

Re-examining Pedro Fernández de Castilleja Again: Was He a more Important Contemporary of Peñalosa than We Assumed?

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Resumo

Nos últimos anos foram descobertas novas informações biográficas sobre Pedro Fernández de Castilleja, assim como referências a composições suas aparentemente perdidas, que pertenceram à coleção da Catedral de Sevilha. Graças a estes novos dados, revelados por Ruiz Jiménez e outros, é possível posicionar Fernández num contexto anterior ao que antes se pensava, durante o qual terá interagido com Alba e Peñalosa e trabalhado junto com Escobar. Este conhecimento permite-nos comparar as obras de Fernández com as de Alba na variedade de estilos e técnicas que as caracterizam. Este reposicionamento num período anterior, recorrendo à documentação agora disponível sobre a actividade de Fernández em Sevilha na década de 1490, permite ainda concluir que as obras que revelam características mais conservadoras terão sido compostas muito antes do que se supunha. O uso que Fernández faz, tanto de pontos de imitação regulares, como de tipos mais variados de texturas imitativas e pseudo-imitativas, permanece ainda como um aspecto intrigante da sua longa e invulgar carreira, que abrange boa parte da actividade conhecida de Peñalosa e se prolonga até ao período da preeminência de Victoria. Neste artigo, são também explorados outros aspectos, incluindo a relação de Fernández com o conhecimento crescente da música franco-flamenga na sua época e a sua reputação como professor. O número de obras e de géneros referidos em diferentes inventários de Sevilha revelam que Fernández foi um compositor prolífico, o que em parte pode explicar a consideração em que era tido pelos responsáveis da catedral.

Palavras-chave

Pedro Fernández; Castilleja; Escobar; Sevilha; Alba; Peñalosa; Contraponto; Imitação.

Abstract

In recent years, much new information about the biography of Pedro Fernández de Castilleja has been discovered as well as references to additional compositions, seemingly now lost, that were once in the collection of the Cathedral of Seville. With this new data brought to light by Ruiz Jiménez and others, Fernández can be placed in an earlier milieu than previously thought during which he would have likely interacted with Alba and Peñalosa and worked alongside Escobar. This knowledge gives us the opportunity to understand Fernández's works as comparable to those of Alba in the array of styles and techniques that are included. Such a repositioning to an earlier time, since Fernández can now be documented in Seville in the 1490s, means that certain seemingly old-fashioned works were probably written much earlier than thought. Fernández's use of both standard imitative points as well as more variable kinds of imitative and pseudo-imitative textures remains a very intriguing aspect of this man's uniquely long career that would encompass much of the known activity of Peñalosa and extended into

the era of Victoria's prominence. A number of other issues are examined including Fernández's relationship to the growing awareness of Franco-Flemish music during his time as well as his reputation as a teacher. The number of works and genres cited in various inventories in Seville means that Fernández was a much more prolific composer, which may in part explain the respect he was given by Cathedral leaders.

Keywords

Pedro Fernández; Castilleja; Escobar; Seville; Alba; Peñalosa; Counterpoint; Imitation.

IN 1988, WHEN I BEGAN MY WORK on my master's thesis with my mentor, the late Robert Snow, I had no idea what a journey this would be with many different projects over the years being inspired or affected by that first research I pursued on music in Spain around 1500.¹ Snow had suggested during my second year of graduate school that I study works by Pedro Fernández de Castilleja (d. 1574), who clearly occupied a very important space as a long-time chapel master, having worked much of the sixteenth century at the Cathedral of Seville, but whose music had been little studied; indeed, then recent scholars considered him something of an oddity because of his long tenure and seeming insignificance as a composer. This judgement was maintained despite his prominent post and work alongside Francisco Guerrero with whom he served in a kind of sharing of power relationship after 1551 when Fernández was placed on 'limited service' as he aged.² With recent new discoveries, we are now able to understand better Guerrero's reasons for proclaiming Fernández 'Maestro de los Maestros de España' despite the small number of his surviving works scattered in sources in Spain and the New World, some copied late in his life or even after he died. Indeed, the extraordinarily long career of this enigmatic man seems to have spanned the compositional life of Peñalosa and lasted into the prominence of Victoria. This research beginning in 1988 would open for me a window on the fascinating world of late Medieval and Renaissance Spain with its local traditions of liturgy, chant, and polyphony, but the project also showed me how quickly composers in Spain around 1500 were learning and synthesizing new ideas

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¹ G. Grayson WAGSTAFF, 'A Stylistic Study of Music Attributed to Pedro Fernández de Castilleja, Maestro de los Maestros de España' (Master's Report, The University of Texas at Austin, 1990); and G. Grayson WAGSTAFF, 'A Re-evaluation of Music Attributed to Pedro Fernández de Castilleja', *Revista de Musicología*, 16/5 (1993), pp. 2722-33. In archival records at the Cathedral of Seville, both spellings, F/Hernández are used, and Fernández is identified with the added 'de Castilleja' only once.

² Robert STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1961), p. 8, labels Fernández one of the 'principal musicians in Seville between 1503 and 1526' but later in the study gives little mention of his compositions. Stevenson emphasized his interpretation that Fernández had been used by the chapter to insult his younger colleague Guerrero, who had assumed most of the chapel master's duties from 1551, making Fernández a foil to the prolific and later much more historically important Guerrero.

such as points of imitation, probably from foreign influences. The early sixteenth century was obviously a time of remarkable change as composition of Latin sacred music in Spain moved away from Medieval and more insular traditions, certainly emphasizing improvised polyphony, and also to a more international and broadly based written repertory by the mid sixteenth century.³ The mixing and evolution of traditions would mature in the music of Cristóbal de Morales (c.1500?-53), whose compositions include references to earlier Spanish customs—such as the lessons and invitatory from the Office for the Dead—as well as highly adept pieces obviously crafted for the expectations of the Roman milieu and the international marketplace.⁴

Since 1988, Fernández's music, though a perplexing mixture, has appealed to me as embodying many different styles and techniques that co-existed in Seville in the early and mid-sixteenth century. His compositions were seemingly respected in Seville and were included in manuscripts along with much more prolific composers, both those of his younger contemporaries in the Andalusian city as well as the greats of the international scene. However, Fernández's style is confusing in that at least one composition securely attributed to him in Seville 1 (*E-Sc Ms. 1*), a choirbook copied during his tenure at Seville Cathedral, displays well-crafted points of imitation in all four voices related to this international style. Other four-voice works display a mix of techniques, sometimes with imitation in two or three voices as well as other passages that I label 'pseudo imitation'—this term, though awkward, is still the best I believe—similar contours in motives but not the same melodic material; these works also feature countermelodies that enter simultaneously with the imitative motive, perhaps to avoid having imitation in all voices.⁵ In certain

³ Kenneth KREITNER, 'Music for the Royal Chapels', in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, edited by Tess Knighton (Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2017), pp. 21-59, at p. 56 sums up the overall situation while emphasizing the importance of court composers: '[...] it would appear that we can put things into a surprisingly small frame and say that sacred polyphony in Spain shifted from improvised or semi-improvised tradition of chant elaboration to one of written compositions of remarkable maturity between the 1490s and 1510 or so [...]' See also Kenneth KREITNER, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Woodbridge, Suffolk - Rochester, NY, The Boydell Press, 2004), for an overview of changes during this time.

⁴ Kenneth KREITNER, 'Spain Discovers the Mass', *Journal of The Royal Musical Association*, 139/2 (2014), pp. 261-302, at p. 297, after discussing the advances of Peñalosa and Anchieta, gives Morales credit for bringing composition of masses in Spain 'into its maturity'. The relationship of Morales to and his influence by earlier Spanish composers still needs much further research. For a brief discussion of the bifurcation in Morales' works, see Grayson WAGSTAFF, 'The Two *Requiems* by Cristóbal de Morales and Spanish Composers' Use of Chant Material from the Office for the Dead', in *Musical Life in Collegiate Churches in the Low Countries and Europe: Chant and Polyphony Colloquium Proceedings in Leuven 1997*, edited by Bruno Bouckaert (Leuven, Peer, 2000), pp. 447-64.

⁵ Our understanding of the development of imitation has been greatly helped by the work of Julie E. CUMMING and Peter SCHUBERT, 'The Origins of Pervasive Imitation', in *Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, edited by Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 200-28, which examines a number of earlier works with more variable imitation that preceded the development of the later typical 'stretto fuga'. Among Cumming's other many important studies, see Julie E. CUMMING, 'From Variety to Repetition: The Birth of Imitative Polyphony', *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 6 (Peer, Alamire, 2008), pp. 21-44, and Julie E. CUMMING, 'Text Setting and Imitative Technique in Petrucci's First Five Motet Prints', in *The Motet Around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, edited by Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout, Brepols, 2012), pp. 83-109.

passages, Fernández seems to have made space for imitation, but then he does not carry through. At times, his understanding of what is being imitated is flexible, meaning that what we may assume is going to be a point does not become the focus. The motivation to create a lighter texture probably led him to create space with rests, but composing imitative points may have remained a technical difficulty for him, at least in four-voice works, seen clearly when he was writing his *Salve Regina*, his longest and perhaps most important piece. Even though this *Salve* was included in Seville 1 along with the motet *O gloriosa Domina*, a four-part work that is more forward-looking in style, I would posit that the *Salve* is an earlier piece, which would help to explain stylistic differences. His *Salve* setting also demonstrates that Fernández varied his technique in his employment of references to the chant paraphrase as a basis for imitative entries; in some cases, he uses the chant line as the basis for imitative motives, while in others he has the other voices support the chant-based cantus with ‘points’ not directly based upon the chant.

This desire to create a lighter texture, a distinct change among Spanish composers’ approach around 1500, can also be found in works by several other musicians such as Alonso (Pérez) de Alba (d.1504), who worked at Seville first as a singer from 1482, then as master of the choirboys from 1492-7 and finally as maestro in 1503 until his death.⁶ Indeed, Alba is a very striking comparison to Fernández in terms of changes in style and adoption of more systematic imitation. This was a profound transition in the 1490s and early decades of the sixteenth century as composers in Spain learned and synthesized in their works various contrapuntal techniques up until then more common in Franco-Flemish music. My work here is particularly indebted to the recent research by Kreitner on Alba⁷ as well as his examination of a number of Spanish composers’ use of different textures needed for effective imitative entrances, a change that fundamentally altered the sound of Spanish sacred music.⁸ Creating this space in internal segments after the opening needed for effective imitative entries required a new kind of planning, i.e. how does the preceding phrase end, where do the rests go, and which voices are treated in imitation. Though this process may not have been as obvious and conscious as my depiction of it implies, some control of these parameters would have been required to write imitative entries with effective audible impact as well as control of the

⁶ Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, “‘The Sounds of the Hollow Mountain’: Musical Tradition and Innovation in Seville Cathedral in the Early Renaissance”, *Early Music History*, 29 (2010), pp. 189-239, at pp. 221-2. I am supporting the proposition by Ruiz Jiménez and Kreitner discussed herein that all works attributed to Alba were composed by the man working in Seville who died in 1504.

⁷ Kenneth KREITNER, ‘The Music of Alonso de Alba’, *Revista de Musicología*, 37/2 (2014), pp. 389-421. Alba’s works, like those of Fernández, bring with them many problems of chronology and dating, but both composers are likely to have been influenced by the same trends given their work in Seville.

⁸ KREITNER, *The Church Music* (see note 3), pp. 32-40, discusses three polyphonic settings for Holy Week in Paris 967, which, although they may have smaller notes as decoration in some passages, include great swaths of homophonic writing that is basically harmonization of the monophonic chant paraphrase.

intervallic relationships of the counterpoint. Certain composers, like Alba, demonstrate—at least from surviving pieces—a rather seamless evolution, occasionally using imitation in some voices and then, in what we assume are later works, deploying imitative entries in a consistent way as a common texture throughout pieces, similar to pervasive imitation among works by Franco-Flemish composers. Fernández’s very limited extant music presents a less clear case. The aim of this article is to present a new understanding of when some important works may have been written as well as to re-examine the context in which Fernández composed.

As mentioned above, Spanish composers in the 1490s and early sixteenth century used several distinct textures that were not primarily based on imitation, but how to name certain kinds of writing in their works remains a problem. Their music contains passages of free non-imitative polyphony, in which voices are clearly active and contrapuntally distinct but do not share melodic material.⁹ Despite the frequency with which such writing is encountered, there is little analytical basis or even terminology for discussing these non-imitative passages that are common in Fernández’s music.¹⁰ There also are passages in which motives within phrases or at the end of phrases are shared among voices, meaning that it is related to imitation but not based on the beginnings of phrases as are typical points. Fernández was quite adept at employing duets of voices, the non-adjacent pairs that create lighter passages, as used frequently by composers in Spain before around 1510. There are some examples of Fernández creating distinct duet-like relationships within a four-voice texture. As did most composers active in Spain 1490-1510, he also at times used a rather dense homorhythmic texture.¹¹ This mixture of technique makes Fernández a particularly interesting figure in this change in style since certain works reveal what may be his ‘working out’ of the needed compositional planning to have points of imitation without actually including points.¹² Clearly Fernández lived through a time of great change. Just how much he experienced is now better understood and is the primary reason for my reassessment.

⁹ This kind of free contrapuntal writing is common in the music of Anchieta. Much of his *Salve Regina*, mentioned below, consists of free polyphonic writing; for an edition of the work, see Samuel RUBIO, *Opera omnia: Juan de Anchieta* ([San Sebastián], Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Guipúzcoa, 1980), pp. 134-51. Such passages in various genres are discussed in Tess KNIGHTON and Kenneth KREITNER, *The Music of Juan de Anchieta* (†1523) (Abingdon, Routledge, 2019).

¹⁰ Esperanza RODRÍGUEZ-GARCÍA, ‘Imitative Tools and Processes in the Iberian Motet circa 1500’, unpublished paper presented at the International Conference ‘The Anatomy of Polyphonic Music around 1500’, mentioned the difficulty of describing these passages with ‘free’ or non-imitative polyphony.

¹¹ His *Deo dicamus* setting in Seville 1 is entirely homorhythmic and probably the most old-fashioned item in the choirbook.

¹² KREITNER, *The Church Music* (see note 3) pp. 159-60, makes an important point that much of the change is clear only in hindsight since it becomes easier to discern the developments in Spanish polyphony when we examine music in the 1510s and 1520s.

New Biographical Data

Such a mixture of style as found in Fernández's works is not what one would have expected, based on what we knew in 1988, which implied that he was mostly composing after 1520, perhaps even closer to the compilation of Seville 1 in the 1550s. In 2018, we know a great deal more. My re-examination would not be possible without the pathbreaking monograph and other studies by Juan Ruiz Jiménez, who has fundamentally altered our understanding of the polyphonic choirbooks in Seville, as well as the biographies of many musicians associated with the Cathedral.¹³ Based on the new information about his biography, Fernández was one of the more important composers in Andalusia who witnessed these changes and lived on into the era of Morales's prominence in the 1530s. Peñalosa is clearly the crucial link between the old insular Spain and new international Spain emerging in Morales' youth,¹⁴ but it is still important to understand a well-placed composer like Fernández, working in Seville in what would become one of the most important cathedral music 'programs' in Western Europe, a composer whose works reveal similar trends as do better known composers like Juan de Anchieta (c.1455-1523), Francisco Peñalosa (c.1470-1528), and the now better understood Alba. However, examining Fernández's evolution as a composer presents difficult and intriguing historiographical issues in that we crave more works to examine as well as something of an explanation for cohesion in his music. The new biographical data provide some clues to that lack of consistency, but the need for explanation, our desire to understand how a composer's technique developed over time, will remain, at least in part, an insurmountable problem with Fernández since there are so few identified works, none of which can be dated securely, from a composer who lived a very long life. Though this may be obvious, one should note that this is the problem of the modern researcher, our own relationship to music and composers, whereas the scribes and singers of Seville Cathedral seemingly acknowledged these pieces and likely continued to perform them long after the composer's death despite the somewhat anachronistic style of certain works. Indeed, there is the very good chance that Fernández's music was sung during the later sixteenth century in Seville in some ceremonies with music by Josquin or in other events with works by Palestrina.

¹³ Among his groundbreaking research, the two most important items for this essay are Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano: Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del renacimiento en la actividad musical de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura - Centro de Documentación de Andalucía, 2007); and RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, "'The Sounds of the Hollow Mountain'" (see note 6).

¹⁴ Kenneth KREITNER, 'Peñalosa: Five Mysteries' unpublished paper, sums this up: 'Peñalosa was the most important Spanish composer of the Josquin era: the most prolific, the most varied, the most (whatever we mean by this) advanced, the one easiest for us to hold up with pride against his northern contemporaries'. My thanks to Kenneth Kreitner for sharing his study in advance of its publication.

What Robert Stevenson had known about Fernández's biography was what I accepted in 1988, since my very limited time in Seville was spent studying musical sources. I therefore presented the following misleading information: Fernández was appointed maestro in Seville in 1514, seemingly a new arrival in the city and would eventually occupy a kind of sharing of power with the esteemed Guerrero until the elder man died in 1574.

*Pedro Fernández de Castilleja, as known in 1988*¹⁵

- August 13, 1514: appointed maestro at Seville Cathedral
- 1519: warned against taking choirboys out into city for performances
- 1526: ordered to submit texts of Christmas music to prevent irreverent performances
- March 26, 1526: likely participated in festivities with court and musicians of Charles V
- 1540: Bernaldo de Villalva appointed to help with teaching duties
- 1551: most duties of maestro given to Guerrero but Fernández remains on half pay as a kind of pension for the remainder of his life
- 1565: with Guerrero, signed approbation of *Breve instrucción de canto llano*, by Luys de Villafranca¹⁶
- 1565: chapter orders both Guerrero and Fernández to enforce choir discipline
- 1567: Guerrero is reprimanded and much authority returned to Fernández
- 1574: Fernández dies. It is recorded that preparations of the documents to appoint Guerrero as maestro are underway.

Though in 1988 this 60-year tenure seemed remarkable, today we are fairly certain that Fernández was actually in Seville significantly earlier.¹⁷ Ruiz Jiménez has established that a musician named Pedro Fernández, presumably this same man, was employed by the Cathedral as early as 1497, almost two decades before previously thought, when he was described a singer.¹⁸

¹⁵ All references to Seville Cathedral documents are according to STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music* (see note 2). For specific texts citing Fernández, see WAGSTAFF, 'A Stylistic Study' (see note 1), pp. 7-18. Henri COLLET, *Le mysticisme musical espagnol au XVIe siècle* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1913), pp. 258-64, emphasized what he considered the emotional intensity in sacred works by Fernández and the composer's place as founder of the Seville 'school'. In 1988, I was not aware of the following: José Enrique AYARRA JARNE, 'La música en el culto catedralicio hispalense', in *La Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, Guadalquivir, 1984-5), pp. 699-774, with specific discussion of the composer at pp. 707-9.

¹⁶ Clara BEJARANO PELLICER, 'Vida y muerte de un maestro de canto llano de la Catedral de Sevilla en el siglo XVI: El tratadista Luis de Villafranca', *Anuario Musical*, 71 (2016), pp. 21-36, provides new insight on Villafranca's biography. The *Breve instrucción* is one of the most important treatises for the study of Sevillian chant performance traditions.

¹⁷ As stated above in note 1, the composer's named was spelled interchangeably as Hernández or Fernández with only one citation from Cathedral records including 'de Castilleja' by which he is typically identified by scholars.

¹⁸ RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), pp. 88-9; and RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 'The Sounds of the Hollow Mountain' (see note 6), pp. 213 and 231. Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, sección IV, libro 16 (1497): f. 3r. [Descargo

Fernández was at that date a cleric, ‘Pedro Fernández, clérigo, por cantar en el coro’, which implies being of a certain age. At what age men were ordained in the fifteenth century, of course, was more variable than the 30 years of age assumed from later Tridentine practices, given that young men could be considered clerics even if in their early teens after some basic education and the ritual in which they received the tonsure marking them as men of the church.¹⁹ His status seemingly as an adult singer, however, being paid for this distinct work, implies that he was at least sixteen in 1497. Fernández is admittedly a common name in Spain, and there is at least one known composer with a similar name.²⁰ Though there is the chance that there were two different men, both trained musicians with this name working in Seville close together, this seems much less likely than does the possibility that this man first cited in 1497 was the same one later appointed maestro and is the composer of the works in question in this study. There is an additional reference to a Pedro Fernández in 1505, when he was cited as having a *cantoria*.²¹ The fact that in 1988 there was no identified reference to Fernández before 1514 in or outside Seville made his emergence as maestro there with no known experience somewhat difficult to explain. His presence at the cathedral as a singer helps understand how he later gained this post since cathedral authorities may have wanted to appoint someone who had served there while hiring someone for such a prestigious job with little or no experience elsewhere seems farfetched. Another influence may have been financial: Jane Hardie has examined the impetus for cathedral leaders in various cities to ‘search inside’, to appoint someone already working in their own institution, a decision that could save money, as opposed to hiring a candidate away from another job.²²

Work as Composer and Teacher

This also means that in the late 1490s Fernández was a well-trained musician, probably active as a composer, during the heyday of Peñalosa’s compositional activity in the years before 1520, a period

de pan, trigo y cebada, a los oficiales de la catedral del año 1497]: ‘A Pedro Fernández, cantor, 6 fanegas.’, f. 72r. [Quitaciones de oficiales y cantores]: ‘A Pedro Fernández, clérigo, por cantar en el coro, 1.500 maravedís.’

¹⁹ I am indebted to Michael Noone for clarifying that men having taken minor orders were referred to as a ‘clérigo’ in documents from Spain around 1500. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), p. 89, notes that this new information requires us to move the likely year of Fernández’s birth by a decade. I would propose c.1480 meaning that he was in his 90s when he died.

²⁰ Tess KNIGHTON, ‘Music and Musicians at the Court of Fernando of Aragon, 1474-1516’ (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983), pp. 272-3, proposed that Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas had written the *Alleluia* and *Sanctus* discussed below. This seems unlikely given the connections of Tarazona 2/3 to Seville.

²¹ Joaquín PASCUAL BAREA, ‘El músico y poeta Pedro Fernández de Castilleja, maestro de capilla y de gramática griega y latina en Sevilla (c.1487-1574)’, *Calamus Renascens: Revista de Humanismo y Tradición Clásica*, 2 (2001), pp. 311-46, at p. 315; he also suggests that Fernández could have substituted for Pedro de Escobar from 1509 as maestro of the boys.

²² Jane Morlet HARDIE, ‘“Wanted, One maestro de capilla”: A Sixteenth-Century Job Description’, *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow*, Festschrift series, no. 17, edited by David Crawford and G. Grayson Wagstaff (Hillsdale - NY, Pendragon Press, 2002), pp. 269-84.

when he was often visiting Seville; as Ruiz Jiménez has demonstrated, Peñalosa maintained a house in Seville from 1510 and was frequently in residence, meaning that Fernández likely interacted with him regularly.²³ This earlier job as a singer also means that Fernández would have worked closely with Pedro Escobar, who served as maestro of the choirboys 1507-13; though Escobar's life other than his work during these years in Seville is a mystery, Escobar's music is crucially important for a number of genres that seemingly influenced later Andalusian composers such as Morales.²⁴ The likelihood that Fernández worked alongside his predecessor is particularly intriguing since Escobar contributed to launching what became uniquely important Sevillian traditions such as the polyphonic Requiem Mass²⁵ based on the local formulary and liturgical traditions, the *Salve Regina*, and motets based on the gospel text 'Clamabat autem'.²⁶ Indeed, Fernández and Escobar could have been crucial figures during these years, helping to shape emerging genres of polyphonic music in Seville, some of which—like the Requiem and Matins for the Dead—were influenced by ongoing traditions of improvised music. As discussed below, Fernández, from 1514, taught these traditions, both written polyphony and improvised counterpoint, to generations of musicians. Does this appointment in the cathedral as a singer mean Fernández was in the city before 1497? He could have come from one of the villages called Castilleja to study in Seville, perhaps serving as a choirboy and receiving his education in music at the cathedral. There is a very good chance that Fernández, whether or not he had served at the cathedral, knew Alba and other composers active in Seville before 1497.

²³ Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 'Infunde amorem cordibus: An Early 16th-Century Polyphonic Hymn Cycle from Seville', *Early Music*, 33/4 (2005), pp. 619-38, at pp. 619-20.

²⁴ The assumption that Escobar, active in Seville, was a man cited elsewhere as Porto was long accepted by scholars but has been proven wrong; this correction was suggested by RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), p. 37; and then proven by Francesc VILLANUEVA SERRANO, 'La identificación de Pedro de Escobar con Pedro do Porto: Una revisión definitiva a la luz de nuevos datos', *Revista de Musicología*, 34/1 (2011), pp. 37-58, who demonstrated that Porto actually worked in Valencia during some years that Escobar was in Seville. This means that Escobar, composer of the works cited herein, is only documented in Seville and during the years 1507-13.

²⁵ There has been relatively little recent research on Escobar's music. KREITNER, *The Church Music* (see note 3), pp. 140-53, emphasized the importance of the pieces in Tarazona 2/3, especially the Requiem Mass. On the Requiem and Escobar's importance for Spanish tradition, especially influence on Morales, see G. Grayson WAGSTAFF, 'Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the *Officium* and *Missa pro defunctis* by Spanish and Latin American Composers before 1630' (PhD dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1995), pp. 191-229.

²⁶ Escobar's *Clamabat autem* is the first known setting based on this gospel text from Matthew found in the local Sevillian liturgy and presents something of a dramatic dialogue between Jesus and the woman. Escobar's work is one of the extraordinary pieces composed in Spain from the early sixteenth century, a work known by Morales and Ceballos. See Alejandro Enrique PLANCHART, 'Problems in Transmission and Performance in Morales', in *The Echo of Music: Essays in Honor of Marie Louise Göllner*, edited by Blair Sullivan (Warren, MI, Harmonie Park Press, 2004), pp. 125-41; Planchart, at p. 127, states that the work in question—attributed elsewhere to Rore and Jacquet—must be by Morales and surmises that the scribe of Toledo 17 (*E-Tc* MS. 17), since he copied the book just after Morales left the city, knew the correct authorship of the work. Also, of the three, only Morales was associated with Seville and likely knew Escobar's piece.

His presence in 1497, assuming that this is our composer, means that Fernández was not writing somewhat old-fashioned works in the 1530s, but that instead some of his pieces are likely from before 1510 making the style of these compositions more understandable. If he were active beginning in the years 1497-1510, a number of his works could come from the era of Anchieta and Alba, whose music, when paired with their biographies, makes better sense.²⁷ These connections are very important in that Fernández's pieces seem to have been grouped by the scribe of Tarazona 2/3 (*E-TZ* 2/3) with those of fellow composers active in these earlier years in Seville, a matter discussed below.²⁸ While the new biographical data help, it is still problematic to understand a composer who lived a very long life with so few extant works, but our difficulties do not negate the respect Fernández was given.

The fact that Guerrero called Fernández 'maestro of the maestros of Spain' has a different possible importance now that we are fairly certain the older man witnessed such a profound and lengthy time of change.²⁹ The term *maestro* in Spanish, an appellation of honor and respect, here carries the dual meaning recognizing Fernández as an expert practitioner (musician/'conductor'/composer) as well as being the teacher of other experts, a rather extraordinary statement from Guerrero, then at the height of his fame. Scholars of Renaissance music now know more about teaching composition in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century practice thanks to Jessie Ann Owens, but the actual methods are still somewhat of a mystery.³⁰ I am not aware of any similar statement about another Iberian composer that implies a widely recognized stature as mentor of other composers; given Fernández's location in Seville and lengthy career, with the number of important musicians he would have known, this influence is likely rare in Western Europe.³¹ Because of the emphatic nature of this comment seemingly not required by the etiquette of their professional connection, Guerrero's statement seems to have referred to an active role, not a more honorific 'we all learn from him'. The respect as a teacher given Fernández was not limited to music, as Joaquín Pascual

²⁷ Recent discussion of Anchieta's music include Kenneth KREITNER, 'Juan De Anchieta and the Rest of the World', in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, edited by Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK - Rochester, NY, USA, Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 169-85, and KREITNER, *The Church Music* (see note 3), pp. 104-26. KNIGHTON and KREITNER, *The Music of Juan de Anchieta* (see note 9) will be a major contribution for understanding Anchieta's works. I am grateful to Kenneth Kreitner for sharing several of his chapters prior to publication.

²⁸ Suggested by KREITNER, 'The Music of Alonso de Alba' (see note 7), pp. 32-3.

²⁹ STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (see note 2), p. 138. Francisco GUERRERO, *Viage de Hierusalem* (Valencia, Joan Navarro, 1590), included this reference to Fernández in an autobiographical prologue found only in the original edition. Guerrero's account of his trip with much practical advice remained popular for some centuries being reissued by publishers as late as 1801.

³⁰ Jessie Ann OWENS, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 252-5, describes evidence of an interesting example of Cipriano de Rore catching an error in his work in the kind of planning needed to create imitative entries.

³¹ See OWENS, *Composers at Work* (see note 30), pp. 11-2, for discussion of the theorist Coclico's flowery reference to Josquin as teacher.

Barea has established that the man we assume is the same Fernández was also a teacher of Latin and Greek as well as the author of several surviving texts.³² The work with students in the Colegio de San Miguel, both those working in the cathedral and outsiders, brought him into contact with a number of literary figures as well as humanistic ideas, which the Colegio was attempting to embody.³³ This role as teacher emphasizes Fernández's place as a kind of bridge between the earlier composers and later developments in Seville, a bridge from the 1490s all the way to the 1570s. The changing styles observable in his pieces almost surely affected the nature of what he taught. It is likely that he evolved from teaching the mixture of textures and techniques to a more systematic use of imitative points, as we shall observe in his pieces. Which composers, in the generations of Guerrero, who did not acknowledge any study with Fernández, and later during the time of Ceballos for instance, would have been taught points as a systematic technique? Their music contains few of these earlier, more varied kinds of counterpoint, though some works by Morales occasionally do.³⁴

The sharing of power between Fernández and Guerrero after 1551 is also more intriguing in light of new information. Kreitner has labeled this a kind of 'emeritus' post for Fernández,³⁵ but this modern parallel is perhaps not apt since Fernández was trusted with financial duties, including the important task of distributing bonuses for singers, as well as remaining active in other ways including the planning of manuscript copying. Based on Ruiz Jiménez' discoveries, Fernández was a much more prolific composer, and his music was included in several manuscripts alongside better known Franco-Flemish, French and Italian composers; indeed, he may have continued to compose actively when he was older and on limited service which could explain some mysterious works discussed below. Clearly, in the firmament of music in Seville, Fernández had reasons for his lofty reputation; he was not merely a doddering senior figure, as has been interpreted given his age and likely politics within the cathedral, being used to insult Guerrero. This spin was emphasized by Stevenson who unfortunately interpreted the references in documents of the cathedral to mean that Fernández was a pawn in political machinations.³⁶ It is not hyperbole to state that our ability to understand music in Seville in the early sixteenth century depends on this point: his music, though it

³² PASCUAL BAREA, 'El músico y poeta Pedro Fernández' (see note 21), emphasizes that Fernández would have been the teacher of Juan de Mal Lara, later an important literary figure. At p. 312, he notes different ways Fernández was identified including his being labeled 'Fernandus' in a poem by Mal Lara.

³³ PASCUAL BAREA, 'El músico y poeta Pedro Fernández' (see note 21), pp. 311-5.

³⁴ Morales proudly identified himself as native of Seville, 'hispalense', in the 1544 print of his masses issued by the Roman printer Dorico; the composer is conspicuously identified as 'Christoforus Morales Hyspalensis' not only in the opening dedication but also in the attribution of each work. However, he cannot be documented in the city with any certainty as a child or youth and thus nothing is known about his training.

³⁵ KREITNER, 'The Music of Alonso de Alba' (see note 7), pp. 32.

³⁶ STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (see note 2), p. 154, made an unfortunate reference to Fernández being 'surely senile' by 1567. The disbursement of bonus was considered a very important role implying that he continued to be of sound mind.

may include counterpoint that would have been anachronistic after 1540, continued to be respected and his works continued in use. Indeed, Fernández, identified as ‘Castilaja’ is cited in the statutes establishing in 1555 the family funeral chapel of Juan Téllez Girón, 4th Count of Ureña, as one of the important composers whose music would be used in the chapel in a small town near Seville; Fernández is again grouped in this document with Peñalosa, Escobar, and Morales as well as a number of other well-known composers.³⁷ This is a very intriguing reference since the count, a music aficionado, probably knew personally several composers active in Seville, perhaps including Fernández. While this new awareness of the composer’s life does not make Fernández as skillful as Peñalosa, the context does help us understand his status among musicians in Seville.

Concerning compositional activity, Ruiz Jiménez has proven that Fernández was a much more prolific composer than implied by the few extant pieces and has identified many references at Seville to Fernández’s works, choirbooks and other manuscripts with hymns, Magnificat settings, and several with masses, as well as a reference to additional copies of some surviving pieces.³⁸ A number of the references are unclear but very intriguing since genres and composers may be mentioned in inventories but not who wrote what, thus leaving open the possibility of his having written a significantly larger number of compositions. The context for his works is equally important as are the significant number of references in inventories. Fernández’s works appeared alongside much better-known luminaries in these now lost choirbooks as do his pieces in Seville 1, but the number of such connections and the dates of sources is very intriguing. In Seville Cathedral’s *Libro de polifonía no. 21*,³⁹ copied in 1525, for which fragments are extant, a Marian mass by Fernández was copied alongside settings by Josquin and Brumel. The fact that a mass by Peñalosa, then late in life as he died in 1528, was included again demonstrates Fernández’s connections to the earlier generations of composers resident in Seville.⁴⁰ There is one specific fact stated about a mass: the inventory of 1721 notes that Fernández wrote a ‘misa de Beata Virgine’, a four-voice piece, with a troped Kyrie and Gloria that was included in the *Libro de polifonía no. 5*, a book also containing music by Sermisy, Guerrero, and Morales. The *Libro de polifonía no. 22*, also mentioned in 1721, had at least one piece by Fernández and included works by Alba and Escobar, his predecessors in Seville, as well as music of Carpentras and Festa. Escobar was also included

³⁷ RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), pp. 85-6.

³⁸ RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), p. 90, gives an overview of references to music by Fernández. The various choirbooks and other kinds of manuscripts cited in the different inventories are discussed at pp. 317-62.

³⁹ All sigla for these choirbooks are as given by RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), p. 90.

⁴⁰ María Elena CUENCA RODRÍGUEZ, ‘Francisco de Peñalosa (ca. 1470-1528) y las misas en sus distintos contextos’ (PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017), pp. 151-6, adds a number of important details to our knowledge of Peñalosa’s last years in Seville from 1521.

with Fernández in a choirbook of masses, credos and *incarnatus* settings, the *Libro de polifonía* no. 7, cited in an inventory of 1588. The inclusion of work by Escobar may imply that this book was, like no. 21 above, copied in the 1520s. The presence of Fernández alongside Escobar and the other composers who had resided in Seville is again important given his likely association with other Sevillian composers in Tarazona 2/3. The inclusion of his works in such volumes during his tenure is not difficult to interpret since, as chapel master, he participated in planning repertory to be copied,⁴¹ but we might easily overemphasize his self-interest being an influence. These seemingly now lost manuscripts likely had continued in use, especially those mentioned in the 1721 inventory.

Ruiz Jiménez makes the point that Fernández was clearly aware of Franco-Flemish works and style, although his incorporation of contrapuntal techniques was perhaps early in maturity.⁴² This is an important point, but perhaps much more crucial is that Fernández's music survived what could be called the mid-sixteenth-century break over which much earlier music did not continue to be copied and was included in 1587 in the *Cantiones sacrae Beatae Mariae*, a set of 'Ocho libretes' cited in the 1721 inventory. This set of part books had music by the later generations, both the Spaniards—Morales, Guerrero, Victoria, and Ceballos—with the esteemed Palestrina. The fact that Fernández, who had been dead thirteen years when the set was copied, is the only earlier Spanish composer in this obvious high Renaissance gathering is again a sign of his bridging a divide and change in styles. Sadly, given Ruiz Jiménez's extensive work in the cathedral, we will likely never know any more about these pieces unless manuscript sources or archival references are identified elsewhere.

Extant Works

The list of extant works of Fernández is indeed very slim. Though Ruiz Jiménez has discovered some fragments of works likely by the composer, the six pieces below from Seville 1, Tarazona 2/3, and the *Valdés Codex* (MEX-Mvaldés), assumedly copied in Colonial New Spain, are the only identified complete sacred works attributed to Fernández. In addition, Hilarión Eslava, in 1896, published editions of two works that he credited to Fernández without giving any information on provenance.⁴³ These two works, if they are by our composer, are in a later style probably written in

⁴¹ RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), p. 97 cites a reference from 1538 that Fernández had approached the chapter about 'un serie de obras polifónicas'.

⁴² RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), pp. 63-4, states that some fragments surviving from a mass setting (*Libro de polifonía* no. 21 copied c. 1525) probably by Fernández display incorporation of Franco-Flemish elements, 'en un estadio más o menos temprano de asimilación', which supports the attribution.

⁴³ Hilarión ESLAVA, *Lira sacro-hispana: Gran colección de obras de música religiosa, compuesta por los más acreditados maestros españoles, tanto antiguos como modernos* (Madrid, M. Salazar, 1869); the motet *Dispersit*, based on Psalm 111, v. 9, is pp. 1-4, and the motet *Heu mihi*, based on the text of a responsory from the Office for the Dead, is pp. 5-10. On these two works, see WAGSTAFF, 'A Stylistic Study' (see note 1), pp. 48-52.

that time after 1540. Given that no information is available, I will omit discussion of them for now.⁴⁴

Fernández's Latin Sacred Works, Extant Complete Works:

Seville 1:

Salve Regina, 'alternatim' four-voice setting, with concluding segment for five parts

Deo dicamus, four voices

Motet, O gloriosa Domina, four voices

Tarazona 2/3:

Alleluia Nativitas tua, three voices

Sanctus, four voices, truncated setting

Valdés Codex:

Circumdederunt, alternate invitatory for Matins for the Dead, four voices

Works of unknown origin edited by Eslava:

Dispersit

Heu mihi

If we focus first on Seville 1, a source Fernández probably had influence in planning, his pieces reveal a mix of styles.⁴⁵ This important manuscript, copied in 1555,⁴⁶ was associated with the Antigua Chapel of Seville Cathedral where *Salve* services were presented, demonstrating that Fernández's music was at the center of Marian devotions, one of the defining aspects of religion in Andalusia; from this manuscript, we may get a special insight into his importance.⁴⁷ In this book, we see the obvious respect for four generations of Spanish, specifically Sevillian composers, Fernández alongside Morales, Guerrero, and Rodrigo de Ceballos whose works are joined with the music of Jacquet of Mantua, and Gombert (whom Fernández may have met in 1526) and Josquin

⁴⁴ This essay also omits discussion of Fernández's one Spanish texted work, *Cucu, Cucu, Cucucu*, in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (E-Mp II/1335).

⁴⁵ STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (see note 2), p. 149. That Fernández remained active even late in life in organizing repertory for the copying of manuscripts is shown by this reference from 1558 about the need for mass settings for Rogation days.

⁴⁶ RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), pp. 38-40, identifies this book as the 'libro de motetes y salves' copied by a Francisco de Torres. Higinio ANGLÈS, 'La música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla', *Anuario Musical*, 2 (1947), pp. 3-39, noted the presence of works by Fernández.

⁴⁷ G. Grayson WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own: Josquin's Five-Part "Salve Regina" and Marian Devotions in Spain', *Tijdschrift Van De Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 52/1 (2002), pp. 3-34 discusses the use of thematically specific motets as a kind of proper liturgy, connecting the *Salve* devotion to feast days or seasons. See Juan María SUÁREZ MARTOS, *El rito de la salve en la catedral de Sevilla durante el siglo XVI: Estudio del repertorio musical contenido en los manuscritos 5-5-20 de la Biblioteca Colombina y el libro de polifonía no. 1 de la catedral de Sevilla* ([Seville]: Consejería de Cultura, 2010), on various kinds of *Salve* devotions.

whose *Salve* leads the manuscript. This inclusion of Fernández with the Franco-Flemish greats is significant, as Ruiz Jiménez noted that Fernández obviously incorporated aspects of the international style in his works.

The most Josquin-like piece among his extant work is the motet *O gloriosa Domina*; this work, as Kreitner stated about Alba's *O sacrum convivium*, clearly shows Fernández as a 'true man of the sixteenth century'.⁴⁸ The motet, based on the first strophe of a hymn used on Marian feasts, if it were found in an archive in Spain without attribution, might be thought a somewhat unremarkable work by a competent composer of the 1530s-40s. The opening point of imitation shared by all four voices is reminiscent of several of Morales's motets with imitation at the octave and fifth. The entrances, altus and cantus one breve apart then the bassus follows in bar 4 and then the tenor in bar 6, create a sense of a duet in the upper and lower voices, but the impact of each voice's entry is well planned. Fernández makes a very interesting choice to have the cantus repeat the first four notes of the opening motive in bar 8, while the other voices support in free counterpoint. There are other well crafted points such as entries on the text 'qui te creavit' beginning on bar 21; the open texture of this passage emphasizes how 'modern' the composer's work can be since there is so much space created by rests that allows for each point's entry to have audible impact. The space gives us a sense of lightness found in many works by Morales.

We should not assume that these two somewhat stereotypical passages imply the work included only systematic points of imitation, at least when imitation was used. Indeed, there are several passages that look like imitative points but actually are not or are not very effective. In the second textual passage on 'excelsa supra sidera' (beginning of bar 13), the bassus, cantus and altus share one version of the motive F-A-G-F-E while the tenor has a related F-A-F, a similar but altered motive. The related G-A-F, bar 19 in the bassus, may have been intended by Fernández as a reference back to the tenor line, but has little impact as imitation because of the shorter note values and placement. The entries of the phrase beginning on bar 13 are made less effective in part by the tenor, holding the F from the previous phrase, the same pitch on which the three other voices. This passage beginning at bar 13 shows other aspects of compositional planning since Fernández effectively creates harmonic interest as the voices work back to a cadence on D in bar 21, another similarity to what Kreitner has described in several works by Alba: the two composers clearly understood how to balance linear contrapuntal writing with harmonic/modal issues.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ KREITNER, 'The music of Alonso de Alba' (see note 7) pp. 45-7; see KREITNER, *The Church Music* (see note 3), pp. 52-3, for discussion of an earlier setting of *O gloriosa Domina* that incorporates a chant melody presumably found in local liturgies in Spain before the Tridentine reforms.

⁴⁹ KREITNER, 'The Music of Alonso de Alba' (see note 7), p. 45.

O glo - ri - o - sa Do - mi -
 O glo - ri - o - sa Do - mi -
 O
 O glo - ri - o -

7
 -na; O glo - ri - o - sa Do - mi - na,
 - na; O glo - ri - o - sa Do - mi - na,
 glo - ri - o - sa Do - mi - na,
 - sa Do - mi - na, Do - mi - na; ex -

14
 ex - cel - sa su - pra si - de - ra, ex - cel - sa su - pra si - de -
 ex - cel - sa su - pra si - de - ra, ex - cel - sa su - pra si - de -
 ex - cel - sa su - pra si - de -
 - cel - sa su - pra si - de - ra, ex - cel - sa su - pra si - de - ra,

21
 -ra, qui te cre - a - vit pro - vi - de, qui te
 -ra, qui te cre - a - vit pro - vi - de qui te cre - a -
 -ra, qui te cre - a - vit pro - vi - de, qui te cre - a - vit pro -
 qui te cre - a - vit, qui te cre - a - vit, qui te cre - a - vit, qui te cre - a - vit,

28

cre - a - vit pro - - vi - de lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be -

-vit pro - vi - de, pro - vi - de lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be -

- vi - de, qui te pro - vi - de

qui te cre - a - vit pro - vi - de lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be -

35

-re, u - be - re lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be - re; lac - ta -

-re, lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be - re; lac - ta - sti

lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be - re; lac - ta -

-re; lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be - re, sa - cro u - be - re, sa - cro

42

- sti sa - cro u - be - re; lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be - re.

- sa - cro u - be - re; lac - ta - sti sa - cro u - be - re.

-sti sa - cro u - be - re; sa - cro u - be - re.

u - be - re, sa - cro u - be - re, sa - cro u - be - re.

Example 1. *O gloriosa Domina*

The passage on ‘lactasti sacro ubere’ beginning on bar 32 provides an interesting example in which Fernández has created space for imitative entries, but then he does not effectively use this potential: here the bassus enters with a motive that is then stated in the cantus beginning in bar 33. Any possible audible effect is lessened by the alto line, a largely homorhythmic countermelody.

Though this altus line is related, it begins with a distinct rising third that is not a part of the imitative motive. This altus version of the motive is then repeated in the bassus at bar 35 and answered with a rising fourth in the cantus at bar 36. Much of this passage is repeated beginning at bar 40. What to call some aspects of this passage? It has a pseudo imitative reference in bassus and cantus with free counterpoint but presents an interesting problem in nomenclature. In this motet, Fernández shares melodic motives or the contours in various voice parts, but in ways that are not points of imitation; thus, we hear relationships between the two voices that are difficult to describe. Fernández at this point in his compositional career seemingly conceptualized imitation among voices as a more variable technique than what eventually became standardized with points.

The mixture of imitative entries and other kinds of counterpoint is obvious in Fernández's *Salve Regina*. The work includes passages with what in a cursory examination might be assumed to be imitation but actually are not, or passages combining points with similar motives in other voices. It is somewhat surprising, given his use of imitative points in some segments of *O Gloriosa*, that there are no examples in the *Salve* of points in all four voices although some passages share motives in three parts. This setting displays the so-called *alternatim* approach with the text artificially broken into 'versicles'.⁵⁰ Although this kind of *Salve* was not unique to Spain, since Obrecht and other Franco-Flemish composers had written similar works, this *alternatim* approach, a stricter, more liturgically oriented kind of setting, was more common in Spain before the 1550s.⁵¹ The piece is strikingly similar to one by Anchieta, probably from the 1490s, found in Seville 5-5-20 (*E-Sco* 5-5-20), which employs the same text division and has some of the same mixture of contrapuntal techniques.⁵² It is easy to imagine that Fernández sang Anchieta's *Salve* in Seville Cathedral ceremonies and probably considered this earlier setting a paradigm for his own; with Peñalosa's visits to Seville, much music by court composers could have been brought there. Fernández's work, in addition to what would have been its somewhat old-fashioned counterpoint when the work was copied in Seville 1 in the mid-1550s, emphasizes the strong connections in Spanish polyphonic traditions to chant and monophonic performance practice as well as improvised polyphony since, in

⁵⁰ Sonya INGRAM, 'The Polyphonic Salve Regina' (PhD dissertation, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1974) remains the best overview of this genre. She examines the clear distinction between the more liturgically oriented versicle settings (with chant portions left to be sung by all) as opposed to the through-composed approach in which composers set the whole text. See WAGSTAFF, 'Mary's Own' (see note 46) about the dichotomy of different approaches in Spain.

⁵¹ Robert J. SNOW, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 75, examined different text patterns set polyphonically by the later composers Guerrero, Franco, and Bermudez.

⁵² Tess KNIGHTON, "'Motetes de la Salve': Some Thoughts on the Provenance, Compilation, and Use of Seville, Biblioteca Colombina 5-5-20", in *Treasures of the Golden Age: Essays in Honor of Robert M. Stevenson. Festschrift series, no. 27*, edited by Walter Clark and Michael O'Connor (Hillsdale, NY - Pendragon Press, 2012, pp. 29-58.

the fifteenth century, improvised counterpoint was probably added on the even numbered passages thus being a direct ancestor of these later settings.⁵³

Fernández's *Salve* opens with a very competent imitative point, derived from the first four notes of the chant paraphrase in the cantus. The motive stated first in the bassus and the tenor with imitation in unison, then with the cantus at the octave above, is very effectively planned. However, the altus entry simultaneous with the bassus somewhat detracts from the effectiveness of the entries since this freely composed contrasting altus line continues throughout the tenor and cantus entries. The setting proceeds with some passages featuring obvious chant paraphrase, not always in the cantus, in every one of the contrived versicle segments, followed by freely composed passages. Some of these passages without the paraphrase, like the segment on the repetition of 'dulcedo' beginning at bar 15, have related motives, since the descending stepwise motion beginning in bar 16 is obvious, but there is no sense of imitative entries created herein. This is an intriguing passage, since Fernández may have initially considered writing a point.

As the setting progresses, some passages have very little reference to imitative entries: the second text versicle beginning on 'Ad te suspiramus' starts with a breve-heavy section before proceeding to a typical Spanish use of non-adjacent voices in bar 55. This passage beginning at bar 64 includes a very interesting imitative texture with the altus and cantus sharing the distinct minor third, based on the chant, at 'gementes'; each voice enters simultaneously with a countermelody (altus/bassus and cantus/tenor) that continues the non-adjacent duet structure even later in the passage when all four voices are sounding. The beginning of the third versicle 'Et Jesum' at bar 88 includes the longest imitative point in the cantus and tenor voices. This motive in the cantus begins against a reference in the altus to the chant paraphrase and also simultaneously with a supporting homorhythmic line in the bassus. As at the beginning of the *Salve*, here Fernández seems a bit uncomfortable letting the imitative entries stand on their own without a supporting, closely related line. This thickness, an imitative motive entering simultaneously with two other parts, is again quite reminiscent of *Anchieta*, an obvious comparison being his *Libera me* from the Office for the Dead.⁵⁴

⁵³ The topic of improvised music and how it might have affected Fernández's written composition is outside the scope of this essay. For a broad overview, see Giuseppe FIORENTINO, 'Unwritten Music and Oral Traditions at the Time of Ferdinand and Isabel', in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs* (see note 3), pp. 504-49.

⁵⁴ KREITNER, *The Church Music* (see note 3), pp. 122-3.

Vi - - -

Vi - - - ta,

Vi - - - ta,

Vi - - - ta,

7

ta, dul - ce -

vi - - - ta, dul - ce -

vi - - - ta, dul - ce -

14

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

- do, dul - ce - do, dul -

-do, dul - - - ce - do;

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

21

- do, dul - ce - do; spes

-ce - - - do; spes no - stra, spes

spes - - - no - stra,

- - - do; spes no - - - stra, spes

Example 2. Fernández, *Salve Regina*, Versicle 1, bb. 1-27, Seville 1

50

Ad te

Ad te

Ad te

Ad te

57

su - spi - ra -

spi - ra - mus,

su - spi - ra -

spi - ra - mus,

64

- mus, ge - men - tes et flen - tes

ge - men - tes et flen - tes

- mus, ge - men - tes et flen - tes

ge - men - tes et flen - tes

Example 3. Fernández, *Salve Regina*, Versicle 2, bb. 50-70, Seville 1

[illegible]

96

Je - sum be - ne - di - ctum

Je - sum be - ne - di - ctum,

sum be - ne - di - ctum,

sum be - ne - di - ctum,

Example 4. Fernández, *Salve Regina*, Versicle 3, bb. 88-104, Seville 1

The impression made by the setting is truly a mix: a composer who could write points of imitation seemingly well planned as in the beginning or the longer motive on ‘Et Jesum’ but who did not consider such imitation to be a basic sound of his language since there is far more free polyphony or the hard to define references from voice to voice that do not really have the impact of a point. I would guess that this piece with its many similarities to the *Salve* of Anchieta was written before 1520. Is this combination of different kinds of imitation found in his *Salve* Fernández’s signature style? I would say yes, given that he falls back into aspects of this approach even in a work like *O Gloriosa* that includes passages with quite effective points of imitation in all four voices. My attempt to label what is his default style brings up the modern problem that I need Fernández to have a cohesive compositional approach in his works far more than he himself did or did scribes of choirbooks. The coexistence of different techniques and approaches is a complex issue in music in Spain around 1500; in Fernández’s case, the seeming differences may be magnified by the problems of comparing genres with distinct expectations as well as works with differing numbers of voices and ranges. Indeed, he may have begun composing his *Salve* with the assumption that it was a more reserved genre without the polyphonically effuse treatment in his Marian motet. Yet, some passages create the impression that this was an earlier piece before he had developed the comfort with points that he clearly had by the time he wrote his *O Gloriosa*. There is the aspect of maturity of the technique. Despite the artificial comparison, apples and oranges so to speak when one compares a *Salve* to a motet, there is still this issue of how a composer goes from primarily writing with a mixture of techniques to the more standardized contrapuntal fabric with points of predominant imitation? Is it correct for me to consider the *Salve* as a kind of stepping stone because there are passages that imply imitation—both contour and space allowed—that would require compositional planning although the result is not systematic like points? This implies an

assumption that more pervasive imitation was the goal toward which his style was moving, an idea that is likely true but not provable.

Creating imitative points was a technique that Fernández probably had long known since two other, almost certainly earlier, works have well planned imitative entries, but the imitative writing in these pieces is just for three voices, not for four. Incidentally, the presence of the works in Tarazona 2/3 bring uncertainties, since there has been much debate over the dating and provenance of this choirbook, once split into two manuscripts and now restored as one book.⁵⁵ I would join with the voices emphasizing Sevillian connections, which are obvious in Escobar's *Requiem*⁵⁶ and have now been demonstrated by analysis of hymns.⁵⁷ The two works by our composer are attributed in the source to abbreviated versions of Fernández's name, not surprising as he was sometimes cited in shorthand references in other documents in Seville.⁵⁸ Some issues related to Tarazona 2/3 may never be resolved, and this is only a brief mention of the pieces likely by Fernández, but the presence of his works in Tarazona 2/3 would place Fernández among composers associated with Seville including Alba and Peñalosa, a very obvious relationship in the composite mass setting discussed below. As aforementioned, anyone, especially scribes knowledgeable of repertory in Seville, would have known of Fernández's works being included in manuscripts there alongside these composers. This knowledge by the scribe is important since the composite mass in Tarazona 2/3 seems to have been a scribal joining of pre-existent movements not planned by the composers.⁵⁹

Of the two works with imitation involving three parts, the three-voice *Alleluia* clearly demonstrates our composer's ease with imitative writing. One can make very interesting comparisons between the *Alleluia* and the *Salve* setting. Both pieces have something of a crutch, in that the chant incorporated provides a stepping-off point for motives, especially at the beginning of

⁵⁵ KREITNER, 'The Music of Alonso de Alba' (see note 7), pp. 48, n. 48, gives a concise overview of various opinions including examination and discussion of the source by Knighton and Hardie, with more recent discussion by Ruiz Jiménez and Eva T. Esteve Roldán. Kreitner has made the case that the manuscript likely dates from the 1520s or early 30s and also that the choirbook reveals an evolving repertory of service music from Seville. Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, 'Manuscripts of Polyphony from the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand', in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs* (see note 3), pp. 404-68, at pp. 446-52, proposes a late sixteenth-century date, that the book is a copy of earlier repertory from choirbooks no longer able to be used. The presence in this choirbook of Escobar's Requiem, which does not match the formulary from the local liturgy of Tarazona, complicates any assumption that repertory from this manuscript was used in services at that cathedral.

⁵⁶ WAGSTAFF, 'Music for the Dead' (see note 25), pp. 191-229, on Escobar's Requiem and the liturgy of Seville.

⁵⁷ RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 'Infunde amorem cordibus' (see note 23) establishes a clear connection between the hymns and the local Pre-Tridentine liturgy in Seville as well as local chant repertoires.

⁵⁸ RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano* (see note 13), p. 87, cites one reference to 'PF' in the 1721 inventory of Seville which he assumes must be the composer. As KREITNER, 'The Music of Alonso de Alba' (see note 7), p. 33, states, the *Tabla* in Tarazona 2/3 cites a composer as 'p hrrs' with the symbol for abbreviation above the second r; the pieces are attributed to 'po. Frs' with the abbreviation slash above the r.

⁵⁹ Mary Carrigan CARTER, 'The Missa de Nuestra Señora of Escobar, Peñalosa, Hernández, and Alba: The Evolution of the Composite Mass in Spain c 1500' (Master's thesis, The University of Memphis, 2007).

the work. Fernández obviously has the technique to weave these motives into the polyphonic fabric but seems more comfortable in the *Alleluia* letting the entries stand on their own in the three-voice texture rather than a four-part one.

Is the three-voice texture easier to imagine as growing out of improvised music? Kreitner has commented that Fernández's works in the Tarazona manuscript are the most modern of the pieces by composers connected to Seville, which would make sense given his youth compared to the other men. The *Alleluia* is, however, a very intriguing combination of old and new with its opening competent imitation although the limited range of the fairly close and sometimes crossing voices makes the sound old-fashioned even when compared to the *Salve* setting. Most of the segments, each marked by a *fermata*, begin with imitation. There are in fact a variety of shorter or longer motives in strict imitation, with some passages with pseudo-imitative entries with suggested contours. The opening solid, somewhat foursquare imitation is at the octave and unison, at two breves distance, and then is followed by a passage on bar 8 with the upper parts in a duet. The passage in bars 13-20 features a soloist flourish for the highest voice, somewhat like Du Fay, with the lower passages in breves. Both the fairly simple imitation as well as the different textures found in these passages likely could have been created through improvisation. I would suggest that this *Alleluia* was probably written in the years 1497-1510 and represents Fernández as a very young composer showing traces of earlier traditions of polyphonic music in Spain with its close connections to improvised music.

The other work in Tarazona 2/3 is a truncated setting of the Sanctus included in a composite mass, a Marian votive mass along with movements by Escobar, Peñalosa, and Alba.⁶⁰ This association with much better-known composers, his predecessors as maestro in Seville and Peñalosa, places Fernández squarely in good company in the 1490s and the first decade of the sixteenth century. The composer incorporates a chant melody known from sources in Toledo and Salamanca.⁶¹ There is imitative writing in the piece but only in a passage scored just for three voices. The work opens with a duet in cantus/altus that is followed by an entry of tenor/bassus, similar contours in each.⁶² The remainder of the four-voice Sanctus segment has chant references in the cantus with similar contours in the lowest voice supported with active free counterpoint in the two other voices, but little that could be considered imitative or suggestive of imitative writing;

⁶⁰ WAGSTAFF, 'A Stylistic Study' (see note 1), pp. 40-4, hypothesized that the Sanctus was truncated to allow for a motet.

⁶¹ See Jane Morlet HARDIE, 'Spanish Tropes Revisited: University of Sydney Fisher Rare Book Additional Manuscript 351', in *Cathedral, City and Cloister: Essays on Manuscripts, Music and Art in Old and New Worlds*, edited by Kathleen Nelson (Ottawa, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2011), pp. 55-112 at p. 87. The Fisher Library book is likely of Spanish origin.

⁶² This entry of paired voices is very similar to that of the beginning of Anchieta's Kyrie of his *Missa sine nomine* preserved in Tarazona 2/3. See KREITNER, *The Church Music* (see note 3), p. 124.

much of this is very similar to passages in the *Salve*. But when the three-voice 'Pleni sunt caeli' arrives, Fernández again displays a solid if rather uninteresting use of point-of-imitation technique. The 'Pleni' is striking in that it could come from a very different setting. We would not perhaps think of connecting these two segments as being from the same composer if we had found them separated in different manuscripts in Spain.

The musical score is written for three voices (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass) in a three-part setting. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into four systems, each containing three staves. The lyrics are: 'Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, Na - ti - vi -'. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Soprano and Alto voices entering with a half note 'Al' and the Tenor/Bass voice entering with a half note 'Al'. The second system shows the continuation of the piece, with the Soprano and Alto voices entering with a half note 'Al' and the Tenor/Bass voice entering with a half note 'Al'. The third system shows the continuation of the piece, with the Soprano and Alto voices entering with a half note 'Al' and the Tenor/Bass voice entering with a half note 'Al'. The fourth system shows the continuation of the piece, with the Soprano and Alto voices entering with a half note 'Al' and the Tenor/Bass voice entering with a half note 'Al'. The score is written in a clear, legible style, with the lyrics written below the staves.

26
-tas, na - ti - - - - - vi -

8
-tas, na - ti - vi - tas, na - ti - vi -

8
- - ti - - - - - vi -

32
-tas tu - - - - - a,

8
-tas tu - - - - - a,

8
-tas tu - - - - - a,

Example 5. Fernández, *Allelulia Nativitas tua*, bb. 1-38, Tarazona 2/3

Canon: conversus est retrosum usque in finem

1
San - - - - -

8
San - - - - - ctus,

San - - - - -

San - - - - -

6
- - - - - ctus, San - - - - -

2
San - - - - - ctus,

San - - - - - ctus,

-ctus, San - - - - - ctus,

- - - - - ctus, San - - - - - ctus,

San -

Example 6. Fernández, *Sanctus*, bb. 1-12, Tarazona 2/3

41

Ple - ni - sunt cae - li

8

Ple - ni - sunt et

Ple - - -

47

et - ter - ra glo - - -

cae - - - li et ter -

- - ni - - - sunt cae - li

Example 7. Fernández, *Sanctus*, bb. 41-52, Tarazona 2/3

Though it would be wonderful to have many more extant works by Fernández, I believe that we can say a great deal more about his works now that we have this additional information. His mixture of varied styles once again relates to works by Alba and Anchieta, although Fernández's preferences are different, and he sometimes makes what we could consider odd choices as with the passages that include space for imitative writing, but no effective entries shared among voices. As we have seen, Fernández probably later in life adopted points of imitation as a more integral aspect of his compositional language. However, some works with a more varied approach to counterpoint seemingly continued in use in Seville Cathedral. With the additional biographical information, we are able to propose that the two works in Tarazona 2/3 represent an early phase of his career. As mentioned, he likely evolved from teaching this more mixed approach to counterpoint, still found in the *Salve*, to the more predominant imitative points found in *O gloriosa Domina*. This change would affect many musicians who studied with Fernández during his long career.

Where to go with this? Fernández lived through some of the greatest changes imaginable. During his lifetime, Spain would become a world power politically, economically as well as in music, and Seville would emerge as one of the economic powerhouses of Spain, giving great financial resources for artistic growth and the emergence of the cathedral as one of the important musical institutions in Europe. Fernández was likely a crucial figure alongside Escobar, Peñalosa, and perhaps Alba, and lived on into an era when composers associated with Seville, Morales and Guerrero, would be admired throughout Western Europe. His music, like that of the two younger men, would be transmitted to Mexico as part of the extraordinary campaign of transferring

ecclesiastical culture to the New World. How different the world was in the years just before he died as opposed to those early years in Seville! We can only speculate what Fernández might have thought in those last years of his life of Spain's new recognition as the home of great composers so many of whom he had known personally. His music is obviously a mixture of old and new but seems to have continued in the repertory of Seville Cathedral long after imitative points would be a basic technique for all composers. It is tantalizing to think of the many no-longer extant works mentioned in inventories. Many of these could have been more forward-looking like the motet *O gloriosa Domina*, but many works could just as easily have provided examples of similarities to the earlier composers in the years 1490-1510 as do the *Salve* and pieces in Tarazona 2/3. Of the extant works, I would label the *Salve* his signature piece, with its interesting examples of mixed texture and technique. The two works in three-voices, the *Alleluia* and part of the Sanctus, demonstrate that Fernández had a different ease of writing with the three as opposed to four-voice texture and was likely composing before 1510 in an era with more flexible use of counterpoint. What we may be witnessing is Fernández gaining fluency with the larger number of voices. He is a very interesting example of this time of change, a working liturgical musician adding to what would become the remarkable tradition of Seville Cathedral.

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