

## Invoking Pedro de Escobar: The persistence of *Cananea* and the placing of Tradition<sup>1</sup>

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Music is inseparable from place. Music literally *takes place* within spatial, social, and political boundaries, while music's texts, or compositions, *make place* for the imagination of localities. The task of evoking place through music can be achieved in many ways; music can invoke place by naming or alluding to it, by evoking it through images or sounds, or by association with geographically defined social or ethnic groups. An explicit reference, such as Johannes Ciconia's 'Venecie, mundi splendor', or the song 'New York, New York', often takes the form of prosopopeia, where place is personified according to imagined collective values, such as republican power or modernity and progress in the 'city that never sleeps'. Music can invoke place through a literary program or text, perhaps suggesting local color with typical melodies, gestures, or forms, such as in Smetana's *Ma vlast* or Bizet's *Carmen*. Sometimes music also places itself in the imagination of performers and listeners in terms of mythical genealogy; 'Celtic' music can evoke an imagined past of Ireland, just as the western Catholic church envisions Rome as the native soil of its

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sacred chant. Finally, music can symbolize place by metonymy, that is, it becomes grounded through association with its performance venue or the provenance of its performers and creators: muzak becomes 'elevator music' just as Josquin's polyphony becomes 'Franco-Flemish'.

This paper engages with the last category, that of placement by association. I am concerned with music whose place is nowhere spelled out, but everywhere suggested, namely the *Clamabat autem* motets that emerged in the course of the sixteenth century on the Iberian Peninsula. It was the Portuguese-born Pedro de Escobar (ca. 1465-ca. 1535) who first narrated in polyphony the story of the Woman of Canaan and the same story was later recounted by three other generations of Iberian composers. Based on the New Testament story of the woman of Canaan, the motet tradition originated in the early 16th century with Escobar's popular four-voice setting.<sup>2</sup> In addition to some relatively early intabulations,<sup>3</sup> exactly the same text found in Escobar's motet was set by Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-1553), Rodrigo de Ceballos (ca. 1525-1581), Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599), Bartolomé Farfán (fl. 1580), and Vicente Lusitano (d. after 1561).

While no explicit connection exists, the *Clamabat autem* motets gain association with the city of Seville by virtue of the fact that six of the eight composers who set the text were either from or had ties to the city. Morales was born in Seville and, as we are often reminded, expressed local pride by always including the toponymic 'Hispalensis' in his signature.<sup>4</sup> Rodrigo Ceballos, born in the region of Andalusia, worked in Seville in the 1550s and was informally employed by the cathedral both as

<sup>2</sup> See Robert STEVENSON, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1960; pp. 167-174 for what remains the foundation for biographical information on the composer variously known as Pedro de Escobar and Pedro do Porto. A list of sources preserving Escobar's motet is given below.

<sup>3</sup> Gonzalo de BAENA, *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger*, Lisbon, 1540; and Alonso MUDARRA, *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela*, Seville, Juan de León, 1546. See Tess KNIGHTON, «A newly discovered keyboard source (G. de Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger*, Lisbon, 1540): a preliminary report», *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5/1, 1996, pp. 81-112, for a description of Baena's print and its recent discovery.

<sup>4</sup> Morales's 5-voice *Clamabat autem* was copied in one of the later Toledo choirbooks, Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana, MS 17, in Porto, Biblioteca Publica Municipal, MS 40, and it appears, unattributed, in Cipriano de RORE, *Il terzo libro de motetti*, Venice, Gardano, 1549.

a singer and to copy several polyphonic choirbooks.<sup>5</sup> Although we know next to nothing about Bartolomé Farfán, and his motet unfortunately cannot be considered here, his connection to Seville is unquestionable, serving as *maestro de mozos* at the cathedral in the 1570s and 80s.<sup>6</sup> Guerrero, who worked in Seville cathedral for more than 30 years, served as chapel master from 1574-1599.<sup>7</sup> The one *Clamabat autem* author with no apparent ties to Seville is Vicente Lusitano.<sup>8</sup>

The present study considers issues of emulation, tradition, and place by focusing on the continued presence of Pedro de Escobar in this Andalusian *Clamabat autem* tradition. Two threads draw the motets together: their texts are the same, and their settings hint back to Escobar's. In both senses, Lusitano's motet is exceptional: the text displays minor variants and the music bears little relation with the rest of the set. This study explores the ways these motets recall Escobar's setting, while at the same time posing the question of why *this* particular text was set so often in such a geographically defined area.

### *Clamabat autem* motets and place

Todd Borgerding, in a seminal contribution to the understanding of the Spanish motet, maintains that the similarities between the settings from Morales's generation through the end of the sixteenth century stem

- 5 R. STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976, pp. 304-306; also Robert SNOW, *The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and Its Sources*, Detroit, Information Coordinators, 1980. Ceballos, however, ended his life as chapel master at Granada cathedral. His four-voice setting is preserved in Granada Cathedral, Capilla Real, MS 3, and Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana, MS 7, and was part of a larger Gospel motet cycle for the Sundays from Septuagesima through Lent.
- 6 R. STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 314, n10. According to Stevenson, Farfán's motet *Clamavit autem mulier* is based on the same text as that of Escobar, Morales, Ceballos, and Guerrero. It is his only known surviving piece, preserved in Biblioteca Medinaceli, MS 13,250.
- 7 Guerrero's setting was also part of a Septuagesima-Lent cycle and was included in his *Motteta quae partim quarternis, partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis concinuntur vocibus*, Venice, Gardano, 1570. It was reprinted in 1597, under the same title, by Vincenti, without its *secunda pars*. This motet is also found in manuscripts: Segovia Cathedral MS 13 and Valencia Cathedral MS 1/112 (four voices with basso continuo – obviously a later reworking).
- 8 Vicente Lusitano's five-voice setting appears only in his *Liber primus epigrammatum*, Rome, Dorico, 1551. I am grateful to Todd Borgerding for generously sharing his transcription of this motet with me.

from composers' shared understanding of Gospel text exegeses.<sup>9</sup> However true this may be in general, in the specific case of these motets, interrelation reaches well beyond a common exegesis – in fact, beyond the musical text of the pieces themselves – to embrace hidden, oblique references to the same city, which, present in its apparent absence, ties them together far more extensively than any textual, musical or hermeneutic device. Once again, Lusitano, who was not personally related in any way to Seville, is the exception. His *Clamabat autem* does not use the same text, cite Escobar, or hint at Seville; it confirms the relations observed in the other pieces *via negationis*. Along the same lines as Borgerding, I consider the *Clamabat autem* motets as 'updates', clearly based on Escobar's setting. Each composer took the original as a loose point of departure for his own musical reading of the text, developed through his own generational style characteristics and personal preferences.

The city of Seville, and the region of Andalusia, therefore lie at the center of my inquiry. Andalusia has long been imagined as a land of musical traditions. By virtue of the region's illustrious issue, music scholars have even gone as far as positing the existence of an 'Andalusian school'.<sup>10</sup> The region was certainly important in defining expectations for many genres, especially the Mass for the Dead.<sup>11</sup> Oddly enough, it is the figure of the Portuguese Pedro de Escobar that stands behind generic traditions originating in Andalusia. He is one of the most prominent influences on later generations, if we judge from the number of times younger composers used his works as a model. Morales and Guerrero, and many other peninsular composers as well, looked to Escobar for models, not only for their *Clamabat autem* motets, but also for their Requiem masses. Yet, while Morales's and Guerrero's Requiem settings became the pan-Spanish models for generations to come, the *Clamabat autem* tradition was largely limited to Andalusia, and seems to have died out shortly after the liturgical reforms of the 1570s.

<sup>9</sup> Todd BORGERDING, «The Motet and Spanish Religiosity ca. 1550-1610», PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1997, p. 146.

<sup>10</sup> Henri COLLET, *Le mysticisme musical espagnol au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. 257-284.

<sup>11</sup> Grayson WAGSTAFF, «Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the *Officium* and *Missa pro defunctis* by Spanish and Latin American Composers Before 1630», PhD Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1995, especially pp. 606-607.

To be sure, musical modeling does not logically imply confinement within geographical boundaries. Yet it has been shown that north Italian motet composers who set the same motet texts drew extensively from a respected model, associated through patronage with a city or kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Despite the fact that Escobar is not traditionally associated with the city beyond his seven-year service as chapel master, the connection of the *Clamabat autem* composers to Seville, and the prominence of allusions to Escobar's setting would seem to replicate the north Italian phenomenon in southern Spain. The individual *Clamabat autem* motets, however, do not seem to be related to the same patron or institution in the same way as the Italian motets. Escobar, Guerrero, and Ceballos possibly created their settings for performance at Seville cathedral, while Morales – whose career was notoriously itinerant – is not known to have contributed original pieces to the local repertory. Still, however loose or hidden the relation of the motets to Seville may have been, it was real. As I will discuss in the final section, out of its sheer popularity, Escobar's setting seems to have entered a form of oral transmission, becoming something more akin to a popular song than to a strictly liturgical item, as witnessed by the arrangement for voice and vihuela by the canon of the cathedral, Alonso Mudarra. When Morales, Ceballos, Guerrero, and perhaps Farfán invoked Escobar through their *Clamabat autem* settings, they were not only remaking a famous piece, or paying homage to a revered master, but perhaps also dialoguing with the oral tradition of a city that had nurtured them all; by invoking Pedro de Escobar, they evoked Seville.

### **Nationalizing Escobar**

The vision of Escobar as a local, Andalusian or Sevillian composer represents a departure from established approaches, from categories grounded in Modernity's nation-state to ideas inspired in localities. Escobar was of interest to earlier scholars partly because his generation represented what was perceived as a stylistic crossroad between native and foreign composition. According to Anglès, royal chapels on the peninsula

<sup>12</sup> Michèle FROMSON, «Imitation and Innovation in the North-Italian Motet, 1560-1605», PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988, p. 309.

before and after the reign of the Catholic monarchs relied on imported singers for the performance of sacred polyphony.<sup>13</sup> Under Fernando and Isabel, Iberian musicians such as Pedro de Escobar and Francisco Peñalosa for the first time developed a native style, which later fused with – or, as Soriano Fuertes would have it, was killed by – the styles of Franco-Flemish singers imported by Philip the Fair. In this view, Escobar's generation brought forth the seeds of a national style, which was seen, in comparison to the international or Franco-Flemish style of the period, as 'simpler', because it paid less attention to complex contrapuntal devices and more to the expression of the text. This evaluation, put forward by Anglès, came to be a commonplace when describing the 'Spanish' style: complexity and artifice pointed to foreign influence, while attention to text expression was indigenous.

Wolfgang Freis challenges the received national-foreign dichotomy in his study of Morales and the Spanish motet.<sup>14</sup> In this study, Escobar continues to figure as a progenitor of Iberian style, yet Freis attempts to bring the issue of influence into a less ideologically charged arena by using musical analysis to refute the hypothesis that Franco-Flemish musical procedures overpowered Iberian native composition. His study takes a step toward concrete, technical analysis that was long overdue and necessary. Yet even his discussion seems to have remained faithful to the categories of early scholarly discourse, that is, grounded in a nineteenth-century construction of nation. National categories often cease to be meaningful because they impose upon the past values, meaning, and a uniformity that did not exist. While it can be argued that the Catholic monarchs fostered a consciousness of territorial unity under a single crown, we cannot ignore that local traditions and preferences played as great or greater a role in influencing style than larger 'national' ones. Freis moves away from an overarching hispanicity and nuances the term 'Iberian', both by introducing distinctions between generations of composers and by determining stylistic traits of individual composers. I

<sup>13</sup> Higinio ANGLÈS, «Les musiciens flamands en Espagne et leur influence sur la polyphonie espagnole», in his *Scripta Musicologica*, ed. Jesús Lopez-Calo, Rome, Storia e Letteratura, 1976, pp. 1180-1186; Mariano Soriano FUERTES, *Historia de la música española desde la llegada de los Fenecios hasta el año de 1850*, Barcelona, Ramirez, 1856, vol. 2, pp. 106-130.

<sup>14</sup> Wolfgang FREIS, «Cristóbal de Morales and the Spanish Motet in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: An Analytical Study of Selected Motets by Morales and Competitive Settings in SevBC-1 and TarazC-2-3», PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1992.

believe we will be well served to continue in this direction, that is, away from the monolithic categories of the national and toward the plurality of the local.

The *Clamabat autem* motets are rich prime matter for a case study of influence and locality. Although the correspondence among the motets has not gone unnoticed by scholars, it is my contention that these motets indeed form a tradition, which may have been centered in Seville and, as part of a similar cultural realm, spread to other cities in the region of Andalusia. This tradition, moreover, is not limited to the reproduction of a single text, musical emulation, or a common liturgical occasion, but embraces all three aspects. I will examine first Escobar's setting, both text and music, and go on to compare briefly Escobar's setting to those of Morales, Ceballos, Guerrero, Mudarra, and as a counterexample Lusitano, exploring the ways each composer engages with the tradition.

### Escobar and the Gospel of the Woman of Canaan

Escobar's *Clamabat autem*, it is well known, was a 'hit' in the sixteenth century. Together with the Marian motet *Memorare piissima*, variously attributed to Peñalosa and Escobar, it was copied in manuscripts no fewer than nine times, in sources distributed throughout mid- and southern-Iberia and as far west as Guatemala.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, the rest of his motets survive in a single source.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, Escobar's *Clamabat autem*

<sup>15</sup> Escobar's *Clamabat autem* is found (unattributed) three times in the Lilly Library Guatemala Manuscripts 8 and 9: once texted and twice untexted, presumably for *ministriles*. Paul BORG, «The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library», PhD Diss. Indiana University, 1985.

<sup>16</sup> Peter ALEXANDER, «The Motets of Pedro de Escobar», M.M. Thesis, Indiana Univ., 1976. Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, MS 2-3 is the sole source for all of Escobar's sacred music, with three exceptions. The motet *Fatigatus Jesus*, recently attributed to Escobar by Owen Rees, is found in Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Coleção Ivo Cruz, MS 60. *Clamabat autem* and *Memorare piissima*, in addition to the Tarazona manuscripts, are preserved in: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 454; Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MS 12 and MS 32; Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, MSS 8 and 9; Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Coleção Ivo Cruz, MS 60; Seville, Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombiana, MS 1 and MS 5-5-20; Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana, MS 21.

appeared twice in print, once intabulated for keyboard and, as mentioned, once for voice and vihuela in the 1540s. This degree of dissemination was unusual in Iberian sacred polyphony of the sixteenth century; only a handful of pieces, such as Johannes Urrede's *Pange lingua* compare to Escobar's *Clamabat autem* in terms of popularity. However, unlike *Pange Lingua*, an item central to the liturgy, the reasons for *Clamabat autem*'s widespread circulation are not immediately apparent, since its text is not strictly liturgical.

*Clamabat autem* belongs to the then new genre of motets based on the Gospels.<sup>17</sup> The text recounts how a woman of Canaan, a Gentile, called out after Christ, begging Him to heal her daughter, who was possessed by demons. The complete passage, from the King James Version (Matthew 15: 21-28) reads:

Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. And, behold, a woman of Canaan came out of the same coasts, and cried unto him, saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David; my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil. But he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, saying, Send her away; for she crieth after us. But he answered and said, I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Then came she and worshipped him, saying, Lord, help me. But he answered and said, It is not meet to take the children's bread, and cast it to dogs. And she said, Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table. Then Jesus answered and said unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made whole from that very hour.

In the motet text, however, the tripartite exchange of the bible verses – the woman beseeches and is denied twice, she asks a third time and her wish is granted – is pared down to an essential two-part dialogue, with a

<sup>17</sup> Wolfgang KREBS, *Die Lateinische Evangelien-Motette des 16. Jahrhunderts: Repertoire, Quellenlage, musikalische Rhetorik und Symbolik*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1995, pp. 593-594. Krebs provides a list of motets by composers in Germany, Spain, and Italy, based on various combinations of text from the same Gospel passage (Matthew 15: 21-28), with the notable omission of those of Escobar and Lusitano.



narrator introducing the exchanges between Jesus and the woman (ex. 1).<sup>18</sup>

Clamabat autem mulier Chananaea	A Canaanite woman called out
Ad Dominum Jesum dicens :	To the Lord Jesus, saying,
‘Domine, Jesu Christe, fili David, adjuvame;	‘Lord, Jesus Christ, son of David, help me;
Filia mea male a daemonio vexatur.’	My daughter is tormented by the devil.’
Respondens ei Dominus dixit:	Jesus answered:
‘Non sum missus nisi ad oves	‘I was sent only to the lost sheep
quae perierunt domus Israel.’	of the house of Israel.’
At illa venit et adoravit eum dicens:	But she came and worshipped him, saying:
‘Domine, adiuvame.’	‘Lord, help me.’
Respondens Jesus ait illi:	Jesus answered:
‘Mulier, magna est fides tua; fiat tibi sicut vis.’	‘Woman, your faith is great; be it as you wish.’

Ex. 1 Escobar, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Text and Translation.

## Text Provenance

Motets based on the Gospel reading of the woman of Canaan are not exclusively Iberian, though it must be pointed out that when composers outside of the Peninsula did draw from the same Gospel passage, the selection and parsing of their text was different from the Iberian tradition. Typical of the motet in general, Gospel motet texts are not uniform.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The present discussion of Escobar’s motet follows the transcription in R. STEVENSON, «Pedro de Escobar: Earliest Portuguese Composer in New World Colonial Manuscripts», *Inter-American Music Review*, 11/1, 1990, pp. 17-18. The English translation is based on T. KNIGHTON, ed., *Masterworks from Seville*, London, Faber, 1996, p. 47. For a broader discussion of the text, see T. BORGERDING, «The Motet ...», *op. cit.*, pp. 141-152.

<sup>19</sup> T. BORGERDING, «The Motet ...», *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5. For preliminary discussions of motet texts, see Oliver STRUNK, «Some Motet-Types of the Sixteenth Century», *Papers Read at the International Congress of Musicology, Held at New York, September 11 to 16, 1939*, reprinted in his *Essays on Music in the Western World*, New York, Norton, 1974, pp. 108-113; Anthony CUMMINGS, «Towards an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34, 1981, pp. 43-59; M. FROMSON, «Imitation and Innovation in the North-Italian Motet, 1560-1605», PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988, pp. 9-13; W. KREBS, *Die lateinische Evangelien-Motette*, 164-217; Anthony CUMMINS, «Notes on a Josquin Motet and its Sources», in *Music in Renaissance Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, Warren, MI, Harmonie Park Press, 1997, pp. 113-122.

Composers employ a great variety of texts ranging from a verbatim setting of the Gospel reading for the day, to exact antiphon or responsory settings, or a combination of fragments from the two sources. Escobar's *Clamabat autem* is an example of the latter; the text seems to be assembled from three different Office chants, text added, and, in one instance, a word changed.

The pre-Tridentine liturgy of second Sunday of Lent has two chants beginning with the text *Clamabat autem*: an antiphon variously assigned to Prime, Terce, Sext, or Nones, and a Matins responsory.<sup>20</sup> Neither chant, however, accounts for the full text of Escobar's motet. In the absence of a source preserving the entire motet text, we must conclude, as seen in Table 1, that Escobar's text draws wording from the Vulgate, and its structure from the chants.<sup>21</sup>

Table 1

Mt. 15: 22-28	Vulgate	Terce Antiphon	None Antiphon	Matins Responsory	Escobar
22	et ecce mulier chananea a finibus illis egressa clamavit dicens ei miserere mei Domine Fili David filia mea male a daemonio vexatur	Clamabat autem mulier domine adiuva me		Rx. Clamabat autem mulier chananaea ad Dominum dicens Domine adiuva me filia mea male a daemonio vexatur	Clamabat autem mulier chananaea ad Dominum Jesum dicens: 'Domine, Jesu Christe, fili David, adjuvame; Filia mea male a daemonio vexatur.'
23	qui non respondit ei verbum et accedentes discipuli eius rogabant eum dicentes dimitte eam quia clamat post nos				

<sup>20</sup> An introductory overview of liturgical context can be found in Pierre DAVID, «L'auto de la *Cananéene* de Gil Vicente et sa place dans l'année liturgique», *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'institut français au Portugal*, 12, 1948, pp. 265-272.

<sup>21</sup> The Seville Breviary was unavailable to me, but I have consulted that of Jaén, part of the archdiocese of Seville, *Breviarium secundum consuetudinem sanctae ecclesiae Giennensis* (Seville, 1528), ff. 92v-93r. Borgerding offers Office texts from the *Breviarium Hispalensis* (Seville, 1563), which are, except for two instances of spelling, identical to those of Jaén.

24	ipse autem respondens ait non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israhel	V/ Jesus dominus respondens mulieri chananee dixit. Non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel.	Respondens ei Dominus dixit: 'Non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel.'
25	at illa venit et adoravit eum dicens Domine adiuva me		At illa venit et adoravit eum dicens: 'Domine, adiuva me.'
26	qui respondens ait non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus	qui respondens ait non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus	
27	at illa dixit etiam Domine nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum		
28	tunc respondens Iesus ait illi o mulier magna est fides tua fiat tibi sicut vis et sanata est filia illius ex illa hora	O mulier magna es fides tua fiat tibi sicut petisti.	Respondens Jesus ait illi: 'Mulier, magna est fides tua; fiat tibi sicut vis.'

Table 1 Comparison of *Clamabat autem* text to the Vulgate Gospel verses and the Office of the Second Sunday of Lent (*Breviarium Gienensis*, (Seville, 1528).

The text of the motet was assembled not only from the Office chants, but from the Vulgate verses as well. No individual chant accounts for all the lines in the motet, and the ending resorts to the Scripture's 'vis', instead of to the antiphon 'petisti'. Yet, in both the chants and the motet, a first 'adiuva me' is substituted for the Vulgate 'Miserere mei' of verse 22, and the Canaanite woman names Christ as 'Jesus Christ', not present in either the Vulgate or the chants. Escobar's text is highly flexible; it reproduces neither the Vulgate nor the Office chants, but rather is a personal reading of the episode that emphasizes the dialogic structure of the original and enhances its dramatic potential, which he may have done for the sake of the musical setting.

## Gospel Tone

Escobar seems to have begun his composition with the musical equivalent of the Scripture: the tone used at Mass to recite the Gospels. Recent research admonishes that so-called 'free' compositions in late-fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century polyphony, that is, those with no cantus firmus, are in fact not free, since they often employ or make reference to a recitation formula.<sup>22</sup> Cristle Collins Judd's analysis of Josquin's motet 'In principium erat Verbum' reveals that these formulas may be present on a variety of levels, both as a melodic motif and as a structural tonal axis.

The opening gesture of Escobar's motet indeed seems to reference a recitation formula (ex. 3).<sup>23</sup> In this case, the Gospel tone is not used in the manner of a cantus firmus, nor does it supply the deeper tonal framework, as is the case in Josquin's 'In principium'. Instead Escobar employs the tone as the opening gesture and as a source for melodic motives throughout the piece. Not only is Escobar's treatment of the formula different from Josquin's, but perhaps not surprisingly, the Gospel tone used is different as well.<sup>24</sup> And while we cannot know exactly what usage Escobar followed (perhaps Toledo or Seville), it is undoubtedly an Iberian one. Although a much later source, Marcos y Navas's *Arte de Canto Llano*<sup>25</sup> provides a similar, Toledan, formula for reciting the Gospel (ex. 2). The ascending and descending major second that opens Escobar's motet (ex. 3) is the same as the inflection on the words 'Matthaeum' in the opening of the recitation formula.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See in particular Cristle Collins JUDD, «Josquin's Gospel Motets and Chant-Based Tonality», in *Tonal Structures of Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, New York, Garland, 1998, p. 144.

<sup>23</sup> Transc. R. STEVENSON, «Pedro de Escobar: Earliest Portuguese Composer ...», *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>24</sup> While the precise tone used by Josquin has not been determined, the one used in «In principium» is similar to the standard tones found in the current *Graduale Romanum*.

<sup>25</sup> Francisco MARCOS Y NAVAS, *Arte, o Compendio General del Canto Llano, figurado, y organo...*, chapter 30, Madrid, Ibarra, 1777. I am grateful to Bernardo Illari for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>26</sup> The chant primer by Seville cathedral's *maestro de mozos* was unfortunately unavailable to me. Luis de VILLAFRANCA, *Breve instruccion de cantollano para aprender brevemente el artificio del canto, como para cantar epistolas, lecciones, profecias y evangelios y otras cosas que se tratan, conforme al estilo de la S. Iglesia de Sevilla*, (Seville, 1565).

*Evangelio.*

Se quen ti a Sanc ti E van ge li j se-  
Interrogante.

cun dum Mat thæ um. Ma gis ter, quod est

Ex. 2 Marcos y Navas, *Arte de Canto Llano* (Madrid, 1777), Gospel Tone.

Cla - ma - - - bat au - tem

Ex. 3 Escobar, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Opening Motif.

## Texture and text division

Escobar's setting underlines his reading of the passage as a dramatic dialogue. Some of the sheer beauty of his motet comes to a great extent from the clear presentation of the text and the way in which the dialogue divides symmetrically into two main divisions, each of which contains an exchange between the woman of Canaan and Jesus. In the first part, a narrator introduces the characters, the woman pleads, and Jesus answers, 'no' (I in Table 2); in the second part the dialogue is repeated but this time Jesus answers 'yes' (II in Table 2).

**Table 2**

	Text	Meas. #	Scoring	Cadences	Musical device
I	A 1 Clamabat autem mulier Chananaea Ad Dominum Jesum dicens:	1-8	AB	F	Gospel tone, canon at the 5th
	2 'Domine, Jesu Christe,	9-21	STB	C	'Domine' motive
	3 Fili David, adjuvame;		STB	B flat	= ↓ M3
	4 Filia mea male a daemonio vexatur.'		TB	C	
B	1 Respondens ei Dominus dixit:	22-24	ATB	F	
	2 'Non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel.'	25-31	SATB	F	
II	C 1 At illa venit et adoravit eum dicens:	32-35	ATB	F	Ostinato
	2 'Domine, adiuva me.'		S SATB	F F	'Domine' ↓ M3, homophony
D	1 Respondens Jesus ait illi:	36-39	ATB	F	Homophony
	2 'Mulier, magna est fides tua;	42-52			Ostinato
	3 fiat tibi sicut vis.'		SATB	F	

Table 2 Sections, scoring, cadences, and musical devices in Escobar's *Clamabat autem*.

Escobar uses changes in texture to distinguish the rhetorically oriented steps in the development of the drama (Table 2). Each section of the text is neatly articulated by means of both changes in texture and clear-cut cadences. The dialogue is highlighted by the use of all four voices; the narrative is always scored *à 3*. He articulates the symmetrical sections of the text (I and II) by means of full four-voice cadences on the final of the tone, and reserves other kinds of cadences for the smaller divisions (A, B, C, and D) that present a line of the narrator's speech plus a single utterance in the dialogue.

In addition to the rhetorical divisions, Escobar also dramatizes the text by representing musically the growing intensity of the woman's pleas, culminating in Jesus' final celebration of her faith. This he does by several means: through ostinatos, by decreasing the interval between entries of

points of imitation, cadencing to pitches other than the final, and setting important utterances in the dramatic exchange homophonically. The narrator introduces the woman (A) with the Gospel tone, followed by a canon at the fifth between alto and bass. The Canaanite woman's direct speech is set in four-part non-imitative counterpoint. Her first address, 'Domine, Jesu Christe', is set to a motive based on a descending fourth in the superius (ex. 4). The utterance is made striking because it is the first time the superius is heard, and it is the highest pitch so far in the piece.

9  
Do - mi - ne Je - su chri - ste.  
Do mi - ne Je - su chri - ste.  
Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - ste.

Ex. 4 Escobar, *Clamabat autem*, 'Domine', mm. 9-11.

The woman's explanation of her situation (A2-4) is the only instance in the motet where phrases cadence outside the final of mode, pointing both to the spiritual affliction of her daughter, as well as to the woman's status as an outsider. The narrator's introduction of Jesus' response is sung (B1) first by one voice, then by three. Escobar gives Christ's first direct speech (B2) an air of decisiveness by beginning the passage homophonically. The first section (I) closes with an emphatic four-voice cadence and full stop on *Israel*, perhaps underscoring His unwillingness to help a non-believer.

In the second part (II), the woman insists on Christ's help, restating her plea, this time more directly and urgently. She omits all the titles, 'Jesu Christe' and 'Fili David', and simply exclaims 'Domine, adiuva me' (Lord, help me). The sense of urgency is prepared by the narrator (C1) by

two means: tight imitation introduces the woman's second plea, and the subject is repeated immediately in each voice, as if an ostinato, and in the manner of a *stretto* (ex. 5). The superius then reiterates the descending 'Domine' motif from A2, followed by homophony in long note values on 'adiuva me' (C2).

34

At il-la ve - nit et a-do-ra - vit e - um di - cens.

At il-la ve - nit et a-do-ra - vit e - um di - cens.

At il-la ve - nit et a-do-ra - vit e - um di - cens.

Ex. 5 Escobar, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Ostinatos, mm. 31-36.

36

Do - mi - ne ad - iu - va me.

Ex. 6 Escobar, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Woman's Second Plea, mm. 36-39.

This time, the woman's plea cadences on the final, F, illustrating musically her newfound faith and conversion. Her supplication is no longer outside the mode; she is no longer an outsider to Christianity and the music highlights her harmony with Christ. Christ's final affirmation (D2) celebrates the woman's faith by means of three ostinato figures staggered among the four voices (ex. 7). The superius and tenor sing a four-beat ostinato, while the altus and bass sing a six-beat ostinato. The overlap of the two rhythmic units plus the perceived harmonic stasis generated by the ostinatos give the passage festive energy. The diatonicism of the passage creates an impression of brightness and clarity.



42  
 Mu-li-er Ma-gna es fi-des tu-a fi-at ti-bi  
 Ma-gna est fi-des tu-a, ma-gna est fi-des tu-a, ma-gna est fi-des tu-a

Ex. 7 Escobar, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Closing Ostinatos, mm. 42-47.

### The tradition: Later composers remember Escobar's *Clamabat autem*

To my knowledge, there are five motets based upon the setting of Escobar, by Morales, Ceballos, Guerrero, and an intabulation strongly reworked by Mudarra.<sup>27</sup> The very existence of the tradition of *Clamabat autem* motets raises questions of model and imitation. The subject has been addressed in various fifteenth and sixteenth-century genres over the past twenty years, revolving around the notion of imitation as a compositional device and as a rhetorical principle.<sup>28</sup> In his study of musical references in the late fifteenth-century chanson, Howard Mayer Brown abstracts from this repertory three ways composers imitated one another: by adding a voice part or a substitute contratenor to an existing chanson; adding faster-moving outer voices to an existing tenor (canto firmus); and alluding to melodic material from another composition, within a piece largely independent of the model.<sup>29</sup> Although the degree to

<sup>27</sup> As mentioned above, I have not yet been able to look at the motet by Bartolomé Farfán and determine the extent to which it engages with Escobar's motet.

<sup>28</sup> See especially Howard Mayer BROWN, «Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance», *JAMS* 35, 1982, pp. 1-48. In terms of specific genres, for the motet, see Patrick MACEY, «Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet», *JAMS* 36, 1983, pp. 422-452; and M. FROMSON, «A Conjunction of Rhetoric and Music: Structural Modeling in the Italian Counter-reformation Motet», *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 117/2, 1992, pp. 208-246. For Masses based on chansons, see Christopher REYNOLDS, «The Counterpoint of Allusion in 15th-Century Masses», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45/2, 1992, p. 252.

<sup>29</sup> H. M. BROWN, «Emulation ...», *op. cit.*, pp. 10-14.

which musical borrowing was rooted in rhetoric has been contested, Brown's categories of musical emulation remain generally useful.<sup>30</sup>

The later *Clamabat autem* motets are clearly modeled upon Escobar. All Andalusian pieces use the same text and divide it in the same way. All of them furthermore cite Escobar's motives, including the reference to the Gospel tone, resort to the same tonality (except for Guerrero), echo the same symmetrical disposition, and similarly convey the growing intensity of the dialogue. At the same time, however, no single piece served as a polyphonic model *strictu sensu* for another; that is, the pieces do not share points of imitation, voicing, or a cantus firmus. Additionally, the specific ways in which Escobar dramatizes the dialogue between the Canaanite woman and Jesus never reappears in later motets. The individual composers fully develop their compositions according to the stylistic predilections of their own generations. Nevertheless, the intertextual references among the pieces are prominent enough to be considered significant and intentional on the part of the composers. They belong to Brown's third category, that of *allusion*.

### A Common Text

*Clamabat autem* is not the only motet tradition on the Peninsula, yet it is unique in that it consists of paraliturgical pieces that share substantially the same text. Other traditions existed, most notably the ever present polyphonic *Salve Regina*, or the *Inter vestibulum et altare* motets for Ash Wednesday. These traditions, however, either use liturgical texts – such as the *Salve* – or did not reproduce the same text as closely as the *Clamabat autem* motets. By contrast, the variants among the texts set by composers related to Seville, Escobar, Morales, Ceballos, and Guerrero, are minor. Only the text in Lusitano's motet is significantly different, perhaps reflecting the non-Sevillian background of the composer.

<sup>30</sup> For revisions of the idea of *imitatio* in music, see especially Rob WEGMAN, «Another 'Imitation' of Busnoys's *Missa L'Homme armé* – and Some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music», *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114/2, 1989, pp. 189-202; and Honey MECONI, «Does *Imitatio* Exist?», *Journal of Musicology*, 12/2, 1994, pp. 152-178.

Table 3

Escobar	Morales	Ceballos	Guerrero	Lusitano
Clamabat autem mulier chanaanæ ad Dominum Jesum dicens:				
Domine Jesu Christe, Fili David, adjuva me.				Domine, adiuva me
Filia mea male a daemónio vexatur.				
Respondens ei Dominus dixit:		Respondens Jesus:		Respondens Jesus ait illi:
Non sum missus, nisi ad oves quæ perierunt domus Israel.				
At illa venit et adoravit eum dicens:				
Domine adiuva me.				
Respondens Jesus ait illi:		Respondens Jesus:		Respondens Jesus ait:
Mulier, magna est fides tua:			O, mulier...	
Fiat tibi sicut vis.				

Table 3 Textual variants among five *Cananea* motets (the same unless indicated).

With varying degrees of uniformity, later *Clamabat autem* settings employed Escobar's text. Morales's setting reuses it verbatim, while Ceballos abbreviates the introductions of Jesus' speech by the narrator, and Guerrero simply adds the 'O', present in the Vulgate, before Christ's final recognition of the woman's faith. Lusitano, on the other hand, seems to follow the text of the Matins responsory (Table 2) for the first part, and Escobar's text for the second part.

## Musical Allusions

In the *Clamabat autem* settings by Morales, Ceballos, and Guerrero, two prominent motives – the opening Gospel tone gesture on the words ‘Clamabat autem’, and the ‘Domine’ motive at the woman’s first utterance – constitute the most salient sonic markers that link the later settings to the earliest one. For the opening words, the newer motets, except for Lusitano, go as far as to quote Escobar’s melodic gesture. The melodic outline of the motive, as discussed above with regard to the Gospel tone, consists of a recitation upon the fifth scale degree of the mode, a motion up to the sixth degree on the penultimate syllable, and a return to the original pitch. In the case of Morales and Ceballos, the core of the gesture is essentially the same as Escobar’s, that is, C-D-C (see ex. 5 above). Morales alters the motif slightly by approaching the C by a leap of a perfect fifth, while Ceballos quotes it verbatim. Guerrero’s motet, which is written in a D mode with two flats, also begins on the fifth scale degree but obscures the reference to Escobar’s motif by altering the intervals. Instead of an ascending and descending major second, Guerrero maintains the outline of an ascending second but changes the quality from major to minor and inserts a descending third before it.

The image shows four staves of musical notation, each representing a different composer's setting of the opening motif. The lyrics 'Cla - ma - bat au - tem' are written below each staff. Vertical dashed lines connect the notes across the staves to show the melodic structure. Escobar's setting (top) is in a D mode with two flats and features a recitation on the fifth scale degree (C) with an ascending and descending major second. Morales' setting (second) is similar but approaches the C by a leap of a perfect fifth. Ceballos' setting (third) quotes Escobar's motif verbatim. Guerrero's setting (bottom) is in a D mode with two flats and features an ascending second with a minor quality and a descending third before it.

Ex. 8 Opening motif from four *Clamabat autem* motets.

In addition to citing the Gospel tone, *Clamabat autem* composers paraphrase Escobar’s ‘Domine’ motif. In all of the settings, this figure appears twice, both times introducing the woman’s address to Jesus. The different instances of this gesture are not exact citations of Escobar’s

motive, as their position within the hexachord varies, and therefore their intervallic content is also different. But all of them recall Escobar's striking 'Domine', by virtue of their placement in the superius, by displaying the same melodic contour, based upon a descending fourth punctuated by a third, and by resorting to a similar rhythmic outline (ex. 9a-b).

Escobar  
Superius  
mm. 9-11.  
Do - mi - ne, Je - su Chri - ste,

Morales  
Superius I  
mm. 15-21.  
Do - mi - ne, Je - su Chri - ste,

Ceballos  
Superius  
mm. 10-13  
Do - mi - ne, Je - su Chri - ste,

Guerrero  
Superius  
mm. 23-27  
Do - mi - ne, Je - su Chri - ste,

Ex. 9a Comparison of first 'Domine' motives in *Clamabat autem* motets.

Escobar  
mm. 36-39.  
Do - mi - ne, ad - iu - va me.

Morales  
mm. 58-62.  
Do - mi - ne, ad - iu - va me.

Ceballos  
mm. 49-56  
Do - mi - ne, [...] ad - iu - va me.

Guerrero  
mm. 70-74  
(values doubled)  
Do - mi - ne, ad - iu - va me.

Ex. 9b Comparison of second 'Domine' motives in *Clamabat autem* motets.

Yet the relationship between Morales, Ceballos, Guerrero, and Escobar goes beyond the citation of, or allusion to, motives. Each piece engages with Escobar's *Clamabat autem* in a different way. Hence they deserve to be considered individually, as they are in the following sections.

## Morales

Morales's setting is a gloss of Escobar's.<sup>31</sup> As with any gloss, the reading, or rather hearing, is in some ways compromised if the listener is not familiar with the original. At first hearing the surface and styles of the two pieces are strikingly different. Instead of the changes in texture, textual clarity and economy of notes that one finds in Escobar's setting, in Morales one hears a serious, dense surface, frequent repetition of text, a proliferation of imitation points, and relatively few changes of texture. That the later piece is modeled after the earlier one becomes obvious, though, not only through the concordances already discussed – the use of the same text, divided in a similar way, the citation or allusion to melodic gestures – but also by barely hidden structural references.

As one would expect of a distinguished composer of Willaert's generation, Morales's setting is characterized by its seamless style and widespread use of syntactic imitation, overlapped cadences and a uniform texture throughout. The consistent employment of imitation points results in the creation of a longer and more complex musical discourse; Escobar's piece is 52 breves long, Morales's is 94. At the same time, this procedure downplays dramatic interest. Rather than highlighting the drama of the dialogue between the woman and Christ, Morales infuses the text with contrapuntal complexity, projecting his reading in mainly contrapuntal terms. The voices are not used to create dramatic contrast, but remain similar in status and melodic content – only the order of the entrances in the points of imitation differentiates them. The superius, for example, is not reserved to represent direct speech, as it is in Escobar's setting, yet, when the voice of the woman first appears (m. 15), it is the last voice to pronounce the text, and enters by singing the highest note in the piece, for the first time letting all voices be heard together (ex. 10). In all of these respects, it recalls the dramatic effect created by the corresponding passage in Escobar's *Clamabat autem*, in which the superius appears for the first time (m. 9). Morales highlights text with more urgency, such as the pleas of the woman, not through color and texture, as

<sup>31</sup> Cristóbal de MORALES, «Opera Omnia», ed. H. Anglès, *Monumentos de la Música Española*, vol. 13, Rome, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, pp. 96-101.

with Escobar, but by means of word repetition. Whereas Escobar's setting is predominantly syllabic, Morales draws out certain words at ends of phrases with melismas.

15  
Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - ste,  
Je - su Chri - ste [fi - li Da - vid]  
Do - mi - ne, Je - su Chri - ste,  
Do - mi - ne, Je - su Chri - ste,  
Do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - ste,

Ex. 10 Morales, *Clamabat autem mulier*, First 'Domine', mm. 15-21.

Yet the differences cannot veil Morales's dependence upon Escobar. *All* of Escobar's textual divisions are present in Morales's setting. The use of overlapping imitation blurs the articulations but does not erase them. Escobar's main articulation, which divides the text into two halves, corresponding to the two dialogic exchanges, occurs at m. 51-53 of Morales's setting (ex. 11). While Morales writes no full stop until the end, he does create a strong articulation on 'Israel', by means of a *fauxbourdon* motive sung by the three lower voices while the two upper voices rest. Morales heightens the tension at the beginning of the second part (m. 51-55) by using all five voices on 'At illa venit' and making the entries follow one another closely (ex. 11), a technique that recalls Escobar's use of tight imitation and ostinato repetition to set the same words (ex. 7).

52

At il - la ve - nit et a - do - ra - vit e - [um]

At il - la ve - nit et a - do - ra - vit

[do] - mus Is - ra - el. At il - la ve - nit

[mus] Is - ra - el. At il - la ve - nit et a - do - ra - vit

[do] - mus Is - ra - el.

Ex. 11 Morales, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Second Part, mm. 51-55.

The effect Escobar achieves with ostinatos in the final measures of his setting of Christ's words is similar to that achieved by Morales (mm. 85ff) through an ostinato in the bass (F-C-G-D) repeated three times in slightly decorated ways, as foundation to a busy contrapuntal texture, freely imitative, that features the highest concentration of syncopations and eighth notes of the whole piece (ex. 12). Even if verbatim citation is scarce, the presence of the older setting throughout Morales's piece is so strong that it converts the latter into a running commentary of Escobar cast in another, Willaertian language.

85

fi - des tu - a fi - at ti - bi sic - ut vis, sic - ut vis.

ma - gna est fi - des tu - a fi - at ti - bi sic - ut vis.

[a] - fi - at ti - bi sic - ut vis, fi - at ti - bi sic - ut vis.

est fi - des tu - a fi - at ti - bi sic - ut vis, sic - ut vis.

[ma]gna est fi - des tu - a fi - at ti - bi sic - ut vis, sic - ut vis.

Ex. 12 Morales, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Ending Ostinatos, mm. 85ff.



## Ceballos

If Morales's setting is a retelling of the story in another style, then Ceballos's setting is a return to a previous aesthetic of clarity and concision, albeit cast in a renewed, thoroughly imitative musical language, and not without an occasional reference to Morales's setting.<sup>32</sup> While Morales probably met Escobar – and as any singer active in Seville, he certainly had sung his music – there is no possibility of a personal relationship between Ceballos and Escobar. It comes as a surprise, then, that apart from its use of syntactic imitation, Ceballos's *Clamabat autem* shows much stronger affinity with Escobar's setting than with that of Morales. It is immediately apparent that Ceballos looks back to Escobar's setting in both rhetorical emphasis and clarity of style. Perhaps he uses the setting one generation removed to distance himself from his teacher's generation.

Ceballos employs Escobar's Gospel tone as his first imitation point (ex. 8). He similarly alludes to the opening duo of Escobar's setting in measures 1-5. He also follows Escobar's textual divisions exactly. Like Escobar, Ceballos divides the text into two main sections, articulated by means of a full close and an unambiguous caesura (m. 43); he also subdivides each section into two, through less strong articulations (m. 27 and 56-57). All of these divisions correspond to those of Escobar (ex. 13).

41

[do]mus Is - ra - el. At il - la ve - nit...

do - mus Is - ra - el. At il - la ve - nit et a -

do - mus Is - ra - el. At il - la ve - nit et a -

[do]mus Is - ra - el. At il - la ve - nit et

Ex. 13 Ceballos, *Clamabat autem*, Internal Cadences, mm. 25-29, 41-45, and 54-60.

<sup>32</sup> For a modern edition, see T. KNIGHTON, *Masterworks from Seville Cathedral*, London, Faber, 1996, pp. 23-26; and R. SNOW, *The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos ...*, *op. cit.*

Given the use of a common imitative language, the scarcity of references to Morales in Ceballos's setting remains striking. Although Ceballos manipulates the texture less extensively than Escobar, he develops a degree of variety not present in Morales, by his use of homophonic or quasi-homophonic textures and his frequent recourse to three-part writing throughout (see for ex. 'At illa venit', m. 43-50). Whereas Morales would repeat text for emphasis, Ceballos does it only in three instances: the woman's addresses to Jesus, 'Domine, adiuva me' (m. 13-20 and 49-58), and Christ's final words, 'fiat tibi sicut vis' (m. 63 ff). Still, Escobar's 'Domine' motive, so clearly cited by Morales, appears in Ceballos only in the second part (m. 49-50), in an unmistakable reference to Morales. Both Ceballos and Morales assign a high F to the superius immediately after a rest, converting the vocative, 'Domine', into a desperate plea for mercy (ex. 9a-b).

Ceballos's affinity with Escobar should not be mistaken with the lack of a personal voice. Unlike Escobar, Ceballos does not use texture to distinguish between narration and dialogue. In fact he does not emphasize the dramatic quality of the dialogue at all. Unlike any of the previous settings, the woman's last utterance has a fairly weak cadence (m. 55-58); instead of highlighting the persistent, emphatic character of her second petition, Ceballos chose to push forward the dialogue and increase the expectation of Christ's final words. Finally, Christ's last line is set apart, as in the other settings, but the means employed by Ceballos are his own. The words 'woman, great is your faith' are set for only three voices, divided into two plus one, in order to provide contrast to what follows, 'be it as you wish' which is set for four voices, with a syncopated imitation point in stretto, parallel to Escobar's use of ostinatos.

Ceballos's *Clamabat autem* shows aesthetic ties to Escobar's setting in the clarity and transparency of the texture, but independence in using different gestures (i.e. not choosing to cite Escobar always in the same way as Morales). Ceballos's clarity, in fact, is not so much a byproduct of his *imitatio* of Escobar as a concern of his generation, a quest for newly balanced imitative textures that created the so-called 'classical' polyphonic style. Among his motets, this one stands out in its limited repetition of text and its thin four-voice texture, but also in its unique combination of structural complexity and formal balance.

## Guerrero

Guerrero's setting of *Clamabat autem* is a true *reading* of the motet text.<sup>33</sup> He relates the old story of the woman of Canaan in a new, dramatic language, infused with an affective immediacy not apparent in the settings of his predecessors. Guerrero transforms the inherited musical story from a dialogic *presentation* of the text into a *representation* of the emotional content of the dialogue. To this end, he uses an expanded arsenal of expressive devices including mode, dissonance, citation, allusion, chromaticism, texture, register, and structure.

Guerrero's setting seems to be the furthest removed from Escobar. The mode is different (with a D final and two flats), the opening Gospel tone motive is not cited exactly (see ex. 8), and it is divided into two *partes*. The modal divergence from an F final with one flat, employed in Escobar, Morales, and Ceballos, to Guerrero's D final with two flats represents not only a change of mode but a heightening of affect through a double transposition and placing the half steps after the first and the fifth degrees.<sup>34</sup> Guerrero intensifies the *mollis* character by employing two flats, and uses chromatic inflections to differentiate between the affects of the woman and of Jesus. Each of the woman's supplications, 'Domine, adiuva me', are inflected toward the *durus*: the first time (mm. 14-33) with F sharps and E naturals, while in the *secunda pars* (mm. 70-83) he moves even further into the sharp realm with B natural, E natural, F sharp, and C sharp. By contrast, Christ's initial rejection turns even further to the *mollis* on 'non sum missus nisi ad oves' with an A flat on 'oves'. Between the sharp inflection for the woman's speech and the flat inflection for Jesus' rejection, Guerrero effectively maps the entire gamut. Moreover, for the 'Domine, adiuva me', in the *secunda pars* he employs an *anabasis* figure; the superius repeats the exhortation each time at a higher pitch. For the listener, the tension becomes acute because of the chromaticism and the unrelenting rising motion (ex. 14). Furthermore, the composer chooses to expand the ambitus of the voices, by combining the authentic and plagal ranges, sending the superius as low as A and as

<sup>33</sup> Francisco GUERRERO, «Opera Omnia», vol. 6, ed. José Maria Llorens Cisteró, *Monumentos de la Música Española*, 45, Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1987, pp. 118-123.

<sup>34</sup> T. BORGERDING, «The Motet ...», *op. cit.*, p. 148.

high as d1, while the bass outlines a similar range, from FF to B flat. This expansion parallels the broadened emotional palette of Guerrero's musical reading.

75 Do - mi - ne ad - iu - va me, Do - mi - ne, ad - iu - va me, ad - iu - va me, Do - mi - ne ad - iu - va me, Do - mi - ne, ad - iu - va me, ad - iu - va

80 Do - mi - ne, ad - iu - va me, re - spon - iu - va me, Do - mi - ne ad - iu - va me, re - me, Do - mi - ne, ad - iu - va me, me, Do - mi - ne ad - iu - va me.

Ex. 14 Guerrero, *Clamabat autem mulier*, 'Domine', mm. 75-84.

Yet these differences barely conceal deeper connections. At first hearing, the Gospel tone that characterizes the openings of Escobar, Morales, and Ceballos's motets is noticeably absent from Guerrero's setting. A more discerning listen reveals that it is indeed present, but Guerrero prefers to embellish rather than to quote. Despite differences in mode, all four motets begin on the fifth scale degree: Escobar, Morales, and Ceballos on C, Guerrero on A. He transforms the Gospel tone allusion from to a straightforward narration of the story, into a representation of the anguish in the woman's call. Not only is the mood altered by changing the whole step for the half step, a figure for pain or suffering, there is moreover a striking dissonance between the d1 in the

superius and the e flat in the alto, after entering in imitation, on the word 'autem' (ex. 15). Together, the half step and the d-E flat clash set the tone of emotional intensity that characterizes the motet.

Ex. 15 Guerrero, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Opening Motif, mm. 1-4.

Structurally, Guerrero's setting is the same as that of Escobar. He divides the text into two major sections that delimit the two dialogic exchanges between Jesus and the woman, here in the form of a *prima* and *secunda pars*, while at the same time articulating four smaller divisions after each exchange. Finally, where Escobar sets an exuberant ending with the cumulative effect of superimposed ostinatos, Guerrero chose to represent and dramatize Christ's words in the individual voices with melodic 'leaps of joy', two consecutive descending perfect fourths, followed by an ascending octave leap (ex. 16).

Ex. 16 Guerrero, *Clamabat autem mulier*, 'O mulier', mm. 91-94.

For the most part, Guerrero, unlike the other Sevillian *Clamabat autem* composers, does not invoke Escobar's setting through citation. Morales, who uses pervasive imitation, in itself not very dramatic, resorts to repetition and citation in order to retrieve Escobar's sense of drama. Ceballos, who emphasizes clarity and balance over drama and expression, likewise relies to some extent on citation and allusion. Guerrero's setting, on the other hand, stands on its own as a dramatic entity; hence he does not need to cite Escobar. Guerrero invokes Escobar in another way, by transforming gestures and features of his motet into representations of emotions only implied in the original. Despite the absence of direct citation, the presence of the borrowed material is profoundly felt, and the transformation is dramatic.

### Lusitano

In some ways, Lusitano's setting resembles that of Morales; it is scored for five voices, and the voices move largely within the same ambitus. Like Escobar, Morales, and Ceballos, Lusitano's motet has a D final with a B flat. As seen above (Table 3), his motet also shares largely but not exactly the same text as the other four settings. He divides his text in a way similar to Morales, that is, there are no caesuras, but a prominent cadence after the first dialogic exchange of Jesus and the woman, after 'Israel'. Like Morales, he also overlaps the internal cadences that further divide the text into four (A, B, C, and D on Table 2) but his cadences are weaker than those of Morales.

tur,] res - pon - - - dens le - sus a - it  
 ni - o vex - a tur,] vex - a - - - - tur,  
 vex - a - - - - tur,] res -  
 a - tur,] res - pon - - - dens le -  
 vex - a - - - - tur, [vex - - - a - - -

82 At il - la ve - nit

is - ra - - - - el. At il - la

el.

mus Is - - ra - - - - el. At il - la ve -

mus Is - - ra - - - - el. At

86 va me, [do - mi - ne ad - - - - iu - va me,]

me,] [do - mi - ne ad - - - iu - va me,]

Do - - - mi - ne ad - - - iu - va me,

me, res -

Do - - - - mi - ne ad - - - iu - va me,

Ex. 17 Lusitano, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Internal Cadences, mm. 52-54, 82-85, 96-99.

Lusitano does employ comparable procedures that bring out the text's rhetorical and narrative structure. He projects the woman's second supplication, beginning after the first full cadence with the text 'At illa venit', as 'insistence' by using regular and strict imitation. This is followed by the final 'Domine, adiuva me' which he further sets apart through a rare moment of reduced texture – only three voices, each with prominent imitation points. The woman's two imperatives, moreover, are set to exactly the same music, representing the woman's unflinching insistence.

Yet despite all these similarities, Lusitano's motet has little to do with the other Sevillian *Clamabat autem* settings. Lusitano uses a predominantly five-voice texture throughout. His style in this motet is more allied with Gombert than with Morales or Willaert. Imitation is strict among all the voices and almost always present, it has an extremely dense surface with no caesuras, and even fewer variations of texture than Morales. Most importantly, his setting does not depend upon the other motets for motivic material, imitation points, order of voice entries, or cadences. While the other settings distinguish themselves as a group through reference to Escobar's motives, Lusitano makes no such reference and cites neither the opening nor the 'Domine' gestures.



Ex. 18 Lusitano, *Clamabat autem mulier*, Opening Motif.

Do - - - mi - ne ad - - - iu - va me,

cens:] Do - mi - ne ad - - - iu - va me,

cens: Do -

cens:] Do - mi - ne ad - - - iu - va me

cens:] Do -

Ex. 19 Lusitano, *Clamabat autem mulier*, 'Domine', mm. 25-30.

The fact that Lusitano follows a similar dramatic reading of the motet text reinforces Borgerding's idea of a shared understanding of the Gospel text. Yet he appears not to build upon a tradition of musical settings, not to engage in *imitatio*, but rather to take from the motet(s) he knew a set



of textual and modal conventions. The absence of citation and reference to any of the other motets on (almost) the same text by Sevillian composers underscores the fact that he was not part of the community that would recognize and construct meaning from a citation.

### Invoking Escobar, Evoking Seville?

Modeling seems to be present in all *Clamabat autem* motets; yet only those with links to Seville make a connection to Escobar audible. Morales and Ceballos cited Escobar's opening Gospel tone, while Guerrero transformed it to make it express the mood of his reading. While Lusitano, the non-Sevillian, adopted some aspects of other *Clamabat autem* motets – namely mode and rhetorical segmenting of the text – he did not engage in the tradition through citation or transmission of the same text. The fact that composers within the tradition were not tied to the order of voice entries, cadence points or replication of a cantus firmus voice, all suggest that Escobar's setting was not appropriated as a fixed contrapuntal object. Rather, composers updated the story of the woman of Canaan drawing on the rhetorical model of Escobar with the expressive means prized by their generations. They did not quite engage in *imitatio*; instead, they drew on the referential power of a popular work. The prominence of their citations furthermore points to a community of knowledge – knowledge of the piece as well as the meanings constructed from its text and its local performance.

This connection of the *Clamabat autem* tradition to Seville further raises the question of the construction of local meanings through performance and text, meanings that maybe accessed through compositions marginal to the tradition and more general religious and cultural practices. Alonso Mudarra's intabulation for voice and vihuela of what he calls the *motete de la Cananea* may be a way to explore Escobar's composition as part of a living tradition of religious musical performance that could have transcended the realm of written culture. My examination of the symbolic life of the Canaanite woman in iconographic and religious practices completes this localization.

### Cananea's Place: The Case of Mudarra's Arrangement

Book III of Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros en cifra para vihuela* is dedicated to polyphonic vocal repertory, intabulated for voice and vihuela.<sup>35</sup> The book opens with three motets: *Pater noster* by Willaert, Gombert's *Respice in me Deus*,<sup>36</sup> and the third labeled simply *Motete de la Cananea*, unattributed. From the vocal line it is obvious that Mudarra's *Cananea* is Escobar's *Clamabat autem*, although it is not a strict intabulation of the polyphonic model. Right away, the difference is apparent: the striking non-imitative duet that opens Escobar's motet is abandoned, in favor of homophony, maintained throughout the setting (exx. 20 and 21).

Ex. 20 Beginning of Mudarra's *Cananea*, in open score.

Ex. 21 Beginning of Escobar's, *Clamabat autem mulier*.

<sup>35</sup> A. MUDARRA, *Tres libros de musica ...*, *op.cit.*; Facs. rpt. Monaco, Chanterelle, 1980, pp. 141-150; Transc. Emilio Pujol, *Monumentos de la Música Española*, 7, Barcelona, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949, pp. 79-83.

<sup>36</sup> I have been unable to locate this motet among Gombert's works. It may be a misattribution on Mudarra's part, or perhaps the motet has not survived. Neither text nor the music are indexed in Harry B. LINCOLN, *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600*, Ottawa, Inst. of Medieval Music, 1993.

The vihuelist's approach to the motets by Willaert and Escobar is notably different. Although Mudarra modifies certain elements in his intabulation of Willaert's *Pater noster*, it is clear that his alterations are solutions to problems of the instrument such as maintaining notes or the prominence of a polyphonic line. He always respects Willaert's points of imitation and does not alter the text or repeat it freely. The case with *Clamabat autem* is different. Textual passages are notably altered. Mudarra chooses to divide the woman's first supplication into two parts, repeating the imperative 'Domine, adiuva me. Fili David, adiuva me', where Escobar's reads 'Domine, Jesu Christe, Fili David, adiuva me'. While it is true that the Lord's Prayer was a long-established text with a single redaction from the Vulgate, it remains significant that Mudarra alters Escobar's motet for rhetorical emphasis, repeating text and altering the counterpoint when he found it useful. His setting is not a strict intabulation; Mudarra recomposes *Cananea*.

Further, both Willaert's and Gombert's motets are clearly attributed in the index of Mudarra's publication, while Escobar's is not. Here a hierarchy of stature is evident. Willaert's composition seems to be transmitted as part of the Franco-Flemish canon, while Escobar's seems to hold the status of something akin to a popular song. Why was *Cananea* intabulated without attribution? Was it because the piece was so famous that the author was unimportant, or because the author of the piece was so well known that it was unnecessary to include it? Considering that Mudarra was a canon at Seville cathedral, he would surely have heard Escobar's *Clamabat autem* performed often, perhaps yearly. The motet is preserved in a manuscript listed in late sixteenth-century inventories of the cathedral (clearly attributed), and it is very likely that a version of the motet had been there since Escobar's tenure as *maestro de mozos* (no cathedral inventories from before 1588 have survived).<sup>37</sup> Yet the fact that Escobar's motet is subtly yet significantly altered suggests that there may have been some degree of oral transmission in Mudarra's reception of the piece. At the very least, *Cananea*'s importance did not reside in its contrapuntal unity but in its rhetorical effectiveness as a musical reading of an important text. Perhaps the motet was so deeply embedded in the local tradition that exact transcription was neither necessary nor desirable.

<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, an often-cited payment record from 1555 to Ceballos for the copying of a

## The Persistence of Cananea

If Mudarra may bear witness to an otherwise lost traditional life of *Cananea* in Seville, the motet's symbolism and its connections to actual ceremonies and institutions fall into place within the multiethnic society of Andalusia, further enriching its local character. *Clamabat autem* motets generate a network of associations that reaches out to embrace both music and place. Through shared references to Pedro de Escobar, the city's one-time chapel master, composers map a musical genealogy. At the same time, by virtue of composers' ties to the city of Seville, the motet becomes associated with the city.

The *Clamabat autem* tradition is linked to Andalusia in general and Seville in particular through the biographies of the composers. This association, however, goes beyond biography and geography, to include the motets' use within the liturgy. As Borgerding has brought to light, the Gospel text seems to have produced regional loyalty in Andalusia. The *Clamabat autem* motets were associated with the second Sunday of Lent, whose liturgy in most of western Europe included the Matthean Gospel passage recounting the story of the woman of Canaan. With the reforms of Pope Pius V, this reading was supplanted by the Roman reading from Matthew 17, the Transfiguration of Christ, in Spain as well as the rest of the Roman Catholic world. When Spanish churches adopted the Roman Breviary and Missal in the 1570s, collections containing complete cycles of Gospel motets for the period Septuagesima-Lent reflected this change. Yet some composers in the south of Spain continued to include motets based on the reading of the woman of Canaan in their Gospel motet cycles, clearly at odds with contemporary liturgical practice. Francisco Guerrero, in his final motet publication of 1597, chose to reprint *Clamabat autem* for the second Sunday of Lent in his Septuagesima-Lent cycle. Ambrosio Cotes, active in Andalusia in the second half of the sixteenth century, included a motet, *O mulier magna est fides tua*, obviously

manuscript of «motets y salbes» almost surely refers to SevBC-1, but this MS contains only Escobar's *Memorare piissima* and not *Clamabat autem*. While SevC 5-5-20, acquired by Colón in 1533, has no documented connection to the cathedral, Borgerding argues that the presence of composers tied to Seville, and its Marian *Salve* repertory seem to point in this direction. Escobar's *Clamabat autem* appears, together with its partner, *Memorare*, among *only* Marian motets.

based on the pre-Tridentine reading, as a supplemental motet to his Septuagesima-Lent cycle.<sup>38</sup> This adherence to the old Gospel reading as well as motet composers' intergenerational citations indicate that the motet had cultural significance that transcended its possible liturgical function.

In questioning how this text may have resonated in the region, we can turn to the city of Seville's activities on this day in the liturgical calendar. Borgerding has suggested a tentative yet compelling connection between the motets and the Inquisition's yearly reading of the *Edicto de fe* or Edict of Faith in Seville, if not in other cities.<sup>39</sup> Although essentially a secular institution, on a local level many Inquisition tribunals legitimized their power by projecting an image of unity with religious authorities.<sup>40</sup> This was the case in Seville where each year the tribunal staged a procession to the cathedral, precisely on the second Sunday of Lent. During Mass, after the Gospel and before the sermon, one of the inquisitors read from the pulpit the Edict of Faith, a list of heresies against orthodox Roman Catholic faith and an exhortation to the congregation to either confess or bring forward names of suspected transgressors. The event resonated far beyond the walls of the cathedral since parish churches were closed and the entire diocese was compelled to attend. Considering that the Inquisition was in permanent residence in Seville since the 1480s and had stepped up its activities in the first decade of the sixteenth century, it is possible that Escobar's motet was strongly associated with the sermon or the Edict.<sup>41</sup>

The symbolic value of the woman of Canaan transcends the liturgical function of the Gospel reading to project her as a cultural emblem of faith and its efficacy. Her redeeming quality, as elaborated in the homilies of Church Fathers St. John Chrisostom and the Venerable Bede, is her

<sup>38</sup> T. BORGERDING, «The Motet ...», *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157. Borgerding transcribes a description of the *edicto de fe* by Sebastian de Villegas, master of ceremonies of Seville cathedral.

<sup>40</sup> For a discussion of the Edict of Faith in Valencia cathedral, see Stephen HALICZER, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478-1834*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, pp. 60-63.

<sup>41</sup> See Juan GIL, *Los conversos y la Inquisición en Sevilla*, vol. 2, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 2000, pp. 102-107. The increase in Inquisitory zeal coincides with the arrival in the city of Fray Diego de Deza in 1506, the year before Escobar arrived, culminating in the 1515 proclamation by cathedral staff proscribing the granting of offices or benefices to *conversos* and their descendants up to two generations.

exemplary persistence that discloses unwavering faith. In this guise, the woman surfaces in many contexts other than music. She sometimes is depicted in Books of Hours when the Gospel readings of Lenten Sundays are illuminated, notably in the Breviary of Isabel of Castile, or the *Très riches heures* of Duke Jean de Berry. The catafalque for the 1611 Salamanca funeral exequies of the Archduchess Margaret of Austria represented one of four Christian virtues, Faith, with the woman of Canaan.<sup>42</sup> The often-cited dramatic work by Gil Vicente, *Auto da Cananeia*, allegorizes the same Gospel passage where the Canaanite woman is presented as a model of faith and prayer. Like the Sevillian composers, Vicente seems to draw once again on the referential potential of Escobar's motet, if, as has been generally assumed, the final words of Vicente's play refer to his motet, 'e cantando *Clamabat autem* se acaba o ditto auto'.<sup>43</sup> As such, *la Cananea* represents a society collectively imagined as unified through faith.

Not only is the woman of Canaan an emblem of faith, she is also a convert. In a region where the real or imagined presence of other cultures and other religions caused mistrust, the motet text must have resonated far and wide with its call for conversion, as well as its staging of forgiveness. Orthodoxy of faith was the Inquisition's banner and nominally its *raison d'être*; those that converted had to prove their faith just as emphatically as the Canaanite woman. The fear and social disharmony that surely accompanied the yearly processes of the Inquisition are in many ways at odds with the mood of Escobar's motet. While the motet does transmit official ideology – conversion to the Christian faith is the only means of salvation – it nevertheless emphasizes the bright side of conversion. Vis-à-vis the fear and divisiveness that accompanied the Inquisition, the parable of the woman of Canaan joyfully celebrates pardon and coming together, where faith becomes a token of community: hence, perhaps, the motet's popularity. In Seville or Granada, cities of diversity, and Andalusia, a society whose composition was anything but monolithic, the Canaanite woman's plea for mercy may have resounded with the power of a constantly reenacted living experience.

<sup>42</sup> Stephen ARBURY, «The Spanish Catafalque in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century», PhD Diss., Rutgers University, 1992, p. 145.

<sup>43</sup> Maria Leonor Carvalho BUESCU, ed., *Copilaçam de toda las obras de Gil Vicente*, Lisbon, Casa da Moeda, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 324-348.

With their allusions to Escobar's motet, composers did more than merely display knowledge of a previous master, engage in competition with him, or honor his achievements. They built a tradition whose foundation was Escobar's *Clamabat autem*, and which extended through the sixteenth century and beyond, perhaps on account of its multiple resonances in the liturgy, culture, and society of the region. By refashioning musically the dramatic progression of the woman's conversion, Seville composers prolonged the active life of a text that held its own place in the collective imagination of musicians, listeners, and worshipers of Andalusia.

