



(a) *VicO*, V, 44.

(b) *VicO*, V, 61.

HOLY WEEK MUSIC

Apart from the 1583 *Motecta* (which was an enlarged reprint of the 1572 collection bearing the same title), Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1585) enjoys the distinction of having been his only publication not dedicated to some prelate, prince, or king. The dedication reads instead to the Triune Deity. As if the unique character of the 1585 *Officium* were not sufficiently presaged by so unusual a dedication, there is still one other external circumstance that stamps it as a work by which he set great store. At the Vatican Library, a handwritten copy (*Cappella Sistina MS 186*) survives of the nine lamentations belonging to the *Officium* (three each for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday). The *Cappella Sistina MS 186* version—manifestly earlier than the printed—bears the usual elegant stamp of Victoria's art. But refined though this earlier version be, the nine lamentations have been again distilled in an alembic and their salt tears purified still further before reaching print in 1585. We today lack such preliminary drafts of any other major printed works by Victoria. Only these handwritten lamentations survive to reveal what exquisite tooling he gave his compositions before publishing them.

The printed lamentations differ from those in *Cappella Sistina MS 186* by virtue of such changes as the following. (1) The nine in print have always been shortened—sometimes slightly, sometimes drastically. In manuscript, the number of breves in the nine lamentations runs thus: 118, 126, 120; 111, 112, 132; 122, 128, 136. But the lengths of the nine printed lamentations runs thus: 112, 93, 111; 72, 97,

81; 87, 88, 123 [or 118]. Artfully, Victoria has shortened by snipping out a minim here, omitting a semi-breve or breve there. This telescoping often forces alien chords into closer juxtaposition, thereby sharpening the poignancy of the progressions. Only in the printed version, for instance, does the train of harmonies in Jeremy's prayer (Holy Saturday, third lesson [*VicO*, V, 181]) throb with these chords—a, G, F, C, G, d, A, g, A, D. The stabbing sorrow of this opening passage parallels the opening of Palestrina's *Stabat Mater* (*PW*, VI, 96–108). Even the chord spellings are remarkably similar.

(2) When composing the version extant in *Cappella Sistina MS 186*, Victoria had recourse to a corrupt text for the second lesson of Maundy Thursday. His defective text coupled the Hebrew letter *Zain* with a verse that ought properly follow the letter *Heth* instead. When revising for the press, he omitted the music for both the letter *Zain* and the verse that follows improperly. At one stroke he thus shortened and corrected himself. He also revised for the press by dropping the third *Aleph* and its verse from the third lesson for Feria VI and the first *Teth* with its verse from the first lesson for Holy Saturday.

(3) In the printed version he softened square melodic contours with graceful passing notes.²²⁴ At the same time, he reduced the number of melodic curls in ornamental resolutions, especially those of the type involving a lower neighbor.²²⁵ He also heightened interest by devising several light imitations. The 1585 printed lamentations are therefore less continuously chordal, the outer parts less jumpy, and the cadences less stereotyped.

(4) The printed version contains many more ac-

²²⁴ Cf. bassus at "plena" in Feria V, Lectio I (*VicO*, VIII, 15, mm. 33–39 = V, 123, mm. 33–38); cantus I and bassus at "convertere" in Lectio II (*VicO*, VIII, 22, mm. 109–126 = V, 129, mm. 80–93); upper three voices at "nostrum" in *Sabbato Sancto*, Lectio III (*VicO*, VIII, 51, mm. 30–31 = V, 182, mm. 27–28); cantus I at "extraneos" in Lectio III (*VicO*, VIII, 52, mm. 43–45 = V, 182, mm. 40–43). In the altus at "Jod" of Feria V, Lectio III (*VicO*, VIII, 23, meas. 5 = V, 130, meas. 5), he at one and the same moment eliminates the leap of a fourth upward to a syncope from a dissonant crotchet and softens the melodic contour with an innocuous passing note. Attention was called above to the similar "progress" in treating such escaped notes which marks the style of his later masses and magnificats.

²²⁵ Cf. *VicO*, VIII, 25, meas. 50, and V, 131, meas. 45; VIII, 26, mm. 85, 89, and V, 133, mm. 79, 83; VIII, 27, meas. 101, and V, 134, meas. 92; VIII, 28, meas. 120, and V, 134, meas. 111.



cidental, especially sharps. Whether these were to have been supplied by singers using the manuscript version need not be argued here. However, when the manuscript version does specify so unusual a melodic interval as a diminished fourth, the printed version, by voice-crossing, attains the same sound of $g\sharp$ followed by c^1 without his forcing any one voice to sing so un-Palestrinian an interval. Comparison of the passages (*VicO*, VIII, 25, meas. 62; V, 132, meas. 57) gives grounds for supposing that the copyist of Cappella Sistina MS 186 specified at least the more unusual accidentals that were required by the composer.

It was perhaps such "offensively Spanish" twists as the diminished fourth, the rigid adherence throughout each lamentation to the same mode, the greater emphasis on the *Jerusalem convertere* ending each lamentation, and even perhaps the increased length of individual verses in a given lamentation, which caused Giuseppe Baini as long ago as 1828 to protest against Victoria's jeremiads in his *Memorie storico-critiche* (Vol. II, p. 190, n. 573). "If they do not suffer from being too Flemish in style, they are on the other hand too Spanish," he asserted. He even spoke of their having been *generate da sangue moro* (begotten of Moorish blood). Victoria's ancestry can have contained no such blood—his *expediente de limpieza de sangre* presented at the time he was appointed the Empress María's chaplain precluding such a possibility. (Baini was the first to suggest that *sangue moro* flowed in Victoria's veins: a legend that still persists among those who confuse the *more* of *more hispano* with *moro*.)

Baini was also mistaken when he categorized Victoria's lamentations as unfit for use in the papal chapel. Haberl exposed this error when he came to edit Palestrina's four books of lamentations in 1888 (*PW*, XXV, i): "He [Baini] maintained also that these [lamentations] had never been used by the papal choir; yet they are to be found, beautifully copied in Cod. 186 at the Sistine archive. Scored in the customary way they bear telltale signs of use!" (See *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, 2. Heft, p. 172.) Not only was Cappella Sistina MS 186—the 28-leaf manuscript to which Haberl referred—well known by Baini, but also Baini knew such other contents of Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* as the two passions. He even lauded these two dramatic-type passions—the first according to St. Matthew (for Palm Sunday), and the second according to St. John

(for Good Friday)—or at least he praised them highly when writing the first volume of his biography (*Memorie*, Vol. I, p. 361, n. 433). But upon reaching his second volume he reversed his favorable opinion of Victoria's Holy Week music. In an excess of devotion to his hero, he perhaps read too much between the lines of the Latin dedication prefacing Palestrina's *Lamentationum Hieremiae Prophetae* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1588). In this dedication to Pope Sixtus V, Palestrina complained of the poverty that prevented him from issuing his lamentations in folio—constraining him to publish them, instead, in small partbooks: *Multa composui, edidique, multo plura apud me sunt: a quibus edendis retardor ea, quam dixi angustia* ("I have composed many things, some of which I have published, but more of which remain yet unpublished, delayed as I am by the narrow circumstances of which I spoke"). Possibly, Palestrina's publication dissappointments did mount into envy of the sumptuous Holy Week folio that his junior, Victoria, was able to issue in 1585. Or at least this pique is what Baini thought he read between the lines of the 1588 dedication.

After bewailing Palestrina's poverty, Baini criticized Victoria's lamentations for being baldly chordal, disfigured by useless repetitions of text, tiresomely constructed, and "bastardized" art (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 190, n. 573). As for their being baldly chordal, it is indeed true that even in the revised printed edition the lamentations show relatively few points of imitation. So, for that matter, do the lamentations of such earlier composers as Carpentras, Morales, and Arcadelt. Only Crecquillon among the more prominent mid-sixteenth-century composers had sought rigorously independent contrapuntal lines when writing lamentations. Precisely because lamentations were customarily slow and chordal, Ghiselin Danckerts (papal singer, 1538-1565) had railed against them in his "Sopra una differentia musicale" (Rome: Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2880).²²⁶ He had censured the tiresome plodding along in the "note-against-note" style and the lack of beautiful runs in semiminims or quavers, which was the rule in lamentations. Foreigners might continue to write such dull stuff if they liked, contended

²²⁶See Claude V. Palisca, "The Beginnings of Baroque Music: Its Roots in Sixteenth-Century Theory and Polemics," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1953), pp. 105-106.



Danckerts. But members of the new Roman school were purposely avoiding lamentations, simply because they disliked the manner in which such dirges were customarily written, he said. The late date at which Palestrina turned to the writing of those lamentations published in 1588 as his *liber primus*, and the fact that he was prompted to compose even these by Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590), who felt that Carpentras's out-of-date lamentations should be superseded, tends to bear out Danckerts's thesis.

However, because the idiom itself demanded chords, Victoria deserves the greater praise for having found ways to overcome monotony. His Maundy Thursday and Good Friday lamentations contain enough semiminim scale-passages to soften the chordal outlines. He constantly changes the angle of the light pouring through his stained-glass windows by shifting back and forth from lower to higher voice groupings. When thus shifting, he mercifully abstains from reiterating text. Despite Bains's charge of repetitiousness, Victoria rarely takes any occasion to repeat text. Indeed, when he shifts vocal combinations, he is as a rule quite content for any one voice to sing mere snatches of the liturgical text. When veering from CCA to ATB to CCA, or from CAT to ATB and back, he does not ask the bass to sing words already sung by the cantus, or vice versa. Only in his Jerusalem movements does he repeat text. As a matter of fact, Bains's accusation just here borders on the ironical because Palestrina, and not Victoria, was the composer who insisted upon entrusting any one voice in a given lamentation with the entire text. Palestrina was again the composer who insisted upon repeating the words *De lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetiae* at the beginning of each set of three. He was also the composer who set the most verses in each lamentation. No Palestrina lectio ever fails to contain at least two Hebrew letters, with their corresponding verses. Victoria, on the other hand, never sets more than two Hebrew letters, and often merely one, with their corresponding verses. In the 1585 imprint he omits the Zain of Lectio II and Lamed of Lectio III for Maundy Thursday; the Teth of Lectio I, a phrase of the Mem of Lectio II, the third Aleph and the Beth of Lectio III for Good Friday; the second Heth of Lectio I, and the Ghimel of Lectio II for Holy Saturday. Only in the Lectio I for Maundy Thursday and Lectio III for Holy Saturday do both composers set the same quantity of text: Palestrina elsewhere always setting

the greater amount. In Victoria's Maundy Thursday Lectio I and Good Friday Lectio III the measure count runs 112 and 123 [118], respectively; in Palestrina's 1588 imprint the count for these same *lectiones* runs 116 and 126, respectively. Obviously, Victoria was not more prolix—even when setting the same amount of text. In the other *lectiones* his lengths trail whole laps behind Palestrina's, because of the textual differences.

Bains next protested against the tedious construction of Victoria's lamentations. Each does, it is true, end with a *Jerusalem convertere* during which he increases the number of parts. Palestrina, attaching less importance to the Jerusalem movements, sometimes fails to augment. The greater store that Victoria set by these movements can also be told by counting the number of *aliud* Jerusalem movements. The Jerusalem closing the Good Friday Lectio III is identical with the *aliud* Jerusalem at the end of the Holy Saturday Lectio III.

Some critics have reprehended Victoria for cadencing over the same final at the close of each verse in a given lamentation. Thus, the finals throughout the three lamentations for Maundy Thursday read F (b in signature), G (b), and E, respectively; for Good Friday, G, F (b), and D; for Holy Saturday, F (b), E, and D. But if such repetition of finals is deemed tedious, then Palestrina was even more wearisome. His finals in all three of his lamentations for Maundy Thursday (1588) read F (b in signature); what is more, every half-verse as well as verse ends over F.²²⁷ Victoria cadenced at will to chords over the fifth or fourth degrees when concluding half-verses in his various lamentations.

After each set of three lamentations in the 1585 imprint come six transposed-dorian (G[b]) *responsoria*; three for the second nocturn, and the other three for the third nocturn. As in Marc' Antonio Ingegneri's familiar set of twenty-seven Responses for Holy Week (1588)—formerly ascribed to Palestrina—the form in each of Victoria's eighteen is also *aBcB*: with *c* standing for the versicle. Just as all but one of Ingegneri's twenty-seven Responses reduce from four voices to three in the versicle, so also all but one of Victoria's eighteen so reduce in the versicle. Throughout, both composers call for the same number of parts; however, Ingegneri differs by always

²²⁷ Palestrina varied his finals in his other published *lectiones* (Good Friday and Holy Saturday).

requiring CATB; whereas Victoria in the especially plangent second and fifth of each six Responses calls instead for CCAT. Much more frequently than Victoria, Ingegneri begins full. Starting with all voices, he also tends to continue in block-chord fashion through the whole of a response. Victoria's voices converse with each other constantly, whereas Ingegneri's declaim in unison.

To carry the comparison further, Victoria specifies twice as many accidentals. In the six for Maundy Thursday, for instance, he inserts 162. In the same six for Maundy Thursday, Ingegneri decrees only 63. The searching intensity of Victoria's settings can often be ascribed to chord changes that involve conflicting accidentals at close quarters over the same root. For another distinction, Victoria word-paints whenever possible. Such phrases as "Judas, the worst traitor," "Led as a lamb to the slaughter," and "Darkness spread over the face of the earth," find inexpressibly vivid musical counterparts in Victoria's 1585 responses.

Of the two dramatic passions in Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, Gustave Reese presciently observed: "Performed in the Sistine Chapel during Holy Week for well over three hundred years, these Passions have probably achieved greater distinction than any other polyphonic settings of the Latin words."²²⁸ That for St. Matthew is the longer by 63 breves. In this passion—for Palm Sunday, a festal day—Victoria quite properly resorts to such artifices as *si placet* canons *a 2*,²²⁹ opening points of imitation in sections *a 4* and *a 3*,²³⁰ and even a certain amount of vocal *fioriture* in the longest continuous section ("salvum" in the bassus). But in the St. John Passion—for Good Friday, the day of the crucifixion—he seems deliberately to have stripped his continuously four-part music as bare as the disrobed Christ stretched on a cross.²³¹ In the last set of three lamentations, Victoria similarly contented himself with a stark minimum of musical devices.

He rounds out his Holy Week music with three ex-

quisite motets, *Pueri Hebraeorum* (CATB) and *O Domine Jesu Christe* (CAATTB), both for Palm Sunday, and *Vere languores* (CATB) for Good Friday. Each had made its debut in a previous publication—the first and third in 1572, the second in 1576.²³² He rightly brings these over from earlier collections. Nothing more perfect than each can be imagined. They are as quintessentially Victoria as the bitter-sweet Nocturnes Op. 27, no. 1, and Op. 72 are typically Chopin. True, both composers knew their moments of strength and grandeur. But whereas other contemporaries equaled their expressions of pride and passion, none surpassed and few approached their articulations of pathos. Both achieved their expressive ends by manipulating harmonic congeries in ways so individual as to leave an indelibly personal imprint on even the smallest pieces that they wrote.

Besides the three motets, Victoria also includes an even-verse setting of Zachary's canticle (Luke 1:68–79);²³³ a *fabordón* for Psalm 50 [= 51] (*Miserere mei Deus*); a five-part setting of the hymn stanza by St. Thomas Aquinas—*Tantum ergo* (fifth strophe of *Pange lingua gloriosi*); four-part settings of the Improperia (Reproaches) for Good Friday; and an even-strophe setting, for use on Holy Saturday, of the hymn *Vexilla Regis*. Appropriately enough, his setting of Venantius Fortunatus's famous processional hymn (written in 569 for the reception at Poitiers of a Splinter from the True Cross) comes at the close of the Holy Saturday music.

Both the *Tantum ergo* and the *Vexilla Regis* incorporate plainchants of local Spanish provenience. Although Victoria does not specify the Spanish origin of the cantus firmus in the *Tantum ergo* (second soprano), it duplicates the plainsong at item 32 of his 1581 *Hymni totius anni*, which is headed *more hispano*. Quite interestingly, Victoria shapes the cantus firmus into a succession of breves, semibreves, and lesser-value notes that often parse in rhythmic groups of five semibreves. Navarro, when he assigned the same Spanish plainsong to the superius in his *Psalmi, Hymni ac Magnificat* (item 21), reduced the melody to a regular succession of trochees (breve + semibreve). Such external signs as these two Span-

²³² See above for comparisons of Victoria's *Pueri Hebraeorum* and *O Domine Jesu Christe* with Palestrina's motets of similar titles.

²³³ Cf. Casimiri, *op. cit.*, p. 153 (section 26). See above, note 74.

²²⁸ Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 604.

²²⁹ *VicO*, V, 114.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 117 ("Alios"), 118 ("Sine").

²³¹ So austere did Felix Mendelssohn find Victoria's *St. John Passion* when he heard it sung in the Cappella Sistina on Good Friday of 1831 that he wrote his teacher at Berlin, Carl Zelter, a complaining letter (dated June 16, 1831). He took particular exception to the crowd's calling for Christ's crucifixion, finding their cry insufficiently energetic.



ish plainsong hymns—the typically Spanish emphasis on the *Jerusalem convertere* in the lamentations, the *fabordón Miserere*, and perhaps such touches as the uniform modality of the *responsoria*—stamp the *Officium* with a national label. In all likelihood the music throughout was first conceived for the Church of S. Maria di Monserrato or of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Rome—these being the two Spanish parishes that he served professionally from 1569 to 1582. Even the idea of collecting such a *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* must be thought of as peculiarly Spanish—no similar *officium* having been issued by any important contemporary in Italy, France, Germany, or England.

True, two Italians had previously published collections of Holy Week polyphony. However, both were inconsequential composers. Paolo of Ferrara, a Benedictine monk, had issued as his sole opus *Pasiones, Lamentationes, Responsoria, Benedictus, Miserere, multaque alia devotissima cantica ad officium hebdomadae Sanctae pertinentia* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1565; four partbooks at Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale [RISM, A/1/6, P868]). Giovanni Contino, chapelmaster at Brescia, had published *Threni Jeremiae cum reliquis ad Hebdomadae S.^{ctae} Officium pertinentibus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1561; five partbooks, second edition published at Brescia in 1588). Eugene Casjen Cramer in his edition of Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Henryville-Ottawa-Binnigau: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1982), I, 1, signalled still a third putative Holy Week collection published at Venice in 1565 by native of Ferrara, Paolo Isnardi (1536–1596) (C. F. Becker, *Die Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* [Leipzig: Ernst Fleischer, 1855], column 110). Unfortunately, Becker confused Paolo Isnardi of Ferrara with Paolo Ferrarese (“of Ferrara”), the Benedictine monk who did indeed publish a collection of Holy Week music at Venice in 1565.

Apart from Cramer's four-volume 1977 edition (based on his Boston University Ph.D. dissertation, “The *Officium hebdomadae sanctae* of Tomás Luis de Victoria: A Study of Selected Aspects and an Edition and Commentary,” 1973), Samuel Rubio issued, also in 1977, his 337-page edition of the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Exema. Diputación Provincial de Cuenca). Rubio's edition begins with a 114-page introduction. At page 21 in his introduction, he

agrees with Franz Xaver Haberl's appraisal of the *Officium* as Victoria's masterwork; but next cites the defects of Haberl's pioneer edition published at Regensburg in 1898. Pedrell's edition (*Opera omnia*, V [1908]) contained an unfortunate abundance of printing errors (“las errates de imprenta, abundantes por desgracia”). Anglés died before reaching the *Officium* in the modernized edition of Victoria's *Opera omnia* that he started in 1965. Hence, the necessity of Rubio's edition.

At pages 67 and 117 Rubio disagrees with Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta's opinion, expressed in liner notes to the *Colección de Música Antigua Española*, Hispavox HHS, 16/17/18, that Victoria quoted Gregorian melodies in either his settings of the Lamentations or in the four-voice motet, *Pueri Hebraeorum*, with which the *Officium* begins. (On the other hand, Cramer in his 1977 edition [I, 19–30] contended that Victoria did utilize plainsong in his Lamentations—however, not so-called Gregorian plainsongs but distinctively Spanish plainchants.)

Never quick to acknowledge foreigners' efforts, Rubio at page 70 takes issue with an article by the New Zealander, Thomas Rive, entitled “Victoria's *Lamentationes Geremiae*: a comparison of Cappella Sistina MS 186 with the corresponding portions of *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, Rome 1585,” *Anuario musical*, XX (1967), 179–208. Rive's article, “despite its relative length, does not pose the problem well nor shed much light on the various questions which such a comparison might involve” (“no obstante su relativa extensión, no plantea bien el problema, ni aporta mucha claridad a los diversos interrogantes que pueden hacerse en torno a este hecho”).

According to Rubio (pp. 90–92), even the 1585 version of the Lamentations lays itself open to the charge, retailed by Baini, that their ardor bespeaks too much “Moorish blood” in Victoria's veins. One stylistic idiosyncrasy illustrates the difference between Victoria's nine Lamentations and Palestrina's 36: the frequency of dissonant suspensions in cadences before double bars. In all of his 36, Palestrina includes suspensions at no more than a half-dozen such cadences (“no utiliza, concretamente en los acordes finales, más de media docena”). On the other hand, Victoria can scarcely approach a double bar without a suspension in the cadential formula.

To conclude his assessment of the differences between MS 186 and Victoria's published 1585 version



of the Lamentations, Rubio makes this penetrating observation:

In our opinion, the history to which Baini alludes does contain an element of truth. Having been criticized, Victoria did reply by reforming his own work. Thanks to self-criticism he was able to publish a version [of his Lamentations] that was better balanced so far as length of sections goes, less monotonous, and less repetitive of certain mere “devices.” But, thank heaven, his self-criticism did not curtail his vehement, passionate, devout inspiration—because had he done the latter he would have played traitor to his personality, his profession, his vocation, and his nationality.

A nuestro juicio, la historia que nos refiere Baini contiene un fondo de verdad: una crítica que aconsejó a Victoria realizar, a su vez, una autocrítica, gracias a la cual pudo presentar una versión más equilibrada, en cuanto a la duración, menos monótona o reiterativa al cercenar la excesiva insistencia en ciertos “artificios”. De lo que no hizo autocrítica, gracias a Dios, fue de su inspiración vehemente, apasionada, devota, porque hubiera sido traicionar a su persona, a su sacerdocio, a su vocación y a su patria.

PSALMS, ANTIPHONS, SEQUENCES, AND LITANY

Of the seven psalms published in the *Opera omnia*, Volume VII, pages 1–67, the first five (culled from 1576, 1581, and 1583 Roman imprints) were composed for use at vespers, and the seventh and last (extracted from the 1600 Madrid imprint) for use at compline. Unlike Navarro’s vesper psalms, Victoria’s are all (1) polychoral, (2) organ-accompanied, (3) *durchkomponiert*; and (4) only occasionally (and then casually) allusive to Gregorian psalm-tones. Throughout Psalms 109, 116, and 135, he shifts back and forth at will between the two four-part groups. In these psalms he does not reduce to a small group during one verse and then expand during another. However, in the other four psalms (112, 121 [*a 12*], 126, and 136) he shifts to smaller vocal groups during middle verses. In *Laudate pueri* (Ps. 112), for instance, he scores verses 1–3 and 6–10 full, but verse 4 for CCA and verse 5 for CATB. Only in Psalm 121 does he employ so many as three four-part choruses. All the rest call for two. Since Psalm 121 begins in triple meter, it enjoys the distinction of having been his only psalm with triple meter used anywhere else

than in the concluding ascription *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*. Also, Psalm 121 is his only psalm on which he composed a parody mass (*a 12*, 1600).

The occasion for which *Super flumina Babylonis* was composed happens to be well known (moment of parting). Unlike Victoria’s other six psalms, it does not end with the obligatory triune ascription. This fact alone would suggest that it was not intended for vespers. In addition, only a small portion of the psalm has been set. First performed on the evening of October 17, 1573, *Super flumina* reached print as the concluding item in his 1576 *Liber Primus. Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat . . . Complectitur* (no. 27). The scene of the première was the large hall of the Palazzo della Valle. Members of the papal choir were engaged specially for the event. When he later republished this same psalm as the concluding item in his *Motecta Festorum Totius anni* (no. 37) he retooled it with his usual fastidious care. Instead of dividing verse 3 into separated halves—the first sung as a snippet by chorus I, the second by chorus II—he telescoped the halves. Meanwhile, he rewrote the second half and tightened the cadence by omitting three semibreves. He also altered the last chord from a lethargic tonic to a suspenseful dominant. As revised for the 1585 *Motecta*, this particular psalm became in reality a Lenten motet in two *partes*, each of which is a continuous piece of music.

Just as *Super flumina* can with propriety be called a motet, so also the ten Marian antiphons at pages 68–130 of the *Opera omnia*, Volume VII, may as cogently be classed with his motets. Four of the ten are settings of the *Salve Regina*; two each are settings of the antiphons sung after compline in Advent, Lent, and Eastertide—*Alma Redemptoris Mater*, *Ave Regina coelorum*, and *Regina coeli*. Allusion has already been made above to Victoria’s parody masses constructed on his Marian antiphons; and attention drawn to the absence from the extant repertory of a *Regina coeli* Mass that by rights should have been composed to complete his scheme.

His maiden motet collection of 1572 already contains all his five-voice settings of each antiphon but the *Salve*; to compensate, it includes his six-voice of the *Salve*. In 1576 he adds a *Salve, a 5*, a *Salve, a 8*, and a *Regina coeli, a 8*. In 1581 he publishes eight-voice settings of the *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina*, and in 1583 another five-voice of the *Salve*. In general it can be said of the 1572 antiphons that he quotes the plainchant in the middle voices; and of