



Pedro de Escobar

Earliest Portuguese Composer in New World Colonial Music Manuscripts

PORTUGUESE MUSICIANS IN SPAIN 1434–1680

PEDRO DO PORTO, KNOWN in Spain as Pedro del Puerto and Pedro de Escobar, belongs to that galaxy of Portuguese-born musicians who in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries starred in Castile, Aragon, Andalusia, and in Spanish New World dominions. However, he was not the first to emigrate.

As early as July 8, 1434, Dom Duarte (1391–1438; reigned 1433–1438) wrote Juan II of Castile (reigned 1407–1454) a letter complaining that Juan II had seduced to his service one of the best Portuguese royal musicians, Álvaro Fernandes.¹ All the more unjust was Juan II's retaining him because everything that Fernandes knew about playing the organ had been learned in Dom Duarte's household.²

¹D. Duarte's long letter, preserved in the Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 339, titled *Livro chamado da Cartuxa d'Évora*, reads in part (fols. 89^v–90): "Muy alto, muy noble Rey Irmaõ primo e amigo, recebemos vossa carta pela qual nos fizestes saber como filhareis Alvaro Fernandes nosso cantor, e organista que p nossa carta vos enviamos encomendar entendo que nos prazeriadelo. Muy poderoso Irmaõ Rey primo, e amigo respondendovos claram^{te} a nos parece que vos o não deveis reter em vosso Serviço . . . por estas rasões: primeiram^{te} visto como elle he criado e natural nosso, e todo o mais que sabe de cantar e tanger aver aprendido em nossa casa, e de tal mester nos desejamos aver bõs servidores, e porem os criamos sempre, e fazemos ensinar, como fizemos a este. . . ." See also Robert Stevenson, "Portuguese Musical Contacts Abroad (Before 1500)," *Inter-American Music Review*, viii/2 (Spring–Summer, 1987), 89.

²How zealously Dom Duarte did actually attend to music education in his court comes clearly to light in his *Ordenança que El Rey D. Eduarte fez p^a os seus Capellães*, copied from his *Leal Conselheiro*, chapter 9b, in Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 389, at fols. 166–169.

His singers must know their music in advance of performing it in his chapel, then must pitch it properly, must not scramble through it but proceed always with dignity. Singing in three

In *Monumentos de la Música Española* [hereafter *MME*], I (1941), 57, Higinio Anglés documented (from Simancas, Casa Real de Castilla, Leg. 5) the presence of Pedro del Puerto, *português*, between 1489 and 1498/1499 in the chapel choir of Isabella I of Castile "la católica" (1451–1504). After Pedro del Puerto = Pedro do Porto, a constellation of Portuguese musicians followed his orbit to Spain: among them Gregorio Silvestre³ and his organist brother Manuel Rodrigues,⁴ Jorge de Montemôr = Monte-

parts, alto, contra, and tenor, shall be the rule. To do so, it is necessary "Que se conheçam as voses dos capellães, qual he p^a cantar alto, e qual p^a contra, e qual p^a tenor, e assi cantem continuadem^{te}." For more detailed information on Dom Duarte's *Ordenança* . . . p^a os seus Capellães see *Inter-American Music Review*, viii/2, 96–97.

D. Duarte's wife, Leonor, whom he married at Coimbra September 22, 1428, played the manicorde [= clavichord] to accompany her singing. It was to her that D. Duarte dedicated his *Leal Conselheiro* ("a muito prezada e amada Rainha e Senhora"). She was the younger sister of Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1394–1458), chief music patron of his epoch. In a letter written by D. Duarte's younger brother Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460; born at Oporto), *Carta . . . a El Rey D. Juan [II^o] dandolhe conta de como se fizera o casamento do Infante D. Duarte seu Irmaõ em Coimbra* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 905) Henry reported on the couple's wedding festivities at Coimbra—during which Leonor won high praise for her musical accomplishment (*e louvo muito o cantar da S^{ra} Infante, & o tanger de manicorde*).

³Concerning Gregorio Silvestre's career as Granada Cathedral organist, 1541 to his death in 1569, see José López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el Siglo XVI* (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), I, 199–205.

⁴Manuel Rodrigues emigrated to Mexico City via Santo Domingo and Puebla. In all three cities he was cathedral organist. See Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968, 1976), 199, and "Puebla Chapelmasters and Organists: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Part 1," *Inter-American Music Review*, v/2 (Spring–Summer, 1983), 22. Rodrigues became Mexico City chief organist in January 1567 and died there in either 1594 or 1595.

mayor,⁵ Manuel Tavares,⁶ Manuel Leitão de Avelas Afonso Vaz da Costa, Manuel Corrêa do Campo, the Calced Carmelite Manuel Corrêa, Estêvão de Brito, Manuel Machado, Francisco de Santiago, Filipe da Cruz, and Filipe da Madre de Deos—to name a sampling of the more famous. Gaspar Fernandes, who died at Puebla, Mexico, in 1629, was the earliest Portuguese-born composer in the New World from whom a large repertory survives.⁷

Among all these, Pedro do Porto was exceptional in identifying himself by his place of origin (or birth). It is not necessary to believe that he was educated there, any more than it is required to believe that Jorge de Montemôr = Montemayor was educated at Montemôr-o-Velho on the banks of the Mondego river.⁸ Nonetheless, medieval Oporto was no Montemôr-o-Velho and the medieval history of Oporto therefore merits summary.

OPORTO CATHEDRAL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

On April 18, 1120, D. Teresa gave Hugo of Cluny⁹ and his episcopal successors possession of the city.

⁵In his *epistola* to Francisco Sá de Miranda, Montemôr = Montemayor wrote: "En música gasté mi tiempo todo:/ Previno dios en mi por esta vía/ Para me sustentar por algún modo." In the preface to his *Explicación moral sobre el psalmo lxxxvij por George de monte mayor cantor de la capilla de su alteza* (Alcalá: Juan de Brocar, 1548), he identified himself as a singer in the chapel choir of the Emperor Charles V's eldest daughter, Maria (1528-1603).

⁶After her marriage in 1548 to Maximilian II, Charles V on November 15, 1549, at Brussels ratified his appointment as *cantor contravoxo* in the chapel choir of Maria's sister, the Princess Juana (1535-1573). As such, he drew an annual salary of 40,000 maravedis until June 1552.

⁷For brief bibliographical data concerning the rest of the immigrant Portuguese listed in this paragraph, see Robert Stevenson, "Portuguese Music and Musicians Abroad to 1650," in *Portugal and Brazil in Transition*, edited by Raymond S. Sayers (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968), 310-317 and 352-357.

⁸Concerning Gaspar Fernandes, see Stevenson, "Puebla Chapelmasters and Organists: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Part 2," *Inter-American Music Review*, vi/1 (Fall 1984), 29-59.

⁹Montemôr = Montemayor may have been born at Montemôr-o-Velho, a town on the Mondego river near Coimbra, and chose his place of birth as his name. See Bryant L. Creel, *The Religious Poetry of Jorge de Montemayor* (London: Tamesis Books, 1981), 44.

¹⁰Bishop of Porto 1112-1136, he obtained from Pope Pascual

The cathedral standing on the highest point of eastern Oporto was originally a twelfth-century Romanesque building. The canons up to 1185 lived together according to the Augustinian rule.¹⁰

In 1185 the newly elected bishop of Oporto, Martinho Pires, instituted the dignity of *chantre*, the first occupants of the dignity being Martim Froila followed by Domingos Miguel (Cunha, *Catálogo*, 50). In his will dated 1282 Gonçalo Gonçalves, *chantre* at Oporto after having been *chantre* at Coimbra Cathedral (Solange Corbin, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au moyen âge (1100-1385)* [Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1952], 211), endowed Saint Margaret's chapel—its altar being situated in Oporto cathedral cloister (*capela de Santa Margarita, sita no altar do claustro da mesma Se, de que e administrador a mesma dignidade de Chantre*).¹¹ In conformity with this will's provision that St. Margaret's chapel be administered by successor chantres, Rodrigo Anes was in charge of it in 1329 and Martin Viegas in 1364. As for liturgical books mentioned in wills of Oporto bishops: Vicente Menendes in 1306 bequeathed a *ferital et domingal* to Domingos Martins and Bishop Vasco Martins (entered Oporto see in 1328) in 1331 made a will itemizing possessions that included a pontifical (Corbin, 225), the sung parts of which were notated (Corbin, 162).

In her will executed in 1390 Joana Vasques instituted a Mass and vespers with responsories to be sung annually in Oporto Cathedral on August 15 (*testamento com que faleceu Joana Vasques, feito em 1390 na qual instituiu uma missa cantada e responso em vespera da Senhora de Agosto, que o Ilmo Cabido aceitou e satisfaz*).¹² Were the endowed Assumption Masses sung in Oporto Cathedral after 1390 troped Lady Masses? Solange Corbin encoun-

ter a bull *Apostolicae Sedis* exempting Oporto from the jurisdiction of Braga and on March 2, 1120, received from Pope Calixtus II a bull *Officii mei* that both exempted Oporto from any metropolitan oversight and added territory south of the Douro to Oporto diocese. For D. Teresa's donation, see Damiano Peres, *Historia da Cidade do Porto* (Oporto: Portucalense Editora, 1963-1965), 1, 97-115.

¹⁰Rodrigo da Cunha, *Catálogo e historia dos bispos do Porto* (Oporto: João Rodriguez, 1623), segunda parte, 49: "eram todos Regrantes da observancia de santo Agostinho."

¹¹José Gaspar de Almeida, ed., *Índice-Roteiro dos chamados livros dos originais* (Coleção de pergaminhos) do Cartorio do Cabido da Sé do Porto (Oporto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1936), 238, item 988. See also other indexed references to Gonçalo Gonçalves and Rodrigo Anes.

¹²*Ibid.*, 211, item 881 (Livro xxviii, fol. 9).



tered in the Oporto Arquivo several fourteenth-century *pièces tropées de l'Ordinarium de la Messe* (191) but signalled elsewhere *l'extrême rareté des séquences et tropes de toute nature au Portugal* (337). She itemized the following nine responsories prescribed in Braga use for Our Lady feasts (their corresponding modes in parentheses): *Stirps Jesse* (2), *Ad nutum Domini* (3), *Candida virginitas* (1), *Virginis electe* (7), *Virginibus cunctis* (6), *Ortus conclusus* (3), *Ave festiva* (7), *Virga dedit florem* (7), and *Felix namque* (17) (Corbin, 351; music transcriptions on pages 369–372).

In 1392, two years after Joana Vasques's bequest, Joana Martins wrote a testament at Oporto in which she ordered all the property that she had inherited from her husband Martim Vicente Barreiros to be sold, so that with income from the sale Masses could be sung in the cathedral, not said (*testamento de Joana Martins, em que manda vender todas as herdades que foram de seu marido, Martim Vicente Barreiros, para do seu producto se lhe cantarem missas. Ano de 1392*).¹³

So far as the notation of Portuguese music manuscripts goes: as late as 1392 one red line with the diamond-shaped neume used to indicate *mi* of *mi-fa* remained a tell-tale characteristic (*Le demi-ton portugais en losange fut par la suite utilisé d'une façon continue jusqu'au XIV^e siècle, avancé, et même dans certains cas au XV^e* [Corbin, 259]). Until at least 1450, chants in the vast majority of Portuguese liturgical manuscripts continued being copied on one line. Nonetheless, from 1250 onward Portuguese chant scribes followed different pathways from French and Spanish models (*dès 1250 et peut-être beaucoup plus tôt les scribes avaient eu l'indépendance de se séparer de leurs modèles hispaniques et français* [Corbin, 260]).

Antiphonal chant singing became the rule at Oporto after 1455. On September 9, 1455, Bishop Luís Pires augmented the number of dignitaries to six, so that in *coro* and in processions three dignitaries on one side could be answered by three on the other (Cunha, *Catálogo*, 260).

João de Azevedo, Luís Pires's successor, governed the see of Oporto 1465 to 1495, and was therefore bishop during Pedro do Porto's youth. Azevedo's father—Gonzales Malafaia—was ambassador to Castile during the reign of Juan II (Cunha, *Catálogo*, 265). In his youth, João de Azevedo took both

law degrees (*in utroque jure*) at the University of Paris (J. Augusto Ferreira, *Memórias Archeológico-históricas da Cidade do Porto* [Braga: Cruz & Comp.^a, 1924], II, 49). Before Affonso V (1438–1481) nominated him to the see of Oporto, Azevedo was dean of Lisbon Cathedral. In 1475 he selected as coadjutor bishop a native of Oporto, Frei Egidio do Porto, then resident in the Convento de S. Francisco (Ferreira, II, 53). On June 20, 1487, twenty-two years after entering Oporto see, he informed the Oporto municipal council that he proposed making a pilgrimage (*romaria*) outside the realm, leaving the Bishop of Ceuta, Justo Baldino, to exercise episcopal functions during his extended absence (Ferreira, II, 54). Canon João Annes sang Mass on November 6, 1491, when Azevedo laid the cornerstone of the new church of the Convento de Santo Eloy (Ferreira, II, 56).

An ecclesiastic of great personal wealth, Bishop Azevedo, on resigning the see in 1495 to retire to the convento of the Loios at Lisbon, gave the Oporto cathedral chapter his personal library and “numerous valuable ornaments for use during divine service.”¹⁴

PEDRO DO PORTO'S DECADE IN ISABELLA'S CHAPEL, 1489–1499

Did Bishop Azevedo's Castilian connections have anything to do with Pedro do Porto's gaining entry into Isabella's court chapel? Tess Knighton in her article, “Ritual and regulations: the organization of the Castilian royal chapel during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs,” *De Musica hispana et aliis Miscelánea en honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Calo, S.J., en su 65^o cumpleaños* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), 307–308, signals three routes whereby an applicant might gain coveted entrance into Isabella's court chapel: (1) graduation from having been a choirboy in her chapel, (2) having “a relative in service there or in some other department of the royal household,” or (3) being proposed by “someone sufficiently high in the court hierarchy to have the necessary influence.” For examples of the latter means of gaining entry, Knighton mentions singers recommended by the bishop of Palencia, by the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 237, item 985 (Livro xxx, fol. 29).

¹⁴ Cunha, *Catálogo*, 268: “Deu muitos ornamentos pera o culto divino de muita valia. . . . Deixoulhe toda a sua liuraria. . . .”

Comendador Mayor, and by the chantre of Alcalá. If recommendation from the bishop of Palencia counted, equally well may that of a bishop of Oporto whose father had been an ambassador to Castile and who had himself made an extended visit to Spain in 1487.

Whatever his route into Isabella's chapel, Pedro do Porto's daily routine after entering remains no mystery. In company with her husband, Isabella travelled incessantly (15 major removals from place to place between 1491 and 1503)—always accompanied by her chapel. Like her husband's, her chapel choir comprised both adults and choirboys, the boys in her chapel being instructed by *maestro de capilla* Juan de Anchieta (named a singer in her chapel February 6, 1489). The singing of Mass was an everyday occurrence. During Lent and Advent canonical hours were celebrated also. Seating during divine service was by seniority, those ordained to the priesthood preceding those not ordained (Pedro do Porto was not a priest). Dress code requirements were rigid. Proper habiliments for the adult singers included clean surplises of good linen donned before appearing at the *facistol* (lectern). Other details of the dress code were equally rigid.

Despite Sixtus IV's bull that in 1474 gave Isabella's chapel the right to celebrate either according to Roman or Toledan use (cited by Knighton, 310, from Simancas, Patronato Real, legajo 25, 2-II), the *Reglas y constituciones vsadas e guardadas en la Capilla Real* (Legajo 25-I, published in Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Documentos sobre música española y epistolario*, II, ed. Emilio Casares, Madrid, 1988, pages 26–29) prescribed a uniform liturgical use in her chapel. Choirbooks copied for her own chapel's use dictated what was to be said and sung wherever the court travelled. She herself always attended divine services everywhere the court travelled, and so attentive was she, that she noticed every mistake in syllable placement or pronunciation in singing of psalms, or anything else—after services calling attention to the mistakes (Lucio Marineo [Siculo], *De las cosas memorables de España*, Alcalá de Henares, 1539, fol. 183).

PORTUGUESE INTERLUDE

Meanwhile, what musical developments were transpiring in Portugal? After Porto's decade, 1489 to 1499, in Isabella's chapel choir he may well have

spent as many as seven years in his native land—because it was from Portugal that he was called to Seville in 1507.

Like Bishop Azevedo, his successor in the see of Oporto, Diogo de Sousa, was a scholar. Born about 1460, he studied at Lisbon before attending the Universities of Salamanca and Paris. After settling at Rome he was in 1492 chosen a member of the Portuguese embassy headed by D. Pedro da Silva, Comendador-Môr de Aviz, that paid the newly elected pope, Alexander VI (Rodrigo de Borja) the respects of João II. Upon Sousa's return, João II, then residing at Évora, made him in 1493 dean of the royal chapel.¹⁵ Named Bishop of Oporto in 1495, he at once called a diocesan synod that met August 24, 1496. The *Constituições do sinodo do Porto de 24 de Agosto 1496* printed at Oporto in January 1497 by Rodrigo Álvarez are the first Oporto imprint.¹⁶

Dispatched to Rome in the spring of 1505 to pay Manuel I's respects to recently elected Pope Julius II, Sousa travelled from Lisbon by sea. Among followers, he brought with him a herald, a drummer, and six or seven trumpeters who also played shawms and sackbuts.¹⁷ Their music created so much of a stir that both Johann Burchard and his successor as master of papal ceremonies, Paride de Grassi (Paris de Grassis), remarked on the exoticism of their music. According to Grassi, the Portuguese instrumentalists played in a *novo modo et nobis insolito*¹⁸ ("new and

¹⁵For his biography see Manuel Pereira de Novais, *Anacrisis historial (II Parte) Episcopologio, Volume III* (Oporto: Typografia Progresso de Domingos Augusto da Silva, 1917), chapters LXXXVII–XC1 (189–228). His career before becoming bishop of Oporto is covered at pages 189–191.

¹⁶Conrad Haebler, *Bibliografia ibérica del siglo XV. Segunda parte* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1917), 48–49. The epigraph heading the 32-page *Constituições feitas por mandado do Reverendissimo senhor o / senhor dom Diogo de Sousa* reads: "Quanta obrigaçam os prelados tenham a trabalhar & fazer que sua vida & obras mereçam o carreguo." The constitutions mention neither a *mestre de capela* nor an organist. However, *Constituiçam xxxii*, specifying the prerequisites to ordination and the holding of benefices, requires that ordinands desiring the priesthood in Oporto diocese must be thoroughly able to read [Latin] and sing: "amoesta-/mos a todos aquellos que quiserem seer sacerdotes, ou aver benefi-/cios, que saibam bem leer, e cantar. . . ."

¹⁷P. MacSwiney de Mashanaglass, "Une ambassade portugaise à Rome sous Julius II (1505)," *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, xvii (Paris, 1893), 55. Marqués de São Payo, "A Embaixada a Roma do Bispo do Porto D. Diogo de Sousa em 1505," *Boletim Cultural* (Câmara Municipal do Porto), ix/1–2 (March–June, 1946), 40.

¹⁸Marqués de São Payo, 40.

for us unaccustomed manner"). Burchard would gladly have had them silenced, but papal authorization permitted their playing at every step of the Portuguese embassy's entrance into the city.¹⁹ After Sousa's papal audience June 4, [1505] the Portuguese cardinal Jorge da Costa [Alpedrinha], who had resided at Rome since 1479 (created cardinal December 18, 1476), welcomed Bishop Sousa and the two other members of Manuel I's embassy²⁰ with a sumptuous banquet enlivened throughout with an instrumental concert.²¹

Upon his return from Rome, Diogo de Sousa was elevated to the archbishopric of Braga, where he remained from 1505 until death in 1532. Before 1520 he instigated the exquisite copying of six antiphoners covering the entire church year (Braga cathedral archive, 28, 29, 31, 32, 50; and Braga municipal library, 949). He also subsidized the publication at Salamanca by Juan de Porres of two breviaries (1511 and 1528) and of a missal (1512 [Corbin, 170, 279], copy of the missal at Oporto public library).

The researcher João Pedro d'Alvarenga discovered in the Braga Arquivo Distrital (Universidade do Minho, Gaveta da Sé Vacante, doc. n.º 27, folio 1) a "Copia da Carta que o Cab.º escreveu a El Rey D João 3.º sobre os sallarios dos músicos da Sé" that although dated September 1544 lends credence to the existence of a polyphonic choir in Braga Cathedral, even prior to 1505. The pertinent paragraph conveys this meaning:

Archbishop Dom Diogo de Sousa endeavored valiantly to conserve and to augment said singers' choir, requiring that some singers be reared and taught and that others be sought within and without the realm. He gave them rewards and benefits befitting their abilities and services. He did so from his personal income without taking sums out of the ordinary income of the cathedral, nor of the chancery, which he increased. . . .

¹⁹MacSwiney de Mashanaglass, 56: "Les trompettes de la mission portugaise qui, jusque-là, avaient joué a chaque nouvelle rencontre,—au grand desespoir de Burchard qui, par suite de l'autorisation que leur en avait donnée le pape, était bien obligé de les laisser faire,—se turent respectueusement devant la 'famille' de Sa Saineté."

²⁰Jurisconsult Diogo Pacheco (who in his Latin oration before Julius II described Portuguese discoveries in India) and the envoy residing at Rome, João de Saldanha, were the two other members of the embassy headed by Sousa.

²¹MacSwiney de Mashanaglass, 61: "Après la ceremonie, le cardinal de Lisbonne [Alpedrinha] offrit à ses compatriotes un banquet somptueusement servi pendant lequel des musiciens, jouant toutes sortes d'instruments, se firent entendre."

que dom dieguo de Sousa Arcebispo (. . .) / trabalhou muito por ConSerrar & acrecentar a dita capella/ de cantores mandando a huuns Criar & enSinar & outros/ buscar pollo Reino & fora fazendo-lhes partidos & dando-lhes beneficios segundo suas habilidades & seruiços me/ reciam & isto de Sua caSa sem tirar da ordinaria Renda/ da obra nem da chancelaria que lhe acrecentara (. . .)

In the light of this document, Braga may well have had a *mestre de capela* before Miguel da Fonseca, who was active during the time of Archbishop D. Henrique (1533–1540) and who is the earliest Braga mestre who bequeathed a polyphonic repertory.²² Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo's posthumous *Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1933) contains a document (found by him at the Torre do Tombo in the Chancellaria de D. Afonso V, liv. 4, fol. 52), that assures the presence at Braga of a *cantor*, if not a *mestre de capela*, a century before Miguel da Fonseca. On October 1, 1453, was announced a reward to the person who married Isabella Anes, daughter of João da Torre, the archbishop of Braga's *cantor*.

Ioham da Torre, cantor do arcebispo de Bragaa. Em 1 doutubro de 1453 foi passada carta de privilegio a qualquer homem que casasse com sua filha Isabella Anes.

(See Álvaro Carneiro, *A Música em Braga* [Braga: Separata de Theologica, 1959], p. 317 = 371.)

Bishop Sousa's musical interests, his insistence on regaling Roman ears with sounds that to them were "strange," and above all his willingness to use his own personal funds to reward musicians, give reason to believe that neither Oporto nor Braga was a musical vacuum at the beginning of the sixteenth century.²³

²²Robert Stevenson, who transcribed Miguel da Fonseca's *Puer natus est nobis* from Braga Arquivo Distrital MS 967, fols. 16–18, published it (without versicle or psalm doxology) in *Antologia de Polifonia Portuguesa, 1490–1680*, Portugaliae Musica, Série A, vol. 37 (1982), 37–40. That Fonseca's name was Miguel, not Manuel, is confirmed by mention of "Migel de FonSequa" in the document dated September 1544 at the Braga Arquivo Distrital (found by João Pedro d'Alvarenga, Gaveta da Sé Vacante, doc. n.º 27, fol. 2) that refers to him as an able and sufficient mestre who had continually from D. Henrique's time taught and maintained four boy sopranos (complemented by nine adult choristers). Apart from Fonseca's 38 compositions in the *Liber Introitus 1615* from which Stevenson transcribed Fonseca's *Puer natus est nobis*, the bulky Choirbook inventoried as MS 40 at the Biblioteca Municipal in Oporto contains numerous as yet unedited works by him, all on the same pattern (polyphony surrounding plodding plainchant).

²³According to Rodrigo da Cunha's *Catálogo* (see note 10),



SEVILLE CATHEDRAL MAESTRO 1507–1514

Two *De beata Virgine* masses survive in Tarazona MS 3. Pedro de Escobar wrote one cooperatively with Juan de Anchieta (1462–1523),²⁴ the other with Francisco de Peñalosa (ca. 1470–1528).²⁵ Both introduce the *Rex virginum* trope. In the first of these Anchieta contributed the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo movements while Escobar wrote the Sanctus and Agnus. In the other, Escobar composed the Kyrie, and Peñalosa the Gloria and Credo movements. Only close personal ties can explain such unusual cooperation. Personal ties also explain why he was called back from Portugal to Spain in 1507.

As for sixteenth-century documents specifically mentioning Pedro de Escobar, the earliest occurs as an entry in the Sevillian *Autos capitulares*. 1505. 1506. 1507. 1510. 1523. 1524, under date of May 19, 1507.²⁶ On that date the cabildo ordered a courier to Portugal at cathedral expense, for the purpose of offering Escobar the recently created post of *maestro de capilla*²⁷ in Seville Cathedral. During the two

297–298, Oporto Cathedral's plainchant choirbooks date from 1539: "No anno de 1539. fez o choro desta See, & todos os liuros de canto chão della, chapeados com laminas de bronze, em que mado eulscupir suas armas [those of Bishop Balthazar Limpo], que tambem manou entalhar no choro, onde hoje se vem com o letreiro do Psalmista. *Laudent nomen eius in choro, in tympano, et psalterio psalant ei*. D. Balthazar Limpo fecit, Regi Ioanne 3. Portug. anno Doⁿⁱ M.DXXXIX."

From this evidence, not only the Oporto Cathedral plainchant choirbooks but also the *coro* itself postdates Escobar's epoch.

²⁴Fols. 209^v–217 (*MME*, 1, 124, item 20). Samuel Rubio, editor of the *Obras completas de Juan de Anchieta* (San Sebastián: 1980), credited him with 16 attributed compositions (12 with Latin text, 4 with Spanish) and wished to ascribe to him another 8 anonymous works.

²⁵Fols. 200^v–209 (*MME*, 1, 124, item 19). Peñalosa, named to a canonry in Seville Cathedral December 15, 1505, at Ferdinand V's request, held it (with certain interruptions and frequent absences) until 1518, when he resigned his canonry to become Archdeacon of Carmona. From 1521 to his death April 1, 1528, he resided continuously in Seville—on March 24, 1525, presenting papal bulls entitling him to the post of cathedral treasurer.

²⁶*Autos Capitulares* [hereafter *A.C.*], 1505. 1506. 1507. 1510. 1523. 1524, fol. 229: "Miercoles 19 de mayo de 1507.

Scobar. Iten este mismo dya mandaron sus merçedes que pedro de fuentes despache vn mensajero a portogal a llamar a escobar sy pudiere con el que tome los moços que tenia valera e lo que montare el mensajero se lo pague." See Robert Stevenson, *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478–1606, Documentos para su estudio* (Madrid: Sociedad de Musicología, 1985), 21, item 81.

²⁷The earliest lifetime appointee with the title of *maestro de*

previous years this office had been held by Juan de Valera²⁸—Valera on January 15, 1505,²⁹ having in turn inherited it from Alonso de Alva (*d* 1504). Since one of the chapelmaster's most important, yet onerous, chores was the care and upbringing of the cathedral boys, the cabildo particularly charged the courier to come to terms with Escobar on this vexatious matter before making any formal commitments. At the moment the boys were in the care of an adult singer, Fernando de Solís, who had on April 12, 1507, been asked to act as temporary master until a suitable successor to Valera could be engaged.³⁰

Political as well as artistic ties continued closely uniting Spain and Portugal during this decade. Both the first and second wives of Manuel the Fortunate (reigned 1495–1521) were daughters of Ferdinand and Isabella, Castilian remaining their preferred tongue. Gil Vicente, Portuguese "poet laureate," entertained the court with Spanish verses.³¹ His acknowledged literary model when he wrote Portuguese as well as Castilian verses was Juan del Encina—who may well have visited the Portuguese court³² during the 1490 wedding festivities. As for musical ties, they were strong even during the reign of Alfonso V "the African." His chapelmaster was Tristano de Silva, a Spaniard, not a Portuguese. The most important collection of secular part-songs from the early sixteenth century still preserved in Portugal, the *Cancioneiro musical e poético da Biblioteca Pública Hortênsia*, contains 65 songs, 48 in Spanish, 17 in

capilla seems to have been Alonso de Alva, named on January 25, 1503. See *A.C.*, 1503–1504, fol. 5. (Stevenson, 19, item 49.)

²⁸In Juan Bautista de Elústiza and Gonzalo Castrillo Hernández, *Antología musical: Siglo de oro de la música litúrgica de España* (Barcelona: R. Casulleras, 1933), p. XLVII, his name is given Juan de Varela, a form in which it appears once or twice in the Seville *actas*. Metathesis was a commonplace in Spanish pronunciation and orthography during the sixteenth century.

²⁹*A.C.*, 1505. 1506. 1507. 1510. 1523. 1524., fol 88^v. (Stevenson, 20, item 68.)

³⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 223. (Stevenson, 21, item 79.) His full name appears in *A.C.*, 1503–1504, on fol. 102 (September 30, 1504). Solís in September, 1504, assumed charge of the boys for a brief period following Alva's death. (Stevenson, 20, item 63.)

³¹See *Four Plays of Gil Vicente*, translated by Aubrey F. G. Bell (Cambridge [England]: University Press, 1920), xiv–xvi.

³²*Ibid.*, xiii. Concerning Encina's influence on Gil Vicente, see João de Freitas Branco, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon: Publicações Europa-America, 1959), 59, 61–62; also, Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Vestígios do teatro musical espanhol em Portugal durante os séculos XVII e XVIII," *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Universitária, Editorial Estampa, 1989), 65–66.

Portuguese. A further proof of Spanish musical influence is found in the publication at Lisbon in those years of the two first music treatises to appear in Portugal,³¹ both by a Spaniard residing at Évora, Matheo de Aranda; and both in Castilian.

Why the name Pedro de Escobar in Spain and Pedro do Porto in Portugal? Being called Pedro do Porto in Portugal had no bearing on what his father's name was. As was mentioned above, the bishop of Oporto from 1465 to 1495 was João de Azevedo, whose father's name was Gonzales Malafaia. In 1470 João do Porto, who was the son of Gil Lourenço, *meio cônego* (minor canon) in Oporto Cathedral, transferred to the cathedral chapter certain houses presented him by his father at the time of his marriage.³⁴ Legitimate as well as illegitimate offspring in both Portugal and Spain opted for *apellidos* not their fathers'. The family name of Juan del Encina (1468-1529), the other identified contributor to the *Elvas Cancioneiro*, was Fermoselle.

Pedro de Escobar's surviving compositions in Portuguese manuscripts range from the three anonymous songs in the *cancioneiro* at the Biblioteca Pública Hortênsia in Elvas³⁵ (identified as his from concordances in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* [hereafter *CMP*] at Madrid) to a Mass at Coimbra University in MS musical 12³⁶ (concordance at Tarazona Cathedral in Aragon transcribed in *MME*, 1, 125-155). Coimbra MS musical 12 also contains Escobar's *Clamabat autem mulier Chananea*,³⁷ the famous motet which Gil Vicente cited in his *Auto da Cananea* (written to be acted in a convent near Lisbon during 1534).³⁸ Indeed this latter auto, com-

posed at the request of the Abbess of Odivelas, can almost be said to have been inspired by the motet, since at the end the action culminates in the singing of it (*E cantando, Clamabat autem se acaba o dito Auto*).³⁹

In Portugal this particular motet, *Clamabat autem*, was in João de Barros's 1549 MS, "Libro das antiguidades," attributed to Pedro do Porto. Copying from Barros, Diogo Barbosa Machado wrote:⁴⁰ "Pedro do Porto was a native of Oporto, from which city he took his name; he pursued his career in Seville where he was chapelmaster in the cathedral; he also belonged to the chapel establishment of the Catholic Kings [Ferdinand and Isabella] winning general applause on account of his compositions, among which the chief is his motet *Clamabat autem*. . . . He [later] resided at Évora with the court, and was highly esteemed by João III [reigned 1521 to 1557]."

Whatever else Barbosa Machado got right, he certainly was correct in making Pedro del Puerto (= Porto) a member of Isabella's chapel choir who entered in the same year as Anchieta and was her only singer listed as *português*.⁴¹ Here arose his opportunity not only to contribute eighteen of the choicest items in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*,

³¹"Sobre o fecho do 'Auto da Cananea,'" *Brotéria: Revista contemporânea de cultura*, xxvii (1938), 387. He adduces the date from the fact that it was presented the second Sunday in Lent.

³²Gil Vicente, *Copilaçam de todas as obras* (Lisbon: Ioam Aluarez, 1562), fol. 84^v. The scriptural incident on which both the *auto* and the motet are based is narrated in Matt. 15: 22-26.

³³*Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Tomo III (Lisbon: Ignacio Rodrigues, 1752), 611, col. 1. He cited as his manuscript source the "Libro das antiguidades, e cousas notaveis de antre Douro e Minho, e de outras m^{tas} de Espanha e Portugal. Por Ioão de Barros. Composto no ano de 1549." This MS, conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (Fundo Geral A-6-2), contains a passage at fol. 32^v which reads as follows: *Taõbem foy natural do Porto, Pedro do porto musico excellente, o qual compos o motete Clamabat autem, tido por taõ excellentie compostura q se chama principe dos motetes* (Also a native of Oporto was Pedro do Porto, the excellent musician who composed the motet *Clamabat autem*, considered such fine music that it is called the foremost of motets). Barbosa Machado in quoting João de Barros gave the title as *Clamabat autem Jesus*, but Barros himself left off the "Jesus."

³⁴Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Documentos sobre música española y Epistolario (Legado Barbieri)*, Vol. 2, ed. Emilio Casares (Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986), 30, item 127 (Simancas, Casa Real, Leg. n.º 2), cites *Pedro del Puerto Portugués, capellán e cantor*, first among 12 cantores employed in Isabella's chapel in 1491. His salary was 15000 maravedis that year—5000 less than what Juan de Anchieta and seven other singers earned (Barbieri MSS 14.075¹³).

³¹For details concerning Aranda, see Robert Stevenson, "Matheo de Aranda," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, xv (1973), 260, also, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, i (1980), 541-542, with attendant bibliography.

³²José Gaspar de Almeida, *Índice-Roteiro* (see note 11 above), 181, item 763. João de Porto married before 1470.

³³Manuel Joaquim, ed., *O Cancioneiro musical e poético* (Coimbra: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1940), 80, 81, 84, 91 (Encina); 37, 43, and 92 (Escobar). More recent editions of *Elvas MS 11793*: Manuel Morais, *Cancioneiro Musical d'Elvas* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977 [PM, Série A, 31]); Gil Miranda, *The Elvas Songbook* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology [Haensler-Verlag], 1987 [Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 90]).

³⁴Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, *Os manuscritos musicais nos. 6 e 12 da Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra, 1941), 50-53, 84-86, 95.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 70 and 97.

³⁶For the exact date, March 1, 1534, see Sampayo Ribeiro,



but also for him to so win the confidence of the best musicians in Spain that when the chapelmastership at Seville became vacant in 1507, Peñalosa, a Sevillian canon since 1505—or another—could induce the cabildo to hire him, sight unseen, to fill one of the most important posts in Spain.

Neither Asenjo Barbieri nor Mitjana ever found any information regarding Escobar other than his period as chapelmaster at Seville.⁴² However overzealous Barbosa Machado was in attempting to make Francisco Corrêa de Arauxo Portuguese, he did not err concerning two other Portuguese composers that ended their careers in Seville Cathedral, Francisco de Santiago and Manoel = Manuel Corrêa do Campo—as well as Fray Manuel Corrêa.⁴³

To continue with the notices that concern Escobar after his arrival from Portugal: on January 19, 1508, he receives a loan of 100 silver *reales* (= 3400 *maravedís*) and two measures of wheat from the cathedral cabildo.⁴⁴ On May 15, 1508, the chapter decides that a certain unpaid balance due the deceased chapelmaster for care of the boys shall not be credited to his account but rather distributed directly to the choirboys whom Valera had supervised.⁴⁵ On August 26, 1510, the cabildo arranges to confer upon him another cathedral chaplaincy, thus somewhat augmenting his income.⁴⁶ Similarly, on September 20, 1510, the chapter finds a way to add still another chaplaincy to his list, he being in the *acta* of

this date designated *clérigo de la veyntena*.⁴⁷ On January 3, 1513, he and Peñalosa are simultaneously present at a plenary session of the cathedral cabildo, he being listed on this date as *magister puerorum* (master of the boys).⁴⁸ On August 13, 1514, Pedro Fernández is named his successor in the latter office,⁴⁹ no further mention of Escobar appearing in Sevillian records. Significantly, however, no entry in the capitular acts states that he has died, although such references can be found for the former chapelmasters, Alva and Valera,⁵⁰ and will be found for Fernández (March 5, 1574), Francisco Guerrero (November 8, 1599), Escobar's two immediate successors in the Seville chapelmastership—not to mention Ambrosio Cotes (September 9, 1603), Alonso Lobo (April 5, 1617), and the rest of the seventeenth-century chapelmasters.

This fact in itself lends support to the idea that he did not die in Seville, but rather that he departed because of discontent with the financial arrangements made by the cabildo. Certainly he was not satisfied while in Seville, as the attempts at juggling chaplaincies in order to augment his income amply prove.

PORTUGUESE CAREER, 1521-1535

Like Encina, who after his lengthy Roman sojourn preferred to end his career in his homeland,⁵¹ so also Pedro de Escobar after his Sevillian period. Pedro do Porto was in 1521 chapelmaster (*mestre de capela*) for Cardinal Dom Afonso (1509-1540), son of King Manuel, and continued as such after the cardinal-infante was invested with the bishopric and archbishopric of Évora and of Lisbon.⁵²

⁴² Barbieri, despite considerable effort, was unable to find any data regarding Escobar. Rafael Mitjana was the first to identify Pedro de Escobar, Sevillian chapelmaster, 1507-1514, as a contributor to the *Cancionero de Palacio* in "Nuevas notas al 'Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI' publicado por el Maestro Barbieri," *Revista de filología española*, v, ii (April-June, 1918), 123-124.

⁴³ Barbosa Machado, II (Lisbon, 1747), 274, col. 2 (Fr. Francisco de Santiago) and III (Lisbon, 1752), 233, col. 1 (Manoel Corrêa). He accurately distinguishes between the Manoel Corrêa, a Carmelite who became chapelmaster at Saragossa, and the prebendary of the same name who was a chaplain at Seville. It is the latter's compositions which are conserved in the cathedral music archive at Seville, and that were published in the *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa, 1490-1680*, Portugaliae Musica, Série A, 37 (1982), 115-123.

Concerning Barbosa Machado's sources, see Rui Vieira Nery, *A música no ciclo da Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gülbekian, 1984).

⁴⁴ *A.C.*, 1508, fol. 6^v. (Stevenson, 21-22, item 87.)

⁴⁵ *A.C.*, 1508, fol. 30. (Stevenson, 22, item 88.)

⁴⁶ *A.C.*, 1505. 1506. 1507. 1510. 1523. 1524, fol. 312^v. (Stevenson, 22, item 90.)

⁴⁷ "Clérigo de la veyntena" (clergyman of the twenty) meant at Seville one on stipend who sang at early services.

⁴⁸ *A.C.*, 1513. 1514. 1515., fol. 1. (Stevenson, 22, item 94.)

⁴⁹ Elústiza-Castrillo, p. XLVIII.

⁵⁰ Alva's death: *A.C.*, 1503-1504, fol. 98^v (September 6, 1504). (Stevenson, 20, item 59.) Valera's death: *A.C.*, 1508, fol. 30 (May 15, 1508). (Stevenson, 22, item 88.) Valera died (*fallecido*) in 1507.

⁵¹ For further data on Encina, see Robert Stevenson, "Iberian Musical Outreach Before Encounter with the New World," *Inter-American Music Review*, VIII/2 (Spring-Summer 1987), 80-87.

⁵² Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *Os Mestres da Capella Real nos Reinados de D. João III e D. Sebastião* (Lisbon: Of. tip. Calçada do Cabra, 1907), 13-14. Of the three



Gil Vicente (ca. 1465–1536) alludes to him in his *Côrtes de Jupiter*.⁵³ Acted in August of 1521 in celebration of the imminent wedding of King Manuel's daughter, this court play contains lines describing *Pero do Porto* as leader of a band of tipples, contras altas, tenores, and contrabaxas. Vicente's jest at his expense lends support to the idea that he was tall and thin. Also, however, it proves irrefutably that he was considered the leading musician in Portugal.

Like Vicente, he had another source of income. Vicente was goldsmith for the court, Porto was scrivener for a Lisbon tribunal (*Casa da Suplicação*) and for a palace court (*Desembargo do Paço*).⁵⁴ The latest dated Portuguese allusion would have him still alive in 1535.⁵⁵ If twenty years of age when he entered Isabella I's court chapel choir, he would have been 66 in 1535.

A picturesque account of his final years at Évora was penned by the sometime page (*pagem da toalha*) at João III's court, Fernão Cardoso. In his "Paragrafo notauel sobre p^o do Porto Mestre da Capella do Cardeal Dom Affonso" included in Códice 51-II-14 at the Ajuda Library as item no. 37,o (fols.

89–90^v), Cardoso describes Pedro do Porto's residence in Oliveira Street at Évora as an unkempt scene—the aged master being attended only by a careless Brazilian maidservant. However, Cardoso found him in a mood to reminisce concerning his service at the court of the Catholic monarchs, where he claimed to have been no less than Queen Isabella's chapelmaster. In Valencia he boasted of having drunk all his companions under the table, and recalled affectionately his having consorted with the gallants who attended the Duke [= Count] of Feria.

The "Paragrafo notauel," already published in *Portugal and Brazil in Transition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968), pages 353–354, reads in part as follows:

Estando eu em Euora fui buscar P^o do Porto à sua pouxada, que me elle muito gabou, na rua da Oliveira, onde elle chama o seu bairro . . . Em huã casa terrea, que chouia dentro como na rua, taõ funda, e taõ soterranha, que parecia o d^o P^o do Porto, que andaua a entaipar, porque delle naõ parecia senaõ da cinta p^a sima; ou parecia que andaua alimpando tanque; ou desenformando tijolo; passando passos largos por esta varanda furada, donde se vem entrar e sair nauios cõ a fantasia taõ quieta, e taõ chea de gloria por causa do sitio, em que andaua taõ occupado, compondo sua musica, que em al naõ cuidaua, naõ pondo huã gallinha ouo, senaõ em lugar muito limpo, este anda chocando musica em huã esterquiera . . . Eu estando cuidando em quantos monstros hauia no mar, vejo vir pela casa huã sua negra do Brasil muito doce cõ hu'filinho no collo . . . Quando P^o do Porto queria beber, punha hu'brado, e fazia hum estrondon, como se tiuera alli mil de cauallo: leuantauase entaõ a negra: e trazia alli hu'a altamia, e punhalha na maõ, e tournaua por hu'a infusa em que estaua o vinho, e depois hia por agua, e com grande reuerencia no cabo lhe tournaua a tomar aquelles vasos cristalinos de Veneza, e tournauase a assentar a jugar no taboleiro . . . Mandame o ditto P^o do Porto pela negra convidar cõ aquelle vinho, que bebesse hu'a vez sobre huã talha daquelle verde, porque o achaua muito bom. Disse eu entaõ: Senhor P^o do Porto eu hei por recebido; mas ha bem cinco dias q' ando desconcertado do estomago, e hei medo de me fazer nojo. Replique o ditto P^o do Porto: Eu sei muito bem tudo, e entendo porque o fareis; porque todos sois malenconicos, e naõ quereis beber por desprezo e fantezia; eu estieue ja em Castella, e m'annos fui mestre da capella da Rainha Dona Isabel, e mestre da sê da Valença, onde ensenei muito tempo, onde conuersei e tratei cõ os principaes, onde era hauido em m^a reputaçõ e estima . . . Aquello era mi hora terra p^a viuer e folgar, e naõ em Portugal, que naõ ha senaõ carrancas de fantasia e grauidade. . . .

documents which he published, the first two concern Pedro do Porto's scrivenerships (March 4, 1521, and December 23, 1524), and the third has to do with the royal pensions granted his two daughters (May 30, 1554).

Cardinal Dom Affonso (b Évora, April 23, 1509; d Lisbon, April 21, 1540), King João III's third brother, had studied humanities with the Portuguese classicist, Ayres Barbosa (Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portugueza* [Lisbon: Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1737], III, 419). On July 1, 1518, Leo X created him cardinal. On November 11, 1516, he became bishop of Guarda; in 1520 of Viseu; and in 1522, the year after the death of his father, Manuel I, December 13, 1521, he was elected bishop of Évora. On November 17, 1523, he was invested with the archbishopric of Lisbon. Meantime, however, he continued to reside at Évora. An energetic ecclesiastic, he convened the important synod at Lisbon on August 25, 1536, during which the vestiges of the Sarum rite (introduced in the twelfth century by Bishop Gilbert of England) were at last swept away—thenceforth to be replaced by a uniform use modelled on the Roman rite (Pedro de Mariz, *Dialogos de Varia Historia* [Lisbon: Antonio Craesbeek de Mello, 1672], 418: "em todo o Arcebispaço se rezasse o officio Romano, & se deixasse o de sarisbea, que de Inglaterra trouxera."

⁵³ Gil Vicente, *Copilaçam* (1562), fol. 166^v, col. 2, lines 15–24.

⁵⁴ *Brotéria*, xxvii (1938), 329.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 330, note 2. His two daughters, Isabel and Caterina Guarcees, were each receiving royal pensions (5000 rs) in 1554. See Sousa Viterbo, 14.

ESCOBAR'S EXTANT COMPOSITIONS

Escobar's extant repertory is scattered through the following sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century peninsular sources: (1) Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, MS 454; (2) Bloomington, Indiana: Lilly Library, Guatemala Music MSS 8 and 9; (3) Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral, MS musical 12; (4) Elvas, Biblioteca Pública Hortênsia 11793 = *CMH*; (5) Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale: MS Magliabecchi XIX, 107 bis; (6) Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, Reservados C.I.C. MS 60; (7) Madrid: Biblioteca Real, [P] 1335 (*olim* sign. 2-I-5) = *CMP*; (8) Paris: École des Beaux Arts, Bibliothèque, Inv. no. 56 Masson; (9) Seville: Biblioteca Colombina, sign. 5-5-20; (10) Seville: Cathedral, MS 1; (11) and (12) Tarazona: Cathedral, MSS 2 and 3;⁵⁶ (13) Toledo: Biblioteca Capitular, MS 21.

Because of their remote origin, the Bloomington manuscripts are the most picturesque of these thirteen sources. Robert Stevenson found the Lilly Library Guatemala manuscripts at San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango department, in the summer of 1963 and published descriptions of their contents in "European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala," *Musical Quarterly*, L (1964), 341-352, and in *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970). In his descriptions, Lilly 8 equalled San Juan Ixcoi (*MQ*, 345, 349; *RBMSA*, 50-52, 61-62) and Lilly 9 equalled San Mateo Ixtatán (*MQ*, 345, 349; *RBMSA*, 50-52, 61-62). The ten Guatemalan music books containing polyphony that were discovered and microfilmed by Stevenson reached Lilly Library between 1967 and 1969 as the fruit of purchases from the Lathrop C. Harper book dealership in New York City, and from Maryknoll Father Daniel P. Jensen.

The contents of Lilly 1 and 2 were copied in 1582 by Francisco de León at Santa Eulalia, of 7 between 1595 and 1600 by Thomas Pascual at San Mateo Ixtatán, of 10 in 1595 by Pascual and of 13 in 1635 by Pascual—10 and 13 again at Pascual's village, San Mateo Ixtatán. Paul Borg's 666-page "The Polyphonic Music of the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library," Indiana University Ph.D. dis-

sertation, 1985, provides a definitive study of these intriguing Guatemalan choirbooks. The Latin works in the Lilly group include Mass ordinaries and Magnificats by both Rodrigo de Ceballos and Cristóbal de Morales (Borg, 70), and shorter items by Escobar's near contemporaries Loyset Compère, Jean Mouton, Francisco de Peñalosa, and Antonio de Ribera (Borg, 106). So popular remained *Clamabat autem mulier* at the end of the century in remotest Guatemala that Maya Indians copied it in Lilly 8 twice (items 14 and 94) and again in 9 (item 19) (Borg, pages 107, 220, 238, and 247).

The 24-leaf *Consueta* of 1709 that is the oldest source for Mystery of Elche music contains as item 26 among its 33 numbers *Cantem señors, a 4*, an unacknowledged adaptation *a lo divino* of Pedro de Escobar's *Quedaos, adios*, found in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* at folio 95^v, item 158 (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, V [1947], 186-187). To Samuel Rubio, who edited *Cantem señors* in *Tesoro sacro musical*, XLVIII/4 (July-August 1965), belongs the credit for having discovered this concordance.⁵⁷

Arranged in alphabetical sequence, with a numeral or numerals after each item to show in which of the above mentioned sources each work survives, Escobar's list of presently known compositions with Latin texts reads as follows:⁵⁸ *Absolute Domine*, 4 v. [incomplete] (11); *Alleluia: Caro mea*, 3 v. [Corpus Christi] (12); *Alleluia: Primus ad Sion*, 3 v. (12); *Asperges*, 3 v. and 4 v. (11) and (12); *Ave maris*

⁵⁷ See *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall 1980), 9-10, for details concerning the Elche music that includes *Cantem Señors*. For further information concerning the nine Escobar sources see *MME*, I, 112-115, 119-122, 127-128, 95-103, 129; *Anuario Musical*, II (1947), 31; *MME*, I, 122-123, 124, 130-131; see also *The New Grove*, xvii, 685, 699, 701.

⁵⁸ Hymn-titles in this list are given not as in *MME*, I, 122, but as in Rudolf Gerber, "Spanische Hymnesätze um 1500," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, x (1953), 175. Fragments of Escobar's *Exsultet coelum* and settings of *Ave maris stella* may be seen in Gerber's article at 178 ("Vos saeculi iusti"), 179 ("Monstra te esse"), and 180 ("Ave Gabriellis"). Transcriptions of *Non ex virili semine* (2d strophe of *Veni Redemptor gentium*), *Hostis Herodes impie, Hi sunt olivae duae* (2d of *Felix per omnes*), two versions of *Sumens illud Ave/Monstra te esse matrem* (2d and 4th strophes of *Ave maris stella*), *Vos saeculi iusti iudices* (2d strophe of *Exsultet coelum laudibus*), *Hic nempe mundi gaudia* (2d strophe of *Deus tuorum militum*), and *Iste confessor* are published in *Spanisches Hymnar um 1500 zu vier Stimmen* (Wolfenbüttel: Moseler Verlag, 1957 [*Das Chorwerk*, 60]), at 1-2, 3-4, 25-27, 28-31, 32-34, 41-42, 42-43, and 46-47.

⁵⁶ Justo Sevillano's "Catálogo musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona," *Anuario Musical*, XVI (1961), 149-176, corrects and amplifies the table of contents in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, I (1941), 122-125.

stella [two settings each beginning *Sumens illud ave*] (11); *Beatus es*, 4 v. (11); *Clamabat autem mulier* [*Chananæa*, 4 v. (1) (2) (3) (9) (11)];⁵⁹ *Deus tuorum militum*, 4 v. (11); *Domine Jesu Christe*, 4 v. (13); *Exsultet coelum laudibus*, 4 v. (11); *Felix per omnes*, 4 v. (11); *Hostis Herodes*, 4 v. (11); *Iste confessor*, 4 v. (11); *Jesus Nazareus* [incomplete] (9); *Maria mater pia*, 3 v. (11); *Memorare piissima*, 4 v. (10) (11); *Missa*, 4 v. (3) (12); *Missa pro defunctis*, 4 v. (12); *Missa Rex virginum* [Kyrie only: Gloria and Credo by Peñalosa, Sanctus by Pedro Hernandez⁶⁰ and Agnus by Alonso Pérez Dalua],⁶¹ 4 v. (12); *Missa Rex virginum amator* [Sanctus and Agnus by Escobar: Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo by Anchieta], 4 v. (12); *O Maria, Mater pia*, 3 v. (11); *Regina caeli lactare*, 4 v. (11); *Salve Regina*, 4 v. (11);⁶² *Sub tuum presidium*, 3 v. (11); *Stabat mater dolorosa*, 4 v. (11); *Veni redemptor*, 4 v. (11).

In alphabetical sequence his list of pieces with

⁵⁹Faulty transcription of Seville version in Elústiza-Castrillo, 33–36.

⁶⁰Hernandes = Fernández. This composer may be Pedro Fernández de Castilleja. The Sevillian *actas* uniformly refer to the latter as Pedro Fernandez, only once adding the identifying “de Castilleja” (= of Castilleja [de la Cuesta], the town between Seville and Huelva in which Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, died).

⁶¹Dalua = de Alva. Appointed maestro de capilla at Seville Cathedral January 25, 1503, he died shortly before September 23, 1504. See *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478–1606* (1985), 19 (item 49) and 20 (item 60). First appointed a singer in Isabella’s chapel April 8, 1491, with an annual salary of 20,000 maravedis, he continued on her payroll throughout the years that Escobar was in her service. For further documented details, see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 164–167.

⁶²When in 1941 Anglés edited *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos* (MME, I) he had found only this one *Salve Regina* ascribed to “P. Escobar” in Tarazona MS 2 (fol. 230): all the other pieces being attributed merely to “Escobar”. Unwilling to hazard the statement that Pedro de Escobar of Sevillian fame was necessarily the composer of all the Escobar pieces at Tarazona, he therefore attributed the mass at pp. 125–155 in MME, I to Pedro (?) de Escobar. Later, however, Seville Cathedral MS 1—not listed among the Spanish MSS containing early sixteenth-century polyphony in MME, I, 95–136—came to his attention. In *Anuario Musical*, II (1947), 31 he published his table of contents. Fortunately it contained at fols. 31^v–33 the same four-voiced motet, *Memorare piissima*, already known as Escobar’s because of its appearance in Tarazona MS 2 (fols. 283^v–284). But in the Sevillian source this motet was ascribed to Petrus Escobar. No longer could it therefore be doubted that the composer’s first name was indeed Pedro, just as Mitjana had said it was when he first brought forward Escobar’s name in 1918 (see note 42 above).

Spanish texts reads as follows: *Corazón triste, sofrido*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 375); *El día que vy a Pas-cuata*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 383); *Gran plaser siento yo*, 4 v. (CMP, no. 385); *Las mis penas, madre*, 4 v. (CMP, no. 59); *Lo que queda es lo seguro*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 216; CMH, no. 9; Florence, fol. 59; Paris, fol. 19^v [canto only]);⁶³ *No devo dar culpa a vos*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 220); *No pueden dormir mis ojos*, 4 v. (CMP, no. 114); *Nuestr’ama, Minguillo*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 229); *O alto bien*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 124); *Ora sus, pues qu’ansi es*, 4 v. (CMP, no. 73); *Ojos morenicos*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 263); *Pásame por Dios, varquero*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 337; CMH, no. 57);⁶⁴ *Paséisme aor’allá, serrana*, 3 v. and 4 v. (CMP, nos. 244 and 245); *Quedaos, adiós*, 4 v. (CMP, no. 158); *Secáronme los pesares*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 199; CMH, no. 3; Lisbon, fols. 37^v–38; Paris, fol. 7^v [canto only]);⁶⁵ *Vencedores son tus ojos*, 3 v. (CMP, no. 286); *Virgen bendita sin par*, 4 v. (CMP, no. 416).

Escobar’s Masses, motets, and secular pieces—like those of Anchieta and Peñalosa—cultivate three separate and distinct styles. The Mass transcribed in full by Anglés quotes a chanson-treble at the outset of Kyrie I, Et in terra pax, Patrem omnipotentem, and Sanctus. The initium of the tenor in Kyrie II and Agnus II quotes the first notes of the Third Sunday in Lent Communio (Ps. 83.4). He brings his Mass to a fitting climax in Agnus II. In five voices, it discloses a well-made triple canon, the tenor following contra I at a fifth down and the bass trailing contra I at the lower octave. The distances between entries are close, the tenor entering three breves after contra I and the bass six breves after the tenor. The only “free” voices in this final Agnus are the discantus and contra II. But even between these he contrives much lively imitation.

⁶³The two lower voices in CMP, no. 216 (Madrid, fol. 129) ascribed to Escobar differ from those in CMH, no. 9, fols. 47^v–48. See Manuel Joaquim, 43; Morais (PM 31), no. 9; Miranda, 9. Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die weltliche Vokalmusik in Spanien um 1500* (Tutzing: Hans Scheider, 1968), 339, published a diplomatic transcription, of *Lo che cheda es lo seghuro*, in Florence Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XIX, 107 bis, fol. 59. The cantus part is copied in Paris, École des Beaux Arts, Bibliothèque Inv.^o. no. 56 Masson, fol. 19^v.

⁶⁴Joaquim, 92; Morais, no. 57; Miranda, 59. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Reservados C.I.C. MS 60, fols. 39^v–40, is an anonymous version showing slight variations (signalled by Miranda, pp. LVI–LVII).

⁶⁵Joaquim, 37; Morais, no. 3; Miranda 3 (CMH version), 71 (Lisbon version), and 73 (Madrid version).



Regina Caeli

Tarazona 2. 107b-108

re, al - le - lu - ia
re, al - le - lu - ia
re, al - le - lu - ia
re, al - le - lu - ia

ia; Qui - a quem me - ru - i - sti por -
ia; Qui - a quem me - ru - i - sti por -
ia; Qui - a quem me - ru - i - sti por -
ia; Qui - a quem me - ru - i - sti por -

sti por - al - le - ia - re,
sti por - al - le - ia - re,
sti por - al - le - ia - re,
sti por - al - le - ia - re,

Re - gi - na
Re - gi - na
Re - gi - na
Re - gi - na

cae - li
cae - li
cae - li
cae - li

lae - ta - re,
lae - ta - re,
lae - ta - re,
lae - ta - re,



ia: o - ra pro no mus,
bis ro - ga
ia: o - ra pro no mus
pro no - bis ro - ga
ia: o - ra pro no mus,
bis ro - ga
ia: o - ra pro no - bis ro - ga - mus,

al - le - lu - ia.
al - le - lu - ia.
al - le - lu - ia.
al - le - lu - ia.

lu - ia,
Al - le - lu - ia,
Al - le - lu - ia:
lu - ia,
al - le - lu - ia:
lu - ia,
al - le - lu - ia -

Re - sur - re - xit, sic
ut
ia: lu - ia:
Re - sur - re - xit, sic
ut
Re - sur -
ia: Re - sur - re - xit, sic

di - xit, al - le - lu - ia
di - xit, al - le - lu - ia
di - xit, al - le - lu - ia
ut di - xit, al - le - lu - ia



In contrast with all this rare learning *à la Josquin*, his *Clamabat autem* motet reveals itself as a work of such haunting "simplicity" that once heard it never leaves the listener's memory. What imitation can be found in it is always put to effective dramatic use. The text reads: "And there also cried after Jesus a woman of Canaan, saying, *Lord Jesus, Son of David, help me; my daughter is vexed by an evil spirit*. Replying to her, the Lord said: *I am not sent to any except the lost sheep of the house of Israel*. But she came and worshipped him, saying, *Lord help me*. Jesus replying said to her, *Woman, great is thy faith, be it unto thee as thou has desired*."⁶⁶

In setting this text he entrusts the top voice with the italicized words, that is the direct speech. The *superius* indeed sings nothing but the direct speech; the lower three voices support it at its four entries and carry the entire burden in the intermediate narrative portions. To heighten the dramatic effect the voice-ranges are restricted to major sixths in treble and tenor, and to a minor sixth in the *altus*. This very hovering within a limited compass aptly expresses in musical terms the insistency of the woman of Canaan, who will in no circumstances be dismissed, but instead cries the more continually after Jesus. As for the use of imitation to achieve a dramatic purpose: Escobar in his opening section, a duet, spaces the canon at the fifth (measures 3–8) so that each phrase in the *altus* tellingly echoes the supplication of the *bassus*. When the woman begins her plea (measure 9) she too sings continually in canon, following the lead of the tenor and then the bass. Canon has been often used to illustrate the idea of hunting or pursuing after. This motet makes equally effective use of canon to illustrate the idea of "crying after."

In 1546 Alonso Mudarra published at Seville his *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela*. The third tablature printed in Spain, it contains numerous excerpts from Josquin des Prez, Antoine de Févin, Willaert, and Gombert. Only one peninsular composition, apart from his own pieces, was however included among its 77 different items, and that one was this same *Clamabat autem*, arranged for

solo voice and vihuela.⁶⁷ Mudarra could hardly have selected a single piece which more aptly summarizes the virtues of peninsular music at the turn of the century: dramatic intensity, use of learned devices primarily, as a means of heightening expression, memorability clarity of texture and of harmonic intent. Significantly, this motet is the only peninsular item composed during the generation of Ferdinand and Isabella which can be found transcribed in any of the vihuela books published 1536–1576. Its very survival in one of these is as much a cachet of its continuing success in Spain as Gil Vicente's *Auto da Cananea* of 1534 is of its success in Portugal.

SECULAR REPERTORY

Escobar's *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* = *CMP* repertory consists of eighteen songs, not less than thirteen of which were copied into the manuscript after the original collection had already been gathered. He must therefore be thought of as a stranger to the Alba de Tormes coterie for which the original body of *CMP* was copied. Seven of his songs are for four voices, the remaining eleven for three. His mensuration signs, although not so various as Encina's, include: Φ 3 (nos. 114, 158, 337), $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ (nos. 383, 416), Φ 3 (no. 229) and \circ 3 (no. 263), each implying a different triple-meter speed. Like Anchieta, Encina, and Diego Fernández, he on occasion wrote a quintuple-meter song (no. 59), heading it with the "signature" $\frac{5}{4}$. But ten of his songs (nos. 73, 124, 199, 216, 220, 244, 245, 286, 375, 385) are headed by Φ —the favorite "signature" of all indisputably peninsular composers in *CMP*.

One song boasts a mixed "key-signature," B_b being indicated in the second contra but not in the other voices (no. 59). Seven songs show B_b in all voices. He never went so far as to use two flats, B_b and E_b , in the same "signature," as did Encina (*CMP*, no. 74). But the second flat appears rather often as a compulsory accidental (nos. 59, 124, 244, 337, and 416). In the pair entitled *Paséisme aor' allá, serrana* (nos. 244 and 245) he almost certainly wrote

⁶⁶ This text in Spanish early sixteenth-century missals allotted to *Reminiscere* Sunday, does not exactly correspond with the Vulgate. Morales and Guerrero wrote *Clamabat autem* motets. Outside the peninsula the text seems never to have been set by a major composer. The *Clamabat autem* often ascribed to Cipriano de Rore (see *Brotéria*, xxvii, 333–334) is actually the motet by Morales in Toledo MS 17.

⁶⁷ Emilio Pujol transcribed Mudarra's *Tres libros* in *MME*, vii (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949). See his introduction: 48, item 52; and the *parte musical*: 79–83. Mudarra's transcription is no mechanical intabulation, but an independent work of art standing in relation to its source as does, for instance, Busoni's transcription of the *Chaconne* to its original.



Ciambabat autem mulier

Tarazona 2, 84v-95

Clamabat autem mulier mu- li- er cha-
 cha- na- nae- a

ad Do-mi-num Je-sum di-
 di- cents, di-
 di- cents, di-

Do- mi-ne Je- su Chri- ste,
 Do- mi-ne Je- su Chri- ste,
 Do- mi-ne Je- su Chri- ste,

Fi- li- Da- vid, ad- ju- va me.
 Fi- li- Da- vid, ad- ju- va me.
 Fi- li- Da- vid, ad- ju- va me.

Fi- li- a me- a ma- le a dae- mo- ni-
 Fi- li- a me- a ma- le a dae- mo- ni-
 Fi- li- a me- a ma- le a dae- mo- ni-

Fi- li- a me- a ma- le a dae-
 o ve- xa- tur.
 o ve- xa- tur.
 o ve- xa- tur.
 mo- ni- o ve- xa- tur.
 Do- mi- re- spon- dens e- i Do- mi-
 Do- mi-
 Do- mi-



Non sum mis-sus, ni - si ad o - ves que
 nus di - str: Non sum mis-sus, ni - si ad o - ves que pe-ri -
 nus di - str: Non sum mis-sus, ni - si ad o - ves
 nus di - str: Non sum mis-sus, que pe-ri - e -

pe-ri - e runt do - mus Is - ra - el.
 e runt do mus Is - ra - el.
 que pe-ri - e runt do - mus Is - ra - el. At il-la
 runt do - mus Is - ra - el. At

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

Do - mi - ne, Ad - ju - va me.
 cens: Ad - ju - va me.
 cens: Ad - ju - va me.
 cens: Ad - ju - va me.

Mu - li - er,
 spon dens Je - sus a - tit il - li: Ma - gna est fi - des.
 spon dens Je - sus a - tit il - li: Ma - gna est
 spon dens Je - sus a - tit il - li: Ma - gna est

gna est Fi - de tu - a:
 tu - a, Fi - des tu - a, Fi - des
 Fi - des tu - a:
 Fi - des tu - a: Fi - at ti - bi
 fi - des tu - a: Fi - at ti - bi.

at li - bi sic - ut vis, sic -
tu - a: Fi - at fi - bi sic -
sic - ut vis, sic - ut vis, sic -
fi - at li - bi sic -

ut vis.
ut vis, sic - ut vis.
ut vis.
ut vis.

Motete III de la Cananea

Clamabat autem mulier

Alonso Mudarra: *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela* (Sevilla: Juan de León, 1546), fols. [6-10^a] = 59-63^a. *Monumentos de la música española*, VII (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949), 79-83.

Entonar la voz
en la tercera al
tercero traste

Canto
f.[8] (= 59)
Cia - ma - bat au - tem
Cia - ma - bat

Vihuela (1)

au - tem mu - li - er

Ga - na - ne - a ad

20 f.[8] (= 59^a)
Do - mi - num Je - sum di -



84 *f. sfz* (= 80V) *fi.*
 iu - sa - me

85 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 li - a me - a a de - mo - ni - o

86 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 ve - xa - tur

87 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 Ke spon dens de - sus a - it - li

88 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 li: non sum mis - sus

89 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 cens,

90 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 di - - - cens, di - -

91 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 cens: ho - - mi -

92 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 ne ad iu - ua

93 *f. sfz* (= 80V)
 me fi - li Da - vid



the second flat to produce a cross-relation between the C Major chord on one "beat" and the E Major chord on the next (n. 6).

Twice the tenor closes a fifth above the contra (nos. 59 and 375). Classifying these two according to their tenors, we assign the first, *Las mis penas madre*, to hypolydian, the second, *Coraçon triste sofrido*, to hypophrygian. The sentiment of the first is as "venereal" and of the second as "mercurial" as adherents to Ramos's modal theories could desire. The tenor-final lies either at the bottom of the chord or the octave above in all his other songs. Classifying these others according to their tenor-finals, we find that six belong to D (nos. 73, 199, 229, 263, 383, 416), four to G (nos. 114, 124, 216, 286), three to F (nos. 244, 245, 337), two to A (nos. 158, 220), and one to C (no. 385). The modality of seven of these (italicized numerals) could be disputed because of the presence of B \flat in the "key-signature" of all voices. But the two that are unequivocally mixolydian, *Lo que queda es lo seguro* (no. 216) and *Vencedores son tus ojos* (no. 286), dwell on suitably "saturnine" themes: the poet's detention and death on account of his lady beloved's disdain and coldness of heart.

Although in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* Juan del Encina and Gabriel [Mena] probably set no lyrics but their own, and Francisco Millán may also have been his own poet, Escobar, by contrast, definitely set other lyrics. Fortunately, he showed excellent taste in his choice of an author, settling on one of the best poets of his time, Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz (ca. 1460-ca. 1526). This passionate Andalusian, whose *Las liciones de Job apropiadas a sus pasiones de amor* was later placed on the Index of prohibited books, was not only a literary man but was also recognized as the finest vihuela-player of his generation.⁶⁸ Since he was such a consummate musician as well as poet—his reputation as a player being still very much alive as late as 1575,⁶⁹ Sánchez de Badajoz may himself have composed the anonymous musical setting of his lyrics, *Lo que queda es lo seguro*, at *CMP*, no. 99. Escobar's name heads the setting of the same verses at *CMP*, no. 216. In Escobar's

version, treble and tenor of the anonymous original interchange places. He also rewrites the contra. His setting a 3 parallels such another *CMP* transcription as Madrid's *Pues que Dios te fiso tal*, *CMP*, no. 5, the treble of which duplicates that of *CMP*, no. 2. That his arrangement soon came to be preferred is attested in the Portuguese source, *O Cancioneiro Musical e Poético da Biblioteca Pública Hortênsia*. At fols. 47 ν -48 appears in slightly altered form the Escobar setting—not the *CMP* anonymous.⁷⁰

From Sánchez de Badajoz Escobar took also the lyrics of *Secáronme los pesares* (*CMP*, no. 199). This is again an item carried over from *CMP* into *Hortênsia*, where it appears at fols. 41 ν -42. The cadence in the treble at the end of the estribillo differs in *CMP* and *CMH*. In *CMP*, the treble skips from an under-third to the final. But in *CMH* this rather archaic under-third tag is replaced by a more up-to-date melodic formula, indeed the one which Escobar always favors elsewhere in *CMP*, and the one which occurs more frequently than any other ending-tag in Spanish secular music composed ca. 1500. (The treble, starting as a consonant "tied-note" on a weak beat, becomes dissonant on the succeeding strong beat because of the movement of the lower voices, resolves downward stepwise, then returns stepwise upward to the final.) The total number of measures in both the *CMP* and *CMH* estribillos is the same, but mm. 3-5 of *CMP* are compressed into mm. 3-4 of *CMH* and the omitted measure then regained at mm. 8 $_{3-4}$ and 13 $_{1-2}$ of the *CMH* version. The melodic suppleness of the *CMH* version at mm. 3 and 8 (treble), as well as at m. 18 (treble) in the coplas, would be but one reason among many for preferring the Portuguese version of this Escobar item to the stiffer Spanish. The shape of the contra is also improved everywhere in the Portuguese setting, except possibly at m. 20 in *CMH*, where the return to the dominant seems unduly repetitive.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Barbieri, 44.

⁶⁹ See F. Hierónimo Román, *Segunda parte de las Republicas del mundo* (Medina del Campo: Francisco del Canto, 1575), fol. 236 ν ("Dela Musica y su origen"). After naming various secular musicians of antiquity this chronicler cites "Garcí Sanchez de Badajoz, cuyo ingenio en vihuela no lo pudo auer mejor en tiempo de los Reyes Catholicos."

⁷⁰ Although the top voice part in Florence Bibl. Naz. Centrale, MS Magl. xix, 107 bis, folio 59, is substantially the same as in *CMP*, fol. 129, and *CMH*, fol. 47 ν , the two lower parts of *Lo que queda es lo seguro* differ very substantially. On all counts the Florentine version, first published (in unreduced note-values) by Gertraut Haberkamp in *Die weltliche Vokalmusik in Spanien um 1550*, 339 (item 131), appears to be the earlier, less refined. Gil Miranda published the Florentine version in the Appendix to his *The Elvas Songbook*, 74-75 (in 4:1 reduced note-values).

Paris, École des Beaux Arts, Bibliothèque, Inv $^{\circ}$ 1. 56 Masson, fol. 19 ν , contains cantus part only, somewhat simplified rhythmically.

⁷¹ In addition to *CMP* and *CMH* versions of *Secaronme los*



The poet of *Quedaos adiós* (CMP, no. 158) has not been discovered. But the lyrics, cast in the form of a dialogue, mention Seville. A pair of saddened lovers are taking leave of Sevillian acquaintances; meanwhile their bleeding hearts forever drip on the banks of the Guadalquivir. This song, a late addition to CMP, may date from those years which Escobar himself spent in Seville—just as Pedro de Lagarto's *Callen todas las galanas* (CMP, no. 226) in praise of the beauties of Toledo is likely to have been composed while the latter was *claustrero* in Toledo Cathedral.

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pesares published at 73 and 3 of *The Elvas Songbook*, Gil Miranda included at 71-72 the much more tantalizing version, *Cercerame los pesares*, copied in Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Reservados C.I.C., MS 60, fols. 37v-38. Although the cantus remains much the same, the two lower parts have been rewritten to provide Vorimitation at the outset, at the line "Que non puedo llorar, non," and in the coplas. Songs 24, 25, 55, 59 (by Pastrana according to Barcelona, Bibl. Central, MS 454, fol. 186), 61, and 63 begin imitatively in CMH, but only 25 (*Las tristes lágrimas mías*) continues with all successive phrases opening imitatively.

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