

## Juan de Anchieta and the Iberian Motet around 1500\*

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In the closing decades of the fifteenth century, a new style in motet composition apparently developed by northern composers working at the Sforza court in Milan reached the French court. From there it spread to the Low Countries, and to Central and Southern Europe. By the early decades of the sixteenth century, due to the dynamics of repertory circulation and the emerging music press, it was eventually shaped into a kind of a pan-European musical identity.<sup>1</sup> The geographies of this new style also seem to have followed the later spread of forms of devotion and piety differently inspired by *devotio moderna*, Christian humanism, and Franciscanism, to which, for instance, the many extant copies, translations, and early prints of pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, Thomas a Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*, and Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* testify. These texts, however, arrived in Castile much later, their translation into Spanish being sponsored by Queen Isabel only in the final decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

A possible relation between the reception of the Latin devotional texts concerning the Passion and focusing on the humanity of Christ and his human death, and the humanity of the Virgin and her human sorrows, disseminated widely in other European contexts (and finally embodied in the 1499 *Pietà* and the 1521 *Cristo della Minerva* by Michelangelo Buonarroti), and the reception of the new polyphonic style from beyond the Pyrenees should thus be seriously considered.<sup>3</sup> These Latin devo-

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1 The origins and early history of this "new" style are indeed poorly understood. For a brief summary and additional bibliography, see the opening paragraphs and notes of Hall, "Brumel's *Laudate Dominum de caelis*," 33–34.

2 See Robinson, *Imagining the Passion*, 11. The Castilian translation of the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* by Ambrosio de Montesinos was printed in Alcalá de Henares in 1502 to 1503; a Portuguese translation partly made at the Cistercian Monastery in Alcobaça was printed in Lisbon in 1495 by order of Queen Leonor, consort of King João II of Portugal.

3 The relation between the *contemplatio humanitas Christi* and the rise of the devotional motet in Spain has already been suggested in Knighton, "Music and Devotion."

tional texts contrast with the late-medieval Castilian prevailing focus on Christ's, and the Virgin's, divinity—as in the Catalan Francesc Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist*, a text widely distributed in the Spanish kingdoms after being translated into Spanish in the 1430s.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the appropriation of new forms of devotion—including music—that call for the empathy and compassion, not the contemplation, of the devotees was surely not the result of a late and casual discovery, but rather an important piece in Isabel's and her counsellors's policies for religious reforms.<sup>5</sup> This eventually also began to change the devotional references of Castilians by the time of their queen's death in 1504.<sup>6</sup>

The first exemplars of the Iberian motet tradition are seemingly the ones ascribed to Juan de Anchieta in the Segovia manuscript, a well-known source for its Franco-Flemish repertoires:<sup>7</sup> *Domine Jesu Christe, qui hora diei ultima* (fols. 94v–95r), *Virgo et mater* (fols. 95v–96r), and the much-disputed *O bone Jesu, illumina oculos meos* (fols. 100v–101r). To these, first Samuel Rubio, and more recently others, added the anonymous *In passione Domini* (fols. 96v–97r).<sup>8</sup> These four pieces set non-liturgical texts; they all unfold in well-defined segments alternating mostly homophonic full-voiced and trio textures and imitative and non-imitative duos for variety and often for rhetorical purposes; and they make no use of chant.<sup>9</sup>

New evidence concerning watermarks, gathering structure, and foliation, published in a thorough study by Emilio Ros-Fábregas, firmly support the hypothesis that the Segovia manuscript could have been compiled between 1498 and 1500.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, his reading of the inscriptions on the last folio of the manuscript places it not at the court of Queen Isabel of Castile or within her close circle (or, as sug-

4 See Robinson, *Imagining the Passion*, 12–16.

5 See Knighton, “Music and Devotion.”

6 Robinson, *Imagining the Passion*, 373. On the monastic reforms and the printing press in the spread of devotional texts, their impact on private libraries and spiritual readings in the Iberian Peninsula in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, see Pérez García, “*Communitas Christiana*.”

7 On the Segovia manuscript, E-SE Ms. s.s., see the database *Books of Hispanic Polyphony*, <https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/source/13369>, and, as a more complete source of information, *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM)*, <https://diamm.ac.uk/sources/2020> (these two and all other website links cited in this article were last accessed on February 21, 2019). Full reproduction is found in Perales de la Cal, *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia*, now out of print. For a discussion of the Spanish sacred repertoires it contains, see Kreitner, *The Church Music*, 80–103.

8 Included in Rubio, *Juan de Anchieta*; see also Esteve, “Works for the Office.”

9 For a previous overview of the motet in Spain around 1500, which also develops aspects of chronology and style, see Kreitner, “Spain Discovers the Motet.” The music of Juan de Anchieta, especially his motets, have been the subject of research by Kenneth Kreitner; see Kreitner, *The Church Music*, 116–22; Kreitner, “Juan the Anchieta”; Knighton and Kreitner, *The Music of Juan de Anchieta*; and also Knighton, “Music and Devotion” particularly on *Virgo et mater*.

10 Ros-Fábregas, “Manuscripts of Polyphony,” 428–42, 457–60, and 467. Dates for the Segovia manuscript close to Ros-Fábregas's hypothesis were already suggested by Hewitt, “An Unknown Motet” (late fifteenth century), and Lama de la Cruz, *Cancionero musical*, 124–30 (1489 for the original layer; 1508 for the Castilian section).

gested by Honey Meconi, close to Margaret of Austria, who remained in Spain between March 1497 and September 1499<sup>11</sup>), but rather in connection with the family of the Counts of Paredes, one of whose relatives, Rodrigo Manrique, Comendador de Yeste, traveled to Flanders in the entourage of Juana of Castile in 1496, staying there as an ambassador until 1498.<sup>12</sup> This evidence additionally supports the hypothesis that the main scribe of the Segovia manuscript was a recently arrived Fleming who was not yet familiarized with the Spanish language, as suggested by Rob Wegman,<sup>13</sup> also providing a solid clue for how the northern repertoires may have reached Castile. Anchieta's motets (along with *In passione Domini*, his four-voice setting of the second verse of the tract for Ash Wednesday, and other anonymous, but probably Iberian, chant-based settings of liturgical texts) occupy an entire quire located in the central section of the manuscript, from where the compilation seemingly began.<sup>14</sup> The new data on the Segovia manuscript give credibility to the ascriptions and definitively locates the compositional dates of Anchieta's works in the mid-1490s at the latest. A close association of the composer with the compilation process of the manuscript, suggested by Ros-Fábregas, among others,<sup>15</sup> should, however, be disputed because of the many inaccuracies in Anchieta's works.<sup>16</sup> The question of how Anchieta may have become familiarized early-on with the new northern repertoires and style toolbox finds a plausible answer in his employment as a singer in the court chapel of Queen Isabel from 1489 onward, though the earliest-known testimony of these northern repertoires in Castile is, in fact, the Segovia manuscript.<sup>17</sup> Even if this has been much debated, problems remain, nevertheless, about how to explain, and possibly resolve, the conflicting attributions of *Domine Jesu Christe* and, particularly, *O bone Jesu*.

Before discussing the issues of authorial attribution and the music itself, I would like briefly to focus on the provenance of the texts set in the three motets ascribed to Anchieta and the anonymous *In passione Domini* in the Segovia manuscript. They all appear in books of hours and devotional books from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, but none belong to the most common repertory in these types of book.

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11 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 80–82.

12 Ros-Fábregas, "Manuscripts of Polyphony," 437–42. A connection of the Segovia manuscript with the circle of Juana of Castile appears already in Lama de la Cruz, *Cancionero musical*, 130.

13 Wegman, "The Segovia Manuscript."

14 The process of compiling the manuscript, described as "fragmentary," is discussed in Ros-Fábregas, "Manuscripts of Polyphony," 429, 432, and 434–37. This had been previously studied in Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," 63–108.

15 Ros-Fábregas, "Manuscripts of Polyphony," 442.

16 The hypothetical involvement of Anchieta in the compilation of the Segovia manuscript had already been questioned in Lama de la Cruz, *Cancionero musical*, 130.

17 Tess Knighton also calls attention to the fact that Anchieta was officially the chapel master for Margaret of Austria during her residence in Spain; see Knighton and Kreitner, *The Music of Juan de Anchieta*.

*Virgo et mater* is taken from a very long prayer in the form of a litany expanding the antiphon for the feast of the Annunciation, *Missus est Gabriel angelus*. In the second part of the litany, each line is prefaced by the same invocation, “Vera virgo et mater quae filium dei genuisti, verum deum et verum hominem,” and each is followed by the words “Dominus tecum.” This prayer, offered on Saturdays according to the rubric preceding it in some sources, appears more frequently in luxurious books of hours of the use of Rome with origins in northern France, with a few also from Italy. The text of the motet, though omitting the first word, “Vera,” matches the version in the *Heures a l’usage de Romme*, first printed in Paris in 1488.<sup>18</sup> It is the type of text that most Castilian devotees preferred even in the final years of the fifteenth century, as it does not directly confront the Passion, but rather, as Robinson observes, “through the Virgin’s eyes.”<sup>19</sup>

*O bone Jesu, illumina oculos meos* comes from a prayer consisting of a succession of seven or eight to ten verses from different Psalms, commonly called “verses of St. Bernard,” whose daily recitation would guarantee access to Paradise according to the rubrics in a number of sources.<sup>20</sup> Usually, the vocative “O bone Jesu” introduces the first verse, and the Hebrew and Greek names of Christ preface the following ones. Various arrangements of the verses, with or without the prefacing vocatives, can be found in books of hours of different provenance. The text of the motet uses the first three verses of the most common version, including Psalm 12:4–5, Psalm 30:6, and Psalm 38:5, but omits “O Adonai” before “In manus tuas.”<sup>21</sup>

The texts of *Domine Jesu Christe* and *In passione Domini* both come from the Hours of the Passion.<sup>22</sup> The original text of this *Officium*, or *Cursus, de passione Domini*, composed in the form of a liturgical office, but surely intended for private reading or recitation, has been attributed to St. Bonaventure. It was written upon request of King Louis IX of France and has been dated to between 1242 and 1247. The tradition of this office still requires full study. The texts found in the books of hours<sup>23</sup> and early prints of St. Bonaventure’s *Opuscula* are often different from the *Officium* published in a critical edition by the Franciscan Friars in Quaracchi, Florence, in 1898, on the basis of seven manuscript sources dating from the fourteenth and fif-

18 Editions consulted: *Heures a l’usage de Rôme*, fol. 87r; *Les presentes heures*, [57]–[58].

19 See Robinson, *Imagining the Passion*, 30.

20 On the verses and their relation to iconographic topics of St. Bernard and the devil, see McGuire, *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, 338–39.

21 This common version appears, for instance, as an addition in the book of hours known as “Little Hours of Queen Leonor of Portugal,” P-Ln Il. 166 (Flanders, last quarter of the fifteenth century), fols. 2v–3v, <http://purl.pt/24006/4>, or in the book of hours P-EVp COD. CXXIV/2–12 (Flanders, second half of the fifteenth century), fols. 252v–254v. There are numerous other examples in extant books of hours from the Iberian Peninsula.

22 These two texts were correctly identified, first in Hardie, *Francisco de Peñalosa*, xxii, and Brown, “Música para la Pasión de Cristo,” 234–35.

23 Where this office does not frequently occur: Victor Leroquais, for instance, reports only nineteen books of hours containing it (Leroquais, *Les Livres d’Heures*).

teenth centuries.<sup>24</sup> To my knowledge, one of the earliest extant sources in the Iberian Peninsula to include St. Bonaventure's *Officium de passione Domini* is the book of hours P-Lant C.F. 140, written and illuminated in Bruges before 1433 in the workshop of the "Maître aux Rinceaux d'Or" for King Duarte of Portugal (r. 1433–38).<sup>25</sup> The exact version of the texts, as they appear in the Segovia manuscript, has yet to be discovered in the sources thus far consulted.<sup>26</sup>

*In passione Domini* is the hymn for Matins. The motet in the Segovia manuscript sets its first three strophes, and the text, after being edited, reads as follows (points of variation are noted with italic superscript numerals, with commentary below):

<p>In passione Domini,          qua datur salus homini<sup>1</sup>          ut sit<sup>2</sup> nostrum refrigerium,          et cordis desiderium.          Portemus in memoria<sup>3</sup>          poenas<sup>4</sup> [et] opprobria,          Christi coronam spineam,          crucem, clavos, et lanceam,</p>	<p>[Et] plagas sacratissimas,          omni laude dignissimas,          acetum, fel, arundinem          [et] mortis amaritudinem.<sup>5</sup></p>
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<sup>1</sup> "hominum" in the Segovia MS, S A T parts.

<sup>2</sup> "sit" in the Quaracchi edition, *Corpus Italicum Precum* (CIP), E-Mn Vitr. 23-9, P-Lant C.F. 140, E-Mn Res. 197, *Horae Eboracenses*, and the 1495 print of the *Opuscula*; "adsit nostrum refugium" in two of the sources collated for the Quaracchi edition; "sit nostrum refugium" in P-Ln Il. 16.

<sup>3</sup> "memoriam" in the Segovia MS.

<sup>4</sup> "dolores" in the Quaracchi edition and the 1495 print of the *Opuscula*; "poenas" in P-Ln Il. 16 and two of the sources collated for the Quaracchi edition; "et sputa et opprobria" in another one; "fel, poenas et opprobria" in still another one; "et poenas et opprobria" in the CIP, E-Mn Vitr. 23-9, P-Lant C.F. 140, and E-Mn Res. 197.

<sup>5</sup> "mortis amaritudinem" in P-Lant C.F. 140, E-Mn Res. 197, P-Ln Il. 16, *Horae Eboracenses*, and CIP; "mortisque amaritudinem" in E-Mn Vitr. 23-9.

24 *Doctoris Seraphici*, 152–58.

25 St. Bonaventure's *Officium* appears under the title "hore sancte crucis," fols. 187r–213v. Full reproduction: <http://digitalrqu.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4381017>. It is worth noting that most of the northern books of hours existing in Spanish collections, particularly those in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, were acquired in the eighteenth century. On the contents of Spanish, particularly Castilian, books of hours and devotional books, see Robinson, *Imagining the Passion*, 320–72.

26 Besides the Quaracchi edition, these include: Giacomo Baroffio, *Corpus Italicum Precum*, in *Iter Liturgicum Italicum*, <http://hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/iterliturgicum.htm>; *Horae Eboracenses*, 168, 173; St. Bonaventure, *Opuscula*, fol. 92v; and the following books of hours: DK-Kk Ms. NkS 27c 8° (Bruges, ca. 1465–70), transcription of the *Horae de Passione Domini*, [http://manuscripts.org.uk/chd.dk/nks/nks27c\\_h\\_passio.html](http://manuscripts.org.uk/chd.dk/nks/nks27c_h_passio.html); E-Mn Res. 197 (Aragon, once in the Convent of San Clemente in Toledo, fifteenth century), fols. 74r–v, 103v–104r, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000011715>; E-Mn Vitr. 23-9 (northern France, second half of the fourteenth century), fols. 200v, 216v–217r, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000047547>; P-Lant C.F. 140 (Bruges, first third of the fifteenth century; see note 25), fols. 188r, 212v–213r; and P-Ln Il. 16 (Flanders, probably Ghent or Bruges, ca. 1480–90), fol. 16r–v, <http://purl.pt/23997>.

*Domine Jesu Christe, qui hora diei ultima* is the prayer for Compline, which the motet sets in its entirety. Its text is as follows (again, points of variation are noted with italic superscript numerals, with commentary below):

Domine Jesu Christe,<sup>1</sup> qui hora diei ultima in sepulcro quievisti, et a matre tua inestissima<sup>2</sup> et aliis<sup>3</sup> mulieribus planctus<sup>4</sup> et lamentatus fuisti: fac nos, quaesumus, passionis tuae compassionis<sup>5</sup> lacrimis<sup>6</sup> abundare et tota cordis devotione ipsam passionem tuam plangere<sup>7</sup> et eam<sup>8</sup> quasi recentem cum ardentissimo<sup>9</sup> desiderio retinere. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> “Domine Jesu Christi filii dei vivi” in E-Mn Res. 197.

<sup>2</sup> “mestissima” in the Quaracchi edition and all other sources consulted except E-Mn Vitr. 23-9, where the reading is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> “et ab aliis” in the Quaracchi edition; “cum aliis” in E-Mn Vitr. 23-9.

<sup>4</sup> “mulieribus ut pie arditur planctus” in P-Lant C.F. 140.

<sup>5</sup> “tuae compassionis” in E-Mn Vitr. 23-9; “tuae compunctione” in the Quaracchi edition and the *Horae Eboracenses*; “tuae memoria compassionis” in P-Lant C.F. 140; “passionis tuae sanctissimae compassionis” in E-Mn Res. 197.

<sup>6</sup> “lacrimas” in P-Lant C.F. 140.

<sup>7</sup> “tuam semper plangere” in the Quaracchi edition, *Horae Eboracenses*, P-Lant C.F. 140, E-Mn Res. 197, and one source in the *CIP*; “et ipsam passionem tuam semper plangere” in E-Mn Vitr. 23-9.

<sup>8</sup> “eamque” in the Quaracchi edition; “et” in P-Lant C.F. 140; one source in the *CIP* reads “et ipsam.”

<sup>9</sup> “in ardenti” in the Quaracchi edition; “ardenti” in P-Lant C.F. 140; E-Mn Res. 197 and one source in the *CIP* have “cum ardenti.”

The book of hours P-Lant C.F. 140, fol. 213r–v, adds one more prayer, “Domine Jesu Christe qui diris passionis tuae doloribus . . . in aeternum et ultra.” The book of hours DK-Kk Ms. NkS 27c 8<sup>r</sup> has a different wording for the second part of the text: “fac nos in memoria tuae passionis lacrimis habundare et eam quasi ardenti desiderio retinere.”

The prayer for Compline is different in a number of sources. For instance, in the 1495 print of the *Opuscula*, fol. 94v, it is “Domine Jesu Christe, cuius sudor hora completorii . . . in celestia curia.” This prayer also occurs in three of the sources collated for the Quaracchi edition; one of these sources adds a second prayer, “Deprecor te, sancta Maria . . . et requiem sempiternam.” In the book of hours P-Ln Il. 16, fols. 42r–43r, there are two alternative prayers: “Domine Jesu Christe, qui hora completorii sepultus es . . . consolationem pervenire concede,” and “Domine Jesu Christe, qui in hora diei ultima depositus de cruce . . . a morte perpetua liberemur.” The *CIP* registers two versions of the first of these prayers and ten versions of the latter.

The motet *Domine Jesu Christe* survives in six Spanish and three Portuguese manuscripts.<sup>27</sup> Four of these sources—including the Segovia manuscript—bear attributions to Anchieta, while one, Tarazona 5, gives it to Peñalosa (see table 1).

27 On the Portuguese manuscript sources referred to in this article, see Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal*; on the date here suggested for P-Ln CIC 60, see d’Alvarenga, “On the Transmission of Iberian Polyphonic Music”; all these manuscripts are available in full-color reproductions with general descriptions and inventories in the *Portuguese Early Music Database*, <http://pemdatabase.eu>. Literature on the Spanish and New World sources is more abundant and dispersed; thus, consultation of the *Books of Hispanic Polyphony* database (<https://hispanicpolyphony.eu>)—even if this archive is still far from completion—and *DIAMM* (<https://diamm.ac.uk>) is advisable.

MSS in approximate chronological order	Attribution	Date
E-SE Ms. s.s., fols. 94v–95r	Johānes ancheta	ca. 1498–1500
E-Sco Ms. 5-5-20, fols. 18v–19r	Ancheta	1510s
E-TZ Ms. 5, fols. 85v–87r	Peñalosa	ca. 1517–21
P-Cug MM 12, fols. 191v–192r	–	ca. 1540–50
P-Cug MM 32, fols. 23v–24r	–	ca. 1540–55
E-TZ Ms. 2-3, fols. 279v–280r	JO ancheta	mid-16th century
E-V Ms. 5, fols. 75v–77r	–	ca. 1550–70
P-Ln CIC 60, fols. 19v–21r	–	ca. 1570
E-Vp Ms. s.s., fol. 95r (incomplete: A and B parts only)	JO ancheta	2nd half of the 16th century and early 17th century

Table 1. Sources for the motet *Domine Jesu Christe*.

The image shows a musical score for the opening of the motet "Domine Jesu Christe" by Anchieta. The score is written in four parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: "Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - - ste, qui ho - - - - - ste, qui ho - - - - - Chri - - - - - ste, qui ho - - - - - ste, qui ho -". The music is in a common time signature (C) and features a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with some melodic lines including slurs and fermatas.

Figure 1. Anchieta, *Domine Jesu Christe*, opening (source: E-SE Ms. s.s.).

Pre - cor te, Do - mi - ne

Pre - cor te, Do - mi - ne Je - su

Pre - cor te, Do - mi - ne Je -

ne Je - - su Chri - ste, pro - pter

su Chri - - - - ste,

Chri - ste,

su Chri - - - - ste,

Figure 2. Peñalosa, *Precor te, Domine*, opening (source: P-Cug MM 32).

Indeed, the piece is not stylistically unlike something Peñalosa could have composed. It is not difficult to find parallels with *Domine Jesu Christe* within the oeuvre of Peñalosa. For instance, the opening gesture of *Precor te, Domine*—possibly Peñalosa’s most emblematic motet—even if more refined, is structurally similar to *Domine Jesu Christe*: slow homophonic declamation with the entry of the uppermost voice delayed until the first full triadic sonority, then expanding in embellished homophonic texture toward the end of the phrase (see figures 1 and 2).<sup>28</sup>

28 On *Precor te* and its different versions, see Kreitner, “Peñalosa, ‘Precor te,’ and Us,” with an edition of the “long version” based on P-Cug MM 32 at 302–8; see also d’Alvarenga, “On the Transmission of Iberian Polyphonic Music.” A “short version” based on P-Cug MM 12 is included in Imrie, *Francisco de Peñalosa*; the latest edition of the “medium version,” based on E-TZ Ms. 2-3, is in Hardie,



In no - mi - ne Je -

In no - mi - ne Je - su, Je -

In no - mi - ne Je - - -

In no - mi - ne Je - - -

- - su o - mne ge - nu - fle - cta -

- - su o - mne ge - nu - fle -

- - su o - mne ge - nu - fle -

- - su o - mne ge - nu - fle -

Figure 3. Compère, *In nomine Jesu*, opening (source: Petrucci 1503<sup>1</sup>).

Interestingly enough—particularly because this composer’s name appears along with Anchieta and Peñalosa in the conflicting attributions of *O bone Jesu*—a similar gesture also occurs at the start of Compère’s *In nomine Jesu*, first part of his *Officium de Cruce*, whose earliest known source is Petrucci’s 1503 *Motetti de passione* (see figure 3).<sup>29</sup>

*Francisco de Peñalosa*, 114–22. A more recent edition presenting the versions in P-Cug MM 32 and MM 12 is Metcalfe, *Francisco de Peñalosa*. Older editions of the piece are included in Eslava, *Lira sacro hispana*, 53–60, and Preciado, *Motetos*, nos. 14 and 15. I always refer to Imrie’s edition.

29 There is, however, a significant structural difference between the Anchieta and the Peñalosa openings and that of Compère: the first are apparently more “vertically-conceived” (with Anchieta’s opening mainly reliant on the bassus-superius pair), while the latter is based on a consistent tenor-superius contrapuntal framework.

Regarding the conflicting attribution of *Domine Jesu Christe*, nevertheless, the following has to be taken into account: the date of Tarazona 5 has not been established with certainty—Jane Hardie assigns its two main sections to between 1517 and 1521 for circumstantial reasons and considering the repertoires they contain.<sup>30</sup> The earliest undisputed attributions to Peñalosa, the motets *Tribularer, si nescirem* and *In passione positus*, appear in Barcelona 454, section B+C.<sup>31</sup> This part of the manuscript is dated to about 1520 to 1525, the copy of *In passione positus* bearing the date “1525”—somewhat later than the Segovia manuscript, which is contemporary with the first known document mentioning Peñalosa: his appointment to the Aragonese royal chapel, dated May 11, 1498.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, and regardless of chronological considerations, the version of *Domine Jesu Christe* in Tarazona 5 lacks authority because of its rather low position in the hypothetical sketch stemma for this piece (see figure 4).

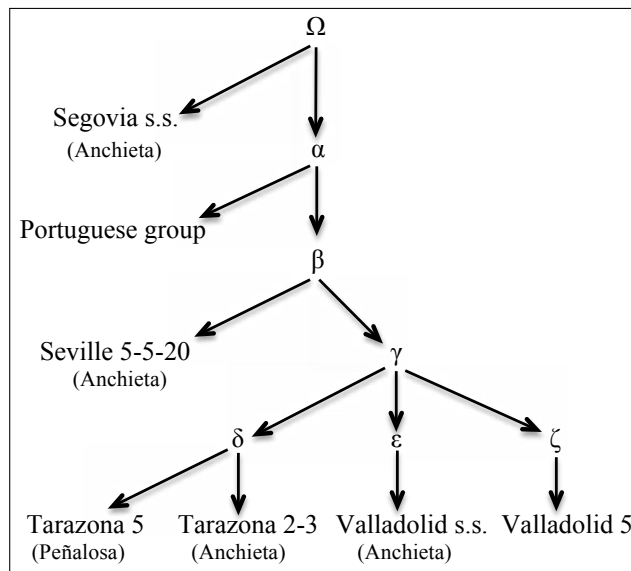


Figure 4. The hypothetical sketch stemma for *Domine Jesu Christe*.

30 Hardie, “The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa,” 52–75.

31 On manuscript E-Bbc M. 454, its contents, compilation, layers, and dating, see Ros-Fàbregas, “The Manuscript Barcelona.” See also <https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/source/13116>, <https://diamm.ac.uk/sources/1530>, and the *Production and Reading of Music Sources* project, <http://proms.ac.uk/ms/6>.

32 *Sancta mater, istud agas* appears in Seville 5-5-20, in the layer dated by Knighton to between 1505 and 1514, but it has a conflicting, though untrustworthy, attribution to Josquin in Barcelona 454, section C, dated to 1520 to 1525. On the possible origin and dating of E-Scs Ms. 5-5-20, see Knighton, “Motetes de la Salve’.”

The Segovia manuscript is the only source clearly presenting the motet in two *partes*. It has two unique readings involving rhythm and two errors not shared with any of the other sources. The Segovia manuscript also has some distinctive readings common to the sources forming the Portuguese group, namely the partial key signature and the four minims in the superius in bar 76 (see figure 5).<sup>33</sup>

(a)

tem, cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

cen-tem cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

tem, cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

cen-tem, cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

(b)

tem, cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

cen-tem cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

-tem, cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

-tem, cum ar-den-tis-si-mo de-si-de-ri-o

**Figure 5.** Anchieta, *Domine Jesu Christe*, bars 75–80. (a) Segovia s.s., and Portuguese manuscripts (in this latter group of sources, the bassus has however a different reading involving rhythm in bars 76–77); (b) other Spanish manuscripts (source: E-TZ Ms. 2-3; in E-V Ms. 5 the altus has a difference of rhythm in bars 75–76).

33 The reading at this place in all other sources—two semibreves—being rhythmically simpler would seem at first glance to be the original one. However, it clearly constitutes an improvement for performance purposes, as it allows a better distribution of the text by assigning the first tonic syllable to the higher pitch and longer note value in the phrase.

These common readings suggest that the hyparchetype for the Portuguese group of sources (not represented in the sketch stemma in figure 4) could have been quite an early transmission. The Portuguese manuscripts have variants separating them from all other sources, the most important being a difference in pitch in the superius in bar 8 and the reading in bar 11 with a breve and no rest in all voice-parts (see figure 6). Owen Rees gives an accurate account of the relations within the Portuguese sources in *Polyphony in Portugal*.<sup>34</sup> Two readings involving rhythm with consequences in text underlay relate the Portuguese sources to the Spanish, except for the Segovia manuscript (this corresponds to hyparchetype  $\alpha$ ); three such readings link all sixteenth-century Spanish separating them from Segovia (corresponding to

The image displays a musical score for the opening of 'Anchieta, Domine Jesu Christe' from Portuguese manuscripts. It is presented in two systems, each with four staves representing different voice parts: Soprano (top), Alto (second), Tenor (third), and Bass (bottom). The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are underlaid under the notes. The first system covers the first five measures, with lyrics: 'Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri -'. The second system covers the next five measures, with lyrics: 'ste, qui ho -', 'ste, qui ho - ra', and 'ste, qui ho -'. The notation includes various note values (half notes, quarter notes, eighth notes), rests, and phrasing slurs. A fermata is placed over the final note of the Soprano part in the second system.

Figure 6. Anchieta, *Domine Jesu Christe*, opening, Portuguese manuscripts (source: P-Ln CIC 60).

34 Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal*, 420.

hyparchetype  $\beta$ ); one such reading connects the Tarazona to the Valladolid sources putting them against Segovia and Seville (hyparchetype  $\gamma$ ); and two such readings link the Tarazona sources separating them from all others (hyparchetype  $\delta$ ). Finally, Seville 5-5-20, Valladolid s.s., and Valladolid 5 each have unique readings either of rhythm or of pitch, including two errors in the latter source.

The motet *O bone Jesu* is one of the most widespread pieces from the time of the Catholic Monarchs, surpassed only by Juan de Urrede's hits (the canción *Nunca fue pena mayor*, and the Barcelona-Tarazona setting of the hymn *Pange lingua*),<sup>35</sup> and an anonymous setting of *Rex autem David*, likely of Iberian origin and surviving in no fewer than fifteen sources, including Rhau's *Symphoniae jucundae* (1538).<sup>36</sup> *O bone Jesu* appears in twelve sources from Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Guatemala. Each of the four sources that have authorial attribution attributes the motet to a different composer: Anchieta in the Segovia manuscript; Peñalosa in Barcelona 454; Compère in the third book of Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona* (1519); and Antonio de Ribera in Tarazona 2-3 (see table 2).<sup>37</sup>

Sources in approx. chronological order	Attribution	Date
E-SE Ms. s.s., fols. 100v–101r	Johānes ancheta	ca. 1498–1500
E-Boc Ms. 5, fol. 69r	–	shortly after 1500
E-Bbc M. 454, section A, fols. 135v–136r	Penyalosa	1500–1510 (hand of attr. later)
Petrucci 1519 <sup>2</sup> , fol. 14	Loyset	1519
P-Cug MM 12, fols. 190v–191r	–	ca. 1540–50
P-Cug MM 32, fols. 17v–18r	–	ca. 1540–55
E-TZ Ms. 2-3, fols. 273v–274r	Antonjo de R <sup>ta</sup>	mid-16th century
P-Cug MM 48, fol. 36r–36v	–	ca. 1556–59
P-Ln CIC 60, fols. 14v–16r	–	ca. 1570
P-Cug MM 53, fols. 131v–132r	–	ca. 1585–1600
US-Bll Music MS 8, fols. 26v–27r, 58v–59r	–	late-16th century
GCA-Jse 7, fols. 66v–68r	–	early 17th century

Table 2. Sources for the motet *O bone Jesu*.

Ribera can easily be dismissed as a candidate for the authorship of *O bone Jesu* on chronological grounds because when the Segovia manuscript was about to be copied he was still a choirboy in Seville Cathedral, having left as a young singer in 1498.<sup>38</sup>

35 On the dissemination of these pieces, see Kreitner, “The Musical Warhorses.” On Urrede's *Pange lingua* and its tradition, see also Nelson, “Urrede's Legacy and Hymns”; on the political background for its dissemination, see Esteve, “La creación de un himno.”

36 On this particular setting of *Rex autem David*, see Ham, “‘Rex autem.’” Different references on its possible origin are also found in Ferreira, “Recordando o rei David,” and Rees, “The Coimbra Manuscripts,” 204.

37 An accurate summary of the discussion surrounding the authorship of *O bone Jesu* is found in Knighton, “Francisco de Peñalosa,” 250–52.

38 The presence of Antonio de Ribera in Seville Cathedral has been documented between Easter 1496 and early September 1498; see Ruiz Jiménez, “‘The Sounds of the Hollow Mountain,’” 237–38.

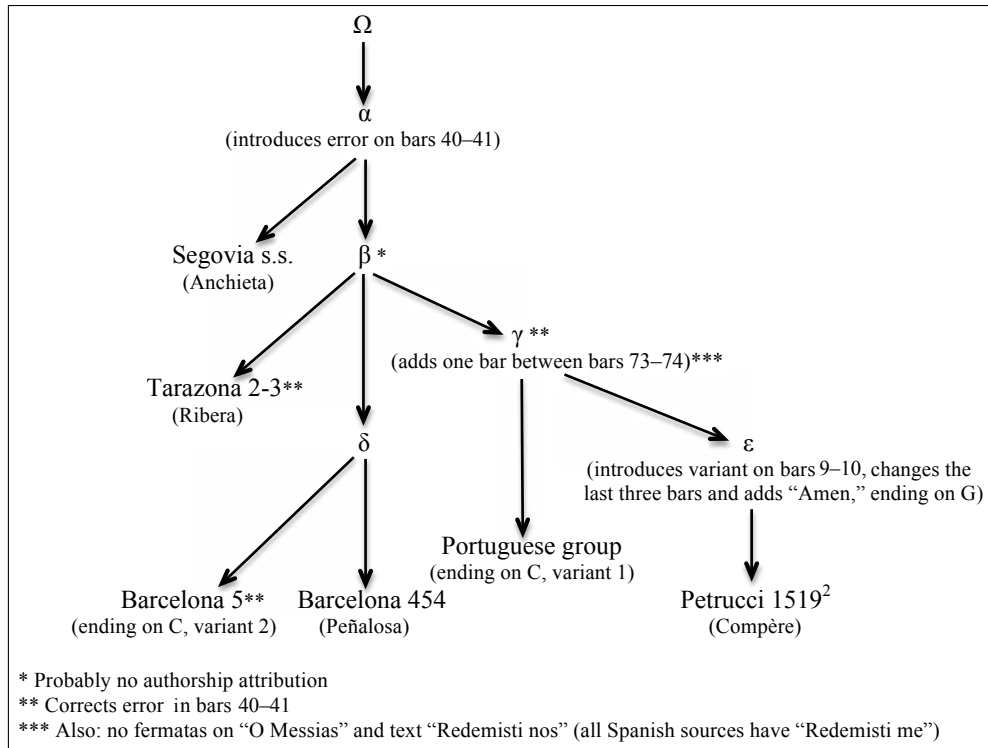


Figure 7. The hypothetical sketch stemma for *O bone Jesu*.

The versions attributed to Peñalosa in Barcelona 454 and Compère in Petrucci 1519<sup>2</sup> occupy a rather low position in the hypothetical sketch stemma for the piece (see figure 7). Moreover, the hand of the attribution to Peñalosa in Barcelona 454 is different and of a date later than that of the copying of the music.<sup>39</sup>

The Guatemalan sources are not represented in the sketch stemma because, as in the extant Spanish sources except Segovia, their versions are descendants of hyparchetype β. The error in bars 40 and 41, referred to in figure 7, is a variant of the rhythm in the superius: one dotted breve in place of one breve and one semibreve, that is, the rhythm of the three lower voices. It leaves no room in the superius to accommodate the entire text. This reading, which has the character of a polygenetic error, must have been made early-on and, just as it may have been independently introduced, it may also have been easily and independently emended by conjecture.

Consideration of all readings using a phylogenetic approach that allows grouping the different testimonies according to their shared characteristics decenters the

39 This source also omits the text phrase “ne quando dicat inimicus meus.” The omission causes the assignment of the text “ne unquam obdormiam in morte” to the consecutive duo, which is not paired with the preceding one.

discussion from the different endings of the motet, of which, indeed, there are just two: one on C, as transmitted by all extant Iberian and Iberian-related sources—the endings in the Portuguese group and Barcelona 5 being variant equipollent, not different, readings; and the other on G, exclusively transmitted by the Petrucci print (see figure 8).<sup>40</sup> It has also been suggested that the additional bar between bars 73 and 74 was omitted rather than added. However, one should consider that if this additional bar had been omitted, there would have been no need for changing the rhythm in the altus in the following bar (see again figure 8). This is a point of variation obviously independent of the different endings. When, however, combined with the peculiar cadence on G instead of the predominant cadence on C and the unique readings in bars 9 and 10 in Petrucci 1519<sup>2</sup> (see figure 9), it produces an upside-down stemma that correctly isolates this version, while oddly suggesting that the earliest extant source for *O bone Jesu* is one of the farthest removed from the archetype.<sup>41</sup> The reassessment of the sources, including issues of chronology, corroborates the authority of the Segovia manuscript and the ascriptions of both *Domine Jesu Christe* and *O bone Jesu* to Juan de Anchieta, and definitively dismisses the possibility of Peñalosa and Compère as their respective composers. Additionally, Ros-Fábregas calls attention to the similarity of the ending bars of *O bone Jesu* in Segovia, Barcelona 454, and Tarazona 2-3, and the closing bars of the “Qui propter” section in the Credo of Anchieta’s *Missa sine nomine*.<sup>42</sup>

While *In passione Domini* is a *unicum* in the Segovia manuscript, *Virgo et mater* is preserved in three Spanish sources and is consistently ascribed to Anchieta (see table 3).

MSS in approximate chronological order	Attribution	Date
E-SE Ms. s.s., fols. 95v–96r	Johānes ancheta	ca. 1498–1500
E-Sco Ms. 5-5-20, fols. 11v–12r	JO anchieta	1505–14
E-TZ Ms. 2-3, fols. 277v–278r	JO ancheta	mid-16th century

**Table 3.** Sources for the motet *Virgo et mater*.

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- 40 In his discussion of *O bone Jesu*, the original of which he considers to be the Petrucci version, attributing it to Compère following Finscher, *Motets*, Ros-Fábregas offers a speculative, yet interesting suggestion for explaining the different endings of the piece in connection with the conflicting attributions: “I believe,” he writes, “that both the endings and the conflicting attributions are the result of a curious case of word painting, since the musical variant occurs precisely at the words ‘finem meum’ [my end] in the phrase ‘notum fac mihi, Domine finem meum’ [let me know, O Lord, my end]. Thus it would have been most inviting for any composer to have added his own ending to this work.” The different endings, however, have no relation to the conflicting attributions, as seen in figure 7; see Ros-Fábregas, “The Manuscript Barcelona,” 1:263–68 (the quotation on 267).
- 41 See Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal*, 424–26. Rees provides a detailed and accurate discussion of the relations within the Portuguese sources.
- 42 In Anglés, *Polifonía religiosa*, no. 17, bars 159–65; see Ros-Fábregas, “The Manuscript Barcelona,” 1:267–68.





(a)

O bo - ne Je - su, o bo - ne Je - su,  
 O bo - ne Je - su, o bo - ne Je - su,  
 O bo - ne Je - su, Je - su,  
 O bo - ne Je - su,

(b)

O bo - ne Je - su, o bo - ne Je - su,  
 O bo - ne Je - su, o bo - ne Je - su,  
 O bo - ne Je - su, Je - su,  
 O bo - ne Je - su,

**Figure 9.** Anchieta, *O bone Jesu*, opening. (a) Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts (source: E-SE Ms. s.s.); (b) Petrucci 1519<sup>2</sup>.

Even if appearing in direct succession in the Segovia manuscript, *Virgo et mater* and *In passione Domini* are not exactly twinned pieces (in the sense of Rees's explanation<sup>43</sup>), although they can surely be related because of a number of significant common characteristics. The most immediately perceptible of such characteristics is that both pieces begin with paired duos joining non-adjacent voices in imitation at the octave, the second duo being a transposition of the first to the fourth below (see figures 10 and 11). These devices—paired duos at openings and transposed imitation—are typical of the new motet style, but, as Joshua Rifkin has clearly shown, they are not frequently found before the early years of the sixteenth century, and only within a limited geography,<sup>44</sup> in which Castile had yet to be included.

43 Rees, "Two of a Kind."

44 Rifkin, "A Black Hole?," particularly appendix 1 at 56–70.

Vir - go et ma - - - ter

Vir - go et

Vir - go et ma - ter

Vir -

quae fi - li - um De - i ge -

ma - - - ter quae fi - li - um De - i

quae fi - li - um De - i ge -

go et ma - ter quae fi - li - um De - i

Figure 10. Anchieta, *Virgo et mater*, opening (source: E-SE Ms. s.s.).

Two more pieces in the Segovia manuscript make use of these devices: a four-voice, textless setting of *Ave, regina caelorum* by Isaac, copied immediately before Anchieta's *Domine Jesu Christe* (on fols. 93v–94r, sharing the last folio of the gathering preceding the appearance of Anchieta's motets); and *O intemerata virgo*, no. 3 in Josquin's *Vultum tuum* motet cycle as printed in Petrucci's 1505 *Motetti libro quarto*, but here in fols. 85v–86r, as in other sources where this presumed cycle is not complete, featured as a motet pair with *O Maria, nullam tam gravem* (fols. 86v–87r).<sup>45</sup> In Isaac's *Ave, regina caelorum* and Josquin's *O intemerata virgo*, imitation is at the fifth in adjacent voices (fifth below in Isaac; fifth above in Josquin), and the answering duo is an octave below (in Josquin with the lower voice of the first duo continuing through part of the second duo).

45 *O Maria* is no. 4 in the *Vultum tuum* cycle according to Petrucci; the only other Spanish source for the two motets, Barcelona 454, section A, dated 1500–1510, also presents them in direct succession.

The image displays a musical score for the motet 'In passione Domini' by Juan de Anchieta. It is arranged in three systems, each with four staves. The top staff of each system is a vocal line (likely soprano or alto), the second and third staves are for a second voice part (likely tenor or bass), and the bottom staff is for lute accompaniment. The music is in common time (C) and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves.

System 1:  
 Vocal 1: In pas - si - o - - ne Do - - - mi -  
 Vocal 2: - - - - -  
 Lute: In pas - si - o - - ne Do - mi -

System 2:  
 Vocal 1: ni,  
 Vocal 2: In pas - si - o - - ne Do - - - mi -  
 Lute: - ni,  
 Lute: In pas - si - o - - ne Do - mi -

System 3:  
 Vocal 1: qua da - tur sa - lus ho - mi - ni ut  
 Vocal 2: ni, qua da - tur sa - lus ho - mi - ni ut  
 Lute: qua da - tur sa - lus ho - mi - ni  
 Lute: ni, qua da - tur sa - lus ho - mi - ni

Figure 11. [Anchieta], *In passione Domini*, opening (source: E-SE Ms. s.s.).

The use of paired duos and transposed imitation as the opening device in *Virgo et mater* and *In passione Domini* is thus a sign not only of their stylistic identity, but also of their likely common authorship. In much the same way, the long opening duo between the altus and bassus, in which the individual lines are characteristically broken up into short melodic segments treated imitatively, in the three four-voice motets setting non-liturgical texts, *Memorare piissima*, *Clamabat autem* and *Fatigatus Jesus*, is a sign of Pedro de Escobar's authorship.<sup>46</sup>

The most common opening device in Peñalosa's four-voice motets—as Tess Knighton describes it—consists of a “statement” that “reaches a full close,” or a “full stop.”<sup>47</sup> This “opening statement” can be internally punctuated and is more often partly imitative or mostly homophonic, comprising varying textures from two to four voices, including paired duos. The sense of a full stop after an emphatic cadence is achieved through the use of a fermata (even if an implied one), rests in all voices, or both. The type of a mostly homophonic opening statement is prefigured in Anchieta's *Domine Jesu Christe*; his *O bone Jesu* illustrates the type of motet using a partly imitative opening statement.

In his motets setting non-liturgical texts, Anchieta's style leans more toward homophonic textures, of which he uses three main varieties: slow, expansive declamatory homophony; quick, recitation-like homophony; and embellished homophony. Free polyphonic writing and imitation—usually short-term imitation—are more often, though not exclusively, left for duos. Parallel-motion passages in *fauxbourdon*-like superimposed thirds and sixths including double leading note cadences—in *Virgo et mater* at “Mulier, ecce filius tuus” (see figure 12) and *In passione Domini* at “laude dignissimas” (see figure 13)—have counterparts in the Segovia Gloria and Credo and the three-voice *Magnificat* (also in the Segovia manuscript and Tarazona 2-3). Passages in *fauxbourdon* style also occur, for instance, in Escobar's *Memorare piissima*, setting the central word, “brachiis,” in “in tuis sacratissimis brachiis mortuum,”<sup>48</sup> and in the Credo of Antonio de Ribera's four-voice Mass in Tarazona 2-3 for the words “secundum scripturas,”<sup>49</sup> among other possible examples. However,

46 *Memorare piissima* survives in seven Spanish and Portuguese manuscript sources and has conflicting attributions to Peñalosa in E-Bbc M. 454, section C+D, dated to 1525 to 1534, and E-Tc Cód. B. 21, dated 1549; except for Jane Hardie (see notes 22 and 30 for the relevant bibliography) and Dionisio Preciado in his edition of Peñalosa's works (see note 28), the authorship of Escobar for this piece is generally undisputed. *Fatigatus Jesus* appears anonymously in Coimbra 12 and 32 and is conditionally attributed to Escobar on stylistic grounds by Rees, who rightly sees it as a twin piece of *Clamabat autem*. This latter motet is preserved in eleven Spanish, Portuguese, and Guatemalan manuscript and printed sources. On *Clamabat autem* and the possible authorship of *Fatigatus Jesus*, see Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal*, 52 and 59–77, including an edition of both motets at 61–66 and 68–75 respectively.

47 Knighton, “Francisco de Peñalosa,” 243.

48 This is located in bars 113 to 116 of Imrie, *Pedro de Escobar*.

49 Ribera's four-voice Mass is included in E-TZ Ms. 2-3, fols. 152v–160r (the passage in the Credo is in bars 97–100). An edition of Ribera's works by Esperanza Rodríguez-García is forthcoming.

even if occasionally appearing in other composers' presumably later works, this idiom seems particularly distinctive of Anchieta's music from the early 1490s.<sup>50</sup> There are, in addition, a few contrapuntal combinations not commonly used beyond the Pyrenees, but with currency in Spain since at least the 1450s: Alejandro Planchart, for example, points out the characteristic cadence in *A-mi* at "et lamentatus fuisti" in *Domine Jesu Christe*, and a corresponding instance at "gloriam tuam" in the Gloria of Juan Cornago's *Missa Ayo visto lo mappamundi*.<sup>51</sup>

The musical score consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system contains the vocal parts and their lyrics: Soprano: Mu - - - li - er, ec - ce; Alto: - - - - - cens: Mu - - - li - er, ec - ce; Tenor: Mu - - - li - er, ec - ce; Bass: di - - - cens: fi - li - us tu - us. The second system continues the vocal parts: Soprano: fi - li - us tu - us.; Alto: fi - li - us tu - us. De - in - de ad dis -; Tenor: fi - li - us tu - us.; Bass: De - in - de ad dis - ci -.

Figure 12. Anchieta, *Virgo et mater*, bars 46–57 (source: E-SE Ms. s.s.).

50 See Kreitner, *The Church Music*, 111–12 and 115–16, including examples from the Segovia Credo and Magnificat at 112–13 and 115 respectively.

51 Planchart, "La música sacra española," 227–28.

sa - cra - tis - si - mas

sa - cra - tis - si - mas o - mni lau - de dig - nis -

sa - cra - tis - si - mas o - mni lau - de dig - nis -

sa - cra - tis - si - mas o - mni lau - de dig - nis -

a - ce - tum, fel,

- si - mas, a - ce - tum, fel,

- si - mas, a - ce - tum, fel,

- si - mas, a - ce - tum, fel,

Figure 13. [Anchieta], *In passione Domini*, bars 54–65 (source: E-SE Ms. s.s.).

Even at the risk of generalization, it will be useful at this point to list the main characteristics of the Iberian motet from around 1500, particularly that of the non-liturgical type, as follows: text is set syllabically, with only brief and occasional melismatic writing for the sake of intelligibility; extension is relatively short, usually not surpassing 120 breves in length<sup>52</sup> (*Domine Jesu Christe*, Anchieta's lengthiest motet, has 86 breves in the Segovia manuscript and 85 in some other sources, however, the "long version" of Peñalosa's *Precor te* has 201 breves); segmentation is clear, with alternation in texture, yet favoring homophony; use of full points of imitation is limited; punctuation is consistent, through the regular use of proper cadence formulas frequently combined with caesuras arising from rests of different durations in all voices, thus with relatively few overlapping of phrases.

52 Knighton, "Francisco de Peñalosa," 243.

Besides establishing an “Iberian motet archetype,” Knighton’s assessment of Peñalosa’s motet style shows how the genre evolved in the first quarter of the sixteenth century without losing most of its defining traits while refining others. The latter include an apparent relation between mode and text character and contents, with *Mi* tonality being favored for setting texts of a penitential or prayer-like nature; a clear cadence plan focusing on the final and cofinal, and the cofinal of the parallel mode; a more balanced alternation of polyphonic and imitative textures with homophony; the emergence of a structural pattern that includes the “opening statement” followed by imitative or partly imitative duos, and a full-voiced passage leading to an important cadence, particularly in Peñalosa’s approach, but whose seed is already found in the motets of Anchieta; and, most important, the consistent rhetorical exploitation of recitational homophony and caesuras for the purpose of highlighting the keywords of the text.<sup>53</sup>

As Rees has recently suggested, however, these catalogues of general characteristics should not overshadow the wide range of variation in compositional practices within the known motet repertoires, including the many unattributed pieces in the sources, and even within the oeuvre of individual composers.<sup>54</sup> For instance, frequent use of homophony has primarily been emphasized above, and elsewhere also by Knighton, Kreitner, and others, as a distinctive trait of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Iberian motet. Despite this, Peñalosa’s *Versa est in luctum* (if indeed by him, for it is one of his two motets not included in Tarazona 2-3) makes no use whatsoever of homophony and all its phrases in each of its two *partes* overlap. Conversely, the setting of *Ave, verum corpus natum* attributed to Peñalosa in Tarazona 2-3, but probably not by him (not only because the attribution is canceled, but also on stylistic grounds), is entirely homophonic and indeed homorhythmic for the most part, and variation in texture is minimal, its short segments being clearly articulated by means of full stops and caesuras.

Likewise, the use of a “statement ending with a full close” as an opening device is not exclusive to Peñalosa: as seen above, Anchieta’s *Domine Jesu Christe* and *O bone Jesu* also start with an “opening statement,” and other early examples could be given, such as *O felix Maria* by Alonso Pérez de Alba, which starts with a partly imitative opening statement.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, not all of Peñalosa’s motets have an “opening statement.” This does not seem to be characteristic of any particular type of motet:<sup>56</sup>

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53 Ibid., 243 and 247.

54 Rees, “The Coimbra Manuscripts,” 203–4. Variation in compositional practices can also include an apparent fondness for unusual patterns, as, for instance, the use of repetition by means of a textual and, correspondingly, musical refrain, even if these structural peculiarities are conditioned by text choice. This is found in Antonio de Ribera’s *Ave Maria* and its anonymous “twin” piece in P-Cug MM 12 and MM 32, *Gabriel angelus*; see Rees, “Two of a Kind.”

55 An edition of Alba’s *O felix Maria* is included in Calahorra, *Autores hispanos*, 73–76.

56 Nine of Peñalosa’s fourteen secure four-voice motets (not including *Ave, verum corpus natum*), plus the disputed *O decus virgineum*, and the five-voice *Transeunte Domino*, do have an “opening

*Ave, regina caelorum* (not strictly a motet but a chant-based setting of an antiphon) and *Tribularer, si nescirem* both begin with paired duos of adjacent voices in imitation at the fifth above (in *Tribularer*, the answering duo is partly in three-voice texture, due to the early entry of the altus with its second phrase); *Sancta mater, istud agas* starts with overlapping duos of adjacent voices corresponding motivically, but not contrapuntally, with imitation at the fifth and fourth above, respectively (the second duo is a fifth higher and in three-voice texture, because of the late ending of the first phrase of the tenor and the early entry of the second phrase of the bassus); *Emendemus in melius* starts with a partly imitative altus and bassus duo, which then gives way to an extended trio section for the lower voices; *In passione positus* begins with alternating duos of non-adjacent voices, then building to trio texture that mostly interchange between low and high voices; *Pater noster* starts with imitation involving all four voice-parts in pairs at the fifth above; finally, *Versa est in luctum* uses free polyphony, building from the lowest voice to full texture.

It is, after all, a *unicum* in a mid-sixteenth-century Portuguese manuscript—the anonymous *Ave, clementissime Domine Jesu Christe*<sup>57</sup>—which seems to encapsulate the essence of the early Iberian devotional motet. It sets the text of a prayer focusing on the agony of Christ in Gethsemane within a span of just 82 breves, is written in transposed *Mi* tonality, and totally conforms to the structural pattern found by Knighton in a number of motets of a similar character composed by Peñalosa, as it opens with a clear statement ending with a full close followed by two imitative duos, after which a full-voiced declamatory passage leads to an emphatic cadence. As in Anchieta's motets, it favors homophonic textures of different types punctuated with caesuras, except in the duos. However, right after the middle of the piece, a solo voice introduces direct speech—a device apparently characteristic of Escobar.<sup>58</sup>

As I have shown throughout this article, the involvement of the Iberian composers with the new style was already fully apparent in the motets of Juan de Anchieta, the composition of which cannot postdate the mid-1490s, because they appear in the Segovia manuscript. This involvement did not result in second-rate emulation of the northern repertory—contrary to what is not infrequently implied in mainstream scholarship, which, with fortunate exceptions, almost exclusively deals with, and draws judgement from, central masterpieces. Instead, it spawned a parallel practice that, even if drawn from a common stylistic toolbox, was shaped by a thoroughly different cultural context. Particularly the devotional motet as culti-

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statement.” On the possible attribution of *O decus virgineum* to Peñalosa, see Knighton, “Francisco de Peñalosa,” 243–47.

57 In P-Cug MM 32, fols. 50v–51r. An edition of this piece is available at <https://www.academia.edu/37004268>.

58 This device appears in *Clamabat autem mulier* and *Fatigatus Jesus*. It is also used in Escobar's villancicos with dialogue, *¡Ora sus!* and *Quedaos adios*. On these latter, see Raimundo, “The Sacred and the Secular.” Rees also discusses *Ave, clementissime*, presenting it as a “twin” of Peñalosa's *Precor te, Domine* “medium version” in Rees, “Two of a Kind.”



vated by Anchieta, Escobar, Peñalosa, and their contemporaries stands out, not only technically as a distinct type within the European motet tradition, but also, with its humanistic pedigree, as an audible sign of the multicultural and multiconfessional Iberian kingdoms turning decisively to the early modern age.

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