

3. RETHINKING VICTORIA'S LAMENTATIONS IN POST-TRIDENTINE ROME

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TOMÁS LUIS DE VICTORIA'S polyphonic settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah have been subject to close attention from some of the most important scholars of the life and work of this composer¹. The fact that two complete cycles of nine Lamentations are preserved –a manuscript version copied in codex *I-Rvat* CS 186 at the Sistine Chapel and a printed edition published in the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome, Domenico Basa & Alessandro Gardane, 1585)– has generated much interest in comparing the texts and music of these two collections. Yet, despite current knowledge of these works, most of the studies that have been carried out tend to ignore the works composed by his contemporaries in this genre, both in Renaissance Spain and Italy. Thus, the main aim of this article is to present a critical and up-to-date study of Victoria's Lamentations in the musical and liturgical context of post-Tridentine Rome. Moreover, with the exception of the case of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, very little is known about the Lamentations composed by some of the greatest composers active in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century.

Since Giuseppe Baini (1828) and Franz Xaver Haberl (1888) documented the localization of the two cycles of Lamentations composed by Victoria, a large and varied number of questions have been generated that have yet to be answered definitively². One should therefore begin by addressing some preliminary issues that lead to a reconsideration about what is known for certain and what is still uncertain about Victoria's Lamentations today. Which is the earliest version: the printed or manuscript version? When did Victoria compose his manuscript Lamentations? And the printed settings? Why are

¹ Felipe Pedrell (ed.): *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis. Opera omnia*, 8 vols., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902-1913, vols. V and VIII; Higinio Anglés (ed.): *Tomás Luis de Victoria. Opera omnia*, Rome, CSIC, 1965-1968, (= *Monumentos de la música española*, vols., XXV, XXVI, XXX and XXXI); Robert Stevenson: *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1961, pp. 454-460; Thomas Rive: "Victoria's Lamentationes Geremiae: A Comparison of Cappella Sistina Ms. 186 with the corresponding portions of *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome, 1585)", *Anuario musical*, 20, 1965, pp. 179-208; Eugene Casjen Cramer: *The Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae of Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Study of Selected Aspects and An Edition and Commentary*, 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1973; Samuel Rubio (ed.): *Tomás Luis de Victoria: Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, Cuenca, Instituto de Música Religiosa, 1977; Eugene Casjen Cramer (ed.): *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae: Tomás Luis de Victoria*, 4 vols., Henryville, PA, Ottawa, ON, and Binningen, CH, The Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1982; Eugene Casjen Cramer: *Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Guide to Research*, New York, Garland, 1998; Stephano Torelli: *Le due versioni d'autore delle Lamentazioni per il venerdì santo di Tomás Luis de Victoria: il manoscritto I-Rvat C.S. 186 e la stampa del 1585*, tesis de diploma, Università di Pavia, 1999. One chapter can be viewed at <<http://www.stephanus.it/pubblica.html>> (accessed 30 April 2012); Daniele V. Filippi: *Tomás Luis de Victoria*, *Constellatio Musica* 16, Palermo, L'Epos, 2008; and Alfonso de Vicente: *Tomás Luis de Victoria. Cartas (1582-1606)*, Madrid, Fundación Caja Madrid, 2008.

² Giuseppe Baini: *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols., Rome, Società Tipografica, 1828, vol. II, p. 190, note 573; and Franz Xaver Haberl: *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des Päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatikan zu Rom*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888, p. 47.

there differences between the texts and music in the two cycles? Why did he publish them in Rome? Did he compose these works to be used in a royal or private chapel, a Roman or Spanish church, the papal chapel or for the Real Monasterio de las Descalzas de Madrid? Can musical and textual features from the *more hispano* or *more romano* monodic tradition be identified in these Tenebrae lessons? Did Victoria use the plainchant from a *tonus lamentationum* as a *cantus firmus*? What did his contemporaries in Rome, Italy and the Crown of Spain do? What is known about the reception of Victoria's printed Lamentations at the end of the sixteenth and during the early-seventeenth centuries?

The manuscript Lamentations preserved at the Vatican music archive were almost certainly composed before the 1585 printed lessons, as research by Robert Stevenson, Thomas Rive, Eugene Cramer, Samuel Rubio, Stephano Torelli and Daniele V. Filippi cited above suggests. These studies have mainly focused on the texts and music of Victoria's manuscript and printed Lamentations, their similarities and differences, with an eye to identifying the original version and other aspects of the composition and stylistic features of these Tenebrae lessons. In 1913, Felipe Pedrell anticipated a hypothesis similar to that put forward by these musicologists in the collected edition of Victoria's complete works:

Otherwise, in regard to the group of *Lamentations* reproduced here from the Vatican *codex*, a superficial examination is enough to become convinced that those from the *codex* were the first sketches or one of the early lessons, because there may have been more than one, which would be called the definitive version Victoria published in his *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, reproduced in its entirety in *Tomus V* of the present edition. Comparing both musical texts, the sketch from the *codex*, as I have properly called it, and the definitive printed lesson [edition], a real process of architectural-sonorous construction can be detected, a process of obstinate concern, or more precisely, regrouping, in the search for perfection in an artistic work whose objective is to obtain a complete and perfect aesthetic whole; and this explains why Victoria changes the simple positions of vocal parts, omitting, in some cases, entire phrases; discarding, in others, the music of previously composed texts, and which were not included in the definitive [printed] version; that his tidiness of aesthetic expressionism led him to change the ending of a simple cadence, a simple chord, the vocal significance of another, etc. For all of these and other reasons, which I omit for the sake of brevity, the reproduction of the sketch of the [manuscript] *Lamentations* is not only extremely interesting in itself, but because, in a way, it reflects the birth of a great artistic conception as is this very special part of the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*³.

Clearly, neither Baini, Haberl or Pedrell systematically compared Victoria's Lamentations, as Stevenson, Rive, Cramer, Rubio and Torelli did in their studies; notwithstanding, it should be noted that Pedrell did superficially point out some of the most significant differences that can be seen between the manuscript copy from the Sistine Chapel and the printed version published in Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*. All of the studies focusing on Victoria's Lamentations coincide in that the manuscript copy existed prior to the printed edition, but the date of the Vatican copy is still uncertain.

³ F. Pedrell (ed.): *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis...*, vol. VIII, p. 98: 'Por lo demás, tratando, ahora, del conjunto de las *Lamentaciones* reproducidas aquí del *codex* de la Vaticana, basta una ligera inspección para convencerse de que las del *codex* fueron el primer esbozo o una de las primitivas lecciones, porque pudo darse más de una, de la que llamaríamos versión definitiva publicada por Victoria en su *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, reproducido por entero en el *Tomus V* de la presente edición. Comparando ambos textos musicales, el esbozo del *codex*, como lo he llamado propiamente, y la lección [edición] definitiva estampada, se asiste a un verdadero proceso de construcción arquitectónico-sonora, proceso de preocupación obstinada, de reconcentración, diríase mejor, ante la búsqueda de la perfección de la obra artística dirigida a obtener un todo estético perfecto y acabado; y esto explica que Victoria cambiase simples posturas de partes vocales, suprimiese, en unos casos, frases enteras; desechase, en otros, la música de textos compuestos previamente, y que no aparecen en la versión [impresa] definitiva; que llevase su pulcritud de expresionismo estético a trocar la desinencia de una simple cadencia, la de un sencillo acorde, la significación vocal de otro, etc. Por todas éstas y otras razones, que por brevedad omito, la reproducción del esbozo de las *Lamentaciones* [manuscritas] resultaba no solo interesantísimo en sí sino porque, en cierto modo, se asistía al nacimiento de una gran concepción artística como lo es esa parte especialísima del *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*'.

Thus, an exhaustive chronology of manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 is still pending, in order to calculate the number of years by which this collection preceded the 1585 edition. Of the hypotheses formulated thus far, those proposed by Haberl, Cramer and Torelli all date the composition and copying of the manuscript from the early years of Victoria's Roman period, from his arrival in the city around the year 1564 until his ordination as a priest in 1575⁴. Stevenson, Rive and Rubio do not provide any theories in this respect and simply confirm that the manuscript lessons were written prior to the 1585 edition –without specifying an approximate date for the composition and copying of codex *I-Rvat* CS 186 of the Sistine Chapel.

Cramer's research led to various theories, including dating these manuscripts from as early as 1564 or 1565, making them the work of a young Victoria aged about 17 –or at least some Lamentations, as he might have completed the rest of the collection over various years until the 1570s⁵. Haberl had already insisted on a periodization similar to that which Cramer proposed. According to the German musicologist's study of manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186, this codex was probably composed and copied between 1566 and 1572, that is, during the years Victoria was a student at the *Collegium Germanicum*, a singer and organist at S. Maria di Monserrato and *maestro* at Otto Truchsess von Waldburg's private chapel (1568-1571)⁶. This explains the recent musicological hypotheses that a long period of time elapsed between the Sistine Chapel manuscript copy and the *Officium Hebdomadae Sancte* collection, thus implying the acceptance of the idea that the manuscript Lamentations were one of the first works from Victoria's Roman period, while the 1585 printed version was representative of his maturity as a composer in Rome. However, contrary to the arguments put forward in recent years, Victoria's manuscript and printed Lamentations were probably much closer together in time than Haberl, Cramer and Torelli initially suggested⁷. A much more precise line of research regarding the approximate date of composition and copying of Victoria's *Tenebrae* lessons can be established by conducting a codicological study of *I-Rvat* CS 186.

José María Llorens' and Mitchell Brauners' doctoral theses show respectively that Johannes Parvus was not principally responsible for copying manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 of the Sistine Chapel –as Haberl had pointed out– but that it was the work of the Italian scribe Luca Orfeo Fanensis, who, with absolute certainty, filled the position Parvus left vacant in the Vatican *scriptorium* from the month of July 1580 onwards⁸. Thus, this discovery shows that the date the Vatican manuscript was copied (although not

⁴ Regarding this periodization, Cramer suggested that there are at least two circumstances that point to the possibility of a later date of 1575. E. C. Cramer: *The Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae...*, vol. II, p. 59: 'On April 15, 1575 Gregory XIII issued a papal bull which made the singing of the entire divine office at the *Collegium Germanicum* mandatory on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week. It is possible that these Lamentations, and, perhaps, most of the music ultimately included in the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, were written in response to this bull. Secondly, if one accepts the thesis that Victoria's appointment, or the promise of an appointment, as chapelmaster to the Empress Maria ca. 1577-1578 [...] for the Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, which Phillip II issued in 1577, specifically mentions polyphonic music for *Tenebrae* and the Passions on Palm Sunday and Good Friday, a strong case, albeit one based on hypothesis and circumstantial evidence, can be made for a date ca. 1578'.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 61.

⁶ F. X. Haberl: *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog...*, p. 66; E. C. Cramer: *The Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae...*, vol. II, p. 58; and Robert Stevenson: "Victoria, Tomás Luis de", in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> (accessed 3 May 2012). For Haberl (in *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog...*, p. 67) the musical characteristics of the Lamentations of manuscript *I-Rvat* CS186 were very similar to those of the 1572 motets (= *Motecta*, Venice, 1572). This is precisely the stylistic reason which led Haberl to consider both repertoires as contemporary.

⁷ In relation to the dates proposed by Stephano Torelli, see below.

⁸ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mitchell Brauner for the private correspondence we exchanged in regard to manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 of the Sistine Chapel, especially for unselfishly sharing his latest findings with respect to the codicological characteristics and the historical contexts of manuscripts CS 186, CS 76 and CS 32. With regard to the identification of Luca Orfeo Fanensis as the copyist of manuscript CS 186 see in particular José M. Llorens: *Le opere musicali della Capella Giulia: Manoscritti e edizioni fino al '700*, Studi e Testi 265, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1971, pp. 207-208; and Mitchell Brauner:

its composition) can be firmly narrowed down to between the years *ca.* 1580 and *ca.* 1585. Furthermore, the codicological characteristics of manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 corroborate the limits of this periodization.

I-Rvat CS 186 is a folded paper manuscript on *carta papale*, in folio format (large sheets folded in half) and gathered throughout in binios (quires of two sheets each). Not all of the watermarks are visible, but those that are show either a crown (the majority of the sheets) or a *fleur-de-lys*. For all of these reasons, it is very likely that Victoria's Lamentations were copied on paper used by Vatican music scribes in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. According to Brauner, the *carta papale* folios did not appear in music manuscripts made in Rome until about 1576, therefore making this year the *terminus ante quem non*, whereas the *terminus post quem non* would have to be when Victoria left Rome in 1585. With respect to the date of composition, there is still not enough information to prove when Victoria wrote these Lamentations for certain; two of the most likely possibilities will be outlined very briefly below. Two possible dates of composition of the Lamentations of manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 must be considered: *ca.* 1580 (if, indeed, the manuscript Lamentations are considered to have been written prior to the printed edition) or *ca.* 1585 (in the case that the manuscript and printed Lamentations were contemporary versions).

In regard to the earlier date –*ca.* 1580– it should be noted that, in accordance with Victoria's *modus operandi*, it is very likely that the composer himself must have been responsible for all the material of his *Officium Hebdomadae Sancte*, as well as the supervision and editorial correction of the first proofs around the year 1584, meaning the composition of the printed Lamentations may have been completed during that year or even around 1583. Therefore, the date of composition of the lessons from codex *I-Rvat* CS 186 would fall sometime between 1576 and *ca.* 1583. In the event that the copy made by Luca Orfeo was very close to the date of composition, the year *ca.* 1580 should be considered as the most likely approximate date.

The hypothesis that Victoria had simultaneously composed his manuscript and printed Lamentations –*ca.* 1585– would dismantle the widely-accepted theory of a chronological and hierarchical connection between both cycles, as well as the stylistic observations relating to the advances and evolution of Victoria's technique as a composer in these works during his Roman period. However, although this date seems to be less likely, the professional activity of the scribe Luca Orfeo may spark certain interest in regard to the study of Victoria's Lamentations as well as other musical sources from the Sistine Chapel.

Brauner's most recent research demonstrates that stylistically, the texts and music of the manuscript Lamentations of *I-Rvat* CS 186 are closely related to Luca Orfeo's copy of Palestrina's *Missa Assumpta est Maria* in codex *I-Rvat* CS 76. This Mass is also a folded paper manuscript on *carta papale* with a colophon at the end of the manuscript (on f. 24r) –signed and dated by Luca in 1585, during the reign of Sixtus V– thereby meaning that the piece was copied no earlier than 24 April 1585 and no later than 31 December 1585. In addition, this Mass is in exactly the same hand as Victoria's Lamentations and, significantly, Luca Orfeo used three different styles for the text and two for the music. In *I-Rvat* CS 76, the music and text in the part dated 1585 are identical to that of the copyist of *I-Rvat* CS 186. Moreover, there is no further use of Luca's humanist cursive script in conjunction with this form of his music hand that can be attributed to any other period in his Vatican career. This is precisely the main reason

The Parvus Manuscripts: A Study of Vatican Polyphony, ca.1535 to 1580, Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1982, pp. 2-8. Haberl was mistaken in considering that Johannes Parvus copied manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 of the Sistine Chapel. See F. X. Haberl: *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog...*, p. 47: 'Enthält die neun Lamentationen der Charwoche zu 4,5 und 6 Stimmen Thomas Ludovici a Victoria auf 28 Blättern in Kleinfolio; dieselben stimmen mit der modernen Partiturchrift der kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Manchen überein. Der Codex enthält weiter keinen Titel, die Schrift deutet auf Ende des 16. Jahrh. Hin und gleich der des berühmten Kopisten Jo. Parvi'.

why the hypothesis dating the manuscript copy of the polyphonic settings of Victoria's Lamentations around *ca.* 1585, which is deliberately approximate, can be justified. Further, it is yet to be ascertained whether *I-Rvat* CS 186 was completed prior to Luca Orfeo's earliest known work at the Sistine Chapel –the codex *I-Rvat* CS 32 copied during the first term of 1585⁹. If so, Victoria's Lamentations would probably be Luca Orfeo's first work at the Vatican archive.

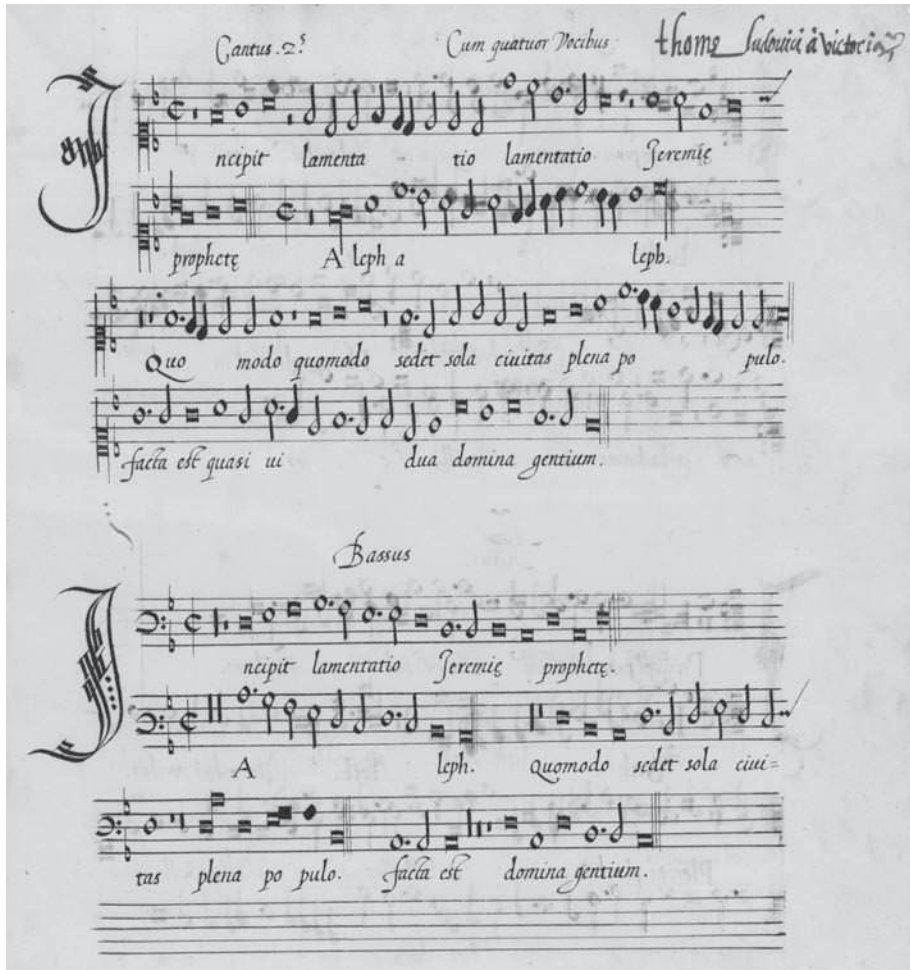


Illustration 1. Incipit Lamentatio Hieremie Prophete. Aleph. Quomodo sedet sola. *I-Rvat* CS 186, f. 2r
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⁹ Manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 32 is the earliest documented work Luca Orfeo is known to have completed at the Sistine Chapel. Virtually none of the text scripts in CS 32 match those in CS 186 or Palestrina's *Missa Assumpta est Maria* in CS 76, but its historical context offers valuable information. The title page of CS 32 is dated 1585 (indicating the book was being completed) under Gregory XIII and therefore this manuscript had to be compiled before April 10, when Gregory died. Nevertheless, this does not rule out the possibility that CS 186 may have been copied before 1585.

Another equally significant issue is to verify whether or not Victoria's Lamentations were copied to be used at the papal chapel, yet, before tackling this issue and weighing up the evidence—together with the historical and cogicological framework of manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186—certain details about the liturgical and musical context of polyphonic Lamentations in post-Tridentine Rome must be examined.

One of the most important and interesting musicological aspects is the fact that studies by Stevenson, Rive, Cramer, Rubio and Torelli have all convincingly demonstrated that the manuscript Lamentations of the Sistine Chapel are longer than the printed Lamentations, especially the melismas on the Hebrew letters, the final cadences of some verses and the majority of the conclusive sections of the *Hierusalem convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum* prayers [H]. Moreover, there are entire verses of manuscript lessons that were never printed and certain musical sections of *I-Rvat* CS 186 that were adapted to different texts in the 1585 edition (Table 1)¹⁰.

Table 1. <i>Texts from the Settings of Victoria's Lamentations, I-Rvat CS 186 / V 1423</i>	
<i>I-Rvat</i> CS 186 <i>Cappella Sistina</i>	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , Rome: 1585
Maundy Thursday <i>Incipit Lamentatio / Aleph. Quomodo sedet sola; Beth. Plorans ploravit; [H]</i> <i>Vau. Et egressus est; Zain. Peccatum Peccavit; [H]</i> <i>Iod. Manum suam misit; Caph. Omnis populus; [H]</i>	Maundy Thursday <i>Incipit Lamentatio / Aleph. Quomodo sedet sola; Beth. Plorans ploravit; [H]</i> <i>Vau. Et egressus est; [H]</i> <i>Iod. Manum suam misit; Caph. Omnis populus; [H]</i>
Good Friday <i>Heth. Cogitavit Dominus; Teth. Defixae sunt; [H]</i> <i>Lamed. Matribus suis dixerunt; Men. Cui comparabo te; [H]</i> <i>Aleph. Ego vir videns; Aleph. Me minavit; Aleph. Tantum in me; [H]</i>	Good Friday <i>Heth. Cogitavit Dominus; [H]</i> <i>Lamed. Matribus suis dixerunt; Men. Cui comparabo te; [H]</i> <i>Aleph. Ego vir videns; Aleph. Me minavit; [H]</i>
Holy Saturday <i>Heth. Misericordiae Domini. Teth. Bonus est Dominus; Teth. Bonum est; [H]</i> <i>Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum est; Beth. Filii Syon; [H]</i> <i>Incipit Oratio / Recordare, Domine, quid acciderit...Cervicibus; [H]</i>	Holy Saturday <i>Heth. Misericordiae Domini; Teth. Bonum est; [H]</i> <i>Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum est; Beth. Filii Syon; [H]</i> <i>Incipit Oratio / Recordare, Domine, quid acciderit...Cervicibus; [H]</i>

The identification of musical and textual differences that have been detected between both cycles has been discussed in studies by Pedrell, Stevenson, Rive, Cramer, Rubio and Torelli from a hierarchical point of view, that is, as a chronological indication according to which Victoria is supposed to have used the manuscript version as the basis for the composition of a second cycle of Lamentations subsequently published in his *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*—(in this case) the printed versions being an updated revision of the *Tenebrae* lessons in *I-Rvat* CS 186. While this is possible, it has yet to be definitively confirmed as noted above. In any case, whether this hypothesis is true or not, Victoria's manuscript and printed Lamentations undoubtedly contain many sections in common, which are either identical or very similar.

Of all the studies mentioned above, Torelli's is the only one to go into some detail, suggesting a possible answer to this issue¹¹. According to his research, Victoria modified part of the textual and

¹⁰ Apart from the differences noted above, Victoria also made significant melodic and rhythmic changes, re-elaborated the modal conception of some lessons and reestablished the text in some sections to clarify its accentuation. In regard to these issues see R. Stevenson: *Spanish Cathedral Music...*, pp. 454-460; T. Rive: "Victoria's Lamentationes Geremiae...", pp. 179-208; E. C. Cramer: *The Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae...*, pp. 58-117; and S. Rubio (ed.): *Tomás Luis de Victoria...*, pp. 61-93.

¹¹ S. Torelli: *Le due versioni d'autore delle Lamentazioni per il venerdì santo di Tomás Luis de Victoria...* In Samuel Rubio's study of Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, the author was clearly of the view that the review Baini had already pointed out—in which the 'overly Spanish' style of Victoria's manuscript Lamentations was said to be inappropriate for use at the papal chapel—was correct. In fact, Rubio (in *Tomás Luis de Victoria...*, p. 93) spared no efforts in assuring that: 'Resumiendo: Victoria corrigió las lamentaciones antes de darlas a la luz, conservándose una copia de la versión anterior en el códice 186 del archivo musical de la Capilla Sixtina. [...] A nuestro juicio, la historia que nos refiere Baini contiene un fondo de verdad: una crítica que aconsejó a Victoria realizar, a su vez, una autocrítica, gracias a la cual pudo presentar una versión [impresa] más equilibrada en cuanto a la duración, menos monótona o reiterativa al cercenar la excesiva insistencia en ciertos "artificios"'. In regard to the review described by Baini see his *Memorie storico-critiche...*, vol. II, p. 190, note 573: 'Le migliori lamentazioni, che vi avessero al momento presente, eran di Tommaso Ludovico da Vittoria, il quale le aveva fatte imprimere in Roma per Angelo Gardano il 1585, nell'op. intitolata:

musical content of his manuscript Lamentations so that the 1585 printed lessons complied with the standardized texts in Pius V's *Breviarium romanum* (1568); however, the hypothesis that Victoria subsequently adapted his manuscript Lamentations to the liturgical context regulated in this breviary seems highly unlikely¹². In this respect, it is worth recalling that there was no regularized liturgical practice with regard to the Lamentation genre until the Council of Trent, so the lack of a classification of its texts favoured a widespread lax practice from the Middle Ages until the introduction of the 1568 breviary, which standardized the verses of the nine Lamentations of the Tenebrae Office. And, yet, despite this regulation, surprisingly, the majority of the composers active in Rome from 1568 until 1600 did not strictly follow the liturgical ordering of certain texts in Pius V's Roman breviary when composing polyphonic Lamentations.

Of the manuscript and printed Lamentations still extant from this period in Rome, none of the cycles composed by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Annibale Stabile, Giovanni Andrea Dragoni, various anonymous Lamentations from the Sistine Chapel, the printed edition by Sebastián Raval (Rome, 1594) or the manuscript collection by Emilio de' Cavalieri (Rome, *I-Rv O 31*) were adapted to the standardized texts in Pius V's *Breviarium romanum*¹³. Thus, the impact of Trent on the liturgical and musical practice of the Lamentations of Jeremiah raises various issues relating to the Roman liturgical context.

An initial study of this polyphonic corpus certifies that, in post-Tridentine Rome, the majority of the composers who worked in the city did not adjust the texts of their cycles of nine Lamentations to

Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae. Debbesi però contestare, che se queste lamentazioni non sono di stil fiammingo, son troppo di stile spagnuolo; soverchia abbondanza di artifizii, inutili ripetizioni di parole, mancanza di varietà, una stucchevole monotonia ne formano il carattere. In conseguenza erano criticate tanto da' fiamminghi, quanto dagl' italiani: quelli le dicevano generate da sangue moro, questi le beffavano como bastardume di spagnuolo italianizzato, onde mai non furono adottate nella nostra cappella'.¹² For Torelli, the Lamentations from manuscript *I-Rvat CS186* must have been composed and copied prior to Victoria's ordination as a priest in Rome in 1575, and more specifically around 1568, with the publication of Pius V's *Breviarium romanum*. This date is based on the hypothesis that the scribe of *I-Rvat CS 186* might have made a significant mistake in the text while copying the music and texts of the second lesson of Maundy Thursday (I: 6-7): *Vau. Et egressus est; Zain. Recordata est; Hierusalem convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum*. See S. Torelli: *Le due versioni d'autore delle Lamentazioni per il venerdì santo di Tomás Luis de Victoria...* Like Stevenson, Rive, Cramer and Rubio, Torelli insisted that the original music of the letter *Zain* in the Vatican manuscript was adapted in the 1585 edition for the melisma on the letter *Vau*. It can thus be concluded that this musicologist viewed the relocation of the musical material of the Hebrew letters *Vau* and *Zain* as a pre-Tridentine liturgical error, which Victoria subsequently amended, adjusting the cycle of his printed Lamentations to the Tridentine Roman divine service. Nevertheless, in the event that Victoria had decided to adjust this lesson to the 1568 Roman breviary, as we shall see, the verse *Vau. Et egressus est* should have been omitted or relocated as the last line of the first lesson of Maundy Thursday. Thus, the versicle *Zain. Recordata est* would have been liturgically established as the first in the second lesson of Maundy Thursday. Moreover, Victoria had to compulsorily modify the texts of the third lesson of Maundy Thursday and the second Lamentation of Good Friday in order to adjust his compositions to the textual practice of the 1568 breviary. In the 1585 printed edition precisely the opposite is the case. Victoria published the text *Vau. Et egressus est* (with the music of the Hebrew letter *Zain*) and completely omitted the verse *Recordata est*, which was precisely the text that was standardized in Pius V's breviary as the first of the second lesson of Maundy Thursday. A comparative study of selected verses in Victoria's manuscript and printed Lamentations proves that the composer did not strictly use the texts from Pius V's *Breviarium romanum*. In regard to the verses from the Lamentations that were established in the Divine Office see *Breviarium romanum ex decreto sacro sancti concilii tridentini restitutum. Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum*, Roma, Paulum Manutium, 1568; and Manlio Sodi & Achille Maria Triacca (eds.): *Breviarium romanum. Editio princeps (1568)*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1999, pp. 346-348, 351-352 and 356.

¹³ One of Giuseppe Baini's texts (in *Memorie storico-critiche...*, vol. II, p. 190, note 573) reveals that Gioseffo Zarlino, Nicola Vicentino and Giovanni Annimuccia wrote various polyphonic Lamentations 'in the Flemish style'. For a detailed study of Raval's and Cavalieri's Lamentations see Murray C. Bradshaw (ed.): *Emilio de' Cavalieri. The Lamentations and Responsories of 1599 and 1600: (Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS O 31)*, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, Hänssler-Verlag, 1990; Murray C. Bradshaw: "Cavalieri and Early Monody", *The Journal of Musicology*, 9/2, 1991, pp. 238-253; Johannes Ring: *Studien zu den mehrstimmigen Lamentationen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Escribano, de Morales und Raval*, Ph.D. diss., Hamburg Universität, 2000, pp. 147-180; and Esperanza Rodríguez-García: *Arrogance or Audacity?: The music of Sebastián Raval (?-1604) with an edition of his first book of motets*, Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2012, pp. 173-180.

the verses established in the 1568 Roman breviary. Therefore, it cannot only be concluded that Pius V's breviary was not rigorously implanted in this Roman repertory but that there was an overwhelming coincidence in selected verses by Palestrina, Victoria, Nanino, Stabile, Dragoni, Raval and Cavalieri, among others, which should be highlighted (Table 2). Common to these composers' collections is the use of an almost identical textual selection for each of the nine lessons of the complete cycle of Lamentations, a liturgical and textual characteristic that can be seen more clearly by comparing the verses chosen for the last two lessons of Maundy Thursday and the second of Good Friday. The verses of these three Tenebrae lessons are precisely those that differ from the selection established in the 1568 breviary in a peculiar way. On the contrary, as can be seen in Table 2, the rest of the lessons of these cycles of Lamentations concord with the textual standardization established in Pius V's *Breviarium romanum*.

Although a systematic study of the standardized Lamentation texts in the post-Tridentine Roman books is still forthcoming, everything seems to indicate that Victoria, Palestrina, Stabile, Dragoni, Nanino, Raval and Cavalieri used the verses established in the liturgical practice of the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae secundum curiam romanam* to compose their Lamentations in polyphony (Table 3)¹⁴. This textual practice of the Roman rite was established in a particular manner in the post-Tridentine polyphonic Lamentations composed in Rome –even from Palestrina's earliest pre-Tridentine version dating from 1560. Nevertheless, the most important textual aspect of this liturgical practice of Roman origin relates to the genre's wide dissemination in the Roman-Catholic Church tradition (Table 4). The texts of the Lamentations prescribed in post-Tridentine Roman books can equally be traced in printed collections by other preeminent composers of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries such as Floriano Canale (Venice, 1579); Giovanni Matteo Asola (Venice, 1584 / 1588 / 1602); Orazio Vecchi (Venice, 1587); Michele Varotto (Milan, 1587); Gioseffo Guami (Venice, 1588); Paolo Magri (Venice, 1597); Antonio Buonavita (Venice, 1600); Petro Amico Giacobetto (Venice, 1601); Pedro Rimonte (Antwerp, 1607); Lodovico Viadana (Venice, 1609 / 1610); Giovanni Francesco Capello (Verona, 1612); Antonio Burlini (Venice, 1614); Valerio Bona (Venice, 1616); Annibale Gregori (Siena, 1620); Domenico Borgo (Venice, 1622); Antonio Mogavero (Venice, 1623); and Giovanni Battista Rossi (Venice, 1628). Thus, it should be emphasized that the polyphonic settings of the Lamentations by these composers of the Italian Renaissance and early Baroque, together with the collections written by the Spanish, Italian and Franco-Flemish masters of post-Tridentine Rome, reflect the use of a common textual practice –the Roman Catholic Church's own– which differed, as mentioned above, to the liturgical standardization established in Pius V's *Breviarium romanum*.

More controversial –liturgically speaking– are the Lamentations by Francesco Alcarotti (Milan, 1570); Paolo Isnardi (Venice, 1572 / 1584); Placido Falconio (Brescia, 1580); Alessandro Romano (Venice, 1582);

¹⁴ I owe special debt of gratitude to Jeffrey G. Kurtzman who kindly allowed me to consult an exhaustive unpublished catalogue of Italian printed sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the polyphonic settings catalogued in Tables 4 and 5 were taken from his catalogue, as well as the information published by John Bettley: "La composizione lacrimosa: Musical Style and Text Selection in North-Italian Lamentations Settings in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 118/2, 1993, pp. 188-196. I would also like to thank Herbert Kellman and Robert L. Kendrick for their valuable help and support during the time I spent researching at the Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies. Finally, I would also like to express my gratitude to Daniele V. Filippi and Matthew Leese for researching various Roman books cited in Table 3 and other items on my behalf. The following sources have yet to be consulted: *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Venice, 1573); (Venice, Giovanni Varisco, 1575); (Venice, 1587); (Parma, 1593); (Venice, 1597); and (Venice, 1598); *Officia Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Venice, 1592); and the *Offitio della Settimana Santa* (Rome, 1586). See the references for these books at the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche <www.iccu.sbn.it/>. In regard to the corrections found in various copies of the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome, 1579) and the *Cantus ecclesiasticus Officii Majoris Hebdomadae* (Rome, 1587) see the exemplars preserved at <<http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/>> (accessed 15 May 2012); <<http://gallica.bnf.fr>> (accessed 15 May 2012) and in the Music Collection of the British Library – G. 893, respectively.

Pietro Vinci (Venice, 1583); Marco Antonio Ingegneri (Venice, 1588); Giovanni Contino (Brescia, 1588, not a reprint of *Threni Hieremie* 1561); Vittorio Orfino (Ferrara, 1589); Fabrizio Dentice (Milan, 1593); Paolo Fonguetto (Verona, 1595); Panormitano Mauro (Venice, 1597); Tiburtio Massaino (Venice, 1599); Emilio de'Cavalieri (Rome, 1599, lessons for use at Pisa); Giovanni Domenico Montella (Naples, 1602); Serafino Cantone (Milan, 1603); Giovanni Croce (Venice, 1603); Carl Luython (Prague, 1604); Costanzo Porta (Parma, 1605); and Giovanni Bacilieri (Venice, 1607). As John Bettley's research has demonstrated in relation to these post-Tridentine collections, it is surprising that at the height of the Counter-Reformation the establishment of a non-uniform textual practice in the Lamentation genre can be seen in Renaissance Italy according to which –as during the pre-Tridentine period– some Italian regions maintained local practices and customs into the last third of the sixteenth century, a varied textual practice that can particularly be detected in North-Italian Lamentation settings (Table 5)¹⁵. In conclusion, the only polyphonic testimonies that were adjusted to the liturgical and textual order established in the 1568 breviary or the printed edition with Roman plainchant prepared by Giovanni Domenico Guidetti (Rome, 1587)¹⁶ were the *Tenebrae* lessons composed by Ioanne Matelart –written to be used in the Roman church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso– and the two cycles of Lamentations by Orlande de Lassus, an initial printed edition (Munich, 1585) and a second manuscript version dating from around 1588.

It must be recalled that the earliest-located reference to Victoria's Lamentations comes from the writings of the Italian composer and musicologist Giuseppe Baini, who is more remembered as a Palestrina scholar. As Palestrina's biographer, an exacerbated interest in intensifying the Italian composer's fame, compared to that of any of his contemporaries, can be perceived in Baini's most outstanding works. Hence Baini did not hesitate in bringing Palestrina's and Victoria's Lamentations face to face in his *Memorie storico-critiche* (1828)¹⁷. His criticism primarily focused on the supposed rivalry between the two composers in Rome with the aim of ridding the papal chapel of the Lamentations composed by Genet Elzéar Carpentras, but the nationalist rhetoric described by Baini has distorted rather than clarified the polyphonic practice of Lamentations at the papal chapel during the second half of the sixteenth century. Carpentras's were not the only Lamentations sung at the papal chapel until Palestrina's replaced them in the year 1587¹⁸. Some of the *Tenebrae* lessons composed by Cristóbal de Morales and Costanzo Festa were also sung at the papal chapel during most of the sixteenth century, probably from 1544 until the end of the 1580s.

¹⁵ J. Bettley: "La compositione lacrimosa...", pp. 188-196.

¹⁶ Giovanni Domenico Guidetti: *Cantus ecclesiasticus Officii Majoriis Hebdomadae iuxta ritum capellae domini nostri papae ac basilicae vaticanae collectus*, Romae, Iacobi Torneii, 1587. This edition of Roman plainchant contains the complete cycle of nine Lamentations in accordance with the texts previously standardized in the 1568 Roman breviary. See also Guidetti's edition *Directorium chori ad usum sacro sanctae basilicae vaticanae et aliarum cathedralium et collegiarum ecclesiarum*, Romae, Robertum Granjon, 1582. This book does not include the complete cycle of Lamentations. Only four of the nine lessons from the *Tenebrae* Office were published: the third lesson of Maundy Thursday (I: 10-14); the third lesson of Good Friday (III: 1-9); and the second (IV: 1-9) and third Lamentation of Holy Saturday (V: 1-11). The critical collation of his texts does not follow those subsequently published in his *Cantus ecclesiasticus Officii Majoriis Hebdomadae* (1587), but that used in the Roman Church. Other editions published by Guidetti include his *Cantus ecclesiasticus Passionis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi secundum Mattheum, Marcum, Lucam et Joannem*, Romae, Alexandrum Gardanum, 1586; and *Praefationis in cantu firmo, iuxta ritum sanctae romanae ecclesiae*, Romae, Iacobi Torneii, 1588.

¹⁷ See G. Baini: *Memorie storico-critiche...*, vol. II, pp. 187-201.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-191; Günther Massenkeil: "Lamentations", in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> (accessed 11 May 2012); and R. Steverson: *Spanish Cathedral Music...*, pp. 93 and 455-457. See also note 11 and Cristina Urchueguía: "Victoria in Germania. Tomás Luis de Victoria y la historiografía alemana hasta principios del siglo XX". At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Andrea Adami da Bolsena documented the use of the Lamentations 'in canto figurato di Gregorio Allegri a quatro voci' and 'la lamentazione in canto figurato a quatro voci del Palestrina' in the musical practice of the papal chapel. See Andrea Adami da Bolsena: *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia*, Roma, Antonio de' Rossi alla Piazza di Ceri, 1711, pp. 34, 41 and 47.

Table 2. *Texts in the Polyphonic Settings of the Lamentations in Post-Tridentine Rome*

Lamentations				Maundy Thursday			Good Friday			Holy Saturday		
Source	City	Year	Composer	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III
<i>I-Rsg</i> 59	Rome	1560	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1)	I: 1-2	I: 6-8	I: 10-12	II: 8-10	II: 12-14	III: 1-4	III: 22-24	IV: 1-3	V: 1-8
RISM P742	Rome	1588	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (2)	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-4	III: 22-25	IV: 1-3	V: 1-5
RISM P743	Rome	1589	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (3)	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-4	III: 22-25	IV: 1-3	V: 1-5
<i>I-Rvat</i> CG XV.21	Rome	1600	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (4)	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-9	II: 12-14	III: 1-4	III: 22-25	IV: 1-3	V: 1-7
<i>I-Rvat</i> Ott. Lat. 3387	Rome	1611?	G. P. da Palestrina - G. Andrea Dragoni	I: 1-2	I: 6-8	I: 10-12	II: 8-10	II: 12-14	III: 1-3	III: 22-25	IV: 1-3	V: 1-5
<i>I-Rsg</i> 58	Rome	1577?	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	!	!	I: 10-11	II: 8	!	!	!	IV: 1-3	V: 1-5
<i>I-Rvat</i> CS 186	Rome	?	Tomás Luis de Victoria (1)	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-11	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-3	III: 22.25,27	IV: 1-2	V: 1-5
RISM V1432	Rome	1585	Tomás Luis de Victoria (2)	I: 1-2	I: 6	I: 10-11	II: 8	II: 12-13	III: 1-2	III: 22.27	IV: 1-2	V: 1-5
<i>I-Rvat</i> CG XV.30	Rome	?	Giovanni Maria Nanino	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-11	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-3	III: 22-24	IV: 1-2	V: 1-4
<i>I-Rsg</i> 87	Rome	?	Giovanni Andrea Dragoni (1)	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-10	II: 12-14	III: 1-5	III: 22-26	IV: 1-3	V: 1-4
<i>I-Rsg</i> 88	Rome	?	Giovanni Andrea Dragoni (2)	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-5	III: 22-26	IV: 1-3	V: 1-6
<i>I-Rsg</i> 58	Rome	1577?	Anibale Stabile	!	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-10	II: 12-14	III: 1-6	III: 22-27	!	!
<i>I-Rsg</i> 58	Rome	1577?	Francesco Soriano	!	!	!	!	!	!	III: 22, 25	!	!
<i>I-Rsg</i> 58	Rome	1577?	Anonymous	!	!	I: 10-11	II: 8,10	!	!	!	!	!
<i>I-Rvat</i> CS 198	Rome	?	Anonymous	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	!	!	!	!	!	!
RISM R440	Rome	1594	Sebastián Raval	I: 1-4	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-10	II: 12-13	III: 1-9	III: 22-27	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>I-Rv</i> O 31	Rome	1600	Emilio de' Cavalieri	I: 1-3	I: 6-8	I: 10-12	II: 8,11	II: 12-14	III: 1-3,6,8	III: 22-24	IV: 1-3	V: 1-3

Table 3. *Lamentation Texts in the Post-Tridentine Roman Books*

Lamentations				Maundy Thursday			Good Friday			Holy Saturday			
Publisher	City	Year	Printed Edition	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	
Aedibus Populi Romani	Rome	1572	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Franciscus de Francisicis	Venice	1575	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Apud Iuntas	Venice	1578	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Adamus Berg	Monaco	1581	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Apud Iuntas	Venice	1584	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Apud Iuntas	Venice	1588	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Bonifacii Ciera	Venice	1588	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Nicolaum Misserinum	Venice	1589	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Ioannem Veirat	Lyon	1591	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Nicolaum Misserinum	Venice	1600	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Officina Plantiniana	Antwerp	1619	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
Aedibus Populi Romani	Rome	1568	<i>Breviarium romanum</i>	I: 1-6	I: 7-11	I: 12-16	II: 8-12	II: 13-18	III: 1-12	III: 22-33	IV: 1-7	V: 1-16	
Franciscum Rampazetum	Venice	1574	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-6	I: 7-11	I: 12-16	II: 8-12	II: 13-18	III: 1-12	III: 22-33	IV: 1-7	V: 1-16	
Aedibus Populi Romani	Rome	1579	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	I: 1-6	I: 7-11	I: 12-16	II: 8-12	II: 13-18	III: 1-12	III: 22-33	IV: 1-7	V: 1-16	
			<i>Corrections at hand in the original</i>		I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
Giovanni D. Guidetti	Rome	1587	<i>Cantus ecclesiasticus</i>	I: 1-6	I: 7-11	I: 12-16	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11	
			<i>Corrections at hand in the original</i>		I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11

Polyphonic Settings of the Lamentations according to Pius's V Roman Breviary

Lamentations				Maundy Thursday			Good Friday			Holy Saturday		
Source	City	Year	Composer	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III
<i>I-Rsld</i> IV.12	Rome	?	Ioanne Matelart	!	I: 7-8	I: 12-13	II: 8-9	II: 11-13	III: 1-6	III: 22-26	IV: 1-4	V: 1-5
RISM 1585d	Munich	1585	Orlande de Lassus	I: 1-3	I: 7-9	I: 12-14	II: 8-10	II: 13-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-3	V: 1-6
Not listed	Munich	ca.1588	Orlande de Lassus	I: 1-?	I: 7-?	I: 12-?	II: 8-?	II: 13-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?

Table 4. Polyphonic Settings of the Lamentations in Post-Tridentine Roman Context, 1579-1628												
Lamentations				Maundy Thursday			Good Friday			Holy Saturday		
Source	City	Year	Composer	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III
RISM C768	Venice	1579	Floriano Canale	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM A2553	Venice	1584	Giovanni Matteo Asola	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-11	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-6	III: 22-27	IV: 1-3	V: 1-5
RISM A2580	Venice	1588	Giovanni Matteo Asola	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-11	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-6	III: 22-26	IV: 1-3	V: 1-5,7
RISM A2608	Venice	1602	Giovanni Matteo Asola	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-11	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-5	III: 22-27	IV: 1-3	V: 1-5
RISM V1004	Venice	1587	Orazio Vecchi	I: 1-3	I: 6-8	I: 10-12	II: 8-10	II: 12-14	III: 1-3	III: 22-24	IV: 1-3	V: 1-11
RISM V989	Milan	1587	Michele Varotto	I: 1-4	I: 6-8	I: 10-12	II: 8-9,11	II: 12-14	III: 1-3,9	III: 22,25,27,30	IV: 1,3,6	V: 1-8
RISM G4802	Venice	1588	Giuseppe Guami	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-11	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-6	III: 22-26	IV: 1-2	V: 1-11
RISM M148	Venice	1597	Paolo Magri	I: 1-2	I: 6,8	I: 10,12	II: 8	II: 12-13	III: 1-2,9	III: 22,24,27	IV: 1-3	V: 1-7
RISM B4947	Venice	1600	Antonio Buonavita	I: 1-2	I: 6-7	I: 10-12	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-4	III: 22-24	IV: 1-3	V: 1-6
RISM G1825	Venice	1601	Petro Amico Giacobetto	I: 1	I: 6	I: 10	II: 8	II: 12	III: 1-2	III: 22-23	IV: 1	V: 1-3
RISM R1711	Antwerp	1607	Pedro Rimonte	I: 1-2,5	I: 6-7	I: 10,12-13	II: 8-9,11	II: 12-14	III: 1-5	III: 22-30	IV: 1-3	V: 1-11
RISM V1389	Venice	1609	Lodovico Viadana	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM V1390	Venice	1610	Lodovico Viadana	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM C903	Verona	1612	Giovanni Francesco Capello	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM B5024	Venice	1614	Antonio Burlini	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM B3434	Venice	1616	Valerio Bona	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM G3811	Siena	1620	Amibale Gregori	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM B3753	Venice	1622	Domenico Borgo	I: 1-?	I: 6-?	I: 10-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM M2920	Venice	1623	Antonio Mogavero	I: 1-4	I: 6-8	I: 10-13	II: 8-11	II: 12-13	III: 1-5,8	III: 22-30	IV: 1-4,6	V: 1-3,5,7
Not listed	Venice	1628	Giovanni Battista Rossi	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-6,9	III: 22-28,30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-?

Table 5. Polyphonic Settings of the Lamentations in a Post-Tridentine Local Context, 1570-1607												
Lamentations				Maundy Thursday			Good Friday			Holy Saturday		
Source	City	Year	Composer	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III
RISM A749	Milan	1570	Francesco Alcarotti	I: 1-3	I: 4-6	I: 7-9	II: 8-9	II: 10-12	II: 13-14	III: 22-26	IV: 1-3	V: 1-4
RISM I115	Venice	1572	Paolo Isnardi	I: 1-2	I: 5-8	I: 11-12	II: 8,18; III:1	II: 11-12; III:15	I: 9; III:19,21	III: 22,24;1:18;III:58	III: 56,51,55;IV:21;III:6	V: 1-5,7
RISM I119	Venice	1584	Paolo Isnardi	I: 1-2	I: 8-9	I: 11-12;III:8	II: 8,11	II: 12; III:15,21,19	III:1-4,6	III: 22-24,29	IV: 1-3; 1:18	V: 1-7
RISM F91	Brescia	1580	Placido Falconio	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 5-6	II: 8-10	II: 11-12	II: 15-16	III: 22-27	III: 28-32	V: 1-8,15-17
RISM M1756	Venice	1582	Alessandro Romano	I: 1-3	I: 4-7	I: 8-?	II: 8-?	II: 10-?	II: 12-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?
RISM V1664	Venice	1583	Pietro Vinci	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 5-6	II: 8-10	II: 11-13	II: 15-17	III: 22-29	III: 30-31,33-35	V: 1-8
RISM I46	Venice	1588	Marco Antonio Ingegneri	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 5-6	II: 8-10	II: 11-13	II: 15-17	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-8
RISM C3540	Brescia	1588	Giovanni Contino	I: 1-2	I: 4-6	I: 12-13	II: 8-10	II: 11-12	II: 15-16	III: 22-26	III: 30-35	V: 1-7
RISM O103	Ferrara	1589	Vittorio Orfino	I: 1-2	I: 4,9	I: 12-13	II: 8,11	II: 12-13	III: 1,5,8	III: 22,25,30	IV: 1,3	V: 1,2,5
RISM D1659	Milan	1593	Fabrizio Dentice	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 12-13	II: 8,11	II: 16,18	III: 19,20,18,8	III: 42,49-50	IV: 11-13	V: 1,2,15
RISM F1470	Verona	1595	Paolo Fonguetto	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 5-6	II: 8-9	II: 12-13	III: 1-6	III: 22-26	IV: 1-3	V: 1-6
RISM M1450	Venice	1597	Panormitano Mauro	I: 1-?	I: 4-?	I: 7-?	II: 8-?	II: 11-?	II: 14-?	III: 22-?	III: 26-?	V: 1-?
RISM M1282	Venice	1599	Tiburzio Massaino	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 6,8,12	II: 8-10	II: 11-13	III: 1-5	III: 22-26	III: 27-30;IV:1-2	V: 1-8
Not listed	Pisa	1599	Emilio de' Cavalieri	I: 1-2	I: 4	I: 20,12	II: 9,11	III: 41,58	III: 9,6,2	not set	not set	not set
RISM M3412	Naples	1602	Giovanni Domenico Montella	I: 1-2	I: 8-9	I: 12,14	II: 8,11	II: 13,15	III: 6,7,9	III: 22,27,28,30	IV: 1,6	V: 1-2
RISM C886	Milan	1603	Serafino Cantone	I: 1-2	I: 4	I: 12	II: 8,11	II: 16-18	III: 19,26	III: 42,49-50	IV: 11,13	V: 1-2
RISM C4460	Venice	1603	Giovanni Croce	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 5-6	II: 8-9	II: 18-19	III: 7-11	III: 33-35,37-38	III: 43-47	V: 1-6
RISM L3118	Prague	1604	Carl Luython	I: 1-2	I: 4-5	I: 11-12	II: 40-42	II: 49-51	III: 55-57	IV: 19-20	IV: 21-22	V: 1-9
I-Bc U93	Parma	1605	Costanzo Porta	I: 1-2	I: 3-4	I: 5-6	II: 8-9	II: 10-11	II: 12-13	III: 22-25	III: 26-29	V: 1-8
RISM B564	Venice	1607	Giovanni Bacilieri	I: 1-?	I: 8-?	I: 12-?	II: 8-?	II: 12-?	III: 1-?	III: 22-?	IV: 1-?	V: 1-?

To date, all that is known with absolute certainty is that three original Lamentations by Morales, together with another two by Festa, were deliberately modified in order to adjust the pre-Tridentine texts of these compositions to the post-Tridentine practice of the Sistine Chapel. It has been determined that the Tridentine adaptations of all of these five Tenebrae lessons were carefully copied by Johannes Parvus in codex *I-Rvat* CS 198 of the Sistine Chapel between the years 1578 and 1579, precisely coinciding with the liturgical revision that was carried out during the papacy of Gregory XIII to determine which works preserved at the Vatican archives were suitable for use in the post-Tridentine liturgy of the papal chapel¹⁹. This task was initially directed by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo, who were almost certainly responsible for modifying Morales's and Festa's original Lamentations, previously copied in *I-Rvat* CG XII.3 of the *Cappella Giulia* (1543)²⁰. Palestrina is known to have written additional parts for some of Morales's *Magnificat* –copied in manuscript *I-Rvat* CG VIII.39– (as did Francesco Soriano) and the composition of at least one of his Masses was also inspired by a motet by the Spanish composer; however, the Italian *maestro*, together with Zoilo, may have also been implicated in the restructuring of various Lamentations by Morales and Festa. If so, this discovery is not only testimony to Palestrina's veneration and admiration for Morales's music, but the continued use of his output in the Sistine Chapel repertory for various decades after his death.

The greatest composers of Roman polyphony at the end of the sixteenth century –including Victoria– showed a keen interest in these works. In fact, Morales's Lamentations, together with those by Carpentras and Palestrina, were the most copied Tenebrae lessons of the sixteenth century²¹. Apart from Palestrina's and Zoilo's Vatican restoration, the fact that Matelart introduced Morales's three original Lamentations into the canon of the music chapel of the Roman church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso must also be mentioned, together with Victoria's more than likely paraphrase of one of his Sistine Chapel Lamentations (Example 1). Both versions of the beginning of the *convertere* section of Victoria's lesson *Iod. Manum suam misit* coincide with the music Morales composed for the melisma on the Hebrew letter *Phe* in his Lamentation *Expandit Syon*. Victoria paid homage to the works of Morales and Festa in his Lamentations²²; a detail significant enough to ensure that the splendour of the polyphonic practice of the Lamentations sung at the papal chapel –during the Holy Week offices– did not go unnoticed during the period Victoria lived in Rome.

¹⁹ See M. Brauner: *The Parvus Manuscripts...*, pp. 256-274; and Mitchell Brauner: "Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in Richard Sherr (ed.): *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 169-170.

²⁰ This manuscript is a valuable collection of liturgical works for Holy Week. It shows clear signs of use and contains two Passions and a Mass for the Dead by Carlos D'Argentilly, as well as an anthology of polyphonic Lamentations composed by Genet Elzéar Carpentras (7), Juan Escribano (6), Constanzo Festa (8), Yvo Nau «Ivo Barry» (8) and Cristóbal de Morales (3). The original cover of this codex confirms that it was completed by the copyist Federico Mario de Perugia on 31 December 1543. See also José M. Llorens: *Le opere musicali della Capella Giulia: Manoscritti e edizioni fino al '700*, Studi e Testi 265, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1971, pp. 63-67.

²¹ Manuel del Sol: "Lamentaciones de Cristóbal de Morales. Historia y autenticidad", in Iain Fenlon, Juan Ruiz Jiménez & Cristina Urchueguía (eds.): *The Siglo de Oro Reconsidered*, Tours, Brepols (forthcoming). At the end of the sixteenth century the Italian theorist Pietro Pontio stressed that Morales, Jan Nasco and Giovanni Continò's Lamentations were exceptional works in regard to the musical treatment of the text. See Pietro Pontio: *Dialogo del R. M. Don Pietro Pontio Parmigiano ove si tratta della theorica, e pratica di musica*, Parma, Viotto, 1595, p. 61: 'Ne si deve in simili componimenti far inventione alcuna ò almeno poche; ma solo esprimer le parole, como si vede nelle lamentationi di Morales, Giovanni Nasco, Giovanni Continò'. The contents of this book, as well as another thirty or so Italian theoretical treatises from the Renaissance and early Baroque can be consulted at <<http://euromusicology.cs.uu.nl/>> (accessed 12 May 2012).

²² It must be recalled that Cramer identified a very short polyphonic quote from Victoria in the introduction *Incipit Lamentatio Hieremiae Prophetiae* to Morales's first Lamentation of Maundy Thursday: *Aleph. Quomodo sedet sola*. See E. C. Cramer: *The Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae...*, vol. II, p. 61: 'Furthermore, musical and circumstantial evidence supporting this very early date for these Lamentations [by Victoria] is found in the fact that the opening of Lectio I for Thursday is very closely related to the opening of

Morales's and Festa's Lamentations were very well-known works both in pre-Tridentine and post-Tridentine Rome, yet, in order to ensure that the original Lamentations by these composers were liturgically suitable for use in post-Tridentine practice at the papal chapel, certain sections inevitably had to be freely reelaborated to conform with the Tridentine reform (Table 6).

Table 6. Morales's and Festa's Post-Tridentine Lamentations in I-Rvat CS 198			
Lamentations	Composer	I-Rvat CS 198	I-Rvat CG XII.3
Maundy Thursday	Morales	ff. 52v-55r	ff. 126v-130r
Lesson II I: 6, 8, 9		<i>Vau. Et egressus est Heth. Peccatum peccavit Vide, Domine, afflictionem Hierusalem convertere</i>	<i>Coph. Vocavi amicos meos Ain. Audierunt quia ingemisco</i> [Exact whereabouts to be ascertained] <i>Hierusalem convertere</i>
Maundy Thursday	Morales	ff. 55v-60r	ff. 130v-134r
Lesson III I: 10, 12, 14		<i>Iod. Manum suam misit De quibus preceperas</i> <i>Lamed. O vos omnes Num. Vigilavit iugum iniquitatum Infirmata est virtus Hierusalem convertere</i>	<i>Ain. Idcirco ego plorans quoniam invaluit + longue factus est convertens animam me consolador quia longue.</i> <i>Samech. [Exact whereabouts to be ascertained] Num. Vigilavit iugum iniquitatum Infirmata est virtus & Dedit me Dominus Hierusalem convertere</i>
Good Friday	Festa	ff. 60v-64r	ff. 26r-30r
Lesson II II: 12-13, 15		<i>Lamed. Matribus suis Mem. Cui comparabote Samech. Plausurunt super te</i> <i>Gaudium universae terrae? Hierusalem convertere</i>	<i>Phe. Audite obsecro Syn. Gaude et laetare Res. [New composition] + a singulo meo et clamoribus iudicasti, Domine, causam</i> <i>Redemptor vitae meae Hierusalem convertere</i>
Good Friday	Morales	ff. 64v-69r	ff. 134v-139r
Lesson III III: 1-6		<i>Aleph. Ego vir videns Et adduxit in tenebras Beth. Vetustam fecit In tenebris collocavit me Hierusalem convertere</i>	<i>Phe. Expandit Syon in circuitu eius hostes + menstruis inter eos Sade. Justus est Dominus virgines mea Hierusalem convertere</i>
Holy Saturday	Festa	ff. 69v-73r	ff. 43v-50r
Lesson II IV: 1-2, 4-5		<i>Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum Beth. Filii Sion Gimel. Sed et lamie Daleth. Adhaesit lingua He. Qui vescebantur voluptuose Hierusalem convertere</i>	<i>Lamed. Clamavit cor eorum Gimel. [Exact whereabouts to be ascertained] [Omitted] Zain. Adhesit lingua [Omitted]. Lubricaverunt vestigia Hierusalem convertere</i>

The musicological interest of these copies modified by Morales and Festa is not only limited to the musical and textual variants that can be identified. A critical comparison of the verses chosen and the liturgical order in which these five pre-Tridentine lessons were finally relocated offers valuable information for the study of the polyphonic practice of the papal chapel in Victoria's time. The interesting coincidence that can be detected in Palestrina and Zoilos' restoration corroborates their deliberate intention to adapt various Lamentations by Morales and Festa to post-Tridentine Roman textual standardization, as certified in some of the most important verses from the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* that follow the usage of the Roman Church (see Table 3). This is precisely the liturgical order that was established for the singing of post-Tridentine polyphonic Lamentations at the papal chapel from at least the end of the 1570s, although it should also be clarified that this was not a

Morales' Lamentations which were published by two different Italian publishers in 1564. It is possible, therefore, that the young Victoria was paying homage to the most renowned of early sixteenth-century Spanish composers'. In fact, it was not a Lamentation by Morales, but the introduction *Incipit Lamentatio* to the first lesson of Maundy Thursday composed by Costanzo Festa –copied in manuscript I-Rvat CG XII.3 of the *Cappella Giulia*. It was Samuel Rubio who discovered that Morales's two printed editions (Venice, 1564 / M 3607 & M 3608) were 'a publishing farce'. The first five Lamentations in these Venetian printed editions, that is, the three lessons of Maundy Thursday and the first two of Good Friday, were written by Festa while the rest of the collection was the work of Morales. See Samuel Rubio: "Las dos ediciones de las lamentaciones de Morales, del año 1564, son una farsa editorial", *Tesoro Sacro Musical*, 52, 1969, pp. 25-28; and Samuel Rubio: *Cristóbal de Morales. Estudio crítico de su polifonía*, Real Monasterio de El Escorial, Biblioteca La Ciudad de Dios, 1969, pp. 280-286.

tradition unique to worship at the Holy See. As mentioned above, the liturgical and textual practice of the Roman rite was wisely disseminated in the polyphonic context of late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Italy. Thus, printed and manuscript Lamentations by Palestrina, Victoria, Nanino, Stabile, Dragoni, Asola, Vecchi and Guami, among others, made a decisive contribution to the establishment and dissemination of the institutional practice of the Roman Catholic Church in the Italian post-Tridentine polyphonic repertory.

Many of the studies that have been carried out about the impact of Tridentine reform on the Spanish Renaissance tend to ignore the vital issue of cultural exchange in certain regional practices and traditions. Spain was in no way isolated from the prevailing Roman influences and it should be stressed that there was a contemporary approach to the Council of Trent Reformation in the Iberian world. The Spanish and Portuguese printed plainchant books that defined the liturgical and musical practice of monodic and polyphonic Lamentations in the Iberian Peninsula soon did away with their Medieval and Renaissance pre-Tridentine traditions in order to adopt the textual standardization of the post-Tridentine Roman divine service. Despite the *Breviarium romanum* (1568) and the *Missale romanum* (1570) being destined to become the liturgical pillars of the Church –in the interests of replacing pre-Tridentine traditions with the introduction of a uniform practice in Catholicism– with respect to the liturgy of Lamentations, in the Iberian world the verses prescribed in Pius V's Roman Breviary were overlooked in favour of the texts established in the post-Tridentine *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae secundum curiam romanam* (Table 7). Spanish and Portuguese plainchant books irrefutably corroborate the introduction of a uniform context in Spain, Portugal and Italy in the liturgical practice of Lamentations, but a systematic study of these post-Tridentine Spanish, Portuguese and Italian books is also important in order to ascertain whether the example of the Lamentations is an exceptional case or, on the contrary, the divine service of the Church of Rome was introduced in other repertoires²³. There is no doubt that the liturgical impact of the 1568 Roman breviary on the Roman Catholic Church has to be reconsidered, at least in regard to Lamentations.

Table 7. Post-Tridentine Lamentations in Spanish and Portuguese Plainchant Books, 1573-1616

Lamentations / Liturgical Order			Maundy Thursday			Good Friday			Holy Saturday		
Printed Editions	City	Year	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III	Lesson I	Lesson II	Lesson III
<i>Breviarium romanum ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini</i>	Rome	1568	I: 1-6	I: 7-11	I: 12-16	II: 8-12	II: 13-18	III: 1-12	III: 22-33	IV: 1-7	V: 1-16
<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	Rome	1572	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Passionarium iuxta capellae regis lusitaniae consuetudinem</i>	Leiria	1575	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Passionarium cum Officio Maioris Hebdomadae... ecclesiae toletanae</i>	Toledo	1576	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	Coimbra	1576	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	Salamanca	1582	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Manuale chori secundum usum ordinis fratrum minorum</i>	Salamanca	1586	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Liber passionum et eorum quae Dominica in Palmis</i>	Lisbon	1595	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Opus harmonicum in historia Passionis Christi</i>	Zaragoza	1612	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11
<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i>	Madrid	1616	I: 1-5	I: 6-9	I: 10-14	II: 8-11	II: 12-15	III: 1-9	III: 22-30	IV: 1-6	V: 1-11

The Spanish monodic and polyphonic tradition quickly assimilated post-Tridentine Roman textual practice for the singing of Lamentations; however, despite the Tridentine reformation establishing the texts of the Lamentations for the first time –in regard to monody– Trent neither regulated nor established general norms for music making in the Catholic liturgy²⁴. While the Church of Rome tried to systematize the melodies of the Divine Office after the Council of Trent, it is surprising that such an important issue

²³ The contents of Table 7 can be expanded by consulting the following exemplars: *Manuale chori secundum usum sanctae romanae ecclesiae* (Salamanca, 1571); *Manuale chori secundum usum ordinis fratrum... agustini* (Salamanca, 1591); *Officio de la Semana Santa* (Salamanca, 1591); (Madrid, 1596); and (Madrid, 1600). The texts printed in the *Liber in quo habentes illa quae in Hebdomada Sancta... secundum usum fratrum ordinis praedicatorum* (Salamanca, 1570) differ from the verses established in the most important post-Tridentine Roman books: Maundy Thursday (I: 1-3; I: 4-6; I: 7-9); Good Friday (II: 1-3; II: 4-6; II: 7-9); and Holy Saturday (IV: 1-4; IV: 5-8; IV: 9-12 + V: 1-22).

²⁴ The impact of the Council of Trent on the practice of religious music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been studied extensively. For an initial introduction, see Robert Hayburn: *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D to 1977 A.D.*, Collegetville, The Liturgical Press, 1979, pp. 25-113.

was so often misinterpreted. Guidetti's *Cantus ecclesiasticus Officii Majoris Hebdomadae* (1587) or *Editio medicea* (1614) were never official or mandatory editions in the Catholic Church, making the tradition of singing the Lamentations of Jeremiah using native *toni lamentationum* a monodic practice established in Renaissance Europe²⁵. One of the first conclusions arising from the vast polyphonic archive of European Lamentations is its connection with plainchant. Almost all the composers of the Renaissance used pre-existing monodic melodies in the composition of their polyphonic Lamentations, from the earliest identified examples during the early decades of the fifteenth century until the first half of the seventeenth century²⁶. Notwithstanding, among the most widely used melodies, the Spanish and Roman reciting tones dominated the monodic and polyphonic practice of the Lamentation genre in Western Renaissance Europe.

The composers that formed part of Victoria's circle in Rome showed a clear predilection for the use of the Roman tone, as can be seen in the Lamentations composed by Palestrina, Dragoni, Stabile, Soriano, Nanino and Matelart (Example 2), while the Spanish polyphonic Lamentations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were based on a Medieval monodic tradition with Spanish roots—probably inherited from the liturgical and musical context of the Old Hispanic rite²⁷. It should thus come as no surprise that Victoria's contemporaries in Spain, such as Santos and Jerónimo de Aliseda, Francisco Guerrero, Pedro Bermúdez, Martín de Villanueva, Alonso Lobo, Luis de Aranda and Sebastián de Vivanco, among

²⁵ See Juan José Carreras: "Música y diplomacia: la reforma postridentina del canto litúrgico y la corona española", *Italica*, 17, 1984, pp. 219-230; Tess Knighton: *Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, 1474-1516*, Zaragoza, Instituto Fernando el Católico, 2001, pp. 109-141 and 227-228; Juan Carlos Asensio: "El canto llano en la España del siglo XVI. De olvidos y protagonismos", in John Griffiths & Javier Suárez-Pajares (eds.): *Políticas y prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II*, Madrid, ICCMU, 2004, pp. 253-284; and Juan Carlos Asensio: "More hispano / More toletano. La elección del *cantus firmus* no romano en las tradiciones polifónicas locales hispanas", in Iain Fenlon, Juan Ruiz Jiménez & Cristina Urchueguía (eds.): *The Siglo de Oro Reconsidered*, Tours, Brepols (forthcoming). These studies show that the diocesan uses that would demonstrate an active and uninterrupted tradition for over two centuries enjoyed a papal privilege decreed by the Church of Rome to continue using their native chants and melodies during worship. Likewise, a careful reading of the *Motu proprio: Ad hoc nos deus unxit*, from 17 December 1570, certifies that in Philip II's time the Spanish Church retained the facultative authorization of Pope Pius V himself, who permitted the official nature and the use of Toledan plainchant in the Crown of Spain after the Tridentine Reformation.

²⁶ The use of polyphony in the Lamentation genre evolved in a surprising manner during the Renaissance. Despite the localization of a small group of polyphonic lessons written during the first half of the fifteenth century, the polyphonic style in this genre does not seem to have been established in the liturgical output of European composers until around the 1480s. See Aukje Engelina Schröder: "Les origines des lamentations polyphoniques au XVe siècle dans les pays-bas", in A. Smijers (ed.): *Kongress-Bericht, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Utrecht 1952*, Amsterdam, Alsbach, 1953, pp. 352-359; Günther Massenkeil: "Zur Lamentationskomposition des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 18, 1961, pp. 103-114; Günther Massenkeil: *Mehrstimmige Lamentationen aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz, B. Schott's Söhne, 1965; Robert Thomas: *Two Petrucci Prints of Polyphonic Lamentations 1506*, M.Mus. diss., University of Illinois, 1970; Jane Klimisch: *The Music of the Lamentations: Historical and Analytical Aspects*, Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1971; Charlotte Reinke: *Die mehrstimmigen Lamentationen von ihren Anfängen bis ca. 1550*, Kassel, Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1997; and Peter Scott: *Ottaviano Petrucci's Lamentationum Liber primus and Liber secundus (1506/1 and 1506/2): A Bibliographical, Contextual and Analytical Study*, Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 2004, pp. 2-19. The polyphonic composition of Lamentations was definitively established in the works of the Renaissance polyphonists during the early decades of the sixteenth century and enjoyed an extraordinary dissemination in the Catholic world after the Council of Trent through the liturgical standardization of its texts and music printing. See also Manuel del Sol: "Tradición hispana en lamentaciones polifónicas del Oficio de Tinieblas: Apuntes sobre *toni lamentationum* hispanos en el siglo XVI", *Revista de Musicología*, 33/1-2, 2010, pp. 247-267.

²⁷ Manuel del Sol: *La tradición monódica more hispano en las lamentaciones polifónicas (siglos XV-XVI)*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid (in progress). See also Günther Massenkeil: "Eine Spanische Choralmelodie in mehrstimmigen Lamentationskompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 19, 1963, pp. 230-237; Luis Antonio González: *La música en las catedrales aragonesas en el siglo XVII: la composición de lamentaciones*, memoria de licenciatura, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1985-1986; José López-Calo: "Las lamentaciones solísticas de Miguel de Irizar y de José de Vaquedano. Un estudio sobre la melodía barroca española", *Anuario Musical*, 43, 1988, pp. 121-162; Matilde Olarte: "Estudio de la forma lamentación", *Anuario Musical*, 47, 1992, pp. 81-101; Robert Snow: *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala*

others, used Spanish reciting tones in the composition of their polyphonic Lamentations, as did various generations of pre-Tridentine composers, including Juan de Anchieta, Francisco de Peñalosa, Alfonso o Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas, Juan Escrivano, Cristóbal de Morales (*E-Tc* 21 and *GCA-Gc* 4), Andrés de Torrentes, Pere Alberch Vila, Rodrigo de Ceballos and Hernando Franco.

I-Rsg 58, f. 63v [Cantus]
Palestrina
Ma - num su - am mi - sit ho - stis ad om - ni - a de - si - de - ra - bi - li - a e - ius

I-Rsg 87, f. 7v [Cantus]
Dragoni
Ma - num su - am mi - sit ho - stis ad om - ni - a de - si - de - ra - bi - li - a e - ius

I-Rsg 58, f. 16v [Cantus]
Stabile
Ma - num su - am mi - sit ho - stis de - si - de -

I-Rsg 58, f. 67v [Tenor]
Soriano
Teth, Teth.

I-Rvat CG XV.30, f. 5r [Altus]
Nanino
Et e - gre - ssus est a fi - li - a Sy - on Om - nis de

I-Rsld IV.12, f. 46r [Cantus II]
Matelart
De La - men - ta - ti - o - ne Hie - re - mi - e Pro-

Example 2. Roman reciting tones in Victoria's circle

The use of a *tonus lamentationum* in a polyphonic lesson was not an irrelevant issue in this repertory as, like the texts, the introduction to these monodic melodies determined the relationship of a Lamentation to a specific melodic tradition. Like Morales, Victoria resolved this issue cleverly and diplomatically in his compositions. A strict paraphrase of any of the archetypal Spanish or Roman reciting tones cannot be identified in the Lamentations these composers wrote during their stay in Rome. Only short melodic quotes corresponding to the initial motives of each of the main intonations of the tones of the Spanish (*a-c-d* / *e-g-a*) and Roman (*f-g-a*) Lamentations can be identified. It must be remembered that Cramer discovered Victoria's archetypal use of these intonations, but it should also be noted that he was very misguided in his efforts to relate the liturgical chant of Spanish Lamentations

City, Cathedral Archive, Music Ms. 4, in Bonnie Blackburn (ed.): *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1996; Luis Antonio González: "Lamentación", in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. VI, Madrid, SGAE, 2000, pp. 721-725; Dionisio Preciado: *Juan Escrivano (†1557): Seis lamentaciones*, Madrid, Editorial Alpuerto, 2006, pp. 23-30; and M. del Sol: "Tradición hispana en lamentaciones polifónicas...", pp. 247-267. The *maestros de capilla* who served at Spanish musical institutions in the Iberian Peninsula and the New World strictly paraphrased the plainchant of the Spanish *toni lamentationum*, except in the cases of Ambrosio Cotes, Bartolomé de Cárceres, Sebastián Raval and Pedro Rimonte (which are still unclear).

with the initial motive of the *more hispano* melodies of the hymns *Pange lingua* and *Tantum ergo*²⁸. This melodic relationship is not based on any proven argument, and has only led to confusion in the study and analysis of the composer's Lamentations and the melodic intrahistory of this genre. The Spanish manuscript and printed sources of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance demonstrate that the intervallic characteristics of the archetypal intonation of the Spanish tone (*a-c-d / e-g-a*) may be related to pieces from the Visigothic, Mozarabic and Neo-Mozarabic monodic tradition²⁹. This type of initial intonation was precisely one of the main reciting tones of Spanish plainchant and, thus, its use can also be traced to the beginning of many Spanish sacred and secular works of the Renaissance.

The fact that Victoria did not strictly use a Spanish tone rules out the possibility that his Lamentations were composed for use at the Real Monasterio de las Descalzas de Madrid or that he had written them during his adolescence prior to travelling to Italy. Moreover, as discussed in this article, there are not enough liturgical elements to prove that his Tenebrae lessons were originally conceived for a Spanish institution. Victoria is thus supposed to have written his manuscript Lamentations in Rome for a music chapel in this city and that the printed set were conceived with the clear universal vocation of serving the liturgical practice of any Catholic ecclesiastical institution.

A very brief examination of the polyphonic style of Lamentations in Victoria's time could shed some light on the insurmountable lack of extant historical documentation of his own settings. Establishing the Roman institution for which Victoria wrote his manuscript Tenebrae lessons has been one of the most polemical and controversial points of the historical context of these compositions, yet not all possibilities are equally likely³⁰:

(1) An initial aspect to consider relates to the fact that Victoria composed two complete cycles of nine polyphonic Lamentations. Upon examining the polyphonic repertory of Lamentations composed in Italy –from Petrucci's first printed edition (1506) to the cycles published at the beginning of the seventeenth century– it can be seen that almost all of the composers who worked in the independent states of the Italian Peninsula wrote the nine Tenebrae lessons in polyphony, whereas the use of polyphony in this genre was very different in Spain. Spanish ecclesiastical institutions only sang the first lesson of each nocturne in polyphony, while the second and third were recited in plainchant, a practice that was standardized in the great cathedrals, collegiate churches, churches and certain monasteries of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, and by extension, the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.

(2) It should also be stressed that Victoria –like his contemporaries in Rome and Spain– composed original music for all of the formal sections of a Lamentation. It must be noted that some of the greatest Italian composers of polyphony of the Renaissance used a sole polyphonic version of the prayer *Hierusalem convertere* for the end of their nine Lamentations –Giovanni Contino (Venice, 1561); Jan Nasco (Venice, 1561); Paolo Ferrarese (Venice, 1565); Falconio (Brescia, 1580); Ingegneri (Venice, 1588); Asola (Venice, 1588); Guami (Venice, 1588); and Massaino (Venice, 1599). This was not new in this repertory. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Marbrianus de Orto, Johannes de Quadris, Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Erasmus Lapidia reused the same polyphonic material in some sections, especially in the melismas on the Hebrew letters and the *Hierusalem convertere* prayers. Likewise, the use of the same music for the texts of the introductions *Incipit Lamentatio Hieremie Prophete*, *De Lamentatione Hieremie Prophete* and *Incipit Oratio Hieremie Prophete* can be seen in Jacquet of Mantua's posthumous edition (Venice, 1567).

²⁸ E. C. Cramer: *The Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae...*, vol. I, pp. 22-45.

²⁹ See M. del Sol: *La tradición monódica more hispano...*

³⁰ The codicological characteristics of manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 point to an unlikely origin of the composition of these Lamentations for use at the Spanish church of S. Maria di Monserrato (ca. 1569), Otto Truchsess von Waldburg's private chapel (ca. 1568-1571) or the Collegio Germanico (ca.1573). In 1580s, the Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri –S. Girolamo della Carità– (1578-1585) and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection –S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli– (1579-1585) seem unlikely.

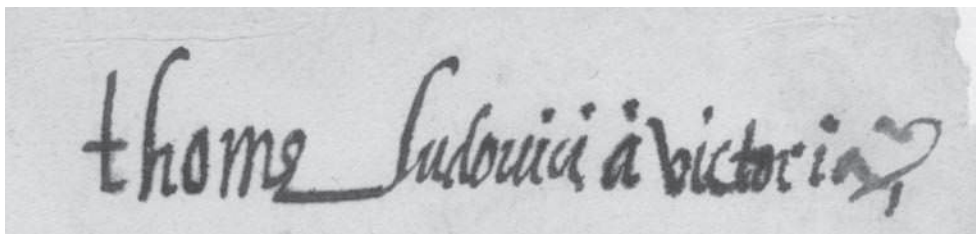


Illustration 2. Tomás Luis de Victoria's signature. I-Rvat CS 186, f. 2r
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(3) Another very little studied aspect of this repertory relates to the increase in the vocal forces in the *Hierusalem convertere* prayers. Contrary to recent music historiography, the systematic increase in the number of voices at the end of a Lamentation is not an archetypal characteristic of this genre, but a little-used stylistic resource in the works of European polyphonists. Victoria was possibly one of the few composers of the sixteenth century who increased the vocal forces at the end of all of his Lamentations. But the most surprising aspect of this peculiar technique is that this polyphonic practice is specifically found in some of the *Tenebrae* lessons that were unequivocally composed for use at the papal chapel. This characteristic can be particularly detected in several Lamentations by Festa, Escribano, Morales and Palestrina, as well as in other lessons from the Roman polyphonic circle such as those composed by Stabile, Dragoni and Cavalieri³¹.

In conclusion, the origins of Victoria's collection are undoubtedly related to the reason why *I-Rvat* CS 186 is located at the Sistine Chapel archive, the fact that it was copied by a professional Vatican scribe and the identification of liturgical and musical features from the repertory in use at the papal chapel during Victoria's time. All the evidence points to the fact that the copying of the *I-Rvat* CS 186 manuscript Lamentations was commissioned by Victoria and delivered to the Sistine Chapel by the composer himself or by one of his agents in Rome –probably the Spanish singer, editor and composer Francisco Soto de Langa³².

If the copying of the manuscript was completed by around *ca.* 1580, this may lead to the possibility that these Lamentations were offered to Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) as a result of his revision and renovation of the polyphonic repertory of the papal chapel from late 1577, while in the event that it

³¹ These issues are analyzed in greater detail in my doctoral thesis, see M. del Sol: *La tradición monódica more hispano...* In Raval's case (1594), it is very difficult to establish whether or not this composer increased the vocal forces at the end of his Lamentations due to the fact that there is no extant book of the *quintus*. Nanino, Soriano and Matelart did not augment the number of voices in the *Hierusalem convertere* sections and the only works by Spanish composers of the sixteenth century that have been located are by Torrentes (*E-Tc* 18), Vivanco (*E-GuadM* 2), Pedro Serrano (*E-SE* 1) and an anonymous lesson from *E-Boc* 11 bis.

³² With respect to the biography and professional activity of Francisco Soto de Langa and Victoria in Rome see, for example, Robert Stevenson & Laura Macy: "Soto de Langa, Francisco", in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> (accessed 21 May 2012); Noel O'Regan: "Victoria, Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome", *Early Music*, 22/2, 1994, pp.279-295; Esteban Hernández: *Tomás Luis de Victoria. Salmos de Vísperas*, Ávila, Obra Social de Caja de Ávila, 2003, pp.9-18; and Juan Ruiz Jiménez: "Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria en las instituciones eclesíásticas de la corona de Castilla", in Alfonso de Vicente & Pilar Tomás (eds.): *Tomás Luis de Victoria y la cultura musical en la España de Felipe III*, Boadilla del Monte, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2012, p. 305. Manuscript *I-Rvat* CS 186 is very likely to have been a copy signed by Victoria himself (See f. 2r). See Alfonso de Vicente: "El maestro de la Pasión del Señor / The Maestro of the Lord's Passion", in *Tomás Luis de Victoria. 2. Lamentaciones de Jeremías*, Ensemble Plus Ultra – Michael Noone, CD Archiv Produktion 0602517795211, 2008, pp. 5-15, in particular pp. 7 and 13: 'Acerca de la autenticidad del manuscrito no hay duda; aunque se trata de la obra de un pulcro copista, la mano del propio Victoria aparece al menos en la indicación de la autoría en la cabecera y quizás en alguna corrección de alteraciones accidentales – There is no doubt about the authenticity of the manuscript. Although it is the work of a meticulous copyist, Victoria's own hand appears at least in the author's heading and perhaps in an occasional correction of accidental alterations'.

was completed *ca.* 1585, it would have been offered to his successor Sixtus V (1585-1590), who was appointed Supreme Pontiff on 24 April 1585. In any case it can be concluded that Victoria's manuscript Lamentations are enveloped in the post-Tridentine Roman liturgical and musical practice of the papal chapel.

To date, none of the Lamentations from *I-Rvat* CS 186 have been located in Italian, Spanish or Portuguese archives or inventories from the late-sixteenth century, thus indicating that the dissemination of Victoria's collection was restricted both geographically (exclusively confined to Rome) and in time due to the implementation of Palestrina's Lamentations during the papacy of Sixtus V –compositions that formed part of the musical practice of the Vatican chapel even as late as the first decade of the eighteenth century. In relation to the printed Lamentations in the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, it should be emphasized that these lessons were published (and very probably composed) during the period in which Victoria could well have organized the music for Holy Week at the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome (1583 and 1584)³³. It is quite possible –and even likely– that Victoria would have performed some of the Lamentation settings himself that would subsequently be published in 1585.

It was precisely over the final years of his Roman period that Victoria began to show clear signs of exhaustion and revealed his intention to 'complete my compositions and finally rest with an honest retirement'³⁴. Almost all of Victoria's printed output in Rome is concentrated from the end of the 1570s to the beginning of the 1580s –except the publication of the *Missae quattuor* (1592). A total of six publications in which not only are all of the liturgical genres represented, but the structure and organization of these books of polyphony reflect the conception of a premeditated editorial plan that has yet to be discussed in detail. After the publication of his first two printed books in Venice –*Motecta* (1572) and *Liber primus* (1576)– Victoria worked intensively to prepare the publication of a vast polyphonic corpus of hymns, psalms, Magnificats and antiphons, as well as a small collection of brand-new Masses and motets in the printed editions of 1583. In regard to these years of heightened compositional activity, it is reasonable to assume that after having composed most of the liturgical calendar in polyphony, the intention of finally printing the Holy Week repertory was an extremely interesting enterprise for Victoria, Domenico Basa and Alessandro Gardano. This editorial project finally became a reality with the publication of his *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, a book of polyphonic music –very well elaborated in its format and design– that contains a total of 37 works: 2 Passions, 9 Lamentations, 18 responses, 4 motets, 2 hymns, the canticle from the *Benedictus*, the psalm *Miserere* and the improperios. Except in those pieces in which Victoria introduced a *more hispano* sonority, the publication of his *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* was conceived as a Gregorian work, that is, a publication whose liturgical roots are situated in the Roman tradition³⁵. Victoria, influenced by his religiousness and the Counter-Reformation spirit of the period, proposed the publication of a universal, Catholic work, dedicated to the Holy Spirit, printed in the epicentre of the Catholic world and close to the liturgical praxis of the Church of Rome. In a nutshell, it can be defined as a Roman, Catholic and Apostolic editorial project by three men with a great reputation and musical influence in post-Tridentine Rome, a work devised as a best seller on the music-publishing market during the Counter-Reformation. The location of copies and manuscripts in cities as diverse as Rome, Madrid, Regensburg, London, Vicenza, Lisbon, Mexico, Turin, Tarazona, Puebla, Bologna, Gubbio, Chicago, Loreto, Modena and Reggio Emilia, indicates that the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* circulated widely throughout the Catholic

³³ N. O'Regan: "Victoria, Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection...", pp. 279-295.

³⁴ *Thomae Ludovici a Victoria: Missarum libri duo, Romae, Ex Typographia Dominici Bassae*, 1583: 'composuisssem et excludenda curassem; volui vt defessus, commentandu finen iam facerem, et aliquando perfunctus laboribus honesto in otio conquiescerem'.

³⁵ See in this volume Juan Carlos Asensio: "Liturgia y canto llano en la obra de Tomás Luis de Victoria".

world, but its reception does not necessarily ensure the continued use of its works at a particular institution³⁶. With regard to the polyphonic practice of Lamentations in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain –except in the well-documented cases of Madrid and Mexico³⁷– there are many elements that prove an exiguous circulation and reception of his printed Lamentations both at the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the Baroque. The authority of Spanish plainchant in the monodic and polyphonic practice of this repertory led to a largely impermeable liturgical and musical context that hindered the incorporation of ‘foreign’ *Tenebrae* lessons. In general, it can be said that Spanish ecclesiastical institutions were mainly supplied with Lamentations composed by their own *maestros de capilla* and there are very few examples in which the survival of lessons by other composers can be documented³⁸. The reason for this resistance is largely the Spanish liturgical tradition and the chapelmasters active in Spain, who very probably slowed down the circulation and reception of Victoria's Lamentations. In addition, as is widely known, Victoria did not hold that position at any of the great Spanish cathedrals and died without leaving any recognized pupils to assist in the dissemination and survival of his output in Spain outside the traditional channels of direct distribution he was so familiar with, a fact which precisely worked to his disadvantage in attempting to insert his Lamentations into the musical practice of the most important Spanish institutions of the Early Modern period.

³⁶ See J. R. Jiménez: “Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria...”, pp. 301-351; Javier Marín: “Tomás Luis de Victoria en las Indias: de la circulación a la reinención”, in A. de Vicente & P. Tomás (eds.): *Tomás Luis de Victoria...*, pp. 403-460; and in this volume Juan Ruiz Jiménez: “Creación del canon de polifonía sacra en las instituciones religiosas de la corona de Castilla, 1550-1625”. See also José Vicente González Valle: “Recepción del *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* de T. L. de Victoria y edición de F. Pedrell”, *Recerca Musicológica*, 9-12, 1991-1992, pp. 133-155.

³⁷ See Alfonso de Vicente: “El entorno femenino de la dinastía: el complejo conventual de las Descalzas Reales (1574-1633)”, in A. de Vicente & P. Tomás (eds.): *Tomás Luis de Victoria...*, pp. 197-246; and Javier Marín: “Tomás Luis de Victoria en las Indias...”, pp. 403-460.

³⁸ See M. del Sol: *La tradición monódica more hispano...* In sixteenth-century Spain it has been detected the circulation of the printed Lamentations of Maistre Jhan (Venice, 1551), Paolo Arentino (Venice, 1546 / 1563), Cristóbal de Morales (Venice, 1564), Alessandro Romano (Venice, 1582), Michele Varotto (Milan, 1587), Palestrina (Rome, 1588), Fabrizio Dentice (Milan, 1593), Sebastián Raval (Rome, 1594), Giovanni Domenico Montella (Naples, 1602), and Pedro Rimonte (Antwerp, 1607).