José Elías (c. 1687 - after 1755), nominated «padre y patriarca de los buenos organistas» by one of his contemporaries at the royal chapel\(^1\), was probably the most outstanding of Joan Baptista Cabanilles' s followers and pupils. Although there is no certain proof that he was taught by the great Valencian organist, it is alleged that Elías learnt over 300 organ pieces by this master during his formative career — an accomplishment which clearly exerted a profound influence on the music he composed during his time as organist in Barcelona (see below). The greater proportion of his extant organ music is of a purely functional kind, consisting of alternatim versets designed for liturgical integration and therefore linked to plainchant models. The weight of Elías' s reputation, however, has to a large extent rested on his experiments in tonal writing and design. Antonio Soler, for instance, claimed that he had learnt 24 pieces by Elías in all the major and minor keys at an early age and that this had had a marked influence on his own keyboard sonatas\(^2\). Elías’s complete command of the most up-to-date harmonic language of his time is witnessed by his *Obras de Órgano, entre el Antiguo y Moderno estilo* (1749), a collection of liturgical pieces written during his time as organist at the royal convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid from 1725 onwards\(^3\).

It is thanks primarily to the pioneering work of José María Llorens that we are able today to appreciate Elías’s contribution to Spanish organ music of the first half of the eighteenth century. In an article published in this journal in 1962\(^4\), Llorens presented for the first time a

catalogue of the composer’s works, biographical information, and a summary of characteristics of his compositional style and harmonic language. Since then, a number of editions of Elías’s music have appeared in print and new data relating to his early career (superseding the biographical outline given in the New Grove) have been uncovered by Llorens. It is now known that prior to his employment at the prestigious church of SS Just y Pastor, from 1715 to 1725, Elías was organist for three years at the church of the Convent of Sant Pere de les Puel·les, also in Barcelona, from 1712 to 1715. This important information brings us closer to an appreciation of Elías’s role as organist, also giving a context for the numerous items of liturgical organ music included in such sources as the Musicha de Organo, compiled by one of his pupils in 1717.

With the exception of the Musicha de Organo (now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid), all identified sources of Elías’s music (including the Obras de Órgano) are to be found in libraries in Barcelona and in Montserrat. A large proportion of Elías’s works, much of which is contained in several fascicles in the Montserrat archives, is still unpublished and unstudied. Among these sources is a collection of some six Pange lingua settings inscribed Juego de Panglelinguas del año de 1729 de Du Joseph Elías which have not hitherto been discussed in published studies on Elías. Along with other Pange lingua settings in the same manuscript, of which at least one may be attributed to Francisco Vilar, a younger contemporary of Elías’s in Barcelona, these are among the few examples of Spanish organ music to include information about registration practices in the eighteenth century.

In giving first a short outline of the history of Pange lingua settings for organ in Spain, the aim of this article is primarily to provide a context for the genre cultivated by Elías and his contemporaries working in Catalanía during the first half of the eighteenth century, and to present information and observations about a little-known source of eighteenth-century Spanish organ music.

* * *

Beginning with the series of intabulations and glosado versions of Juan de Urreda’s famous setting, and other instrumental cantus firmus pieces dating from the sixteenth century,”

8. See Llorens, «La obra orgánica ...», pp. 131-34. Other sources of Elías’s music in Montserrat, Arxiu de Música (=AM), include M.713, M.1066, M.1421, M.1637, and M.2999.
9. Montserrat, AM M.1637. Information about this source and the Pange lingua settings, including transcriptions, is included in B. Nelson, The Integration of Spanish and Portuguese organ music within the liturgy, from the latter half of the 16th to the 18th century (D. Phil., diss., Oxford University, 1986), vol.1A, pp. 120-1, 390, and vol.1B, pp. 388-410.

[2]
one of the most widespread and popular sources of inspiration for Iberian organ music from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century was the Corpus Christi hymn *Pange lingua*. Like that of the companion hymn associated with this feast, *Sacris solemnitatis*, which also inspired numerous settings for organ, the particular tune set by these composers, commonly referred to as *more hispano*, was peculiar to the Iberian peninsula. One of its distinguishing features is its trochaic rhythm in *tempus perfectum*. While the earliest instrumental arrangements, including Cabezón’s intabulations of the Urreda model, present the tune in the context of music notated in *tempus imperfectum*, the majority of *Pange lingua* settings for organ dating from the seventeenth century onwards preserve the triple-time metre. The inherent ternary structure of the hymn tune itself was almost invariably reflected in that of the versets, although the reprise of the A-B-A structure was only rarely written out in full. For the most part, such settings would have had a purely functional role within the context of religious ceremonies, being played in alternation with the sung verses of Aquinas’s hymn in liturgical services (for example at Vespers on the feast of Corpus Christi) as well as during processions\(^\text{12}\).

The abundance of both three- and four-part settings in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript sources, with some seventy-five, for instance, attributed to Cabanilles\(^\text{13}\), witnesses the privilege accorded to this Corpus Christi hymn among organists; it may also reflect the extent to which they regarded the hymn tune as a vehicle for demonstrating their compositional skills in cantus-firmus writing. In the work of Cabanilles in particular one is aware of a composer deliberately experimenting in various types of contrapuntal manipulation, particularly in his series of «Versos de *Pange lingua* de todos géneros» contained in one of the Barcelona manuscripts\(^\text{14}\). His music becomes extremely dense at times owing to the strong bias toward pervasive imitation, frequently resulting in a medley of part crossing. In one *Pange lingua* setting entitled «llena en fuga»\(^\text{15}\), Cabanilles even uses canonic imitation to unify the two upper contrapuntal strands in a three-part setting. The *Pange lingua* tradition was also typified by *medio registro* performance in which a solo line (the hymn tune) in one half of the keyboard could be highlighted by the use of a contrasting register in the other half. In broad terms, these tendencies may be seen as natural developments from both the «vocal» polyphonic and the instrumental *glosado* models of the sixteenth century.

The idea of colour and contrast became an increasingly decisive element of compositional style in the *Pange lingua* repertory in the course of its history. By the late seventeenth century, in addition to settings for *medio registro* performance, *Pange lingua* were also frequently

---
\(^{12}\) In addition to the Feast of Corpus Christi and its Octave, the *Pange lingua* was performed on a number of other occasions: these included processions honouring and bearing the Holy Sacrament, particularly those associated with the Cuarenta Horas de Lausperenne (established in 1592 by Clement VIII); and on Thursdays at the Colegio de Corpus Christi in Valencia — see J. Piérdra, «Organistas valencianos de los siglos XVII y XVIII. A: Organistas del Colegio de Corpus Christi», *An M* 17 (1962), p. 150.


\(^{15}\) Barcelona, BC M.387, f.409v.
composed in what became more commonly described as *partido* style, and were often written for performance on two manuals with different registrations. Furthermore, there was an increasing penchant for three-part textures in which the contrapuntal interest might be centred on two parts moving conjunctly above or below the cantus firmus (already found in settings by Aguilera de Heredia), or on a solo line accompanying the hymn tune moving in parallel thirds. This style is particularly evident in the music of Francisco Espelt and Francisco Menalt, contemporaries of Cabanilles working in Barcelona, and is also found in that of Cabanilles himself. Such pieces, usually in *partido* style, were often subtitled *dos tipes* or *dos bajos*. Unless presented in the guise of a straightforward harmonisation of the hymn tune (placed in the top line), settings of the *Pange lingua* from the late seventeenth century onwards were now only rarely written in four contrapuntal parts.

There is a clear interaction between developments in organ building and design from the late seventeenth century onwards and the organ music written during the same period, and the characters of the contrapuntal or solo lines often reflected the quality of the individual registers. For example, the introduction of the *clarines* in c. 1670 resulted in a number of compositions featuring fanfare-style figuration (see below, ex. 2). By about 1700, however, the *Pange lingua* repertory was not only influenced by the registrational possibilities of the organ with its increased opportunities for variation in colour, but it also began to absorb stylistic elements and figuration normally associated with contemporary sonatas and suites written for other keyboard instruments. This was so even though the *Pange lingua* almost invariably continued to be treated as a cantus-firmus form. Many of these developments were no doubt also encouraged by the new harmonic freedom offered by the development of organs with fully chromatic keyboards which provided opportunities for enharmonic changes and increased chromaticism. To quite a large extent, these styles superseded the traditional contrapuntal language of Spanish organ music.

**The Pange lingua settings in Montserrat (AM M.1637)**

There are twelve *Pange lingua* settings in this manuscript of which at least six would appear to comprise the *juego* by Elfias. It is likely that the following three (numbers 7-9) are also

16. The term *partido* was also, but less frequently, applied to organ compositions designed for *medio registro* performance.
18. For example, Espelt’s «Pange lingua a 3. Partido de mano derecha» in Barcelona, BC M.729, f. 177v.
20. For an account of *Pange lingua* settings for organ from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, see B. Nelson, *The integration of Spanish and Portuguese organ music...* pp.367-91.
21. The term *juego* is found in sources of Spanish organ music dating from the late seventeenth century onwards. It was used to head a series of versets associated with a particular chant (for example, a psalm tone or a hymn such as the *Pange lingua*). In most cases it was used merely as a convenient way of grouping a set of pieces together and had no apparent musico-liturgical significance.
by Elías; however, owing to the fact that they are separated from the first six settings by two folios containing other items of organ music, this is by no means certain\(^\text{22}\). The first of the remaining three (numbers 10-12) is ascribed to Vilar. As shown in the following table listing the *Pange lingua* settings, and in the incipits provided, each, with only two exceptions, is titled or subtitled with either a general indication of organ disposition, a specific register or registers, or a tempo.

*Pange lingua settings in Montserrat, AM M. 1637*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>title</th>
<th>no. of parts</th>
<th>fols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td><em>Juego de Pangelinguas del año de 1729 de Dn Joseph Elías</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Ileno a 4 / Trompetas / Reales</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Pangelingua / de dos / Bajos / Bajon-/cillos y Cim-/balo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Pang(elingu)a a 4 lleno</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Pang(elingu)a de dos tiple</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>Pang(elingu)a Grañiosa A3, orlos</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Pang(elingu)a / muy / vivo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5v-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>Pang(elingu)a de medio registro con el Cantollano</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dissimulado / muy / vivo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>Orlos / y / Corneta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>Pang(elingu)a del Rº Fran(cis)co Vilar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>Largo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>[Dos bajos]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* words which abbreviated in the manuscript have been written out in full, with the missing letters being supplied in round brackets; information given in square brackets is editorial.

Apart from the two settings in Elías’s *juego* inscribed *lleno*, the emphasis in these settings is towards light, transparent textures written in three or two parts in which the cantus firmus performs a crucial role in the general momentum and harmonic rhythm of the individual pieces. The rhythm and metrical appearance of the cantus firmus itself varies enormously according to

22. On fols 3v-5 is included an incomplete series of anonymous alternatim versets for the Mass (4 Kyrie versets, and 3 Gloria versets), and an extract from a string quartet by Ignace Pleyel and an Italian aria, both arranged on two staves for the keyboard. (See also below, n.34.).

[5]
the choice of general tempo and style of the piece as a whole. Nevertheless, as described below, the *Pange lingua* became associated with standard harmonic patterns which were consistently adopted, regardless of the choice of tempo. On the whole, the hymn tune is clearly stated as a cantus firmus; however, one exception is the unusual setting (no.8) «con el cantollano dissimulado», in which it is disguised in a series of semiquaver triplet figures. A few precedents for this *glosado* treatment of the hymn tune can be found in an anonymous collection of *Pange lingua* settings in one of the anthologies of organ music compiled at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Antonio Martín y Coll.\(^3\)

From the harmonic point of view, the strict adherence to an immutable cantus firmus naturally had its limitations and was bound to produce similar solutions. As demonstrated in the following largely chordal setting (but with decorated bass line) of the *Pange lingua* by Francisco Llussá (fl.1687-1738), a Barcelona organist\(^4\), the harmonic progressions were quite simple and consisted of a series of chords in «root position».

\[\text{EXAMPLE 1: Pange lingua lasso}^5 \text{ (Francisco Llussá)}\]

\[\text{1. Barcelona, BC M.736.5, ff.5v-6}\]

23. Antonio Martín y Coll, *Huerto ameno / de varias flores / de Música [...] año 1708* (Madrid, BN M.1359): «Juego de Pangelinguis por De la sol re», nos. 4 (pp. 515-17) and 6 «dos tipes» (pp. 519-22).

A study of the harmonic behaviour of most *Pange lingua* settings dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, including the numerous examples transposed to *C sol fa ut* by Cabanilles and others, demonstrates a long-standing association of the hymn tune with such a standard harmonic progression\(^\text{25}\). However, it is also clear that composers from the time of Cabanilles onwards might destabilize the traditional harmonic scheme by introducing sudden and swift modulations, thus foiling one’s expectations. In a number of settings included in the Montserrat source, and as shown at the outset of the following setting by Llussá registered for the *clarines* (from the same series as example 1), adjustments were frequently made to the traditional harmonies associated with the opening phrase of the hymn tune. By introducing an a\(^\#\) into the counterpoint in the second bar, the third note of the hymn tune (f\(#\)) was now treated somewhat in the manner of a «dominant» pedal in b minor, rather than merely the third of a chord in the «tonic» (see bars 2 and 3 in example 1).

![EXAMPLE 2: Pange lingua]!

On the whole, the figuration in these settings is extremely varied, and appears to have been inspired by idioms both in contemporary keyboard sonatas and other instrumental music, and by the qualities of individual registers on the organ. However, one of the distinguishing characteristics of *Pange lingua* settings and many other organ versets dating from the early eighteenth century onwards — particularly those by Miguel López\(^\text{26}\) and Elías — is their deployment of triplet figuration in compound time. In some settings, as in the sixth by Elías marked *partido, vivo*, for instance, a kind of *perpetuum mobile* character in the manner of a gigue or giga may

\(^{25}\) Similar harmonic consistency can also be observed in the majority of *fahordón* settings of the psalm tones. See B. Nelson, *The integration of Spanish and Portuguese organ music...*, pp. 279-311, and article in preparation.

be adopted. In many respects, as demonstrated in particularly by the seventh, eighth and ninth settings in this manuscript, *Pange lingua* settings are symptomatic of the general trend in the organ music of this period towards virtuosic figuration. This general observation is borne out by Nassarre’s comment that greater technical demands were made on the organists of his time (early eighteenth century) than during the previous century:

Lo cierto es [...] que es necesaria mayor ejecución en los Organistas, para la música que oy se prácita, que para la que se usó en los tiempos antecedentes; en que es preciso aumentar el estudio para ser perfectos Músicos en dicho instrumento.

Apart from a similar group of (five) settings by Francisco Llussá linked together in a single source, from which two examples were cited above, those comprising the *juego* by Elías are the only ones encountered in a source from this period which would appear to have been deliberately grouped together in the manner of a theme (the opening four-part *lleno* setting) and variations. In Elías’s *juego*, the versets alternate between those evidently designed for *medio registro* performance, in which the figuration given to the hands observes the division at middle *c/c#*, and *lleno*, calling for a registration (such as *trompetas reales* or *orlos*) integral to both halves of the manual. Despite the indication *partido* in the sixth setting, none of these would appear to have been written for performance on a two-manual organ. There is not a great deal of information about registration practicés in Iberian organ music from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is why this particular document is quite unusual. Furthermore, apart from the general indication of *contras* (pedals) in two of Elías’s compositions for organ, and *flautado* for selected versets in his *Musicha de organo*, there are no other sources of his music which include instructions for registration. Although the indications of *trompetas reales*, *bajoncillos*, *cimballo*, and *orlos* and *corneta* are not particularly unusual for the baroque Spanish organ in general, the question is whether or not the combination of these registers, and the fact that none of the pieces appear to have been written specifically for performance on an organ with more than one manual, brings us any closer to an appreciation of the instrument for which Elías might have been writing this music.

The date «1729» accompanying Elías’s *juego* is somewhat problematical, largely because this source bears every indication of having originated in Catalonia. However, from 1725 onwards, Elías was organist at the royal convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. The only music certainly composed by Elías during his time there is the collection of Offertory and Elevation pieces included in his 1749 *Obras de organo*, whose harmonically adventurous style places it

---

28. Of the documents about organ registration which do survive, however, one of the most interesting is that which was prepared by an organist at Segovia Cathedral, in c.1770, following the rebuilding of the organ by Pedro de Echevarría in 1769/70. See R. Walter, «A Spanish registration list of c.1770s», *Organ Year Book*, 4 (1973), pp. 40-51. The disposition for this particular (three manual) organ is also given in J.M. Llorens, José Elías, *obras completas*, vol. I (Barcelona, 1971), p.16.
in a class of its own. Unfortunately, the organ of this convent was destroyed in the fire of 1862 and, beyond the fact that it was tuned to equal temperament, fascilitating the modulations and enharmonic changes characterizing the music in the Obras, we have no inkling of its nature.

With regard to the question of whether the music in this source originated in Catalonia (Barcelona), it is perhaps significant that the juego is presented in a manuscript which also contains Pange lingua settings by Francisco Vilar who followed Elías as organist at both San Pere de les Puel·les and SS Just y Pastor. These share similar characteristics with those of Elías but, by way of contrast, the first of these would appear to have been written for performance on a two-manual organ. Unfortunately, there is very little information about the organs played by Elías in Barcelona, and the question whether or not the date in the manuscript has any bearing on the date of Elías’s juego may not be resolvable. Similarly, there is no way of knowing for certain whether the organ registration indicated in this source actually reflects Elías’s intentions; it may have been added at a later date to suit a different organ.

All of this notwithstanding, Elías’s Pange lingua settings are rare examples of his skill in cantus-firmus writing. Furthermore, they demonstrate the extent to which, while retaining a firm attachment to long-standing practices of hymnody, the Pange lingua was one of the few items of liturgical organ music to assimilate up-to-date styles and figuration inspired both by other instrumental music, and by the idiomatic possibilities of the organ itself.

31. See above, n.10.
32. In this setting, the cantus firmus in the left hand reaches d above middle c/c#.
34. Although Elías’s juego itself is dated «1729», it should also be borne in mind that some of the miscellaneous sketches in this manuscript, which include transcriptions from a string quartet by Ignace J. Pleyel and arias from Italian operas, including Niccolò Piccinni’s La buona figliuola of 1760, can only have been copied in the late eighteenth century.
PANGE LINGUA SETTINGS IN MONTSERRAT, AM H.1637 (incipit)