent, movingly expressive effects that are to be explained, perhaps, by his Spanish temperament.”<sup>59</sup> Here, Brown’s implication bears more than a hint of Lang’s tendency to exoticize Spanish music. Later, Brown takes a more level-headed approach when talking about Victoria’s music. Responding to Higinio Anglès claim that Victoria “had no other aim... than to sing of the Cross and the mysteries of the Redemption, using means uncontaminated by profane art,” Brown writes that “Actually, however, Victoria’s compositions are ‘contaminated’ by techniques associated with secular music to the extent that these techniques support and enhance the deeply felt view expressed in the sacred texts he chose to set,” and that “his motets are imbued with the notion that music must reveal and intensify literary meanings, an idea derived at least in part from the humanistic predilections of Italian musicians and worldly churchmen.”<sup>60</sup> He proceeds by providing musical examples from the motets *O magnum mysterium* and *O vos omnes*, demonstrating Victoria’s use of harmony and tessitura to lend structural and dramatic coherence to his music. And yet, in his last paragraph on Victoria, Brown describes the composer as “fervent, mystical, intense musician,”<sup>61</sup> without connecting “mystical” to any of his preceding analysis.

None of this is to say that Victoria, Morales, and their respective contemporaries did not write passionate, poignant, intense music. They absolutely did. Nor should St. Teresa of Ávila or El Greco be categorically excluded from discussions of Victoria

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<sup>59</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976), 242.

<sup>60</sup> Brown, 315.

<sup>61</sup> Brown, 323.

and his contemporaries, for they add helpful historical context. However, the label “mysticism” is ambiguous, subjective, and exoticizing. Moreover, it is entirely unnecessary. Robert Stevenson, who went on to write the seminal book *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (1961), wrote a short survey in 1958 entitled *Music Before the Classical Era: An Introductory Guide*, in which he makes a compelling case for Victoria’s music without resorting to the atmospheric but vague label of “mystical”: “Chord progressions used for their appeal to the senses occur more frequently in Victoria’s polyphony than in the music of Palestrina... To a modern listener Victoria, because of his harmonic sense, can be one of the most rewarding discoveries in sixteenth-century music.”<sup>62</sup> Stevenson here avoids the pitfalls of Lang and Chase by tying Victoria’s expressiveness directly to his use of harmony. His reference to the “modern listener” is also important, because it makes no assumptions about Victoria himself, but instead suggests how we might hear his music, centuries after the composer’s death.

Another exception is Gustave Reese’s *Music in the Renaissance*, originally published in 1954. Although some of the information in the book is out of date, Reese’s musicological approach never devolves into subjectivity, and is always based on evidence within the music. In his paragraph about the Tenebrae Responsories, he writes about how “the sorrow voiced in the text is expressed by numerous minor seconds and even by degree-inflection, rare in Victoria.” About *Tenebrae factae sunt*, he states “The highly dramatic character of this responsory is partly due to the rising

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<sup>62</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Music Before the Classical Era: An Introductory Guide* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1958), 48.

leap of a minor sixth—still rare at this time—present in three voices in the opening point of imitation.” He proceeds: “Minor seconds are again expressive of grief, as they are in *O vos omnes*. . . . Here the music—which may be described as a veritable fantasy on the minor second—provides the words of Jeremiah with a setting steeped in the mood of lamentation.”<sup>63</sup> Here, Reese’s lyrical descriptions of Victoria’s music are clarified by concrete musical figures, such as the interval of the minor second or the minor sixth, tied to specific emotions, such as lamentation or grief. Even if he didn’t tie the emotions to musical figurations, his choice of words, such as “dramatic,” “expressive,” and “mood of lamentation” are more specific and demonstrable than the term “mystical.”

Unlike many of the previously mentioned surveys and others, Reese chooses musical examples from a wide range of Victoria’s Masses and motets. He uses the motets *Quam pulchri sunt*, *Ascendens Christus in altum*, *Nigra sum sed formosa*, *Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas*, *Vere languores*, *Cum beatus Ignatius*, the Tenebrae Responsories, and *Missa O magnum mysterium* to illustrate a number of Victoria’s compositional tendencies.<sup>64</sup> James C. Thompson’s 1968 text *Music Through the Renaissance* looks primarily at the motet *O vos omnes*<sup>65</sup>; Brown chooses to focus on *O magnum mysterium* and *O vos omnes*; Allan Atlas’s *Renaissance Music* also focuses on *O magnum mysterium* and *O vos omnes*, with examples from the *Officium*

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<sup>63</sup> Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London: W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., 1954, 2/1959), 603.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 600-609.

<sup>65</sup> James C. Thompson, *Music Through the Renaissance* (Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1968), 128.

*defunctorum* in the supplemental anthology.<sup>66</sup> Except for those musicologists, musicians, and enthusiasts who are most familiar with Victoria's works, it is clear from these texts and the musical examples they choose that a small sample of Victoria's works, exemplified by *O magnum mysterium* and *O vos omnes*, has come to represent his identity as a composer. That "mystical" identity is defined by dark, minor modes and austere counterpoint

*"Spanish musical mysticism" in Spanish musicology*

Many Spanish musicologists in the twentieth centuries clung to the vague idea of "mysticism" as a uniquely Spanish feature in sacred polyphony by Hispanic composers. Emilio Ros-Fábregas writes about the nationalist tendencies in Spanish musicology, borne out of "the traditional defensivist (or victimist) attitude of Hispanic musicology in its effort to place its musical heritage in a prestigious position with respect to that of other Western nations."<sup>67</sup> French music critic and composer Henri Collet's 1913 book *Le Mysticisme musical espagnol au XVIe siècle* codified the term "Spanish musical mysticism," and demonstrably influenced Spanish musicology. In his entry on the history of Spanish music in the *Encyclopédie de la music* (Paris, 1920), Spanish musicologist and diplomat Rafael Mitjana writes that the music of Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria represent "the most pure expression of the Christian and Catholic musical sentiment," contrasting it with an alleged "attractive paganism"

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<sup>66</sup> Allan Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400-1600* (London: W. W. Norton, 1998), 612-615.

<sup>67</sup> Ros-Fábregas, 216.

of the masters of the Roman school.<sup>68</sup> In an article on sixteenth-century polyphony in the 1905 edition of the *New Oxford History of Music*, the famous Catalan musicologist and priest Higinio Anglès writes that Spanish polyphony was notable for its “austerity and dramatic mysticism, which evoke a higher degree of spiritual feeling” than polyphony from other countries.<sup>69</sup> Other important Spanish musicologists and editors, including Felipe Pedrell, Hilarion Eslava, and Samuel Rubio, have expressed similar thoughts.<sup>70</sup>

Beyond the topic of mysticism, some Spanish musicologists have asserted that Spain’s polyphonic tradition developed without any Netherlandish or Italian influence whatsoever. Such statements are active defenses against claims by non-Hispanic musicologists who neglect Spain’s importance during the Renaissance, such as Friedrich Blume, who in 1949 wrote that Spain “exerted no notable influence on the general development of music in that period.”<sup>71</sup> While a defensive attitude is understandable in this context of erasure, such declarations by Spanish musicologists are entirely ahistorical and nationalistically motivated, leading to what Ros-Fábregas describes as “musicological isolation.” He advocates for an “internationalist approach” that “would favor the incorporation of Spain into broad discussions of the Renaissance,” which acknowledge the influence of outside forces on Spanish music

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>69</sup> Higinio Anglès, “Latin Church Music on the Continent — 3: Spain and Portugal,” *The New Oxford History of Music*, 10 vols (London & New York, 1954-), IV: *The Age of Humanism, 1540-1630*, ed. Gerald Abraham (London & New York, 1968; reprinted 1988), 372-418.

<sup>70</sup> Ros-Fábregas, 231.

<sup>71</sup> Friedrich Blume, *Renaissance and Baroque Music: A Comprehensive Study*, translated by Mary Dows Herter Norton (originally published in German for MGG, 1949) (New York & London, 1967), 52; Ros-Fábregas, 228-229.

as well as the influence of Spanish musicians on traditions abroad. Not only should Spanish musicologists disavow nationalistic tendencies and “obsolete historiographical perspective[s],” but “non-Iberian musicologists too should make an effort to incorporate Spain into their research so that the perception of the history of Spanish music may be free from old clichés.”<sup>72</sup>

### *Canon, Repertory, and Recording*

Exploring ideas of canon in music can help us unpack the effects of this pervasive use of “Spanish musical mysticism” in musicological texts in English, French, German, and Spanish. For musicologist Joseph Kerman, “Repertories are defined by performers, canons by critics.”<sup>73</sup> Taken at face value, this means that a work’s canonic status is granted by writing, not by performance. William Weber contends that Kerman “presses the distinction too far... The statement is simplistic: we cannot write off musicians as shapers of the canon.”<sup>74</sup> Despite his contention with Kerman’s black-and-white statement, he nevertheless contends that criticism is of key importance in signifying a work’s status in the ‘canon’:

Kerman warns us against using ‘criticism’ too narrowly, focused too much upon reviewing and not enough upon a discourse, the broadly defined process by which participants in musical life consider works of music. What is essential is that the product of canonization is the bestowal of authority upon certain pieces of music. If repertory constitutes the framework of canon, the critical discourse empowers it,

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<sup>72</sup> Ros-Fábregas, 230-231.

<sup>73</sup> Joseph Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 1, Canons (September 1983): 112.

<sup>74</sup> William Weber, “The History of Musical Canon” in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford University Press, 1999): 349.

endowing old works with authority over musical composition and taste.<sup>75</sup>

The idea of “Spanish musical mysticism” is therefore made canonical by its repeated use in musicological texts, and as we shall see, it is both shaped by and has shaped the repertory of works which are performed and recorded. Some recent books, dissertations and articles have contributed to the project of decoupling mysticism from Spanish Renaissance polyphony, including a recent dissertation by Kelly Huff aptly titled *Demystifying the Life and Madrid Works of Tomás Luis de Victoria*, which focuses on Victoria’s business acumen in securing printing deals and benefices, and studies his Madrid print from 1600 in depth.<sup>76</sup> However, scholarship within the narrow sub-field of Iberian Renaissance musicology will not alter perceptions outside of its small readership. To effectively expand the lens through which Spanish Renaissance music is understood, it needs to be written about in wider surveys of music history, or at least in surveys of Renaissance music. One such example of this kind of history is *European Music, 1520-1640*, edited by James Haar, which alternates chapters about concepts, genres, and national traditions.<sup>77</sup> Both Italy and France are afforded three chapters each, while Germany, Spain, and England are each given two chapters. More importantly though, the chapter on music in Spain from 1530 to 1600 discusses the realistic historical context of mutual influence between

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<sup>75</sup> Weber, “The History of Musical Canon,” 350.

<sup>76</sup> Kelly Huff, “Demystifying the Life and Madrid Works of Tomás Luis de Victoria.”

<sup>77</sup> James Haar, ed., *European Music 1520-1640* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2006).

Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy, as well as the accomplishments of Spanish composers on their own terms.<sup>78</sup>

Thus far the discussion has been limited to editions of musical scores and scholarship about music. However, recordings are equally important in the creation of canon. Recording has fundamentally changed the way that humans interact with music. In the first chapter of his book on the history of recording, *Repeated Takes*, music critic and documentary filmmaker Michael Chanan writes:

It is now possible for music of every kind to enter every corner of daily life in every corner of the world. Previously the music entertained by any given social group in any society was essentially its own, speaking its own musical vernacular... But today the musics of every society and every historical period are instantly available everywhere at the touch of a button. And again the result is that musical experience has radically altered.<sup>79</sup>

Kerman also writes of the radical power of recordings, stating that “Once sound recordings can be used as freely (or almost as freely) as books, music can be absorbed as freely (or almost as freely) as literature.”<sup>80</sup>

Chanan highlights the effect of recording in reviving earlier repertoires, as does Kerman. For Chanan, the emergence of early music recordings has the effect of eroding the idea of canon: “From Perotin and Landini, Machaut and Dufay, to Josquin, Jannequin, Tallis, Lassus, Dowland, Gesualdo and Monteverdi, the number of once-forgotten claimants to recognition begins to weaken the very idea of a

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<sup>78</sup> Todd M. Borgerding and Louise K. Stein, “Spain, i: 1530-1600” in *European Music, 1520-1640*, 422-454.

<sup>79</sup> Michael Chanan, *Repeated Takes* (London & New York: Verso, 1995), 9.

<sup>80</sup> Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” 118.

canon.”<sup>81</sup> Kerman suggests that early music is less susceptible to canonization because early music practitioners are less concerned with it.<sup>82</sup> However, since Kerman’s 1983 article and Chanan’s 1995 book, a great myriad of early music recordings have been released, from several complete cycles of Bach cantatas to the discographies of polished ensembles like the Tallis Scholars and the Hilliard Ensemble. Moreover, the media by which music is heard has shifted from LP to cassette tape to CD to digital files, which today are streamed from services such as Spotify, iTunes, Amazon, and YouTube and are accessible by anyone whose phone has internet access. Neither Kerman nor Chanan could have anticipated the effects of the internet and smartphone technology in making music recordings accessible to the public. Returning to Kerman’s quote about music being absorbed “as freely (or almost as freely) as literature,” one might assert that well into the twenty-first century, music recordings are in fact absorbed *more* freely than literature. Experiencing music through recordings is the norm, not the exception.

Whether or not the practitioners of early music are concerned with canon, as Kerman doubts they are, there certainly exists a canon of works reflected in recordings, which can be discerned by tracing the recording histories of particular repertoires, counting the number of recordings of a given work, observing the repertoire recorded by the most prestigious ensembles, and a host of other factors. In Chapter 3, a meta-discographical study of Victoria’s works will examine their canonic status, the effects of which will be explored in Chapter 4 in a study of the

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<sup>81</sup> Chanan, 14.

<sup>82</sup> Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” 122.

discographies of Lobo, Vivanco, Esquivel, and Navarro. First, however, a discussion of Victoria's music in England will provide a case study for the interaction between performance, recording, editions, and criticism.

### *Victoria in England*

In the past two centuries, the English have taken a greater interest in Spanish Renaissance polyphony, particularly the music of Victoria, than any other group. Perhaps this interest is due to their well-established choral tradition. Even in the eighteenth century, Victoria's music was performed in England by the Academy of Antient Music and the Madrigal Society.<sup>83</sup> The Catholic Relief Act of 1778 and the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 resulted in, among other things, an increased use of Renaissance polyphony in liturgical contexts.<sup>84</sup> In 1830, the catalogue of Joseph Alfred Novello's publishing company included several Renaissance works, including Victoria's *O quam gloriosum*;<sup>85</sup> by 1890, the motet *Jesus dulcis memoria* (spuriously attributed to Victoria) was also included in the Novello catalog.<sup>86</sup> Like the Caecilian movement on the European continent, the English Caecilians promoted the singing of sixteenth-century polyphony. In 1873, the Fourth Synod of Westminster promulgated the superiority of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony in the English Catholic church.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Knighton, "Victoria and the English Choral Tradition" 460-461.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 462.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 463.

<sup>86</sup> *The Complete Catalogue of Music Published by Novello, Ewer & Co.* (London & New York: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1890), 288. Petrucci Music Library. <http://www.imslp.org> (Accessed Feb. 18, 2019)

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 464-465.

Oscott and Upshaw Colleges, two prominent Catholic seminaries, were highly influential in the establishment of sixteenth-century polyphony from the Roman school as part of the English Catholic repertory. Oscott College housed volumes of polyphony containing the Victoria motets *Benedicam Dominum*, *O quam gloriosum*, *O vos omnes*, and *Vere languores*, which, alongside many works by Palestrina, were probably sung by the seminary's Schola Cantorum.<sup>88</sup> Upshaw College's choirmaster from 1899-1917, Edwin Bonney, collected works by Anerio, Byrd, and Victoria, and subscribed to the aforementioned *Anthologie des maîtres religieux* of Charles Bordes, which includes several motets and masses by Victoria, including the eighteen Tenebrae Responsories.<sup>89</sup> However, the establishment of Westminster Cathedral at the turn of the twentieth century had perhaps the greatest impact on the revival of sixteenth-century polyphony in England.

Richard Runciman Terry (1865-1938) was appointed the first choirmaster of Westminster Cathedral in 1901, and held the post until he resigned in 1924. During his time at the cathedral, Terry focused his energies on developing a tradition of men and boys singing a cappella Renaissance polyphony by English as well as continental European composers. He explored Spanish composers whose works he found in collections and anthologies previously discussed, including Proske's *Musica divina* (1853-86), Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana* (1852-60), Pedrell's *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra* (1894-98), as well as Pedrell's *Opera omnia* of Victoria (1902-1913),

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 464.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 465.

to which Terry subscribed.<sup>90</sup> Terry's exploration of Spanish music reached its peak in 1911, when his Holy Week program at Westminster Cathedral was comprised entirely of Spanish polyphony, including several works by Victoria, including two masses (*Missas O quam gloriosum* and *Simile est regnum*) two motets (*Pueri Hebraeorum* and *O vos omnes*, the latter falsely attributed to Morales by Pedrell), a *Regina coeli* antiphon, a *Nunc dimittis*, and the Tenebrae Responsories. Additionally, Terry programmed works by a great host of more obscure Hispanic composers pulled from the Pedrell and Eslava anthologies, including a Magnificat by Juan Navarro. The excellence of this music and of Westminster Cathedral Choir's performance of it was lauded in the Daily Telegraph.<sup>91</sup>

Terry's influence in bringing Victoria into the repertory of the English Catholic Church also took the form of a list he published in the appendix of his 1907 book *Catholic Church Music*. The list, not meant to be exhaustive, provides "a selection of suitable music of an ecclesiastical character which has stood the test of practical experience," and is organized by specific feast day and ranked by difficulty.<sup>92</sup> Victoria is the only Spanish composer on the list, and is well-represented with some twenty works included (see Table 2.1), outnumbering other Renaissance masters such as Orlande di Lasso, Josquin des Pres, and even Thomas Tallis. Conspicuously absent from Terry's list is the motet *O magnum mysterium*, which as we shall see in the next

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<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 467.

<sup>91</sup> Tess Knighton, "A New Cathedral and the New English Singers: The Recuperation and Performance of Sixteenth-Century Spanish Music in England in the Early Twentieth Century," *Revista de Musicología* 37, No. 2 (2014), 541-558. Accessed November 18, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24245870>.

<sup>92</sup> Sir Richard Runciman Terry, *Catholic Church Music* (London: Greening & Co., Ltd, 1907), 201.

| <b>Table 2.1, Works by Victoria recommended by Richard Terry in <i>Catholic Church Music</i>, 1907</b> |  |                      |                                  |
|--|--|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Work   | Category / Feast Day                           | Difficulty           | Edition                          |
| Masses by Polyphonic Composers   |  |                      |                                  |
| <i>Missa pro defunctis à 6</i>   | Requiem Mass                                   | difficult            | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Missa O quam gloriosum</i>  | Mass   | medium-easy          | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Missa quarti toni</i>   | Mass   | medium-difficult     | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| Motets by Polyphonic Composers   |  |                      |                                  |
| <i>Jesu dulcis memoria</i>   | Feast of the Blessed Sacrament, Corpus Christi | easy                 | Cary & Co.                       |
| <i>Ave Maria</i>   | Of the season (Of Our Lady)                    | not difficult        | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Duo seraphim</i>  | Of the season (Trinity)                        | not difficult        | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>O quam gloriosum</i>  | All Saints                                     | not difficult        | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| Common of the Saints   |  |                      |                                  |
| <i>Estote fortes in bello</i>  | Apostles & Evangelists                         | moderately difficult | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Gaudent in coelis</i>   | Martyrs & One Martyr                           | moderately difficult | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Iste sanctus</i>  | Martyrs & One Martyr                           | moderately difficult | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Ecce sacerdos</i>   | Confessor Pontiff                              | moderately difficult | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Hic vir</i>   | Confessor Not a Pontiff                        | moderately difficult | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| <i>Veni sponsa Christi</i>   | Virgins  | moderately difficult | <i>Musica divina</i><br>[Proske] |
| Music for Miscellaneous Occasions  |  |                      |                                  |
| Passion Responses  | Palm Sunday                                    | easy                 | Cary & Co.                       |
| Passion Responses  | Good Friday                                    | easy                 | Cary & Co.                       |
| Tenebrae Responses   | Holy Week                                      | moderately difficult | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| Popule meus  | Good Friday                                    | very easy            | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| 18 Magnificats in score  |  | difficult            | Breitkopf & Härtel               |
| Nunc dimittis à 4  | Compline                                       | easy                 | Cary & Co.                       |

chapter, is today Victoria's most widely recorded work. The numerous motets for the Common of the Saints reflects the works included in the previously discussed *Anthologie de maîtres religieux anciens*, edited by Charles Bordes and published in England by Breitkopf & Härtel (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3).

In addition to choirs in Catholic institutions, Anglican choirs in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries were increasingly interested in Renaissance polyphony, including the music by Victoria. One important figure in this trend was Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley (1825-1889), a professor at Oxford starting in 1855. Ouseley is known for having founded St. Michael's College, Tenbury in 1854 in order to improve the quality of Anglican church music, and was the editor of several volumes of Renaissance polyphony that included works by Victoria.<sup>93</sup> He published a collection called *Motetts by Spanish Composers arr. to illustrate Lectures on the Church Music of Spain* (Oxford: ca. 1880) which includes the *Jesu dulcis memoria* spuriously attributed to Victoria, as well as Victoria's *O vos omnes* which he mistakenly attributes to Morales. Ouseley also included works by several lesser-known Spanish composers, including the *Credo quod redemptor* of Alonso Lobo, which he must have copied from Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana*.<sup>94</sup>

Another important figure in the spread of Victoria's music to the Anglican liturgy was Arthur Henry Mann (1850-1929), Director of Music at King's College, Cambridge, from 1876 to 1929. Mann raised the quality and reputation of the King's College

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<sup>93</sup> Knighton, "Victoria and the English Choral Tradition," 469-470.

<sup>94</sup> Frederick Ouseley, *Motetts by Spanish Composers arr. to illustrate Lectures on the Church Music of Spain* (Oxford: ca. 1880).

choir, and during his tenure, certain motets by Victoria were introduced into the repertory, including *O vos omnes*, *Jesu dulcis memoria* (spurious), and *O quam gloriosum*, first in English-texted editions, and later replaced by versions in Latin.<sup>95</sup>

The establishment of Victoria's music as part of the repertory in English chapel choirs owes largely to these initial seeds planted by Ouseley and Mann, and the repertoire was subsequently widened by Terry's continued programming and promotion of Victoria's music.

#### *Early Recordings of Music by Victoria in England*

At Westminster Cathedral, after a period of waning interest in sixteenth-century polyphony and budgetary cutbacks due to World War II, George Malcolm (1917-1997) was hired as the organist and choirmaster in 1947. Malcolm developed the choir's fuller tone, which was described as "continental" in comparison to purity of tone idealized by Anglican choirs.<sup>96</sup> In 1959, the Choir of Westminster Cathedral made their influential and dramatic recording of the Victoria Tenebrae responsories under Malcolm's direction, the first recording of those works by an English choir.<sup>97</sup>

George Guest (1924-2002) was appointed organist and choirmaster of St. John's College, Cambridge, a position he held from 1951 until 1991. Guest raised the standards of the choir at St. John's, and like Malcolm at Westminster Cathedral,

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<sup>95</sup> Knighton, "Victoria and the English Choral Tradition," 470-471.

<sup>96</sup> Timothy Day, "English cathedral choirs in the twentieth century" in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge University Press: 2000), 131.

<sup>97</sup> George Malcolm, Westminster Cathedral Choir, *Victoria: Responsories for Tenebrae*, Argo RG 149, 1959, LP.

developed a fuller sound than King's College just down the road.<sup>98</sup> He programmed a great deal of music by Victoria, and recorded two widely acclaimed discs, one featuring the *Requiem à 6* and several motets (1967), and the other featuring the *Missa O quam gloriosum* and several motets (1969).<sup>99</sup> Curiously, several of the motets recorded by Guest are the same motets for saints that Richard Terry recommended in his 1907 book, such as *Estote fortes in bello*, *Gaudent in coelis*, *Iste sanctus*, *Hic vir*, and *Veni sponsa Christi*, as well as the famous *O magnum mysterium*.

One of the organ scholars under George Guest at St. John's was the choral conductor and organist David Hill (b. 1957), who said he first encountered Victoria's music during his time working with Guest.<sup>100</sup> Hill went on to serve as Master of Music at Westminster Cathedral Choir from 1982-1987, during which time the choir began a fruitful relationship with Hyperion Records. Of the eleven albums he recorded with Hyperion and the Westminster Cathedral Choir, five consist solely of works by Victoria, including recordings of the *Requiem* (1987) and the *Tenebrae Responsories* (1988). Even more remarkable is the 1985 disc entitled *Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance*, which bypasses the music of Victoria and Morales entirely, and instead features several motets by Francisco Guerrero, three motets by Alonso Lobo (including the famous *Versa est in luctum*), and the *Magnificat octavi toni à 8* by Sebastián de Vivanco.

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<sup>98</sup> Day, 131.

<sup>99</sup> George Guest, Choir of St. John's College, Cambridge, *Victoria: Requiem Mass*, Argo ZRG 570, 1967, LP; *Victoria: O quam gloriosum*, Argo ZRG 620, 1969, LP.

<sup>100</sup> David Hill, interviewed by Aaron Peisner via FaceTime, January 22, 2019.

Hill's *Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance* was the second album in England to include works by Lobo and Vivanco. The first was a record released by TelDec in 1978 entitled *El Siglo de Oro: Spanish Sacred Music of the Renaissance* by the ensemble Pro Cantione Antiqua, directed at the time by Bruno Turner. The album, rereleased in 1993 as a two-CD set, includes thirteen tracks by Victoria, four tracks by Guerrero, and one track each by Morales, Lobo, Vivanco, Juan Esquivel, Juan Navarro, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Juan Pujol, and Juan de Castro y Malagaray.

The figure at the center of the surge in interest in Iberian polyphony in the late twentieth century is Bruno Turner (b. 1931). In the 1950s and 1960s, Turner spoke about Spanish Renaissance polyphony in broadcast events on the BBC's Third Programme (the tapes of which, sadly, no longer exist).<sup>101</sup> He directed and made recordings with the early music group Pro Cantione Antiqua (formed in the 1960s), and most importantly, founded the company Mapa Mundi to edit and publish performing editions of Renaissance polyphony, with a special focus on works by Spanish composers. Turner's editions are published as individual, inexpensive octavos rather than in collections or anthologies, leading to their widespread use throughout England and the rest of the world. Turner has been a repertoire consultant for numerous performing groups in England, and has written liner notes for scores of albums, including the aforementioned albums recorded by David Hill and the Westminster Cathedral Choir. Indeed, Turner suggested much of the repertoire to Hill

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<sup>101</sup> Tess Knighton, "Introduction: A Heart of Pure Gold" in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World, A Homage to Bruno Turner*, ed. Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2011), xvii-xviii.

and provided editions for Westminster's *Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance* recording.<sup>102</sup> Turner has also published musicological research.

The performance of Renaissance polyphony outside of liturgical contexts initiated by Pro Cantione Antiqua and other similar groups is a noteworthy development in the lineage of Spanish polyphony in England. The singers in these groups primarily studied at Oxford and Cambridge, where they encountered this repertoire through the chapel choir system. Tess Knighton summarizes this lineage and synthesizes it with the musicological and historiographical tendency to label Spanish polyphony as exhibiting “mystical” qualities:

While the shift away from the purely liturgical context with the founding of Pro Cantione Antiqua and the greater accessibility of the repertory brought about by *Mapa Mundi* occasioned a broadening out of what might be termed the Spanish Renaissance canon so closely associated with the austere, dramatic idiom of, for example, Victoria's *Tenebrae* responsories or Morales's Lamentations, it is striking that these have been the works to have received multiple interpretations on disk; indeed, they were usually the first works to be recorded by the professional ensembles. Terry's emphasis on Lenten Iberian polyphony in the early years of Westminster Cathedral (and the coverage it received in the press and its impact upon the musical cognoscenti) brought these pieces—the most strikingly different from the European “mainstream” of Renaissance polyphony—into the repertory, thereby establishing a specific perspective on Spanish church music of the Golden Age, no matter that much of that music, when not associated with the Lenten period or the Mass or Office for the dead, was really very similar in compositional procedure and idiom to that of Palestrina or any number of Franco-Flemish composers.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Hill, interviewed by Peisner, January 22, 2019.

<sup>103</sup> Knighton, “A New Cathedral and the New English Singers,” 550.

## *Conclusion*

In the nineteenth century Victoria was largely understood to be a composer of the Roman school of polyphony, and interest in his music grew slowly but steadily, largely fueled by the Caecilian movement. In surveys of music history, his music and that of other Spanish composers from the Renaissance is often characterized as having “mystical” qualities, a label which many Spanish musicologists have reinforced. In England, the founding of Westminster Cathedral and its musical leadership by Richard Terry provided a platform for performing Spanish polyphony, and the entirely Spanish program during Holy Week in 1911 made a lasting impression about the character of Spanish polyphony. Victoria’s music slowly became integrated into both Catholic and Anglican church choirs in England, and eventually professional singers from those choirs formed groups to perform and record this music outside of the liturgy.

Between editions, scholarship, and recordings, no single factor has had an outside effect on the formation of the canon of Spanish polyphony. All of them have coalesced around this idea of “mysticism,” a trope which has endured despite attempts by editors, scholars, and performers to widen the view of this repertoire. As we shall see in the next chapter, the legacy of “Spanish musical mysticism” has influenced the recording history of the music of Victoria, which has subsequently impacted the recording history of works by Lobo, Vivanco, Esquivel, and Navarro.

## Chapter III: Victoria Meta-Discographies and Analysis

In order to establish the canon of Spanish Renaissance music recorded on disc, to which the recording history of works by Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel will be compared, I have chosen to construct a meta-discography of the recorded works of Tomás Luis de Victoria. By meta-discography, I mean a compilation of statistics detailing how many times any one work appears on disc. Part of my work was done for me — Eugene Cramer’s *Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Guide to Research*, published in 1998, contains an extensive discography that proved to be indispensable.<sup>104</sup> My job was therefore to tally each appearance of each Victoria composition from Cramer’s discography, and then to find and take note of all instances of recordings of works by Victoria not included in Cramer’s discography, or in other words, any records released since 1996, the year of the last entry in his discography.

One of the great challenges in compiling an accurate discography and meta-discography of Victoria recordings since 1996 has been that information regarding the composer of a given track is sometimes missing from online databases and streaming services. In some cases, the artist or record company simply did not supply the information, while in others, there was no “composer” category for which the artist could supply the information. Every time I thought I had found everything there was to find, surely enough I would stumble upon another track, or even an entire album of Victoria’s works, improperly or unconventionally labeled. So while this meta-

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<sup>104</sup> Eugene Casjen Cramer, *Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998).

discography is the product of exhaustive research, I cannot make any claim to its perfection.

*Victoria meta-discographies at a glance*

When considering how to interpret the results of this metadiscography, one important question to ask is how individual tracks of larger works or collections, such as the *Officium defunctorum* or the Tenebrae Responsories, should be counted. For example, the Good Friday responsory *Caligaverunt oculi mei* appears on disc 27 times independently, that is, as stand-alone tracks without the rest of the Tenebrae Responsories, and is therefore the ninth most-recorded work by Victoria. However, the Tenebrae Responsories themselves appear 22 times on disc alone, and 6 times as part of recordings of the complete *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* in which they were originally published. Additionally, the Good Friday responsories appear on disc once. If we consider each of these independent instances in addition to its presence on recordings of the whole work, *Caligaverunt* has been recorded 56 times, and is the fifth most frequently recorded work by Victoria.

Reading the metadiscography this way, prioritizing the total appearances of individual tracks by adding their independent appearances to their appearances within larger works, can give insight into how much recorded *time* is devoted to particular music. Without prioritizing the total appearances of individual tracks, the Tenebrae Responsories appears on disc 22 times, while the motet *Duo seraphim* appears 23 times. The Responsories, however, take anywhere from 55 to 70 minutes to perform

as a group, whereas *Duo seraphim* can be sung in three or three-and-a-half minutes. The higher count for *Duo seraphim*, therefore, does not accurately reflect the amount of time it takes up in Victoria's recording history. However, it is still important to consider both ways of looking at the metadiscography. Prioritizing total appearances of individual tracks from larger works has the effect of crowding out Victoria's non-Lenten music from the picture.

Table 3.1 shows the first page of the first meta-discography, which counts larger works separately from appearances of individual tracks from those works. It is sorted by the "individual recordings" column, meaning that independent recordings of the track *Caligaverunt oculi mei* take precedence over the total number of times it appears on disc within the Tenebrae Responsories. Table 3.2 shows the first page of the second meta-discography, in which the number of times a track appears in its original collection is added to its independent appearances. This list is sorted by the "total recordings" column, referring to the total number of recordings of a track, both within and independent of the larger work from which it originates. In both cases, each table shows the 25 entries. Both lists can be read in their entirety in Appendix A.

A comparison of the first page of each version of the meta-discography is illuminating. The first page of Meta-Discography A shows a wider breadth of Victoria's output. Lenten works make up a plurality of the first page with 10 works represented. Next is the category of Christmas or Advent music, with 5 entries. The list is rounded out with 3 Marian works, the Requiem, one Magnificat, one Mass, a vespers hymn, and one work each for the feasts of All Saints and Trinity. 15 of the

entries on the first page are written in a minor mode (church modes I through IV), with 9 entire works in a major mode (church modes V through VIII), and one, the Requiem, containing movements in both major and minor modes. Overall, this meta-discography shows that while Victoria's music in a minor mode and his Lenten music are generally favored, there is significant interest in his works that branch out from the sound with which he is most often associated.

The first page of Meta-Discography B tells a different story. Despite the many recordings of Victoria's non-Lenten and major mode works, his Lenten and funeral music take up a much more significant amount of recorded time. On this list, 22 of the 25 entries are in a minor mode. One of the three major-mode works are sung during Holy Week (*Popule meus*), and another is part of the Requiem (*Officium defunctorum, Kyrie*), leaving *O quam gloriosum* as the list's only piece in a major mode not associated with sadness or death. Given the number of recordings of the Tenebrae Responsories, most of individual responsories are on the first page of this meta-discography by default.

**Table 3.1**, First page of Meta-Discography A (Individual tracks counted separately from their larger works)

| Work by Victoria               | individual recordings | total recordings | Category      | Specific                    | Mode  |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| O magnum mysterium             | 137                   | 137              | Christmas     | Circumcision                | Minor |
| Ave Maria à 4 (attributed)     | 99                    | 99               | Marian        |                             | Minor |
| O quam gloriosum               | 57                    | 57               | Saints        | All Saints                  | Major |
| O vos omnes (motet)            | 51                    | 51               | Lent          | Holy Saturday               | Minor |
| Popule meus (Improperia)       | 38                    | 44               | Lent          | Good Friday                 | Major |
| O vos omnes (responsory)       | 35                    | 64               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Saturday          | Minor |
| Vere languores                 | 35                    | 41               | Lent          | Good Friday                 | Minor |
| Ave Maria à 8                  | 30                    | 30               | Marian        |                             | Minor |
| Domine, non sum dignus         | 30                    | 30               | Lent          | Vespers after Ash Wednesday | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum (1605)    | 28                    | 28               | Funeral       |                             | both  |
| Caligaverunt oculi mei         | 27                    | 56               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Friday            | Minor |
| Tenebrae factae sunt           | 25                    | 54               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Friday            | Minor |
| Duo seraphim                   | 23                    | 23               | Trinity       | Trinity Sunday              | Major |
| Tenebrae responsories (all)    | 22                    | 28               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Thursday-Saturday | Minor |
| Magnificat primi toni à 8      | 21                    | 21               | Vespers       | Canticle                    | Minor |
| Ne timeas, Maria               | 20                    | 20               | Advent        | Annunciation                | Major |
| Jesu dulcis memoria (spurious) | 19                    | 19               | Vespers       | Circumcision                | Minor |
| Vidi speciosam à 6             | 18                    | 18               | Marian        | Assumption                  | Major |
| Pueri hebraeorum               | 16                    | 22               | Lent          | Palm Sunday                 | Major |
| O regem coeli                  | 16                    | 16               | Christmas     | Christmas                   | Major |
| Vadam et circuibo              | 16                    | 16               | Song of Songs |                             | Minor |
| O Domine Jesu Christe          | 15                    | 21               | Lent          | Holy Week                   | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum         | 15                    | 15               | Mass          |                             | Major |
| Quem vidistis, pastores        | 15                    | 15               | Christmas     | Christmas                   | Minor |
| Senex puerum                   | 15                    | 15               | Christmas     | Candlemas                   | Minor |

**Table 3.2**, First Page of Meta-Discography B (Sorted by total of individual tracks and larger works)

| Work by Victoria                          | total recordings | individual recordings | Category  | Specific           | Mode  |
|---|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------|
| O magnum mysterium                        | 137              | 137                   | Christmas | Circumcision       | Minor |
| Ave Maria à 4 (attributed)                | 99               | 99                    | Marian    |                    | Minor |
| O vos omnes (responsory)                  | 64               | 35                    | Lent      | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |
| O quam gloriosum                          | 57               | 57                    | Saints    | All Saints         | Major |
| Caligaverunt oculi mei                    | 56               | 27                    | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Tenebrae factae sunt                      | 54               | 25                    | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| O vos omnes (motet)                       | 51               | 51                    | Lent      | Holy Saturday      | Minor |
| Popule meus (Improperia)                  | 44               | 38                    | Lent      | Good Friday        | Major |
| Vere languores                            | 41               | 35                    | Lent      | Good Friday        | Minor |
| Judas mercator                            | 40               | 9                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Amicus meus                               | 39               | 8                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Versa est in luctum | 38               | 10                    | Funeral   |                    | Minor |
| Una hora                                  | 38               | 7                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Unus ex discipulis                        | 38               | 7                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Tamquam ad latronem                       | 37               | 8                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Animam meam                               | 37               | 6                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Eram quasi agnus                          | 37               | 6                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Seniores populi                           | 35               | 4                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Ecce quomodo moritur                      | 34               | 5                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |
| Jesum tradidit                            | 33               | 4                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Sepulto Domino                            | 32               | 3                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Kyrie               | 31               | 3                     | Funeral   |                    | Major |
| Officium defunctorum, Taedet              | 31               | 3                     | Funeral   |                    | Minor |
| Tenebrae Responsories, Thursday           | 31               | 3                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Astiterunt reges                          | 31               | 2                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |

### *Discussion and Analysis*

What follows is a historical discussion and musical analysis of certain works that have become integral to Victoria's identity as a composer, as determined by their high rankings in the two meta-discographies. At the core of this inquiry is a desire to attach concrete musical characteristics to the vague idea of "mysticism" that has pervaded the discourse on this composer and his contemporaries in Spain. Through this study, I hope to shed light on the recording histories of other Spanish Renaissance composers.

#### *Officium defunctorum (Requiem), 1605*

The *Officium defunctorum*, commonly referred to as the Requiem, is a foundational component of Victoria's and Spanish polyphony's identity as being somber and mournful. A performing edition of the Requiem, available in octavo form, was included in Charles Bordes's *Anthologie des maîtres religieux anciens*, making it one of the earliest works of Victoria's to be established in the repertoire. It is Victoria's most frequently recorded multi-movement work, and given its length, it is his work most likely to feature on the album cover and lend its name to the album on which it appears. In other words, it is central to the Victoria "brand." As such, the *Officium defunctorum* is a touchstone with which ensembles specializing in Renaissance polyphony, especially those who focus on performing the works of Iberian composers, can prove their worth and artistry and can gain acclaim and attention on the international stage of early music performance and beyond. For the Spanish ensemble Música Ficta, directed by Raúl Mallavibarrena, the only ensemble

in the present discography to record the work twice, the *Officium defunctorum* had just that effect. In the liner notes to the 2002 recording, Mallavibarena mentions his trepidation at attempting an ambitious project like recording the *Officium defunctorum*, stating that, despite his utter reverence for the work, “such projects far exceeded the budget of a label like mine,” and describing it as a “hazardous and risky undertaking” due to the saturation of other excellent recordings of the work currently available.<sup>105</sup> Looking ahead to the liner notes from the 2017 recording, Mallavibarrena reflects upon the 2002 effort: “It was without doubt a successful recording, both commercially and personally, a winner of awards and with a sales record far superior to that of any other CD recorded on the Enchiriadis label.”<sup>106</sup> Curiously, the 2002 recording is sung at the pitch of the original print (with *Taedet* beginning on an A minor chord) and is sung with organ accompaniment, while the 2017 recording is sung up a tone (*Taedet* begins on B minor, the key of Bruno Turner’s edition of the Requiem for Mapa Mundi).

Unlike the Tenebrae Responsories, individual movements from the *Officium defunctorum* rarely appear on disc outside of their context as part of the whole mass. Perhaps Victoria’s use of plainchant in almost every movement precludes their being excerpted for aesthetic reasons. The Gradual, Sanctus, and Lux aeterna movements have been excerpted once each, the *Libera me* has been recording twice, and the introductory lesson *Taedet animam meam* and Kyrie have been excerpted three times.

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<sup>105</sup> Raúl Mallavibarena, liner notes to *Tomás Luis de Victoria: Officium defunctorum*, Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarena, Enchiriadis EN2006, CD, 2002, p. 8.

<sup>106</sup> Raúl Mallavibarena, liner notes to *Victoria: Requiem*, Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarena, Enchiriadis EN2045, CD, 2017, p. 7.

The image displays a musical score for the Sanctus from Victoria's *Officium defunctorum*. It features six staves for vocal parts: two Sopranos, an Alto, two Tenors, and a Bass. The music is in 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "San - ctus, (San - ctus,) San - ctus Do - mi - nus". The score shows various vocal lines with notes, rests, and lyrics. The two Tenor parts have an '8' below the first measure, likely indicating a measure rest. The lyrics are distributed across the staves, with some parts having parentheses around certain words.

Example 3.1, Victoria, *Officium defunctorum*, Sanctus, mm. 1-9.<sup>107</sup>

Several of the movements share a luminous quality, characterized by block chords moving in slow and steady harmonic rhythm dictated by the *cantus firmus*. The opening of the Sanctus demonstrates this shimmering character particularly effectively, with its falling fifths sequence accompanied by the persistent use of 3-4 suspensions (Example 3.1).

The notable exception to the tendency of movements not being excerpted is the *Officium*'s penultimate movement, the funeral motet *Versa est in luctum*, which appears as an independent track on ten albums. Upon hearing *Versa est in luctum*, one can easily understand why it is excerpted more frequently than the other movements, for none of the others rival it in emotional intensity, perhaps with the exception of the

<sup>107</sup> Adapted from Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Officium Defunctorum, Missa pro Defunctis, Requiem Responsories*, ed. Michael Noone (Aberystwyth, Wales: Boethius Editions, 1990), 88-89.

Offertory, *O Domine Jesu Christe*. From its first moments, *Versa est in luctum* is striking in its tonal ambiguity, with F-sharps followed immediately by F-naturals within the same line (Example 3.2). This turning of F-sharp into F-natural reflects the meaning of the text “*Versa est in luctum*” (My harp is turned to mourning) by turning a major-scale degree into a minor-scale degree. This opening also demonstrates Victoria’s cyclical treatment of the expository phrase, in which the pair of motives is repeated three times in different voice parts before the whole texture cadences on D major in m. 14.

Later, as the motet reaches its climax at the text “*Parce mihi, Domine, nihil enim sunt dies mei*” (Spare me, Lord, for my days are nothing), the music is characterized by poignant 7-6 and 4-3 suspensions and the heightened tessitura of each voice (Example 3.3). Like the earlier passage in *Versa est in luctum*, this passage is constructed cyclically. However, whereas each motivic cycle at the beginning of the motet is seven beats long, the motivic cycles in mm. 35-42 are five beats long, with this shorter cycle adding to the urgency of the music. In addition to the plangent harmonies present in both examples, the cycling of these melodic-harmonic motives is almost trance-like. Victoria’s pacing is consistent — in both cases, he cycles through the motives three times, each time in different voices, before moving on to his next idea.



33

Soprano Do - mi - ne, ni - hil e - nim sunt di - es me - i, ni - hil

Soprano [Do] - mi - ne, ni - hil e - nim sunt di - es me - i, \_\_\_\_\_

Alto par - ce mi - hi Do - mi - ne, ni hil e - nim sunt di -

Tenor Do - mi - ne, ni - hil e - nim sunt di - es me -

Tenor [mi] - hi Do - mi - ne, ni - hil e - nim sunt di - es me - i, \_\_\_\_\_

Bass par - ce mi - hi Do - mi - ne, ni - hil

39

S. e - nim sunt di - es me - i, di - es me - i, \_\_\_\_\_ ni

S. ni - hil e - nim sunt di - es me

A. es me - i, ni - hil e - nim sunt di

T. i, ni - hil e - nim sunt di - es me - i, di

T. ni - hil e - nim sunt di - es me - i,

B. e - nim sunt di - es me - i, di - es

Example 3.3, Victoria, *Officium defunctorum, Versa est in luctum*, mm. 33-43.<sup>109</sup>

### *Tenebrae Responsories*

Victoria's *Tenebrae Responsories* are uniquely well-suited to be established in the canon. Scholars and performers have been aware of the Responsories since the mid-

<sup>109</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *Officium Defunctorum*, ed. Noone, 107-108.

nineteenth century, given that they were included in Carl Proske's *Musica divina, IV. Libervespertinus* (1863)<sup>110</sup> and in Charles Bordes's *Anthologie*. As a large, cohesive collection, they provide professional ensembles with a large work that can fill the length an album or concert program. On the other hand, any one responsory can stand on its own as an independent piece. Moreover, none of the individual responsories is extremely difficult, making them accessible to amateur choirs, and each features a balance of homophonic declamation of text and imitative polyphony, making them great educational tools for university or skilled high school choirs. Unlike the *Officium defunctorum*, which is scored for six voices, the Tenebrae Responsories are scored in the standard four parts, making them practical as well as achievable for amateur ensembles.

The overriding mood of the Tenebrae Responsories is dark and melancholy. The final responsory from Good Friday, *Caligaverunt oculi mei*, serves as a representative example of Victoria's harmonic language which is both austere and deeply expressive (Example 3.4). The responsory opens with a pair of voices on the same pitch, D, with the alto voice diverging to an F before both voices move to an open fifth sonority on the downbeat of m. 2. That same exposed open fifth sonority between C and G occurs twice more in the first nineteen measures of the responsory, lending a sense of hollowness and austerity to the harmony. Another distinctive harmonic characteristic is the use of 7-6 suspensions for dramatic effect. Each time the 7-6 suspension occurs, it is between a lower voice on an E-flat and an upper voice on D moving to C, which

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<sup>110</sup> Perkins, "Published Editions and Anthologies of the 19th Century," 121-127.

Soprano  
Ca - li - ga - ve - runt o - cu - li me - i a fle - tu me - o: qui - a e - lon -

Alto  
Ca - li - ga - ve - runt o - cu - li me - i a fle - tu me - o: qui - a

Tenor  
Ca - li - ga - ve - runt o - cu - li me - i, o - cu - li me - i a fle - tu me - o, qui - a e - lon - ga - tus est a me,

Bass  
Ca - li - ga - ve - runt o - cu - li me - i qui - a e - lon - ga - tus est a me,

S.  
ga - tus est a me, qui con - so - la - ba - tur me — qui con - so - la - b - tur me:

A.  
e - lon - ga - tus est a me, qui con - so - la - ba - tur me, qui con - so - la - ba - tur me:

T.  
qui con - so - la - ba - tur me — , qui con - so - la - ba - tur me:

B.  
qui con - so - la - ba - tur me, con - so - la - ba - tur me:

Example 3.4, Victoria, *Caligaverunt oculi mei*, mm. 1-19.<sup>111</sup>

is extremely poignant in the context of G minor. The first 7-6 suspension is appropriately attached to the text “a fletu meo” (“with my weeping”), and the next two iterations of that same suspension accompany each new text, occurring in m. 10 and in m. 13.

To the modern ear, Victoria’s use of chromaticism is not out of the ordinary, but in the context of the late sixteenth century, it is extreme. The first entry of the bass voice features a chromatic rise from B-flat to B-natural to C, an unheard-of gesture in the polyphony modeled on the perfection exemplified by Palestrina. Victoria’s

<sup>111</sup> Adapted from Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Tenebrae Responsories*, ed. Bruno Turner (London: J. & W. Chester, Ltd., 1960), 36-37.

deployment of F-sharp is sometimes harmonically functional, as in the final cadence from D major to G minor, but is just as often non-functional — see measures 11, 14, and 16, in which a D major chord is followed by some form of C minor or an open fifth based on C. In m. 18, right before the cadence, the chord on the downbeat includes an appoggiatura of an A down to a G in the alto voice, momentarily creating a diminished sonority. Where normally tritones would be avoided, here Victoria purposely writes the alto's A-natural against the tenor's E-flat, creating a stinging dissonance. The sum of each of these aspects of harmony is a melancholy sound-world, one that characterizes all eighteen of the Tenebrae Responsories, but is most especially on display in *Caligaverunt* and a handful of other responsories.

Throughout the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, Victoria's complete collection of music for Holy Week published in 1585, which includes the Tenebrae Responsories, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, two Passion settings, and several motets, there are individual motives as well as entire blocks of polyphony that are shared between works. Eugene Casjen Cramer catalogues several such motives and harmonic ideas in his chapter on intertextuality in Victoria's music.<sup>112</sup> One example that he does not include in his chapter is the music at the text "quia elongatus est a me" in *Caligaverunt*, mm. 8-12. The musical figure covers a stepwise descent of an octave, portraying the idea of distance ("for he is far from me") in music. The fourth responsory for Holy Saturday, *Astiterunt reges*, features the same melodic figure as "quia elongatus est a me" from *Caligaverunt*, in this instance set to the text "et

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<sup>112</sup> Cramer, *Studies in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria*, 61-118.



suspensions or dissonances. Further, much of *Astiterunt* features homophonic text declamation and little motivic imitation, and is simply less interesting from a textural point of view. It therefore makes sense that *Caligaverunt* has been recorded independent of the full Tenebrae Responsories collection 27 times, while *Astiterunt reges* has only been recorded twice independently.

Another example of polyphony being shared between responsories is the “si est dolor similis” section (“if there be any sorrow like [my sorrow]”) in both *Caligaverunt* and in the Holy Saturday responsory, *O vos omnes*. Both responsories set the same text to essentially the same music, with slight changes. In both examples, the highest voice enters on a high G, creating a distantly spread 4-3 suspension as it descends a tetrachord. Afterwards, D major harmony acts deceptively and rises to C minor in first inversion with a 7-6 suspension. Whereas in *Caligaverunt*, the range is extremely wide, with the lower three voices singing in the middle of their ranges and the soprano singing at the top (Example 3.6a), the example from *O vos omnes*, written for two sopranos, alto and tenor, features all the voices in an upper register, lending itself to more full-bodied singing from all voice parts and therefore creating a more urgent kind of drama. Listening on a CD, these repetitions of entire blocks of polyphony have the potential to become monotonous. However, many of these repetitions occur with responsories that would have been sung on different days, and therefore lend a musical cohesiveness to the entirety of Holy Week.

Soprano  
Si est dolor si mi lis

Alto  
Si est dolor si mi lis

Tenor  
8 Si est dolor si mi lis

Bass  
Si est dolor si mi lis

Example 3.6a, Victoria, *Caligaverunt oculi mei*, mm. 25-30.<sup>114</sup>

Soprano  
Si est dolor si mi lis

Soprano  
Si est dolor si mi lis

Alto  
Si est dolor si mi lis, si mi lis

Tenor  
8 Si est dolor si mi lis

Example 3.6b, Victoria, *O vos omnes*, mm. 16-21.<sup>115</sup>

It is notable that, despite saturation of recordings of the Victoria Tenebrae Responsories by the most acclaimed choral and early music ensembles available on

<sup>114</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *Tenebrae Responsories*, ed. Turner, 37.

<sup>115</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *Tenebrae Responsories*, ed. Turner, 43-44.

the market, new recordings of this monumental work are still being made. The highly acclaimed British ensemble Stile Antico released an album of Victoria's Tenebrae Responsories in 2018, showing the lasting impact that the Tenebrae Responsories have had on the landscape of Renaissance music, and more specifically, on how Spanish Renaissance music is perceived and understood. Stile Antico has released thirteen albums to date, only three of which have exclusively featured the music of a single composer, the other two being Giaches de Wert and John Sheppard. In the case of the Wert and Sheppard recordings, Stile Antico use their platform as one of the premiere interpreters of Renaissance polyphony to highlight music by composers whose works are not well known outside of the small field of Renaissance scholars and performers. Moreover, their recording focusing solely on Giaches de Wert's sacred output offers a unique perspective on a composer known primarily for his madrigals, and the Sheppard album centers around the monumental, difficult, and rarely recorded work *Media vita*. In other words, in their earlier single-composer albums, Stile Antico use their skill and platform to expand their audience's understanding of Renaissance music, in effect lending their stature and authority to canonize those works.

With their 2018 recording of the Victoria Tenebrae Responsories, on the other hand, they recorded one of the works of Renaissance polyphony most clearly established in the canon. Perhaps they chose to record the Responsories because they needed an album that would be sure to sell, or perhaps they simply found the music beautiful and felt that they had something to say about it. Given their reading of the

work, which features full-voiced singing, sensitive phrasing, and exciting and thoughtful tempi, they clearly have a unique perspective on the work, and their album is therefore an important contribution to a long legacy of the Tenebrae Responsories' recording history.

*Domine, non sum dignus*

The Tenebrae Responsories all exist within a cohesive and consistent sound-world, defined by the minor mode, sometimes including the Dorian raised sixth, and at other times featuring the doleful lowered sixth. The music is saturated with suspensions, especially 7-6 suspensions, in which an upper voice sings a D-natural, a lower voice moves to E-flat, and the upper voice moves to a C-natural, as can be seen in mm. 9-10 of *Caligaverunt*, and indeed, at least once per responsory. In fact, one could say that the musical language of the Tenebrae Responsories is defined by the proliferation of that exact 7-6 suspension, imbuing the works with poignancy and pathos.

It makes sense, then, that other works by Victoria that make use of the same melodic-harmonic language would be widely performed and recorded. The motet *Domine, non sum dignus*, first printed in 1583 (two years before the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* of 1585), is one of Victoria's most widely recorded motets, and is notable for the presence of so many 7-6 suspensions, including its opening gesture (Example 3.7). With its austere opening fifth and descending melodies that result in multiple 7-6 suspensions, a listener could easily mistake this motet for one of the

Tenebrae Responsories. That likeness diminishes when the motet later enters into a triple meter, which never occurs in the Tenebrae works. The use of such poignant harmonies lends a sense of personal yearning to this text, the Prayer of Humble Access (“Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof, but only say the word and my soul shall be healed.”).

The image shows a musical score for the motet "Domine, non sum dignus" by Victoria. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Soprano part begins with a rest and then sings "non sum di - gnus ut in". The Alto part begins with a rest and then sings "non sum di gnus". The Tenor part begins with a rest and then sings "Do - mi - ne, non sum di - gnus non sum di - gnus,". The Bass part begins with a rest and then sings "Do - mi - ne, non sum di - gnus, non sum di gnus ut in". The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, and fingerings (e.g., 7-6, 4-3, 2-3).

Example 3.7, Victoria, *Domine, non sum dignus*, mm. 1-7.<sup>116</sup>

Because it is a stand-alone motet and features the harmonic language that distinguishes Victoria, it is perfectly clear why *Domine, non sum dignus* has been recorded as many times as it has. Even so, it has rarely been recorded by high-profile ensembles. A recording of it appears on Ensemble Plus Ultra’s ten-disc Victoria box set, and it appears alongside the Philippe Herreweghe’s recording of the *Officium defunctorum* with Collegium Vocale Gent. As of now, however, this motet has not been recorded by Stile Antico, Tenebrae, the Tallis Scholars, the King’s Singers, the Sixteen, or other ensembles of their caliber and reach. Although the text does

<sup>116</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *Domine, non sum dignus*, ed. James Gibb, 2017, <http://www.cpdl.org> (Accessed on March 1, 2019).

correspond with a vespers service at the beginning of Lent, its lack of obvious textual identification with a particular feast day or holiday season helps make sense of this oversight on the part of high-profile ensembles. Even so, it clearly embodies the sound of the Tenebrae Responsories, making it a beautiful programming choice for ensembles not yet wishing to tackle the Responsories. Its limited range makes it a flexible programming option, able to be sung by SATB chorus or, at different pitches, by choirs of treble or men's voices, as it is often performed.

### *O magnum mysterium*

Without a doubt, Victoria's most popular and most frequently recorded work is the motet *O magnum mysterium*. It is the quintessential Renaissance motet, with imitative counterpoint juxtaposed with homophonic text declamation, and ending with a buoyant "Alleluia" section. The motet is straightforward enough that it is an attractive option for amateur choirs, yet it is a timeless classic that professional ensembles love to sing as well. Since it is, loosely speaking, a Christmas motet, *O magnum mysterium* is featured on many Christmas concerts and albums, providing a minor-mode contrast to albums that primarily feature music in the major mode. All told, *O magnum* appears on at least 137 recordings. Given how ubiquitous this motet is, I can only imagine how many albums released after 1996, which have *not* been uploaded to commercial streaming services, include *O magnum*.

Although *O magnum mysterium* is often programmed during Christmas, many of its musical qualities are similar to those of Victoria's Lenten music. The opening

counterpoint is austere, frequently returning to the sonority of the open fifth. The emphasis on the flatted sixth and second scale degrees of the perceived key center reflect the Phrygian mode which is so often associated with Spanish music. The motet later reveals itself to be in the Dorian mode with a final on G, but the opening duet between the soprano and alto is solidly in D minor, making the E-flat a particularly potent chromatic Phrygian gesture (Example 3.8).

Open 5th                      Open 5th                      Open 5th

Soprano  
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um et ad - mi - ra - bi - le sa - cra - men -

Alto  
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um et ad - mi - ra - bi - le sa -

Tenor

Bass

Open 5th

S.  
tum, O ma - gnum my - ste

A.  
cra - men tum, O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um

T.  
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um et ad - mi - ra - bi - le

B.  
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um

Example 3.8, Victoria, *O magnum mysterium*, mm. 1-13.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *O magnum mysterium*, ed. João Figueredo (Nueva Edición Victoria, 2015) <http://www.tomasluisvictoria.es>, accessed March 11, 2019.

Not only do certain harmonic and melodic qualities of *O magnum mysterium* reflect some of Victoria’s Lenten music, but there is one specific passage that is shared between this motet and the Good Friday motet *Vere languores*: the “O beata Virgo” passage from *O magnum mysterium* (Example 3.9a) is the same music as in the “sustinere regem” passage of *Vere languores* (Example 3.9b). Both motets were published for the first time in Victoria’s 1572 book of motets, printed in Venice, and both appeared in multiple subsequent prints, including the inclusion of *Vere languores* in the 1585 *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, the composer’s book of music for Holy

(a)

(b)

The image displays two musical examples, (a) and (b), each consisting of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a Bass line. Example (a) is for the motet *O magnum mysterium*, showing the 'O beata Virgo' passage. The lyrics are 'O Be - a - ta Vir - go'. Example (b) is for the motet *Vere languores*, showing the 'sustinere regem' passage. The lyrics are 'gna su - sti - ne - re re - gem'. The musical notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The vocal parts are written in a four-part setting, with the Bass line providing a harmonic foundation.

Example 3.9 Victoria, (a) *O magnum mysterium*, mm. 40-44; (b) *Vere languores*, mm.

52-56.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *Vere languores*, Nueva Edición Victoria, <http://www.tomasluisvictoria.es>, accessed March 11, 2019.

Week. Robert Stevenson attributes the connection between these two motets to the fact that *O magnum mysterium* is for the Feast of the Circumcision, with “its premonition of the shedding of blood on the cross.”<sup>119</sup> Eugene Casjen Cramer recognizes Stevenson’s idea as plausible, with the caveat that the almost identical music is set to the text “O clemens” in Victoria’s five-voice *Salve regina* printed in 1583, and that the symbolic connection does not extend to that third example.<sup>120</sup>

### *O quam gloriosum est regnum and other major-mode motets*

In a personal conversation, the conductor and organist David Hill mentioned that he thought that without a doubt, the motet *O quam gloriosum* was Victoria’s most famous work.<sup>121</sup> Indeed, it is probably his work most often sung in church services, since it is an uplifting addition to the All Saints repertoire. However, that work appears on recordings less than half as frequently as *O magnum mysterium*. That difference shows a significant discrepancy between the performance repertoire and the recording canon. As a recorded product, *O magnum mysterium*, with its dark-hued minor mode, its flatted-sixth and -second scale degrees, and its solemn open fifths, fits the *idea* of how Victoria’s music sounds more than *O quam gloriosum*.

In *O quam gloriosum*, we see a more ecstatic Victoria. The opening three chords form a falling fifths sequence, and text is declaimed homophonically with a soaring melisma at the stressed syllable of the word “gloriosum” (Example 3.10a). Soon

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<sup>119</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 438.

<sup>120</sup> Cramer, *Studies in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria*, 83-84.

<sup>121</sup> David Hill, interviewed by Aaron Peisner via FaceTime, January 22, 2019.

thereafter, the three lower voices sing a rushing scalar ascent at the word  
 “gaudent,” (“rejoice”) adding to the sense of rapture (Example 3.10b).

Soprano  
 O ——— quam glo-ri - o - sum est re - gnum

Alto  
 O ——— quam glo-ri - o - sum est re

Tenor  
 8 O ——— quam glo-ri - o - sum est re - gnum

Bass  
 O ——— quam glo-ri - o - sum est re - gnum

Example 3.10a, Victoria, *O quam gloriosum est regnum*, mm. 1-9.<sup>122</sup>

Soprano  
 [Chri] - sto ——— gau - dent, gau ——— dent o

Alto  
 Chri - sto gau - dent, gau - dent, gau - dent

Tenor  
 8 Chri - sto gau - dent, gau - dent

Bass  
 Chri - sto gau - dent, gau - dent, gau - dent o

Example 3.10b, Victoria, *O quam gloriosum est regnum*, mm. 18-23.

This music is, for lack of a better word, glorious. For all of its exciting glory,  
 however, the attributes that distinguish Victoria’s major-mode music from that of his

<sup>122</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *O quam gloriosum est regnum*, ed. James Gibb, 2016, <http://www.cpdl.org> (Accessed on March 1, 2019)

contemporaries, such as Palestrina and Byrd, are not as obvious as the traits that mark his minor-mode music as uniquely his own.

The motet *Gaudent in coelis* is a beautiful major-mode motet, and features two prominent examples of the 7-6 suspension (Example 3.11) present in many of Victoria's aforementioned works. The motet was recorded by the Choir of St. John's College, Cambridge under George Guest on their *Officium defunctorum* album released in 1968, and has subsequently been recorded by ensembles including New York Polyphony and Musica Ficta. It has been recorded 11 times in total, making it a somewhat middle-of-the-road example of Victoria's major-mode music.

7-6

Soprano  
ti: et qui - a pro e - ius a - mo - re

Alto  
ti: et qui - a pro e - ius a - mo -

Tenor  
8 ti: et qui - a pro e - ius a - mo - re, a - mo - re

Bass  
ti: et qui - a pro e - ius a - mo - re

Example 3.11, Victoria, *Gaudent in coelis*, mm. 25-30.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *Gaudent in coelis*, ed. Nacho Alvarez, <https://www.uma.es/victoria/partituras.html>, accessed March 13, 2019.

### *Magnificat primi toni à 8*

It is worth briefly exploring Victoria's most widely recorded Magnificat setting, the *Magnificat primi toni a 8*. While his earlier sixteen Magnificat settings were published in volumes from 1576 and 1581, both this Magnificat and the *Magnificat sexti toni à 12* were published in his Madrid volume from 1600. Written for two unequal choirs (SSAT and SATB), the *Magnificat primi toni à 8* features striking harmonic similarities to the Tenebrae Responsories. The "Et misericordiae" verse, sung by the first choir, uses harmonic devices such as an opening duet with frequent open fifths, and one particularly prominent 7-6 cadence in the upper ranges of each voice (Example 3.12). Although the *Magnificat primi toni à 8* is not as densely packed with such expressive devices as are the Tenebrae Responsories, their presence at all is notable, since the Magnificat is normally a rather conservative genre of Renaissance polyphony.

The *Magnificat primi toni à 8* has been recorded 21 times, four times as many recordings as Victoria's next most popular Magnificat, the twelve-voice setting from the same 1600 Madrid publication. Perhaps its popularity among English church choirs is due to its harmonic similarities to the Tenebrae Responsories, also favored by English church choirs. Additionally, many English church choirs are arranged in two choirs, making this magnificat an excellent repertoire choice. This work was also recorded by the Choir of St. John's College, Cambridge and George Guest on their *O quam gloriosum* album released in 1970.

Soprano I  
Et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e -

Soprano II  
Et

Alto  
Et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e -

Tenor  
Et mi -

75  
S I  
ius et mi - se - ri - cor

S II  
mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e - ius

A  
ius et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

T  
8 se - ri - cor - di - a e - ius et

Example 3.12, Victoria, *Magnificat primi toni à 8*, mm. 70-79.<sup>124</sup>

### Conclusion

Considering the recording history of Victoria's works through the lens of the meta-discographies, as well as through analysis of some of his most beloved music and an understanding of the historical use of the term "mysticism" associated with

<sup>124</sup> Adapted from Victoria, *Magnificat primi toni à 8*, ed. Nacho Alvarez, <https://www.uma.es/victoria/partituras.html>, accessed March 13, 2019.

the composer, a clear picture of the Victoria canon starts to emerge. No single factor has had an outsize role in forming the canon. However, given the degree to which the idea of mysticism has been historically ascribed to Victoria's music, it is inevitable that this idea has played a large role in shaping the recording history of his music. Many of the above-mentioned musical techniques, such as the frequent use of the Phrygian 7-6 cadence, trance-like cycling through melodic motifs and harmonic progressions, and austere counterpoint are used to heighten the expression of the texts that Victoria sets, whether they be ecstatic texts like *O quam gloriosum* or tragic texts like the Tenebrae Responsories or *Versa est in luctum*. This heightened expression seems to be what musicologists, musicians, and critics are referring to when they discuss Victoria's "mysticism." However, the common denominator between much of this music is not just the presence of these devices, but also by the use of the minor mode in response to the texts he sets. Victoria's most beloved music is his tragic music. He is able to express anguish and grief through the use of minor harmonies and emotionally-charged musical devices in a way that is more direct than many of his contemporaries. To write and read about the 7-6 cadences in *Caligaverunt* (Example 3.4) and *O vos omnes* (Example 3.6) is one thing; to hear it sung or to sing it is another. To hear it is to have your heart broken.

The idea of mysticism has not become associated with Victoria's major-mode music in the same way as with his minor music. With the exception of *O quam*

*gloriosum*, very little of Victoria's major-mode music has become famous. He is almost always represented in anthologies of Renaissance music with his minor-mode music, and those as well as textbooks may have contributed to the frequent singing and recording of those works. In recent years, as more artists and musicologists have explored a wider variety of Iberian polyphonic repertory from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, more of Victoria's major-mode music has been recorded. However, this music often appears alongside other Iberian polyphony or other Renaissance music, and has not broken into the wider choral repertoire in the same way as Victoria's minor-mode music.

Early and influential recordings have certainly played an important role, but their influence has only gone so far. Several Gramophone recordings from the Sistine Chapel Choir from the 1920s through the 1950s include many of the works toward the top of the meta-discographies, reflecting their inclusion in the Catholic performance repertory of the early twentieth century. Works recorded by the Sistine Chapel Choir during this period include *O magnum mysterium*, *O vos omnes*, *O quam gloriosum*, *Caligaverunt*, *Tenebrae factae sunt*, *Popule meus*, *Domine, non sum dignus*, and *O Domine Jesu Christe*.<sup>125</sup> George Malcolm's 1959 recordings of the *Tenebrae* Responsories with the Westminster Cathedral Choir certainly helped to establish those works as part of the core repertoire of English cathedral music. The Westminster recording as well as the recordings of the Choir of St. John's College, Cambridge under the direction of George Guest, exposed many people in England to

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<sup>125</sup> Cramer, *Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Guide to Research*, 212-214.

the music of Victoria for the first time, but not all of the works on these recordings had equal staying power in the canon. Works recorded by the Choir of St. John's College, such as the Requiem, *O magnum mysterium*, *O quam gloriosum*, and the *Magnificat primi toni à 8*, have lasted in the repertoire, as evidenced by their numerous recordings, but other works recorded by the same ensemble, such as the aforementioned motet *Gaudent in coelis*, as well as motets like *Iste sanctus*, *Hic vir*, *Veni sponsa Christi*, and *Ascendens Christus* have not taken hold in the same way.

Perhaps equally influential to Victoria's identity today are the recordings made in the 1990s and early 2000s of Victoria's *Officium defunctorum* and Tenebrae Responsories by professional English ensembles. The Tallis Scholars and Peter Phillips recorded the Requiem in 1987 and the Tenebrae Responsories in 1990; The Sixteen and Harry Christophers recorded the Tenebrae Responsories in 1991 and the Requiem in 2005; and the Gabrieli Consort and Paul McCreech recorded the Requiem in 1995. These ensembles set a new standard for choral intonation, and the caliber of their recordings drew new levels of respect for Renaissance music in general, and by extension, to the works they chose to record, such as Victoria's Requiem and Tenebrae Responsories.

Tess Knighton writes about the importance of early music groups having an "identifiable sound,"<sup>126</sup> and the same applies to composers as well. Otherwise, pieces of generic-sounding Renaissance polyphony tend to blend together, becoming

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<sup>126</sup> Tess Knighton, "Going down on record" in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1992), 32.

pleasant background music. The musical features most identified with Victoria discussed above do not necessarily pervade his entire output, but when they appear, they announce the composer's identity. This is the sonic identity that has shaped the recording history of his music, and it is also the identity which is most commonly associated with the idea of mysticism in his music.

## Chapter IV: Recording History and Meta-Discography of Works by Juan Navarro, Alonso Lobo, Sebastián de Vivanco, and Juan Esquivel

The recording history of the music of Stevenson's "Other Church Masters" begins in 1978 with the release of the album *El Siglo de Oro: Spanish Sacred Music of the Renaissance* by the British chamber choir Pro Cantione Antiqua, led by Bruno Turner. The album, released on the Teldec Das Alte Werke label, presented a number of works by Victoria and Guerrero, as well as one work each by Morales, Juan Navarro, Alonso Lobo, Sebastián de Vivanco, Juan Esquivel, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Juan Pujol, and Juan de Castro y Malagaray. Multiple musicologists have referred to this recording as "a revelation."<sup>127</sup> Tess Knighton states that "there is no doubt in my mind that *El Siglo de Oro*... attracted the attention of choirs, professional and amateur, cathedral and chamber all over Britain and elsewhere," exposing many people to the music of these lesser-known composers for the first time.<sup>128</sup>

The next album to include works by any of these composers was the 1985 *Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance* by the Westminster Cathedral Choir, directed by David Hill. Hill and the choir had previously released two LPs of music by Victoria in 1984: the Gramophone Award winning *Ave maris stella and O quam gloriosum* (Hyperion LP A 66114), and *Vidi speciosam* (Hyperion LP A 66129), both of which were rereleased on CD in 1986 and 1988 respectively. By 1985, Hill was

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<sup>127</sup> Tess Knighton, "Introduction: A Heart of Pure Gold" in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World, A Homage to Bruno Turner*, Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson, eds. (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2011), xviii; Luis Gago, "Pure Passion: A Conversation with Bruno Turner" in *Pure Gold*, 397.

<sup>128</sup> Knighton, "A Heart of Pure Gold," xviii.

talking with Bruno Turner, who suggested recording music by Guerrero, Lobo, and Vivanco, giving rise to the *Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance*.<sup>129</sup> The album includes six motets by Guerrero, three by Lobo (*Versa est in luctum*, *Ave Maria*, and *O quam suavis est, Domine*), and the *Magnificat octavi toni* by Vivanco. Turner provided the editions of the Guerrero, Lobo, and Vivanco scores, and wrote the program notes for this album, as he did for the five albums of Victoria's music that Hill and the Westminster Cathedral Choir released between 1984 and 1989.

In 1987, the Tallis Scholars, directed by Peter Phillips, released the album *Victoria Requiem* (Gimell CDGIM 012). Underneath that title, in smaller text, is written *Alonso Lobo: Versa est in luctum*. The inclusion of Lobo's poignant funeral motet at the end of this highly acclaimed album, contrasting with Victoria's setting of the same text, had a lasting effect on the destiny of this work, which has become the most famous work by any of the composers in the present study. *Versa est in luctum* has subsequently been included on three other discs alongside the *Victoria Requiem*.

Little by little, ensembles began to include works by Lobo, and to a much lesser extent, Vivanco, Esquivel, Navarro, and other Spanish Golden Age composers on their albums. What began as a slow trickle of individual tracks in the 1980s and 1990s became a more substantial body of work in the 2000s, with four albums primarily presenting music by Lobo and four of Vivanco's music being released in that decade. With the release of these albums also came the widening of the repertoire they presented. Whereas the albums from the eighties and nineties saw repeat recordings

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<sup>129</sup> David Hill, interviewed by Aaron Peisner via FaceTime, January 22, 2019.

of a few of Lobo’s motets (*Versa est in luctum; O quam suavis est, Domine; Libera me, Domine*), albums released in the first decade of the new millennium presented a wider variety of motets, full mass settings, and multiple recordings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Similarly, the albums of Vivanco’s music released explore the breadth of that composer’s motet, mass, and Magnificat settings. This widening of recorded repertoire by these composers was undoubtedly amplified by Bruno Turner’s editions for Mapa Mundi. The phenomenon cannot be explained solely by the availability of performing editions, however, because many of the works that were first recorded in the 2000s were published by Mapa Mundi as early as 1985. At the end of this millennium’s second decade, interest in Alonso Lobo’s music has only increased, while the number of recordings featuring Vivanco’s music has somewhat plateaued. Table 4.1 demonstrates this trajectory.

**Table 4.1, Chronology of albums including tracks by Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel**

| Composer  | Juan Navarro    |                    | Alonso Lobo     |                     | Sebastián de Vivanco |                     | Juan Esquivel   |                    |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
|           | tracks included | composer prominent | tracks included | composer prominent* | tracks included      | composer prominent* | tracks included | composer prominent |
| 1960-1969 |                 |                    |                 |                     | 1†                   |                     | 2†              |                    |
| 1970-1979 | 1               |                    | 1               |                     | 1                    |                     | 1               |                    |
| 1980-1989 | 1               |                    | 2               |                     | 1                    |                     |                 |                    |
| 1990-1999 |                 |                    | 13              | 1                   | 2                    |                     | 3               |                    |
| 2000-2009 | 1               |                    | 14              | 4                   | 9                    | 4                   | 3               |                    |
| 2010-2019 | 3               |                    | 25              | 8                   | 9                    | 1                   | 5               |                    |

\*Albums in the “composer prominent” category are also counted in the “tracks included” category.

†Tracks by Vivanco and Esquivel were included on albums from 1960 and 1961 by the Coros de Radio Nacional de España, conducted by Alberto Blancafort. See Appendix D for those full album listings.

### *Meta-Discography*

Let us first look at the big picture. The albums upon which works by these composers appear can be divided into three categories: albums that exclusively present music by Iberian composers, including works by Spanish and Portuguese composer that made their way to the Americas, as well as works by non-Spanish composers written specifically for the Spanish court (including certain works by Josquin des Prez, Gombert, Manchicourt, and others); albums of early music more generally, including music from the Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods; and albums that include works from all eras of music, extending to twentieth and twenty-first century compositions. These categories represent the different circles of canon in which music by these composers exists.

**Table 4.2, Overview of albums that include works by Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel**

| Composer                       | Albums consisting solely of Iberian Renaissance music | Albums including non-Iberian Renaissance music | Albums consisting of music from a wider variety of eras | Total albums |
|--------------------------------|---|--|---|--------------|
| Juan Navarro                   | 6   |  |   | 6            |
| Alonso Lobo                    | 32  | 10   | 13  | 55           |
| Sebastián de Vivanco           | 13  | 2  | 8   | 22           |
| Juan Esquivel                  | 8   | 3  | 4   | 14           |
| Total (subtracting duplicates) | 53  | 14   | 24  | 90           |

Of the 90 albums on which works by these composers have been recorded, seven contain works by more than one of these composers. Of these overlapping albums, two contain music by all four of the composers, four albums contain music by both Lobo and Vivanco, and one includes music by both Vivanco and Esquivel. The 55

albums that include music by Lobo then make up over three fifths of the total picture, while Vivanco's contribution is approximately one quarter, with Esquivel and Navarro making up the remainder.

The majority of these albums fall within the first category of Iberian Golden Age polyphony, presenting music by these composers within their cultural context.

Curiously, this music appears more frequently alongside choral works from different eras than it does with music from the Renaissance more broadly. Works by Lobo and Vivanco often appear on albums alongside music by Victoria and Guerrero, but much less frequently with works by Palestrina, Lassus, Byrd or Tallis. Of course, there are marketing and branding considerations to be made; how would one sell an album of Byrd and Lobo? (One idea could be to juxtapose Byrd's precarious position as a Catholic with Lobo's or any other Spanish composer's devout Catholicism — such is the case with The Sixteen's "The Flowering of Genius" album, in which Victoria and Guerrero's music is presented alongside that of Byrd, Tallis, and Sheppard.<sup>130</sup> Another idea would be to present music from both sides of the warring parties in the Anglo-Spanish War of 1585-1604, made famous by the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Yet another could be to offer a program of music from regions often seen as being historically less important than Italy, France, and the German-speaking lands.) One album juxtaposes the music of Lobo and Gesualdo, building a dark-hued program based on melancholic tendencies of both composers.<sup>131</sup> Essentially, the

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<sup>130</sup> The Sixteen, *The Flowering of Genius*, The Sixteen, Harry Christophers, Coro COR16001, CD, 2001.

<sup>131</sup> Vocal Appearance, *Libera Me: Geistliche Werke von Carlo Gesualdo und Alonso Lobo*, Vocal Appearance, Spotify, 2011, accessed January 2019.

relative absence of tracks by these four composers from broader collections of Renaissance music shows that this music is still seen as marginal and regional within the context of early music. Victoria and Guerrero, on the other hand, are frequently featured on albums with other composers from the era.

A closer look at the works of these composers included on albums with non-Iberian Renaissance music and with music from different eras gives further insight into which works are firmly established in the canon of choral music beyond Renaissance polyphony, or are in the process of becoming established as such (Table 4.3). Clearly, Lobo's *Versa est in luctum* transcends the niche of Iberian polyphony and is recorded alongside works by Italian and Franco-Flemish Renaissance composers. It appears just as frequently on albums with music from other eras.

| Composition                               | Albums consisting solely of Iberian Renaissance music | Albums including non-Iberian Renaissance music | Albums consisting of music from a wider variety of eras | Total albums |
|---|---|--|---|--------------|
| Lobo: <i>Versa est in luctum</i>          | 16  | 10   | 10  | 36           |
| Vivanco: <i>Magnificat octavi toni</i>    | 2   |  | 4   | 6            |
| Esquivel: <i>Duo Seraphim</i>             |   | 1  | 2   | 3            |
| Vivanco: <i>Veni, dilecte me</i>          | 2   | 2  | 2   | 5            |
| Esquivel: <i>Ego sum panis vivus</i>      |   | 1  | 1   | 2            |
| Esquivel: <i>Surge propera</i>            |   | 1  | 1   | 1            |
| Lobo: <i>Ave Regina coelorum</i>          | 6   | 1  | 1   | 8            |
| Lobo: <i>Lamentations</i>                 | 6   |  | 1   | 7            |
| Lobo: <i>Libera me</i>                    | 6   | 1  | 1   | 8            |
| Vivanco: <i>Dulcissima Maria</i>          | 1   |  | 1   | 2            |
| Vivanco: <i>In manus tuas</i>             | 1   |  | 1   | 2            |
| Vivanco: <i>Sicut lilium inter spinas</i> |   |  | 1   | 1            |

Another important item on this table is Vivanco's *Magnificat octavi toni* for eight voices, which was first recorded by David Hill and the Westminster Cathedral Choir in 1985 and has subsequently been recorded by three other prominent English chapel and cathedral choirs (St George's Chapel Choir, Windsor Castle; the Choir of King's College, Cambridge; Truro Cathedral Choir). Stephen Cleobury's 2011 recording of the work with the Choir of King's College, Cambridge is originally included on a disc alongside works by composers in the English choral tradition (Howells, Bairstow, Attwood), and since then has been used twice on compilation albums that include music from a wide range of eras.

Another factor when considering the discographies of Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel is to what extent their music has been recorded by highly acclaimed professional ensembles with wide audiences. The criteria for such groups is difficult to pin down, but for the purposes of this discussion, these groups are defined by a prolific recording output, an international touring profile or history thereof, a prominent presence on streaming services, and consistently excellent intonation. While many of these groups are known primarily for singing early music, they have achieved a level of acclaim that transcends that niche. Within the world of early music, numerous excellent groups that have recorded repertoire by these composers; Ensemble Plus Ultra and Música Ficta come to mind. I mean not to denigrate them. However, for the purposes of this study, name recognition and a wide audience outside the early music world is most important.

| Composer | Work                            | Recordings by high profile ensembles | Ensembles  | Total recordings |
|----------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|------------------|
| Lobo     | Versa est in luctum             | 9                                    | Gabrieli Consort, Hilliard Ensemble, King's Singers, Monteverdi Choir, Oxford Camerata, the Sixteen, Stile Antico, Tallis Scholars, Tenebrae | 36               |
| Lobo     | Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae | 3                                    | King's Singers, Monteverdi Choir, Tenebrae   | 7                |
| Lobo     | O quam suavis est               | 3                                    | Gabrieli Consort, Hilliard Ensemble, Tallis Scholars   | 8                |
| Lobo     | Ave Maria                       | 2                                    | The Sixteen, Tallis Scholars   | 4                |
| Lobo     | Ave Regina coelorum             | 2                                    | The Sixteen, Tallis Scholars   | 7                |
| Lobo     | Libera me                       | 2                                    | King's Singers, the Sixteen  | 8                |
| Lobo     | Missa Maria Magdalene: Kyrie    | 2                                    | The Sixteen, Tallis Scholars   | 4                |
| Vivanco  | Veni, dilecte mi                | 2                                    | Chanticleer, Stile Antico  | 5                |
| Vivanco  | Sicut lilium inter spinas       | 1                                    | Chanticleer  | 1                |
| Vivanco  | Versa est in luctum             | 1                                    | King's Singers   | 5                |

No ensemble that fits the aforementioned criteria has recorded any music by Navarro or Esquivel. Of Vivanco's music, Chanticleer recorded two motets, *Sicut lilium inter spinas* and *Veni, dilecte mi*, Stile Antico recorded *Veni, dilecte mi*, and the King's Singers recorded *Versa est in luctum*. Lobo's music, on the other hand, is included on albums by nine of the most highly acclaimed vocal ensembles. What is more, the albums these ensembles made of Lobo's music all include *Versa est in luctum*, with the single exception of the Hilliard Ensemble's *Spain and the New World* from 1991, which instead features the Song of Songs motet *O quam suavis est, Domine*. All of the above ensembles are based in England, with the single exception of Chanticleer.

We can also gain insight by examining which works by these composers have been recorded by English cathedral and chapel choirs (Table 4.5). Many of the singers and directors from professional ensembles discussed above received their early training as choristers and choral scholars in English cathedral and chapel choirs and later serve as lay clerks, the small group of professional adult alto, tenor, and bass singers in a group with boy sopranos. As was previously mentioned, Vivanco's *Magnificat octavi toni* for eight voices has been recorded exclusively by cathedral and chapel choirs in England, appearing on six discs total. Recordings by English chapel choirs of Lobo's *Versa est in luctum* also appear on six discs. Three other works have been recorded more than once by these choirs: Lobo's Lamentations of Jeremiah, his motet *O quam suavis est, Domine*, and Vivanco's setting of *Versa est in luctum*.

| Composer | Work                              | Recordings by English cathedral/chapel choirs | Ensemble   | Total recordings |
|----------|-----------------------------------|---|--|------------------|
| Lobo     | Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetarum | 2   | Choir of King's College, London; Westminster Cathedral Choir   | 7                |
| Lobo     | O quam suavis est, Domine         | 2   | Westminster Cathedral Choir (2)  | 8                |
| Lobo     | Versa est in luctum               | 6   | Westminster Cathedral Choir (2); Choir of New College, Oxford (2); Truro Cathedral Choir; Choir of Clare College, Cambridge          | 36               |
| Vivanco  | Magnificat octavi toni            | 6   | Westminster Cathedral Choir; St George's Chapel Choir, Windsor Castle; Choir of King's College, Cambridge (3); Truro Cathedral Choir | 6                |
| Vivanco  | Versa est in luctum               | 2   | Westminster Cathedral Choir, Choir of King's College, London   | 5                |

Clearly, Lobo's *Versa est in luctum* and Vivanco's *Magnificat octavi toni* are firmly established in the repertoire. The other four works listed in Table 4.5 are among the more popular works by Lobo and Vivanco, but the two ensembles who have recorded them have a history of recording Iberian polyphony, and therefore their presence on just two albums by church and collegiate choirs is not necessarily indicative of their establishment in the wider repertoire.

The above tables shed light on the meta-discography of works recorded by these four composers (Table 4.6). The complete meta-discography can be viewed in Appendix C. Overall, the meta-discography shows clearly that Alonso Lobo has garnered the most interest out of these four composers. Of the individual tracks listed in the meta-discography, over half belong to Vivanco, yet most of those have only been recorded once or twice. Lobo, on the other hand, has a smaller output of surviving works, but many of his works have received multiple readings on disc. Perhaps, in the case of Vivanco, and certainly in the cases of Esquivel and Navarro, the fact of the composers' large bodies of surviving works (see Chapter I) has meant that their music is not necessarily identified with specific individual works identified as "masterpieces," with the exception of Vivanco's *Magnificat octavi toni a 8*. The effect has been that their music has remained largely unexplored by the most influential ensembles.

The first page of the meta-discography of works by these four composers shows a greater balance of major and minor pieces than in the first page of the Victoria Meta-Discography A (see Chapter III), with 10 works in a minor mode and 8 in

major. There is a more even balance of Lenten, funeral, and Marian works, as well as several examples of motets with texts from the Song of Songs.

| <b>Table 4.6, First Page of Meta-Discography of Works by Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel</b> |                                  |            |                                       |       |
|---|----------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Composer  | Work                             | Recordings | Category / Occasion                   | Mode  |
| Lobo  | Versa est in luctum              | 36         | Funeral                               | Minor |
| Lobo  | Ave Regina coelorum              | 8          | Marian                                | Minor |
| Lobo  | O quam suavis est, Domine        | 8          | Corpus Christi (Song of Songs)        | Major |
| Lobo  | Libera me, Domine                | 8          | Funeral                               | Minor |
| Lobo  | Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae | 7          | Lent (Holy Saturday)                  | Minor |
| Vivanco   | Magnificat octavi toni           | 6          | Vespers                               | Major |
| Lobo  | Ego flos campi                   | 5          | Song of Songs                         | Major |
| Vivanco   | Versa est in luctum              | 5          | Funeral                               | Minor |
| Lobo  | Ave Maria                        | 4          | Marian                                | Minor |
| Lobo  | Vivo ego, dicit Dominus          | 4          | Lent (Maundy Thursday)                | Minor |
| Vivanco   | Veni, dilecte mi                 | 4          | Song of Songs                         | Major |
| Esquivel  | Duo Seraphim                     | 3          | Trinity                               | Major |
| Esquivel  | O vos omnes                      | 3          | Lent (Holy Thursday)                  | Minor |
| Lobo  | Missa Maria Magdalene            | 3          | Mass                                  | Major |
| Lobo  | Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui    | 3          | Immaculate Conception (Song of Songs) | Major |
| Lobo  | Regina caeli laetare             | 3          | Marian                                | Minor |
| Vivanco   | Assumpta est Maria               | 3          | Marian                                | Major |
| Vivanco   | De profundis                     | 3          | Funeral                               | Minor |

### *Discussion and Analysis*

In light of the preceding meta-discography, and with the context of the recording history of the music of Tomás Luis de Victoria, what follows is a discussion and analysis of selected works by the above-mentioned composers. Through musical analysis, certain similarities arise between the most famous works by Victoria and those by Lobo, Vivanco, Navarro, and Esquivel. While each composer has his own individual style and language, a comparison to Victoria's most poignant music provides some insight into which musical and extramusical traits are valued by performers, listeners, and record labels.

#### *Lobo: Versa est in luctum*

Alonso Lobo's funeral motet *Versa est in luctum* occupies a unique position among Spanish Golden Age polyphony and within the canon of Renaissance music more broadly. Appearing on at least 36 discs in 27 unique performances, it is by far the most widely recorded work by any of Stevenson's "Other Church Masters." Lobo's music appears on a total of 54 albums, meaning that *Versa* appears on over two thirds of them. Were it to appear on Meta-Discography A of Victoria's works, it would be rank sixth, outpacing of *Vere languores*, the *Officium defunctorum*, and all of the individually recorded *Tenebrae Responsories* or the group as a whole. On Meta-Discography B, Lobo's motet ranks fourteenth, ranking just after Victoria's own setting of *Versa est in luctum* from the *Officium defunctorum* as well as a few of

individual Tenebrae Responsories. (See Chapter 3 for explanation of the difference between the two lists.)

In addition to being Lobo's most widely recorded work, *Versa est in luctum* appears much more frequently on albums outside of the niche of Iberian Renaissance music. Two compilation albums released by Naxos in 1999 for the "Classical Music for Reflection and Meditation" series, entitled "Requiem" and "Agnus Dei," include Lobo's motet alongside movements from the Requiems of Mozart, Brahms, Fauré, Duruflé, and Verdi, as well as other works by Renaissance and Baroque composers. Many English choirs include *Versa est in luctum* on albums that feature staples of the English choral tradition, such as works by Charles Wood, Charles Villiers Stanford, Edgar Bainton, and Kenneth Leighton, suggesting that it is a staple in that context.

Printed in his *Liber primus missarum* of 1602, the six-voice motet *Versa est in luctum* was written for the funeral of King Philip II of Spain. Hilarión Eslava included it in his *Lira sacro-hispana* from the 1850s, which is where Bruno Turner discovered the piece. *Versa est in luctum* was one of the first pieces published in Turner's Spanish & Portuguese Church Music Series for Mapa Mundi in 1978. In a 2011 interview, Turner recalled his reaction upon discovering the motet:

I suddenly realized it was a wonderful piece, not just a good piece, it was wonderful, it was as great as anything Victoria had written. It was one of the great pieces—I could see that right there in front of my eyes.... It's now been more recorded, I think, due to our producing an edition in our series, than almost any other Spanish piece. Whenever a choir does

Victoria's Requiem, they almost always add Lobo's '*Versa est in luctum*' onto it!<sup>132</sup>

His last statement is slightly hyperbolic — *Versa est in luctum* appears on record with the Victoria Requiem four times, including albums by the Tallis Scholars, Tenebrae, and the Choir of Clare College, Cambridge — but regardless, the genuine admiration of this music that Turner shares with countless singers, conductors, and listeners derives from the density of poignant suspensions, surprising harmonic progressions, and Lobo's organic sense of pacing. The elegant opening passage presents the theme of a minor scale both descending and ascending, a masterclass in the use of simple means to extraordinarily effective ends. The first twelve bars of the piece contain numerous examples of seventh chords on strong beats, such as the G minor 7 chord in first inversion in m. 5 and the E-flat major 7 chord in m. 6. (Example 4.1). The E-flat major 7 chord is approached the same way that a number of Victoria's 7-6 suspensions are approached, but the D-natural resolves downward to a B-flat instead of a C and does not act cadentially, making the presence of the E-flat major 7 non-functional and highlighting its beauty for beauty's sake. These first twelve measures also include two suspensions that are indicative of Lobo's use of suspensions throughout the motet. In mm. 10-11, Lobo places a chain of 2-3 suspensions (the inversion of the 7-6 suspension) in the upper range of the two soprano voices, highlighting the mournful half-step between the E-flat and D.

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<sup>132</sup> Luis Gago, "Pure Passion: A Conversation with Bruno Turner" in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World, A Homage to Bruno Turner*, ed. Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2011), 393.



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ci - tha - ra, ver - sa est in lu - ctum

ra me - a, ver - sa est in lu - ctum, ver - sa

ver - sa est in lu - ctum, in lu - ctum ci

lu - ctum, ver - sa est in lu - ctum ci - tha - ra

ci - tha ra me - a, ci - tha - ra

ci - tha - ra me - a, ver - sa est in lu - ctum

(a)

(b)

Example 4.2, Lobo, *Versa est in luctum*, (a) mm. 17-21, (b) quartal chord, m. 18.

Stravinsky or Hindemith (Example 4.2). The same passage includes another 2-3 suspension high in the soprano voices. Lobo makes use of the high tessitura of the lower voices as well, giving a 2-3 suspension to the second tenor and bass voices in mm. 29-30 (Example 4.3). This passage also highlights Lobo's use of surprising harmonies. The bass and tenor suspension in m. 29 creates an E-flat major 7 chord in third inversion, that is, with the seventh in the root, another rare chord in Renaissance polyphony. A few bars later, in mm. 32-33, the bass and second tenor voices sing a shocking passage in parallel thirds in which the harmonic progression is B-flat major, D major, E-flat major. One would expect the D major chord in this context to act as a dominant of G minor, but Lobo deceives his listeners with the E-flat harmony. Moreover, those notes are in the upper registers of the bass and tenor voices, so he



The passage from Example 4.3 also demonstrates Lobo's sense of dramatic pacing. It consists of several small episodes, such as the bass and tenor chain of 2-3 suspensions in mm. 29-30, a brief response from the upper voices, and the bass and tenor harmonic event from mm. 32-33 highlighted above. After these smaller events, the full texture starts to build with the entrance of the second tenor and bass voices in m. 36 at the text "in vocem flentium," one measure later with the first soprano and first tenor, and at the pickup to m. 39 in the second soprano, all leading to five of the six voices singing the syllable "fle-" of the word "flentium" together on a C-minor chord. This is preceded by a high G in the first soprano in m. 37, dramatic ascent in eighth-notes in the bass voice in m. 38, and a striking leap up an octave to a high F from the first tenors in m. 38. The entire motet is structured around a handful of moments like this, in which a thinner texture becomes thicker just as tessituras increase and melodic activity becomes more dramatic. Lobo's *Versa est in luctum* does not contain the same kind of micro-structures as Victoria's motet of the same text (see Examples 3.2 and 3.3), making it feel more free-form and spontaneous. However, its macro-structure gives it a clear dramatic arc, just one of many of its qualities that make it a masterpiece among Renaissance motets.

*Lobo: Ave Regina coelorum*

What *Versa est in luctum* lacks in structured micro-phrasing, Lobo makes up for in his Marian antiphon *Ave Regina coelorum*, which is structured around the two soprano parts in perfect canon at the unison. The opening passage features a two-



Soprano  
Gau - de glo - ri - o - sa, gau - de glo - ri - o - sa,

Soprano  
or - ta: Gau - de glo - ri - o - sa, gau - de glo

Alto  
[glo]-ri - o - sa, (gau - de glo - ri - o - sa,) glo - ri - o - sa, su

Tenor  
ta:) Gau - de glo - ri - o - sa glo - ri - o - sa,

Bass  
or - ta: Gau - de glo - ri - o - sa, su - per

Example 4.5, Lobo, *Ave Regina coelorum*, mm. 32-37.

approaches a cadence and a new text in mm. 12-13 — Lobo often uses chromatic inflections at important structural moments.<sup>135</sup> This two-measure pattern achieves a similar trance-like effect as Victoria’s *Versa est in luctum* (Examples 3.2 and 3.3), perhaps to an even greater effect in this case.

Later in the antiphon, Lobo’s use of chromaticism and cross-relations increases, with close proximity between A-flats and A-naturals, D-flats and D-naturals, and E-flats and E-naturals (using the *Mapa Mundi* transposition). The alto line alone in mm. 32-34 has five switches back and forth between A-natural and A-flat (Example 4.5). At the parallel thirds between the tenor and bass voices at the text “gloriosa” in m. 34, the tenor sings a D-natural, followed immediately by the bass’s D-flat. The same pattern continues two bars later between the tenor and the alto. None of the vertical

<sup>135</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 274.

harmonies themselves are radical, the sheer number of cross-relations is striking. Lobo's use of cross-relations here has less in common with the music of Victoria and is in fact more similar to the music of English composers such as Thomas Tallis (1505-1585) and Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656). A close comparison by Rory McCleery of Lobo's antiphon with Francisco Guerrero's motet *Ave virgo sanctissima*, first published almost half a century earlier in 1566, reveals striking similarities of structure, harmonic, and melodic materials, as well as identical voicing and identical use of two sopranos in canon at the unison. Lobo, a student of Guerrero in Seville and later his assistant there, was likely paying homage to his teacher. Additionally, the parallels between these works may be part of a longer tradition of intertextuality in Marian motets in Spain, going back at least as far as Josquin des Prez, whose music was popular throughout the Iberian peninsula.<sup>136</sup>

Although Bruno Turner's edition of *Ave Regina coelorum* was published in 1978, it was not professionally recorded until 2002, when the Tallis Scholars released it on their album *Alonso Lobo: Missa Maria Magdalena* on their own Gimell label. The next recordings of the motet appeared the early 2010s, including excellent readings by Ensemble Plus Ultra and the Sixteen. It is difficult to say whether or not this motet has staked a place in the canon of Renaissance polyphony, but it is well positioned to do so.

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<sup>136</sup> Rory McCleery, "Duo Seraphim clamabant: Homage, "Parody" and Marian Symbolism in a Motet and Antiphon from Renaissance Sevilla" in *Iberian Early Music Studies 1: New Perspectives on Early Music in Spain*, ed. Tess Knighton & Emilio Ros-Fábregas (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2015), 308-326.

*Lobo: Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetarum*

Lobo's *Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetarum* for six voices survive in a choir book copied in 1772 by Juan de Ossorio at the Seville Cathedral, suggesting that they were performed as part of the cathedral's Holy Week liturgy long after the composer's death.<sup>137</sup> Along with the surviving Holy Saturday lamentations, Seville inventories list lamentations for the first lessons of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, but tragically these settings are lost.<sup>138</sup> Unlike almost all other polyphonic settings, they set all the verses prescribed by the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* of 1572. Where Lobo sets Lamentations 3:21-30, Victoria, by comparison, sets 3:22-25. Consequently, Lobo's setting is 294 "measures" long in modern score, whereas Victoria's is 87. Lassus's five-voice setting is 133 "measures" long, and sets almost all of the same text that Lobo sets (3:22-23, 25-30). That Lobo composed polyphony for just the first lesson for Holy Saturday (as well as the lost settings for the previous two days) tells us that the second and third lessons would have been chanted, a tradition of many Italian and Spanish cathedrals.<sup>139</sup> Even so, the length of Lobo's setting, taking roughly twenty minutes to perform, makes it unique in the genre.

Like all sets of lamentations, Lobo's setting is structured around Hebrew letters that begin each verse, remnants of the original acrostic poetry. Lobo sets most these Hebrew letters floridly, often passing small melodic cells between voice parts, as in "Teth III," mm. 142-151 (Example 4.6). The tenor part sings an augmentation of the

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<sup>137</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 264-265.

<sup>138</sup> Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 123.

<sup>139</sup> Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, 16-17.

142  
S. Teth, Teth.  
S. Teth, Teth.  
A. Teth, Teth.  
A. Teth, Teth, Teth.  
T. Teth,  
B. Teth,  
148  
S. Teth, Teth.  
S. Teth, Teth.  
A. Teth.  
A. Teth.  
T. Teth.  
B. Teth, Teth.

Example 4.6, Lobo, *Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae*, “Teth III,” mm. 142-151.<sup>140</sup>

chant printed in the Toledo *Passionarium* of 1576.<sup>141</sup> These melismatic Hebrew letters (three Heth, three Teth, three Iod) are contrasted with more declamatory verses.

Although not as densely chromatic or full of suspensions as some of Lobo’s motets,

<sup>140</sup> Adapted from Alonso Lobo, *Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae*, ed. Bruno Turner, (London: Mapa Mundi, 2000).

<sup>141</sup> Jane Morlet Hardie, *The Lamentations of Jeremiah: Ten Sixteenth-Century Spanish Prints* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003): 219-223.

Example 4.7, Lobo, *Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetiae*, mm. 152-157.

Example 4.7, Lobo, *Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetiae*, mm. 152-157.

these verses contain elegant harmonic surprises, such as the beginning of verse 3:27, “Bonum est viro,” mm. 152-157 (Example 4.7). In m. 153, a cadential figure acts as if it will cadence from F-sharp to B minor, but instead rises to G major, and another cadential figure in m. 155 to B minor instead of the expected D major. These harmonies are structured around the *cantus firmus* of the plainchant in the tenor voice. The chant melody is integrated in diminution in the soprano and bass voices, and in inversion in the alto voices, lending melodic coherence to the whole section.

Each of the nine Hebrew letters and the nine verses is unique, yet the entire work is cohesive. The lamentations build in energy as they progress, as is reflected in their tessitura. The highest note in the piece is F-sharp (using the *Mapa Mundi* score, one step higher than the original). After being introduced once early in the piece, the high

F-sharp appears once in m. 138, and does not sound again until the first “Iod” statement, at m. 175. From there on, however, the high F-sharp is heard seven times over the course of thirty-five measures, coming closer and closer together in the passage between m. 199 and m. 208. This section, set to the text “quia levavit se supra se,” is the first time that all six parts sing together homophonically (Example 4.8), and this larger section beginning with the text “Sedebit solitarius,” is the most declamatory section of the *Lamentations*. The energy of this climactic arc is sustained with thick textures as the piece continues, leading up to the remarkable tutti entrance at the final “Iod” statement in m. 235. With the previous phrase ending on an F-sharp half cadence, the tutti entrance on a D major chord is striking; this is the only time a section of the piece begins on a chord with a root other than B or F-sharp, and the first time any of the Hebrew letters begins with all six voices at once (Example 4.9). The high D in m. 235 immediately up to F-sharp in the second soprano, and the energy is sustained by the high G’s that follow in the tenor line in mm. 237-238. The

The image shows a musical score for six voices: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.), with two parts for each voice type. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "qui - a le - va - vit se su - pra se, qui - a le - va - vit se su - pra se, qui". The music features a homophonic texture where all six parts sing the same text together. The melody is simple and declamatory, with a focus on the high F-sharp note in the soprano part.

Example 4.8, Lobo, *Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae*, mm. 199-204.

S. [spes.] \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_

S. spes. \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_

A. spes. \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_ Iod,

A. spes. \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_

T. spes. \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_

B. spes. \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_ Iod, \_\_\_\_\_

F-sharp major — D major

Example 4.9, Lobo, *Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae*, “Iod III”, mm. 234-239.

effect of Lobo’s brilliant use of texture and tessitura is that the entire last third of the *Lamentations* functions as a climax, driving the listener to the end of the work.

The inclusion of Lobo’s *Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae* on an album of with music outside of the Renaissance era is significant because of the sheer length of the work. While the other works in Table 4.3 are relatively short, taking between 3 and 6 minutes to perform, the *Lamentations* usually run between 18 and 22 minutes, making them a significant undertaking. On the 2011 album *Salvator mundi* by the Cambridge Chorale, conducted by Julian Wilkins, Lobo’s *Lamentations* are sandwiched between two of the great a cappella masterpieces of the twentieth century: the Frank Martin *Mass for Double Chorus* and Herbert Howells’ *Requiem*. While the Cambridge

Chorale is not especially famous, their inclusion of Lobo's Lamentations on their album is significant because they are based in Cambridge, one of the great centers of choral music in the UK, and therefore, in the world. Surely their performance of this work, both on disc and in their hometown, have influenced others in Cambridge to consider performing the work.

While the motets *O quam suavis est, Domine*, *Ave Regina coelorum*, and *Libera me* have been recorded 8 times and the *Lamentations* 7, the *Lamentations* account for more time on an album, since performing them takes at least four times as long as performances of *O quam suavis* or *Ave Regina coelorum*, and over twice as long as *Libera me*. More to the point, however, while both *O quam suavis* and the *Lamentations* have been recorded by three highly acclaimed ensembles, the choirs that have recorded the *Lamentations* have a wider audience than those to record *O quam suavis*. The King's Singers are known for performing music from all eras, including songs by popular artists like Billy Joel and James Taylor; the Monteverdi Choir has an expansive catalogue of recordings of masterworks ranging from Bach to Brahms, Purcell to Poulenc, Vivaldi to Stravinsky; and Tenebrae frequently records works by living composers, as well as Renaissance works and choral classics. On the Tenebrae recording in question, the *Lamentations* appear with the *Victoria Officium defunctorum*, which, as previously discussed, is one of the staples of the Renaissance canon. On the other hand, the Gabrieli Consort does record music in a wide range of eras, but they aren't as widely recognized as the Monteverdi Choir; the Hilliard Ensemble, no longer active, focused primarily on medieval and Renaissance works,

with intermittent forays into contemporary works; and the Tallis Scholars have achieved international acclaim performing primarily Renaissance works. All of this is to say that the ensembles who have recorded the Lobo *Lamentations* have wider ranging repertoires and larger audiences.

The fact that Lobo's *Lamentations* have appeared on disc beside the Martin *Mass* and the Howells *Requiem*, and that they have been recorded by three of the most highly acclaimed vocal ensembles in the world, shows a shift toward thinking about the *Lamentations* as a masterpiece for the choral instrument, transcending their identity as Spanish Renaissance polyphony for specialists. Moreover, the *Lamentations* fit the template laid by the reception of Victoria's music. They are highly dramatic, they are tragic, and the inclusion of the Hebrew letters inherent in the genre of lamentations lend the work an atmosphere of Kabbalistic mysticism.

*Lobo: O quam suavis est, Domine*

Like Victoria, most of Lobo's most widely-recorded music is in the minor mode. However, one of his motets, *O quam suavis est, Domine*, is in the major mode, and has been recorded eight times. The motet exhibits the same richness of sonority as in the previous examples of Lobo's music, as demonstrated in a harmonic progression in mm. 38-39 that includes several seventh chords and a short chain of 7-6 suspensions (Example 4.10). Rather than the fervent major-mode energy exhibited in Victoria's *O quam gloriosum*, Lobo's *O quam suavis* opts for a gentler approach, in keeping with the text, "O how gentle, Lord, is Thy Spirit..." *O quam suavis* was included on Pro





number of suspensions, including a 7-6 suspensions in m. 31 and m. 38 and a 9-8 suspension in m. 39 (Example 4.11). It has been recorded five times, including by the King's Singers and the Westminster Cathedral Choir. One wonders whether its high rank on the list of works recorded by Vivanco relates to its association with Lobo's and Victoria's more famous works by the same title. Regardless, it is a beautiful and mournful motet with stunning harmonic progressions and a clearly delineated form.

*Vivanco: Magnificat octavi toni à 8*

Vivanco's *Magnificat octavi toni à 8* appears on six albums, and was first recorded by David Hill and the Westminster Cathedral Choir in 1985. It has subsequently been recorded by the choirs at St. George's Cathedral at Windsor Castle, King's College, Cambridge, and Truro Cathedral. The recording from the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, conducted by Stephen Cleobury, has been included on at least two compilation albums of choral music. Its history of being recorded exclusively by English chapel and cathedral choirs suggests that the *Magnificat octavi toni* is well established in the repertoire of Magnificat settings for evensong services.

Like Victoria, Vivanco published eighteen Magnificat settings, with polyphony for odd verses in one setting and even verses in another setting for each of the eight church modes, plus one extra setting of the first and eighth modes (Victoria wrote extra two settings of the first and sixth modes, published later than the others). The verses not set to polyphony are chanted. The *Magnificat octavi toni à 8* is the only setting written for eight voices — there are three six-voice settings, two five-voice



eight voices.<sup>145</sup> The *Magnificat octavi toni à 8* opens with a strong triadic figure imitated in each voice (Example 4.12). Here, and in each subsequent section of polyphony, the accumulation of voices lends the music its power.

Robert Stevenson writes three full pages outlining the contrapuntal mastery on display in Vivanco's magnificats, including multi-part canons in augmentation and inversion as well as polytextual quotations of unrelated plainchants.<sup>146</sup> Given Stevenson's effusive praise, as well as the substantial position of the Magnificats in Vivanco's output, it is surprising that only three of his Magnificat settings have been recorded. Not coincidentally, the *Magnificat octavi toni à 8* is the only setting with an edition by Mapa Mundi, and is one of the publishing company's earliest editions. The *Magnificat primi toni a 4* (odd verses) has been recorded twice, and the *Magnificat quarti toni* (odd verses) has been recorded once. For a point of comparison, nine of Victoria's eighteen magnificats have been recorded, including the *Magnificat primi toni à 8* discussed in Chapter 3. It is rather shocking that there are any Magnificats by Victoria that have never been recorded, but then again, the Magnificat has not been established by record companies as a high genre of Renaissance polyphony to the extent that the Mass Ordinary cycle and the motet have been. Additionally, the fact that there is one widely recorded Victoria Magnificat and one by Vivanco illustrates a common church choir experience of sticking with the known repertory, purely out of a concern for precious rehearsal time. I can imagine the conductor of an English chapel choir telling the singers to pull out "the Victoria" or "the Vivanco," primarily

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<sup>145</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 279.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 279-281.

concerned with the evensong service that begins in forty-five minutes, leaving no time for extraneous thoughts, such as whether or not either of the composers wrote other examples of the genre. Beyond the convenience of institutional knowledge, the fact that both of the popular Magnificats by Victoria and Vivanco is written for eight voices is further evidence that the double-choir setup of English cathedral choirs may have been an important consideration for the establishment of these specific Magnificats in the repertoire.

In addition to Stevenson's thorough study of Vivanco's music, all of Vivanco's Magnificats have been handwritten in modern notation in Montague Cantor's 1967 dissertation, which is searchable on RILM and available through ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.<sup>147</sup> They are sitting in cyberspace, waiting to be engraved with notation software. Publishing Vivanco's Magnificats as a collection (or making them available for free online) would be a worthwhile endeavor and a gift to performers of early music, musicologists, and audiences interested in hearing this exquisitely constructed counterpoint. In just one example of Vivanco's unrecorded Magnificats, the opening passage of the *Magnificat quarti toni* (even verses) (Example 4.13), uses many of the expressive devices found in Victoria's music, including several poignant 7-6 suspensions and an augmented triad. This music is a valuable addition to the Spanish early music repertory.

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<sup>147</sup> Montague Cantor, "The Liber Magnificarum of Sebastián de Vivanco. (Volumes I and II)."

Soprano  
Et ex - sul - ta - vit

Alto  
Et ex-sul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us, spi -

Tenor  
Et ex-sul ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us, et - ex-sul - ta -

Bass  
Et ex-sul ta - vit, et ex-sul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me -

9  
S. spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me -  
A. ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me -  
T. vit spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o, in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri  
B. us, spi - ri - tus me - us, in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me -

18  
E aug.  
S. o, in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.  
A. o, in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri, in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.  
T. me o in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o, in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.  
B. o, in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

Example 4.13, Vivanco, *Magnificat quarti toni* (even verses), mm. 1-26.<sup>148</sup>

*Vivanco: Veni, dilecte mi*

Although it has only been recorded five times, each recording of the Song of Songs motet *Veni, dilecte mi* has been performed by a notable ensemble, including

<sup>148</sup> Montague Cantor, "The Liber Magnificarum of Sebastián de Vivanco (Volume II), 110-111.

Stile Antico, Chanticleer, the Choir of King's College, London, De Profundis conducted by Robert Hollingworth (founder and conductor of the acclaimed group I Fagiolini), and the ORA Singers, a relatively new but high-profile chamber choir supported by the London Symphony Orchestra. *Veni, dilecte mi*, written for two choirs, show a more ecstatic side to Vivanco's polyphony, with call-and-response passages imitating the dialogue between two lovers and rapturous outbursts of sixteenth notes at the text "Mane surgamus ad vineas" (Let us get up early to the vineyards) (Example 4.14). The Song of Songs is closely associated with Spanish mystics:

Luis de Leon had been arrested in 1572 at Salamanca as a result of his Spanish translation and commentary on the text. Juan de la Cruz, the ardent disciple of Teresa [of Avila], was thrown into a dungeon in 1577 at Toledo. There he began his celebrated *Spiritual Canticle*, an elaboration and commentary on the metaphors and symbols of the Song of Songs.<sup>149</sup>

The entire text is sensuous, with references to tender grapes, pomegranates, and the scent of mandrakes. Vivanco's use of sumptuous melodic and harmonic language and rapid text declamation in this motet as well as in his other two double-choir Song of Songs motets, *Surge propera amica mea* and *Sicut liliun inter spinas*, is unparalleled in any of the composer's other motets, and probably accounts for the relative popularity of this motet over his others, many of which set relatively obscure texts.

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<sup>149</sup> L. Dean Nuernberger, editorial note to Vivanco, *Surge propera, Sicut liliun, and Veni, dilecte mi* (London: Mapa Mundi, 1985), 2.

19

S. co - mo - re - mur in vil - lis, Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad

A. co - mo - re - mur in vil - lis, Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad

T. co - mo - re - mur in vil - lis, Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad

B. com - mo - re - mur in - vil - lis, Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad

S. co - mo - re - mur in vil - lis,

A. co - mo - re - mur in vil - lis,

T. co - mo - re - mur in vil - lis,

B. co - mo - re - mur in vil - lis,

25

S. vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus, ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

A. vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus, sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

T. vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus, ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

B. vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus, ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

S. Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

A. Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

T. Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

B. Ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as, ma - ne sur - ga - mus ad vi - ne - as;

Example 4.14, Vivanco, *Veni, dilecte mi*, mm. 19-28.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Adapted from Vivanco, *Surge propera, Sicut lilium, and Veni, dilecte mi*, ed. L. Dean Nuernberger (London: Mapa Mundi, 1985), 20-21.

*Juan Navarro*

Compared to Lobo and Vivanco, the music of Juan Navarro and Juan Esquivel has been largely neglected on recordings. What accounts for this scarcity of recordings? After all, there exists a significant body of musicological work on both composers, detailing their publications, analyzing their compositional styles, and speculating on their influence on other composers, namely of Navarro on Victoria, who he taught in Avila, and later, on Esquivel, who he taught in Ciudad Rodrigo. Why has scholarly interest not inspired a parallel interest in recording their music?

While there can be no definitive answer to this question, we can look to the music for clues. Spanish musicologist Samuel Rubio makes the important point that in neither of the two genres for which Victoria is most famous, motets and responsories, did Navarro leave us “sufficient examples to calibrate his personal expressive fiber.”<sup>151</sup> The genres in which Navarro’s music does survive are all sung for vespers, a service which has had waning importance in modern times. The music for that service — psalms, hymns, Magnificats, and Marian antiphons — tended to be more objectively written, that is, without the expressive devices employed in motets and responsories, and therefore comparing Navarro’s psalms and hymns to Victoria’s most famous and stirring motets and responsories does not tell us much. Nevertheless, Rubio concludes:

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<sup>151</sup> Samuel Rubio, editorial notes for *Juan Navarro: Psalmi, Hymni ac Magnificat* (Real Monasterio del Estorial: Biblioteca “La Ciudad de Dios,” 1978, 70. Original Spanish: “Ahora bien: en ninguno de los dos temas apuntados, motetes y menos todavía responsorios, nos ha dejado Navarro muestras suficientes para calibrar su personal fibra expresiva.”

...just as we say that Victoria is more sober in comparison to Palestrina and especially with the Netherlandish composers, we can affirm with the same certainty that Navarro is more austere than his disciple. His music offers to the naked eye a more arid appearance due to the lack of ornamentation. It is like a forest where the lack of foliage allows one to see with total clarity the trunks of the trees.<sup>152</sup>

Navarro's vespers polyphony is rather straightforward, but not entirely without harmonic interest. The Holy Week hymn *Vexilla regis*, for example, contains a beautiful instance of a 7-6 suspension in m. 75 (Example 4.15a) and a poignant 9-8 suspension in m. 91 (Example 4.15b). Examples like these, however, occur no more frequently in Navarro's music than in the music of any other late sixteenth-century composer. While Navarro's polyphony is lovely in its simplicity, it contains few harmonic surprises. Samuel Rubio's edition of Navarro's posthumous print from

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The music is in common time (C) and G major. The Soprano part has a 7-6 suspension in the second measure, indicated by a '7' above the note and a '6' below it. The lyrics are: 'na - ti - o - ni - bus, in na - ti - o - ni - bus' for Soprano; 'bus, (di - cens: in na - ti - o - ni - bus)' for Alto; 'bus, (di - cens in na - ti - o - ni - bus)' for Tenor; and 'bus, (di - cens in na - ti - o - ni - bus)' for Bass. The Alto and Tenor parts have an '8' below the first measure, indicating an 8-measure rest.

Example 4.15a, Juan Navarro, *Vexilla regis*, mm. 56-60.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Samuel Rubio, editorial notes for *Juan Navarro*, 71. Original Spanish: "...así como decimos que Victoria es más sobrio en comparación con Palestrina y sobre todo con los compositores neerlandeses, podemos afirmar con idéntica propiedad que Navarro es más austero que su discípulo. ¶ Su música ofrece a simple vista un aspecto más árido por la parquedad de ornamentación melódica. Es como un bosque donde la falta de follaje permite ver con toda claridad los troncos de los árboles."

<sup>153</sup> Adapted from Juan Navarro, *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat*, ed. Samuel Rubio, 101.

S. is Sae - cli pe

S. Sae - cli pe - pen - dit pre - ti - um, pre - ti - um,

T. is Sae - cli pe - pen - dit pre - ti - um

B. Sae - cli - pe - pen - dit pre - ti - um, pe - pen - dit pre - ti - um,

Example 4.15b, Juan Navarro, *Vexilla regis*, mm. 86-92.<sup>154</sup>

1590, the *Psalmi, Hymni ac Magnificat* contains hand-written music; no edition of Navarro's complete works has been properly engraved. *Mapa Mundi* includes just four works by Navarro in its catalogue. Clearly the lack of performing and scholarly editions is tied to the dearth of recordings of his music.

Ten devotional motets of Navarro survive in the Santiago codex at Valladolid, and in the words of Stevenson, these motets prove that "Navarro's motet style departed radically from his vespers style," with "extremely poignant lines" that react to the text in ways that his vespers music does not.<sup>155</sup> Additionally, the Marian antiphons at end of his 1590 print display more expressive polyphony, as exhibited by the six-voice *Regina caeli laetare*, recorded in 2010 by Rory McCleery and the Marian Consort. A closer look at this antiphon, which contains multiple exciting 'Alleluia' sections with running eighth-notes (Example 4.16), suggests that these

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>155</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 259-260.

S. ta - re, al - le - lu - ia, (al - le - lu - ia:) Qui - a

S. ta - re, al - le - lu - ia, (al - le - lu - ia:)

A. al - le - lu - ia, (al - le - lu - ia:) Qui

T. ta - re, al - le - lu - ia, (al - le - lu - ia:)

T. ta - re, al - le - lu - ia, (al - le - lu - ia:)

B. al - le - lu - ia, (al - le - lu - ia:) Qui

Example 4.16, Juan Navarro, *Ave Regina laetare*, mm. 20-25.<sup>156</sup>

Marian antiphons and the motets from the Santiago codex would be a welcome addition to the repertory of regularly performed Spanish polyphony.

### *Juan Esquivel*

Unlike Juan Navarro, whose works have rarely been printed in performing editions, a number of Juan Esquivel's works have appeared in print since the late 1970s, first as part of Anthony G. Petti's *Chester Book of Motets* series, alongside music by Victoria, Morales, and Guerrero. Esquivel's motets included in the widely-used Chester editions include *Ego sum panis vivus* (vol. III), *Replit sunt omnes* (vol. X), and *Duo seraphim* (vol. XVI);<sup>157</sup> unsurprisingly, two of these, *Duo seraphim* and

<sup>156</sup> Adapted from Juan Navarro, *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat*, ed. Samuel Rubio, 361.

<sup>157</sup> Walkley, *Juan Esquivel*, 254.

*Ego sum panis vivus* are two of the only three Esquivel pieces to appear on multiple albums. Twenty-two of Esquivel's works have been edited and published by Mapa Mundi. When looking at those works published, one recognizes what Stevenson meant when he said "Unlike Vivanco, [Esquivel] chose texts already set with outstanding success."<sup>158</sup> Mapa Mundi's catalogue of Esquivel works includes settings of the texts famously set by Victoria and Guerrero, such as *O vos omnes*, *O quam gloriosum*, *Ego sum panis vivus*, *Surge propera*, and *Duo seraphim* among others.

In fact, the opening of the four-voice motet *Ego sum panis vivus* sounds momentarily as if it could be one of Victoria's Tenebrae Responsories. Its opening duet features prominent open fifths and octaves, and when all four voices enter, two 7-6 suspensions follow one after the other in mm. 8 and 9 (Example 4.17). Later, the motet features a harmonic progression similar to the deceptive progressions in Victoria's *Caligaverunt* and *O vos omnes* (Examples 3.6a-b), in which a cadential figure sounds like it should approach C minor and instead goes to A-flat major (Example 4.18).

However, although Esquivel's music does contain moments of the plangent harmonies and austere counterpoint we associate with Victoria, more often his music is conventional. Clive Walkley, who wrote an entire book on Esquivel's music (the only monograph about any of the four composers in the present study), admits that:

What is lacking in some of [Esquivel's] motets is the surety of design which we find in the works of Guerrero, for example, where finely

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<sup>158</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 294.

S. E - go sum pa - nis vi - vus qui de cae - lo de - scen - di, 7-6

A. E - go sum pa - nis vi - vus qui de cae - lo de - scen - di, qui de cae - lo de 7-6

T. 8 E - go sum pa - nis vi - vus qui de cae - lo de - scen - di, qui

B. 8 E - go sum pa - nis vi - vus qui de

Example 4.17, Esquivel, *Ego sum panis vivus*, mm. 1-9.<sup>159</sup>

S. rit ex hoc pa - ne,

A. ve - rit ex hoc pa - ne,

T. 8 man - du - ca - ve - rit ex hoc pa - ne,

B. 8 ex hoc pa - ne

Example 4.18, Esquivel, *Ego sum panis vivus*, mm. 18-22.

balanced proportions, and a series of well-placed intermediate cadences, appear to lead in a seamless and almost inevitable manner to a natural close. In comparison, some of Esquivel's motets are modally ambiguous and lose their sense of direction through the addition of accidentals foreign to the mode. Occasionally, his part-writing, too, can be clumsy.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Adapted from Juan Esquivel, *Ego sum panis vivus* in *The Third Book of Chester Motets: The Spanish School for 4 voices*, ed. Anthony G. Petti (London: J. & W. Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd., 1977), 2-4.

<sup>160</sup> Walkley, *Juan Esquivel*, 250.

For Walkley, musical brilliance is not necessarily the primary reason to study Esquivel's works. Rather, his music

fully embodies the spirit of the Counter-Reformation... His motets, for example, form a near-complete cycle for the Church year and are clearly designated and calendrically ordered — a characteristic common to many motet collections after Trent; modest in scope, they are realistic in the demands they make on singers and may have been deliberately written with the limited musical resources of smaller institutions in mind.<sup>161</sup>

In other words, studying Esquivel's music helps us to gain insight into the less extravagant institutions of music-making in Renaissance Spain. In a review of Walkley's book, musicologist Kenneth Kreitner writes, referencing the three books of music Esquivel printed between 1608 and 1613:

The person [Esquivel] reminds me of a bit, actually, is Michael Praetorius (his contemporary, I suddenly reflect): the three books together, with their comprehensive and orderly approach to the mass and office, give the same sort of vivid impression of how much music a church musician had to produce week after week, even at a fairly peripheral church. That much of it is merely workmanlike should not surprise us; that some of it is amazing is, well, amazing. And I repeat, there is no biographical reason to believe Esquivel was any different from dozens of other chapelmasters around the peninsula in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>162</sup>

It makes perfect sense, then, that little of Esquivel's music has been recorded, given that much of it is literally mundane, in the sense that it may have been written for earthly purposes of realistic performability rather than heavenly goals of mystic absorption into the divine, as much of the music of Victoria, Lobo, and some of their contemporaries has often been characterized.

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<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>162</sup> Kenneth Kreitner, review of *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age*, Notes: *Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*. 2011; 68(2): 340-341.

## *Conclusion*

In over half a century since the publication of Stevenson's *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, the music of Lobo, Vivanco, Navarro, and Esquivel has each followed different trajectories. Alonso Lobo is the star among this group. Interest in his music was initiated by the exquisite and tragic motet *Versa est in luctum*, which was recorded by multiple high-profile ensembles in the 1980s and 1990s. As more music from his relatively small body of works was explored and its consistent high quality revealed, more and more ensembles have been attracted to his music. Sebastián de Vivanco's music has been explored with some enthusiasm by a number of ensembles, though few of his individual works have had staying power. His *Magnificat octavi toni à 8* has most certainly entered the repertory of Magnificats sung by Catholic and Anglican choirs in England. His Song of Songs motet *Veni, dilecte mi*, while not representative of the rest of Vivanco's music, has gained popularity among professional ensembles specifically because of its uniqueness. Curiously, Vivanco's most popular works exhibit a more joyous mood than much of Lobo's and Victoria's most famous music. Musicologists express interest in information *about* Juan Navarro's music, but actual recordings of his music are rare. Likewise, Juan Esquivel's music is the subject of several musicological studies, due in part to three important books of his music printed in Salamanca between 1608 and 1613. His name is familiar to those interested in Iberian sacred polyphony, but the music itself often lacks the formal clarity or richness of sound present in the music of other Spanish polyphonists.

## Chapter V: Assessing the Canon

As we have seen, the legacy of Tomás Luis de Victoria is laden with a vague notion of “mysticism.” Analysis of his most famous music, the same music that seems to elicit the most effusive responses from writers, uncovers certain shared characteristics: a proliferation of suspensions, notably, 7-6 suspensions; austere counterpoint, with introductory duets that prominently feature open fifths; cycling through regularly-paced harmonic and melodic motifs; and above all, minor harmonies and the minor mode. The recording history and meta-discography of Victoria’s works demonstrates that his Lenten works, his Requiem, and other examples of his sad or minor-mode music are among his most widely-recorded. The idea of “mysticism” seems to be conflated, then, with Victoria’s tragic music, and the success of this music among performers and audiences of Renaissance music has made a cultural space into which the tragic music of Lobo or Vivanco can thrive. Victoria’s most famous music has created a template for other Spanish Renaissance music, and when the expectations of that template are fulfilled by the music of more obscure composers, that music is more likely to find a place in the canon.

To what extent has the written and recording history of the music of Victoria actually affected the reception of music by Lobo, Vivanco, Navarro, and Esquivel? Is the relationship between these recording histories a causation or a mere correlation? Is it purely theoretical, or does it represent a real cultural phenomenon? While it is impossible to determine the exact extent to which the recording history of the “Other

Church Masters” has been affected by the legacy of Victoria, it is no coincidence that some of the most widely recorded works by Lobo and Vivanco share certain tragic qualities with Victoria’s most famous music, such as intense minor harmonies, frequent use of 7-6 and 2-3 suspensions, and clearly structured climaxes. Lobo’s *Versa est in luctum* seems to fit into this template perfectly. So do Lobo’s Lamentations of Jeremiah, which, since their publication in a modern edition in 2000 by Mapa Mundi, have been recorded seven times, including three recordings by some of the most widely celebrated vocal ensembles in the world. These two works fit perfectly into the cultural narrative of Spanish mysticism, and they are two of the most successful works by any of these four composers.

What then of major-mode works that have found moderate success, like Vivanco’s *Magnificat octavi toni à 8* and *Veni, dilecte mi*, or Lobo’s *O quam suavis est, Domine*? Are they anomalies? A much simpler answer to the questions at hand is that people are drawn to beautiful, well-structured, surprising music, regardless of any cultural narrative or expectations. The best music by Lobo and Vivanco is beautiful, well-structured, and surprising, case closed, problem solved. I believe the answer lies somewhere in between both options. Furthermore, a definitive answer to the question is less relevant than the question itself. By reflecting upon the cultural baggage that music carries with it through the centuries and the expectations it creates, we can refocus our priorities when deciding which music to perform and study.

The aim of the present study is to focus on the music of Victoria, Lobo, Vivanco, Esquivel, and Navarro, not as it existed in their time, but as it exists in our time.

Recordings are sometimes seen as mere byproducts of musical activity, but we must acknowledge that in the twenty-first century, they are the medium through which most people engage with music, and as such, they are an essential component in the construction and evolution of the musical canon. By creating and analyzing the discographies and meta-discographies of works by these composers, the goal was to reveal the canon. What, then, does the canon reveal about us, our tastes, and our values? Bruno Turner sums it up bluntly: “Requiems are popular with the people who buy records. They like Requiems, they like things about death and funeral motets because they’re very expressive.”<sup>163</sup>

A meta-discography of works by Francisco Guerrero would provide an interesting point of contrast to the present study. Guerrero (1528-1599) is a central figure of Spanish polyphony in the sixteenth century, and his influential on each of the composers in the present study cannot be overstated. Moreover, unlike Victoria, whose career was made during a roughly twenty-year stint in Rome, Guerrero worked in Spain for almost his entire life, with the exception of one year in Italy and one year traveling to the Middle East. Despite his prolific output, his works aren’t nearly as widely recorded as Victoria’s. Understanding how his works have been received through the lens of their recording history would provide a counterbalancing point of reference in examining the reception of works by Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel, and might give further insight into the question of the effect of the idea of Spanish “mysticism” on the recording canon.

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<sup>163</sup> Gago, “Pure Passion: A Conversation with Bruno Turner,” 401.

Returning, then, to the question that initiated this study, where do Lobo, Vivanco, Navarro, and Esquivel stand today in the pantheon of great composers, of the Renaissance or otherwise? The meta-discography of their works (see Chapter 4, Appendix C) suggests that Alonso Lobo is either well-established as an important representative of Spanish music in the late Renaissance, or well on his way to that stature. Whether or not Lobo himself is well established, his *Versa est in luctum* is one of the ‘greatest hits’ of the Renaissance, and an ever-growing staple in the choral literature. While Vivanco’s music has seen some interest, it has not achieved the same status as Lobo’s, and furthermore, his individual voice is not as consistent as Lobo’s. The music of Navarro and Esquivel is still marginal, and despite a few recent recordings of Esquivel’s music, I expect their music will stay relatively marginal, barring an ambitious project from acolytes of their music. Curiously, in *Choral Repertoire* by Dennis Shrock, a widely-used resource for choral conductors, the only one of these four composers included in the book is Juan Esquivel, though the only examples of his motets listed are the three from the *Chester Book of Motets* series.<sup>164</sup> I sincerely hope that surveys of Renaissance music history as well as repertoire guides start to include, at the very least, the music of Lobo, if not all four of these composers. Moreover, I hope that more music history texts treat Spain as a major center of musical activity during the Renaissance, as opposed to the peripheral position it now seems to occupy in most history texts. The two chapters on Spain in the book *European Music, 1520-1640*, edited by James Haar, do an excellent job of

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<sup>164</sup> Dennis Shrock, *Choral Repertoire* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 98.

fully fleshing out the music of Spain during the Renaissance, including its connections to the Low Countries and Italy, and serves as an example for the type of information I hope will be included in future surveys of Renaissance music aimed at a more general audience.

One more subtle indication of canonic status not mentioned in the previous chapters is the presence of these composers on the Choral Public Domain Library, or CPDL ([cpdl.org](http://cpdl.org)), a website where amateur editors can upload editions they make of music in the public domain for free public use (Table 5.1). The effects of the presence

| <b>Table 5.1, Works by Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel available on <a href="http://CPDL.org">CPDL.org</a></b> |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| Composer  | Music  | Number and date of editions  |
| Navarro   | In exitu<br>In passione positus<br>Lauda Jerusalem<br>Magnificat octavi toni (Anima mea)   | 1 edition (2019)<br>1 edition (2015)<br>1 edition (2014)<br>1 edition (2015)   |
| Lobo  | Ave Maria à 8<br>Ave Regina coelorum<br>Benedictus qui venit<br>Credo quod redemptor<br>Ego flos campi<br>O quam suavis est, Domine<br>Versa est in luctum<br>Vivo ego, dicit Dominus    | 3 editions (2008, 2009, 2018)<br>3 editions (2001, 2001, 2018)<br>2 editions (2008, 2018)<br>2 editions (2000, 2013)<br>2 editions (2017, 2018)<br>2 editions (2015, 2018)<br>5 editions (1999, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2017)<br>2 editions (2004, 2018) |
| Vivanco   | Cum ieiunatis<br>In conspectu angelorum<br>O Domine Jesu Christe<br>O quam suavis est<br>Versa est in luctum   | 4 editions (2000, 2001, 2001, 2018)<br>1 edition (2015)<br>2 editions (2003, 2018)<br>2 editions (2004, 2018)<br>1 edition (2013, dead link)   |
| Esquivel  | Ave Maria<br>Duo seraphim<br>Ego sum panis vivus<br>Gloria in excelsis Deo<br>In paradisum<br>Magnificat primi toni (Anima mea)<br>Repleti sunt omnes<br>Tria sunt munera<br>Veni Domine | 1 edition (2003)<br>1 edition (2011)<br>2 editions (2004, 2016)<br>1 edition (2002)<br>1 edition (2000)<br>1 edition (2013, dead link)<br>1 edition (2004)<br>1 edition (2018)<br>1 edition (2004)   |

of their music on CPDL is difficult to trace, but it makes their music available to singers and institutions with little to no budget for purchasing music.

Yet another way to trace the music of these four composers in the real world is to search for them on YouTube. Searches for Juan Navarro and Juan Esquivel on YouTube yield few relevant results, since Juan Navarro is a common name, and is the name of a famous basketball player, and Juan Esquivel is the name of a famous Mexican bandleader. Yet searches for Alonso Lobo and, to a slightly lesser extent, Sebastián de Vivanco, show that this music truly has permeated the repertory, most especially Lobo's *Versa est in luctum*, and somewhat surprisingly, his *Ave Regina coelorum*.

The consistently high quality of Lobo's music truly earns him a place among the greatest composers of the Renaissance. His six mass settings, which I have largely ignored in this study, all exhibit his sensitivity to text and his sense of dramatic pacing, and they should be considered with the masses of Palestrina, Byrd, and Victoria as among the best from the period. Likewise, Vivanco's extraordinary skill with counterpoint should earn him the designation as one of the greatest composers from the period. His double choir motets, such as *Veni, dilecte mi*, *Sicut lilium inter spinas*, and *Surge propera amica mea* are lively in ways that are most often associated with secular works of the period, and deserve attention from the broader choral community, as do many of his other motets, despite their rather obscure texts. Additionally, while Vivanco's masses form the centerpiece of a handful of albums

from the past two decades, they are still underrepresented in the discography of his works.

Many of the most exciting albums from the discography of Spanish Renaissance music include brass and wind instruments, as would have been customary at any of the churches where these composers worked.<sup>165</sup> In fact, this feature of Spanish music would have been its most distinguishing feature in its own time. Works by Lobo, Vivanco, Navarro, and Esquivel sound beautiful a cappella, but I hope that future performance and recording projects explore more options including instruments. Michael Noone has led numerous recording projects of music by Victoria, Guerrero, Morales, Vivanco, and others with Ensemble Plus Ultra and the Orchestra of the Renaissance that use brass and winds to great effect. Additionally, Spain had a vibrant organ tradition, and many of old instruments have recently been restored. Perhaps the music that doesn't grab the listener immediately, like the hymns, Magnificats, and Marian antiphons of Navarro, Esquivel, and even some by Vivanco, could be made more vibrant with organ interpolations and instrumental doublings. I hope that the interest in the music of Iberian polyphony continues to grow, and that the music of these composers and others continues to gain attention from amateur and professional ensembles alike.

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<sup>165</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 298.

## Appendix A

### Meta-Discographies of Works by Tomás Luis de Victoria

This appendix contains two meta-discographies of works by Tomás Luis de Victoria. The two meta-discographies, which orders the works of Victoria by how frequently they have been recorded, treat the movements from larger works differently. Meta-Discography A treats recordings of individual movements from larger works independently from the larger works. For example, the responsory *Caligaverunt oculi mei* from the Tenebrae Responsories has been recorded 27 times independent from complete recordings of the Tenebrae Responsories. It is therefore the eleventh piece on the list, and is the ninth most recorded track by Victoria (behind two ties). Meta-Discography B, on the other hand, adds together the individually recorded movements from larger works to the full recordings of larger works. The Tenebrae Responsories have themselves been recorded 22 times, the complete *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, the 1585 book in which the Responsories were first published, has been recorded six times, and the Good Friday responsories have been recorded once. Therefore, *Caligaverunt* appears on disc a total of 56 times, and is listed fifth in Meta-Discography B.

The meta-discographies also detail the general category or liturgical season the music falls into as well as the specific occasion. The general mode (major or minor) is also listed, with the recognition that modes are not the same as major and minor tonality. In this list, any piece in church mode I, II, III, or IV is considered minor, and

any piece in church mode V, VI, VII, or VIII is considered major. Works which include movements in multiple modes are listed as “both.”

## Meta-Discography A

| Work by Victoria               | individual recordings | total recordings | Category      | Specific                    | Mode  |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| O magnum mysterium             | 137                   | 137              | Christmas     | Circumcision                | Minor |
| Ave Maria à 4 (attributed)     | 99                    | 99               | Marian        |                             | Minor |
| O quam gloriosum               | 57                    | 57               | Saints        | All Saints                  | Major |
| O vos omnes (motet)            | 51                    | 51               | Lent          | Holy Saturday               | Minor |
| Popule meus (Improperia)       | 38                    | 44               | Lent          | Good Friday                 | Major |
| O vos omnes (responsory)       | 35                    | 64               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Saturday          | Minor |
| Vere languores                 | 35                    | 41               | Lent          | Good Friday                 | Minor |
| Ave Maria à 8                  | 30                    | 30               | Marian        |                             | Minor |
| Domine, non sum dignus         | 30                    | 30               | Lent          | Vespers after Ash Wednesday | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum (1605)    | 28                    | 28               | Funeral       |                             | both  |
| Caligaverunt oculi mei         | 27                    | 56               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Friday            | Minor |
| Tenebrae factae sunt           | 25                    | 54               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Friday            | Minor |
| Duo seraphim                   | 23                    | 23               | Trinity       | Trinity Sunday              | Major |
| Tenebrae responsories (all)    | 22                    | 28               | Lent          | Tenebrae, Thursday-Saturday | Minor |
| Magnificat primi toni à 8      | 21                    | 21               | Vespers       | Canticle                    | Minor |
| Ne timeas, Maria               | 20                    | 20               | Advent        | Annunciation                | Major |
| Jesu dulcis memoria (spurious) | 19                    | 19               | Vespers       | Circumcision                | Minor |
| Vidi speciosam à 6             | 18                    | 18               | Marian        | Assumption                  | Major |
| Pueri hebraeorum               | 16                    | 22               | Lent          | Palm Sunday                 | Major |
| O regem coeli                  | 16                    | 16               | Christmas     | Christmas                   | Major |
| Vadam et circuibo              | 16                    | 16               | Song of Songs |                             | Minor |

|  |    |    |                            |  |       |
|--|----|----|----------------------------|--|-------|
| O Domine Jesu Christe                        | 15 | 21 | Lent                       | Holy Week                                      | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum                       | 15 | 15 | Mass                       |  | Major |
| Quem vidistis, pastores                      | 15 | 15 | Christmas                  | Christmas                                      | Minor |
| Senex puerum                                 | 15 | 15 | Christmas                  | Candlemas                                      | Minor |
| Alma redemptoris mater à 8                   | 14 | 14 | Marian                     |  | Major |
| Ascendens Christus                           | 14 | 14 | Ascension                  | Ascension                                      | Minor |
| Missa O magnum mysterium                     | 13 | 13 | Mass                       |  | Minor |
| O Sacrum convivium à 4                       | 13 | 13 | Corpus Christi             |  | Major |
| Sancta Maria, succurre miseris               | 13 | 13 | Marian                     | Dedication of the<br>Basilica of Mary<br>Major | Minor |
| Tantum ergo                                  | 12 | 18 | Corpus<br>Christi,<br>Lent | Corpus Christi,<br>Good Friday                 | Major |
| Ave maris stella                             | 12 | 12 | Marian                     |  | Minor |
| Salve regina à 8                             | 12 | 12 | Marian                     |  | Minor |
| Gaudet in coelis                             | 11 | 11 | Saints                     | feasts of martyrs                              | Major |
| Magi viderunt stellam                        | 11 | 11 | Christmas                  | Epiphany                                       | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Versa<br>est in luctum | 10 | 38 | Funeral                    |  | Minor |
| Vexilla Regis                                | 10 | 16 | Lent                       | Holy Week, Passion<br>Sunday-Holy<br>Thursday  | Minor |
| Estote fortes                                | 10 | 10 | Saints                     | Feast for apostles<br>and evangelists          | Minor |
| Nigra sum                                    | 10 | 10 | Song of<br>Songs           | Feasts for Mary                                | Minor |
| Judas mercator                               | 9  | 40 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Thursday                             | Minor |
| Quam pulchri sunt                            | 9  | 9  | Song of<br>Songs           | Feast of<br>Immaculate<br>Conception (Mary)    | Major |
| Regina coeli à 5                             | 9  | 9  | Marian                     |  | Major |
| Amicus meus                                  | 8  | 39 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Thursday                             | Minor |
| Tamquam ad latronem                          | 8  | 37 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Friday                               | Minor |
| Lamentations (all)                           | 8  | 14 | Lent                       | Tenebrae,<br>Thursday-Saturday                 | both  |

|                                    |   |    |                            |                           |       |
|------------------------------------|---|----|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| Ave Regina coelorum à 8            | 8 | 8  | Marian                     |                           | Major |
| Missa Pro defunctis (1583)         | 8 | 8  | Funeral                    |                           | both  |
| Surrexit pastor bonus              | 8 | 8  | Easter                     | Easter Monday             | Major |
| Regina coeli à 8                   | 8 | 8  | Marian                     |                           | Major |
| Una hora                           | 7 | 38 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Thursday        | Minor |
| Unus ex discipulis                 | 7 | 38 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Thursday        | Minor |
| Canticum Zachariae<br>(Benedictus) | 7 | 13 | Lent                       | Good Friday (In<br>OHS)   | Major |
| Pange lingua, more hispano         | 7 | 13 | Corpus<br>Christi,<br>Lent | Holy Thursday (in<br>OHS) | Major |
| Ave Regina coelorum à 5            | 7 | 7  | Marian                     |                           | Major |
| Dum complerentur                   | 7 | 7  | Pentecost                  | Pentecost                 | Minor |
| Lauda Sion                         | 7 | 7  | Corpus<br>Christi          |                           | Major |
| Missa quarti toni                  | 7 | 7  | Mass                       |                           | Minor |
| O sacrum convivium à 6             | 7 | 7  | Corpus Christi             |                           | Major |
| Victimae paschali laudes           | 7 | 7  | Easter                     | Easter Sunday             | Minor |
| Animam meam                        | 6 | 37 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Friday          | Minor |
| Eram quasi agnus                   | 6 | 37 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Thursday        | Minor |
| Gaude Maria Virgo                  | 6 | 6  | Marian                     |                           | Major |
| Officium hebdomadae sanctae        | 6 | 6  | Lent                       | Holy Week                 | both  |
| Salve regina à 6                   | 6 | 6  | Marian                     |                           | Minor |
| Alma redemptoris à 5               | 6 | 6  | Marian                     |                           | Major |
| Ecce quomodo moritur               | 5 | 34 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Saturday        | Minor |
| St. John Passion                   | 5 | 11 | Lent                       | Good Friday               | Major |
| Conditor alme                      | 5 | 5  | Advent                     | Advent Vespers            | Minor |
| Congratulimini mihi                | 5 | 5  | Matins                     |                           | Major |
| Dixit Dominus                      | 5 | 5  | Vespers                    | Psalm 110                 | Minor |
| Ecce Dominus veniet                | 5 | 5  | Advent                     | 3rd Sunday                | Major |
| Laetatus sum à 12                  | 5 | 5  | Vespers                    | Psalm 112                 | Major |

|                                   |   |    |               |                                      |       |
|-----------------------------------|---|----|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Laudate pueri                     | 5 | 5  | Vespers       | Psalm 113                            | Major |
| Magnificat Sexti toni à 12        | 5 | 5  | Marian        | Canticle                             | Major |
| O decus apostolicum               | 5 | 5  | Saint         | Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle      | Major |
| Salve regina à 5                  | 5 | 5  | Marian        |                                      | Minor |
| Tu es Petrus                      | 5 | 5  | Saints        | Mass of SS Peter & Paul              | Major |
| Veni creator spiritus (sequence)  | 5 | 5  | Pentecost     | Pentecost                            | Major |
| Veni sponsa Christi               | 5 | 5  | Saints        | Feast for Virgins                    | Major |
| Seniores populi                   | 4 | 35 | Lent          | Tenebrae, Thursday                   | Minor |
| Jesum tradidit                    | 4 | 33 | Lent          | Tenebrae, Friday                     | Minor |
| Descendit angelus Domini          | 4 | 4  | Saints        | St. John the Baptist                 | Minor |
| Iste sanctus                      | 4 | 4  | Saints        | Feast for martyrs                    | Major |
| Litanie de beata virgine          | 4 | 4  | Marian        |                                      | Major |
| Missa Ave Regina coelorum         | 4 | 4  | Mass          | Marian                               | Major |
| Missa Gaudeamus                   | 4 | 4  | Mass          |                                      | Minor |
| Missa Pro victoria                | 4 | 4  | Mass          |                                      | Major |
| Missa Vidi speciosam              | 4 | 4  | Mass          |                                      | Major |
| Sepulto Domino                    | 3 | 32 | Lent          | Tenebrae, Saturday                   | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Kyrie       | 3 | 31 | Funeral       |                                      | Major |
| Officium defunctorum, Taedet      | 3 | 31 | Funeral       |                                      | Minor |
| Tenebrae Responsories, Thursday   | 3 | 31 | Lent          | Tenebrae, Thursday                   | Minor |
| Lamentations, Thursday, Lectio I  | 3 | 18 | Lent          | Holy Thursday                        | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum, Agnus     | 3 | 18 | Mass          |                                      | Major |
| Missa O magnum mysterium, Sanctus | 3 | 16 | Mass          | Christmas                            | Minor |
| Miserere (OHS)                    | 3 | 9  | Lent          | Holy Week                            | Major |
| Ad caenam agni providi            | 3 | 3  | Easter season | Vespers from Low Sunday to Ascension | Major |
| Ardens est cor meum               | 3 | 3  | General       |                                      | Minor |

|  |   |    |                            |  |       |
|--|---|----|----------------------------|--|-------|
| Beati immaculati                                 | 3 | 3  | Vespers                    | Psalm 119                              | Minor |
| Beatus vir                                       | 3 | 3  | Vespers                    | Psalm 112                              | Major |
| Confitebor                                       | 3 | 3  | Vespers                    | Psalm 110                              | Minor |
| Cum beatus Ignatius                              | 3 | 3  | Saints                     | St. Ignatius                           | Minor |
| Doctor bonus amicus Dei<br>Andreas               | 3 | 3  | Saints                     | St. Andrew                             | Major |
| Ecce sacerdos magnus                             | 3 | 3  | Special<br>Occasion        | Reception of<br>Bishop                 | Major |
| Ego sum panis vivus                              | 3 | 3  | Corpus Christi             |  | Minor |
| Hic vir despiciens                               | 3 | 3  | Saints                     | Common of a<br>Confessor not a<br>Pope | Minor |
| Hostis Herodes impie                             | 3 | 3  | Epiphany                   | Vespers                                | Major |
| Laudate Dominum omnis<br>gentes                  | 3 | 3  | Vespers                    | Psalm 117                              | Major |
| Magnificat septimi toni                          | 3 | 3  | Vespers                    | Marian                                 | Major |
| Missa Alma redemptoris<br>mater                  | 3 | 3  | Marian                     |  | Major |
| Missa Ascendens Christus                         | 3 | 3  | Mass                       | Ascension                              | Minor |
| Missa De beata Maria Virgine                     | 3 | 3  | Mass                       | Marian                                 | Minor |
| Missa Simile est regnum                          | 3 | 3  | Mass                       |  | Major |
| Missa Surge propera                              | 3 | 3  | Mass                       |  | Minor |
| Natus est nobis (O regem<br>coeli, secunda pars) | 3 | 3  | Christmas                  | Christmas                              | Major |
| Nisi Dominus                                     | 3 | 3  | Vespers                    | Psalm 127                              | Major |
| O lux et decus Hispaniae                         | 3 | 3  | Saints                     | St. James                              | Major |
| Pange lingua, Roman hymn                         | 3 | 3  | Corpus<br>Christi,<br>Lent | Holy Thursday                          | Major |
| Super flumina                                    | 3 | 3  | Vespers                    | Psalm 137                              | Major |
| Te Deum  | 3 | 3  | Matins                     |  | Major |
| Trahe me post te                                 | 3 | 3  | Song of Songs              |  | Major |
| Astiterunt reges                                 | 2 | 31 | Lent                       | Tenebrae, Saturday                     | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Libera<br>me               | 2 | 30 | Funeral                    |  | Minor |

|                                  |   |    |                         |                    |       |
|----------------------------------|---|----|-------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Lamentations, Friday, Lectio III | 2 | 16 | Lent                    | Good Friday        | Minor |
| Lamentations, Saturday           | 2 | 16 | Lent                    | Holy Saturday      | both  |
| Missa O magnum mysterium, Gloria | 2 | 15 | Mass                    | Christmas          | Minor |
| St. Matthew Passion              | 2 | 8  | Lent                    | Palm Sunday        | Major |
| Missa Gaudeamus, Domine Deus     | 2 | 6  | Mass                    |                    | Minor |
| Missa Vidi speciosam, Gloria     | 2 | 6  | Mass                    |                    | Major |
| Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas    | 2 | 2  | Trinity                 |                    | Major |
| Christe redemptor omnium         | 2 | 2  | Christmas or All Saints |                    | Major |
| Credidi                          | 2 | 2  | Vespers                 | Psalm 116          | Major |
| Domine ad adjuvandum me festina  | 2 | 2  | Vespers                 | Opening versicle   | Major |
| Magnificat primi toni à 4        | 2 | 2  | Vespers                 | Marian             | Minor |
| Magnificat sexti toni à 4        | 2 | 2  | Vespers                 | Marian             | Major |
| Missa Ave maris stella           | 2 | 2  | Mass                    | Marian             | Minor |
| Missa Dum complerentur           | 2 | 2  | Mass                    | Pentecost          | Minor |
| Missa Laetatus sum à 12          | 2 | 2  | Mass                    |                    | Major |
| Missa Salve regina à 8           | 2 | 2  | Mass                    | Marian             | Minor |
| Vidi aquam                       | 2 | 2  | Easter                  |                    | Major |
| Magnificat octavi toni à 4       | 2 | 2  | Vespers                 | Canticle           | Major |
| Recessit pastor                  | 1 | 30 | Lent                    | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |
| Tradiderunt me                   | 1 | 30 | Lent                    | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Graduale   | 1 | 29 | Funeral                 |                    | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Lux eterna | 1 | 29 | Funeral                 |                    | Major |
| Officium defunctorum, Sanctus    | 1 | 29 | Funeral                 |                    | Major |
| Tenebrae Responsories, Friday    | 1 | 29 | Lent                    | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Tenebrae Responsories, Saturday  | 1 | 29 | Lent                    | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |

|   |   |    |                   |                                |       |
|---|---|----|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| Lamentations, Saturday,<br>Lectio I         | 1 | 17 | Lent              | Holy Saturday                  | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum,<br>Gloria           | 1 | 16 | Mass              |                                | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum,<br>Kyrie            | 1 | 16 | Mass              |                                | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum,<br>Sanctus          | 1 | 16 | Mass              |                                | Major |
| Lamentations, Friday,<br>Jerusalem          | 1 | 15 | Lent              | Good Friday                    | Minor |
| Lamentations, Thurs, incipit                | 1 | 15 | Lent              | Maundy Thursday                | Major |
| Lamentations, Thursday,<br>Lectio II        | 1 | 15 | Lent              | Maundy Thursday                | Minor |
| Lamentations, Thursday,<br>Lectio III       | 1 | 15 | Lent              | Maundy Thursday                | Minor |
| Missa O magnum mysterium,<br>Agnus          | 1 | 14 | Mass              | Christmas                      | Minor |
| Missa Pro defunctis, Introitus              | 1 | 9  | Funeral           |                                | Major |
| Missa Pro defunctis, Sanctus                | 1 | 9  | Funeral           |                                | Major |
| Missa quarti toni, Kyrie/<br>Sanctus        | 1 | 8  | Funeral           |                                | Minor |
| Missa Ave Regina, Agnus                     | 1 | 5  | Mass              |                                | Major |
| Missa Gaudeamus, Agnus                      | 1 | 5  | Mass              |                                | Minor |
| Missa Gaudeamus, Pleni                      | 1 | 5  | Mass              |                                | Minor |
| Missa Pro victoria, Sanctus                 | 1 | 5  | Mass              |                                | Major |
| Missa Vidi speciosam,<br>Sanctus/Benedictus | 1 | 5  | Mass              |                                | Major |
| Asperges me                                 | 1 | 1  | General           |                                | Major |
| Aurea luce                                  | 1 | 1  | Saints            | Saints Peter & Paul            | Minor |
| Ave verum corpus                            | 1 | 1  | Eucharistic       |                                | Minor |
| Beata es virgo Maria                        | 1 | 1  | Marian            |                                | Major |
| Date ei de fructu                           | 1 | 1  | Saint             | Not a martyr                   | Major |
| Ecce nunc benedicite                        | 1 | 1  | Vespers           | Psalm 134                      | Major |
| Et Jesum                                    | 1 | 1  | Marian            | from Salve Regina              | Minor |
| Genitori                                    | 1 | 1  | Corpus<br>Christi | Last verse from<br>Tantum Ergo | Major |

|                                     |   |   |                |                              |       |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|----------------|------------------------------|-------|
| Lauda Jerusalem                     | 1 | 1 | Vespers        |                              | Minor |
| Lauda mater ecclesia                | 1 | 1 | Saints         | Feast of St. Mary Magdalene  | Major |
| Magnificat octavi toni à 6          | 1 | 1 | Vespers        | Canticle                     | Major |
| Magnificat quarti toni              | 1 | 1 | Vespers        | Canticle                     | Minor |
| Magnificat quinti toni              | 1 | 1 | Vespers        | Canticle                     | Major |
| Magnificat secundi toni             | 1 | 1 | Vespers        | Canticle                     | Minor |
| Missa Quam pulchri sunt, Crucifixus | 1 | 1 | Mass           |                              | Major |
| Missa Quam pulchri sunt, Domine     | 1 | 1 | Mass           |                              | Major |
| Missa Trahe me post te              | 1 | 1 | Mass           |                              | Major |
| O doctor optime                     | 1 | 1 | Saints         |                              | Minor |
| O Ildephonse                        | 1 | 1 | Saints         | Virgin                       | Minor |
| Salvete flores martyrum             | 1 | 1 | Christmas time | Feast of Holy Innocents      | Major |
| Tibi, Christe, splendor Patris      | 1 | 1 | Saints         | Michaelmas                   | Minor |
| Tristes erant apostoli              | 1 | 1 | Easter         |                              | Major |
| Ut queant laxis                     | 1 | 1 | Saints         | Nativity of St. John Baptist | Minor |
| Veni creator spiritus (hymn)        | 1 | 1 | Pentecost      |                              | Major |
| Veni sancte spiritus                | 1 | 1 | Pentecost      |                              | Minor |

## Meta-Discography B

| Work by Victoria                          | total recordings | individual recordings | Category  | Specific           | Mode  |
|---|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------|
| O magnum mysterium                        | 136              | 136                   | Christmas | Circumcision       | Minor |
| Ave Maria à 4 (attributed)                | 99               | 99                    | Marian    |                    | Minor |
| O vos omnes (responsory)                  | 64               | 35                    | Lent      | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |
| O quam gloriosum                          | 57               | 57                    | Saints    | All Saints         | Major |
| Caligaverunt oculi mei                    | 56               | 27                    | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Tenebrae factae sunt                      | 54               | 25                    | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| O vos omnes (motet)                       | 51               | 51                    | Lent      | Holy Saturday      | Minor |
| Popule meus (Improperia)                  | 44               | 38                    | Lent      | Good Friday        | Major |
| Vere languores                            | 41               | 35                    | Lent      | Good Friday        | Minor |
| Judas mercator                            | 40               | 9                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Amicus meus                               | 39               | 8                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Versa est in luctum | 38               | 10                    | Funeral   |                    | Minor |
| Una hora                                  | 38               | 7                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Unus ex discipulis                        | 38               | 7                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Tamquam ad latronem                       | 37               | 8                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Animam meam                               | 37               | 6                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Eram quasi agnus                          | 37               | 6                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Seniores populi                           | 35               | 4                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Thursday | Minor |
| Ecce quomodo moritur                      | 34               | 5                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |
| Jesum tradidit                            | 33               | 4                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Friday   | Minor |
| Sepulto Domino                            | 32               | 3                     | Lent      | Tenebrae, Saturday | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Kyrie               | 31               | 3                     | Funeral   |                    | Major |
| Officium defunctorum, Taedet              | 31               | 3                     | Funeral   |                    | Minor |

|                                  |    |    |                      |                             |       |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Tenebrae Responsories, Thursday  | 31 | 3  | Lent                 | Tenebrae, Thursday          | Minor |
| Astiterunt reges                 | 31 | 2  | Lent                 | Tenebrae, Saturday          | Minor |
| Ave Maria à 8                    | 30 | 30 | Marian               |                             | Minor |
| Domine, non sum dignus           | 30 | 30 | Lent                 | Vespers after Ash Wednesday | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Libera me  | 30 | 2  | Funeral              |                             | Minor |
| Recessit pastor                  | 30 | 1  | Lent                 | Tenebrae, Saturday          | Minor |
| Tradiderunt me                   | 30 | 1  | Lent                 | Tenebrae, Friday            | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Graduale   | 29 | 1  | Funeral              |                             | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum, Lux eterna | 29 | 1  | Funeral              |                             | Major |
| Officium defunctorum, Sanctus    | 29 | 1  | Funeral              |                             | Major |
| Tenebrae Responsories, Friday    | 29 | 1  | Lent                 | Tenebrae, Friday            | Minor |
| Tenebrae Responsories, Saturday  | 29 | 1  | Lent                 | Tenebrae, Saturday          | Minor |
| Officium defunctorum (1605)      | 28 | 28 | Funeral              |                             | both  |
| Tenebrae responsories (all)      | 28 | 22 | Lent                 | Tenebrae, Thursday-Saturday | Minor |
| Duo seraphim                     | 23 | 23 | Trinity              | Trinity Sunday              | Major |
| Pueri hebraeorum                 | 22 | 16 | Lent                 | Palm Sunday                 | Major |
| Magnificat primi toni à 8        | 21 | 21 | Vespers              | Canticle                    | Minor |
| O Domine Jesu Christe            | 21 | 15 | Lent                 | Holy Week                   | Major |
| Ne timeas, Maria                 | 20 | 20 | Advent               | Annunciation                | Major |
| Jesu dulcis memoria (spurious)   | 19 | 19 | Vespers              | Circumcision                | Minor |
| Vidi speciosam à 6               | 18 | 18 | Marian               | Assumption                  | Major |
| Tantum ergo                      | 18 | 12 | Corpus Christi, Lent | Corpus Christi, Good Friday | Major |
| Lamentations, Thursday, Lectio I | 18 | 3  | Lent                 | Holy Thursday               | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum, Agnus    | 18 | 3  | Mass                 |                             | Major |
| Lamentations, Saturday, Lectio I | 17 | 1  | Lent                 | Holy Saturday               | Major |

|                                       |    |    |                   |  |       |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|-------------------|--|-------|
| O regem coeli                         | 16 | 16 | Christmas         | Christmas                                      | Major |
| Vadam et circuibo                     | 16 | 16 | Song of Songs     |  | Minor |
| Vexilla Regis                         | 16 | 10 | Lent              | Holy Week,<br>Passion Sunday-<br>Holy Thursday | Minor |
| Missa O magnum mysterium,<br>Sanctus  | 16 | 3  | Mass              | Christmas                                      | Minor |
| Lamentations, Friday, Lectio III      | 16 | 2  | Lent              | Good Friday                                    | Minor |
| Lamentations, Saturday                | 16 | 2  | Lent              | Holy Saturday                                  | both  |
| Missa O quam gloriosum,<br>Gloria     | 16 | 1  | Mass              |  | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum,<br>Kyrie      | 16 | 1  | Mass              |  | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum,<br>Sanctus    | 16 | 1  | Mass              |  | Major |
| Missa O quam gloriosum                | 15 | 15 | Mass              |  | Major |
| Quem vidistis, pastores               | 15 | 15 | Christmas         | Christmas                                      | Minor |
| Senex puerum                          | 15 | 15 | Christmas         | Candlemas                                      | Minor |
| Missa O magnum mysterium,<br>Gloria   | 15 | 2  | Mass              | Christmas                                      | Minor |
| Lamentations, Friday,<br>Jerusalem    | 15 | 1  | Lent              | Good Friday                                    | Minor |
| Lamentations, Thurs, incipit          | 15 | 1  | Lent              | Maundy Thursday                                | Major |
| Lamentations, Thursday, Lectio<br>II  | 15 | 1  | Lent              | Maundy Thursday                                | Minor |
| Lamentations, Thursday, Lectio<br>III | 15 | 1  | Lent              | Maundy Thursday                                | Minor |
| Alma redemptoris mater à 8            | 14 | 14 | Marian            |  | Major |
| Ascendens Christus                    | 14 | 14 | Ascension         | Ascension                                      | Minor |
| Lamentations (all)                    | 14 | 8  | Lent              | Tenebrae,<br>Thursday-Saturday                 | both  |
| Missa O magnum mysterium,<br>Agnus    | 14 | 1  | Mass              | Christmas                                      | Minor |
| Missa O magnum mysterium              | 13 | 13 | Mass              |  | Minor |
| O Sacrum convivium à 4                | 13 | 13 | Corpus<br>Christi |  | Major |

|                                  |    |    |                      |                                       |             |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Sancta Maria, succurre miseris   | 13 | 13 | Marian               | Dedication of the Basilica of Mary    | Minor Major |
| Canticum Zachariae (Benedictus)  | 13 | 7  | Lent                 | Good Friday (In OHS)                  | Major       |
| Pange lingua, more hispano       | 13 | 7  | Corpus Christi, Lent | Holy Thursday (in OHS)                | Major       |
| Ave maris stella                 | 12 | 12 | Marian               |                                       | Minor       |
| Salve regina à 8                 | 12 | 12 | Marian               |                                       | Minor       |
| Gaudent in coelis                | 11 | 11 | Saints               | feasts of martyrs                     | Major       |
| Magi viderunt stellam            | 11 | 11 | Christmas            | Epiphany                              | Minor       |
| St. John Passion                 | 11 | 5  | Lent                 | Good Friday                           | Major       |
| Estote fortes                    | 10 | 10 | Saints               | Feast for apostles and evangelists    | Minor       |
| Nigra sum                        | 10 | 10 | Song of Songs        | Feasts for Mary                       | Minor       |
| Quam pulchri sunt                | 9  | 9  | Song of Songs        | Feast of Immaculate Conception (Mary) | Major       |
| Regina coeli à 5                 | 9  | 9  | Marian               |                                       | Major       |
| Miserere (OHS)                   | 9  | 3  | Lent                 | Holy Week                             | Major       |
| Missa Pro defunctis, Introitus   | 9  | 1  | Funeral              |                                       | Major       |
| Missa Pro defunctis, Sanctus     | 9  | 1  | Funeral              |                                       | Major       |
| Ave Regina coelorum à 8          | 8  | 8  | Marian               |                                       | Major       |
| Missa Pro defunctis (1583)       | 8  | 8  | Funeral              |                                       | both        |
| Surrexit pastor bonus            | 8  | 8  | Easter               | Easter Monday                         | Major       |
| Regina coeli à 8                 | 8  | 8  | Marian               |                                       | Major       |
| St. Matthew Passion              | 8  | 2  | Lent                 | Palm Sunday                           | Major       |
| Missa quarti toni, Kyrie/Sanctus | 8  | 1  | Funeral              |                                       | Minor       |
| Ave Regina coelorum à 5          | 7  | 7  | Marian               |                                       | Major       |
| Dum complerentur                 | 7  | 7  | Pentecost            |                                       | Minor       |
| Lauda Sion                       | 7  | 7  | Corpus Christi       |                                       | Major       |
| Missa quarti toni                | 7  | 7  | Mass                 |                                       | Minor       |

|  |   |   |                |                                 |       |
|--|---|---|----------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| O sacrum convivium à 6                   | 7 | 7 | Corpus Christi |                                 | Major |
| Victimae paschali laudes                 | 7 | 7 | Easter         | Easter Sunday                   | Minor |
| Gaude Maria Virgo                        | 6 | 6 | Marian         |                                 | Major |
| Officium hebdomadae sanctae              | 6 | 6 | Lent           | Holy Week                       | both  |
| Salve regina à 6                         | 6 | 6 | Marian         |                                 | Minor |
| Alma redemptoris à 5                     | 6 | 6 | Marian         |                                 | Major |
| Missa Gaudeamus, Domine Deus             | 6 | 2 | Mass           |                                 | Minor |
| Missa Vidi speciosam, Gloria             | 6 | 2 | Mass           |                                 | Major |
| Conditor alme                            | 5 | 5 | Advent         | Advent Vespers                  | Minor |
| Congratulimini mihi                      | 5 | 5 | Matins         |                                 | Major |
| Dixit Dominus                            | 5 | 5 | Vespers        | Psalm 110                       | Minor |
| Ecce Dominus veniet                      | 5 | 5 | Advent         | 3rd Sunday                      | Major |
| Laetatus sum à 12                        | 5 | 5 | Vespers        | Psalm 112                       | Major |
| Laudate pueri                            | 5 | 5 | Vespers        | Psalm 113                       | Major |
| Magnificat Sexti toni à 12               | 5 | 5 | Marian         | Canticle                        | Major |
| O decus apostolicum                      | 5 | 5 | Saint          | Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle | Major |
| Salve regina à 5                         | 5 | 5 | Marian         |                                 | Minor |
| Tu es Petrus                             | 5 | 5 | Saints         | Mass of SS Peter & Paul         | Major |
| Veni creator spiritus (sequence)         | 5 | 5 | Pentecost      | Pentecost                       | Major |
| Veni sponsa Christi                      | 5 | 5 | Saints         | Feast for Virgins               | Major |
| Missa Ave Regina, Agnus                  | 5 | 1 | Mass           |                                 | Major |
| Missa Gaudeamus, Agnus                   | 5 | 1 | Mass           |                                 | Minor |
| Missa Gaudeamus, Pleni                   | 5 | 1 | Mass           |                                 | Minor |
| Missa Pro victoria, Sanctus              | 5 | 1 | Mass           |                                 | Major |
| Missa Vidi speciosam, Sanctus/Benedictus | 5 | 1 | Mass           |                                 | Major |
| Descendit angelus Domini                 | 4 | 4 | Saints         | St. John the Baptist            | Minor |
| Iste sanctus                             | 4 | 4 | Saints         | Feast for martyrs               | Major |

|   |   |   |                  |                                      |       |
|---|---|---|------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Litanie de beata virgine                      | 4 | 4 | Marian           |                                      | Major |
| Missa Ave Regina coelorum                     | 4 | 4 | Mass             | Marian                               | Major |
| Missa Gaudeamus                               | 4 | 4 | Mass             |                                      | Minor |
| Missa Pro victoria                            | 4 | 4 | Mass             |                                      | Major |
| Missa Vidi speciosam                          | 4 | 4 | Mass             |                                      | Major |
| Ad caenam agni providi                        | 3 | 3 | Easter season    | Vespers from Low Sunday to Ascension | Major |
| Ardens est cor meum                           | 3 | 3 | General          |                                      | Minor |
| Beati immaculati                              | 3 | 3 | Vespers          | Psalm 119                            | Minor |
| Beatus vir                                    | 3 | 3 | Vespers          | Psalm 112                            | Major |
| Confitebor                                    | 3 | 3 | Vespers          | Psalm 110                            | Minor |
| Cum beatus Ignatius                           | 3 | 3 | Saints           | St. Ignatius                         | Minor |
| Doctor bonus amicus Dei Andreas               | 3 | 3 | Saints           | St. Andrew                           | Major |
| Ecce sacerdos magnus                          | 3 | 3 | Special Occasion | Reception of Bishop                  | Major |
| Ego sum panis vivus                           | 3 | 3 | Corpus Christi   | Corpus Christi                       | Minor |
| Hic vir despiciens                            | 3 | 3 | Saints           | Common of a Confessor not a Pope     | Minor |
| Hostis Herodes impie                          | 3 | 3 | Epiphany         | Vespers                              | Major |
| Laudate Dominum omnis gentes                  | 3 | 3 | Vespers          | Psalm 117                            | Major |
| Magnificat septimi toni                       | 3 | 3 | Vespers          | Marian                               | Major |
| Missa Alma redemptoris mater                  | 3 | 3 | Marian           |                                      | Major |
| Missa Ascendens Christus                      | 3 | 3 | Mass             | Ascension                            | Minor |
| Missa De beata Maria Virgine                  | 3 | 3 | Mass             | Marian                               | Minor |
| Missa Simile est regnum                       | 3 | 3 | Mass             |                                      | Major |
| Missa Surge propera                           | 3 | 3 | Mass             |                                      | Minor |
| Natus est nobis (O regem coeli, secunda pars) | 3 | 3 | Christmas        |                                      | Major |
| Nisi Dominus                                  | 3 | 3 | Vespers          | Psalm 127                            | Major |
| O lux et decus Hispaniae                      | 3 | 3 | Saints           | St. James                            | Major |

|                                 |   |   |                         |                             |       |
|---------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Pange lingua, Roman hymn        | 3 | 3 | Corpus Christi, Lent    | Holy Thursday               | Major |
| Super flumina                   | 3 | 3 | Vespers                 | Psalm 137                   | Major |
| Te Deum                         | 3 | 3 | Matins                  |                             | Major |
| Trahe me post te                | 3 | 3 | Song of Songs           |                             | Major |
| Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas   | 2 | 2 | Trinity                 |                             | Major |
| Christe redemptor omnium        | 2 | 2 | Christmas or All Saints |                             | Major |
| Credidi                         | 2 | 2 | Vespers                 | Psalm 116                   | Major |
| Domine ad adjuvandum me festina | 2 | 2 | Vespers                 | Opening versicle            | Major |
| Magnificat primi toni à 4       | 2 | 2 | Vespers                 | Marian                      | Minor |
| Magnificat sexti toni à 4       | 2 | 2 | Vespers                 | Marian                      | Major |
| Missa Ave maris stella          | 2 | 2 | Mass                    | Marian                      | Minor |
| Missa Dum complerentur          | 2 | 2 | Mass                    | Pentecost                   | Minor |
| Missa Laetatus sum à 12         | 2 | 2 | Mass                    |                             | Major |
| Missa Salve regina à 8          | 2 | 2 | Mass                    | Marian                      | Minor |
| Vidi aquam                      | 2 | 2 | Easter                  |                             | Major |
| Magnificat octavi toni à 4      | 2 | 2 | Vespers                 | Canticle                    | Major |
| Asperges me                     | 1 | 1 | General                 |                             | Major |
| Aurea luce                      | 1 | 1 | Saints                  | Saints Peter & Paul         | Minor |
| Ave verum corpus                | 1 | 1 | Eucharistic             |                             | Minor |
| Beata es virgo Maria            | 1 | 1 | Marian                  |                             | Major |
| Date ei de fructu               | 1 | 1 | Saint                   | Not a martyr                | Major |
| Ecce nunc benedicite            | 1 | 1 | Vespers                 | Psalm 134                   | Major |
| Et Jesum                        | 1 | 1 | Marian                  | from Salve Regina           | Minor |
| Genitori                        | 1 | 1 | Corpus Christi          | Last verse from Tantum Ergo | Major |
| Lauda Jerusalem                 | 1 | 1 | Vespers                 |                             | Minor |
| Lauda mater ecclesia            | 1 | 1 | Saints                  | Feast of St. Mary Magdalene | Major |
| Magnificat octavi toni à 6      | 1 | 1 | Vespers                 | Canticle                    | Major |

|  |   |   |                   |                                 |       |
|--|---|---|-------------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| Magnificat quarti toni                 | 1 | 1 | Vespers           | Canticle                        | Minor |
| Magnificat quinti toni                 | 1 | 1 | Vespers           | Canticle                        | Major |
| Magnificat secundi toni                | 1 | 1 | Vespers           | Canticle                        | Minor |
| Missa Quam pulchri sunt,<br>Crucifixus | 1 | 1 | Mass              |                                 | Major |
| Missa Quam pulchri sunt,<br>Domine     | 1 | 1 | Mass              |                                 | Major |
| Missa Trahe me post te                 | 1 | 1 | Mass              |                                 | Major |
| O doctor optime                        | 1 | 1 | Saints            |                                 | Minor |
| O Ildephonse                           | 1 | 1 | Saints            | Virgin                          | Minor |
| Salvete flores martyrum                | 1 | 1 | Christmas<br>time | Feast of Holy<br>Innocents      | Major |
| Tibi, Christe, splendor Patris         | 1 | 1 | Saints            | Michaelmas                      | Minor |
| Tristes erant apostoli                 | 1 | 1 | Easter            |                                 | Major |
| Ut queant laxis                        | 1 | 1 | Saints            | Nativity of St.<br>John Baptist | Minor |
| Veni creator spiritus (hymn)           | 1 | 1 | Pentecost         |                                 | Major |
| Veni sancte spiritus                   | 1 | 1 | Pentecost         |                                 | Minor |

## Appendix B

### Discography of albums prominently featuring the music of Tomás Luis de Victoria since 1996

The purpose of this discography is to pick up where Eugene Casjen Cramer left off in his *Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Guide to Research*.<sup>166</sup> However, whereas Cramer's discography includes all albums to include any music by Victoria, this discography only includes albums that prominently feature his music. Albums that "prominently feature" his music include albums that present Victoria's name in the title and/or on the album cover, or albums on which tracks by Victoria comprise at least half of the album's contents. Listing every single album since 1996 to include music by Victoria would yield a much longer discography.

|              |  |   |
|--------------|--|---|
| <b>TLV01</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Officium Defunctorum</b>  | <b>Magnificat, Philip Cave</b>                                |
| 1996         | Officium defunctorum   | Linn Records BKD060   |
| <b>TLV02</b> | <b>Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria</b>   | <b>St. Clement's Choir, Philadelphia, Peter Richard Conte</b> |
| 1996         | Ave Maria a 8; Vidi aquam; Missa Laetatus sum a 12; Laetatus sum a 12; Missa Ascendens Christus a 5; Ascendens Christus in altum | Dorian Sono Luminus DIS-80146                                 |
| <b>TLV03</b> | <b>Victoria: Tenebrae</b>  | <b>Lumen Valo</b>   |
| 1997         | Tenebrae Responsories  | Alba NCD10  |

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<sup>166</sup> Cramer, *Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Guide to Research*, 183-250.

|              |   |  |
|--------------|---|--|
| <b>TLV04</b> | <b>The Mystery of the Cross</b>   | <b>The Sixteen, Harry Christophers</b>   |
| 1998         | Lamentations of Jeremiah; Vexilla Regis; Pange Lingua (Moro Hispano)  | Coro COR16021  |
| <b>TLV05</b> | <b>Tomaso Ludovico da Vittoria: Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae (Roma, 1585), In Passione Domini</b>  | <b>La Stagione Armonica, Sergio Balestracci</b>  |
| 1999         | Incipit Oratio Jeremiae Prophetae (Maundy Thursday, Lectio I); St. John Passion; Caligaverunt; Vere languores; Popule meus; Vexilla Regis   | Tactus TC552901  |
| <b>TLV06</b> | <b>Victoria: Missa Gaudeamus, Missa Pro victoria, Motets</b>  | <b>The Cardinal's Musick, Andrew Carwood</b>   |
| 1999         | Missa Gaudeamus; Cum beatus Ignatius; Doctor bonus amicus Dei Andreas; Hic vir despiciens mundum; Ecce sacerdos magnus; Tu es Petrus; O decus apostolicum; Estote fortes in bello; Veni, sponsa Christi; Descendit angelus Domini; Missa Pro victoria | Universal Classics 00743625019827  |
| <b>TLV07</b> | <b>De Victoria: Missa Ave Regina</b>  | <b>Festina Lente, Michele Gasbarro</b>   |
| 2000         | Ave Regina caelorum a 8; Missa Ave Regina caelorum; Ave Maria a 8; Domine, non sum dignus; Ave Regina caelorum a 5; Sancta Maria, succure miseris   | Also includes plainchant, organ works by Antonio de Cabezón, Pablo Bruna, Lucas Puxol, and Francisco Correa de Arauxo<br>Dynamic (4) CDS 261 |
| <b>TLV08</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Missa Gaudeamus</b>  | <b>Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarrena</b>   |
| 2000         | Regina caeli; Cum Beatus Ignatius; Salve Regina a 6; Missa Gaudeamus  | Morales: Jubilate Deo<br>Enchiriadis EN 2003   |
| <b>TLV09</b> | <b>Motets by Victoria and Josquin des Prez</b>  | <b>Schola Cantorum Copenhagen</b>  |
| 2000         | Eram quasi agnus; Tamquam ad latronem; Caligaverunt oculi mei; Astiterunt reges terrae; Sepulto Domino; Vere languores; O vos omnes; Sancta Maria; Senex puerum portabat; Domine, non sum dignus  | Includes six motets by Josquin des Prez<br>Danacord DACOCD390  |
| <b>TLV10</b> | <b>The Flowering of Genius</b>  | <b>The Sixteen, Harry Christophers</b>   |
| 2001         | O vos omnes; Vere languores; O Domine Jesu Christe; Super flumina Babylonis; Vadam et circuibo; Laudate Dominum omnes gentes  | Guerrero, Tallis (2), Sheppard, Philippe de Monte, Byrd<br>Coro COR 16002  |

|              |  |   |
|--------------|--|---|
| <b>TLV11</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Officium Defunctorum</b>  | <b>Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarrena</b>                        |
| 2002         | Officium Defunctorum   | Enchiriadis EN 2006   |
| <b>TLV12</b> | <b>The Call of the Beloved - Tomás Luis de Victoria</b>  | <b>The Sixteen, Harry Christophers</b>                          |
| 2002         | Laetatus sum a 12; Missa Laetatus sum a 12; Veni creator spiritus; Vadam et circuibo civitatem; Vidi speciosam; Ad caenam agni providi; Magnificat sexti toni a 12   | Coro COR16007   |
| <b>TLV13</b> | <b>Victoria: Motets for Solo Voice</b>   | <b>Carlos Mena, Juan Carlos Rivera, Francisco Rubio Gallego</b> |
| 2003         | Et Jesum; Duo seraphim clamabant; O decus apostolicum; Domine Missa Quam pulchri sunt; Senex puerum portabat; Magi viderunt stellam; Domine, non sum dignus; O magnum mysterium; Missa O magnum mysterium: Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei; Ne timeas, Maria; Pleni sunt Missa Gaudeamus; Iste Sanctus; Estote fortes in bello; Alma redemptoris mater; Domine Deus Missa Gaudeamus; O quam gloriosum; Doctor bonus, amicus Dei; Crucifixus Missa Quam pulchri sunt; Pueri Hebraeorum; Salve Regina | Harmonia Mundi HMG507042  |
| <b>TLV14</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Requiem (1603)</b>  | <b>Choeur In illo tempore, Alexandre Traube</b>                 |
| 2003         | Officium defunctorum   | Also includes Dies irae plainchant<br>Gallo CD-1129             |
| <b>TLV15</b> | <b>Victoria: Requiem, 1603</b>   | <b>La Stagione Armonica, Sergio Balestracci</b>                 |
| 2003         | Officium defunctorum   | Delphian DCD34025   |
| <b>TLV16</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Vespers</b>   | <b>Exon Singers, Matthew Owens</b>                              |
| 2004         | Dixit Dominus a 8; Laudate pueri Dominum a 8; Ave Maria a 8; Laetatus sum a 12; Ne timeas Maria; Nisi Dominus a 8; Ave maris stella; Magnificat primi toni a 8; Regina coeli a 8; Kyrie a 8 (unspecified)  | Delphian DCD34025   |
| <b>TLV17</b> | <b>Victoria: Ave Regina caelorum and other Marian music</b>  | <b>Westminster Cathedral Choir, Martin Baker</b>                |
| 2004         | Ave Regina caelorum a 8; Missa Ave Regina caelorum; Ave Maria a 4; Dixit Dominus; Laudate pueri; Laudate Dominum omnes gentes; Laetatus sum; Nisi Dominus; Magnificat septimi toni; Ave Maria a 8  | Hyperion CDA67479   |

- TLV18 Victoria: Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae La Colombina**
- 2005 Complete Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae, divided into 3 discs, each for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, including: Vexilla Regis; Pueri Hebraeorum; St. John Passion, O Domine Jesu Christe; Lamentations; Tenebrae Responsories; Tantum ergo; Astiterunt reges terrae; Benedictus; Vere languores nostros; Popule meus; Miserere mei, Deus
- Glossa GCD922002
- TLV19 Tomás Luis de Victoria: Paribus Vocis Lluís Vich Vocalis**
- 2005 O sacrum convivium a 4; Duo seraphim; Magnificat septimi toni; Credidi; Confitebor; Laudate pueri; Beatus vir; Salvete flores martyrum; Judas mercator; Tenebrae factae sunt; Jesus tradidit; O vos omnes; Magnificat sexti toni; Domine, non sum dignus; O regem coeli
- La Mà de Guido LMG 4006
- TLV20 Victoria: Devotion to Our Lady The Sixteen, Harry Christophers**
- 2005 Salve Regina a 8; Missa Salve Regina a 8; Ave maris stella; Alma redemptoris mater a 8; Regina coeli a 8; Ave Maria a 8; Magnificat primi toni a 8
- Coro COR16035
- TLV21 Tomás Luis de Victoria: Requiem 1605 The Sixteen, Harry Christophers**
- 2005 Salve Regina; Ave Regina caelorum a 5; Nigra sum; Quam pulchri sunt; Trahe me post te; Ave Regina caelorum a 8; Officium defunctorum
- Coro CORSACD16033
- TLV22 Victoria: Tenebrae Responsories Ensemble Corund, Stephen Smith**
- 2007 Tenebrae Responsories
- Dorian Sono Luminus DOR-93256
- TLV23 Tomaso da Vittoria: Missa O quam gloriosum, Mottetti e Inni Il Convitto Armonico, Stefano Buschini**
- 2008 O quam gloriosum; Missa O quam gloriosum; Iste sanctus pro lege; Gaudent in coelis animae sanctorum; Sancta Maria, succure miseris; Senex puerum portabat; O magnum mysterium; O sacrum convivium; Vere languores nostros; O vos omnes; Tristes erant apostoli; Te Deum; Veni Creator Spiritus
- Tactus TC552902

- TLV24 Tomás Luis de Victoria: Ad vespas: Le** **La Colombina**  
**manuscrit inédit de Rome**
- 2008 Domine ad adjuvandum me festina; Suavi jugo tuo; Dixit Dominus; Innuebant patri ejus; Confitebor; Sancta maria, succurre miseris; Repleti sunt omnes; Beatus vir; Respondens autem Petrus; Laudate pueri; Quam pulchri sunt; Ista est speciosa; Laudate Dominum; Viderunt eam filiae Sion; Lauda Jerusalem; Senex puerum portabat; Laeva ejus; Confitebor; Sacrificabo hostiam laudis; Beatus vir; Ne timeas Maria; Ego sum; Nisi Dominus; Ascendit autem Joseph; Credidi; Veni sponsa Christi; Ave Maris stella; Oppressit me dolor; Magnificat secundi toni
- Phaia Music K617209
- TLV25 Victoria: Sacred Jewels: 15 Motets and** **Amor Artis Chamber Choir, Johannes**  
**Missa Pro Defunctis** **Somary**
- 2009 O quam gloriosum; Lauda Sion; Quam pulchri sunt; Ave maris stella; O magnum mysterium; Magi viderunt stellam; Pueri Hebraeorum; Una hora; Popule meus; O vos omnes (motet); Victimae paschali laudes; Veni Creator Spiritus; Domine, non sum dignus; O sacrum convivium; Magnificat primi toni a 8; Missa Pro Defunctis
- Amor Artis Editions AAECD 1001
- TLV26 Pirro Capacelli Albergati: Corona dei** **Ensemble La Flora**  
**Pregi di Maria / T. L. da Vittoria: Antifone**  
**e Mottetti**
- 2009 Sancta Maria, succurre miseris; Senex puerum portabat; Ne timeas Maria; Vidi speciosam; Congratulamini mihi; Gaude, Maria virgo; Quam pulchri sunt; Ave Maria a 8
- Includes Albergati: Corona dei Pregi di Maria, Op. 13
- Tactus TC660103
- TLV27 Victoria: Missa Gaudeamus** **Lay Clerks of Westminster Cathedral,**  
**Matthew Martin**
- 2009 Missa Gaudeamus; Vidi speciosam
- Also includes plainchant, organ works
- Hyperion 67748
- TLV28 Tomás Luis de Victoria: O Magnum** **Escolanía del Escorial Boys Choir,**  
**Mysterium** **Javier M. Carmena**
- 2010 O magnum mysterium; Missa O magnum mysterium; Ecce Dominus veniet; O regem caeli; Quem vidistis pastores; Magi viderunt stellam
- TLV29 Victoria: 18 Responsorios de Tinieblas** **Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarrena**
- 2010 Tenebrae Responsories
- Enchiriadis EN2029
- TLV30 Victoria: Lamentations of Jeremiah** **Tallis Scholars, Peter Phillips**
- 2010 Lamentations of Jeremiah
- Includes Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla: Lamentations for Maundy Thursday
- Gimell CDGIM 043

- TLV31 Tomás Luis de Victoria: Canticum Nativitatis Domini** **Capella de Ministrers, Carles Magraner**
- 2011 Ave Maria a 4; O regem caeli; Congratulamini mihi; Alma redemptoris Mater a 8; Quam pulchri sunt; Magi viderunt stellam; Ne timeas Maria; Ecce Dominus veniet; Quem vidistis pastores; Hostis Herodes impie; O magnum mysterium; Gaude Maria virgo; Ave Maria a 8
- Licanus LIC 1130
- TLV32 Tomás Luis de Victoria / Gregorio Allegri: Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel** **Ensemble Officium**
- 2011 Lamentations (full)
- Includes Allegri: Miserere
- Christophorus CHR77345
- TLV33 Tomás Luis de Victoria: Sacred Works** **Ensemble Plus Ultra, Michael Noone**
- 2011 Disc 1: Veni, Sancte Spiritus; Missa Pro victoria; Super flumina Babylonis; Missa Pro defunctis
- Disc 2: Vere languores; Pueri Hebraeorum; Lamentations; O Domine Jesu Christe; O vos omnes (motet)
- Disc 3: Missa Gaudeamus; Magnificat octavi toni; Vidi aquam; Missa Ave maris stella
- Disc 4: Ave Maria; Vidi speciosam; Gaude, Maria virgo; Missa De Beata Maria Virgine; Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui; Sancta Maria, succurre miseris; Trahe me post te; Magnificat primi toni a 4; Beata es virgo Maria
- Disc 5: Magnificat primi toni a 8; Alma redemptoris Mater a 8; Missa Alma redemptoris Mater; Ut queant laxis; Magnificat quarti toni; Vadam et circuibo; Pange lingua
- Disc 6: Tu es Petrus; Christe, redemptor omnium; Doctor bonus amicus Dei Andreas; Tibi, Christus, splendor Patris; Descendit angelus Domini; O doctor optime; O quam gloriosum; Missa O quam gloriosum; Lauda mater ecclesia; O decus apostolicum; Aurea luce
- Disc 7: Laetatus sum a 12; Laudate pueri; Magnificat sexti toni a 12; Missa Laetatus sum a 12; Victimae paschali laudes; Ad coenam agni providi; Regina caeli laetare a 5
- Disc 8: Nigra sum; Senex puerum portabat; Salve regina a 6; Dixit Dominus; Magnificat quinti toni a 6; Laudate Dominum omnes gentes; Ave Regina caelorum a 8; Missa Ave Regina caelorum; Date ei de fructu; O sacrum convivium a 6
- Disc 9: Lauda Sion; Domine, non sum dignus; Salve regina a 8; Ave maris stella; Ego sum panis vivus; Tantum ergo; Missa Salve regina a 8; O sacrum convivium a 4; Litaniae Beata Virgine
- Disc 10: Surrexit pastor bonus; O lux et decus Hispaniae; O regem coeli; Magi viderunt stellam; Conditor alme siderum; Vadam et circuibo; Duo Seraphim; Veni Creator Spiritus; O magnum mysterium; Ascendens Christus; Dum complerentur; Hostis Herodes; Quem vidistis pastores; Ardens est cor meum
- Deutsche Grammophone 00028947797470

|              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
| <b>TLV34</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: 12 Responsorios de tinieblas del Oficio de Semana Santa</b>  | <b>Juan del Encina Chorus, Iñigo Guibert</b>  |
| 2011         | Tenebrae, incomplete: Amicus Meus, Unus ex discipulis, Eram quasi agnus, Seniores populi, Tamquam ad latronem, Animam meam dilectam, Tradiderunt me, Caligaverunt oculi mei, Recessit pastor noster, Ecce quomodo moritur, Astiterunt reges, Sepulto Domino | Marfer / Zebralution, Digital release   |
| <b>TLV35</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Officium defunctorum</b>   | <b>KammerChor Saarbrücken, Georg Grun</b>   |
| 2011         | Officium defunctorum; O sacrum convivium a 4; Vidi speciosam; Surrexit pastor bonus   | Rondeau Production ROP6042  |
| <b>TLV36</b> | <b>Victoria Requiem Mass, 1605</b>  | <b>Tenebrae, Nigel Short</b>  |
| 2011         | Officium defunctorum  | Includes Alonso Lobo: Versa est in luctum; Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae<br>Signum Classics SIGCD248 |
| <b>TLV37</b> | <b>The Victoria Collection</b>  | <b>The Sixteen, Harry Christophers</b>  |
| 2011         | Compilation of 4 discs: Mystery of the Cross (TLV04); Devotion to Our Lady (TLV20); The Call of the Beloved (TLV12); Requiem 1605 (TLV21)   | Coro COR16089   |
| <b>TLV38</b> | <b>Victoria: Missa de Beata Virgine, Missa Surge propera, Salve Regina</b>  | <b>Westminster Cathedral Choir, Martin Baker</b>  |
| 2011         | Missa de Beata Virgine; Missa Surge propera; Salve Regina   | Includes Palestrina: Surge, propera amica mea, et veni<br>Hyperion CDA 67891                            |
| <b>TLV39</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria - Officium defunctorum</b>  | <b>Collegium Vocale Ghent, Philippe Herreweghe</b>  |
| 2012         | Officium defunctorum; O Domine Jesu Christe; Domine non sum dignus; Salve regina a 6; Vadam et circumdabo civitatem   | PHI LPH005  |
| <b>TLV40</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Music for Good Friday</b>  | <b>La Columbina</b>   |
| 2013         | Asisterunt reges terrae; Lamentations, Lectio II; Vim faciebant; Tamquam ad latronem; Animam meam; Ab insurgentibus in me; Tradiderunt me; Caligaverunt   | Includes tracks by: Manuel Cardoso, Juan Pujol (3)<br>Glossa GCDC 80005                                 |

|              |  |   |
|--------------|--|---|
| <b>TLV41</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Tenebrae Responsories</b>   | <b>Tenebrae, Nigel Short</b>  |
| 2013         | Tenebrae Responsories  | Signum Classics SIGCD344  |
| <b>TLV42</b> | <b>Gesualdo / Victoria: Responsories and Lamentations for Holy Saturday</b>  | <b>Tenebrae, Nigel Short</b>  |
| 2013         | Lamentations for Holy Saturday; Jesu dulcis memoria  | Includes Gesualdo Responsories for Holy Saturday (9), Miserere mei, Deus<br>Deutsche Grammophone 00028947908425   |
| <b>TLV43</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria, Easter Week: Lamentations &amp; Tenebrae Responsories</b>   | <b>Choir of Trinity College, Cambridge, Richard Marlow</b>  |
| 2014         | Lamentations, Tenebrae Responsories (first three responsories from each day)   | Alto / Musical Concepts MCSCD 1269  |
| <b>TLV44</b> | <b>Requiem: Music for All Saints and All Souls</b>   | <b>Choir of Clare College, Cambridge, Graham Ross</b>   |
| 2015         | O quam gloriosum; Officium defunctorum   | Includes tracks by: Ernest Bullock, Richard Dering, Kenneth Leighton, Charles Villiers Stanford, Edgar Bainton, William Byrd, and Alonso Lobo (Versa est in luctum)<br>Harmonia Mundi HMU907617DI |
| <b>TLV45</b> | <b>Victoria: Alio Modo</b>   | <b>Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarrena</b>  |
| 2015         | Gaudent in coelis animae sanctorum; O magnum mysterium; Ave Maria; Magi viderunt stellam; O quam gloriosum; Quam pulchri sunt; O decus apostolicum; Ne timeas Maria; Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas; Ave Maria; Estote fortes | Includes tracks by: Guerrero, Cabezón, Byrd, and plainchant<br>Enchiriadis EN-2044  |
| <b>TLV46</b> | <b>T. L. de Victoria: Misas y motetes</b>  | <b>Ars Combinatoria, Cancó López</b>  |
| 2016         | O quam gloriosum; Missa O quam gloriosum; O magnum mysterium; Missa O magnum mysterium   | Musaris   |
| <b>TLV47</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Lamentatio</b>  | <b>Ensemble del Giglio, Luca Cerelli, Livio Cavallo</b>   |
|              | 13 of the 18 Tenebrae Responsories; Ecce nunc benedicte  | Includes Lotti "Crucifixus"; Solo clarinet compositions by Andrea Baudino   |

|              |  |   |
|--------------|--|---|
| <b>TLV48</b> | <b>Secret History: Josquin / Victoria</b>  | <b>John Potter, Anna Maria Friman, Lee Santana, Hille Perl, Jacob Heringman, John Potter</b>                |
| 2017         | Missa Surge propera, O magnum mysterium  | Includes motets by Josquin and Mouton, plainchant, vihuela improvisations by Jacob Heringman<br>ECM 4811463 |
| <b>TLV49</b> | <b>Victoria: Requiem</b>   | <b>Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarrena</b>  |
| 2017         | Officium defunctorum   | Enchiriadis EN2045  |
| <b>TLV50</b> | <b>Nordic Voices Sing Victoria</b>   | <b>Nordic Voices</b>  |
| 2017         | Quem vidistis pastores; Ardens est cor meum; Congratulamini mihi; Vexilla regis "Moro Hispano"; Tu es Petrus; Vidi speciosam; Nigra sum sed formosa; Salve Regina; Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas; O Domine Jesu Christe; Vadam et circuibo civitatem | Chandos CHSA0402  |
| <b>TLV51</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Tenebrae Responsories</b>   | <b>Stile Antico</b>   |
| 2018         | Tenebrae Responsories, full; O Domine, Jesu Christe  | Includes plainchant: Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae<br>Harmonia Mundi HMM902272DI                         |
| <b>TLV52</b> | <b>Vidi Speciosam: A Lady Mass from the 16th Century</b>   | <b>Tiburtina Ensemble, Capella de la Torre, Barbora Kavátková, Katharina Bäuml</b>                          |
| 2018         | Asperges me, Missa Vidi speciosam, Alma redemptoris mater, Ave Maria a 8, Regina caeli laetare a 5, Regina caeli laetare a 8, Quam pulchri sunt, Magnificat octavi toni a 6  | Deutsche Harmonia Mundi 19075820572   |

## Appendix C

### Meta-Discography of Works by Juan Navarro, Alonso Lobo, Sebastián de Vivanco, and Juan Esquivel

This meta-discography is the complete list of all of the tracks by Juan Navarro, Alonso Lobo, Sebastián de Vivanco, and Juan Esquivel, ordered by frequency of performance. Each work is listed with a general category, season, or occasion. The general mode, major or minor, of each piece, is also listed, with the recognition that the church modes of the Renaissance are not equivalent to modern concepts of major and minor. For the purposes of this study, any piece in church mode I, II, III, or IV is listed as minor, and any piece in church mode V, VI, VII, or VIII is listed as major.

| Composer | Piece                            | Recordings | Category / Occasion                   | Mode  |
|----------|----------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Lobo     | Versa est in luctum              | 36         | Funeral                               | Minor |
| Lobo     | Ave Regina caelorum              | 8          | Marian                                | Minor |
| Lobo     | O quam suavis est, Domine        | 8          | Corpus Christi (Song of Songs)        | Major |
| Lobo     | Libera me, Domine                | 8          | Funeral                               | Minor |
| Lobo     | Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae | 7          | Lent (Holy Saturday)                  | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Magnificat octavi toni           | 6          | Vespers                               | Major |
| Lobo     | Ego flos campi                   | 5          | Song of Songs                         | Major |
| Vivanco  | Versa est in luctum              | 5          | Funeral                               | Minor |
| Lobo     | Ave Maria                        | 4          | Marian                                | Minor |
| Lobo     | Vivo ego, dicit Dominus          | 4          | Lent (Maundy Thursday)                | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Veni, dilecte mi                 | 5          | Song of Songs                         | Major |
| Esquivel | Duo Seraphim                     | 3          | Trinity                               | Major |
| Esquivel | O vos omnes                      | 3          | Lent (Holy Thursday)                  | Minor |
| Lobo     | Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui    | 3          | Immaculate Conception (Song of Songs) | Major |

|          |   |   |                               |       |
|----------|---|---|-------------------------------|-------|
| Lobo     | Regina caeli laetare                          | 3 | Marian                        | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Assumpta est Maria                            | 3 | Marian                        | Major |
| Vivanco  | De profundis                                  | 3 | Funeral                       | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Maria Magdalene                         | 3 | Mass                          | Major |
| Esquivel | Ego sum panis vivus                           | 2 | Corpus Christi                | Minor |
| Lobo     | Credo quod redemptor                          | 2 | Funeral                       | Minor |
| Lobo     | Credo Romano                                  | 2 | Mass                          | Minor |
| Lobo     | Cum audisset Ioannes                          | 2 | Saints (St. John the Baptist) | Major |
| Lobo     | Missa Maria Magdalene, Kyrie                  | 2 | Mass                          | Major |
| Lobo     | Missa O Rex Gloriam, Gloria                   | 2 | Mass                          | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa O Rex Gloriam, Kyrie                    | 2 | Mass                          | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Prudentes virgines                      | 2 | Mass                          | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Simile est Regnum Caelorum              | 2 | Mass                          | Major |
| Navarro  | Ay, de mí, sin ventura!                       | 2 | Secular                       | Major |
| Vivanco  | Assumpsit Iesus Petrum                        | 2 | Transfiguration               | Major |
| Vivanco  | Cantate Domino                                | 2 | Psalm                         | Major |
| Vivanco  | Circumdedederunt me                           | 2 | Funeral                       | Major |
| Vivanco  | Dulcissima Maria                              | 2 | Saints (Feast of the Virgin)  | Minor |
| Vivanco  | In manus tuas                                 | 2 | Compline                      | Major |
| Vivanco  | Magnificat primi toni                         | 2 | Vespers                       | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Missa Assumpsit Iesus                         | 2 | Mass                          | Major |
| Vivanco  | O quam suavis est                             | 2 | Corpus Christi                | Minor |
| Vivanco  | O Rex gloriae                                 | 2 | Ascension                     | Major |
| Vivanco  | O sacrum convivium                            | 2 | Communion                     | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Quis dabit capiti meo                         | 2 | Lent (Passiontide)            | Minor |
| Esquivel | Gloria in excelsis Deo (unspecified)          | 1 | Mass                          | Major |
| Esquivel | In Paradisum (instrumental)                   | 1 | Funeral                       | Minor |
| Esquivel | Missa Ave virgo sanctissima: Gloria and Credo | 1 | Mass                          | Minor |

|          |   |   |                            |       |
|----------|---|---|----------------------------|-------|
| Esquivel | Sancta Maria, succurre miseris a 8                    | 1 | Marian                     | Minor |
| Esquivel | Surge propera amica mea                               | 1 | Song of Songs              | Minor |
| Esquivel | Tria sunt munera                                      | 1 | Epiphany                   | Minor |
| Esquivel | Veni Domine, et noli tardare                          | 1 | Advent                     | Minor |
| Lobo     | Erunt signa in sole                                   | 1 | Advent                     | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Beata Dei genitrix                              | 1 | Mass                       | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Maria Magdalene, Sanctus and Benedictus         | 1 | Mass                       | Major |
| Lobo     | Missa O Rex Gloriam                                   | 1 | Mass                       | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Petre ego pro te rogavi                         | 1 | Mass                       | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Petre ego pro te rogavi, Sanctus and Benedictus | 1 | Mass                       | Minor |
| Lobo     | Missa Simile est Regnum Caelorum, Agnus Dei           | 1 | Mass                       | Major |
| Lobo     | Tristis est anima mea                                 | 1 | Lent (Maundy Thursday)     | Minor |
| Navarro  | Ay, soledad amarga!                                   | 1 | Secular                    | Major |
| Navarro  | Dicebat Jesus turbis Judaeorum                        | 1 | Lent                       | Major |
| Navarro  | In passione positus                                   | 1 | Lent (Passiontide)         | Minor |
| Navarro  | Regina caeli  | 1 | Marian                     | Minor |
| Navarro  | Sobre una peña  | 1 | Secular                    | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Caritas Pater est                                     | 1 | Trinity                    | Major |
| Vivanco  | Christus factus est                                   | 1 | Lent (Maundy Thursday)     | Major |
| Vivanco  | Circumdede runt judaei Jesum                          | 1 | Lent                       | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Crux fidelis  | 1 | Lent                       | Major |
| Vivanco  | Cum turba   | 1 | Sexagesima                 | Major |
| Vivanco  | Ecce ascendimus                                       | 1 | Quinquagesima              | Major |
| Vivanco  | Ecce sacerdos magnus                                  | 1 | Common of Confessor Bishop | Major |
| Vivanco  | Elegit Dominus  | 1 | Saints (St. Sebastian)     | Major |
| Vivanco  | Erat autem quidam homo                                | 1 | Lent                       | Major |
| Vivanco  | Erat Dominus  | 1 | Lent                       | Minor |
| Vivanco  | Hic est vere martyr                                   | 1 | Saints (Martyr's Feast)    | Minor |

|         |                                 |   |                              |       |
|---------|---------------------------------|---|------------------------------|-------|
| Vivanco | Ibant apostoli                  | 1 | Saints (Birth of Apostles)   | Major |
| Vivanco | Lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae | 1 | Lent                         | Minor |
| Vivanco | Lux perpetua                    | 1 | Saints (Martyr's Feast)      | Major |
| Vivanco | Magnificat quarti toni (Anima)  | 1 | Vespers                      | Minor |
| Vivanco | Missa Beata Virgine             | 1 | Mass                         | Major |
| Vivanco | Missa Crux fidelis              | 1 | Mass                         | Major |
| Vivanco | Missa In manus tuas             | 1 | Mass                         | Major |
| Vivanco | Novissime autem                 | 1 | Lent                         | Major |
| Vivanco | Pater dimitte illis             | 1 | Lent                         | Major |
| Vivanco | Quae est ista                   | 1 | Assumption                   | Minor |
| Vivanco | Sancti et justii                | 1 | Saints (Adalbert of Prague)  | Major |
| Vivanco | Sicut liliu inter spinas        | 1 | Song of Songs                | Major |
| Vivanco | Stabat mater                    | 1 | Lent                         | Minor |
| Vivanco | Surge propera                   | 1 | Song of Songs                | Major |
| Vivanco | Surrexit pastor bonus           | 1 | Easter                       | Minor |
| Vivanco | Veni sponsa Christi             | 1 | Saints (Birth of the Virgin) | Major |
| Vivanco | Veni mulier de Samaria          | 1 | Lent                         | Minor |
| Vivanco | Virgo benedicta                 | 1 | Saints (Feast of the Virgin) | Minor |

## Appendix D

### Discographies of Works by Juan Navarro, Alonso Lobo, Sebastián de Vivanco, and Juan Esquivel

Albums that include music by more than one of the composers in this study will be listed in each of those composers' discographies (such as JN01, AL01, SV02, JE03).

#### **Juan Navarro discography**

|             |   |  |
|-------------|---|--|
| <b>JN01</b> | <b>El Siglo de Oro: Spanish Sacred Music in the Renaissance</b>                 | <b>Pro Cantione Antiqua, Bruno Turner</b>  |
| 1978        | In passione positus   | Includes tracks by: Victoria (13), Guerrero (4), Lobo, Esquivel, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Morales, Vivanco, Juan Pujol, Juan de Castro y Malagaray<br>Teldec 46003                     |
| <b>JN02</b> | <b>Polifonia sacra nel rinascimento Spagnolo</b>                                | <b>Corale Universitaria del Torino, Dario Tabbia</b>   |
| 1987        | Dicebat Iesus turbis Judaeorum  | Includes tracks by: Juan de Anchieta (1 mass), Francisco de Peñalosa, Cristobal de Morales, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Francisco Guerrero, Tomás Luis de Victoria<br>Bongiovanni GB 5015 |
| <b>JN03</b> | <b>Estevan Daça: El Parnasso</b>  | <b>El Cortesano, José Hernández Pastor (countertenor), Ariel Abramovich (vihuela)</b>  |
| 2002        | Ay de mí, sin ventura!  | Includes tracks by: Estevan Daça (5), Pedro Ordoñez (2), Rodrigo de Ceballos (3), Guerrero (2), Anonymous (13) (all arranged for vihuela by Daça)<br>Arcana 316                    |
| <b>JN04</b> | <b>O Virgo Benedicta: Music of Marian Devotion from Spain's Century of Gold</b> | <b>Marian Consort, Rory McCleery</b>   |
| 2010        | Regina caeli  | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (4), Lobo (4), Esquivel (2), Rodrigo Ceballos, Vivanco (2)<br>Delphian DCD34086   |

- |             |  |  |
|-------------|--|--|
| <b>JN05</b> | <b>Secular Polyphony of the Andalusian School: Sevilla circa 1560</b>                            | <b>La Trulla de Bozes</b>  |
| 2012        | Ay de mí, sin ventura! - ó la Monja; Ay, soledad amarga!   | Includes tracks by: Rodrigo Cevallos , Guerrero (6), Alonso Mudarra (2), Juan Vasquez (5), Francisco Fernandez Palero (2), Ginés de Morata<br><br>Passacaille PAS 936  |
| <b>JN06</b> | <b>Ministriles Novohispanos: Obras del Manuscrito 19 de la Catedral de Puebla de los Angeles</b> | <b>Ensamble La Danserye, Carlos Sandúa</b>   |
|             | Madrigals: Sobre una Peña, parts 1 and 2 (recorders)   | Includes tracks by: Philippe Rogier, Lassus, Janequin, Gil de Ávila, Guerrero, Ginés Martínez de Gálvez, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Pedro Rimonte, Pedro Guerrero, Hernando Franco, Thomas Crequillon (numerous short tracks)<br><br>Sedem |

## Alonso Lobo discography

- |             |   |  |
|-------------|---|--|
| <b>AL01</b> | <b>El Siglo de Oro: Spanish Sacred Music in the Renaissance</b> | <b>Pro Cantione Antiqua, Bruno Turner</b>  |
| 1978        | O quam suavis est   | 2 discs, includes tracks by: Victoria (13), Guerrero (4), Esquivel, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Morales, Vivanco, Juan Pujol, Navarro, Juan de Castro y Malagaray<br><br>Teldec 46003 |
| <b>AL02</b> | <b>Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance</b>                     | <b>Westminster Cathedral Choir, David Hill</b>   |
| 1985        | Versa est in luctum; Ave Maria; O quam suavis est               | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (6), Vivanco<br><br>Hyperion 66168  |
| <b>AL03</b> | <b>Victoria: Requiem</b>  | <b>The Tallis Scholars, Peter Phillips</b>   |
| 1987        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes: Victoria Requiem<br><br>Gimell CDGIM012  |

|             |  |   |
|-------------|--|---|
| <b>AL04</b> | <b>Spain and the New World:<br/>Renaissance music from Aragon and<br/>Mexico</b> | <b>Hilliard Ensemble, Paul Hillier</b>  |
| 1991        | O quam suavis est, Domine  | 2 discs, includes tracks by: Alonso de Mondéjar, Francisco de Peñalosa (2), Anonymous (4), Martín de Rivafrecha, Pedro de Escobar (2), Alonso Perez de Alba, Juan del Encina (4), Luchas, Juan de Urreda, Francisco de Milán, Francisco Alonso, Hernando Franco (3), Juan de Lienas (2), Morales (3), Guerrero, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla<br><br>Virgin Classics 942413                   |
| <b>AL05</b> | <b>Nueva España: Close Encounters in<br/>the New World, 1590-1690</b>            | <b>Boston Camerata, Joel Hogan</b>  |
| 1993        | Cum audisset Joannes (instrumental)  | Includes tracks by: Juan Pérez Bocanegra (2), Pedro Bermúdez, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia, Juan de Lienas, Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, Fray Francesco de Santiago, Fabián Ximeno, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (2), Pablo Bruna, Gaspar Fernandez, Antonio de Salazar, Juan de Araujo, Santiago de Murcia, Victoria, Juan Garcia de Zespedes<br><br>Erato ZK-45977 |
| <b>AL06</b> | <b>Victoria: Masses</b>  | <b>Oxford Camerata, Jeremy Summerly</b>   |
| 1993        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Victoria (4 motets, 2 masses)<br><br>Naxos 8.550575   |
| <b>AL07</b> | <b>Musica Reservata de Barcelona</b>   | <b>Musica Reservata de Barcelona, Jean-Marc<br/>Andreu</b>  |
| 1996        | Tristis est anima mea  | Includes tracks by: Manuel Mendes, Gabriel Díaz Bessón, Victoria, Francisco António de Almeida, Juan Esquivel Barahona, Giovanni Giorgi, Fernando de Almeida (3), Palestrina, João Lourenço Rebelo, Ginés de Morata, Juan de Castro y Malagaray   |
| <b>AL08</b> | <b>Holy Week at the Chapel of the Dukes<br/>of Braganza</b>                      | <b>A Capella Portuguesa, Owen Rees</b>  |
| 1996        | Tristis est anima mea  | Includes tracks by: Manuel Mendes, Gabriel Díaz Bessón, Victoria, Francisco António de Almeida, Juan Esquivel Barahona, Giovanni Giorgi, Fernando de Almeida (3), Palestrina, João Lourenço Rebelo, Ginés de Morata, Juan de Castro y Malagaray<br><br>Hyperion CDA66867  |

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|-------------|--|---|
| <b>AL09</b> | <b>What Is Our Life? Renaissance Laments and Elegies</b>                               | <b>Cambridge Taverner Choir, Owen Rees</b>  |
| 1996        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Robert Ramsey (3), Weelkes (2), Josquin des Prez (3), Pierre de la Rue, Ambrosio Cotes, Victoria, Tomkins, Gibbons, Byrd<br>Herald Records 0794638018727                                    |
| <b>AL10</b> | <b>Felix Austriae Domus: 1526-1621</b>   | <b>Duodena cantitans, Capella Rudolphina, Petr Danek</b>  |
| 1997        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Gallus (1 mass, 1 motet), Clemens non Papa, Mateo Flecha Jr., Alessandro Orologio (3), Pietro Paolo Melli, Willaert, Gombert, Mateo Flecha, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi<br>Supraphon SU3326-2 |
| <b>AL11</b> | <b>Music for Philip of Spain</b>   | <b>Chapelle du Roi, Alistair Dixon</b>  |
| 1998        | Versa est in luctum; Libera me   | Includes tracks by: Gombert, Fernando de las Infantas, Josquin des Prez, Jean Richafort (Requiem, 8 tracks), Guerrero (2)<br>Signum Classics SIGCD005   |
| <b>AL12</b> | <b>Mortuus Est Philippus Rex: Music for the life and death of the Spanish King</b>     | <b>Westminster Cathedral Choir, James O'Donnell</b>   |
| 1998        | Versa est in luctum; Libera me, Domine   | Includes tracks by: Ambrosio Cotes, Sebastián de Vivanco, Fernando de las Infantas, Bartolomé de Escobedo (1 mass)<br>Hyperion CDA67046   |
| <b>AL13</b> | <b>Música Imperia - Música Sacra Durante el Reinado de Felipe II</b>                   | <b>Capilla Príncipe de Viana, Angel Recasens</b>  |
| 1999        | Missa O Rex gloriae: Gloria  | Includes tracks by: Victoria (5), Philippe Rogier (2), Guerrero (3)<br>Audiovisuals de Sarrià   |
| <b>AL14</b> | <b>Sacred Voices - Exquisite Choral Music by Allegri, Byrd, Palestrina, and Tallis</b> | <b>The New Company, Harry Bicket</b>  |
| 1999        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Allegri, Palestrina (4), Byrd, Peter Philips, William Mundy (3), Tallis, Richard Dering<br>Sony Classical 88697691082 (2010 rerelease)  |

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|-------------|--|---|
| <b>AL15</b> | <b>Requiem: Classical Music for Reflection and Meditation</b>  | <b>Various artists (Oxford Camerata, Jeremy Summerly)</b>   |
| 1999        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Purcell, Pergolesi, Handel, Mozart (3), Brahms, Duruflé, Léon Boëllmann, Fauré, Stanford, Verdi (2)<br><br>Naxos 8.556703   |
| <b>AL16</b> | <b>Agnus Dei: Classical Music for Reflection and Meditation</b>  | <b>Various artists (Oxford Camerata, Jeremy Summerly)</b>   |
| 1999        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Lasso, Palestrina, Victoria, Byrd (3), Tallis, Orazio Benevolo, J. S. Bach (2), Mozart (2), Fauré (3), Duruflé<br><br>Naxos 8.556701  |
| <b>AL17</b> | <b>México Barroco / Puebla II</b>  | <b>Angelicum de Puebla, Schola Cantorum de México, Niños Cantores de la UNAM, Benjamín Juárez Echenique</b>   |
| 2000        | Ego flos campi   | Includes tracks by: Antonio de Cabezón (6), Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (1 mass, 1 motet), Clemens non Papa, Francisco Soto de Langa, Tomas de Santa Maria<br><br>Urtext UMA2005  |
| <b>AL18</b> | <b>Alonso Lobo and Sebastián de Vivanco, Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetarum, Missa Assumpsit Iesus</b>   | <b>Musica Reservata de Barcelona, Bruno Turner</b>  |
| 2001        | Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetarum; Regina caeli laetare; Quam pulchri sunt gressus tuae; Ego flos campi | Includes tracks by: Vivanco (3 motets, 1 mass)<br><br>La Ma de Guido LMG2045  |
| <b>AL19</b> | <b>Sancte Deus: Journey Through the Renaissance</b>  | <b>The Choir of New College, Oxford, Edward Higginbottom</b>  |
| 2001        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Tallis (2), de Lassus (2), Victoria, Vincenzo Ugolini, Guerrero, Gombert, Byrd, Josquin, Manuel Cardoso, Palestrina<br><br>Erato 80239  |
| <b>AL20</b> | <b>Ramillete! a garland of choral songs</b>  | <b>Coro Hispano de San Francisco; Conjunto Nuevo Mundo, Juan Pedro Gaffney</b>  |
| 2002        | O quam suavis est  | Includes tracks by: Francisco Delgado (2), Fray Martín Cruzelaegui, Juan de Lienas, Guerrero, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Juan de Araujo, Antonio de Salazar, Narcisso Serradell, José Luis Orozco, Juan Pedro Gaffney (5 arrangements)<br><br>Pro Musica 1003 |

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|-------------|---|---|
| <b>AL21</b> | <b>Alonso Lobo: Missa Maria Magdalene</b>   | <b>The Tallis Scholars, Peter Phillips</b>  |
| 2002        | Missa Maria Magdalene; O quam suavis est, Domine; Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui; Ave Regina caelorum; Versa est in luctum; Credo quod redemptor; Vivo ego, dicit Dominus; Ave Maria | Includes: Guerrero (Maria Magdalene)<br><br>Gimell CDGIM031   |
| <b>AL22</b> | <b>Rubens: Music of His Time</b>  | <b>Various artists (Oxford Camerata, Jeremy Summerly)</b>   |
| 2002        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Tylman Susato (3), Dowland (2), Monteverdi (5 excerpts from L'Orfeo, 1 madrigal), Schütz (2), John Bull (2), Gibbons (3), William Lawes (6)<br><br>Naxos 8.558067       |
| <b>AL23</b> | <b>New World Symphonies: Baroque Music from Latin America</b>   | <b>Ex Cathedra, Jeffrey Skidmore</b>  |
| 2003        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (1 mass, 5 tracks), Gaspar Fernandes, Juan de Araujo (2), Hernando Franco, Domenico Zipoli (2), Juan García de Zéspedes<br><br>Hyperion 67380 |
| <b>AL24</b> | <b>Alonso Lobo: Lamentations, Masses</b>  | <b>The Choir of King's College, London, David Trendell</b>  |
| 2003        | Missa Simile est regnum caelorum; Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae; Missa O Rex gloriae; Ego flos campi  | <br><br>Gaudeamus 311   |
| <b>AL25</b> | <b>Living Bread</b>   | <b>Truro Cathedral Choir, Robert Sharpe</b>   |
| 2004        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Samuel Wesley, Palestrina, Mendelssohn, Jonathan Battishill, Allegri, Walton, Franck, Finzi<br><br>Lammas LAMM166D  |
| <b>AL26</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Requiem</b>  | <b>Armonico Consort, Christopher Monks</b>  |
| 2005        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes: Victoria: Officium defunctorum<br><br>Deux-Elles 1112   |
| <b>AL27</b> | <b>Santiago a cappella</b>  | <b>The Monteverdi Choir, John Eliot Gardiner</b>  |
| 2005        | Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae; Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Anonymous, Guerrero (2), Joao IV, King of Portugal, Victoria (2), Manuel Cardoso, Philippe Rogier<br><br>Soli Deo Gloria SDG710   |

|             |  |  |
|-------------|--|--|
| <b>AL28</b> | <b>Classical Music for Contemplation: Sacred Music, Vol. 1</b>                           | <b>Various artists (Oxford Camerata, Jeremy Summerly)</b>  |
| 2005        | "Versa est"  | 2 discs, includes tracks by: Tallis (2), Lasso, Palestrina (1 mass), Victoria, Gesualdo, Byrd, Duarte Lôbo (Requiem Mass), Manuel Cardoso (Requiem Mass)<br><br>Naxos 9.00007-08 |
| <b>AL29</b> | <b>Alonso Lobo: Missae</b>   | <b>Musica Ficta, Raúl Mallavibarena</b>  |
| 2006        | Missa Simile est Regnum Caelorum; Missa Petre ego pro te rogavi; Vivo ego, dicit Dominus | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (2 motets, source of parody)<br><br>Enchiriadis EN2016  |
| <b>AL30</b> | <b>The Golden Age: Siglo de oro</b>  | <b>The King's Singers</b>  |
| 2008        | Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae; Versa est in luctum; Libera me                         | Includes tracks by: Joao IV (King of Portugal), Morales, Victoria, Diogo Dias Melgas (2), Sebastián de Vivanco, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla<br><br>Signum Classics SIGCD119        |
| <b>AL31</b> | <b>Entre la Oscuridad y la Luz</b>   | <b>Coro Maese Rodrigo, Alberto Álvarez</b>   |
| 2010        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Schütz, D. Scarlatti, Bruno Bettinelli, Orlando Dipiazza, Cesar A. Carrillo, Juan Alfonso García, Matthew Harris<br><br>CREATUDISCO                          |
| <b>AL32</b> | <b>Sing Joyfully</b>   | <b>Hogan Ensemble, Simon Hogan</b>   |
| 2010        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Byrd, Gibbons, Hubert Parry, Charles Wood, Rheinberger (1 mass, 6 tracks), Mendelssohn, Fauré<br><br>Convivium Records CR004                                 |
| <b>AL33</b> | <b>O Virgo Benedicta: Music of Marian Devotion from Spain's Century of Gold</b>          | <b>Marian Consort, Rory McCleery</b>   |
| 2010        | Missa Maria Magdalene, Kyrie, Sanctus, and Benedictus; Ave Regina caelorum               | Includes tracks by: Navarro, Guerrero (4), Esquivel (2), Rodrigo Ceballos, Vivanco (2)<br><br>Delphian, DCD34086   |

|             |  |   |
|-------------|--|---|
| <b>AL34</b> | <b>Requiem</b>   | <b>Sospiri, Christopher Watson and John Duggan</b>  |
| 2010        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Victoria (3), John Duggan (6), Johann Kuhnau, Robert Pearsall, Byrd, Douglas Guest, Giovanni Maria Nanino<br><br>The Gift of Music CCLCDG1245   |
| <b>AL35</b> | <b>Salvator Mundi</b>  | <b>Cambridge Chorale, Julian Wilkins</b>  |
| 2011        | Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae   | Includes: Martin Mass for Double Choir, Howells Requiem<br><br>Cambridge Chorale  |
| <b>AL36</b> | <b>Tomás Luis de Victoria: Requiem Mass, 1605</b>  | <b>Tenebrae, Nigel Short</b>  |
| 2011        | Versa est in luctum; Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae (20 tracks)   | Includes: Victoria Requiem<br><br>Signum Classic SIGCD248   |
| <b>AL37</b> | <b>Libera me (Geistliche Vokalmusik der Renaissance)</b>   | <b>Vocal Appearance</b>   |
| 2011        | Missa O Rex gloriae; Kyrie; Vivo ego, dicit Dominus; Credo quod redemptor; Ave Regina caelorum; Versa est in luctum; Libera me | Includes tracks by: Gesualdo (8)  |
| <b>AL38</b> | <b>Anniversary Series: Early Music Collection</b>  | <b>Various artists (Tenebrae, Nigel Short)</b>  |
| 2012        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Monteverdi (2), Gregorio Strozzi, Vivaldi, Juan Hidalgo, Anonymous from Las Huelgas Codex, Thomas Ford, J.S. Bach (3), Byrd, G. Gabrieli, Dufay, Tallis, Pietro Baldassari, Giovanni Lullino Veneto, Biber, Telemann, John Milton, Keith McGowan<br><br>Signum Classics SIGCD 301 |
| <b>AL39</b> | <b>Alonso Lobo: Misas "Prudentes virgines" &amp; "Beata Dei genitrix"</b>  | <b>La Grande Chapelle, Albert Recasens</b>  |
| 2013        | Missa Prudentes Virgines; Missa Beata Dei genitrix   | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (2 motets, source of parody)<br><br>Lauda LAU 013  |

|             |   |   |
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| <b>AL40</b> | <b>From Spain to Eternity: The Sacred Polyphony of El Greco's Toledo</b>            | <b>Ensemble Plus Ultra</b>  |
| 2014        | Versa est in luctum; Missa Prudentes virgines; Ave Regina caelorum                  | Includes tracks by: Morales (3), Guerrero (1, source of parody), Alonso de Tejada (2)<br><br>Deutsche Grammophone 00028947926115  |
| <b>AL41</b> | <b>Morales Requiem: Music for Philip II</b>   | <b>Gabrieli Consort, Paul McCreesh</b>  |
| 2014        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes Morales Officium defunctorum (18 tracks, including organ and plainchant)<br><br>Deutsche Grammophone 00028945759722  |
| <b>AL42</b> | <b>Music for the Duke of Lerma</b>  | <b>Gabrieli Consort &amp; Players, Paul McCreesh</b>  |
| 2014        | O quam suavis est, Domine; Ego flos campi   | 2 discs, includes tracks by: Anonymous (23), Antonio de Cabezón (4), Mateo Romero, Guerrero, Isabella Gaudí, Johannes Urreda (2), Victoria (3), Philippe Rogier (3), Gombert<br><br>Deutsche Grammophone 00028947169420 |
| <b>AL43</b> | <b>Ángeles o Calandrias: Cantar el órgano en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII</b> | <b>Mark Chambers, contratenor; Andrés Cea, claviorgan</b>   |
| 2014        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Palestrina, Francisco Correa de Arriaxo (3), Manuel Rodrigues Coehlo, Joseph de Torres, Guerrero, Victoria (2)<br><br>Lindoro LDO 3017  |
| <b>AL44</b> | <b>From the Imperial Court: Music for the House of Hapsburg</b>                     | <b>Stile Antico</b>   |
| 2014        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Morales, Crecquillon, Tallis, Josquin, Senfl, Gombert (2), de la Rue, Clemens non Papa, Isaac<br><br>Harmonia Mundi HMU 807595  |
| <b>AL45</b> | <b>Les trésors de Studio SM - Musique sacrée</b>                                    | <b>Various artists (Carmina Sacra)</b>  |
| 2014        | Ave Regina caelorum   | Compilation of a wide variety of music, including tracks by Palestrina, Claude de Jeune, Haydn, Mozart, Bruckner, Mendelssohn, Durufié, Milhaud, Vaughan Williams, Britten, and more<br><br>ADF-Bayard Musique          |

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| <b>AL46</b> | <b>Requiem: Music for All Saints and All Souls</b>  | <b>Choir of Clare College, Cambridge,<br/>Graham Ross</b>  |
| 2015        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Victoria (1 motet, Officium defunctorum [10]), Ernest Bullock, Richard Dering, Kenneth Leighton, Stanford, Edgar Bainton, Byrd<br><br>Harmonia Mundi HMU907617DI   |
| <b>AL47</b> | <b>Flight of Angels: Music from the Golden Age in Spain</b>   | <b>The Sixteen, Harry Christophers</b>   |
| 2015        | Missa Maria Magdalene - Kyrie; Libera me; Ave Regina caelorum; Ave Maria; Versa est in luctum; Credo Romano | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (7)<br><br>Coro COR16128  |
| <b>AL48</b> | <b>35 Greatest Choral Classics</b>  | <b>Various artists (Chapelle du Roi, Alistair Dixon)</b>   |
| 2015        | Versa est in luctum   | Compilation (playlist?) of choral classics by a wide array of composers, including Handel, Mozart, Monteverdi, Fauré, Orff, Britten, Elgar, Bach, and many more<br><br>One Media iP Ltd.   |
| <b>AL49</b> | <b>80 Pieces of Classical Music for Inner Peace and Meditation</b>  | <b>Various artists (Chapelle du Roi, Alistair Dixon)</b>   |
| 2015        | Libera me   | Compilation (playlist?) of a wide array of genres and composers, including Scriabin, Debussy, Poulenc, Beethoven, Schumann, Grieg, Ravel, Bach, Stravinsky, and many more<br><br>One Media iP Ltd.   |
| <b>AL50</b> | <b>El aire se serena: Music from the Courts and Cathedrals of 16th-Century Spain</b>                        | <b>Seldom Sene Recorder Quintet</b>  |
| 2016        | Ave Regina caelorum   | Includes tracks by: Antonio de Cabezón (3), Guerrero (4), Philippe Verdelot, Morales, Victoria, Juan Vásquez, Francisco de la Torre, Fabritio Cardoso, Francesco da Milano, Francisco de Peñalosa, Anonymous, Josquin des Prez (3)<br><br>Brilliant Classics BC95304 |

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| <b>AL51</b> | <b>Alonso Lobo: Lamentations</b>  | <b>Westminster Cathedral Choir, Martin Baker</b>   |
| 2016        | Missa Maria Magdalene; Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae; Regina caeli; O quam suavis, Domine  | Includes track by: Guerrero (1 motet, source of parody)<br><br>Hyperion CDA 68106  |
| <b>AL52</b> | <b>Gold</b>   | <b>The King's Singers</b>  |
| 2017        | Versa est in luctum   | 3 disc compilation set, with arrangements of pop and folk songs, as well as choral classics<br><br>Signum Classics SIGCD500  |
| <b>AL53</b> | <b>Cosmography of Polyphony: A Journey Through Renaissance Music with 12 Recorders</b>  | <b>The Royal Wind Music, María Martínez Ayerza (arranger)</b>  |
| 2017        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Willaert (1), Hernando de Cabezón (1), Ockeghem (1), Gombert (1), Brumel (1), Gesualdo (1), Pierre Phalese (2), Ferrabosco (1), Sweelinck (2), J.S. Bach (1), Antony Holborne (3), Osbert Parsley (1), Juan del Encina (1) |
| <b>AL54</b> | <b>Noche de Silencio</b>  | <b>Various artists (Choir of New College, Oxford, Edward Higginbottom)</b>   |
| 2017        | Versa est in luctum   | Compilation/playlist (?) of mostly Christmas music by a wide range of composers, including Victoria, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Sermisy, Lassus, Purcell, Bach, Mozart, and many more<br><br>Warner Music Group                                    |
| <b>AL55</b> | <b>Alonso Lobo: Sacred Vocal Music</b>  | <b>Coro Victoria, Ana Fernandez-Vega</b>   |
| 2019        | Ave Regina caelorum; Missa O Rex gloriae, Kyrie and Gloria; Ave Maria a 8; Vivo ego, dicit Dominus; Erunt signa in sole; Regina caeli laetare; Credo Romano; Cum audisset Ioannes in vinculis; Missa Petre ego pro te rogavi, Sanctus-Benedictus; Versa est in luctum; Libera me, Domine; Missa Simile est regnum caelorum, Agnus Dei; Ego flos campi; O quam suavis est Domine | <br><br>Brilliant Classics 95789BR   |

## Sebastián de Vivanco discography

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| <b>SV01</b> | <b>Polifonía de semana santa</b>   | <b>Coros de Radio Nacional de España,<br/>Alberto Blancafort</b>  |
| 1961        | Lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetarum  | Includes tracks by: Guerrero, Morales (2), Nicasio Zorita, Miguel Guerau (2), Miguel Sanchez, Diego Ortiz, Victoria (2), Rodrigo de Ceballos, Esquivel<br><br>Pax P367 [3DLC-367] |
| <b>SV02</b> | <b>El Siglo de Oro: Spanish Sacred Music in the Renaissance</b>                    | <b>Pro Cantione Antiqua, Bruno turner</b>   |
| 1978        | Stabat mater   | 2 discs, includes tracks by: Victoria (13), Guerrero (4), Lobo, Esquivel, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Morales, Juan Pujol, Navarro, Juan de Castro y Malagaray<br><br>Teldec 46003       |
| <b>SV03</b> | <b>Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance</b>  | <b>Westminster Cathedral Choir, David Hill</b>  |
| 1985        | Magnificat octavi toni a 8   | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (6), Alonso Lobo (3)<br><br>Hyperion 66168   |
| <b>SV04</b> | <b>Mortuus Est Philippus Rex: Music for the life and death of the Spanish King</b> | <b>Westminster Cathedral Choir, James O'Donnell</b>   |
| 1998        | Versa est in luctum  | Includes tracks by: Ambrosio Cotes, Fernando de las Infantas, Bartolomé de Escobedo (1 mass), Lobo (2)<br><br>Hyperion CDA67046   |
| <b>SV05</b> | <b>Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis Vol 21</b>   | <b>St George's Chapel Choir, Windsor Castle,<br/>Jonathan Rees-Williams</b>   |
| 1999        | Magnificat octavi toni   | Includes tracks by: Diego Ortiz, Marenzio, Weelkes (2), Parry (2), Stanley Glasser, Herbert Kennedy Andrews (2), Antonio Soler<br><br>Priory PRCD634                              |

- SV06** **Alonso Lobo and Sebastián de Vivanco, Lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae, Missa Assumpsit Iesus** **Musica Reservata de Barcelona, Bruno Turner**
- 2001 Quis dabit capiti meo aquam; Assumpsit Iesus Petrum; Missa Assumpsit Iesus; Cantate Domino canticum novum Includes tracks by: Lobo (4)
- La Ma de Guido LMG2045
- SV07** **Sancti et Justi: Sebastián de Vivanco (Motecta, 1610)** **Capilla Flamenca, Oltremontano, Dirk Snellings**
- 2002 O Rex gloriae; O quam suavis est; Cum turba; Dulcissima Maria; Lux perpetua; Elegit Dominus; Veni sponsa Christi; Virgo benedicta; Erat autem quidam homo; Quae est ista; Ecce ascendimus; Circumdederunt judaei Jesum; Hic est vere martyr; De profundis; Veni mulier de Samaria; Novissime autem; Ibant apostoli; Erat Dominus; Sancti et justii Cantus Records CANTUS9649
- SV08** **Sebastián de Vivanco: In manus tuas: Mass, Magnificat & Motet** **Orchestra of the Renaissance, Richard Cheetham, Michael Noone**
- 2002 Ecce sacerdos magnus; Missa In manus tuas; In manus tuas; Caritas Pater est; Quis dabit capiti meo; Versa est in luctum; Circumdederunt me; Christus factus est; Assumpta est Maria; O quam suavis est; Magnificat quarti toni; Cantate Domino Glossa GCD921405
- SV09** **Andrew Rindfleisch: Choral Works** **Isthmus Vocal Ensemble, Scott MacPherson**
- 2004 In manus tuas (after Vivanco)\* (pairs Vivanco with Rindfleisch's response to it) Primarily features tracks by Rindfleisch (7)
- Clarion CLCD-927
- SV10** **Esperanza: A Gift of Spanish Song** **Gloriae Dei Cantores, Elizabeth Patterson**
- 2005 Missa Beata Virgine in Sabbato (no Credo) Includes tracks by: Morales, Guerrero (3), Victoria, Manuel de Zumaya, Carlos Chávez, Joaquin Nin y Castellanos (4), Joaquín Rodrigo, Pablo Casals, Anonymous chant, Ernani Aguiar, Heitor Villa-Lobos
- Paraclete Recordings GDCCD037
- SV11** **Sebastian de Vivanco: Missa Crux Fidelis; Motets** **Choir of King's College London, David Trendell**
- 2005 Crux fidelis; Missa Crux fidelis; Circumdederunt me; Pater dimitte illis; O sacrum convivium; Surrexit pastor bonus; O rex gloriae; De profundis clamavi; Versa est in luctum; Veni dilecte mi; Assumpta est Maria
- Gaudeamus 346

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| <b>SV12</b> | <b>The Golden Age: Siglo de oro</b>   | <b>The King's Singers</b>  |
| 2008        | Versa est in luctum   | Includes tracks by: Joao IV (King of Portugal), Morales, Victoria, Diogo Dias Melgas (2), Lobo (3), Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla<br><br>Signum Classics SIGCD119  |
| <b>SV13</b> | <b>Song of Songs</b>  | <b>Stile Antico</b>  |
| 2009        | Veni, dilecte mi  | Includes tracks by: Clemens non Papa, Palestrina (2), Anonymous chant (5), Guerrero (3), Gombert, Lassus, Victoria (2), Jean Lheritier, Rodrigo Ceballos<br><br>Harmonia Mundi HMU807489DI   |
| <b>SV14</b> | <b>O Virgo Benedicta: Music of Marian Devotion from Spain's Century of Gold</b> | <b>Marian Consort, Rory McCleery</b>   |
| 2010        | O sacrum convivium, Magnificat Primi Toni                                       | Includes tracks by: Navarro, Guerrero (4), Lobo (4), Esquivel (2), Rodrigo Ceballos<br><br>Delphian, DCD34086  |
| <b>SV15</b> | <b>Love Story: Chanticleer Live in Concert</b>                                  | <b>Chanticleer</b>   |
| 2011        | Veni, dilecte mi; Sicut lilium inter spinas                                     | Includes tracks by: Sermisy, Duruflé, Daniel-Lesur, Richard Strauss (3), Tavener, Paulus (4), Harold Arlen, Duke Ellington, Jule Styne, Freddie Mercury, Richard Rodgers<br><br>Chanticleer Records CLIC008  |
| <b>SV16</b> | <b>Evensong and Vespers at King's</b>   | <b>The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Stephen Cleobury</b>  |
| 2011        | Magnificat octavi toni  | Also includes: various chants and organ improvisation, Hassler, Cavalli, Philip Radcliffe (2), Attwood, George Dyson (2), Bairstow, Howells (1 organ work)<br><br>Brilliant Classics BC0144  |
| <b>SV17</b> | <b>Choral Classics from Cambridge: Lamentations</b>                             | <b>Various artists (Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Stephen Cleobury)</b>  |
| 2011        | Magnificat octavi toni  | 5 discs, includes works by: Palestrina, Allegri, Weelkes, Tallis, Victoria, Josquin, Tomkins, Purcell, Bairstow, Haydn, Fauré, Samuel Wesley, Brahms, Mozart, Elgar, Bruckner, William Henry Harris, Duruflé, Bernstein, Poulenc, and many more<br><br>Brilliant Classics BC9234 |

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| <b>SV18</b> | <b>Ave Virgo Sanctissima: A Garland for Our Lady</b>  | <b>The London Oratory Choir, Patrick Russill</b>   |
| 2017        | Dulcissima Maria  | Includes tracks by: Hildegard of Bingen, Handl, Victoria (2), Philips, Guerrero, Elgar, Howells, Palestrina, Clemens non Papa, Joan Cererols, Crivelli, Bruckner, Anonymous (3)<br><br>Herald Records HAVPCD346  |
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| <b>SV19</b> | <b>Lobo: Missa Vox Clamantis</b>  | <b>Truro Cathedral Choir, Christopher Gray</b>   |
| 2017        | Magnificat octavi toni  | Also includes tracks by: Victoria (1 motet, 1 mass), Duarte Lobo (1 mass), Guerrero<br><br>Regent REGCD491   |
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| <b>SV20</b> | <b>Sebastian de Vivanco: Missa Assumpsit Jesus</b>  | <b>De Profundis, Robert Hollingworth</b>   |
| 2018        | Missa Assumpsit Jesus; Assumpsit Jesus Petrum; De profundis; Versa est in luctum; Surge, propera, amica mea; Assumpta est Maria; Veni dilecte me; Magnificat primi toni | Includes plainchant (5)<br><br>Hyperion CDA 68257  |
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| <b>SV21</b> | <b>Renaissance Choral Masterworks</b>   | <b>Various artists (Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Stephen Cleobury)</b>  |
| 2018        | Magnificat octavi toni  | Includes tracks by: Allegri, Tallis, Palestrina, Cavalli, Lotti, Byrd, Josquin des Prez , Gesualdo, Victoria, Monteverdi (2), Giovanni Gabrieli (7), Striggio, Willaert, Johann Grabbe, Hans Nielsen, Mogens Pederson, Andrea Gabrieli (3), Claudio Merulo (4)<br><br>Brilliant Classics BC95662 |
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| <b>SV22</b> | <b>Desires</b>  | <b>ORA Singers, Suzi Digby</b>   |
| 2019        | Veni, dilecte mi  | Includes tracks by: Brumel, Clemens non Papa, Gabriel Jackson, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Robert White, Francis Grier, Gombert, Victoria, Jonathan Dove, Palestrina, John Barber, Esquivel<br><br>Harmonia Mundi HMM905316   |

## Juan Esquivel discography

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| <b>JE01</b> | <b>Polifonía de Navidad</b>  | <b>Coros de Radio Nacional de España,<br/>Alberto Blancafort</b>  |
| 1960        | Gloria in excelsis Deo   | Includes tracks by: Juan Blas de Castro,<br>Guerrero (4), Victoria (2), Morales, Antonio<br>de Cabezón, several traditional songs<br><br>Pax P355   |
| <b>JE02</b> | <b>Polifonía de semana santa</b>   | <b>Coros de Radio Nacional de España,<br/>Alberto Blancafort</b>  |
| 1961        | O vos omnes  | Includes tracks by: Guerrero, Morales (2),<br>Nicasio Zorita, Miguel Guerau (2), Miguel<br>Sanchez, Diego Ortiz, Victoria (2), Rodrigo<br>de Ceballos, Vivanco<br><br>Pax P367 [3DLC-367]   |
| <b>JE03</b> | <b>El Siglo de Oro: Spanish Sacred Music<br/>in the Renaissance</b>                          | <b>Pro Cantione Antiqua, Bruno Turner</b>   |
| 1978        | Veni Domine, et noli tardare   | 2 discs, includes tracks by: Victoria (13),<br>Guerrero (4), Lobo, Rodrigo de Ceballos ,<br>Morales, Vivanco, Juan Pujol, Navarro, Juan<br>de Castro y Malagaray<br><br>Teldec 46003  |
| <b>JE04</b> | <b>Holy Week at the Chapel of the Dukes of<br/>Braganza</b>                                  | <b>A Capella Portuguesa, Owen Rees</b>  |
| 1996        | O vos omnes  | Includes tracks by: Manuel Mendes, Gabriel<br>Díaz Bessón, Victoria, Francisco António de<br>Almeida, Lobo, Giovanni Giorgi, Fernando<br>de Almeida (3), Palestrina, João Lourenço<br>Rebelo, Ginés de Morata, Juan de Castro y<br>Malagaray<br><br>Hyperion CDA66867 |
| <b>JE05</b> | <b>Navidad Ibérica: Spanish Christmas<br/>Music and Villancicos from the<br/>Renaissance</b> | <b>Ensemble Corund, Stephen Smith</b>   |
| 1997        | Tria sunt munera   | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (8), Morales<br>(1), Victoria (3 motets, 1 full mass),<br>Anonymous (7)<br><br>Dorian DOR93249   |

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| <b>JE06</b> | <b>Guerrero, F.: Requiem Mass</b>  | <b>Orchestra of the Renaissance, Richard Cheetham, Michael Noone</b>   |
| 1999        | In Paradisum (instrumental)  | Includes tracks by: Guerrero (Requiem mass, 12 tracks), Antonio de Cabezón, Josquin des Prez<br><br>Glossa, GCD921402  |
| <b>JE07</b> | <b>Puer natus est</b>  | <b>Studio de Musique Ancienne de Montréal, Concerto Palatino, Christopher Jackson</b>  |
| 2003        | Sancta Maria, succure miseris a 8; Sancta Maria, succure miseris a 8 (different key, slower tempo, with brass) | Includes tracks by: Giovanni Gabrieli (7), Claude Goudimel, Giovanni Picchi, Sebastian Aguilera de Heredia, Johann Hermann Schein, Giovanni Battista Grillo<br><br>ATMA Classique, ACD22311  |
| <b>JE08</b> | <b>Joy and Gladness</b>  | <b>Gloriae Dei Cantores, Elizabeth Patterson</b>   |
| 2005        | Duo Seraphim   | Includes tracks by: Vaughan Williams, Rheinberger, Bruce Neswick, Starer (2), Howard Hanson, Mathias (3), Leo Sowerby (3), Viadana, Mendelssohn, Rubbra, Palestrina, Clifford Taylor, Virgil Thompson, Kent Newbury<br><br>Paraclete Recordings, GDCD113 |
| <b>JE09</b> | <b>Motet Masters of the Renaissance</b>  | <b>Gloriae Dei Cantores, Elizabeth Patterson</b>   |
| 2006        | Duo Seraphim; Ego sum panis vivus  | Includes tracks by: Viadana, Vinci, Nanino, Costanzo Porta, Anerio, Lasso (1 mass, 1 motet), Clemens non Papa, Rore, Wert, Andreas Raselius, Handl, Hassler (2), Morales, Victoria (2), Guerrero, Byrd (2), Morley<br><br>Paraclete Recordings, GDCD114  |
| <b>JE10</b> | <b>O Virgo Benedicta: Music of Marian Devotion from Spain's Century of Gold</b>                                | <b>Marian Consort, Rory McCleery</b>   |
| 2010        | Missa Ave Virgo sanctissima: Gloria and Credo  | Includes tracks by: Navarro, Guerrero (4), Lobo (4), Rodrigo Ceballos, Vivanco (2)<br><br>Delphian, DCD34086   |
| <b>JE11</b> | <b>Una Frontera Invisible</b>  | <b>Capella Ibérica, Manuel Torrado</b>   |
| 2015        | O vos omnes  | Includes tracks by: Estevao de Brito (2), Juan Vásquez (2), Morales (2), Guerrero (2), Esteban Lopez Morago, Duarte Lobo (2), Diogo Dias Melgas, Manuel Machado, Manuel Cardoso<br><br>Enchiriadis EN-2043   |

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| <b>JE12</b> | <b>Resurrexit Sicut Dixit</b>  | <b>The Schola Cantorum of St. John XXIII Parish</b>   |
| 2016        | Ego sum panis vivus  | Includes tracks by: Palestrina (1 mass, 1 motet), Lassus, Pitoni, Croce, Viadana, Paul M. Weber, Christopher Dalitz   |
| <b>JE13</b> | <b>O Blessed Light: In Praise of the Holy Trinity (Choral Concert)</b> | <b>University of Melbourne Trinity College Choir, Michael Leighton Jones</b>  |
| 2017        | Duo Seraphim   | Includes tracks by: Leighton, Lasso, Wilby, Philips, Palestrina, Sheppard, Halsey, Byrd, Wills, Guerrero, Butterly, Victoria, Jones, Wood, Anonymous<br><br>ABC Classics 00028948152438                             |
| <b>JE14</b> | <b>Desires</b>   | <b>ORA Singers, Suzi Digby</b>  |
| 2019        | Surge propera amica mea  | Includes tracks by: Brumel, Clemens non Papa, Gabriel Jackson, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Robert White, Francis Grier, Gombert, Victoria, Jonathan Dove, Palestrina, John Barber, Vivanco<br><br>Harmonia Mundi HMM905316 |

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