

## **From Anchieta to Guerrero: The *Salve Regina* in Portuguese Sources and an Unknown Early Spanish Alternatim Setting**

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### **Resumo**

As cerca de doze *Salve Regina* polifónicas, algumas fragmentárias, copiadas em manuscritos do século XVI preservados na Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra não mereceram até hoje investigação pormenorizada. Com exceção de apenas duas obras atribuídas a compositores do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, todas são anónimas. No entanto, a análise dos estilos e das variantes textuais deste pequeno grupo de obras revelou, além de concordâncias das *Salve Regina* de Anchieta e Guerrero, que uma ou duas outras foram claramente importadas de Espanha e que as restantes parecem ser de origem portuguesa, ou local. As obras espanholas terão sido originalmente destinadas principalmente para a execução nos Ofícios especiais da *Salve*, uma particularidade da devoção mariana em importantes instituições como as catedrais de Sevilha e Palencia e a capela real de Castela a partir das duas últimas décadas do século XV. Este estudo centra-se especialmente em uma *Salve Regina* anónima concebida para ser executada em alternância com o cantochão, copiada junto com um fragmento da *Salve* de Anchieta no manuscrito *P-Cug* MM 7, que revela estreitas relações com algumas das *Salve Regina* espanholas mais antigas, incluindo as de Anchieta, Rivaflecha e Escobar. Trata-se de uma obra com *cantus firmus* aparentemente baseado, em grande parte, na versão sevilhana do cantochão, como aparece na *Breve instrucción* (1565), única fonte conhecida para a melodia da *Salve Regina* em uso na catedral de Sevilha no século XVI.

### **Palavras-chave**

*Salve Regina*; Anchieta; Catedral de Sevilha; Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz; Coimbra, manuscrito MM 7; Polifonia.

### **Abstract**

The series of about a dozen *Salve Regina* settings (some fragmentary) copied in sixteenth-century polyphonic manuscripts preserved in Coimbra University Library has thus far not received detailed investigation. With the exception of just two settings attributed to composers at the royal Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, all are anonymous. However, analysis of the styles and textual variants found in a small handful of settings has not only revealed concordances of *Salve Regina* settings by Anchieta and Guerrero but also one or two more that were likewise clearly imported from Spain, whilst the remainder would appear to be of (local) Portuguese origin. It is likely that these Spanish settings would originally have been intended for performance at the special *Salve* services, which were a

distinctive feature of Marian devotion at such major institutions as Seville and Palencia Cathedrals as well as the Castilian royal chapel from around the last two decades of the fifteenth century onwards. This study focuses especially on an anonymous alternatim setting copied with a fragment of Anchieta's *Salve* into the manuscript *P-Cug* MM 7, which demonstrates close connections with some of the very earliest Spanish settings, including those of Anchieta, Rivaflacha and Escobar. It is a cantus firmus setting seemingly based largely on the Sevillian version of the chant as recorded in the later (1565) *Breve instrucción* (the only known source for the *Salve Regina* chant used at Seville cathedral in the sixteenth century).

## Keywords

*Salve Regina*; Anchieta; Seville Cathedral; Coimbra, Monastery of Santa Cruz; Coimbra Manuscript MM 7; Polyphony.

## Introduction

THE *SALVE REGINA* WAS ONE OF THE MOST WIDESPREAD and popular polyphonic genres to have developed in Renaissance Europe, with hundreds of different settings recorded in musical sources dating from about the mid-fifteenth century onwards. Whilst it had a very long tradition of liturgical integration at the close of Compline, normally during the season between Trinity Sunday and Advent, it also formed an integral part of important paraliturgical and devotional contexts—in particular, in Spain, as part of the *Salve* service, a counterpart of the Marian *Lof* in the Low Countries.<sup>1</sup> Likewise in Spain, it was often sung at Compline during the Lenten

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<sup>1</sup> For the history and development of the Spanish *Salve* Service, see Robert SNOW, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music Ms 4* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996), especially at IV: 'Music for the *Salve* Service and Compline', pp. 65-78. See also Grayson WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own: Josquin's Five-Part *Salve Regina* and Marian Devotions in Spain', *TVNM*, 52/1 (2002), pp. 3-34; and Juan María SUÁREZ MARTOS, *El rito de la Salve en la catedral de Sevilla durante el siglo XVI: Estudio del repertorio musical contenido en los manuscritos 5-5-20 de la Biblioteca Colombina y el libro de polifonía de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, Consejería de Cultura, 2010). For the *Lof*, and practices in Antwerp especially, see Kristine FORNEY, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp', *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), pp. 1-58. The precise starting point of the Spanish *Salve* service is not precisely known, but it is possible that it was influenced by traditions in northern Europe. For possible connections between practices established in the cathedral at Palencia and the Low Countries, see Tess KNIGHTON, 'Marian Devotions in Early Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Case of the Bishop of Palencia, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (1451-1524)', in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio. Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, edited by M. J. Bloxam, G. Filocamo and L. Holford-Strevens (Leiden, Brepols, 2009), pp. 137-46; and Tess KNIGHTON, "'Motetes de la Salve": Some Thoughts on the Provenance, Compilation, and Use of Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 5-5-20', in *Treasures of the Golden Age: Essays in Honor of Robert M. Stevenson*, edited by M. O'Connor and W.A. Clark (Hillsdale, Pendragon Press, 2012), pp. 29-58. See also, Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano. Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la catedral de Sevilla* (Granada, Consejería de Cultura - Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 2007), pp. 149-55.

season, besides at Vespers and other times.<sup>2</sup> From the later fourteenth century, and following ecclesiastical prescription, *Salve Regina* was sung on Saturdays after the Marian Mass,<sup>3</sup> which was then to become the usual time for the *Salve* service to take place. The *Salve* service itself was a distinctive feature of Marian devotion at such major ecclesiastical institutions as Seville and Palencia Cathedrals, as well as the Castilian royal chapel, by at least the last quarter of the fifteenth century onwards, with documented traditions extending back to at least the early 1480s and, in Seville, in perpetuity from 1499.<sup>4</sup> As notably in the Antigua chapel in Seville Cathedral, for example, *Salve* services often took place in special chapels in front of a painting or statue of the Virgin, and many were endowed by private, often ecclesiastical patrons, or—as at the Church of Our Lady (now the cathedral) in Antwerp—by lay (‘*Salve*’) confraternities.<sup>5</sup> The early *Salve* service predominantly followed a set pattern in which, especially before the early 1530s, the *Salve Regina* was often performed alternatim in chant and polyphony, and in conjunction with Marian motets, prayers and responses, organ music, and also sometimes bells.<sup>6</sup> Although it is likely that most polyphonic settings of the *Salve Regina* in Spanish sources were intended for the Saturday *Salve* service, slightly different traditions could well have evolved in such important monasteries with choral foundations as Our Lady of Montserrat and Our Lady of Guadalupe, both of which are associated with pilgrimages and special devotional practices focused on a (black) statue of the Virgin and child. In 1500 in Montserrat, for example, the antiphon was said (or indeed sung) after

<sup>2</sup> See SUÁREZ MARTOS, ‘Estructura del rito de la *Salve* y el canto de la antifona en otras ceremonias’, *El rito de la Salve* (see note 1), chap. V, pp. 149-63. A chapter concerning the *Salve* and its performance after Vespers and Compline was included in the 1498 printed constitutions of the archdiocese of Toledo: ‘Del tañer de la Salve y doctrina de los niños’, in *Constituciones del Arzobispado de Toledo ordenados por Fr. Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros* (Toledo, 1498), chap. 4, ff. 4v-5v. See also Robert STEVENSON, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (Los Angeles, University of California, 1960), p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> This Mass was then to be followed by the seven penitential psalms: ‘En 1362 [...] instituyó [...] que en las sábados, despues de la misa de la Virgen se cantase *in jubilo* la antifona *Salve Regina*, y luego se digesen los VII salmos penitenciales.’ Jaime VILLANEUVA, *Viage literário á las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1850), vol. 13, p. 17. See also STEVENSON, *Spanish Music* (see note 2), p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest Spanish foundations of a special Marian devotion that included singing *Salve Regina* in Spain that are known are connected with Seville Cathedral—in particular, the foundation of a service with polyphonic integration by Pedro de Toledo, Archbishop of Malaga in c. 1484. See Todd BORGERDING, ‘The Motet and Spanish Religiosity, ca. 1550-1610’ (PhD. Diss., University of Michigan, 1997), pp. 92 and 290-1, SUÁREZ MARTOS, *El rito* (see note 1), pp. 116-23, WAGSTAFF, ‘Mary’s Own’ (see note 1), pp. 18-19, RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano* (see note 1), p. 14; and Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, ‘“The Sounds of the Hollow Mountain”: Music Tradition and Innovation in Seville Cathedral in the Early Renaissance’, *Early Music History*, 29 (2010), pp. 189-239 (pp. 209-10). For the origins of the *Salve* service at Palencia Cathedral, see KNIGHTON, ‘Marian Devotions’ (see note 1); and KNIGHTON, ‘“Motetes de la Salve”’ (see note 1).

<sup>5</sup> For details of foundations with endowments of the *Salve* services in Spain, see preceding note; for Antwerp traditions, see Forney, ‘Music, Ritual, and Patronage’ (see note 1).

<sup>6</sup> See BORGERDING, ‘The Motet and Spanish Religiosity’ (see note 4), pp. 92-3; SUÁREZ MARTOS, *El rito* (see note 1), pp. 116-23; WAGSTAFF, ‘Mary’s Own’ (see note 1), pp. 18-19, and KNIGHTON, ‘Marian Devotions’ (see note 1), pp. 137 and 143-4.

Mass daily.<sup>7</sup> Besides being sung in chant and polyphony, there was also an important tradition in many institutions of performing the *Salve Regina* alternatim with organ music.<sup>8</sup>

Two major Spanish polyphonic sources preserved in Seville that most clearly demonstrate their origin in or association with the *Salve* service may be highlighted—not only because of their intention but also because they contain paradigms and varieties of *Salve Regina* composition that help situate early *Salve* settings found in other Iberian manuscripts, including those in Portuguese holdings. The first of these two sources, *E-Sco* 5-5-20, whose precise origins have not yet been definitely established,<sup>9</sup> features a small group of four *Salve Regina* settings with alternatim structures by composers associated with the reign of the Catholic Monarchs during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries—Anchieta, Medina, Ponce and Rivaflacha<sup>10</sup>—besides ‘motetes de la Salve’.<sup>11</sup> A setting by Pedro de Escobar also intended for inclusion in this manuscript survives only in *E-TZ* 2/3 where it is paired with a further copy of Anchieta’s *Salve*. (There are no other *Salve* settings in this source.) Indeed, Anchieta’s four-five voice *Salve* is the only such setting known to have circulated widely: as many as four complete or nearly complete copies, in addition to fragments, survive in Spanish sources, whilst there is now important evidence testifying to its transmission to Portugal (see below).<sup>12</sup> The second source, *E-Sc* 1, copied at Seville Cathedral in c. 1555,<sup>13</sup> has seven *Salve Regina* settings: four with alternatim structures, and three through-composed. These are predominantly by the succeeding generation of Spanish composers—Morales, Guerrero (with two settings, one of each type) and Ceballos, besides Pedro Fernández de Castilleja, whose long fifty-year career at Seville Cathedral in succession to Escobar extended from 1514 to

<sup>7</sup> Montserrat constitutions dating from c. 1500 state that it should be recited [daily] by the clergy after Mass, a tradition that is still upheld today, and sung by the choir and choristers. (No mention is made of a particular ‘Salve service’ as such here.) See Bernadette NELSON, ‘The integration of Spanish and Portuguese organ music within the liturgy from the latter half of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century’ (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1987), vol. I, p. 190.

<sup>8</sup> A very early reference to performing the *Salve* alternatim with the organ at the close of Compline is found in the same set of constitutions at Montserrat. See NELSON, ‘The integration’ (see note 7), vol. I, p. 191. For traditions of singing the *Salve* alternatim with the organ, especially in a slightly later period, see NELSON, ‘The integration’ (see note 7), vol. I, pp. 189-93 and 203-7.

<sup>9</sup> For the most recent study of this manuscript and discussion of its possible origins and compilation history, which include the role of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia Cathedral, and for literature on possible connections between this manuscript and Seville, see KNIGHTON, “‘Motetes de la Salve’” (see note 1).

<sup>10</sup> For information about the possibly identities of Medina and Ponce, Rivaflacha’s associations with Palencia, and other connections between this group of composers and Bishop Fonseca, see KNIGHTON, “‘Motetes de la Salve’” (see note 1), pp. 40-9.

<sup>11</sup> With the exception of the music by Rivaflacha that was added in the second part of *E-Sco* 5-5-20, judging by other extant sources of Spanish polyphonic music of the period, the motets in this manuscript were among the most widely circulated in Spain in the sixteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> For the most recent discussion of Anchieta’s *Salve Regina* and its sources, see Kenneth KREITNER, ‘The late sacred music’, in Tess KNIGHTON and Kenneth KREITNER, *The Music of Juan de Anchieta* (Abingdon - New York, Routledge, 2019), chap. 6, at pp. 150-7.

<sup>13</sup> Documentation recording the activity of this choirbook’s scribe, Francisco de Torres, witnesses his copying of ‘un libro de motetes y salves’ in 1555. See RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano* (see note 1), p. 40.

the time of his death in 1574. The compositional date of his setting is therefore not entirely certain.<sup>14</sup> In addition, there are two non-Iberian settings: Josquin's famous five-voice *Salve Regina* in three *partes*, and an alternatim setting by Gombert.<sup>15</sup>

Certain idiosyncracies of early Spanish *Salve* settings associated with the *Salve* service tradition, in particular those with alternatim structures, distinguish them from the genre that developed around the middle of the sixteenth century in Spain and Portugal, which was predominantly through-composed. This transition or change can be appreciated especially in *E-Sc 1*, in which both types are included. The newer 'motet' or through-composed type in three *partes*, which characterizes the structure of Morales's five-voice setting, has often been credited to the influence of Josquin's setting.<sup>16</sup> This overall distinction of compositional approach is significant when considering the settings of the *Salve Regina* in Iberian sources more generally.

### *Portuguese Sources of the Salve Regina*

In contrast to the well-documented practices and traditions in Spain, there appears to be none in Portugal of special Marian devotions centred on singing *Salve Regina* beyond the normal liturgical (Compline) context. But the fact that at least a dozen or more polyphonic *Salve* settings are recorded or partially recorded in Portuguese manuscripts is a clear indication that this genre occupied an important and integral part of the liturgy and devotion in a number of choral institutions. As with the majority of polyphonic music in Portugal, however, any appreciation of early *Salve* settings is almost entirely focused on the series of manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century preserved in the University library in Coimbra (BGUC) of which a significant proportion were likely to have been composed at the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra from about the middle decades of the sixteenth century onwards.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Further on Fernández and his *Salve Regina*, see WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own' (see note 1), WAGSTAFF, 'A re-Evaluation of Music Attributed to Pedro Fernández de Castilleja', *Revista de Musicología*, 16/5 (1993), pp. 2722-33, and Grayson WAGSTAFF, 'Re-examining Pedro Fernández de Castilleja Again: Was He a more Important Contemporary of Peñalosa than We Assumed?', *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 6/1 (2019), pp. 63-90. See also below.

<sup>15</sup> Josquin's *Salve* was printed in Rome in 1521 (RISM 1521<sup>5</sup>). It has been suggested that it could have been personally brought to Spain from Italy by Morales; see WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own' (see note 1), p. 13; see also Bernadette NELSON, 'Josquin in the Music of Morales: Musico-Rhetorical Devices in *Salve Regina* and Other Works', in *Treasures of the Golden Age. Essays in Honor of Robert Stevenson*, edited by M. O'Connor and W. Clark (Hillsdale, New York, Pendragon Press, 2012), pp. 295-320, at p. 213, n. 51. Contextually, it is interesting to note that Josquin endowed a *Salve* service to be sung on Saturdays and Marian feasts. See Herbert KELLMAN, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', in *Josquin des Prez*, edited by E. Lowinsky and B. Blackburn (London, OUP, 1976), pp. 217-46, at p. 208. (This is also cited in WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own' (see note 1), p. 27, and NELSON, 'Josquin in the Music of Morales' (see note 15), p. 312).

<sup>16</sup> See WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own' (see note 1), and below.

<sup>17</sup> For the Coimbra polyphonic sources, see Owen REES, *Polyphony in Portugal, c.1530 – c.1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York, Garland, 1995). The majority of these sources are available for consultation online on the *Portuguese Early Music Database* (PEM).

The BGUC is in fact one of the largest single repositories of the polyphonic *Salve Regina* in the Iberian Peninsula: there are about nine complete settings—either with alternatim structures (the majority) or through-composed in three *partes*—besides fragments of three more. These settings are to be found in seven manuscript choirbooks, sometimes copied together in twos or threes, or in close proximity to other Marian antiphons. With the exception of those by Dom Heliodoro de Paiva (d. 1552) and a Dom Bento (*fl.* mid 1500s), both of whom were professed canons at the monastery, none of these settings receive composer attributions, although a number of others would also surely have originated there. Nonetheless, as with other polyphony recorded in the Santa Cruz manuscripts, this does not preclude that these sources do not also incorporate *Salve* settings transmitted from outside a purely monastic context or, indeed, Portugal. In fact a preliminary examination of basic structural, textual and compositional elements of this array of *Salve Regina* settings, including the fragments, enables a broad classification of these works according to their probable origins or provenance, importantly identifying not only those that were likely to have been composed locally but also a small number that were clearly imported—notably, further but rare concordances (albeit incomplete or fragmentary) of two important *Salve* settings by the Spanish composers Juan de Anchieta (1462-1523) and Francisco Guerrero (1528-99) in *P-Cug* MM 7 and MM 6 respectively: see Table 1a.

The concordance of Anchieta's *Salve Regina* setting in MM 7 is just a very small fragment, consisting merely of the cantus part of the first two verses, but untexted. This is the sixth source for his *Salve* to have been identified to date, further demonstrating its wider circulation in the Iberian Peninsula from the date of its first composition through to the mid sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The four-voice *Salve* by Francisco Guerrero (partially texted in MM 6), on the other hand, was only previously known in a very small handful of Spanish sources: the aforementioned Sevillian *Salve* choirbook (*E-Sc* 1), Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones*, published in Seville in 1555,<sup>19</sup> and a later sixteenth-century Spanish manuscript preserved in Tarazona, *E-TZ* 4. It is in fact extremely unusual to find his music in the Coimbra manuscripts, and no other compositions from the 1555 print have been identified in Portuguese sources. However, it is interesting to note that both the Anchieta and Guerrero settings are included in the two *Salve* service polyphonic sources (*E-Sco* 5-5-20 and

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<sup>18</sup> For a list of sources of Anchieta's *Salve Regina*, see Appendix 1. His music was generally circulated quite widely, and two more of his compositions are included in the corpus of early 'Spanish Court Repertory' works identified in the Coimbra sources. See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 17), especially chap. 2, 'Dissemination of a 'Spanish Court Repertory' in Portugal', pp. 49-85 and *passim*. See also João Pedro D'ALVARENGA, 'On the Transmission of Iberian Polyphonic Music in the Early Decades of the Sixteenth Century: Some Philological Issues Revisited', *Portuguese Journal of Musicology*, new series, 6/1 (2019), pp. 5-28.

<sup>19</sup> The *Sacrae cantiones* (Seville, D. Pisador, 1555; RISM G4967) consists of a set of five small partbooks which was dedicated to the Duke of Arcos, Don Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León. However, only one complete set is known to survive (Hispanic Society, New York). Guerrero composed this *Salve* at Seville Cathedral.

*E-Sc* 1) described above, and it is indeed possible that they could have had a Sevillian route of transmission to Coimbra, perhaps in line with other early Spanish polyphonic music encountered in these manuscripts by composers of the early generation up to and including Morales.<sup>20</sup> To these two concordances of Spanish *Salve Regina* settings in Coimbra can be added that of Morales's four-part setting in the late sixteenth-century Portuguese choirbook in Oporto, *P-Pm* MM 40.<sup>21</sup>

No.	Source	ff.	Structure	Text: first line of setting	Text: final phrase	Composer	Provenance/ Concordances
1	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 6	56r [frag.]	[Alternatim]	(missing)	[O] dulcis Virgo Maria.	Anon.	[Coimbra, Santa Cruz?]
2		82v-86r	Motet (3 partes)	Vs. 1 Salve Regina mater misericordiae.	[O dulcis Virgo semper Maria.]	[Francisco Guerrero] (1528-99)	Spanish/ <i>E-Sc</i> 1; <i>E-TZ</i> 4; 1555 (RISM G4867)
3	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 7	25v-26r 27B-30r	Motet (3 partes)	Vs. 1 Salve Regina misericordiae.	O dulcis Virgo semper Maria.	Anon.	[Spanish?]/MM 9
4		30v-31r	Alternatim	Vs. 2 Vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve	O dulcis Virgo semper Maria.	Anon.	[Spanish]
5		31v [frag.]	Alternatim	Vs. 2 [Vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve]	(missing)	[Juan de Anchieta] (c.1462-1523)	Spanish/ see Appendix 1
6	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 9	151v-154r	Alternatim	Vs. 1 Salve Regina misericordiae.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	Anon.	[Coimbra, Santa Cruz]
(3)		154v-158r	Motet (3 partes)	Vs. 1 Salve Regina misericordiae.	O dulcis Virgo [semper] Maria.	Anon.	[Spanish?]/ MM 7
7	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 12	35v-37r [incompl.]	Alternatim	Vs. 1-2 Salve Regina mis.../Vita dulcedo.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	Dom Bento (fl. mid 16thc.)	Coimbra, Santa Cruz
8		198v-200r	Alternatim	Vs. 1 Salve Regina misericordiae.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	Anon.	[Coimbra, Santa Cruz]
9	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 33	90v + 100r-101r	Alternatim	Vs. 2 Vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	Anon.	[Coimbra, Santa Cruz?]/ MM 53
10	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 44	98v-100r	Alternatim	Vs. 1 [Salve] Regina mater misericordiae.	O pia [O dulcis Virgo Maria.]	Anon.	[Coimbra]
11		100v-101r	Motet (3 partes)	Vs. 1 Salve Regina mater misericordiae.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	Anon.	[Coimbra]
12		101v-104r	Alternatim	Vs. 1 Salve Regina mater misericordiae.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	Dom Heliodorus de Paiva (d. 1552)	Coimbra, Santa Cruz
(9)	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 53	33v-35r	Alternatim	Vs. 2 Vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	Anon.	[Coimbra, Santa Cruz?]/ MM 33

**Table 1a.** *Salve* settings in Coimbra manuscripts

<sup>20</sup> See also Tess KNIGHTON, 'Gonçalo de Baena's *Arte para tanger* (Lisboa, 1540): Local and International Repertoires', in *Musical Exchanges, 1100-1650: Iberian Connections*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2016), pp. 209-39, at p. 221.

<sup>21</sup> For an inventory and description of this manuscript, see João Pedro D'ALVARENGA, 'Manuscripts Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MM 40 and MM 76-79: Their Origin, Date, Repertoires and Context', in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World. A Homage to Bruno Turner*, edited by Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2011), pp. 27-58. In this version of his *Salve* in *P-Pm* MM 40, there is a newly composed final verse setting all three of the last phrases of the antiphon, 'O clemens, o pia, o dulcis...' It is likely that this verse was recomposed for performance in a particular Portuguese institution. See NELSON, 'Josquin in the Music of Morales' (see note 15), pp. 305-6, n. 37.

Finally, the Coimbra sources include a transcription in the score manuscript *P-Cug* MM 48 of Josquin's famous five-voice *Salve Regina* which, like Guerrero's *Salve* in *P-Cug* MM 6, is also included in the Sevillian *Salve* service choirbook, *E-Sc* 1.<sup>22</sup> MM 48 records a large corpus of polyphony in score by northern European and Iberian composers, but this is the only Franco-Flemish *Salve Regina* in the Coimbra manuscripts. As evinced by the sources situation, Josquin's *Salve* was widely disseminated in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century, and is generally considered to have had some influence on Spanish *Salve* composition—not least because of its presentation as a through-composed 'motet' setting with a tripartite structure, as opposed to the more traditional alternatim arrangement. (As indicated, an example is Morales's 'Roman' five-voice setting, which has thematic relationships with the Josquin.)<sup>23</sup> Most Spanish and Portuguese settings dating from before the mid sixteenth century reflect a performing pattern that involved the alternation of plainchant and polyphony, with the first polyphonic verse usually beginning after the intonation (in chant) of at least part or the whole of the opening line of the antiphon.

### *The Coimbra Settings: Structural Patterns and Texts*

A consideration of structural and compositional procedures, and indeed textual details or variations of the polyphonic *Salve Regina*, importantly reveals that it is one of the few liturgical genres to evince a number of different performative traditions, many of which would presumably have reflected local traditions, or perhaps even specific ecclesiastical prescriptions for particular places.<sup>24</sup> In this, the *Salve* differs from other polyphonic genres associated with the liturgical Offices, such as the psalms, canticles and hymns, in which alternation between, for example, two opposing vocal groups singing chant and polyphony would usually result in a prescribed pattern of either the odd- or the even-numbered verses being performed polyphonically. There are even small structural variations to be found within the alternatim settings by the Anchieta-Escobar generation of Spanish composers, which in terms of their contextualization or original intended performing contexts is extremely significant.

The group of *Salve Regina* settings in the Coimbra manuscripts set out on Table 1a is an eclectic collection of compositions (some fragmentary) dating from between the Anchieta fragment and the late sixteenth century of both Portuguese (mostly local) and Spanish origin. Structurally

<sup>22</sup> There are four vocal polyphonic sources of Josquin's *Salve* in sixteenth-century Spanish sources: *E-Bbc* 681, *E-Boc* 7, *E-Zac* 17, and *E-Sc* 1. It was also intabulated for vihuela in Pisador's *Libro de musica de vihuela* (RISM 1552<sup>35</sup>/P2448).

<sup>23</sup> See WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own' (see note 1), and NELSON, 'Josquin in the Music of Morales' (see note 15). In fact both of Morales's *Salve Regina* settings show a debt to Josquin's.

<sup>24</sup> There are various prescriptions for alternatim performing patterns of the *Salve* on the organ, for example (see NELSON, 'The integration' (see note 7), pp. 189-93), besides isolated documentation testifying to different traditions that must have prevailed in vocal performances. For an example of specific prescriptions for the alternatim performance of the *Salve Regina* in Palencia in 1601, see SUÁREZ MARTOS, *El rito de la Salve* (see note 1), p. 144. (See also below, n. 43.)



speaking, just three (including Guerrero's setting) have through-composed 'motet' structures. The remainder is comprised of alternatim settings among which as many as four-five different performing patterns can be distinguished, which in itself is probably indicative of mixed (institutional) origins or traditions. Three, for example, including the setting by Heliodoro de Paiva, are settings of the odd-numbered verses, beginning at the first verse ('Salve regina')—a pattern that was likely to have been the norm at the Santa Cruz monastery before the mid sixteenth century. Conversely, two settings (nos. 4 and 9) are even-numbered settings that begin with the second verse, 'Vita dulcedo', a pattern more commonly found in Spanish settings; it is interesting to observe that in these two *Salve* settings the last three phrases of the antiphon, beginning at 'O clemens', are combined for the final polyphonic verse: this is relatively unusual (see Table 1b and discussion below).

There are also varying textual differentiations between the various settings: the main differences occur in the very first as well as in the very last line of the antiphon with which most settings conclude, regardless of compositional structure. For instance, the Coimbra *Salve* settings that include a first verse either begin 'Salve regina misericordiae' (nos. 6-8 on Table 1a) or 'Salve regina *mater* misericordiae' (nos. 2 and 10-2), the version most familiar today. Secondly, most end with the phrase 'O dulcis Virgo Maria', whereas two settings (nos. 3 and 4), introduce the word 'semper': 'O dulcis Virgo *semper* Maria'.<sup>25</sup> As described in further detail below, the first difference (the presence or absence of the word 'mater') would in fact appear to reflect a gradual change and development of traditions in the antiphon's text in at least the Coimbra Monastery of Santa Cruz during the sixteenth century. It is an important feature of the *Salve* text that distinguishes many of the later settings in Portuguese sources from those in Spanish sources. For instance, this word not only appears in all surviving Spanish musical sources of the sixteenth century but also in the earliest known Spanish liturgical source dating from the early 1460s, the *Breviarium Hispalensis*, which is important in any consideration of the very earliest *Salve* settings.<sup>26</sup> The second difference (the addition of the word 'semper' in the last line), on the other hand, is a clear indication of the peculiarly Spanish *Salve* tradition, as is amply testified in both chant and polyphonic sources, and indeed liturgical.

<sup>25</sup> The last line of Guerrero's *Salve* (no. 2) would also include the word 'semper', but this verse was not texted in MM 6.

<sup>26</sup> The *Breviarium Hispalensis*, which was copied in c. 1462, is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: *F-Pn* Lat. 982 (the *Salve* text is on f. 186r). I am most grateful to João Pedro d'Alvarenga for alerting me to this source.

N.º	5 (Anchieta: frag.)	4 <sup>27</sup>	9
Vs. 1			
Vs. 2	[Vita dulcedo, et spes nostra salve.]	Vita dulcedo, et spes nostra salve.	Vita dulcedo, et spes nostra salve.
Vs. 3			
Vs. 4	[Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes, in hac lacrimarum valle]	[...] Gementes et flentes, in hac lacrimarum valle.	Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes, in hac lacrimarum valle.
Vs. 5		[...] Misericordes (oculos).	
Vs. 6		Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui.	Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui.
Vs. 7			
Vs. 8		O clemens–	O clemens–
Vs. 9		O pia–	O pia.
Vs. 10		O dulcis Virgo semper Maria.	O dulcis Virgo Maria.

N.º	[1?], 7 (Dom Bento)	[1?], 6, 8,	[1?], 12 (H. de Paiva)	10
Vs. 1	Salve Regina misericordiae,–	Salve Regina misericordiae.	Salve Regina mater misericordiae.	[Salve] Regina mater misericordiae.
Vs. 2	Vita dulcedo, (et) spes nostra salve.			
Vs. 3		Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Evae.	Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Evae.	Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Evae.
Vs. 4	Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes, in hac lacrimarum valle.			
Vs. 5		Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.	Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.	Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.
Vs. 6	Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui–			
Vs. 7	Nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.			
Vs. 8		O clemens.	O clemens.	
Vs. 9	O pia–			O pia.
Vs. 10	O dulcis Virgo Maria.	O dulcis virgo Maria.	O dulcis virgo Maria.	

**Table 1b.** Structures of alternatim *Salve* settings in the Coimbra manuscripts (numbers correspond to the numbers on Table 1a above)

A historically informed study of sources relevant to the evolution of the *Salve Regina* and its text in their geographical distributions from the medieval period onwards falls outside the scope of this study.<sup>28</sup> However, it is important to make a few observations relevant to the polyphonic settings

<sup>27</sup> See also below, Table 2.

<sup>28</sup> For the first appearances of the *Salve Regina* in Cistercian chant sources in southwestern France (Aquitaine) dating from the twelfth century, see Marie-Noël COLETTE, 'Le *Salve Regina* en Aquitaine au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: L'auteur du *Salve*', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990*, edited by L.

in Coimbra here. For instance, and although it has not yet been possible to locate any actual Portuguese medieval chant or liturgical sources with this antiphon, it would seem that the original medieval (northern European) version of the text of antiphon beginning ‘Salve regina misericordiae’, rather than ‘Salve regina *mater* misericordiae’, was retained for a considerable period in a number of southern Portuguese monastic institutions up to even as late as the (early) seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup> A different tradition evolved in the monastery of Santa Cruz, however: here, this opening line was evidently altered to include ‘mater’ sometime around the middle of the sixteenth century. This may be witnessed in both liturgical and musical sources at Coimbra: in the Santa Cruz *Breviarium* printed in 1531, for example, the word is absent from the antiphon,<sup>30</sup> and this version of the text was originally entered into the chant manuscript *P-Cug* MM 37, which was copied before 1550; sometime after, however, the word ‘mater’ (and extra chant notes) was added to this manuscript.<sup>31</sup> Owen Rees estimates that MM 37 was copied around the same time as some of the earliest surviving Santa Cruz polyphonic sources (including a number of those in this survey). Further evidence for this change is demonstrated in the polyphonic manuscripts themselves. For example, in the *Salve Regina* by Dom Bento, which was probably composed (like some of the other settings) sometime before the mid sixteenth century, the first line is underlaid with the standard medieval ‘Salve regina misericordiae’, whereas the group of three settings recorded in the late manuscript MM 44, which include the *Salve* by Heliodoro de Paiva, incorporate the word ‘mater’ in this line (see Table 1a).<sup>32</sup>

Regarding the second most important textual difference in these settings in the Coimbra manuscripts—the presence of the word ‘semper’ in the last line of the antiphon—a connection with

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Dobszay (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992), pp. 521-47. Early sources of the antiphon’s text are otherwise surprisingly difficult to find. However, it is clear that textual revisions took place over a long period, and that these were not necessarily uniform—either between different monastic uses or in secular establishments more linked to central Roman reforms. In early versions of the text in Dominican sources, for example, the text reads: ‘Salve regina misericordiae’; it also ends ‘O dulcis Maria’, rather than ‘O dulcis Virgo Maria’. These sources include the so-called Poissy Antiphonal (see <<http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2010/05/medieval-version-of-salve-regina.html#.XXPSkbGZPR3>> (accessed on 30 June 2018), and in another fourteenth-century antiphonal from Dominikanerinnenkonvent Paradies: D-DÜ1 Ms D 9, f. 279r-279v available at <<http://musmed.eu/source/9721>> (accessed on 30 June 2018). I wish to thank Océane Boudeau for alerting me to the latter manuscript and to later chant sources in Portugal (see following note).

<sup>29</sup> These are found in two monastic antiphonals preserved in Évora: *P-EVad* Ms. Mus. Lit. 23 (of unknown origin, but used in a Franciscan convent); and *P-EVpc* (Évora) Palácio Duques do Cadaval, Évora (Carthusian). The latter source introduces another textual variant at the end of the seventh line.

<sup>30</sup> *Breviarium secundum usum insignis monasterii sancte crucis colibriensis ordinis divi augustini* (Coimbra, G. Galharde, 1531).

<sup>31</sup> The *Salve Regina* in MM 37 is notated on pp. 191-93 (modern pagination). For information on MM 37, see REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 17), pp. 29 and 255-8.

<sup>32</sup> See REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 17), p. 29. The identity of Dom Bento, composer of the *Salve Regina* in MM 12, is not firmly established. Further on this question, see REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 17), p. 221, who indicates that a composer called D. Bento or D. Benedictus in MM 32 and MM 53, may have been the same Dom Bento who died only in 1602.

Spanish traditions can almost certainly be inferred. There are two anonymous settings copied into *P-Cug* MM 7 that have this word: first, a through-composed setting (no. 3),<sup>33</sup> and second, an alternatim setting (no. 4). The latter, which transpires to be the earliest polyphonic setting in the Coimbra group apart from the Anchieta, immediately precedes the Anchieta fragment, and was copied by the same hand. This in itself immediately suggests that these two settings at least originated in the same (now lost) exemplar, and would therefore probably have shared an identical provenance.<sup>34</sup> As discussed in the next part of this essay, this anonymous *Salve* in fact shows overall structural and stylistic characteristics that link it closely with the earliest Spanish alternatim *Salve Regina* settings, including demonstrably that by Anchieta.

### *A Word about Anchieta's Salve*

The current source situation of Anchieta's *Salve Regina* indicates that it was one of his most widely circulated works. The question of its place in the chronology of his existing canon is not yet entirely settled, although it has been considered to date from towards the end of first decade of the sixteenth century. However, the old fragments recently discovered in the Segovia Cathedral archives might eventually support an earlier estimation.<sup>35</sup> For the now six known complete or fragmentary sources of Anchieta's *Salve*, see Appendix 1. This fragment in *P-Cug* MM 7 of Anchieta's *Salve* consists of just the first two verses of the cantus part (untexted). However, even within this small fragment, there is a tiny but intriguing melodic variant—or indeed error—at the very start. While in all concordant copies of this setting the cantus begins (after two breves rest) with a citation in breves of the characteristic opening of the chant with its drop of a fifth at 'Vita', followed by a descent of four notes starting on f',<sup>36</sup> in the fragment there is a skip between the third and fourth notes of this descending line (e' to c'):<sup>37</sup> see Figure 1.

<sup>33</sup> The concordance of the through-composed setting (no. 3) in MM 9, however, is copied without the word 'semper', although stylistically, it may be linked with Spanish practices. It falls outside the scope of the present article to discuss this particular setting and the two concordances (see also, REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 17), p. 165). A separate study of this setting and its relationship with Spanish settings is in preparation.

<sup>34</sup> The three *Salve* settings in *P-Cug* MM 7 were copied together between folios 25v and 31v: see foliation provided in REES, *Polyphony in Portugal* (see note 17), p. 163. However, the manuscript has been rebound in recent years and the foliation sequence disrupted. (The folios are however clearly numbered in pencil.)

<sup>35</sup> For a discussion and analysis of Anchieta's *Salve* and the newly found Segovia fragments, see KREITNER, 'The late sacred music' (see note 12), pp. 150-7. See also Kenneth KREITNER, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 123-4, and KREITNER, 'Juan Anchieta and the Rest of the World', in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, edited by B. F. Weissberger (Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2008), pp. 169-85.

<sup>36</sup> Note: references to pitches in this essay are made according to the Helmholtz system.

<sup>37</sup> Although this was likely to have been an error, it is interesting to speculate whether this occurred in the exemplar or during the copying process (in MM 7), and whether indeed the counterpoint in the lower three voices would have been altered to allow for this. It would mean sacrificing the passing cadential articulation (bar 8) to the dominant, though omitting this would be entirely feasible, resulting, for example, in a cambiata figure in the bass, which is consistent with his style. In the context of this manuscript, it is also of some curiosity to find that the opening of the bass part in the anonymous alternatim setting opens with this exact contour. See also analysis below.



**Figure 1.** Anchieta, *Salve Regina*, fragment in *P-Cug* MM 7, f. 31v

This normally four-note descent in Anchieta's setting in fact interrupts or elaborates upon the chant contour outlined in the cantus at 'Vita', which then only resumes with 'dulcedo' at bar 12: see Example 1.

**Example 1.** Anchieta, *Salve Regina*: opening (bb. 1-14), *E-TZ* 2/3

But seen from a different perspective, it is intriguing to find that the eight-note opening phrase of the cantus in Anchieta's *Salve* (bb. 3-9) exactly corresponds with the first eight notes of the final

phrase of the antiphon at ‘O dulcis’ as it appears in the Franciscan version of the *Salve*, which also begins with the distinctive four-note ‘Salve call’: see Example 2.



**Example 2.** *Salve Regina* chant at ‘O dulcis’ (Franciscan version, after SNOW, *A New-World Collection* (see note 1), ex. 4.1)

(This also partly relates the Sevillian contour at ‘O dulcis’, as notated in the version of the chant included in the 1565 *Breve instrucción*, but it is not a characteristic of other Spanish sources of the *Salve*.)<sup>38</sup> This is an intriguing aspect about the opening of Anchieta’s *Salve*, which may not have been commented on before. Most early Spanish alternatim *Salve* settings assiduously follow the distinctive opening phrase of the chant, especially when citing it as a *cantus firmus*. But there again, whilst the chant is used as a constructing *cantus firmus* in many parts of Anchieta’s setting, it is neither necessarily consistently present nor cited verbatim.<sup>39</sup>

Judging from available sources, it is extremely probable that Anchieta’s *Salve* was sung at the *Salve* services at Seville and Palencia cathedrals in addition to the Castilian royal chapel, where it is likely to have been composed. Tess Knighton presents a convincing hypothesis that *E-Sco* 5-5-20, which is in fact the only surviving source of *Salve* service music that includes his setting, could well have been compiled in connection with practices established at Palencia cathedral.<sup>40</sup> However, the copy of Anchieta’s *Salve* in this manuscript uniquely includes a significant variant in the first verse that distinguishes it from the version transmitted in the main line of sources that include *E-Bbc* 454 and *E-TZ* 2/3. It is very likely that this latter version of Anchieta’s setting, which I shall call version A, was the one traditionally sung at Seville: quite apart from the likely Sevillian provenance of a large proportion of music eventually entered into *E-TZ* 2/3,<sup>41</sup> this may also be corroborated by

<sup>38</sup> For the Franciscan version in sixteenth-century sources, see SNOW, *A New-World Collection* (see note 1), ex. 4.1, p. 69. The Sevillian source is included in ex. 4.2 (no. 3): in this version, the ‘O dulcis’ phrase lacks the AGA turn at the start of the phrase. (It also resembles the contour of this phrase in the *Liber Usualis*, p. 276.)

<sup>39</sup> Further on the setting, see KREITNER, ‘The late sacred music’ (see note 12), pp. 150-7.

<sup>40</sup> See KNIGHTON, “‘Motetes de la Salve’” (see note 1).

<sup>41</sup> The precise origins and copying date of *E-TZ* 2/3 is still unsettled. For recent literature concerning this source, see especially, Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, ‘*Infunde amorem cordibus*: An Early 16th-Century Polyphonic Hymn Cycle from Spain,’ *Early Music*, 33/4 (2005), pp. 619-38, and *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 1), pp. 82-4; Eva T. ESTEVE ROLDÁN, ‘Manuscrito musical 2/3 de la Catedral de Tarazona: Estudio historiográfico,’ *Nassarre*, 22 (2006), pp. 131-72; Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, ‘Manuscripts of Polyphony from the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand’, in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, edited by Tess Knighton (Leiden, BRILL, 2017), pp. 404-68 (at pp. 446-52); and KREITNER, ‘The late sacred music’ (see note 12), at pp. 157-8, and n. 16. New arguments and theories regarding its origins and copying history are presented in Esperanza RODRÍGUEZ-GARCÍA, ‘What the Credo of a mass *Rex virginum* “dis-attributed” from Francisco de Peñalosa tells us about the manuscript Tarazona 2/3 and the Iberian mass around 1500’ (forthcoming), and in my essay ‘Tarazona 2/3 and the Early Iberian Polyphonic Hymn’, in *The Anatomy*

evidence in the alternatim *Salve Regina* setting (no. 4) in *P-Cug* MM 7 accompanying the Anchieta fragment. As discussed in more detail below, elements of the structure and a specific contrapuntal detail in this anonymous *Salve* indicate that the composer knew version A of Anchieta's setting. Furthermore, it would seem that the chant underlying most of this anonymous setting corresponds with the Sevillian version, supporting my hypothesis that it was likely to have been composed at Seville.

In the following part of this essay, I shall focus on the anonymous alternatim *Salve* in *P-Cug* MM 7 because of its clear relationship not only with the Anchieta setting but also with a number of the other early Spanish *Salve* settings dating from around the early sixteenth century found in important Spanish manuscript sources of the early sixteenth century. Moreover, it has a number of key structural and stylistic features that help link some of these earlier Spanish *Salve* settings with the slightly later settings by Pedro Fernández and Morales, and provides additional evidence for the earliest style of polyphonic setting of likely origins in Seville Cathedral before those of the generation as represented especially in the *Salve* service choirbook, *E-Sc* 1.

### **The Anonymous Alternatim *Salve* Setting in Coimbra MM 7**

The anonymous alternatim setting (henceforth Anon.) preceding Anchieta's *Salve* fragment in MM 7<sup>42</sup> is formally copied, and fully texted (the first letters of the verses are included, despite the indentations allowing for larger initials): see Figure 2. From the overall structural point of view, this *Salve* broadly conforms to the structure of the majority of early Spanish alternatim settings in which the even verses of the antiphon are set polyphonically beginning with the second line, 'Vita dulcedo'.<sup>43</sup> However, there appear to be one or two omissions in the copy of this setting in this manuscript, besides some variations to the normal verse structure. First of all, the beginning of what would normally be the second polyphonic verse, 'Ad te suspiramus' (verse 4 of the antiphon), is evidently missing; second, there is an unexpected setting of 'Misericordes (oculos)', which is part of the middle phrase of the antiphon beginning 'Eia ergo' (usually left in chant); and further, the whole setting ends with a verse texted to all three of the final phrases of the antiphon beginning at 'O clemens', rather than allowing for the middle phrase, 'O pia', to be sung in chant.

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*of Iberian Polyphony around 1500* edited by João Pedro d'Alvarenga and Esperanza Rodríguez-García (Kassel, Reichenberger, forthcoming).

<sup>42</sup> A transcription of this setting is included in Appendix 3.

<sup>43</sup> These verses are 'Vita dulcedo', 'Ad te suspiramus', 'Et Jesum', 'O clemens', and 'O dulcis'. The first and subsequent odd-numbered verses would have been sung in chant. Medina's setting in *E-Sco* 5-5-20, however, also includes a setting of the last word of the first line, 'Misericordiae'. This variation almost certainly reflects practices at a particular institution, and very probably ecclesiastical prescription at that place. It is intriguing to find that this precise procedure in relationship to the *Salve* sung alternatim with the organ is stipulated in the constitutions issued in Palencia Cathedral in 1601 (see above, n. 24).

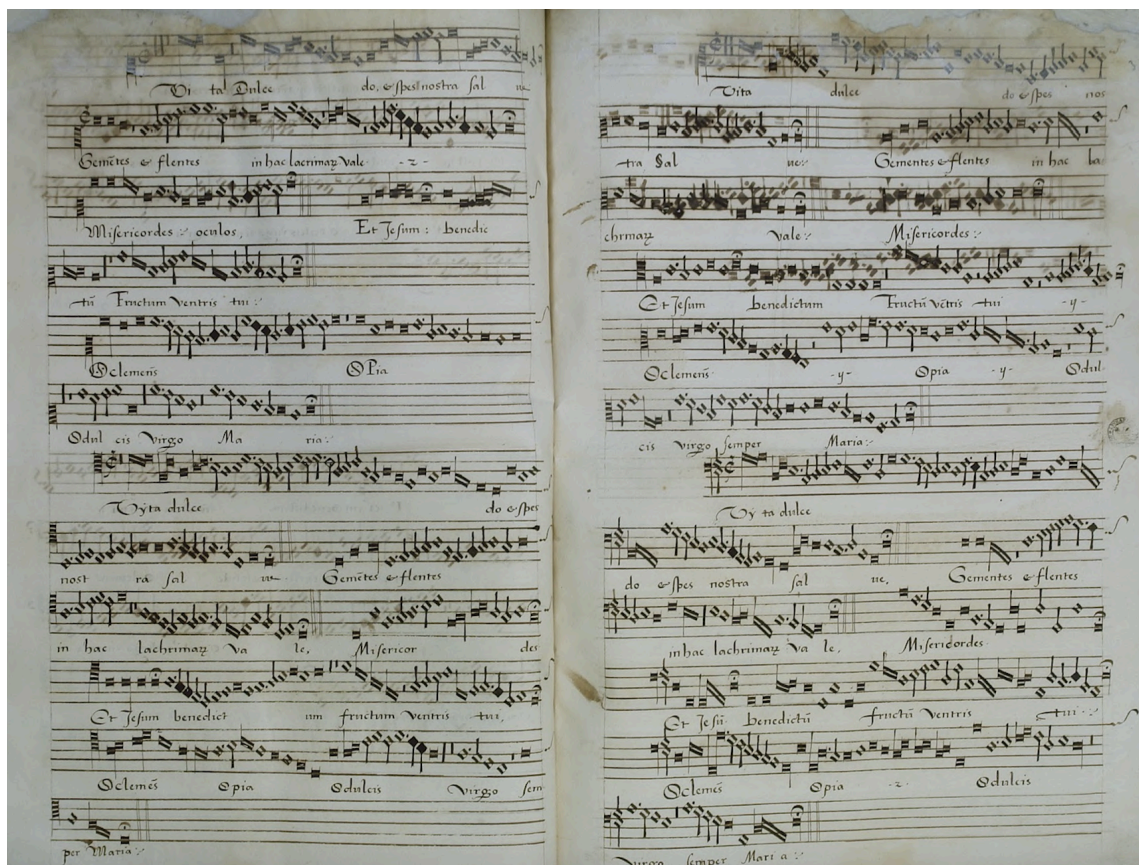


Figure 2. Anon., *Salve Regina*, P-Cug MM 7, ff. 30v-31r

The presence of the setting of ‘Misericordes (oculos)’ in Anon. is especially significant because there is a close parallel to be found in Escobar’s *Salve Regina*. Unlike other early Spanish alternatim settings, in which the entire verse ‘Eia ergo, advocata nostra illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte’ (‘Turn, then, most gracious advocate, thine eyes of mercy toward us’) was left in chant, Escobar privileges the central phrase, ‘illos tuos misericordes [oculos]’, by setting it in polyphony, thus making a six-verse polyphonic structure. In fact, and as discussed below, there is evidence in the copy of the Anon. setting indicating that it too was originally comprised of the whole of this phrase. The inclusion of this verse or phrase in the settings by Escobar and Anon. presumably reflects particular customs at the place for which they were originally intended (see also discussion below). As already stated, the chant used in Anon. almost entirely corresponds with the Sevillian version printed in the later *Breve instrucción* (Seville, 1565) in important details, which could well be an indication that it had been composed for performance at the cathedral where, indeed, Escobar was chapelmaster from 1507 to 1514.<sup>44</sup> The alternatim structures of these two settings are set out in parallel on Table 2.

<sup>44</sup> This chant version is reproduced in SNOW, *A New-World Collection* (see note 1), table 4.2 (no. 3), pp. 70-2. It is sourced from the *Breve instrucción de canto llano ordenada por Luys de Villanfranca* (Seville, Sebastián de Trujillo, 1565).



Vs.	Escobar ( <i>E-TZ 2/3</i> )	Anon. ( <i>P-Cug MM 7</i> )
1	<i>Salve Regina mater misericordiae.</i>	<i>Salve Regina mater misericordiae.</i>
2	<b>Vita dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.</b>	<b>Vita dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.</b>
3	<i>Ad te clamamus, exsules, filii Hevae.</i>	<i>Ad te clamamus, exsules, filii Hevae.</i>
4	<b>Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.</b>	[Ad te suspiramus] <b>Gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle</b>
5	<i>Eia ergo, advocata nostra</i>	<i>Eia ergo, advocata nostra</i>
5b	<b>Illos tuos misericordes [oculos]<sup>45</sup></b> <i>ad nos converte.</i>	[Illos tuos] <b>Misericordes (oculos)</b> <i>ad nos converte.</i>
6	<b>Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui.</b>	<b>Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui.</b>
7	<i>Nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.</i>	<i>Nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.</i>
8	<b>O clemens</b>	<b>O clemens–</b>
9	<i>O pia</i>	<b>O pia–</b>
10	<b>O dulcis virgo semper Maria.</b>	<b>O dulcis virgo semper Maria.</b>

**Table 2.** Escobar and Anon. *Salve* structures<sup>46</sup>

Apart from its overall alternatim structure, the general compositional approach in Anon. can be compared with many of the very earliest Spanish settings, notably Anchieta's, by which it was clearly inspired. It is predominantly a cantus firmus setting with some paraphrase, and Anon.'s treatment of the cantus firmus is indeed similar to Anchieta's: in the first polyphonic verse ('Vita dulcedo'), for example, the cantus firmus is placed throughout in the top (cantus) voice part; similarly in the last verse ('O clemens'), it is placed in the tenor. In the remaining verses the cantus firmus is placed variously in the altus and tenor, and again in the cantus, and sometimes migrates between voice parts, including mid phrase, which again occurs in the Anchieta.<sup>47</sup> From the point of view of compositional procedure in the individual verses, like Anchieta's and many of the other settings, each is subdivided into very short phrases that are usually comprised of just two words or sometimes just one (like 'gementes', for example). In Anon.'s setting especially, these are usually very clearly punctuated by some kind of cadential articulation. Even though the chant is prominent mostly as a cantus firmus in this setting, these often short phrases may be contrasting in their

<sup>45</sup> Escobar's setting survives only in *E-TZ 2/3*, where it is fully texted. Although this verse texted in the manuscript to 'Illos tuos misericordes' is entirely based on the plainchant, which appears as a cantus firmus in the altus, judging from the behaviour of the individual voice parts, in particular the tenor, it is feasible that the word 'oculos' was also intended in the contrapuntal setting. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that the word 'oculos' is entered into the cantus part (only) of the Anon. setting, and that setting the entire phrase, 'Illos tuos misericordes oculos' would, of course, make more grammatical sense, in that the subject of the phrase ('oculos') is present rather than absent from the polyphonic verse. The word 'oculos' has been inserted in Examples 6a and 6b below.

<sup>46</sup> Key: extant polyphonic verses in bold type; chant in italics.

<sup>47</sup> Examples in the Anchieta setting are at Vs. 2, 'Ad te suspiramus', where the chant migrates from the cantus to tenor and back again. It also occurs at the start of the succeeding verse, 'Et Jesum' in the Anchieta, where the chant passes from the altus to the cantus in two sets of identical trios at the interval of a fifth. It is interesting that the same idea is used in Pedro Fernández's setting of this verse, again with the repeat of the chant entering a fifth above (from altus to cantus).

contrapuntal treatment—sometimes homophonic, sometimes imitative, or at other times more freely contrapuntal. For example, the second polyphonic verse, which begins at ‘Gementes’, opens with a four-chord homophonic phrase leading to four-part imitation at ‘et flentes’. The next two words ‘in hac’ are likewise chordal, and this is followed initially by a strict imitative phrase for the word ‘lacrimarum’ (see discussion and analysis below). The structure, phrase divisions and use of chant of the Anon. *Salve* are shown on Table 3.

Anon.’s clear divisional approach to the text, with its regular cadential articulations and musical contrasts, is perhaps a little more marked than in most early Spanish alternatim settings in which mid-verse cadential articulations are more usually elided by a continuation of contrapuntal activity in one or more of the voice parts, although this is by no means a general rule.<sup>48</sup> In Escobar’s setting, for example, the contrapuntal subsections often overlap, excepting in a few places in the middle verses where there are clearly articulated breaks. This general sectional approach is an important characteristic of other sacred polyphonic music of the era, including in the motets and masses.<sup>49</sup>

Vs.	Polyphonic verses showing textual divisions	Use of chant/ CF
1	<b>Vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve.</b>	CF in C (breves etc)
2	[Ad te suspiramus] <b>Gementes /</b> <b>et flentes  </b> <b>in hac  </b> <b>lacrimarum valle.</b>	[missing] CF in T & A (imitation 5 <sup>th</sup> apart) / paraphrase: imitation a4   CF in A (paraphrased)   paraphrase in T with pre-imitation in other voices.
3	[Illos tuos] <b>Misericordes (oculos).</b>	[missing] CF in A to T (migrates).
4	<b>Et Jesum  </b> <b>benedictum  </b> <b>fructum ventris tui.</b>	CF in A   CF in C   CF/paraphrase in C with pre-imitation in lower voices.
5	<b>O clemens, /</b> <b>O pia,  </b> <b>O dulcis  </b> <b>Virgo semper Maria.</b>	CF in T / CF/paraphrase in T   CF/paraphrase in T   new thematic idea in imitation.

**Table 3.** Anon. *Salve Regina*: phrase divisions<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> A notable exception is the homophonic section in Medina’s setting of the words ‘gements et flentes’ (second polyphonic verse), in which each chord is highlighted by a corona. Anchieta’s verses are also quite clearly divided.

<sup>49</sup> See also João Pedro D’ALVARENGA, ‘Juan Anchieta and the Iberian Motet around 1500’, *Acta Musicologica*, 91/1 (2019), pp. 1-27.

<sup>50</sup> Key: vertical lines denote clear breaks; oblique lines denote contrapuntal continuation or overlapping. CF: cantus firmus. Capital letters are used for voice names: C (cantus), A (altus), T (tenor), and B (bassus).

### *Composition and Style*

The very opening of the ‘Vita dulcedo’ verse in Anon.’s setting is one of the few amongst early Iberian *Salve* settings that is entirely structured at the outset from the imitation of the opening four-note ‘Salve call’ in breves, in all four voices: first, the tenor-bassus pair for a period of four bars, or breves, then the altus-cantus pair. Only the settings by Escobar and Ponce open with the imitation of this figure, and Escobar’s enters with the same order of voices, but at regular distances of two breves. Anchieta’s setting, on the other hand, opens with a voice pair (altus-cantus) initially using this motif over freely composed lower voice parts moving predominantly in breves and semibreves. In the Anon., this is followed by the close stretto imitation of a descending theme in the lower voices below the cantus firmus in the cantus (bb. 8-11) pre-echoing the chant’s descent at ‘dulcedo’.<sup>51</sup> This technique of overlapping imitative entries in stretto in more than two voices is to be found from time to time in the music of the period, including also in Anchieta’s *Salve* setting.

Thereafter, the cantus voice in the Anon. leads the composition with its continuous cantus firmus presentation (largely in breves) to the very end of the verse. The clear presentation of the chant melody in the cantus in this verse provides the first indication that it is probably based on the Sevillian version at the last word, ‘salve’, where (but also like in the Franciscan version) the chant has an arch-shaped phrase beginning on D (this is not particularly a characteristic of other Hispanic chants.)<sup>52</sup> In this verse, there are important (perfect) cadences at the end of the first phrase (‘dulcedo’) and at the close of the entire verse: respectively an octave leap cadence and a V-I cadence, both on the final, corresponding with the chant melody: see Examples 3a and 4a below. There is also a number of interim cadential articulations, which importantly include two (at bb. 13 and 17) with double leading note suspensions (played out in the two middle parts) in which the note of resolution is already present in the cantus voice. This type of cadence, which is also found in the following two verses, clearly places the music to near the time of Anchieta’s own composition.

There are two more features in particular in this first verse, including the two principal cadence points, that link it closely not only with Anchieta’s but in addition intriguingly with Rivaflecha’s *Salve*.<sup>53</sup> What is striking first of all is that at the ‘dulcedo’ cadence, Anon. joins the two phrases of the chant cantus firmus (in the cantus), ‘Vita dulcedo’ and ‘et spes nostra’, together: here, the notes at the inflection of the chant at the close of the first phrase, DCD, become the starting notes of

<sup>51</sup> These occur in various places in this verse of Anchieta’s *Salve*, which in turn were possibly also the inspiration of imitation in Pedro Fernández’s *Salve* at bars 15-19. See WAGSTAFF, ‘A re-Evaluation’ (see note 14).

<sup>52</sup> For comparison of the chant melodies, see SNOW, *A New-World Collection* (see note 1), exx. 4.1 and 4.2 (pp. 69-70).

<sup>53</sup> For the compilation history of *E-Sco* 5-5-20, and the possible activity of Rivaflecha in consolidating Bishop Fonseca’s foundation of a polyphonic *Salve* service at Palencia when he was chapelmaster there (1503-28), see KNIGHTON, “‘Motetes de la Salve’” (see note 1).

the next phrase of the chant ('et spes') beginning on C (CDF: bb. 20-1) without a break: see transcription in Appendix 3. This is most unusual; yet there is an exact parallel in Rivaflecha's short setting (at bb. 11-5): see Examples 3a-3b. Textually, however, this verse in Rivaflecha's setting, which is uniquely recorded in *E-Sco* 5-5-20, reflects the version of the antiphon in which the word 'et' is omitted: 'Vita dulcedo, spes nostra, salve' (this is a feature of all four *Salve* settings in this manuscript).<sup>54</sup>



**Example 3a.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 1: cadence at 'dulcedo, et spes nostra'<sup>55</sup>

**Example 3b.** Rivaflecha, *Salve*, Vs. 1: cadence at 'dulcedo, et spes nostra'

Further, there is also a very clear relationship to be found with the same cadence in Anchieta's *Salve* with respect to the contrapuntal activity in the lower voices at bar 21. In the Anon., the altus, having dropped a third to the third of the chord (from a to f) at bars 20-1, which is a very typical

<sup>54</sup> The question of the presence of the word 'et' in this line of the antiphon is important when considering polyphonic sources of the *Salve*, as there is little apparent consistency in the settings. Patterns can however be seen in the different sources. Taking Anchieta's settings as an example: while this setting in *E-Sco* 5-5-20 (like the other *Salve* settings in this source) omits this word in all voice parts, the concordance in *E-Bbc* 454 (like the other *Salve* in this manuscript) includes the word in all voice parts, whilst the concordance in *E-TZ* 2/3 has it in the cantus part only, which is the chant carrying cantus firmus voice. Choices were made by the scribes, presumably in accordance with traditions known to him or, indeed, with the composer's original intentions.

<sup>55</sup> Note: the musical examples are all in half note values.

progression found in perfect cadences in Anchieta's and Alba's music especially, begins an ascent starting with a dotted minim.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, the octave leap to a in the bass (temporarily crossing parts with the altus and tenor) is transformed into the first note of a descending scale, beginning with a dotted semibreve. This activity in these two voice parts in Anon. occurs at exactly the same point in Anchieta's setting: compare Example 1a with Example 3c.

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The Soprano part begins with a dotted minim on G4, followed by a descending scale: G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3. The Bass part begins with an octave leap to A2, followed by a descending scale: A2, G2, F2, E2, D2, C2, B1, A1. The Alto and Tenor parts have similar descending scales starting on G4 and F#4 respectively.

**Example 3c.** Anchieta, *Salve*, Vs. 1: cadence at 'dulcedo'

This particular relationship between the two settings also importantly witnesses that Anon. knew version A of Anchieta's setting (as transmitted in *E-TZ* 2/3 and related sources), rather than version B, which survives only in *E-Sco* 5-5-20: it is precisely at this point in Anchieta's *Salve* that these two versions part company for a brief six-bar period, and the descending scale in the bass is characteristic only of version A.<sup>57</sup> This style of cadence and figuration in the altus relates also to the cadence at the very end of the Anon. *Salve* setting. There are other examples of comparable cadences in music of the period in the same mode, such as notably at the very end of Alonso de Alba's setting of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*. Yet as can also be seen in Examples 1a-1b, there is a further close correspondence between the Anon. and Rivaflecha in the lower parts of this contrapuntal episode. First, while in the Rivaflecha, and like both Anchieta and Anon., the bassus also begins a descent beginning on a (after the octave leap), this intervallic descent through an octave is loosely based on a preceding similar descent in the altus beginning (on d) at bar 11, which corresponds with the behaviour of the altus in Anon. (bb. 18-21).

<sup>56</sup> There is in addition a comparable example of this cadential structure at the end of Alba's hymn, *Ut queant laxis*, which also has an octave leap in the bassus (bb. 72-5).

<sup>57</sup> For a comparison between version A (in *E-TZ* 2/3) and version B (in *E-Sco* 5-5-20) of Anchieta's *Salve*, see KREITNER, 'The late sacred music' (see note 12), ex. 6.2 (p. 153). What is striking about these two passages is that in version A, the tenor uncharacteristically temporarily descends to the bassus range. In fact, the tenor part of Anchieta's music never descends this low, with the exception of the tenor of his three-voice Magnificat where, of course, this part had a more fundamental role. This would clearly account for the basic exchange of roles of the tenor and bassus in version B. See Appendix 2 for a comparison of ranges in the various early *Salve* settings written in the same untransposed Dorian.

The second and indeed singular feature of this verse, which further links Anon.'s and Anchieta's settings, concerns the use of cambiatas in parallel motion between the two inner voices simultaneously: this occurs at bar 12 in the Anon., accompanying the cantus firmus at the beginning of the word 'dulcedo', and at a similar place (b. 21) in the Anchieta. Because of the contrapuntal movement in the other two voices, Anon.'s cambiata figures are in parallel thirds, whereas Anchieta's are in fourths. The only other composer of this early period to incorporate parallel cambiatas mid-phrase is Alonso de Alba: a striking comparable example also in parallel thirds occurs in his *Vidi aquam* (ii) as well as in parallel tenths.<sup>58</sup> These cambiata figures in Alba's setting likewise form an integral part of the contrapuntal texture accompanying the cantus firmus in the cantus part.

While cambiatas in parallel motion within four-part contrapuntal textures are not at all common in the music of this period, they in fact characterise a peculiar kind of short homorhythmic cadential preparation in four parts leading to a perfect cadence. At these cadences, the cambiata figures in the inner voices are in parallel fourths, and all four voices usually participate in the 'percussive' dance-like rhythm characterising this figure. (This type of cadence can also be seen in secular music of the period.) Versions of this style of cadential period occur twice in Anon.'s *Salve* setting: the first time concluding the polyphonic Vs. 1 (at 'salve'), the second (in half the note values) concluding the verse 'Et Jesum' (at 'tui'). Furthermore, it is also found at the conclusion of the first verse of Rivaflecha's *Salve* (in half note values), which provides another important link between these two settings: see Examples 4a-4c.

Whereas this style of cadential period does not occur in Anchieta's *Salve*, a version of it is seen near the beginning of one of his earliest known works, the motet *Domine Jesu Christe, qui hora* where it is used as an articulation at the word 'quievisti' (bb. 20-3) in anticipation of the motet's next textual phrase.<sup>59</sup> These particular and intimate connections seen here between both Anchieta's and Rivaflecha's *Salve* settings, and indeed with the music of Alonso de Alba, are crucial for a closer understanding of the compositional context of Anon.'s setting, and also provide important information about the circulation and knowledge of these early *Salve Regina* settings generally.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> These occur in bars 60-1 and 66-7 in Alba's *Vidi aquam* (ii).

<sup>59</sup> *Domine Jesu Christe* survives in six different sources, beginning with the Segovia codex (*E-SE* s.s.), which dates from the late fifteenth century. For its sources and circulation, see ALVARENGA, 'Juan Anchieta and the Iberian Motet' (see note 49). A similar homorhythmic style of cadence with cambiata rhythm also occurs at the end of Alba's hymn, *Beata nobis gaudia*.

<sup>60</sup> The context is also interesting because the only known copy of Rivaflecha's *Salve* is in *E-Sco* 5-5-20, which actually contains Version B of Anchieta's setting (see text above).



**Examples 4a.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 1: final cadence



**Examples 4b.** Rivaflecha, *Salve*, Vs. 1: final cadence



**Example 4c.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 4 ('Et Jesum'): final cadence

As suggested above, the opening phrase of the verse 'Ad te suspiramus' is probably missing in the copy of Anon.'s setting in *P-Cug* MM 7, unless it had been intended as a chant intonation (which would be unusual). As it stands, Anon.'s polyphonic verse opens with a four-breve chordal setting of just the word 'Gementes', closing with a cadence. This phrase is built on cantus firmus of

the opening three notes of the chant placed in the tenor, and a breve later in the altus in canon at the fifth. Interestingly, the double presentation of the chant at these pitches a fifth apart effectively provides both the ‘Franciscan’ and Sevillian versions of the chant simultaneously, which begin respectively on D and A with the same contour. The type of chordal setting at ‘gementes’ corresponds to some extent with the setting of this word in Medina’s *Salve* in which the chant (in the version recorded in the 1515 *Psalterium*) is set as a cantus firmus in the top voice part, where it is measured or highlighted by the use of block chords with corona for each syllable up to and including ‘et flentes’.<sup>61</sup> In both Anchieta’s and Rivaflecha’s setting of ‘gementes’, on the other hand, both of which instead have duo textures, there is surprisingly no chant used for this contrapuntal episode.<sup>62</sup>

In Anon.’s setting, this phrase is then succeeded by the four-part imitation of an ascending five-note theme at ‘et flentes’ in close stretto, which possibly incorporates a paraphrase of the chant. The setting of the following two words, ‘In hac’, is another new statement comprised of just a three-bar chordal phrase, closing with a 2-1 articulation on the final in anticipation of the setting of ‘lacrimarum valle’, which concludes this verse.<sup>63</sup> This initially consists of the strict four-voice imitation of a descending four-note figure for ‘lacrimarum’, which is clearly based on the chant. This episode is comparable with its treatment in other settings, thus linking them as an idiosyncratic compositional genre. For example, it resonates especially with the same passage in Anchieta’s *Salve* where, as in Anon., a short rest succeeds the four-note motif in many of the voices, separating this passage from entries making up the concluding contrapuntal phrase: see Examples 5a-5b.

**Examples 5a.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 2, at ‘lacrimarum’

<sup>61</sup> See also KNIGHTON, “‘Motetes de la Salve’” (see note 1), pp. 49-50.

<sup>62</sup> In his setting, however, Fernández integrates the chant’s contour in paraphrase, and Escobar’s is loosely imitative, based on chant paraphrase.

<sup>63</sup> Although Anchieta also closes the phrase with a definite cadence, no other early Spanish *Salve* settings treats ‘in hac’ as a brief independent unit, but rather as part of a continuing contrapuntal discourse in two or more voice parts.



la - cri - ma - rum  
 la - cri - ma - rum, [la - cri - ma - rum]  
 la - cri - ma - rum val - - - rum  
 la - cri - ma - rum, [la - cri - ma - rum]

**Examples 5b.** Anchieta, *Salve*, Vs. 2, at ‘lacrimarum’

Although the four-note descending theme at ‘lacrimarum’ in these settings is directly based on the chant, the imitative treatment at this point may also be compared with Anchieta’s setting of a similar motif and word, ‘lachrimis’, again in his motet *Domine Jesu Christe, qui hora*, where, additionally, the idea of sobbing is communicated by the drop of a third in the motif.<sup>64</sup> (In this example, a rest also succeeds each of these voice entries.) The intervals of imitation between non-adjacent parts in the order B-A-T-C may also be compared with Anchieta’s setting of ‘lacrimarum’ in his *Salve*, and again (with a similar imitative episode built on the same four-note descent) at the word ‘et fructum’ in Anon.’s verse ‘Et Jesum’ (see below).<sup>65</sup> Escobar similarly treats the same four notes at ‘lacrimarum’ imitatively, although this episode is preceded by short imitative entries for ‘in hac’. There are no other settings before Morales’s four-part *Salve* (in which the ‘lacrimarum’ passage is expressively extended) that feature such closely packed imitative episodes at ‘lacrimarum’.

*The ‘Misericordes’ verse*

Apart from later through-composed settings of the *Salve Regina*, the alternatim settings by Escobar and Anon. are the only ones extant in which part of the central verse ‘Eia ergo advocata nostra’ is set to polyphony. The passage chosen for polyphonic treatment by Escobar, ‘Illos tuos misericordes’ [oculos], to be continued in chant for the concluding words of the phrase, ‘ad nos converte’, centres on the request for the Virgin’s ‘eyes of mercy’ to be directed towards her

<sup>64</sup> This occurs at bars 53-6 in the motet *Domine Jesu Christe*. In a number of motets, especially those referring to the sorrows of the Virgin and Christ’s Passion, significant words may have been highlighted for expressive purposes, with resultant textures also characterised by ‘sectional’ treatment at times. See Kenneth KREITNER, ‘Peñalosa, “Precor te” and Us’, in *Pure Gold* (see note 21), pp. 291-308; and ALVARENGA, ‘Juan Anchieta and the Iberian Motet’ (see note 49).

<sup>65</sup> Other contexts for this kind of closeknit imitation include Alba’s motet *O sacrum convivium* (at ‘in quo Christus’, bar 18ff).

devotees. The whole of this phrase therefore highlights the central plea in this prayer of intercession, which would be made especially poignant in the context of a performance before the particular image of the Virgin in the Antigua chapel in Seville Cathedral with her arresting and intent gaze. Escobar's setting could well have been designed for this special intention (and space), and it is therefore extremely interesting that Anon.'s setting should also privilege this part of the antiphon by setting it polyphonically.<sup>66</sup> However, whilst Escobar's verse is a bipartite arrangement of the words 'Illos tuos' and 'Misericordes [oculos]', separated by a clear cadence and fermata, just the setting of the word 'Misericordes [oculos]' is found in the Anon. setting in *P-Cug* MM 7.<sup>67</sup> Nonetheless, it seems very likely that the first bar of Anon.'s setting of this word, which opens with a bare sonority in which the tenor and bass parts are strangely reversed, could in fact be the residue of an overlapping contrapuntal engagement connecting with a setting of the preceding words of this phrase, 'Illos tuos'.<sup>68</sup>

In contrast to preceding and succeeding verses, the whole of this bipartite verse in Escobar's setting is predominantly written in slow breves (with only a little decorative contrapuntal activity), in which the chant is presented as a cantus firmus throughout in the altus part. It is distinct also for being set at a generally much lower tessitura than the rest of his setting, with the top voice unusually ranging from between low e (in tenor range) and f'.<sup>69</sup> In this verse, the second section (at 'Misericordes') opens with a short solo 'intonation' in the cantus part, after which the cantus firmus reenters in the altus in the second bar as part of a four-part chord, with the bass imitating the cantus motif. In Anon.'s setting of 'Misericordes', the cantus firmus is likewise placed in the altus beginning at the third bar, but soon migrating to the tenor, with the whole section similarly progressing largely in breves. There is no change of tessitura in the cantus part, however.

While broadly familiar in many chant versions, it is interesting to find that the cantus firmus contour at 'Misericordes' in both Escobar's and Anon.'s settings is identical (even though it migrates between altus and tenor in the Anon.). This opens with a distinctive descending triad (DCAF) at the start, a contour which is in fact more characteristic of the *Salve* chant in the early 1515 *Psalterium* at this point than that in the Sevillian *Breve instrucción* where there is an additional passing note (DCAGF). There are also a few more resonances between the two settings,

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<sup>66</sup> The privileging of this phrase in these *Salve* settings can also be appreciated in the two through-composed slightly later settings included in *E-Sc* 1 by Morales and Guerrero. In these settings, the whole phrase 'illos tuos misericordes' as far as 'converte' extends to 32/33 bars, which contrasts with Josquin's setting, for instance, in which this section is just 19 bars in length.

<sup>67</sup> See above, n. 45.

<sup>68</sup> There is a small contrapuntal infelicity at the start of the Anon.'s 'Misericordes' verse, where the bassus enters a fifth above the tenor part on a; the cantus begins on a', an octave above (the altus is silent, in anticipation of the cantus firmus entry).

<sup>69</sup> See also the table of voice ranges in early Spanish *Salve* settings in Appendix 2.

which include the same vertical sonorities at important points in the chant: in particular, the final note of the opening triad, F, which is strikingly harmonized in both settings by a B-flat chord with ensuing chord on G (corresponding with the chant), and the concluding cadences on G: see Examples 6a-6b.

Example 6a shows a musical score for four staves. The first system (measures 115-124) features a vocal line and three accompaniment staves. The lyrics are: *mi - se - ri - cor - des [o -*. The second system (measures 125-128) continues the lyrics: *cu - los.]*. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and accidentals (flats and sharps).

**Example 6a.** Escobar, *Salve*, Vs. 3: ‘Misericordes’

Example 6b shows a musical score for four staves. The first system (measures 115-124) features a vocal line and three accompaniment staves. The lyrics are: *Mi - se - ri - cor - des [o -*. The second system (measures 125-128) continues the lyrics: *cu - los.]*. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and accidentals (flats and sharps).

**Example 6b.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 3: ‘Misericordes’

In contrast to Escobar's setting of this verse, Anon.'s concludes with a particular kind of cadential period with a quick 'harmonic rhythm' characterised by alternating (G) final-dominant-final-dominant-final in the bassus—a type of cadential articulation that is to be found elsewhere in music of this period, including in the *Salve* settings of both Anchieta and Escobar.<sup>70</sup>

As at the word 'Gementes', Anon.'s setting of the fourth polyphonic verse, 'Et Jesum', opens with a short homophonic exordium in breves for the opening two words, leading to a cadence on the final. The chant is paraphrased in the altus, and here again, the composer presents the Sevillian version, which is characterised for its contour of the notes ACD (which corresponds with the chant at 'gements'), although this exact contour is also to be found in a number of other settings, including Anchieta's.<sup>71</sup> Then at 'benedictum', the composer introduces a four-part contrapuntal unit, which is in fact directly comparable with important places in Alba's music in more than one instance, and would seem to be a fingerprint of his contrapuntal idiom, and not to be found in any other music of that time. As seen in the following two examples comparing Anon.'s setting of the first two bars of 'benedictum' with the opening bars of Alba's hymn *Tibi Christi*, this unit is characterised by breves in the outer parts, the bassus static and the cantus falling a third, and a particular three-note descending decorative figure in one of the inner parts (with a five-note descent), beginning with a dotted semibreve and continuing with two semi-minims: see Examples 7a-7b.

**Example 7a.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 4 ('Et Jesum') at 'Benedictum'

<sup>70</sup> See ANCHIETA, *Salve Regina*, 'Et Jesum' verse, bb. 13-14. In Escobar's *Salve*, it occurs three times; at the end of 'gements, the conclusion of 'ventris tui', and again during the final verse at bars 224-6. In fact the majority of the final verse of Escobar's *Salve* (bb. 119-27) consists of the alternation of final-dominant-final harmonies. This type of cadence is also found in two of Alba's hymns, *Tibi Christe* and *Ut queant*, and a similar passage occurs in his motet *O sacrum convivium*.

<sup>71</sup> It is also present in Medina's, Escobar's and Fernández's settings. This is interesting in the light of considering the possibly diverse origins of these settings; all of them use the *Psalterium* chant at his point, for example, which has a completely different melody, and Ponce's 'Et Jesum' verse appears to show the Franciscan version. Rivaflecha's cantus firmus at this point is different again.

The image shows a musical score for the opening of the Alba 'Tibi Christe'. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are for voices (Soprano and Alto), and the bottom two are for piano accompaniment (Right and Left Hand). The lyrics are: 'Ti - bi Chri - ste' for the Soprano and 'Ti - bi Chri - ste' for the Alto. The piano accompaniment consists of simple chords and moving lines in both hands.

**Example 7b.** Alba, *Tibi Christe*: opening<sup>72</sup>

Following a perfect cadence at the end of this phrase,<sup>73</sup> Anon. introduces an imitative passage on the descending notes of the chant for the word ‘fructum’ in the manner of his ‘lacrimarum’ passage, with the chant continuing in the top voice part until the end of the verse. As already described, his treatment here, in which the entries overlap in non-adjacent voices (B-A-T-C), is comparable to Anchieta’s at ‘lacrimarum’ (see above). The verse then concludes with the homophonic ‘cambiata’-style cadential formula illustrated above.

#### *Final Verse: ‘O Clemens’*

Unusually among early alternatim *Salve Regina* settings, Anon.’s *Salve* concludes with a ‘through-composed’ verse for all three final textual phrases of the antiphon from ‘O clemens’ to ‘O dulcis...Maria’, rather than leaving the central ‘O pia’ to be sung in chant. It is, however, sectionally considered, with perfect cadences articulating the ends of the first and second phrases. The first known examples of alternatim *Salve* settings in which the final polyphonic verse likewise embraces all three concluding phrases of the antiphon appear only to be those by Guerrero and Ceballos included in *E-Sc* 1 composed in the mid sixteenth century, both of which are based on the Sevillian (also the Franciscan and others) chant.<sup>74</sup> However, it is probable that there was an earlier precedent to this formula in other settings composed at Seville.

For example, looking closely at the contrapuntal structure of Pedro Fernández’s setting (uniquely preserved in *E-Sc* 1), it seems quite probable that this section ‘O clemens’ was likewise

<sup>72</sup> The descending figure in Alba’s *Tibi Christe* recurs like a leitmotif in this hymn. This contrapuntal unit also occurs in Alba’s *Beata nobis* (bb. 46-8).

<sup>73</sup> Interestingly, Escobar has a rare octave leap (his only one in this setting) cadence to C at this point also, followed by use of a falling figure for ‘fructum’; no other settings cadence on C at this point.

<sup>74</sup> In Guerrero’s alternatim setting in *E-Sc* 1, the chant for the first two phrases ‘O clemens, O pia’ (which is identical) is placed as a cantus firmus-paraphrase in the altus. In the Ceballos, this chant is loosely paraphrased in the cantus and tenor voices. In Morales’s four-part setting copied into *P-Pm* MM 40, the antiphon’s final phrases are combined into a single newly-written verse setting (see also above, n. 22).

originally intended to be a setting of these two phrases ‘O clemens’ and ‘O pia’, even though it is separated from the succeeding five-voice climactic ‘O dulcis’ section by a cadence (half close on the dominant).<sup>75</sup> As in the Guerrero and Ceballos examples, this section in fact includes two identical statements of the chant as a cantus firmus-paraphrase in the tenor voice, each clearly articulated by a cadence; similarly, the cantus is comprised of two identical statements of another melodic contour. This would therefore likely to have been intended to correspond with the successive phrases, ‘O clemens, O pia’, rather than consisting of a repeated statement of ‘O clemens’, even though the manuscript has a textual repeat sign in the tenor part under the second phrase. (In this case, the chant in his setting matches that found in Anchieta’s where, instead, there is just a single statement of the chant cantus firmus for the single phrase ‘O clemens’.) See Example 8 for a reconstruction of the penultimate polyphonic verse in Fernández’s *Salve* texted to both phrases.

**Example 8.** Fernández, *Salve*, Vs. 5: ‘O clemens – O pia’, *E-Sc 1*

<sup>75</sup> Stylistically, it seems likely that Pedro Fernández’s setting was composed rather later than the earlier settings. There are several points of difference between his setting, Escobar’s, and the earlier group, which include the style of cadences used and the overall ambitus. For example, the majority of perfect cadences (mostly to the final, but some to the dominant also) in Fernández’s (and also Escobar’s) are ‘V-I’ cadences, with no sight of any octave-leap cadences. Further, the range of Fernández’s setting is comprised on 19 notes, from F to c’, extending three notes higher in the cantus part than most early settings, including Anchieta’s. This range is comparable with Morales’s in his four-part setting. For a comparison of ranges in the different early alternatim settings in untransposed Dorian, see Appendix 2.

A similar construction characterises Morales four-voice setting in which, likewise, there is a double statement of this (chant) melodic phrase.<sup>76</sup> However, neither of the settings by Fernández and Guerrero, which were presumably written at Seville, incorporates an extra polyphonic verse for the antiphon's central phrase 'Illos tuos, misericordes oculos', as found in both Escobar's and Anon.'s *Salve* settings.

In Anon.'s setting of this verse, the threefold phrase structure of the chant is apparently followed, with the first two phrases, 'O clemens' and 'O pia', punctuated by firm cadences, although curiously these are respectively a perfect cadence on the dominant and an octave-leap cadence on the final (rather than on the dominant in this case). Given that Anon.'s *Salve* was to an extent indebted to Anchieta's setting, it is interesting to find that here, as in the first verse, the composer adopts Anchieta's basic structural principles: not only is the chant placed as a cantus firmus in the tenor in slow longs, breves and semibreves,<sup>77</sup> but also, as in Anchieta's and in some of the other settings, including notably Fernández's, the cantus firmus at 'O clemens' is characterised by four notes rising from A to D, rather than also by the initial undulating AGA(BCD) found in the Sevillian chant version among others.<sup>78</sup> This four-note contour in fact corresponds more with the *Salve* chant in Cisneros's 1515 *Psalterium*,<sup>79</sup> making it even more likely that this verse was indeed also composed primarily with reference to Anchieta's setting, rather than in deference to a particular and more local (Sevillian) chant source. Nonetheless, it is interesting to find clear resonances between the openings of this verse in Anon.'s and Fernández's *Salve* settings. For example, this can especially be seen in the first four bars where the tenor and cantus lines and resulting vertical sonorities are virtually identical: compare Example 8 with Example 9. As seen in this example, the texture opens chordally (as at 'Gementes'), but then incorporates the overlapping imitation of a descending theme in the other three parts, similar to the passage near the beginning of the opening verse, 'Vita dulcedo'. Thereafter, the texture is loosely contrapuntal and chordally oriented, with no rests in any of the voices. A new statement begins at 'O dulcis', which is followed by another fresh start and newly composed thematic material for the final phrase, 'Virgo semper Maria'.

<sup>76</sup> See also, STEVENSON, *Spanish Music* (see note 2), p. 186. All the early group of alternatim *Salve* settings by Anchieta, Medina, Ponce and Rivaflacha (all included in *E-Sco* 5-5-20) are comprised of just a setting of the first phrase, 'O clemens'. It seems possible, however, that Escobar's extended setting (uniquely recorded in *E-TZ* 2/3) could also have included both textual phrases.

<sup>77</sup> See also KREITNER, 'The late sacred music' (see note 12), pp. 150-7.

<sup>78</sup> Other settings using this contour for the verse 'O clemens' are those by Rivaflacha and Fernández, in both of which the cantus firmus is likewise placed in the tenor.

<sup>79</sup> See SNOW, *A New-World Collection* (see note 1), ex. 4.2, at p. 72.

The image shows a musical score for the opening of 'O clemens'. It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system (measures 88-95) features a vocal line with lyrics 'O cle - - - - - mens, O' and a basso continuo line with lyrics 'O cle - - - - - mens,'. The second system (measures 96-99) features a vocal line with lyrics 'mens,' and a basso continuo line with lyrics 'mens,'. The music is in a simple, homophonic style with a clear melodic line and a supporting bass line.

**Example 9.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 5: 'O clemens' (opening)

The very final phrase of this verse extolling the Virgin, 'O dulcis virgo semper Maria', usually received special treatment in Spanish *Salve* settings. In those by Anchieta, Escobar and Fernández, for example, this verse was composed for five voices (with two cantus parts), and many composers also often privileged the final words 'Virgo semper Maria': this was frequently done by introducing a freely composed section based on thematic material that was unrelated to the chant contour at this point, perhaps involving imitation and canon, as well as sequential movement. In Escobar's setting, for example, the two cantus parts are in fact written in canon at the unison, with suspensions introduced on adjacent pitches, thus adding a special poignancy to the conclusion of the work. In Fernández's *Salve*, these final words are set to a small motif closely imitated by the two cantus parts in a rising sequence, which was clearly inspired by the unusual close of Anchieta's five-part setting of this phrase.<sup>80</sup> This idea of patterning, repetition and sequence at these final words 'Virgo semper Maria', was clearly a response in music to the intensity of devotion to the Virgin and her sorrows, and was also a notable compositional feature of Marian music by Sevillian composers of the later sixteenth century, including in the motets.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See also, WAGSTAFF, 'A re-Evaluation' (see note 14).

<sup>81</sup> An example is Guerrero's expressive motet *Ave virgo sanctissima* (composed at Seville), which poignantly cites the 'Salve call' motif, including with chromatic inflexions: it is also constructed with a canon in the two voice parts.



What is distinctive about this twelve-bar section in Anon.'s *Salve* setting is not only the equal intensity achieved in the final phrase at 'Virgo', where he briefly introduces dissonance and suspensions (bb. 114-5) but also the imitation and repetition of a four-note descending phrase setting this word in all four voice parts. Whilst the altus introduces this motif, beginning on pitch class E, it is then heard as many as five times beginning on A in the remaining three vocal parts, like an alternating and overlapping ostinato (bb. 113-8), leading to a typical cadential period on the final.<sup>82</sup> It is probable that the imitated or repeated four-note theme in Anon.'s verse, like the three-note figure repeated in canon at the same place in Anchieta's final verse,<sup>83</sup> were set to the successive words 'Virgo' and 'semper', leading to 'Maria'.

It is extremely interesting to find that this final 'Virgo semper Maria' section in Anon. (which is not thematically linked to that part of the chant) seems even to look forward to part of the final paragraph of 'O dulcis' in Morales's four-part alternatim setting.<sup>84</sup> In Morales's setting, though composed in twice the note values, not only are the final words 'Virgo [semper] Maria' set to a similar four-note descending theme but this passage is also built on the idea of an overlapping ostinato beginning on A heard three times in the tenor and bassus (bb. 153-60), followed (as in Anon.) by a final entry on A in the cantus; there is similarly a temporary shift to the E modal area.<sup>85</sup> Especially striking is the same passing dissonance-suspension on adjacent notes in the cantus and altus voices (b. 163) as in the Anon. at bar 27. (This type of dissonance is not commonly encountered outside the context of a cadential articulation, but it is not unheard of).<sup>86</sup> See Examples 10a-10b. That the climax of the four-part settings by Anon. and Morales should have such a close albeit brief resonance in these few bars adds a further and significant dimension to the compositional orbit of both, although chronologically Anon.'s setting was clearly composed much earlier.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Like the cadence at 'dulcedo' in the first verse, this cadence has the distinctive rising motif starting on f in the altus (see above).

<sup>83</sup> This is clear in the copy of his *Salve* in *E-TZ* 2/3, for example.

<sup>84</sup> Morales's four-part *Salve Regina* setting survives in just four relatively late Iberian manuscripts: *E-Boc* 6, *E-Pabm* 6829, *E-Vp* s.s., and *P-Pm* MM 40 (see also above, n. 22).

<sup>85</sup> Morales extends this passage built on the imitation of a descending theme over a period of twelve bars (152-64).

<sup>86</sup> See Anchieta's *Salve Regina* at 'lacrimarum' (Vs. 4), where there is a passing dissonance in the tenor and bassus parts: Ex. 3b.

<sup>87</sup> In my article 'Josquin in the Music of Morales', I suggested that this four-note descending theme in Morales's setting could be related to the *Salve* chant at 'lacrimarum'. See NELSON, 'Josquin in the Music of Morales' (see note 15), pp. 309 and 313-4. As noted above, unlike the very earliest settings, both Fernández's and Morales's cantus parts are higher, with overall ambitus spanning two and a half octaves, or 19 notes (see Appendix 2).

Vir - go Ma - ri -  
 Vir - go sem - per Ma -  
 Vir - go sem - per  
 Vir - go sem - per Ma -

**Example 10a.** Anon., *Salve*, Vs. 5 ('O clemens'), bb. 112-8

152  
 Vir - go [sem -  
 Vir - go [sem -  
 Vir - go  
 Vir - go [sem -  
 160  
 per] Ma - ri - a  
 per] Ma - ri - a  
 Ma - ri - a  
 per] Ma - ri - a

**Example 10b.** Morales, *Salve*, Vs. 5 ('O dulcis'), bb. 152-64

To conclude, the Anon. *Salve* has many structural, contrapuntal and other stylistic features, including notably the many different types of cadences (several with double leading notes),<sup>88</sup> which brings it closely in relation to other settings and music by the Anchieta-Escobar generation that

<sup>88</sup> These cadences, more frequently involving parallel fourths between two adjacent voices, mostly occur at passing cadential articulations involving 2-1 movement in the bass, although occasionally as a perfect (octave leap) cadence. There are examples in the *Salve* settings by Anon., Rivaflecha, Ponce, and also Fernández (see above).

circulated in early sixteenth-century Spain. The idea of constructing the whole as a predominantly slow-moving *cantus firmus* setting suggests a perhaps more archaic approach which, as described, brings it into close connection with parts of Anchieta's *Salve*. This relationship with Anchieta also concerns the approach to textual divisions and sectional treatment in some of the individual verses. These are important considerations when viewing these settings generally. Further, just as Morales's *Salve* settings were written partly with reference to Josquin's, and Guerrero's two settings to both Morales's settings, it seems extremely probable that a composer could well have drawn upon his experience and knowledge through performance and study of other composers' work in his own composition, including adopting chant contours found in their settings rather than in a particular chant source (or sources). Thus, despite its likely Sevillian origin, Anon.'s setting shows an obvious debt to the chant used by Anchieta in his *Salve*, and in this regard it is also linked with Rivaflecha's *Salve* of probable origin in Palencia (and which now survives in just one source, *E-Sco* 5-5-20), besides Escobar's setting which is likely to have succeeded it.<sup>89</sup> In addition, there is also a number of close resonances to be found between Anon.'s *Salve* and music generally of the period, including chant-based and other compositions probably composed at Seville by Alonso de Alba (who is not otherwise known to have composed a *Salve* setting).<sup>90</sup> For example, besides the unusual use of *cambiatas* in parallel motion (also to be found in Anchieta's music) and some types of cadential patterns, these resonances with Alba's music also include the characteristic almost relentless contrapuntal activity in the individual voices, with very few rests (excepting at the opening of short imitative phrases).<sup>91</sup> Nonetheless, while generally containing many obvious parallels and similarities with a number of the earliest Spanish *Salve* settings, Anon.'s is individual, and very expressively written in an overall smooth contrapuntal idiom that also looks forward even to settings by a later generation of Sevillian composers, including Fernández, Morales, and his pupil Francisco Guerrero.

<sup>89</sup> See KNIGHTON, 'Motetes de la Salve' (see note 1), p. 47.

<sup>90</sup> Given Alba's very close association with Seville Cathedral where, besides being singer for a decade (1482-91), and then master of the choirboys (1492-7), he was also choirmaster from 1503 until the year of his death in 1504, it seems extremely likely that he too would have composed a *Salve Regina* at some point during his long career there, although as yet none are documented or known to have survived.

<sup>91</sup> See KREITNER, 'The Music of Alonso de Alba', *Revista de Musicología*, 37/2 (2014), pp. 389-422, at p. 419.

## Appendix 1

### Sources of Anchieta's *Salve Regina*<sup>92</sup>

Source	Folios	Attribution	Approx. date	Presentation	Context in source
Segovia Cath. Arch. D-1229	166-167 + 229-230	(none visible)	[between 1490 & 1510]?	Fragment: Vs 4 (AB), Vs 5 (CATB), Vs 6 (CT), with fragments of alternating chant verses	ff 145r-146v of lost choirbook [complete setting: ff 143v-147r]
<i>E-Sco</i> 5-5-20	7v-10r	Jo. Anchieta	c. 1515	Complete setting + alternating chant verses	MS for the <i>Salve</i> Service ('Salves')
<i>E-Bbc</i> M 454/C	60v-62r	Johannes Anxeta	c. 1520-25	Complete setting	Independent
<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	232v-234r	Jo. Anchieta	c. 1530-50?	Complete setting + Vs 1 chant (tenor)	Paired with Escobar's <i>Salve Regina</i> ('Salves')
<i>E-Bbc</i> M 681	77v-79r	Anxeta	mid to 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 16thc.	Incomplete: last two verses missing	Followed by <i>Regina caeli</i> & <i>Salve Regina</i> settings (anon.)
<i>P-Cug</i> MM 7	31v	(no attrib.)	c. mid 16thc.	Fragment: cantus Vs 1-2 only (untexted)	Preceded by two other <i>Salve Regina</i> settings

<sup>92</sup> The Pamplona Cathedral inventories record a lost seventeenth-century choirbook containing Anchieta's *Salve*. See Leocadio HERNÁNDEZ ASCUNCE, 'Música y músicos en la Catedral de Pamplona', *Anuario Musical*, 22 (1967), pp. 209-46, at p. 212; and Tess KNIGHTON, 'The motets', in *The Music of Juan de Anchieta* (see note 12), chap. 3, pp. 81-105, at p. 101, n. 6.

## Appendix 2

Spanish alternatim *Salve Regina* settings: voice part ranges<sup>93</sup>

N°	Composer	Structure	Source/s	vv.	Modal position	Overall ambitus	Overall range (notes)	Clefs & voice ranges:				Comments
								1 Cantus	2 Altus	3 Tenor	4 Bass	
1	ANON. MM 7	alternatim	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 7	4	D Dorian	G – a'	16	C2 c' – a'	C3 f – g'	C4 d – d'	F4 G – a	Slightly higher altus part than in other settings
2	ANCHIETA	alternatim (version A)	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 <i>E-Bbc</i> 454 <i>E-Bbc</i> 681 <i>P-Cug</i> MM 7 ( <i>frag.</i> )	4-5	D Dorian	G – a'	16	C2 c' – a'	C4 d – f'	C4 A – e'	F4 G – a	Version B: variants in tenor & bassus in Vs. 'Vita dulcedo'
3	MEDINA	alternatim (version B)	<i>E-Sco</i> 5-5-20	4-5	D Dorian	G – a'	16	C2 c' – a'	C4 d – f'	C4 d – e'	F4 G – a	Vs. 'O dulcis': two cantus parts
4	PONCE	alternatim	<i>E-Sco</i> 5-5-20	4-5	D Dorian	G – f	14	C3 g – f'	C4 c – f'	F4 c – c'	F4 G – a	Vs. 'Et Jesum': two tenor parts
5	RIVAFLECHA	alternatim	<i>E-Sco</i> 5-5-20	3	D Dorian	d – a'	12	C2 b – a'	C4 d – d'	C3/4 d – f'	–	
6	ESCOBAR	alternatim	<i>E-Sco</i> 5-5-20 <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	4	D Dorian	G – b'	17	C1 c' – b'	C4 d – e'	C4 c – d'	F4 G – a	
7	P <sup>o</sup> FERNÁNDEZ	alternatim	<i>E-Sco</i> 1	4-5	D Dorian	F – a'	17	C2 b – a'	C4 c – f'	C4 B – d'	F4 F – a	Vs. 'O dulcis': two cantus parts C & T: wide ranges Vs. 5b: low C part
8	MORALES	alternatim	<i>E-Boc</i> 6 <i>E-P4bm</i> 6829 <i>E-1p</i> s.s. <i>P-Pm</i> MM 40	4	D Dorian	F – c''	19	C1 a – c''	C4 d – f'	C4 d – d'	F4 G – a	Higher cantus part Vs. 'O dulcis': 2 cantus parts
9	CEBALLOS	alternatim	<i>E-Sco</i> 1	4	D Dorian	G – d''	19	C1 c' – d''	C4 g – g'	C4 d – e'	F4 G – c'	Higher C & B. Low A part <i>P-Pm</i> MM 40: different Vs 4/5
				4	D Dorian	G – d''	19	C1 b – d''	C3 d – f'	C4 c – d'	F4 G – a	Higher cantus part

<sup>93</sup> Note: these settings are all composed in untransposed D Dorian. (It excludes Guerrero's alternatim setting, which was composed for high voices: CCCA.) References to pitches are made according to the Helmholtz system.

### Appendix 3

#### *Salve Regina* (Anon.) *P-Cug* MM 7, ff. 30v-31r

1. Vita dulcedo

Vi -

Vi -

Vi - - - ta

Vi - - - ta

7

- - - ta dul -

- - - ta dul ce - - -

dul - - - ce -

dul - - - ce

14

-ce - - -

- - - do,] et

- - - do, [dul - - - ce -

- - - do,

21

-do, et spes no - stra sal -  
 spes no - stra sal -  
 -do,] et spes no -  
 et spes no - stra sal -

28

2. Gementes

ve. Ge - men -  
 ve. Ge -  
 -stra sal - ve. Ge - men -  
 ve. Ge - men -

36

-tes et flen - tes, [et flen - tes,] in  
 -men - tes et flen - tes  
 -tes et flen - tes  
 -tes et flen - tes

43

hac lacrimarum valle,  
 in hac lacrimarum, [lacrima]  
 in hac lacrimarum valle

50

3. Misericordes

lacrimarum valle. Mi se - ri - cor - des  
 rum,] val - le. Mi se - ri - cor - des  
 le, [lacrimarum valle.] Mi se - ri - cor - des  
 -rum val - le. Mi se - ri - cor - des

57

ri - cor - des o - culos.  
 Mi se - ri - cor - des [oculos.]  
 ri - cor - des [oculos.]  
 ri - cor - des [oculos.]



64 4. Et Jesum

-los. Et Je - sum: be - ne -

Et Je - sum: be - ne -

-los.] Et Je - sum: be - ne -

-los.] Et Je - sum: be - ne -

72

-di - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum,

-di - ctum, [be - ne - di - ctum,] Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum,

-di - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum,

-di - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum, Fru - ctum,

80

Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu

[fru - ctum] ven - tris tu i, ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu

-ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu

ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu Fru - ctum ven - tris tu

87 5. O clemens

-i. O cle mens,  
 -i. O cle mens,  
 -i. O cle mens,  
 -i. O cle mens,

95

mens, O mens,  
 O cle mens, O mens,  
 mens, O pi a,  
 O pi a, O

102

pi a,  
 pi a, O dul  
 a, O dul  
 pi a, O dul

109

O dul - cis Vir - go

- cis Vir - go sem - - -

- - - cis Vir -

- - - cis Vir - go

116

Ma - ri - a.

- per Ma - ri - a, [Ma - ri - a.]

- go sem - per Ma - ri - a.

sem - per Ma - ri - a.

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