

## Textual and Chant Traditions of the *Kyries tenebrarum* in Portugal, and Polyphony around 1500

João Pedro d'Alvarenga

CESEM  
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas  
Universidade NOVA de Lisboa  
[jp.alvarenga@fcsh.unl.pt](mailto:jp.alvarenga@fcsh.unl.pt)

### Resumo

A mais antiga obra polifónica com origem inequívoca na Capela Real portuguesa, cuja composição pode ser datada de cerca 1500, é uma versão anónima a três vozes dos *Kyrie tenebrarum*, que se encontra anexa a uma cópia manuscrita do cerimonial da Capela Real de meados do século XVI, antes na posse da Infanta Maria de Portugal, Princesa de Parma, e que hoje se guarda na Biblioteca Nacional de Nápoles. Ao traçar as tradições textuais e do canto monódico dos *Kyrie tenebrarum* em Portugal, este artigo fornece o contexto para aquela obra. Os processos de paráfrase do cantochão a que recorre esta versão polifónica e as suas principais características estilísticas são examinadas por comparação com as poucas peças de polifonia que subsistem compostas em Coimbra pelo mesmo período. Este breve estudo procura assim contribuir para uma melhor compreensão da polifonia composta em Portugal em torno a 1500.

### Palavras-chave

*Kyries tenebrarum*; Tradições textuais e de canto monódico; Polifonia baseada no cantochão; Técnicas de paráfrase; Análise estilística; Polifonia portuguesa em torno a 1500.

### Abstract

The oldest extant piece of polyphonic music to have certainly originated in the Portuguese Royal Chapel, whose composition can be confidently dated from before or around 1500, is an anonymous three-voice, chant-based setting of the *Kyries tenebrarum* appearing as an appendix to a mid-sixteenth-century copy of the Royal Chapel's ceremonial once owned by the Infanta Maria of Portugal, Princess of Parma, and now housed at the National Library of Naples. This article provides a context for this piece by tracing the textual and chant traditions of the *Kyries tenebrarum* in Portugal. Chant paraphrase procedures used in the polyphonic setting are analysed and its main stylistic features are discussed by comparison with the few existing polyphonic pieces composed in Coimbra in about the same period. A wider perspective of the sacred polyphonic music composed in Portugal in around 1500 eventually emerges from this brief survey.

### Keywords

*Kyries tenebrarum*; Textual and chant traditions; Chant-based polyphony; Paraphrase techniques; Style analysis; Portuguese polyphony around 1500.

THE OLDEST EXTANT PIECE OF POLYPHONIC MUSIC to have certainly originated in the Portuguese Royal Chapel, whose composition can be confidently dated from before or around 1500 on stylistic grounds, is an anonymous three-voice, chant-based setting of the *Kyries tenebrarum*. Before I turn to it, a brief sketch of the textual and chant traditions of the *Kyries tenebrarum* in Portugal is needed for the sake of context.

The *Kyries tenebrarum*, which in Portuguese liturgical sources are more often called *Preces*, are verses, or tropes to the litany sung at the end of Lauds during the *Triduum*, after repeating the *Benedictus* antiphon. The basic scheme consists of the interpolation of a verse between the elements of the litany. For instance: 'Kyrie eleison'—verse—'Domine, miserere'—'Christus Dominus factus est obediens usque ad mortem'. This sequence is repeated, most often three times. After the last time, the 'Christus Dominus' is completed with 'mortem autem crucis'. The concluding formulary usually includes the *Pater noster* silently said, Psalm 50, *Miserere mei, Deus*, and the prayer *Respice quaesumus Domine*. This ritual was performed in many local uses, with significant variation in the course of the litany and, particularly, in the choice, number, ordering, and wording of the verses. It was also part of the Praemonstratensian, Carmelite, and Dominican uses.

Adding to a pioneering article by Dom Pothier, dated 1903,<sup>1</sup> and the texts collected and edited by René-Jean Hesbert in the *Corpus antiphonarium officii*,<sup>2</sup> the liturgist Pedro Romano Rocha presented a repertory of thirty-one verses and its choice and ordering in fifty-eight liturgical uses, broadly covering continental Europe and Great Britain, on the basis of about one hundred manuscript and printed sources mostly dating from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. Although he highlights some rare verses and 'interesting variants', he does not account for detailed differences in the wording of the texts, which, he says, would confirm the relationships between the different uses, as revealed in the choice and ordering of the verses. Rocha's study, published in 1983, still stands as the most complete survey of the matter.<sup>3</sup>

In 1988, apparently unaware of Rocha's research (a circumstance that had no consequences on the substance of her findings), Jane Hardie published a comprehensive study of the *Kyries*

---

Parts of this article were read at the International Conference *The Anatomy of Polyphonic Music around 1500*, Centro Cultural de Cascais, Portugal, 27-30 June 2018. I acknowledge the assistance of the FCT–Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology and CESEM–Centre for the Study of the Sociology and Aesthetics of Music at the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, and warmly thank my colleagues in the research team for the FCT-funded project PTDC/CPC-MMU/0314/2014 and Grayson Wagstaff for their insightful comments and suggestions, and my wife, Isabel, for her support.

<sup>1</sup> Dom Joseph POTHIER, 'Chant de la litanie avec tropes ou versets à l'Office des Ténèbres', *Revue du Chant Grégorien*, 11/9 (1903), pp. 133-40.

<sup>2</sup> René-Jean HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, vol. 4: *Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia*, Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 10 (Rome, Herder, 1970), pp. 524-5.

<sup>3</sup> Pedro Romano ROCHA, 'Les "tropes" ou versets de l'ancien Office des Ténèbres', in *Mens concordet voci: pour Mgr A. G. Martimort à l'occasion de ses quarante années d'enseignement et des vingt ans de la Constitution 'Sacrosanctum Concilium'*, edited by Jacques Dutheil and Claude Dagens (Paris, Desclée, 1983), pp. 691-702.

*tenebrarum* in Spain, making use of twenty-seven manuscript and printed sources mostly dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> She groups the sources into two main traditions: Catalonia, and the rest of Spain. The latter is divided into six broad regional groups (including a Dominican text group). In some uses, notably Gerona, Seville, Jaén, and Compostela, characteristics of the two main traditions combine. Hardie counts sixteen different verses, adding one more to the repertory in Rocha.<sup>5</sup> She does account for text variants, including longer texts that can be either the result of the combination of smaller texts or the originals of these smaller texts that commonly appear as independent verses, giving a total of twenty-two verses. Six of these smaller verses, or text fragments, are identified as ‘common to almost all of the non-Spanish appearances of the *Kyries tenebrarum*’ and are accordingly named ‘the six common texts’ (our verses AJLNPR on Table 1 below).<sup>6</sup> Hardie also discusses the chant traditions (even if with less detail than the texts), the possible origin of the tropes, and performing practices.

In Portugal, judging from the extant sources, the *Kyries tenebrarum* were sung at least until the adoption of the Tridentine breviary. The exception was Santa Cruz in Coimbra, because the monastery adopted the liturgy of St Rufus in Avignon, where the tropes were not known.<sup>7</sup> Coimbra Cathedral seems to have suppressed the litany sometime before the middle of the sixteenth century, since its 1555 breviary does not include it, specifically stating that, after the verse *Christus factus est*, one should ‘flexis genibus sine Kyrie eleison’ while proceeding to the concluding formulary of Lauds.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Braga continued the singing of the *Kyries tenebrarum*, as the Cathedral kept its use after Trent drawing upon the prerogative in the bulls of Pius V for rites of at least two hundred years’ standing.<sup>9</sup> The eighteen verses and their variant forms found in the fifteen Portuguese sources surveyed are given on Table 1. They are arranged alphabetically. A letter with a number in the leftmost column refers to a variant form (verses C1 and D2 in italics are hypothetical,

<sup>4</sup> Jane Morlet HARDIE, ‘*Kyries tenebrarum* in Sixteenth-Century Spain’, *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología*, 4/1-2 (1988), pp. 161-94.

<sup>5</sup> This verse, ‘Cum accepit acetum’ (Hardie’s verse S), only appears in a fourteenth-century antiphoner from Vic in Catalonia (Hardie’s source 6); see HARDIE, ‘*Kyries tenebrarum*’ (see note 4), pp. 168, 174, and 176.

<sup>6</sup> HARDIE, ‘*Kyries tenebrarum*’ (see note 4), p. 170.

<sup>7</sup> On the use of Santa Cruz, see particularly Pedro Romano ROCHA, ‘Le rayonnement de l’Ordre de Saint-Ruf dans la péninsule ibérique, d’après sa liturgie’, in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 24 (Toulouse, Privat, 1989), pp. 193-208, and the brief overview including full references to previous scholarship and a complete list of sources in João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘The Office of the Dead in Portuguese Medieval Uses’, *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 4/1 (2017), pp. 167-204, especially at pp. 186-7 and 199-201, available at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/317/506>> (accessed 5 August 2018).

<sup>8</sup> *Breviarium Romanum antiquum & nouum complectens per Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Papam Iulium tertium approbatum* (Conimbricæ, apud Antonium a Santillana, 1555), f. 198v; copy in P-Cug R-3-13 digitised at <[https://digi.talis-dsp.uc.pt/bg1/UCBG-R-3-13/UCBG-R-3-13\\_item1/index.html](https://digi.talis-dsp.uc.pt/bg1/UCBG-R-3-13/UCBG-R-3-13_item1/index.html)> (accessed 13 July 2018).

<sup>9</sup> The 1920-2 Braga breviary, however, reduces the number of verses for Maundy Thursday to the first three of the six-verse set in Table 2; see ROCHA, ‘Les “tropes” ou versets’ (see note 3), p. 964. For a recent overview on the use of Braga, with comprehensive bibliography and a full list of sources, see ALVARENGA, ‘The Office of the Dead’ (see note 7), especially at pp. 167-71 and 193-6.

A	6	1	*A	Agno mitti <sup>1</sup> basia cui lupus dedit venenosa.
B	11	4	B2	Cuius in morte sidera lugent infernus ac tellus seminant lacrimas cum tremore.
C	14	8	Q	Hodie ianitor mortis victus est ab illo.
CI				<i>Hodie genitor mortis est ab illo.</i>
D	13	10	P2	Idem in ligno pependit infernus ab eo depopulator.
D1				Idem in ligno [...] ab eo spoliatur.
D2				<i>Idem in ligno pependit hac die immolatur.</i>
E (=D2+CI)				Idem in ligno pependit hac die immolatur: hodie genitor mortis est ab illo.
E1				Vita in ligno [...] mortis ab illo superatur.
F	12	11	C	Latro ipsum agnovit dum penderet in crucem dicens: Domine mei memento; at Jesus ait patescat tibi et in me sperantibus ianua paradisi.
G	10	12	D1	Magnus in orbe sacerdos hodie immolatur pro saluti mundi.
H	7	14	E	Pater qui commode omnia regis ubique pariter cum propria sobole.
I	8	15	F	Quam pro nostro admisso <sup>2</sup> scelere hodie das in escam <sup>3</sup> omnibus populis.
J	2	19	*G	Qui expansis <sup>4</sup> in cruce manibus traxisti omnia ad te <sup>5</sup> secula.
K				Qui in sepulcro conclusus, mortem nostram sepelivisti: nosque perpetuae adservisti vitae.
L	1	25	*H	Qui passurus advenisti propter nos.
M (=L+J)				Qui passurus advenisti propter nos, qui expansis in cruce manibus traxisti omnia ad te secula.
N	3	26	*J	Qui prophetice prompsisti <sup>6</sup> ero mors tua, o mors.
N1				Qui prophetice prompsisti [...] o mors, o inferne.
O	15	28	K	Sancti qui tenebantur in morte <sup>7</sup> captivi voce <sup>8</sup> lacrimabili clamaverunt: advenisti redemptor noster quem expectabamus.
O1				Sancti [...] clamaverunt: advenisti redemptor mundi quem expectabamus. <sup>9</sup>
O2				Cui sancti qui tenebantur captivi, lacrimabili voce acclamaverunt: advenisti redemptor quem expectabamus.
P	5	29	*M	Te que <sup>10</sup> vinciri <sup>11</sup> voluisti nosque a mortis vinculis eripuisti.
Q	9	30	N	Traditur patrator mundi per manus miseri iude <sup>12</sup> infidis iudeis ad crucifigendum ut nos a morte eripi valeremus gratias persolventes.
Q1				Traditur [...] per manus iudae perfidis iudaeis [...] eripi valeamus gratias persolventes.
R	4	31	*P	Vita in ligno moritur infernus et mors lugens spoliatur.
R1				Vita in ligno moritur, luget mors: infernus spoliatur.

1 'mittit' > *Breuiarium... Elborensis*, 1528 > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1549

2 'amisso' > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1494 > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1549

3 'escas' > *P-BRad* Ms. 657 > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1494 > *P-BRs* Ms. 10 > *P-BRs* Ms. 31 > *P-BRs* Ms. 32 > *P-BRs* Ms. 34 > *P-BRs* Ms. 50 > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1549

4 'expassis' > *P-EVad* AHMEVR 98 > *P-BRs* Ms. 10 > *P-BRs* Ms. 31 > *P-BRs* Ms. 32 > *P-BRs* Ms. 34 > *P-BRs* Ms. 50

5 'ad te omnia' > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1549

6 'prompsisti' > *I-Nn* Cod. I.E.32

7 'mortem' > *P-BRad* Ms. 657

8 'vocem' > *P-BRs* Ms. 34

9 'spectabamus' > *Passionarium*, 1543

10 'Te qui' > *P-EVc* Cód. s.s. > *I-Nn* Cod. I.E.32; 'Tu qui' > *Breuiarium Eborensis*, 1548

11 'vinceri' > *P-BRs* Ms. 34 > *I-Nn* Cod. I.E.32 > *Passionarium*, 1543; 'vici' (possibly a misprint for 'vinci') > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1494

12 'per manus iude' > *Breuiarium bracharense*, 1549

**Table 1.** Texts in Portuguese sources

only appearing combined in verse E). The second left-hand column shows the verse position number in the late eleventh-century *Aquitanian antiphoner* (*E-Tc* Ms. 44.2; see the sources immediately following Table 2). This early source presents fifteen verses: one six-verse series and one three-verse series for Maundy Thursday, and two three-verse series, one for Good Friday and the other one for Holy Saturday. All these fifteen verses appear in the Portuguese sources representing medieval diocesan uses, in the same order within each group as they appear in the *Aquitanian antiphoner*. The third column gives the verse number in Rocha's list and the fourth column shows the sign given to each verse in Hardie's list.<sup>10</sup>

	<b>Feria V</b>	<b>Feria VI</b>	<b>Sabbato</b>
<i>*E-Tc</i> Ms. 44.2 ( <i>Aquitanian antiphoner</i> )	L J N R P A H I Q 25 19 26 31 29 1 14 15 30	G B F  12 4 11	D C O  10 8 28
<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 368 (Santa Cruz 65)	L J N R P A 25 19 26 31 29 1	G B F 12 4 11	D C O 10 8 28
<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 657 (' <i>Soeiro</i> ' Breviary)	L J N R P A 25 19 26 31 29 1	H I Q 14 15 30	D C O 10 8 28
<i>*P-BRs</i> Ms. 34	L J N R P A	H I Q	D C O
<i>*P-BRs</i> Ms. 32	L J N R P A	H I Q	D C O
<i>Breviarium bracharense</i> , 1494	L J N R P A	H I Q	D1 C O
<i>*P-BRs</i> Ms. 31	L J N R P A	H I Q	D1 C O
<i>*P-BRs</i> Ms. 50	L J N R P A	H I Q	D1 C O
<i>*P-BRs</i> Ms. 10	L J N R P A	H I Q	D1 C O
<i>Breviarium bracaraense</i> , 1549	L J N R P A	H I Q	D1 C O
<i>*P-EVad</i> AHMEVR 98	[ ] J N R P A	[ ]	[ ]
<i>Breviarium... Elborensis</i> , 1528	L J N R P A 25 19 26 31 29 1	as in Feria V	as in Feria V
<i>Breviarium Eborensis</i> , 1548	L J N	A P R1	Q1 K O2
<i>*P-EVc</i> Cód. s.s. (Dominican use)	L J N 25 19 26	A R P 1 31 29	as in Feria V
+ <i>I-Nn</i> Cod. I.E.32	M N 25+19 26	R P 31 29	E O1 (10+8) (28)
<i>*Passionarium</i> , 1543	M N1	R P	E1 O1

\*includes chant

+includes polyphony

Verse D1, a small variant of verse D (see Table 1), was introduced in the Braga breviary printed in 1494; the antiphoners *P-BRs* Ms. 31, Ms. 50, and Ms. 10 were amended accordingly: D1 in these antiphoners read 'spoliatur' over erasure; they originally have 'depopulatur', that is, verse D.

The ceremonial of the Royal Chapel, *I-Nn* Cod. I.E.32, assigns verse N to 'Feria quinta' (that is, Feria VI). This is most probably an error.

**Table 2.** Sources and disposition of texts

<sup>10</sup> ROCHA, 'Les "tropes" ou versets' (see note 3), p. 693, and HARDIE, 'Kyries tenebrarum' (see note 4), pp. 167-8, respectively.

Table 2 shows which verses were used on each of the *Triduum* days in each one of the sources consulted. Besides the fifteen Portuguese sources, one more is included: the above-mentioned *Aquitanian antiphoner*. The letters refer to Table 1 above and the numbers below refer to the list of verses in Rocha.<sup>11</sup>

Sources referred to in the preceding tables and thereafter in the main text:<sup>12</sup>

*Breviarium bracharense* (in augusta Bracharensi ciuitate, per Johannem Gherlinc, 1494).

*Breuiarium secundum consuetudinem sancte Elborensis ecclesie* (Hispani, Jacobi Cromberger, 1528).

*Passionarium secundum ritum capelle Regis Lusitanie*, Jacobus Fernandus Formosus [...] composuit (Olisiponem, apud Ludouicum Rodericum, 1543).

*Breviarium Eborensis* (Olisipone, apud Ludouicum Rotorigium, 1548).

*Breuiarium bracaraense* (Bracharae, Ioannes Aluarus & Ioannes Barrerius, 1549).

*E-Tc* Ms. 44.2, antiphoner with a Cluniac background sharing distinctive liturgical elements with Moissac, known as *Aquitanian antiphoner*, of unknown origin but possibly used in Toledo Cathedral and copied from south-Aquitania exemplars probably in around 1095.<sup>13</sup>

*I-Nn* Cod. I.E.32, ceremonial of the Portuguese Royal Chapel entitled *Cerimonias da Cappella del Rey*, main layer datable to around 1553.<sup>14</sup>

*P-EVad* AHMEVR 98, fragment of an antiphoner, Évora Cathedral, second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

*P-Pm* Ms. 368 (Santa Cruz 65), missal and breviary, possibly from the north of Portugal, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>12</sup> On the sources of the use of Braga and the early prints of the use of Évora, including the relevant bibliography, see ALVARENGA, 'The Office of the Dead' (see note 7), pp. 193-6 and 198.

<sup>13</sup> On *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2, see Michel HUGLO and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'O processional português de Chicago', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 14-5 (2004-5; published in 2010), pp. 57-78, at p. 62 n. 11, including the references to the relevant literature on the manuscript, available at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/251/266>> (accessed 6 August 2018). See also *Hispania Vetust: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (10-12th Centuries)*, edited by Susana Zapke (Bilbao, Fundación BBVA, 2007), p. 404, where a different date and hypothetical origins are suggested for *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2: 'early twelfth-century', from 'Aquitaine (Moissac, Aurillac, Toulouse), Sahagún or Toledo'.

<sup>14</sup> Modern edition as *Cerimonial da Capela Real: Um manual litúrgico de D. Maria de Portugal (1538-1577) Princesa de Parma*, edited by José Maria Pedrosa Cardoso, Estudos Musicológicos 31 (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda - Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> On this fragment, see João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'The Liturgical Use and Chant Tradition of Évora Cathedral from a Fragment of a Thirteenth-Century Antiphoner', *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 5/2 (2018), pp. 299-314.

<sup>16</sup> On this unidentified manuscript, which may have been used in Santa Cruz, see Solange CORBIN, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age (1100-1385)* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1952), p. 190. The *Catálogo dos códices da livraria de mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, edited by Aires A. Nascimento and José F. Meirinhos (Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1997), pp. 289-90, gives Santa Cruz as its origin and provenance and dates it to the fourteenth century, also stating that the breviary is of the 'rito antigo' (old use).

*P-BRad* Ms. 657, breviary, Braga, known as the ‘*Soeiro*’ Breviary, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, from a mid fourteenth-century exemplar (c.1340) with readings from a lectionary in use in 1282.

*P-EVc* Cód. s.s., fragmentary gradual and antiphoner, Dominican use, early sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

*P-BRs* Ms. 34, gradual for the private chapel of Archbishop Diogo de Sousa, Braga, c.1510-5.

*P-BRs* Ms. 31, temporal antiphoner, Braga Cathedral, c.1510-20.

*P-BRs* Ms. 32, temporal antiphoner, Braga Cathedral, c.1510-20.

*P-BRs* Ms. 50, temporal antiphoner, Braga Cathedral, c.1510-20.

*P-BRs* Ms. 10, temporal antiphoner, Braga Cathedral, c.1520.

Portuguese sources can be divided into three main groups: one, of southern-Aquitanian ancestry, which adopts the entire six-verse series for Maundy Thursday in the same order as in the *Aquitanian antiphoner* (the unidentified breviary from the north of Portugal, all Braga sources, the 1528 Évora breviary, and doubtlessly also the Évora fragment); another which represents the Dominican tradition, where these six verses—Hardie’s ‘six common texts’—are equally divided between Maundy Thursday and Good Friday but presented in a different order for the latter (ARP instead of RPA, as in the early sixteenth-century fragmentary gradual and antiphoner); and still another which combines characteristics of the preceding groups. This latter group includes the two sources from, or related to, the Portuguese Royal Chapel. Verses N and E are combinations of verses L and J, and D and C, respectively, these latter in variant forms. Thus, the prototype texts for Maundy Thursday in the use of the Royal Chapel are the same as in the Dominican tradition, to which the two verses for Good Friday also relate, and the texts for Holy Saturday are the same and ordered in the same way as in the *Aquitanian antiphoner* and all other Portuguese medieval uses, that is, those of the first group excepting Évora, where the six-verse group was originally repeated in the last three days of Holy Week. The variant forms E1 and N1 in the 1543 *Passionarium* were likely the initiative of its editor, Diogo Fernandes Formoso, to ameliorate the Latin wording according to Humanist standards. Likewise, as a product of the Humanist-Catholic reform, the 1548 Évora breviary presents a newly composed verse (K) and re-compositions of three other verses (O2, Q1, and R1). The choice of texts for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday also reveals the influence of the Dominican tradition, which is easily explained by the fact that its editor, André de Resende, was a Dominican friar.

From the minor variants in wording (see the notes to Table 1), it is apparent that the texts in Braga and in Évora are descendants from related exemplars, and that Braga has two slightly different traditions, one manuscript, possibly going back to the model for the thirteenth-century Évora fragment, and the other one established with the breviary printed in 1494, which in its turn has links with the fourteenth-century ‘*Soeiro*’ Breviary.

<sup>17</sup> Melodies were heavily amended throughout but the erased originals can still be clearly seen.

*Passionarium*, 1543

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Chri - ste e - lei - son.

*P-EVc* Cód. s.s. (Dominican)

*P-EVad* AHMEVR 98

*P-BRc* Ms. 34

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Chri - ste e - lei - son.

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Do-mi - ne mi - se - re - re.

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Do-mi - ne mi - se - re - re.

**a** **b**

Chri-stus Do-mi - nus fa-ctus est o - be - di - ens us - que ad mor - tem

Chri-stus Do-mi - nus fa-ctus est o - be - di - ens us - que ad mor - tem

The final exclamation when different from the preceding

**a** **b**

mor-tem, mor-tem au-tem cru - cis.

mor - tem au - tem cru - cis.

mor-tem au - tem cru - cis.



Qui pas - su - rus ad - ve - ni - sti pro - pter nos.

Qui ex - pan - sis

Qui ex - pan - sis

ex - pas - sis

Qui ex - pas - sis in cru - ce ma - ni - bus tra - xi - sti o - mni - a ad te se - cu - la.

o mors o in - fer - ne.

Qui pro - phe - ti - ce prom - psi - sti e - ro mors tu - a o mors.

**Example 1.** Chant for the *Kyries tenebrarum* in the Portuguese sources surveyed

The fourth-mode chant for the litany and the first three verses as in the Braga gradual is transcribed in Example 1. Readings in all Braga sources are the same. Variants in the thirteenth-century Évora fragment, the early sixteenth-century Dominican choirbook, and the 1543 *Passionarium* are given in parallel. As can be clearly seen (and as already explained by Hardie<sup>18</sup>), the chant for the verses is modular, in the sense that it derives from the ‘Christus Dominus’, basically consisting of an alternation of its first and second phrases: ‘Christus Dominus’—phrase (a)—and ‘factus est obediens usque ad mortem’—phrase (b). The response ‘Domine, miserere’ is also phrase (a) from the ‘Christus Dominus’. It should be noted that the ‘Kyrie’ and ‘Christe’ chants

<sup>18</sup> HARDIE, ‘*Kyries tenebrarum*’ (see note 4), pp. 189-92.

in the 1543 *Passionarium* were seemingly modelled on the version in the 1516 *Passionarium Toletanum*<sup>19</sup> and most likely do not correspond to the early usage of the Portuguese Royal Chapel. As for the rest, the reading is very nearly that of the medieval version. This medieval version is a descent of the same model as the late eleventh-century *Aquitanian antiphoner*, which represents the south-Aquitanian tradition. Differences in the medieval version of the chant are minimal: Braga ascends to b on 'factus' and to f on 'autem' and 'expassis' (the version in the 1515 *Intonarium Toletanum*<sup>20</sup> matches Braga at this latter point; the 1543 *Passionarium* does not follow Braga at any of these three points); Braga also has an extra note in the melisma on 'advenisti'; the Dominican chant has g-a on 'obediens' instead of just g.

The polyphonic *Kyries tenebrarum* to which I referred at first appear as an appendix to the mid-sixteenth-century copy of the Portuguese Royal Chapel's ceremonial now housed at the National Library of Naples.<sup>21</sup> This manuscript travelled to Brussels in 1566 in the luggage of *Infanta Maria*, daughter of the 4th Duke of Guimarães and a niece of King João III, who had married Duke Alessandro Farnese by proxy the year before, thus becoming Hereditary Princess of Parma.<sup>22</sup> The polyphonic setting consists of eight sections, totaling 480 breves: 1) 'Kyrie eleison'; 2) 'Domine, miserere'; 3) 'Qui passurus [...] Kyrie eleison'; 4) 'Qui propheticè [...] Kyrie eleison'; 5) 'Vita in ligno [...] Kyrie eleison'; 6) 'Te qui venceri [...] Kyrie eleison'; 7) 'Idem in ligno [...] Kyrie eleison'; and 8) 'Sancti qui tenebantur [...] Kyrie eleison'. The texts and their ordering agree with the 1543 *Passionarium*, though without the improvements in wording this latter source offers. The music, entered at the end of the volume under the heading '*Chyrios Das Treuas*' (ff. 250r-262r), was certainly copied by an amateur, not only because of its irregular script and unusual layout,<sup>23</sup> but also because of its many errors and corrupt readings.<sup>24</sup>

As shown in Table 3, the way of performing the *Kyries tenebrarum* including the polyphonic sections can be reconstructed by following the instructions in the 1543 *Passionarium*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Passionarium Toletanum* (in egregia academia Complutensi [Alcalá de Henares], Arnaldi Guillelmi de Brocarij, 1516), ff. sig. m[v]-m[vj].

<sup>20</sup> *Intonarium Toletanum* (Impressus vniuersitatis Complutensi [Alcalá de Henares], industria atque solertia Arnaldi Guillelmi Brocarij, 1515), ff. lxxiiij<sup>v</sup>-lxxv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> See the sources after Table 2 above. A hitherto unknown *Ceremonial da capella del Rey* also from the mid-sixteenth century has recently emerged (in *P-VV BDMII Res. Ms. 85 Adq.*), but it has no reference to the *Kyries tenebrarum*.

<sup>22</sup> This accounts for the present location of the manuscript. The National Library of Naples holds five manuscript volumes that belonged to the personal library of the *Infanta Maria*, including the oldest extant Portuguese cookbook dating to the late fifteenth century, *I-Nn Cod. I.E.33*.

<sup>23</sup> From f. 250r to f. 253r voice-parts were copied in succession; only from ff. 253v-254r were they copied in choirbook format, and always in the wrong order.

<sup>24</sup> The *Cerimonial da Capela Real* (see note 14) includes a problematic edition of the polyphonic setting on pp. 147-57. A new edition by the present author is forthcoming. I wish to thank José Maria Pedrosa Cardoso for having kindly provided me with reproductions of the relevant folios from *I-Nn Cod. I.E.32*.

<sup>25</sup> *Passionarium secundum ritum capelle Regis Lusitanie* (see the sources after table 2), ff. sig. aa iiij<sup>v</sup>-aa [v]<sup>r</sup>, bb [i]<sup>r-v</sup>, and bb iiij<sup>v</sup>-bb [v]<sup>r</sup>.

Performance takes place in the dark. The candles in the main altar are being extinguished during the singing of the *Benedictus*. At least three or four singers from the choir, who are in charge of hiding the only candle that remains lighted and repeat the *Benedictus* antiphon after the canticle, sing the first Kyrie. One of them also sings loudly the final ecphonesis: ‘Mortem, mortem autem crucis’. From the main text of the ceremonial, it is apparent that the singing of the tropes, as an extra-liturgical accretion, was optional, as was optional the singing of the *Heu, heu* verses during the funeral procession of Christ on Good Friday.<sup>26</sup>

<i>Kyrie eleison.</i>	tres aut quatuor cantores	polyphony, section 1
<i>Christe eleison.</i>	duo cantores	chant
<i>Kyrie eleison.</i>	chorus	chant
<i>Domine, miserere.</i>	primi cantores	polyphony, section 2
<i>Christus Dominus</i>	duo cantores	chant
<i>factus est [...] mortem autem crucis.</i>	chorus	chant
<i>Versus [...] Kyrie eleison.</i>	primi cantores	polyphony, section 3 (feria V), 5 (feria VI), 7 (Sabbato)
<i>Christe eleison.</i>	duo cantores	chant
<i>Kyrie eleison.</i>	chorus	chant
<i>Domine, miserere.</i>	primi cantores	polyphony, section 2
<i>Christus Dominus</i>	duo cantores	chant
<i>factus est [...] mortem autem crucis.</i>	chorus	chant
<i>Versus [...] Kyrie eleison.</i>	primi cantores	polyphony, section 4 (feria V), 6 (feria VI), 8 (Sabbato)
<i>Christe eleison.</i>	duo cantores	chant
<i>Kyrie eleison.</i>	chorus	chant
<i>Domine, miserere.</i>	primi cantores	polyphony, section 2
<i>Christus Dominus</i>	duo cantores	chant
<i>factus est [...] mortem autem crucis.</i>	chorus	chant
<i>Mortem, mortem autem crucis.</i>	unus cantor alta voce	chant

**Table 3.** Performance of the *Kyries tenebrarum* in the Portuguese Royal Chapel

The Portuguese setting of the *Kyries tenebrarum* differs considerably from its four known Spanish counterparts dating from before or around 1500: it can be assigned to a specific use; its texture is free-polyphonic for the most part; and it has no strict cantus firmus, but makes use of chant paraphrase techniques instead. The settings for three voices in Barcelona 454 (*E-Bbc* M. 454), and for four voices, no. 32, in Segovia (*E-SE* Ms. s.s.), are in note-against-note ‘chant harmonization’ style; the setting in Paris 967 (*F-Pn* Ms. Rés. F. 967) also has the first and last

<sup>26</sup> On this latter ritual, see Solange CORBIN, *La déposition liturgique du Christ au Vendredi Saint: Sa place dans l’histoire des rites et du théâtre religieux (analyse de documents portugais)* (Paris - Lisbon, Les Belles Lettres - Bertrand, 1960), and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ‘Um panorama histórico da música na Sé de Braga até 1550’, in *Património e devoção*, coordinated by Elisa Maria Maia da Silva Lessa and Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo (Braga, Câmara Municipal de Braga - Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 2018), pp. 27-45, at pp. 40-5.

sections in four-voice 'chant harmonization' style, and the three-voice verses in a stratified texture of *contrapuncto diminuto* against the cantus firmus carried by the middle voice. Only the four-voice setting no. 29 in Segovia uses simple paraphrase technique and has a free polyphonic texture, but it cannot be assigned to a specific liturgical use.<sup>27</sup>

Turning to the Portuguese anonymous setting, the following examples will be enough to see the range of quite sophisticated paraphrase procedures it uses. Let us refer to the phrases of the chant model for the first four polyphonic sections as M 1, M 2, M 3, and M 4, and number the notes in each phrase sequentially (bearing in mind that M 3 is indeed a three-phrase unit, as it combines verses 'Qui passurus' and 'Qui expansis', this latter verse having two phrases). The chant model is presented as a superposition of the medieval readings in Example 1 (thus, the version in the 1543 *Passionarium* was not considered in establishing it). Notes enclosed in parentheses belong to variant readings. If a note of a variant reading is the same as the preceding or the following one, both take the same number; different pitches in the same position also take the same number (see Example 2).

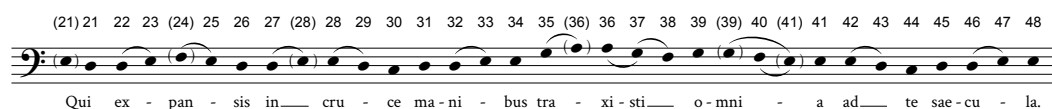
#### M 1



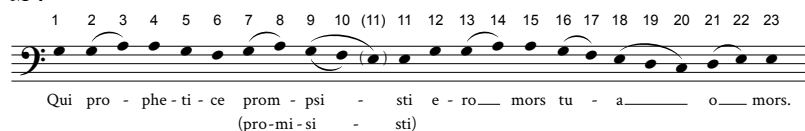
#### M 2



#### M 3



#### M 4



### Example 2. The chant model for the polyphonic setting

<sup>27</sup> On these Spanish settings, see Kenneth KREITNER, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 34-40, 88, 91-2, and 129.

The first phrase of the chant model generates the entire superius voice-part in the first polyphonic section setting the initial ‘Kyrie eleison’ (see Example 3). M 1 is presented in its entirety, though broken up at note 3, with three interpolations—the first one altering the characteristic opening intervallic structure—and short functional elaborations of notes 3 and 7. The sequential repetition of notes 4-5 and 6-7 builds upon a typical ternary-binary-binary syncopated motif.

M 1: 1 ( ) 2 3a → 3a 3b 4a 5a 4b 5b

Ky - - - ri - e

8 Ky - ri - e

Ky - - ri - e

7 ( ) 6a (7a) 6b (7b) → (7b) 7a ( ) 7b

e - lei - son.

8 e - - - lei - son.

e - - - lei - son.

**Example 3.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, bb. 1-12: section 1, ‘Kyrie eleison’ (source: *I-Nn* Cod. I.E.32)

The second polyphonic section, setting ‘Domine, miserere’, has a more complex structure (see Example 4). M 2 generates the superius voice-part in the first segment up to the cadence on *c-ut* using notes 1-9, with an interpolation between notes 2-3 and the elaboration of note 4. The second segment, consisting of the only full point of imitation in the whole work, relies on notes 3-7 of M 1, beginning in the bassus on bar 17; the tenor has the chant model transposed a fifth higher. Notes 6-7 are repeated, emphasizing the *Mi*-tonality characteristic fall of a minor second to the final. This fall is prolonged through extended free elaboration in the lower voices. At the end in the superius, notes 7-8 and 9-11 of M 2 are collected into single notes, the last one also being note 7 of M 1. This completes the presentation of both the first and second phrases of the chant model. Note that the cadential extension in both sections, ‘Kyrie eleison’ and ‘Domine, miserere’, has the same configuration. This not only reflects their shared dependence on M 1 and the synonymy of ‘eleison’ and ‘miserere’, but also creates a kind of rhyme when considering performance of the entire setting in alternation with chant in each of the *Triduum* days, because of the structural function of the second polyphonic section as a recurring element of the litany (check Table 3).

[illegible]

**Example 4.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, bb. 13-23: section 2, ‘Domine, miserere’

The verses have an intricate structure, which it is not possible to detail here. In all of them the chant model is segmented, at times differently rhythmicized, with more or less extended ellipsis, interpolations, repetitions, and note elaborations. As a result of this, and of the modular nature of the chant, there are blocks of polyphony repeated in alternate verses, either strictly or with some contrapuntal variation. Polyphony here uses the chant segments in a way that supersedes the structure in the monophonic material. Let us just examine the opening of section 4 (verse ‘Qui propheticæ’) and the end of section 3 (verse ‘Qui passurus’), as further examples of paraphrase technique.

The opening of ‘Qui propheticæ’ (see Example 5) presents an ingenious rendering of the chant model. Notes 1-6 of M 4 are presented in regular values in the bassus with notes 3-4 collected into a single note. The counterpoint to this in the superius can be seen as the prolongation of the interval g-a, which is at the start of the three segments formed by notes 1-6, 7-11, and 12-8. These two latter are superposed, as they have exactly the same intervallic contour (providing that repeated notes are collected into single ones), although superposition is possibly rather perceived as an ellipsis. Notes 19-20, here treated in *fauxbourdon*-like style, support one of the blocks that will re-appear in other verses, not only with different contrapuntal treatment, but also displaced regarding the chant model, because of its cadential function.

Like all other verses, ‘Qui passurus’ ends with ‘Kyrie eleison,’ because in the usage of the Royal Chapel, the verse and the succeeding invocation were sung by the same singers who had started the litany (the ‘primi cantores’; check again Table 3). In this closing period, two phrases of

the chant model overlap: the final segment of M 3 in the superius (notes 35-48), and the entire M 1 in the bassus (see Example 6). The procedure is the same in all verses, although with some variation each time, particularly in contrapuntal context and the pre-cadential extension (and also the goal-pitch in section 5, ‘Vita in ligno’, which ends on e/A).

M 4: 12-13 7 14-15 8 16 17 18 ( ) 19 9 10 11

Qui pro - phe - ti - ce pro - - - mi -

8 Qui pro - phe - ti - ce pro - - - mi -

M 4: 1 2 3-4 5 6

Qui pro - phe - ti - - - ce pro -

73 20 21 → 21 22-23

si - - - sti e - ro mors -

8 si - - - sti e - - - ro mors -

- mi - si - sti e - ro mors -

**Example 5.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, bb. 68-79: opening of section 4, ‘Qui prophetic’

55 M 3: 35 36 37

cu - la. Ky - ri - e e - - -

8 cu - la. Ky - ri - e e - - -

M 1: 1 ( ) 2 3 4 5 6a 7a 6b 7b

cu - la. Ky - - - ri - e e -

62 39 37 38 ( ) 40 41-42 43 44 45-46 47-48

- - - lei - son -

8 - - - lei - son -

6c 7c

- - - lei - son -

**Example 6.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, bb. 55-67: end of section 3, ‘Qui passurus’

In an article published in 2009, when referring to the 1543 *Passionarium*, Jane Hardie says that 'the six *kyries* texts are those used by Sarum, rather than others used elsewhere in Iberia' (by 'Iberia' she meant, of course, Spain). She adds: 'It is possible that, from a textual point of view', the 1543 *Passionarium* 'shows us remnants of an older (Sarum) practice [...], thus contributing to a still open debate about the relationship between Sarum and the Portuguese Royal Chapel'.<sup>28</sup> The Sarum verses are the same as those of the Dominican use, grouped in the same way and using the same scheme, with the series for Maundy Thursday being repeated in Holy Saturday—not really the series and scheme that appear in the sources from, or related to, the Portuguese Royal Chapel, although they all belong to the same text group. However, a small detail in the anonymous polyphonic *Kyries tenebrarum* does suggest such a relationship: the verses based on phrase (b) of the 'Christus Dominus'—sections 5 to 8—all start with the falling minor third f-d in the superius (corresponding to the position of notes 21-2 in M 3). This indeed agrees with the Sarum version of the chant at this point,<sup>29</sup> and might be an indication that the original, or at least the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century chant in the Portuguese Royal Chapel was a crossbreed of medieval south-Aquitainian and Sarum traditions.

In an attempt to widen the perspective on sacred polyphonic music composed in Portugal in around 1500, we will now briefly compare stylistically the setting of the *Kyries tenebrarum* from the Portuguese Royal Chapel with three three-voice *Alleluia* settings composed in Coimbra at about the same period—one explicitly ascribed to Vasco Pires<sup>30</sup> and the other two attributed to him on stylistic grounds.<sup>31</sup>

These *Alleluia* settings bear no sign of being based on chant, even though María Elena Cuenca has suggested that the setting entitled 'Sexta antigua' ('Old sixth') makes use of a rare sixth-mode chant for the *Alleluia. Flores apparuerunt*, which is, apparently, only found in late Spanish sources (the common chant for this *Alleluia* is in the first mode).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Jane Morlet HARDIE, 'Regional and Royal: Aspects of Practice in Three Portuguese Prints of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* (1543-95)', in *Identity and Locality in Early European Music, 1028-1740*, edited by Jason Stoessel (London - New York, Routledge, 2009), pp. 37-54, at p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> For the Sarum version of the chant, see, for instance, the so-called 'Penwortham Breviary', from c.1300-19, *GB-Lbl Add MS 52359*, ff. 143r and 147v, digitized at <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_52359](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_52359)> (accessed 4 August 2018).

<sup>30</sup> Pires is documented between 1481 and 1547, first as a singer and then chapel master in Coimbra Cathedral, although at the latter date he should have been dead for several years; see João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Some Identifying Features of Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Polyphony', in *Musical Exchanges, 1100-1650: Iberian Connections*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira, Iberian Early Music Studies 2 (Kassel, Edition Reichenberger, 2016), pp. 165-90, at p. 167.

<sup>31</sup> These are: *P-Cug* MM 9, ff. 108v-109r, 'Vasco Pirez', and MM 12, ff. 23v-24r, 'V.<sup>co</sup> piz.'; *P-Cug* MM 9, ff. 109v-110r 'Sexta antigua', and MM 12, ff. 42v-43r, 'Sexta antigua'; and *P-Cug* MM 9, ff. 110v-111r, 'Octaua antigua', MM 12, ff. 59v-60r, 'Octaua antigua', and *P-Ln* CIC 60, ff. 24v-25r. See ALVARENGA, 'Some Identifying Features' (see note 30), pp. 176-80, including an edition of the first two settings at pp. 177-9.

<sup>32</sup> María Elena CUENCA RODRÍGUEZ, 'Francisco de Peñalosa (ca. 1470-1528) y las Misas en sus distintos contextos' (PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017), vol. 1, pp. 271-3. The sixth-mode chant appears in the mid seventeenth-century gradual and antiphoner *E-Mn* MPCANT/44, f. 111r-v, digitised at <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000168331&page=1>> (accessed 6 August 2018).



The Coimbra *Alleluia* settings rely on free counterpoint. There is no imitative writing and all voices are equally active, with no crossings and only occasional overlaps. This results in a kind of pan-consonant, triadic-based texture, in which bare dyads and metrically accented sixths from the bass are rare, and accented dissonances are restricted to cadences. Individual voice-parts are also often triadic-based, occasionally developing in sequential thirds. Parallel motion is frequent, mostly in thirds, but also in sixths between the two upper voices, and especially in tenths between the outer voices. Syncopation is also prominent, even ubiquitous, not infrequently involving all voices, at times in strict homorhythm, so producing the disruption of the *tactus* (see Example 7). All these characteristics are shared with the three-voice sections of Pires's even-verse *Magnificat* in the fourth tone, except that there we find extended segments in imitation involving two out of the three voices.<sup>33</sup> In Pires's *Magnificat*, the duo section, 'Quia fecit', is also imitative for the most part; sixths from the bass are more frequent, and so are bare dyads; in the four-voice sections there are also brief moments of imitation involving two voices, short segments of homophony, occasional upper voice crossings, and lower voice crossings only at the final cadences.



**Example 7.** [Vasco Pires?], *Alleluia* 'Sexta antiga', bb. 26-31 (source: *P-Cug* MM 12)

In the anonymous *Kyries tenebrarum*, parallel motion of imperfect consonances is less frequent and so is syncopation. There is a significant number of overlaps and lower voice crossings, not only in intermediary cadences (as in Example 6, b. 58), but also in more extended segments, including duos. Octave and fifth dyads and metrically accented sixths from the bass are much more frequent. As already seen, there is one short point of imitation involving all three voices in section 2, and there is also a very brief segment in imitation involving the superius and tenor in section 7, which sets a compound verse (see Table 1, verse D), when the first text ends and articulates with the second (bb. 178-80).

<sup>33</sup> Pires's *Magnificat* is in *P-Cug* MM 12, ff. 166v-172r (plus f. 186v, where the superius and tenor of the first verse are repeated), 'Uasco pirez :- Quartus tonus'; *P-Cug* MM 32, ff. 60v-63r; and incomplete (with only verses 4, 8, and 12) in *P-Ln* CIC 60, ff. 27v-30r. An edition of the complete setting by Owen Rees is in Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, *Antologia de música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento* (Lisbon, Arte das Musas - CESEM, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 75-81.

However, the striking stylistic differences between the Coimbra *Alleluia* settings and the Royal Chapel's *Kyries tenebrarum* are the presence in this latter piece of a number of prominent consecutive fifths and, especially, the 'consonant' treatment of the diminished fifth triad.<sup>34</sup> There are also two instances of an unusual treatment of the compound perfect fourth from the bass.

Consecutive bare fifths between the upper voices, the first one always being diminished, occur mostly in the context of cadential or cadential-like formulas (even if they are not fulfilling a cadential function), when the superius cannot move inwards to a third because of the constraints of the chant model that calls for an upward major second. Consecutive perfect fifths between the outer voices with intervening thirds in the middle voice can only be explained by the linear consistency of each of the three voices, the bassus part, particularly, being in sequential progression. Both varieties of consecutive fifths appear in the first few bars of section 3 (verse 'Qui passurus'; see Example 8) and again in other sections using the same modules of the chant model within recurring blocks of polyphony.

M 3: 1 2 3 4 5 6 → 6 7-8 /5 6 ———

Qui pas - su - rus ad - ve - ni -

Qui pas - su - rus ad - ve -

Qui pas - su - rus ad -

31 ———→ 6 7-8 // 16 17 ( ) 18 19-20

- sti pro - pter nos, qui

ni - sti pro pter nos,

- ve - ni - sti pro pter nos,

**Example 8.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, bb. 24-36: beginning of section 3, 'Qui passurus'

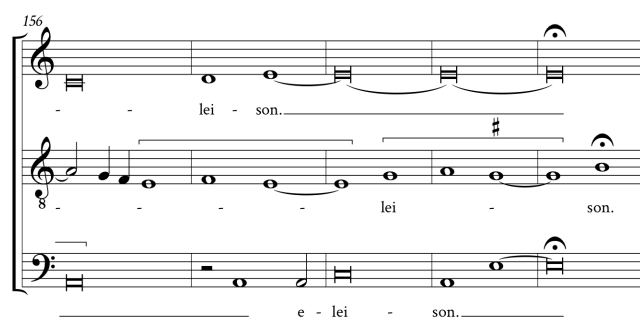
The interval of an eleventh from the bass appears in the final cadences of sections 4 (verse 'Qui propheticus') and 6 (verse 'Te qui vincis'), which are formed in the upper voices. In the first case, it results from delayed parallel motion in tenths (see Example 9). In the second case, it is a

<sup>34</sup> On bar 141 of Pires's *Magnificat* there is one single such triad, but with an 'unresolved' augmented fourth between the altus and the superius.

syncopation that is dissonant with the first note against which it sounds in the superius, and consonant against the second (see Example 10). Because this is not a common configuration, it is worth noting that Mateus de Aranda, in his 1535 treatise on counterpoint, provides an example of practical use of the syncopated eleventh from the bass comparable to the one occurring here, although in Aranda's example the syncopation is in the upper voice.<sup>35</sup>



**Example 9.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, bb. 95-9: end of section 4, 'Qui propheticus'



**Example 10.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, bb. 156-60: end of section 6, 'Te qui vinceri'

The diminished fifth occurs either between the upper voices and supported by the sixth below, or between the bass and one of the upper voices. Outside the context of a cadence formula, it is always metrically accented, and in only two cases is it not properly 'resolved', that is, with either *mi* not going a semitone up, or *fa* not going a semitone down. One of these 'unresolved' diminished fifths appears firstly on bar 91, near the end of section 4 (verse 'Qui propheticus'; see Example 11a). It will be repeated twice (in sections 6, bar 151, and 8, bar 231) in exactly the same context, within a recurring block of polyphony. The other one appears only once, on bar 213 in section 8 (verse 'Sancti qui tenebantur'; see Example 11b). In the first case, the rhythmic accent comes immediately

<sup>35</sup> Mateus de ARANDA, *Tractado de canto mensurable: y contrapuncto: nueuamente compuesto* (Lisbon, German Galhard, 1535), f. sig. C<sup>v</sup>; facsimile edition as *Tractado de canto mensurable de Mateus de Aranda*, introduction and notes by Cónego José Augusto Alegria (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1978). See Stephen RICE, 'Aspects of Counterpoint Theory in the *Tractado de canto mensurable* (1535) of Matheo de Aranda', in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, edited by M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Turnhout, Brepols, 2009), pp. 63-73, at p. 72, example 2.

after the diminished triad, which builds from the melodic motion of the upper voices. It is, thus, a passing triad. In the second case, either adding a sharp to the f in the tenor, or a flat to the B in the bassus could correct the *mi-against-fa* discord. However, the first solution would create a cross relation with the superius, and the latter, although effective and melodically appealing, would be modally alien. This particular case, whatever the quality the triad adopts in performance, should thus be explained in relation to the text word 'lacrimabili' ('tearfully'), of which it sets the accented syllable.

**Example 11.** Anonymous, *Kyries tenebrarum*, (a) bb. 89-93, (b) bb. 212-6

Fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century theorists and modern scholars have abundantly discussed all these controversial progressions and vertical relations, nonetheless acknowledging them as prevailing in practical music.<sup>36</sup> I will not repeat their arguments here. However, it is worth mentioning that the handling of dissonance, and particularly of the diminished fifth as it appears in the anonymous setting of the *Kyries tenebrarum*, broadly accords with the rules of Ramos de Pareja in his *Musica practica*, which, on this specific issue, reflect the ideas and theories of Tristão da Silva, an Aragonese who was a leading singer in the Portuguese Royal Chapel between the 1460s and 1480s, whom Ramos called 'a most dear friend and a man of the sharpest talent'

<sup>36</sup> These issues, particularly in consideration of Tinctoris's views, are dealt with in detail by Peter Urquhart, 'False Concorde in Busnoys', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, edited by Paula Higgins (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 361-87.

(‘familiarissimo nostro et acerrimi ingenii viro’).<sup>37</sup> I am not implying that Tristão da Silva could have been the composer of this setting, but that this is an exemplar of a style possibly common in the Portuguese Royal Chapel by the late fifteenth century, and surely distinct from the approach of coeval Coimbra composers.

**João Pedro d’Alvarenga** is a Principal Researcher, Coordinator of the Early Music Studies Research Group, and Executive Secretary of the CESEM - Centre for the Study of the Sociology and Aesthetics of Music at the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. He was a FCT Researcher at NOVA FCSH (2013-8), and Assistant Professor at the University of Évora (1997-2011). He was the commissioner for the planning and establishment of the National Music Museum in Lisbon (1993-4), and was also charged with the organisation of the Music Service at the National Library of Portugal, which he headed between 1991 to 1997. He is the Principal Researcher for the FCT-funded project *The Anatomy of Late 15th- and Early 16th-Century Iberian Polyphonic Music* (PTDC/CPC-MMU/0314/2014).

Recebido em | Received 18/10/2018

Aceite em | Accepted 13/12/2018

---

<sup>37</sup> Bartolomé RAMOS DE PAREJA, *Musica practica* (Bologna, Baltasar de Hiriberia, 1482), copy in *I-Bc A.80* digitised at <[http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/\\_A/A080/](http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_A/A080/)>(accessed 5 August 2018); see *Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia: Musica practica*, commentary and translation by Clement A. Miller, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 44 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology, 1993), pp. 16, 58, and 149; and Luanne Eris FOSE, ‘The *Musica Practica* of Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia: A Critical Translation and Commentary’ (PhD dissertation, University of North Texas, 1992), pp. 222 and 340.

